

INCIDENTAL TOURISTS: VERNACULAR PHOTO-TRAVEL BOOKS 1900-1940

By

RACHEL SNOW

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Abstract

INCIDENTAL TOURISTS: VERNACULAR PHOTO-TRAVEL BOOKS, 1900-1940

by

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Between 1900 and 1940 a new genre of travel books emerged. These books were comprised of first-person narratives written by middle-class tourists and illustrated with their own snapshot photographs. This dissertation offers a history of American vernacular photo-travel books in view of the democratic potential of the photographic medium and the uses to which it was put in the early twentieth century. By critically analyzing a body of photographic production that usually falls outside of the scope of art historical study, in this case, tourist photography, I aim to challenge traditional assumptions and biases within the discipline of art history concerning the historical value of amateur photography, as well as show the relevance of conceptual concerns from the disciplines of anthropology, cultural studies, and tourism studies to art history.

I define, and make a case for, the genre of vernacular photo-travel books in the preface, and then go on to describe, in the introduction, the social and historical context from which these books emerged and also situate this dissertation in relation to previous scholarship. Chapter One analyzes the relationship between mass-produced vernacular-photo travel books and photographically-illustrated travel books that were published on a small scale as well as private travel albums illustrated by commercial prints and snapshots. I claim that tourists used snapshot photography as a means to individualize the collective, and often standardized, experience of mass tourism. Chapter Two

examines how amateur photography, and travel photography in particular, was marketed to the American public and how vernacular photo-travel books participated in American consumer culture and helped to perpetuate a cycle of touristic consumption. Chapter Three claims that some of these books were influenced by attitudes and visual conventions borrowed from ethnography. Chapter Four examines how women writers attempted to push social boundaries or gain some measure of social independence in their travels to foreign countries, while consistently demonstrating the difficulty of overstepping the boundaries of their own cultural training. Finally, I conclude by considering the problems and possibilities for further studies of this kind.

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PREFACE: ABOUT VERNACULAR PHOTO-TRAVEL BOOKS

At first glance, there seems to be nothing particularly interesting or remarkable about Edmund Gress's (1872-1934) snapshot of the Arch of Titus in Rome, Italy (Fig. 1). For all intents and purposes it closely resembles innumerable other tourist and commercial images depicting the same subject. While Gress's photograph can hardly be called unique, it is special and part of what makes it so is the unusual context in which it appears. One can find it, and many other snapshots Gress took during his first trip to Europe, in an obscure little book entitled *A Dash Through Europe with Snapshots by the Way* (1923) (Fig. 2). The mere fact that Gress's travel photographs exist is historically significant. Less than half of a century prior to the publication of his book, most members of the American middle-class, like Gress, were unable to travel solely for personal pleasure due to a lack of money and free time, not to mention a conception of self that precluded identification with such luxuries. However, by the end of the nineteenth century both photography and travel were becoming increasingly accessible to members of the middle-class in most industrialized nations and a select group of those tourists who set out into the world wrote, illustrated, and published books about their journeys.

This dissertation is a history and critical analysis of a necessarily limited but representative number of American travel books that were written by middle-class tourists and illustrated with their own snapshot photographs during the years 1900-1940.¹

¹ These dates provide a rough time frame for my study. A few books that date from years just before 1900 or just after 1940 will also be discussed. These books could appear wherever members of the middle-class had the time, money, and technological infrastructure to travel and wherever these same people had access to new, more automated, and inexpensive forms of photography and mass publishing. Even though these basic conditions could be met in any number of places around the world at this time, authors from Western Europe and North America produced the bulk of this genre. Although there are a few significant exceptions to this rule, texts by American authors are the main focus of this study. American

Although these books make up a substantial portion of early twentieth-century travel literature and have similar patterns of narrative construction and uses of the photographic medium, they have never been studied as a distinct genre. Throughout this dissertation I refer to these texts as vernacular photo-travel books. The term vernacular has been selected for these books as it refers, within the history of photography, to types of production that usually fall outside the scope of art historical study, display and discussion—for example, commercial, scientific, industrial, and snapshot photography, and, in this case, tourist photography.² Vernacular photographs are ubiquitous and often pedestrian (rather than rare and auratic). Although they are frequently formulaic and conventional, they are also individual and unique in ways that often go unnoticed. Vernacular photographs sometimes involve handcrafting, but such alterations and manipulations are different in intention and kind than those made by so-called art photographers whose images were also handcrafted.

On a fundamental level, vernacular photo-travel books have three things in common: they offer first-person narratives, they include photographs taken by the author,

authors' travels are informed by distinctive histories and presumed audiences. For example, many of the books I selected for discussion are directly influenced by the rise of the American middle class and the desire of some authors to publicly display their consumption. I also selected books that demonstrate how some American tourists/authors perceived the United States' then-new identity as a cultural, economic and military great power. As one might extrapolate from these interests and aims, this dissertation, on a more general level, examines the different ways in which photographs (and words that surround them) mediate and manifest these American authors' various conceptions of identity (both personal and national) and their investments in various relationships of power.

² Even though most scholars agree that the main purpose of this body of photographic images and objects is communicative and not artistic, not everyone uses the term 'vernacular.' Daile Kaplan argues that 'pop photographica' is a more fitting term for such artifacts because it allows more freedom to draw connections between 'pop photographica' and art photography. However, Kaplan's term has failed to spark the same kind of substantive social, historical and philosophical debates that the more complex notion of vernacular already has. See Daile Kaplan "Pop Photographica in Everyday Life, 1842-1968," *Photo Review* 21, no. 4 (Fall 1998): 2-14. Also see Daile Kaplan, in Geoffrey Batchen ed., "Vernacular Photographies: Responses to a Questionnaire," *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 229; and Daile Kaplan, *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life 1842-1969* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 2003). This is a catalog for an exhibit of the same name held at the Art Gallery of Toronto from April 26, 2003 to July 20, 2003.

and they are published for public consumption.³ In what follows, I briefly describe, using representative examples, both the distinguishing physical aspects of vernacular photo-travel books, their structure and content, and how they utilize photographs to various effects. I also offer some preliminary remarks regarding how we are to understand vernacular photo-travel books both generically and within the context of their specific historical period, topics which I enlarge upon in the dissertation. Finally, I set out the justification and aims of my project.

Most of these books were constructed with simple and inexpensive materials that kept their price relatively low and thus within financial reach of members of the middle class. Many vernacular photo-travel books are small. For example, Gress's *A Dash Through Europe* measures only 7.5 x 5 inches. It is made to fit easily within one's hands and even in one's pocket. Vernacular photo-travel books of similar dimensions include Lucy Langdon Williams (1864-1937) and Emma McLoughlin's (dates unknown) *A Too Short Vacation: with Forty-Eight Illustrations From Their Own Kodak* (1892) and Harold R. Peat's (1897-?) *Private Peat* (1917) (Fig. 3). The small size of these books suits their personal, conversational tone and makes them easy to carry and unobtrusive to consult in public spaces. Their portability suggests that they may have been intended to be used in a manner similar to a guidebook, or potentially read as entertainment by tourists on the

³ The subtitles of many of these books state "with illustrations by the author." In those cases where such information is not offered somewhere in the title of the book, the body of the text, the list of illustrations, or in a caption, it can be difficult to discern if the author took all of the photographs. Authors often included commercial photographs and/or those taken by someone in their traveling parties. While it can be particularly difficult to distinguish the author's snapshots from those made by other amateurs, distinguishing amateur snapshots from professional images is less difficult. Commercial photographs possess a more consistently high level of technical skill and depict more general and conventionalized subject matter. One might also confidently attribute authorship to a commercial photographer if the image includes text such as a title, a negative number, and/or the photographer's or publisher's name. Such text is usually white and typeset and appears on the bottom edge of the photograph.. This dissertation includes numerous books that mix the author's own snapshots with commercial images. Those cases where authorship of an image is uncertain and significant will be noted as they arise.

go. Other books, for example Frank G. Carpenter's (1855-1924) *Carpenter's World Travels: Familiar Talks about Countries and Peoples With the Author on the Spot and the Reader in his Home, Based on a Half Million Miles of Travel All Over the Globe* (a series published from 1910-1924), while neither oversized nor particularly heavy, are also not particularly small (9x6 in.). The design of these medium-sized books makes them more suitable for armchair travelers. Indeed, they are meant for such readers; this is stated explicitly in Carpenter's subtitle (though such a statement hardly seems necessary given their size, heft and seriality).

The cover design of vernacular photo-travel books range from the entirely undecorated (like Gress's), to those that are rather plain (like Peat's), to those that have boldly-colored graphic designs, presumably intended to catch consumers' eyes. B.J. Palmer's (1882-1961) *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer* (1926) is one example of the latter. The cover of this book shows the author's profile in silhouette surrounded by scenes depicting various famous tourist monuments and foreign peoples (Fig. 4). Harry A. Franck's (1881-1962) *Roaming Through the West Indies* (1920) provides another example of an eye-catching cover design, not only because of its bright-orange color, but also because it has an enticing image of a picturesque coastal village (Fig. 5). But perhaps the best example of an attention-getting cover is that of William Seabrook's (1886-1945) *The Magic Island* (1929) (Fig. 6). The cover of this book is bright yellow and includes nothing but a mysterious (and, yet, stereotypical) representation of an elderly black man holding a cross. This man 'lurks' in the book's lower right hand corner and obviously has exaggerated features that are half-hidden from view by a dark cloak and large-brimmed hat. This figure is intended to entice potential buyers/readers

by creating a sense of mystery and adventure, and perhaps even a touch of fear and danger, as if opening this book will gain them entrance into some exotic and mysterious place.

The dedications of vernacular photo-travel books can offer insight into these authors' private lives, personalities, motivations, and their presumed audience. Some authors honor family and friends, including Franck, who dedicates *Roaming Through the West Indies* to his wife Rachel, "with whom this was the beginning of a far longer journey" and to his son Harry, "who joined us on the way."⁴ Gress dedicates his book, "To my family and friends who have patiently endured constant reference to... 'The Trip.'"⁵ World War One veteran Harold Peat dedicates his book to "To the boys who will never come back."⁶ And Seabrook somewhat mysteriously dedicates his book *Magic Island* to a sixty-year-old Haitian woman named Maman Célie, "for reasons which appear hereafter."⁷ Seabrook eventually describes his association with her in a mystical manner, stating that they both felt as if they were deeply and inexplicably connected, as if they had known each other always, or, as Seabrook puts it, "as if I had suckled in infancy at her dark breasts, had wandered far, and was now returning home."⁸ B.J. Palmer's dedication, on the other hand, is far less fantastic, in fact, it explicitly reveals information about the audience that partially motivated his work and those who may have eventually purchased his book:

First, to the pals of a lifetime and of all main trips the author has ever made, his wife and son David. Second, that vast invisible audience of

⁴ Harry Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies* (New York: The Century Company, 1920), viii.

⁵ Edmund Gress, *A Dash Through Europe with Snapshots by the Way* (New York: Oswald Publishing Company, 1923), viii.

⁶ Harold R. Peat, *Private Peat* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1917), v.

⁷ William Seabrook, *The Magic Island; illustrated with drawings by Alexander King and photographs by the author* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), vi.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

millions, who attentively listened in on his on-air talks month after month during the winter of 1925-26. And third, to the more than 50,000 persons who wrote, and urged, and encouraged the publication of his talks in book form.⁹

Many vernacular photo-travel books have an annotated table of contents that gives the reader a brief summary of the book's main destinations and the author's most notable experiences. Gress's book, for example, includes such colorful and personal headings as "My first trip across the great waters and my sensations on the voyage" and "I meet a beautiful set of red whiskers, and see Paris from a charabanc."¹⁰ B.J. Palmer's table of contents is not annotated, but it still gives the reader a quick sketch of the author's itinerary by listing various destinations. It also begins to reveal something of Palmer's unique personality and sense of humor through headings such as "Troubles Wherever We Want," "What a Globe Trotter Wants," and "Where Are We At?"¹¹ The table of contents of William Seabrook's *Magic Island* provides another example of how the chapter titles can set the tone for the book and give the reader a perspective on some of the conceptual stakes of a travel narrative. In Seabrook's case, this means learning about his quest for authenticity and penchant for drama, as conveyed by headings such as "Secret Fires," "The Way is Opened and Closed," "Goat-Cry Girl-Cry," and "The Soul of Haiti."¹²

Many of these books also contain prefaces with useful information regarding the author's motivations and aims in publishing, formatting decisions, and intended audience. Gress's preface lists his reasons for writing and publishing his book: "to have the matter

⁹ B.J. Palmer, *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer* (Davenport: published privately, printed by R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago, Ill., 1926), vii.

¹⁰ Gress, *A Dash Through Europe*, xiii.

¹¹ Palmer, *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer*, ix and x.

¹² Seabrook, *The Magic Island*, vii-viii.

serve as letters to my wife and family; to record, for re-reading in later years, the experiences and sensations during my first trip abroad; and to provide notes for technical articles which I might write from time to time.”¹³ Gress also gives an account, which is somewhat rare for most prefaces that accompany vernacular photo-travel books, of how the reader is to understand the photographs in his book: “The snapshots, good or bad, are offered for what they are: my camera’s interpretation of scenes as I actually saw them, in sunshine and in rain.”¹⁴ He also states that he inset the photographs directly into the text “so as to give the reader text and illustration at a glance.”¹⁵ Gress closes his preface by stating, “if it affords enjoyment, if it justifies its existence by being helpful to others, if it encourages any one to undertake a journey to the dream spots of the old world, I shall be glad.”¹⁶ The last wish gives an early glimpse into one of the most important aspects of the genre, specifically, how these authors perpetuated the tourist cycle by encouraging their readers to follow in their footsteps.

Authors had to make several formatting decisions regarding how the photographs would appear on the page in relation to the text, if and how they would be captioned and whether or not they would be vignettted, unframed, or framed by borders. Some, including Gress, printed their photographs within the actual flow of the text, not on a separate page or in a separate section. His photograph captioned “A courteous Cherbourg ‘cop’” is a good example of how such formatting treats the photographs and text as two mutually-dependent and reinforcing entities that are intertwined (Fig. 7). B.J. Palmer also uses this type of formatting, as do Williams and McLoughlin (Fig. 8 and 9).

¹³ Gress, *A Dash Through Europe*, ix.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xi.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xii.

Although Williams and McLoughlin also include a few interesting vignettted photographs in their book (Fig. 10). These images come close to encroaching upon the space of the text and in this way blend more with it than their geometrically cropped snapshots. However, their indistinct edges also stand out more starkly from the uniform and regular patterns of the typeset text. Perhaps these photographs were intended to evoke the oftentimes ‘foggy’ or ‘hazy’ nature of memories. This framing also evokes a sense of dreaminess, which may relate to the authors’ desire to use travel as a time to escape, a time for fantasy.

Seabrook usually frames his photographs with a border and groups all of his images at the end of his texts (Fig. 11). Arguably, these formatting decisions relate to his occasional attempts to seem authoritative and scientific. The inclusion of his documentary-style photographs furnishes a general sense of credibility and legitimacy to the text, which would be hard, if not impossible, for Seabrook to retain otherwise because he often-exaggerates and makes false claims for dramatic effect. Franck, who is perhaps the most scientifically-oriented of all the authors I discuss, does not separate his images from his text. Rather, he places them throughout the text next to or near the page that relates to the content of the image.

Appendices are also an important aspect of vernacular photo-travel book design. Gress’s appendix will be examined for the ways in which it encourages other middle-class Americans to travel. Seabrook’s appendices will be examined for the ways in which he used them as a means to supplement his entertainment-driven narratives with more in-depth scientific information. These examples will be examined in separate chapters, but they show how vernacular photo-travel book authors, in very different

ways, were keenly aware of their audience and how they would be perceived by their readership and how these perceptions influenced the content and structure of their books.

Vernacular photo-travel books are full of small ‘surprises’ and unexpected moments. These usually come in the form of a photograph that shows how these tourists used photography to joke with one another and to document their experiences together. Take, for example, Frank Carpenter’s tongue-in-cheek photograph showing his secretary ‘trapped’ in a torture stone (Fig. 12), or the snapshot of Carpenter crouching next to fifteen-hundred-year-old mummies in Bolivia (Fig.13).¹⁷ Burton Holmes (1870-1958) includes similarly personal, humorous and clever photographs in his books, such as those showing his travel party ‘crying’ because they missed their train and posing at the entrance of and inside the catacombs (Figs. 14 and 15).¹⁸ Williams and McLoughlin also use photography to joke playfully with one another, such as when Williams photographs her bored and listless traveling companion staring off into space while at a Seaman’s concert to benefit an orphans’ home (Fig. 16). Apparently McLoughlin denied her disinterest and insisted that she had an indifferent expression on her face. Yet Williams understandably found her friend’s indifference so amusing that she took a snapshot of her unawares and included it in their book with a commentary assuring the reader that the Kodak will reveal the truth of the matter. Such instances shed light upon how these tourists used photography as a means of communication and self-expression, as a way to strengthen inter-personal relationships, and as a means to preserve the good (and sometimes bad) times they experienced during their travels together.

¹⁷ Frank Carpenter, *Carpenter’s World Travels: Land of the Andes and the Desert* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1927), 150, 223.

¹⁸ Burton Holmes, *The Burton Holmes Lectures, vol. 7* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. 1901), 36-7.

Vernacular photo-travel books are also unique because of the ways in which they disrupt one's expectations about the personal and the public. For many people today, the prospect of viewing a stranger's vacation photographs evokes at least a small measure of dread and, when such viewings seem unavoidable, one usually politely feigns interest as a matter of social courtesy. In short, such images seem entirely irrelevant to all but those who participated in the vacation. One wonders who the author imagined his or her audience would be. Who would be interested in his or her seemingly-private musings and photographs? One way to answer this question is to note that certain aspects of these books strongly suggest they were primarily intended for readers who, like the authors, belonged to the middle class. It is likely that the wealthiest in society would have found these authors' concern for economizing distasteful, and they certainly would have been put off by the appearance of wealth and material well-being that these writers pursued. At the other end of the spectrum, it is likely that the poorest members of society would have found such books irrelevant to their lives and daily struggles. There is, however, much within the vernacular photo-travel book genre that would have appealed to and interested members of America's increasingly affluent middle class. Even if they were not interested in traveling themselves, many middle-class readers would have found the subtext of the genre palatable. Specifically, they would have enjoyed these travel books as so-many success stories of people, who, like themselves, were experiencing expanded opportunities to consume and display their consumption.

Although these books consist of non-fiction first-person accounts and are thus highly personal or individualistic, they also reveal forms of conventionality, conformity, and often polemics related to larger social issues of their day. Williams and

McLoughlin's *A Too Short Vacation* raises the question of what it was like to be a young, unmarried, white, middle-class woman experiencing both the freedoms and the limitations of moving in and through public spaces without a chaperone. In a more general way, many of the books discussed in this dissertation foreground the ways in which American tourists regarded their own nations' superior place within a social and racial hierarchy. These and other large social and political issues will be discussed throughout this dissertation. This discussion will further clarify how mass tourists used photography, not only as a means of personal expression and documentation, but also as a means of power.

Vernacular photo-travel books have not been recognized or written about extensively in part because they do not fit neatly into any single discipline. Pursued under the aegis of various disciplines, existing research on these types of books and the photographs that they contain has been inconsistent and exceedingly general. Moreover, the travel-photo books themselves have sometimes been categorized as anthropology and other times as literature. Within the subject of literature they are often further categorized as memoirs or as travel accounts, and even described as highly specialized types of travel, such as "exploration" or "scientific." To further confuse matters, sometimes they are considered guidebooks, although they are just as often viewed as belonging to literature concerning the country or countries that the author writes about. Interestingly, they are almost never categorized with books about, or research on, travel photography. I located many of these books through keyword searches using terms and phrases that appear repeatedly throughout the genre such as "vagabonding," "tramping" or "tour around the world." This language has the effect of signaling to readers that these

books are conversational and entertaining, and not, for example, academic, scientific, or highly specialized.

I did most of my research for this dissertation at the International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House in Rochester, the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, and the New York Public Library, in New York City. I found vernacular photo-travel books in the general collections of these institutions' libraries, but occasionally I also found them within their special collections. Such diverse methods of cataloguing these books have made it difficult, particularly at this early stage, to get a sense of how many examples actually exist. However, as an early step in the direction of correcting some of these problems and confusions, I have included an appendix listing vernacular photo-travel books that are not discussed in the body of this dissertation. There is no scarcity of these types of books. Many examples exist. In fact they are remarkably easy to find and purchase online and in used bookstores (it seems these books have a certain staying power within popular culture). Yet it also seems that booksellers and collectors are not quite sure what to do with these unusual books. This is signaled by their random pricing. For example, at the time of writing this dissertation, the same edition of *Private Peat* was selling on the Internet for a price ranging from two dollars to over fifty dollars.

Vernacular photo-travel books never entirely disappeared, but their numbers swiftly declined after the 1940s. Travel was increasingly becoming standardized and fast-paced and tourists needed a quick and efficient way to get practical information about the places they were visiting or hoped to visit. Consequently, the meandering and often rambling personal narratives of vernacular photo-travel books came to be perceived

as irrelevant and impractical. Whatever guidebook function they may have served at an earlier time was now fulfilled by commercial guidebooks that conveyed information in a more succinct and seemingly objective manner.¹⁹ In addition to this shift in public taste, by mid-century much of the impressiveness of travel and self-made travel photographs had worn off as more and more middle-class Americans were traveling (and photographing) for themselves. Once this happened, listening to personal vacation stories and looking at other people's amateur travel snapshots no longer seemed quite as novel and entertaining as it once did.

One can still find an occasional contemporary travel book illustrated by the author's own vernacular snapshots. However, authors after the 1940s do not show the same kind of appreciation as their predecessors for the simple fact that they could embark on foreign journeys. They also treat photography as though it were a 'natural' and expected part of the travel experience. Perhaps one should not only look to the realm of book publishing to see how the genre lives on today. There are, for example, compelling parallels between vernacular photo-travel books and the sharing of personal vacation photographs through e-mails and in more public forms on the Internet.²⁰

¹⁹ Tourist guides published by the likes of Satchel, Murray, Cook, and Baedeker were popular and in circulation at the same time as vernacular photo-travel books. However, these books did not include personal snapshots.

²⁰ The Lonely Planet website, for example, encourages everyday tourists without any particular professional or special qualifications to post and textually narrate their vacation photographs. The company then decides which journals to display on their homepage, where they are accessible to friends, family, and strangers alike. Such uses of vernacular travel photographs fall outside the historical boundaries of this particular study, but are worthy of note because they show that at least some portion of the public still wants to share and look at personal travel narratives and photographs. The technology used by Lonely Planet is essentially the same as that used in the creation of Blogs, which are also used by people for various forms of photo-sharing. While some parallels can be drawn, Blogs and the Lonely Planet site are also significantly different from vernacular photo-travel books. In addition to having no object to hold (a photograph, album or book), visitors are able to post their own comments in response to the material on the site, making this electronic medium in many ways more flexible and conversational than vernacular photo-travel books. See <http://lonelyplanet.mytripjournal.com>.

My intention in establishing these books as a genre is not to invent a narrowly circumscribed definition that ends up limiting rather than expanding our understanding of the material under consideration. These books are the product of long and shifting social and historical forces, as well as a conglomeration of literary conventions and forms. As long as the hybridity of these texts is respected and examined as one of their defining features the exercise of considering them as a distinct genre remains a useful one because it identifies and reveals those things that they have to teach us about the photographic productions of amateurs as well as how photography and print technologies helped shape and perpetuate a culture of travel in the early days of mass tourism.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Several important technological barriers had to be surmounted before the genre of vernacular photo-travel books could emerge. Early photographic processes were incapable of the kind and quantity of reproduction that would enable them to be used as a form of illustration in the realm of mass publishing. This barrier was overcome in the 1880s when half-tone reproduction provided an inexpensive and efficient way to mass publish photographs. Equally problematic to the emergence of the genre was the fact that for most of the nineteenth century photography was mainly practiced by an elite few who had time, money, and knowledge of the complex technical and chemical processes involved in preparing plates for exposure and developing them afterwards. Early cameras were expensive, cumbersome, and complicated and most travelers did not take their own photographs. However, by 1900, cameras like the Kodak Brownie were becoming increasingly inexpensive, portable, and automated. Consequently, more tourists started taking pictures for themselves.

During the same time that photography was becoming a more accessible technology, increasing numbers of people from the upper-middle class in the United States were beginning to travel. Before the Civil War two thousand and five hundred passports were issued per year and this doubled to five thousand through the 1860s, 70s, and 80s. By the end of the nineteenth century the number rose to above fifteen thousand, and by 1919 it reached one hundred thousand.¹ Following WWI, the United States experienced a growth of industrial wealth, especially in the North, and new wealth from development in the West. People who could afford to travel did so more quickly and

¹ James J. Schramer and Donald Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 189: American Travel Writers, 1850-1915* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1998), xv, xvii.

inexpensively than ever before. Modern ocean liners carried large numbers of passengers and by the 1870s they crossed the Atlantic in as few as five days.² The development of modern railroads also sped up travel on land and standardized travelers' routes.³ Travel during the dates of this dissertation was also affected by the invention of the automobile and, to a lesser extent, the airplane.⁴ These technological developments, however, are not solely responsible for the increasing accessibility of travel, nor can such technologies be considered in isolation from their social and historical context. The rise and growth of early mass tourism in the United States is best described as a process with ebbs and flows. Access to travel was influenced by one's class, gender and race and mass tourism's development was impeded by historical events such as World War I.

CLASS AND MASS TOURISM

As parallel and linked phenomena, the growth of leisure travel and amateur photography should both be understood as signs of the widening economic prosperity and therefore the growing power and social influence of members of the middle class. This newfound power was also evidenced by important social changes such as paid vacations and the development of businesses and services catering specifically to tourists from this upwardly-mobile population. According to historian Cindy Aron, paid vacation time

² In 1850 a steamship could carry 160 first-class passengers and 80 cabin passengers. However, by the 1870s luxury liners to Europe could carry several hundred passengers. By the 1890s the average price for such passage was a relatively affordable 100 to 200 dollars, expensive to be sure, but not entirely out of reach for many in the middle class. See Schramer and Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography American Travel Writers, 1850-1915*, xvi. For more on ocean liners and their role in mass tourism see Charles Owen, *The Grand Days of Travel* (Exeter: Windward/Webb & Bower, 1979), 12-14, 18-75.

³ Readers interested in a creative, theory-oriented analysis of the development of railroads and its impact upon travel and nineteenth-century culture are referred to Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). For a basic historical overview of railroad development during this time see Owen, *The Grand Days of Travel*, 8-12, 76-115.

⁴ The first trans-Atlantic flight was in 1927, but airline travel was not a significant mode of transportation within mass tourism until the late 1940s. See Owen, *The Grand Days of Travel*, 14-17, 116-147 for air travel and 148-195 for automobile travel.

became institutionalized in the United States as early as the 1860s and during the 1920s and 30s paid time off was becoming a possibility for even working-class Americans.⁵ More people than ever were able to travel as prices fell, wages increased, and social policies started to make provisions for vacation time. However, it must also be stressed that these gains were primarily experienced by the upper-middle class and were continually kept in check by the often-times turbulent economy of the United States during the teens and especially in the 1920s, when, despite many signs of growing prosperity, the stock market crashed in 1929 and did not fully recover until the 1940s.

WOMEN AND MASS TOURISM

Women did not travel independently (without a male chaperone) in any significant numbers until the late-nineteenth century. By the first half of the twentieth century, however, women had fought for and gained many important social and political rights, including the right to vote, which was granted in 1920. In 1922, the American Birth Control League (later to become Planned Parenthood) was founded. This groundbreaking organization fostered greater awareness of women's health issues and provided increased access to birth control. In 1916, the first woman was elected to Congress and the same happened in the Senate, although not until 1932, the same year that Amelia Earhart crossed the Atlantic on her solo flight. Such social and political gains made it easier for women to become independent travelers, if they had the money to do so, but many did not. Women who were able to afford travel still had to carefully balance various conventional gender roles and mores of home with any newfound freedoms they may have experienced as travelers.

⁵ Cindy Aron, "Vacationers and Resorts," in Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991), 1108-1109.

RACE AND MASS TOURISM

Race was not only an influential factor in determining who could afford to travel—the great majority of U.S. travelers from this time were wealthy whites—it also influenced those travelers’ perceptions of the people in the places they visited. By the second half of the nineteenth century, European and North American tourists traveled with relative comfort and ease to a great variety of distant locales, including places in Asia, South America, the Middle East, India and Africa. Many of these destinations were made socially, politically, economically and ideologically safe and ready for touristic consumption by colonialization. Maintained through force and the use of complex technologies and weaponry, colonialism is also justified ideologically.⁶ Travel writing and travel photographs have played an important role in perpetuating stereotypes and conventions about non-Western people and places. In this way, vernacular photo-travel books contributed directly to the rhetoric and power relations of Western colonialism and the building of Empire. As literary historians James Schramer and Donald Ross argue, travel writing eased the way for Western imperialism and the expansion of capitalism by “helping governments and entrepreneurs prepare their plans for exploiting human and natural resources in a systematic way.”⁷

Georges Balandier offers a helpful definition of colonialism as “the domination imposed by a foreign minority, “racially” and culturally different, over a materially weaker indigenous majority in the name of a racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority.”⁸ From 1870 to 1914, European powers were engaged in overt and aggressive attempts to

⁶ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 5-6.

⁷ Schramer and Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Travel Writers 1776-1864*, xxiii.

⁸ Georges Balandier as quoted in Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 5-6.

gain political and territorial domination in the areas they had invested in monetarily across the globe. Even though the United States was comparatively limited in its direct colonial involvement during the nineteenth century, it officially and rhetorically supported the European colonial powers, especially England.⁹ The United States' role in colonialism must be understood in relation to its own unique history. The United States was deeply embroiled in serious domestic problems during the height of European colonialism, including the Civil War and the question of slavery, the conquering and settling of the Western territories and later in the nineteenth century, massive waves of immigration. Over time, the United States' involvement in colonialism and imperialism grew as isolationism gave way to a surge in American nationalism and to the desire to spread democracy throughout the world. These developments were fueled (in part) by the ideologies of manifest destiny. This is the belief that white members of Western societies have a moral, social, or spiritual obligation to "civilize" other peoples who were perceived as less developed and in need of saving. Salvation or civilizing meant Westernization, which was viewed as synonymous with progress even though, as historian Matthew Frye Jacobson has pointed out, such "civilizing" has often been carried out using the most "barbaric of means."¹⁰

These ideologies were accompanied by rapid industrialization and the capitalist imperatives to seek out new markets, valuable raw resources, and cheap labor abroad.

Since the earliest days of the republic commercial travelers had sought out new markets

⁹ For more on the United States' involvement in imperialism see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); John Carlos Rowe, *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism from the Revolution to World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Neil Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 4.

and tried to establish trade relations around the globe. In fact, most early American travelers were businessmen, including cotton exporters, importers of foreign goods, and bankers.¹¹ This type of travel led the United States to become more deeply financially invested than ever before in the economies and political affairs of a number of places around the globe and eventually set the stage for the rise of American imperialism from 1876-1917. During this time, according to Jacobson, two crucial changes occurred: America “became a modern military and administrative state” and the nation’s economy was “integrated into fully global labor and export markets.”¹²

The United States was a relatively young nation when mass tourism began and its citizens were still forging their own unique identity and sense of place within the context of the world at large. Authors of vernacular photo-travel books, both men and women, traveled for different reasons including commerce, exploration, scientific study, religion, journalism, and for leisure. These are certainly not the only factors motivating travel, nor are they mutually exclusive, but they do cover the basic and most prevalent reasons for travel in the early days of mass tourism.¹³ Historian Mary Suzanne Schriber argues in *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (1997) that Americans traveled for three basic and related reasons: for self-improvement, to discover the United States’ national identity, and to forge a sense of moral and political superiority by seeking out

¹¹ Schramer and Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography American Travel Writers, 1776-1864*, xviii.

¹² Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 7.

¹³ Travelers’ motivations impact decisions such as where one travels, how long one will stay, and the types of activities one will engage in while traveling and even how one views the land and locals. For more on different types of travelers and their motivations for traveling see Schramer and Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Travel Writers 1776-1864*, xix and xviii. Erik Cohen suggests that there are four basic types of tourists: the drifter, the explorer, the individual mass and the organized mass. See Erik Cohen, “Towards a Sociology of International Tourism,” *Social Research* 39 (1972): 164-182. In addition to creating her own categories for types of travelers, Eugenia Wickens describes three different motivations for travel: the need to escape, the desire for pleasure, and ontological security. See Eugenia Wickens, “The Sacred and Profane: A Tourist Typology,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 3 (2002): 834-851.

monuments and remnants of the past both at home and abroad to better situate themselves as the next great civilization of the future.¹⁴ The same sentiment is echoed by Schramer and Ross, who suggest, “Americans traveled and wrote about those travels to discover who they were as a nation and as individuals. Americans were often more interested in discovering themselves than they were in learning about others.”¹⁵

WORLD WAR I AND MASS TOURISM

World War I (1914-18) caused a serious interruption to American tourism in England and Europe.¹⁶ During the War Americans mostly opted for domestic travel because it was safer and cheaper than traveling abroad. However, their decision to travel domestically also may have been influenced by a surge in nationalism, which was harnessed by various advertising and publicity campaigns that characterized domestic travel as part of one’s patriotic duty.¹⁷ These advertisements were sponsored by businesses (especially automobile and railroad companies), the United States government, and local tourist bureaus (Figs. 17-18).¹⁸ Although WWI interrupted international leisure travel, it also ushered in a different kind of travel for men who were sent abroad as soldiers.¹⁹ The publication of vernacular photo-travel books slowed down

¹⁴ Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad 1830-1920* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 21-22.

¹⁵ Schramer and Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Travel Writers 1776-1864*, xvi.

¹⁶ Paul Fussell discusses the impact of WWI upon travel and travel writers. Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 3-15.

¹⁷ During this time, the United States’ National Parks were promoted as a superior alternative to Europe’s artistic and cultural monuments and became symbols of national pride. See Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 11-22, 82-105.

¹⁸ See Christopher Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 122-155; Aron, “Vacationers and Resorts,” 197-198, 204; and Marquerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 33, 36, 100-101, 107-108, 111, 114, 160.

¹⁹ The relationship between war and tourism that can only be hinted at here has been addressed by a few scholars, but much more work needs to be done on the topic. Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio

during WWI. However, an interesting sub-genre of vernacular photo-travel books by soldiers emerged during and shortly after the War. Although these books are about soldiers' war experiences, they have many striking similarities to those travel books written and illustrated by civilian mass tourists. Both the tourist and the soldier are eager to document their experiences abroad and do so in an informal and personal way. Most of these war memoirs were written to entertain and not necessarily to inform readers, which is to say that the majority of these authors were not motivated by a journalistic intent, nor did they strive to write an in-depth objective history of the War. They simply wanted to write a lively and personally inflected story and to create a souvenir of their travels and experiences.

Harold R. Peat's *Private Peat* (1917) is an excellent example of a vernacular photo-travel book authored by a WWI soldier. Peat was a private in the Third Battalion First Canadian Contingent.²⁰ He wrote a book about his war/travel experience and illustrated it with his own photographs. The frontispiece for the book depicts Peat holding his camera, "even though his right arm is useless" (Fig. 19). In this portrait Peat appears to be as much a tourist as he is a soldier. Although he wears his uniform and his injury reminds us of his military service, Peat's smile, camera, and location aboard a ship is reminiscent of countless other photographs of happy tourists traveling for personal pleasure. The next illustration in Peat's book is a collection of photographs showing various odds and ends meant to remind Peat of his travels/tour of duty (Fig. 20). He significantly captions these images "souvenirs brought back from 'over there.'"

make the connection between tourism and war (specifically WWII) in their pioneering book *Back to the Front: The Tourisms of War* (Publie par F.R.A.C. Basse-Normandie, 1994).

²⁰ Although Peat's book takes us slightly outside of our primary focus upon American authors, it does so with little consequence, as similar books by American soldiers do not diverge radically from his. See Harold R. Peat, *Private Peat* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1917).

Although his use of the word *souvenir* might make one think of the usual, light-hearted kinds of relics one brings back home after traveling, these photographs are of items that are actually rather grim reminders of the war, including a badge of a tunic from a dead comrade, an honorable discharge service button, and Peat's identification tags. The photograph of Mrs. Peat contrasts with the other violent and masculine images on the same page. Her image evokes connotations of home, safety, femininity, domesticity, and perhaps was included here as a reminder of what Peat (and other soldiers) thought they were protecting through their military service. The book also contains many photographs that document Peat's personal experience of the war, including snapshots of his war buddies mugging for his camera (Fig. 21). Other, more serious images show his battalion in the trenches, actually fighting, and one shows a fallen soldier in a war-torn landscape (Figs. 22-23).²¹ Peat's book reminds us that war and tourism are often mutually reinforcing activities—for example, famous battle sites often become tourist attractions and war veterans sometimes go back to visit the foreign countries in which they fought years after their tour of duty to sight see.

Amateur war/travel photographs also appeared in popular magazines in articles that read and look like vernacular photo-travel books.²² Mrs. W.K. Vanderbilt—a nurse with the American Ambulance Corps—authored a particularly interesting example entitled “My Trip to the Front,” which appeared in the December 1916 issue of *Harper's*

²¹ Peat also was involved in making a film of the same name as his book that was directed by Edward José and released by Famous Players-Lasky Corporation in 1918. It is likely that these particular images are stills from that movie. If this is the case, these images raise problematic questions regarding whether Peat's book should be considered history writing, a memoir, or a work of fiction.

²² These magazine articles are slightly outside of this dissertation's main focus on books. However, their content and use of photography differs little from that of vernacular photo-travel books (although, clearly, such articles are shorter than books and contain fewer images). Furthermore, these examples provide a useful (even if brief) opportunity to view and discuss a form of publishing that is directly related to vernacular photo-travel books, since many authors published both books and articles. Harry Franck, for example, authored both magazine articles and a series of vernacular photo-travel books.

Magazine. Her article includes photographs of buildings that have sustained damage from the fighting, an image of German prisoners marching down a road and snapshots of Vanderbilt posing with various Allied soldiers (Fig. 24). It also includes several more personalized images in which the author is seen posing (in a manner much like any other tourist) in front of important monuments (Figs. 25). However, these monuments hold a special meaning in relation to her particular travels and duties. Such is the case with her snapshot captioned “Looking for Mignot’s grave.” Mignot, an orderly with American Ambulance Corps who had been killed during the fighting, may not have been a figure of importance within American culture at large, but, within Vanderbilt’s community, he had become something of a heroic figure, a martyr for the Allied cause. A second photograph of personal significance is the one showing Vanderbilt posed next to the statue of Jeanne d’Arc in front of Reims Cathedral. The statue of Jeanne d’Arc is significant as it underscores Vanderbilt’s own service and sacrifice as a woman involved in war. The images illustrating Vanderbilt’s article show how snapshot photography can be used during one’s travels to comment upon larger historical conflicts, and to signal one’s personal involvement in those conflicts.

Harry A. Franck’s essays in *Harper’s Magazine* entitled “Through Germany on Foot,” written in four installments in 1919, offer his interpretation of the situation in post-war Germany. Franck was a travel writer who served as a Lieutenant in the U. S. Army during WWI. Taken in the afterglow of the Allies’ victory, the photographs that illustrate his article show the lingering effects of the patriotic fervor of the war years, including one which shows German civilians lined up at Coblenz waiting to get American soldiers’ permission to travel (Fig. 26). Other photographs, including the one captioned,

“American doughboys making an excursion down the Rhine,” highlight the idea of leisure and pleasure rather than that of war (Fig. 27). This example and the others discussed above show that vernacular travel writing did not cease during the War, but rather, that it was taken up by a specialized group of travelers (journalists, soldiers, nurses and the like). Travel writing by civilians also persisted during the War, but, as noted previously, much of it was focused on domestic travel and therefore it falls outside of the scope of this study.

After the War, American mass tourism began to grow again, but the Great Depression of the 1930s interrupted it once more. During this time, as in all times of economic hardship, most Americans either did not travel or opted for domestic vacations. If nothing else, this brief historical sketch of American mass tourism illustrates that there was no simple, overnight shift to a democratized travel. The democratization of travel that mass tourism afforded was a process with ebbs and flows, periods of growth and moments of scaling back, depending upon both changes in technologies and access to them, as well as changing social and historical contexts.

PROPOSED CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation is different from most existing histories of travel photography in three key ways. First, it focuses upon amateurs’ production of images (rather than just their consumption of them). Second, following the methods of material culture, it argues for the historical importance of these images on the grounds of their uses rather than their singularity, aesthetic, or monetary value. Finally, this dissertation is a concerted effort to rectify the current and prevalent neglect of close visual analyses of tourist-made images and objects. To understand these differences, one must consider how travel photography

has been dealt with in the past, beginning with debates surrounding the definition of vernacular and the types of images and objects that should be considered “properly” vernacular. It is also necessary to consider photography’s problematic relationship to art history.

There are certain kinds of photographs that always fall within the category of vernacular, and these have been written about extensively. One could cite, for example, snapshot photography.²³ The albums that people created using snapshots and other kinds of photographs have also received much scholarly attention.²⁴ Certain specialized forms of snapshot photography, such as real-photo postcards, also comprise a major area of interest.²⁵ Also worthy of note are those studies that deal with the history of corporations, like Kodak, that played a major role in the rise of amateur snapshot

²³ See, for example, Douglas R. Nickel, *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present* (San Francisco: The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1998); Joel Smith, “Roll Over: The Snapshot’s Museum Afterlife,” *Afterimage* 29 (Sept/Oct 2001): 8-11; Guy Stricherz, *Americans in Kodachrome 1945-1965* (Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2002); Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* (London: Verso, 2002); Christian Skrein, Carl Aigner, Frits Gierstberg and Peter Noever, *Snapshots: the Eye of the Century* (Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2004); and Robert Flynn Johnson and William Boyd, *Anonymous: Enigmatic Images from Unknown Photographers* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004).

²⁴ See Philip Stokes, “The Family Photograph Album: So Great a Cloud of Witnesses,” in Graham Clarke, ed., *The Portrait in Photography* (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1992), 193-205; Marina Warner, “Parlour Made,” in David Brittain, ed., *Creative Camera: Thirty Years of Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 220-225; and Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001).

²⁵ See Hal Morgan and Andreas Brown, *Prairie Fires and Paper Moons: The American Photographic Postcard: 1900-1920* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1981); Rachel Snow, “Postscript to a Postcard,” *Afterimage* 29, no. 6 (2002): 6; Elizabeth Edwards, “Little Theatres of Self: Thinking about the Social,” in *We Are the People: Postcards from the Collection of Tom Phillips* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2004): 26-40; and Rachel Snow, “Correspondence Here: Real-photo Postcards and the Snapshot Aesthetic” in Jordana Mendelson and David Proschaska eds., *Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, in press).

photography.²⁶ Additionally, regional forms and practices are often considered to be vernacular, as are police and medical photographs.²⁷

The diversity of these types of images begins to explain why the term “vernacular” has evoked so much scholarly debate and confusion. Debates about the definition of vernacular photography have tended to center on three key alternative terms: folk art, “outsider art,” and traditional forms of non-Western art. Folk art is often identified with an image or object made (usually hand-crafted) by a single artisan who typically signed his or her work, and whose work as a whole can be identified by that person’s single unified style.²⁸ On the basis of this definition, vernacular photo-travel

²⁶ See Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990) and Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

²⁷ See Jennifer A. Watts, “Picture Taking in Paradise: Los Angeles and the Creation of Regional Identity, 1880-1920,” *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 243-250. For more on evidentiary and police photographs see Ross Gibson, “Where Darkness Loiters,” *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 251-254; and Eugenia Parry, *Crime Album Stories: Paris 1886-1902* (New York: Scalo Publishers, 2000). For more on medical photography see Stanley B. Burns, *Early Medical Photography in America, 1839-1883* (New York: Burns Archive, 1983); and Joel-Peter Witkin, ed., *Harms Way: Lust & Madness, Murder & Mayhem: A Book of Photographs* (Santa Fe, N.M.: Twin Palms Publishers, 1994).

²⁸ This is how Daile Kaplan defines folk art and she argues that vernacular and folk art are two different things. She is not alone in this opinion. See Daile Kaplan, in Geoffrey Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies: Responses to a Questionnaire,” *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 230. Other scholars, including Douglas Nickel, Elizabeth Hutchinson and William Hunt, seem to agree that folk and vernacular are related, but ultimately separate concerns. However, photo-historian Elizabeth Edwards, cautiously suggests that they could be part of the same continuum of visual culture. For these scholars’ thoughts on the distinction between vernacular and folk see Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies,” 230-231. William Hunt argues for the inclusion of “outsider artists.” However, Kaplan believes their inclusion would further confuse the distinction between vernacular photographs and vernacular style. See Hunt in Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies,” 230, and Kaplan in Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies,” 229. For more on “outsider” photography see John Turner and Deborah Klochko, eds., *Create and be Recognized: Photography on the Edge* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2004). Several prominent scholars have argued for the inclusion of non-Western images within vernacular histories and have written compelling books and articles and curated exhibitions that offer valuable insights into vernacular photographs that have been made by and about non-Western peoples and various ethnic minorities in the United States. See Alison Devine Nordström, “Early Photography in Samoa,” *History of Photography* 15, no. 4 (1991): 272-286; Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* including especially Edwards “Introduction,” 3-17, Roslyn Poignant, “Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection,” 42-73, and Christopher Pinney, “The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography,” 74-91 in particular. Also see Alison Devine Nordström, “Some Photographs of Seminoles,” in *Imag(in)ing the Seminole: Photographs and Their Use since 1880*, Southeast Museum of Photography (Daytona Beach, Florida: Daytona Beach Community College Southeast Museum of Photography, 1993), 19-26; Elizabeth Edwards, “Postcards – Greetings from Another World,” in Tom Selwyn, ed., *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism* (London: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1996), 197-221; and

books are not folk art. These books are mass produced objects without any direct connection to their maker's hand. One might see certain stylistic commonalities among different books by one author, but overall it is the genre as a whole that is characterized by a sense of sameness, and this is a far more historically significant fact than any sense of stylistic sameness that can be attributed to a single author. I also do not consider vernacular photo-travel books to be "outsider photography," at least not on the grounds that the people who make such images are typically disenfranchised from society and historically have been excluded from the art world. Although vernacular photographers also produce work outside the sphere of the art world, they are typically not disenfranchised from society; in fact, they usually are well within the mainstream of American society (economically, ideologically, politically, etc.). Finally, this dissertation includes many photographs of non-Western peoples and places that were taken by Westerners. It does not, however, include any discussion of non-Western forms of vernacular photography. The absence of such material is largely owed to constraints imposed by the primary sources themselves, which were almost exclusively made by white Americans who belonged to the middle and upper classes.

There are a number of reasons *why* vernacular production has traditionally been overlooked within the history of art and photography. Its exclusion mainly has to do with who produced vernacular images (mostly untrained and anonymous amateurs), how such photographs were made (with inexpensive automated cameras that the users often sent away for developing), what the photographs pictured (frequently banal and repetitive and/or intensely personal subject matters), and how they looked (often riddled with

amateurish “mistakes”). Most scholars agree upon at least two points: that it is important to write more social histories of photography and that vernacular photographs are different from most that are deemed to be art. Douglas Nickel suggests that vernacular is “a kind of non-category” that was created in contrast to early histories of photography, like Beaumont Newhall’s, that stress the artistic qualities of photographs (rather than their social uses and significances).²⁹ William Hunt makes a similar point by stating: “A vernacular photograph is any made without any art historical considerations.”³⁰ By this he means to stress that vernacular photographs are defined by their uses and not their aesthetic appearance. Elizabeth Edwards and Elizabeth Hutchinson place a similar emphasis on social significance over formal concerns, by urging scholars to move away from, as the latter phrases it, “what photographs look like to how they are used.”³¹

In *Each Wild Idea* (2001) Geoffrey Batchen points out, most histories written from the mid-twentieth century on, including influential survey texts such as Beaumont Newhall’s *The History of Photography* (1949, 1964 and 1982), tend to focus exclusively on those types of photography that “complement a formalist art-historical narrative.”³² Batchen also identifies John Szarkowski’s work as problematic for the way in which he uses vernacular photography as a means to confirm the aesthetic superiority of “art” photography.³³ These specific examples go to support the main point of Batchen’s essay,

²⁹ Nickel in Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies,” 229.

