

FELICE BEATO

A PHOTOGRAPHER ON THE EASTERN ROAD



ANNE LACOSTE

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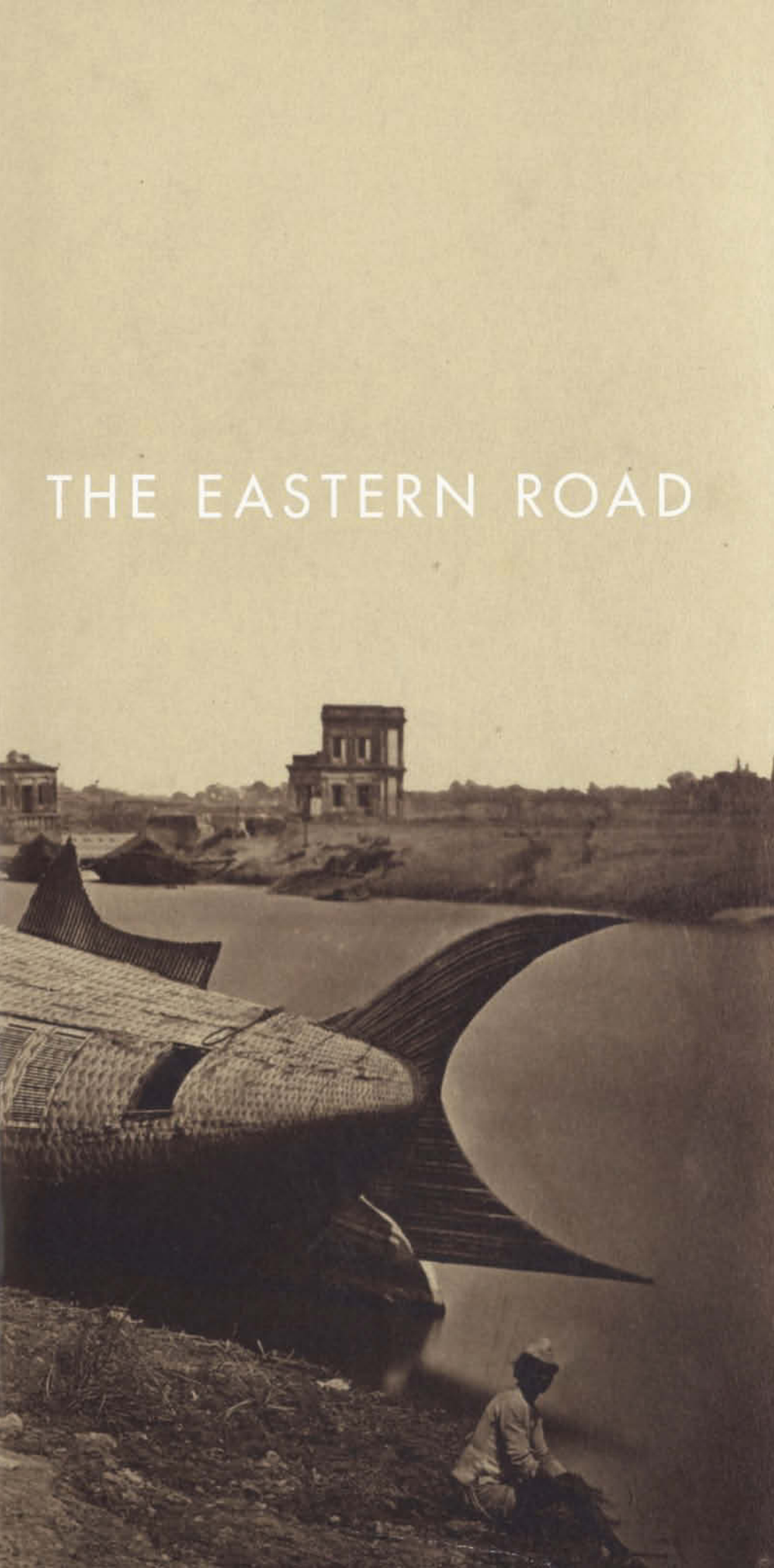
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A PHOTOGRAPHER ON



THE EASTERN ROAD

FELICE BEATO

ANNE LACOSTE

WITH AN ESSAY BY FRED RITCHIN

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM | LOS ANGELES



This volume is published on the occasion of the exhibition *Felice Beato: A Photographer on the Eastern Road*, on view at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, from December 7, 2010, to April 4, 2011.

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FOREWORD

vi

In recent years Felice Beato has come to be recognized as one of the major photographers of the nineteenth century, and numerous articles have appeared illuminating various aspects of his life and work. Until now, however, there has been no overview of his career as a whole, which spanned more than fifty years and covered significant parts of the Middle East and Asia. The recognition of Beato's central place in the early history of photography is, in fact, long overdue. His photographs offer a rare visual testimony to a number of important historical events of his time. A pioneer in the development of war photography, he chronicled several well-known conflicts, such as the Indian Mutiny in the late 1850s and the final campaign of the Second Opium War in China in 1860, as well as more obscure events, such as the American military expedition to Korea in 1871. With extended residences in Japan and Burma, he also played a critical role in the rise of commercial photography in East Asian countries, recording their traditional cultures before they were altered by their encounter with the West.

The Department of Photographs at the J. Paul Getty Museum has long emphasized the importance of collecting work in depth by individual photographers, and when the Museum first began to collect photographs in 1984, Beato's work was one of its major nineteenth-century holdings, along with such contemporaries as Gustave Le Gray, Roger Fenton, Julia Margaret Cameron, and Carleton Watkins. In 2007 the Getty was fortunate to complement its holding of four hundred Beato prints with the acquisition of more than eight hundred photographs from the Wilson Centre for Photography. We offer our sincere thanks to the Wilson Centre for its generosity in placing, through a gift/purchase arrangement, this important collection with the Getty Museum, making the Getty's the largest existing collection of the photographer's work.

The Getty's collection affords the opportunity to present, in this volume and the exhibition that it accompanies, the first general retrospective of Felice Beato's considerable accomplishment. His peripatetic existence, which ranged from Constantinople to India, from China and Japan to the Sudan and Burma, has long been difficult to track. Beato himself spread some confusion, claiming both Italian and British citizenship and changing names from "Felice" to "Felix" and back again. His final years have been shrouded in mystery, and it is only recently that

the date and place of his death have been established. However, although much work remains to be done, it is now possible to present a reliable—if perhaps not yet definitive—account of his career. I would like to thank Anne Lacoste, assistant curator in the Department of Photographs at the Getty Museum, for her tireless work in preparing this volume and the exhibition that it accompanies. It is our hope that this retrospective, the first devoted to Beato's entire oeuvre, will advance the understanding and appreciation of this important photographer.

David Bomford
Acting Director
The J. Paul Getty Museum

NOTE TO THE READER

Titles

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Whenever possible, the titles given for Beato’s photographs are the original ones found in contemporary references such as the Hering list and the printed captions in the Japanese albums. These titles appear in italics. When the original title is not known, a generic descriptive title is given in roman type, enclosed in brackets.

Provenance

Unless otherwise indicated, all photographs are from the J. Paul Getty Museum. Photographs by Felice Beato with accession numbers beginning with 2007 are a partial gift from the Wilson Centre for Photography.

Dimensions

The dimensions given for all photographs are of the image only.

Orthography and place-names

Indian place-names in the text are the historical names in use at the time of the narrative. Chinese place-names in the text are generally spelled using the modern Pinyin system, except in cases where earlier historical spellings remain the convention in scholarship about the period, such as Peking, Canton, Macau, Taku, and Hong Kong. The Chinese place-names in the titles and captions of Beato’s photographs are spelled according to common nineteenth-century British usage, which often differs markedly from spellings used today. Below is a chart with the spellings used by Beato, the spellings used in the text, and the modern spellings for Chinese place-names.

Beato	Text	Modern
Pekin or Peking	Peking	Beijing
Canton	Canton	Guangzhou
Pehtung	Beidang	Beidang
Taku or Tangkoo	Taku	Dagu
Talien-wan	Dalian Bay	Dalian Bay



Figure 1. *The Bronze Statue of Dai-Bouts*, 1863. Albumen silver print, 22.9 × 29.4 cm (9 × 11⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.49.

FELICE BEATO

A PHOTOGRAPHER ON THE EASTERN ROAD

There was Signor Beato, who became perhaps the best-known figure in Burma. A man with a history of adventure going back to the Crimea.

He had made many fortunes and lost them. There were very few countries he had not been in. He came to Mandalay with a partner and ten pounds.

He stayed to make much money, first by photography, and then in other ways. He was a man quite unlike any other, and Mandalay is different now he is gone.

Harold Fielding Hall, *A People at School*, 1906

In 1856 James Robertson, a prominent Scottish photographer based in Constantinople, sent his young assistant, Felice Beato, to the Crimean peninsula to record the famous battle sites of the Crimean War. Robertson had replaced the British photographer Roger Fenton in late summer 1855 on a project to document the bloody three-year conflict, in which Britain and France sided with the Ottoman sultan to oppose Russian strategic interests in the region. The war, which had been covered widely in the press, was the first major conflict to be extensively documented in photographs. Among the eleven photographers who chronicled it, Fenton and Robertson produced the most significant body of work, including views of such battlefields as the valley of Balaklava, immortalized in Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade," which had been published to great acclaim just over a year earlier.¹ Although Robertson alone signed the 150 photographs he brought back, contemporary accounts make clear that many of those taken in 1856 were in fact the work of Beato, working alone.² "Mr. Robertson . . . has sent up an intelligent photographer to the Crimea," noted the *Times* of London, "and he is now engaged in fixing, as far as possible, every remarkable [site] on paper."³ Fenton's and Robertson's photographs attracted considerable attention and were prominently exhibited and published. Following the end of hostilities in February 1856, however, the war faded from the consciousness of the British public, and the commercial market for these images soon all but disappeared.

For the young Beato, then in his early twenties, the Crimean experience marked the first major campaign in what would be a long and remarkably eventful career. By the 1850s professional photographers were facing a highly competitive

commercial market, and a successful enterprise required good business sense as well as a gifted eye and perfect command of technique. Beato possessed all these traits, along with an abiding wanderlust, and he rapidly became well known. As Western interests expanded across the globe in the second half of the nineteenth century, European publics sought images of newly accessible countries and cultures. Beato would follow in the wake of Britain's vast colonial empire, pursuing his work in India, China, Japan, Korea, the Sudan, and Burma and capturing some of the first views of these lands as they began to open to the West (fig. 1). His work appeared in a variety of contemporary publications, from newspapers and magazines to military memoirs and travel guides, and Beato's photographs came to occupy an important place within a larger narrative that both reflected and helped shape Western views of the East. Beato would fashion an exceptionally diverse oeuvre comprising more than one thousand pictures in a wide range of genres—war photography, topographic and architectural views, portraits, and studies of local life—which placed him among the major photographers of his time. From the 1870s on, he became increasingly involved in other business ventures and relied on photography to stabilize his perpetually fluctuating fortunes. Vivid accounts from contemporaries testify to his peripatetic existence and flamboyant personality, and his ample talents are evident in the large body of work he left behind. The full figure of the man himself, however, remains something of a mystery.

EARLY LIFE AND WORK

Felice Beato was born in Venice, Italy, in 1832 and raised on the Mediterranean island of Corfu, which had been a British protectorate since the fall of Napoleon some two decades earlier. Little is known about his parents, but we know that he had three siblings, including Antonio, who would also become a successful commercial photographer, based in Egypt. In 1844 the family moved to Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, situated on the Bosphorus Strait, where the cultural currents of Europe and Asia converged.⁴ Although Beato later claimed to have bought a French lens in Paris in 1851,⁵ his involvement with photography likely began through his collaboration in Constantinople with James Robertson, one of the capital's premier photographers. Originally trained as an engraver and hired in 1844 as superintendent to the Imperial Mint, Robertson became Beato's brother-in-law when he married his sister, Leonilda Maria Matilda, in 1855. Sometime between 1854 and 1856 Robertson opened one of the first commercial photography studios in Pera, the capital's most Europeanized district, where he specialized in architectural views and costume studies of local Ottoman life.⁶

The photographic careers of both Felice and Antonio Beato most likely began with their collaboration with Robertson. Felice worked especially closely

with him, cosigning architectural views made in Malta and Constantinople.⁷ Early in 1857 the Beato brothers departed with Robertson on a photographic expedition to the Middle East, where they visited the Holy Land, Egypt, and Greece.⁸ In Palestine they focused on religious buildings, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, as well as biblical sites such as the Garden of Gethsemane. Views of Egypt included the Great Sphinx and pyramids of Giza and the Citadel and Tombs of the Mamluks in Cairo. In Athens they photographed the city's prominent antique monuments: the Erechtheion and other views of the Acropolis and the Gate of the Agora. The series was signed "Robertson, Beato & Co" and "Robertson, Beato et Cie," indicating that the Beato brothers now enjoyed a status equal to their older partner. A selection of this work, titled *Description of a Series of Views of Jerusalem and Its Environs, Executed by Robertson and Beato of Constantinople*, was published in both Constantinople and London (fig. 2).⁹

The Beato brothers learned a great deal about photography from Robertson. He experimented with different subjects, from architectural to topographic views, including panoramas and war photography.¹⁰ He was a remarkable technician, using the albumen glass plate negative process; his large prints, about 21 by 27 centimeters, were noteworthy for the sharpness of their images. Robertson was also a successful entrepreneur, promoting his work locally as well as in Europe. He participated in numerous exhibitions in Paris and London, and his work was sold by the most respected dealers in those cities.¹¹ Robertson's career provided examples of high technical standards and entrepreneurial skill—both of which would prove valuable for Felice Beato in the decades to come.

IN THE WAKE OF EMPIRE: INDIA AND CHINA

Early in 1858 Felice Beato left Constantinople and embarked on a life of restless wandering, following the expansion of the British Empire and the gradual opening to Westerners of countries throughout the East. His first destination was India, which, after several centuries as an object of European colonial ambitions, was by the mid-1850s largely under the control of Britain—and specifically, the East India Company. When Beato arrived in Calcutta on February 13, 1858, parts of the country were witnessing the final phases of the Indian Mutiny, or First War of Independence, an insurrection that for the first time had challenged British hegemony on the subcontinent. It had begun the previous year with disgruntled native Indian soldiers in the Company's military units and expanded with bloody revolts and civilian rebellions in much of the north. The uprising would end with brutal suppressions in such centers as Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Delhi, where British troops engaged in mass slaughter of rebels and civilian populations. The rebellion had

BEATO AND HIS AUDIENCE



Figure 3. *Hindoo Temple in Kootub*, 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 25.6 × 30.6 cm (10¹/₁₆ × 12¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.142.

As Western colonial empires expanded in the second half of the nineteenth century, the market for photographs of lands previously inaccessible to Westerners began to grow dramatically. At the same time technical developments in photography, in particular, printing, were making such images available to a larger audience than ever before. Compared to older forms of visual representation, such as drawings, the young medium was widely heralded for its accuracy and seen as an ideal tool to make an “impartial” record of foreign cultures. Tourists and expatriates collected photographs as souvenirs, as did armchair travelers, who sought thereby to enrich their reading of travel diaries. This public constituted Beato’s primary audience; he consciously cultivated it throughout his career, and in various ways it shaped his work.

As one of the first photographers in the various countries that he visited or in which he resided, Beato was invariably among the primary purveyors of early images of these lands. His war photography represented conflicts from the viewpoint of the Western powers (see “Beato and the Photography of War”) and celebrated Western victories. His architectural views, landscapes, and costume studies, however, presented to Western viewers images of foreign cultures often at the historical moment these cultures were beginning to be altered by their encounter with the West. Generally, Beato’s photographs in the field take a documentary approach, whereas his studio work, focusing on traditional costumes and daily life, was likely to cater to the expectations of his audience and provided more picturesque representations. Yet many commercial photographers worked with similar subjects, and Beato’s images—even his “picturesque” compositions—in comparison to the work of such contemporaries as Samuel Bourne in India or Baron von Stillfried in Japan, were distinct for their straightforward and restrained pictorial approach.

For Beato, as for other photographers, antique monuments, reminiscent of the history of these civilizations, as well as official, vernacular, and religious buildings, served to embody local cultures. He recorded countless such sites in India, China, Japan, and Burma, generally producing well-balanced and aesthetic views centered on the building itself (plates 8, 11, 24, 47, 77). Beato also created more elaborate compositions, as in the photograph of the temple in the Tartar quarter in Canton, its refined tiled roof surmounted by a dragon figure, with the Nine-Storey Pagoda in the background (plate 25). And his close-up view of the tombs

near Ponchow demonstrates his ability to produce dramatic light effects in order to enhance the tombs’ carved decoration. The most important sites were depicted through overall and detailed views, and sometimes the sequencing of different pictures re-creates the experience of the encounter with the building, as, for example, in his view of the Temple of Heaven.¹⁴

As was common practice at the time, Beato’s photographs often included individuals in order to establish scale. Sometimes he posed himself (see figs. 1 and 3 and plates 7 and 22), but he usually added local people to give a “true character” to the scene. Beginning with his collaboration with James Robertson, Beato’s approach was slightly different from that of other photographers: in his photographs the numerous local figures tend to be spread throughout the frame, some with their backs to the camera, others clearly seen in frontal views. A number of critics have noted that the posing of local people served as part of a larger colonialist discourse promoting the supremacy of the West. It is no doubt true that although Beato sought to create vivid and authentic scenes, his photographs nonetheless participate in such discourse. A formal study of the spatial relationships within the frame of his photographs, however, suggests that his portrayal of local people should be understood in a nuanced and differentiated manner. The expressions and postures of the sitters vary from one country to the next and could be said to reflect the political status of the respective countries at the time. In photographs of China, recently defeated in the Second Opium War, and Burma, ruled by Britain as part of its colonial empire, native people are usually placed close to monuments and primarily express a passive presence. In the images of Japan, which preserved its hegemony, their presence is often less circumscribed, and they usually pose with confident, even defiant stares. As for India, the issue is more complex. While Beato used local people in scenes celebrating the recent British victory, overall their poses are more casual, with an apparent lack of distress, belying India’s colonial status.

In the nineteenth century the use of native people in photographic architectural views was a convention of the genre, intended to enrich the visual experience of the Western audience, making it more “authentic.” Today such images are considered a testimony to contemporary Western perceptions of these countries and cultures.

sale.¹⁵ Antonio managed the business until he left the country in December 1859, probably because the climate exacerbated his chronic bronchitis; Felice, however, would remain in India for about two years.¹⁶

During his sojourn Beato traveled widely in northern India, focusing first on documenting the uprising's aftermath in images that celebrated the triumphs of the British forces.¹⁷ His views of the mutiny's main sites, Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, all of which had seen mass executions and massacres, were exceptional for their time. Other photographers, in deference to Victorian sensibilities, avoided picturing the full carnage of war; Beato was the first to depict the actual devastation of the battle sites, including enemy corpses and scattered bones lying among the ruins (see the accompanying essay "Beato and the Photography of War," p. 119).

As he would do throughout his career, Beato also sought to develop his portfolio beyond military material, in this case primarily a wide range of architectural views. He knew that such subjects, whether official or vernacular, historical or contemporary, would appeal to a Western audience intrigued by Indian history and culture. In Delhi he photographed the Qutub Minaret and different views of the Juma Musjid, the world's largest mosque, two significant monuments of India's Mughal period. The Lucknow series included examples of more recent refined architecture such as the Kaiserbagh and Hosainabad Imambara palaces. Beato also traveled to a number of sacred cities, documenting Benares, a major pilgrimage city dedicated to the Hindu god Shiva, and Amritsar, the spiritual and cultural center of the Sikh religion, which he depicted in many views of its holiest shrine, the Golden Temple. At Agra he focused on the Taj Mahal, which he photographed from various viewpoints; one, taken from Shah Jehan's ruined palace, where the aging ruler meditated on the great monument he had built to honor his late wife, is especially evocative (fig. 3). Beato filled out his portfolio with views taken in the streets of Delhi and Amritsar that showed more common buildings and offered insight into daily life.

While in India Beato embarked on a new specialty, that of portraiture, likely due to his constant proximity to the British officers who guided him through the mutiny sites. They may well have asked him to undertake this work, for such portraits were a popular gift for family and friends.¹⁸ The portraits were generally taken outdoors, probably in Lucknow, Delhi, or Cawnpore. Beato used a tent or a wall as a neutral background and added a few props such as a chair, a table, or a vase to create the atmosphere of a photographic studio (plate 85). Among his subjects were prominent generals such as Sir James Hope Grant. Beato may have photographed members of the Western expatriate community as well, using similar settings.¹⁹ He also depicted native servants, although in a different way. Presented against a neutral background, facing the camera or in profile, these group and indi-

vidual portraits resemble documentary images made for an anthropological survey more than classic portraiture (plates 90, 91).

In China, meanwhile, the British were engaged in the Second Opium War, a continuation of conflicts over trade and tariffs dating back many decades. European demand for tea and porcelain and other Chinese goods had long surpassed Chinese demand for Western products, and when British merchants began to import opium from India the Chinese government sought to ban the drug's importation and sale. British traders continued to sell it on the black market, and open hostilities—the First Opium War—broke out between Britain and China in 1839. Subsequent treaties forced China to open a number of trading ports and make other concessions, permitting the establishment of Western diplomatic legations in Peking, until then a closed city, and ceding Hong Kong to Britain. The Second Opium War broke out in 1856; four years later, with the Indian Rebellion effectively suppressed, many of the British officers who served in India were called to join the China conflict. Beato accompanied the British Expedition, sailing with Sir James Hope Grant, who had been appointed commander of British land forces in what would prove to be the war's definitive campaign.²⁰

The conflict afforded Beato the opportunity to expand his work to encompass a nation long closed to the West. The first photographic images of China dated from the early 1840s, and the work since had mainly been done by foreigners, usually itinerants stopping in Macau, Hong Kong, and Canton on their way to their final destinations.²¹ Commercial photographs of this country were not available before April 1859, when a London exhibition was held of views taken the year before in Hong Kong and Canton by the Swiss photographer Pierre Joseph Rossier.²² Because the Western community was small and photography prohibitively expensive for local people, its practice had not been commercially viable in China. It became more widely practiced during the Second Opium War, with such firms as the American company Weed & Howard, among others, opening branches in Hong Kong. During his eight-month sojourn Beato built up a portfolio of more than one hundred views, including numerous panoramas (see "Beato and the Panorama," pp. 8–9), a considerable achievement that places him among the first photographers active in China. Beato began by recording local life. In April, while waiting for the British and French forces to prepare for the upcoming offensive, he went to Canton to photograph major monuments, such as the Nine-Storey Pagoda, the temple in the Tartar quarter, and the Islamic mosque, as well as more vernacular subjects, such as the lively Treasury quarter and the house of a Chinese merchant. In October, as the war ended, he also captured views in Peking, for example, the Daoist Temple of Heaven and the Lama Temple, a Tibetan Buddhist monastery, as well as streets and shops in the Tartar City.



Figure 4. *The Taj from the East*, 1859. Albumen silver print, 24.3 × 28.4 cm (9⁹/₁₆ × 11³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.208.30.

BEATO AND THE PANORAMA



Figure 5 (and plate 32). *Panorama, Yokohama from Governors Hill*, 1863. Three-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 22.7 × 86.4 cm (8¹⁵/₁₆ × 34 in.). 2007.26.207.12.

The photographic panorama was initially inspired by panoramic paintings of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that depicted all-encompassing views of various subjects, from both modern and historic cities to military scenes. With their narrative quality and spectacular size—standard dimensions were 15 × 120 meters—these paintings rapidly developed into a popular entertainment.²³ Photographers sought to capitalize on their success, and the photographic panorama appeared within years of the new medium's birth.

Felice Beato started to make panoramas early in his career, and they became one of his specialties. Each comprised between two and eight individual photographs. They required a command of the technique he probably learned from James Roberston.²⁴ First he photographed the scene in a series of overlapping views, carefully pivoting the camera on a tripod. The negatives had to be made quickly to ensure consistent intensity of light and maintain a uniform tone in the final, com-



posite image. He then trimmed the prints and joined them together manually in a precise horizontal alignment. It was a delicate task, as any discrepancy between two successive prints would be readily apparent.

Beato's panoramas of Lucknow, Delhi, Peking, and Yedo, five to seven feet in length, afforded extensive overviews of these cities in which all the major buildings could be identified.²⁵ To obtain such a wide scope, he needed high vantage points. In India he photographed from the tops of monuments such as the Great Imambara palace, the domes of which punctuated the view of Lucknow (plate 17). In Japan he used the hills surrounding Nagasaki and Yokohama to make three-part panoramas of the harbors and foreign settlements, which are usually framed by vegetation (plate 32). His panoramas of Yedo were especially refined, offering rare insight into the restricted daimyo residences, which are isolated by fences and moats in the foreground.

Panoramas were also ideal to capture monumental architecture that could not be properly reproduced within a single image. Such views were usually made of two prints, such as the vertical view of the Qutub Minaret and the entrance of the Juma Masjid (plate 10). Beato was able to reveal the volume and elaborate design of the temple of Kamakura using a three-quarter view (plate 45), and his close-up view of the corner of the Moree Bastion Wall pointed out its massive but damaged structure (plate 89).

Reflecting the great sweep of open space, panoramas could produce dramatic effects. Through a remarkable use of depth of field, Beato's view of the north and east corner of the wall of Peking shows the tower in the foreground framing fortifications that stretch away toward the horizon (plate 107). The transcription of large spaces onto a plane surface sometimes brought a quasi-abstract quality to the scene, as with the successive defensive lines of the Chinese encampment (plate 101).

The panorama's large size and sweeping scope afforded the illusion of continuity in time and thus could convey a sense of narrative. A narrative progression was especially valuable in depicting military campaigns, and Beato used it extensively to celebrate the Allies' victorious advance toward Peking during the Second Opium War. Three panoramas of Hong Kong, taken from different locations, featured the allied expeditionary fleet stationed in the bay, revealing the size of the Western military force engaged in the campaign (plate 95). At Odin Bay Beato was able to record the force's strategic position before its departure for Pehtang, including not only the fleet but also the spreading encampment, close to a local village, that would have followed the fleet's arrival (plate 97). Panoramas were also ideal for encompassing the defensive ground the troops had to pass. Views of allied encampments and Chinese forts, meanwhile, offered many details of military life (plate 96). The last panorama Beato made in China depicted the city of Peking. Taken from a commanding perspective atop the South Gate, this wide-ranging overview of the capital seems both to witness and to celebrate its capture by the Allies (plate 18).

Most of Beato's work in China, however, focused on the war's culminating military campaign, which began in early summer 1860, when British and French forces, Beato among them, sailed north from Hong Kong. Through the summer and early fall, as Allied forces advanced toward the Chinese capital, Beato recorded a chronological sequence of views, creating a visual narrative of the campaign as seen from the point of view of the Western powers—the first time that a photographer documented the unfolding of an army's maneuvers. In August, after capturing the port cities of Yantai and Dalian, the Allied forces attacked and destroyed the Chinese fortresses at Taku, on the mouth of the Pei Ho river about one hundred miles southeast of Peking. Here Beato made some of his most sensational photographs, with scenes featuring close-up views of Chinese wounded and dead (see "Beato and the Photography of War"). British and French forces then continued their advance, annihilating the Chinese at the Palikao bridge, on the outskirts of the capital. By the time the allies entered Peking in early October, the Chinese emperor had fled, abandoning the Forbidden City and his personal retreat, the ornate Imperial Summer Palace, with all their treasures, and leaving his brother, Prince Kung, to negotiate with the invaders. The French and the British looted the Summer Palace; then, on October 18, following the orders of Lord Elgin, British high commissioner to China, the historic complex was set afire. Beato documented the event, photographing the palace before and after it was burned—and apparently leaving with some of the spoils.²⁶

The signing of the peace treaty between Britain and China on October 24 afforded Beato the opportunity to photograph the main figures of the conflict and definitively celebrate Britain's military success. "In the midst of the ceremony," noted Sir James Hope Grant,

the indefatigable Signor Beato, who was very anxious to take a good photograph[,]... brought forward his apparatus, placed it at the entrance door, and directed the large lens of the camera full against the breast of the unhappy Prince Kung. The royal brother looked up in a state of terror, pale as death, and with his eyes turned first to Lord Elgin and then to me, expecting every moment to have his head blown off by the infernal machine opposite him. It was explained to him that no evil design was intended, and his anxious pale face brightened up when he was told that his portrait was being taken. The treaty was signed, and the whole business went off satisfactorily, except as regards Signor Beato's picture, which was an utter failure, owing to want of proper light.²⁷

Both characters, however, agreed to pose again later; the resulting portraits were widely published (fig. 6 and plates 108, 109).²⁸



Figure 6. *Prince Kung*, negative November 2, 1860, print 1861. Lithograph from a photograph by Felice Beato reproduced in Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*, 9.1 × 7.3 cm (3⁹/₁₆ × 2⁷/₈ in.). 84.XB.876.14.1.

Throughout the campaign, as he had done in India, Beato carefully cultivated his contacts among the British officers, who made up one of his principal markets. Beato is one of the rare photographers referred to familiarly in the officers' correspondence. After each photo shoot, he would make prints from his new negatives and show them around, successfully negotiating a number of sales.²⁹ Before the Allied forces left Peking in early November, Beato again actively sought customers among the troops. "The views Beato sold me are the first he has given," noted the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers' Tenth Company, "although he has very numerous applicants and will probably sell some thousands between Off[ice]rs of the force & Hong Kong people."³⁰

Indeed, within months of the war's end Beato was back in Hong Kong, probably to develop his negatives and make his work commercially available as

soon as possible. His photographs may have formed part of the basic stock of several photographic studios in Hong Kong and were sold there for many years.³¹ Wood engravings based on his photographs accompanied articles in the *Illustrated London News* from October 1860 to May 1861. They were also featured in a number of military memoirs, such as Robert Swinhoe's *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*, which appeared within a year or two of the end of hostilities (see fig. 6).³²

Beato then returned to Constantinople, where he apparently sold some of the goods looted from the Imperial Summer Palace, and journeyed on to London, arriving in summer or early fall 1861, intent on reaping financial reward for several

years of work.³³ In October the *Times* reported, "Signor F. Beato [has] just arrived from China with a large collection of photographic views of Pekin, the Summer Palace, the Peiho [Taku] Forts, Canton, Hongkong and the whole of the views taken during the campaign in China; also all the views taken during the Indian Mutiny in 1857—of Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, and Punjab, and portraits of the celebrities engaged during the meeting in India, and the late war in China. The whole collection will be shortly published, by subscription, by Mr. H. Hering, photographer etc. 137, Regent Street, London, where the list is open for subscribers' names."³⁴ Henry Hering, a commercial photographer and publisher, purchased four hundred photographs from Beato for a sum of "many hundred pounds." He offered for sale



Figure 7. Arch in the Lama Temple, near Pekin, October, 1860, after October 6, 1860. Albumen silver print, 29 × 24 cm (11⁷/₁₆ × 9⁷/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.209.11.

