

MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE: EXHIBITING EROTIC STANHOPES

by

sol Legault

Bachelor of Fine Arts, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design University, Halifax, NS, 2010

Certificate of Fine Arts, Victoria College of Art, Victoria, BC, 2005

A thesis

presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Program of

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2012 © sol Legault 2012

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A THESIS

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Making the Invisible Visible: Exhibiting Erotic Stanhopes

sol Legault

Master of Arts in Photographic Preservation and Collections Management
Ryerson University, 2012

ABSTRACT

The Stanhope, a commercially produced, microphotographic novelty invented in 1859 by René Prudent Patrice Dagron (1819-1900), has rarely been critically studied or exhibited. Its use for erotic photography, and the challenges of its microscopic images and varied external forms, including watch fobs and smoking pipes, require new considerations and methods for exhibition display.

This thesis examines the history and manufacture of the Stanhope, its “vernacular” status, and its use for erotic imagery in the mid- to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It then examines recent approaches to the installation of vernacular photographic objects in exhibitions, followed by suggested considerations for the exhibition of erotic Stanhopes, foregrounding their materiality and viewing experience, and contextualizing the historical frameworks of their production and use. The appendices recount the sorting, rehousing, documentation and inventory of the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction, which were used as primary examples.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like express my gratitude to my thesis advisor, Professor David Harris, for his meticulous attention to detail, and unflagging faith, support and encouragement; to Jean Scott for her generosity and the wealth of her knowledge, and for sharing her many resources related to Stanhopes; and to the following for sharing their valuable experience, knowledge, and resources, and for their help with the many facets of this project: Catherine Johnson-Roehr; Sophie Hackett; Maia-Mari Sutnik; Todd Gustavson; Joe Struble; Daile Kaplan; Bobbi London; Ken Scott; Mike Kessler; Milan Zahorcak; Joe Venturella; Elspeth Brown; Jessica Johnston; Heather Rigg; Kathy Kinakin; to my amazing parents Lynn Grant-Legault and Jacques Legault, for always supporting me in my every endeavour, and to my sister Leanne Legault, who never fails to inspire me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Author's Declaration.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Plates.....	x
List of Appendices.....	xii
 Introduction.....	 1
1. Literature Survey.....	5
2. Stanhopes: Manufacture and Historical Background.....	13
3. Erotic Photography and Stanhopes.....	23
4. Exhibiting Erotic Stanhopes.....	53
4.1 Prior Exhibitions of Vernacular Photographs and Stanhopes	54
4.2 Proposed Considerations and Methods for Exhibiting Erotic Stanhopes.....	71
 Appendices.....	 81
Bibliography.....	139

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Assortment of mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century Stanhope microphotographic novelties; dimensions variable; George Eastman House collection.....	4
2. Dagron camera; front (lens) side, c.1865; George Eastman House collection.....	14
3. Dagron camera; rear (plate) side, c.1865; George Eastman House collection.....	14
4. Dagron reducing camera, complete with dark box.....	15
5. Full, exposed Stanhope plate containing 450 microscopic images; 8.2 x 4cm; private collection.....	15
6. Illustration showing the stages of production of the Stanhope “microphotographic viewing cylinder.”.....	16
7. Illustration of how the “viewing cylinder” fits into a monocular.....	16
8. Illustration of how the Stanhope image is magnified by the lens.....	16
9. Gold stickpin with erotic Stanhope, 7.5cm; London collection.....	30
10. Magnified Stanhope image from the stickpin in figure 9, London collection.....	30
11. Untitled [full-length study of a naked woman reclining in a landscape, on leopard-print fabric, based on Giorgione’s painting <i>Sleeping Venus</i> (c.1510)]; approx. 1 to 2mm; collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	32
12. Untitled [full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised and open to the sides, with a painted backdrop and lamp post]; approx. 1 to 2mm; collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	33
13. Stanhope image from a bone manicure set, approx. 1 to 2mm; London collection.....	34
14. Untitled [full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised, one hand touching the top, and the other the back, of her head], approx. 1 to 2mm; collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	35
15. Metal Stanhope watch fob charm, in the form of binoculars; approx. 2cm x 2 cm x 1cm; collection of the author.....	37
16. Detail, metal Stanhope watch fob charm in the form of binoculars (viewing end); approx. 2cm x 2 cm x 1cm; collection of the author.....	37
17. Detail, metal Stanhope watch fob charm in the form of binoculars (plane end); approx. 2cm x 2 cm x 1cm; collection of the author.....	37
18. Detail, images seen in metal Stanhope watch fob charm in the form of binoculars (plane end); approx. 2cm x 2 cm x 1cm; collection of the author.....	38

19. Image from left lens of metal Stanhope watch fob charm in the form of binoculars; approx. 1 to 2mm; collection of the author.....	38
20. Image from right lens of metal Stanhope watch fob charm in the form of binoculars; approx. 1 to 2mm; collection of the author.....	38
21. Stanhope walking canes with hidden inset elements; private collection.....	40
22. Stanhope image within walking cane in figure 21; approx. 1 to 2mm; private collection.....	40
23. Stanhope walking cane with “persistence of vision” mechanism; Kessler collection.....	41
24. Image within walking cane in figure 23; approx. 1 to 2mm; Kessler collection.....	41
25. Image within walking cane in figure 23; approx. 1 to 2mm; Kessler collection.....	41
26. Bottle-shaped Stanhope smoking pipes and cigar holders; dimensions variable; Scott collection.....	42
27. Combined Stanhope cigar and cigarette holder (dismantled); dimensions variable; private collection.....	43
28. Combined Stanhope cigar and cigarette holder (partially assembled); dimensions variable; Private collection.....	43
29. Three Stanhope smoking pipes and one vesta case, or “match safe;” dimensions variable; Scott collection.....	44
30. Three British Stanhope smoking pipes, c. 1900-1920, length: 12.5cm; private collection.....	45
31. Group of late nineteenth century vestas, or “match safes;” dimensions variable; private collection.....	45
32. Stanhope rings and magazine advertisement, c.1920-1940; dimensions variable; Kessler collection.....	46
33. Image in metal Stanhope ring; approx. 1 to 2mm; Kessler collection.....	46
34. “Universal” multi-function scissors with related advertisement, c.1890-1930; length 11.6cm; Kessler collection.....	47
35. Untitled stereo daguerreotype depicting two nude models with a mirror; collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction	49
36. Detail of stereo daguerreotype shown in figure 35; collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction	48
37. Installation view, from the exhibition <i>Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage</i> , at the Art Gallery of Ontario, June 5 to September 5, 2010.....	56

38. Installation view of stereo card display, from the exhibition <i>Songs of the Future: Canadian Industrial Photographs, 1858 to Today</i> , at the Art Gallery of Ontario, August 20, 2011 to April 29, 2012.....	58
39. Detail installation view of stereo card installation, in the exhibition <i>Seeking Solace: Francis Bedford's Framing of Victorian Ideals</i> , at the I. M. A. Gallery, Toronto, April 4 to April 28, 2012.....	59
40. Wide installation view, depicting viewers interacting with the stereo card installation, using portable stereo viewers, at the exhibition <i>Seeking Solace: Francis Bedford's Framing of Victorian Ideals</i> , at the I. M. A. Gallery, Toronto, April 4 to April 28, 2012.....	59
41. Installation view of stereo card display, from the exhibition <i>Connecting with Photography</i> , at the Art Gallery of Ontario, November 2008 to May 2010.....	61
42. Wide installation view of stereo card display, from the exhibition <i>Connecting with Photography</i> , at the Art Gallery of Ontario, November 2008 to May 2010.....	62
43. Detail installation view of stereo card display, showing the interactive stereo viewers with cards, from the exhibition <i>Connecting with Photography</i> , at the Art Gallery of Ontario from November 2008 to May 2010.....	62
44. Detail installation view showing Stanhope pipe, in the exhibition <i>Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842 to 1969</i> , at the Art Gallery of Ontario, April 26 to July 20, 2003.....	65
45. Wide installation view of the display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006.....	67
46. Detail installation view of the display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006.....	67
47. Detail showing Stanhope images under a magnifying lens, from the display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006.....	68
48. Detail showing magnified, unmounted Stanhopes (image glass and lens), in the display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006.....	69
49. Stanhope image from vesta case, with caption: "Salon des Beaux-Arts / La Femme au Bilboquet, par A. Chantron;" Kessler Collection.....	75

50. Untitled [full-length study of a naked woman playing with a bilboquet toy; from A. J. Chantron's <i>Femme au bilboquet</i> , (1895)]; Collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	75
--	----

Figures in Appendix 1

51. Front view, original box for the Stanhopes in group #397R A039 in the collection of The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	84
52. Rear view, original box for the Stanhopes in group #397R A039 in the collection of The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	84
53. Original box for the Stanhopes in group #397R A039 in the collection of The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction, (open).....	84
54. Constructing stacking trays.....	85
55. Tabs added to the sides of trays.....	85
56. Mylar covers attached to each tray.....	86
57. Sorting begins.....	86
58. Sorting underway.....	87
59. Detail view of the loose Stanhopes in the old housing.....	87
60. Loose image glass components.....	88
61. Illustration of Stanhope scale.....	88
62. Mechanical deterioration of Stanhopes in old housing.....	89
63. Illustration of the general size of the image groups, and a complete sorted tray.....	89
64. The fully sorted group of Stanhopes.....	90
65. Illustration of how the trays stack in the new housing.....	90
66. A closed housing with trays of sorted Stanhopes.....	91
67. The completed housing.....	91

Figures in Appendix 2

68. The set-up for the documentation of the Stanhopes.....	95
69. A Stanhope mounted in foam core.....	95
70. The magnified view of a Stanhope image seen zoomed through the camera.....	96

LIST OF PLATES

Note: Appendix 3 comprises the plates in this thesis. Each of the Stanhopes illustrated in appendix 3 is catalogued under #397R A039 in the Collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction, and is approximately 2 to 3mm in diameter. Each image is untitled, therefore supplied descriptive titles are given here.

1. [Half-length study of a naked woman with a hat].....	100
2. [Three-quarter study of a partially draped woman].....	101
3. [Full-length study of a naked woman reclining in a hammock].....	102
4. [Full-length study of a partially draped woman seated on a wooden bench].....	103
5. [Full-length study of a woman in a costume seated on a rock before a painted backdrop of waves and clouds].....	104
6. [Full-length study of a partially draped woman seated on a rock].....	105
7. [Full-length study of a standing woman clothed in a short dress; background removed].....	106
8. [Full-length study of a naked woman standing in a doorway].....	107
9. [Full-length study of a woman clothed in a bathing suit, standing in a bucket, with a chair and towel (?) to the left].....	108
10. [Full-length study of a woman in costume, holding a swath of fabric, partially kneeling on a rug-covered support].....	109
11. [Full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised, with a painted backdrop and lamp post].....	110
12. [Full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with arms raised, her hands on the back of her head]	111
13. [Full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised, one hand touching the top, and the other the back, of her head].....	112
14. [Full-length study of woman in costume, facing camera, standing with one foot propped on a support to the side, and arms raised, her hands on the back of her head].....	113
15. [Full-length study of two standing women, posed identically and dressed in identical costumes with hats, with their hands on their hips].....	114
16. [Full-length study of a naked woman reclining in a landscape, on leopard-print fabric, based on Giorgione's painting <i>Sleeping Venus</i> (c.1510)].....	115

17. [Three-quarter view of a naked woman standing in water].....	116
18. [Full-length study of a naked woman standing by the water's edge, with reeds in the background].....	117
19. [Full-length study of a naked woman playing with a bilboquet toy, from A. J. Chantron's (painting?) <i>Femme au bilboquet</i> , (1895)].....	118
20. [Full-length study of a naked woman walking along a path, with one arm raised, holding an unidentified object, and holding a branch over her shoulder with her other hand, with a musical instrument on her back, slung with a strap over her shoulder].....	119
21. [Full-length study of a naked young woman arranging her hair].....	120
22. [Full-length study of a partially draped woman sleeping in a wooden chair].....	121
23. [Full-length study of a woman standing, leaning on an easel (?), with her head turned to her left].....	122
24. [Full-length study of two naked women, one standing with arms raised, one laying on the ground, resting on her elbows].....	123
25. [Full-length study of three naked women seated on the ground].....	124
26. [Three-quarter-length study of a clothed woman standing, leaning on a stick].....	125
27. [Full-length study of a woman in a striped bathing suit, leaning on a railing in front of a backdrop with painted waves].....	126
28. [Full-length study of a standing woman, in a costume with a cape and hat; background removed].....	127
29. [Full-length study of a seated, partially draped woman holding cat, in "Oriental" interior]...	128
30. [Study of three naked women; one standing (playing flute?), two seated].....	129
31. [Full-length study of a group of (4?) naked women bathing by water's edge].....	130
32. [Full-length study of three partially dressed women (warriors?), two seated and one standing, leaning against tree trunk, holding a spear].....	131
33. [Full-length study of a naked, seated woman playing a stringed instrument].....	132
34. [Full-length study of a naked, seated woman holding a reed instrument aloft].....	133
35. [Full-length study of two partially draped women reclining on low cushions, with flower arrangement].....	134
36. "Jérusalem Mosquée D'Omar"	135
37. "Oostacker / OLV. Van Lourdes / Kerk V.H / Vlaamsche Lourdes"	136
38. "(?) Valfleury / (?) "	137