³⁰ Hunt in Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies,” 230.

³¹ Hutchinson in Batchen, ed., “Vernacular Photographies,” 230.

³² Batchen, *Each Wild Idea*, 57, also see 200-203. For other useful historiographies see also Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 6-10; and Ulrich F. Keller, “The Myth of Art Photography: A Sociological Analysis,” *History of Photography* 8, no. 4 (October-December 1984): 249-273.

³³ *Ibid.* note 2, 200. Another example of this can be seen in both Beaumont Newhall’s *The History of Photography* (1982) and Naomi Rosenblum’s *A World History of Photography* (1984). They both acknowledge that many nineteenth-century travel photographers were primarily motivated by profit from the sale of prints and stereographs on the mass market. However, they are unable to break entirely free

which is that it is not enough to simply include vernacular photography within existing histories of photography. Rather, he argues that *a new kind* of history must be written.³⁴

This new history, he argues, should emulate the formal and social characteristics of the objects being talked about.³⁵

from the art-historical mode of judging the worth of an image on the grounds of its aesthetic or formal rigor, the maker's intentions, and his or her technical skill. In this respect, their histories maintain a strict division between those photographs they consider to be "art" and those that they judge to be "documentary" (the term they use for vernacular photography). In Rosenblum's history, most travel photographs appear in Chapter Three under the heading "Documentation: Landscape and Architecture 1839-1890." This is her way of signaling that she considers these photographs to be commercial, scientific, and artistic. The term documentary brings to mind truthful representations of people, places, and things without overt or radical manipulation by the artist. The term landscape usually brings to mind an artistic, creative rendering of a natural scene. We would expect to encounter landscapes in a museum, but documentary images often circulate in cultural spaces outside the museum, for example, in the realm of journalism. This in itself is not an undesirable distinction; which is to say, at least it recognizes that there is a difference in the way these types of images were used. However, because the majority of their texts are dedicated to characterizing other types of photographs as having a special significance and value as art, the vernacular images that are shown and discussed function as art's marginalized and binary "other." This is but one example of the type of confusions, problems and questions that vernacular travel photography presents to the traditional categories and assumptions made by art historians and the values that underwrite them. The art establishment's tendency to label retrospectively a variety of nineteenth-century documentary photographs as "high art," has been questioned by Rosalind Krauss. See Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 131-150.

³⁴ In more recent years, several texts that survey the history of photography have started to account for various types of vernacular production. These histories include discussions and reproductions of photographs made by amateurs. Methodologically they stress social and historical interpretations over formal ones. This has allowed such histories to escape the problem of retrospectively labeling amateur or vernacular photography as art, and instead to interpret vernacular practices on their own terms. Despite these advances, such histories stop far short from the kind of history Batchen is calling for here as they do not significantly add to or question the historiography of the history of photography. For example, they do not offer any sustained or detailed discussion of vernacular photography's past exclusion and the biases and assumptions that have justified it. Therefore their contribution to the scholarship on vernacular photography literature and efforts to transform traditional art historical narratives is ultimately limited. See Michel Frizot, ed., *A New History of Photography* (Köln: Könemann, 1994), 149-173; Liz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1997), 105-150; and Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 2002), 50-59.

³⁵ *Each Wild Idea*, 59, 76-79. One of the alternative possibilities that Batchen mentions includes material culture. He also suggests creating a typology of vernacular photographs organized around the way people deal with their photographs, or tracing common themes or social functions. Writing more autobiographically-oriented histories is another possible avenue suggested by Batchen for creating a history that mimics the vernacular objects it studies. Michel Foucault's archaeology of knowledge is mentioned as one possible model because it stresses ways of knowing rather than knowledge itself and because it allows room for marginalized voices. All of these approaches, Batchen argues, might be used to write non-linear histories that are not driven by the ideology of cause and effect, and as such, might circumvent the assumptions of most traditional histories and challenge the value system of canonization they often support. Finally, these approaches are valuable and new because they create an understanding of vernacular photographs as objects that are as relevant to the present as they are to the past.

These basic ideas were expanded upon and further explored in a talk Geoffrey Batchen gave at the 2005 College Art Association Conference entitled “Politics in/as Visual Culture.” He argued that: “Photography’s refusal to stay put makes it a problematic medium to study in an art history program: it is by its very nature an interdisciplinary beast and never simply an ‘art.’”³⁶ He goes on to specifically state why it is so difficult to study the history of photography within art history:

Art historians tend to be concerned with exceptional pictures and with who did what first. There are exceptions of course, but in general art history celebrates singular achievements and their moment of origin, so that even objects having multiple manifestations and meanings are treated as unique and individual events.³⁷

Batchen notes just a few of the many ways in which vernacular photographs do not fit neatly within traditional art historical concerns. Therefore, Batchen calls for:

a transformation of the way the history of photography is represented such that this history can, for the first time, engage with photographic practice in all of its many aspects and manifestations. Visual Culture, despite my problems with the term itself, is a name one might give to that challenge.³⁸

He adds that Visual Culture “ shifts the analytical emphasis from the producers of photographs to their owners, offering the possibility of a history of the reception of

³⁶ Geoffrey Batchen, “Politics in/as Visual Culture,” talk given at College Art Association, February 18, 2005. Batchen and Nordström have questioned why and how vernacular photography has been excluded, neglected and ignored within art historical studies of photography. They have done this not only through their texts but also through numerous groundbreaking exhibits. See Batchen’s *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004). *Forget Me Not* was also an exhibit shown in Amsterdam at the Van Gogh Museum from March 26, 2004 to June 6, 2004 and in New York at the International Center for Photography from June 17, 2005 until September 4, 2005 (it was also shown in Iceland and the UK). Also see Geoffrey Batchen, *Photography’s Objects* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Art Museum, 1997). Alison Nordström has curated and co-curated many exhibits of vernacular photography. See Nordström, “Some Photographs of Seminoles,” 19-26 and Nordström, “Family Photographs and Museums/The Dilemma of Display,” 26-28. Her doctoral dissertation was accompanied by an exhibit at the Southeast Museum of Photography from October 24, 2000-February 21, 2001. See Nordström, “Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Travel in the Gilded Age,” Southeast Museum of Photography, Daytona Beach, FL, 2001.

³⁷ Batchen, “Politics in/as Visual Culture,” talk given at College Art Association, February 18, 2005.

³⁸ Ibid.

photographs, and of photographic practices rather than of individual photographers.”³⁹ Although the types of media and subjects that are covered within Visual Culture are too diverse to discuss here, it is worth noting that the Internet, digital technologies, and performances often figure prominently as do feminist and post-colonial topics. The activities within and potential of this new discipline are briefly mentioned here because the methodological approaches taken within these areas of study often place a shared emphasis on the use rather than aesthetic value of images and because they are often personally inflected histories.⁴⁰ Irit Rogoff has been the most influential in this regard, specifically, in her call for “self-reflexive discourses” and her assertion that it is important to question how bodies of thought produce “their subjects in the service of particular politics or ideology and populate it with a select set of images.”⁴¹ I will do this in this dissertation by critiquing the ideological flaws and shortcomings of art history that have resulted in the exclusion of vernacular photography, or its often problematic use, to prove the superiority of art photography.

In the history of travel photography in particular, the types of biases and values that often are a part of the historical canon (such as an emphasis on individual authorship and the singularity/originality of the work of art) can be seen in books that focus exclusively on the history of travel photography (even though these same texts have proven useful in gathering historical information about specific photographers and

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Scholar Nicholas Mirzoeff outlines the basic aims of this area of study. See Nicholas Mirzoeff, “What is Visual Culture?” in *The Visual Culture Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 11. The responses of numerous scholars to a visual culture questionnaire sent out by the journal *October* (1996) offer a quick overview of the question of whether or not visual studies should be a part of, entirely separate from, or a different, but related, area of study to traditional art history. “Visual Culture Questionnaire,” *October* 77 (Summer 1996): 25-70. Also see Keith Moxey, “Nostalgia for the Real: the Troubled Relation of Art History to Visual Studies,” in *The Practice of Persuasion: Paradox and Power in Art History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 121-122.

⁴¹ Irit Rogoff, “Studying Visual Culture,” in Mirzoeff, ed., *The Visual Culture Reader*, 21.

photographs).⁴² Monographic studies of travel photographers sometimes offer useful information about a photographer's social and historical context, but they also tend to situate vernacular production into the art historical canon and over-emphasize formal interpretations.⁴³ Indeed, the premise of monographic studies requires focusing exclusively on one, named author. Such approaches can easily misrepresent the historical reality of early travel photography as a whole, most of which was produced anonymously by either commercial photographers or tourists.

Vernacular photography's difference from art is established and described in this dissertation in terms of use, but *not* in terms of long-standing presumptions about art photography's inherent value (for example, presumptions of its aesthetic superiority). In other words, this suggestion of difference should not automatically result, as it often has, in a hierarchical ordering in which art is posited as the ideal. Although art history has long stressed the importance of thoroughly examining the social and historical contexts of images, this dissertation turns to other and newer fields and areas of inquiry for methodological models that might provide a fresh and perhaps different perspective on how to study images and objects that are not often categorized as art.

Specifically, this history employs the theories and methods of material culture.

Scholars of material culture argue that the design and use of objects in any given culture

⁴² Examples of these books include: Clark Worswick, *The Last Empire: Photographs of British India: 1855-1914* (New York: Aperture Inc., 1976); Julia Van Haften and Jon E. Manchip White, *Egypt and the Holy Land in Historic Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980); Hans Christian Adams and Johannes Fabian, *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (New York and Paris: Vendome Press, 1983); Engin Cizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1919* (Beyoglu-Istanbul: Haset Kitabevi A. S., 1987); Nissan M. Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839-1919* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988); and Gilberto Ferrez, *Photography in Brazil, 1840-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

⁴³ See Arthur Ollman, *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* (Carmel, California: Friends of Photography, 1983); Lynn Ann Davis, *A Photographer in the Kingdom: Christian J. Hedemann's Early Images of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Special Publication #85, 1988); and David Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty: Felice Beato's Photographs of China* (Santa Barbara, California: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1999).

says something about that culture's values and social structures.⁴⁴ Anthropologist Daniel Miller explains in "Artefacts and the Meaning of Things" (1994) that material culture stresses the importance of studying objects and images in relation to their unique cultural context and social history.⁴⁵ This is a point argued by most scholars who investigate material culture, including Christopher Musello, who asserts that material culture should not isolate objects, but rather, "focus on groups and settings...and attempt to understand the conventionalized expressive use that emerges for elements of material culture in these settings."⁴⁶ These, he suggests, are in a continual process of change. As such, material culture places a great deal of emphasis on the cultural constructions of meaning and value and how any given image or object is used. According to the theories of material culture, art is only art because it is entered into a system of use and signification that designates it as such and not because it is beautiful or has aesthetic qualities.

Edwards and Harts's *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (2004) is a compilation of essays by scholars who favor studying photographs as objects of material culture.⁴⁷ In relation to other histories of photography, this methodological approach is unique for its stress on the physicality of the photographic image. The essays within this book stress the materiality and tactility of vernacular

⁴⁴ This is how Jules David Prown defines material culture. See Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America 1600-1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 18. Anthropologist Daniel Miller correctly argues that people within any given culture have *different* relationships to and experiences with the material objects in their culture. For example, one's understanding of and access to any given object depends upon his or her position in relation to that culture's dominant groups and power structures. See Daniel Miller, "Artefacts and the Meaning of Things," in Tim Ingold, ed., *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994): 404. Also see Christopher Musello, "Objects in Process: Material Culture and Communication," *Southern Folklore* 49 (1992): 39-40.

⁴⁵ See Edwards and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 1-15.

⁴⁶ Musello, "Objects in Process," 56.

⁴⁷ See Alison Nordström, "Making a journey: the Tupper scrapbooks and the travel they describe" in Edwards and Hart, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories*, 81-95. Geoffrey Batchen also contributes to the book with his essay, "Ere the substance fade: photography and hair jewelry," see *Photographs Objects Histories*, 32-46.

photographs as three-dimensional objects whose physicality and relationship to the viewer's body and memory comprise an essential part of their use and meaning.⁴⁸

Although similar thoughts and interpretations have been circulating in the field for some time, the essays in this text mark a new clarity and stress upon the notion that *all*

photographs are material objects, although they have not been often treated as such;

photographs are often "looked through and not at."⁴⁹ Indeed their books might be

considered a new approach to the old problem of attacking the transparency of the

photographic medium and therefore its current and historical association with truth.

Edwards and Hart argue that one must look at the physical attributes of the photograph

and ask how these influence the content.⁵⁰ The most appealing aspect of material

culture's approach for historians of vernacular photography is that it stresses photographs

as socially constructed objects but it also necessitates direct and sustained analyses of

material objects and images.⁵¹

This dissertation advances from the position that formal analysis and close looking are important parts of any history of images. Proper close analysis, for example,

can call attention to the materiality of the image or object and to the process by which it

was made. Consequently, it encourages a more critical reading of any visual product.

Furthermore, such analysis requires interpreters of images to slow down and look more

closely. I believe that such analysis must at last be separated from its old and elitist

associations with formalism, beauty and aesthetics. This dissertation attempts, among

⁴⁸ I have written about photographic materiality and its connection to memory in relation to real-photo postcards. See Snow, "Postscript to a Postcard," *Afterimage*; and Snow "Correspondence Here: Real-photo Postcards and the Snapshot Aesthetic" in *Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*. Also see Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," in Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsely eds., *Material Memories* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 221-236.

⁴⁹ Batchen, *Each Wild Idea*, 60.

⁵⁰ Edwards and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 2.

⁵¹ See Musello, "Objects in Process: Material Culture and Communication," 37-38, 56.

many other things, to demonstrate that a close analysis is one of many necessary steps in writing a thorough, personally inflected and more accurate history.

One of the most valuable contributions of this study, and a large part of its uniqueness, is that it never strays too far from the primary source documents, that is amateur photographs taken by amateurs.⁵² These books are testaments produced by a new kind of tourist, figures who are significant within American history because they signal the growing influence of the middle class. The mere existence of vernacular photo-travel books at this time is evidence of important shifts in class structure. The middle-class authors who produced these books were able to travel, write, photograph, and publish. These activities will be interpreted in this dissertation in terms of increased access to self-representation. However, it will be shown that only a few actually used this unparalleled opportunity to its fullest political, social, and creative potential, but these exceptions are still historically significant.

⁵² Ibid. 31. Geoffrey Batchen's book *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* provides a model of how a careful and detailed visual analysis of photographic objects can deepen our understanding of them. More specifically, *Forget Me Not* shows how one could go about writing a history of photography that more accurately reflects the diverse identities and uses of the medium and that mimics and is informed by the ways in which these photo-objects were made and used. So, for example, when Batchen discusses the meticulously detailed nature of Indian painted photographs, he argues that the slowness that was required to make such an image mirrors the speed with which we now view them, thus preserving and lengthening the memories of those doing the looking. He also explores how the element of touch is involved in the experience of pillows that were made with fabric that had cyanotype images printed onto them. For him, this tactile experience can be read as a self-reflexive commentary on the indexical nature of photographic images. Here, he refers to the way that photographs are always visual imprints, that is, the way that photographs are composed of a light sensitive substance "touched by the world of light." Alison Nordström's dissertation on nineteenth-century travel albums, "Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age" (2001), is exceptional not only for tackling an understudied body of primary sources, but also for its carefully thought-out methodologies and its formal analysis of specific travel albums, amateur photographers and vernacular photographs. The albums she discusses were composed of commercial mass-produced photographs gathered by middle and upper-class American tourists and were never published; thus, her object of study is fundamentally different than mine, as is its historical scope. Her study ends at 1913 and therefore does not deal extensively with the commodification of photography by companies such as Kodak or the implications of mass reproduction of tourist images. Nevertheless, her study has provided a model of how a dissertation such as mine could be written using the methods of close looking and social/historical contextualization. See Nordström, "Voyages (per)Formed (2001).

I am placing such emphasis on close visual analysis because this is something that is not only lacking from most art historical studies but it is also disappointingly absent with the scholarship in visual studies, post-colonial and feminist studies, and various fields within the social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology. These studies have offered much in terms of outlining the historical development and motivations driving mass tourism, as well as deepening our theoretical understanding of mass tourism. But they do not say much about how and why specific tourist-made photographs are important. Their lack of close visual analysis is all the more puzzling given these theoreticians insistence on the importance of the visual nature of tourism and photography's role in it. John Urry's book, *The Tourist Gaze* (2002), for example, has offered perhaps the most complex and in-depth analysis of the role of vision in mass tourism, the centerpiece of which is "the tourist gaze." Urry argues that mass tourism began in the 1840s when "the tourist gaze" became a core component of Western modernity. During this time there was a coming together of several key elements, including increasingly accessible forms of travel and the mass reproduction of photographic images.⁵³ Yet, his book does not include a single image made by a mass tourist.⁵⁴ Similarly, his 1997 essay "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," co-authored with Carol Crawshaw, includes only four images in reference to tourist promotional literature, but again, no images made by mass tourists themselves.⁵⁵ Similarly, even though Dean MacCannell also says much about the role images play in perpetuating and

⁵³ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE Publications, 2002), 148.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 8, 110, 121. The few photographs that are included either comment upon mass tourism—for example, a photograph of tourists photographing and videotaping a performance in Bali—or simply illustrate various tourist destinations, like the Lowry arts complex in Salford Quays, UK, or the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC.

⁵⁵ Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," in Chris Rojek and John Urry, eds., *Touring Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1997), 176-195.

marking the sites of mass tourism, there are no images, photographic or otherwise, in his book *The Tourist* (1976).⁵⁶ More often than not, reproductions of travel photographs are simply tacked on to theoretical treatises that either do not discuss the images at all or discuss them exclusively in relation to their subject matter. Richard Chalfen's article "Photography's Role in Tourism: Some Unexplored Relationships" (1979) considers photographs taken by tourists and those that are produced for them by members of the host community. Specifically, he addresses three topics: the relationship between tourist types and photographic behavior as well as the content of their photographs; how ideas about what is and is not appropriate subject matter for photographs vary in different places and from culture to culture; and how people within different cultures react to being photographed.⁵⁷ Chalfen's analysis highlights important themes in urgent need of further study. However, the evidence and examples he provides come in the form of quotes describing different tourists' and hosts' experiences and not, oddly enough, in photographs. In short, as these examples prove, there is a desperate need for scholars who have been trained to perform rigorous formal analysis of images to contribute their unique skills to tourism studies.

A different but somewhat related problem throughout most scholarship on mass tourism is the tendency to focus on the masses' consumption of photographic images rather than on their production. Beaumont Newhall and Naomi Rosenblum both discuss the popularity of nineteenth-century studio portraiture and its practitioners in their history

⁵⁶ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) first edition 1976.

⁵⁷ Richard Chalfen, "Photography's Role in Tourism: Some Unexplored Relationships," *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, no. 4 (October/December 1979): 435-447. Also see Erik Cohen, Yeshayahu Nir and Uri Almagor, "Stranger-local Interaction in Photography," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 213-233.

of photography survey texts. However, they say comparatively little about snapshot portraits that unskilled amateurs took of themselves, their families, and friends. The same problem exists in relation to their commentary on travel photography. Even more problematic, any significant and sustained discussion of travel photography in their surveys dwindles and all but disappears around 1900, precisely at the moment when tourists started taking their own travel photographs. As they offer no explanation or justification of why they selected this stopping point, it seems within reason to conclude that this sudden and mysterious disappearance of travel photography from their histories can be attributed to these author's assumptions and biases about which types of travel images are valuable and significant. Apparently tourists' own travel snapshots do not meet either of their criteria. This is problematic, of course, because their texts claim to write the history of photography (and not just the history of art photography). Newhall and Rosenblum's histories, despite their brief detours into vernacular production, ultimately never stray too far from the model of traditional art history.

Even though photo-historian Peter Osborne and art historian Lucy Lippard have both written books examining how travel photographs relate to their social and historical context, neither focuses on the production of amateur photographers. Osborne discusses nineteenth-century travel photographers whose work has been appropriated by the art historical canon. He also discusses the relevance of early travel photography to contemporary practices and images. Lucy Lippard's book also deals only with art photographers. Thus, both authors refer to postmodern art photographers' appropriation of and dialogue with vernacular travel photography and mass tourism but neither deal

with the production of amateur snapshots.⁵⁸ One of my main motivations for writing this dissertation was to foreground the images made by amateurs, and hopefully in doing so, facilitate these authors' own attempts, from so long ago, to enter their photographic images into the public domain, where they might be seen, discussed and enjoyed.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The main body of this dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter One compares and contrasts different types of travel books and albums and relates them to vernacular photo-travel books. A close analysis of primary sources will reveal how authors of vernacular photo-travel books followed the pre-determined routes and standardized itineraries of mass tourism, while at the same time made concerted efforts to individualize the photographic documents they created. Chapter One concludes by questioning the degree to which mass tourists were successful in their attempts to use photography as a tool of individualization.

Chapter Two considers how snapshot photography and tourism were linked and sold to a growing body of class-conscious consumers in the United States during the first part of the twentieth-century. This chapter discusses how companies, such as Kodak, encouraged middle-class consumers to travel through advertisements and other publicity material that linked photography and travel to wealth and upward-mobility. Vernacular

⁵⁸ See Peter Osborne, *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) and Lucy Lippard, *On the Beaten Track: Tourism, Art and Place* (New York: The New Press, 1999). Osborne and Lippard obviously intended to discuss art photography that has been influenced by vernacular photography. However, for less experienced observers, the difference may not be so clear. In her contribution to "Vernacular Photographies: Responses to a Questionnaire" (2000), Daile Kaplan proposes a very useful distinction for understanding the difference between vernacular photography and vernacular *style*. Kaplan demonstrates that many trained art photographers deliberately adopted a vernacular aesthetic. Using the example of Walker Evans, she argues that many art photographs possess a vernacular style, but they are not vernacular because he intended them as art and because they were shown publicly in art books and institutions. Kaplan's distinction is important here as many authors of vernacular photo-travel books were professional travel writers and very experienced photographers (although not art photographers) who mimicked a snapshot aesthetic in order to sell their books. Kaplan in Batchen ed., "Vernacular Photographies," 229.

photo-travel books will be seen as a paradoxical mix of conspicuous consumption (self-interested display of upward mobility) and democratic impulses (providing specific instructions and encouragement to other middle-class travelers). This chapter delves more fully into one of the most problematic aspects of this subject—the often-ambiguous status of the authors of vernacular photo-travel books as either “amateurs” or “professionals.”⁵⁹ The books in the first half of this chapter are by amateurs Edmund Gress and W. H. Crowell, men who were infrequent travelers and only authored one travel book and had other means of financial support outside of travel writing. The amateur status of these authors proves to be an important distinguishing feature of one part of the genre as it contributes to the distinctly conversational tone of their texts and the often less technically proficient look of their photographs. Their books are separated from and compared with the work of two well-known professional travel writers/photographers, Burton Holmes and Frank Carpenter. Specifically, I will argue that these professionals mimicked a snapshot aesthetic in order to make their books more marketable (despite their professional status, greater experience with photography and travel, and higher skill level). I will then discuss how their use of photography perpetuated the tourist cycle. This discussion will introduce the question of authenticity in mass tourism, a discussion that will be carried over into the following chapter. I will close Chapter Two by introducing three more professional travel photographers—Harry

⁵⁹ The term “amateur” has a complex and shifting meaning within the history of photography. Grace Seiberling has addressed the complexities of this term in relation to an international group of art photographers known as the Pictorialists working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who wished to separate themselves from the growing population of untrained hobbyists and snapshotters as well as from commercial photographers. Given such confusion, it is important to stress that the term amateur, as used in this dissertation, does not refer to Pictorialists (or any other kind of art photographer). See Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Franck, William Seabrook, and R. St. Barbe Baker's—and discussing those aspects of their work that relates to issues of consumption.

Chapter Three examines vernacular photo-travel books by travel writers William Seabrook and Harry Franck. Even though they are professional travel writers, their work has been separated from that of Holmes and Carpenter because it is not about the well-trodden paths of mass tourism and the cycle of consumption it entails. Rather, their work follows models of exotic/scientific adventures that, unlike Homes and Carpenter's form of travel, were hard for the average mass tourist to reproduce. Their work will be placed in the context of American and European colonialism and examined as one of several forms of popular ethnography from the same time.

Chapter Four discusses vernacular photo-travel books by women to see if and how gender differences effect the genre. Although concerned about the risk of essentializing these authors and texts by singling them out for separate study based on the construct of gender, I eventually came to the conclusion that this is a useful and valid exercise that will shed light, not only upon vernacular photo-travel books by women, but also upon the uniqueness of those books written by men that I discuss in earlier chapters.

The conclusion summarizes the salient points and suggests directions for future research on this topic.

CHAPTER ONE: TRAVEL BOOKS AND ALBUMS

This chapter compares and contrasts vernacular photo-travel books with other types of travel books and albums, which I have divided into five categories for ease of comparison. These include: nineteenth century travel literature illustrated by lithographs and engravings, photographically-illustrated travel books that were published on a small scale between 1840 and 1880, published photographic souvenir books, unpublished private travel albums with commercial albumen prints compiled by tourists, and private travel albums with photographs taken by tourists themselves. Some of these were made and used during the same time period as vernacular photo-travel books, while the use of others preceded them. The purpose of this comparison is to place vernacular photo-travel books in a historical context and understand how they were influenced by, or diverged from, earlier practices. More specifically, I will demonstrate how the repetition of various narrative and formal tropes in nineteenth-century commercial travel photography contributed to an overwhelming sameness among travel albums of this time. I will then demonstrate how the snapshotting masses of the early-twentieth century adopted many of these same tropes. However, I will also show how they *adapted* and sometimes entirely circumvented them in order to personalize their travel photographs and narratives. Overall, the introduction of snapshot photography led to a greater degree of individualization in tourist albums and vernacular photo-travel books. This individualization often was mirrored by tourists' increasingly lengthy and personal textual narrations. Kodak abetted this shift, encouraging their customers to create travel albums. This chapter concludes by investigating how Kodak's advice to amateurs may

have resulted in travel albums and journals that were visually and textually similar to vernacular photo-travel books.

TRAVEL BOOKS ILLUSTRATED BY LITHOGRAPHS AND ENGRAVINGS

Travel book illustration of the nineteenth century was greatly influenced by theories of the picturesque and sublime, two related, but slightly distinct, components of Romanticism. Theories of the picturesque were first articulated in the last third of the eighteenth century.¹ Benjamin Thomas Pouncy's (d. 1799) 1794 engraving of a landscape is an ideal example of the picturesque because it includes few or no overtly straight lines, a variety of rough textures and an overall quality of ruggedness (Fig. 28). In this landscape, nature is shown as abundant and all encompassing but not hostile or overwhelming. The latter are qualities and feelings inspired by sublime landscapes. Picturesque landscapes are intended to create feelings of contentment and safety. This effect is achieved in part by the fact that picturesque landscapes are usually unpopulated and composed in a way that creates a sense of privacy, or the feeling that a bit of nature has been isolated and framed for the viewer's individual enjoyment. In the specific case of picturesque images made by or intended for travelers this sense of privacy was usually

¹ William Gilpin (1813-1894) was the first to outline a coherent definition of the picturesque in his *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is Added a Poem, On Landscape Painting* (1792). Shortly after Gilpin published his text, Uvedale Price (1747-1829) published *An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (1796). Price agreed with Gilpin's views and further defined the picturesque in relation to Edmund Burke's (1729-1797) notions of the sublime and beautiful. Price's friend and neighbor Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) agreed with both Gilpin and Price (although the two later had a falling out) and offered his own unique contribution to the philosophy of the picturesque in his text *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1806). Knight argued the picturesque was inherently different from the sublime, as the former has nothing to do with the sensation of fear. He also suggested that beauty is perceived by the eye as a limited series of chaotic impressions, which the mind attempts to organize. John Ruskin (1819-1900) also made significant contributions to these debates about the picturesque in his books *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), the fourth volume of *Modern Painters* (1856) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851-3). Like the others he emphasizes irregularity, variety and ruggedness in the natural landscape and adds to the discussion the important picturesque qualities of architectural ruins that have 'endured time nobly.'

a fiction, an idealized illusion, meant to erase any signs of other travelers. Many tourists do not want to just look at the things and places they encounter during their travels, they want to *privatize* their looking. This includes travelers who simply want to relate the things they see to their own experience, and those who want to relate to the things they see by owning them. Of course in the literal sense this is rarely possible and/or practical. Enter photography—a means to privatize and privately consume image-substitutes of whatever (or whomever) the tourist desires.

When the picturesque aesthetic was most influential, many travelers who wanted individualized images used various viewing/drawing devices, including the camera lucida and camera obscura, which privilege a singular, private point of view.² Some scholars, including Jonathan Crary, Geoffrey Batchen, and Peter Osborne, have argued that modern photographic technology evolved from these earlier devices and inherited their emphasis upon individualism.³ Thus, the picturesque is not just an aesthetic style or type

² The camera lucida was invented in 1806 and used by draftsman to create drawings. It consists of a prismatic viewing device atop a vertical rod with a clamp at the bottom that was secured to a drafting pad. The prism's vertical side was pointed towards the desired scene and the draftsman looked down and through the prism with one eye to the paper below where the view could be seen and traced. Although used by many travelers, most found the camera lucida too slow and imprecise. Indeed, William Henry Fox Talbot's own experimentation with photography was motivated in part by his frustration with trying to trace an image of Lake Como in Italy using the camera lucida. The camera obscura is also a drawing tool. The principles upon which it operates have been known since the ninth century and are fairly simple: when light rays from a bright object enter a small hole in a dark room they produce an inverted image of whatever is in front of the hole on the opposite wall of the room. The first portable camera obscura dates back to the seventeenth century. These slightly more sophisticated devices are oblong boxes fitted at one end with a lens that is used to focus the image. A mirror placed inside the box at the other end corrects the reverses the image and projects it up onto a ground glass screen at the top of the box where it can be traced by the artist. See Gordon Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1991) 17-18. Also see Geoffrey Batchen, "Detours: Photography and the Camera Lucida," *Afterimage* 18, no. 2 (September 1990): 14-15.

³ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 26-7, 38-9; Geoffrey Batchen *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 78-90; Peter Osborne, *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 2-13. Other scholars have made similar arguments see: Carol Crawshaw and Jonathan Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," in Chris Rojek and John Urry eds, *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), 177-195, and Terence Wright, "Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention," in Elizabeth

of subject matter. It is also a manifestation of a particular ideology that places value on private ownership and individualism.

The sublime is defined by historian Peter Osborne in *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (2000), in relation to both Edmund Burke (1729-1797) and Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804). The former outlined his philosophy of the beautiful and the sublime in *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1751) and the latter in *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764). As Osborne explains:

The sublime experience was a radically intensified state of mind and emotion brought about by certain objects and events located beyond the borders of the familiar. Stood before them, the perceiver's psyche would be stretched beyond its habitual bounds by a sense of awe and a feeling of estrangement. 'Terror' was the emotion identified by both Kant and Edmund Burke as the sublime's key sentiment. The sublime, with its experiences of self-displacement, extreme fear or pleasure which shock the individual out of his or her familiar selfhood, might, it was thought, be capable of bringing about self-knowledge and enhancement, even self-transformation.⁴

The sublime plays a key role in nineteenth-century travel book illustration. The lithographs illustrating Rev. J.E. Chambliss' *The Lives and Travels of Livingstone and Stanley* (1881) are representative of the sublime exoticism and drama found in many romantic travel narratives. Typical images include a mysterious torch-lit war dance seen through leafy jungle vegetation, a perilous lion hunt, and a ritualistic dance by two half-naked female warriors who triumphantly display the bloody severed heads of their

Edwards ed., *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 18-31.

⁴ Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 29. Others have discussed the role of the sublime in travel; see Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Westport, CT.: Praeger, 2002), 8.

victims on the ends of their spears (Figs. 29, 30, 31).⁵ True to the sublime tradition, these illustrations are designed to terrify the viewer/reader and to titillate with the exotic otherness of the African people and landscape. The sublimity so palpable in these illustrations (and many others like them) is problematic because, as Peter Osborne points out, it leads to representing ‘others’ as “eternally strange and impenetrable” and ultimately unknowable.⁶

During the late-nineteenth century most travel writers turned away from the subjective and emotive recording of fleeting impressions typical of Romanticism’s articulations of the picturesque and the sublime. Instead they engaged in other-directed reporting and emphasized events in the here and now.⁷ Where romantics often overtly announced their presence as narrator, making themselves the hero of their own travel stories, these later authors minimized their authorial presence and strove for objectivity. They also portrayed themselves as everyday, ordinary people writing to an audience of peers in a vernacular or plain style.⁸

As a whole, vernacular photo-travel books are more informational than sublime. Authors frequently tell readers about their adventures finding the best deal on a hotel or offer their comparatively bland observations about ways of every day life in other places but they rarely weave dramatic, heart-pounding stories out of their travel experiences. The belief that the camera is a truth-telling device played a part in encouraging vernacular photo-travel book authors to avoid the often-overt exaggeration found in

⁵ Rev. J.E. Chambliss, *The Lives and Travels of Livingstone and Stanley* (Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske & Company, 1881), 83, 42, 27.

⁶ Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 30.

⁷ James J. Schramer and Donald Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Travel Writers 1776-1864*, vol. 183 (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1998), xvi

⁸ James J. Schramer and Donald Ross, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: American Travel Writers 1850-1915*, vol. 189 (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1998), xxi.

Romantic travel writing. This shift can be observed in the rather straightforward photographs typically found in vernacular photo-travel books. A representative example is a snapshot from B.J. Palmer's *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer (1926)* that shows the author posed next to a holy man in India (Fig. 32). The overall style of this image might be likened to that employed in documentary photography. There is no exaggeration of the subject matter in this image, nor is there overt compositional manipulation of the photograph itself. The men are framed centrally and seen in a full body shot that includes a small portion of the man's usual environment, say, as opposed to an elaborately constructed and fictional studio tableaux. This compositional approach signals that Palmer believes photography is a neutral recording device. This belief is stated explicitly in the caption where Palmer suggests that his photograph will dispel misconceptions that people have about holy men. The caption also exposes Palmer's belief that there is such a monolithic and unchanging person as a 'true' and 'authentic' holy man. This sweeping generalization is as problematic as the idea that photography is a neutral recording device that captures truth. Nevertheless, Palmer clearly believes that such essences exist, that he has 'discovered' 'the real holy man' in this individual, and that his photograph will reveal the 'truth' to his readers back home.

With this said, however, some of the photographs in vernacular photo-travel books still show lingering influences from the sublime and picturesque styles. For example, both can be seen in Frank Carpenter's photograph of a secluded waterfall (Fig. 33). The influence of the sublime can be seen in the vertiginous drop of the falls and the brute force of the water hitting the rocks. The picturesque is evidenced by the curvilinear compositional lines of the landscape, the rugged textures of the rocks and vegetation, and

the solitary figure that, like the viewer of the photograph, enjoys the privacy of this secluded view. In vernacular photo-travel books, the picturesque tradition is somewhat apparent in the subject matter tourists chose to photograph and the composition of their images, but it is most directly apparent in their ways of thinking that can be discerned from both the images and the text, which often reflect their desire for a privatized experience, despite having to share 'their' time and space with an ever-increasing number of other tourists.

TRAVEL BOOKS WITH LITHOGRAPHS AND ENGRAVINGS BASED ON PHOTOGRAPHS

The invention of photography was announced to the public in 1839, but it took some time before photographs could be used to illustrate books. Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre's (1787-1851) photographic process, the daguerreotype (1840), was unsuitable for publication as each photograph was a unique (positive) image. William Henry Fox Talbot's (1800-1877) second process, the calotype (1839), offered more promise than the daguerreotype as a mode of book illustration as multiple paper prints could be made from a single negative. Yet, calotypes presented their own difficulties as they often faded over time and each print had to be pasted (or tipped) into the book by hand, making photographic book illustration a labor intensive and expensive handicraft process. In 1848 Fredrick Scott Archer (1813-1857) invented the wet-collodion process, which quickly supplanted both the daguerreotype and calotype. These images were not only mass reproducible, they were also sharp in detail and required brief exposure times. Although employed by many travel photographers, the wet-collodion process proved difficult, as it required transporting heavy and cumbersome mobile dark rooms and fragile glass plates.

In the 1850s and '60s numerous photographic printing establishments were founded.⁹ Sometimes these businesses sold directly to the public, but often they distributed prints through publishers, bookshops, and other similar kinds of vendors. During this time various types of photomechanical reproductions including collotypes, photogravures, photolithographs, and Woodburytypes were used to illustrate travel books, many of which are now canonized within the history of photography.¹⁰ These processes allowed photographs to be published and entered into the public realm, although on a very limited scale compared to today's standards of mass reproduction. Beginning in the 1880s, half-tone reproductions started to replace both albumen prints and the photomechanical reproductions named above as a mode of book illustration. Half-tone reproduction involved translating the image one wanted to reproduce into small dots of varying thickness and tones according to the darkness and lightness of the original. Unlike other modes of mechanical reproduction, half-tone reproduction allowed photographs to be printed alongside the text and translated onto the page itself, rather than having to be tipped in or glued in by hand. This in turn allowed photographs to be widely disseminated in books, newspapers, magazines and other printed matter.

⁹ Two of the most important and productive were Louis-Desiré Blanquart-Evrard's (1802-1872) firm established in 1851 in Lille, France, and Francis Frith's (1822-1898) firm in Reigate, England, established in the 1860s. Blanquart-Evrard used an improved calotype process and dry-waxed paper negatives invented by Gustave Le Gray (1820-1884) that allowed greater clarity in detail and a smooth surface. In addition to publishing other photographers' work, Frith sold his own photographs and photographically-illustrated books, including those based on three separate trips to the Middle East between 1856-60. For more on Frith's travel books and printing establishment see Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 277-359.

¹⁰ It would be impossible to list all such books, but notable examples include: Maxime Du Camp's *Egypt, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* (1852), Francis Frith's *Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described* (1858-60), Félix Bonfils' *Souvenirs d' Orient* (1877-78), Felice Beato's *Photographic Views of Japan with Historical and Descriptive Notes* (1868), and Samuel Bourne's *A Permanent Record of India* (c. 1910). Most of these books were illustrated with salt prints or albumen prints. A few of the later books used photomechanical illustrations. For more on these types of travel books see Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 48-57, 103-115. Also see Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 94-191.

Photography could not accurately be called a medium of mass reproduction until the end of the nineteenth century, that is, until the onset of halftone reproduction. Halftone reproduction began to make photographically-illustrated books, once rare commodities available only to an elite, wealthy few, increasingly accessible. This availability is one of the key differences between vernacular-photo travel books and their predecessors.

Coming before the development of these forms of photomechanical reproduction, there are several important examples of travel books from the first few decades after the announcement of photography that include illustrations that are *based on photographs*. Even though such books did not actually contain photographs, they still are an important part of the historical context leading up to vernacular photo-travel books because they reflect the public's increasing desire to have illustrations based on highly realistic documents and not just artistic interpretations of far away peoples and places (or at least some mixture of the two).

Noël Marie Paymal Lerebour's (1807-1873), *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les plus remarquables du globe*, published in two volumes during the years 1841-44, is often cited as the earliest and most significant example of a photo-related travel book.¹¹ *Excursions Daguerriennes* is illustrated by aquatints and a few lithographs that are based on daguerreotypes representing scenes in Europe, the Near East, and the

¹¹ Noël Marie Paymal Lerebour, *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris: 1844). For a discussion of Lerebour's book see Michel Frizot, *A New History of Photography* (Milan: Könemann, 1998), 47-8, 229; Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 27-8, 249; Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 97; and Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (Upper Saddle River, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inca., 2002), 51-52. Other important nineteenth-century travel publications with illustrations that are based on daguerreotypes include (but are not limited to): Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière's 1841, *Panorama d'Égypte et de Nubie*; Johann Baptist Isenring's aquatint views of various European cities taken between 1840-43; Frederick Catherwood and John L. Stephens' 1841 *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan*; and Joseph Philbert Girault de Prangey's *Monuments Arabes d'Égypte de Syrie et d'Asie-Mineure Dessines et Mesures de 1842 a 1845* published in 1846.

United States. Lerebours is named as the author because he conceptualized and published the project, but the book is actually a collaboration between several lithographers and photographers.¹² As with many early photographically-illustrated books, *Excursions Daguerriennes* was sold by subscription and released in periodic issues.¹³

A lithograph in *Excursions Daguerriennes* of the Propylaea in Athens shows that sometimes the translation from the photographic medium was quite direct and literal (Fig. 34). Although the artist removed details seen in the photograph, he did not add figures or exaggerate any one aspect of the scene. However, an examination of another illustration from the book showing the Roman Coliseum (Fig. 35) reveals that, in addition to adding color, the artist included various elements in order to achieve a more picturesque composition such as the figures tending to their animals in the foreground. This unique blend of artistic stylization and straightforward documentation accurately represents *Excursions Daguerriennes*' moment in history, in which artists and publishers were influenced by both traditional painterly aesthetics (the desire for a picturesque view) and by the new aesthetics of photography (the desire for detail and realism).

PHOTOGRAPHICALLY-ILLUSTRATED TRAVEL BOOKS PUBLISHED ON A SMALL SCALE, 1840-1880

Beginning in the 1850s most travel books were illustrated with actual photographs or with photomechanical reproductions. John Thomson's (1837-1921) *Illustrations of*

¹² Notable photographers who worked on the project include Horace Vernet (1789-1863), Noël Paymal (1807-1873), Hector Horeau (1801-1872), Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière (1829-1908), and Frédéric-Goupil-Fesquet (1817-1878). Images by other photographers also appear in the book, but little or nothing is known about them.

¹³ Publishers usually provided purchasers with a table of contents so they could 'properly' sequence the pages. However, many arranged their books according to their own logic and preferences. As Carol Armstrong notes, the reader/purchaser of early photographically-illustrated books played an active part in shaping the structure, meaning, and experience of the final book. See Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 289 and 481.

China and Its People (1873/4) is a representative example of this type of book.

Illustrations was designed and marketed as a deluxe and rare commodity and was not intended for the general public.¹⁴ The physical attributes of the book itself indicate this as the over-sized (19" x 14.5") four-volume set cannot be scanned quickly or easily transported. Similarly, the collotype illustrations, though photomechanical, are still tipped in by hand and thus keep *Illustrations* well within the model of the rare, expensive and handcrafted photographically-illustrated travel book.

Thomson was an educated man and the primary goal of *Illustrations* was to produce a comprehensive ethnographic and geological record of China that would mainly appeal to other specialists and educated people.¹⁵ Several pages of text accompany most of the photographs in *Illustrations*. Thomson's book offers an overview of Chinese history, including some discussion of its past and present political leaders. The book also examines the geography of China and its various social customs. Thomson seems especially interested in describing the appearance of Chinese people and how they vary according to gender, class, profession, religion and ethnicity. The overarching thesis of Thomson's book is that China was once a great civilization, but is now a superstitious and isolationist nation in a state of ruin and decline. This image of China as 'the fallen

¹⁴ John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People, a series of two hundred photographs with letterpress description of the places and people represented* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1873-4). Because Thomson's audience was so limited and the book so expensive (three guineas) and difficult to make, only 600 copies of the first two volumes and 750 of the second two were published. While this adds up to relatively numerous copies for a nineteenth-century photographically illustrated book, it doesn't come close to matching the large number of books that could be printed using half-tone reproductions. It should be noted, however, that after the first edition of *Illustrations* was printed, a second condensed edition of 150 photographs was released in 1900. It was also reprinted as *China and Its People in Early Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1982).

¹⁵ John Thomson was a man of wealth and educational distinction. In 1866, he joined the Royal Ethnographic Society and became a member of the Royal Geographic Society that same year. In 1879 he was elected a member of the Royal Photographic Society, and in 1886 was appointed Official Instructor of Photography of at the Geographic Society. Thomson presented lectures about his travels in Asia at these and other academic institutions on numerous occasions. For more on Thomson's biography see Stephen White, *John Thomson: A Window to the Orient* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

giant' is juxtaposed with the author's characterization of industrialized Western nations as history's new advanced civilizations.

As stated, *Illustrations* was a rare and expensive travel book. However, just a few years after its original publication, the material used to create *Illustrations* was revised and edited into several inexpensive and popularized books, all of which were illustrated by non-photographic media, including engravings, woodcuts and lithographs. In 1875, Thomson published the first of these revised books, *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China, or Ten Years' Travels, Adventures and Residence Abroad*. Unlike *Illustrations*, this single volume is portable, relatively inexpensive, and contains sixty-eight woodcut prints, most of which are based on his photographs. The text retains much of the technical information found in *Illustrations*. However, unlike its rather academic predecessor, this version contains numerous personal anecdotes and dramatized stories of adventure, including a fantastic tale told by one of Thomson's friends who was attacked by a tiger on his way home one night (Fig. 36).¹⁶ The man narrowly escapes an almost certain death by distracting the tiger with his hat. Such colorful embellishments place this adaptation squarely in the realm of sublime and popular travel narratives.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge published yet another version of Thomson's material on China in 1876 under the title, *The Land and People of China; a Short Account of the Geography, Religion, Social Life, Arts, Industries, and Government of China and Its People*.¹⁷ The narrative content of this version was slightly

¹⁶ John Thomson, *The Straights of Malacca, Indo-China, and China, or Ten Years' Travels, Adventures and Residence Abroad* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1875). Another edition was published by the New York firm Harper and Brothers in 1875. The book was also translated into French and published under the title *Dix ans de Voyages dans la Chine et l'Indo-Chine* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877). This version contained 128 woodcuts after photographs by Thomson.

¹⁷ John Thomson, *The Land and People of China: a Short Account of the Geography, Religion, Social Life, Arts, Industries, and Government of China and Its People* (London: Society for the Promotion

adapted to suit the religious interests of its publisher by more overtly emphasizing the imperialistic and Christian undertones already present, but more subtly stated in *Illustrations*. In the latter Thomson favors a more objective, detached, academic tone (though still biased) and shies away from the overt proselytizing and condemning judgments readily found in the former. In 1898 Thomson re-orchestrated his research and images of China yet again, this time in his book *Through China with a Camera*. The title itself is an important ‘signal’ that the material in this book is intended for a popular audience and is reflective of a new vernacular tourism, as opposed to older traditions of travel tinged, as they are, with academic elitism and aristocratic overtones.¹⁸

As these examples demonstrate, the audience for Thomson’s *Illustrations* extends far beyond the reach of its original four volumes. Thomson, being a shrewd businessman, aptly changed his tone to suit the particular needs of his publisher and audience. In different ways *Excursions* and Thomson’s body of work on China demonstrate how photographs eased their way into the realm of travel-book illustration. The development and publication of *Excursions* and *Illustrations* also shows there was a popular interest in travel and photography even if most people couldn’t afford either one at this point in time.

PUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHIC SOUVENIR BOOKS

For those who could afford to travel in the late-nineteenth century there were various ways to document or bring home photographic records of the places they visited.

of Christian Knowledge, 1876). It was also published in New York by Pott, Young and Company in the same year.