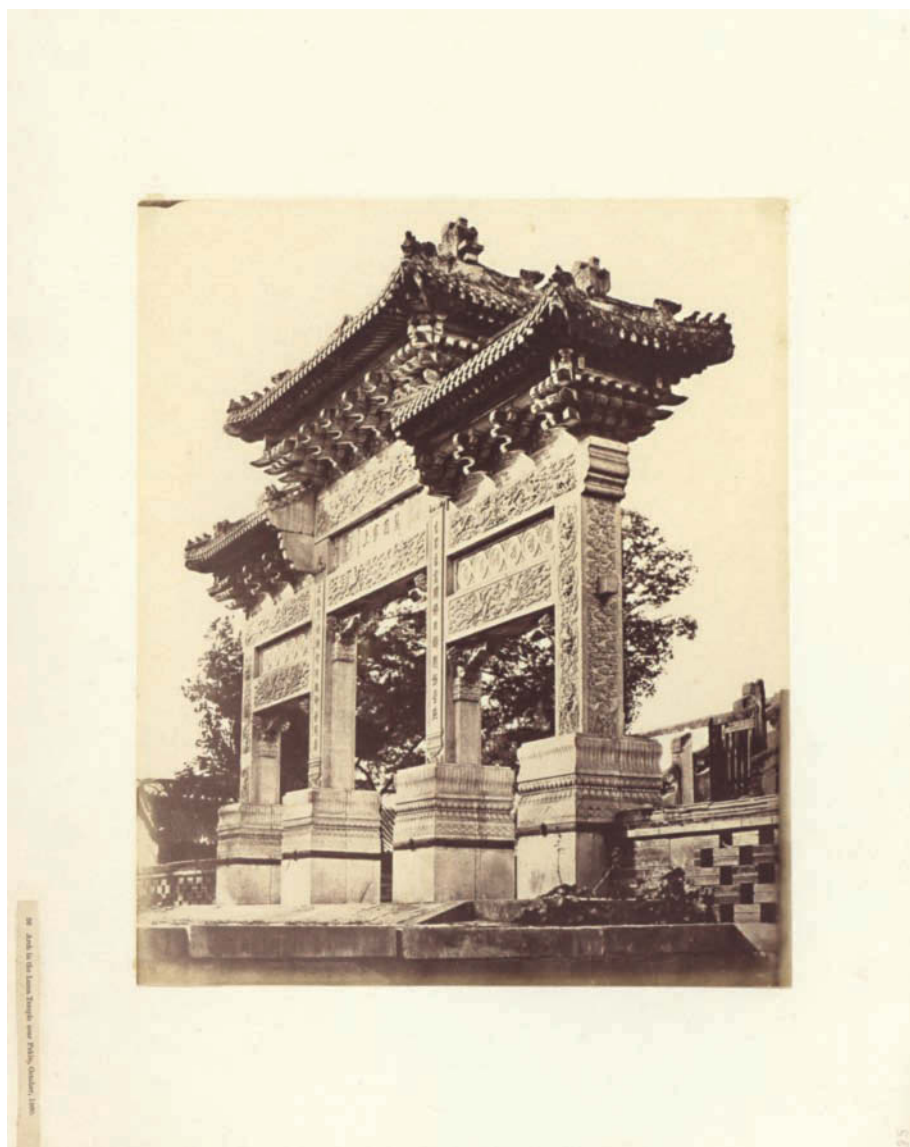


Figure 8. Arch in the Lama Temple near Pekin, October, 1860, negative after October 6, 1860, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 30.6 × 25.4 cm (12¹/₁₆ × 10 in.). 2007.26.198.58.

a selection of Beato's Indian and Chinese views, as well as portraits of the officers engaged in these conflicts.³⁵ The subscription list followed Beato's original order—geographic for India and chronological for China—and generally kept his original titles (see appendix). The series of portraits was completed later by Hering himself, with portraits for some military officers who took part in these conflicts and who had not yet been photographed by Beato.³⁶

Hering's edition differs in several respects from Beato's original prints. Evidence indicates that Hering's prints were made from a copy negative, with the slightly different framing and loss of detail that often occur during this process. Some were retouched, such as a photograph of the Lama Temple, in which parts of the trees in the background were cleaned up (figs. 7 and 8). All prints were numbered in the negative and sold with a printed caption pasted on the mount. The images were printed on a thin paper and were much darker with greater contrasts, as Hering added gold and platinum toning.³⁷

Although Hering does not seem to have profited from his investment in Beato's work, the London exhibition received considerable attention in the press when it opened in the summer of 1862.³⁸ Beato's pictures were hailed for their formal attributes. "As photographs, these leave nothing to be desired," one critic wrote in the *Athenaeum*, "while some of the panoramas, especially those of Lucknow, which are no less than six pieces each, must have demanded extraordinary care in preparation." The views of Canton and Peking, he added, "would have been esteemed inestimable treasures five years ago; now they are just the things to bring the famous cities before us. . . . We should like to see more of the human element added to this collection than it yet contains."³⁹ The war photographs garnered particular acclaim, and their singularity was not lost on the London critics. "The collection not only gives views of all the more interesting and best known spots connected with the [Indian] mutiny and the [Chinese] war, some of which are panoramic," noted the *British Journal of Photography*, "but also depicts the terrible sight of a battle field as it remained after victory and defeat; showing the dead strewn thickly about the field they fought to gain, their sun-dried corpses and bleached bones showing horribly distinct, and all the varied circumstances of their retributive slaughter."⁴⁰

RESIDENCY IN JAPAN

In the 1860s Beato embarked on a new phase of his career. He invested the profit from the sale of his photographs in the London stock market, where he rapidly lost everything.⁴¹ He then set off for new adventures in the Far East, this time Japan, where he would try to make his fortune once more. It seems that this destination was suggested to him by his friend Charles Wirgman, an English artist and car-



Figure 9. [Japanese Woman Carrying a Child], about 1863. Albumen silver print, 16.8 × 13.4 cm (6⅝ × 5¼ in.). 2007.26.159.

toonist, who had met Beato in China, where he was covering the campaign for the *Illustrated London News*. Beato spent two decades here, his longest residency. It would prove the most prolific period of his career, during which he produced the first significant series of photographs made by a Western photographer living and working in Japan.

In the early 1860s Japan was in the midst of an upheaval that, while also rooted in internal tensions, had been set off by the American expedition of Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853–54. Perry's mission was to force Japan, which had been under a policy of seclusion for some two hundred years, to expand its trade with the West. The Tokugawa Shogunate, based in Edo (Tokyo), was already contending with the Imperial Court in Kyoto and with powerful feudal lords for

control of the country. In the years following Perry's mission, the shogunate signed a series of treaties with Western countries, opening six trading ports, including Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Hakodate, against the emperor's wishes. The following decade and a half, a period known as the Bakumatsu, was one of the most turbulent in the country's history, as local lords, especially from the domains of Satsuma and Choshu, sided with the emperor to oppose the authority of the shogunate. The period would culminate in the shogunate's overthrow and the "restoration" of imperial rule. During the subsequent Meiji period, beginning in 1868, feudal practices were banned, and the Imperial house oversaw the country's ambitious and rapid modernization.

The country's long-standing policy of seclusion notwithstanding, the Japanese ruling class was aware of and fascinated by Western technologies, including photography. The earliest-known surviving photographic images were made by the American artist and daguerreotypist Eliphalet M. Brown Jr., who had accompanied the Perry mission, although Shimazu Nariakira, an influential lord of the powerful Satsuma clan, had acquired Japan's first daguerreotype camera in 1849 and directed scholars of Rangaku, or Western studies, to learn the process. By the mid-1850s the practice of photography had begun to spread; the earliest surviving photograph made by a Japanese, dated 1857, is in fact a portrait of Shimazu. In the early 1860s Japanese diplomatic missions to the West had opportunities to learn more; several visits were made to the studio of the Parisian photographer Nadar.⁴²

When Beato arrived in Yokohama in 1863, he joined a growing number of Westerners, primarily traders and merchants but also photographers and artists, who were coming to Japan in the years following Perry's expedition. They settled largely in the recently opened treaty ports, and of these Yokohama, some twenty miles south of the capital of Edo, was the most important. During these years many Japanese also came to the treaty port settlements, to learn photography from the newly arrived Westerners. Yokohama and Nagasaki became important centers of photography, and it was there that Japan's first commercial studios were opened in the early 1860s.⁴³ Soon after his arrival Beato formed a partnership with Wirgman. It quickly became successful. "My house is inundated with Japanese officers," Wirgman noted in July 1863; they "come to see my sketches and my companion Signor B-'s photographs."⁴⁴ The partners offered individual photographs depicting Japanese scenery and domestic life, in various sizes including cartes de visite (fig. 9). Portraits in two sizes, as well as albums of sketches, watercolors, and oil paintings by Wirgman, were sold as well.⁴⁵ And the two men continued to pursue their collaboration with the *Illustrated London News*.

Beato's extended stay in the country, during this time of great change, would allow him to develop a remarkable and rare visual testimony to the last years



Figure 10. [Portrait of the Satsuma Clan Envoys], November 1863. Albumen silver print, 17.1 × 16.2 cm (6¾ × 6⅜ in.). 2007.26.146.

of feudal Japan. Indeed, the year of his arrival, the turmoil of the Bakumatsu period was at its height: the Japanese emperor issued his famous edict to expel the foreigners, and the recently established American legation in Edo was burned. Foreigners were generally confined to the immediate vicinity of the treaty ports; in recent years Western visitors who dared venture into the countryside had to face a xenophobic and violent climate. Among the most notable cases was that of an English merchant named Richardson, who, while on a sightseeing excursion on the Tokaido Road near Yokohama in 1862, had passed too close to the retinue of the Satsuma regent, which was traveling in the opposite direction, and been summarily killed by the lord's samurai bodyguard.⁴⁶ Among major photographs from Beato's first year in Japan are two portraits he made of members of the Satsuma clan toward the end of 1863, when they were sent to Yokohama to normalize relations with Britain following the Richardson incident (fig. 10). These works may have been commissioned. The tensions of the time can readily be seen: three sword-bearing samurai, one holding an unsheathed knife, another holding a European book, as if to claim

knowledge of Western culture, peer impassively—even defiantly—at the camera; the fourth man, hand resting on his sword handle, averts his gaze.

Beato himself narrowly escaped death on at least one occasion. On the morning of November 21, 1864, he breakfasted with two officers from the British garrison in Yokohama and declined their invitation to accompany them on an excursion. Later that day the officers were assassinated by two *ronin* (masterless samurais) at Kamakura, near Yokohama. One of the perpetrators was arrested and beheaded in public, an event that Wirgman and Beato both commemorated: Wirgman drew several sketches of the execution, and Beato photographed the spot where the British officers were killed and later re-created the execution in his studio (figs. 11 and 12).

Because foreigners' travel was restricted, most photographs of the time depict sites in or near the main treaty ports of Yokohama and Nagasaki. Beato made many overviews of the two harbors and their foreign settlements, including

panoramas, emphasizing the towns' growing Western presence and rapid modernization. Yokohama, described in a caption in one of Beato's albums as formerly an "insignificant fishing village," did not have much to offer a photographer who wanted to record traditional Japanese life. The picturesque town of Nagasaki, on the other hand, with its ancient bridges and wooden houses along the river, was much more inspiring. Yokohama, meanwhile, was close to the celebrated Tokaido Road. This great highway, linking the Shogun capital of Edo with the imperial capital, Kyoto, and Osaka, offered impressive views of such sites as Mount Fuji. Its course also provided an opportunity to picture daily life in villages such as Omea and Atsunghi. In Harra Beato captured a more refined image of Japanese culture: the traditional taste for gardens and the owner of one posing with his family.

From his early days in Japan Beato worked diligently to expand his portfolio of scenic views. He rapidly extended his social and professional network, hiring local people to assist him, such as Kusakabe Kimbei, who worked with Beato



Figure 11. View near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird Were Murdered, after November 21, 1864.

Albumen silver print, 21 × 28.3 cm (8¼ × 11⅛ in.). 2007.26.59.



Figure 12. Photographic reproduction of a drawing by Charles Wirgman of the execution of the murderer of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, December 1864. Albumen silver print, 19.2 × 28.6 cm (7⁹/₁₆ × 11¹/₄ in.). 2007.26.207.15.

before setting up his own business in Yokohama.⁴⁷ It seems that during his stays in Nagasaki Beato also benefited from his acquaintance with Japanese photographers, including the prominent Ueno Hikoma, whose studio and house appeared in one of Beato's photographs (plate 36).⁴⁸ Here, too, locals likely showed him the place at the harbor entrance, far from the city itself, from which he made an overview of the Pappenberg Islands, where Christians had been thrown in the sea in 1594.

Beato also carefully developed his Western connections, already well established among military officials, to include European diplomats and merchants, to help him travel throughout the country.⁴⁹ In 1863 Beato and Wirgman joined an official treaty expedition of Aimé Humbert, the Swiss ambassador plenipotentiary to Japan, under whose aegis they gained access to restricted areas. Beato was the first to document a number of major religious sites, such as the shrines and the monumental sculpture of Dai-Bouts, the giant Buddha, at Kamakura (see fig. 1). They also stayed in the restricted site of Yedo, the official residency of the

shogunate, where the foreign legations were settled and where Beato enjoyed the luxury of a room devoted exclusively to his photographic activity.⁵⁰ He managed to take several different views there, but the stay was not without its nervous moments. At the residence of the prince of Satsuma, Humbert remembered,

We were entering into the vast solitude of an agglomeration of seignorial residences. On our right extended the magnificent shade of the park belonging to Prince Satsouma [*sic*]; on our left the boundary-wall of the palace of the Prince of Arima. When we had turned the north-east corner we found ourselves before the principal front of the building; it stretches out parallel to a plantation of trees forming the bank of a limpid river which divides the Takanawa quarter from that of Atakosta. One of our party having made preparations to photograph this beautiful scene, two officers belonging to the Prince's household came to him and begged him to discontinue his operations.

Our friend requested them to go and take the orders of their master upon the subject; they went, but returned in a very few minutes, saying that the Prince absolutely forbade that any view should be taken of his palace. Béato obeyed respectfully, and ordered the koskeis to take away the machine; and the officers retired perfectly satisfied, without the slightest suspicion that during their temporary absence the operator had taken two negatives. The yakounines of our escort, who had been witnesses of this scene, unanimously applauded the success of our friend's trick.⁵¹

Indeed, the officers can be seen in one of the photographs Beato made (fig. 13).

Perhaps because of the restrictions on travel, while in Yokohama Beato embarked on a new path, starting to work in studio. He initiated an extensive series of portraits of Japanese subjects to depict local daily life. Such imagery was already widely popular in other countries; Beato introduced the genre in Japan. In this he seems to have achieved rapid success, attaining, a contemporary noted in 1865, "a high reputation for the excellence of his work in respect of both portraiture views and landscapes."⁵² One of Beato's most important innovations was adapting



Figure 13. *Arima Sama Palace, Edo, 1863*. Albumen silver print, 21.6 × 28 cm (8½ × 11 in.). 2007.26.48



Figure 14. *Koboto Santaro*, 1863. Albumen silver print, 26 × 21.8 cm (10¼ × 8⅞ in.). 2007.26.158.

the Japanese handcoloring technique traditionally used for woodblock prints and fabrics to enhance his photographs (figs. 14 and 15). He may have had in mind the work of his previous partner, James Robertson, but his prints, fashioned in collaboration with local artisans and informed by Japanese aesthetics, are more refined (fig. 17). They used watercolor instead of oil pigments, achieving a greater translucence that resulted in subtle but vibrant handcolored photographs. Traditional skill is also noticeable in the elaborate painting of some garments and in the attention to details. Beato celebrated this brilliant collaboration by making a portrait of one of his colorists (plate 53).⁵³ These images proved extremely popular with international visitors.

As Western tourism to Japan—and in particular to Yokohama—expanded in the relative stability of the early Meiji period, the local market for photographs



Figure 15. *Koboto Santaro*, negative 1863, print 1868. Albumen silver, handcolored print, 23.4 × 18 cm (9⅜ × 7⅞ in.). 2007.26.163.

grew accordingly. After a fire in October 1866 destroyed part of his stock, Beato rapidly replenished his wares. He ended his partnership with Charles Wirgman and in 1868 opened his own studio, which he inaugurated with the first Japanese photograph album, *Photographic Views of Japan with Historical and Descriptive Notes, Compiled from Authentic Sources, and Personal Observation during a Residence of Several Years*. It combined architectural and landscape views with portrait studies, and its success reflected his growing prominence on the local scene (see “The Japanese Albums,” pp. 18–19). “Signor Beato, the photographer[,] maintains his prestige in Japan, and his handiwork is to be seen everywhere,” commented the *London China Telegraph* in an article on the album. “Visitors to his studio can obtain a most interesting collection of his photographs depicting the noted places, scenery, and dress of Japan.”⁵⁴

THE JAPANESE ALBUMS

18



Figure 16. *Japanese Doctor and Patient*, 1868. Albumen silver, handcolored print, 21.9 × 27.5 cm (8⁵/₈ × 10¹³/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.613.4.

In one of his most important innovations, Beato in 1868 offered the first photographic albums for sale in Japan. Combining topographic and architectural views of the country with a series of delicate, handcolored portrait studies featuring local costumes, these albums provide a rare example of the visual record of Japanese culture available to Western audiences of the time.

Customers could select from different sizes of albums, based on budget and taste: a complete album, with one hundred photographs; a “half album”; or a prestigious two-volume collection of two hundred prints. Bindings varied as well, from traditional Western leather and cardboard covers to more elaborate lacquer covers hand-painted with scenes inspired by Japanese art. Each photograph in the album was mounted with a typeset caption by James William Murray, an assistant commissary general based in Yokohama, enclosed in a decorative border and pasted on the opposite page.⁵⁵

Photographs were arranged in the album according to the location of the scenic views they depicted, with their sequence suggesting a travel itinerary through the main sites accessible to foreigners. In this way the album sought to re-

create the experience of the typical journey, beginning and ending with views of the foreign settlements of Nagasaki and Yokohama, where Westerners usually landed and departed. Subsequent views followed the course of the historic Tokaido Road, featuring the mountainous Japanese landscape and its pine forests; pictures of porters posing on the wooden paths sought to reinforce the reader's impression of being present. Accompanying captions, written from the point of view of a Western "amateur" and often containing factual errors, describe places to be seen, suggest itineraries, and offer tips to visitors—warning them, for example, about the many beggars to be found on the Tokaido Road and recommending the months of July and August to ascend Mount Fuji.⁵⁶ They also provide extensive descriptions of the numerous monuments depicted in the series. Views of native villages, meanwhile, represented Japanese daily life, accompanied by textual comments, such as the caption noting "the neatness and order which prevailed in the humblest cottage."

The scenery of Japan was complemented by a section on domestic Japanese society titled "Scenes, Manners and Customs." Here the interpretive labels reflected the cultural biases of the time, often comparing Japanese culture with that of "civilized nations." Full-length portraits, made in studio or outdoors against a neutral background, isolated the sitters from their immediate environment and focused on their costumes and accoutrements. Subjects included iconic figures, such as the samurai practicing with sword and longbow and women in kimonos; representatives of the different classes of the highly hierarchical Japanese society, from tattooed porters posing almost naked to the Yakunin or Daimyos; and figures and activities of daily life that a traveler might encounter in public spaces, such as street musicians or the preparation of rice. Beato's studies of trades in Japan emphasized their cultural differences with the West, such as portraits of a doctor and barbers and a wonderfully staged scene of firemen (plates 65, 66). Modes of traditional Japanese life were also depicted; for example, forms of transportation were illustrated by images of men pushing a cart, and of the *kago* (palanquin), which was rapidly being replaced by the rickshaw. Such photographs became even more significant as the rapid modernization of the country, launched by the Imperial House in 1871, put an end to feudal customs such as sword bearing.

Most of the sitters were hired by Beato to pose and play different roles. This staging was even more noticeable in elaborate scenes such as social dinners

and musical parties that Beato replicated in his studio, which resemble tableaux vivants (plate 57). A scene of a woman in winter dress walking in the snow, meanwhile, was reminiscent of traditional Japanese imagery (plate 64). This picturesque approach was often emphasized by vignetting around the image, reinforcing its disconnection from reality.

In addition to offering readers a broad visual experience of the country, Japanese albums were used to commemorate a traveler's journey to Japan. They rapidly became the most commercially successful items sold in Beato's studio. They were imitated by Beato's competitors and by later photographers, who adapted the genre to accommodate the increasing numbers of tourists arriving in the 1870s, during the relative tranquillity of the Meiji period.



Figure 17. James Robertson, [A Turkish Woman in Outdoor Dress], about 1855. Salted paper, handcolored print, 19.3 × 15.2 cm (7⁵/₈ × 6 in.). 84.XA.886.5.33.

During his long residence in Japan Beato continued to promote his work, making several trips to Shanghai to present his Japan pictures, which he also sent to the Photographic Society in Calcutta.⁵⁷ His Japan photographs were widely reproduced in such publications as the *Illustrated London News*, *Le Monde illustré*,⁵⁸ and *Le Tour du monde*,⁵⁹ as well as in travel diaries such as Jephson and Elmhirst's *Our Life in Japan*, published in 1869, and Aimé Humbert's popular book *Le Japon illustré*, published in 1870 (fig. 18).

While in Japan Beato twice had occasion to return to his war photography. In 1864 he and Wirgman covered the Shimonoseki expedition, a joint British, French, Dutch and American naval expedition against Japanese feudal lords seeking to expel foreigners from the country. In 1871 he was hired as the official photographer of the American expedition to Korea. Five ships under the command of Admiral Rodgers were sent on a punitive action after an American-owned trading vessel attempting to enter Korean waters had been captured and its crew killed in 1865. The expedition was also an attempt to negotiate the opening of trade relations with one of the last countries closed to the outside world.⁶⁰ Beato no doubt saw the

commercial potential of such events, which would allow him to expand his portfolio and offer the first photographs taken in Korea.⁶¹ Embarking at Nagasaki, he and his assistant, H. Woollett, left with the military fleet on May 16, 1871, returning to Shanghai on June 28. He brought back about forty-seven photographs, including numerous portraits of military crews and views of the fleet, local scenery, and battlefields. Most important were his portraits of Korean natives. Among these were pictures of Korean officials dispatched to negotiate with the Americans, standing defiantly in front of the camera, as well as a village chief at Rose Island, who confidentially posed outdoors with his long pipe and walking stick. These portraits, made before the opening of the conflict, contrast with those of groups of captives Beato made afterward. As he had done in China, Beato made battlefield photographs depicting enemy dead. Although the American fleet left without reaching an agreement with the Korean government, these photographs once again were calculated to celebrate Western triumphs: group portraits show troops posing on captured forts, and in one of the most remarkable images we see officers standing in front of a large Korean flag (plate 120). The campaign contributed further to Beato's international renown. His work was sold in China, Japan, Europe, and America, where a few weeks after the campaign ended his portfolio was described in the *New York Times*⁶² and woodcuts based on his photographs were published in *Harper's Weekly*.⁶³

By the early 1870s Beato's Yokohama studio had developed into a considerable enterprise. In 1872 the staff included two assistants, four Japanese photographers, and four Japanese artists in charge of handcoloring photographs.⁶⁴ Employees now managed daily operations, with Beato's participation limited to occasionally photographing local events, such as the aftermath of the typhoon in Kobe in 1871 and the opening of the Tokyo-Yokohama railroad the following year. In 1871 he also photographed the imperial city of Kyoto, which exceptionally had been opened to the public for an exhibition.

From his early days in Japan Beato was a well-known figure on the Yokohama social scene. The local English-language press often reported on his activities, including many friendly caricatures in *Japan Punch*, a satirical journal established by Charles Wirgman in 1862 (fig. 19). The years in Japan are the most well documented of Beato's life. He appears as a colorful character who enjoyed the diverse amusements Yokohama had to offer.⁶⁵ Wirgman humorously depicted his close friend's Italian-flavored English and lifelong quest for fortune. In 1875 *Japan Punch* gleefully reported an incident in which Beato was fined one dollar plus doctor's costs for hurling a plate at his cook because the man had served him a beef dish he disliked.⁶⁶ On a more personal level, a cartoon published in June 1872 recounted how the photographer, officially engaged to a woman, escaped just before his own wedding.

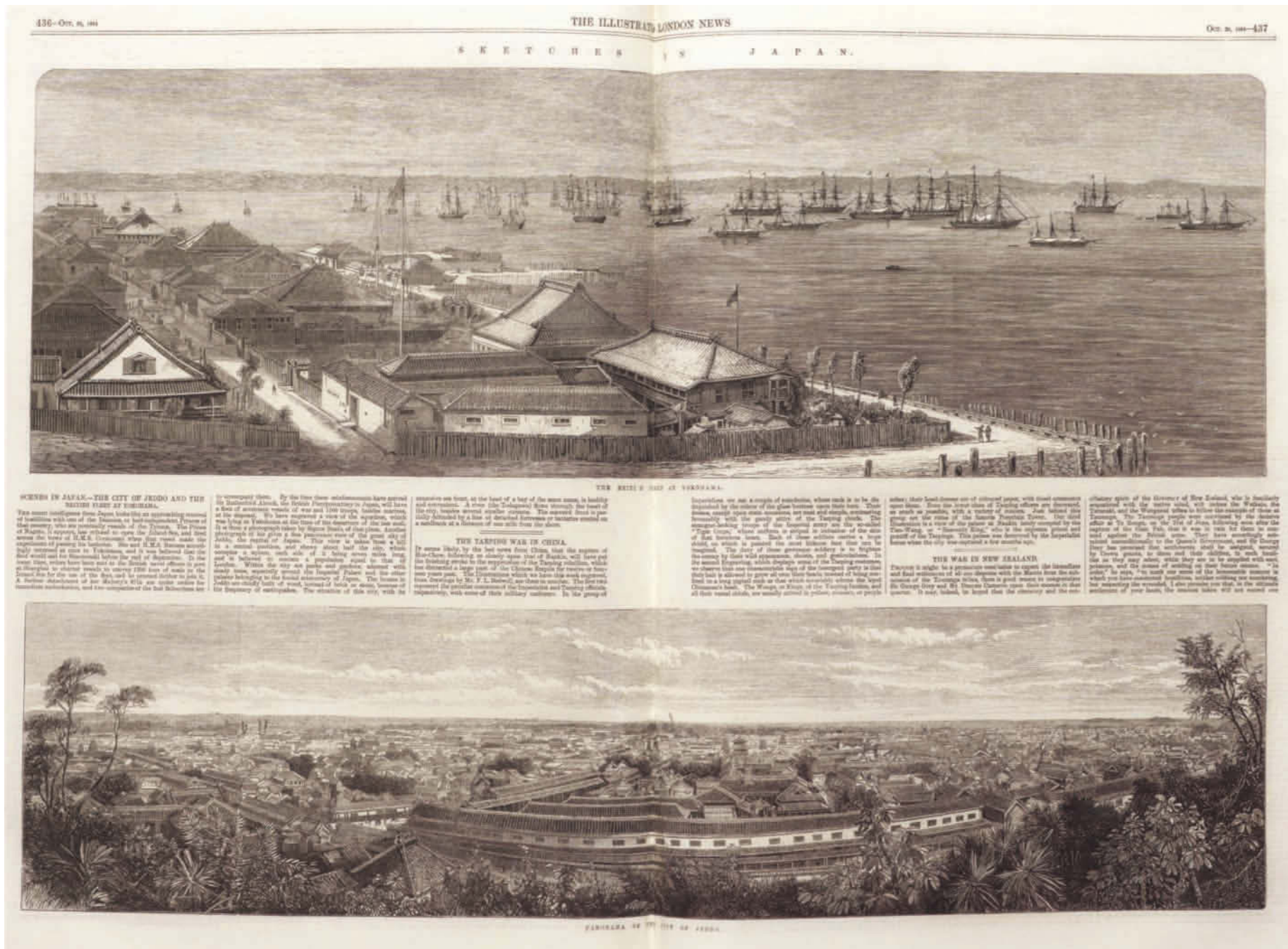


Figure 18. Photographic panoramas of the city of Yedo and the British Fleet at Yokohama by Felice Beato, reproduced as engravings in the *Illustrated London News*, October 29, 1864. Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, AP1.129, volume 45.

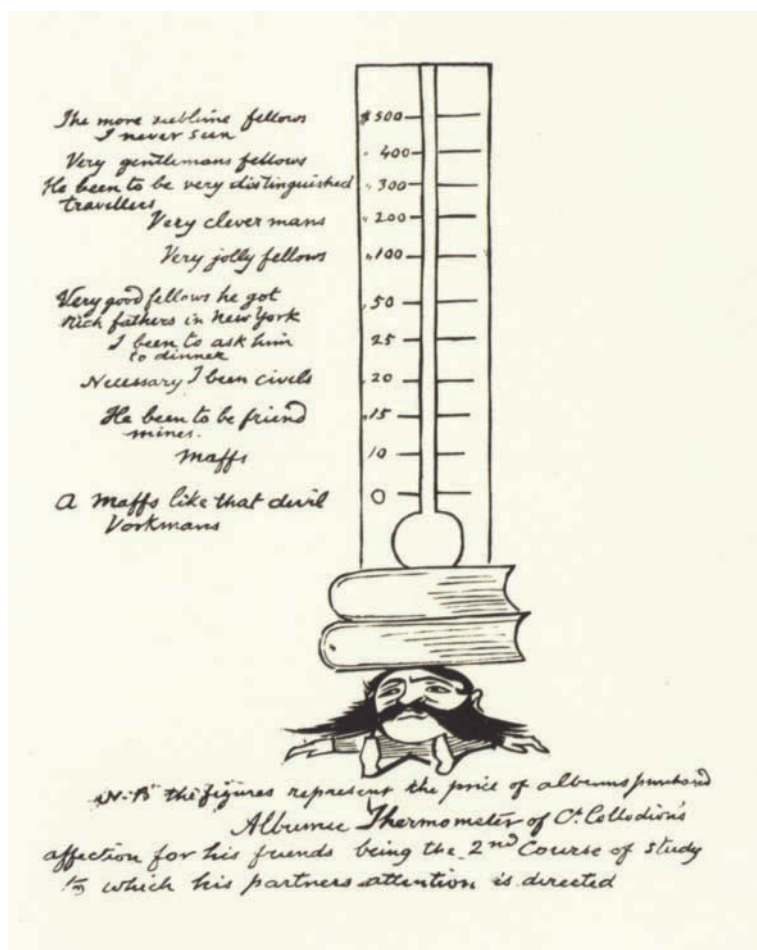


Figure 19. Charles Wirgman, Caricature of Felice Beato, *Japan Punch*, June 1869.

Beato's fortunes, however, would shortly begin to decline. From the 1870s the modernization of Japan initiated by the Imperial house attracted many speculators. Beato invested in various schemes, continuing to use photography as a source of steady income until he sold the stock and goodwill of his studio to the firm von Stillfried and Andersen in 1877.⁶⁷ He often lost heavily, and as the 1870s progressed press accounts of his misfortunes began to appear with increasing frequency. In 1870 he had started to invest in real estate, selling a series of bungalows nicknamed "Beato's toothpicks" because of their flimsy construction.⁶⁸ He was also willing to become involved in the finances of Yokohama's Bluff Gardens.⁶⁹ In 1871 his occupation had significantly changed from "photographer" to "merchant" in the listing of the Yokohama Freemasons Lodge.⁷⁰ In August 1873 he was appointed consul-general for Greece in Japan.⁷¹ The same year he was among the owners of the newly inaugurated Grand Hotel in Yokohama. From 1874 on, several cases against or involving Beato attested to his financial reversal in import-export operations, and in 1876 the Grand Hotel closed. A British

officer captured the eventful course of Beato's career when he remembered an encounter in February 1879:

I met my old friend Signor Beato here. I had first made his acquaintance whilst engaged in photography under the walls of Sebastopol; I next accosted him amidst the blood and carnage of Lucknow, and now finally in the streets of Yokohama. Could anyone have chosen three more distant places, or more varied circumstances, to meet under? I have some splendid specimens of his art taken at all these places. I mention Beato here because he may be said to be the father of photography in Japan, and many of the best negatives there are now his productions.... He established his studio at Yokohama, but finding he had larger fish to fry, he sold his business; and I am sure scores of my old comrades will be glad to hear he is doing well.⁷²

In the event, the following years brought complete financial ruin. In the early 1880s Beato's speculations on the Silver Exchange Market put an end to his career in Japan. When he left the country on November 29, 1884, his passage had to be paid by friends. Beato was virtually penniless. But, as he sailed for Port Said, Egypt, he had a new plan in mind.

That year the Anglo-Sudan War, also called the Sudanese Mahdist Revolt, had broken out in Africa. For Beato this was an opportunity to reinvigorate his photographic career and reestablish his fortune. But he missed the war's major events, as he arrived in April 1885, three months after General Wolseley's campaign to relieve British forces besieged at Khartoum. Once more his relations with the British officer class stood him in good stead, however, as he documented Wolseley's expedition to Suakim to oversee the withdrawal of troops. "Beato, the photographer whom I remember in the Crimea and whom I knew well during the Indian Mutiny and China war is on board, as amusing as ever, his attempt to speak English—which he understands very well—being as ludicrous as formerly," noted Wolseley in his diary of the campaign. "He has made and lost many fortunes since I last [saw] him, and now for the spell returned to his former trade, that of photography."⁷³

BURMA

By late summer 1885 Beato was back in London. He quickly began to attend to business, copyrighting his Sudan views in September.⁷⁴ In October he advertised them for sale in the *Times*.⁷⁵ These images are very scarce today, and it appears that they met with a less than enthusiastic response. Early the following year he gave a talk to the London and Provincial Photographic Society, which was published on February 26, 1886, the only direct testimony we have regarding his technique (see

“Beato and Photographic Technique,” pp. 24–25). Shortly thereafter he set off for new lands once more.

This time his destination was Burma, which had just been fully incorporated into Britain’s colonial empire.⁷⁶ The country was no doubt an attractive destination for an entrepreneurial figure such as Beato. Its rich natural resources—minerals, teak, and gems—as well as its geographic position adjacent to India had been a prime target of the British Empire for more than half a century. The first two Anglo-Burmese wars, in 1824–25 and 1852–53, had given the British control of the Lower Burma territories; in November 1885 the third campaign, commanded by Major General (Sir Harry) Prendergast, resulted in the final dissolution of the Burmese kingdom and the annexation of Upper Burma, which was now administered as a province of British India.⁷⁷ Western speculators and, above all, tourists followed the path of empire. Travel agencies such as Thomas Cook and Sons added Burma to their itinerary of world excursions. By the 1890s Burma was widely depicted as an earthly paradise and ideal tourist destination.

At the time Beato settled in Burma, in 1887, commercial photography was beginning to expand there. The earliest surviving photographs of the country

dated from the Second Burmese War in 1852–53, but by the 1870s the photographic studio of Bourne and Shepherd was offering views of the country.⁷⁸ J. N. Johannes & Co (active 1880s–1890s); the German Adolphe Philip Klier, who operated one of the most successful studios in Mandalay (active 1871–1890s); and the commercial firm of Watson & Skeen, already well established in Rangoon, were Beato’s main local competitors.

According to one contemporary account, Beato arrived in Mandalay with a partner and ten pounds.⁷⁹ He quickly set about establishing himself, beginning his work as a landscape photographer, traveling throughout the upper part of the country. “Beato is talking of going to Bhamo . . . with a photograph machine,” noted the *Rangoon Times* in May 1888; “he has done very well in Upper Burmah, and talks of opening out in Rangoon.”⁸⁰ Within a few years he achieved a position of prominence, hiring several local people to assist him. Noted a British officer in 1893, “No description of Mandalay would . . . be complete without mention of Signor Beato.”⁸¹ By 1894 he had opened a photographic studio in Mandalay, located on C. Road, that catered to an audience of Western visitors. His portfolio included landscapes, architectural views, and portrait studies. Tourists could buy individual prints in various



Figure 20. *Elephants Catching at Mandalay (with Elephants and Decoys in Kheddah)*, 1887–1897. Albumen silver print, 18 × 26.3 cm (7¹/₁₆ × 10³/₈ in.). 2007.26.203.26.

BEATO AND PHOTOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUE

24



Figure 21. Charles Wirgman, Caricature of Charles Wirgman and Felice Beato in their studio, *Japan Punch*, April 1866.