LIST OF APPENDICES

1. Rehousing the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction	81
2. Photographic Documentation of the Images in the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction	93
3. Inventory of Representative Samples of the Stanhope Images at The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.....	99
3.1 Introductory Note Regarding the Inventory.....	99
3.2 Repeating Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039.....	100
3.2.1 From a Photographic Source.....	100
3.2.2 From Paintings, Prints or Drawings.....	115
3.2.3 From an Uncertain Source.....	121
3.3 Individual or Rare Image Samples in Group #397R A039.....	125
3.3.1 Erotic (related).....	125
3.3.1.1 From a Photographic Source.....	125
3.3.1.2 From Paintings, Prints or Drawings.....	128
3.3.1.3 From an Uncertain Source.....	132
3.3.2 Unrelated.....	135

Introduction

The Stanhope, let alone the erotic Stanhope, is a little known and little-exhibited commercial photographic format. These hidden microscopic photographs, mounted in a wide variety of types of everyday objects from the mid-nineteenth century to today, present an unexpected surprise to anyone who chances across one. The feeling of holding the object in one's hand, of holding it up to the eye, squinting, and having a private "peep show" of an image or a text, was undoubtedly what appealed to the mid-nineteenth century photo-purchasing public at the time of its introduction, and for men, this was especially so with erotic Stanhopes. By "erotic Stanhopes" I am referring to the many everyday, functional and decorative objects into which were placed microscopic erotic photographs¹. While the variety of objects into which Stanhope views generally were placed was expansive, the forms in which erotic photographs were placed limited them to a very specific audience. Primarily, if not only, available in men's objects such as smoking pipes and watch fob charms, the Stanhope's outer forms and their functions determined the arena in which these erotic images would be viewed and shared, perhaps more acutely so than the presentational forms of many other photographic formats.

Such objects as erotic Stanhopes can now be studied and exhibited in light of the recent trend in photographic history of the "material turn,"² which focuses largely on the three-dimensional aspects of photographs as objects and not exclusively their images. The theory holds that as much or more can be learned from a photographic object and its uses in the physical world, as a "social actor,"³ as from its image. In the case of erotic Stanhopes, while much can be learned from the content of their images, these tiny photographs are simply reproduced from images in larger formats. Thus I argue that it is the prominent "object-ness," of the Stanhope form, with its requisite "peeping" mode of viewing, in *conjunction* with erotic imagery, that together illuminate the socio-cultural world that produced and consumed them. Regarding definitions of pornography and obscenity, and the intended audiences for pornography, in her *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815-1914*, Lisa Sigel argues that objects

¹ This includes men's and women's accessories, jewelry, and many more types of objects. A much more complete description of the scope of these objects will follow in chapters 2 and 3, and discussion of my use of the terms "erotic" and "pornographic;" in footnote 71, page 23.

² Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart's "Introduction," in their edited *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, (New York and Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2004.): 3.

³ Ibid, 4. The term "social actor" is explained as such: "[I]t is not the meanings of things *per se* that are important but their social effects as they construct and influence the field of social action in ways that [...], in the case of photographs, [...] did not exist in this or that specific format."

are not inherently obscene but “become indecent through the act of viewing or reading.”⁴ Although referring to the male audience consuming pornography generally, this assertion seems especially relevant to the erotic Stanhope; as a three-dimensional and interactive “social actor,” its physical form and its demand for “peeping” extends the “indecent” experience of viewing the image within.

With the hope and expectation that someday in the near future there will be a call for the inclusion of (erotic) Stanhopes in exhibitions, as an intriguing and understudied photographic format that exemplifies the “material turn,” this thesis examines their general history and manufacture, their place in the context of the market for erotic photography in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (with particular attention to their relationships to such other popular formats as the stereo view), and ends with the proposal of a number of approaches to the installation of such objects that synthesize current object-focused theory, thereby putting it into practice in the space of an exhibition.

Falling within the category of “vernacular” photographs, generally meaning non-art photographs⁵, Stanhopes present specific challenges to curators of photographic exhibitions, which have traditionally taken the form of the display of flat photographs in frames on a wall. Chiefly in recent decades curators have had to contend with obstinately three-dimensional photographic objects and such challenging formats as the necessarily interactive stereo view and the photographic album, and in the future will also have to contend with the Stanhope. As a photographic format whose image can’t be documented as it is seen with the eye, and as definitively *not* a flat photograph, it requires an interactive approach in an exhibition, taking into account the materiality of the whole object, and the requirement of the viewer looking directly into the object to experience the image as it is meant to be seen. The following literature survey will therefore establish the historical and theoretical background for the conception of photographs as socio-culturally embedded, three-dimensional objects, and will then examine writing that addresses this conception in relation to its application in exhibitions of photography, not only to draw on what has been written on the subject, but also to point out the need for further synthesis of the materially-focused methodologies in exhibitions of “vernacular” photographic objects such as the Stanhope. Again quoting Edwards and Hart, in the introduction to their 2004 collection of essays, *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*; “Material forms

⁴ “Introduction: Sexual Imaginings,” in her *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815-1941*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002.): 4.

⁵ This definition will be elaborated upon in the following literature survey.

create very different embodied experiences of images and very different affective tones or theatres of consumption.”⁶ It is these “theatres of consumption” that will be discussed here in relation to the erotic Stanhope as a multi-dimensional photographic format, both in its historical contexts and in the context of its exhibition. Through this discussion I have produced a document that provides essential contextual information, and raises considerations central to the exhibition of erotic Stanhopes, providing the basis for a future exhibition that would afford the viewer an experience of what the erotic Stanhope *is*, and inform them of how it functioned in its historical contexts.

⁶ “Introduction:” 5.



Figure 1. Assortment of mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century Stanhope microphotographic novelties, representing a small sample of the types of objects in which Stanhope images were mounted. Shown here: two watch fob charms (both in the form of binoculars; one bone and the other brass), a rosary cross, a sewing needle case (parasol shaped), a pocket watch, a letter opener, a tape measure, a fountain pen (with a closed fist decoration at the top end), and a pen holder. The small, inset black circle visible on some of these objects, such as the rosary, is where the Stanhope image and lens are located; the viewer holds the object close to the eye and peeps in to view it. Variable dimensions. George Eastman House collection. Image courtesy George Eastman House.

1. Literature Survey

As set out in the introduction, the Stanhope embodies the idea of the “photograph-as-object,” which implies that traditional methods of exhibiting photographs in cultural institutions – as discrete, two-dimensional objects matted and framed on a wall – are not appropriate to the Stanhope. The shift to a focus on the “object-ness” of photographs, acknowledging them as culturally significant, material objects embedded in everyday life, and the subsequent illumination of the cultural values implied by their forms and their uses, is what would allow an exhibition of Stanhopes to even occur, since, as novelty commercial trinkets they are not “authored” in the canonical artistic sense. A different framework must therefore be used to enable the discussion and interpretation of such objects. The purpose of this literature survey is thus to establish the historical and theoretical background for the conception of photographs as socio-culturally embedded, three-dimensional objects, and to then examine scholarly writing that addresses this shift in relation to its application to exhibitions of photography. In conjunction with the following two chapters on the history of the Stanhope and its use for erotica, and considering the gap between recent photographic theory and its application in the practice of the exhibition of vernacular⁷ photographic objects, this literature survey will establish the need for a considered approach to the exhibition of such a three-dimensional and culturally complex object as the erotic Stanhope, that will exemplify the synthesis of theory and practice. The proposed considerations will be presented in the final chapter.

“Vernacular” photographs have been defined as such by photographic historians and art-based institutions in the attempt to categorize those photographs that are not able to be, or should not be, addressed in the canonical, artistically authored sense. This is often because they are either amateur-made or commercially produced. Although some commercially produced vernacular photographs, including works by turn-of-the-century photographers such as Eugène Atget (1857-1927), have been re-inscribed as art through their collection by, and exhibition in, art institutions, this is due to their adaptability to the modernist criteria for photographs; namely their flatness and their relatively large size for the modernist period, and their aesthetic appeal to certain artists, photographers, and curatorial staff in art institutions. Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of many vernacular photographic objects, however, as this loosely defined group that seems to place them outside of the modernist criteria, is their three-dimensional, physical form.

⁷ The discussion of the uses of this term will follow in the next few paragraphs.

Their form is what has allowed these objects to function differently from art made for a wall; from the small *cartes de visite* traded from hand to hand, through photographic jewelry worn on the body, to twentieth-century snapshots in family albums. Their size, shape, weight, media, tangibility, visual characteristics, and the ever-evolving social codes that define their production and use can reveal so much more about vernacular photographs than can the visual content of their images alone.

Geoffrey Batchen, in his 2001 essay “Vernacular Photographies,”⁸ asserts that vernacular photography has been the defining “other” to what photography itself *is*; vernacular photography is the “absent presence that determines its medium’s historical and physical identity.”⁹ This broad statement demonstrates that the definition of what constitutes vernacular photography remains wide-ranging and undefined except as in its opposition to art. At times referring to snapshot photography, at others to homemade and hand-altered photographs, to administratively-produced photographs, and lastly to commercial photography, the only qualities that consistently emerge common to “vernacular photography” in general are those of “non-art,” utilitarianism, and in some cases even kitsch. It is roughly understood to be photography that has not received accreditation as art by an art institution, and has been produced for a slew of reasons, by an amateur or commercial or administrative maker, for an array of markets and purposes. As Douglas Nickel confirms in his 2003 essay “History of Photography: The State of Research”¹⁰, the inclusion of vernacular forms within photography’s historiography has been patchy, and contested throughout as to where and how they fit within a historically art-based field.

Since this “type” of photography makes up the bulk of the photographic material in existence¹¹, and at a loss for an appropriate framework within which to address this material, in recent years many historians and theorists have taken cues from the fields of material culture and social history and have shifted toward analyses that take into account the complex array of factors that influence the production, dissemination, and reception of photographs of all kinds. These analyses include the consideration of cultural, economic, technological, scientific, gendered, racial, etc., aspects as they are related to every step of the photographic object’s existence, from its conception to its afterlives in flea markets, collections, and museums. This shift has happened

⁸ In *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography History*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: London, England: The MIT Press, 2001): 56-80.

⁹ *Ibid*, 59.

¹⁰ *The Art Bulletin* 83.3 (September 2001): 548-558.

¹¹ Batchen, *Each Wild Idea*: 59. Batchen follows, regarding the abundance of vernacular photographs, “On that basis, of course, art photography should barely rate a mention.” (59)

largely within the last two decades, during which time a handful of photographic historians have taken to the cause of relocating the importance of vernacular photography, perhaps partly in response to Batchen's and Nickel's calls to arms, and certainly in response to the lack of an existing theoretical and analytical framework that accounts for the specific *and* general aspects of vernacular photographic objects. In addition to Nickel¹² and Batchen¹³, such scholars as Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart¹⁴, Clément Chéroux and Ilse About¹⁵, among others, have all worked to develop theories regarding the historical importance of looking at the entire photographic object, beyond the image's borders, to derive as full an understanding as possible of the social and cultural functions of the specific object, of the object's creation, and of the varied vernacular photographic media in general. Although Gisèle Freund's 1936 PhD dissertation¹⁶, which became her later (1974 in French, 1980 in English) expanded book *Photographie et Société*¹⁷ dealt, at that time, to an unprecedented extent with the social and cultural function of photographs, an almost sixty-year gap in scholarship of that type remained in place.