¹⁸ John Thomson, *Through China with a Camera* (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1898). A second edition was published by Harper and Company of New York and London in 1899. It was most recently reissued by San Francisco, Chinese Materials Center in 1974. The latter contains nearly one hundred half-tone reproductions from Thomson’s work.

Relatively few people were equipped to take their own photographs this early on but there was an abundance of commercial photographic souvenir books, or view books, designed for this purpose. These books started to appear as early as the 1850s and became even more prevalent with the onset of half-tone reproduction in the 1880s. They were available in photographer's studios, bookstores, and at popular tourist sites among other accessible locations. Pascal Sébah (1823-1886) and Policarpe Joaillier's (1854-1935) palm-sized *Constantinople* (c. 1890) is representative of this type of book (Fig. 37).¹⁹ It contains shots of local people, including dervishes in a studio setting, an outdoor café with men smoking hookah pipes, and generic views of the city's most notable sites, including interior and exterior shots of the famous Hagia Sophia church (Fig. 38). The convenience, professional look, and often comprehensive nature of such souvenir books appealed to consumers who purchased them. Yet, these books are pre fabricated and as such do not in any way reflect the individual proclivities of the purchaser, apart, perhaps, from their ability to select one particular book over several other very similar kinds. Vernacular photo-travel books are much more revealing of the author/traveler's personality.

UNPUBLISHED PRIVATE ALBUMS WITH COMMERCIAL ALBUMEN PRINTS

Another option available to tourists who wished to create a record of their travel experiences was to purchase loose photographic prints sold at convenient locations, including stationary and book stores, photography studios, world fairs and exhibitions, and other popular tourist sites. Tourists could construct their own albums, or they could

¹⁹ J. Pascal Sébah and Policarpe Joaillier, *Constantinople*, ca. 1890, Pierre de Gigord, Collection of photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

have the prints they selected arranged and hand-captioned by vendors.²⁰ Certainly the former gave tourists more control over the final product, but even if the tourist did not do all this work themselves, the process of at least selecting the size and number of images gave tourists greater creative and authorial control over the final product than buying prefabricated published souvenir books.

One must study these albums carefully and be careful about making assumptions regarding who made them and why. As curator Alison Nordström explains in her doctoral dissertation, “Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age” (2001), there are many different ways such photographic albums came into existence. Most travel albums were made and kept by tourists who visited the places pictured in the photographs, but some albums were given as gifts to the homebound from people who visited the foreign places represented in the albums. Others were simply made by people who were interested in foreign places and cultures and for any number of reasons were unable or unwilling to travel there themselves.²¹ Here I will only discuss albums that were made by people who actually traveled to the places represented. The diverse ways such albums came into existence is worth noting, but what is of paramount importance in the broad scope of this dissertation is the fact that these albums signal the public’s keen and growing interest in mobility itself and in places other than home, as well as in viewing and collecting photographic images of those places.

²⁰ It can be difficult to discern whether albums were assembled by the tourist or by vendors, as many tourist-made albums are carefully and skillfully crafted.

²¹ See Alison Devine Nordström, “Voyages (per) Formed Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age,” exhibition catalog (Dayton Beach, FL: Southeast Museum of Photography, 2001), 2-13 and “Albums as Objects,” Chapter Five in Alison Devine Nordström, “Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age,” (Ph.D. diss., The Union Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio, 2001), 55-80. Also see “Travel and Pilgrimage Albums and Books 1886-1899,” in Yeshayahu Nir, *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land 1839-1899* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 189-211.

Most of the photographs in these nineteenth-century albums are albumen prints made by anonymous or historically-obscure commercial photographers who did not sign their work or only worked under the name of a publisher.²² Commercial photographers were primarily concerned with profit. If they were interested in name recognition at all, it would have been to promote their business or studio, and not to create an historical consciousness of their oeuvre. In other words, they were more concerned with meeting the demands of the marketplace than with creative or artistic invention. This is not to say that their photographs are without aesthetic merit, but rather that commercial photographers at this time did not consider themselves as artists, or their work as high art. That individual invention and creativity were not especially valued in the commercial realm is also indicated by the fact that most photographers photographed the same sites in very similar ways.

The homogeneity of commercial travel images can be attributed to both their standardized subject matter and their formulaic composition. An anonymous album entitled *Burma, India and Egypt* (1889), now housed in the New York Public Library, will serve as a representative example of how repetition of a predictable rubric of subject matter and formal tropes can lead to a sense of sameness in travel photographs and the

²² Publishers active in the mid-to-late nineteenth century are too numerous to list here, but some of the most popular examples include: X photo, ND photo, Negretti and Zambra, Bourne and Shepherd, Photoglob, Valentine, Francis Frith, Antonio Beato, J. Pascal Sébah and Joaillier, Felix and Adrien Bonfils, Woodbury and Page, Alinari, Salzmänn and Zangaky. Alison Nordström offers a helpful discussion of this topic; see Alison Devine Nordström, "Voyages (per) Formed Photography and Travel in the Gilded Age," exhibition catalog, 4-5. Also see Chapter Six of her dissertation, "Travel Photographs: Production and Sale" in Nordström, "Voyages (per)Formed," 82-95. Italo Zannier also provides a thorough overview of nineteenth-century travel books and publishing practices as they relate to photography. See Italo Zannier, *Le Grand Tour in the Photographs of Travelers of the 19th Century* (Paris: Canal Éditions, 1997), 7-60. For an extensive listing and discussion of photographers and photographic publishers working in 19th century India see Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), xi-xii. For those working in the Near East with a special focus on Jerusalem see Nir, *The Bible and the Image*, 281-287.

albums that contain them.²³ This album contains many typological photographs of local inhabitants, and these almost always focus on various professions, indigenous costumes, and visible differences of gender, class and race. Examples of these kinds of images include those captioned with such generic and essentializing labels as “A Kadin Lady,” “A Shau Girl” and “Burmese girls” (Fig. 39). Occasionally one might find more individualized portraits of local political leaders in nineteenth-century travel albums. In fact, this album contains a few such portraits (Fig 40). However, these images are rare because they are less marketable than the easily consumed stereotypes so readily apparent in typological photographs.

In addition to repeating predictable kinds of subject matter the sense of sameness among many nineteenth-century travel albums was also created by the way they were constructed. For example, while images of landscapes or monuments were often given an entire page, typological photographs (including those in the *Burma, India and Egypt* album) most often are arranged several to a page in order to facilitate easy comparison. The compiler needs to add little or no textual explanation because he is evoking well-known stereotypes and pictorial tropes of travel imagery. The reader/viewer already would ‘know what to do’ with this pictorial and textual information without extra help or prompting from the compiler, namely to compare and contrast the images and use the subjects’ visual appearances alone to draw conclusions about who these people are and what their culture is about. Although such visual comparisons actually tell the

²³ [*Burma, India and Egypt*], ca. 1889, Humanities Photography Collection, New York Public Library, New York City. This album contains 68 photographic prints: 62 albumen, 6 silver gelatin, b&w; 28 x 22 cm or smaller in album approx. 31 x 41 cm. Photographic prints are mounted on heavy paper in a half-leather-bound album. "Early photos of the East" in pencil on inside cover. Most photographs are captioned in English on page below photographs. Those that lack captions are silver gelatin prints that may have been added to the album later. Some are numbered and captioned in English in negative; images by "Zangaki," have photographer's name, captions in French and numbers in negative.

reader/viewer very little about the people pictured and their cultural/racial differences, he or she will not perceive this lack of depth, as the information is presented and delivered in a way that is familiar and creates the illusion of knowledge. Typological portraits, especially when arranged and used in this way, do not invite critical scrutiny of categories and labels or the motivations of those who make and use them.

The text in the *Burma, India and Egypt* album is brief and scholarly-sounding. The author presents him or herself as a detached and quasi-scientific observer. Although, the compiler often adopts the tone of more scholarly travel books, one can assume that this album was probably made as a souvenir for personal use. The album's brief text would offer little or nothing new to a specialized viewer. Consider, for example, a photograph hand-captioned: "A group of Burmese Phounngees , with their begging pots. The priests are supported by daily contributions from the inhabitants [and] in return [they] teach their children to read and write" (Fig. 41).²⁴ While it certainly goes into more detail than a simple caption that might accompany a typological photograph, such as "Burmese Phounngees," this caption is neither detailed nor sophisticated enough to qualify as original academic research (as opposed to Thomson's more lengthy and specialized text in *Illustrations*). They are, however, reminiscent of the brief and superficial descriptions one might find in a guidebook, or on the back of postcards and stereographs. This shows that many tourists read *and reproduced* the information in a growing body of tourist texts without questioning the often-times incorrect and biased information they contained. In this self-fulfilling literary and pictorial prophecy, where stereotypes and formal conventions do most of the work of communicating, at a certain point, the actual experience is pre-determined. Tourists came looking for what they had

²⁴ Ibid.

read about and seen in earlier representations and they reproduced it in their own albums and travel records.²⁵

In addition to typological portraits, other popular subjects in commercial travel photography included picturesque and sublime landscapes, famous architectural structures and monuments, and scenic bird's-eye views of cityscapes. Many album makers sequenced representations of monuments and architecture in conventional ways that allowed the viewer to get a sense of completeness and totality. Three commercial prints showing architectural views of the Taj Mahal found in the *Burma, India and Egypt* album will demonstrate this trope more specifically. The first image is captioned "The Taj at Afra, View from the River." It shows the building from a distance and framed in a picturesque manner by a bit of landscape on the left and a serene river on the right (Fig. 42). The next photograph shows the "Gate Entrance to the Taj" (Fig. 43). This is followed by "Taj Viewed from the Gate," which is a view of the building from the gate seen in the previous photograph (Fig. 44). The last photograph is an interior shot of the Taj (Fig. 45). As the viewer turns the pages of the album this sequence is temporally activated. This creates something akin to a filmic effect, as if the viewer were physically moving around and inside the building and observing it from different angles. The effect is to more fully re-create the experience of the building being revealed bit by bit over time as it would have been if one walked around the actual site. Many of these photographs, however, were taken from points of view and angles that most tourists

²⁵ Many authors have discussed the cyclical nature of tourism and how it is structured through visual images. See MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 41-48; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE Publications, 2002), 7, 129; and Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 72-3, 79-86. For more on how the tourist cycle relates directly to nineteenth-century tourist albums, see Nordström, "Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age," 94-5.

would not have experienced themselves. This is especially apparent in the image of the Taj taken from a bird's-eye view, in which the viewer 'floats' above the scene and is given something akin to an omniscient perspective with an all-at-once quality. The use of such viewpoints and angles are just one way photographers idealized travel photographs for the commercial market.

Besides providing extreme detail and complex points of view, commercial views often idealize by *excluding* certain types of information. The pristine quality of the commercial shots of the Taj, for example, edit out all evidence of modern life including the things and people that typically surround tourist attractions such as photographers, vendors, guides, beggars, litter, and especially other tourists. Photographs that omit such elements especially appeal to the type of tourist who wants to feel as though any given view or site is there for his or her solitary enjoyment and pleasure. As such, this type of idealization has at least its ideological roots in the picturesque tradition discussed earlier.²⁶ While not historically or experientially accurate, such omissions also imbue the site with a sense of timelessness and perfection, rather than showing buildings like the Taj for what they are: places of modern commercialization and touristic use.²⁷

The idealization of commercial tourist photography is yet another reason why there is often an overwhelming feeling of sameness from one nineteenth-century tourist album to the next. This persistent sameness is especially astonishing considering that

²⁶ Sociologist John Urry relates privatization to what he calls the 'romantic gaze' and a type of travel that pre-dates amateur snapshot photography, which he calls 'collective.' See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 43-44, 55, 57, 59, 75, 78, 86, 94, 137, 150.

²⁷ I have used the term idealization to frame the discussion of how tourist photographs edit out certain types of information. Other scholars have examined the same issues as they relate to the tourist's search for authenticity, or an imagined place or time that is somehow more 'pure' than the present. See MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3, 13-4, 48, 91-107. John Taylor discusses how tourist imagery excludes signs of modernity. Specifically, he sees this phenomenon as a struggle between industrialization and a nostalgia for the past. See Taylor, *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination*, 12, 67-9. John Urry also mentions the idealization of travel photography. See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 128.

each private album is a unique handcrafted object representing each tourist's unique itinerary. Yet, the extent and degree of sameness found in commercial photographs should not be entirely unexpected, as photographers and publishers were responding to a market that demanded images of canonical tourist sites and repetition of stereotypes. Those commercial photographers who did not take their own versions of iconic sites in the expected ways or stereotypical images certainly would have lost business.

When considering travel albums, and tourist photographs in general, it may be tempting to suggest that their creation was motivated by the tourist's desire to preserve his or her memories. However, the status of travel photographs as souvenirs is at best problematic (if by souvenir one means a reminder of things once seen or experienced).²⁸ Most commercial photographs record and reveal experiences and details that were impossible for most visitors and/or probably would have gone largely unnoticed during a brief one-time viewing because we have selective and limited attentions. Thus, the vast majority of photographs typically available on the tourist market do not represent anyone's actual or lived experience, but reveal instead a constructed and collective fantasy fueled by idealized and standardized commercial photographs. In this respect the sense of familiarity tourists may have felt upon viewing the images they purchased once they returned home may actually be owed to a recollection of other similarly *idealized* images the tourist had seen up to that moment, rather than to their *actual* experience of

²⁸ Batchen argues a similar point in *Forget Me Not*, namely, that—contrary to popular belief—photographs are *not* effective in facilitating the preservation of memories. Batchen argues that photographs record too much information, an excess of detail, whereas memory records only that information which is significant. He also argues that photographs record information from only one time and space, therefore in too linear and coherent a fashion to effectively mimic or substitute for the non-linear, subjective, vague and often shifting ways in which we remember. Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 14-15.

the site itself. Or perhaps the viewing experience involves some amalgamation of image and experience

Issues of idealization and standardization also arise from a close examination of the relationship between text and image in an album entitled *Berlin to Cairo* (c. 1870). This deluxe album composed of commercial albumen views is one of four volumes documenting the travels of a now-unknown author (who is thought to be a woman). The text consists mostly of quotes from relevant passages in Baedeker and other popular guidebooks. On rare occasions, however, the *Berlin to Cairo* compiler does provide personal opinions and descriptions. For example, her explanation of a visit to the interior of the pyramids centers around her own bodily experiences and sensations:

Entrance to the Grand Pyramid Cheops. A visit to the interior interesting, and though the guides represent it as easy and desirable it will be found fatiguing and far from pleasant. The explorer has to crawl and clamor through low and narrow passages. The stones in the floor are often extremely slippery and the air smells strongly of bats.²⁹

There is a distinct dissonance between this text that describes a rather arduous if not downright miserable experience and the photograph that accompanies it showing happy tourists climbing the exterior of the pyramids (Fig. 46). Her verbal description of the pyramids goes far beyond what is shown in the commercial photograph, and thus has the effect of not only enhancing it, but also underscoring the inevitable limitations of using an image locked in one moment in time and taken by someone else. This otherwise atypical passage in the *Berlin to Cairo* album confirms something we have already witnessed in the *Burma, India and Egypt* album, namely, that commercial photographers

²⁹ *Berlin to Cairo*, ca. 1870, International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester. One of four travel albums. Albums contain commercial albumen prints and captions written by the compiler underneath the photographs. Deluxe leather bindings and titles embossed on covers in gold. This particular image was made by Turkish photographer J. Pascal Sébah (1838-1890).

tend to idealize scenes by eliminating or never photographing unpleasant aspects of them. As mentioned earlier, this is not so surprising considering the financial future of these photographers depended upon showing the most perfect version of every monument, architectural structure, landscape, and tourist activity.

Most of the text in the *Berlin to Cairo* album, including her description of the Cathedral of Mayence, offers little or no personal opinion. Rather she offers facts like the building's date of completion, the names of the architects, and the measurements of the building. One of the unique features of mass tourism, according to Dean MacCannell, is that tourists treat their vacations much like work.³⁰ This is certainly true in the case of the *Berlin to Cairo* album, where the monuments are researched rather than simply appreciated as a present tense and personal experience. The compiler's dependence on Baedeker indicates her desire to remember these sites for their general historical importance, as opposed to their more personal meaning as something she experienced first-hand. She does not, for example, indicate whether it was raining on the day she visited the cathedral, if her feet hurt from walking so much, or if the church inspired her spiritually. She may have felt less of a sense of urgency to document this type of information as such experiences have a way of quite naturally embedding themselves in the memory.

The compiler's and other tourists' dependence on such guides, while certainly understandable in terms of wanting to understand the significance of any given site, can also be understood as a sign that tourism was quickly becoming a standardized system shaped by a few extremely-popular mass-reproduced texts that influenced what and how a great majority of tourists decided to see when they traveled. This woman's willingness

³⁰ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 6-7.

to use Baedeker's words instead of her own is similar to her use of commercial photographs taken by someone else to represent her own experiences. Although the author presumably did what most tourists did in Cairo and climbed the pyramids, she is not among the women pictured in the commercial photograph by Sébah representing this activity in her travel albums. This use of generic stand-ins would soon fall out of favor, when tourists started buying cameras in the late-nineteenth century and could include themselves in the picture. Indeed, the popularity of snapshot photography was to some extent motivated by this desire to 'privatize' representations of one's travel. However, until the invention of snapshot photography, travel photographs were either not very personal or personalized by other means, including the addition of the tourist's own text. Considering this, one can only conclude that personalization was not a high priority for the compiler of the *Berlin to Cairo* album because she preferred to quote from guidebooks rather than personally narrate the photographs.

Issues of class influence the look, content and use of travel albums. The albums as physical objects tell us much about their use and significance in relation to class.³¹ For example, the type and quality of materials used to make these albums, as well as the size and number of the photographs they contained, depended on how much the tourist could pay. Less expensive albums were made by the middle and working classes. Those less expensive albums that do exist are more difficult to find than deluxe albums. This is partially because fewer members of the middle and working classes were traveling at this

³¹ This method is encouraged and effectively practiced by Nordström in her study of nineteenth-century travel albums. See Nordström "Voyages (per)Formed," 45-82.

time and because many of these albums have been dismantled, lost, discarded, or otherwise destroyed.³²

More expensive albums (like the *Berlin to Cairo* and *Burma, India and Egypt* albums) are typically oversized, made with leather, and have heavy, gold-edged pages. Such deluxe albums usually include one large print per page. The generous ‘real estate’ often given to each individual image accounts for the hefty weight of these deluxe albums and shows that the maker was not overly concerned with economizing materials. Tourists made these albums for themselves, as personal souvenirs, but they also used their albums as showpieces. In fact, the viewing and discussing of all kinds of photographs and photograph albums was an important social activity for many in the nineteenth century.³³ The often overwhelmingly-large size and fine design of these deluxe travel albums means that viewing them becomes something of an occasion unto itself. The mere existence and possession of such an album serves to communicate the purchaser’s wealth and power, even before one begins to consider the actual content of the images and text. In this way, the materials, content and use of tourists’ own travel albums shows that they were more than just books with photographs– they were status symbols.

³² The low-quality materials used in their construction made them more susceptible to deterioration. More importantly, however, was the fact that the travelers and/or their families who inherited such albums did not anticipate the historical value of their personal records. Hence, such albums, if they survive more than one or two generations, are far more likely to be found in thrift and antique stores, flea markets, on internet auction sites, at garage sales and in dusty attics, rather than in museums, libraries and archives. Conversely, deluxe albums were made by notable members of the community and therefore are likely to be preserved in archives and museums and recognized for their historical import. See Nordström, “Voyages (per)Formed: Photography and Tourism in the Gilded Age,” 55.

³³ Martha Langford discusses the social nature of viewing photograph albums in the nineteenth century. See Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001). Marina Warner discusses photographic albums in specific relation to nineteenth-century women and their gender roles. See Marina Warner, “Parlour Made,” in David Brittain, ed., *Creative Camera: Thirty Years of Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 220-225.

Mrs. Oliver White Peabody's (1837-1910) *Journal of a Trip to Europe* (1870) is one example of an upper-class travel album. Peabody was able to afford travel year after year and for long periods of time, and she was able to pay for elaborate albums documenting her many trips. The *European Travel Albums* (1889-1902) of D.M. Seaton (dates unknown), however, represent a new, more standardized and democratized form of middle-class travel that started to emerge at the end of the nineteenth century. Seaton's travels were financed by business he conducted while traveling.

D.M. Seaton, a lawyer from San Francisco, is in many ways typical of many other American middle-class mass tourists who were increasingly able to find the time and money to travel in the early twentieth century. He composed seven travel albums during the years 1892-1902 and recorded his travel experiences in Europe while selling an automatic loom attachment he invented. His albums essentially document an extended business trip and are different from many of the others discussed in this chapter as they are not solely the product of leisurely travel. This is something communicated right away by a photograph of his invention that is placed at the opening of one of his albums and captioned, "I insert this picture of the loom because if there was no loom there would be no traveling – no sights – no letters and no books" (Fig.47).³⁴ This passage is important

³⁴ Seaton's decision to call his albums 'books' is particularly interesting and goes to support the main argument of this chapter. Specifically, that various early album-making practices evolved into and influenced the vernacular photo-travel book genre. These lined copy books contain an account, principally in the form of copies of dated letters to relatives in California, of an extended European business trip made by D.M. Seaton between 1898 and 1902. The text is illustrated with mounted postcards, photographs (albumen), clippings, and other ephemera. Seaton arrived in Germany in September 1898 and remained there working and touring until February 1899 when he moved to England. His English residence, lasting until 1902, was punctuated with excursions throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland. In April 1900 he visited the Exposition Universelle Internationale in Paris (v. 5); the photographs that illustrate this visit are by Neurdein Frères (ND Photo). Seaton's text provides a description of the European cities where he visited and worked. He also discusses business activities in Germany, England, and Ireland, illustrating this facet of his account with photographs of machinery (particularly looms), clippings, and printed brochures. Vols. 1-6 were written for and dedicated to Alice L. Seaton, and given to her in 1902; v. 7 was

because it offers some insight into Seaton's pragmatic approach. It also clearly indicates that, unlike some of the wealthy travelers who have been and will be discussed in this chapter, Seaton does not take the privilege of traveling for granted. He is aware of and grateful for his good fortune in business and the opportunity to travel. Seaton's humble attitude and frugality is also reflected in the materials of his travel albums. Far from the expensive deluxe volumes purchased by many other wealthier travelers at this time, his albums are simple, lined paper notebooks with cardboard covers and cloth bindings (Fig. 48). Yet another indication of his pragmatic nature is the fact that Seaton didn't compose his albums solely for his own pleasure. Rather he used his journals to compose first drafts (or copies) of letters he sent home to various family members while abroad.

Unlike Seaton's, many travel albums include brief factual captions or no text at all. Many compilers were satisfied with the text often found along the bottom edge of commercial images, identifying the name of the place, building, monument, person, or type of person(s) pictured and the name of the photographer or publisher. Such captions can be seen in innumerable commercial photographs, including two from Seaton's albums captioned "Edinburgh From Clinton Hill" and "Sir W. Scott's Monument, Edinburgh, from North British Hotel" (Fig. 49). Reliance on the such captions was not uncommon. Viewing albums was often part of an oral tradition. There was little need to offer lengthy textual descriptions because explanation was typically offered verbally by the album's maker or someone close to him or her. However, there are a significant number of examples that defy this general trend and these exceptions include lengthy and

dedicated to Seaton's sister, Mrs. C.W. Tozer. D. M. Seaton, *European Travel Albums, 1898-1902*, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

more autobiographical text like Seaton's albums. These kinds of albums suggest that a growing number of people wanted individualized documentation of their travels.

A comparison of the brief, factual, and impersonal typed words found on the images and the intimacy of Seaton's own lengthy handwritten text found in the album is in itself instructive. Ironically, the immediacy of Seaton's handwriting seems more of an indexical mark than the photographs, which look cool, mechanical and detached by comparison. Quite clearly the pre-determined generic captions simply were not enough for Seaton. This is something indicated by the copious amount of text he generates around the photographs. His text often explains what can be seen in the photographs and the many nuances and details that cannot. For example, the text just below the photograph of the Sir Walter Scott monument notes, "A considerable [amount] of the beauty to be seen at this point is not shown in the picture."

Mrs. Oliver White Peabody's two volume *Journal of a Trip to Europe* documents a four-month tour taken in 1874. Like the Seaton albums, it is unusual for the amount and personal tone of the text it contains.³⁵ However, unlike Seaton, who worked his way around Europe, Peabody's travels were simply part of a wealthy lifestyle funded by her husband, Oliver White Peabody, founder of the Boston investment bank Kidder & Peabody. Peabody's wealth is communicated by the luxurious nature of her oversized

³⁵ Mrs. Oliver White Peabody, *Journal of a Trip to Europe, 1874* vols.1 and 2, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Peabody mentions in passing another trip to Europe taken some three and a half years earlier on page 39 of volume one. However, no other albums or documentation of this trip are known to exist. Nevertheless, it is a significant fact as it fits the larger pattern of repeated trips made wealthy travelers at this time. Both albums contain ca. 535 albumen prints and measure 37 x 34 cm. and both contain an extensive handwritten journal made to record a four month European tour made by Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Peabody and his sister, Elizabeth. The journal entries date from their departure from New York on November 18, 1874 to April 2, 1875, the day before their return sailing to the United States, and primarily record their visits to the museums, churches, and other cultural monuments that were the focus of their trip. Countries and principal cities visited include Belgium (Brussels, Antwerp); England (London); France (Paris, Lyon, Nice); Germany (Cologne, Frankfurt); Italy (Genoa, Pisa, Rome, Naples, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan); and Switzerland (Geneva); as well as Algeria (Algiers).

leather-bound album. Just as Seaton's choice of humble materials reflects his inclination towards pragmatism and frugality, the expensive materials of Peabody's album accurately mirror her self-image and taste for the finer things in life, not to mention her distinctly upper-class approach to travel.

Peabody's albums are filled with descriptions of her visits to art museums, churches, and other historical monuments. In the evenings she attended various social events, usually the theatre and concerts. These activities in and of themselves are not that different from those enjoyed by most other travelers. It is *how* she chooses to describe these activities that closely aligns her albums with an upper-class consciousness. For example, when visiting art museums Peabody diligently records her judgments about the aesthetic value of the art. She is not so much interested in learning about art, or reflecting her historical knowledge of it, as she is concerned with conveying the idea that she is a woman of discerning taste. Her opinions, which come in the form of sharp condemnations or profuse praise, are aimed at showing that she knows the difference between 'good' and 'bad' art. Peabody's interest in art is probably genuine, but it is also a useful way to construct an image of herself as a 'well-bred' woman of taste and distinction. It is also a way for her to separate herself from other, less educated and tasteful tourists. Peabody's albums in this sense reach back into history to the days of the Grand Tour when travelers were also eager to align themselves with wealth, superior education, and taste in all matters, especially those concerning aesthetics. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in Peabody's textual descriptions of visits to important historical sites, including the ruins of Greek Temples. Among these, the Temple of Neptune was "the finest," according to Peabody's carefully handwritten entry

of February 4th (Fig. 50). In this passage she laments that the cloudy weather on the day of her visit deprived her of experiencing the proper effects of light and shade on the architectural surfaces. Comments like these, if they would have appeared in Seaton's album, would have simply been an observation about the weather that day. In the context of Peabody's album, however, they become an assertion and foregrounding of her class identity.

SNAPSHOT PHOTOGRAPHY IN UNPUBLISHED TRAVEL ALBUMS AND PUBLISHED VERNACULAR PHOTO-TRAVEL BOOKS

By 1900, cameras such as the Kodak Brownie that cost as little as one dollar made photography even more accessible. This meant that tourists who wanted photographic souvenirs and documents of their journeys had the opportunity to make their own images, rather than having to purchase them from commercial vendors as was previously the case. Tourists with cameras were able to show others their unique interpretations of sites by the way they photographed them. Even when tourists visited canonical attractions their photographs often show interesting and significant deviations from the archetypal images circulating on the mass market.

Amateur photographers deviate from norms in commercial photography in three key ways. They often make images that are flawed and lack professional polish. They often individualize their photographs by including themselves or other members of their traveling parties in their photographs. And amateur photographers also frequently individualize their snapshots by selecting subject matter and compositions that reflect their particular interests. Sometimes tourists furthered these modes of individualization by adding their own text to their snapshots.

'FLAWED' SNAPSOTS

Most tourists' photographs are riddled with technical mistakes. Yet, as 'flawed' as amateur travel photographs can be, they often say much more about what the tourist finds personally important and interesting than generic commercial photographs. These mistakes were so prevalent that amateurs often openly admitted that their humble attempts to photograph could never accurately or perfectly capture the feeling of being there and seeing it for oneself. Yet, despite their imperfections, many amateurs included their 'bad' photographs in their albums and vernacular photo-travel books. This is true of General Dewitt Clinton Falls and Adeleide Zeller, two amateur photographers and album makers that I will discuss later in this chapter. Falls' attempt to photograph the Belgian King at his window was spoiled by a reflection of sunlight (Fig. 51). Falls uses a caption to explain the mishap and his original intention. One wonders why he would include it at all, regardless of his intention, as it ended up being just a snapshot of a rather unremarkable window. Similarly, Zeller included many technically flawed photographs in her travel album. However, she confined these 'outtakes' to the last twelve pages, apparently in an effort to prevent them from marring the perfection of the commercial images and her 'good' snapshots that are arranged chronologically according to her itinerary in the front of the album.

Edmund Gress included a dark and nearly illegible photograph of a sunset in his book, *A Dash Through Europe* (1923), and simply captioned it, "My futile attempt to photograph a sunset at sea" (Fig. 52). One can sense the author's mild disappointment in his skills as a photographer, but he was not bothered enough to exclude the image. Gress' image captioned "Fragment of Roman Lettering" appears highly idiosyncratic, perhaps even artistic due to its extreme close-up and abrupt fragmentation (Fig. 53). The

aesthetically-pleasing qualities resulting from the unusual framing of this photograph were not actually intended by Gress. In fact, he apologetically informs his readers: “I walked down a path and came across a large stone fragment containing some beautiful Roman lettering. I took a snapshot of it. I did not aim straight, however, and obtained only half of it.”³⁶ While feeling the need to explain the photograph’s unusual appearance as a mistake, Gress was apparently *not* bothered enough to exclude this photograph from his book. Perhaps he was drawn to the uniqueness and eccentricity of this photograph ‘gone wrong.’ Or perhaps he simply felt the value of the information it contained outweighed the somewhat strange and disorienting effect of his mistake.

B.J. Palmer, on the other hand, seems hardly disturbed by his photographic failings as he included numerous blurry and almost illegible photographs in his book, *‘Round the World with B.J. Palmer (1926)*. One such image, intended to show the length of a sleeping car on a train, starts out with the caption boldly acknowledging, “Altho a Poor Picture...” (Fig. 54). These authors’ acceptance of the limitations of photography and their abilities as untrained photographers can be read as an indication of how much they prized and valued the simple fact that these photographs, good or bad, were at least their own. In the end, such mistakes, while often acknowledged, were rarely considered a liability. In fact, the mistakes and spontaneity of such ‘bad’ snapshots could actually serve as an important marker of their authenticity, for creating a believable “I was there” effect. These ‘flawed’ photographs are not overtly posed or manipulated to fit an ideal and thus they starkly contrast with commercial travel photography.

³⁶ Gress, *A Dash Through Europe*, 61-2.

In 1902 Charles Taylor wrote an entire book dedicated to precisely this problem entitled *Why My Photographs are Bad*. Taylor addresses the question of why tourists might prefer their own snapshots to those made by professionals:

A few days ago, a friend of mine, knowing that I was compiling a book on photography for the instruction of the beginner, said laughingly, "Why Mr. Taylor, I never had a camera in my hands and have toured the world several times. I have the finest collection of foreign pictures [photographs] that any one would possess. What's the use of all the trouble, expense and labor of owning and operating a camera? At the best you never succeed in having more than forty per cent of your photographic work turn out well?" How could any one live in this age of progress, love, beauty and refinement with such a narrow mind, especially a traveler? I was anxious to see his collection, so shortly made him a visit and viewed his photographs, and what did I find? The same old stereotyped, ever-handled, threadbare pictures that every traveler has almost forced upon him. Look at the photographs of this tourist and compare them with those of one's own taking. Is there any comparison as regards interest and happy memories between the two? The purchased photograph is cold in tone and feeling, without incident or association. By all means own your own camera; learn how to operate it and have the ready wit to make your tour not only a success to yourself, but also a pleasure to your friends upon your return home.³⁷

As Taylor's story suggests, many tourists were reluctant to give up commercial photographs entirely despite the ease of taking snapshots and the ability to personalize one's photographs. The lingering popularity of commercial travel photography even after the introduction of relatively inexpensive automated cameras at the end of the nineteenth century owes itself at least in part to its idealization. Personal eccentricities and technical mishaps common in tourist snapshots are extremely rare in commercial photography, where legibility and marketability were of paramount importance. Commercial photographs offered the purchaser the assurance of technical perfection and consumers who purchased prints were able to see on the spot exactly what they were getting. This in

³⁷ Charles Taylor, *Why My Photographs Are Bad* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 1902), 28.

turn enabled them to avoid what some might consider to be the ‘unpleasant’ surprises (mistakes) that often accompany taking one’s own photographs. Most snapshotters were untrained and relied entirely upon the technology of automated cameras to deliver satisfactory results, which were not always readily obtained. Even so, Taylor does his best to make a compelling argument that the benefits of personalized souvenirs far outweigh the possible disappointments of photographic mishaps.

However, not all photographs made by amateurs were ‘flawed.’ Among the snapshotting masses was a small number of people who belonged to amateur photographic societies, took classes and read books on photography. Falling into this category is Samuel Castner (1843-1929), a wealthy coal merchant who was a member of the Philadelphia Photographic Society and made numerous travel albums during several trips to Europe. Castner was not a commercial photographer because he did not financially profit from his photography, nor was he an artist. When he made his albums in the late-nineteenth century, photography was just beginning to gain limited acceptance in the art world.

Castner’s 1896 albums are full of aesthetically beautiful photographs like that of the Florence Cathedral (Fig. 55).³⁸ When looking at this photograph I am first struck by what is *missing*. Based on my observation of countless other photographs that include tourists posing in front of this or that monument and mugging for the camera, I half-expect to see Castner and/or his traveling companions doing the same. Yet, I must also admit that I am not all that surprised by their absence given the rather unusual austerity of

³⁸ Samuel Castner, [*European Trip Volume Two*], 1896, International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester. This album measures 16.5x21.5 cm., contains platinum prints and brief, handwritten identifying captions underneath the images, which are printed directly onto the page and not tipped in.

this particular photograph. In fact, I am struck by the absence of *any* figures in the vast foreground. This leads me to believe that Castner decided to show the cathedral from this rather non-traditional point of view because it allowed him to capture a very sparsely populated (and therefore idealized) representation of it. Such austerity would have been much more difficult to capture if he were facing the building's heavily trafficked entrance. Castner's image is also unusual because he photographed the cathedral from extremely far away and from a partially obstructed point of view. Most tourists would have photographed the same building closer up and from the front. They also would have selected an angle and position that would allow them to include as much of the building as possible in the picture. Although certain flaws seemed permissible, most tourists prized legibility and a sense of completeness in their travel photographs and these are valued because they enhanced the truth effect of their images ("I was there") and their authenticity ("This is the *real* thing").

Castner created a balanced and picturesque composition. To be exact, the harmonious and balanced composition is largely created by the strong and straight diagonal line that is formed on the left-hand side of the picture by the contrast of the street's very black tone and the sidewalk's very light tone. This line keeps the eye focused within the image and leads it back to the cathedral. The somewhat rigid and stark nature of this line is eased by the picturesque quality that is created by the broken and curvy line on the right-hand side of the image, which is formed by the alternating lights and dark seen on the surface of the buildings.

His attention to aesthetics is further reflected by his choice of the complicated platinum printing process. This results in a great range of subtle silvery tones that take

on different textures depending upon the type of paper used. His preference for handcrafting is also signaled by the fact that he printed his photographs onto paper cut to the same size and bound these in a book, rather than purchasing a typical mass-produced album that easily could have been found on the commercial market.³⁹ Most amateurs at this time used prepared roll films and sent their exposed film still loaded in their cameras through the mail to a factory where employees would develop their photographs and reload their cameras with new film. Unlike Castner, most amateurs were very removed from the technical details and handicraft aspects of photography.

The soft, subtle tones of this and all of his photographs suggest that he was familiar with the efforts of early twentieth century Pictorialist photographers like Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) and Edward Steichen (1879-1973), men who were at the heart of the art-photography movement during this time. Amateur photographers like Castner may have been on the far fringes of this movement to raise photography's status to an art form. Castner did not sell his photographs, exhibit in museums, or publish in art journals, but his work is as technically skilled as that of most commercial photographers, and arguably is just as beautiful as the images made by the growing number of photographers who called themselves artists.

As demonstrated above, many of Castner's images are exceptional for the skill with which they are made and their beauty. However, others are scarcely different in their appearance and subject matter from those made by most tourists. Castner's

³⁹ The Eastman House also contains travel albums by Castner's friend Dr. Murray Jordan (1860-1909). Jordan also used the platinum printing process. Visually their albums are strikingly similar, as are their roles in the history of photography as highly skilled amateurs working outside of the commercial market and on the fringes of the art photography movement. For an example of his work see Dr. Murray Jordan, [*Egypt and the Holy Land*], ca. 1900, The International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester.

photograph of the deck of the S.S. Campania, unlike that of the cathedral, includes numerous figures (Fig. 56). Although shot from a slightly elevated point of view, one can hardly say that it shows the same kind of careful attempt to compose as the photograph of the cathedral. In fact, he probably selected that point of view so that he would be able to include as much of the ship's bow as possible. In other words, he selected this point of view for reasons of legibility and completeness. The same can be said of his more personal images, such as his photograph of a woman seen from behind as she looks out at the Amalfi coast from her hotel's veranda (Fig. 57). This photograph shows a slightly more skilled treatment of lights and darks than the S.S. Campania snapshot, as well as a tighter, more premeditated composition than most tourist photographs, but it also features a familiar subject of tourist imagery (a lone figure appreciating some idyllic view or sublime landscape). Even Castner's touristy images show a deliberate care for aesthetic quality that is absent in most amateur travel albums.

This close examination of Castner's travel albums reveals the imprecision of terms like 'amateur' and 'professional' and may point out the futility of trying to pigeon hole such travel photographers into convenient, but perhaps historically inaccurate categories. Ultimately his albums effectively illustrate how thin and blurred the line between amateur and professional photographers can be at the turn of the twentieth century.

PUTTING ONESELF IN THE PICTURE

The vernacular photo-travel book *A New Pilgrimage in the Old World* (1903) by Rev. James Gordon (dates unknown) provides an excellent opportunity to compare commercial photographs and amateur-made snapshots because it is illustrated by both.

Specifically, it includes several commercial images by Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son and several snapshots taken by members of Gordon's traveling party, including his wife.⁴⁰ Photographs such as the "The Parthenon" and "Arab Women of Algiers," if not commercial images, certainly borrow tropes from the commercial realm such as central framing, an emphasis on legibility and no obvious markers of individuality (for example, the inclusion of the author or a member of his traveling party in the image) (Figs. 58 and 59). The formulaic predictability of these photographs strongly contrasts with the sometimes eccentric and specific character of the author's own snapshots. The author's portrait on Mars Hill, the photograph of a man and a woman swimming in the Dead Sea, the snapshot of his traveling party wandering around the grounds at the tomb of Rachel, and the photographs of members of his traveling party seen scattered about the desert landscape in front of famous Egyptian monuments and on camels at the great pyramid—all of these images are personalized by the inclusion of the author himself and/or members of his traveling party (Figs. 60-64). B.J. Palmer, author of *Around the World with B.J. Palmer* (1926), also included photographs of himself in his book. Two particularly interesting examples are those snapshots that show the author mimicking a Buddhist sculpture and perched on top of a camel statue (Fig. 65-66).⁴¹

W.H. Crowell's (dates unknown) photograph "The Majesty of the Pyramids" from his 1927 book *A Country Lawyer Sees the World* shows little individuality and his "Climbing among the crevices" photograph (Fig. 67) is similar at least in subject matter to the generic commercial photograph of the same subject found in the *Berlin to Cairo*

⁴⁰ Rev. James A. Gordon, *A New Pilgrimage in the Old World* (Van Wert, Ohio.: Presses of the Republican, 1903), 34, 20, frontice, 56.

⁴¹ B.J. Palmer, *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer* (Davenport: published privately, printed R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago, Ill., 1926), 197.

album (and the countless others like it). Similarly, his “Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem” photograph (Fig. 68 top) is not all that different from the unpopulated, centrally framed and detailed commercial photographs of the Taj found in the *Burma, India and Egypt* album. The generic anonymity of these photographs becomes especially apparent when compared to the many photographs in which the author shows himself participating in tourist activities such as taking a ride in a jitney on a Tokyo street (Fig. 69 top) or standing next to a local man in front of the Church of the Nativity (Fig. 68 bottom) or sitting atop a camel in front of the sphinx and pyramid (Fig. 70 top). These photographs have a protagonist and are therefore are no longer generic documents that anyone might possess. At the same time, there is not all that much difference between Crowell’s photograph on the camel and Rev. James Gordon’s photograph “Around the Great Pyramid” (Figs. 70 top and Fig. 64). Although both images show different people, they are doing very similar things. Thus, one might say that these tourist snapshots are at one and the same time stereotypical and clichéd but also entirely unique. They are the former because they show participation in the same standardized sites and activities of mass tourism and the latter because they are personal mementos from the author’s unique life history.

INDIVIDUALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION IN TOURISTS’ SNAPSHOTS: SUBJECT MATTER AND COMPOSITION

Edmund Gress was a printer from Long Island, New York who went on a forty-seven day tour of various European countries, including France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and England. His book *A Dash Through Europe* includes highly idiosyncratic

details that reflect his interest in typography.⁴² In fact, Gress' personal interest in printing becomes the leitmotif of his book. He shares stories and photographs about the history of print when he visits monuments honoring Aldus and Gutenberg (Fig. 71), he photographs and writes a lengthy description of the beautiful lettering on the Trajan column (Fig. 72), and includes a photograph of a special print exposition in Paris (Fig. 73) and he also photographs the print shop aboard the ship *Berengaria* (Fig. 74). His numerous digressions into this area should be understood as the unique lens through which Gress experienced his tour. While these passages allow Gress to exhibit his uniqueness within the standardized system of mass tourism, he does not dwell too long at any one time on matters related to print or go into great detail about them, presumably in order to keep a broad audience interested.

While increased access to photographic technology opened up the possibility for personalization and innovation, amateur photographers often turned to commercial photography for inspiration. The individualizations of a *Dash Through Europe* are counterbalanced, for example, with many other standard shots of familiar tourist attractions such as Michelangelo's *David* (Fig. 75) and the Eiffel Tower (Fig. 76). A comparison of Gress' photograph of the Arch of Titus (Fig. 1) with a commercial photograph of the same subject (Fig. 77) reveals just how similar tourists' snapshots and commercial tourist photography frequently were. Both, for example, stress legibility, which is achieved through detail, sharp focus and a framing that provides an unobstructed

⁴² Edmund Gress, *A Dash Through Europe with Snapshots by the Way* (New York: Oswald Publishing Company, 1923). Gress was born in Eaton, Pennsylvania in 1872, but moved to New York in 1903 where he worked as the composing room foreman for *The American Printer*, a monthly magazine about the printing arts. He wrote for the publication and also served as editor until he retired in 1930. Gress also wrote several books on printing, including *The American Manual of Typography*, *Fashions in American Typography, 1790-1930*, *The Art and Practice of Typography*, and *Type Face Designs in Color*. Gress was married and had two daughters. He died on September 30, 1934.

and as complete a view of the monument as possible. There are no people included in Gress' image, just weeds, a curving dirt road in the foreground and architectural structures in the far background. The commercial image certainly has more professional polish. This translates into an overall picturesque quality that is absent in Gress' comparatively matter-of-fact rendering. Yet, despite these minor differences, most of which can be attributed to the amateur's lack of training in composing artistic photographic images and inexperience in handling the camera, the two photographs are in some ways similar. Specifically, both photographs attempt a literal transcription. In its emphasis on legibility and wholeness and its exclusion of figures (especially Gress himself), as well as of any other kind of modernizing information, Gress' snapshot closely resembles countless others made by innumerable mass tourists and commercial photographers. However even in this, the most generic photograph in his book, the impersonality is offset by his caption: "How the Arch of Titus *looked to me*" (my italics). This addition of these last words are highly significant because they link this particular image to Gress's unique vision and effectively add some degree of individualization. His use of this phrase was not anomalous. He also emphasizes his unique vision and experience by adding "as it looked to me" to the end of the caption accompanying his photograph of Venice from a steamer (Fig. 78). Despite his adoption of some commercial tropes, his repeated use of this phrase demonstrates just how important the idea of individuality was to Gress.

General DeWitt Clinton Falls (1864-1937) was a prominent member of the New York National Guard and a military historian. Falls made numerous travel albums about

his trips to Europe taken during the years 1890-1914.⁴³ The inclusion of both snapshot and commercial forms of photography in the Falls albums provides further opportunity to study how they are similar and different. Certainly the color of the commercial lithographic prints, like that of Cattero, stands out next to Fall's black and white photographs and probably was one reason he purchased the former (Fig. 79). However color alone apparently was not enough because Falls always included many snapshots of the same places represented in the color prints. The commercial photograph of Cattero offers an 'all at once' revelation of the village, the landscape and the famous road to Montenegro. However, Falls' snapshots show a less idealized and much more specific and detailed representation of life along the same road. In fact, he reserves several pages of his album for his snapshots that capture various local types and 'slices of life' along the road, including a man watering his horses, a farmer using a wooden plough, the hotel keeper, and the hotel keeper's children (Fig. 80). These photographs and how they are presented to the viewer are the result of Falls' authorial decisions. Ultimately the snapshots reflect a unique version of his travels that no commercial photographer or pre-fabricated album could have replicated. Thus, it seems reasonable to argue that Falls preferred to take his own photographs as it allowed him to represent his travel experiences in a much more individualized and specific way than commercial photography and because his snapshots authenticate the fact that he was actually there.

⁴³ General DeWitt Clinton Falls, [*Travel Albums*], 1890-1914, Humanities Photography Collection, New York Public Library, New York City. The library has at least 8 large format, leather-bound travel albums by Falls and several of his family albums. Falls' travel albums mainly include black and white silver gelatin photographic prints that are approximately 60x 80mm. The views in these albums depict his numerous European tours to countries that include Spain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Scotland and England (some of these albums contain scenes of family life and outings in the United States and less frequently, Falls travels to non-European locales such as Tangier. Subjects range from tourists (including ship-board life) to street scenes, points of architectural and historic interest. The year/years covered by each album is stamped in gold on the binding.

Falls' albums contain pictures of a variety of familiar touristic activities, including waiting for the train with a mountain of luggage (Fig. 81), an intimate breakfast on their hotel balcony (Fig. 82) and shopping (Fig. 83). He and his wife took snapshots of each other at various tourist attractions (Figs. 84-85) and they even photographed each other taking snapshots of other people, sites and monuments (Fig. 86). There are also photographs in which Falls and his wife joke about the oddness of certain tourist activities and their willing participation in them. This good humor is particularly evident in a snapshot in which Mrs. Falls playfully poses on a site that was once occupied by a cathedral (Fig. 87). Although the once impressive monument is no longer there, Mrs. Falls intently studies the information in her guidebook and compares it with the commemorative marker. The punch line is, of course, that there is really nothing beautiful, impressive, or important to see here, and that tourism often involves 'much ado about nothing.'