The only direct testimony we have from Felice Beato regarding his work comes from a talk he presented at the London and Provincial Photographic Society in early 1886.⁸² Rather than discuss his equipment in detail, Beato focused on the different techniques he used during his career, which spanned the evolution of photographic processes over the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸³

In the 1850s the two most common techniques used to produce photographic images were the albumen negative process, invented in 1847 by Abel Niépce de Saint-Victor, and the wet-collodion method, published in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer. These were both advances over the earlier daguerreotype and calotype processes; they retained the same sharpness as the former, and they allowed multiple prints to be made from the same negative, as with the latter.⁸⁴

Both, however, were delicate and time consuming.⁸⁵ In his talk Beato described the process of preparing the albumen plate, which he had learned from James Robertson and which he had used in the Crimea, India, and China: “He [took]

fairly large eggs and to the albumen of each egg [added] fifteen drops of a saturated solution of iodide potassium, and to the albumen of each twenty eggs he added two grains of iodine, which helped to dissolve the said iodide of potassium in the albumen. He sensitized his plates in an aceto-nitrate bath, giving each plate successive dips until it acquired the right color; then he washed it well, ribbed it with a tuft of cotton-wool, and set it aside to dry, after which it would keep well for years.” The plates were developed using a “saturated solution of gallic acid to which some drops of the bath solution had been added; after applying the developer he put the plate on one side for some hours and allowed the developer to dry upon it; after several hours a faint image was perfectly developed and it then only required intensification.”

The albumen technique allowed negatives to be made in advance before being exposed and was remarkable for its sharpness and overall penetration of details.⁸⁶ This process required long exposures⁸⁷ and was used mainly for immobile subjects such as buildings and landscapes.

While in Japan Beato started using the wet-collodion method, prevalent from 1855 to the 1880s. Its great sensitivity allowed exposures to be counted in seconds—two seconds in the open and ten seconds in studio—rather than in minutes, although the negative plate had to be prepared, exposed, and developed promptly, while it was still damp.

Both processes were especially demanding when used for outdoor travel photography. For most of his career Beato carried cumbersome and fragile equipment, including camera and tripod, a dark tent, potentially dangerous chemicals (collodion contained an explosive ingredient), and large, breakable glass plates of about 25 by 30 centimeters (the size of his final images). He also had to adapt to conditions in the field. Unpredictable weather conditions, which could affect the camera and the subject, were constant threats during exposure of the plate. Hot and humid climates hindered the delicate manipulations of chemicals during the preparation and processing of glass plates in the dark tent. “Albumen films,” Beato noted in his lecture, “were liable to crack in drying unless the drying room was in proper hygroscopic condition. It must be dry but not too dry.” Negative plates also had to be protected from dust and insects, both of which could spoil the final image.⁸⁸ In the Sudan, for example, Beato had to postpone development of his negatives because of temperatures of 120°F, lack of water, and “the visits paid to him . . . by

millions of white flies, which looked in to see what was going on directly a light was struck in the developing tent.”

Beginning in 1885 Beato used the gelatin plate method, developed some fifteen years earlier by Richard Leach Maddox, which produced dry plate negatives that could be manufactured and sold ready to use.⁸⁹ Their normal exposure of fractions of a second allowed for “instant photography,” permitting Beato, in his Burma photographs, finally to capture people in action (see fig. 20 and plate 79).⁹⁰

Beato’s negatives were printed on albumen paper.⁹¹ The albumen print, invented in 1850 by Louis-Désiré Blanquart-Evrard was made by floating a sheet of thin paper on a salted bath of egg white; once dry, it was sensitized with a solution of silver nitrate and dried again in the dark. The coating provided a smooth and glossy surface to the paper. Before being exposed, the negatives were usually retouched—the sky sometimes painted in black, for example, in order to create a more consistent and neutral background.⁹² Beato experimented with different papers and added silver or gold chloride during the printing process to produce strong and aesthetically pleasing image tones and increase durability. Such variations would result in different images or interpretations of the same negative.

sizes, including cabinet cards, or could have a customized album made from their own selection.

Beato's Burma photographs documented the rich cultural and architectural heritage of the country, in particular, Mandalay, the last royal seat of the former Burmese kingdom. He took many views of the palace, among them the moat and gates of its outer wall, the gardens, and the numerous pagodas recovered with gold leaf. The country was well known as a center of Buddhism, and its Buddhist art and culture were among Beato's main subjects. He photographed many monuments and shrines, including details of elaborate teak carvings and the statues of Gautama, the Supreme Buddha, in the Sagaing Temple. He made a series, including overviews and details, of the Kúthodau in Mandalay, perhaps the country's most impressive site, with its conical golden pagoda surrounded by hundreds of white dome-shaped stupas, each inscribed with verse from Buddhist sacred texts. These were complemented by such photographs as portraits of

priests at their monastery after begging for daily food and scenes of funeral processions. Views taken along the Irrawaddy River provided insight into local life; other scenes, such as the one depicting the capture of elephants, revealed a more "picturesque" approach (fig. 20). Beato also offered a large selection of portrait studies, including those of various ethnic groups he encountered during his trips, most made in his studio. In addition, photography was extremely popular among the local elite, such as King Thibaw's prime minister, who commissioned portraits from Beato. Although Beato's Burmese photographs did not reach the quality of his earlier work, they were widely sold and reproduced in magazines and newspapers, from the *Mandalay Herald* to the *Illustrated London News*, as well as in a number of travel books, such as George Bird's *Wanderings in Burma*, published in 1897 (fig. 22).⁹³

Owing to his extensive contacts among British colonial officialdom, Beato was able to photograph various events and personalities of note: the

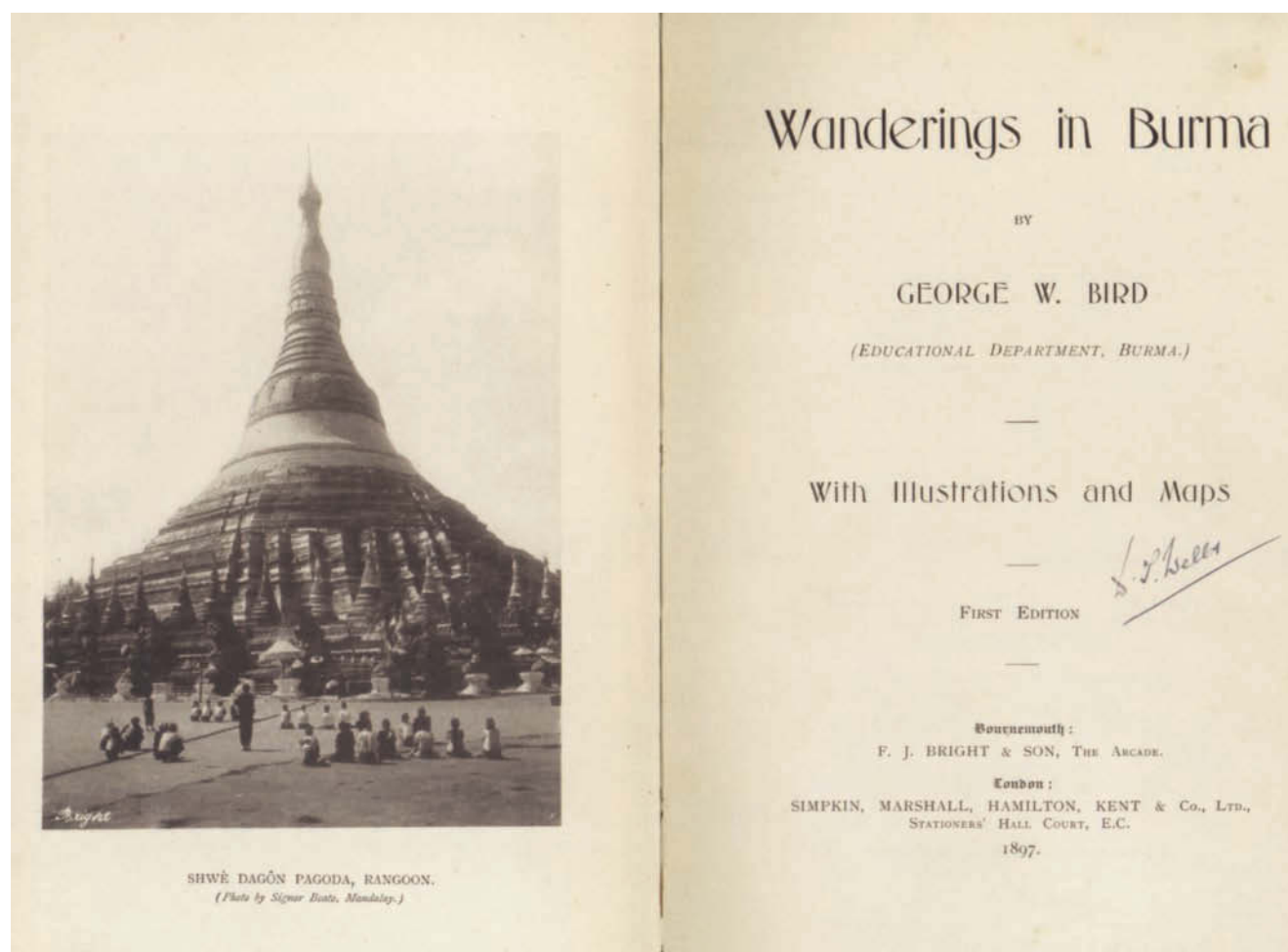


Figure 22. Photograph by Felice Beato reproduced in the frontispiece of the book *Wanderings in Burma*, by George W. Bird, 1897. Courtesy of the Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Mandalay volunteers and the visit of Prince Albert Victor, duke of Clarence and Avondale, in 1889.⁹⁴ He was also involved in military operations, accompanying Wolseley's 1891 expedition to Wuntho, where anti-British rebels had set up a base and which was shortly thereafter annexed to Burma.⁹⁵ British officials also seem to have hired him, such as the hospital team in Shwebo pictured with their ambulances. Similar figures are seen in several of Beato's views of the Mandalay royal palace, which was rapidly taken over by the British authorities, as shown in a view of the *kyoung* (monastery), which, the caption reveals, had become the master mess house (plate 69).

By the late 1880s commercial photography was undergoing major changes. In 1888 the American George Eastman introduced the first ready-to-use camera, spurring the mass democratization of photography. Beato may have realized that he needed to diversify. He opened a curio shop, which quickly became an attraction for foreign visitors to Mandalay (fig. 23). "Here can be obtained, besides photo-

graphs of all places and peoples of Upper Burma, and the countries adjacent to it; works of art in wood, metal . . . , ivory, silk goods . . . , images of Buddha, costumes and arms of indigenous races, and quantities of other curios and objects suitable as mementos of a visit to this interesting country," noted Bird in *Wanderings in Burma*.⁹⁶

Employing as he does a large number of workers (over 800 in number) in the different art industries, [Beato] is able to command the best specimens, and hence those who patronize his studio, may rest assured that they will get the real article, at a reasonable price. . . . As Signor had been connected with Mandalay for a number of years, . . . [a] visit to the studio, . . . and an interesting chat with its genial and courteous proprietor, will put the traveller on the right road to obtaining all he wants in the way of curios, and getting information and 'tips' as to the sights of the city.



Figure 23. View of F. Beato Limited, C. Road, Mandalay, before May 8, 1903. Albumen silver print, 15.5 × 20.1 cm. CCA, PH1983:02999:001.

Sales were not limited to visitors, however, as Beato also developed an international mail-order business. He produced catalogues with photographs, taken in his studio, of all articles for sale, each captioned with reference number, a concise description, and price (fig. 24).⁹⁷

In 1898 Beato sold his curio shop to Maitland Fitzroy Kindersley, a former military officer, who kept the registered name “F. Beato & Co.”⁹⁸ After this time Beato’s whereabouts and activities are difficult to track. The *Rangoon Gazette* mentioned Beato’s presence in the city in 1899.⁹⁹ The *Mofussil Directory* listed the photographic studio with F. Beato as “propr.” from 1897 to 1903, and the photographer’s name appeared in the residents’ list for the two following years.¹⁰⁰ We do not know exactly when Beato departed Burma, but obviously his absence was felt: “[The existing management of F. Beato Ltd] took over the business when Signor Beato retired, and left the country,” noted a letter published in the *Times of Burma* in November 1902. “There is now unfortunately no Signor Beato, who was a personality belonging to Burma, who could weave so wonderful a legend about any little article he had for sale, that, people gladly paid his price for this amusing characteristic of the man. He was a showman—Aye, more! He was a successful showman with all the Italian’s love of the artistic and beautiful. He has gone and his like will not again be seen there.”¹⁰¹

After leaving Burma Beato reappeared in Italy, where he spent his last years. He may have gone to Belgium to see his sister before settling in Florence, where arrangements were made with the British consul to pay him regular sums of money, to prevent him from once more losing all his capital on some speculative scheme.¹⁰² On January 9, 1909, after a life of restless wandering, Beato died in his native country.

With his forceful and original personality, Felice Beato left his mark in many of the countries in which he sojourned over the eventful course of his life. Just as clearly, he left his mark on the history of photography and can be considered was one of the first global photographers. His innovative work portraying death in war photography gave new direction to that genre. In Japan his documentary approach and introduction of the handcoloring technique were especially influential on the following generation of local photographers.¹⁰³ The widespread reproduction of his photographs in various contemporary publications, from travel diaries to works of popular anthropology, made him renowned among his contemporaries. His photographs have stayed in circulation, with successive sales of his stock of negatives to different studios, albeit occasionally with some confusion in their attribution.¹⁰⁴ Today the photographs of Felice Beato, made more than a century ago, are held internationally in many private and institutional collections, confirming his success and his legacy.



Figure 24. *View of Swords, F. Beato Limited, C. Road, Mandalay, Burma (now Myanmar), before May 1903.* Gelatin silver / Albumen silver print, 20.8 × 15.1 cm. CCA, PH1983:02999:097.

PLATES 1-80

Plate 1.

James Robertson and Felice Beato, *La Mosquée de Sultan Achmet* (The Sultan Achmet Mosque), 1853–1857. Albumen silver print, 26.2 × 30.9 cm (10⁵/₁₆ × 12³/₁₆ in.). 84.XP.474.1.



James Robertson and Felice Beato, *L'Ancienne Fontaine Près le [sic] Vieux Pont* (The Ancient Fountain near the Old Bridge), 1853–1857.

Albumen silver print, 20.5 × 24.6 cm (8¹/₁₆ × 9¹¹/₁₆ in.). 84.XP.474.2.



Plate 3.

James Robertson, Felice Beato, and Antonio Beato, *The Garden of Gethsemane*, 1857. Albumen silver print, 24.9 × 31.4 cm (9¹³/₁₆ × 12³/₈ in.). 84.XP.219.48.



Attributed to James Robertson and Felice Beato, [St. Paul's Pro-Cathedral, Malta], about 1856. Albumen silver print, 25.7 × 31.6 cm (10¹/₈ × 12⁷/₁₆ in.). 84.XP.474.4.



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The Muchee Bhawan Fort [Lucknow], 1858. Albumen silver print, 24.5 × 29.4 cm (9⁵/₈ × 11⁹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.205.47.



Plate 6.

Chutter Manzil Palace, with the King's Boat in the Shape of a Fish. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November 1857 [Lucknow], 1858.

Albumen silver print, 24.2 × 30.1 cm (9½ × 11⅞ in.). 2007.26.208.14.



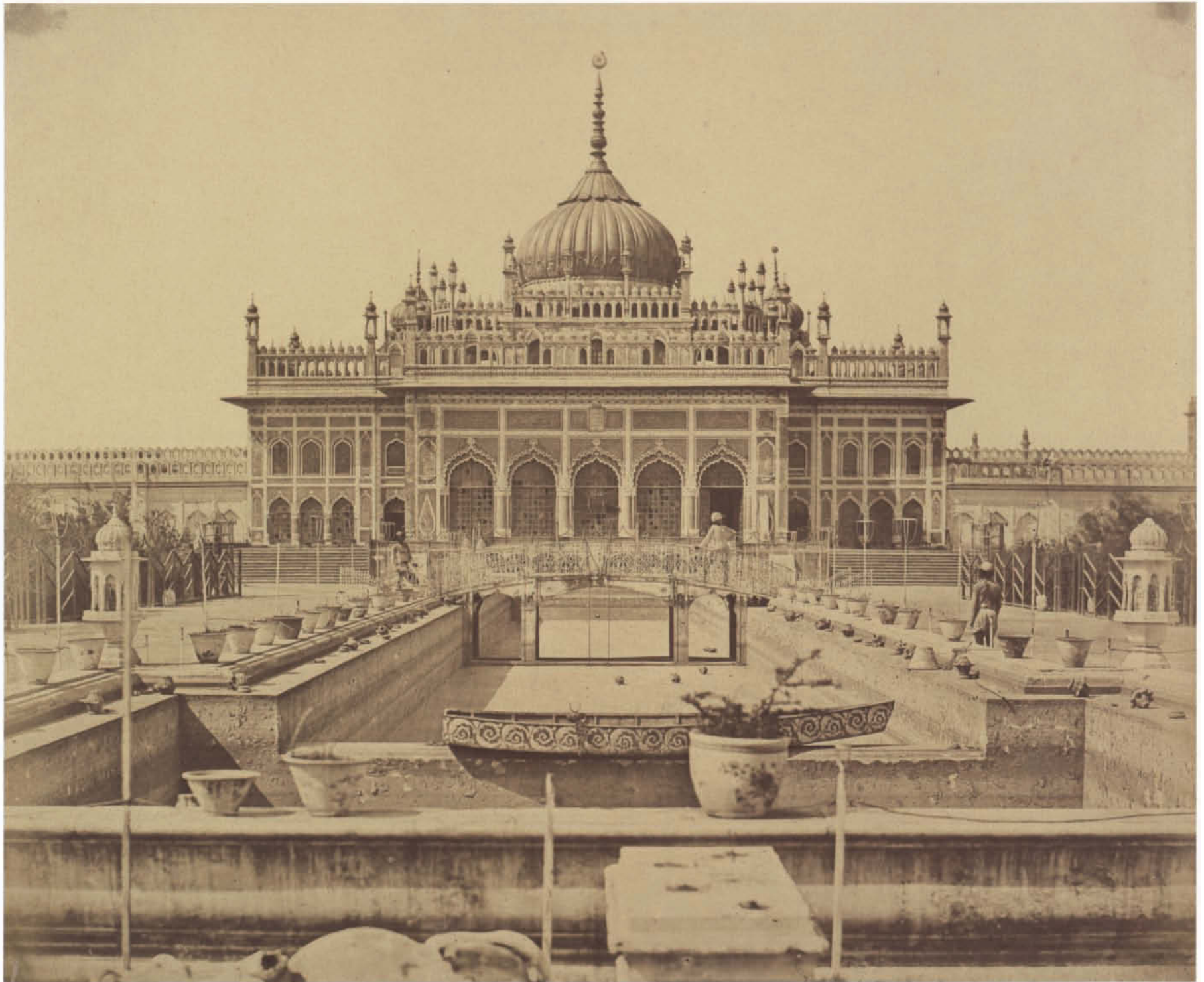
The Great Gateway of the Kaiserbagh—3,000 Sepoys Killed by the English in One Day in the Courtyard by the Light Division and Brazier's Sikhs [Lucknow], negative 1858, print 1862.

Albumen silver print, 25.7 × 30.2 cm (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). 2007.26.208.10.



Plate 8.

The Hosainabad Emambara, and Tomb of Mahomed-Allir-Khan. Second Attack of Sir Collin [sic] Campbell, in March, 1858 [Lucknow], 1858. Albumen silver print, 25.3 × 30.8 cm (9¹⁵/₁₆ × 12¹/₈ in.). 2007.26.208.26.



Bridge of Boats over the Jumna, Taken from Lulim Ghur [Delhi], 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 25.7 × 30.9 cm (10¹/₈ × 12³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.204.32.





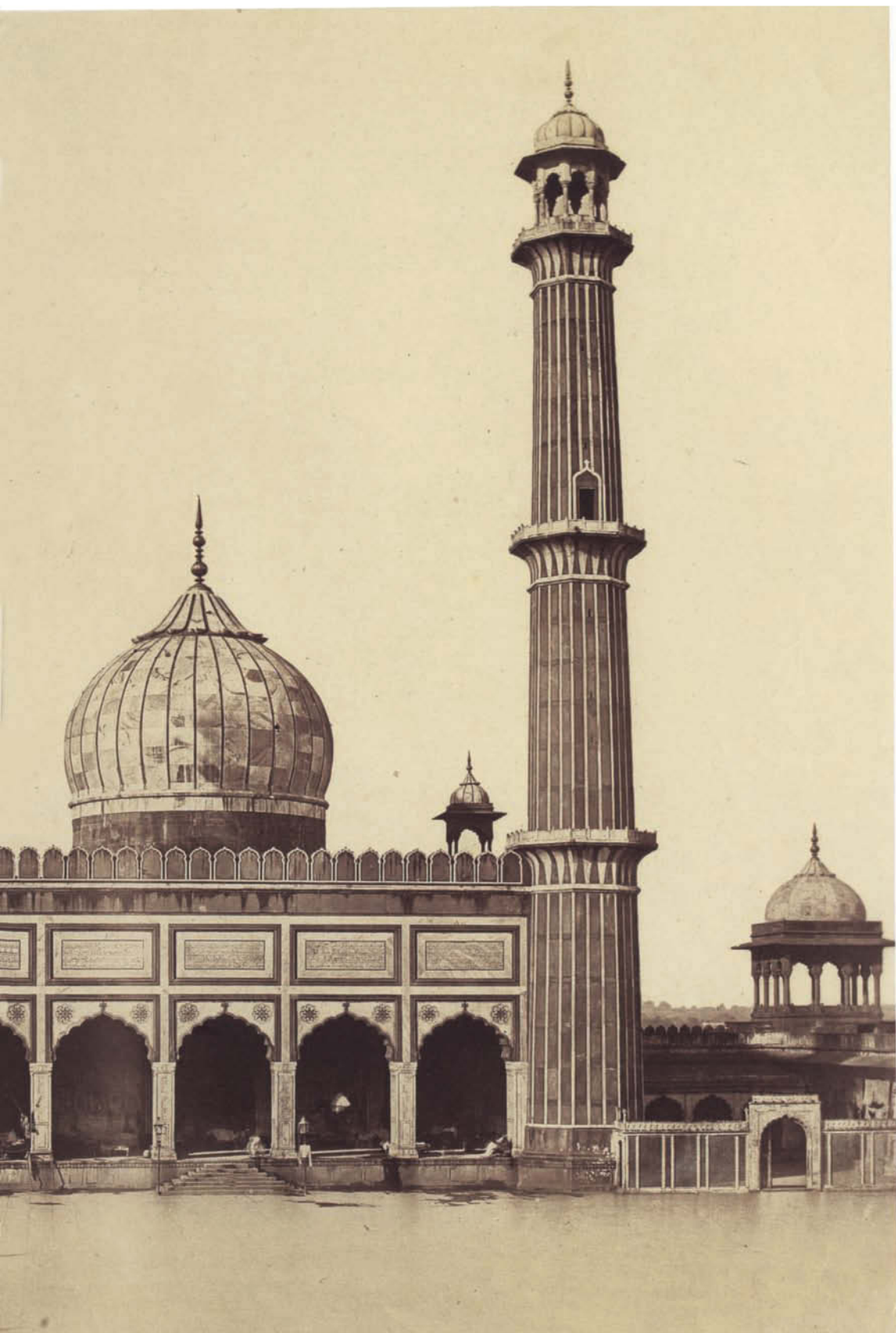


Plate 10.

Jumna [sic] *Musjid* [Delhi],

1858-1859. Two-part
panorama, albumen silver

prints, 31.1 × 51.8 cm

(12¼ × 20⅜ in.).

2007.26.204.20.

Plate 11.

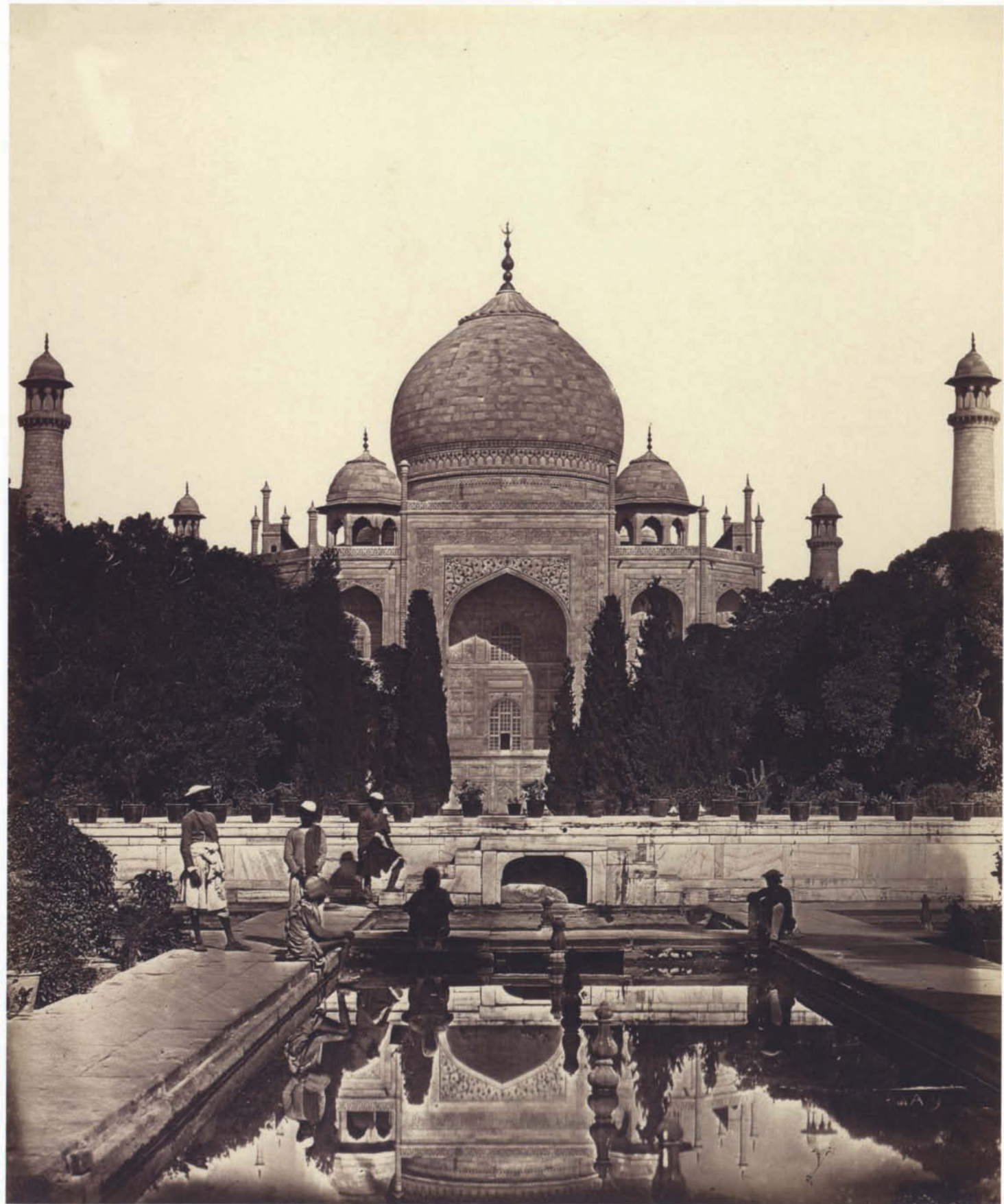
The Taj with the Fountains

[Agra], negative 1859,

print 1862. Albumen silver

print, 30.5 × 25.5 cm

(12 × 10¹/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.421.64.



Marble Palace in the Fort, Agra, 1859. Albumen silver print, 25.2 × 29.9 cm (9¹⁵/₁₆ × 11³/₄ in.). 2007.26.208.33.



Plate 13.

[The Golden Temple at Amritsar], 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 22.3 × 29.1 cm (8¾ × 11⅞ in.). 2007.26.209.9.





Plate 14.

Interior. The Sikh Temple
Marble Mosaic, 1859,
print 1862. Albumen
silver print, 30.8 × 26.7 cm
(12 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). 84.XM.475.7.

Plate 15.

*Aloowala Kutra, Street in
Muritsur [Amritsar],
negative 1858–1859,
print 1862. Albumen
silver print, 28.4 × 25.5 cm
(11³/₁₆ × 10¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.119.*

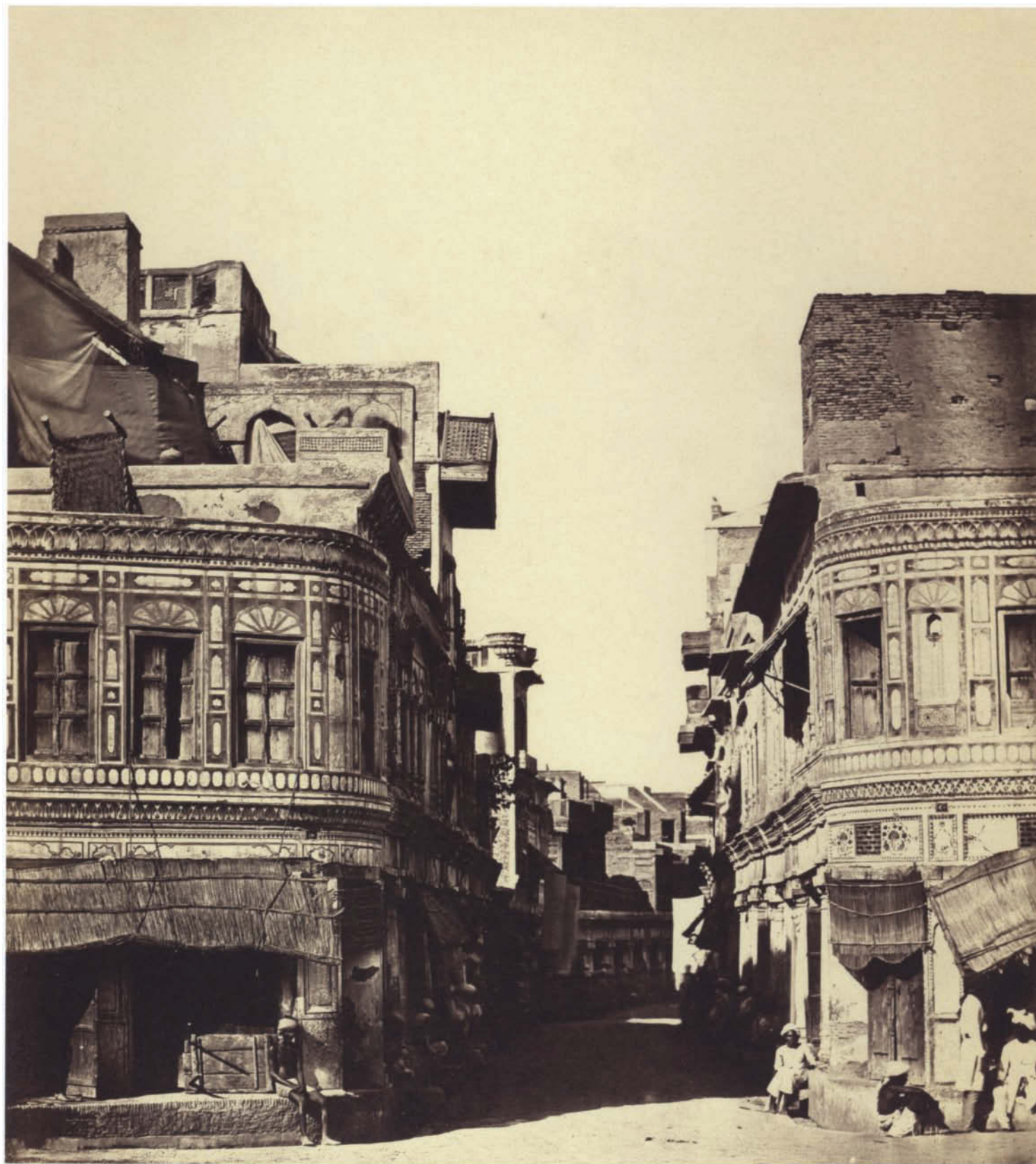
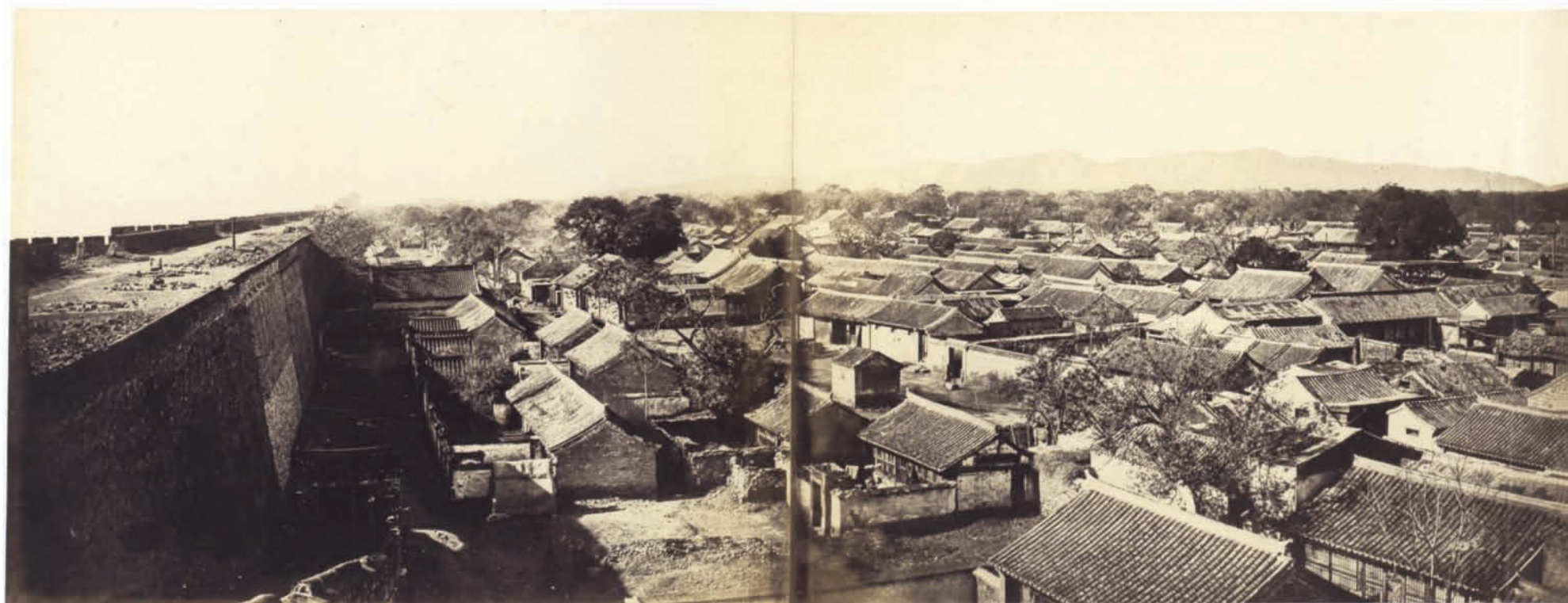




Plate 16.