Despite the work of these historians and theorists, the largest portion of recent vernacular-photography scholarship has been directed toward the amateur snapshot, a photographic object more formally and materially akin to the art photographs in the collections and on the walls of museums, and thus more widely exhibited than other types of vernacular photographic objects. Some of the most thorough and recent critiques of the way vernacular photography (with a distinct focus on the snapshot) has been exhibited in museums come from scholar Catherine Zuromskis, including her 2000 master's thesis "Snapshot Culture: Personal Photography in Everyday Life"¹⁸ and 2006 PhD dissertation "Intimate Exposures: The Private and Public Lives of Snapshot

¹² *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present*, (San Francisco, Calif.: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1998).

¹³ *Photography's Objects* [exhibition and catalogue], (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Art Museum, 1997); *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997); *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography History* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2001); "Ere the Substance Fade: Photography and Hair Jewellery," in *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, (New York and Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2004); etc.

¹⁴ Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), and Edwards and Hart, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*.

¹⁵ Chéroux and About, "L'Histoire par la Photographie" in *Études Photographiques*, 10, Nov. 2001: 8-33.

¹⁶ "La photographie en France au XIXe siècle: étude de sociologie et d'esthétique" (PhD diss. Université de Paris, 1936); (Paris: La Maison des amis des livres, A. Monnier, 1936).

¹⁷ The English edition was titled *Photography and Society* (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1980). The PhD became the first half of the 1974 book, and was focused on 19th century photography, while the second half of the book was focused on the modern period. This book was published in German, Chinese, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Dutch, Danish and Japanese.

¹⁸ Written at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Photography.”¹⁹ Zuromskis’ “Ordinary Pictures and Accidental Masterpieces: Snapshot Photography in the Modern Art Museum”²⁰ examines the upsurge of art museums exhibiting snapshot photography in the last fifteen years, analyzing such exhibitions as *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present* at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in 1998; the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s *Other Pictures: Vernacular Photographs from the Thomas Walther Collection* (2000); the George Eastman House’s exhibition *Picturing What Matters* (2002); and the J. Paul Getty Museum’s *Close to Home: An American Album* (2004). Although insightful about snapshots’ shifting meaning when absorbed into a modernist discourse, because her writing deals almost exclusively with that form and no other vernacular photographic forms, it does not address the display of three-dimensional photographic objects such as Stanhopes in the museum.

Primarily focused on the socio-cultural history of an assortment of types of photographic objects, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart’s edited collection of essays *Photographs Object Histories: On the Materiality of Images*²¹ includes one essay that deals specifically with the materiality of photographic objects in relation to their exhibition in the museum. This is Glenn Willumson’s “Making Meaning: Displaced materiality in the library and art museum.”²² Willumson’s essay raises the issue of the re-framing and re-inscription of vernacular photographs within the ideological framework of the museum, using stereo views and photographic albums as examples. It emphasizes the importance of the active creation and the performativity of viewing of the photographic album, and the requirement of physical interaction with stereo photographs, with specially designed viewing devices. It questions the placement of these photographic objects in the museum and the resulting problem when their intellectual re-framing as flat, informational images overtakes their physical requirements for interaction, both as originally intended and in the present. While this essay draws attention to the issues of display of vernacular photographic objects and proposes a reorientation of “the museum’s thinking about the relationship between its objects and its audience [,]” this proposal remains largely that, and is only slowly being adopted by cultural institutions. It is the only essay I have been able to locate directly addressing the problems inherent to the exhibition of vernacular photographic objects other than snapshots.

¹⁹ Written in the University of Rochester Program in Visual and Cultural Studies, Department of Art History. Zuromskis is now Assistant professor of Art History at the University of New Mexico.

²⁰ *Art Journal*, vol. 67, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 105-125.

²¹ New York and Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2004.

²² *Photographs Objects Histories*, 62-80.

The 2003 exhibition *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969* at the Art Gallery of Ontario²³ was a groundbreaking exhibition that presented photographs as they were used by ordinary people and incorporated into their lives, and in some instances, *onto* their belongings. In two reviews of this exhibition²⁴ the inclusion of an erotic Stanhope in the form of a smoking pipe is specifically singled out, both because of its innate interest and novelty as an object and more significantly, because of the lack of information in the accompanying object label, with which to contextualize it. Sarah Stacy's review of the exhibition critically examines the framing of vernacular objects in the art museum, and her assessment of *Pop Photographica's* success is not encouraging: "[u]nfortunately, the exhibit's greatest downfall is that it fails to situate the objects in any historic context, whether by taking the material culture route or by more traditional document-based historic research."²⁵ Stacy's critique further questions the lack of a clear relationship between the different types of objects in the exhibition, pointing to the problem of not being provided with the curator's definitions of the terms "popular" or "pop photographica" (nor an explanation of why the cut-off date for objects in the exhibition is 1969), with which to understand the implied relationship between the varied objects. She also raises questions about the lumping together of home-made photographic objects and those that have been commercially-produced into Kaplan's self-imposed "genre,"²⁶ pointing out that if the exhibition had been restricted to one or the other, a more in-depth analysis could have been made of more specific aspects such as the roles of gender and socio-economic status in the production and use of these objects.

Stacy brings special attention to the display of a Stanhope smoking pipe, using it as an example of insufficient curatorial interpretation due to the lack of textual accompaniment and the ineffectuality of the display. Quoted in the footnotes of Stacy's review, the object label in the exhibition included the description: "A quotidian and functional object, such as a gentleman's

²³ The exhibition ran from April 26 to July 20, 2003, and was curated by Daile Kaplan. It was accompanied by a catalogue with essays by Kaplan and the Art Gallery of Ontario's Curator of Photographs, Maia-Mari Sutnik.

²⁴ Robert Fulford, "Photos you could wear: A new exhibit reveals the lost history of 'Pop Photographica'," *National Post* (Apr. 26, 2003): SP1 / front; and Sarah Stacy's exhibition review of "Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969," *Archivaria* 55, Spring 2003: 181-185.

²⁵ Stacy, Exhibition review of *Pop Photographica*, 182.

²⁶ Kaplan defines "pop photographica" in the exhibition catalogue as a term coined "to describe the convergence of photography and popular culture", and it is also confusingly described as "[a] hybrid genre that defies simple categorization." (Daile Kaplan, *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969*, Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003: 19)

pipe, would have a small peephole in the stem or base, which housed a photograph.”²⁷ Stacy’s frustrated response is justified; she states: “[the] description is completely bereft of any links to the society that created the object. Rather than answering the question as to why Victorian men would have placed a secret, miniature image in a pipe, Kaplan offers an explanation so generic it could have referred to any number of societies, cultures, or practices.”²⁸ The exhibition catalogue offers slightly more information on the subject. It attempts to contextualize Stanhopes with an inaccurate mention of their inventor and photographic medium²⁹; with a reference to Queen Victoria’s receipt of a Stanhope in the form of a ring; and with a mention of the many forms in which Stanhopes were mounted, all within the span of one paragraph. Needless to say, this description does not do much to extend a contextual understanding of the object, with not even a mention of the Stanhope novelty’s actual inventor, René Prudent Patrice Dagron. The catalogue, as a record of the exhibition, generally does not succeed in either contextualizing or describing the objects shown in its pages, often not listing the photographic medium used, and the reproductions of the objects, which are for the most part of very low quality, are often not fully in focus, thereby preventing a clear examination. In terms of the Stanhope shown, the text does not demonstrate how the viewer would have held the object to see the image within, and the reproduction of the photographic image within the object is cropped in such a way that it does not represent the actual view one would have had looking into the lens³⁰. The actual installation and presentation of the object in the exhibition will be discussed later in the body of the thesis³¹.

As demonstrated in this survey, although historical scholarship on vernacular photography is growing rapidly, very little has been written on the exhibition of three-dimensional, vernacular photographic objects and methods of display that would extend the materiality, experience, and

²⁷ Kaplan, *Pop Photographica*: 27. This was not the complete text on the label, but unfortunately its complete text was not available to me at this time.

²⁸ Stacy, 183-184.

²⁹ Kaplan, *Pop Photographica*: 27. The catalogue inaccurately states that J. B. Dancer was the inventor of microphotographic jewelry; René Prudent Patrice Dagron was in fact the inventor of the object now known as the Stanhope, and was the first to commercially produce microscopically viewable photographs in the form of jewelry. Sir David Brewster was actually the first to have the idea of placing microscopic photographs in jewelry, in 1857, but his idea was never broadly acted upon, with only a few known examples.

³⁰ This is reproduced on page 27 in *Pop Photographica*. It has been cropped from a circle into an oval, presumably to center the image, and to hide the ragged edges and process artefacts (e.g. emulsion bubbles) that one would observe in the actual object, privileging the image over the actual state of, and experience of viewing of, the object.

³¹ In chapter 4, section 1, on pages 64 through 66.

original context of these types of objects to viewers in a museum,³² and in the case of Stanhopes, what little has been attempted in practice has not met with much success. More consideration and study are needed to develop appropriate methods of display that will better integrate three-dimensional and vernacular photographic objects into exhibitions, especially objects of such a non-art or commercial nature as the Stanhope, and that will provide viewers with contextualizing information and as direct an experience of the object as possible. The first step in contextualizing photographic objects in an exhibition, especially little known and difficult to understand objects such as Stanhopes, is to provide information on how and why they were made, and how they were used. As the focus of this thesis is erotic Stanhopes, the following two chapters will comprise the requisite historical, technical, and contextual information. This information, in conjunction with the consideration of the physical and optical specificities of Stanhopes as they are intended to be experienced, will inform the proposed approaches to their installation in the fourth and final chapter.

³² There is also a gap between the more recent historical emphasis on material-culture and socio-cultural methodologies and the quality of visual reproduction of photographic objects in historical books, periodicals, and some exhibition catalogues; these published sources seem not to extend the theories proposed (regarding the importance of the study of the *actual, whole* object) to the presentation of the object in the form of illustrations, so as to clarify the reader's understanding of the physical properties of the object. This demonstrates the gap between the theory and its implementation in practice, on another level. An important departure from this approach is the 2007 *L'Art de la photographie: des origines à nos jours*, edited by André Gunthert and Michel Poivert, (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod), which gives equal weight to its large and full-colour photographic illustrations and to the text, exemplifying its editors' and authors' object-focused methodologies.

2. Stanhopes: Manufacture and Historical Background

The Stanhope microphotographic novelty was invented by Frenchman René Prudent Patrice Dagron (1819-1900), its first design patented in 1859. To understand what this complex photographic object is and how it came to into existence, a description of the object itself, as well as its historical context and some technical definitions are necessary.

Microphotography, the core element of the Stanhope's novel appeal, is the reduction of full-scale images or documents to microscopic scale with the use of a reducing camera, the main component of which is illustrated in figures 2 and 3 (page 14), and the full camera is shown in figure 4 (page 15). In the case of the Stanhope, the reducing camera's multiple tiny lenses (figure 2, center) convert the original large negative image into multiple miniature positive images. To make these transparencies, the full-sized glass negative is placed at the narrower end of the dark box (fig. 4), and the prepared collodion plate³³ is placed in the camera's plate holder, behind the array of reducing lenses, at the wider end of the box. The negative end is then held to a source of light, whether sunlight or an artificial source, projecting the image toward the camera base and its twenty-five lenses. These twenty-five tiny lenses each reduce the original, projected image to produce twenty-five approximately 2 x 2mm positive transparencies on the emulsion-coated plate. The plate holder on the back side of the brass camera (visible in figure 3) is then slightly repositioned, or "indexed," by sliding it across and up and down according to notches on the camera, a total of eighteen times, to produce 450 transparencies on the same plate.³⁴ After exposure and processing, the plate, approximately 82 x 40mm, is inspected for quality, the acceptable-quality images then cut with a diamond stylus into individual rectangular image plates. The modified, glass Stanhope lenses were produced separately³⁵, first made into rectangular rods approximately 3 x 3mm wide and 8mm long, with one convex and one flat end (figure 6, page 16; inset illustration 1). The cut-down individual image plates were adhered on their emulsion side to the flat or "plane" end of the lens with Canada balsam (fig. 6, inset illustration 2), and the whole was then ground into a cylindrical shape, the final product ready to be inserted into any of a number of objects (fig. 6, inset illustration 3; and fig. 7). For examples of Stanhopes mounted into objects see figures 1 (page 4), 9 and 10 (page 30), 15 through 34 (pages 37, 38, and 40 to 47), and

³³ Figure 5, page 15, shows an exposed and processed plate.

³⁴ Many thanks are due to Todd Gustavson, Curator of Technology at George Eastman House, for patiently explaining how this camera works.

³⁵ The lens used in Stanhopes was actually a modified form of the original Stanhope lens invented by Charles, third Earl of Stanhope (1753-1816).