The playfulness of these and a handful of similar snapshots certainly contrasts with the impersonal nature of commercial travel photography. They also indicate the familiarity and comfort the Falls (and a growing number of amateurs like them) reveal when using and posing for the camera. Although light-hearted, such snapshots are historically important in that they signal an historical shift in the history of travel photography. More specifically, they represent an entirely new kind of informality and individualization that did not exist in commercial travel photographs.

Despite demonstrating a new kind of individualization, Falls (like Gress and many other amateur photographers) also borrowed from the conventions of commercial forms. For example, Falls uses racial and class typologies, including the images he captions

“King of the Gypsies,” “A Gypsie House,” and “An Andalucian Beauty” (Fig. 88-90). Falls’ photograph of the Alhambra Court of Myrtles resembles typical commercial views of architecture that are aimed at transcribing and recording popular tourist attractions as legibly as possible (Fig. 91). This image is characterized by the same appearance of timelessness and emptiness as commercial photographs, including those of the Taj discussed earlier. The scene is unpopulated except for one person barely visible at the far end of the reflecting pool sitting at an easel painting. There is little in this image that distinguishes it as one made by General Falls in particular. However, his photograph of the same courtyard taken from the opposite end very much bears his unique signature because of the simple inclusion of his wife, who is seen kneeling at the reflecting pool’s edge feeding the fish (Fig. 92). Her appearance suddenly transforms the photograph into a representation of a personal experience, one that is markedly different from Falls’ own generic architectural view of the exact same location. This photograph is a personalized souvenir that has private meaning for its maker. Its historical import rests in the fact that it shows what amateur photography brought to tourism, namely the potential (although not always seized upon) to individualize one’s own images.

INDIVIDUALIZATION OF TOURISTS’ SNAPSHOTS THROUGH TEXT

Mrs. Adeleide Zeller (dates unknown) European travel album is mainly composed of her own snapshot photographs and documents a trip taken from June 24th to August 26th in 1922, which included stops in London, Paris, Rome, Venice, Cologne, Heidelberg, Lucerne and other major European cities.⁴⁴ By this time albums were much simpler than

⁴⁴ Adeleide Zeller, *The European Journal of Miss Adeleide Zeller*, 1922, International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester. Zeller’s journals indicate that a second trip, from June 30th to September 4th 1925, was taken and included many of the same European cities as her

the deluxe and expensive travel albums that were in abundance in the nineteenth century. Zeller's medium-sized album, for example, is simply a collection of hole-punched pages bound with black string and has covers made from a blue batik cloth. Unlike almost all commercial photographs that edit out the presence of other tourists, Zeller's photographs almost always include them. They can be seen, for example, in her snapshot of the Arch of Titus (Fig. 93). If one looks closely enough, one can even see the guidebooks and cameras some tourists hold in their hands.

Zeller's album does not contain lengthy text. However, she did textually document her trip with handwritten copies of dozens of letters she sent to her parents and her aunt. These can be found in personal journals she kept in two separate lined-notebooks (Fig. 94).⁴⁵ These journals give a day-by-day description of the tour and also contain interesting side notes, including lists of things to pack (including her Kodak and album), a log of hotels she stayed at, expenses she paid, and the names and addresses of people she met along the way. Zeller's notebooks and letters greatly supplement her photographs and our understanding of them so many years later. They also help reveal her unique personality by describing in great detail the unique things and places that attracted her attention while traveling, and often these have nothing to do with the famous

1922 vacation. For whatever reason, only one snapshot album documenting her 1922 trip was made (or survived).

⁴⁵ Along with these journals, the Eastman House collection also has dozens of newspaper clippings that Zeller had saved. These clippings are Charles Richardson's "Travelogue to Europe" published in the *Fayetteville Democrat*. It is likely that he was on the same 1922 tour as Zeller since their dates of travel and itinerary closely match each other, although she never mentions him specifically in her records. The appearance of travelogues like Richardson's in small and large newspapers across the country around this time signals a public interest in reading personal accounts of travel by mass tourists. These articles were usually written by men and women who were not particularly wealthy or powerful, but who typically held some kind of notable position in the community. Religious leaders, doctors, journalists, and lawyers, for example, often published such articles. They typically appeared in weekly installments and usually for a period of several months. These publications, although usually not illustrated, may be considered an interesting offshoot or form of travel writing that is related to vernacular photo-travel books. Housed with Zeller's albums at the International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester.

sites and attractions so frequently found in tourist albums, including those photographs found in Zeller's own album. The historical importance of what Zeller has to say comes in the small details and in ways one would not expect. For example, she makes a point to describe nearly everything in her hotel rooms from the long old-fashioned keys used to open the doors and the types of doorknobs found on those doors, to the gas fireplaces, electric clocks, French windows and the red satin bedspread. Zeller also likes to discuss her personal opinions and describe events, like a refreshing swim in an Italian Lake, the meals she ate and how she liked them, and changes in the weather. The highly personal and individualized nature of her records becomes even clearer when contrasted with impersonal and generic captions, like those found in the *Berlin to Cairo* album. Like Gress' book, particularly when he discusses or includes photographs of printing-related subjects, Zeller's photograph albums and journals mark the increasingly individualized nature of travel photography within the highly standardized system of mass tourism.

Because of her highly personal tone, many important moments in the Zeller albums and notebooks might easily be passed over as irrelevant to understanding mass tourism and travel photography as a historical phenomenon. One might easily gloss over her interesting comparison of 'real life' and idealized, mass-produced commercial travel images. This occurs during her somewhat clichéd description of the beautiful landscape that passes before her window on a train ride to Innsbruck. Zeller writes, "There were glaciers and evergreen forests, meadows and water wheels, and all in real life, the things you generally see in pictures." Judging from Zeller's enthusiasm, her experience of this scene is not that far from what she had anticipated. One gets the sense that Zeller's excitement is owed to the fact that she is actually seeing in person the things she had only

known through pictures. Now, she finally gets to see it all in person and experience it *for herself*. Her desire to take her own photographs of the things she sees on tour can be seen as a further attempt to individualize ‘the dream.’ She is not just taking photographs, she is putting her own spin on the story of this place that has already been written and composed by thousands of other images and tourist/photographers before her. Zeller’s notebooks, letters, and snapshot album—the creation of which must have demanded much time and attention—can be seen as a measure of just how much Zeller appreciated her travel experiences and how much she wanted to share them with others. Most importantly, they reflect how desperately she wanted to create a lasting *personalized* record of her unique travel experiences.

Authors of vernacular photo-travel books frequently mention experiencing in-person things previously only seen in images. However not all authors are as enthusiastic as Zeller about the actual experience. Edmund Gress, for example, often expresses his disappointment and a vague sense of alienation from the places he visited. One specific cause of this may be the dissonance created when a tourist’s first-hand experiences do not coincide with the countless number of idealized mass-produced images they had seen before they got there. At some point, most authors of vernacular photo-travel books mention feelings similar to those of Gress when he laments, while inspecting goods at a souvenir cart in Lucerne, that the buildings look more attractive on the post cards sold to tourists than in real life. This type of disjuncture between image and experience is also indicated by his initial impression upon seeing the Arc de Triomphe: “The Arc de Triomphe looked very large to me” (Fig. 95). Naturally, this is so because until then he

had only seen the famous site miniaturized, as it would appear reproduced in photographs.

SNAPSHOT PHOTOGRAPHY IN PRIVATELY PUBLISHED, SMALL-PRINT RUN TRAVEL JOURNALS

Bertha Dynes Scott's (dates unknown) *A Motor Jaunt Through England with a Digression into France, A Journal by Bertha Dynes Scott* (1914) and Sir Frederick William Fison's (1847-1927) *Diary Letters Written During a Tour Round the World* (1906) are two examples of a new kind of travel album that emerged during the early twentieth century.⁴⁶ In almost every respect these albums look like vernacular photo-travel books. The text is typed and not handwritten, the pages are numbered, and the top of each page includes some kind of heading, either the album's title, or the name of the place or type of activity discussed on the page. Scott's and Fison's albums are professionally printed and bound, just like a mass-produced book. However, unlike vernacular photo-travel books that use half-tone reproductions, these albums are illustrated with silver gelatin prints that have been tipped in by hand. Thus, it is doubtful that more than fifty copies of either book were made. It is likely that these books were given to family members and friends, perhaps those who joined the authors on their tours.

These albums are also captioned in ways very similar to vernacular photo-travel books. As we know, most captions in nineteenth-century tourist albums were brief and factual. Think, for example, of Castner's very literal caption "Deck of the S. S. Campania," that accompanies his photograph of passengers on their trans-Atlantic

⁴⁶ Bertha Dynes Scott, *A Motor Jaunt Through England with a Digression into France, A Journal by Bertha Dynes Scott* (Cleveland, Ohio: Privately printed by Frank A. Scott, 1914). The copy I discuss is housed in the Menschel Library, International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester. Sir Frederick William Fison, *Diary Letters Written During a Tour Round the World*, 1906, Menschel Library, International Museum of Photography and Film at George Eastman House, Rochester. Privately printed in London, by Hazell, Watson and Viney, 261 pp., aprox.. 126 mounted b & w photographs, fifty known to exist.

passage (Fig. 56). Compare it to Fison's equally brief, but far more subjective caption, "A Hot Afternoon" (Fig. 96). Although both show similar subject matter, Castner's caption, unlike Fison's, tells us nothing about the unique details of his particular experience. It simply tells the viewer what he or she is looking at in the photograph. Fison's caption however tells us something about how he, and presumably the other passengers, experienced this particular afternoon. Scott's book shows a mixture of both factual and subjective captions. Her photograph of Conway Castle is simply captioned "Conway Castle" (Fig. 97). However, many of her other captions offer Scott's subjective reaction to what she sees and feels. Two perfect examples of this would be her captions, "A Delightful, Happy-Go-Lucky Day" (Fig. 98) and "This is the Land we have Dreamed About" (Fig. 99).

Like most vernacular photo-travel books, Scott's and Fison's albums took the form they did because the authors wanted to share their personal travel experiences and photographs with the public. Vernacular photo-travel books also blur the line between private and public. The inclusion of private snapshots in the public space is symptomatic of the important shift from commercial to amateur snapshot photography and is one of the most important defining characteristics of vernacular photo-travel books. There are, however, a few interesting examples of vernacular photo-travel book authors who wanted to make their mass published books look more private and intimate. In other words, there is a trace of nostalgia for the intimacy and singularity of earlier handmade albums in some vernacular photo-travel books. Many vernacular photo-travel books include photographic reproductions of 'travel relics' and souvenirs that were commonly glued in, or otherwise attached to, the pages of private travel albums and scrapbooks. We have

already witnessed this phenomenon in Private Peat's book that was discussed in the Introduction. In *A Dash Through Europe* Gress also reproduced images of items like train tickets, restaurant menus, or even receipts from the hotels he stayed in along the way (Fig. 100).

Crowell's book *A Country Lawyer Sees the World* (1927) also shows a nostalgia for, or at least the lingering influence of, earlier types of albums. It includes halftone reproductions of the author's own snapshots, but they are presented as if they were inserted in a private snapshot album. The page illustrating Hong Kong, for example, includes two photographs of the author and his friends, one showing them sitting in a line of rickshaws and the other showing them posing in front of a scenic outlook (Fig. 101).⁴⁷ The photographs are surrounded by decorative borders showing a picturesque landscape rendered in what appears to be watercolor and includes hand-written text under the photographs. Even though it may look like a private travel album, his book was mass produced for a very different and larger audience well beyond Crowell's family and friends.

KODAK AND PRIVATE TRAVEL ALBUMS

The production of travel albums by tourists was something greatly encouraged by the Eastman Kodak Company. Kodak published at least one promotional booklet that reads very much like a vernacular photo-travel book. The booklet, written by H.C. Brown and entitled *Through Europe with a Camera* was published in 1891.⁴⁸ The text is

⁴⁷ W.H. Crowell, *A Country Lawyer Sees the World* (Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Co., 1927).

⁴⁸ Kodak was not the only camera manufacturer to publish complimentary handbooks promoting their product. Another particularly interesting example is a paperback pamphlet published in 1891 entitled *Through Russia with a Kamaret*. The conversational tone of the text and the use of personal snapshots as illustrations are also remarkably similar to vernacular photo-travel books. In it the author tells the reader of his exciting adventures and how to best manage travel in Russia, while continuously mentioning the many benefits of having a Kamaret camera along to record his experiences. See Thomas Stevens, *Through*

brief (less than fourteen pages total) and, like a vernacular photo-travel book, is written in the first person. In it Brown describes his visits to historical tourist attractions in Scotland and England. He reiterates many of the same values Kodak highlights in their advertising, such as practical value, memory and ownership. At one point, the author significantly refers to his photographs “as among my most valued possessions.”⁴⁹ This booklet also stresses the importance of albums as a mode of public display, as demonstrated by an illustration showing the author proudly watching two women thumb through the leaves of his travel album. This image is captioned, “I prided myself on the originality of my collection.” (Fig. 102).

In addition to print advertisements and promotional booklets like the one described above, Kodak also published a how-to magazines for amateurs. There are two important examples of such magazines. *Kodakery*, which was published in Rochester, New York, for an American audience from September 1913 until 1932 and *The Kodak Magazine*, which was published in London from 1923-1939 for a British audience. Customers who purchased a Kodak could send in for a free subscription for either magazine for a year, and thereafter were charged only thirty cents per year. Both magazines are based on the premise that amateur photographers needed advice on how to use the newly-available photographic technology. Kodak consistently printed articles that focused on travel photographs and how to organize them into albums. These articles were usually accompanied by images of well-constructed amateur albums, such as those made by Mr. And Mrs. Burkinshaw of Sheffield (Fig. 103).⁵⁰

Russia with a Kamaret (Boston: Blair Camera Co., 1891). Thomas also authored two vernacular photo-travel books entitled *Around the World on a Bicycle* and *Central Asia: Travels in Cashmere*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁰ “An Example Worth Following!” *The Kodak Magazine* 1, no. 3 (April 1923): 43.

In another article, “A Helping Hand: Holiday Albums,” readers are told:

Every holiday has three parts—anticipation, realization and recollection. Photography greatly increases the pleasure derived in the second and third stages. A collection of holiday prints attractively arranged in an album is a lasting record which refreshes memory and provides the most satisfactory way of showing friends what a jolly time you had.⁵¹

This article characterizes photography as a way for tourists to structure their travel experiences. Tourists are encouraged to think of all phases of their journeys in terms of photographs—before leaving one must prepare to take them; while there one must decide what, when and how to photograph, when one gets back home one must decide how to organize and arrange them into albums—and throughout the whole process one is encouraged to imagine how they will be seen by others when all is said and done.

While this motivation of display and conspicuous consumption is paramount, Kodak also was aware that most of their middle-class consumers did not live lives of luxury, even if they enjoyed creating the appearance of just that. Considering this, Kodak also needed to pitch their cameras and photography as a practical necessity and an economic value. In his 1925 essay, “The Joy of Collecting: Are You Getting The Best Out of Your Camera,” F. Whitman chastises,

..the photographer who takes pictures and then loses them; who leaves them ‘kicking about’ the house or allows them to get dog-eared and worn out in his pocket. To take photographs and treat them in this way is about as sensible as buying tickets for the theatre and not using them!⁵²

⁵¹ “A Helping Hand: Holiday Albums,” *The Kodak Magazine* 5, no 9 (September 1927): 168.

⁵² F. Whitman, “The Joy of Collecting: Are You Getting the Best Out of Your Camera,” *The Kodak Magazine* 3, no. 2 (November 1925): 182.

To solve the problem, he suggests consumers take care of their photographs by making albums: “An album is as necessary to the real enjoyment of photography as is the possession of a Kodak.”⁵³

In an apparent effort to get amateurs to create polished-looking pictorial travel diaries, Kodak published numerous articles on the subject, such as “Your Holidays! How to Enjoy Them All Over Again” by C.R. Denton. This article actually provides two templates of pages from a travel diary, including a title page decorated with a simple hand-drawn design and a photograph as well as a page with four photographs and a series of lines for textual additions (Fig. 104). The author closes by instructing the amateur to take the completed pages to a printer or bookbinder and the results will be “a fine, interesting book.”⁵⁴ This type of formula for making a personal-travel book is visually evocative of Scott’s and Fison’s professionally-typeset albums and numerous vernacular photo-travel books that add personal touches, including Crowell’s *A Country Lawyer Sees the World*. Crowell’s pages have a decorative border and have individualizing touches such as handwriting and hand-drawn sketches. Indeed it does look as though Crowell simply took his personal travel album to a printer or bookbinder as Denton suggests.

Even more detailed and personal advice is given in an article by Miss K.M. Stringer entitled, “My Album Diary: Why I made it - And How.”

For a long time past I have recorded my summer holidays in albums of snapshots. Year after year in regular order they showed where I went, what I did. ‘My wordless diaries’ I call them...Then it struck me – why not have a short written diary as well- a few words describing the

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ C.R. Denton, “Your Holidays! How to Enjoy them All Over Again,” *The Kodak Magazine* 1, no. 11 (November 1923): 163.

adventures of each day and illustrated by snapshots? What a complete record it would be!⁵⁵

Two pages of her travel diary illustrate the article. The first page shows two somewhat generic landscape views. The second has two photographs, one showing the author's tour group pulled over to the side of the road to admire a landscape and another showing the author and her friend posing at the side of another scenic road (Fig. 105). Her concluding remarks highlight individuality and privatization as the core values of such tourist books; "...what book in the world can be more interesting to us than one we have both written and illustrated, and also in which we are the principal persons concerned!"⁵⁶

These examples show how Kodak played a key role in encouraging the genre of vernacular photo-travel books. The similarities between the photographically-illustrated diaries mentioned in these articles and vernacular photo-travel books are undeniable. They are especially evident in an article entitled, "Illustrating the Travel Diary." The article features snapshot photographs taken by Miss N.W. Annis, an amateur who sent her travel photographs into Kodak. Kodak describes her diary as "a full and highly readable account of her travels abroad and invests the details with the special attractiveness that always accompanies an easy, personal, candid account of intimate experience of places and people."⁵⁷ Kodak decided to publish excerpts from her travel diary and introduced it with the following:

There is happy precedent for travel diaries. Some of the most fascinating literature ever written is in this form. Also there is a happy precedent for 'taking a Kodak with you.' Kodak records of journeys now picture every cranny of the globe. Doing both of these things—keeping the journal and making Kodak picture-records—and blending the fruits of the two in a

⁵⁵ Miss K.M. Stringer, "My Album – Diary: Why I Made It – And How," *The Kodak Magazine* 4, no. 2 (February 1926): 22.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ N.W. Annis, "Illustrating the Travel Diary," *Kodakery* 1, no. 8 (April 1914): 4.

personally made book, is a most interesting way of supplementing the pleasures and profits of travel. Sometimes these journals are sent home as parts of letters, and afterward typed and illustrated. Sometimes they are completed on the journey; sometimes arranged from notes after the return. In these days of the typewriter a thoroughly bookish volume may be produced with interleaved photographs (marked out on printing paper cut the size of the book page) or with photographs inserted in blank places in the running text. Thus the text helps the photographs and the photographs help the text. Both help the memory in living over again the delights of days in new or revisited spots.⁵⁸

As this article appears in the context of a “how to” magazine one must assume that it encouraged others to make similar books using text and photographs. Perhaps the most significant aspect about this article is that it was published and entered into the public realm as such it shows that there was a public audience that was interested in reading about strangers’ travels.

This article not only contains photographs of famous locations like the Grand Canal in Venice (Fig 106), but also includes such idiosyncratic personalized snapshots as the one captioned “The Stove in Our Room at Vienna” (Fig. 107). The author recognizes her photographs as an attempt to both own and individualize her travel experience. As she writes in her entry on Florence, “Indeed, one scarcely turns a corner without a temptation to make the picture one’s own.”⁵⁹ The logical extension of this article, and the others like it that have been discussed, is that *any* tourists might be able to find a similar readership for their own snapshots and travel stories. By the time this article was written vernacular photo-travel books were becoming commonplace within the public domain. As a consequence it can be difficult to ascertain whether such articles created, influenced or emulated vernacular photo-travel books. The type of travel diaries these

⁵⁸ Ibid., 3-4.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.

articles suggest making almost exactly follows the form of vernacular photo-travel books and at the very least are a simultaneous expression of the same cultural moment.

In many ways vernacular photo-travel books can be seen as the fruition of mass tourism's early development and as an amalgamation of early forms and practices of tourist photography. However, key differences arise between albums and vernacular photo-travel books when considering the scope and nature of the intended audience of each. The most essential difference was that vernacular photo-travel books are published and entered into the public realm. Like early photographically-illustrated travel books and albums, vernacular photo-travel books reiterate an established canon of 'must see' tourist sites, but they do this on a *large scale* and thus invite readers to enact their own experiences of such places. As such, they play a far greater role in the growth, tenor, and continuation of mass tourism than their unpublished predecessors. Albums, on the other hand, are single, original, handcrafted objects intended for a relatively limited audience and are viewed by people who are usually familiar with the album's maker.

Unlike some of the albums discussed in this chapter made by a wealthy and privileged few, vernacular photo-travel books reflect a new, more accessible kind of travel, and are often written by members of the middle-class. We have seen how the desire to individualize one's travel images and albums was present in the nineteenth century and carried out through highly personal textual additions in albums like Peabody's and Seaton's, but the desire became even stronger in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries when tourists could also take their own travel photographs, as in the snapshot album of Zeller. Vernacular photo-travel books bring these two aspects of their precursors together—personal narrative and the tourist's own photographs—and the

result, as we shall see, is an even stronger individualization in vernacular photo-travel books.

As a whole, vernacular photo-travel books are significantly different from most nineteenth-century albums as they shift away from, or at the very least provide an alternative to, the generalized nature of commercial travel photography that dominated the nineteenth century. The popularity of vernacular photo-travel books signals that the public at large was ready for this shift. Not only did people enjoy making their own photographs and travel narratives, they enjoyed seeing and reading other similarly personalized versions of familiar places and tourist sites. In summary, commercial tourist photography was not replaced by snapshot photography, but the latter significantly diminished the importance of the former and certainly destroyed its monopoly.

CHAPTER TWO: CONSUMPTION AND CLASS

Snapshot photography came into being during a flowering of consumer culture in the United States from roughly 1890-1930, a time defined by the mass production of inexpensive standardized goods. During this same time personal identity was becoming increasingly linked to one's ability to purchase material items. Amateur-friendly cameras were one of many new commodities that affected people's sense of identity and place within the social structure. Travel photography played a vital role in this culture of consumption in at least three important ways. First, on a broad cultural scale, travel photographs were used in advertisements as a means to sell various goods and products (including travel itself). Second, on an individual scale, consumers made travel photographs with the hope that they could turn their intangible experiences and memories into physical objects that could be owned, collected, and displayed to others. And third, photography, as a medium capable of mass reproduction, contributed to the tourist cycle of consumption.

Kodak advertisements and travel-related stories in *Kodakery* and *The 'Kodak' Magazine* promoted amateur photography as a means to display one's wealth (or at least the appearance of it) to others. Similarly, W.H. Crowell's *Country Lawyer Sees the World* (1927) and Edmund Gress's *A Dash Through Europe with Snapshots by the Way* (1923) highlight the importance of conspicuous consumption and ownership that can be seen in many other vernacular photo-travel books. Interestingly, some tourists/authors, specifically, William Seabrook, Harry Franck and R. St. Barbe Baker, perceived foreign cultures as a commodity to consume while simultaneously positioning their books as a reaction to the spread of consumerism on a global scale.

In his influential book *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1902) Thorstein Veblen explains how leisure and conspicuous consumption became symbols of wealth and status in highly developed industrialized societies. He explains that the middle and working-classes in these societies tried to obtain the same symbols of wealth as the upper-class.

In modern civilized communities the lines of demarcation between social classes have grown vague and transient, and wherever this happens the norm of reputability imposed by the upper class extends its coercive influence with but slight hindrance down through the social structure to the lowest strata. The result is that the members of each stratum accept as their ideal of decency the scheme of life in vogue in the next higher stratum, and bend their energies to live up to that ideal. On pain of forfeiting their good name and their self-respect in case of failure, they must conform to the accepted code, at least in appearance.¹

As Veblen's remarks indicate, judgments about one's class status are not always made on the basis of one's actual wealth, but rather, upon one's ability to *manipulate appearances* through a careful maneuvering of certain status symbols. For many middle-class tourists merely traveling was not enough; tourists felt obligated to mimic the travel habits and patterns of the rich. Even though travel was becoming more accessible by the early twentieth century, photo-historian Peter Osborne warns, "Tourism in general often follows the itineraries and simulates the comforts of the rich and privileged of earlier generations and remains haunted by their values."²

In his book *All Consuming Images* (1988), Stuart Ewen also argues that the growth of consumerism in the United States rests upon a leveling of *visible* economic differences. He writes, "The new *consumer democracy*, which was propelled by the mass

¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 12.

² Peter Osborne, *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 40.

production and marketing of stylish goods, was founded on the idea that symbols and prerogatives of the elites could now be made available on a mass scale.”³ According to Ewen, this shift towards a consumer democracy resulted in a society, “filled with mass-produced status symbols, in which judgment about a person is not based upon what one *does* within society, but rather upon what one *has*.”⁴ As a result, consumption was quickly becoming associated with one’s character and identity, and the ability to read and manipulate the external signs and symbols of consumption became a valuable social skill, especially in fast-paced urban environments where strangers must co-exist and come in to contact with one another, but rarely get much, if any time to develop inter-personal relationships based on modes of communication besides first visual impressions.

By the first few decades of the twentieth century, travel photography had become such a familiar part of the popular culture of consumption that businesses used it as a marketing tool. I have selected “Hood’s Photos of the World” (c. 1920), a series of collecting cards, as a representative example of this. These cards have photographs of various notable places around the world, such as, Vesuvius in Naples, Italy and the Parthenon in Athens, Greece (Fig. 108). The reverse side of each card has a brief description of the photograph and three advertisements for a random assortment of various of Hood’s products such as cookbooks, puzzles, paper dolls, olive ointment, Hood’s pills, pain-killing plasters, and Sarsaparilla (Fig. 109). There is no rational connection between the goods advertised and the travel photographs. Hood was simply taking two desired commodities, travel and photography, and associating their products with these entities. The half-tone reproductions on the collecting cards have brown and

³ Stuart Ewen, *All Consuming Images* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68.

yellowish tones and include white captions and negative numbers that make them look very much like earlier commercial albumen prints. Despite these visual similarities, the motivations driving the making and circulation of these cards (although perhaps not their actual use) remain quite different from those that drove earlier tourists to collect similar kinds of images. The difference lies in the fact that Hood's cards use travel and travel photography to sell other, unrelated products. They are not souvenirs collected by tourists to document their own travels. As such, these cards are an excellent example of how travel photography was becoming commodified on a cultural scale rather than a comparatively limited and specialized activity primarily of interest to travelers.

During this time various companies, including Kodak, were quickly learning that the best way to promote consumption of their products was to target consumers' sense of self.⁵ In addition to marketing their cameras by stressing the practical functions they served, Kodak sold its products by attaching them to a host of symbolic meanings and abstract ideals, including individuality, practical value, memory and class distinction through ownership. Photography was characterized as a means of individualization through an emphasis on the consumer's ability to determine for him or herself what and how to photograph. In a Kodak advertisement from 1911, for example, a young girl aims her Folding Pocket Kodak directly at the viewer (Fig. 110).⁶ The text informs potential consumers, "There's a new pleasure in every phase of photography – pleasure in the taking, pleasure in the finishing, but most of all pleasure in possessing pictures of the

⁵ See "Vacation Days are Kodak Days: Modern Leisure and the New Amateur Photographer in Advertising," in Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 36-73. John Taylor has performed a similar analysis of Kodak travel-related advertisements circulating in England during the early-twentieth century. See John Taylor, *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 136-151.

⁶ Nancy Martha West has written about Kodak's emphasis on possession and ownership. See Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*.

places and people that *you* are interested in.” The advertisement ‘asks’ viewers to imagine themselves in the position of the camera operator. By doing this, Kodak emphasizes that each photograph (whether it is a self-portrait or not) is to some extent always about the maker. Each one bears his or her unique signature. The words “pleasure of possession” promise tourists control and power. This promise was all the more appealing given the limited options and control over one’s image that tourists had enjoyed just a short time prior, when commercial photographs were the only ones available.

Perhaps the best example of how Kodak linked their products to private ownership and memory is an advertisement from their 1926 “Keep your vacation with a Kodak” campaign. The image shows a solitary woman who dreamily looks out of her train window at a passing landscape. The scene she views is shown as though it were already a representation and not an actual experience (Fig. 111). This foreshadows the nostalgic reminiscing this traveler will enjoy in months and even years later at home if she captures it now in a photograph. She holds her camera in her lap and has removed one glove suggesting that she has just taken, or is about to take, a photograph of the scenery. Her relaxed demeanor and the comfortable, quiet interior space are evocative of a parlor and effectively link Kodak cameras to the world of bourgeois comfort and privatization.⁷ The slogan for the advertisement “Keep your Vacation with a Kodak” is

⁷ The subtlety of the term privatization should be distinguished from my use of the word individuality. When individuality is simultaneously linked to ownership or possession in an image or text under examination I have chosen to use the word privatization. It is quite possible that individualization may be present in a text or image without the additional implication of ownership. Privatization typically implies exclusive access, however, that is not necessarily true here. Most tourists had easy access to both cameras and famous tourist attractions and sites. My use of the word privatization is reserved for the ideology that motivates some tourists to take photographs—a kind of thinking that is closely related to the desire for comfort, privacy, singularity, control, mastery and power. This type of thinking goes beyond the desire to individualize an image; a person may want that without wanting to share their photographs with

significant because it suggests both preservation (as opposed to losing, forgetting, etc.) and ownership (one might think of the words collect or possess as synonyms).

The seemingly attainable life of luxury seen in the above advertisement appealed to many members of the middle-class. However, as Peter Osborne points out, middle-class tourists were also “torn between the retentive values of work, savings and self-restraint and the sensuous prospects and fantasies of spending and consuming which wealth made increasingly possible.”⁸ Thus, affordability and accessibility was something emphasized in other Kodak ad campaigns, like those for the Brownie camera. This is true of a practical-looking advertisement from 1907 that emphasizes mass manufacture and accessibility instead of the individuality and wealth featured in the “Keep your vacation with a Kodak” advertisement discussed above (Fig. 112). The image focuses on the product alone and not, for example, on scenes of people enjoying a luxurious lifestyle. An earlier 1904 Brownie advertisement directly links Kodak’s least expensive and most popular camera to travel; its text reads, “Vacation fun doubles when you have a Brownie Camera. Pictures of everything you are interested in at a small cost and no trouble” (Fig. 113). A comparison of these Brownie advertisements with the advertisement of the woman in the train reveals that Kodak was clearly negotiating a fine line between promoting their cameras as an accessible and democratic technology so as not to alienate the average consumer *and* a symbolic accoutrement to a prestigious and luxurious lifestyle, which was often signified by travel.

Depending upon how one is inclined to read it, both luxury and democratic access are also present in Kodak’s “They *All* Remembered their Kodak” (c. 1915) advertisement

others. Whereas privatization involves the desire to publicly show one’s individualized travel images in order to foster an image of oneself as a powerful consumer.

⁸ Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 57.

(Fig. 114). This advertisement shows travelers on a train-station platform gathered around a woman who is taking her camera out of its case. Based on their behavior one might think they had never seen a camera before. However the text indicates that each of these travelers has his or her own Kodak. Perhaps, then, the attention the woman is getting is warranted because she has the latest or most expensive model. Two things are certain: the viewer, if given a choice, would probably rather occupy her position than join the crowd of admirers, and the camera is held up as a purchase for others to admire and covet. The image suggests the camera owner is special among the crowd and as such implies that purchasing a Kodak is a path to distinction among one's peers. The elitist sentiment seen in the image and described above is countered by the more democratic messages found in the advertisement's text. Specifically, the text emphasizes the practicality of Kodak cameras by arguing that, "A vacation *without* a Kodak camera is a vacation wasted. A Kodak doubles the value of every journey and adds to the pleasure, present and future, of every outing." This advertisement shows how Kodak appealed to their middle and working-class customers by suggesting photographs could help them get the most out of their time and money spent on travel by letting them relive their journeys again and again through their images. The text also mentions that Kodak sells cameras ranging in cost from one to one hundred dollars. As such, it stresses that *everyone* can afford a Kodak. Which Kodak one selects will ultimately depend upon where one envisions one's place within the class hierarchy. Thus, this particularly clever advertisement fully articulates Kodak's attempts to simultaneously portray their cameras as accessible and as markers of distinction.

Veblen explains, “Since the consumption of these more excellent goods is an evidence of wealth, it becomes honorific; and conversely, the failure to consume in due quantity and quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit.”⁹ As Veblen indicates, those who do not meet a particular standard for their class often feel a sense of personal failure and shame. They also harbor an envy of those who seem to be ‘living the dream.’ Such emotions often led consumers to feel haunted by a general sense of discontent. Peter Osborne makes this point even more strongly:

The market required the production of consumer need, which in turn required convincing individuals that their lives were deficient and in need of fulfillment. It demanded a subjectivity that was continuously dreaming of being other than itself—a yearning for some authentic, free or happy existence somewhere in a distance more imaginary than real.¹⁰

Consequently, modern subjects are haunted by feelings of incompleteness and emptiness. Sightseeing, according to sociologist Dean MacCannell, is one way modern persons collectively seek to regain a sense of unity and authenticity.¹¹ Perhaps tourists feel that the something they are missing is located somewhere other than where they are already. Perhaps they also feel that if they could just find that something they would be content. However, such a search, if it does motivate tourists’ travels is doomed to failure. Travel could never give tourists what they think they are missing because a sense of failure and discontent is built into the system of consumption itself. Neither travel nor any other commodity could ever entirely fill this emotional void because this void plays such an important role in perpetuating further consumption. This production of discontent and consumer competitiveness often occurs in Kodak’s publicity material. Kodak also

⁹ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 25.

¹⁰ Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 58.

¹¹ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 7-8 and 14-15.

suggests the negative social consequences that face consumers who fail to exceed (or at least live up to) the standard of consumption deemed appropriate for their class.

A fictional essay entitled “A Vacation While You Wait,” (1915) that appeared in *Kodakery* shows exactly how Kodak linked travel photography to display and the conspicuous consumption of the traveling middle-classes. The essay tells the story of a thrifty middle-class man, Briggs, who refuses to buy his own Kodak for an upcoming vacation. Although wary of new technology, he is curious about these new cameras that everyone else seemed to have. So he and his wife unsuccessfully attempt to borrow one from several neighbors. The main character remarks:

What is this thing they call Kodak anyway? Why you'd thought I was asking Jenks for the loan of a million dollars, with an inkbottle as security. Said he was going on vacation, himself, next week, and that he'd as soon think of going without carfare as without a Kodak. ...Seems a normal enough fellow, too. Jenks does. Then he went on with a lot of other rubbish. Said that the Kodak prolonged the vacation indefinitely, that after the vacation was all over all you had to do was get out your Kodak album, and the pictures would bring the whole trip back to you – make it all seem so real that you could fairly hear the surf on the beach – after the vacation was all over, mind you.¹²

None of the neighbors are willing to part with their treasured Kodaks, so Briggs is forced to buy one for himself. He takes plenty of vacation snapshots that his wife arranges into a Kodak album. One day when he comes home from a hard day's work wishing he were still on vacation, his wife surprises him with the album. Briggs is amazed by how well the snapshots came out and boasts that his Kodak pictures make Jenks, the neighbor who had previously refused the loan of his Kodak, “look like thirty cents.”¹³ The story ends when a neighbor drops by the Briggs' and asks to borrow their camera. Of course he leaves empty handed and the Briggs become one of the enviable neighbors.

¹² Unknown, “A Vacation While You Wait,” *Kodakery* 2, no. 5 (January 1915): 4-5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 8.

This particular article is a somewhat blatant example of how Kodak encouraged a ‘keeping up with the Jones’ mentality. Through such publicity material, Kodak plays to the public’s strong desire to possess and own material objects in quantities and quality that equals or exceeds their family and friends. They also promote photography as a means for consumers to produce visible, tangible evidence of their prosperity at a moment’s notice. One of the key lessons to be learned from the examples discussed so far in this chapter is that, as Kodak sold their cameras, they also actively defined snapshot photography by linking it to specific social values and ideals. Kodak did not just teach the masses the technical nuances of operating their new cameras, nor did they just teach amateurs *what* and *how* to photograph. They also articulated and reflected the ideology of consumerism and the public display of it.

Peter Osborne argues that photography’s invention answered several social needs, including the desire to display one’s possessions to others. Specifically, he suggests that photographic technology especially appealed to middle-class tourists because they already “looked on the world as a department-store without-walls.”¹⁴ The photographic medium, he argues, further encouraged middle-class tourists to see the world as “spread out before the observer, separate from the mind but available for intellectual, aesthetic and economic possession.”¹⁵ Osborne even goes so far as to suggest, “to photograph is to in some way to appropriate the object being photographed.”¹⁶ Taking a photograph doesn’t mean that one literally owns the thing it shows. The association between photography and ownership must be understood on a phenomenological level. As

¹⁴ Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 90.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

Osborne explains, “true consumption [takes] place in the eye and imagination.”¹⁷

Considering the mentality of consumption driving mass tourism forward, one of the most important functions of travel photography was that it transformed abstract and intangible experiences into tangible material objects that could be collected and owned.

Photography helped tourists materialize the more abstract aspects of mass tourism, providing a way to preserve and externalize memories as well as manifest a particular self-image of oneself as a consumer.

The ideology of conspicuous consumption can clearly be found in many vernacular photo-travel books including those in which class affects not only how and what one sees when traveling abroad, but also how one pictures oneself *being seen as a traveler by others*. For example, throughout his book, *A Country Lawyer Sees the World* (1927), W.H. Crowell not only defines himself in binary terms against those who he perceived to be less civilized abroad, but he also defines himself against his less mobile (geographically and financially) friends and neighbors at home. Yet, he clearly still wants their attention, approval and perhaps even their envy. As he explicitly states, “All this time I kept thinking with a grin of my fellow townsmen in Shelbyville and wondering what they would think if they could see their neighbor making such a stir in the big world.”¹⁸ Crowell’s snapshots are more than evidence of places visited; they are also a mode of public display used to manifest the author’s desired self image as a man of power and social distinction.

Edmund Gress’s decision to published *A Dash Through Europe* (1923) may be also be considered as a form of conspicuous consumption intended to separate the author

¹⁷ Ibid., 127.

¹⁸ W.H. Crowell, *A Country Lawyer Sees the World* (Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Company, 1927), 18.

from those unable to make such a luxurious trip. However, the democratic impulse behind his appendix, “How I planned the trip, and what I found out of value to others,” makes Gress appear less interested in social distinction than some other authors. This special appendix is designed to serve as a template for other mass tourists to follow. It indicates that Gress’ intended audience was other middle-class people interested in making a similar journey. In this section Gress reproduces images and information that he thinks other travelers like him might find helpful including, among other things, his day-by day itinerary (complete with a map tracing his various wanderings through Europe) (Fig. 115), photographs of his hotels and a sample bill from one (Fig. 116), photographs of a taxi carriage in Italy and a sightseeing coach in France (Fig. 117), and a picture of a European railway station with a copy of a typical French train schedule (Fig. 118). Thus, the appendix counters whatever self-aggrandizing impulses the book itself may evidence by encouraging others to replicate or undertake a similar trip. Gress’s appendix also demonstrates how vernacular photo-travel books, although highly personal and individualized, may have contributed to the cycle of mass tourism and its increasing standardization by encouraging many readers to go to the same places.

Although Gress encouraged other members of the middle-class to travel, there are times in his book when the author himself does not seem so convinced about the ultimate worth of mass tourism. This is especially evident when Gress describes visiting the place of his ancestral roots. He writes:

I might explain that I was doing what most tourists do on their first trip to Europe – I was hunting up the place from which my forbears left for America. In 1817 John Gress and Margaret Banzet, both residents of the village of Rothau, in the Vosges Mountains twenty-eight miles from

Strasbourg, joined their fortunes and left for the new Republic across the Atlantic, taking ship at Amsterdam and arriving in Philadelphia.¹⁹

Ultimately, Gress comes up rather empty handed from his experience of looking for his roots in Rothau. He seems a bit disappointed, for example, that the locals paid little or no attention to him. To them, he was just another tourist passing through. He jokes, “There was no band to welcome me at Rothau...I just walked around. As the majority of the people were at work I saw mostly old women and children.” Then he tries to soothe his bruised ego by suggesting that he has some kind of special and individualized connection to the landscape: “The hills reminded me of Pennsylvania, and perhaps this resemblance caused John and the twenty-six years old Margaret to select their new home there.” Gress is disappointed yet again when he tries to visit the graves of his ancestors; “I tried to locate the town cemetery, thinking that I might find some trace of the family names there. ...I immediately walked to the cemetery and looked over every gravestone, but the dates ran back to only 1870.”²⁰

When Gress retires to a local inn for the evening he informs the proprietor of how he had come all the way from the United States to see Rothau, where his great grandparents had lived more than a hundred years ago. He discovers after rambling on for several minutes that his efforts were wasted, as the innkeeper could not speak a word of English. This slightly embarrassing moment is a typical experience for many tourists. However, in this case, the incident is made slightly more awkward and uncomfortable because Gress arrived in Rothau naively expecting to share a deeper and more immediate connection with the place than the average tourist. Leaving for Strasbourg, Gress ends

¹⁹ Edmund Gress, *A Dash Through Europe with Snapshots by the Way* (New York: Oswald Publishing Company, 1923), 114-5.

²⁰ Ibid. All of the quotes in this paragraph are taken from pages 115-6.

this section by soothing his bruised ego and the disappointment of his ‘failed’ Rothau excursion with a light-hearted remark: “About twenty miles away the train stopped at Gress-willer, a pretty Alsatian village. It seemed strange to see one’s name placarded in letters a foot high. I had not known of the honor.”²¹

At the very least these passages from Gress’s book reflect some level of discomfort with his position as an anonymous tourist in the crowd. Though all of Gress’s jokes and stories are delivered with more than a healthy dose of self-deprecating humor, they provide evidence that he had false ideas about his own individual importance abroad. Ultimately Gress’s book is an excellent example of how a vernacular photo-travel book can be both self-aggrandizing and democratic. It also shows how vernacular photo-travel books can be practical (working like something approximating a guidebook) and personal to the point of autobiography.²² Today a book like *A Dash Through Europe* would likely be dismissed as irrelevant, too personal, and too banal. However, when the book was first published in 1923 the middle-class people who read it likely would have seen similarities between their station in life and the author’s. The foreign people and places encountered in travel provided a narrative subject for vernacular photo-travel book authors, but the sub-text or underlying message of many these books was the upward mobility of the middle-class.

Earlier in this chapter we saw that Kodak could not settle on just one strategy to define and promote snapshot photography. At one and the same time they align their

²¹ Ibid., 118.

²² It must be noted that vernacular photo-travel books are essentially different from guidebooks. The authors of guidebooks have no desire or stake in attaching their individuality to their travels, whereas the authors of vernacular photo-travel books, like Gress, constantly assert their authorial presence. This is partially because many vernacular photo-travel books are about the author’s individualized consumption. Guidebooks are not about the particular author’s travels, but about travel *in general*.

cameras socially with *both* accessibility and privilege. A similar confusion about whether to align oneself with an upper or middle-class notion of travel characterizes Crowell's book. Crowell understands his relatively insignificant role within the larger collective of travelers/consumers who comprised the new mass tourism industry. However, this type of obscurity was difficult for Crowell (and many other tourists like him) to embrace. His dislike of the standardized and impersonal mass tourist industry is readily communicated from the start of his book:

Two hundred years ago one who in a journey around the world encountered the dangers on land, the perils of the sea, the strange vicissitudes of climate, and the malignant and deadly diseases that lurk in foreign lands, was called a "hero," but to-day he is merely a globe trotter.²³

Crowell shows a nostalgia for the glory days of travel, when, according to him, only the bravest and strongest men set out to explore the most obscure corners of the globe. One senses that Crowell would like to be this type of adventurer. However, realistically, he is unwilling to engage in this type of travel because he realizes there is no room in his bourgeois lifestyle for the possible danger and definite exertion it entails. Instead, Crowell portrays himself as a middle-class travel hero. For example, when he wants to gain special access to sites, or simply wants to seem important to his fellow travelers, he claims that he works with the Department of Justice.²⁴ Of course, this is a gross inflation of his actual situation and a far cry from Crowell's humble description of himself as a "country lawyer" in the title of his book.

Sometimes Crowell attempts to be perceived as a wealthy and important *traveler*, other times he embraces his true class position and identity as a middle-class *tourist*. The

²³ Crowell, *A Country Lawyer Sees the World*, 9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 14, 17, 19.

class distinction between the figure of ‘the traveler’ and that of ‘the tourist’ that so troubles Crowell has been a popular and on-going subject within both travel writing and the scholarship of mass tourism.²⁵ Typically, travel writers and scholars who find it necessary to draw such distinctions characterize travelers as upper class, self-determining individuals who have the freedom and good taste to decide for themselves where they will go and how long to stay in any given place. Travelers are represented (or represent themselves) as lingerers who have the time, money and education to truly absorb and appreciate their travel experiences. Conversely, tourists historically have been portrayed as members of the middle or working-classes who do not have a lot of time or money. Tourists are often compared to sheep; they travel in herds and simply follow the beaten path because they do not know better. Stereotypes abound of the tourist as one who rushes to cram as many sites as possible into his or her brief, pre-packaged, and formulaic itinerary. Unlike the traveler, who is portrayed as discrete and discriminating, the tourist is associated with vulgar commercialism and desperate attempts to flout his or her ability to consume. Evidence of this can be seen in countless representations of the tourist as someone who only has enough time to snap a photograph and move on once the ‘trophy’ has been secured. Of course, this suggests that tourists are only interested in superficial consumption and not, for example, in transformative experiences.

Some scholars, most notably Daniel Boorstin, have argued that the mass tourist seeks out “pseudo-events,” meaning inauthentic displays and contrived attractions and

²⁵ In the Introduction and Chapter One of his book, James Buzard offers an extensive overview of the traveler/tourist debate. See James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture’ 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1-17. Also see Graham Dann, “Writing Out the Tourist in Space and Time,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 1 (1999): 165-67; Paul Fussell, *Abroad, British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 37-50; Ovar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 262-66; and Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions* (Oxford: England and Norman, 1988) 153-59.

that tourism has made the experience of travel, “diluted, contrived and pre-fabricated.”²⁶ In contrast to the sophisticated individual traveler, Boorstin believes the mass tourist rushes from one site to another, observing foreign people and places from a safe distance, and thus never integrates into the host culture. The traveler, on the other hand, is educated and seeks further education and self-transformation through his or her journey. He or she is individualistic and avoids well-known sites and, above all else, interactions with other tourists.²⁷ In contrast to Boorstin’s rather negative characterization of the mass tourist, other scholars, most notably Dean MacCannell, has pointed out the artificiality of the traveler/tourist distinction and argues that anyone who travels is a tourist.²⁸

Subsequent scholars, however, have in turn critiqued MacCannell for writing about ‘The Tourist’ as a monolithic category, and for his failure to recognize the diverse types of people and experiences that in practice actually constitute mass tourism. Erik Cohen, for example, has tried to complicate the over simplification of tourists by pointing out that there is no one kind or type of tourist.²⁹ Nevertheless, MacCannell’s argument that we are all tourists was an important first step in beginning to break down the classist ideology of elitism that fuels distinctions between ‘the traveler’ and ‘the tourist.’ In his book *On Holiday* (1999), Ovar Löfgren asserts the importance of the tourist’s drive towards individuality and rejects both Boorstin’s characterization of tourists as naive, vulgar consumers who simply follow pre-determined paths and MacCannell’s monolithic

²⁶ Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), 79.