Sacred Well [Benares],
negative 1859, print 1862.

Albumen silver print,
30.7 × 25.5 cm (12¹/₁₆ ×
10¹/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.421.57.



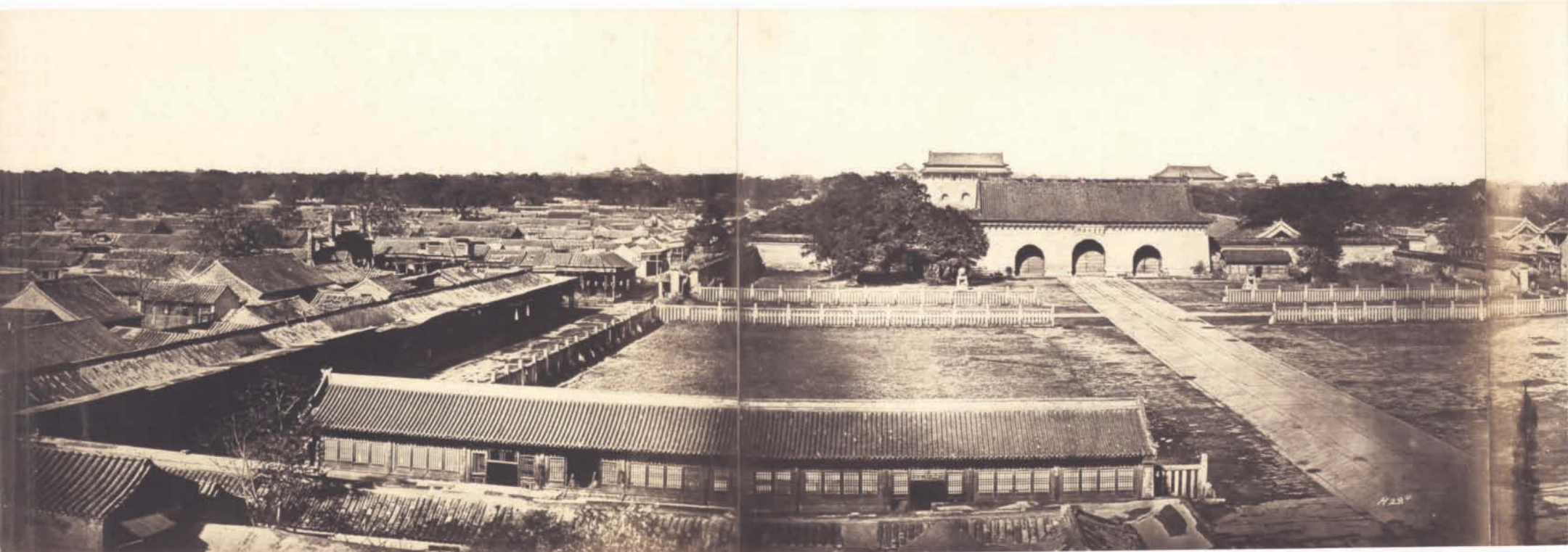




Plate 17.

Panorama of Lucknow, Taken from the Great Emaumbara, 1858, negative 1858, print 1862. Six-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 25.2 × 178.6 cm (9¹⁵/₁₆ × 70⁵/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.421.2.1.

Plate 18.

Panorama of Peking, Taken from the South Gate, Leading into the Chinese City, October, 1860, negative October 1860, print 1862. Six-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 22.3 × 175.4 cm (8³/₄ × 69¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.198.31.

Plate 19.

View of the Imperial Summer Palace, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, after the Burning, Taken from the Lake, Peking, October 18th, 1860, negative October 18, 1860, print 1862.

Albumen silver print, 23.2 × 29.8 cm (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). 2007.26.198.50.



The Great Imperial Porcelain Palace, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, Pekin, October 18, 1860, negative October 18, 1860, print 1862.

Albumen silver print, 25.4 × 30.5 cm (10 × 12 in.). 2007.26.198.48.



Plate 21.

Mahomedan Temple near Canton, April, 1860, negative April 1860, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 24.5 × 30.5 cm (9⁵/₈ × 12 in.). 2007.26.198.81.





Plate 22.
*Nine-storied Pagoda and
Tartar Street, Canton,
April, 1860, negative
April 1860, print 1862.
Albumen silver print,
30.5 × 25.4 cm (12 × 10 in.).
2007.26.198.65.*

Plate 23.

East Street from the Treasury, Canton, April, 1860, negative April 1860, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 25.5 × 30.5 cm (10¹/₁₆ × 12 in.). 2007.26.198.71.





Plate 25.

Temple of the Tartar Quarter, Canton, April, 1860, negative April 1860, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 25.4 × 30 cm (10 × 11¹³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.198.61.



Interior of the Tomb at the Dépôt near Pekin, October, 1860, October 3–5, 1860. Albumen silver print, 25.5 × 29.9 cm (10¹/₁₆ × 11³/₄ in.). 84.XA.886.5.22.



Plate 27.

Interior and Arches of the Temple of Heaven, Where the Emperor Sacrifices Once a Year in the Chinese City, Pekin, October, 1860, negative October 1860, print 1862.

Albumen silver print, 25.5 × 30.6 cm (10¹/₁₆ × 12¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.198.40.



Temple of Heaven, from the Place Where the Priests Are Burnt, in the Chinese City of Peking, October, 1860, negative after October 24, 1860, print 1862.

Albumen print, 24.7 × 29.7 cm (9¾ × 11⅞ in.). 2007.26.198.42.



Plate 29.

Mosque, near Pekin,
Occupied by the Commander-
in-Chief and Lord Elgin,
October, 1860, negative
October 3-5, 1860, print 1862.
Albumen silver print,
29.7 × 24.4 cm (11¹/₁₆ ×
9⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.198.44.

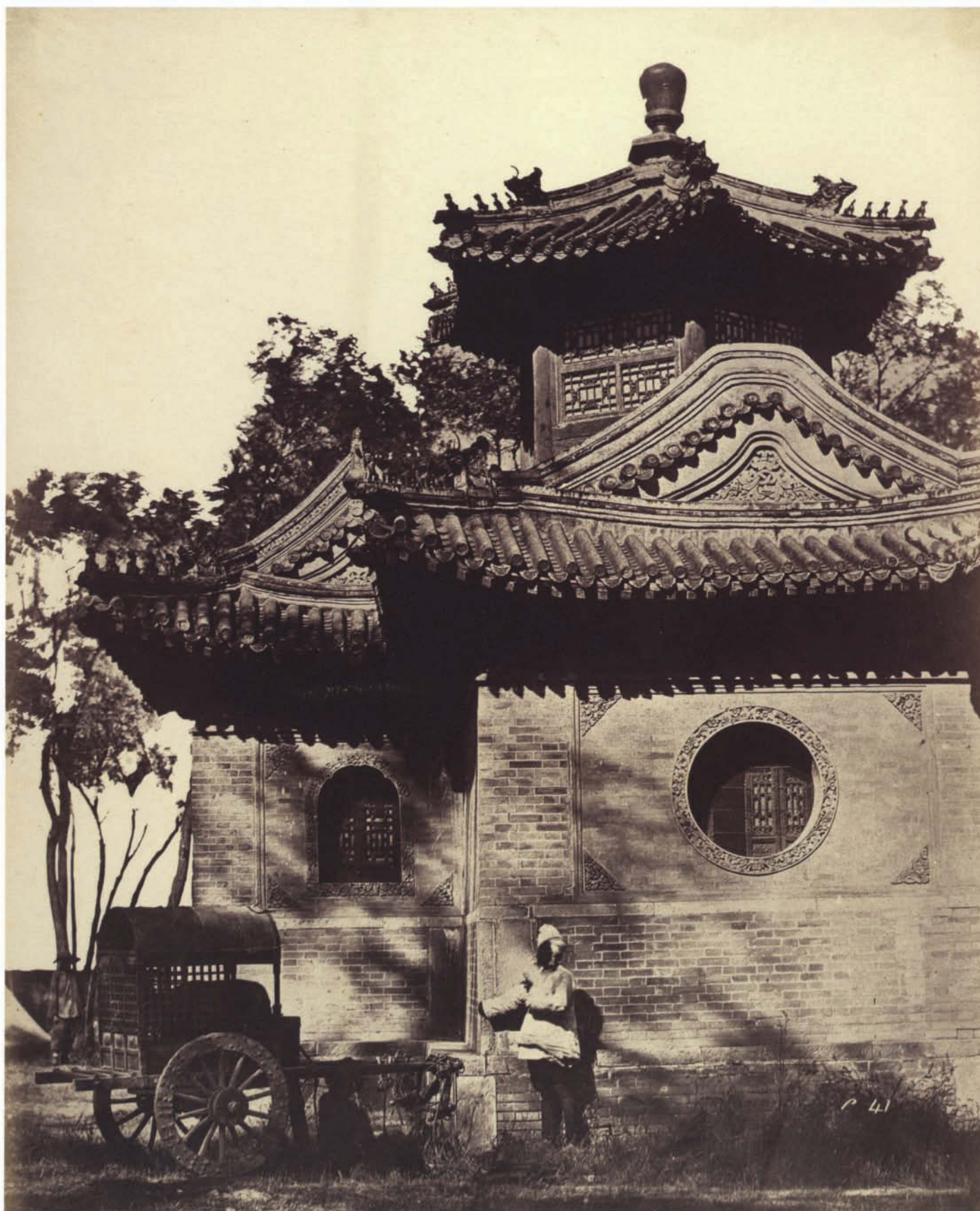




Plate 30.

Treasury Street, Canton,
April, 1860, negative April
1860, print 1862. Albumen
silver print, 30.5 × 25 cm (12 ×
9¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.198.69.

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Confucius, Canton, April, 1860, negative April 1860, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 25.4 × 31 cm (10 × 12³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.206.90.



Plate 32.

Panorama, Yokohama from Governors Hill, 1863. Three-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 22.7 × 86.4 cm (8¹⁵/₁₆ × 34 in.). 2007.26.207.12.

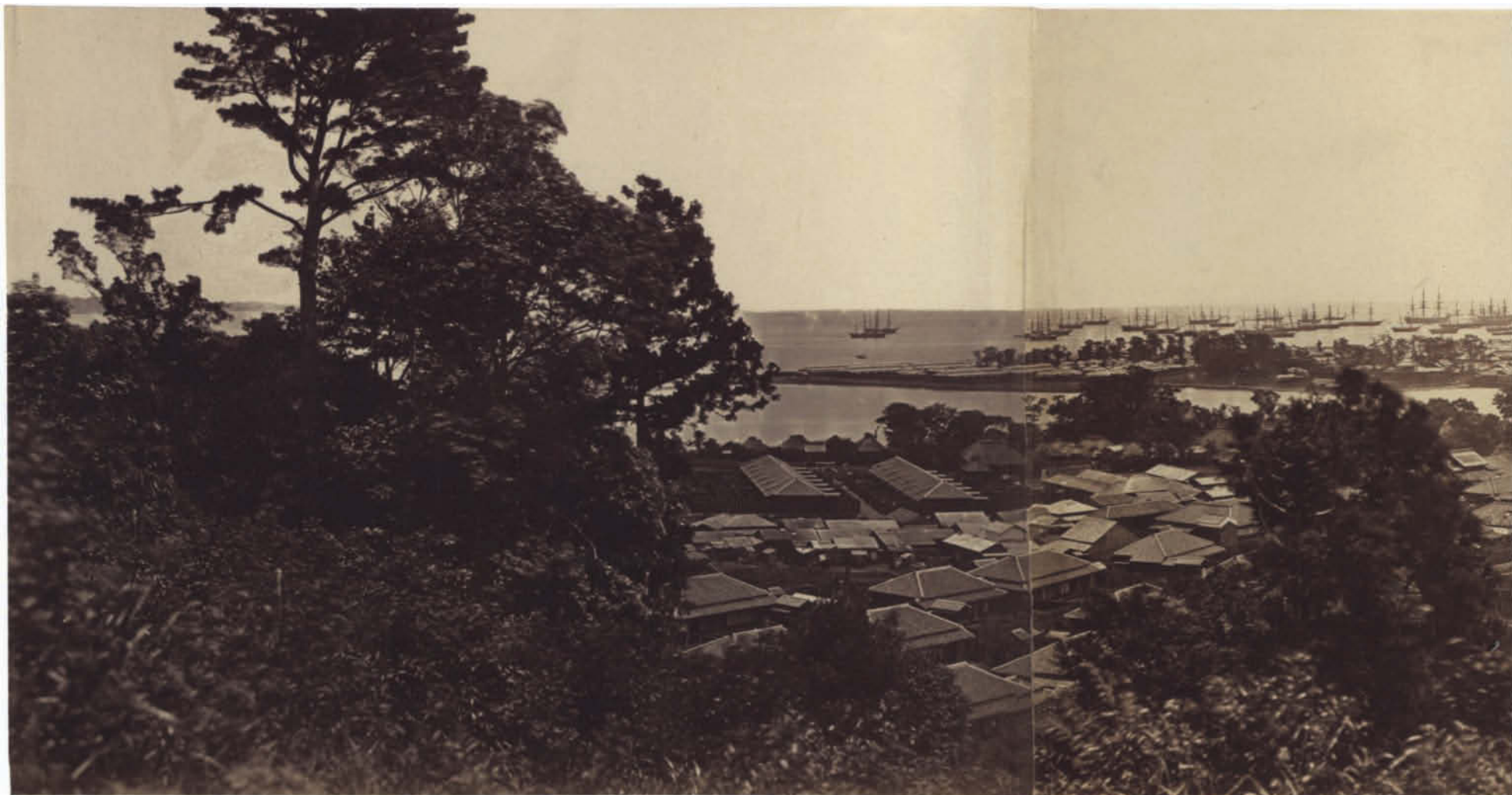




Plate 33.

[View in the Hakone Pass],
1863–1868. Albumen silver
print, 28.3 × 23.6 cm (11¹/₈ ×
9⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.145.





Plate 35.

Temple Street, Native Town, Nagasaki, 1863. Albumen silver print, 22.6 × 28.1 cm (8⅞ × 11⅛ in.). 2007.26.51.





Plate 37.

[Entrance of the Temple of Kami Hamayou at Simonoseki], 1863. Albumen silver print, 20.3 × 28.4 cm (8 × 11³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.86.





Plate 39.

Atsunghi, 1863–1868. Albumen silver print, 22.9 × 29.1 cm (9 × 11⁷/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.191.



The Bridge at the Entrance to the Town of Omea, 1863–1868. Albumen silver print, 21 × 29.4 cm (8¼ × 11⅞ in.). 2007.26.15.



Plate 41.

Moats at the Tycoon's Palace at Yedo, 1863–1877. Albumen silver print, 16.8 × 27.7 cm (6⁵/₈ × 10⁷/₈ in.). 2007.26.42.



[Tycoon's Summer Palace, Yedo], 1863–1877. Albumen silver print, 18.6 × 28.4 cm (7⁵/₁₆ × 11³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.37.



Plate 43.

Cemetery of the Temple of Shun-To-Koji, or "Spring Virtue" Temple, Nagasaki, 1863. Albumen silver print, 23 × 28.9 cm (9¹/₁₆ × 11³/₈ in.). 2007.26.52.





Plate 45.

[Shrine Dedicated to
Hachiman in Kamakura],
1863. Two-part panorama,
albumen silver prints,
29 × 48.2 cm (11⁷/₁₆ × 19 in.).
2007.26.144.





Plate 46.

Kamakura—*Temple of Hatchiman*, 1863. Albumen silver print, 21.1 × 28.5 cm (8⁵/₁₆ × 11¹/₄ in.). 2007.26.60.



Great Bell at the Temple of Kobo-Daishi, near Kawasaki, 1863. Albumen silver print, 23 × 22.2 cm (9 1/16 × 8 3/4 in.). 2007.26.41.



Plate 48.

The Lake of Hakoni, 1865–1868. Albumen silver print, 21.6 × 28.8 cm (8½ × 11⅝ in.). 2007.26.17.



View of Yokohama from French Hill, 1863–1868. Albumen silver print, 21.7 × 27.5 cm (8⁵/₁₆ × 10¹³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.77.



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Plate 51.

[Samurai with Long Bow],
1863. Albumen silver print,
27.3 × 21.8 cm (10¾ × 8⅞ in.).
2007.26.154.





Plate 52.
[Samurai with Raised Sword],
1863. Albumen silver print,
26.1 × 22.2 cm (10¼ × 8¾ in.).
2007.26.155.

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Plate 53.

Our Chief Artist, 1868.

Albumen silver, handcolored
print, 22 × 17 cm (8¹¹/₁₆ ×
6¹¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.182.

Plate 54.

Kango [sic] Bearers, about 1868. Albumen silver, handcolored print, 19.5 × 25.5 cm (7¹¹/₁₆ × 10¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.201.5.





Plate 55.

Saki Seller, 1868. Albumen
silver, handcolored print,
27.8 × 21.6 cm (10¹⁵/₁₆ × 8¹/₂ in.).

84.XO.613.95.

Plate 56.

[Preparation of the Rice], about 1868. Albumen silver, handcolored print, 19.3 × 25.3 cm (7⁵/₈ × 9¹⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.160.





Plate 58.

Dancing Girl, 1868. Albumen
silver, handcolored print,
22.6 × 17 cm (8⁷/₈ × 6¹/₁₆ in.).
2007.26.169.





Plate 59.

Allies, 1868. Albumen silver,
handcolored print,
25 × 18.5 cm (9¹³/₁₆ × 7⁵/₁₆ in.).

2007.26.188.

Plate 60.

"Shariki," or *Cart-Pushing Coolies*, 1868. Albumen silver, handcolored print, 23.8 × 28.7 cm (9³/₈ × 11⁵/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.613.24.

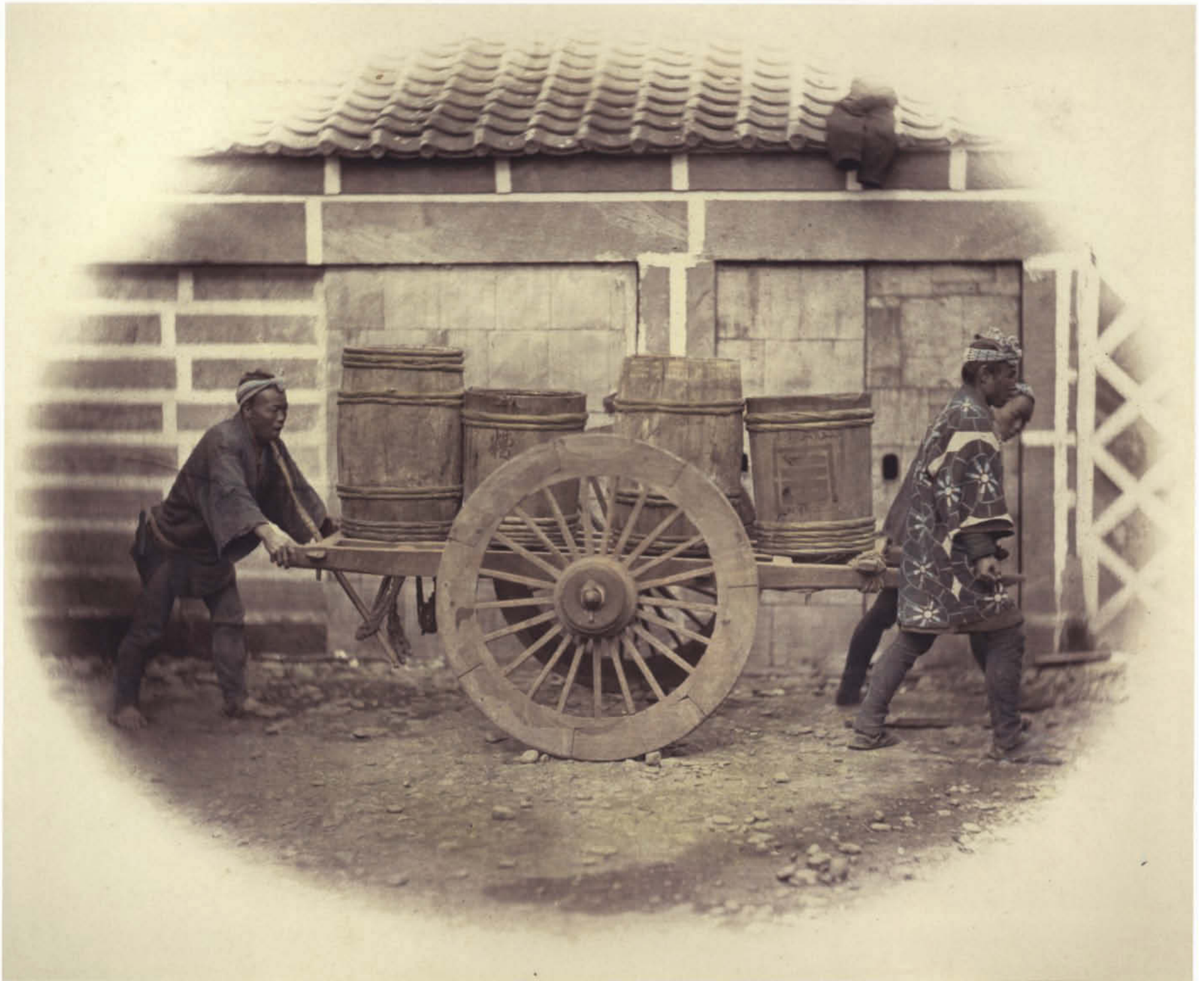




Plate 61.

Bettoes, or Grooms, 1868.
Albumen silver, handcolored
print, 23 × 16.5 cm (9¼ ×
6½ in.). 2007.26.201.11.

Plate 62.

Street Musicians, 1868.

Albumen silver, handcolored
print, 22 × 18.5 cm (8¹¹/₁₆ ×
7⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.175.



Representatives of Nio, the Japanese Hercules, 1868. Albumen silver, handcolored print, 17 × 27.7 cm (6¹¹/₁₆ × 10⁷/₈ in.). 2007.26.172.



Plate 64.

Woman in Winter Dress,
about 1868. Albumen silver,
handcolored print,
22.5 × 18 cm (8⁷/₈ × 7¹/₁₆ in.).
2007.26.201.8.





Plate 65.

[Firemen in Traditional
Costume], about 1868.

Albumen silver, handcolored
print, 24.3 × 23.8 cm (9⁹/₁₆ ×
9³/₈ in.). 2007.26.151.

Plate 66.

Barbers, 1868. Albumen
silver, handcolored print,
25.6 × 22.5 cm (10¹/₁₆ ×
8⁷/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.613.15.





Plate 68.

East Wall of the City with Moat and Bridge, Mandalay, 1887–1895. Albumen silver print, 20.2 × 27 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ × 10⁵/₈ in.). 2007.26.202.17.



Kyoung at Mandalay—Master Mess-house, 1887–1897. Albumen silver print, 20.5 × 27.1 cm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 10 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.). 2007.26.203.16.



Plate 70.

Hospital Shwebo with Different Descriptions of Ambulances, 1887–1897. Albumen silver print, 19.8 × 27.1 cm (7¹³/₁₆ × 10¹¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.203.11.



A View from the River [Irrawaddy River, near Ava], 1887–1897. Albumen silver print, 20.7 × 26.3 cm (8⅛ × 10⅜ in.). 2007.26.203.32.



Plate 72.

Shan Woman, 1894–1897.

Albumen silver print,

24.4 × 14.8 cm (9⁵/₈ ×

5¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.203.36.





Plate 73.

*Burmese Gentlemen and
Servants, 1894–1897.*

Albumen silver print,
24.2 × 19.7 cm (9½ × 7¾ in.).
2007.26.203.34.

Plate 74.

Kachin Women, 1887–1893.

Albumen silver print,
25.7 × 18 cm (10¹/₈ × 7¹/₁₆ in.).

2007.26.203.49.





Plate 75.
Group of Kachins, 1887–1893.
Albumen silver print,
26.3 × 20.1 cm (10³/₈ ×
7¹⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.203.44.

Plate 76.

General View of Mandalay from Mandalay Hill Showing the 450 Pagodas and the Incomparable Pagoda, 1887–1895. Albumen silver print, 19.7 × 26.7 cm (7¾ × 10½ in.). 2007.26.202.14.



Gateway and Central Pagoda of the 450 Tables of the Law, 1887–1896. Albumen silver print, 20.1 × 27.4 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ × 10¹³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.203.9.



Plate 78.

Returning to Their Monastery of Burmese Priests after Begging Their Daily Food, 1887–1895. Albumen silver print. 20.2 × 26.2 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ × 10⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.202.7.





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The 49 Gautamas in the Sagaing Temple, 1887–1895. Albumen silver print, 19.1 × 24.4 cm (7½ × 9⅝ in.). 2007.26.202.11.





Figure 1. *General Wheeler's Entrenchment at Cawnpore, 1858*. Albumen silver print, 36.5 × 37.5 cm (14³/₈ × 14³/₄ in.). 2007.26.208.29.

FELICE BEATO AND THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF WAR

FRED RITCHIN

These admirable views give us, in fact, the pictorial romance of this terrible war. They are necessary, as our contemporaries say, to an understanding of the war now, and will be indispensable to its future historians.

Journal of the Photographic Society of London, 1859,
commenting on Felice Beato's photographs from Lucknow, India

Ever since cameras were invented in 1839, photography has kept company with death.

Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*

For those at a distance war has always been, and perhaps always will be, fascinating. Since the nineteenth century war has had as its witness and accomplice the camera, which manifests horror while providing selected perspectives and rationales for international audiences. The erosion of landscapes, the collapse of cities, the stillness of corpses—a conflict's highlights have long been recorded both as a historical necessity and as part of a second war, a war of images, projecting a sense of power and ideological convictions much beyond the perimeters of the battlefield. Given its reputation for fidelity, the photograph has been an effective, sometimes sly purveyor of an assortment of truths and falsehoods.

The viewer, simultaneously shocked at and reassured by the faraway violence, is aware of photography's temporal discretion: whatever is depicted, at least for that specific incident, belongs to the past. Of course, any reflective viewer must also grapple with the photograph's partial vision, knowing that whatever has been revealed is insufficient and also informed by biases. War, for all its frenzied moments, its searing epiphanies, chugs along like other human endeavors, an apparent requirement for civilized souls; each photographic moment that is said to "stop time" should properly be followed by an ellipsis, not an exclamation point. The agonies, if not the imagery, endure.

For a mid-nineteenth-century photographer like Felice Beato the moment was a longer one than that for his successors. Lengthy exposures were required to register an image, not the fractional seconds of today, which meant that his subjects needed to be nearly stationary, rendering the heat of the battle off limits. Carrying

a bulky camera, tripod, and glass plates, transporting his own chemicals, the nineteenth-century photographer would also, while still in the field, have to see to the priming and processing of his glass plate negatives. Many used the wet-collodion process, which required development of the negatives within minutes, before they dried. In the theater of war these photographers were largely limited, one might say, to its prologue and epilogue; contemporary technologies required that the action-packed scenes would be left to the viewer's imagination (for example, fig. 1).

The rather short history of war photography is often seen as pivoting on the introduction of the portable 35mm camera and more light-sensitive films in the late 1920s and 1930s. A new era was broached in which, instead of having to wait for battle's end to set up the bulky large-format camera on a tripod, with chemicals at hand to coat and process, the photographer was able to mingle more freely with the soldiers and civilians as the shells exploded and bullets flew. Death and injury were within meters of the lens, freshly seen, vivid and resonant. The faraway viewer, potentially empathetic and sometimes pornographically voyeuristic, could simultaneously be revulsed by and revel in the action-packed imagery. It was as if the populace had been given a periscope, able to see above and beyond the everyday, looking at what only the military and besieged civilians previously had viscerally experienced.

The conventional wisdom concerning the nineteenth-century constraints was expressed by Susan Sontag in her last book, *Regarding the Pain of Others*:

Because an image produced with a camera is, literally, a trace of something brought before the lens, photographs were superior to any painting as a memento of the vanished past and the dear departed. . . . But once the camera was emancipated from the tripod, truly portable, and equipped with a range finder and a variety of lenses that permitted unprecedented feats of close observation from a distant vantage point, picture-taking acquired an immediacy and authority greater than any verbal account in conveying the horror of mass-produced death.¹

And while the camera's fidelity to the scene was important (referring to the photographer, the London *Times* of that period asserted, "Whatever he represents from the field must be real," a typical inflation of the camera's witnessing function), yet when compared with a painterly tradition that favored glorious battle scenes in lush colors, the photographs made by even the most intrepid photographers could seem somewhat listless. "The photographer who follows in the wake of modern armies must be content with conditions of repose and with the still life which remains when the fighting is over," the *Times* rather dismissively put it.² And,

unlike the heroic paintings that celebrated leadership, "the private soldier has just as good a likeness as the general," undoubtedly a source of consternation for those who saw the hierarchies of war differently. "In the first half of the century the popular view of war had resembled a painting compounded of Théodore Géricault's bravura and Ernest Meissonier's pageantry. The camera in the 1860s could not directly contradict this mental picture; it was not fast enough to stop cavalry charges or human combat," Vicki Goldberg wrote in her 1991 volume, *The Power of Photography*.³ Photographs were initially exhibited or sold individually or in groups. The press could only reproduce drawings, some made from photographs; halftone reproduction suitable for printing the actual photograph did not become dominant until the 1890s. Yet, despite the various constraints, as Goldberg points out, photographs still had an impact: "Few who were not soldiers knew what battle actually looked like, and photography could not yet teach them, but it could introduce them to war's aftermath."⁴

Nineteenth-century pioneers like Beato, who had to invent the first photographic language of war while navigating limited slices of time and space, have been mostly left to fade into the background of photographic history, their considerable accomplishments increasingly viewed as static and even banal, or as Goldberg put it, "relatively dull." But as the vocabulary of the action shot suffers from repetition and audiences face a surfeit of close-ups of various kinds of distress, the supremacy of the more visceral imagery created by more recent photographers is newly in doubt.

During a near-decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan, perhaps the only imagery that penetrated the faraway public's consciousness were the sadistic, party-like photographs made by soldiers at the Abu Ghraib prison. Whether a result of "compassion fatigue" on the part of the readers or a lack of imagination on the part of photographers and the publications that show their work, the world's conflicts grow increasingly murky and even more distant. The early photographers of the aftermath, less suffused with certain of the clichés to which photographers in recent years have succumbed, may have something to offer to the contemporary image culture that today's courageous frontline digital photographers, laptops and satellite phones at their side, have overlooked (for example, fig. 2).

Felice Beato began his apprenticeship as a photographer of conflicts in the first war ever to be photographed, the Crimean War. From June 1855 through June 1856 he assisted his brother-in-law, Scottish-born James Robertson, in the Crimea, and they photographed the fall of Sebastopol, producing some sixty images. From Robertson he would learn how to navigate the unstable conditions of war, create multipart panoramas, prime his negatives, and rephotograph finished prints in order to more efficiently make additional copies. In the Crimea he also met high-



Figure 2. *Pehlung Fort, August 1st, 1860, negative August 1, 1860; print 1862. Albumen silver print, 25.4 × 30.5 cm. (10 × 12 in.). 2007.26.198.7*

ranking British officers whose careers would bring them to India and China, the first of several conflicts that Beato would photograph on his own.

Covering war less than two decades after photography's invention, Beato had to come up with ways to articulate what he was experiencing that did not offend the occupying powers whom he accompanied. He worked at the inception of what would become photojournalism but before the press could reproduce his photographs, covering military campaigns as they progressed. Beato's 1860 photographs of the Second Opium War in China, a brutal, colonialist campaign by Western powers to impose their economic muscle on China (Beato had been informally appointed photographer to the expedition), would be the first series of photographs to document a military campaign as it unfolded, including a narrative sequence of related images. (Beato's images constitute the sole visual document informing our

historical perspective on these battles.) His gruesome photographs of the British capture of the Taku Forts, for example, show the exterior of the forts, their fortifications, and the ways in which the foreign soldiers approached it, including the scaling ladders, then the armaments and devastation inside as numerous Chinese soldiers lay dead on the ground, some with arms splayed (fig. 3). The latter scenes of abject, unredeemed victimization, bleached by light, are reminiscent of Goya's *Disasters of War*.