Figures 2 (above) and 3 (below). Dagron camera; front (lens) side (fig. 2); rear (plate) side (fig. 3). c.1865. George Eastman House collection. Images courtesy George Eastman House.

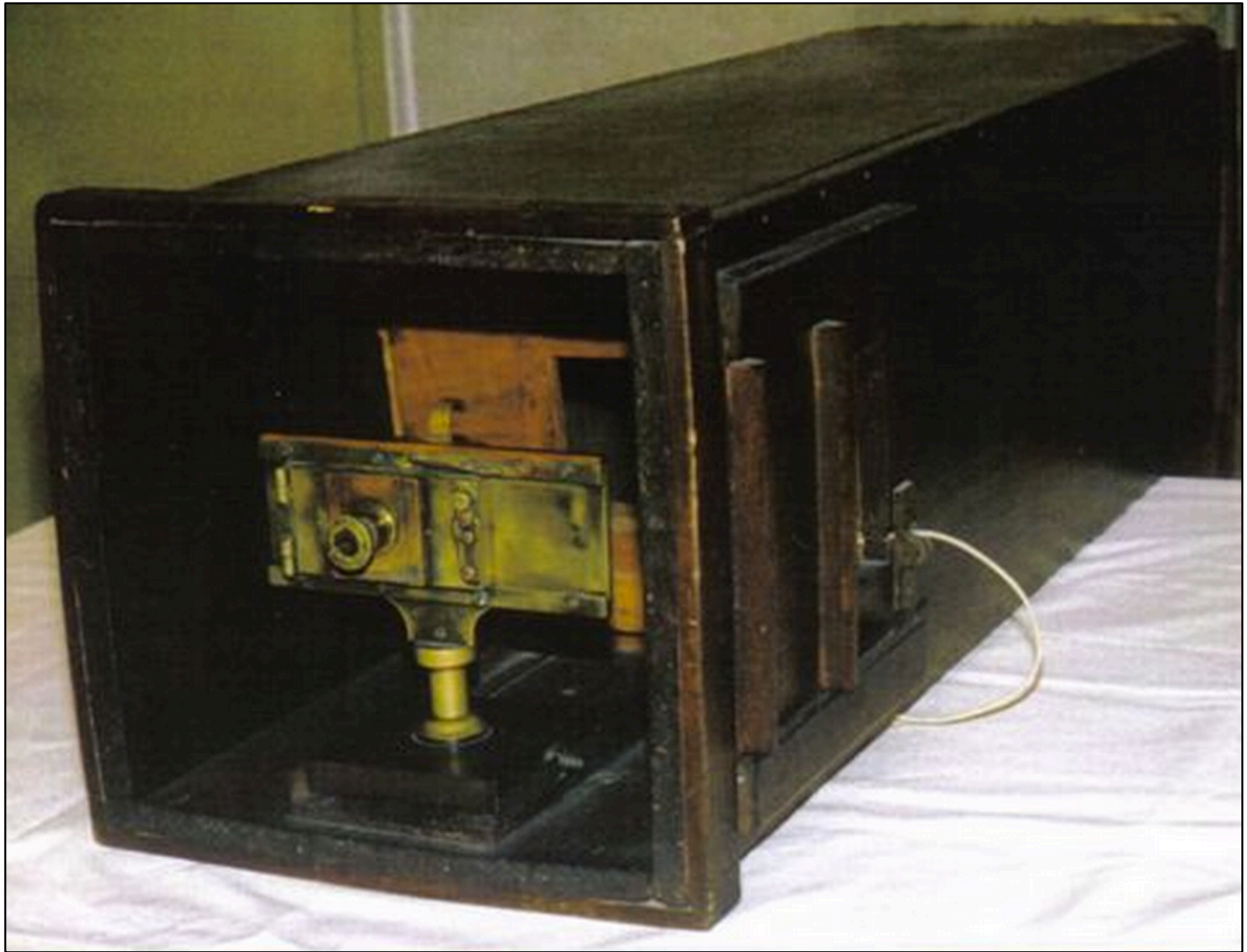


Figure 4. Dagron reducing camera, complete with dark box. The negative is placed at the far, tapered end, to be projected through the camera's lenses and onto the plate, located inside the brass portion of the camera. Image source: <http://www.microscopy-uk.org.uk/mag/imgoct10/Dagroncamera.jpg>.

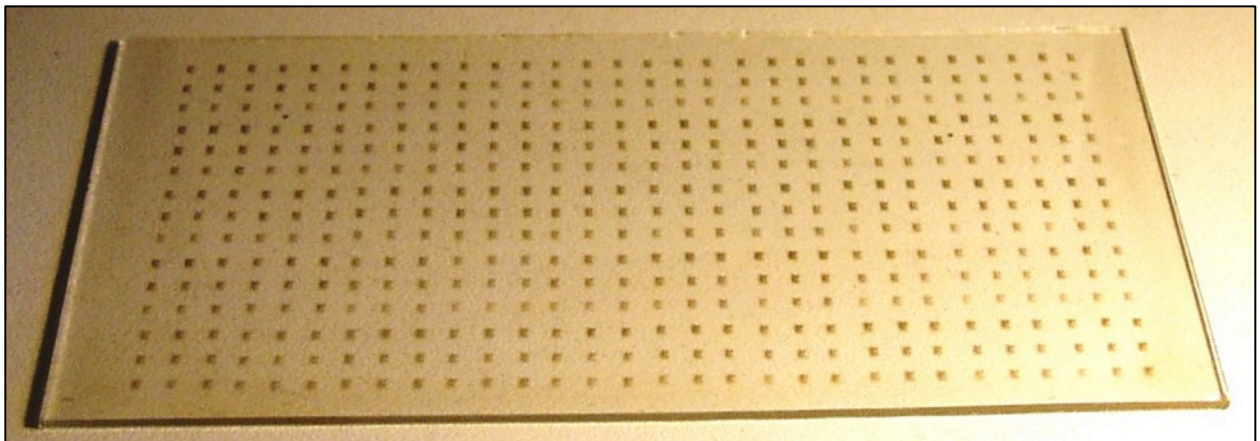


Figure 5. Full, exposed Stanhope plate containing 450 microscopic images; 8.2 x 4cm. Private collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.

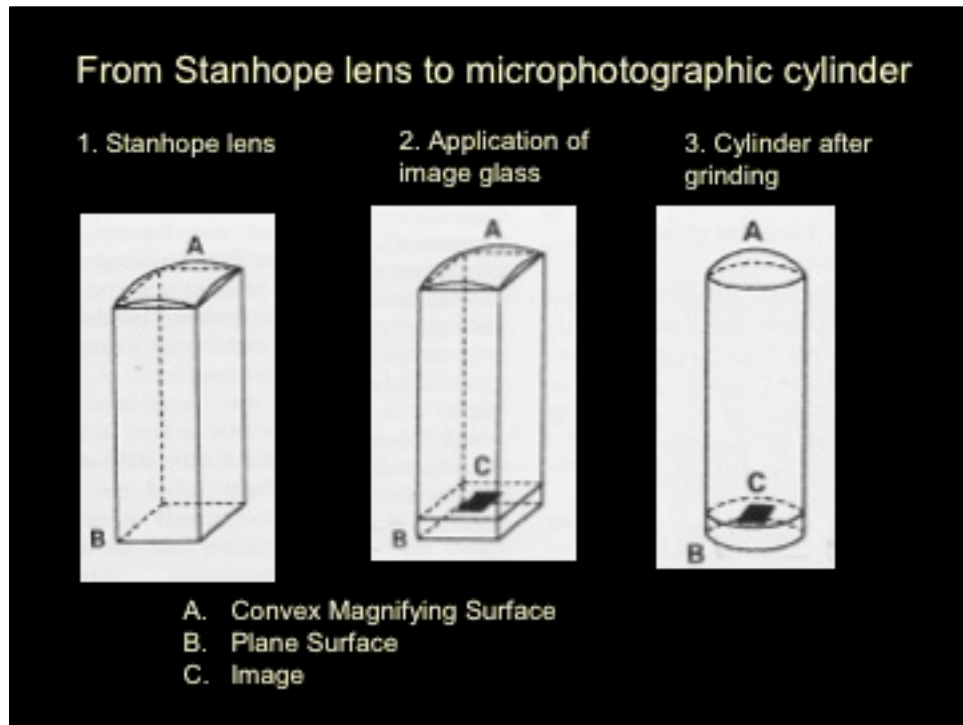


Figure 6. Illustration showing the stages of production of the Stanhope “microphotographic viewing cylinder.” Diagram courtesy Jean Scott.

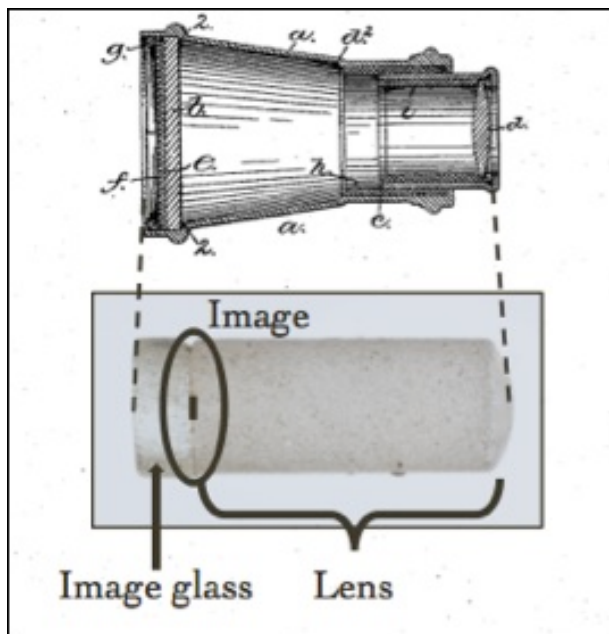


Figure 7. Illustration of how the “viewing cylinder” fits into a monocular. Illustration courtesy of the author.



Figure 8. Illustration of how the Stanhope image is magnified by the lens, from the plane to the convex end. The viewer looks into the convex end to see the image at the plane end magnified. Image courtesy of the author.

44 (page 65). Dagron assembled his own finished Stanhope novelties, but also supplied the image-and-lens combination to vendors ready to mount them into objects of their own. When mounted in the final object, the convex end of the lens is held up to the eye, aimed toward a source of light, the lens magnifying the image, enlarging it to a visible scale (see figures 7 and 8).

Not to be confused with *photomicrography*, the process of photographing minute objects through a microscope, *microphotography*, the process later used for the Stanhope, was invented in the autumn of 1839 by John Benjamin Dancer³⁶ (1812-1887), using the daguerreotype process, which was announced to the world in January and demonstrated and published in August of the same year. Dancer's first microphotograph reduced a full-scale text 50.8cm in length to a reproduction of 2.54cm in length³⁷ on the daguerreotype's silver-coated copper plate, the result only fully visible with the use of a microscope. This early version on metal, unsatisfactory for its opacity and subsequent difficulty of viewing, eventually gave way to microscopic photographs on glass, also invented by Dancer, in 1852³⁸, with the advent of the use of collodion for photographic negative processes, announced in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857), and immediately modified by others. The Scottish physicist and inventor Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), in his affiliation to J. B. Dancer as travelling advocate of his microphotographic slides, first suggested the insertion of microphotographs into jewelry, using gemstones as lenses, in 1857³⁹, two years prior to Dagron's first patent. Brewster's initial idea was acted upon by only a handful of jewelers, as it was costly and time-intensive to carry out⁴⁰, and thus remained largely unpracticed. It is unknown whether Dagron had heard of this form of microphotographic jewelry prior to his invention, but he did produce very similar objects before 1862⁴¹.

In the early 1850s Dagron worked for a Parisian photographer, learning the skills he would need to master photographic processes.⁴² In 1855 J. M. Taupenot introduced the dry, collodion-

³⁶ "Chronology of Microfilm Developments, 1800-1900," University of California Southern Regional Library Facility, accessed Apr. 19, 2012, <http://www.srlf.ucla.edu/exhibit/text/Chronology.htm>.

³⁷ Jean Scott, "J. B. Dancer, Inventor of Microphotography," *A Closer View, A History and Handbook for Collectors of Microphotographic Novelties*, (Witham, UK: Greenlight, 2002): 4.

³⁸ "Chronology of Microfilm Developments," (online) Accessed Apr. 19, 2012.