²⁷ James Buzard writes extensively about the tourist’s dislike of other tourists, and all things touristic. He terms this phenomenon “anti-tourism.” See Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture’ 1800-1918*, 80-154.

²⁸ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 9-10.

²⁹ Erik Cohen as quoted in Tom Selwyn, ed., *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism* (Chichester West Sussex, England: John Wiley and Sons, 1996) 1-4.

tourist.³⁰ Löfgren's idealistic notion of the tourist as self-determined individual and Boorstin's stereotype of the vulgar, mindless tourist both assume a stable and static spectator-subject within the activity and discourse of tourism. However, it is more accurate to consider that tourists must *continually negotiate* their sense of self in relation to many things including the homogenizing forces of commercialism and the ideology of individualism prevalent at this time.

Mass tourism often reified class divisions as much as it blurred them. By the early-twentieth century both travel and photography were becoming increasingly accessible to middle class consumers. Many scholars have been quick to call this increased accessibility a "democratization of travel." However, this overly simple notion of democratization obscures important class differences among travelers.³¹ Similarly, Claudia Bell and John Lyall argue that it is more important to consider the ways in which mass tourism *reified* class boundaries in America rather than blurred them. They assert that travel was used as a signifier of wealth and privilege, even as it was becoming more financially and socially accessible to some.³²

The same can be said about the introduction of amateur-friendly cameras to the public. In his book, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* (1965), Pierre Bourdieu calls attention to the idea that, despite increased accessibility to the means of photographic production (inexpensive cameras), some people in the lower economic strata were limited

³⁰ Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*, 8.

³¹ It also obscures important racial and gender differences.

³² Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2002), 11. These points about how tourism sometimes reified class boundaries should not be seen as contradictory to the arguments made by Veblen and Ewen discussed earlier. Veblen and Ewen argue that class divisions were blurred by conspicuous consumption, but neither argues that class divisions disappeared entirely. In fact, both their arguments highlight the reality of class divisions in so far as they describe the desperation inherent in the middle and working-classes' ultimately futile struggle to measure up to the wealthy.

by their perception of themselves as consumers and not producers.³³ In other words, the poor in industrialized societies, especially the rural poor, often identified activities such as travel and photography with excessive luxury and breaking from their ‘natural’ social station in life. According to Bourdieu, for some members of the lower classes, taking one’s own photographs “...was an expression of a desire for distinction, for singularity, a desire to impress or humiliate others. It is an attack on the principle which dominates all of social existence and has nothing to do with egalitarianism.”³⁴ Although they are middle-class, perhaps a similar guilt motivated Crowell’s attempt to present himself as a humble country lawyer and Gress’ decision to include an appendix in his book that reaches out to other members in his class-community. Peter Osborne discusses the freedom to daydream, to lose oneself in reverie, as part of what has led travel to be associated with privilege:

For those who traveled in the nineteenth century such a non-utilitarian surrendering to subjectivity or ‘sensibility’ for its own sake, such pleasure taken in purposelessness, was indeed a holiday from the system. They [the middle and working-class] belonged to a society outside the aristocracy marked by its relentless promotion of diligence and self-denial. And for that reason travel and the traveler’s reverie were enjoyments forever tinged with guilt to be assuaged only by the educational or religious gains of traveling.³⁵

However, as we have seen, this guilt did not prevent either of them from also using their books as a way to display their wealth and upward mobility or at least the appearance of it. Ultimately, any fear members of the middle-class may have felt about alienating others because they bought and used cameras was overpowered by their willingness to

³³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 47. The first edition was published in 1965. Bourdieu’s analysis is based on his observations of French culture. However, his comments are broadly applicable to the United States given that both countries are industrialized, capitalistic societies that were introduced to many of the same brands of photographic goods and in ways that employed very similar marketing strategies.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

³⁵ Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 26.

use the medium as a means of recording personal experiences and publicly displaying them. Precisely because photography was so heartily embraced by the bourgeoisie, many in the upper classes viewed the practice of amateur photography as beneath them and therefore avoided it altogether.³⁶ In these ways popular photography emphasized class boundaries as much as they blurred them.

In order to discuss the concept of conspicuous consumption that is so important to this chapter, one must also understand the significance of photography as a medium of mass reproduction and how it played an important role in making the tourists' private consumption visible to the public. Tourists followed the relatively pre-determined paths for reasons of safety and comfort, but they also were motivated by the desire to see for themselves the same sites and places that they had seen in other tourist photographs. Vernacular photo-travel books helped fuel mass tourism as a whole by returning more images of mass travel to the public sphere. These travel books, working in tandem with marketing efforts by camera corporations like Kodak, tour operators like Cook, and other corporations benefiting from mass tourism such as American Express, made travel a desirable commodity, effecting how and where other consumers traveled. Upon entering the public sphere these books themselves became commodities that helped perpetuate the cycle of mass tourism. Not only did they help establish a canon of 'must see' tourist sites but they also influenced how other tourists would interpret such sites if and when they made the journey for themselves. In this way, vernacular photo-travel books, by

³⁶ Ibid., 47. Bourdieu also argues that well-to-do amateurs buy expensive cameras, not because they will use or even understand the more advanced technical features they offer, but simply because they are able to spend the money and are accustomed to buying only the best quality products. He also finds that amateurs with expensive cameras tend to produce the same quality and type of photographs as those who purchased inexpensive cameras. Thus, more than anything else, the purchase of high-end cameras by amateurs is a symbolic gesture, yet another example of conspicuous consumption. Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, 32-3.

photographically mass reproducing already well-known canonical tourist sites, played a central role in perpetuating mass tourism, as did other forms of popular photography, like stereographs and postcards to name just a few. Once images of any given tourist site permeate popular culture, the meaning and significance of that site is fundamentally changed. In addition to whatever meanings a site may have had (artistic, social, historical, etc.) on its own, once photographs of it are entered into circulation en masse it acquires a new significance. Specifically, its value and significance become largely measured in terms of being the original or ‘the real thing’ from which copies are made.

Travelers had some vague idea of what to expect once they got to their destinations based on previous viewings of photographic representations, but by the twentieth century such travel images permeated popular culture, where they solidified the standardized nature of mass tourism. One interesting outcome of this standardization is the authors’ frequent but usually passing mention of disappointing experiences during their travels. This can be attributed to strict and high expectations of what should happen abroad and what other people and places should look like. Such presumptions often lead to disappointment when the tourist’s *expectation* did not meet up with the *experience*, or more appropriately, when the experience of the site did not match up to the innumerable and often idealized and/or stereotypical representations they had seen before.³⁷ There is often a feeling of mild disappointment when viewing one’s own travel photographs, as images can never fully capture the actual and exact experience that takes place in-person. This is not entirely surprising as photographs only evoke use of one of our many senses.

³⁷ John Taylor has discussed this disappointment in terms of tourist anxiety of “not achieving the adored or desired object.” See John Taylor, *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist’s Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 5, 67-9.

Sociologist Dean MacCannell's book *The Tourist* (1976) specifically relates the notion of the auratic object to the tourist's search for authenticity and wholeness in modern times through mass tourism. MacCannell explains:

The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see: this is a *typical* native house; this is the *very* place the leader fell; this is the *actual* pen used to sign the law; this is the *original* manuscript; this is an *authentic* Tlingit fish club, this is a *real* piece of the *true* Crown of Thorns.³⁸

MacCannell directly implicates photography in the tourist's search for authenticity by explaining that tourists are motivated, in part, to make a pilgrimage to see the original for themselves after they have seen photographic reproductions. They will in turn produce their own images, perpetuating the tourist cycle and the 'cult' of authenticity. The 'sacred' or 'authentic' status of the original is not just underscored by countless photographic reproductions of said tourist attraction, but also the droves of other tourists who have made the same journey, to see the same sight, probably motivated by the same or similar images to see the 'real thing' for themselves.

MacCannell identifies three key elements of mass tourism: "the marker," "the sight," and "the tourist." Markers are essentially anything that calls the tourist's attention to a particular thing or place and distinguishes it from its surrounding environment and all other sights.³⁹ From here, MacCannell goes on to describe what he calls "sight sacralization." This is the process by which various sights are invested through various means with a sense of authenticity, and it includes five steps. First, there is the "naming phase." This occurs when the sight is marked off from other objects. Second, there is the "framing and elevation" phase, which involves the creation of an official boundary

³⁸ MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

around the sight. This may, for example, include placing an object on a pedestal, enclosing it in a glass display case, placing ropes around it, or even situating viewing devices in proximity of the sight. Next comes the step of “enshrinement;” this is when the framing material itself enters the first stage of marking. Fourth is the stage of “mechanical reproduction,” where the sacred object is copied or reproduced imagistically, for example by taking a photograph, and that image in turn is valued and displayed. The fifth and final step in the process of site sacrilization is “social reproduction.” This occurs when “groups, cities and regions begin to name themselves after famous attractions.”⁴⁰

For the purposes of this study, step one is important as it helps explain one of the important functions of vernacular photo-travel books, namely to join other means of marking any given sight. However, step four is arguably even more crucial as it demonstrates the role photographic reproductions, like those found in vernacular photo-travel books, play in creating the effect of authenticity. These authors’ photographs joined countless other reproductions circulating in the public sphere to underscore the fact that the thing seen in the photograph is the original source of innumerable facsimiles. So, in addition to becoming “a marked thing,” the referent of the image now also becomes the “real thing.” Furthermore, step four shows how countless and oft repeated photographic reproductions of the same sights go a long way in determining the tourist’s itinerary and perhaps even motivates him or her to leave home and make the journey to the see the “real thing” in person.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 45.

John Urry, also following MacCannell, stresses the importance of mass reproduced visual images in structuring the tourist experience.⁴¹ Peter Osborne describes this aspect of tourism in his book *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (2000) when he writes, “Long before disembarking, European travelers knew what had to be seen and how it was to be interpreted.”⁴² He adds,

The sight or the site is a seeing without a subject for it pre-exists the arrival and activity of any individual tourist-photographer, who, once located there, is framed as much as framing. The sight is not so much an object to be viewed as an already-structured condition of seeing, a situation which places the sightseer even as he or she freely chooses to look or shoot.⁴³

John Urry makes this point in his book *The Tourist Gaze* (2002) when he argues: “travel is a strategy for the accumulation of photographs and hence for the commodification and privatization of personal and especially of family memories.”⁴⁴ Thus, popular photography answers both public and private needs. As a mass medium, photography allows innumerable images of any given site to enter the public sphere and goes a long way towards creating a site’s aura as something one must see to make one’s travel experience complete. At the same time, making one’s own snapshots allows a tourist to secure a privatized and personalized representation of his or her experience, even while fully participating in the commodified and collective aspects of mass tourism. Significantly, the publication of a vernacular photo-travel book re-introduces the privatized document back into the public sphere, where it not only contributes to the further commodification of the site, but also allows the tourist/author to display his or her ability to consume.

⁴¹ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), 3-4.

⁴² Osborne, *Traveling Light*, 24.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴⁴ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 128-9.

PROFESSIONAL VERNACULAR PHOTO TRAVEL BOOK AUTHORS:
BURTON HOLMES AND FRANK CARPENTER

Crowell and Gress treat photography and travel as a hobby; therefore, I refer to them as “amateurs.” Both had careers outside of photography and travel writing and both only wrote one travel book. Other tourists, including Burton Holmes, Frank Carpenter, William Seabrook and Harry Franck, are professional travel writers who made their living by authoring a series of vernacular photo-travel books. While I am calling these men professionals because of these similarities, there are very important differences between Holmes and Carpenter and Seabrook and Franck. Specifically, the former two were more in line with mass tourism. They traveled infrequently and followed standardized routes. The latter two spent most of their lives engaged in the kind of adventure-oriented travel that most tourists would not want to replicate. The individual biographies of these men will help illustrate some of the similarities in their situations and goals as travel writers, but more importantly, later on, it will eventually help clarify the difference between Holmes and Carpenter and Seabrook and Franck.

Elias Burton Holmes was born January 8, 1870 in Chicago. Holmes first published his ten volume travel book set in 1901 to which he added several more volumes over the years to total of fifteen upon completion. He also gave extremely popular travel lectures illustrated by his photographs in the form of lantern slides. Holmes crossed the ocean dozens of times and spent most of his life traveling during the summers and lecturing during the winters.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ranier Fabian, *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 337. At the end of his life, Holmes had been around the world six times, crossed the Atlantic thirty times and the Pacific twenty times, spent fifty-five summers traveling and delivered eight-thousand lectures during fifty-three winter seasons earning five million dollars.

Holmes considered himself more entertainer than scholar.⁴⁶ Holmes held no pretensions about his status and he readily accepted the label of tourist. Besides being Holmes' natural inclination, such an attitude helped his business enterprise and his ability to communicate effectively with the audience that attended his lectures. These attendees wanted a certain amount of factual and educative information; however, most simply wanted to see interesting, pretty, and exotic pictures, and to be pleasantly entertained for a few hours.

From 1910-1924, Frank G. Carpenter also published a series of travel books using his own snapshot photographs entitled, *Carpenter's World Travels: Familiar Talks about Countries and Peoples With the Author on the Spot and the Reader in his Home, Based on a Half Million Miles of Travel All Over the Globe*. Carpenter's lengthy subtitle underscores two ideas from the start. First, that the tone of the text and photographs are *familiar*, in other words, they are casual, non-intimidating, and without undue pomp and circumstance that may, for example, characterize a more academic travel book. This sense of intimacy is also emphasized by the use of the word "talks," which suggests that the books are a conversation between the reader and the absent author. Similarly, Carpenter frequently makes "we" statements such as, "We shall chat as we stroll..." or "We have no detailed itinerary..." and explicit statements like, "We are traveling

⁴⁶ During the season he lectured up to six days a week in different cities across the United States giving as many as 150 lectures a year. He sold over 40,000 sets of his books, a number that far exceeds the circulation of most vernacular photo-travel books. During his lifetime, Holmes would only publish two other books. By the time Holmes retired in 1951, he had given more than 8000 lectures. In 1897, Holmes and a few of his business associates formed Burton Holmes Lectures Incorporated. At the start, his business consisted of Holmes, a manager, a few assistants who operated the projectors, and two women who hand colored his lantern slides. Eventually, it turned into a relatively large scale corporation with more employees enlisted to handle the technical matters mentioned above, plus numerous others to deal with contracts, travel tickets, booking hotels, advertising, book publication and copyrighting. See Burton Holmes, *The World is Mine: an Autobiography* (Culver City, CA: Murray & Gee, 1953). Also see Wallace Irving and Genoa Caldwell ed., *The Man Who Photographed the World: Burton Holmes: Travelogues, 1886-1938* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977).

companions...” and “I have come here direct from New York to be the personal conductor of our tour together.”⁴⁷ Carpenter’s subtitle also stresses the convenience of his books as the reader is instructed to consume the book comfortably at home, while the author takes on the hardships of the actual journey and re-creates it for the reader via words and photographs.

Although Carpenter and Holmes were publishing similar types of travel books during roughly the same period of time, Carpenter, unlike Holmes, did not lecture on the public circuit. With a background in journalism, Carpenter did not share Holmes’ passion for entertainment and performance. Rather, he built his career exclusively in the realm of publishing. However, like Holmes, Carpenter was a savvy businessman and skillfully adapted the material he used in his travel book series into other types of books, including, the extremely popular *Carpenter’s Geographical Readers*, which became standard school texts for forty years.⁴⁸ The reader, as the title indicates, focuses on geography, but also deals with familiar ethnographic concerns, including religion, agriculture, education, transportation, systems of government, and housing.

Ultimately, Holmes’ and Carpenter’s multi-volume works are simply an extended version of the same structure employed by *Excursions Daguerriennes* many years earlier. Both authors conceived of their travels and book projects as a kind of hopscotch around the globe and neither stayed too long in any single location. In fact, it is not uncommon for one volume to focus on several different places; each one of which could easily be the subject of an entirely separate book. This is true, for example, of Carpenter’s *The Alps*,

⁴⁷ Frank G. Carpenter, *Carpenter’s World Travels: The Alps, The Danube, and the Near East* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1925), 1.

⁴⁸ Frank G. Carpenter, *Around the World with the Children: an Introduction to Geography* (New York : American Book Company, 1917).

The Danube, and the Near East (1925) and Holmes' *Hawaiian Islands, Edge of China, Manila* (1901). Similarly, each Carpenter title page boasts that his books are based on a half-million miles of travel over the globe. The fact that distance covered is stressed over length of stay indicates that quantity (quick glimpses of canonical sites) is valued over specificity and depth. The table of contents of their books forms an almost dizzying array of destinations. This survey structure inevitably generalizes but this was a desirable end-result in the eyes of both authors and their readers. This narrative trope, like mass tourism itself, is structured around quick glimpses of canonical sites. Like the tourist's itinerary, these books were designed for maximum convenience and speed. Just as the reader does not linger on any one page, the tourist does not stay too long in any single place.

An essential aspect of the survey structure employed by Lerebour, Holmes, and Carpenter is its privileging of the visual image over the written word. The photographs in Carpenter and Holmes' books are expected to serve as windows onto the world and function as economizers of information that keep the reader moving through the book at a steady and speedy pace. Their image-driven narratives should be understood as barometers of the growing importance and centrality of visual images in modern mass tourism. For example, the supreme importance of photography is plainly and proudly stated at the beginning of each Carpenter book as follows, "Reading Carpenter is Seeing the World." Of course *seeing* is not something normally associated with reading but this clever play with words effectively conflates the activities of reading and seeing and presents the images as equally (if not more) important than the textual narrative.

By choosing to mimic in literary form the ideologies and practices of mass tourism, these authors directly helped perpetuate the cycle of tourist consumption discussed earlier. Both Holmes and Carpenter possessed significant knowledge of many of the places they visited. They did not, however, include such information in the popular travel book series for which they are best known. Although some vernacular photo-travel book authors were learned academics, they almost always wrote in a vernacular voice. Carpenter, for example, belonged to the Royal Geographic Society and wrote other more specialized books considering various political and economic problems of the places he visited. However, these books were (and still are) obscure and little read. Holmes and Carpenter rarely describe the cultures they visit in a way that other mass tourists couldn't replicate if they simply put pen to paper and took their own photographs. Seabrook, Franck, Carpenter and Holmes often pontificate on several highly specialized subjects, but only briefly. At the same time, there are interesting cases of vernacular photo-travel book authors trying to appear more learned than they were and wanting to project an authority greater than their own. Alfred Leader, for example, is not an entomologist, agriculturalist, or historian, but that does not stop him from writing about insects, farming, and the colonial history of the West Indies (and several other specialized subjects) in his 1907 book, *Through Jamaica with a Kodak* (Fig. 119).⁴⁹

One consequence of such mixing of 'high' and 'low' is that the leap from tourist to author did not seem like an implausible one to the many people who were exposed to such generalized travel books. This trend towards de-specialization witnessed in vernacular photo-travel books is significant as it indicates a growing sense of power and authority among previously dispossessed groups to be able to speak, write, photograph

⁴⁹ Alfred Leader, *Through Jamaica with a Kodak* (Bristol: John Wright & Co., 1907), 41-43, 99.

and publish in the public domain. It must have crossed the mind of more than one audience member of an illustrated travel lecture, and/or reader of vernacular photo-travel books, that these lecturers and authors possessed no special secret beyond some starting money, a passport and a camera, and they too could write and photographically illustrate their own book of their travels and perhaps even sell it to the public. I am not suggesting that most people who attended these lectures or read their book series went on to write their own vernacular photo-travel books. However, there is no question that in a time before radio and television, such travel books and lectures constituted a popular form of entertainment for the middle-class public. This same public was experiencing an unprecedented ability to travel and take photographs for themselves. When and if they did decide to travel, they certainly had been exposed to models of what and how to photograph by observing the snapshots of amateurs (such as Crowell and Gress) and the more frequently published and seen images made by professionals (such as Holmes, Carpenter, Seabrook and Franck).

CONSUMPTION AS A FORM OF NATIONALISM IN THE WORKS OF
PROFESSIONAL VERNACULAR PHOTO TRAVEL BOOK AUTHORS

In his essay “The Stereograph as a Title Deed to the World” (1926), Holmes describes travel as an integral part of American culture as a whole and the prevalence of travel images as a sign of the United States’ superiority and sophistication relative to other, ‘less developed’ nations. His choice of words is especially revealing of this ideology, for example, when he refers to Americans as “a race of travelers,” as if they were predestined by nature, or God, or advanced genetics, to travel the world. Holmes encourages his readers to continue this advancement by:

lifting the art of the motion picture to heights of undreamed-of eloquence, by transforming its newspapers into illustrated dailies, by crowding the auditorium where travelers display the pictorial results of their world-wanderings, by ‘saying it with pictures’ in all great advertising campaigns, and by purchasing and using more telebinoculars and larger collections of stereographs than all the other nations of the world combined.⁵⁰

Holmes not only links travel and the ubiquity of photographic images in the United States to national pride, but to ownership and possession as well. This is something suggested by the title of the essay, which refers to stereographic images as “deeds to the world.” It is also indicated by his comments within the essay, particularly when Holmes exclaims, “Who owns a telebinocular may cry, with Monte Cristo, ‘The world is mine!’”⁵¹ The ideologies apparent in these quotes—expressed by Holmes, but held by many—include nationalism, a belief in technology as the marker of cultural progress, and the tendency to primarily relate to foreign cultures in terms of a desire to privately own a piece of them (in this case, through the photographic souvenir). The later is once again echoed by Holmes’ remarks describing travel photography as a form of possession during an interview with Lorthrop Stoddard, who quotes Holmes as saying:

Travel has always meant more to me than aught else: it has given me a sense of ownership in all the worth-while things that I have seen. But – “ownership” is not the right word. *Possession* is a better word, - all the joys of possession without the cares of ownership. That is the reward of travel; or, as I often put it in a sentence which I often write in the autograph albums that are brought to me for signature: *To travel is to possess the world*. Owners become the slaves of what they own. Travellers possess, - and pass on to possess in other lands all that appeals to them, and for as long as they like. Then they pass on to fresher fields – and let the owners stay behind and pay taxes! I have indeed possessed the world through travel; and I have tried to make my wonderful possessions

⁵⁰ Burton Holmes, “The Stereograph as a Title Deed to the World,” in Burton Holmes, ed., *A Trip Around the World Through the Telebinocular in Three Dimension Pictures* (Meadville, PA.: Keystone View Company, 1926), 9.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

vividly, pleasantly, and pictorially available to those who say they envy me that life that has been mine.⁵²

PROFESSIONAL VERNACULAR PHOTO BOOK AUTHORS: WILLIAM SEABROOK AND HARRY FRANCK

Like Burton Holmes and Frank Carpenter, William Seabrook and Harry Franck also authored numerous travel books and made their living as travel writers.⁵³ Seabrook was born in 1886 in Westminster, Maryland.⁵⁴ In the 1920s and 30s he traveled to a great number of places, including Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the West Indies. After attending school in Switzerland in 1908 Seabrook returned to Georgia and married his first wife Katherine Pauline Edmondson. He spent significant intervals throughout his life, and in between his travels, living in France. During the First World War he enlisted in the French Army and in 1917 returned to New York and began writing news and features for syndicates. He divorced Katie and in 1935 married novelist Marjorie Worthington. By the end of his life Seabrook had become hopelessly convinced that his travels were merely an unsuccessful attempt to escape himself. He was forced to ‘voluntarily’ commit himself to the Rockland State Hospital where he received treatment for acute and chronic alcoholism. Seabrook committed suicide on September 20, 1945 by overdosing on sleeping pills at a hospital near his estate at Rhinebeck, New York. His book *Asylum*, which is about the seven months Seabrook spent in the mental hospital, was a best seller and perhaps Seabrook’s best-known work.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ An extensive listing of their books can be found in the bibliography of this dissertation.

⁵⁴ Seabrook had close ties in the bohemian circles in New York and Paris. For more on Seabrook’s life story see Marjorie Worthington, *The Strange World of Willie Seabrook* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966).

Harry Franck was born in Munger, Michigan in 1881 and died in 1962 in New Hope, Pennsylvania. He married Rachel Latta and they had five children. Franck wrote numerous travel books from 1910-1943. Early on Franck earned a living working in various professions as he traveled. The time he served as a policeman in the Panama Canal Zone, for example, resulted in his book *Zone Policeman 88* (1913). He traveled around the world in 1904-5, to Central and South America from 1911-15, to the West Indies from 1919-20, and to the Far East from 1922-24. Franck served as a second lieutenant in WWI in France from 1917-19 and later served in WWII from 1942-5.⁵⁵

The work of Franck and Seabrook is different in two key ways from that of Holmes and Carpenter. First, their books do not offer a model of travel that is easily reproducible by other travelers, nor do they encourage their readers to follow in their footsteps. They would be more likely to identify themselves as ‘travelers’ than as ‘tourists.’ Second, they are different because they attempt to be more rigorously scientific (meaning more detailed, specialized, and objective-sounding) than Holmes and Carpenter, who both adopt more personal tones and discuss topics generally and briefly. Seabrook and Franck each wrote numerous and unusually detailed books about the remotest of destinations where they often stayed for more than a year. Within tourism as a whole, they are anomalous for the depth of their desire to assimilate and their deliberate attempts to confront the most extreme instances of difference. Holmes and Carpenter are essentially mass tourists; they also traveled to some far off and ‘exotic’ locations, but this categorization has more to do with *how* rather than *where* they traveled. Specifically, they did not deliberately seek out difference, they embraced the standardization of mass tourism and they encouraged readers to take similar journeys.

⁵⁵ Franck’s travel writing on post-war Germany is discussed in the Introduction.

All of the *professional* authors discussed in this chapter endeavored to turn their names into highly marketable brands. Which is to say, their public personae as travel photographers/authors became commodities. The names of these authors became their trademark and a brand unto itself. As the most popular of these travel writer/photographers/entertainers achieved something of a minor celebrity status they were sought out to endorse other products. For example, Franck lent his portrait and excerpts from his vernacular photo-travel books to a 1924 advertising campaign for the American Mail Line and Dollar Steamship Line (Fig. 120) and Holmes used his own profile in silhouette as his trademark, which appeared on advertising placards, and a variety of other publicity materials. Like Carpenter, Holmes also lent his trademark name to a series of elementary school travel readers.⁵⁶ Each one of these professional photographers/authors became something of a one-man enterprise as name recognition and self-promotion became an essential part of the business of travel photography.

Other authors marketed themselves by advancing certain public images in the books they wrote. Seabrook attempted to make his books more marketable by portraying himself as an almost, but not quite mad, adventurer who is willing to go to any lengths to thwart the boring and stifling constraints of the industrialized world. For example, a portrait of Seabrook that appears in *The Magic Island* (1929) shows him surrounded by natives, one of whom holds a machete against the author's chest (Fig. 121). The reader learns that the Haitian man and the others were actually 'protecting' Seabrook – but only after reading the accompanying caption. The 'threat' is hardly one to be taken seriously

⁵⁶ Burton Holmes, "The Stereograph as a Title Deed to the World," in Burton Holmes, ed., *A Trip Around the World Through the Telebinocular in Three Dimension Pictures* (Meadville, PA: Keystone View Company, 1928), 9. For an example of a reader that Holmes illustrated see George A. Mirick, *Home Life Around the World: an Introductory Geography with Illustrations by Burton Holmes* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1923).

anyway, given the photograph's obviously staged appearance. This is typical of how Seabrook uses the reader's expectations, stereotypes and fears to make his books livelier but at the cost of accuracy and fairness.

Although he does so far less frequently than Seabrook, Franck also sometimes sacrifices the depth, complexity and appearance of scientific objectivity for drama and entertainment. The intended effect of his photograph showing a Mexican worker looking directly at Franck (and the viewer) with a long wooden rod raised above his head as if he is about to strike the author is not unlike Seabrook's portrait with the Haitian man holding a machete to his chest (Fig. 122). Franck's photograph, like Seabrook's, lets the viewer's imagination run wild, until they read the caption, which explains; "No, he is merely beating up the vegetable fibers from which Mexico makes brushes." Thus, Franck is not above using stereotypes about non-Westerners for dramatic effect. In *A Vagabond Journey Around the World* (1910) the author further intensifies his adventurous persona in a snapshot where he appears dirty and disheveled after four days in the jungle, posed next to three Siamese soldiers that he 'fell in with now and then' during his tramp from Myáwadi and Rehang (Fig. 123). Certainly this type of arduous trek and potentially dangerous experience is one that most mass tourists would have no interest in making themselves. Franck also heightens the image of himself as a renegade adventurer when he informs the reader in his text and in the captions that the photographs they are looking at were captured at great risk of personal peril. The caption of his snapshot of a graveyard in Damascus, for example, states that the image was "taken at the risk of mobbing" (Fig. 124).

Like Seabrook, Franck also shows an occasional desire to want to assimilate and blend in with the native population. He often posed for photographs in native costumes. One example of this is when he donned overalls, a helmet and ‘disguised’ himself as a Cornish tin-miner (Fig. 125). In fact, Franck writes in the caption of one such portrait in which he wears a fur hat and smokes a pipe that he so convincingly resembled a Bolshevik that it “caused family tears” (Fig. 126). Despite these attempts at assimilation Franck also shows himself to be distinct from the native population, as highlighted by the caption of a photograph in which he refers to himself and his two white traveling companions as “gringos” (Fig. 127). The one indigenous man included in the photograph is not mentioned in the caption and is mostly obstructed by the white men in front of him. Franck also presents himself as a tourist in a portrait taken while railroading in Santo Domingo in which the author is seen in a Western suit and holds his camera in plain sight (Fig. 128). In contrast to those images that show Franck as a renegade adventurer, these photographs portray Franck as a very experienced and particularly hardy Western tourist, but a tourist nonetheless. In both cases Franck uses photography to make his public image more marketable. He sometimes shows himself as a rugged explorer to excite the public’s imagination. Yet, he sometimes shows himself as a tourist in order to seem relatable.

PROFESSIONAL AUTHORS: COMMODIFYING DIFFERENCE AND THE SPREAD OF WESTERN CONSUMERISM

Travel writers William Seabrook, Harry Franck, Stuart Edward White and R. St. Barbe Baker very much considered themselves exotic adventurers and not mass tourists. Specific excerpts and photographs from their travel writing highlight how many western tourist/authors viewed culture as yet another commodity to consume and demonstrate

how they often related to the difference of other people and places by trying to consume/commodify them/it. They often tried to relate to other people and gain special access into their culture by buying them things and/or giving them money. These authors typically do not describe inter-subjective encounters with the non-Western individuals they met, but rather, they employ familiar Western stereotypes that were marketable. In other words, they used photography and their books as a way to commodify difference. These particular attitudes and approaches, because they are motivated mainly by profit and prestige, became barriers that prevented these authors (and tourists in general) from having true inter-subjective encounters with the people in the places they visited.

Stewart Edward White's *Kodakery* essay "Eastman Film in Tropical Africa," (1916) employs the camera and photography as signifiers of civilization, progress, and superiority. Specifically, White describes how he used his camera, not only to take photographs, but also as a means to impress, or more correctly, to dazzle/mystify indigenous people:

Besides the legitimate uses of these instruments I used the Graflex constantly to help my diplomatic negotiations with new tribes. A great many of these people had never seen a white man. With them it was necessary to open friendly relations. The diplomatic proceedings would in each case occupy several days, and beside endless talk would also include various sorts of white man's magic, such as disappearing coin tricks, and other feats of legerdemain, turning water into blood by means of permanganate of potash crystals, cutting out paper dolls, etc., etc. All of it apparently childish and silly, but in reality extremely valuable in impressing the natives with the fact that the white man is a great and glorious creature. Whenever the other entertainment began to drag we could always trot out the Graflex and get a 'hand.'⁵⁷

White's camera acts as a kind of passport that gains him special access to what he presumes to be an authentic experience with the local population. The author's use of the

⁵⁷ Stewart Edward White, "Eastman Film in Tropical Africa," *Kodakery* 4 (August 1916): 23-4.

word 'legitimate' indicates that he is aware that he is not just using photographic technology to document his experiences in Africa, but that he is also using it as a symbol of Western power, that is, as a signifier that goes beyond the camera's practical function (taking pictures). As this article is published by Kodak, it is yet another instance of the company's repeated attempts to turn the camera into a desirable symbol of power.

The only photograph accompanying the article shows two African men in profile. One has a traditional piece of wood in his stretched earlobe and one has placed the author's discarded Kodak film box in his ear (Fig. 129). The makeshift decoration could be read as a sign of the African man's ingenuity, but instead the author presents it as a sign of his childlike naivety. Ultimately, because of the particular way White presents it, this image 'brands' the native's body and is an example of how the West conquers, re-makes and assimilates others. This photograph also shows that mass tourism plays an integral role in spreading influences from Western culture around the world. Tourists including White brought Westernizing influences (such as photography) and expected locals to assimilate them. Yet White's photograph shows, host cultures appropriated and redefined the objects and influences that Western colonials and tourists brought with them.⁵⁸ White's article is but one example of how Western intrusion was justified (in part) by the belief that modernization is progress. This modernization was almost always

⁵⁸ As opposed to focusing on the West as the active defining agent, postcolonial scholars argue that colonialism as a historical reality and ideology affects *both* the colonized and the colonizer. Homi Bhabha, a seminal post-colonial theorist, describes the colonial encounter in terms of 'hybridity.' See Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994). Also see John Phillips, "Lagging Behind: Bhabha, Post-colonial Theory and the Future," in Steve Clark, ed., *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 68-9. Mary Louise Pratt advances her argument of cross-cultural influence using the notion of the 'contact zone.' According to Pratt this means treating "the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and 'travelees,' not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power." See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7.

accompanied by a nostalgia for the native's supposedly pure and simple way of life. This proposition was made all the more poignant for those who believed that these cultures were supposedly disappearing.

Other writers present their readers with a slightly more complex view of international and interracial relations brought about by travel. In his article, "In Nigeria: An Explorer and His 'Kodak,'" (1927), R. St. Barbe Baker (1889-1982) explains the influence of European colonialism upon various African nations. He also writes about Africa's new economic importance to Europe:

The country, which we enter, is of vital importance to Europe, yielding as it does some of the most valuable and indispensable articles of commerce. Here is the home of the palm, which gives us margarine and soap. Here too are found the mahoganies, which not only provide furniture, but are used for pattern making in all our engineering and motor works. 'Darkest Africa,' that term so popular amongst Victorian journalists, is giving place to a new idea, and we are beginning to realize that millions, who up to now have been regarded as the most backward races of mankind, are ready and willing to enter into partnership with us, and share with us the good things of their country. Although darker in colour, they hold much in common with ourselves, for are they not subject to likes and dislikes, and to the many passions which enter into the nature of any human being?⁵⁹

Baker shows some level of understanding of the fact that his and other Westerners' presence changes both tourist and host. His plea to his fellow Europeans to acknowledge and respect Africans is patronizing and undermined by the fact that it comes with a caveat promising financial rewards to Europeans for fostering sympathetic relations with Africans. This point is further underscored in the caption of the one photograph illustrating the essay that shows an indigenous man named Sobo engaged in the hard labor of collecting palm fruit. His labor will ultimately result in soap and margarine that

⁵⁹ R. St. Barbe Baker, "In Nigeria: An Explorer and His 'Kodak,'" *The Kodak Magazine* 5, no. 1 (January 1927): 13.

will be enjoyed by Europeans (Fig. 130). The message of this photograph is not unlike that of Harry Franck's showing Javanese workmen who are (the caption informs us) opening pods of cacao that will eventually appear in Western markets as chocolate (Fig. 131). Images such as these are good examples of how travel writing helped contribute to a mentality of consumption that encouraged Westerners to look upon the world as there for the taking, as being there to support Western habits of consumption that could not be supported by Western resources alone. By highlighting the useful and desirable raw resources found in other lands, travel writing made it that much easier for Western powers to justify political, economic, and often militaristic interventions in the places that possessed them.

Sometimes, however, vernacular photo-travel book authors also highlight the inequity of such commercial exchanges. Franck, for example, photographed diamond miners in Brazil and captioned one of these images, "Diamond diggers do not resemble those who wear them" (Fig. 132). The content of these images further stress this sentiment by showing the workers barefooted and ankle-deep in mud. The photograph on the left side of the page shows the workers from the back and from a bird's eye point of view making them seem small and insignificant within their rather inhospitable landscape. The photograph on the right side of the page shows a worker close up and facing Franck's camera as he bends over to run his hoe through the mud. In conjunction with Franck's caption, the man's direct gaze into the camera goes against Western conventions of representing hard labor and poverty as a picturesque spectacle, there for the viewer's pleasure. This image and caption highlight instead the harsh truths behind how the West secures one of its most highly prized symbols of status and luxury.

Some of Franck's photographs document the spread of consumerism in foreign places. This is true of his snapshot of Beggars in Bahia squatting in front of American advertisements stuck to the wall behind them (Fig. 133 top). Not unlike his photograph of the diamond miners, this image features the theme of economic inequality, only this time the message is communicated through juxtaposition of developed and underdeveloped standards of living. His photograph of barefooted children in Brazil wearing tattered clothing and parading an American advertisement down the street also raises interesting questions about the ethics and politics of spreading Western consumerism globally (Fig. 133 bottom). Of special note in this image is a young boy on the left whose fancy Western suit and hat stand in contrast to the ragged clothing of his peers. This boy stands up straight, looks directly at Franck and salutes as if to pay his respect to the photographer whom he surely recognizes as a Westerner.

Tourists related to the places they visited largely in terms of their own culture of consumption. All of the authors under discussion here demonstrate that even though Western tourists traveled to far away places, they often did not leave their ideological comfort zone. This is something that is made explicit in the vernacular photo-travel books of William Seabrook and Harry Franck. Franck, for example, describes the materialism of the Americans living in Haiti. According to Franck, Americans who would live plainly back home live large and ostentatiously in Haiti:

The Americans have acquired one by one, as some yellow politician has lost his grasp on the national treasury, the grove-hidden houses in the upper town, some of them little short of palatial. There they live like the potentates of the tropical isles of romance. The blacks are respectful, like children in their manner, and have much of the docility of the Negroes of our South before the Civil War. They work for wages, which, as wages go nowadays, are less than a song. House servants receive from five to eight dollars a month, and one meal a day to which the masses have long been

accustomed rarely costs a twenty-cent gourde. Families who could scarcely afford the luxury of a single 'hired girl' in the land of their birth keep five servants in Haiti, a cook, butler, upstairs maid, laundress, and yard boy...they swathe the existence of their masters in the comfort of an old-time Southern plantation.⁶⁰

Franck zeroes in on the fact that although the colonials no longer live in America, they never abandoned the America's ideology of consumption (or its racial politics). He describes their behavior as a social and moral regression. Franck further explains the class hierarchy of the Americans living in Haiti and their heroic efforts to keep up with one another's level of conspicuous consumption:

Ten-course dinners with all the formality and ostentation which go with them are of daily occurrence; 'bridge' flourishes by day and by night, with far from humble stakes, and dances, whether at the American club or in private houses, are not conspicuous for their simplicity. The two things go together, of course; it is of little use to disagree with a man if you cannot prove yourself his equal by 'putting up as good a front' as he does.⁶¹

In *The Magic Island* Seabrook gives a relatively thorough account of Haiti's colonial history up to and including the United States' occupation of the island. He surmises that the Haitian President Borno is a puppet of the U.S. stock market who is only able to stay in power because he is guarded by the American military. Seabrook states from the outset that he is not taking a stance on the racial, political and social issues of occupation. His desire to remain aloof from politics, of course, reflects just how oblivious Seabrook is to his own role in contributing to these politics and relations, or the fact that the American occupation is what has made his lengthy stay in Haiti possible and comfortable.⁶²

⁶⁰ Harry A. Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies* (New York: The Century Co., 1920), 117.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶² William B. Seabrook, *The Magic Island: Illustrated with Drawings by Alexander King and Photographs by the Author* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1929), 167.

Seabrook also openly acknowledges instances of modernization and Western influences in Africa. When Seabrook mentions individual colonials, he often describes them very sympathetically. This sympathy is obvious in the case of a famous Frenchman named Pere Yakouba who came to Africa as a monk in his youth.⁶³ Yakouba eventually gave up his post as a monk and married an African woman, had many children with her, and eventually became a political advisor to the French government and an authority on native languages. Apparently, Yakouba had become such a legendary figure that the man himself was something of a tourist attraction. He even put a sign outside his door stating, “Yes, Pere Yakouba lives here. Admission is 10 cents. A nickel extra to see the animal at large on the roof.”⁶⁴ This story is humorous, but it is also evidence that tourism, with its mentality of buy and sell, was reaching even the most obscure places around the world. Seabrook tries to counter this reality of Westernization by describing Yakouba’s house as, “untouched by Europe or by the frantic advertisements in the Saturday Evening Post.”⁶⁵ This comment is intended to demonstrate that although Yakouba was unable to shed all influences of Western culture, those elements he decided to keep and cultivate had nothing to do with vulgar commercialization. This is also demonstrated by Seabrook’s remarks about Yakouba’s library as containing volumes that, “would have been the despair of people who had acquired their automatic culture as well as their automatic ice-boxes by answering the frantic advertisements.”⁶⁶ Although Yakouba is not a traveler, Seabrook’s characterization of him as a highly educated, self-determining man of good taste echoes the upper-class identity signified by the word traveler. It also

⁶³ Seabrook wrote an entire book about Yakouba. See William B. Seabrook, *The White Monk of Timbuctoo* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934).

⁶⁴ William B. Seabrook, *Jungle Ways* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), 213.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

indicates that, for the most part, Seabrook would like his African experiences to be authentically African, meaning he would prefer to encounter as few Western influences as possible. However, when he is forced to accept the presence of Western influences, it seems as though he finds some comfort if those influences are at least not part of what he finds to be the most vulgar aspects of Western culture, specifically its crass consumerism.

When Seabrook reaches the Gueré tribe of the Ivory Coast he stays with Monsieur Colbert, a colonial administrator. Seabrook is surprised but pleased that Colbert has the latest French magazines, a first edition Rimbaud, and that they are able to talk of mutual acquaintances in Paris, discuss Joyce and Gide, and listen to modernist music. Although Seabrook experiences an initial pleasure from partaking in those Westernized indulgences provided by his gracious host Colbert, he also expresses disappointment when he encounters Western influences. For example, when Colbert lends him the services of a guide, Seabrook remarks that the man was a “lucky choice *despite* (my italics) the fact that he spoke both French and English.”⁶⁷ Seabrook adds tersely that the guide looked like a Columbia student because he wore patent leather shoes. Apparently Seabrook was expecting someone more stereotypically ‘native.’

Like a shop proprietor, Colbert facilitates Seabrook’s attempt to meet cannibal tribes by producing four cannibal kings at his compound. Seabrook inspects the chiefs one by one as if he is shopping for items in a department store and eventually tells Colbert which ones he wants to visit. They thoroughly enjoy and appreciate the chiefs for the authenticity they contribute to their colonial/travel experiences and in this case neither makes much of the fact that these tribal visits were brought about by the exchange of gifts and other commodities. In this way, Colbert and Seabrook themselves are players

⁶⁷ Ibid., 140.

in their own fictional fantasy, a situation made possible by their tacit agreement to not spoil the illusion for one another or to think in any serious way about their own and the other man's influence upon the indigenous population. Seabrook often dismisses the commercial transactions he makes to see, meet and do things that the natives do. He is in complete denial that he buys his way, just like any other tourist, into cultural displays that are largely constructed, and not, as he may like to believe, proof of his assimilation. Seabrook attempts to downplay the fact that his gifts to the natives essentially gain him access to their culture. One way he does this is by suggesting that the desire to get gifts is universal.

They were frankly keen, like children, about the gifts, and kept pointing to the tin trunk with eager curiosity. It is nice to be welcomed for oneself alone, but when people come from far away we all enjoy seeing them fish out little surprises from their baggage.⁶⁸

While Seabrook would like to forget that money paves his way, ultimately it is such an important part of how he travels that he decides to acknowledge it in the captions of some of his photographs by admitting that he compensated the sitters or that they were forced to pose for Seabrook by someone in an authority position (Fig. 134 and 135). When he enters one particular village he is welcomed by a song: "He is a great chief who comes alone, without white followers, and company of men in uniform, behold how he has come! He has come in friendship as a brother, and he has come bearing gifts."⁶⁹

When it is recognized, this Westernization is something Seabrook laments, even abhors. As he can't deny it entirely, he evokes the familiar trope that the sad but inevitable progress of so-called civilization will eventually wipe out such cultures:

⁶⁸ Ibid., 176.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

I was in the presence, for good or bad as one may choose to see it, of a dying tradition – a thing always tinged, apart from the most reasonable moral and utilitarian considerations, with a certain underlying sadness. For these changes, however necessary, are taking a certain brave kaleidoscopic color out of life. In another hundred or another thousand years we all may work in offices and factories, eat and dress and think alike, love our neighbors as ourselves (since we have no neighbors anywhere on the globe who have not been transformed into our own image) ride in Fords, and be at peace. The world will perhaps be better and safer, but it will be less beautiful when all the bright tigers are dead or shut up in cages. I am not decrying ‘world betterment’ or ‘the march of civilization’ on any intelligent or logical grounds. I am just begging leave to be a little sad about it, reflecting for a moment about the sadness of this tiny, unimportant, doomed savage tribe.⁷⁰

To which he adds, “I was glad that I had come among them before the old tradition had completely died.”⁷¹ Ultimately, Seabrook’s persistent denial of his own influence and impact upon the cultures he visits remains one of the most curious and troubling (although hardly surprising) features of his oeuvre. Seabrook treats Westernization as if it were an unlocatable phenomenon, not embodied by himself, but simply carried out as if by some nameless, faceless, unknown force, perhaps God, perhaps technology, perhaps the laws of genetics or scientific evolution—but certainly not by Seabrook himself.

These texts and authors clarify the difference between amateurs and professional vernacular photo-travel book authors. They demonstrate how issues of consumption dealt with in the first half of this chapter relate to the global spread of Western culture and how indigenous populations sometimes rejected and sometimes were influenced by them. In this chapter I have argued that the members of the traveling middle class used cameras for many things and in many ways. Of course they wanted to record the things, people and places they experienced on their journeys, but an examination of the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 181-2.

⁷¹ Ibid., 183.

underlying social impulses to do this uncovers deeper and more complex desires than the creation of souvenirs, including the middle-class's desire to create the outward appearance of wealth. In a society where more and more people could afford the accoutrements of wealth, consumers sought out new ways to assert their individuality. They wanted products that were inexpensive but also allowed them to feel as if they were somehow different from other consumers who could also purchase the same mass-produced symbolic accoutrements of wealth. Photography was perfectly suited to this new American consumer. The means of taking pictures (the camera) was standardized and therefore relatively affordable, but the end product (the photograph) was capable of being individualized.

Kodak advertisements often encouraged amateur photographers to see themselves in their new roles as consumers and travelers. Like many of the vernacular photo-travel books that were discussed in this chapter, Kodak's advertisements encouraged a paradoxical mix of simultaneously valuing individual ownership and displaying one's consumption while democratically encouraging all people to travel and photograph. In fact they seized upon these somewhat contradictory cultural impulses and used them to market their new cameras to the general public, sometimes as a luxury item and other times as a novelty so inexpensive that everybody could own one. Kodak's publicity material and the vernacular photo-travel books discussed in this chapter placed so much emphasis upon conspicuous consumption that they inevitably promoted an ideology of self-aggrandizement and individualism. However, neither Kodak nor authors of vernacular photo-travel books wanted to alienate their potential consumers/readers by making them feel as if travel was *entirely* out of their reach. For this reason, both

tempered any hints of elitism and self-aggrandizement with the democratic message that all consumers/readers have the potential to become tourists, although this is less true in the case of Franck and Seabrook because of their more rugged type of travel.