Beato had first to photograph the dead before their bodies were removed, and he re-created the sequence of events afterward—a sequence that was emulated in nineteenth-century albums. "I walked round the ramparts on the West side. They were thickly strewn with dead—in the North-West angle thirteen were lying in one group round a gun," the military surgeon Dr. David Field Rennie wrote. "Signor



Figure 3. *Interior of the Angle of North Fort Immediately after Its Capture, August 21st, 1860, August 21, 1860.* Albumen silver print, 22.3 × 30 cm (8¾ × 11⅓ in.). 2007.26.112.

Beato was there in great excitement, characterizing the group as ‘beautiful’ and begging that it might not be interfered with until perpetuated by his photographic apparatus, which was done a few minutes afterward.” Rennie’s next sentence recalls the individualized and perhaps humanizing obscenity of war that escaped the frame: “Not far from this group, a tall and very dignified-looking man of between fifty and sixty, stated to be the general who had conducted the defence, was lying dead, his lower jaw shattered by a rifle bullet.”⁵ In more of a populist vein, George Allgood, another eyewitness, enthused in a letter, “Beato, the famous photographer, has got several views of the fort with heaps of dead!”⁶

Like those who would follow him into the profession of photographic witness, Beato evidently understood the power, visceral and commercial, of imagery

evoking the grotesqueries of war. His several photographs from different angles of the dead Chinese are unusual from him in their quantity and sense of morbid fascination. The destruction business, to borrow Don McCullin’s sardonic title for one of his own books on the much more recent Vietnam War, had commenced in earnest, an amalgam of bullets and glass plates.

Beato was also the first war photographer to cover several major conflicts, in addition to the Crimean War, the Sepoy Rebellion (or Indian Mutiny) in 1857–58, the Second Opium War in China in 1860, the American expedition in Korea in 1871, and the Sudanese colonial wars in 1885 (no photographs are thought to survive from the latter). He may also have been the first war photographer to photograph corpses—but only of the enemy—and, like others, was thought to have rearranged



Figure 4 (and Plate 88). *Interior of the Secundra Bagh and after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Regt. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857, 1858.* Albumen silver print, 26.2 × 29.9 cm (10⁵/₁₆ × 11³/₄ in.). 2007.26.208.7.

some of what he saw for dramatic effect, including disinterring the bones of hundreds of Indian troops who had been massacred at the Sikandarbagh Palace in Lucknow (fig. 4).

Given the constraints on Beato and his contemporaries, it is not surprising that there were times when scenes were rearranged. “A picture of a desolate site where a great deal of dying had taken place, Beato’s image of the devastated Sikandarbagh Palace involved a more thorough arrangement of its subject, and was one of the first photographic depictions of the horrific in war,” wrote Sontag. “The attack had taken place in November 1857, after which the victorious British troops and loyal Indian units searched the palace room by room, bayoneting the eighteen hundred surviving Sepoy defenders who were now their prisoners and throwing

their bodies into the courtyard; vultures and dogs did the rest. For the photograph he took in March or April 1858, Beato constructed the ruin as an unburial ground, stationing some natives by two pillars in the rear and distributing human bones about the courtyard.”⁷

Similarly, Roger Fenton’s extraordinary 1855 photograph of the Crimean War, *The Valley of the Shadow of Death*, with its many cannonballs sprinkled over the road, has been shown to have been staged (fig. 5). Despite Fenton’s description—“In coming to a ravine called the valley of death, the sight passed all imagination: round shot and shell lay like a stream at the bottom of the hollow all the way down, you could not walk without treading upon them”—he seems to have had the cannonballs moved from the roadside until they covered the road itself. Two



Figure 5. Roger Fenton, *The Valley of the Shadow of Death*, April 23, 1855. Salted paper print, 27.6 × 34.9 cm (10⁷/₈ × 13³/₄ in.). 84.XM.504.23.

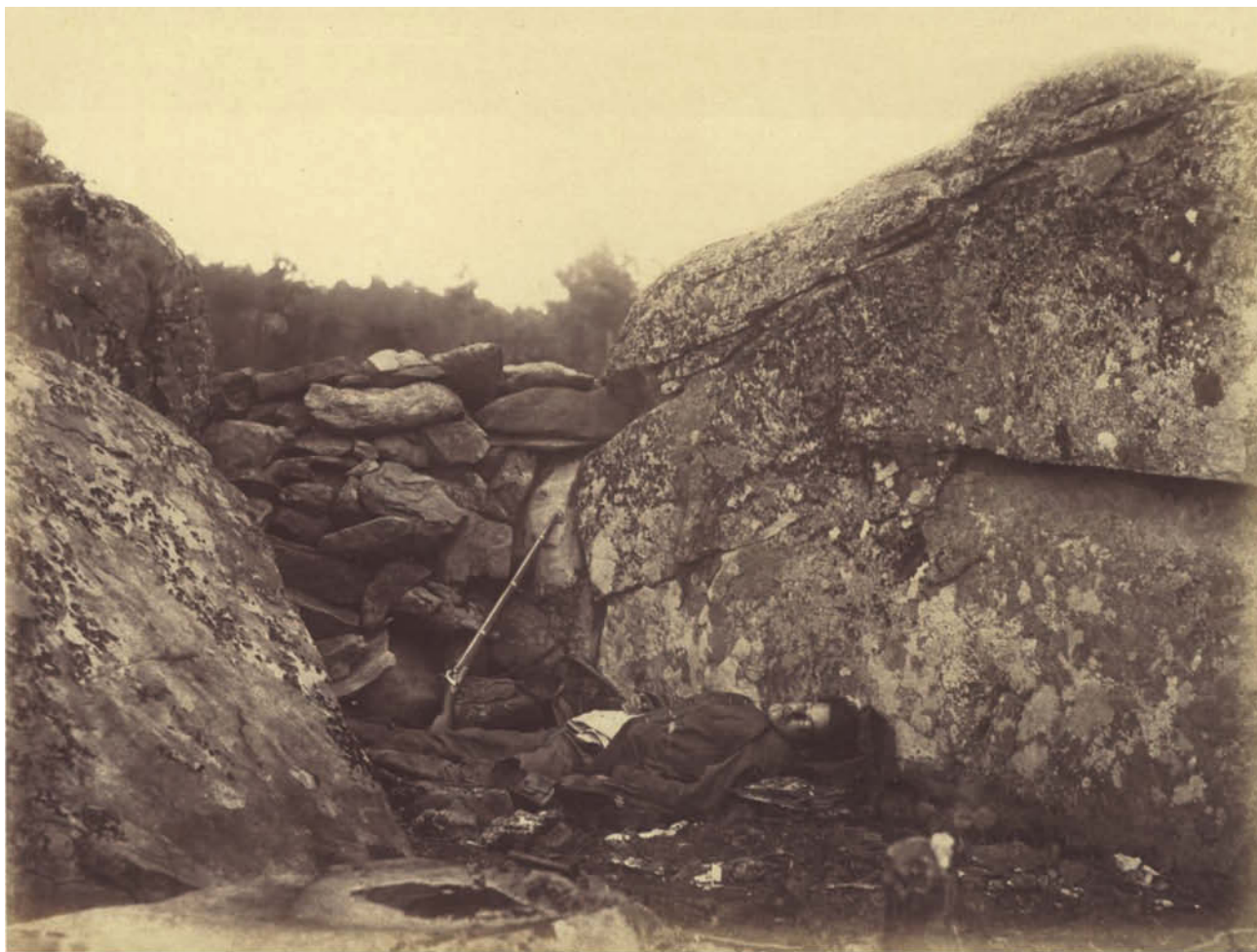


Figure 6. Alexander Gardner, *Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter, Gettysburg*, negative July 1863, print 1866. Albumen silver print, 17.6 × 23 cm (6¹⁵/₁₆ × 9¹/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.944.2.1.41.

photographs exist—one with the cannonballs on the road, the other without—and in a fascinating discussion by Errol Morris in the *New York Times*, using the insights of a variety of historians and technicians, Morris was able to show that the downward movement of certain rocks indicated that the one with the cannonballs on the road was made later, indicating that someone had placed them there.⁸ Similarly Alexander Gardner's 1863 photograph, *The Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter: Gettysburg*, is of a dead Confederate soldier who had been moved to a more photogenic site, a small enclosure, where an infantryman's rifle was placed next to him to help complete the image (fig. 6).

Here the problem is not one of photographic retouching or compositing, where elements are added after the fact, such as the many contemporary uses of Photoshop. Instead, it is a conscious decision by the photographer to try to increase the drama of the image much as a painter might have in his or her imagination, adding elements to a poignant background, working synthetically in what is generally thought of as an analytic medium. There were many historical re-creations in

painting that had become well known: Géricault's 1819 larger-than-life *Raft of the Medusa*, for example, used the style of historical paintings to depict a contemporary tragedy when nearly 150 people, lacking lifeboats, had been set adrift on a rickety raft. Nearly all would die in the twelve days before the group was rescued. Those who survived were said to have endured not only starvation and dehydration but also cannibalism and madness—an episode blamed on the ineptitude of the captain, who had been appointed because of his political relations.

Given the excitement surrounding the massacre of the Indians and the British view that it was an appropriate response to a previous massacre of surrendering British troops at Cawnpore, followed by the subsequent hacking to death of 120 British women and children whose remains were thrown down a nearby well, Beato may have felt the need to extol the courage of the British troops and their allies, and expose the devastation inflicted on the enemy, such as in his famous 1858 photograph, *The Interior of the Secundrabagh after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels by the 93rd Highlander and 4th Regiment Panjab, Lucknow*. In fact he arrived in

Lucknow several months after these dramatic events, and he was undoubtedly attempting to recover some of its excitement, expressed here by one of the combatants, Lieutenant Arthur Moffat Lange:

The effect was electrical, down we dropped the ropes and rushed along too... shouting "Revenge for Cawnpore" as we went... and then! Didn't we get revenge! The first good revenge I have seen... The air was alive with bullets, I never heard such distracting row... [A]t the house in the middle of the rear wall and in the semicircular court beyond, it was a glorious sight to see the mass of bodies, dead and wounded, when we did get in: they shut the many thin doors and thousands of bullets were poured into the masses. The Mass were set fire to, and you may fancy how the wounded cried out to be shot.

But this degree of rearrangement was certainly exceptional and perhaps even unique for Beato. It may also have been less effective: in Beaumont Newhall's classic, *The History of Photography*, he compares Beato's photographs made at the conclusion of the Opium Wars (the photographs from the Taku Forts discussed above) to this earlier work from India when he covered the aftermath of the siege of Lucknow and judges it to be "even more terrifying, for Beato shows corpses strewn about just hours after they fell in the bitter fighting."⁹

Many nineteenth-century viewers might have had a similar reaction to the nearness of the violence when confronted by Beato's riveting, mid-distance photograph of two turbaned Indian insurrectionists as they hung, ropes encircling their necks, arms fastened behind their backs, being observed by other turbaned soldiers (see fig. 10). Undoubtedly it was a confirmation of imperial power to some, a horrific lynching to others, after violence by the Sepoys (Indian troops) that was sparked in part by the fear that the British had coated their bullets with beef or pork lard, a violation for Hindus and Muslims alike. This 1858 image seems as modern, surreally disquieting, and ghastly as the twentieth-century photographs of lynchings in the United States, mostly of African Americans. Many of these images were later sold as picture postcards to onlookers, who could then boast to friends and relatives that they had been eyewitnesses to the event, many of them while eating an outdoor picnic lunch.

They also might have seen exhibitions of Beato's photographs, or travelers' albums containing a mix of landscapes, portraits, and devastation, including the pockmarked ruins of various cities that would otherwise have been alluringly exotic had they not been so recently destroyed by foreign troops. He often posed one or two people in front of the ruins, apparently placed there for scale, so as to create an interesting asymmetry in the image as well as a sense of the foreign. (The

placement of people in *The Interior of the Secundrabagh after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels* is especially macabre.) Or they might have been familiar with his pictures of defiant, angry, and estranged Koreans imprisoned on board an American ship, appearing as forbiddingly hostile as any captives depicted today. As well, viewers might have experienced his dust-filled Korean battle scenes, raw and less mediated than many of his previous images, feeling as if the photographer had abandoned a more formal presentation for a more intuitive one. *Interior of Fort McKee, 1871*, and *Interior of 2nd Fort Captured Marine Redoubt, 1871*, for example, are images that have some of the reflexive, raw, off-balance feeling of many twentieth-century photographers (fig. 7).

This imagery preceded by sixty-five years similar photographs made by Robert Capa in the Spanish Civil War, the first conflict where faster films and more portable cameras allowed the photographer to circulate among the troops in battle. While Beato's work evidently faded, Capa's imagery from the Spanish Civil War was celebrated (fig. 8). In an article titled "This Is War!" in England's *Picture Post*, the twenty-three-year-old Capa was labeled "The Greatest War-Photographer in the World" (Beato was only about a year older when he photographed the remnants of the massacre in Lucknow). Capa's photographs were presented as "the finest pictures of front-line action ever taken." The magazine's editors, writing at the end of modern photojournalism's first decade, were nearly swooning in their response to the images. "You can almost smell the powder in this picture," stated a caption next to a smoke-filled image of a man with a rifle crouched behind a former machine-gun nest. But that hardly compared to the breathless description of *In the Heart of the Battle: The Most Amazing War Picture Ever Taken*, which was the title written under a photograph of soldiers sitting casually under an overhanging rock. "This is not practice. This is war," the caption asserted, and continues with what can be seen as an early magazine's fascination with war as a spectator sport. "These men crouching beneath the ledge feel the shock of every shell-burst. They know that a better aim will bring their own piece of rock down on top of them. They know that in a minute's time they may be ordered forward over the shell-swept ground. They are not worrying. This is war, and they are used to it."¹⁰ Beato's dust-filled image, *Interior of 2nd Fort Captured Marine Redoubt, 1871*, for example, shares some of the same sense of battle's dangerous disarray as is found in Capa's *Picture Post* reportage.

Picture Post then felt it necessary to point out that Capa's photographs of a counterattack by government troops "are not presented as propaganda for, or against, either side. They are simply a record of modern war from the inside." This contextualization is a vast if typical oversimplification that conceals an essential dependence, as is the case with all other communications media, on the subjectivity, ability, background, and commitment of the photographer, as well as the



Figure 7. *Interior of 2nd Fort Captured Marine Redoubt* [sic], June 1871. Albumen silver print, 23.7 × 28.9 cm (9⁵/₁₆ × 11³/₈ in.). 2007.26.110.



Figure 8. Robert Capa, *Cerro Muriano, Spain / The Falling Soldier*, September 5, 1936. Gelatin silver print, 23 × 34 cm (9¹/₁₆ × 13³/₈ in.). 2006.73. © 2001 Cornell Capa / Magnum Photos

eventual treatment of the work in the publication that presented it. It was also somewhat disingenuous, as Capa made no secret of his empathy for the Republican troops, just as Beato's work is filtered by his affiliation with, and economic dependence on, the British troops. (Similar issues arise today in the case of photographers and other journalists being "embedded" with American or allied troops in Iraq and Afghanistan.)

Beato's war imagery seems, over time, to have been inspired less by painting and more by theater as he searched for ways to evoke war's intimacies through its aftermath. Unlike the early *Times* critique, Beato was not satisfied with "conditions of repose and with the still life that remains" but instead experimented with a variety of ways to evoke life (and death) in the scenes that he encountered. Theater is usually seen as a predecessor to cinema, but there are strong arguments for connect-

ing it to photography, in particular, the photography of war. "If Photography seems to me to be closer to the Theater," wrote the French critic Roland Barthes, "it is by way of a singular intermediary (and perhaps I am the only one who sees it): by way of Death."¹¹ Beato's picture of the dead strewn almost haphazardly across a field in the *Charge at the Dragoon's Guard at Talichian, 1860*, leftovers from both battle and life, or his fascination, evidenced by the multiple points of view he presents, with the Chinese dead at Taku Forts in what seems a quasi-religious posture, evokes theatrical references in the photographer's limning of their otherworldly postures (fig. 9).

"Yet it is not (it seems to me) by Painting that Photography touches art, but by Theater," Barthes also wrote in *Camera Lucida*, his landmark and much-quoted book.¹² Like that of many of his contemporaries, Beato's work, with its more distanced and formal perspective, can be seen as emanating from nineteenth-



Figure 9. *Charge at the Dragoon's Guard at Talichian*, September 21, 1860. Albumen silver print, 24.2 × 30.2 cm (9½ × 11⅞ in.). 2007.26.197.1.

century theater, another reason his photographs now feel less immanent to generations raised on the cinematic close-up. “We know,” wrote Barthes,

the original relation of the theater and the cult of the Dead: the first actors separated themselves from the community by playing the role of the Dead: to make oneself up was to make oneself a body simultaneously living and dead: the whitened bust of the totemic theater, the man with the painted face in the Chinese theater, the rice-paste make-up of the Indian Katha-Kali, the Japanese No mask. . . . Now it is this same relation which I find in the Photograph; however “lifelike” we strive to make it (and this frenzy to be lifelike can only be our mythic denial of an apprehension of death), Photography is a kind of

primitive theater, a kind of *Tableau Vivant*, a figuration of the motionless and made-up face beneath which we see the dead.¹³

Beato’s image titled *Two Sepoys of the 31st Native Infantry, Who Were Hanged at Lucknow* (fig. 10), makes visible this other reality that underlays the memorializing portraits he and so many others have made, such as *Officers of USS ‘Monocacy,’ 1871*—photographed so as to place them in a moment to which they will never return.

Later, the invention of the movies and the adoption of a cross-cut, fragmented use of imagery would help spur on a more intimate, ever more visceral photography. At its first publication in 1928 (the same year as the introduction of the more portable 35mm camera), the enormously influential French picture magazine *Vu* announced that, “animated like a fine film,” it would be dedicated to the



Figure 10. *Two Sepoys of the 31st Native Infantry, Who Were Hanged at Lucknow, 1857* [sic], negative 1858, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 23.8 × 30.1 cm (9³/₈ × 11⁷/₈ in.). 84.XO.421.3.

depiction of “the speeded-up rhythm of everyday life.” Not surprisingly, the history of war photography in the twentieth century is one of an increasing closeness to the battlefield, until the viewer can share in its misery and spectacle. Kick-started in the 1930s by the introduction of small cameras and more light-sensitive films, adopted in the Spanish Civil War by photographers such as Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson, David Seymour, Gerda Taro, and others, the visceral, proximate style reached its apogee in the Vietnam War (Don McCullin, Philip Jones Griffiths, Henri Huet, Larry Burrows, Catherine Leroy, etc.) (fig. 11). This style of photography had the ability to repeatedly rub the viewer’s sensibilities raw, to introduce the purported enemy as agonized victim, the American troops as traumatized, and their allies as sometimes irrationally violent. It was a strategy that in the 1960s and 1970s drastically shortened the distance between viewer and viewed. The enormous protests that followed their timely publication attested to their power.

This strategy of nearness, both physical and emotional, continued to be employed in conflicts in Nicaragua, Kosovo, and Congo, among many other places. But in a bewilderingly globalized world with enormous numbers of conflicts being fought for a multitude of reasons and with increasingly harrowing tactics, the empathetic approach lost much of its appeal to an overly sated public. It was

increasingly difficult to tell right from wrong, both for the photographers in the field and their viewership, and even more difficult to find ways to alleviate the various apocalypses. The photographs seem to lose their specificity.

The unfortunate “parachuting” of journalists into one conflict after another in pursuit of the most frenzied and spectacular, the widespread adoption of restrictions on the press by governments including the “embedding” of reporters, the targeting of journalists by combatants, the necessity to speak a diversity of languages—all this led to a diminution of the photographer’s ability to understand enough of what was going on to be empathetic rather than fall into the repetitive trap of producing formulaic imagery that simply mimicked previous attempts. It now may be the imagery produced by nonprofessionals with digital cameras or cell phones—as were the images of the tortured prisoners of Abu Ghraib or of Neda Solthan dying in Iran—that have the raw, less stylized look that commands whatever attention audiences can still muster.

Now once again photographers are experimenting with different kinds of distance, such as Nina Berman’s photographs of the grievously wounded American troops who have come home, or Sophie Ristelhueber’s aerial photographs and landscapes of the postinvasion scars on the land of Iraq, or Luc Delahaye’s

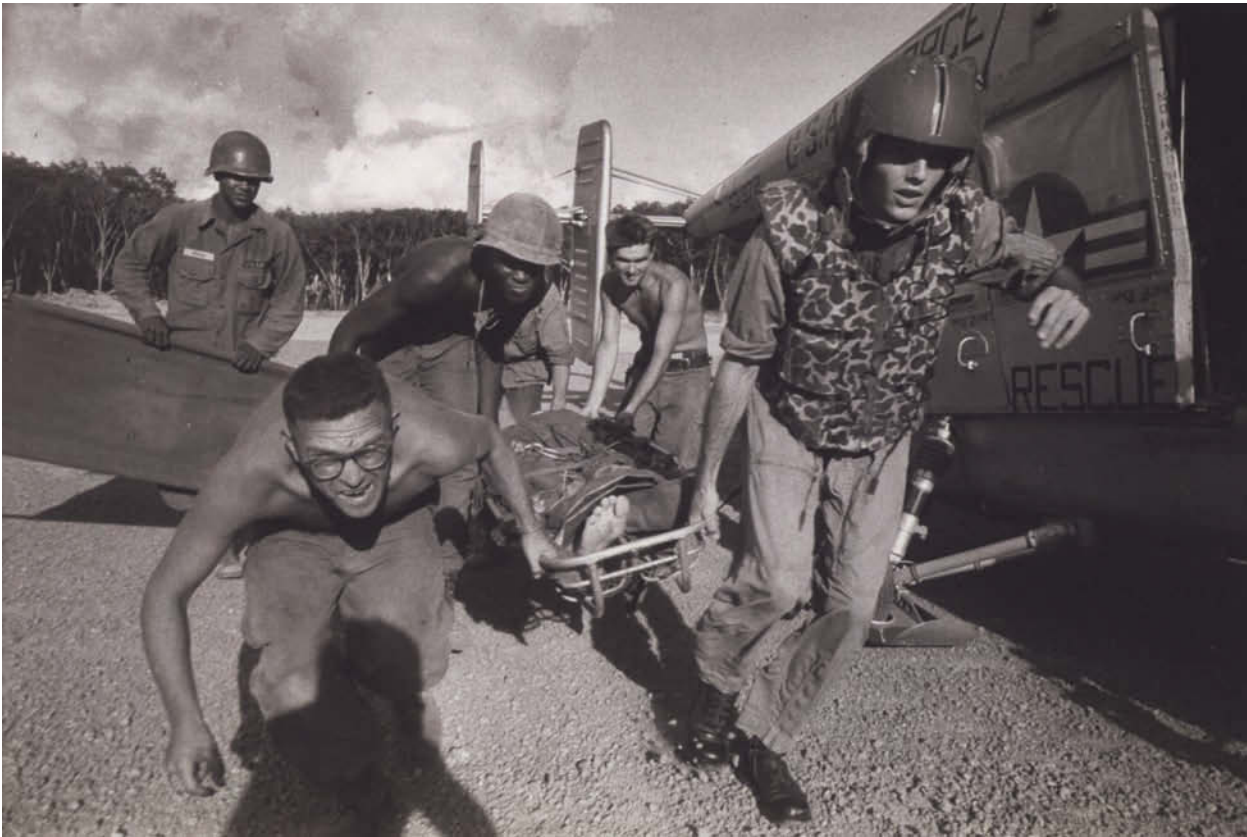


Figure 11. Larry Burrows, [Vietnam], July 12, 1966. Gelatin silver print, 34.3 × 24.1 cm (13½ × 9½ in.). 2005.47.6. © Larry Burrows Collection

“History” series, which attempts to reinstate some of the monumental in photography that was more common in the nineteenth century. The direct, empathetic photographs of agonized battle scenes have become a somewhat overused trope: Sontag famously suggested that only artist Jeff Wall’s staged, composited tableau, *Dead Troops Talk* (A Vision after an Ambush of a Red Army Patrol near Moqor, Afghanistan, Winter 1986), purported to be in Afghanistan but actually photographed in Vancouver with actors, provoked in her an antiwar sentiment that no other single photojournalistic image had matched.¹⁴ (Wall’s image is generally shown in museums and galleries.)

The struggle is in part to regain some of what Walter Benjamin famously referred to as the “aura” of the work of art, including a sense of uniqueness and, in fact, distance. In 1936, as the world was moving toward another world war, Benjamin attributed the diminution of aura to “the desire of contemporary masses to bring things ‘closer’ spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction.”¹⁵ In the same year that Robert Capa authored perhaps the most famous war photograph of all time, *The Falling Soldier*, a Spanish soldier purported to be shown at the very moment of his death, Benjamin argued,

Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction. Unmistakably, reproduction as offered by picture magazines and newsreels differs from the image seen by the unarmed eye. Uniqueness and permanence are as closely linked in the latter as are transitoriness and reproducibility in the former. To pry an object from its shell, to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose ‘sense of the universal equality of things’ has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction.¹⁶

Capa’s most famous statement about photographing war—“If your pictures aren’t good enough, you aren’t close enough”—referring both to a physical and an emotional distance—can now be seen in another light. Unfortunately, given, among other factors, the profusion of imagery from numerous war photographers attempting to bring the battles home, over time it may have been supplanted by Benjamin’s own phrase: “Mankind, which in Homer’s time was an object of contemplation for the Olympian gods, now is one for itself. Its self-alienation has reached such a degree that it can experience its own destruction as an aesthetic pleasure of the first order.”¹⁷

Beato's photography of war's aftermath, while necessitated by the limitations of his equipment, offers the possibility of another way of seeing and interpreting. In his work the grotesque can still be seen as exceptional, marked by specificity, held even more securely at arms' length by the passage of time, not having been enacted as the camera was recording. There is some relief when the photographer's "shooting" is not added to the unfolding din, and seeing is less frenetic and, at times, more forensic.

Even more important, photographs of the aftermath require the viewer to imagine what might have happened previously. How did those Chinese soldiers in the fort end up supine, with their arms spread out, as they died in the dust of the fort? What were their last thoughts? Did they fight to the last man, and why, or were they trying to surrender? Did they leave families behind? How did the British officers decide to hang the Indian soldiers? Did they hold a trial? Express any doubts? And what were the responses of the Indian men to their impending execution? The photograph tells, but far from everything, and in its reticence invites the reader to reflect and, rather than solely be repelled or captivated by the event, inquire as to what transpired for it to have come about.

Of course, Beato's re-creation of certain scenes to increase drama, while abetting his commercial aspirations, does not further reflection, nor does his tendency to side with the colonial troops to whom he would sell his prints help to argue for an understanding of those being victimized. But when he does let viewers share in the rawness of the scene, if only through his own amazement at what he had witnessed, Beato provides the possibility that its horror will eventually be understood as having been caused by specific events rather than an ongoing, deracinated spectacle. A view of history as an unfolding contest of conflicting, often impure motivations may trump, at least momentarily, the evolving tendency in image culture to exploit misery for its capacity to shock.

There is also another emerging, technology-aided tradition to favor the aftermath as a way to gain perspective—this time by the protagonists. Benjamin Busch, a Marine officer who recently served two tours of duty in Iraq, to whom I had shown one of Beato's photographs of the Chinese dead from the Taku Forts, responded with his own, overlapping story:

I remember taking one photograph in Ramadi, my only battle or aftermath photograph, though I could have taken many I suppose. It was to try to remember the conditions for what I felt, and later to see the conditions and remember the feeling. My friend had just been killed and his body bag lay beside his burning vehicle. We could not put it out and he was much smaller in the bag than he had been moments before. We hadn't been able to get his

dead gunner out from underneath the wreckage yet and the sun was going down, the shooting over. We had lost whatever it was we had been fighting, never knew it was waiting for us, not sure now what it was even about. I was waiting for a military tow truck to lift the ruin and free the body, and there was a long pause where we were left with nothing but dust, fire, and loss and I took a picture. So in the end, I guess I'm no different from Beato, except that I took a picture of the dead that I knew. Not because they were beautiful, though. In one more minute it would have been my vehicle, my death. I may have taken the image as a kind of exploration, premonition, and escape from my own demise. A proof of life in that I was not, myself, in the photograph. That is what I would have looked like. Small, charred, and left in a black bag with some of my uniform melted to me, my legs severed. I still haven't written to his wife. I show the image in my exhibit sometimes, although I have refused to sell it, with its victims nameless. It is context for all of my war images. So I don't know anything, really. Just that photographs can be observers too. They can sometimes watch us.¹⁸

Felice Beato, given the limitations of his equipment, was as actively inventive as many of his twentieth-century colleagues to follow, explaining and evoking the drama of war and its awful consequences, albeit with some of the prurience and pro-Western bias that is common to much of the tradition of war photography. But he, like other journalists, was an outsider, recording what he thought would be of use, would excite, would commemorate. Soldiers like Busch see things differently, and as the technology of the camera moves from horse-drawn carriages and bulky cameras to shirt-pocket cell phones, it is certain that there will be many more witnesses who, given a voice, will record scenes of battle, and for many divergent reasons.

From the perspective of 2010, I am left wondering about Beato's work made exactly 150 years ago in China. What would those Chinese soldiers have thought was going on, and how, given cameras, would they have expressed it in their photographs? And then the photography of one of the finest war photographers of all time would have been joined, and inevitably contradicted, by the work of the victims he had so jarringly if effectively depicted. And the "other," more than had been possible before, would have forcibly joined that other appellation we like to somewhat smugly reserve for "us."

PLATES 81-120

Plate 81.

Attributed to James Robertson and Felice Beato, *Entrance to Balaclava Harbour*, 1855–1856. Albumen silver print, 23.5 × 30.1 cm (9¼ × 11⅞ in.). 84.XA.886.5.9.



James Robertson, *L'Interieur de Redan. Batterie Russe* [Interior of the Redan. Russian Battery], after September 8, 1855. Salted paper print, 22.2 × 30.1 cm (8¾ × 11⅞ in.). 84.XM.475.2.



Plate 83.

Battery near the Begum Kotie. Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in March 1858 [Lucknow], negative 1858, print 1862. Albumen silver print, 23.7 × 30 cm (9⁵/₁₆ × 11¹/₁₆ in.). 84.XO.421.9.



Bailee Guard-gate, Taken from the Inside, Showing the Clock Tower [Lucknow], 1858. Albumen silver print, 26 × 30.5 cm (10¼ × 12 in.). 2007.26.208.19.



Plate 85.

Colonel Harness, C.B. and Colonel Yule, 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 17.1 × 14 cm (6¾ × 5½ in.). 84.XA.420.50.





Plate 87.

The Secundra Bagh, Showing the Breach and Gateway. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857 [Lucknow], 1858. Albumen silver print, 22.6 × 29.7 cm (8⁷/₈ × 11¹¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.208.6.



Interior of the Secundra Bagh after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Regt. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857 [Lucknow], 1858.

Albumen silver print, 26.2 × 29.9 cm (10⁵/₁₆ × 11³/₄ in.), 2007.26.208.7.



Plate 89.

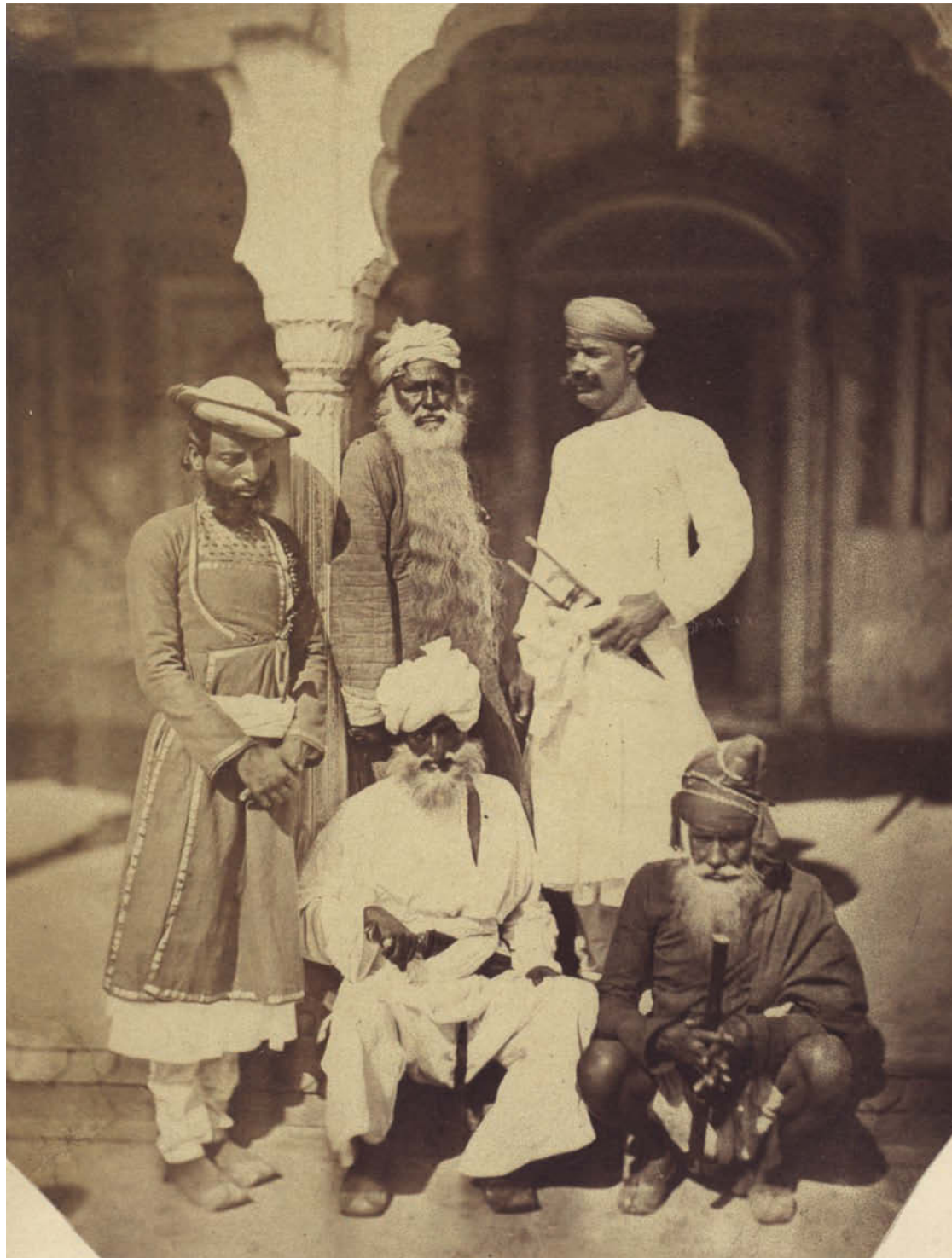
Moree Bastion [Delhi], 1858–1859. Two-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 24.5 × 59.8 cm (9⁵/₈ × 23⁹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.200.