³⁹ Sir David Brewster, "On the photomicroscope," in *The Photographic Journal*, Vol. 8, Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain, Jan 15, 1864 (Original text dated Dec. 1863, Edinburgh College): 439. Accessed online, April 19, 2012. http://books.google.ca/books?id=PFpLAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA440&lpg=PA440&dq=dagron+patent&source=bl&ots=bMZyLHUu8K&sig=1KLIN410z0ofPQ_p7QbPCEu8AAc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RJeQT5_MHegg6QHU2YmFBA&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=dagron%20patent&f=false

⁴⁰ Scott, "J. B. Dancer (...)," *Stanhopes*, 6.

⁴¹ Ibid, "Mail Order Microphotography," 23-24.

⁴² Scott, "René Dagron and Mass-produced Microphotography," *Stanhopes*, 9-10.

albumen Taupenot process.⁴³ It was subsequent to this development, which made the photographic process somewhat more manageable (because the albumen coating eliminated the need to expose and develop the plate while the collodion was still wet), that Dagron created the Stanhope. The Taupenot dry plate's decreased sensitivity required an increased exposure time, but this was not a real drawback for the microphotographic process, as it was a reproduction process, not involving the photographing of a live, moving subject but simply the copying of a larger negative. By 1859 Dagron had opened his own photographic business in Paris at 66 rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, at that time primarily producing studio *carte de visite* portraits⁴⁴. As Jean Scott recounts in her authoritative book *Stanhopes: A Closer View*;

After Sir David Brewster had exhibited J. B. Dancer's microphotographic slides in Paris, several French photographers began to experiment with the new process. By 1859, the *Salon de Photographie* [sic] in Paris featured displays of microphotographs by Natchet, Wagner and Bernard, and their work was praised as "*la merveille de l'exposition*". [...] René Dagron's name was not included amongst those who exhibited their microphotographs on this occasion, but in view of later events it is certain that he was aware of the new photographic process and had mastered it himself.⁴⁵

By "later events" Scott is referring to Dagron's 1859 patent for an all-in-one microphotographic viewing device, which took the form of a watch key, demonstrating that he had by that time learned of and mastered microphotographic processes and had devised new uses of his own, incorporating image and viewer into a portable, wearable item, different from Brewster's gemstone-jewelry form. From Scott's research, it seems that most of the earliest forms in which to mount Stanhope microphotographs that Dagron either produced or commissioned were functional, some purely decorative, and were often made of bone, simulating ivory.⁴⁶ These took the forms of paperknives, combs, manicure tools, fans, boxes, and in decorative accessories,

⁴³ Michael R. Peres, Editor-in-Chief, *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th ed., (Amsterdam, etc.: Elsevier, 2007): 117.

⁴⁴ Scott, "René Dagron (...)," 9-10.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 10. Scott's publication is the only source on Dagron's life and career, and thus almost all of the history laid out here comes from this source. For a much more in-depth account of Dagron's life and career, see Scott's text. She has used as many primary sources as possible, her main sources of information being the Dagron family archives and the Lizé Collection at the Musée Nicéphore Niépce, Lizé being another manufacturer of Stanhopes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁴⁶ For more on the intersection of the handcrafting trades required in the production of Stanhopes, see chapter 6, "Tributary Crafts of the Stanhope Industry," in Scott's *Stanhopes: A Closer View*: 28-36.

charms, such as the ever-popular monocular and binocular forms most commonly found today.⁴⁷ Dagron also produced Stanhope jewelry, among other items such as mechanical pencil- and penholders, in metal, for his wealthier clientele. The popularity of microphotography with photographers by 1861 is apparent from the many microphotographic patents filed that year: “by Martinache for ‘microphotographs for jewelry’; Regad, ‘prints for microscopes’; Cuvillier; Regnault et Fournet”⁴⁸ and in 1862 by Brin frères and Natchet et fils.⁴⁹

Dagron’s dedication to the microphotographic form is clear from his ongoing attempts to publicize and gain recognition for his work, while continuing to produce studio portraits. In 1862 he exhibited microphotographs and received Honorable Mention at the International Exhibition of Art and Industry in London, and produced some Stanhopes as souvenirs for sale, depicting the site of the exhibition, set within a bone monocular⁵⁰. The same year he presented Queen Victoria with a set of microphotographs⁵¹, and also published a booklet comprising newspaper accounts of his inventions and successes, titled “Cylindres photo-microscopiques montés et non-montés sur bijoux, brevetés en France et à l’étranger”⁵². Dagron’s success and the popularity of his microphotographic novelties following the 1862 International Exhibition meant that production was quickly increased, and Parisian opticians had a hard time keeping up with the demand for the required lenses. It was thus that Dagron decided to open his own factory to produce the lenses he needed. His factory in Gex, France, near the Swiss border, was opened in the beginning of 1863, in a community ripe with potential labourers, the area having no other established industry. The factory produced the lenses that were then sent to Paris, where the rest of the assemblage of the microscopic novelties took place.⁵³ As the popularity of these items grew, other photographers began to replicate Dagron’s invention, and unable to defend the rights to his patents after several legal battles, but with cunning business savvy, he decided to capitalize on this incursion by selling the parts required for the process, which were produced at his factory. He also published a small manual in 1864, “Traité de photographie microscopique,”⁵⁴ which was the world’s first book on microphotographic techniques, and which also included a price list for microphotographic parts

⁴⁷ Scott, “Tributary Crafts of the Stanhope Industry,” 30.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” in her *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994): 160.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Scott, “Expanding the Market,” *Stanhopes*, 18-19.

⁵¹ “Chronology of Microfilm Developments, 1800-1900,” (online), accessed May 30, 2012.

⁵² (Paris: Dagron & Cie., 1862.) Scott, “Expanding (...),” 18. Scott translates this title as “Microphotographic viewers mounted and unmounted in trinkets, patented in France and abroad.”

⁵³ Ibid, 20.

⁵⁴ (Paris: Dagron & Cie., 1864.)

and tools, such as the reducing camera of Dagron's design. An interested photographer could even purchase a starter kit for 110 francs from Dagron's catalogue.⁵⁵ Dagron also provided his services for custom orders, reproducing and mounting individual customers' photographs into Stanhope souvenirs at his factory.⁵⁶

The production of Stanhopes was well underway by 1863. Their presence at the world's fairs and universal exhibitions, the variety and usefulness of their outer forms, and the novelty of the images they carried within ensured their success as an internationally popular photographic form. Although they never rivaled the stereograph in sheer volume and popularity, as evidenced by the London Stereoscopic Company's slogan: "No home without a stereoscope"⁵⁷, Scott refers to a newspaper report following the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, which reveals that "by 1867 Stanhope novelties were being produced so cheaply and in such numbers that they were considered commonplace by most of the population."⁵⁸ Scott's research also shows that by this time production had expanded to include new competitors in two more city centers; in addition to Dagron in Paris, these were Dancer in Manchester⁵⁹ and John H. Morrow in New York⁶⁰, no doubt a direct result of the publication of Dagron's processes, his distribution of the requisite materials, and the plethora of Stanhopes commemorating the various universal exhibitions that travelled back home with the exhibitions' international visitors.

Dagron's regular operations were suspended during the Franco-Prussian war, from 1870 to 1871, at which time he invented the collodion microfilm used by the French government with the pigeon post during the war. As he was also the "sole government photographer for microfilmed despatches by carrier pigeon post during the siege of Paris,"⁶¹ his notoriety and ongoing success after the war were thus ensured, probably further increasing the demand for his Stanhopes. Near the end of the 1870s Dagron turned over the studio portion of his business to his wife, Caroline

⁵⁵ Scott, "'Mail Order' Microphotography," *Stanhopes*, 21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 23.

⁵⁷ John Plunkett, "Depth, Colour, Movement: Embodied Vision and the Stereoscope," in *Multimedia Histories: From the Magic Lantern to the Internet*, edited by James Lyons and John Plunkett (Exeter: University of Exeter Press): 122.

⁵⁸ Scott, "'Mail Order'," 26. Regarding the proliferation of Stanhopes by this time, Scott quotes the journalist in the newspaper, who states that although he considers them marvels, he feels they are banal because so common twelve years after their introduction: "How strange when one must consider banal and pass by without stopping before marvels, just because they have been in existence for perhaps a dozen years!" A source citation is not provided.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 27. It is not specified in Scott's text, but can be assumed that this is a reference to J. B. Dancer.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*. See Scott, page 27, for more on these photographers' involvement in the production of Stanhopes.

⁶¹ This caption was printed on the verso of the *cartes de visite* and other mounted photographs produced at the Dagron studios after the war.

Dagron, to enable him to focus fully on his microphotographic enterprises.⁶² Although it is not mentioned in Scott's authoritative source, it is to be safely assumed that by the late 1880s or early 1890s Dagron and others would have been employing silver-gelatine emulsion glass plates for the production of microphotographic images, since these represented the latest technology, these dry plates being portable, faster and easier to use than collodion formats, and not requiring immediate sensitization, exposure, and development.⁶³

Other variations on the Stanhope form were developed by Dagron and others in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the drive to create moving or "motion pictures" inspiring novel uses such as Dagron's self-named "Kinéscope"⁶⁴. This was a "persistence of motion" device, where two slightly different Stanhope images, pasted side by side, were moved past the eye successively to create the illusion of motion between the images (see figures 23 through 25, page 41). The external mount of the Kinéscope was in the form of a pocket watch; when the viewer pressed the button on top, while looking into the peephole, the images would switch places, creating a sense of motion.⁶⁵ Many other such toys were developed, gaining popularity in the U.S. and Europe in the early twentieth century, as the individual-Stanhope novelties began to fade in popularity.⁶⁶ Stanhope production did, however, endure into the 1970s, with changing external forms and photographic media adapting to evolving technologies and materials (such as plastics), to the evolving styles and tastes of the twentieth century, and to the shifting uses for such a novelty. In the 1950s, for example, the Stanhope was often used as a giveaway by businesses; they were utilized as an advertising ploy, handed out to businessmen as a souvenir.⁶⁷ Although the Gex factory, which continued to produce Stanhope lenses subsequent to Dagron's initial ownership, ceased production in 1972, the production of microphotographic novelties and

⁶² Scott, "Back to Business," *Stanhopes*, 48.

⁶³ Peres' *Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th ed. claims that gelatin dry plates were more common in the U.K. than in the U.S. by the mid-1880s, by then widely accepted by British amateurs and professionals. "The English market for gelatin plates was growing steadily but did not fully topple collodion technology until the mid-1880s." (Peres, 34.) This would imply, due to proximity and to the intensity of photographic activity in Paris, that they might have held equivalent popularity in France by this time.

⁶⁴ It is unknown if Dagron actually designed or patented the Kinéscope. (Scott, "Dagron: The Final Years," *Stanhopes*, 88.)

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 89.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 90.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, "Twentieth Century Stanhopes," 104.

Stanhopes has subsequently been revived on a limited scale, in Britain, in 1983 by Woodsetton Designworks⁶⁸, and in the United States in the twenty-first century, by Stanhope Microworks⁶⁹.

Throughout the Stanhope's long history, it was continuously employed for displaying erotic⁷⁰ photographs. The contexts in which the erotic Stanhope took its place among various forms of photographic erotica, the implications of the experience of viewing, and its physicality as a photographic object will be elaborated upon in the following section, establishing the basis for the final section, on considerations requisite to exhibiting erotic Stanhopes.

⁶⁸ This company creates a larger variation of the Stanhope novelty that they call "Woodsetton Secret Picture Curios (peeps)", and are known for their thimbles. Woodsetton Designworks, <http://www.woodsetton.co.uk/peeps.php>, accessed July 17, 2012.

⁶⁹ Stanhope Microworks (<http://www.stanhopemicroworks.com/>, accessed July 15, 2012) produces custom and pre-made Stanhopes. This business began by following the tradition of nineteenth century violin-bow maker J.P. Vuillaume, who inserted Stanhope images of himself and of famous composers in the frog of the violin bow, but Stanhope Microworks has branched out to produce other forms of Stanhopes as well.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of my use of this term, see footnote 71 in the following section.