In many ways the adventurers I introduced at the end of the chapter, including Seabrook and Franck, considered themselves better than other mass tourists because their form of travel was individualized, lasted longer, and at least they thought it had greater depth and authenticity than that of other tourists. Although most adventurers would like to think they are above the vulgar consumerism and standardization that characterizes mass tourism, they were just as implicated in it as other tourists. Indeed, some vernacular photo-travel book authors who projected an image of themselves as exotic and/or learned adventurers commodified that image and used it as a way to market themselves and their books. Both adventurers and travelers are the same as mass tourists in several important ways. Like mass tourists, they brought Westernizing ideologies and influences (including consumerism) to the places they visited (no matter how remote). Like mass tourists, they viewed culture as yet another commodity to consume and they used photography as a way to contain, control and commodify difference. They also used photography as a way to privately own at least a representation of things, people, places and experiences they encountered while abroad, many of which would have been difficult or impossible to commodify without the aid of photography.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHNOGRAPHY AND
THE VERNACULAR PHOTO-TRAVEL BOOK

The work of William Seabrook, Harry Franck and R. St. Barbe Baker was greatly influenced by the pseudo-science of physiognomy and the methodologies of early ethnography. Seabrook's and Franck's writing also reflects certain ideologies used by the United States to justify its colonial occupations of Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. This chapter examines two of Seabrook's most popular books: *The Magic Island* (1929), which chronicles his trip to Haiti, and *Jungle Ways* (1930), which is about his journey to West Africa. These will be compared and contrasted with Franck's *Roaming Through the West Indies* (1920), which covers the author's eight-month tour in Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Trinidad, Jamaica, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. Ethnography, imperialism and their interrelationships will provide a frame for an exploration of how these authors' cultural, national and racial identities and values were both challenged and confirmed when they encountered races and cultures that were radically different from their own.

These lines of inquiry will necessitate a discussion of how tourists viewed photography as a symbol of Western power and progress and the ways they used it as a tool to support ideologies of domination derived from physiognomy and ethnography. Seabrook, Franck and Baker all had a strong belief in photographic objectivity and used the medium as though it was a neutral recording device. Photography was therefore the perfect means of imparting an air of authenticity and scientific validity to their very subjective experiences as travelers.

Seabrook and Franck often adopted a specialized scientific tone in their books, mimicking the tropes and methods of ethnography, even though neither was academically trained as an ethnographer.¹ Ethnography is a branch of cultural anthropology founded in the 1840s that attempts to describe human cultures. Ethnographers focus on describing and interpreting human behavior and various societal structures, as well as artifacts from material culture and the external physical appearances of the different peoples they encounter. Before ethnography existed as a formal discipline, many European scientists of the eighteenth century, including Petrus Camper, Georges Cuvier and Friedrich Blumenbach and the Swiss theologian Johann Caspar Lavater, were engaged in efforts to describe and catalog human differences according to physical appearance.² The work of

¹ Seabrook was educated at Mercersberg Academy in Pennsylvania and received his M.A. degree from Newberry College in South Carolina. In 1908 he went to Switzerland to study philosophy and metaphysics at the University of Geneva. Franck graduated from the University of Michigan in 1903 in sociology with a minor in languages. He taught languages at several high schools and near the end of his writing career he pursued post-graduate studies at Harvard, Columbia and abroad and took classes in a range of subjects including creative writing, Near Eastern studies and criminology.

² Petrus Camper is perhaps best known for his arguments that the intelligence, integrity and personality traits of any human could be determined by measuring a particular facial angle. His book *Über den Natürlichen Unterschied der Gesichtszüge* (1792) includes numerous drawings of human skulls from a variety of races and animal skulls. Camper compared these and used them as evidence to support his arguments that white Europeans possessed the ideal facial angle, which Camper read as a sign of their moral superiority and intelligence. Camper's facial angle theory influenced phrenologists in the nineteenth century and it was used to support arguments made by some early anthropologists about the superiority of whites. Johann Caspar Lavater was another extremely influential figure in promoting a revival of physiognomy. Lavater's book *Physiognomsche Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775-8) was extremely popular and translated into French and English. Lavater used silhouettes to illustrate his book. This method of tracing the outline of a person's profile directly from his or her shadow is often cited as a precursor to photographic portraits, both being direct traces of their referent. Friedrich Blumenbach divided the human species into five races: the Caucasian or white race, the Mongolian or yellow, the Malayan or brown race, the Negro or black race, and the American or red race. He also assigned specific psychological and behavioral characteristics to each based on the physical appearance of the skulls he selected. For example, he equated the relatively high Caucasian brow with fairness, and he viewed the relatively strong slope in the skull of the Ethiopian as evidence that blacks were closer to primates than the other races. A specialized branch of physiognomic study is phrenology, which focuses on the structure of the skull to determine a person's character and mental capacity. It was first developed by Franz-Joseph Gall, Johann Kaspar Spurzheim and George Combe around 1800. Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, also helped popularized ideas in modern times that heredity and race are connected to character and behavior. For more on Blumenbach and Camper and physiognomy in general see Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender and the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 118-120, 124-139, 149-160. Also see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1981). Much of the information and ideas that I discuss in this chapter was shaped by discussions

these men falls within the pseudo-science of physiognomy. Physiognomists argued that one's character, personality traits and temperament could be detected through the close study of certain external physical characteristics.³ Although physiognomy was largely discredited in the scientific world by the 1840s, it held sway over the popular imagination until the early-twentieth century and had an influence upon the methods and theories of early ethnography.

Before ethnography was founded as a formal discipline different types of travelers such as Western missionaries and colonial settlers produced writing that was visually and ideologically similar to that of later professional ethnographers. In addition to these types of travelers were men of leisure and wealth who, in the tradition of upper-class education, studied a broad range of subjects in both the humanities and sciences. These educated amateurs are often referred to as “gentlemen scientists” because their privileged backgrounds allowed them to dabble in a variety of subjects simply for the love of learning and to earn further social distinction.⁴ Seabrook and Franck were working at a time when the discipline of ethnography was already well established and practiced by professional academicians. Yet, their books can be easily compared to that of the amateur gentleman scientist of the nineteenth century. Although Seabrook and Franck

with Distinguished Prof. Stuart Ewen, and by lectures he delivered and readings he assigned while I served as a Writing Fellow in a course he taught at Hunter College in 2002. The knowledge and concepts that he shared with me, along with other pertinent issues and materials, may be explored more fully in a major book he coauthored with Distinguished Prof. Elizabeth Ewen. See Ewen & Ewen, *Typecasting: On the Arts & Sciences of Human Inequality* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006).

³ The first known physiognomic treatise is ascribed to Aristotle in the fourth century. Significant writings on physiognomy also appeared in the fourteenth century, most notably in the work of Giambattista della Porta and Barthélemy Coclès.

⁴ As explained in Chapter Two, authors of vernacular photo-travel books were part of a highly class-conscious culture. Their adoption of the lifestyle and methods of the gentleman scientist (and the later professional) is hardly surprising given its historical association with wealth, education and social prestige. For more on the activities of and lifestyles of gentleman scientists in the nineteenth century see Jack Morrell and Arnold Thackray, *Gentleman of Science: Early Years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

were middle-class (and not aristocratic), they too were highly educated and shared the early amateur's love of exotic adventure. Thus, their work enacts a *particular kind of* confusion between the categories of professional and amateur that has less to do with whether their photographs look unstudied and amateurish than with the question of who is qualified to speak and write in the name of science.

The work of early gentleman scientists is significant because it provided a model of looking and describing that would eventually be reformed and expanded upon by professional ethnologists. However, for much of the nineteenth century the boundary between the work of an emerging class of professionals and that of amateurs was unclear.

Anthropologist James Clifford explains:

Nothing guaranteed, a priori, the ethnographer's status as the best interpreter of native life – as opposed to the traveler, and especially the missionary and administrator, some of whom had been in the field longer and had better research contacts and linguistic skills.⁵

Neither amateurs nor professionals from this time are above criticism. The theories advanced by early academically-trained ethnographers were frequently speculative and not based on evidence gathered during a period of fieldwork. Therefore, their writings were often inaccurate and largely based on stereotypes and rarely employed rigorous scientific methodologies. Although most amateurs were in the field and observing things first-hand, the writing they produced was criticized at the time for being too random and too personal and because it was rarely organized by a standardized method of looking, describing and classifying. As Clifford recounts:

The new fieldworker sharply distinguished themselves from the earlier 'men on the spot' – the missionary, the administrator, the trader, and the

⁵ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 26.

traveler – whose knowledge of indigenous peoples, they argued, was not informed by the best scientific hypotheses or a sufficient neutrality.⁶

By the early-twentieth century, formal schooling and fieldwork became a prerequisite for serious, publishable scientific work. As ethnography and anthropology began to settle into the academy several prominent professionals emerged as leaders in their field. Most important for the purposes of this dissertation is Bronislaw Malinowski and his theory of social anthropology known as functionalism (1920s) and Franz Boas' and Sir Edward Taylor's theory of cultural relativism. Malinowski believed that all social structures must be understood in relation to the functions they serve.⁷ One of Malinowski's most important contributions was the idea that all cultures should be studied using a standardized rubric of subjects. To this end he designated the seven biological, social, physical and psychological needs of individuals that shape any given culture: nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relations, movement, and growth. Malinowski also developed the participant observation model of fieldwork. This method requires ethnographers to assimilate as seamlessly as possible into the culture they study by doing everything the natives do. At the same time ethnographers who adopted the participant observation model were also expected to somehow remain detached and neutral.⁸

⁶ Ibid., 27.

⁷ Malinowski outlined the basic components of functionalism in several books. See Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961). Also see Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture, and Other Essays* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944). Both books were originally published in 1922.

⁸ Contemporary anthropologists, most notably James Clifford and Johannes Fabian, have critiqued the impossibility of complete scientific objectivity and the idea that ethnographers can experience total immersion and assimilation into cultures that are not their own. Recently there has been a more frank acknowledgment that ethnography in the postcolonial world necessarily involves mutual influence between subject and object (the researcher and the cultures he or she studies). Ethnographers today are generally more careful about analyzing and announcing how their own opinions and biases may influence their work.

Clifford credits these two aspects of Malinowski's method with creating a new respect for the professional ethnographer. He also argues that these tools gave professional ethnographers the possibility for speed without a loss of depth and the ability to present information in a more scientific way. In contrast to amateurs, professionals could speak in a more standardized voice and with a tone of neutrality. He explains:

A variety of normative standards for the new form of research emerged: the fieldworker was to live in the native village, use the vernacular, stay a sufficient (but seldom) specified length of time, investigate a classic set of subjects, and so on. Training in the latest analytical techniques and modes of scientific explanation conferred an advantage over amateurs in the field: the professional could claim to get to the heart of a culture more quickly, grasping its essential institutions and structures.⁹

Thus, one important motive behind the founding of the professionalization of ethnography was the perceived need to create a controllable, unified idea of the Other. This was done through observation, classification and the systematization of data.¹⁰

Of course ethnographers were not the only ones who returned home from their travels with the desire to collect and organize their disparate experiences of Otherness into a coherent narrative. Tourists and authors of popular travel books were also looking for ways to make sense of their own experiences of visiting far-off places and their confrontations with difference. By the early-twentieth century these two markers of professional ethnography—the participant observation method and the use of standardized subjects—had filtered down into popular culture where they were appropriated by some authors whose work was not intended for the academy, but rather,

Further, many ethnographies are now being written by members of the culture that are being subjected to ethnographic study. There is also a new emphasis on individual lives and experiences within ethnography.

⁹ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 30.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 8.

as an entertainment for the masses.¹¹ Both Franck and Seabrook, for example, approach the cultures they write about using a fairly standardized list of ethnographic topics that were also investigated by professional ethnographers of their time. Topics they covered often included some variation of the following: life cycle, economics, architecture, agriculture, land tenure, social organization, subsistence activities, kinship, religion, myth, ceremonial ritual, education, music, dance, animal sacrifice, folk tales, crimes and forms of punishment.¹² The ethnological rubric was standardized and repeatable and thus created a scientific and objective tone in both the written ethnographies and the popular travel books that used it. It reflects a Westernized analytical model of thinking and looking and it was imposed upon other cultures and used to control and manage them.

The ethnographic rubric was employed in some vernacular photo-travel books. Regardless of his destination, Franck always photographed architectural structures, such as the simple homes in the Cuban and Haitian countryside placed side by side so that the viewer can easily compare them (Fig. 136). In northeastern Brazil he photographed houses made of palm leaves (Fig. 137) and in Mongolia he photographed the felt houses

¹¹ Evidence of this can be seen in the popularity of people shows (Saartjie Baartman and Ota Benga are the most notorious examples), stereographs and postcards of 'exotic' places and people, and popular publications with an ethnographic premise such as *The National Geographic Magazine*, which began publication in 1888. All employed the same racial and cultural stereotypes advanced in more 'serious' works of ethnography and they did this by using many of the same techniques as professionals. These entertainments not only appropriated the content and ideologies of ethnographic works, but they also mimicked their visual presentation and language. Brian Street has discussed the relationship between ethnographic photography and popular forms of entertainment, including people shows and photographic postcards. See Brian Street, "British Popular Anthropology: Exhibiting and Photographing the Other," in Edwards ed., *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* 122-130. For more on *The National Geographic Magazine* see Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993); Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: the Example of National Geographic," *Visual Anthropology Review* 7, no. 1 (1991): 134-149. For more on people shows see Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Bloom, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (St. Martins Press: 1992) and Schiebinger, *Nature's Body*, 168-72.

¹² This list was partially taken from Susan Slymovics as quoted in Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 6.

of the Gobi people (Fig. 138). He also photographed agricultural methods, for example, the slash and burn technique of planting sugar cane in Cuba and the 'primitive' mode of milling sugar cane in Haiti (Fig. 139). Franck also photographed the stone roller method of farming in China (Fig. 140) and rows of potato plants in Ireland (Fig. 141). Franck also photographed forms of transportation, including oxen-drawn carts in Brazil (Fig. 137 bottom) and a private carriage operated by a rickshaw driver in China (Fig. 142). He also focuses on topics of education, as demonstrated by his photographs of the interior of a 'native' Korean school (Fig. 143). Photographs of various professions inevitably appear in his books, such as those of a village blacksmith in Korea (Fig. 143 top), a village scholar in China (Fig. 144), Turkish Hamels (Fig. 145), and a bank messenger and postman in England (Fig. 146). Ceremonial rituals were another topic of investigation, including a Chinese devil-dance in Peking (Fig. 147). Sometimes rituals are not seen but referred to in his captions, as in the case of his photograph of children waiting outside of a house in Seoul to be healed by sorceresses (Fig. 148) and his photograph of a Chinese boy wearing a chain and padlock about his neck to protect him from evil spirits (Fig. 149). Topics of social organization are another major theme of his photographs and among these forms of crime and punishment seem to be a favorite, as exemplified by his snapshot of prisoners in Korea grinding grain (Fig. 150). The life cycle of people in the places Franck visited are represented in several ways including through images of funeral rites and different forms of burials, such as the green mounds that mark Korean gravesites (Fig. 151), the open graves of the Mongols of Urga (Fig. 152) and an Armenian child receiving his last rites (Fig. 153). These are but a few representative examples of the many that could be provided, but they sufficiently illustrate the use of an

ethnographic rubric of subjects to standardize information and make it easier to process and consume. It also demonstrates that such rubrics have a homogenizing effect upon the wide variety of differences they document.

In addition to their adoption of a standardized rubric of subjects, Seabrook and Franck also used a method similar to Malinowski's observer-participant model of fieldwork, in that both immersed themselves in the cultures they studied. Both, for example, stayed a significant length of time in the places they visited, tried to speak the native language when possible, and participated in native ways of life. This is even truer of Seabrook, who often sought to assimilate completely into the cultures he visited because he believed non-Western cultures were somehow more pure and authentic than his own. He also believed assimilation would enhance the authenticity/truth effect of his writing and photography. For example, in *Jungle Ways* Seabrook proudly describes how he acquired the nickname "the-black-man-who-has-a-white-face" by carefully following various local customs as explained by the natives:

They saw me doing as they did, and not at all as other whites. I traveled in noisy pomp as a black man would, drank from their calabashes, ate their food, consulted their sorcerers, obeyed their oracles, and walked softly before their gods. Therefore, very simply, I was one of them.¹³

Although he thinks he is assimilating in the culture, the lyrics of a song the natives sang while carrying him through the jungle on their backs tells a different story: "The white king is really too heavy; The bull's back is broken; The bull can't march any more!"¹⁴ Seabrook's frequent attempts at assimilation are not unlike those of the ethnographer who employs the method of participant observation. However, it is also important to stress that although Seabrook sometimes mimics ethnography as an academic discipline, he is

¹³ William Seabrook, *Jungle Ways* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), 10-11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

also careful to separate himself from it. There is a key difference between his approach and that of the ethnographer; Seabrook often takes the observer-participant model to the point where he loses all sense of objectivity. This is true when he performs an impromptu made-up fertility ritual that involves rubbing a chicken egg on his genital area and his wife's bare breasts. He defends his actions to his reader by arguing:

I am aware that practices of this sort on the part of a supposedly enlightened white man may offer an easy butt for contemptuous smiles. I could reply with the pragmatic, cynical fact that my engaging in them inspired confidences and broke down barriers which would have otherwise remained forever closed to me, if I had lived for some twenty years in Africa.¹⁵

He then turns this defense of extreme methods into an attack on "armchair ethnographers" of the academy:

I could reply also by expressing my even greater contempt, unsmiling, toward ethnologists who have never seen a living primitive "savage," but who sit at home in their studies and write about him as if he were a fossilized Etruscan or an Aztec; also toward travelers who treat him in his own country and write about him afterwards as if he were a highly interesting but inferior zoological specimen, like a charity case, a baboon, or a penguin, and who describe his picturesque superstitions with equal condescension.¹⁶

Seabrook's story may very well evoke a snicker from the average Western reader and a roll of the eyes from the professional ethnographer. However, what provokes both reactions is the extremes Seabrook is willing to go to in order to achieve the ultimately futile goal of assimilation, and not, as he suggests, his desire to understand other cultures.

Seabrook's most famous and controversial attempt to 'go native' in the name of authenticity occurred when he partook of human flesh during a cannibal ritual in Africa. In *Jungle Ways* Seabrook explains to his reader that one of his main reasons for going to

¹⁵ Ibid., 14.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Africa was to meet and live with the cannibals. After much ado Seabrook finally eats a rump steak and loin roast from a recently killed warrior and spends pages describing the meat's look, feel and flavor (which he ultimately decides is most like veal). He does not, however, include any photographs of this event in his book (probably because it never really happened). Seabrook sees radical actions like this as bringing him closer to an authentic experience. As such, he sees himself as more in the know than other travel writers and academics: "I felt a great deal of satisfaction in having learned the empiric truth on a subject concerning which far too many books and pieces have been written and rewritten, filled with almost nothing but speculation, hearsay, legend and hot air."¹⁷

Seabrook's experiment with cannibalism, while overly dramatic, is still described with the depth and detail of scientific writing. Nevertheless, his extreme attempts to assimilate cause him to openly abandon the persona of a scientist. This is also evident, for example, in Seabrook's description of a Haitian voodoo ritual that he participated in:

I noticed I have been continually writing 'they,' using the time-honored pronoun employed by so many otherwise veracious and candid travel-authors when describing wild happenings which they feel may be regarded dubiously by sisters and aunts back home. Very well: the truth. I drank like the rest, when the bottles were passed my way. ...I did what Maman Celie told me, and now with good appetite stuffed myself with goat flesh and washed down the meats with more white rum, and dozed, replete and vastly contented, in the bright sunshine. It was for this I had come to Haiti. It concerned me personally. It justified something in my soul. I cared not if I never wrote a book.¹⁸

Here, Seabrook takes the participant-observer model to its limits, to the point where the scientific observer is lost and the hedonistic primal self is revealed. One might also say that he associates his direct, first-hand experiences with authenticity, which he in turn

¹⁷ Ibid, 189.

¹⁸ William Seabrook, *The Magic Island; illustrated with drawings by Alexander King and photographs by the author* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), 43-4.

equates with truth, a truth that he believes supercedes the objective methods of institutionalized science.

Seabrook sees assimilation as the most direct route to losing his modern Western self, an identity he associates with suffering, alienation and anxiety. Seabrook's loss of self grows as the voodoo ritual becomes more intense:

It caused something that was elemental male in me, something deeper than anything that the word sex usually defines, to shiver in the grip of an answering, icy terror...it was a terror of something blacker and more implacable than they—a terror of the dark, all-engulfing womb. But I forget that I am writing a description of a Voodoo ceremonial in the Haitian mountains, and that excursions among the terrors aroused by elemental nightmares in my own soul are an unwarranted interruption.¹⁹

Although Seabrook feels as though he is experiencing something completely new and different, he is in fact reverting to something familiar within himself. Namely, by using the metaphor of a womb, he reverts to an essentializing Western stereotype about women and the idea that they are supposedly closer to nature and primal instincts than men who are supposedly more rational and civilized. Seabrook, however, is not referring to any specific woman, but rather to an essentialized idea of 'Woman' that in this case also becomes synonymous with Haitian culture and opposed to the stifling, sexually-repressive, rational ways of the West. Seabrook may have been going through the same motions as the Haitians, but he is processing his experience through the filters of his Western identity that are ultimately impossible to escape—no matter how much he would like to.

Seabrook's stories of assimilation are not unlike those stories of tourists who abandon their familiar lives and the ways of the West to 'go native.' These include stories of Westerners who are ordained or declare themselves chief or king over an

¹⁹ Ibid., 37.

indigenous population. A good example of this is when R. St. Barbe Baker proudly proclaims himself “Chief of the African Forest Scouts” as described in his *Kodak Magazine* articles “The Men of the Trees: with a ‘Kodak’ in Africa” (1925).²⁰ The special group of tribesman Baker oversees must watch over and protect existing trees and plant new ones. The author proudly tells the reader of how he ‘tricked’ the tribe into gathering at his hut by inviting them to a special ceremonial dance. Before the dancing Baker gives a speech about the forests and forms the Forest Scouts by giving the men a special badge to wear on their wrists. This in and of itself may have proven quite beneficial to the tribe, but his activity was not limited to neutral agricultural advice. He also made these same Scouts promise to perform one good deed a day. As it turns out, this concept—driven as it is by Christian ideology—proved so alien to the tribesmen that they often showed up at the author’s camp at the end of the day to tell him that they could not think of a good deed and that they needed his help to think of one. The author solves this problem by having them plant a special nursery and if they could not think of a good deed that day they were instructed to tend to the trees in the nursery. Baker does not suggest an African fill this new and powerful position of Chief of the Trees that he created; rather, Baker himself steps into the lead role of his own Kiplingesque fantasy in which one white man outwits the naive natives to become—despite his difference abroad and his mediocrity at home—a prominent figure with inordinate power. This fantasy, not unlike mass tourism itself, requires viewing non-Western places as the white man’s playground. His article includes a photograph of several children in their native garb who attended the ceremony (Fig. 154). Judging from the photograph, which includes no

²⁰ See R. St. Barbe Baker, “The Men of the Trees: With A ‘Kodak’ in Africa,” *The Kodak Magazine* 3 (October, 1925): 163-4 and R. St. Barbe Baker, “The Men of the Trees: With A ‘Kodak’ in Africa,” *The Kodak Magazine* 3, (November, 1925): 179.

sign of Baker or any overt signs of Westernization, one might easily think that the author was there to record one of the tribe's traditional ceremonies and not one that he had just invented. Thus, Baker's photographs conceal his authorial presence so that he might create a more authentic-seeming (non-Westernized) image of this tribe. Yet, interestingly, his text (unlike Seabrook's) never shies away from describing his deep involvement and direct effect upon the tribe.

Seabrook never proclaims himself the leader of a tribe, but in his book *Magic Island* he spends much time describing his meeting and association with a U.S. Marine sergeant from Pennsylvania named Faustin Wirckus. Wirckus had become something of a legend back home when he was crowned king of the small island, La Gonave, in 1924. According to Seabrook, the queen granted the sergeant this privilege because she believed he was a reincarnation of a popular Haitian king. Wirckus tells Seabrook he was shocked and confused by the whole thing, but of course, he was also very pleased and accepted the powerful role. Seabrook describes the Queen as intelligent and headstrong so it would hardly be surprising if she decided to crown the soldier king, not so much for the superstitious reasons Seabrook names, but as an attempt to keep her own power secure by sharing it in name. Quite a different story might have emerged had she opposed the presence of Wirckus and the government he represented.

Seabrook concludes his discussion by clarifying that Wirckus, while happy to accept his new role as king and the adulation of the native population, was not married to the Queen. Seabrook photographs the Queen separately, as if to underscore the fact that theirs is a partnership in name only (Fig. 155). This same self-consciousness is displayed later when Seabrook notes, "Wirckus would never let me photograph him with his crown

on his head. He felt that if it were published, it might make him seem ridiculous back home.”²¹ Seabrook’s photograph of Wirkus shows him in his military uniform and without his crown. However his position of power is indicated by the fact that indigenous people carry his chair and wave flags around him (Fig. 156). The decadent crown is shown in the photograph that appears next to this one, but an unidentified black man models it. Apparently Wirkus was not willing to let his colonial fantasy run totally amok. Indeed, the fear of embarrassment he expresses is almost like that of a child who has been caught over indulging in some secret, guilty pleasure. Wirkus understands readers back home will relate to his desire for power, but at the same time, he knows they will also ultimately see him for what he is, just an average guy from rural Pennsylvania.

Both Baker’s story of the men of the trees and Seabrook’s story of Wirkus are examples of how some Western tourists want to live out a fantasy of assimilation because they romanticize and idealize other cultures as somehow more pure and authentic than their own. It also shows how, at the same time, assimilation, that is, absorption to the point of disappearing or blending in entirely, was also unacceptable to these authors. Both Baker and Wirkus only wanted to assimilate if they could also lead and control the indigenous populations.

Seabrook was also confused about exactly where he, as a white outsider, fit into the cultures he visited. His love-hate relationship to ethnography and the academy is symptomatic of his struggle with difference. Seabrook is often quick to depreciate his efforts as amateurish. In *Jungle Ways* he makes light of his travel party: “As for our mode of travel it resembled a wandering circus on a spree more than it did a serious white

²¹ Seabrook, *The Magic Island*, 191.

man's exploration party."²² Seabrook reiterates this same idea in the caption of one of his photographs, which reads, "The author's 'traveling circus' at the court of San Dei"(Fig. 157).²³ Seabrook's emphasis on the ad-hoc nature of his traveling party underscores the idea that he doesn't quite fit in anywhere. He does not perfectly fit the mold of the white, scientist, explorer, and adventure-hero. But he also does not find a way to seamlessly integrate with the indigenous people. Despite his frequent proclamations of assimilation, he remains a special object of the locals attention, he does not travel like they do, he does not dress as they do, he does not speak their language fluently, etc.. This ambivalence allows Seabrook to subtly construct an image of himself as occupying a unique place both inside and outside of the academy.

On the one hand, Seabrook believed so strongly in the value of practical experience and empirical observation in the field that he often was dismissive of the elitism and overly academic work of ethnographic professionals. He was convinced that they were too far removed from the subjects they studied. One of several examples of this occurs when Seabrook recounts an incident where a chief took him on a very long walk through the forest. When Seabrook asks the chief about what is going on he learns that the long walk was an attempt to be gone from camp so long that the chief's brothers would leave and he would not have to share the rum that Seabrook had gifted him. The author sarcastically quips: "I offer this analytical gem of Mori's to the learned Dr. Lévy-Brühl for his next Sorbonne volume on the soul and mentality of the primitive. I have a great respect for Dr. Lévy-Brühl and he is welcome to it."²⁴ The implication is, of

²² Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 4.

²³ Ibid, photographic plates not numbered.

²⁴ Ibid., 97.

course, that certain human behaviors are universal and do not need to be over analyzed or intellectualized.

Despite his aversion to the academy, Seabrook uses various rhetorical devices and photographic strategies in *The Magic Island* that make his writing seem scientific. The book contains detailed information about indigenous medicinal treatments and transcriptions of Haitian songs into Western musical notations with translated lyrics in French and English. It also contains an extensive explanation of Haitian religions, including a schematic sketch of a voodoo temple and altar (Fig. 158).²⁵ The book concludes with an appendix that has extensive notes on linguistics.²⁶ Unlike most of his other books, Seabrook uses footnotes in *Magic Island* and even quotes articles from published credentialed academics in order to align himself with the learned and scientific community.²⁷ His text also includes stories about going on several short trips with a Swedish botanist and gathering various specimens in order to study their possible medicinal value.²⁸

The majority of Seabrook's photographs in *The Magic Island* are presented as scientific evidence and show no hint of the drama and sensationalism found in the body of his text. For example, his photograph of a voodoo altar and temple includes no figures, is framed centrally and shot from straight on—all techniques used to avoid any obvious signs of the author's subjective manipulations (Fig. 159). His photograph of the participants in the voodoo blood ritual he attended also shows little or no obvious signs of artistic/subjective manipulation. The Haitians calmly posing for the camera hardly

²⁵ Seabrook, *The Magic Island*, 285-292, 302-306, 308, 325-31.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 219-226, 294, 302, 318.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 288, 307, 310, 312, 313, 316.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 239-46.

resemble the bloody, frenetic crowd Seabrook describes in the narrative (Fig. 160). The captions for his photographs are equally straightforward. His use of the Haitian term “Houmfort” for the temple subtly enhances the scientific effect of the photograph, as does his emphasis upon certain details seen in the photograph, like the painted serpent symbols on the wall of the temple.

This use of photography is not unique within Seabrook’s oeuvre. In fact, the majority of Seabrook’s photographs in *Jungle Ways* are also presented as though they were ethnographic evidence. His ‘Danse Congo’ photographs have captions that describe the events of the dance and the roles of its various participants (Fig.161). These photographs are presented as a series to show the reader the events that transpire from beginning to end and therefore make the reader feel as though they have seen it themselves. Seabrook captions one of these photographs “one of the best in his collection” (Fig.162). His conspicuous use of the word ‘collection’ shows that he prides himself on his skills as a photographer and his prowess as a scientist. He is a researcher/collector of specimens (in this case photographic). It also indicates that Seabrook treats photography as a means of ownership. In this regard, he is not all that different from the other tourists, most of whom, as historian of photography Peter Osborne suggests, treat photography as a “game of ownership and control.”²⁹ Considering these examples one sees that, despite his frequent criticism of the academy and trained ethnographers, Seabrook wanted to be taken seriously as a scientific observer. Perhaps his hostility towards the academy, then, is really a sign that he regrets, perhaps is

²⁹ Peter Osborne, *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 63.

even bitter or insecure, about his amateur status and his position outside the academy and inside the realm of popular entertainment.

THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY

Franck's, Baker's, and especially Seabrook's attempt to assimilate and their search for authenticity impacted their use of stereotypes. Dean MacCannell first stressed the role authenticity plays in mass tourism in his book *The Tourist* (1976).³⁰ Specifically, MacCannell argues that the tourist's search for authenticity was a reaction against modern industrialized society where mass-reproduced images and commodities are in abundance. MacCannell stresses the role of visual images as both precipitating and perpetuating this never-ending search for authenticity. The term authenticity, as it is used in MacCannell's book, is basically synonymous with term 'the original.' This original, he argues, is surrounded by an aura of authenticity not because of any innate worth a thing, person or place might have, but simply because it is the first in the chain of signifiers. According to MacCannell, the search for authenticity will always be doomed to failure because what the tourist seeks only exists in the realm of ideas, or more specifically, in the realm of a collective fantasy fueled by mass-reproduced images.³¹

Furthering MacCannell's argument about the tourist's search for authenticity, Jonathan Culler writes in his book *Framing the Sign* (1988):

All over the world the unsung armies of semiotics, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behavior, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs; and, deaf to the natives' explanations that thruways just are the most efficient way to get from one place to another or that pubs are simply convenient

³⁰ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3, 14, 48, 83, 91-107, 145-8.

³¹ For more on this topic see Chris Rojek and John Urry eds., *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 4. Roland Barthes made similar arguments. See Roland Barthes, "The Blue Guide," in *Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 74-77.

places to meet your friends and have a drink, or that gondolas are a natural way to get around in a city full of canals, tourists persist in regarding these objects and practices as cultural signs.³²

Like MacCannell, Culler highlights the futility of the tourist's search for authenticity:

The paradox, the dilemma of authenticity, is that to be experienced as authentic it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence lacks the authenticity of what is truly unspoiled, untouched by mediating cultural codes. The authenticity the tourist seeks is at one level an escape from the code, but this escape itself is coded in turn, for the authentic must be marked to be constituted as authentic. Every 'original' is a further representation.³³

Photography plays a vital role in validating and perpetuating the 'myth' of authenticity. To understand exactly *how* photography is deeply implicated in the ideology of authenticity one must not only consider that it is a medium of mass reproduction, but also that photography has been used to repeat (and therefore authenticate) stereotypes. It is important to note that photography also plays an essential role in creating *both* a sense of loss and unity in the tourist during his or her search for authenticity. This is true because the photographic image simultaneously values and devalues the original. Photographs, for example, play an important role in compelling tourists to set out to see this or that place to see this or that thing, but often leaves them feeling disappointed when 'the real thing' does not live up to the image.

In his search for an authentic experience Seabrook actively courts drama and adventure. However, he sometimes openly admits that he personally did not encounter the stereotypical Africa readers might expect. In fact, Seabrook confesses that he secretly half-hoped for more dangerous situations and encounters than those that befell him.

³² Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 155.

³³ *Ibid.*, 164-5.

More often than not Africans avoided him by running away or hiding in their huts when they saw him approaching. In *Jungle Ways* he laments:

Actually nothing whatever happened to us on the trail to Zanbli. Never once were we menaced or halted. On the contrary we were avoided. We traversed hut clusters, seemingly deserted, without seeing a human face. The fine mess that awaited us had no saving cinema qualities. It was, in fact, disgustingly undramatic.³⁴

Yet, Seabrook still supplies readers with the stereotypes they want. The best example of this is the grossly stereotypical drawings by Alexander King that illustrate his book *The Magic Island*. The author's photographs appear grouped together near the scientific appendixes in the back of the book. It is important to consider why his book contains photographs *and* drawings. The answer probably lies in the fact that the drawings convey the mystery, sexuality and danger he wanted to find but could not. Thus, the primary purpose of including the drawings is to enhance, even create, a particular mood that would meet readers' expectations and confirm their stereotypes. So, for example, it does not matter if the story Seabrook tells about zombies wandering the landscape at night is true or not (Fig. 163). It only matters that the story is exciting and fits neatly within the reader's expectations of Haitian mystery and occultism. Ditto for another drawing that shows a goat-like demon with large sagging breasts from which an adult black man and woman suckle (Fig. 164). It goes without saying that this fictional scene illustrates no specific event in the narrative. It does however create an atmosphere of mystery and confirms the white/Western audience's stereotypes about the supposed animality of black people.

Rarely does Seabrook challenge stereotypes. On the contrary, he blatantly manipulates them to his advantage. His exploitation of stereotypes is especially evident

³⁴ Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 71.

in the drawing of a Haitian woman captioned, "...he had to whip her once or twice a year" (Fig. 165). The caption inevitably reminds the reader in the United States of bygone (and more primitive) days in their own country when slavery existed and slaves were controlled through physical violence. As such it also insinuates that Haiti is at an earlier stage of historical development and therefore is less moral and certainly less sophisticated than the U.S.. Another racially-biased drawing shows natives dancing wildly in an orgiastic voodoo ritual (Fig. 166). A woman in the front grabs her breasts as if offering them to the viewer, the necklace she wears conveniently suggests the nipples. All of their facial features are grossly exaggerated, but this is especially true of the man in the lower right corner. In this particular case Seabrook exaggerates the stereotype that black Haitians are wild and have no sexual morals.

Seabrook's desire for adventure and exoticism is clearly shaped by previous literary and visual representations of Haiti as a mysterious and dangerous place. The sum total of these stereotypes is the rule against which Seabrook measures the authenticity of all of his experiences in Haiti. As we have seen, such expectations often led to disappointment and to exaggeration as demonstrated by King's fictional drawings. As two different modes of signification they continue to reinforce the two different self-images Seabrook wished to project to his readership. The photographs appear extremely banal and objective, even scientific, especially when compared to the wild exaggeration of the drawings and Seabrook's use of them. The photographic images present the case of Seabrook the objective scientist/observer (professional). Conversely, the drawings that show Haiti to be a place of wild adventure and savagery present Seabrook as a mad

adventurer/outcast of civilization (an amateur who, not unlike the natives he describes, refuses to be tamed/trained).

Tourists like Seabrook were often so mystified by their romantic desires to have an authentic or pure experience that they failed to describe modernization/Westernization in the places they visited. This is not true in Franck's case. While not immune to stereotyping, Franck is less inclined than Seabrook to romanticize and sensationalize in the name of authenticity. For example, Franck suggests that the stories of human sacrifice, cannibalism and cult poisonings in Haiti are sensationalized in the West. He even suggests that voodoo rituals, at least those the whites are permitted to see, are something more akin to a tourist attraction or side show act than a genuine religious ceremony. Franck's lack of enthusiasm for such sensationalism and contrived spectacles is demonstrated by his banal laundry list of the events that transpired during a voodoo supper a group of Americans had paid seventy dollars to attend.³⁵

Franck spends a good deal of time explaining the historical complexities of the United States' involvement in the West Indies, especially in Haiti and Puerto Rico. He often photographs modernization of non-Western areas that many other travel books, like Seabrook's, characterize as mysterious, remote and untouched by civilization. For example Franck juxtaposes a photograph of a man on a camel in Egypt with one of a modern car in front of the ancient pyramids (Fig. 167). Tourism is another sign of Westernization that is seen in Franck's photographs. The caption of his Forbidden City photograph explains that more than half of the city is now opened up to the ticket-buying public; naturally this would include a large number of Western tourists (Fig.168). The

³⁵ Harry Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies* (New York: The Century Company, 1920), 166.

photograph below this one shows two American missionaries on an 'itinerating' trip in China in a rickshaw that is stopped in front of an ancient smoke tower (Fig. 169). The Westernizing influence of missionaries can be seen in his photograph of two Chinese elders being converted into Presbyterians (Fig. 170). In his book *A Vagabond Journey Around the World* (1910) Franck includes a photograph of a man and a child selling oranges and bread in an outdoor market in Jerusalem (Fig. 171). The scene seems to show a stereotypical version of Jerusalem as a timeless and authentic ancient city. However, Franck's caption draws the viewer's attention to the standard oilcan on the left-hand side of the table that has been transformed into a basket to hold the old man's oranges. The oilcan is evidence that somewhere in Jerusalem, if not here, modern international business transactions are probably taking place.

Although Franck shows many examples of modernization, he also keeps the native population 'authentic' in that he shows that they often do not understand the significance or importance of modernizing and/or Western technology. This message is made abundantly clear in a series of photographs in Franck's *Roaming Through the West Indies* (1920) that juxtapose modern Western technologies with native tools and local ways of getting things done. The first photograph in this series shows a Dominican switch engine. Obviously the railway system is a modern Western invention that has been instituted in the Dominican Republic, but Franck chooses to show a railway car that has broken down and is being pushed by local men. As such its usefulness is nullified and the supposed ignorance and backwardness of the Dominican culture is asserted (Fig. 172).

This image is followed by a photograph captioned “A Dominican hearse,” which shows six bare-footed men transporting a simple wood coffin along a dirt road. Franck’s caption invites the viewer to compare this mode of transporting the dead to the way it is usually done in the United States with a hearse. Because this image appears in this particular series his caption suggests the methods of his home culture are not just different but also superior. We do not know exactly what these photographs mean in the unique context of Dominican culture and the particular moment in which they were taken because Franck chose to impose his Western understanding upon them and turn them into a narrative about the superiority of the West. These photographs and their presentation underscore the notion that the West can bring its technologies to places around the world. But there is no guarantee that the people in these places will use them efficiently and appropriately.

Perhaps the most interesting and politically charged of Franck’s photographs showing Westernization are those of the aftermath of the French-Syrian conflict (Fig. 173). These particular images show the ‘triumph’ but also the destructive force used by a Western colonial power in the service of its ‘civilizing’ mission. In another set of images from the West Indies, Franck seems to warn his readers about the longevity of West Indian culture and its resistance to colonization. In these photographs various natural elements are used as metaphors for the persistence of traditional ways of life. For example, Franck photographs telegraph wires, an obvious emblem of Westernization in Ponce. However, his caption does not emphasize the foreign technology, but rather the plants that almost entirely cover the wires and threaten to make them dysfunctional. Furthermore, the photograph makes the plants appear burdensome and destructive, more

like a disease or a parasite than a thing of natural beauty (Fig. 174). Over the years and with enough accumulation these plants would surely make the wires inoperable.

Franck's book also includes a photograph of an early French colonial estate in ruins (Fig. 175). The caption informs his reader that similar ruins are found all over Haiti. The central focus of the photograph is an old sugar mill that is rusted, broken down and overgrown with weeds. Once again the viewer is presented with a Western technology (albeit a rudimentary one) that has been overrun by nature and time, and more specifically, by the Haitian landscape. A similar message of native persistence and resistance is conveyed even more explicitly in two photographs, one showing the ruins of the Cathedral of St. Pierre, and the other showing a native house that is built into the old stone ruins of the same cathedral (Fig. 176). Although the wooden native structure is small and simple when compared to the relatively sophisticated and grand stone cathedral, it is the structure that is still standing and functional. In this case the triumph of the local culture is signified, not by natural elements that take over the colonial structures, but by the indigenous people themselves.

The ambivalent way in which certain authors address the material aspects of Westernization and counter-Westernization is mirrored by the difficulty travelers had in accounting for cultural difference. Seabrook, Baker and Franck mention instances of human sameness but they ultimately place a greater stress on cultural differences. All three express attitudes that show the (probably indirect) influence of anthropologists Sir Edward Taylor and Franz Boas, who are known for establishing the theory of cultural relativism. They argued that each culture is complete in and of itself and valid within its own context and should not be judged against the norms of the researcher's own culture.

They further argued that culture must be studied specifically on a case by case basis and not as a monolithic, interrelated whole (as in functionalism). Cultural relativism was in part a reaction against the evolutionary biases implicit in comparative anthropology of the nineteenth century that linked culture and race and ranked cultures within a hierarchy. Boas and Taylor argued that differences among peoples were not just biological and racial, but also the result of complex historical, geographical and social variants.

Seabrook describes the social customs of Habbe people in Africa and often points out that their values and morals are relative to their unique social/historical context. Specifically, he spends a great deal of time describing Habbe laws and justice. He explains that the punishment for theft is death. However, if a Habbe commits murder there is a long ritualistic process of purification that must take place.³⁶ The murderer must leave the tribe for a few years, live alone, and confess his actions to any stranger he meets during this time. After his time away he is allowed to return and is accepted wholeheartedly back into the village and is completely exonerated of his crime. To facilitate a renewal of community bonds, a relative from the murderer's family and the victim's family must have a child together, and when the baby is born the spirit of the murdered is invited to enter the child's body. This and other social customs of the Habbe are so troubling to Seabrook that it sends him into a moral and philosophical quandary and causes him to muse about what would happen if the same rules were applied in the United States. Seabrook ultimately seems utterly confused and unable to process his experience with the Habbe:

People always say that if you spend a little time in an insane asylum, associating with the inmates, even as a visitor, you soon end by getting mixed up and not knowing which are the crazy people and which are the

³⁶ Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 266-70.

sane ones. Perhaps it was something like that that began to happen to me among the Habbe, for over and over again I kept asking myself ridiculously whether it was they who were really crazy, or whether perhaps we were.³⁷

Although he negatively associates the Habbe with the insane, Seabrook refuses to condemn any of their practices outright. Seabrook's sarcasm and irony (which is difficult to fully convey through a mere handful of isolated excerpts) can make it hard to assess his true opinions and views about the differences he encounters and often makes him appear extremely racist and unsympathetic, which is not exactly the case. If one reads his books in their entirety one can begin to see how his approach is relativist, even if it cannot also be called entirely sympathetic. What remains clear, apart from his true feelings, is that his confusion and sarcasm is brought about by his genuine confrontation with and acknowledgement of difference.

In his essay, "In Nigeria: An Explorer and His 'Kodak'" (1927), R. St. Barbe Baker encourages his reader to think about cultural relativism when he discusses the practice of polygamy among certain Nigerian tribes. He describes how African women explained to him that they do not feel like polygamy degrades them, but rather, that it allows them more independence, wealth and power within their society. In fact, he relays to his readers the African women's assertion that they have more power than white women. They argue this because they get to name their children and own farms and houses.³⁸ Thus, rather than condemn their practice of polygamy as immoral on the basis of Western moral norms, Baker articulates the women's point of view and tries to explain its logic within Nigerian culture.

³⁷ Ibid., 271-3.

³⁸ R. St. Barbe Baker, "In Nigeria: An Explorer and His 'Kodak'," *The Kodak Magazine* 5, no. 1 (January 1927): 29.

In contrast to the cultural relativists, sometimes travel writers highlight cultural similarities, an approach that, for lack of a more precise term, will be referred to here as humanism.³⁹ Unlike cultural relativists who focus on difference, humanists argue that *all* humans have the same basic biological needs (like food and shelter), psychological and emotional experiences (like love and anger), and basic social structures/experiences (like family, work and war). This humanistic focus on sameness is readily apparent in Albert Crane Wallace's 1920 essay, "Glimpses of the Orient," in *Kodakery*. According to Wallace, photographs are the best way to capture this essential human sameness: "Pictures throw a light that constantly enlarges our familiarity with other people's lives, and to have this happen is to have our understanding and our sympathies enlarged. Pictures are the only language all mankind can understand."⁴⁰ Obviously this comment is overly simplistic because photographs are intimately bound up with the culture and historical moment in which they are made and accurate interpretation of them requires a thorough knowledge of their context.

Although Wallace emphasizes sameness, he does mention differences between his culture and the one he visits. However, the sum total of these differences is described as meaningful, not for any anthropological or sociological interest, but rather as "pictorial lure" for the tourist's camera. In other words, culture is described here as just another commodity to consume.

³⁹ Although the term humanism has a long intellectual history beginning in the Renaissance, which can be described as the return to the humanistic study of classical Greek and Roman letters, I use the term relative to its current discussion—and contestation—in much of contemporary cultural studies and critical theory. Such theories often take humanism to mean "Enlightenment humanism," which adopts as its project the anthropological question: "What is man?" Such a question presupposes the capacities of man for self-determination or freedom, even as it acknowledges man's fundamental limitation as a finite creature who lacks self-knowledge. For more on the "anthropological turn" that characterizes Enlightenment humanism in the late eighteenth-century and its connection to the rise of the human sciences, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1970).

⁴⁰ Albert Crane Wallace, "Glimpses of the Orient," *Kodakery* 8, no. 1 (September 1920): 7.

The Orient is, indeed, full of strangeness to the American traveler. Nothing tempts picture-making more definitely than this sense of difference. When we are on tour with our Kodak in hand, and a sense of vigilance as to things that will stand out afterward as representing as nearly as possible the essence of what we have seen, we get to be very keen as to characteristics. Ways of travel that are odd to us, odd ways of plowing, or peddling, or doing the family washing, or minding the baby, or building a bridge, all are a pictorial lure. And the seizing of them with a lens adds fascination to a journey.⁴¹

According to Wallace's description, a foreign culture is *relatable* only when it has been appropriated in the form of a photograph and made to function as part of the Western tourist's narrative. He therefore cannot be truly called a relativist. For him culture becomes *valuable* when miniaturized into a controllable object (the photograph) that can be owned and brought home. Among the reasons Wallace had for choosing to emphasize human sameness one must stress the marketability of that message as opposed to the sometimes unsettling effect that highlighting cultural differences can have upon an audience.