Plate 90.

Native Servants, 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 19.2 × 14.7 cm (7⁹/₁₆ × 5¹³/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.128.

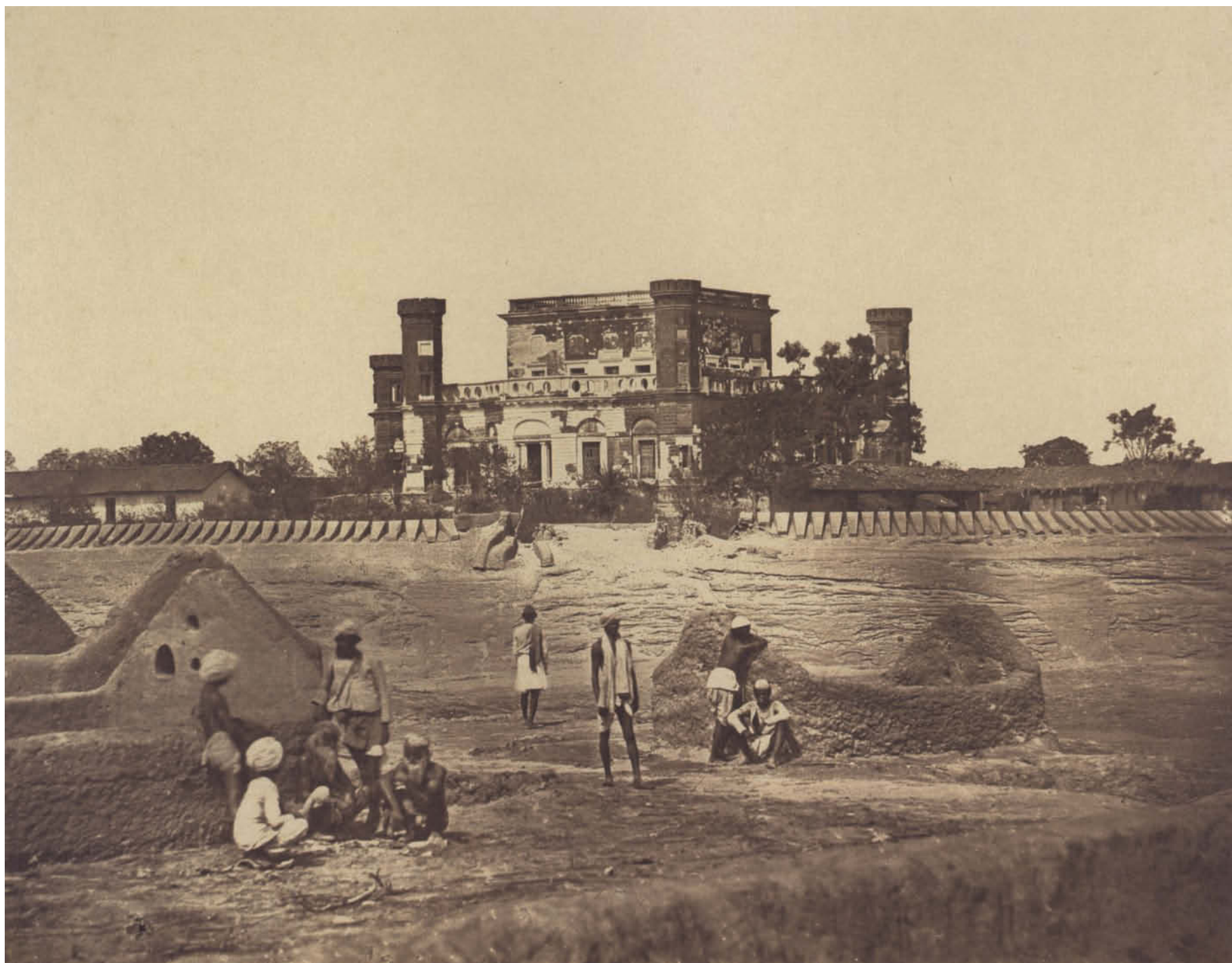


[Portrait of a Native Servant], 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 17.3 × 13.6 cm (6¹³/₁₆ × 5³/₈ in.). 2007.26.129.



Plate 92.

The Mess-house, Showing the Fortifications [Lucknow], 1858. Albumen silver print, 21.9 × 28.2 cm (8⁵/₈ × 11¹/₈ in.). 2007.26.208.9.



Left View of the Crow's Nest Battery [Delhi], 1858–1859. Albumen silver print, 26.2 × 30.5 cm (10⁹/₁₆ × 12 in.). 2007.26.204.30.

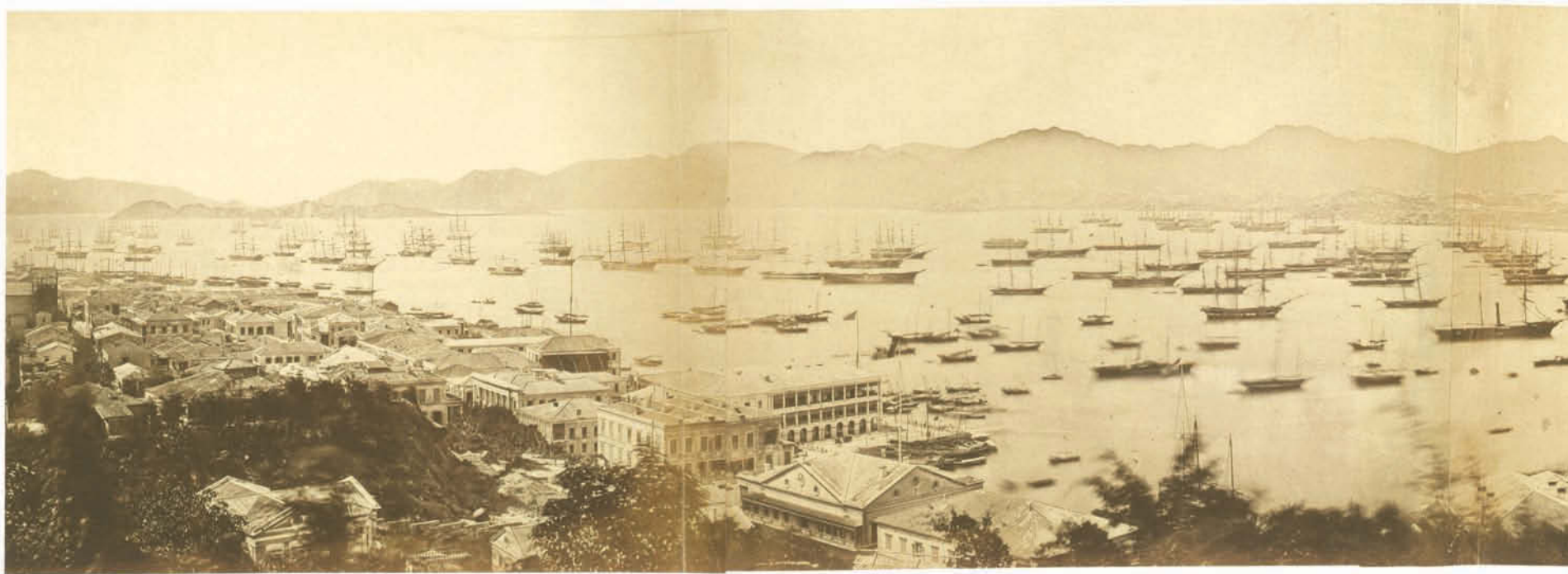


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The Martinière School. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1858 [sic]; Second Attack, 2nd March, 1858 [Lucknow], 1858.

Albumen silver print, 25.5 × 30.1 cm (10¹/₁₆ × 11⁷/₈ in.). 2007.26.205.23.





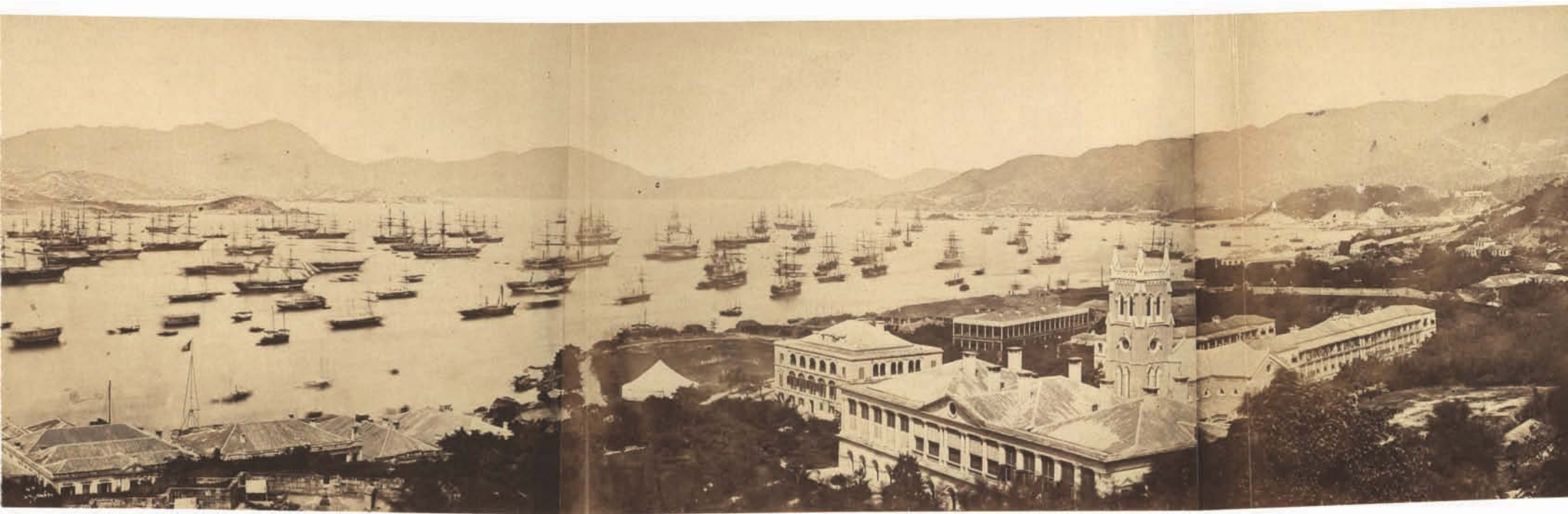




Plate 95.

Panorama of Hong Kong, Showing the Fleet for North China Expedition, 1st March, 1860, negative March 18–27, 1860, print 1862.

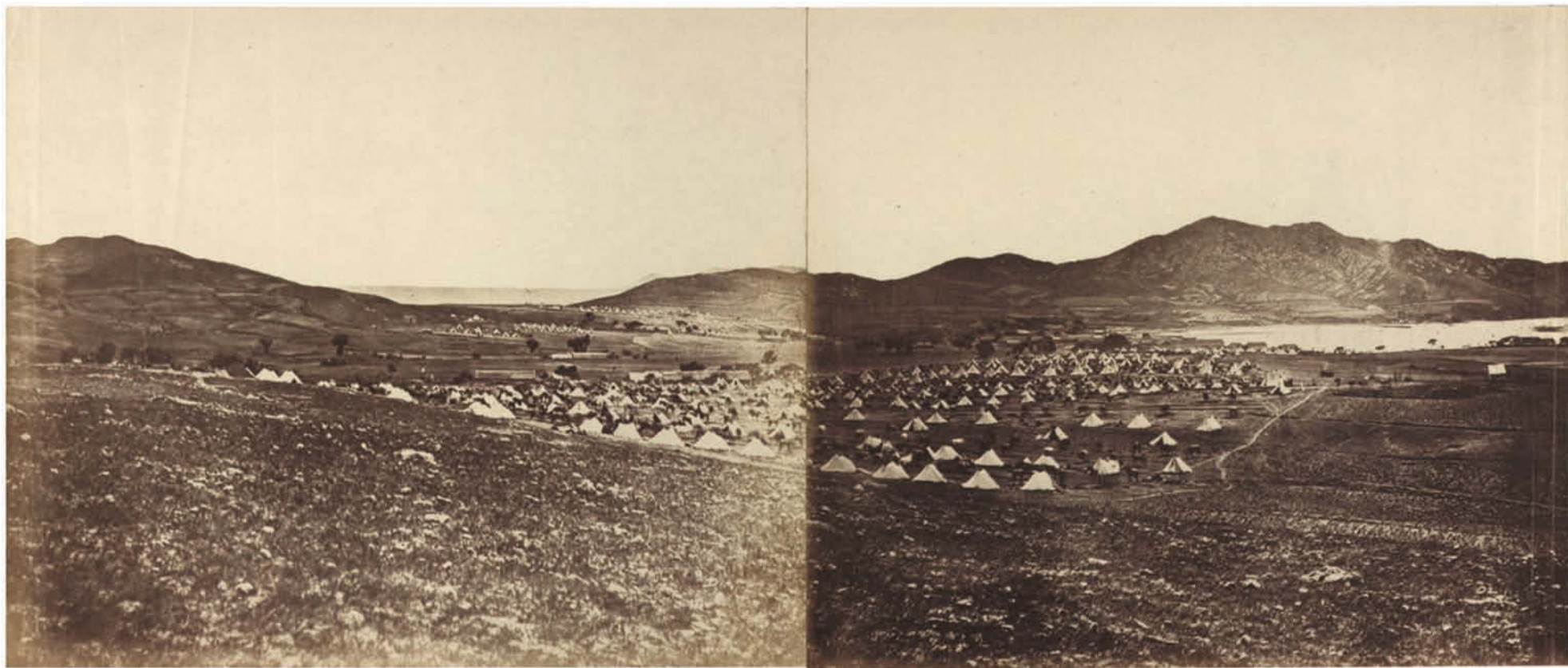
Five-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 21.6 × 141.6 cm (8½ × 55¾ in.). 2007.26.197.4.

Plate 96.

Panorama. View of Peh tung, August 1st, 1860, negative August 3, 1860, print 1862. Seven-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 23.1 × 201.5 cm (9⅛ × 79⅝ in.). 2007.26.198.6.

Plate 97.

Panorama. Odin Bay, June 21, 1860, negative June 26–July 21, 1860, print 1862. Four-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 23.9 × 113.5 cm (9⁷/₁₆ × 44¹¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.198.4.



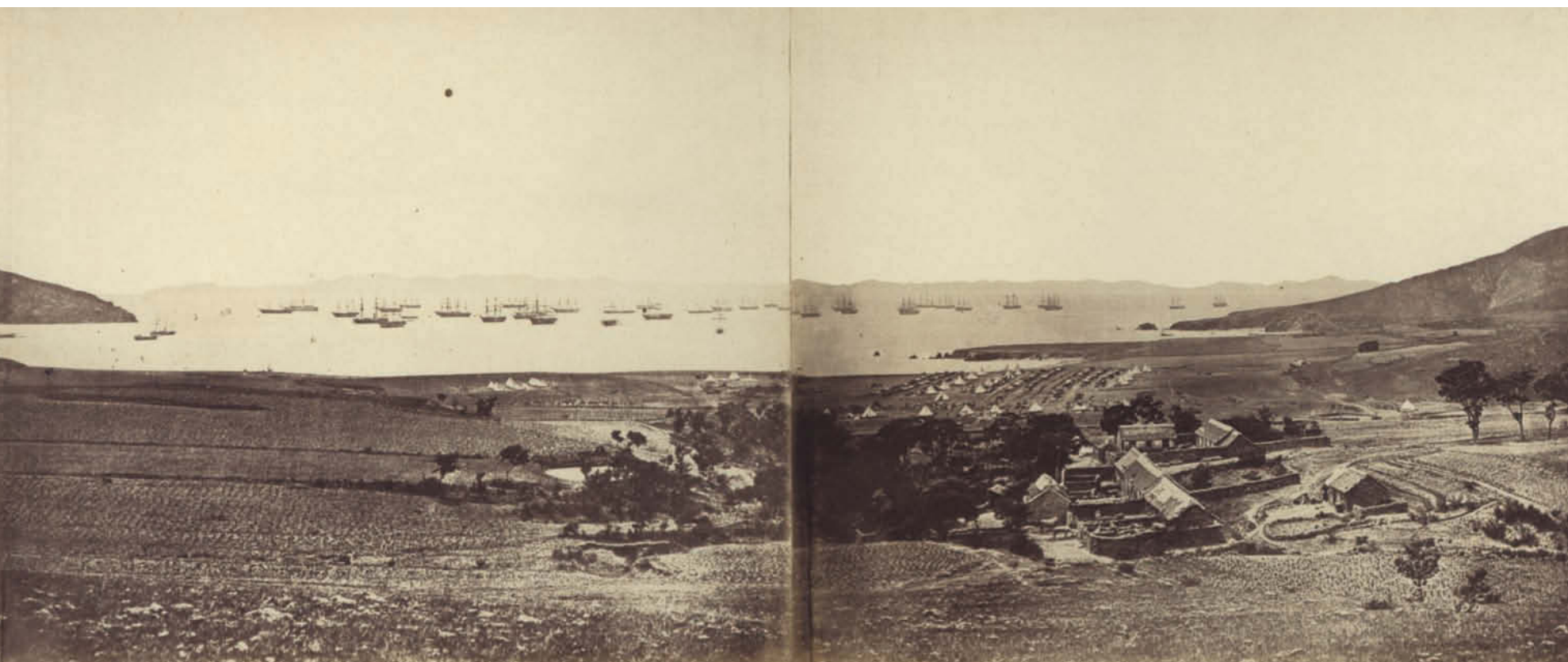


Plate 98.

Interior of Pehlung Fort, Showing Probyn's Horse and Camp, 1st August, 1860, negative August 1, 1860, print 1862. Two-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 24.8 × 59.1 cm (9¾ × 23¼ in.). 2007.26.198.10.





Plate 99.

Head-quarter Staff, Pehtung Fort, August 1st, 1860, August 1, 1860. Albumen silver print, 25.5 × 30 cm (10¹/₁₆ × 11¹³/₁₆ in.). 84.XM.473.27.



Top of the Wall of Peking, Taken Possession of on 14th of October, 1860, Showing the Chinese Guns Directed against Our Batteries, negative October 13 or later, 1860, print 1862.

Albumen silver print, 24.2 × 30.1 cm (9½ × 11¾ in.). 84.XA.886.5.27.



Plate 101.

Panorama. Interior of South Taku Fort, and Showing the Place of Landing, 25th August 1861 [sic] August 25 or later, 1860.

Three-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 23.4 × 86.3 cm (9¼ × 34 in.). 84.XM.473.34.

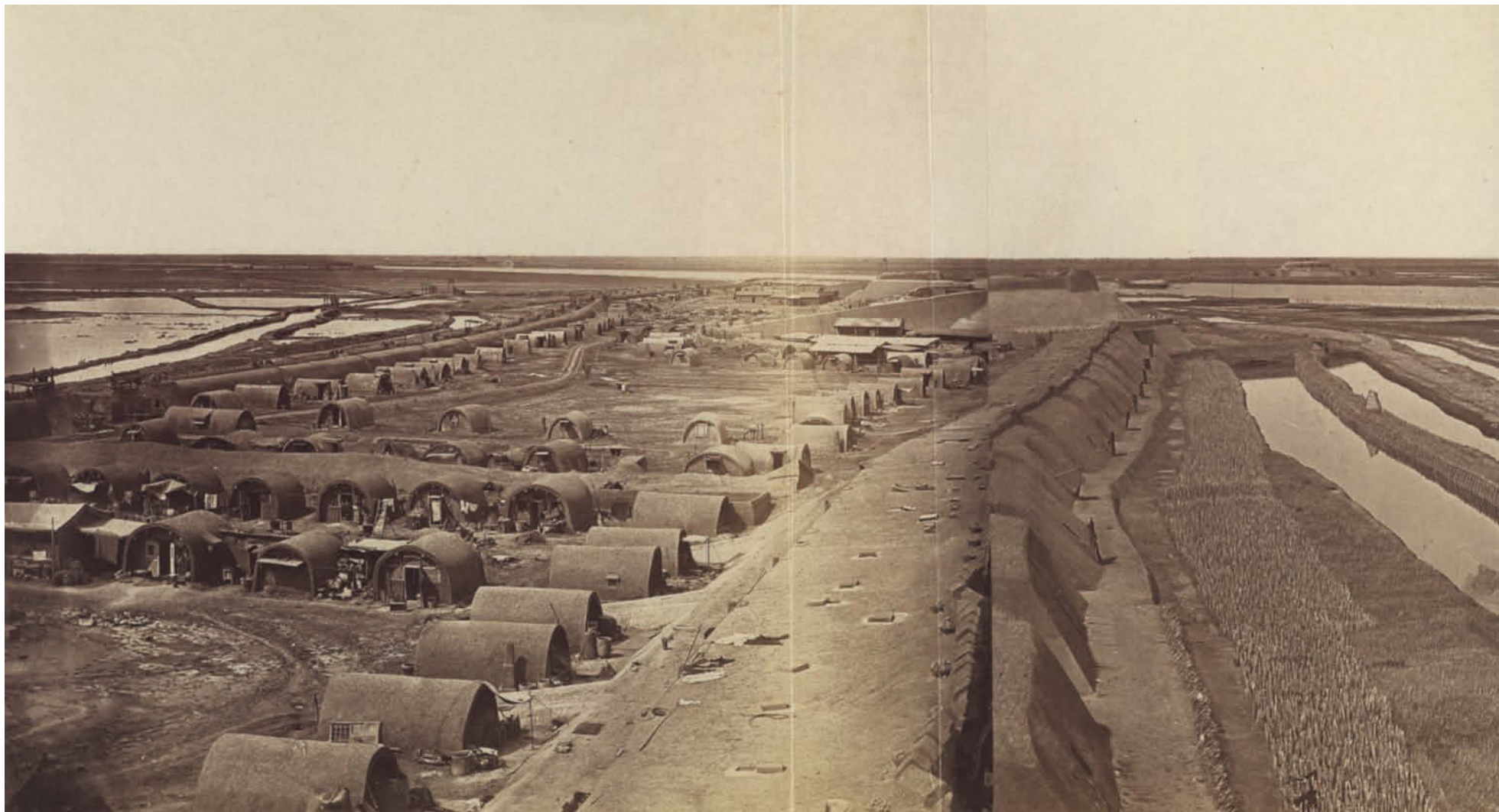




Plate 102.

Exterior of North Fort, Showing the English Entrance, August 21st, 1860, August 22 or later, 1860. Albumen silver print, 24.4 × 29 cm (9⁵/₈ × 11⁷/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.114.



Angle of North Taku Fort at Which the French Entered, Aug. 21 1860, August 22 or later, 1860. Albumen silver print, 25.6 × 29.9 cm (10 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). 84.XA.886.5.14.



Plate 104.

Interior of the English Entrance to North Fort on 21st August, 1860, August 21, 1860. Albumen silver print, 23.7 × 30.3 cm (9⁵/₁₆ × 11¹⁵/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.206.94.





Plate 106.

Tangkoo Fort after Its Capture, Showing the French and English Entrance, August 10th, 1860, negative August 10, 1860, print 1862. Two-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 24.8 × 58.9 cm (9¾ × 23¾ in.). 2007.26.198.12.





Plate 107.

North and East Corner of the Wall of Peking, negative October 1860, print 1862. Two-part panorama, albumen silver prints, 23.5 × 59.6 cm (9¼ × 23⅞ in.). 2007.26.198.28.





P 24²

Plate 108.

Portrait of Prince Kung, Brother of the Emperor of China, Who Signed the Treaty, 1860, November 2, 1860. Albumen silver print, 16.6 × 13 cm (6½ × 5¼ in.). 84.XA.886.5.12.



Portrait of Lord Elgin, Plenipotentiary and Ambassador, Who Signed the Treaty, 1860, November 2, 1860. Albumen silver print, 16 × 12.4 cm (6¼ × 4⅞ in.). 84.XA.886.5.13.



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Simonoseki. La 2ème Batterie de Matamoura (British Naval Landing Party at the Maedamura Battery, Simonoseki), September 6, 1864.

Albumen silver print, 21.1 × 28.1 cm (8⁵/₁₆ × 11¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.96.



Plate 111.

US Ship 'Colorado', May 1871. Albumen silver print, 20.1 × 28 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ × 11 in.). 2007.26.199.32.



Officers of USS 'Monocacy', May 1871. Albumen silver print, 21.7 × 28.1 cm (8⁹/₁₆ × 11¹/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.199.41.



Plate 113.

The First Korean Junk Bringing Despatches, May 30, 1871. Albumen silver print, 21 × 24.7 cm (8¼ × 9¾ in.). 2007.26.199.45.



Coréan [sic] Officials on an Interview on Board the Colorado, May 31, 1871. Albumen silver print, 23.4 × 17.8 cm (9³/₁₆ × 7 in.). 2007.26.199.8.



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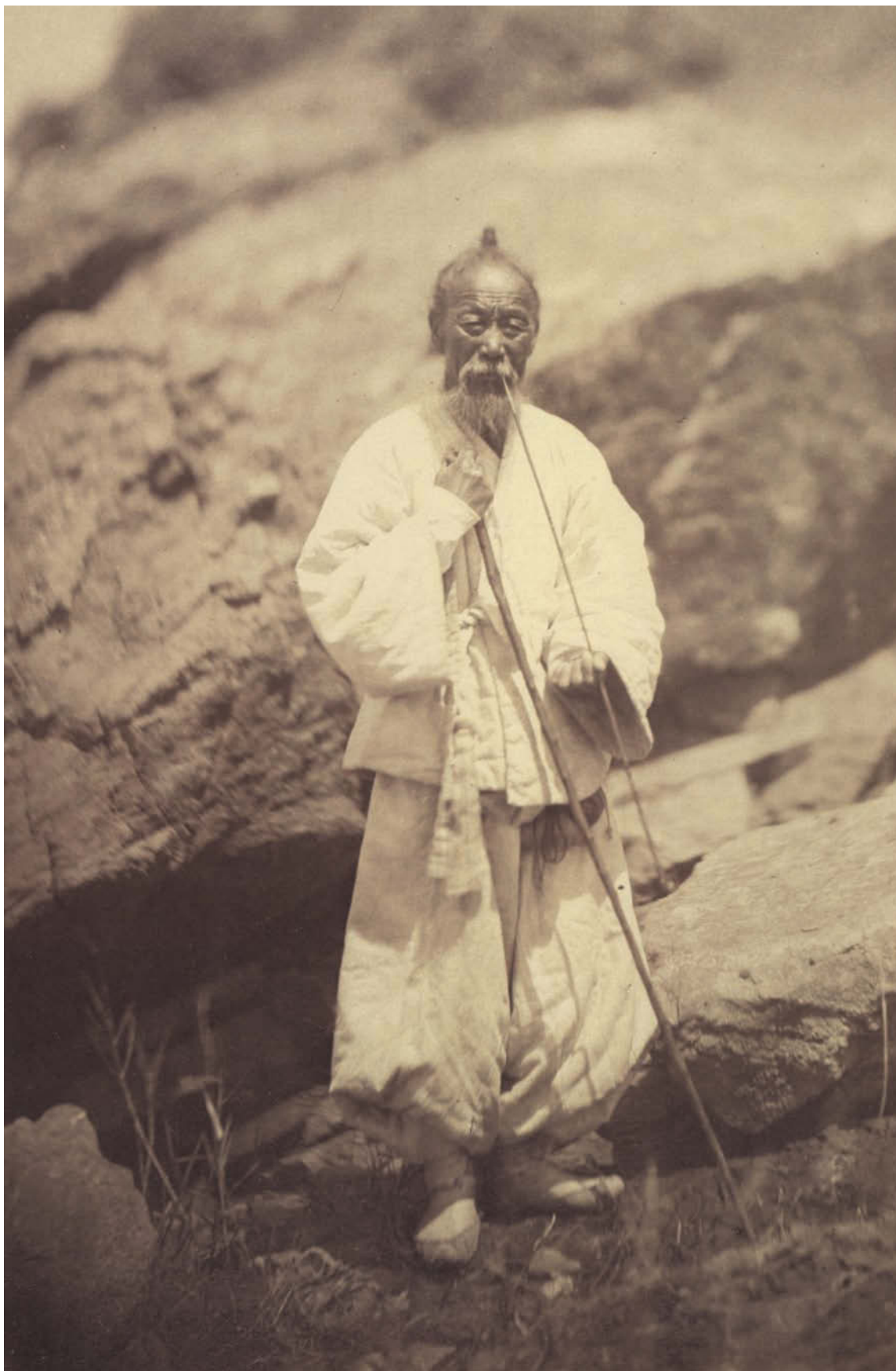


Plate 115.

Chief of the Village of Rose

Island, May 1871.

Albumen silver print,

24.3 × 16.2 cm (9⁹/₁₆ × 6³/₈ in.).

2007.26.199.7.

Plate 116.

View from Fort Monocacy with Fort McKee in the Distance, June 1871. Albumen silver print, 21.7 × 27.7 cm (8⁹/₁₆ × 10⁷/₈ in.). 2007.26.199.21.





Plate 118.

Interior of Marine Redout [sic], June 1871. Albumen silver print, 22.7 × 28.3 cm (8¹⁵/₁₆ × 11¹/₈ in.). 2007.26.107.



[Group of Korean Prisoners], June 1871. Albumen silver print, 16.5 × 23.4 cm (6½ × 9¾ in.). 2007.26.199.48.



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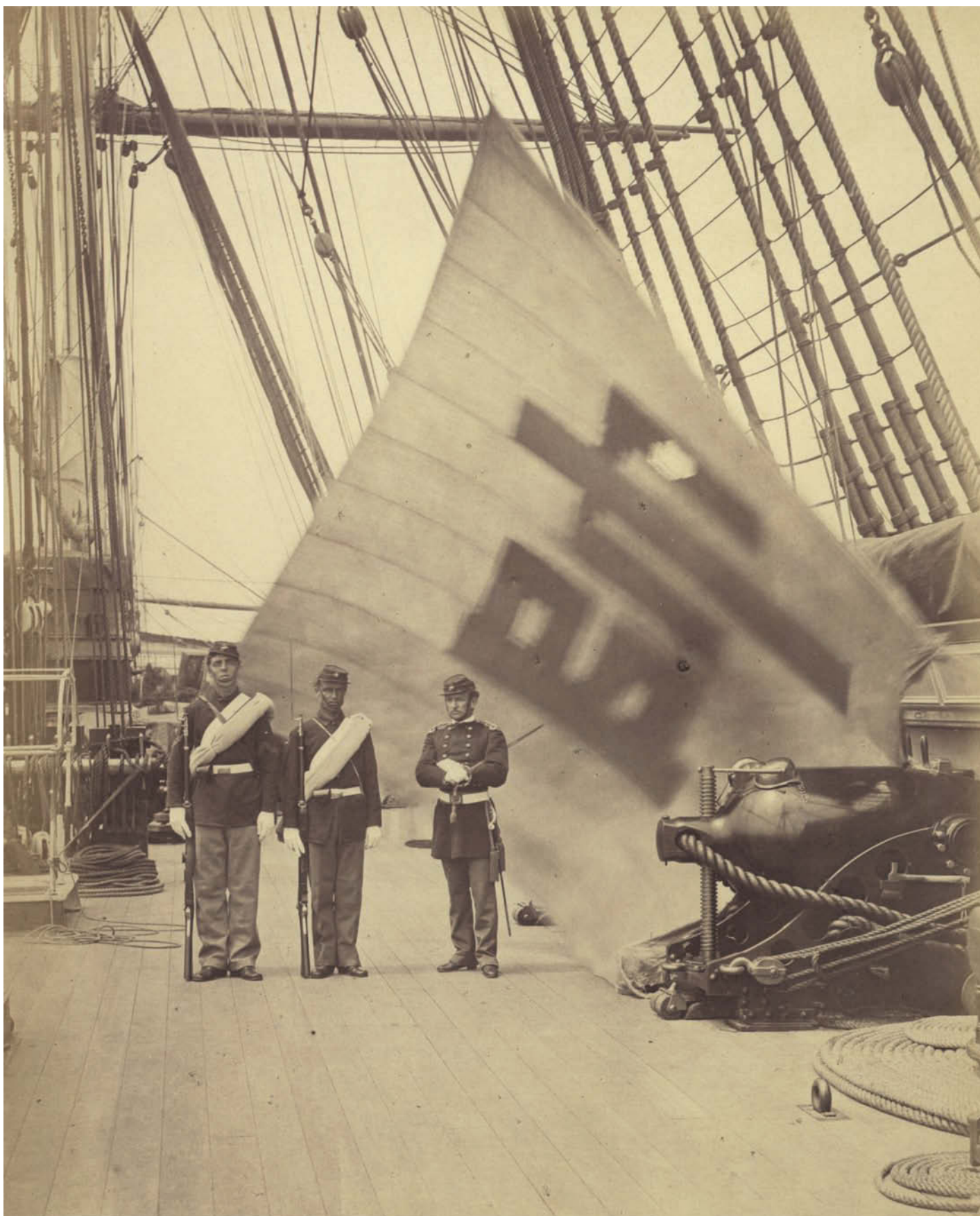


Plate 120.
*The Flag of the Commander
in Chief of the Korean Forces,*
June 1871. Albumen silver
print, 26.2 × 21.4 cm (10⁵/₁₆ ×
8⁷/₁₆ in.). 2007.26.199.46.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY

184

1832

Felice Beato is born in Venice, Italy.¹

Ca. 1834

Beato's family moves to the Greek island of Corfu, which is under British rule. He will later become a naturalized British subject.