3. Erotic Photography and Stanhopes

Erotic and pornographic⁷¹ imagery were produced and disseminated from the early days of photography's existence, following the earlier literary, drawn, painted and printed traditions already in place. However, aside from the experiments of a few photographers, who made images of naked people as soon as the technical limitations of long exposures had been overcome⁷², there are few extant nude daguerreotypes datable to before 1851⁷³. Joseph Slade, in his *Pornography in America*, states that "within six years [of photography's announcement in Paris] daguerreotypists produced images of naked humans"⁷⁴, referring to the earliest photographs in the collection of the Kinsey Institute for the Study of Sex, Gender and Reproduction. The dates of these objects are difficult to substantiate, however, and from my email exchanges with the Institute's curator of Art, Artifacts and Photographs, Catherine Johnson-Roehr, it appears that the Institute's earliest examples are likely from the later 1840s⁷⁵. Nude photographs certainly flourished after 1851, with the rapid increase of the use of collodion glass-plate negatives, and their potential for widespread

⁷¹ Definitions of what is deemed "erotic" and "pornographic" change over time and are culturally relative, and these terms primarily carry legal functions emerging from litigation. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, in its definition of pornography, concludes that there are three definitions that are intended when using the term "pornography": the first is that pornography is (culturally relative) sexually explicit material; the second is that it is sexually explicit *and* intended to arouse viewers; the third, in addition to these two aspects, defines pornography as something intrinsically "bad" or harmful in some way, for example as degrading toward women, or corrupting of men's morals. (See "What is Pornography?" <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pornography-censorship/#1>, accessed June 26, 2012.) As this thesis is not primarily concerned with defining what is or is not pornography, for the purposes of this paper, I refer to as "erotic" those photographs that include images of nude figures, created or reproduced and sold for mildly "titillating" purposes, and as "pornographic" those photographs that include explicit imagery of sexual acts or of the exposure of sexual organs, and also created and sold for purposes of arousal. My category of erotic photographs includes reproductions of paintings of nudes, when they are sold in the same forms (e.g. as Stanhopes, postcards, stereo views, etc.) and alongside erotic and pornographic photographs of live people, or reproductions of prints, drawings and paintings with obvious sexual content. This is the case with the group of Stanhopes in the collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction, illustrated in the inventory in appendix 3, which comprises images of painted, printed or drawn, and of photographic origin. All of these Stanhopes together made up one shipment from a supplier to a distributor. I have only come across one sexually explicit or "pornographic" Stanhope in my research (see figures 9 and 10), primarily finding images of partially or fully dressed women posing for the camera, and reproductions of non-sexual paintings (that is, ones showing neither sexual acts nor exposed sexual organs) incorporating nudes. For further discussion of definitions of obscenity, see pages 25 through 27 and footnote 94, page 27.

⁷² With the use of bromine as an added sensitizing agent for daguerreotypes, by the early 1840s portraiture was made possible, with dramatically decreased exposure times. (Peres, 67).

⁷³ McCauley, "Braquehais and the Photographic Nude," *Industrial Madness*, 153.

⁷⁴ Joseph Slade, "Erotic Photography" in *Pornography in America*, (Santa Barbara, California; Denver, Colorado; Oxford, England: ABC-CLIO, 2000.): 91.

⁷⁵ In an email conversation of June 28, 2012. Johnson-Roehr referred to an oval-shaped daguerreotype of a nude woman made in 1851, and a stereo daguerreotype of two nude women with a mirror, c.1845-1850 (The latter is illustrated later in this thesis, in figures 35 and 36, page 49.).

reproduction in the form of paper prints, most commonly albumen, and then boomed again in the late nineteenth century with the introduction of the more sensitive and easy to use silver gelatine emulsions on glass and paper. Most often categorized as *académies*, or figure studies ostensibly for the use of artists, this label became a thinly veiled disguise for the trade in erotic photographs in the first fifty years of their production. As Elizabeth Anne McCauley states in *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, “photographic académies teetered precariously on the undefined line between art and pornography and represented the legal tip of a much larger and mysterious iceberg of illicit imagery.”⁷⁶ McCauley elucidates the fact that the danger of imprisonment faced by individuals involved in the production and dissemination of photographs of naked people was mitigated by several strata of middlemen.⁷⁷ She states, for example, that Guth and Laufer, unspecified middlemen of some form, were caught with “micro nudes,” presumably while trying to register them with the Ministry of the Interior, in 1863.⁷⁸ The existing French *dépôt légal* law, which required the legal deposit and registration with the government of authored works for sale, and which was extended to include photographs in 1852⁷⁹ “to prevent – or at least restrict – the circulation of images undermining public morality,”⁸⁰ required commercial photographers to deposit copies of each image available for public sale. It was the implementation of this legal registry for photography that spurred the drive to define the line between what could be considered “art” or “obscenity” in photography in France. According to McCauley’s extensive research, the 1853 registers for the *dépôt légal* reveal that 40.5% of photographs registered that year were *académies*⁸¹, evidence of the demand for this type of photograph. McCauley explains that this trend reversed rapidly with the increasing prosecution of photographers who were producing nude photographs of any kind, stating that by 1860 the category *académie* does not even exist in the legal register.⁸² If prosecuted, offenders faced imprisonment of anywhere between one month and one year, and fines from 16 to 1000 francs.⁸³ Although I was unable to find any record of Stanhopes or Dagron microscopic photographs via the

⁷⁶ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 149.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 160.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 160, and endnote, 392. McCauley’s statement implies that Guth and Laufer was a firm that had attempted to register the images with the Ministry of the Interior, but this is not entirely clear.

⁷⁹ McCauley, “The Business of Photography,” *Industrial Madness*, 50.

⁸⁰ Denis Pellerin, “File BB3 and the Erotic Image in the Second Empire,” in *Paris in 3-D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality, 1850 to 2000*, edited by Françoise Reynaud, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby (London: Booth-Clibborn; Paris: Paris Musées, 2000.): 91.

⁸¹ McCauley, “The Business of Photography,” 97.

⁸² Ibid, 97.

⁸³ Pellerin, 91.

Bibliothèque nationale de France internet search engine, McCauley does state that in 1861 *Dagron et Compagnie* attempted to register “microviews” with the Ministry of the Interior⁸⁴, but that these were deemed “unauthorised” due to the nature of the photographs, titled “*Surprised Bathers*,” “*La Joyeuse Orgie*,” “*L’Indiscret*,” and “*Léda*”, and that some of these were approved on condition that they were not for sale, or alternately, if they were expressly for export.⁸⁵ By the fact that Dagron tried to register them, undoubtedly these were intended for commercial sale, though whether locally or abroad remains unknown.

Although the definitions of what was considered erotic or pornographic were never clearly spelled out by either police or government officials in mid-nineteenth century France, there were ongoing attempts to curtail the quickly growing trade in nude photographs from the 1850s onward, especially with the proliferation made possible by collodion glass negatives and albumen prints, which made commercial production faster and cheaper, and enabled a vastly increased quantity of output. As discussed in chapter 2, collodion emulsions on glass also enabled the development of the Stanhope form, and it was in this environment, of the heavy policing of photographic image content, that the Stanhope was conceived, produced and first disseminated. In reference to the American governmental response to the influx of photographic nudes in the 1850s, Slade recounts that although they were extremely difficult to reproduce, in 1857 the U.S. Congress prohibited the import of explicit daguerreotypes⁸⁶, indicating that erotic and pornographic photographs were widespread enough even at that time as to be perceived to pose a threat to public morals. With the gradual demise of the daguerreotype in the second half of the 1850s and the rise of photographic technologies capable of producing multiple paper prints, the trade in nude photographs expanded wildly, and thus became increasingly difficult to monitor and prosecute, even with police in Paris working undercover to arrest offenders involved in the trade⁸⁷. Although it was illegal to be involved in any way in the production, dissemination and sale of photographic nudes, the private ownership of such material (in France), once paid for and in the private domain, had no potential legal repercussions.⁸⁸ However, regardless of potential litigation for those involved in the market, as Pellerin states, there were many “respectable merchants who

⁸⁴ It is unlikely that Dagron would have submitted complete Stanhope objects to the registry, but rather copies of the *images* he proposed to reproduce within them, in the form of microphotographic plates.

⁸⁵ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 160-161.

⁸⁶ Slade, “Erotic Photography,” 91-92.

⁸⁷ Pellerin, 93.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 94.

had discovered that this activity was an easy way of substantially increasing their income.”⁸⁹ The same channels were employed as those used for the dissemination of printed pornography, and nude photographs were often sold alongside other such erotic items as “undressed dolls, dildos, condoms, [and] licentious prints” in such locations as “cafés, on street corners, in public dancehalls and brothels, in the backs of print shops, and in established photo studios.”⁹⁰ Sigel, in her 2002 study of pornography in nineteenth century England, refers to the fact that although pornography could have been geared toward the illiterate working classes, it was not; “[p]hotography at this point seemed as close to novelties as to literature. Dealers might sell dildos, preservatives, moving figures, transparent cards, Venus rings, etc., as well as photographs.” This conception of photography itself as a novelty, but one geared toward the (literate) wealthy among many other novelties available at the time, lays the groundwork for the popularity of such a format as the Stanhope, with the upper-middle and upper classes. About the trade in London and the intended audience for pornography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she adds:

Pornographers did not post notices in public places, did not hand out notices to passersby in London, and did not advertise in working-class newspapers. Instead they handed out catalogues to tourists in the streets of Paris and mailed out catalogues to likely buyers. The pornographers used the social register and the society pages to pick their clients.

This passage refers to the advent of mail-order pornography, and the many systemic impediments to access for working-class people, indicating that the primary audience for such material was upper-middle and upper class, heterosexual men with “wealth, education, social advantages (...) and political power,”⁹¹ and that they were actively sought out by the producers of pornography. This statement applies equally to the kinds of objects in which erotic Stanhopes were mounted, effectively delivering these images only to those who could afford these types of objects.

With law enforcers unable to maintain control over the huge volume of output, a continuous supply of erotic and pornographic photographs was ensured, meeting the growing demand for this type of imagery. Photographs of naked people represented a novel and shocking entertainment, but one that was an extension of the pre-existing forms of erotica and pornography

⁸⁹ Pellerin, 91.

⁹⁰ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 156-157. For examples of photographic “posters” or “pin-ups” advertising series of pornographic photographs available for purchase in photographic studios, see the journal *Amc*², Issue 1: 114-120.

⁹¹ “*The Pearl Before Swine*,” in her *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815-1914*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002.): 90.

popular at the time, namely literature and prints, and one with few or no repercussions for those who could afford it. Since there was an audience and channels of dissemination already in place, photography, in its capacity for seemingly endless multiplication, and in conjunction with the newly shocking and arousing effect of the photographed naked body, ensured that the channels for such material spread like wildfire in the 1850s and 1860s. Quoting Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Slade states “what made the photographed nude so significant [...] was that it ‘disrupted ... the propriety of the [painted] nude.’”⁹² McCauley likewise states: “such [photographic] nudes were shocking to eyes accustomed to flowing Ingresque contours and ivory flesh[.]”⁹³ This jarring shift from idealized nudes to photographs of actual, naked individuals was the crux of much of the scandal surrounding accusations of obscenity and pornography, in that the naked body without “art” or idealization was seen to represent something base and ignoble, and liable to corrupt minds unequipped to overcoming this challenge to decency (specifically, women, children, and the lower classes were considered at risk⁹⁴). This grey area, of what was deemed to be obscene, or pornographic, and what was seen as “artistic,” was addressed in many mid- to late-nineteenth century nude photographs, by photographers who posed their models in “nude” body stockings, or veiled or covered breasts and/or genitalia, and often retouched the final image to eliminate suggestions of pubic hair, nipples, and in some cases, the clefts of buttocks.⁹⁵ While the faces and the shapes of the models’ bodies remained individualized, the “adult” sexual characteristics of the bodies were forcibly conformed to notions of propriety relative to the moral attitudes of the era (specifically, the denial of sexuality and maintenance of the ideal of the childlike innocence of women). As Slade aptly puts it, “[h]undreds of photographers shot salon nudes from which they

⁹² Slade, 91. The quotation “disrupted the propriety (...)” is taken from Solomon-Godeau’s “The Legs of the Countess,” in *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, edited by Emily Apter and William Pietz, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 299, 306.

⁹³ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 154.

⁹⁴ In *Governing Pleasures*, Sigel states: “During the sex panic over pornography at the end of the nineteenth century [...] [m]oral authorities, who saw themselves as objective, believed that women and children who viewed pornography grew corrupted. According to the authorities, the very act of viewing hurt women and children by making them easy prey for sexual predators.” (157). See Sigel’s *Governing Pleasures* for an extensive discussion of pornography’s intended audiences, and of the groups seen as vulnerable to corruption by pornography and regarding whom definitions of pornography were established. Likely the source to which Sigel’s statements are pointing, Slade states that the “Hicklin test,” adapted to legally define “obscene libel” in the United States, and based on the English court case *Regina v. Hicklin*, 1868, asked the question: “Did the work, even in isolated passages, tend to ‘deprave and corrupt’ those whose minds might be open to immoral influences? Those in danger of corruption were the ‘weak minds’ of society: children, women, the underclasses, the ethnically different.” (“Law and Sexual Representation,” in Slade’s *Pornography in America*, 33.)