Despite the seemingly humanistic intentions driving the desire to discover and focus on human sameness, many critics of this ideology such as Roland Barthes would argue that it ignores very real and important cultural and political differences, not to mention variations of individual experiences.⁴² In short, focusing exclusively on sameness dismisses or nullifies other cultures because it requires no sympathy for or understanding of cultures in relation to their own terms; it is merely another way to impose a Western ideology or way of understanding onto another culture. Arguably, it is the most dangerous and nefarious kind of ideological imposition to be found in mass

⁴¹ Ibid., 3-7.

⁴² Roland Barthes argued this point most vigorously in response to the Museum of Modern Art's 1955 essentializing exhibit *The Family of Man*. See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957), 100-102.

tourism. Humanism never requires the observer to step outside the bounds of his or her own culture. It may well be thought of as a kind of invisible ideological shield or bubble that keeps the traveler always at home (mentally safe and comfortable) regardless of where he or she actually travels.

These authors' decisions to either stress cultural difference or sameness is just one of many ways in which their travel writing is connected to issues of power. Many scholars have argued that the technology of photography itself is deeply rooted in Western culture and its ideology of classification and domination.⁴³ Many people in the host cultures of tourism did not want to be photographed. This is made explicit by several photographs in Franck's books. Franck senses the trepidation that three young children feel when he takes their photograph, so he captions the image, "Shall we run; or are those pale-faced strangers harmless?" (Fig.177). Even though the Ecuadorian woman in one of Franck's photographs did not want her picture taken, Franck takes the image on the sly, so he tells the reader in his caption, while she watches him 'dust his Kodak' (Fig.178). On other occasions, it is unclear whether the people he photographed consented to having their picture taken. The issue of consent matters because if one does not know that he or she is being photographed, or does not consent to being photographed but is anyway, he or she does not have any say in how that image will be presented to the public. While this is also often true of those who know they are being photographed, at least informed and willing subjects have a chance to manipulate their pose, their clothing, and their expressions and therefore can play some small role in determining what the

⁴³ See Terence Wright, "Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention," in Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 6,18-31; Also see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996) 25-66; and Peter Osborne, *Traveling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 3-13.

photograph communicates. Although, clearly, the greatest power in this regard resides with the photographer/author (as well as his or her editors and publishers) who composes and manipulates the look of the image and surrounds it with words and other photographs that influence its final interpretation.

Photography is also implicated in relationships of power because it was a tool used to create and perpetuate stereotypes. In her book *Anthropology and Photography* (1992), Elizabeth Edwards stresses that photography was used in ways that created new racial and cultural stereotypes and perpetuated old ones. Some of these stereotypes pertained to behavior and others were about physical appearance. One of the most repeated behavioral stereotypes of non-Western peoples is that of the ‘noble savage.’ This stereotype was created by the West in response to its own intrusion and presumed destruction of indigenous populations. The ‘noble savage’ is both admired and pitied by Westerners for his or her bravery and persistence in the face of almost certain annihilation of his homeland, culture and people. Another common behavioral stereotype holds that non-Westerners are incapable of being civilized by the West because they are too violent/child-like/lazy. Baker and Seabrook both evoked versions of these two popular stereotypes when they described the men they associated with in Africa.

In his *Kodak Magazine* article “The Mystery of the Ju-Ju As Seen by an Explorer in Nigeria” (1928), Baker writes about an African man named Belo who accompanied the author on some of his travels. Belo is singled out as special among the ‘natives’ because he served as a sergeant major in the British army. Baker describes Belo as an ‘ideal native’ who fought furiously but also knows how and when to defer to authority.⁴⁴ As

⁴⁴ R. St. Barbe Baker, “The Mystery of the Ju-Ju As Seen by an Explorer in Nigeria,” *The Kodak Magazine* 6, no. 11 (November, 1928): 45.

evidence of the former, Baker describes Belo as a wild, animalistic fighting machine who has no inkling of the moral consequences of killing and warfare. The author praises his bravery, but at every turn highlights his difference and savagery. The photograph accompanying the article also readily communicates this message (Fig. 179). In the image Belo is seen in his British military uniform (as opposed to native dress) and although his uniform is decorated with numerous medals it is also dirty and ill fitting—to a degree that would never be tolerated on a white British soldier. His difference is also highlighted by the fact that he is barefooted. Belo cheerfully similes as he stands next to his child and several women in native dress who are presumably his wives. Ultimately, the photograph and text make Belo appear noble but ‘Other’ and only noble *in this particular context*. Most importantly, the photograph insinuates that Belo is so savage that he could never be fully ‘civilized’ (meaning Westernized).

Seabrook’s description of Klon, a member of his traveling party, is reminiscent of Baker’s description of Belo. Like Belo, Klon spent some time fighting in the British Army but never fully assimilates into the white man’s world and way of life. After he left the army Klon returned home deep into the jungle and resumed his native ways; “he donned the family wig, gorged himself at the family pot, sacrificed to the old fetishes, and married a number of wives.”⁴⁵ Klon is Seabrook’s ideal native, because he is ‘civilized’ enough to be ‘safe’ but he is ‘untamable’ and exotic enough to serve as a foil to civilization. In both cases the authors treat these African men as possessing a child-like lack of self-consciousness and an animalistic savagery. Which particular stereotype they choose to evoke depends largely upon whether they are describing those parts of these men that have been Westernized (in which case they are characterized as harmless)

⁴⁵ Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 5.

or those parts that are 'purely African' (in which case they are described as mysterious and dangerous). In either case, the response required of Westerners remains the same, for both the savage and the child are in need of guidance and civilizing.

Franck uses the noble savage stereotype in his discussion of Haitian cacoism. Cacos were guerilla rebels who fought against American forces for total independence. Franck explains that the cacos originally formed in opposition to an unpopular American road-building project that forced all Haitians to contribute a certain amount of their time and labor to the project. The Haitians that banded together and refused this forced labor eventually became the active resistance movement of the cacos. Franck describes the cacos as animalistic self-serving bandits who maraud and terrorize other Haitians. Specifically, he suggests the cacos are child-like in their inability to understand what is best for them (as determined by the Americans) and too brutal and primitive to submit to the ways of civilization (again, as determined by the Americans). The caco fighter as described by Franck fits the noble savage stereotype because he fights regardless of the futility of his struggle. Thus, Cacos are portrayed as self-serving outlaw bandits *and* as heroic warriors. Although feared and despised the cacos also evoke pity from Franck because he presumes that they are historically and genetically predestined to be eliminated by civilization (the U.S.). He places a special emphasis on the latter with his comment, "Forced labor was not the cause of cacosim, for *it is in the Haitian blood* (my italics) to turn caco."⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies*, 130.

Franck makes much of American soldiers' bravery and how they often went in to the jungle in groups of two or three to hunt down the cacos.⁴⁷ However, he does not perceive that the asymmetrical warfare waged by the Americans with semi-automatic rifles is uncivilized or brutal. Franck glosses over the fact that the law to which they were so resistant was enforced by armed soldiers who descended upon towns unannounced and forced bare-footed villagers to walk far from their homes and work weeks at a time and the fact that the Haitians have a right to defend themselves from outside occupation. Thus, Franck ignores the complexities of the situation and offers his readers easily consumable stereotypes instead.

In Frank's book the gendarme act as a literary foil to the caco. The gendarme are Haitian men who work side by side with the American military as a kind of domestic police force. Franck's photograph of a member of the gendarme and his picture of a caco rebel reinforce his argument about the degeneracy and criminality of the caco and the respectability of the Westernized gendarme. His photograph of the gendarme guard shows a well-kempt man in a crisp and clean white military-style uniform (Fig. 180 left). He stands up straight and seems ready for any task that might be required of him. The image can be contrasted with Franck's photograph of a caco rebel who is seen slouching, disheveled, in dirty clothing in a prison yard next to his fellow cacos, several of whom wear black and white striped prison uniforms. The man who is the main subject of the

⁴⁷ He describes a similar situation in the Dominican Republic. There, the gavilleros act as a force of resistance and instead of the gendarme in Haiti, the Dominicans have the Guardia Nacional. Franck comes to similar conclusions as those already discussed in regard to Haiti. With a few exceptions, he characterizes the U.S. Marines as heroes and their efforts not so much as the result of an economic occupation that benefits the U.S., but as a civilizing mission. He dismisses the several instances where the U.S. military used excessive force by citing their lack of proper training and awareness of local culture. Such is the case when marines trying to kill bandits burned down the huts and all the possessions of innocent families who had gone into the jungle to cultivate their yucca-gardens. *Ibid.*, 235.

image is chained at the ankles and wrists because (as the caption informs us) he killed an American Marine (Fig. 180 right)

Stereotypes that appeared in travel photographs were able to pass as truth because most viewers were heavily invested in photographic realism. This belief in photographic objectivity primarily rests upon the way photographs are made, namely by registering light as it reflects from whatever is before the camera onto a light-sensitive support in the camera at the time of exposure. Thus, photographs are seen as a direct analogue of whatever was in front of the camera at the time of exposure. C.S. Peirce describes the photograph, an image physically caused by its referent, as an indexical sign.⁴⁸ By this he means a photograph is a sign that has a distinctive association with what it is a sign of. As smoke is a sign of a fire and is caused by that fire, so is the photograph a direct trace or index of its referent. This direct and causal relationship between the photograph and its referent has meant that photography has been more closely associated with truth and objectivity than other kinds of images. Both Franck and Seabrook use photography to create an aura of truth and authenticity about their texts. This is something witnessed most directly in Franck's photograph of himself standing in front of an Egyptian statue that is captioned, "Just to prove that I was there" (Fig. 181).

Anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards argues that the realism of photography is aided by the repetition of long-standing stereotypes that prepare the way for the content of the photograph to be received as truth. In other words, viewers are more apt to interpret a photograph as true if it matches or reaffirms their already existing stereotypes and beliefs.

As Edwards argues:

⁴⁸ See C.S. Peirce, *The Philosophy of C.S. Peirce* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1940), 52. Roland Barthes also discusses the photograph as indexical (the that-has-been). See Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

If photography is perceived as ‘reality’ then modes of representation will themselves enhance that ‘reality’ – in other words the photograph is perceived as ‘real’ or ‘true’ because that is what the viewer expects to see: ‘this is how it should be’ becomes ‘this is how it is/was.’⁴⁹

The truth effect of travel photographs, then, has to do with the way photographs are made and the preconditioning of an audience waiting to receive the stories they tell and the arguments they make as truth.

Perhaps the best example of how photography and stereotypes can operate in this mutually reinforcing way is images of racial/ethnic types.⁵⁰ Edwards explains:

Through photography, for example, the ‘type,’ the abstract essence of human variation, was perceived to be an observable reality. The inevitable detail of the photograph becomes a symbol for the whole and tempts the viewer to allow the specific to stand in for generalities, becoming a symbol for wider truths, at the risk of stereotyping and misrepresentation.⁵¹

The influence of physiognomy can be seen in Seabrook’s and Franck’s books when they present the reader with photographs of racial types. One example of this is Seabrook’s photograph captioned, “A Young Gueré cannibal mother in the village of Mon Po. The Gueré are described by the author as the handsomest and the finest among

⁴⁹ Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, 8.

⁵⁰ Numerous scholars have written about typological photography. See David Green, “Classified Subjects: Photography and Anthropology: the Technology of Power,” *Ten* 8, no. 14 (1984): 3-37; David Green, “Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics,” *Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (1985): 3-16; Melissa Banta and Curtis Hensley, *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, 1986); Elizabeth Edwards, “Photographic Types: the Pursuit of Method,” *Visual Anthropology* 3, 2-3 (1990): 235-258; Christopher Pinney, “The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography,” in Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography*, 74- 95; John Pultz, *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839-the present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995); James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 146-182; and Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: a visual economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 107-167.

⁵¹ Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, 7. For similar views on the role of photographic realism and its relationship to anthropology see: Pinney, “The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography,” in Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, 74-91; and Terence Wright, “Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention,” also in Edwards pgs. 8-31. Geoffrey Batchen has offered his own critique of how Edwards and Pinney deal with the idea of photographic realism (and other facets of their argument). See Geoffrey Batchen, “Culture Concepts: Anthropology and/as Photography,” in Mahmut Mutman, Fuat Keyman and Meyda Yegenoglu eds., *Oryantalizm, Hegemony ve Kültürel Fark* (Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 1996), 213-233.

the Ivory Coast Tribes” (Fig. 182). In addition to his aesthetic ranking of the Gueré, Seabrook equates physical appearance with character (the handsomest = the finest). When authors rank various tribes and/or races according to their physical beauty usually those people whose appearance most closely resembles Western ideals of beauty are considered the most intelligent and advanced. Seabrook’s odd third-person reference to himself as “the author” makes his personal opinions and biases seem like neutral facts, which in turn aids the realism of his documentary style photograph.

Seabrook’s photograph captioned “A Typical Haitian of Pure African Blood” does not give the reader any personal information about the man such as his name or what he does for a living (Fig. 183). Rather, the reader is simply invited to study his physical appearance as a representative example of “The Haitian.” Franck also uses photographs as a means to show essentialized racial types. For example, his photographs of ‘typical’ Mexican workers from the highlands and the lowlands are placed side by side so that the reader might easily see how different geographical locations effect the men’s physical appearances (Fig. 184). Another example is his photograph of two Arab men wearing heavy robes but no shoes (Fig. 185). At first the caption seems as though Franck is going to present these two men in relation to his unique and individualized experience of them, because he starts out by indicating their respective professions and telling the reader that he spent two nights and a day with them. However, Franck’s caption offers no further personal information and goes on to stereotype the men with the bizarre comment that “Arabs are very sensitive to the cold, except on their feet and ankles.”

The influence of physiognomy is equally evident in the body of these authors' texts.⁵² Seabrook often makes reference to certain essential (biological) racial characteristics that transcend time, place, culture, and nationality. For example, the main character trait Seabrook doesn't like about Haitians is their supposed tendency towards revolution and violence, something he traces back and attributes to their African blood.⁵³ The same physiognomic stereotype is found in Franck's book when he describes how class can complicate racial hierarchy. Specifically Franck argues that upper-class Haitians and those of mixed race who might otherwise be considered civilized are still 'tainted' by their African blood.⁵⁴

Franck is especially interested in physiognomic and racial characteristics. When describing the city of Aguadilla, for example, he writes: "Many of the inhabitants are of pure Caucasian blood, and the majority of them have only a tinge of African color. Features and characteristics that go along with diligence and energy, with success in life, are to be seen on every hand."⁵⁵ In Puerto Rico, Franck describes how the American chief of the Insular Police divides the population into four categories 'for purposes of identification' according to the shape of their feet.⁵⁶ True to the methods of physiognomic classification, Franck often conflates race and personality in his descriptions of different cultures. More accurately, his descriptions suggest that one's personality is caused by one's race. For example, Franck observes that *all* Cubans gesture exaggeratedly when speaking. This not only essentializes Cubans by suggesting

⁵² Photography's role in physiognomy as it relates to ethnography is addressed in Frank Spencer, "Some notes on the Attempt to Apply Photography to Anthropometry during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, 99- 107.

⁵³ Seabrook, *The Magic Island*, 276-7.

⁵⁴ Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies*, 160.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 257.

that all of them behave one particular way, it also suggests such behavior is an innate and inevitable part of their character, rather than a cultural practice or personal habit.⁵⁷

Franck quotes a ‘native critic’ to achieve a heightened air of authority and to take the edge off views that, coming from a white man from outside the culture, might sound too racist. However these also show a strong influence from physiognomy:

‘Our dominating nervous temperament has contributed to make us irritable, sometimes insufferable. On account of this sensitiveness we have more sensations than ideas, more imagination than understanding, with the result that when we turn our attention to anything the pretty is apt to have more importance than the true or useful. We are better path-followers than originators; we prefer to triumph by astuteness rather than by reason; we are prodigal, and for that reason the thirst for riches is our dominant characteristic.’⁵⁸

This assertion about Cubans learning from memory and not from rational/analytic thought is a judgment meant to situate them within a racial/cultural hierarchy beneath white Americans and Western Europeans.

The United States government often asserted that its involvement in other countries was motivated by its desire to help indigenous people. This ideology, also known as the ‘white man’s burden,’ involves the belief that whites were morally obligated to civilize non-white peoples and areas. In “The Men of the Trees: With a Kodak in Africa” (1925) Baker portrays Africans as children who in their innocence cause harm to themselves by practicing slash and burn agricultural techniques that destroy their forests. They therefore need to be saved by him, a member of a ‘more sophisticated’ European race.⁵⁹ His belief in the moral and evolutionary superiority of

⁵⁷ Ibid., 101.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁹ R. St. Barbe Baker, “The Men of the Trees: With A ‘Kodak’ in Africa,” *The Kodak Magazine* 3 (November, 1925): 179. For the first installment, see R. St. Barbe Baker, “The Men of the Trees: With A ‘Kodak’ in Africa,” *The “Kodak” Magazine* 3 (October, 1925): 163-4.

the West allows him to impose his own ideas of order and moral values upon the Ju-Ju. Baker's activities may have helped the Ju-Ju, but his series of articles shows just how radically he changed the structure of their culture. They also reveal that Baker did not view this change or his influence upon the tribe as problematic.

Franck (who served in both World Wars) was fiercely patriotic and his nationalism severely curtailed his ability to fully embrace cultural differences. Ultimately he rather blindly accepts the American ideology of occupation and the justifications for violence against native populations. Franck attributes U.S. involvement in Haiti to two main desires: the high minded ideal of helping Haiti achieve internal peace and stability and the less idealistic motive of making a profit off the Haitians and their various natural resources. Franck writes about betterment as if it were a moral choice presented to the American public:

Although reform in this matter is essential to the task we have undertaken in Haiti, unless we subscribe as a nation to the old Southern attitude that the negro is better off without education. The present generation is as hopeless in this as in many other regards; it remains to be seen whether we will and can lift the next out of the primitive savagery, which at present reigns.⁶⁰

As if to prove this point about instituting a Western education system and its civilizing effects, Franck's book includes a photograph of Puerto Rican children standing at the entrance of a wood shack (Fig. 186). Some of the children appear malnourished, all of them appear dirty and in tattered clothing and bare-footed. It is unclear whether they are standing at the entrance of a schoolhouse but the caption informs the reader that half of the children in "our" Puerto Rico are not being schooled. This photograph, which ultimately invites the viewer's pity, can be contrasted with another in Franck's book of a

⁶⁰ Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies*, 167.

school in Port au Prince that is intended to demonstrate the potential success of the civilizing mission (Fig. 187). Unlike the downtrodden children in the Puerto Rico photograph, the children in this image are lined up in orderly rows as they stand upright and proud for the camera. The children and their schoolmaster are wearing neat and clean Western clothing, some are even wearing suits and ties, and all are wearing shoes. The solid brick school building they stand in front of is included in the frame as further evidence of the U.S.'s success in 'civilizing' at least this little corner of their territories.

Among other things, this passage suggests that the U.S. would somehow be regressing on in its own historical evolution if it decided not to educate the Haitian people who are described as helpless without the charity and benevolent actions of the United States. Although Franck clearly does not believe that the U.S. will save Haiti from itself, he definitely suggests that accepting the U.S. presence is their only hope of progressing. However, Franck seems to hold little hope for the fate and civilization of even the "best" Haitian. True to the philosophy of 'the white man's burden,' Franck also notes the tremendous expense and hardship these colonies represent for the United States: "...it is costing us more than a half a million a year to support our little black children."⁶¹ Similarly, he discusses how the purchase of the Virgin Islands from the Dutch was a 'bad bargain.' He compares this situation to a farmer who bought a farm for twenty five cents but then found out that it would cost him fifty dollars a year out of his own pocket to run it, because it was, "inhabited by a happy-go-lucky lot of negroes who expected him to do many things for them, from curing their wide-spread disease to sending them to school."⁶² He further suggests that the United States is being manipulated in the name of

⁶¹ Ibid., 315.

⁶² Ibid., 316.

their ideals for equality and democracy to treat its colonies and protectorates as charities. He quips that the islanders see, “Uncle Sam as the world’s Santa Claus.”⁶³ For this reason he argues that they should be taxed. “The future of the islands depends largely upon whether or not we succumb to our national tendency to make our wards mendicants for life, or give them a start and let them work their way through the college of civilization.”⁶⁴

As this passage shows, in order for the logic of the civilizing mission to work properly, one must believe that the people in need of civilizing are at some earlier and less advanced point in their evolution than those who will do the saving. This infantilizing of other cultures can be seen in the following antidote Franck shares with his reader about an American estate manager in Haiti who was notorious for driving a heavy car at a high rate of speed. Apparently the man was motoring alone in the countryside one day when he startled a Haitian pedestrian. When the Haitian attempted to flee by running across the road he was hit squarely and knocked fifty feet by the impact. The American took him to the hospital where he was treated for minor bruises and a gash to the head. A few days later after being discharged the man returned to his hut and insisted that his almost-healed wounds be redressed by a native healer, a decision that caused the man to die from blood poisoning. Although a seemingly straightforward story, it effectively sums up Franck’s views that the Americanization of Haiti is not only inevitable, but a civilizing mission, a burden that must be shouldered by whites who may or may not be able to ultimately save the Haitian from himself, his own backwardness, or

⁶³ Ibid., 335.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

his blackness.⁶⁵ The victim of the car accident must die simply because he is unwilling to give up his native ways and traditions and because he did not understand or try to assimilate the ways of the West. Viewed in this light, Franck's story is largely a parable about the civilizing mission. The moral of the story is that the 'good' native steps aside and submits to Westernizing influences. The victim of the car accident, of course, becomes emblematic of all Haitians who resist or simply cannot comprehend the supposed necessity of becoming 'civilized.' He becomes the sacrificial lamb to the necessary evil of the civilizing mission. Although he is certainly more naive and child-like than the caco, he too is a tragic figure. Whether the natives are portrayed as 'good' or 'bad' one thing is clear: Franck argues that both types will submit to the inevitable forward march of Western civilization.

In his influential book *Time and the Other* (1983), anthropologist Johannes Fabian explains how evolutionary theory was used to construct Otherness. Specifically, he argues that non-Westerners were seen to exist at an earlier point in their evolutionary/historical development. He explains:

...nineteenth-century anthropology sanctioned an ideological process by which relations between the West and its Other, between anthropology and its object, were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space *and* Time.⁶⁶

Fabian relates this line of thinking to biases that are inherent in the language that Westerners use to describe non-Westerners. He stresses that the words primitive and savage signify not a particular type of person but rather a temporal distance.

⁶⁵ Franck similarly infantilizes the Dominicans and suggests the U.S. presence there is part of a necessary civilizing mission. See Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies*, 240.

⁶⁶ Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press), 147.

A discourse employing terms such as primitive, savage (but also traditional, Third World, or whatever euphemism is current) does not think, or observe, or critically study the 'primitive'; it thinks, observes and studies *in terms* of the primitive. *Primitive*, being essentially a temporal concept, is a category, not an object, of Western thought.⁶⁷

Elizabeth Edwards argues that photographs easily lend themselves to this type of thinking because they have “the ability to appropriate and decontextualize time and space and those who exist within it.”⁶⁸

Fabian distinguishes this way of thinking—that is, the temporal distancing of the Other—from earlier views about cultural difference:

Protoanthropologists of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment philosophes often accepted the simultaneity or temporal coexistence of savagery and civilization because they were convinced of the cultural, merely conventional nature of the differences they perceived; evolutionary anthropologists made difference ‘natural,’ the inevitable outcome of the operation of natural laws.⁶⁹

Through this approach the anthropological object, the Other, is dialectically formed as not only ‘different from’ but also as ‘less than’ the Western scientific observer. This ideology paved the way for all sorts of religious, intellectual, economic, political and cultural intrusions upon non-Western cultures in the name of betterment. Whether Westerners believed it was their biological destiny or their God-given duty, the result was the same. Colonial intrusions were justified in the name of civilizing and ‘helping’ Others catch up in time and development. Of course, this philosophy rests on the belief that time marches forward in a straight line towards an ever-perfected goal, a belief in Progress.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 17-18.

⁶⁸ Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography*, 7.

⁶⁹ Fabian, *Time and The Other*, 147. Fabian succinctly summarizes how these views came to the service of Western colonization; see pages 6-8, 17-18, 26, 31, 69, 143-4. He also explains how theories from the field of geology (Lyell) and natural history (Darwin and evolution) and philosophy (Spangler, Comte and positivism) influenced the emerging discipline of anthropology/ethnography; see pages 12-21.

Franck often describes the non-Western people and cultures he visits as outside of time or further back in time than the United States. In his book *Trailing Cortez Through Mexico* (1935), for example, he photographs Indians building a modern highway, but yet he still remarks that there was ‘something pre-conquest’ about it (Fig.188). In the same book he includes a portrait of an old woman holding a piece of pottery and remarks in his caption, “She has changed her customs very little since Cortez marched through her mountain-girdled town” (Fig. 189). In Franck’s caption, this woman becomes a type, an unchanging essence that stands outside of time. Similar sentiments about non-Westerners existing in some abstract timeless realm are expressed in Franck’s caption of two Fellaheen men tending to a mill: “The Egyptian Fellaheen go their placid way, generation after generation, century after century” (Fig. 190).

Seabrook also characterizes the people he encounters in foreign places—like Africa and Haiti—as existing at an earlier stage of evolutionary/human development. This simultaneously makes them seem more pure and child-like but also more savage. His attitude is nowhere more apparent than in *Jungle Ways* when he compares houses of the Habbe to early medieval European architecture: “...they were like primitive Negroes displaced in time and space to a mountain stronghold district in early Europe” (Fig. 191).⁷⁰ The caption for the photograph reiterates this sentiment: “The resemblance to a feudal, medieval European city, though fictitious, seemed mysteriously fantastic to and beautiful to the author.” In addition to exposing the ways in which Western tourists often treated travel to non-Western places as a form of travel back in their historical time. This caption also subtly highlights the ways in which tourists perceived the world as their playground and as a spectacle to consume. Seabrook’s decision to highlight the unreality

⁷⁰ Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, 249.

of the scene is significant. Of course the scene is real and not at all strange to those who live there, but for the outsider Seabrook it seems unreal. The psychological estrangement the author feels from this scene is underscored by the high, distant and disorienting angle of the photograph. The experience of this scene becomes *so* extreme, so foreign and disorienting, that Seabrook copes with it by associating it with something from his own social-historical context. When that proves insufficient, he negates it by associating it with fiction, by making it unreal.

In Baker's case, eventually, the difference he feels becomes *so* palpable and *so* foreign that his only coping mechanism is to also push said difference to the point of mystification. All he can do is conclude that Africa is so mysterious that it is ultimately unknowable: "Can we ever explain its mysteries? From one who, at any rate, knows a little of the underworld of the strange dark continent of Africa, the answer is—no."⁷¹ Yet, Baker's own conclusion does not stop him from continuing to study and write about the religious beliefs, trade economy, and agricultural practices of Africans. Like so many vernacular photo-travel book authors, Franck's final assessment in *Roaming Through the West Indies* is that the United States is superior in almost every way possible (racially, morally, economically, politically, intellectually, etc.).

The travel writing of Seabrook, Franck and Baker provides a useful and necessary opportunity to examine how photography and tourism were deeply connected to the historical roots of American and European colonialism and the ideologies and stereotypes that helped create and perpetuate it. Although both Seabrook and Franck describe concrete instances of Westernization and colonial influences at great length, Seabrook

⁷¹ R. St. Barbe Baker, "The Mystery of the Ju-Ju As Seen by an Explorer in Nigeria," *The Kodak Magazine* 6, no. 11 (November 1928): 198.

remains ambivalent about such influences mainly because he thinks they will taint the authenticity of the people and places he visits. Franck is more politically-minded than Seabrook, and although he criticizes the execution of certain U.S. policies and is skeptical about their ability to ultimately save the people of Haiti, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, he overwhelmingly supports the colonizing and military agenda of the United States government.

In the final analysis, one can say both Franck and Seabrook acknowledge difference. However, in his search for authenticity Seabrook goes to extremes and ultimately ends up *exaggerating* difference. Franck is more agile and comprehensive in his description of other cultures than Seabrook, but he never really comes close to empathizing with them or analyzing the limits of his ability to represent the Others he writes about. Seabrook and Franck adopt significantly different authorial tones in their books and create different public images of themselves. Franck sometimes features portraits of himself as a rugged adventurer. However, because of his patriotism and highly rational/scientific approach, he never experiences the same loss of self as Seabrook, who often shows himself as a hedonistic adventurer who wants to totally assimilate and lose himself in the cultures he visits. Despite Seabrook's propensity towards drama, for the most part, neither Franck nor Seabrook overtly exaggerate their photographs. In fact, both generally use photography as if it was a mirror of reality. Although they intend their photographs to be read as neutral documents, I have critiqued the impossibility of such objectivity by showing how their photographs reflect racial biases and colonial ideologies.

In their own ways both authors had momentary brushes with truly questioning their cultural and personal beliefs and presumptions of truth, including their ideas about cultural and racial hierarchy and the notion of Western superiority and progress. Despite their moments of questioning and sensitivity, *both* authors participate in the racism endemic to their historical moment and in the ideology of their shared home culture. They both rely upon and further fuel the reader's stereotypical fantasies and biases. Seabrook and Franck are not exceptional in this regard. Western tourists' socialization runs deep and powerfully informs their cultural and racial biases and their need for clear boundaries to separate themselves from differences and otherness.

CHAPTER FOUR: WOMEN AND
THE VERNACULAR PHOTO-TRAVEL BOOK

This chapter examines vernacular photo-travel books written by women in order to understand how gender differences—and their intersection with constructions of race, class, ethnicity and sexuality—influence experiences and representations of travel. In order to understand how books by women are either the same or different from those written by men I will occasionally compare the books in this chapter to some of those that have been examined throughout this dissertation. While women authors often push social boundaries, their writing consistently demonstrates the difficulty of over-stepping the limits of their own cultural training as well as traditional gender roles in their home cultures. Nevertheless *their desire to do so* was one motivation for women tourists to leave the comforts and constraints of home and seek out new places, new people, and perhaps even a new self.¹

In general, women travel writers were expected to write about socially ‘acceptable’ topics that were considered concerns and problems for ‘the more delicate sex.’ Women travelers were limited by, or at least had to continually negotiate societal

¹ By separating travel books by women into a separate chapter I am not suggesting that the women travelers I discuss all share some abstract thing in common that can be attributed to their shared biological sex. Nor is this chapter a blind celebration of women’s achievements. However, I defend the validity and usefulness of separately considering women’s travel writing because I have found identifiable patterns and similarities in many vernacular photo-travel books by women that can be attributed to these authors’ shared social and historical context. This context included various attitudes about gender in their home culture that impacted where, why and how these authors traveled and what they wrote about and photographed. To avoid essentializing the women traveler writers I discuss in this chapter, I will pay close attention to how these women, although marginalized, were also involved in Western colonialism and influenced by its ideologies. I will also consider how issues of gender intersect with the equally important questions of race, nationality, culture and class. I will also avoid essentializing by paying close attention to *differences* among these women authors as well as their similarities and by focusing on individual case studies and circumstances rather than broad and static labels that may create an artificial sense of sameness. See Elizabeth Grosz, “Sexual Difference and the Problem of Essentialism,” *Inscriptions: Traveling Theories: Traveling Theorists* vol. 5 (Santa Cruz: University of California at Santa Cruz, 1989), 86-101 and Cheryl McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travelers in West Africa* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2000), 3, 9-10.

attitudes about women, especially those regarding their presence in public spaces and their mobility in general. Women were expected to have a less authoritarian and more personal tone than male travel writers. For this reason, the reception of their work also differed from that of their male counterparts. Although women had these and other social obstacles to overcome, both travel writing and photography were more readily accessible to women because they were considered 'lower' or 'less-than' other literary genres and media.

In the nineteenth century fewer women traveled than men and those that did faced unique challenges and hardships. However, women certainly were not barred from travel nor were they silent about their travel experiences. During this time women travelers were expected to engage in *particular types* of travel and not others. They were encouraged by the mores of their home culture to fulfill numerous roles that were considered to be typically feminine, including and especially those that required women to act as selfless nurturers. For example, they were welcomed to fulfill their duties as supportive wives and mothers, missionaries, nurses, educators, domestic helpers.² However, women were discouraged from other types of travel, for example, from setting out alone on rugged exploratory adventures in remote places. Women often felt the need to justify leaving home; therefore many aligned their travels with duty towards family and country, rather than personal pleasure or liberation.³ In her book *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travelers in West Africa* (2000), historical geographer

² See Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 49-59. Also see Leslie Fleming, "A New Humanity: American Women Missionaries' Ideals for Women in North India, 1870-1930," in Napur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 191-206.

³ McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 26.

Cheryl McEwan specifically cites the examples of wives of colonial administrators who felt it was their duty to support their husbands' work as well as their duties as citizens and Christians to further the British Empire's civilizing mission. A sense of obligation also motivated women missionaries and nurses to travel.⁴ Although nineteenth-century women travelers and settlers occupied a marginalized position within the spaces of the Empire, they were not entirely outside of the power exchanges and ideological impositions that occurred there.⁵ Women travelers absorbed and perpetuated the racist and sexist biases of their day.⁶

In the nineteenth century women also traveled as scientists and naturalists. McEwan points out that, like men, some women travelers wrote books, presented lectures, and spoke at meetings of scientific groups about their travels. However, she also notes that women typically belonged to and shared their work with less formal learning societies than men and spoke mainly to church and missionary groups.⁷ Women missionaries and scientists often had somewhat limited personal control over their travel primarily because most were not financially independent. The church often funded female missionaries' travel and the few female scientists that worked abroad were often funded by museums or scientific societies.⁸ Such affiliations to some extent also kept

⁴ Ibid., 4-5 and 29.

⁵ Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire*, xi-xii. Margaret Strobel describes the position of women within the Empire most succinctly: "They were the inferior sex within the superior race. As participants in the historical process of British expansion, they benefited from the economic and political subjugation of indigenous peoples and shared many of the accompanying attitudes of racism, paternalism, ethnocentrism, and national chauvinism. For most women, the empire presented opportunities not found in Europe, whether because of social class, a 'shortage' of marriageable men, difficulty in finding adequate employment, or the relative lack of 'heathen souls' to convert. Few questioned the values that undergirded imperialism." Ibid., 35. McEwan also argues that most travel text's written by women, 'both disclose the nature of the dominant discourses and constitute a critique from its margins.' See McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 12 and 46.

⁶ McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 30, 55-7.

⁷ McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 4.

⁸ Ibid, 30, 55-7.

them obligated and tethered to the conventions and institutions of home. In the nineteenth century, few women could afford to travel using their own money. For this reason comparatively few women traveled solely for reasons of leisure.

While it is useful to note how the basic situation of these early women travelers related to colonialism, one must remember that the American women who authored vernacular photo-travel books are different in several respects, including the fact that they traveled after the onset of mass tourism and after the height of European colonialism. They were not living for extended periods of time a colonized area. They traveled from place to place and usually stayed well within the relatively standardized paths of mass tourism. Another key difference between the authors I am studying and earlier colonial travelers is that many female authors of vernacular photo-travel books characterized their travels as a pleasurable and liberating activity and nothing more. Many did not, for example, feel the need to engage in or justify their travels by doing some type of selfless and nurturing work. However, as a narrative trope, this particular tradition had great staying power and influenced many twentieth-century women travelers, who, like their predecessors, took on typically 'feminine' roles in their texts.

Several different vernacular photo-travel books by women illustrate how nineteenth-century traditions continued into the early twentieth century. Many American women travel writers focused their attention on botany and religion, and various topics that relate to women in the places they visited and many women who left home accompanied their husbands on business trips, which is yet another way many twentieth-century women travel writers are similar to their nineteenth-century predecessors.

Cecile Hulse Matschat's (dates unknown) *Seven Grass Huts: An Engineer's Wife in Central-and-South America* (1939) was the result of her experiences traveling with her husband as he worked on various engineering projects abroad. Matschat's strong allegiance to her husband is signaled by the fact that she dedicated her book to him. In Chapter One she tells her reader that as a young girl she dreamed of becoming an engineer, stating, "all of my thoughts were of engineers and bridges and roads in hot countries."⁹ However, Matschat also writes that she soon discovered that, "women cannot compete with men in engineering, especially in the tropics."¹⁰ It seems, given this information, that the author was largely attracted to her husband because his life most closely resembled the dreams and hopes she once had for her own.

The author did manage to write about several other socially acceptable topics (meaning more stereotypically feminine). For example, she wrote many engaging passages about native plants and animal life in South and Central America. She even photographed several botanical specimens including cattleyas orchids (Fig. 192). In this image, scientific clarity is evoked through the use of sharp focus and careful framing of the specimen, while the meandering compositional lines of the leaves create artistic effects. While such photographs and textual passages reflect her unique interests, they also stay well within the bounds of proper and socially-acceptable feminine pastimes. Her choice to practice botany is hardly surprising considering it is the most 'feminized' branch of the sciences and had long been an especially popular 'pastime' for women of leisure. Indeed it is helpful to contrast the image of Matschat's husband mapping, surveying and changing the landscape with the image of Mrs. Matschat unobtrusively

⁹ Cecile Hulse Matschat, *Seven Grass Huts: An Engineer's Wife in Central-and-South America* (New York: The Literary Guild, 1939), 18.

¹⁰ Ibid.

wandering through the landscape, studying and photographing flowers, but not changing or harming the delicate creations of nature she appreciates. Matschat further affirms her stereotypically-feminine role by including numerous recipes for Latin food in an appendix called “Grass Hut Cookery.”

B.J. Palmer, author of *Around the World with B.J. Palmer* (1926) traveled with his wife Mabel Palmer (dates unknown) and son Dave. In his Introduction, Palmer notes that Mabel co-authored a significant portion of his text including two essays, “Religions of the Orient: My Observations of the Religions of the Various Peoples on the Other Side of the World” and “Women of the Orient,” both of which appear near the end of the book and in between her husband’s chapters. However, other than these essays, Palmer fails to specify exactly which other parts of the book his wife authored, something that indicates her secondary status from the outset. Mabel Palmer’s choice of subject matter also falls securely within the realm of traditional feminine activities. Although Palmer was not a missionary, her essays focus on religions in the places she visited and this connects her work to many nineteenth-century women travelers who were missionaries and justified their travels by arguing that they were ‘saving souls.’ Even more significant, however, is Palmer’s decision to write about women of the Orient. Perhaps she decided on this topic because women travelers were often given more liberal access to women and various female-defined spaces in the host cultures than male travelers. This special access meant they could observe first-hand and in some cases discuss the ‘feminine’ aspects of any given culture with the women themselves. This is one logical reason why women’s travel writing was considered to have a special authority on topics having to do with the activities, living conditions, and views of women in other places. However, this belief in

women's special authority to discuss other women also rested upon the essentialist belief that white Western women could somehow better understand women of other places simply because they were women, because they shared a biological sameness. This, it was believed, was somehow translated into a universal, natural bond and understanding among all women of the world despite the very important cultural differences that separated them.¹¹

Although the fact that women often wrote about other women in the places they visited often resulted from flawed essentialist reasoning, it usually had the desirable effect of limiting the eroticization of non-Western women that often took place in the travel writing of Western men.¹² Many scholars have investigated the ways in which travel literature genders adventure, conquest, and discovery as male and the conquered/discovered/explored territories, landscapes, and even cultures as female.¹³ In her essay "Travel Writing and Gender" (2002), literary historian Susan Bassnett asserts that unexplored territories "were metaphorized as female, as virgin lands waiting to be penetrated, ploughed and husbanded by male explorers."¹⁴ Many scholars have argued

¹¹ McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 12, 154.

¹² Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender" in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 225-229.

¹³ Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, "Privileging the Male Gaze: Gendered Tourism Landscapes," *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (2000): 885-6. Pritchard and Morgan also extend this theory to the marketing of mass tourism, which they argue privileges the male, heterosexual gaze. They expand upon the notion of the feminized tourist landscape to also consider the ways tourist landscapes celebrate masculinity and patriarchy. Although somewhat outside of the scope of this investigation, their examination of how tourism is sustained by the labor of women who are placed in subservient, stereotypical and naturalized gendered roles (particularly in the service and sex industries) is a unique and compelling argument worthy of note. See Pritchard and Morgan, "Privileging the Male Gaze," 888-9. McEwan argues that women travel writers mostly avoided the sexual metaphors of discovery, penetration and conquests found in male travel writing of the same time. She argues that they saw themselves as observers and describers not as doing battle with or trying to conquer the landscapes they encountered. She also argues that their descriptions were in the tradition of romanticism and not scientific or political commentary. See McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 65-6.

¹⁴ Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender" in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 231.

similar points, including McEwan, who writes that, “there existed a powerful parallel between geographical conquest and sexual conquest; landscapes were feminized, penetrated, assaulted, conquered and subdued.”¹⁵ For an iteration of this complex of ideas, we need only refer back to the example of Seabrook and the grossly exaggerated and stereotypically sexualized representations of Haitian women that he included in his book (Fig. 166).¹⁶ Seabrook uses the metaphor of the womb to characterize the Haitian culture as pure and authentic and shows how Western male travel writers often characterize non-Western cultures as childlike and/or feminine because they are believed to be more in tune with nature. Of course, these are not just neutral observations, but part of a gendered and racialized rationalization that was used to place such cultures in a hierarchy beneath the West. The West, as we saw in Franck’s books, is often masculinized by arguments suggesting that Westerners operate through their rational rather than their emotional faculties.

Palmer’s essay describes her perceptions of women in Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, Indo-China, Malaya, Siam, India, and Egypt. Her description of each is limited to a few pages and deals with topics such as women’s education (or lack thereof), marriage, child rearing, the type of work women perform in and/or outside of the home, the types of homes they keep, as well as their general appearance and dress. She also discusses the societal expectations of young and old women from various classes. Her essay contains only three photographs (noticeably fewer photographs than in her husband’s portions of the book), and all of these show Egyptian women. The images that

¹⁵ McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 4.

¹⁶ Malek Alloula has written about the Western male traveler’s eroticization of non-Western women in relation to representations of Arab women that appear on photographic postcards. See Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

illustration her portion of the book have a documentary look created by their emphasis on immediately available information about subjects and general lack of interest in interpersonal connections between photographer and object. In the service of this documentary intent, these photographs depict subjects enmeshed in their surroundings, attempting to provide objective information about their social circumstances. The first photograph illustrating her essay deals with dress and child rearing. It shows a woman carrying a child on her shoulders and the caption calls attention to her 'face-dress' and 'nose bumper' (Fig. 193). The second photograph shows two women kneeling beside a fortuneteller on the street (Fig. 194). Although the caption does not highlight their dress, their white veils and one of the women's modern white shoes stand out against the blackness of their robes. This mixture of information will support Palmer's later claims that Egyptian women are at one and the same time superstitious and backward but also modern/Westernized. The next and final photograph of her essay deals with class and shows Palmer posed next to two women in front of their mud huts who are identified as 'lower types' (Fig. 195). This photograph offers an odd mix of visual conventions, combining the tourist snapshot with the typological photograph. In the image, she strangely inserts herself into a stereotypical ethnographic narrative.

Palmer's text describes most Egyptian women as plain and filthy. She disparages the way they raise their children as severely neglectful and argues that most Egyptian women have little to no authority in the home and family structure. Yet, she closes her essay by suggesting that the position of women in Egypt is changing. She explains that women of the upper class are admitted to universities and can study law, science, literature and business there. Palmer credits this change to a growing American and

European influence in Egypt and seems pleased by such changes. However, she also is fearful of them, as indicated by her statement:

Though she has been a long time coming to the front, she is rapidly doing so now, recognizing and acknowledging the latent power within herself, and when as a whole she realizes this power it is almost dangerous to prophesy to what extent she will carry it.¹⁷

This a good example of how one must be cautious about naively believing that all women travel writers were actively supportive of universal women's rights. Also revealing of Palmer's nationalism is her belief that these changes for the better were brought about solely by the United States and European powers and not the Egyptians themselves. Indeed one could effectively argue that this belief is not all that different from the ideology of the 'white man's burden.'

The influence of this ideology is even more apparent in her essay on religion in which she praises the work of Western missionaries in the realm of education and concludes that the Orient is in need of a 'broad and non-sectarian Christianity.' She believes this will provide Egyptians not only with a new faith, but also with better prospects in the area of education, health and hygiene. Palmer closes her essay by expressing her belief that the United States is a providential land and that Americans are God's chosen people:

Every time that I compare the great simplicity of our religion, the sublime teachings of Jesus, the sacredness of marriage, the dignification of women, the absence of caste, our children free from labor and marriage, our modern hygiene methods, the chance our young men have to reach the highest positions in the world, I then cannot help but have a great feeling of gratitude for the blessings of having been born in a part of the world in which God's divine light has penetrated.¹⁸

¹⁷ B. J. Palmer, *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer* (Davenport: published privately, printed R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago, Ill., 1926), 564.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 526.

While Palmer certainly provides a substantial and interesting description of religions and women of the Orient, the conclusions she draws about these are scarcely different from those drawn by male travelers of the same time. For example, her belief in the United States' divinely-inspired superiority and her adoption of the ideology of the civilizing mission is just like Franck's enthusiastic patriotism and his infantilizing of non-Western cultures.

There are, however, important differences between men and women's travel writing, including the way in which it was received and judged. McEwan notes that women's travel books have been characterized over the years by any number of dismissive adjectives such as unstudied, charming, amusing, modest, peripheral, odd and quaint.¹⁹ Interestingly, one might use any of these terms to describe the genre of vernacular photo-travel books in general. However, when applied to books by men, such descriptions do not necessarily evoke the same stereotypes as they do when they are applied to those written by women. If they are used to describe women's books such terms would confirm certain stereotypes about how women are absorbed by trivial matters, that they are uneducated and always concerned with the personal. It would also confirm the notion that those women who dared to travel are eccentric and odd. If, however, these same terms were used to describe books by men, they might go unnoticed or be viewed as an expression of the author's 'down-to-earth' character and charm, but not his incompetence, as in the case of women's travel writing. Many women travel writers absorbed these biases and prefaced their work with apologies for things such as incompleteness and lack of rigor, and sometimes for even publishing at all.²⁰ Susan

¹⁹ MacEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire*, 4-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

Bassnett points out that such condescension continues to this day and cites the titles of recent studies on women travel writings like “Ladies on the Loose,” “The Blessings of a Good, Thick Skirt” and “Spinsters Abroad” as examples of the kind of flippancy with which women’s travel writing has been approached. She contrasts this with the more serious and reverential approach scholars generally take when writing about male travelers.²¹

The assertion that a title can trivialize women’s travel writing certainly holds true in Osa Johnson’s case. Osa Johnson (1894-1953), who was born and raised in Kansas, accompanied her husband Martin on his trips around the world as a professional big game hunter and explorer.²² Together, the Johnsons documented their adventures as filmmakers. This explains the more professional look of their photographs, which are carefully composed, have extreme clarity of detail, and show a subtle mastery of tonal ranges. Despite their status as professionals, their photographs have the feel of snapshots and their captions emphasize a familiar vernacular tone.

Although Martin received the lion’s share of the public’s attention, the Johnsons’ relationship and work should be viewed as an equal partnership since they both actively shot films and took photographs while exploring Africa’s landscape and wildlife. Even Osa’s publishers clearly viewed her work as a tangential, quaint and particularly marketable offshoot of her husband’s work. To a certain extent she must have been complicit in this portrayal of her work since she selected, or at least authorized (one presumes), somewhat trivializing titles for her books, such as *Four Years in Paradise* (1944), *Jungle Babies* (1930), *Jungle Pets* (1932) and *Osa Johnson’s Jungle Friends*

²¹ Bassnett, “Travel Writing and Gender” in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 226.