1843

The Scottish engraver and designer James Robertson is hired as chief engraver to the Imperial Ottoman Mint in Constantinople.²

1844

Beato's father registers him and his brothers with the British consul-general in Constantinople, where the family is now residing.

1851

Beato purchases his first camera lens in Paris, France, for twenty-five francs.

Ca. 1853–1854

Robertson opens a photographic studio in the Pera district of Constantinople.³

October 1853–February 1856

In the Crimean War the allied forces of Britain, France, and the Ottoman Empire oppose Russia in a struggle among the great powers for strategic advantage in the Middle East.

1855

On April 19 Robertson marries Beato's sister, Leonilda Maria Matilda.⁴ In late summer Robertson replaces Roger Fenton on a project to document the British Expedition in the Crimean War. He photographs various sites, including Balaklava and Sebastopol.

1856

Robertson sends Beato to the Crimea, where from April to July he photographs the aftermath of the war.⁵ From June to September Robertson goes to Malta to photograph the island before traveling to London. Felice and Antonio Beato may have joined him.

1857

Robertson and the Beato brothers depart on a grand tour of the Holy Land, arriving in March in Jerusalem, where they are registered in the British Consulate records. They photograph the city's monuments, archaeological remains, and Islamic architecture. They also visit and photograph Cairo, Athens, and Syria. Robertson presents the earliest-known panorama of Constantinople, probably with the assistance of Felice Beato, at the exhibition of the Royal Society of Scotland.⁶

1857–1858

The Indian Revolt of 1857, also known as the Indian Mutiny, challenges British rule on the subcontinent. It is brutally suppressed by British forces in such centers as Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Delhi.

1858

In January for the first time Robertson and Beato enter their names jointly in a photographic exhibition, at the Architectural Photographic Association in London, showing fifty-one works, including photographs from Athens, Malta, and Istanbul.⁷ On February 13 Beato arrives in Calcutta, India, via Suez, to photograph the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, and ten days later he gives a talk at the Photographic Society of Calcutta. In March he goes to Cawnpore and in early April to Lucknow, photographing the sites of the rebellion. In July his brother, Antonio, arrives in Calcutta. In late August Beato's photographs of Lucknow are available in Calcutta. In October Beato returns to Cawnpore. The same month a review appears in the *Journal of the Photographic Society* of an exhibition at the British Association in Leeds, England, referring to "forty views of Lucknow by Robertson and Beato." In December the Architectural Photographic Association organizes a second exhibition, which includes thirty-one of Beato and Robertson's Egypt photographs and views of Constantinople.⁸

1859

On February 22 the *Photographic Journal* reports the exhibition of a series of twenty-six photographs of "the great and beautiful city of Lucknow, the chief locality of the eastern war."⁹ Early in the year Beato is in Meerut. In March he returns to Calcutta and attends another meeting of the Photographic Society. Beato goes to Agra in April and to Simla in May. By October Beato is in Lahore. In the *New Calcutta Directory* for this year only, Antonio Beato is listed as

a photographic artist resident at 37 Cossitollah Street. In December Antonio leaves Calcutta for Malta, via Suez.

1860

In January and February the Architectural Photographic Association holds an exhibition that includes Robertson and Beato's photographs of Istanbul and Jerusalem.¹⁰ Also in February Beato is back in Calcutta; on February 26 Beato and Sir James Hope Grant, British commander in the final campaign of the Second Opium War, sail for China, arriving in mid-March in Hong Kong. Here Beato makes his first Hong Kong panoramas. In April Beato visits and photographs Canton. By May he is in mainland China with Charles Wirgman, a correspondent for the *Illustrated London News*. In late May they accompany the allied military expedition to northern China. In July Beato makes photographs at Talien-wan Bay and then of the departure of troops for Pehtang, two panoramas of British forces, and a portrait of Grant and his staff. In August the British and French troops attack the Taku Forts, about one hundred miles southeast of Peking. Beato photographs the forts after they are captured by the British. On October 13 the allied troops enter Peking. Beato photographs the Imperial Summer Palace in Peking, then the burning of the palace as well as battleground scenes. He makes panoramas of the Winter Palace and the Imperial Summer Palace and views of the gardens and Buddhist temple of the capital. On November 2 he makes portraits of Prince Kung and Lord Elgin. In December Beato and Wirgman return to Hong Kong.

1861

In May Beato exhibits at the photographic society in Birmingham, England.¹¹ In October the *Times* reports that he is in England.¹² Beato sells four hundred photographs of India and China to Henry Hering, who rephotographs them and sells the new prints by catalogue. Beato's photographs are published in Robert Swinhoe's *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* and J. H. Dunne's *From Calcutta to Peking* and *How We Got to Peking: A Narrative of the Campaign in China 1860*, by R. J. L. McGhee.

1862

Hering organizes an exhibition of Beato's photographs in London; it is reviewed in June by the *Athenaeum* and in July by the *British Journal of Photography*.

1863

In May Beato and Wirgman leave Bombay for Shanghai, via Hong Kong. Wirgman arrives in Yokohama, Japan, in June; Beato may also arrive in Yokohama around this date. In August Wirgman is host to the Swiss diplomat Aimé Humbert. Beato and Wirgman join Humbert on his tour of Japan, and Beato photographs Yokohama, Shimonoseki, Kamakura, Kanasawa, and the restricted cities of Kyoto and Yedo. In August Hering informs Beato that he has sold four hundred views of India and China. In November or December Beato makes portraits of samurai from the Satsuma clan.¹³

1864

Beato and Wirgman register their partnership, Beato & Wirgman, Artists and Photographers, which will last until 1867. They both serve as official artists on the Shimonoseki Expedition. In October Beato photographs the Royal Marine Battalion. In October and November scenes after Beato's photographs of Japan are published in *Illustrated London News*. *Jerusalem: Album Photographique* is published in Constantinople, bearing the names of Robertson and Beato on the title page.

1865

In June Beato photographs Dejima and other sites in Nagasaki. In July he revisits Shanghai.

1866

In October a great fire in Yokohama destroys two-thirds of the city, including Beato's gallery studio and some of his material.¹⁴

1867

From March through May advertisements in the *Levant Herald* (Istanbul) announce the sale of photographs by Robertson and Beato of Istanbul, Athens, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Malta at their studio.¹⁵ Beato joins the Yokohama Freemasons Lodge. On April 30 his photographs of China and Japan are widely praised at a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society, Calcutta. He makes a brief trip to Shanghai with his assistant, Kusakabe Kimbei,¹⁶ then returns to Yokohama in mid-December.

1868

Beato publishes two volumes of photographs, *Photographic Views of Japan by Signor F. Beato, with Historical and Descriptive Notes, Compiled from Authentic Sources*; and *Personal Observations during a Residence of Several Years*. Beato's studio is located at no. 24a in Yokohama.

1869

Beato continues to photograph in Yokohama and opens his studio to visitors.

1870

His Yokohama studio, now located at no. 17, Bund, is called "F. Beato & Co., Photographers with Felix Beato and J. Goddard (absent)." Numerous illustrations after Beato photographs are published in Humbert's *Le Japon illustré*. Beato begins increasingly to engage in various other business ventures, including land speculation.

1871

Beato's studio is listed as "Beato & Co., F., photographers no 17, Felix Beato, J. Goddard, Woollett." In May and June Beato visits Korea as the official photographer for the American naval expedition. His views and portraits are the earliest ever made of this country. He then visits Shanghai, where some of his photographs can be seen in a local shop. In September several engravings based on his Korean photographs are published in *Harper's Weekly*. On their return to Yokohama, Beato and Woollett stop in the area of Kobe and Osaka to photograph the aftermath of the recent typhoon.¹⁷ Beato's occupation is changed from "photographer" to "merchant" in the Yokohama Freemasons Lodge listing.

1872

In October Beato photographs the first railway between Yokohama and Tokyo. In December he photographs Grand Duke Alexis and the officers of the *Svetlana* on the ship's deck. Illustrations after Beato's photographs are published in Fogg's travel journal, *Round the World*. F. Beato and Co. Photographers is still located at no. 17, Yokohama; with Beato absent, the staff includes John Goddard; H. Woollett, assistant; four Japanese photographers; and four Japanese artists.

1873

Beato's studio is listed as "F. Beato & Co. with Beato, J. Goddard, and H. Woollett, assistant." On August 6 Beato is appointed consul-general of Greece in Japan. On August 16 the Grand Hotel, at the corner of the Bund in Yokohama, is inaugurated by Beato and other investors.

1874

Beato's studio is listed as F. Beato & Co., Photographers, no. 17, Felix Beato, H. Woollett. Beato is involved in several court cases involving financial dealings. Aimé Humbert's book is published in English with the title, *Japan and the Japanese Illustrated*.

1875

Felice Beato is registered both for his photographic studio and his merchant activity: F. Beato, Photographer, with F. Beato and H. Woollett as manager; F. Beato & Co, with Felice Beato and H. Englehardt, with a warehouse. In March a judgment of \$8,802 is

made against Beato, later halved on appeal to the Supreme Court in Shanghai. In October Beato is fined by the British magistrate for throwing a plate at his cook; the event is reported in Japan *Punch* in December.

1876

Beato is listed as "F. Beato & Co., Photographers, Felice Beato with H. Woollett, assistant," located at no. 17; his merchant/general importer business, with H. Engelhardt, is listed at no. 37. In May and November Beato is satirized in Japan *Punch*. In July he is accused of stealing furniture from the Grand Hotel, but no action is taken against him as he "swears that he has not the possession of the goods." On July 4 one of Beato's employees attempts to enter his warehouse but is arrested by the police. In October Beato's photographic studio is vandalized by three Europeans, who pitch stones through several windows. In November he is thrown from a horse, dislocating his shoulder.

1877

On January 23 Beato advertises notice of sale of stock and goodwill of his photographic business. In February he sells the business to the firm of Baron Raimund von Stillfried and Hermann Andersen, one of his main competitors, and apparently retires to pursue his ventures as a financial speculator and trader. From April to October he is involved in several more court cases. Beato is still registered for his photographic activity: "F. Beato and Co., Photographers with Felix Beato and H. Woollett," and for his merchant/general importer affairs, with H. Engelhardt at no. 57.

1878

In January Beato publishes a notice that he "will not be responsible for any debt or debts... on account of the Grand Hotel Yokohama." In July he is awarded \$450 in a court case, but the award is reversed on appeal to the Supreme Court in Shanghai, and Beato is made to pay costs. He is now listed as a private resident in the local directory. Beato is registered for his merchant affairs with H. Engelhardt, as Beato & Co., at no. 24b, with a private residence at no. 5.

1879

In April and May Beato is again satirized in Japan *Punch* for his financial speculations. He continues his business ventures in Yokohama and attends many events and parties. He is registered for his merchant activity, as in 1878.

1880

Japan Punch continues to satirize Beato throughout the year. His office burns down in early December. He is listed as a "merchant" in the *Hong Kong Chronicle Directory*. He is registered for his merchant activity, as in 1877 and 1879.

1881
In April Beato is again satirized in Japan *Punch*. In October in Constantinople a farewell dinner is held for James Robertson, who is traveling to Japan. Beato is still listed as a private resident and merchant in the Yokohama city directory.

1882
In January James Robertson and his family arrive in Yokohama. Later in the year the French photographer Hughes Krafft, using a dry-collodion plate, makes a group portrait of Beato and his niece and probably the Robertson family at the house of the Japanese statesman Saigō Tsugumichi. Beato is again satirized in *Japan Punch*. He is registered with only a private residence at no. 5.

1883
In August Beato claims that Japanese brokers on the silver exchange in Yokohama have failed to fulfill their contracts. It is reported that many moneychangers are arrested in connection with the affair.

1884
Beato is reported to have lost all his money speculating on the Yokohama silver exchange. Penniless, he leaves Japan on November 29, sailing on the ship *Teheran* via Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Suez, finally arriving in Port Said, Egypt.

1884–1885
The Anglo-Sudan War, also called the Sudanese Mahdist Revolt, breaks out. General Wolseley conducts a campaign up the Nile River to relieve Gordon, who is besieged in Khartoum from December 1884 to January 1885.

1885
Beato travels to the Sudan to photograph the events of the Mahdist Rebellion against the British but arrives three months after the major events. On April 30 he meets Lord [Baron] G. J. Wolseley onboard ship from Suez to Suakim. He documents Wolseley's expedition to Suakim to superintend the withdrawal of the troops. The Yokohama firm Stillfried & Andersen closes, and Stillfried sells Beato's negatives to Adolfo Farsari of Farsari and Company. Some negatives are sold to the Japanese photographer Kusakabe Kimbei.¹⁸ Back in London in September, Beato invests in the copyrights to his Sudan images, although he does not seem to have sold any.

1886
On February 18 Beato presents a talk at the London and Provincial Photographic Society on his photographic techniques and exhibits his photographs. Fire destroys Farsari's studio in Yokohama, including Beato's negatives.

1887
The *Rangoon Times* reports a "Signor Biasto" as the first passenger aboard the SS *Martaban* from Liverpool on June 30. The *Rangoon Weekly Budget* reports the same but calls him "Biates."

1888
James Robertson dies in Yokohama on April 18. In May Beato is said to have traveled to Upper Burma and to be taking over a studio vacated by a photographer named D' Silva.

1889
In January Beato photographs the Mandalay Volunteers. He is commissioned by Major Richard Temple to make a series of photographs of Burmese dancers.¹⁹ In December he photographs the visit to Mandalay of Prince Victor, late duke of Clarence and Avondale.

1890
In September a false report that Beato had died is published in the *North China Herald*. That month a reproduction after a photograph by Beato of the Hampshire Mounted Infantry in Burma is published in the *Illustrated London News*.

1891
Wirgman dies in Yokohama on February 8. Beato is included in the *Indian Directory* of Thacker and Spink, Calcutta, as a "landscape photographer" in Mandalay, with his assistant, Frank Glass.²⁰ Beato accompanies Wolseley's expedition to Wuntho to crush the local rebellion against the British.

1892
Beato, still working in Mandalay, is listed as "F. Beato, photographer," in *Thacker's Indian Directory*, with his assistants, B. Ryan and F. Bareilly.²¹

1893
An article in the *English Illustrated Magazine* contains eight photographs by Beato. *Thacker's Indian Directory* lists Beato as a photographer with two assistants, F. Bareilly and H. C. Smith;²² the latter would work with him for ten years.

1894
Beato's business is listed as "Photographic studio, etc.," with his two assistants, in Mandalay, located on C. Road.²³

1895
Thacker's Indian Directory describes Beato's business as "photographic studio and curio-dealer." H. C. Smith becomes Beato's bookkeeper and hires two more assistants, D. Moll and A. Williams.²⁴ Other items for sale include ivory carvings,

silverware, and regional merchandise for tourists as well as an international "mail-order" clientele.

1896
Beato still operates his Mandalay photographic studio and curio shop, which has a branch office in Rangoon. He hires two new employees, "A. W. Forshaw and Mg. Po Saw."²⁵ Some of his photographs are published in Trench Gascoigne's *Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies*.

1897
An interview with Beato along with thirty-five of his photographs are published in George W. Bird's *Wanderings in Burma*. Beato's photographs also appear in *Picturesque Burma*, by a Mrs. Ernest Hart. From 1897 to 1903 Beato is listed in Mandalay in the *Mofussil Directory* as "Photographic Studio: Propr. F. Beato, Mangr. H. C. Smith, Assts. A. W. Forshaw and Mg. Po Saw."²⁶

1898
Several halftone illustrations after photographs by Beato are published in Hutchinson's *Living Races of Mankind*. Beato sells his curio shop to Maitland Fitzroy Kindersley, who keeps the same registered name, "F. Beato & Co. Ld."²⁷

1899
In August an ad in the *Times of Burma* announces that "F. Beato 'At the Black Griffin, Phayre Street, Rangoon' was under new management." This notice is repeated in nearly every issue until December 1901. The other branches of F. Beato Ltd. continue as a company but without Beato's participation.²⁸ Beato is often mentioned in the press and participates regularly in the English community's social scene. Local press reports Beato's trip to Rangoon.

1900
In her published diary, *Leaves from a Journal in the East*, Julia Smith mentions "visiting Beato's yesterday... [and] investing in some of his beautiful carvings."²⁹

1901
The *Mofussil Directory* lists Kindersley's company as "F. Beats [*sic*] & Co., Ld., dealers in Burmese curios, silversmiths, & c. Mang. Dir., F. Kindersley, Mangr. H. B. Smith. Acct., C. Toon Thin. Cashier, E. Harwood," in Mandalay, and "Beato, F., Ld., Phayre Street, Burmese carvings, new and old silverware, silks, & c., collector of eastern curios. Mangr. – J. W. Hirst, Asst. – F. Bareilly," in Rangoon.³⁰

1902

According to a letter in the November 15 issue of the *Times of Burma*, Beato has left the country.³¹

1904–1905

Beato's name appears only in the alphabetical listing of residents in the *Mofussil Directory* as “Beato, F., propr., photographic studio, Mandalay.”³²

1906

Antonio Beato dies at Luxor, Egypt. The June issue of the *Bulletino Mensile* of the Società Fotograifica Italiana mentions Antonio's widow and details of the house and equipment for sale.

1907

F. Beato, Ltd., is liquidated in January. Several photographs by Beato are published in *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma*, by Scott O'Connor and Vincent Clarence.

1909

On January 29 Felice Beato dies in Florence, Italy.³³

APPENDIX: FACSIMILES OF THE HENRY HERING CATALOGUE

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Copyright Secured.] [Entered at Stationers' Hall

PREPARING FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION BY SUBSCRIPTION.

H. HERING,
Photographer, Printseller, and Publisher to the Queen,
137 REGENT STREET, LONDON,
A MAGNIFICENT COLLECTION OF
PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWS AND PANORAMAS,
TAKEN BY SIGNOR F. BEATO.
During the Indian Mutiny in 1857-58, and the late War in China.

OR
**LUCKNOW, CAWNPORE, DELHI, AGRA, BENARES, & PUNJAB,
HONG-KONG, THE PEIHO FORTS,
PEKIN, THE SUMMER PALACE, AND CANTON,**

ALSO,
**PORTRAITS OF THE CELEBRITIES ENGAGED DURING THE MUTINY IN INDIA AND
THE LATE WAR IN CHINA.**

Size of each View 12 inches by 10. The whole of the Photographs will be delivered unmounted.

INDIA.			
1st SERIES—LUCKNOW AND CAWNPORE	—	—	—
2nd " DELHI	—	—	—
3rd " AGRA AND BENARES	—	—	—
4th " PUNJAB	—	—	—
		COMPLET	—

CHINA.			
1st SERIES—FROM HONG-KONG TO PEKIN, including the PEIHO FORTS	—	—	—
2nd " FROM PEKIN TO CANTON	—	—	—
		COMPLET	—

PORTRAITS OF THE CELEBRITIES, SIX SHILLINGS EACH.

INDIA.

LUCKNOW AND CAWNPORE (First Series).—SIXTY-ONE VIEWS.

* * The absent numbers have been omitted, the Views not being considered of sufficient interest.

A Panorama of Lucknow, taken from the Kaiser Bagh Palace, 1858. (*In six pieces*).
B Panorama of Lucknow, taken from the great Enambara, 1858. (*In six pieces*).
1 Two Regiments of the 31st Native Infantry, who were hanged at Lucknow, 1857.
2 The Dilkusha Palace.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857; Second Attack, 2nd March.
3 The Martiniere School.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857; Second Attack, 2nd March.
4 The Bridge of Boats over the Gomtee crossed by Sir James Outram at the Capture of Lucknow.
5 The Martiniere Enambara's Sikhs.—The First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857; Second Attack in March.
6 The "Hawthorn" House.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857; Second Attack on the 2nd of March, 1858.
7 Battery near the Begum Kotla.—Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858.
8 The Begum Kotla.—Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858.
9 Gateway of the Small Enambara.—Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858.
10 The Secundera Bagh, showing the breach and gateway.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857.
11 Interior of the Secundera Bagh after the slaughter of 5,000 rebels by the 3rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Regt.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857.
12 The Shah Masjid.—The First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857.
13 The Mass-house, showing the Fortifications.
14 The "Moor" Mahal.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857.

LUCKNOW AND CAWNPORE (First Series).—SIXTY-ONE VIEWS.—Continued.

21 A Gateway leading into the Kalerbagh.
22 The Great Gateway of the Kalerbagh.—3,000 Sepoys killed by the English in one day in the Court-yard by the Light Division and Bruden's Sikhs.
23 The King's Palace in the Kalerbagh.—Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858.
24 Small Mosque in the Kalerbagh.—Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell.
25 The Tomb of Saadat Ali in the Kalerbagh Palace.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858.
26 The place in which General Neil was killed in the Prison.
27 The Mine in the Chattri Mani, exploded by the enemy at the First Attack of General Harleick.
28 Chattri Mani Palace, with the King's boat in the shape of a fan.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857.
29 The Bridge of Boats over the Gomtee near the Chattri Mani, with the Fard Bakh Palace.
30 The Road by which General Harleick entered the Residency.
31 The Interior of the Fard Bakh.—First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857.
32 Clock Tower in front of the Bullock Guard-gate.
33 Gateway leading into the Residency held by Capt. Alken, 18th N.I., commonly Bullock Guard-gate.
34 Gateway and Banqueting-room inside the Residency, used as an Hospital by the garrison.
35 The Residency, taken from the Rodan.
36 The Residency, taken in front, and showing the Room in which Sir Henry Lawrence was killed.
37 Bullock Guard-gate, taken from the inside, showing the Clock Tower.
38 General View of the Residency.
39 The Churchyard, and Residency in the distance.
40 The Musha Bawn, or the old Citadel of Lucknow, which was abandoned by Sir Henry Lawrence, and partly blown up when he took up his position in the Residency.
41 The Iron Bridge.—the Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell, in March, 1858.
42 Stone Bridge, and our new Fortifications.—Lucknow.
43 Exterior of Anaphoe Dowlah's Enambara, or Tomb—near the quarters of Her Majesty's 3rd Regt.—The Second Attack of Sir C. Campbell, March, 1858.
44 Mosque, inside Anaphoe Dowlah's Enambara—now used as an Hospital.
45 Remise gate and the Enambara.
46 The Room—dormitory, or Gateway of Constantinople.
47 General View of Humababad and its vicinity, taken from the Juma Masjid.
48 Mosque, in the interior of the Humababad Enambara.
49 The Humababad Enambara, and Tomb of Mahomed, All-Khan.—Second Attack of Sir Colin Campbell, in March, 1858.
50 Juma Masjid Gate.
51 General Wheeler's Entrenchment at Cawnpore.
52 General Wheeler's Entrenchment at Cawnpore.
53 The Spot on the River where the English were murdered by the order of the Nizam, after embarking for Allahabad.—Cawnpore.
54 The Well at Cawnpore where 2,000 English were barbarously murdered.
55 The Tomb of General Harleick in the Alambagh—this tomb under the second type.—Lucknow.

DELHI (Second Series).—SIXTY-NINE VIEWS.

D Panorama of Delhi, taken from Juma Masjid. (*In eight pieces*).
D Panorama of Delhi, taken from Hindoo Rao's House. (*In three pieces*).
1 Bridge of Boats over the Juma, taken from Lullin Ghur.
2 Flag Staff Battery.
3 Mosque Piquet.
4 Observatory and Battery; in the distance Hindoo Rao's House.
5 Hindoo Rao's House.
6 Battery House, showing the dead bodies of Sepoys killed in action.
7 The Crow's Nest Battery.
8 Left view of the canal.
9 Subaltern's Piquet.
10 Palace per Battery.
11 Mount Piquet; in the distance, Metcalfe House and Stables.
12 Metcalfe House.
13 Metcalfe's Stables Piquet.
14 Lullin Castle.
15 Mosque near the Custom-house Battery.
16 Water Battery and Branch.
17 Water Battery and Branch.
18 Position of the Custom-house Battery.
19 Grand Branch at the Custom-house Battery.
20 A 21 Main Branch, and Custom-house Gate and Battery.
21 Custom-house Gate.
22 Custom-house Gate. Front view.
23 The Bank.
24 Lahore Gate of the Palace.
25 Summer House Palace.
26 Part of Palace and Salim Ghur.
27 House in which the King was confined in the Palace.
28 Tree in the Palace, under which 200 Europeans were murdered in June, 1857.
29 Juma Masjid.
30 Juma Masjid.
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99 Juma Masjid.

AGRA AND BENARES or the Sacred City (Third Series).—TWENTY-NINE VIEWS.

1 The Taj from the River.
2 The Taj from the East.
3 The Taj from the West.
4 The Taj from the Entrance Gateway.
5 The Taj from the Entrance Gateway.
6 Entrance View of the Taj.
7 The Taj from the Fountain.
8 Central View of the Taj.
9 The Taj with the Fountain.
10 Gateway of the Taj.
11 The Gateway of the Taj.
12 Delhi Gate of the Agra Fort.
13 Juma Masjid, Agra.
14 Marble Palace in the Fort, Agra.
15 Dewar Khans in Fort Agra.
16 Entrance to Enamara—Dowlah's Tomb.
17 Akbar's Tomb at Secundera, near Agra.
18 Akbar's Tomb at Secundera, near Agra.
19 Akbar's Tomb at Secundera, near Agra.
20 Gateway of Akbar's Tomb, Secundera.
21 Gateway of Akbar's Tomb.
22 Tomb of Akbar's Tomb.
23 The Agra Fort from across the Juma.
24 Secundera Bagh in the Fort Agra.
BENARES.
1 General View of Benares from the River.
2 Sacred Temple of Benares from the River Side.
3 Buddhist Temple.
4 Buddhist Temple.
5 Street in Benares.
6 Sacred Well.

PUNJAB, AMRITSUR (Fourth Series).—NINETEEN PLATES.

- U Panorama of the City of Amritsur, with View of the Sacred Tank and Temple of the Sikhs. (*In three pieces.*)
 1 The Akal Bungalow.—The Sacred Temple.—North View.
 2 Baba Atal's Temple.—The Sacred Temple.—East View.
 3 Sacred Temple.—North-east View.
 4 Minarets of the Bangsaran Sikhs.—Sacred Temple.—South View.
 5 Sacred Temple.—West View.
 6 Golden Gate, and Entrance to the Temple.
 7 Golden Gate of Entrance.—Near View.

CHINA.

FROM HONG-KONG TO PEKIN (First Series).—FIFTY-FOUR VIEWS.

- A Panorama of Hong Kong, showing the Fleet for N. China Expedition, 1st March, 1860. (*In five pieces.*)
 B Panorama of Hong Kong, taken from Happy Valley. (*In five pieces.*)
 C Panorama.—First Arrival of Chinese Expeditionary Force.—Encampment, Kowloon, Hong Kong, March, 1860. (*In six pieces.*)
 D Panorama.—Otin Bay, June 21st, 1860. (*In four pieces.*)
 E Panorama.—Talien Wan Bay, July 21st, 1860. (*In two pieces.*)
 F Panorama.—View of Peking, August 1st, 1860. (*In seven pieces.*)
 3 Peking Fort, August 1st, 1860.
 4 Head-quarter Staff, Peking Fort, August 1st, 1860.
 5 Interior of Peking Fort, showing the Magazine and Wooden Gun, August 1st, 1860.
 6 Interior of Peking Fort, showing Peking's Horse and Camp, 1st August, 1860. (*In two pieces.*)
 7 Head-quarters House, 1st Division.—Peking, China.
 8 Tientsin Fort after its Capture, showing the French and English Entrances, August 10th, 1860. (*In two pieces.*)

FROM PEKIN TO CANTON (Second Series).—SIXTY-NINE VIEWS.

- 21 Tung Chow Pagoda, Eldest September, 1860.
 22 Anting Gate of Peking after the Surrender, 13th October, 1860.—English and French Troops taking possession.
 23 Top of the Wall from Anting Gate, Peking.—Possession taken by English and French Troops, October 21st, 1860.
 24 North and East Corner of the Wall of Peking. (*In two pieces.*)
 25 First View seen in Peking, taken from Anting Gate.
 26 Top of the Wall of Peking taken possession of on 14th October, 1860, showing the Chinese Cross directed against our Batteries.
 27 Position taken up by the English and French within the Enclosure of the Temple of the Earth preparatory to opening fire on Peking on 14th October, 1860; also Wall of Peking and Anting Gate (Gate of Peace), surrendered to the Allies on the same date. (*In two pieces.*)
 28 Panorama of Peking, taken from the South Gate leading into the Chinese City, October, 1860. (*In six pieces.*)
 29 Entrance to Winter Palace in Peking, 29th October, 1860.
 30 Imperial Winter Palace, Peking, 29th October, 1860.
 31 The Great Imperial Palace, Peking, 29th October, 1860.
 32 View of the Gardens and Rhinoceros Temple of Peking, 29th October, 1860.
 33 View of the Imperial Winter Palace, Peking, showing the Artificial Hill, October 29th, 1860. (*In two pieces.*)
 34 The Great Pagoda in the Imperial Winter Palace, Peking, October 29th, 1860.
 35 Temple of Confucius, Peking, October, 1860.
 36 Street and Shops in the Tartar City of Peking, October, 1860.
 37 Interior and Arches of the Temple of Heaven, where the Emperor sacrifices once a year in the Chinese City, Peking, 1860.
 38 Sacred Temple of Heaven, where the Emperor sacrifices once a year in the Chinese City, Peking, October, 1860.
 39 Temple of Heaven, from the place where the Priests are burnt, in the Chinese City of Peking, October, 1860.
 40 Tullianus Monument in the Lama Temple, Peking, October, 1860.
 41 Mosque, near Peking, compiled by the Commander-in-Chief and Lord Elgin, October, 1860.
 42 Ruins and Street.—Chinese City of Peking, October, 1860.
 43 View of the Summer Palace, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, showing the Pagoda before the Burning, October, 1860.
 44 The Great Imperial Palace, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, before the Burning, Peking, October 18th, 1860.
 45 The Great Imperial Puerlain Palace, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, Peking, October 18th, 1860.
 46 Imperial Summer Palace before the Burning, Yuen-Ming-Yuen, Peking, October 18th, 1860.

NAMES OF THE CELEBRITIES.

- CLYDE, Lord, Commander-in-Chief in India.
 CLYDE, Lord, General: GRANT, Sir HOPE; MAINFIELD, Sir W. R. Major-General.
 CLYDE, Lord, and MAINFIELD, Sir W. R. Major-General.
 GRANT, Sir HOPE, Lieut.-Gen. K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in China.
 MAINFIELD, Sir W. R. K.C.B., Major-General.
 NAIDIE, Sir R. K.C.B., and GERRARD, Lieut.-Colonel, K.C.
 OUTRAM, Sir G., General, K.C.B.
 CAMPBELL, GEORGE, Major-General.
 WINDHAM, Major-General, G.B.
 GARRATT, Sir E. Major-General, G.B.
 SINOWERS, F. D., Brigadier-General, G.B.
 HUTCHINGS, Major-General.
 WETHERALL, Brigadier, G.B.
 MONTGOMERY, Esq., R.C.S., Chief Com. in Oculi.
 NORMAN, Lieut.-Colonel, G.B., Dep. Adj.-Gen.
 HAYTHORNE, Colonel, Chief of Staff in India.
 METCALFE, Colonel, Commander in Chief, Oudh.
 ROSS, Colonel, Deputy Quartermaster-General.
 TORRES, Colonel.
 CREALOCK, Colonel, Dep. Asst. Adj.-General.
 MAURIZIUS, Colonel, Quartermaster-General in China.
 STEVENSON, Colonel, Adjutant-General in China.
 DORMER, Honorable Major, Asst. Adj.-Gen.
 ANSON, Honorable Major.
 RIDGILL, Major, Military Secretary.
 GRANT, Major.
 WOLSELEY, Colonel, Assistant Adjutant-General.
 BARBELL, Major.
 BRUCE, Col., Quartermaster-General of the Indian Army.
 WILSON, Major.
 MUIR, Major, Head of Medical Department.
 ALMON, Major.
 TAYLOR, Major.
 JOHNSON, Captain.
 WILLIAMS, Captain.
- GRANT, Sir HOPE, Commander-in-Chief in China.
 STRACHAN, General.
 ROSS, Colonel, Third, Commanding Force on Nepal Frontier.
 RUSSELL, Sir W., Lieut.-Colonel.
 FLOOD, Captain, A.D.C. to General Sir W. R. MAINFIELD.
 SKELL, Dr.
 SAVANT, Lieut.-Colonel.
 RABINGTON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 TONER, Colonel, G.B., V.G.
 FROST, Colonel.
 HUTCHINGS, Major.
 ABBOTT, Colonel.
 JOHNSON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 KAVANAGH, T. H., Esq., Asst. Com. in Oculi.
 BARROW, Lieut.-Colonel.
 HOGGIE, Colonel.
 COOPER, F., Esq., Dep. Com. in America.
 RAY, Lord W.
 LUDIA, Major.
 GARET, Captain, and BEEBE, Colonel.
 PENNYCUIK, R.A.
 FAIRBANK, Major.
 SPENCER, Lieut.-Colonel, R.E. SCRATCHLEY, Captain.
 ROBERTSON, Lieut.-Colonel, D.A.A. General.
 MILMAN, Colonel, 8th Regiment.
 DELWATER, Lieut.-Colonel.
 BUTLER, Colonel.
 OAKES, R., Major.
 FORSTH, J. D., Esq., C.R.S., Chief Com. in Oculi.
 PRATT, Lieut.-Colonel, 2nd W. Fusiliers.
 ROSE, G. E., Captain, Military Secretary to Commander-in-Chief in India.
 HINDS, Lieut.-Colonel.
 SAUNDERS, C.B., Com. in Delhi.
 BEATO, Figure 7.
- ELGIN, Lord, Plenipotentiary for China.
 BROWLOW, Captain, 8th Punjab.
 BOGLE, Captain.
 DEEDS, Captain.
 MCKEAM, Captain, Hodgkin's Horse.
 GUN, Major, WOODHOUSE, Captain, Colonel, and BUTLER, Lieut.-Colonel.
 HARRISON, R., Captain.
 BUTLER, Lieut.-Colonel, MORRIS, Lieut., BARRY, Lieut.-Colonel, DORAN, Dr., and BUTLER, Lieut.
 STEWART, Captain, 3rd Hussars.
 ROYSTON, Lieut., MOLINEUX, Esq., and WILKINS, Lieut.-Colonel.
 OXENDEN, Lieut.-Colonel; LASCELLES, Lieut.-Colonel; COLLIER, Dr., and STEVENS, Lieut.
 BAGBY, A., Major.
 FEITH, Captain.
 WARDER, Captain.
 TALBOT, R. E., Major, WARREN, F., Lieut.-Colonel, and STEWART, Lieut.-Colonel.
 WHIELER, Major.
 HUGHES, Captain.
 ALEXANDER, Captain.
 REYNOLDS, Lieut.-Colonel.
 ROYSTON, Lieut., HUBBARD, Hon. Captain.
 MILMAN, Colonel, 8th Regiment.
 CARNEGIE, TATACE, Esq., Com. in Oculi.
 STOKES, Major, WHITING, Lieut.-Colonel, TOUNG, Lieut.-Colonel, SMITH, Lieut.-Colonel.
 CAREY, Captain.
 HALLIETT, Captain.
 MAXWELL, Major.
 HALLIETT, Captain.
 ALEXANDER, Captain.
 LOCKE, Prisoner in Peking during the China War.