⁹⁵ Examples of these types of images follow later in this chapter.

carefully leached traces of sexuality.”⁹⁶ This confused idealization and suppression was also played out in the other types of images distributed as erotic or pornographic. In the case of Stanhopes (as well as other photographic forms), reproductions of painted nudes were mixed in and sold together with reproduced photographs of naked women. The group of Stanhopes in the collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, constitutes one shipment (of presumably thousands) of Stanhopes⁹⁷ sent from a supplier to a distributor in 1924, made up of twenty-five images repeated many times over, in addition to a handful of single images. Six of the twenty-five repeating images are identifiable as reproductions from paintings, drawings or prints, and another four are unidentifiable as either being from a photographic or painted, drawn, or printed source.⁹⁸

The erotic Stanhope, while never the subject of such intense scrutiny or litigation as the other more popular photographic forms, took its place among mounted photographs (*cartes de visite*, cabinet cards, boudoir cards), stereo cards, and later post cards, in the ever-growing variety of forms in which erotic photographs were disseminated from the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Scott affirms that Dagron produced erotic or pornographic Stanhopes very early, stating, in reference to these, “[n]ovelty containing ‘exotic’ views had always been part of the stock in trade at *Dagron & Cie.*, and had probably made a considerable contribution to the firm’s profits.”⁹⁹ With the growing market for erotic images in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, it is not surprising that the Stanhope was quickly put to this use as well, and with the rapid expansion of the microphotographic field helped by Dagron’s manufacture and distribution of supplies, it is not surprising that this function would proliferate. The seizure of nude photographs in Paris began in the early 1850s¹⁰⁰, the public denunciation of such photographs forcing the market underground by 1854-1855¹⁰¹. In the few existing textual resources on Stanhopes, there are three references to erotic microphotographs being seized by the authorities. These include the already mentioned

⁹⁶ Slade, 92.

⁹⁷ The (likely) thousands of “Stanhopes” in this shipment are each made up of only the image glass and the adhered lens, not mounted in objects. They remain uncounted at this time.

⁹⁸ In December 2011 and February 2012 I visited the Kinsey Institute and rehoused and documented their collection of Stanhopes. See appendices 1 and 2, respectively, for descriptions of the processes of rehousing and documentation, and see appendix 3 for the illustrated inventory of Stanhope images.

⁹⁹ Scott, “Back to business,” 48. Scott has seen, first-hand, items of this description in the Dagron family archives, datable to Dagron’s first years of Stanhope production. It is clear in her essay that by “exotic” she is referring to nude images.

¹⁰⁰ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 155.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 156.

Guth and Laufer seizure, in Paris in 1863,¹⁰²; an 1864 seizure intercepting Stanhopes en route to Veracruz, Mexico, from France, which involved a photographer, a toy merchant *and* the director of a photographic firm¹⁰³; and a later seizure of Stanhope watch keys by customs officials in Australia, in 1869¹⁰⁴. In addition to these instances, the Stanhopes in the collection of the Kinsey Institute were also seized, at a Washington, D.C. post office, in 1924.¹⁰⁵ Although it is likely that there were more seizures of Stanhopes than these sources would indicate, it is equally probable that they were not the subject of as much litigation or seizure as other photographic formats due to their size and the innocuousness of the objects into which they were mounted, whereas a photograph such as a stereograph or post card, immediately visible to the eye due to its larger scale, and more commonly possessed, would be much more easily discovered, especially in bulk. Although McCauley does not define “pornography,” her statement is equally applicable to (my use for the term) erotica; she states that the microphotograph constituted “a type of photograph that was particularly adaptable to pornography,”¹⁰⁶ implying that, due to its tiny size, its indecipherability by the naked eye, and its concealable nature, it was ideal for hiding something understood to be so morally reprehensible in Victorian times, no doubt also aiding in its transport across borders, where erotica and pornography were heavily policed and often seized.

Pellerin states that “[b]ecause they were expensive and could only be afforded by a wealthy minority, [erotic or pornographic] images were usually scrutinized in bourgeois drawing rooms,”¹⁰⁷ indicating the limited audience with access to this type of imagery. Shedding light on the income disparity of photography’s purchasing public, McCauley compares the average Parisian working man’s daily wages to the cost of a celebrity *carte de visite* in her *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*¹⁰⁸. She states it is estimated that in 1860 “12.3 percent

¹⁰² Ibid, 160.

¹⁰³ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 161.

¹⁰⁴ Scott, “‘Mail Order’ Microphotography,” 27.

¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, this is the extent of the information the Kinsey Institute has about this group of Stanhopes, other than that they were acquired by the Institute in 1959, and the box in which they came has a label indicating that they originated in France, but it is unknown when or by whom this label was affixed.

¹⁰⁶ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 160. For the purposes of this essay I am restricting my study (and terminology) to “erotic” Stanhopes (see footnote 71), other than those illustrated in figures 9 and 10. That additional sexually explicit Stanhopes existed is entirely likely, as sexually explicit or “pornographic” photographs existed in every other medium and format at the time, and so this may be what McCauley is referring to. My study, however, will remain primarily focused on the types of image I know to be available for study and potential exhibition, which are predominantly “erotic”.

¹⁰⁷ Pellerin, 94. He is referring to the period between 1855 and 1868 represented by file BB3 in the *Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris*; “a bound file containing information relating to the illegal; production of erotic images, 1855-68.” (91)

¹⁰⁸ (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.)



Figure 9. Gold stickpin with erotic Stanhope; length: 7.5cm. London collection. Photograph: Milan Zahorcak.



Figure 10. Magnified Stanhope image from the stickpin shown in figure 9; approx. 1-2mm. London collection. Photograph: Milan Zahorcak.

of Parisian males (...) earned less than [three francs per] day, 71.8 percent earned [three to five francs per] day, and 15.7 percent more than [five francs per] day. (...) In light of this information, one can see that cartes selling for [one franc] apiece were beyond the means of the average Parisian worker.”¹⁰⁹ It was likewise for the “wealthy minority” that Dagron produced gold, silver, or gilt Stanhope jewelry, otherwise primarily producing inexpensive souvenirs.¹¹⁰ One example of an expensive and “pornographic” Stanhope is shown in figure 9 (page 30) in the form of a gold stickpin, or “tie pin”, with an eagle atop, its inner microscopic photograph shown in figure 10 (page 30). Although tie pins became popular with women by the end of the nineteenth century, this type of item, made of gold, would in all likelihood have been purchased and worn by a wealthy gentleman, as it is extremely unlikely that a woman would have purchased such an item, with a pornographic picture inside, either for herself or as a gift, and would certainly not have worn it. As illustrated in figure 10, while it is not difficult to understand the imagery, it is extremely difficult to make out whether the image was reproduced from a painting, an over-painted or retouched photograph, or simply from a plain photograph whose quality is now so grainy due to its small scale as to look painted. McCauley quotes senator M. Louis Adolphe Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, from a senate debate held June 22, 1865, in which he argued that “[p]hotography [...] reflects and vulgarizes masterpieces of nature and art; but too often it also, while rifling our museums, tries to multiply images that were made as artistic studies and were not destined to provoke passionate looks[,]”¹¹¹ demonstrating that by 1865 “art” images were often reproduced and sold alongside purely photographic erotica, for the same purpose. If there is a nude body in a Stanhope image, even though to the eye it may be quite difficult to see the image fully due to its small scale and depending on image placement and the state of deterioration (as opposed to the clearer enlarged view provided by a camera, as with the reproductions in appendix 3), it can still be relatively easy to distinguish whether it is an image of a real body or a painting. The paintings seem usually to maintain the idealized, distorted, and exaggerated body shapes found in Renaissance art and subsequent academic art, as with the image depicted in figure 11 (page 32). This photograph reproduces a painting that was itself copied from Giorgione’s painting *Sleeping Venus* (c.1510). The live naked women photographed most often have particular, sometimes lumpy, un-idealized bodies, and held somewhat awkward and ungraceful poses, often smiling and looking directly at the camera, as demonstrated in figure 12 (page 33). The inelegant

¹⁰⁹ McCauley, “Celebrity Cartes: The Galerie des Contemporain Series,” *A. A. E. Disdéri*, 53, 236, endnote 2.

¹¹⁰ Scott, “Tributary Crafts of the Stanhope Industry,” 29.

¹¹¹ McCauley, “Braquehais and the Photographic Nude,” 163, and footnote 58, page 393.



Figure 11. Untitled [full-length study of a naked woman reclining in a landscape, on leopard-print fabric, based on Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* (c.1510)], image approx. 1-2mm. Image courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction. Photographed by the author. (See appendix 3, plate 16, page 115, for a view of the entire image glass area.)



Figure 12. Untitled [full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised and open to the sides, with a painted backdrop and lamp post], image approx. 1-2mm. Image courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction. Photographed by the author. (See appendix 3, plate 11, page 110, for a view of the entire image glass area.)



Figure 13. Stanhope image from a bone manicure set. Courtesy of the London collection. Photograph: Milan Zahorcak.



Figure 14. Untitled [full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised, one hand touching the top, and the other the back, of her head], image approx. 1-2mm. Image courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction. Photographed by the author. (See appendix 3, plate 13, page 112, for a view of the entire image glass area.)

positioning of hands and feet, and often arms and legs, is a telltale sign of a photograph of a living woman. There are also the photographic tropes and conventions that are immediate giveaways, such as awkward or useless studio props (figures 12 and 13), minimalism of the background setting, harsh lighting or heightened contrast due to generations of reproduction, in addition to the clues provided by period hairstyles and costumes. However, there are many of those images that fall between the two, with real models taking the poses of classical sculptures, as demonstrated in figure 14 (page 35), or figures derived from paintings. Such images have additionally been over-painted and outlined, the background blacked out, and in this example, the model is also possibly wearing a “nude” body stocking.¹¹²

Not as expensive as the gold stickpin, another erotic Stanhope in metal, probably brass, illustrated in figures 15 through 20 (pages 37 and 38), takes the ever-popular form of binoculars, and is a charm to be worn on a watch fob¹¹³. Figures 16 through 18 show the view into the lens as seen from both the viewing end (fig. 16), and the non-viewing, or “plane”, end (figs. 17, 18) of the lens¹¹⁴. Each of the two inset lenses (figs. 19 and 20) shows a different photograph, to be looked at individually, of a pair of Victorian women standing in relatively banal poses, not looking into the camera in either shot. This example creates much more of a “peeping” effect, due to the models’ poses. With their backs to the viewer and their lack of acknowledgement of the camera, the fantasy of catching them unawares, seen as it were, through a keyhole, can be fully imagined while looking into this Stanhope. The symbolism of the binocular form in conjunction with these images seems especially relevant to this type of fantasy. The images in this charm also demonstrate the photographic tropes mentioned, which were increasingly common to many erotic photographs as the pretense of the “académie” faded; there is no pretext here of “art”; the backgrounds are obscured or nonexistent in order to foreground the models’ silhouettes and the details of their physical form, the props additionally serving no actual narrative purpose, simply placed there to help display the models’ bodies.