²² Martin Johnson (1884-1937) and Osa traveled widely, particularly in Borneo and East Africa.

(1939). However her secondary role is nowhere made more apparent than in the title of one of her most popular books, *I Married Adventure* (1940). Regardless of who selected or ultimately authorized this particular title, it indicates that, while the public was interested in travel books by women, many were not ready to see a woman take ‘the leading role’ as the aggressive adventurer. Yet, they could apparently appreciate her supporting role as a loving and adoring wife.

For the most part books by women were just as enthusiastically received by the public as those by men, if not more so. This favorable reception can be attributed (in part) to the public’s curiosity about how women fared in their travels. Bassnett explains that the underlying impression gained from women’s travel writing is that, “the woman traveler was somehow in flight from something, seeking to escape from the constraints of her family and her society.”²³ Therefore the ‘stakes’ that women travelers risked were perceived as a bit different—and a bit higher—than those risked by male travelers. For the author and her audience, the success or failure of her journey was closely tied up with her sense of self-worth and identity. Although many women traveled in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, a woman’s decision to leave family and home was still considered to be somewhat unconventional female behavior. Bassnett suggests, “Women travelers are categorized as doubly different: they differ from other, more orthodox, socially conformist women, and from male travelers who use the journey as a means of discovering more about their own masculinity.”²⁴ Most women would not have perceived a similar exploration of their identities as within the realm of possibility. Such an exploration itself presumes more agency and ego than most women had were allowed

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

to develop. Furthermore, if such a ‘deviant’ desire should arise, women who wanted to ‘explore their femininity,’ conventional wisdom would argue, could do at home in the domestic sphere.

A quote from Lowell Thomas on the dust jacket of Osa Johnson’s *I Married Adventure* describes her book with the same mix of admiration and strangeness with which women travelers were often regarded: “A fascinating and thrilling story of the round-the-world experiences of one of the most unusual women of our time.”²⁵ Another telling quote appears on the same dust jacket, written by the book’s publisher:

Pretty 16-year old Osa Leighty’s idea of marriage was a suburban home near Independence with a chance to indulge her talent for domesticity. Actually, her domestic debut took place when, with the aid of air-cushions and a clear-flamed Primus stove, she settled down on the island of Vao to make her home in what is considered one of the wildest lands of the world.²⁶

This quote is significant because of the way it frames Johnson’s life, work, and adventures in terms of domesticity. Several photographs in *Four Years in Paradise* (1941) do the same.²⁷ For example, one shows Osa posing for a picture in her rock garden and standing in front of a mud hut with a straw roof, which the caption identifies as her ‘living room’ (Fig. 196). Although this ‘garden’ and ‘living room’ are very different from those of her many female readers back home, it shows that the author was still busying herself with typical feminine duties such as gardening. It also aligns her with the typically feminine space of the home.

Yet, two other photographs show the Johnsons together and doing things that defy gender stereotypes. Specifically, one shows Osa in front of their tent and sitting next to

²⁵ Osa Johnson, *I Married Adventure* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Osa Johnson, *Four Years in Paradise* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1941).

her husband Martin while she cleans the sight of her gun (Fig. 197). The caption evokes domesticity by ironically suggesting that they are ‘at home on safari.’ One wonders if the same words would have been chosen if it were an image of Martin alone. Nevertheless, it shows Osa doing something that is usually associated with rugged male adventurers. The other photograph shows Osa with the Martin’s safari guest and benefactor George Eastman. Eastman, captain of industry and founder of Eastman Kodak, is shown engaged in a typically feminine activity as he bakes bread with Osa (Fig. 198). The caption refers to Eastman as ‘an expert cook,’ but it also says that Osa is showing him how it is done and thus leaves some question in the reader’s mind about how serious he really is about cooking. Gender lines are further blurred by a photograph that shows Osa as the family provider with her gun and proudly holding up two wild birds that she shot for dinner (Fig. 199). Thus, Osa Johnson’s books and the images they contain demonstrate the ways in which women’s travel writing sometimes confirmed stereotypes about women—where they are expected to be and what they are expected to be doing—but also how they transcended such stereotypes and expectations.

While Osa Johnson and Mabel Palmer offer the reader photographs of themselves, these images reveal little about the women as individuals. Johnson’s photographs, for example, act as so many labels, some conventional, such as “homemaker” or “wife,” and some not so conventional, such as family “provider” or “adventurer.” The photographs of Palmer say even less about her identity because they do not show her engaged in any hobby or in any other context that is unique to her but rather show her as little different than any other mass tourist or sight-seer. Significantly, neither one of their photographs

require lengthy or detailed captions or textual explanations because they use such stereotypes and conventions.

Male vernacular photo-travel book authors often portrayed themselves as heroes and protagonists of their books. In general, male travel writers were much more focused on having and projecting their authority than women authors.²⁸ Furthermore, women travelers do not typically share the same desire that many male travelers have to map and dominate public space. Nor do most women travelers harbor the typically male fantasy of being ordained ruler over an indigenous population (something discussed in relation to Baker and Wirckus in the previous chapter). Rather, women travelers tend to focus their attention upon concerns that are smaller in scope and more private and personal in nature. Many also stress personal relationships with members of their own traveling party and often took a less authoritarian stance when writing about other cultures than male travel writers. The mobility, agency and power involved in Western travel have traditionally been experienced by men. However, while women have traditionally been associated with the private space of the home, in the late-nineteenth century women began venturing out into public spaces alone and to travel without a chaperone. The mobility and empowerment of travel provided a newfound freedom that was keenly and deeply felt by women travelers in this period. The feeling of freedom and independence that can come from traveling was something women tourists appreciated differently and perhaps more deeply than their male counterparts. Emma McLoughlin and Lucy Langdon's book *A Too Short Vacation* (1892) offers representative examples of these gender differences.

A Too Short Vacation chronicles the European vacation of two women from Vermont, Emma McLoughlin and Lucy Langdon. Once they leave the shores of the

²⁸ See Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," 230-23.

United States, however, the authors assign themselves the nicknames “Sanguinelle” and “Prudentia.” In the text Sanguinelle is characterized as the one who never lets problems and obstacles stop her. Although Prudentia, who is characterized as the sensible and responsible one, sometimes gets frustrated with her friend’s unflappable optimism and her flightiness, she very much appreciates Sanguinelle’s lack of self-consciousness and her vigor. It seems that Prudentia kept busy writing most of the text and it is unclear exactly which one of them took what photographs.

As their nicknames suggest, their traveling personas represent the opposite ends of the personality spectrum, one being carefree, confident and cheerful and the other being responsible and the voice of reason. Together they are representative of a split that many women travelers probably felt within themselves. On the one hand they felt buoyed up by the anonymity and freedom that travel can afford as well as the prospect of entering a place where they may be less limited by American cultural conventions and expectations. On the other hand, they still felt the need to be cautious and reserved, or at least perceived as such by some of their fellow travelers and their readers back home. Thus, interestingly, their travel personas are a safe and even exaggerated form of their personalities at home. Perhaps these nicknames gave them something familiar to cling to in unfamiliar environments. We have seen, especially in the case of Seabrook, how some male travelers attempted to lose their Western identities entirely. Some women also wanted to do the same, but not Prudentia and Sanguinelle. Even if they had this impulse to escape, it would have been difficult given the constant scrutiny they received from their fellow passengers and other tourists they encountered.

That escape, transformation and complete independence were perhaps ideals too high-minded for women at this time is underscored by the authors' descriptions of their experiences aboard the trans-Atlantic ship. The author mentions two passengers in particular. The first is a fashion conscious woman whom they refer to as the "Personage with the Lorgnette" and the second is an elderly woman who was chaperoning a group of single women. They write of their discomfort at being studied by the former:

I am convinced that the only thing that enables one to stand up bravely before a lorgnette is the possession of another. Whenever the Personage turned her lorgnette upon us (and we were her chief victims), I tried to assume an expression of serene and haughty indifference, but felt like a poor little worm under a microscope, and usually sought the shelter of a remote corner of the deck behind Sanguinelle. She *never* wilts.²⁹

As they board the ship, they are under the same kind of intense scrutiny that they endure at home. Their text demonstrates early on that they understand the fact that those who have the ability and social permission to observe others have some degree of power over those they look at. Whether or not their fellow passengers were actually judging them, they certainly felt that way, as indicated by their occasional remarks like, "Sunday we attended divine service, and, we hope, bolstered up our tottering reputation."³⁰ Perhaps much of the pressure they felt to conform came from within themselves. For example, when Prudentia describes their first conversation about the trip she wonders about the "propriety of two young girls traveling alone."³¹ Her friend laughs at this suggestion and says, "No doubt you imply because you have never attained to matrimony, you- " "Not yet, you mean" I interrupted, stiffly. "but let us drop the subject; it is extremely painful to

²⁹ Lucy Langdon Williams and Emma V. McLoughlin, *A Too Short Vacation: with Forty-Eight Illustrations From Their Own Kodak* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1892), 9-10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

me.”³² This conversation might be interpreted as a sign that these women were, in fact, attempting to escape their lives back home, and there is probably some truth to that. If so, perhaps the stereotype Prudentia hopes to escape would be that of the ‘old maid.’ However, the very fact that their desire to travel precipitated such a conversation about gender roles and societal expectations of women also indicates just how difficult it would be for them to free themselves of stereotypes of others and the pressure they place upon themselves to live up to such societal conventions.

There can be no question, however, that the authors would not put this type of pressure upon themselves if it were not being so palpably and forcefully applied from the outside, that is, from many members of their own society. Given this, it is hardly surprising that Prudentia and Sanguinelle express distain for the Chaperone who is traveling on the same ship as they (but not to watch over them specifically). To the authors, the Chaperone represents, authority, restriction, and judgment and they are eager to avoid contact with her, although they do get close enough to photograph the matron. The photograph of the rather plain looking woman clad from head to toe in black seems to support their verbal description (Fig. 200):

She was the embodiment of cut-and-dried conventionalities. How deep one would have to probe to discover the *living woman* under this mass of artificiality and pedantic prudery! I wonder if she ever found *herself* out!”³³

A Too Short Vacation might have easily been grouped in Chapter Two with other vernacular photo-travel books that reflect the attitudes and experiences of traveling American middle-class consumers. Indeed there are important similarities between Williams and McLoughlin’s book and a book like Edmund Gress’ *A Dash Through*

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 15.

Europe (1923). Like Gress, these women authors traveled to Europe and followed relatively standardized routes. They also share Gress' middle-class sensibility, including the desire to be efficient, thrifty, and practical. Like *A Dash Through Europe*, *A Too Short Vacation* includes typical tourist snapshots. It also includes numerous photographs that show the authors' unique interests and proclivities, for example, their charming close up of an unidentified (and many would say insignificant) bit of sculpture they found laying about in the yard of a monastery (Fig. 201).

However, there are also key differences between these two books that can easily be attributed to gender. Edmund Gress, for example, never once expresses concerns about moving through public spaces alone, or any worries about how others might perceive him for doing so. Conversely, this topic is a central theme in the Williams and McLoughlin book. Many mass tourists wanted to separate themselves from other tourists who 'followed the beaten track'. Williams and McLoughlin had an especially strong contempt for such pre-packaged and standardized tours and other mass tourists because it was structured around the exact same limitations and conventions they left behind at home. It therefore effectively nullified what appealed to them (and many other female tourists), namely escape, freedom, anonymity, and independence.

In a *Country Lawyer Sees the World* (1927), W.H. Crowell expresses his dislike of many aspects of mass tourism. However, the reason he dislikes it has to do with how tourism blurs class lines. The authors of *A Too Short Vacation* exercise a different prejudice, making their disdain for organized tours clear throughout the book for different reasons that can be attributed to gender. One particularly telling example is their

description of an incident on a steamer in Germany. An elderly woman on a group tour engages them in conversation:

We fancied that a 'Cook,' or 'Gaze, Personally Conducted' was on board, and we ran right into the jaws of a so-called 'Private Party,' in making room for a poor little old woman, who evidently felt that she could only express her gratitude adequately by friendly conversation. "How many are there in your party?" she asked, in gentle falsetto. "Only we two." "Oh!" she said trying to conceal her astonishment. "We have thirty in ours. Mr. Brown takes us around. Perhaps you know him, - Mr. Brown of Brooklyn? Why there he is now," she added as a fat perspiring man came up, brusquely tearing off the old lady's coupons." She goes on to describe a fight between Mr. Brown and the conductor over the validity of the party's tickets and notes, "...she did not have a similar confidence in us; for each time we started up to look at anything, she hastened to reassure us with, "Mr. Brown will tell us when it is time to get off, and I will tell you." All of which led us to reflect on the halo thrown about incompetence and ignorance when equipped with trousers.³⁴

As this example makes clear, the last thing these women wanted on their vacation was yet another man, in this case a tour guide, telling them what to do and how they should behave.

During their journey, the only moments that the two women were reminded of their lives back home and all the expectations that come along with it, are when they came in contact with other tourists, especially when they encountered other American tourists. While not entirely unusual, the appearance of two young, single women without any chaperone was apparently enough to rouse more than one person's suspicion. The women were often asked why they didn't opt for the more safe and respectable option of traveling with other tourists in a package tour, like Cook's. Such an incident occurred on a train ride in Ireland. This time the offender was a clergyman. Prudentia writes,

He thought we might be Cook's tourists, but when we indignantly denied the imputation, he seemed to surmise that we were eccentric heiresses in search of titled husbands. He recommended us to go to Eccles', not,

³⁴ Ibid., 159.

however, with reference to the design he mentally ascribed to us, but simply as a unique hotel like an English country-house.³⁵

Prudentia snidely remarks that it must be “the resort of lords and ladies and of those poor, unmarried, Honorable Misses who, though thirty, seem to have no ideas nor *savoir vivre*.”³⁶ Having seen that he did not hit the correct mark, the clergyman tries again and implies that two young single American women traveling alone must be on the bank role of their indulgent fathers.

Men were not the only ‘offenders.’ Another time, Prudentia writes of a well-meaning woman on the train who mistakenly assumed that these two adventuresses would be interested in her domestic life:

...Innocently expected us to share her enthusiasm for her husband and children. She took out her children’s letters, written beautifully in French (they are only twelve), and told us she had never left them before, and spoke with bated breath of their learned father...Do you wonder that, down in the depths of her heart, we fancied that we must be written down as ‘freaks’? ‘You American ladies are so courageous!’³⁷

Along the way, such incidents were more common than not and seemed to both amuse and annoy the authors. They diligently documented many such occasions, including the time when a simple and well-meaning local priest exclaims, upon hearing their travel plans, “Even gentleman have difficulty getting along in Germany!”³⁸ These examples are a valuable record showing exactly what kind of biases women who traveled at this time faced while trying to inhabit and move through the public spaces of mass tourism.

Another important narrative thread throughout *A Too Short Vacation* is the intense focus the authors place upon their friendship. Throughout the book it changes

³⁵ Ibid., 31.

³⁶ Ibid..

³⁷ Ibid., 40.

³⁸ Ibid., 210.

and grows and is sometimes strained. The personal nature of the text and its focus on their relationship is carried over into the snapshots, several of which show the women in simple, quiet moments, including the photograph of Sanguinelle writing a letter on the deck of a ship (Fig. 10). The jocular nature of their friendship is also conveyed in Prudentia's discussion that accompanies a photograph of her traveling companion at the beach sitting in a chair and looking off into the distance with a rather somber expression on her face (Fig. 202). First, she mentions that the chairs may be rented for five cents, information that is broadly useful to potential tourist-readers, but then she immediately turns the discussion to their personal exchange at this location.

Sanguinelle leaned her elbow on the little shelf provided for it and lost herself in a delicious daydream. She would take a model of the delightful chair home, patent the idea, and introduce it into our own watering-places. A great company would be formed and she would grow wealthy. Here she stuck out the foot with the patch so conspicuously that I was compelled to say, 'Sanguinelle, what are you thinking of?' 'Oh,' she said with a start, 'I was thinking that I was rich.' 'Well,' I remarked, 'a glance at your foot will, no doubt, make you at least open to conviction on the subject.'³⁹

Episodes such as these are far more common than those that describe typical tourist sites and activities and it is also representative of the stress the authors place upon their relationship.

Prudentia also appears in a few snapshots. One of these snapshots conveys her 'buttoned up' nature and shows her posing for the camera in a somber and well-pressed black dress on the deck of their ship (Fig. 203). Another somewhat surprising photograph shows her posing in profile next to a mirror in a fancy sleeveless dress (Fig. 204). The discussion that accompanies this photograph is highly relevant to the issues discussed in this chapter. Apparently this unusually glamorous snapshot came about

³⁹ Ibid., 235-236.

when the two friends started musing about how they had not been harassed by any French men, something they had been warned about by, as Sanguinelle phrases it, ‘women much plainer than we.’ This launches them into a fairly lengthy and somewhat humorous conversation about the less-than-idyllic appearance of the women who had told them to be careful. They commiserate:

These memories made us feel sad and uncomfortable. We suddenly found that we had developed a serious grievance. Why were we left alone so emphatically? Why were no admiring glances cast at us? We did not want them, understand. Oh, not at all! Only, in view of the testimony of others, we could not help but feel their absence strange – ‘and unaccountable.’ We consolingly assured each other, after a careful scrutiny in the glass, -⁴⁰

After this dash the photograph of Prudentia in her fancy dress appears in the middle of the page. It seems the “glass” she refers to is not just the mirror, but the lens of the camera as well, both of which are enlisted in the ladies’ effort to feel pretty again. This discussion concludes when the two decide to go shopping for new dresses the following day.

This photograph and passage constitute another good example of how their book focuses on their personal relationship. It also demonstrates how women travel writers sometimes confirmed stereotypes about women. In this particular instance, the stereotypes that are confirmed include: the belief that women secretly want to be ogled and even harassed by men and that their self-worth depends upon it; that women are catty in their relations with one another; that women only care about their appearance and because of this they are vain; and that when things get tough, women make themselves feel better by going shopping. At the same time, and to the authors’ credit, they frequently engage in behaviors that are not stereotypically feminine, like climbing a high

⁴⁰ Ibid., 106.

iron rod fence just to get a good snapshot of a church, or by laughing at a French shop girl who was appalled after seeing that they were wearing pants under their skirts.

Vernacular photo-travel books like this one provide a rare and personal glimpse into the often subtle but systemic prejudices early female mass tourists faced if they traveled without a man or a chaperone. It also conveys the reactions of two women who experienced such prejudice directly and first hand. Their book demonstrates that, for a woman, deciding to travel was not just about wanting to see new places and try new things. It also meant consciously deciding to grapple with gender biases of those at home and abroad. At the same time, it also shows how, for the women who were actually willing to leave home, travel also meant experiencing at least a taste of independence and freedom while abroad. Indeed, the authors express their deep regret that their trip must come to an end:

We were sorry. Sorry that our tramp was ended, and that we must break into a 'measured pace and slow.' Sorry to turn our backs on the unaccustomed and take up again the usual. Sorry to say good-by to Freedom and Variety and Pleasure, and all that family pronounced fascinating but dangerous, and turn to their sisters, Restraint and Monotony and Duty, pronounced slow but salutary. It was not the proper spirit, perhaps, but this is a truthful chronicle.⁴¹

Given these comments, which clearly indicate they were not looking forward to resuming their lives back home, one must conclude that indeed escape was at least part of what motivated Prudential and Sanguinelle to travel.

I have discussed women travel writers who, for the most part, stayed well within the bounds of accepted gender roles (with the exception, perhaps, of Osa Johnson who occasionally blurred them). To review, women travelers often wrote about other women

⁴¹ Ibid., 248.

in the places they visited and they frequently focused on personal relationships with their travel companions. In general, they also wrote in a more personal tone than men. While their books may be more personal in tone, it does not always follow that the reader learns or understands more about women travel writers as individuals. In fact, women's travel writing is often focused on reporting about others, whether those others are their fellow travelers or the people in the places they visited.

Thus, while many travel books by men are less personal in tone they often *seem* more revealing of the author himself. Male travel writers are often more eager than women writers to feature their authority and importance as authors. Men often make themselves the protagonist/hero of their travel books. However, the identities male authors reveal (just like those of women) are little more than a collection of gender conventions and stereotypes. They are not detailed descriptions of particular individuals or any one's unique life story, even though their comfortable assumption of authority and the role of the protagonist/hero often might make it seem so. Mable Palmer, for example, is nearly 'invisible' or undetectable as an author when compared to the strong and highly visible authorial presence of her husband. Frank and Seabrook are good examples of how male travel writers tend to posit themselves as the protagonist/hero of their travel stories. However, not all women obeyed gender stereotypes. Some women travel writers adopted the authorial persona of the heroic adventurer, which was stereotypically associated with male travelers. There are numerous examples of women who would fall under the category of adventurer explorer and there is a need for more in-depth studies on their works to be undertaken in the future.

The fact that photography occupied a somewhat marginalized position in relation to the other so-called high arts (such as painting and sculpture) allowed many women the opportunity to become photographers. In the nineteenth century, women were often excluded from receiving formal academic training in art schools and academies. It is a well established fact that women historically have been denied equal professional opportunities to show in museums and galleries and to have their work represented in art journals. Considering this, it is hardly surprising that many women turned to the new medium of photography when it was announced to the public in 1839. Certainly class restricted access to the-then-expensive photographic equipment. However, for upper-class women, and those women who had the equipment, a lack of formal training in photography was not an obstacle, at least not in the same way that it was in regards to other media. Most photographers during this time were self-taught, or learned the craft through trial and error, or through minimal and informal instruction from people in their circle of family and friends.

Admittedly, not many women practiced travel photography in the earliest days of the medium. This is because their access to travel was fairly limited and because the equipment was so cumbersome and would have greatly hindered their already problematic presence in and difficulty with moving freely and independently through the public space. Nevertheless, when travel and photography became more accessible to women (and everybody else) at the turn of the century, there had already been a history of women photographers, some well-known and respected in art circles and others laboring quietly away in the privacy of domestic spaces. The efforts of women who authored vernacular photo-travel books were likely facilitated by those women who came

before them. If nothing else, the precedent they set must have made amateurs, for example, McLaughlin and Williams, all the more willing and able to assume the typically-male defined position of active viewer, rather than merely and only being the passive, observed object of everyone else's gaze.

The historical conditions described above made it a logical and easy decision for companies like Kodak to specifically market new amateur-friendly cameras to women. In the early-twentieth century, Kodak linked photography to 'being a good wife and mother' by aligning photography with various societal expectations and ideals regarding women's roles in the family and domestic sphere. Taking family photographs was promoted as a leisure activity, but it was also turned into a marker of being a loving and caring homemaker and mother. In other words, Kodak used naturalized feminine and matriarchal roles and duties to their advantage as one of several strategies designed to sell their new products to women. At the same time, Kodak also appealed to perhaps a younger and slightly less traditional female consumer by creating their own highly recognizable version of 'the new woman' in the figure of the Kodak girl. She became instantly recognizable as Kodak's marketing device and is always shown to be young, beautiful, independent, etc. The Kodak girl was frequently aligned with travel.

A few exceptional examples of Kodak advertisements align women with more 'exotic,' but certainly not unsafe forms of travel. For example, an advertisement with the headline "Kodak Simplicity" attempts to reach those women who are interested in going to more 'exotic' locales (Fig. 205). This advertisement features a female photographer and links travel and photography to a lifestyle of privilege and comfort. The advertisement shows a fashionable woman in Western dress photographing the scenery as

she is transported in a Japanese rickshaw. This is truly a woman of leisure. Not only is she spared from walking, but also from the hard work that photography used to be, something shown in the image and stated explicitly in the text. At the same time, this advertisement turns the hard labor and poverty that native populations experienced into a picturesque spectacle and obscures the often-unpleasant realities of tourist-host relations. Significantly, Kodak did not use a photograph to illustrate this scene. It would have appeared harsh and realistic next to the idealized, soft and decorative (one might even say feminized) effects of this pastel watercolor sketch, which readily evokes nostalgic feelings of long ago and far away. The rickshaw operator is robust, healthy, clean, and adequately clothed for his task, which appears to be absorbing his full attention. All of this creates a useful fiction that makes travel and photography seem exotic and yet safe.

Women travelers were restricted by social conventions in their home culture. Not only did these conventions shape the opinions and expectations of the reading public and publishers, they also influenced women's own perceptions of themselves. We have seen how women had to negotiate the difficult task of writing with some degree of credibility and authority while not overstepping the bounds of acceptable feminine roles. While these restrictions cannot be ignored, many women denied or thwarted them. Others, even though they were restricted by such attitudes, were simply glad to have the opportunity to publish at all. It would be a mistake to essentialize all vernacular photo-travel books by women, as we have seen, each individual's contribution is unique. However, there are identifiable patterns among these books that can, in fact, be attributed to gender constructions and how those intersect with race and class. In the conclusion of this dissertation I will argue that the exclusion of vernacular photography from existing

histories has also meant the exclusion of the kinds of women amateur travel photographers I have discussed here. This chapter is my concerted effort to represent their histories and to call attention to these books so that the women who wrote them might be recognized for their contributions to the history of travel writing and photography.

CONCLUSIONS

The appearance of vernacular photo-travel books in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries reflects these authors' desire to individualize the increasingly-standardized experience of mass tourism. Ironically, it was this very same standardization of travel that had made their journeys possible, which is to say, safe, affordable and comfortable enough to warrant the middle-class traveler leaving home. By comparing the generic idealization found in commercial travel photographs to tourists' sometimes eccentric and flawed snapshots, I demonstrated how amateur travel photographers used photography as a means to personalize their experience of mass tourism. The introduction of inexpensive and automated cameras made such individualization possible by giving tourists the opportunity to make their own images, rather than having to purchase mass-produced images from commercial vendors as was previously the case. These cameras, along with the invention of half-tone reproduction in the 1880s, made the genre of vernacular photo-travel books possible.

Although tourists individualized their travel images, it must be concluded that, more often than not, amateur shooters mimicked the conventions of commercial photography. Thus, despite many important instances of individualization contained in vernacular photo-travel books, these authors' desire to escape the predeterminism of mass tourism rarely led to a total break from its confines. Mass tourism was formulaic but it also offered safety, affordability and familiarity – three things most mass tourists evidently prized even more than a sense of individuality and self-determination.

Vernacular photo-travel books describe peoples and places in a variety of destinations, but they also tell the story of a new, seemingly more democratic consumer

culture that emerged in the United States from roughly 1900 to 1940. During this time commodities, including travel and photography, were becoming increasingly available to the middle-class. Kodak advertisements and publications actively sold photography as a means of ownership and as a means to negotiate and present a picture of their consumers' upward mobility. Authors of vernacular photo-travel books often sent their readers the democratic message "I did it and so can you!" They also used their photographs and narratives as a means of conspicuous consumption and as signifiers of their own personal upward mobility. This was a notion of self that they often measured against their less financially and geographically mobile reading public. Thus, the photographs amateurs made were deeply connected to their identities. However, one must always take such self-constructions with a grain of salt. More often than not, such idyllic pictures of upward mobility were as much a product of mastering and maneuvering various symbols of wealth as they were an accurate reflection of the author's true class standing. In this way American vernacular photo-travel books reflect a unique mix of democratization and class-consciousness.

The terms 'traveler' and 'tourist' were used to project different class identities. Some authors, like W.H. Crowell, had a difficult time deciding if he wanted to project an image of himself as an important high-class traveler, separate from the masses of other tourists, or as a common man, a mere tourist. Edmund Gress, on the other hand, had no qualms about identifying himself as a mass tourist and he encouraged his readers to make similar journeys of their own. This class confusion is not the only way in which vernacular photo-travel book authors were conflicted about what kind of persona to project to their readers. Many were also torn about whether to present themselves as

‘professionals’ or as ‘amateurs.’ In Chapter One, I primarily discussed this distinction in terms of the polished or unstudied look of these authors’ photographs. In Chapter Two, I continued to consider the look of amateurs’ photographs, but I also based the distinction between amateurism and professionalism on whether or not the author made his or her living from taking and selling travel photographs and/or publishing more than one travel book. Thus, Frank Carpenter and Burton Holmes, both of whom authored numerous travel books and made their livings as travel writers, were considered professionals. However, I also showed how these authors sometimes mimicked an amateurish, unstudied snapshot aesthetic in order to make their books more marketable.

A similar confusion between the identities of the ‘amateur’ and the ‘professional’ was discussed in relation to the work of William Seabrook, R. St. Barbe Baker and Harry Franck. This time, however, the question was raised, not so much in relation to the look of their travel photographs, but about whether their work can appropriately be aligned with the discipline of professional ethnography. Most women travel writers did not have the luxury of choosing whether they would become professionals. They were frequently barred by their gender (and often their class) from receiving extensive formal education and training as writers, something which largely guaranteed that their work would automatically be assessed as amateurish. Although more women travel writers and photographers were receiving formal training and advanced educations in the early-twentieth century, many publishers, critics and people who consumed women’s travel writing interpreted the ‘unstudied’ nature of their books and photographs as a sign of their incompetence, rather than as a stylistic choice.

Issues of race and nationalism impacted the writing and photographs of Seabrook, Baker and Franck. All of the men used photography to make arguments about human sameness and/or difference. I demonstrated that these two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive, even though each is fraught with different ideological problems. One of the most pressing conclusions to be drawn from an analysis of their works is that travel photographs are not neutral windows onto the world even though they and many other authors of vernacular photo-travel books used them as such. Vernacular photo-travel books in general should not be read solely for the insights that they may offer about the cultures they take as their subjects. To treat them as a neutral reflection of these cultures would be to fundamentally misunderstand what such books have to teach us now—politically, intellectually and methodologically.

Using specific examples from Seabrook, Baker and Franck I discussed how mass tourism is intimately bound up with the imperatives of colonialism, global capitalism and the United States' desire to spread democracy. These authors used photography to further perpetuate racial stereotypes and the lingering ideology of colonialism, such as the 'white man's burden.' Photography and the ethnological rubric allowed these authors to feel as though they were learning more deeply, observing more closely and integrating more fully into the cultures they visited. This familiar way of organizing information also gave readers the impression that the author had achieved mastery and control over the cultural and racial differences they encountered. Thus, these systematized Western categories were not just used to describe difference; they were used to *contain* it. In most instances, however, both photography and the ethnographic rubric were just as likely to

act as a barrier than as a facilitator to the already difficult and complicated task of educating oneself about other people and places. Having such ideological tools ready before even entering the field shaped what these authors would and would not see and describe once they actually arrived.

Photography's realism often made tourists stop short of seeking truths that lie beyond mere surface appearances. In a world where seeing was equated with knowing, once tourists secured a photographic record they became indifferent to direct intersubjective encounters. Thus, the realism of a photograph may give the false impression of understanding. In a similar fashion, having a predictable rubric of subjects often prevented tourists/scientists from looking for things that might defy expectations and stereotypes. One might assume that when tourists were able to afford cameras and were finally able to determine the content of their own travel photographs that they would have used this opportunity to escape the ready-made meanings and stereotypes found in commercial photography. However, few rose to this challenge in any sustained and concerted way, proving that the barriers to overcoming such biases were not so much technological as they were ideological. Thus, both tourism and photography carried with them preconditioned modes of thinking and looking that were structured by an imbalance of power. Vernacular photo-travel books and other similar forms of popular entertainment influenced public opinion by repeating stereotypes and dominant ideologies of these authors' and readers' home culture. These stereotypes and ideologies were numerous, but most shared the same basic premise, namely, the superiority of the West.

Ideally tourists would use photography to create personally meaningful images and not merely mimic long-standing conventions of commercial photography. They would also use photography as a means of understanding cultural differences. I am convinced that amateurs can and have used photography for the former, but I am less confident that they can and have used it, in any significant and sustained way, for the latter. It may be possible to use photography to understand cultural differences and to enrich our knowledge of one another. However, I believe that access to self-representation and definition would have to be expanded. This would involve making photographic technology more accessible to those who want it, but have traditionally been unable to afford it, or, for whatever reason, have had limited or no access to making their own photographic images. It would also mean facilitating (again, for those who want it) efforts to display and publicly disseminate their images. Indeed, these are the same basic privileges that finally came within the reach of authors of vernacular photo-travel books. Although, it must be said that most authors did not use these privileges to bring about change or to challenge the status quo, except, perhaps, a few of the women authors I discussed, including Lucy Williams and Emma McLaughlin and Osa Johnson. Their efforts to blur gender lines and challenge the gender conventions of their day must be appreciated even if they were limited by their historical context and practical circumstances.

By the early twentieth century both travel and photography had become more accessible to the public. However, one must also consider how issues of nationality, class, race and gender limited and/or influenced access to, as well as the use of, photography. Vernacular photo-travel books are evidence of an important step in

increasing access to self-representation, but this opportunity was, for the most part, only opened up to white, middle-class authors in industrialized nations. As a consequence, vernacular photo-travel books ultimately represent one, comparatively limited, historical step towards what, hopefully, someday, can truly be called the democratization of the photographic medium.

One way to expand this study would be to investigate how previously disenfranchised members of Western and non-Western cultures use photography today to represent their own travels and the 'Others' they encounter. It would also be useful to relate the present study to the ways in which photography and other media have been used by people in the host cultures to represent the tourists who visit them.

This study has raised important questions about how amateur travel photography has been dealt with in existing histories of photography. In most history of photography survey texts, nineteenth-century travel photography is seen almost exclusively as the work of male practitioners who had the skill, money, strength and social permission to engage in such work. There is almost no recognition of women travel photographers in this historical narrative. The narrative of the heroic white Western male adventurer has effectively been dismantled as biased and exclusive in a variety of other disciplines, yet it persists in the history of photography. A big part of the problem is the almost complete and sudden drop off in critical discussion of travel photography (especially vernacular) beginning at the turn of the century, just when more and more women travelers started to photograph and publish their own snapshots in travel books. There is certainly a comparatively noticeable spike in critical discussion about postmodern art travel photographers and even more recently an increase in critical discussion about vernacular

photography of all kinds and from its entire history. Yet, largely because of these various and shifting critical biases a large and significant body of work by female photographers at the turn of the century has been entirely overlooked. The oversight has two main causes: the lack of scholars willing to look for and into feminist questions about travel photography, with too many of them settling for the same tried and true narrative of male heroes and women's exclusion without significant examination of said exclusion, and the simultaneous scholarly bias against popular and vernacular forms of photography. I hope this dissertation does away with the long-standing misconception within the history of photography that women played no significant role in contributing to early tourist photography. This is but one example of how writing an alternative (in this case vernacular) history of photography can expose ideological biases (in this case related to gender) that effect the discipline of art history as a whole.

In the very recent past, it is highly unlikely that a dissertation such as this one could have been written within an art history department for the simple reason that it deals with visual artifacts that would have previously been excluded simply on the grounds that they are not "high art." Indeed, several things about vernacular photo-travel books might trouble traditional art historians – the fact that they are often written by people whose names have been long forgotten (and often times did not even mean much to the general public in their own day), the fact that these books are mass published and therefore are not particularly valuable in terms of money and collecting, and especially the fact that they are common and banal objects from everyday life.

Writing vernacular histories can help challenge the hidden but influential biases such as these. Like other histories of vernacular photography, I believe mine can

encourage members of our discipline to further clarify the unique methodological questions and challenges that photography *in all of its forms* presents to our ideas about art, especially our ideas about who is culturally sanctioned to make and display images. I hope this study provides one way to broaden the scope of traditional art history so that it can become more accurate, interesting and ethical (and by that I mean fair, inclusive and self-critical). The fusion of traditional art historical methods and scholarship from a variety of disciplines presented throughout this study will serve as one possible model of how the field of art history can become more interdisciplinary, and thus more inclusive and richer in its applications and relevance to everyday life.

While not dealing with art photography, this text is at its core an art historical project, as it is informed on every level by a working method of close formal analysis of specific images. By bringing a new body of primary sources to light, I want to encourage further study of amateur tourist photography in a variety of disciplines. However, it is not enough to just add photographs to theoretical treatises. I hope that my dissertation, with its emphasis upon a close analysis of specific images, will inspire more archival research and a similar utilization of primary sources, especially within the social sciences and the disciplines of visual/cultural/media studies, where mass tourism is a primary concern, but is rarely discussed in any sustained or rigorous way using the photographs themselves as primary evidence. On the rare occasion that photographs are discussed, they are almost always used as mere decorations for the page, rather than as a central component of the author's evidence. This needs to change.

One might argue that the study of vernacular tourist photography belongs in the realm of cultural studies, American studies, history, or any other field *but* art history,

because such photographs were never intended or received as art. This dissertation challenges this type of thinking. Clearly, art history is where much of the study of photography and photographic images has taken place and will continue to take place in the future. Art historians study images not only for the stories they tell, they also analyze *how* those stories are told, meaning, how any given image manifests, in visual form, the values of the individual who made it and his or her social/historical context. If art history is exclusively reserved for the study and analysis of art, then only a miniscule percentage of photographic production from the history of this medium could be examined within it. Thankfully, the study of vernacular images has laid the groundwork for a re-thinking of the history of photography as it has been traditionally studied in art history. This in turn might eventually lead to a more critical questioning of how art history as a whole is still underwritten by many of its old values and biases (such as privileging a singular and named author, judging the value of an image based solely upon notions of beauty and aesthetics, and privileging the original, auratic work of art). If these presumptions are more critically questioned, eventually, the discipline of art history could be more relevant to everyday life and more inclusive in the types of images and objects it studies.

Although arguments for advocating the study of vernacular photographs could result in these beneficial changes, this ‘movement’ is still young and it has not gone entirely uncontested. Therefore, the gains that have been made in this direction cannot be taken for granted. I have argued, but more importantly, clearly *demonstrated*—through a close visual analysis of mass tourist imagery and the uses of it—the need for art historians to further these efforts to expand and transform our discipline. There is no one place or discipline that is able to deal fully with the diversity of the photographic medium

and its history. But I have also shown that there is a need for art historical skills to be applied to the fullest range of photographic images and not only art.

In many ways, I have examined mass tourism, travel writing and the uses of travel photography in an extremely critical light. However, I am encouraged by Steve Clark's description of the possible benefits of mass tourism. He suggests that travel, at its best, can produce "qualities of sprightliness, alertness, a certain malleability from living between cultures: in a fundamental self-reflexivity; encountering new cultures involves greater awareness of one's own; an act of witnessing that enlarges rather than appropriates."¹ Perhaps travel writing and photography could be used to educate one another in a politically responsible manner about various cultures and different ways of life around the world. For this to be done, however, much change would need to occur in the ways we use photography as tourists. For one thing, it could not be used to further reify stereotypes about racial and national superiority.

Vernacular photo-travel book author B.J. Palmer articulates similar ideas in the Introduction of his book *'Round the World with B.J. Palmer* (1926), using even more direct and 'down-to-earth' language when he lists the advantages and disadvantages of a "trip 'round the world'":

ADVANTAGES

It pushes back the horizon of prejudices.

It increases the fund of understanding of other peoples, ways and customs.

It broadens the mental activities.

It increases the scope of human educations.

It produces clarity for those who differ in theories, conclusions, or activities.

It liberalizes the narrowness of the average mind.

It teaches you there is more than one religion.

It gives you to understand that others may disagree and still be right.

¹ Steve Clark, *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 13.

It proves that, letting time do its work, every country has a way of working out its own salvation under its own conditions and environments.

It teaches that transplanting or forcing a vital change of that is not successfully possible.

It pungently suggests that human nature has a way of solving its own problems best suited to its needs.

DISADVANTAGES

That the people at home have a way of coddling their prejudices.

That while people, at home, want to hear and know what you have gained, it is more congenial that you agree with them.

That stay-at-homes have it all figured out that every other country ought to think, speak and act as we do here, whether it is suited, agreeable, or wanted in other countries or not.

That forced transplantation is the thing, because the folks at home give money to help bring it about, without knowing what or why they do it.

That any definite working principle that you have earned your right to think, speak, or write about, it is not always as welcome as you think it ought to be.

That, by contrast, the only fellow that really profits most, is yourself. Others prefer to be stable.²

Palmer's plain and simple list presents the most desirable of all possible outcomes from tourists' encounters with difference. This would certainly be true if one could not only find a way to make such realizations come to fruition, but also to make such realizations long-lasting and actionable. His pleasantly-lucid assessment regarding the advantages and disadvantages of travel seems more relevant now than ever, as more and more people from more and more places begin to participate in mass tourism.

Palmer is quite confident that travelers broaden their intellects, deepen their compassion and become more open to cultural understandings, while the 'stay-at-homes' are characterized as ignorant, biased and narrow-minded. Yet, the evidence presented in this study proves that travel does not necessarily guarantee any of these things. Travelers typically operate under the misconception that they are bringing a bit of the world home

² B.J. Palmer, *Round the World with B.J.* (Davenport: published privately, printed R.R. Donnelley and Sons Company, at the Lakeside Press, Chicago, Ill., 1926), xxvi-xxvii.

in their photographs. It would be more accurate to say that tourists take their world with them to the places they travel and the photographs they return home with are still largely about that same world, because they are inseparable from the ideologies of the camera operator.

This dissertation has revealed the complexities of early mass tourism and the use of photography within it. It has shown that if mass tourism is about play, it is also about work; that it is characterized by experiences that are personally and collectively significant; that it is as much about fantasy as reality; that it problematizes boundaries between accessibility and privilege; and finally, that it is as much about home and self as away and other. No matter how far one travels, it's hard, if not impossible, to ever really leave the physical and ideological comforts of home. Indeed, most tourists, including the authors of vernacular photo-travel books, feel a great sense of relief when their journeys come to an end. B.J. Palmer and Edmund Gress are no exceptions. Significantly, each man photographically concludes his narrative in the place where he clearly felt the most comfortable—at home (Figs. 206 and 207).

APPENDIX

Supplementary List of Vernacular Photo-Travel Books

- Abbe, Patience, Richard Abbe, and John Abbe. *Around the World in Eleven Years*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1936.
- Aberdeen, Countess. *Through Canada with a Kodak*. Edinburgh: W. H. White and Co., 1893.
- Adamic, Louis. *The Native's Return: An American Immigrant Visits Yugoslavia and Discovers His Old Country*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934.
- Bell, Gertrude. *The Desert and the Sown*. London: William Heinemann, 1907.
- Bell, Charles. *Tibet Past and Present*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.
- Benson, Samuel Benney. *Back from Hell*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1918.
- Boyce, William Dickson. *Illustrated South America: A Chicago Publisher's Travels and Investigations in the Republics of South America, with 500 Photographs of People and Scenes from the Isthmus of Panama to the Straits of Magellan*. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1912.
- Bradt, Acken Gordon. *A Boy's Experiences around the World*. Wichita, Kansas: The Missionary Press, 1914.
- Bruno, Henry Augustine. *The Flying Yankee*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1918.
- Close, Upton. *In the Land of the Laughing Buddha: The Adventures of an American Barbarian in China*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924.
- Collins, Dale. *Sea-Tracks of the Speejacks Round the World*. Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923.
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- Corning, Walter D. *The Yanks Crusade; a Book of Reminiscences: Illustrations and Decorations by the Author*. Chicago, Ill.: publisher unknown, c. 1927.
- Day, Susan De Forest. *The Cruise of the Scythian*. London: F. Tennyson Neely, 1899.

- David-Neel, Alexandra. *My Journey to Lhasa*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1927.
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- De Windt, Harry. *From Paris to New York by Land*. New York: Frederick Warne & Co., 1904.
- Dingle, Edwin J. *Borderlands of Eternity*. Los Angeles: privately printed, 1911.
- Dugmore, Radclyffe A. *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds*. London: William Heinemann, 1900.
- Fahys, Maria L'Hommedieu. *Around the World*. n.p., 1893.
- Finn, Florence. *Pigmies among Potentates, or Two Australian Girls in Olden Lands*. Melbourne: Renwick, Pride Nutall, 1912.
- Fisher, Ruth B. *On the Borders of Pigmy Land*. London: Marshall Bothers, n.d.
- Fleming, Peter. *Brazilian Adventure*. New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1934.
- Fletcher, Alfred C. B. *From Job to Job around the World*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929.
- Forbes, Rosita. *Forbidden Road: Kabul to Samarkand*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1937.
- Forbes, Rosita. *Gypsy in the Sun*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1944.
- Foster, Harry L. *A Tropical Tramp with the Tourists*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1925.
- Gibbons, John. *Suburban Columbus*. London: George Newnes Ltd., 1920.
- Gibbons, John. *Tramping to Lourdes*. New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1928.
- Gibbons, John. *London to Sarajevo*. London: George Newnes, 1930.
- Gibbons, John. *I Wanted to Travel*. New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1938.
- Greenbie, Sydney. *The Pacific Triangle*. New York: Century Co., 1921.
- Grimshaw, Beatrice. *In the Strange South Seas*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1908.

- Guttersen, Granville. *Tales and Tail Spins from a Flyer's Diary*. New York, Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press, c. 1919.
- Harrer, Heinrich. *Seven Years in Tibet*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1954.
- Hoefler, Paul. *Africa Speaks: A Story of Adventure, the Chronicles of the first Trans-African Journey by Motor Truck from Mombasa on the Indian Ocean to Lagos on the Atlantic, through Central Equatorial Africa*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1931.
- Hurley, Frank. *Pearls and Savages: Adventures in the Air, on Land and Sea in New Guinea*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924.
- Jenks, Chester Walton. *Our First Ten Thousand: Illustrated from Photographs by the Author*. Boston: The Four Seas Company, c1919.
- Kirkland, Caroline. *Some African Highways: A Journey of Two American Women to Uganda and the Transvaal*. Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1908.
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- La Varre, William. *Southward Ho! A Treasure Hunter in South America*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940.
- MacQuarrie, Hector. *Tahiti Days*. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1920.
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- McAllister, J. Gray. *Borderlands of the Mediterranean*. Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee Publication, 1925.
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- Parker, Cornelia, Stratton. *More Ports, More Happy Places: Further Adventures of an American Mother and Her Children in Europe*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926.
- Peck, Annie S. *The South American Tour: A Descriptive Guide*. New York: George H. Doran, 1913.
- Pinchot, Gifford. *To the South Seas: The Cruise of the Schooner Mary Pinchot to the Galapagos, the Marquesas, and the Tuamota Islands, and Tahiti*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1930.
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- Ray, G. Whitfield. *Through Five Republics on Horseback*. Cleveland, Ohio: Evangelical Publishing, 1920.
- Riddell, Florence. *I Go Wandering: A Travel Biography*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1935.
- Scudder, Robert. *My Experience in the World War*. Dover, N.J.: R. A. Scudder, 1920.
- Sears, Anna Wentworth. *Two on a Tour in South America*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1917.
- Seton, Grace Thompson. *Yes, Lady Saheb: A Woman's Adventurings with Mysterious India*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1925.
- Smith, Anthony. *Blind White Fish in Persia*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1953.
- Stark, Freya. *The Valley of the Assassins and Other Persian Travels*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1934.
- Stark, Freya. *The Southern Gates of Arabia*. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1936.
- Stark, Freya. *Seen in the Hadhramaut*. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939.

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- Stark, Freya. *Dust in the Lion's Paw: Autobiography, 1939-46*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961.
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- Straub, Elmer Frank. *A Sergeant's Diary in the World War; the Diary of an Enlisted Member of the 150th Field Artillery (Forty-second Rainbow division) October 27, 1917, to August 7, 1919*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1923.
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- Swan, Carroll Judson. *My Company, by Carroll J. Swan, Captain, Company D, 101st Engineers, 26th division, U. S. A. ...*Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.
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