The Celebrities whose names do not appear in this Catalogue will be Photographed hereafter by Mr. Haring, and published as a continuation to the above Series. Gentlemen who have taken part in the Wars in India and China, and who are desirous of having their Portraits inserted in this Collection, are requested to apply to the Photographic Studio, 137 Regent Street, London, W.

LUCKNOW, CAWNPORE, DELHI, AGRA, BENARES, PUNJAB, AND CHINA.

2, Mr. H. HARRIS, Publisher,
 137 Regent Street, London.

Please to insert my name as a Subscriber to the Series of SIGNOR BEATO'S PHOTOGRAPHS
 which I am to receive, and for which I agree to pay on delivery.

SINGLE VIEWS CAN BE HAD FOR 7s. EACH.						INDIA.	NAME AND ADDRESS.
1st Series—LUCKNOW & CAWNPORE	61 Views	-	-	-	-	418 6 0	
2nd " DELHI	60 "	-	-	-	-	21 14 0	
3rd " AGRA AND BENARES	29 "	-	-	-	-	8 14 0	
4th " PUNJAB	19 "	-	-	-	-	5 14 0	
					COMPLETE	254 8 0	
							CHINA.
1st Series (FROM HONG-KONG TO PEKIN), 54 Views, including the Peking Forts	54 Views	-	-	-	-	216 14 0	
2nd " FROM PEKIN TO CANTON	69 "	-	-	-	-	30 14 0	
					COMPLETE	237 8 0	

The whole of the above Photographs will be delivered to the Subscribers unmounted.

This work having been attended with an outlay of several Thousand Pounds, owing to the large staff of Assistants which Signor Beato was compelled to have with him, it is imperative on the part of the Publisher to signify to Subscribers, that all orders from India and the Colonies should be accompanied by a draft for payment, and that all copies supplied in England are to be paid for on delivery.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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From its inception, this study of Felice Beato's photographs has benefited from the support, expertise, generosity, and patience of many individuals and institutions. Their collaboration has made this project a truly rewarding experience, and my main fear has been that I would forget to thank one or more of those who helped me.

First, I would like to acknowledge the Wilson Centre for Photography for having built a comprehensive collection of the work of Felice Beato. This exhibition and publication would not have been possible without their generous donation. I am grateful to Michael Brand, former director of the J. Paul Getty Museum, and David Bomford, acting director, who recognized the importance of Felice Beato and enthusiastically supported the acquisition of the collection of the Wilson Centre for Photography as well as this project.

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Anne Lacoste

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- 1 Fenton made more than 350 views during in his stay in the Crimea, including many portraits of military officers; see Sarah Greenough, “A New Starting Point: Roger Fenton’s Life,” in Gordon Baldwin, Malcolm Daniel, and Sarah Greenough, with contributions by Richard Pare, Pam Roberts, and Roger Taylor, *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852–1860* (New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 19–24. The Royal Archives in Windsor holds a set of 150 Crimean views by Robertson; see Bridget A. Henisch and Heinz K. Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople: A Chronology,” *History of Photography* 14, no. 1 (1990): 28.
- 2 *Journal of the Photographic Society*, June 21, 1856, 73; *Revue Photographique*, July 5, 1856, 129; *Illustrated London News*, July 21, 1860, 58. See Luke Gartlan, “James Robertson and Felice Beato in the Crimea: Recent Findings,” *History of Photography* 29, no. 1 (spring 2005): 72–80.
- 3 *Times*, June 18, 1856, cited in Henisch and Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople,” 28.
- 4 His father, David Beato, was registered with the British Consulate-General in Constantinople with two sons, Sebastiano, twelve, and Felice, ten. See Colin Osman, “The Later Years of James Robertson,” *History of Photography* 16, no. 1 (spring 1992): 72.
- 5 Beato made this claim in a talk to the London and Provincial Photographic Society in 1886. *British Journal of Photography* 33, no. 1347 (February 26, 1886): 136.
- 6 We do not know how Robertson took up photography, but by 1853 the London publisher Joseph Cundall was offering his portfolio of twenty salt prints, titled *Photographic Views of Constantinople*. See Henisch and Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople”; and Bahattin Oztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 1992).
- 7 We do not know when the collaboration between James Robertson and Felice Beato became a partnership. In some cases, some prints made from the same negative bear the signature “Robertson”; others bear the signature “Robertson & Beato,” suggesting that Robertson was the author of these negatives, and the prints were cosigned when the two men became equal partners. On the other hand, all the photographs taken in Crimea are signed by Robertson only. It is more likely that James Robertson was the author of the pho-

- tographs made in Malta and that Felice Beato was involved in the management of the studio there. See Christine Downer, “Robertson and Beato in Malta,” *History of Photography* 16, no. 4 (winter 1992): 407; and Margaret Harker, “Robertson and Beato in Malta,” *History of Photography* 17, no. 2 (summer 1993): 217.
- 8 They arrived in Jerusalem in March. See Bertrand Lazard, cited in Colin Osman, “Another Piece of a Jigsaw,” *Photohistorian*, no. 105 (summer 1994): 20.
 - 9 In Constantinople the publisher was Kholer and Weiss; in London, E. Gambart and Co. Thirty-two views are listed. Pictures were either available individually or as sets in album form. The series published in Constantinople bears on each card mount printed descriptions and biblical references in French. In London a pamphlet was published to describe each of the thirty-two images. Later, in 1864, a selection of nineteen views was assembled to make a book titled *Jerusalem: Album Photographique*, issued with both Constantinople and Leipzig printed on the title page.
 - 10 Robertson made the earliest known panorama of the city of Constantinople. Richard Pare dated to 1853 the panorama “Istanbul and the Bosphorus from the Seraskier Tower,” consisting of five salt prints, including three signed “Robertson & Beato,” but the date was later revised to 1856–57 (Richard Pare, *Photography and Architecture* [Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1982], pl. 75, p. 245; see David Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty: Felice Beato’s Photographs of China* [Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1999], 22; see also Oztuncay, *James Robertson*, 26).
 - 11 Robertson’s work was published in several issues of the *Illustrated London News* and in such publications as Théophile Gautier’s *Constantinople of Today* (London: David Boque, 1854). Robertson’s photographic business was a financial success until he closed it in late 1867.
 - 12 For a discussion of the enduring effects of the events in India on the British public, see Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), passim.
 - 13 Josiah Rowe arrived in Calcutta in 1853. He was described in 1857 in the *Journal of the Photographic Society of Bengal* as the oldest photographer in Calcutta, although most of his surviving work dates from the late 1850s and early 1860s. The first important photographer was the artist Frederick Fiebig, who sold a portfolio of four hundred views of India to the East

- India Company in 1856. One of the first Indian photographers was Ahmed Ali Khan, active in Lucknow before the Indian Mutiny. See Vidhya Dehejia, “Fixing a Shadow,” in *India through the Lens: Photography, 1840–1911*, ed. Vidya Dehejia (Washington, DC : Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution in association with Mapin Publishing, Ahmedabad and Prestel, Munich, 2000), 11–33.
- 14 His series of views of the Mayonashi Bridge, the sculpture of the Dai-Bouts, and Yedo reflect a similar approach.
 - 15 The first known commercial photographers in India were F. Schranzhofer, who had a calotype studio in Calcutta in 1849, and Auguste G. Roussac, who opened a daguerreotype studio in Bombay in 1850. In 1852 J. B. Newland opened a studio for daguerreotype portraits in Calcutta. In Bombay in 1857 William Johnson and William Henderson issued their first album, the *Indian Amateur Photographic Album*.
 - 16 Bertrand Lazard, cited in Osman, “Another Piece of a Jigsaw.”
 - 17 Other photographers were documenting the same events, including Dr. John Murray, principal of the medical school at Agra, and Major Robert C. Tytler, of the Thirty-eighth Bengal Native Infantry, and his wife, Harriet, who produced over five hundred views of the country, some of which may have been taken with Beato’s collaboration. John Falconer has noticed that a number of their views were almost identical to Beato’s own photographs, suggesting that Beato might have assisted them. See John Falconer, “The Appeal of the Panorama,” in Dehejia, *India through the Lens*, 39.
 - 18 Attributions for the military portraits are based on the Her-ing list and on reproductions in contemporary publications, as well as on the presence of such objects as an elaborate vase, which Beato used in many of the of the portraits. The J. Paul Getty Museum holds a significant album of such portraits (84.XA.420); the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), in Montreal, holds two such albums (PH1982:0301 and PH1987:1084).
 - 19 Some examples attributed to Felice Beato can be found in the album held at the CCA (PH:1987:1084).
 - 20 They sailed in the same ship, and Grant mentioned Beato in his diary, noting that he had granted Beato special permission to accompany the expedition (Henry Knollys, *Incidents in the China War of 1860: Compiled from the Private Journal of General Sir Hope Grant G.C.B. Commander of the English Expedition* [Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1875], 121), cited in Isobel Crombie, “China 1860: A Photographic Album

- by Felice Beato," *History of Photography* 11, no. 1 (January–March 1987): 28.
- 21 The earliest recorded use of a camera in China has been dated to the Nanking Treaty in 1842, but the first known existing photographic images are the daguerreotypes made by the French photographer Jules Itier, who accompanied a French commercial mission to China, the East Indies, and the Pacific in 1844. George West was a pioneer when he opened a commercial studio in Hong Kong in 1845; other photographers opened studios in Hong Kong, as well as Shanghai, in the early 1850s. See Terry Bennett, *History of Photography in China, 1842–1860* (London: Quaritch, 2009).
- 22 See Terry Bennett, "The Search for Rossier—Early Photographer of China and Japan," www.old-japan.co.uk/article_rossier.html (August 4, 2004; updated July 1, 2006).
- 23 See Bernard Comment, *The Panorama* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd.), 1999.
- 24 Robertson was the author of the earliest known panoramas of Constantinople, dated 1856–1857 and cosigned with Felice Beato.
- 25 Beato's panoramas made in India were singled out by the *Athenaeum* for their technical excellence (*Athenaeum*, June 14, 1862, 793–94).
- 26 Sir Henry Wood mentioned in his memoir that Beato "made a nice little sum by the purchase and subsequent sale of loot with which he returned to Constantinople" (Sir Henry Wood, *Spunyarn: Strands from a Sailor's Life* [1924]; cited in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan, 1853–1912* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 2006), 89).
- 27 Knollys, *Incidents in the China War*, 209–10; cited in Crombie, "China, 1860" 34.
- 28 Robert Swinhoe wrote that the second sitting went smoothly: "Much cordiality now existed between Lord Elgin and Prince Kung, and visits were frequently exchanged. The Prince threw off the nervous restraint and show of bad humor that marked his first interview. He sat with pleasure for his photograph before the camera of Signor Beato, and we are thus enabled to give a view of his far from comely visage to our readers" (Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* . . . [London: Smith, Elder, 1861], 378–79).
- 29 Beato's photographs were often mentioned by officers, such as Captain John Dunne of the Ninety-ninth Regiment; see John Hart Dunne, *From Calcutta to Peking* (London: Sampson Low, 1861), 146. See also the Royal Horse Artillery diary of Captain Robert M. R. Rowley, in the National Army Museum Library, London (file no. 8108–33). Lady Charlotte Canning, wife of Viscount Charles John Canning, governor-general of India, had ordered a complete set of Beato's China photographs (Greathed to Canning, November 15, 1860, National Army Museum Library, London, file no. 6711-1-8). All references cited in David Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*, 25–27.
- 30 G. F. Mann to M. Mann, September 9, 1860 (MSS. ENG LETT d.305, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Department of Western Manuscripts), cited by Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*, 27.
- 31 Clark Worswick and Jonathan Spence, *Imperial China: Photographs, 1850–1912* (New York: Pennick/Crown, 1978), 140.
- 32 See also Robert James Leslie McGhee, *How We Got to Peking: A Narrative of the Campaign in China, 1860* (London: Smith, Elder, 1861); and Dunne, *From Calcutta to Peking*.
- 33 Wood, *Spunyarn*, cited in Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 89.
- 34 *Times*, October 18, 1861. This article appeared on the front page.
- 35 The stock sold by Beato to Hering included work by Lord and Lady Canning. On August 15, 1863, Hering justified his possession and sale of a portrait of Sir James Outram that was actually made by Lord and Lady Canning as part of the collection he bought from Beato for "many hundred pounds." He added that about sixty of the best of Beato's views, taken during the Indian Mutiny, had been copied by an officer in the Indian Army and distributed (perhaps sold) extensively, causing Hering considerable injury. See Henry Hering, "Photographs of Lord and Lady Canning," *Photographic Journal*, August 15, 1863, 334–35.
- 36 A note at the end of the subscription list stated, "The Celebrities whose names do not appear in this Catalogue will be Photographed hereafter by Mr Hering, and published as a continuation to the above Series." See Appendix 1.
- 37 According to an analysis by Dusan Stulik and Art Kaplan of the Getty Conservation Institute, the Hering prints are distinctive for their highly uniform and heavy albumen coating and for their combined platinum-gold toning.
- 38 Today more original prints of the Indian Mutiny and the Second Opium War made or sold by Beato seem to exist than the Hering print edition.
- 39 *Athenaeum*, June 14, 1862, 793–94.
- 40 *British Journal of Photography*, July 1, 1862, 257.
- 41 Wood, *Spunyarn*; cited in Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 89.
- 42 On the history of early photography in Japan, see Clark Worswick, *Japan Photographs, 1854–1905* (New York: Published for the Japan House Gallery and the American Federation of Arts [by] Pennwick, 1979); Melissa Banta and Susan Taylor, eds., *A Timely Encounter: Nineteenth-Century Photographs of Japan* (exhibition catalogue) (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press; Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Museum, 1988); Himeno Junichi, "Encounters with Foreign Photographers," in *Reflecting Truth: Japanese Photography in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), 18–29; Bennett, *Photography in Japan, 1853–1912*.
- 43 The Nagasaki group included Ueno Hikoma, whose merchant father, Ueno Shunnojo, had procured the first daguerreotype camera for Lord Shimazu. Some learned photography in Nagasaki from the Dutch physician Pompe van Meedervoort and the Swiss photographer Rossier, among others. The Shanghai-based photographer William Saunders, active in the early 1860s, made the earliest-known portfolio of Japanese photographs consisting of at least eighty-five numbered views, offered for sale in Yokohama in the fall of 1862.
- 44 Charles Wirgman's dispatch, dated July 13, 1863, was published in the September 26 issue of the *Illustrated London News*, p. 303.
- 45 The Japan Society, in London, holds an album acquired by Lieutenant Alexander D. Douglas of the Royal Navy dated December 20, 1863, that includes forty-eight photographs by Beato and three watercolors attributed to Charles Wirgman. A contemporary photographic reproduction of the original price list designed by Charles Wirgman, dated 1864–65, is in the collection of the Royal Photographic Society, Bath; it is from "Photographic Views of Japan," Burrows Album, reproduced in John Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art, 1850s–1930s* (Sydney: University of Sydney, Power Publications, 2001), fig. 8.
- 46 The site, which became a "historical site" for the Western community, was later photographed by Beato.
- 47 Kusakabe Kimbei started to work for Felice Beato in the late 1860s. He is listed as an employee of Beato's studio in 1868. According to Kusakabe's granddaughter Uchida Tama, he accompanied Beato on a photographic expedition to Shanghai in fall 1867. He was also assisting Beato when he photographed the corpse of a recently crucified criminal. In fact, he saved Beato's negative: when they were stopped and questioned by officials, Kusakabe successfully put them off, arguing that since cameras only recorded images of the virtuous, there was nothing for them to see. See Matsumo Itsuya, *Bakumatsu Hyoryu* (Tokyo: Nigen to Rekishi sha, 1993); cited in Sebastian Dobson, "Yokohama Sashin," in *Art and Artifice: Japanese Photographs of the Meiji Era* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 28, 30.
- 48 Ueno Hikoma also posed in front of the Daikoji temple in one of Beato's photographs made in the early Meiji period. I am grateful to Junichi Himeno, at Nagasaki University, for sharing this information. See Himeno Junichi, "Encounters with Foreign Photographers: The Introduction and Spread of Photography in Kyushu," in Rousmaniere and Hirayama, *Reflecting Truth*, 23–24.
- 49 In 1867 Beato enrolled with the Yokohama Freemasons. In Nagasaki he was acquainted with the influential British merchant Thomas B. Glover, who lived there from 1861 to 1870. Glover may have invited Beato to his residence or commissioned work from him, as Nagasaki University holds group portraits and views attributed to Beato that were made in Glover's bungalow (ID 6155 to 6157).
- 50 Aimé Humbert, *Le Japon illustré* (Paris: Hachette, 1870), 312.
- 51 Aimé Humbert, *Japan and the Japanese Illustrated* (London: Richard Bentley & Co., 1874), 177–79.
- 52 Wood, *Spunyarn*; cited in Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 89.
- 53 The caption accompanying this photograph titled *Our Chief Artist* reads: "In the sciences of drawing and painting the Japanese have hitherto scarcely advanced to mediocrity;

and yet in the art of colouring small pictures, which may be looked upon as a mechanical art, they have attained under foreign instruction, singular excellence. It is a work that well accords with a character for patience in details, often shown in the nicety with which some of the patterns and figures on their lacquered cabinets and other articles are finished.”

- 54 *London China Telegraph*, February 8, 1868; cited in Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art*, 99.
- 55 Some captions referred to other Westerners, such as Mr. Leighton or Sir Rutherford Alcock, author of several books on Japan. Beato's friend and partner Charles Wirgman also may have been involved in the writing.
- 56 Such experience of the country is highlighted in Beato's advertisement for his album mentioning his several years of residency.
- 57 *Journal of the Bengal Photographic Society*, March 30, 1867; cited in Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art*, 99.
- 58 *Le Monde illustré*, February 20, 1864, includes a photograph taken by Beato during the conference of French and British admirals and officials at Yokohama.
- 59 Photographs of Japan by Beato were reproduced to illustrate Aimé Humbert's account of his travels in that country titled “Le Japon” and published in *Le Tour du monde* from 1866 to 1869.
- 60 It was only in 1876, when Japan forced the government to sign the Treaty of Kanghwa, that Korea finally opened to trade. This was followed by treaties with the United States and Britain in 1882 that allowed foreigners to reside in treaty ports and to exercise jurisdiction over their own nationals in Korea.
- 61 Photography had been introduced to a small group of Korean officials and intellectuals through Chinese connections in the 1860s. Commercial photographic activity did not appear before the 1880s, with the Japanese photographer Kameya Teijiro, followed by native Koreans such as Kim Yong-Won in 1883 and Ji Un-Young and Hwang Chul in 1884. See Terry Bennett, *Korea: Caught in Time* (Reading, UK: Garnet, 1997).
- 62 *New York Times*, July 22, 1871; cited in Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art*, 101. The *Far East Magazine*, on August 1, 1871, described Korean photographs taken by “Mr. Beato and Mr. Woolett.”
- 63 *Harper's Weekly* reproduced four photographs of the Korean war by Felice Beato in its September 9, 1871, issue, pp. 840–41.
- 64 By 1870 Beato had entered into a joint photographic business, F. Beato & Co., Photographers, with John Goddard. It seems that Goddard left the business in 1874.
- 65 See *F. Beato Bakumatsu Nihon shashinshu*, Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan (Yokohama Archives), 1987, 175–83.
- 66 *Japan Punch*, December 1875.
- 67 Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz was an amateur photographer who assisted Felice Beato in his studio before he opened his own studio in 1871 and became Beato's main competitor. For more information on Baron von Stillfried, see Luke Gartlan, “Changing Views: The Early Topographical

- Photographs of Stillfried & Company,” in Coolidge Rousmaniere and Hirayama, *Reflecting Truth*, 40–65; and Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 133–41.
- 68 *Japan Weekly Mail*, February 19 and 26, 1870. See Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art*, 99–100.
- 69 *Hiogo News*, April 13, 1870; cited in Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 92.
- 70 Based on Sebastian Dobson's research into membership records of the Yokohama Freemason Lodge, No. 1092; cited in Wong Hong Suen, “Picturing Burma: Felice Beato's Photographs of Burma, 1886–1905,” *History of Photography* 32, no. 1 (spring 2008): 6.
- 71 Probably because Beato was raised in Corfu.
- 72 Capt. S. H. Jones-Parry, *My Journey Round the World* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1881), 25–26.
- 73 Adrian Preston, ed., *In Relief of Gordon: Lord Wolseley's Campaign Journal of the Khartoum Relief Expedition, 1884–1885* (London: Hutchinson, 1967), 201; cited in Colin Osman, “The Later Years of Felice Beato,” *Photographic Journal* 128, no. 11 (November 1988): 513.
- 74 Fifty forms, dated and stamp-registered September 26, 1885, attached with original photographs of Sudan, were filled in and signed by Beato at the Copyright Office, Stationer's Company (National Archives, Record of the Copyright Office, Stationer's Company, Records COPY 1/373/366–COPY 1/373/415, September 1885). The forms state “Felice Beato, 10 Cornhill, London.”
- 75 *Times*, October 7, 1885; see Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 97.
- 76 According to Noel F. Singer, Beato was in Burma in 1887, for among a selection of Beato photographs titled “Burma War” in a private collection is one captioned “The Stockade, Shwebo, Upper Burma, 1887.” See Noel F. Singer, “Felice Beato's ‘Burmese days,’” *Arts of Asia* 28, no. 5 (September–October 1998): 98.
- 77 British forces spent another few years “pacifying” the country and especially containing pillaging by Burmese dissatisfied with the annexation.
- 78 The earliest photographs of Burma were made by the East India Company surgeon John MacCosh during the Second Burmese War in 1852–53. A few years later Linnaeus Tripe, of the Madras Company, produced about two hundred topographic and architectural views of the country when he accompanied the mission sent by the governor-general of India to the Burmese court at Ava. The two first Anglo-Burmese wars caused some interest in the country, and a few attempts were made to open studios in the main cities. Rangoon was the main location at that time. Edward Mahoney Pascal advertised there as a photographer in 1863–64, and J. Jackson seems to have been the first to establish a regular business, from 1865 to 1869. By the 1870s the major photographic studio in India, owned by Bourne and Shepherd, sent one its main photographers, Colin Murray, to document the country. See John Falconer, “Colin Murray's Photographs of

- Burma,” in *Burma: From Rangoon to Mandalay* (catalogue) (Paris: Galerie Hypnos, 1999).
- 79 Harold Fielding Hall, *A People at School* (London: Macmillan, 1906) 47–48; cited in Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 162.
- 80 *Rangoon Times*, May 1, 1888; cited in Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art*, 113.
- 81 YEORAH, “Modern Mandalay,” *United Service Magazine*, no. 774, March 1893 (London, T. Chapman, 1893), 805; cited in Wong Hong Suen, “Picturing Burma,” 7.
- 82 Beato's presentation to the London and Provincial Photographic Society took place on Thursday, February 18, 1886. It was reported in the *British Journal of Photography* vol. 33, no. 1347 (February 26, 1886): 136.
- 83 Beato only mentioned using the same French lens he bought in Paris in 1851, with a three-foot focus and a stop of about half an inch. For more information, see Sarah Freeman, “A Technical Study of the Work of Felice Beato in Asia,” in *Topics in Photographic Preservation* 14 (2010) (published by the American Institute for Conservation Photographic Materials Group).
- 84 The daguerreotype, the first photographic process, invented by Daguerre in 1839, produced high resolution in detail, but the image was unique. The calotype, invented by Henry Fox Talbot in 1841, was the first negative process; it allowed printing multiple images from the same negative, but its definition lacked the sharpness of the daguerreotype as it was made on paper, the fiber surface of which produced grainy images.
- 85 Both methods involved repetitive manipulations with chemicals. The negatives consisted of a glass plate coated with albumen (egg white) or collodion (gum cotton) and sensitized in a bath of silver nitrate. After exposure the photographer had to develop and fix the negative.
- 86 Beato said that his Indian views had been taken on plates prepared earlier in Athens.
- 87 In his talk Beato claimed that he had reduced the exposure time to four seconds, but the audience was highly skeptical, requesting a demonstration that never happened.
- 88 Such specks are visible on Beato's photographs, especially in his Chinese work, including additional star-shaped cracks characteristic of damaged albumen glass negatives. I am grateful to Sarah Freeman, assistant conservator in the paper conservation department at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for sharing her expertise about the albumen negative process.
- 89 Thanks to this new process, the practice of photography became accessible to the masses. But Beato in his 1886 talk in London did complain about the cost involved with this process, saying that it “exercised a cut-throat influence upon professional photographers.”
- 90 The Scrap Album presented by Major Sir Richard Temple to the India Office Library on October 27, 1919, British Library, Album Photo 268. The caption “No 10 - Mandalay - Visit of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, 1889,” dated December

26, 1889, noted that it was an “Instantaneous Photograph by Beato.”

91 Except for the gelatin silver prints made for his Burmese mail order catalogue and later prints of his Burmese images seen in an album at the British Library, Album of Lord Elgin, Photo 15.

92 This practice sometimes creates a sort of fuzziness on the edge of the image.

93 Several of Beato’s photographs were published in the *Illustrated London News* (September 1890). And his photographs illustrated an article written by Colonel J. G. B. Stopford, “Upper Burmah,” published in the *English Illustrated Magazine*, June 1893, 383–92; W. R. Winston, *Four Years in Upper Burma* (London: C. H. Kelly, 1892); Gwendolen Trench Gascoigne, *Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies: An Account of a Tour through Burma* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1896); Ernest Hart, *Picturesque Burma: Past and Present* (London: J. M. Dent, 1897); Scott O’Connor and Vincent Clarence, *The Silken East: A Record of Life and Travel in Burma* (London: Hutchinson, 1904).

94 The more complete example is the scrap album presented by Major Sir Richard Temple to the India Office Library on 27 October 1919 (British Library, Album Photo 268).

95 The National Army Museum in London holds an album of fifty prints documenting the campaign, including numerous views of the cities and monuments taken over by the British Army, but images of the military operations are limited to sedate group portraits of the officials (NAM 1991-01-33). The British Library holds similar examples in its collection (Album Photo 296/1).

96 George W. Bird, *Wanderings in Burma* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1897), 291–92.

97 The catalogue in the collection of the Canadian Centre of Architecture is presented as a manager’s copy. It includes 218 objects and is dated before 8 May 1903. The example in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum includes a smaller selection of 166 objects and bears the number 1078.

98 See Wong Hong Suen, “Picturing Burma,” 9.

99 *Rangoon Gazette*, January 30, 1899; cited in Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 155.

100 He appeared in the alphabetic list of residents as “Beato, F., propr., photographic studio, Mandalay,” for the years 1904 and 1905. Beato’s name is not listed after 1907, when Kindersley’s business went into liquidation.

101 *Times of Burma*, November 15, 1902; the letter to the editor, from J. Whitfield Hirst, was dated November 12, 1902; cited in Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 162.

102 I am especially grateful to John and Judy Hillelson for sharing their research.

103 These included Shusaburo, Suzuki Shinichi, and Tamamura Kozaburo, among others.

104 Beato’s negatives of Japan were bought out by the studio of Stillfried & Andersen in 1877, which was active later under the

name Japan Photographic Association. Even after 1885, when the studio was acquired by Adolfo Farsari, the photographs by Beato continued to circulate, and it seems that Kusakabe Kimbei also acquired some of them, creating some confusion in their attribution.

Felice Beato and the Photography of War

1 Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003), 24.

2 *American Journal of Photography*, n.s., 5 (1862): 145; cited in Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 88.

3 Vicki Goldberg, *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed Our Lives* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 25.

4 Goldberg, *The Power of Photography*, 25.

5 David Field Rennie, *The British Arms in Northern China and Japan: Peking, 1860; Kagosima, 1862* (London: John Murray, 1864), 112; cited in Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 147.

6 George Allgood, *China War, 1860: Letters and Journal* (London, 1901), 45; cited in Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 147.

7 Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 54.

8 Errol Morris, “Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg?,” a three-part series available at the *New York Times* Web site, accessed September 25, 2007.

9 Newhall, *History of Photography from 1839 to the Present*, 88.

10 This Is War!” *Picture Post*, 3 December 1938. This is discussed in Fred Ritchin, “What Is Magnum?” in *In Our Time: The World as Seen by Magnum Photographers* (New York: Norton, 1989).

11 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1981), 31.

12 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 31.

13 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 31–32.

14 Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 123.

15 Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1936), in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 223.

16 Benjamin, “The Work of Art,” 223.

17 Benjamin, “The Work of Art,” 242.

18 Benjamin Busch, email correspondence with author, January 6, 2010.

Selected Chronology

1 The following are the principal sources used to compile this chronology: John Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art, 1850s to 1930s, with Britain, Continental Europe and the USA: Papers and Research Materials* (Sydney, Australia: Power Publishers, 2001). [Citations taken from “A Revised Chronology of Felice (Felix) Beato (1825/34?–1908?), 89–120.”] *Thacker’s Indian Directory* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1881–1905; Bennett, *History of Photography in China*.

2 See Henisch and Henisch, “James Roberston of Constantinople,” 23; and Oztuncay, *James Robertson*, 19.

3 Henisch and Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople,” 23–24; Oztuncay, *James Robertson*, 24.

4 Oztuncay, *James Robertson*, 25.

5 See Gartlan, “James Robertson and Felice Beato in the Crimea.”

6 Oztuncay, *James Robertson*, 26; and Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*, 22.

7 Bahattin Oztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2003), 141.

8 Roger Taylor, *Photographs Exhibited in Britain, 1839–1865: A Compendium of Photographers and Their Works* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2002), 628–29.

9 Taylor, *Photographs Exhibited in Britain*, 108.

10 Andrew H. Eskind, ed., *International Photography: George Eastman House Index to Photographers. Collections and Exhibitions* (New York: G. K. Hall; London: Prentice Hall International, 1998), 16.

11 Eskind, *International Photography*, 17.

12 *Times*, October 18, 1861, front page.

13 Sebastian Dobson, “‘I been to keep up my position’: Felice Beato in Japan, 1863–1877,” in Coolidge Rousmaniere and Hirayama, *Reflecting Truth*, 37.

14 A December 1, 1866, report in the *Japan Times Overland Mail* mentions that “[a commendation] under Captain Cardew, saved a great deal of Mr. Beato’s property.” Cited in Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 94–95.

15 Oztuncay, *James Robertson*, 32.

16 Dobson, “Yokohama Sashin,” 30.

17 Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, 96.

18 Dobson, “Yokohama Sashin,” 21–32.

19 Singer, “Felice Beato’s ‘Burmese Days,’” 98.

20 *Mofussil Directory* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1891), 740.

21 *Mofussil Directory* (1892), 759.

22 *Mofussil Directory* (1893), 770.

23 *Mofussil Directory* (1894), 788.

24 *Mofussil Directory* (1895), 819.

25 *Mofussil Directory* (1896), 845.

26 *Mofussil Directory* (1897), 876; (1898), 894; (1899), 913; (1900), 922; (1901), 943; (1902), 1462; (1903), 1523.

27 Wong Hong Suen, “Picturing Burma,” 9.

28 Wong Hong Suen, “Picturing Burma,” 9.

29 Cited in John Clark, John Fraser, and Colin Osman, “The Revised Chronology of Felice Beato,” in Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art*.

30 *Mofussil Directory* (1904–5), 1215 (Rangoon), 943 (Mandalay).

31 Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 192.

32 *Mofussil Directory* (1904–5), 1695.

33 See Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, Appendix 3.

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