In general, although there were many outer forms for Stanhopes that were not gender-specific, some of the objects in which Stanhopes were mounted were gender-specific, within the

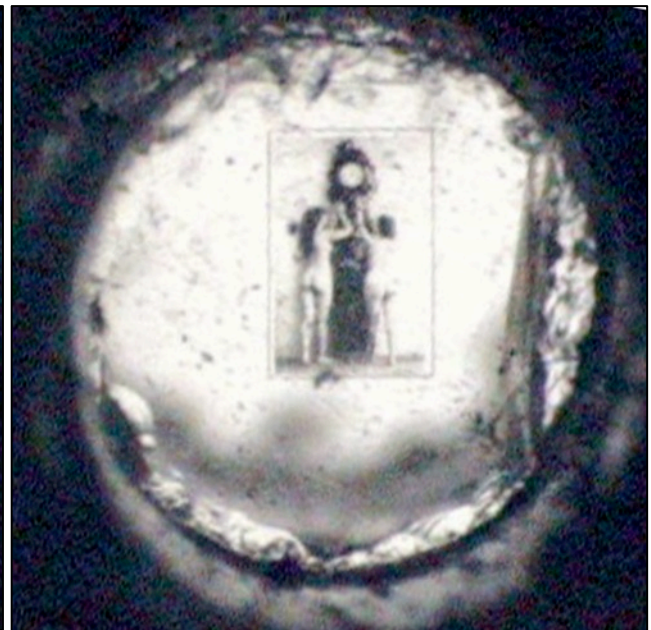
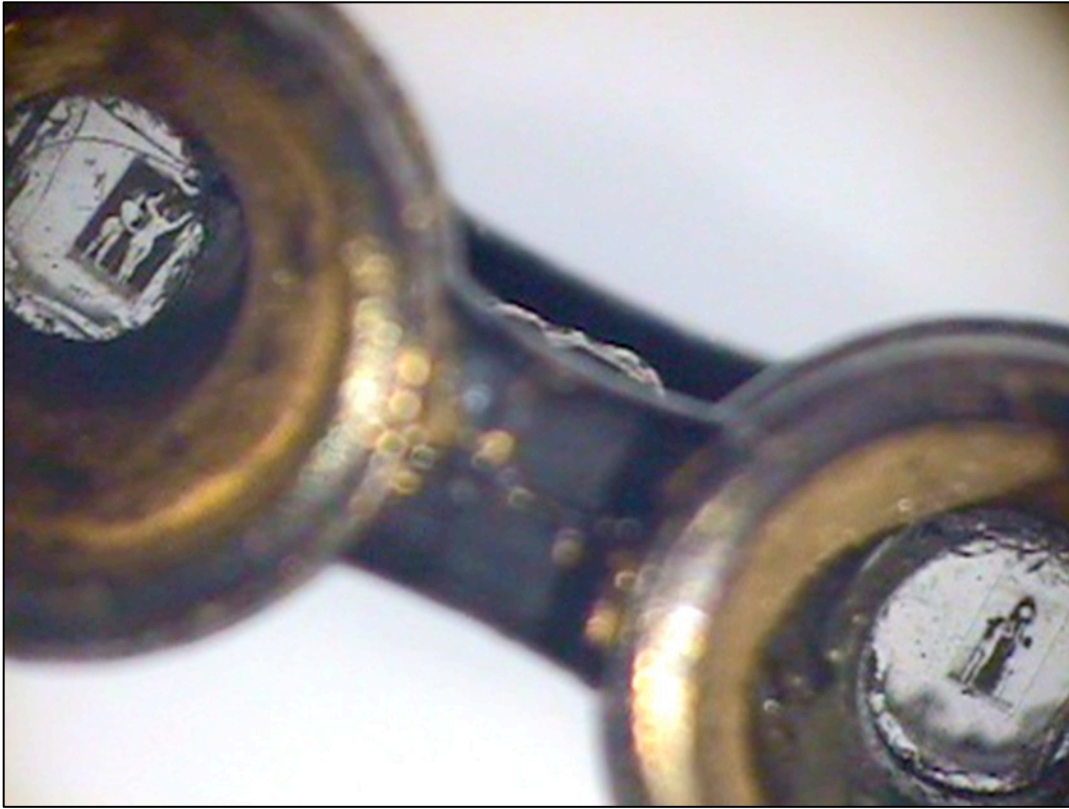
¹¹² For further examples of possible painting-photograph hybrids, and for comparison against “straight” photographs, see the inventory of Stanhope images from the collection of the Kinsey Institute, in appendix 3.

¹¹³ A watch fob is the chain, ribbon or strap attached to a pocket watch, whose function is for decoration, or to attach the watch to a piece of clothing, most often a man’s vest. This term is also often applied to the actual charms worn on the fob.

¹¹⁴ These images, shot with a microscope-adapted camera, demonstrate the difficulty or impossibility of documenting Stanhopes in a way that accurately depicts the effect of viewing them directly with the eye, which will be elaborated on in chapter 4.2, and in appendix 2.



Figures 15 (top), 16 (center), 17 (bottom). Metal Stanhope watch fob charm, in the form of binoculars, approx. 2cm x 2 cm x 1cm. Figure 16 shows the viewing end of the lenses, while figure 17 shows the view through the image-end (non-viewing, or plane end) of the Stanhope (flipped laterally). Due to the minute proximity to the viewing end required to view the images with the eye, this view cannot be documented with a camera. Collection of the author. Photographs: the author.



Figures 18 (above), 19 (bottom left), 20 (bottom right). Figure 18 (detail) shows the images in the watch fob charm as seen through the non-viewing (plane) end of the Stanhope (flipped laterally), and figures 19 and 20 show each of the images, also seen through this end (also flipped laterally). Collection of the author. Photographs: the author.

socio-cultural divisions of the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Since certain practices and activities, such as sewing, and trades, such as seamstress, were seen as, and thus for the most part were, gender-specific (women's work), the Stanhope images in the objects made for those practices/activities and trades were geared toward women, or a more general audience, often with religious imagery or images of tourist destinations. Many Stanhope novelties took the form of bone (imitation ivory) sewing implements including stilettos, needle cases, thimbles, tape measures, etc. About these Scott states "nude images are very rarely seen in items used by women."¹¹⁵ She states also that "the large size of most metal rings with Stanhope nudes would seem to limit them to male wearers,"¹¹⁶ another indication that Stanhopes with nude images were geared specifically toward men, and especially wealthier men who could afford such jewelry. As made evident through the types of objects that carried erotic images, which include walking canes (figs. 21 through 25, pages 40 and 41), cigarette and cigar holders (figs. 26 to 28, pages 42 and 43), smoking pipes (figs. 29 and 30, pages 44 and 45), vesta cases (figs. 29 and 31, pages 44 and 45) watch fob charms (figs. 15 to 20), stick pins (figs. 9, 10, page 30), rings (figures 32 and 33, page 46), scissors (figure 34, page 47) knives, dice sets, etc., the early erotic Stanhope's intended audience was quite obviously gender- and class-specific, composed of upper-middle and upper-class, heterosexual men. The types of objects in which erotic images were found suggest the leisurely lifestyle enjoyed by the upper classes, as they are for the most part associated with leisure activities and bodily decoration. The types of leisurely activities enjoyed by late nineteenth-century upper-class men were most often practiced solely in the company of other men, with gentlemen's clubs, political and recreational associations, and special interest groups hugely popular in this era, where men would go to smoke, drink, eat, read, and in some clubs, gamble, and share news and other activities and items of mutual interest. These places were likely the most common within which men would have shared erotic Stanhopes with their friends and associates, in spaces where persecution for the ownership of such material would likely have been nonexistent; these novelties would more likely be celebrated there, for the impressive technological achievement they represented, and for their erotically charged imagery. Regardless of where they were shared, Stanhope images could only be viewed by one person at a time, and so even if a man decided to show his erotic Stanhope to a friend on the street, the only real risk of being "caught" with explicit material by passersby would rest in the degree or nature of the second

¹¹⁵ Scott, "The Stanhope Image," *Stanhopes*, 111.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*



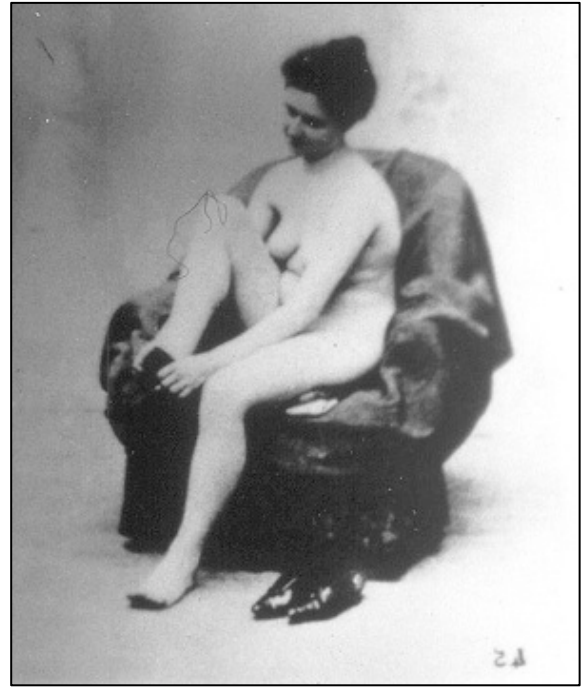
Figure 21. Stanhope walking canes with hidden inset elements; the top and bottom examples hold fountain pens and ink containers, the center example holds a liquor bottle with stopper and a drinking glass, and contains the Stanhope image shown in figure 22, below. The Stanhopes are located in the metal caps seen at the far right of the picture. Dimensions variable. Private collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



Figure 22. Stanhope image within walking cane in figure 21, center. Private collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



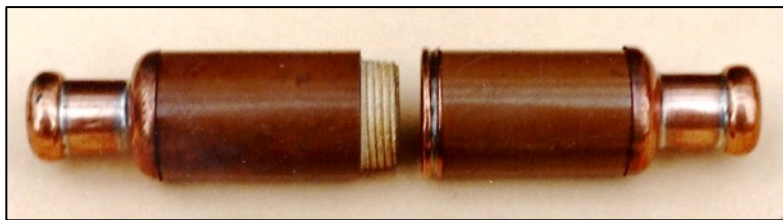
Figure 23. Stanhope walking cane with “persistence of vision” mechanism, which creates the illusion of movement by flickering between two images consecutively. This cane holds the images illustrated below. Courtesy of the Kessler collection. Photograph: Mike Kessler.



Figures 24 (left) and 25 (right). “Persistence of vision” images within the walking cane in figure 23. Courtesy of the Kessler collection. Photographs: Milan Zahorcak.



Figure 26. Bottle-shaped smoking pipes and cigar holders with Stanhope images in the caps. Dimensions variable. Scott collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



Figures 27 (above) and 28 (below). Combined Stanhope cigar and cigarette holder. The container (figure 27, top left and top right, and figure 28) has a Stanhope image in either end; one of a dancer and the other, of the Virgin Mary. Dimensions variable. Private collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



Figure 29. Three Stanhope smoking pipes and one vesta case, or “match safe.” Dimensions variable. Scott collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



Figure 30. Three British Stanhope smoking pipes, c. 1900-1920, length: 12.5cm. Private collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



Figure 31. Group of late nineteenth century vestas, or "match safes." Height: 4.4 – 5.3cm. Private collection. Photograph: Ken Scott.



Figure 32. Stanhope rings and magazine advertisement, c.1920-1940. Note the illustration at the left in the advertisement, depicting a view of an “actress,” a term commonly employed to refer to nude models. Courtesy of the Kessler Collection. Photograph: Mike Kessler.



Figure 33. Image in metal Stanhope ring. Approx. 1-2mm. Courtesy of the Kessler Collection. Photograph: Milan Zahorcak.

R SET UNIVERSAL POCKET SCISSORS

FOR ONE **\$1.50**

18 USEFUL ARTICLES ALL IN ONE

STRONGLY MADE OF THE FINEST STEEL

POCKET SIZE

JUST WHAT YOU WANT

THE SE Every tool guaranteed of practical use 4½ in. long. \$1.50

PR complete pocket sheath

If there is a set of scissors in the market to which any more uses may be put than the one you have yet to find it. These Scissors combine no less than eighteen in one, all constantly serviceable for the purpose for which they are made. The Scissors are made of the finest quality steel, measuring 4½ in. long. They are a useful article for the pocket they are easily worth all the price. Not the least unique feature of this novel Scissors is the view set in the handle. This view is of such small dimensions, it is most incredible clearness and size. There are views, scenes, pictures, dancing beauties in more or less piquant poses, etc. It is certainly a set tool for all, for it makes all kinds of tasks easy. Here are some of the uses:

- 1. It is a Scissors
- 2. It is a Button Hole Cutter
- 3. It is a Gas Pipe Taper
- 4. It is a Cigar Cutter
- 5. It is a Wire Cutter
- 6. It is a Ruler
- 7. It is a Measure
- 8. It is a Nail File
- 9. It is a Screw Driver
- 10. It is a Cigar Box Opener
- 11. It is a Cartridge Extractor
- 12. It is a Hammer
- 13. It is a Pen Knife
- 14. It is a Glass Cutter
- 15. It is a Glass Breaker
- 16. It is a Marking Wheel
- 17. It is a Bracing Knife
- 18. It is a Microscopic View

No. 2429. UNIVERSAL Pocket Scissors, Postpaid to any Address..... **\$1.50**

JOHNSON SMITH & COMPANY, RACINE, WIS. 143

Figure 34. "Universal" multi-function scissors with related advertisement, c.1890-1930. Note the illustration at the bottom-right corner of the advertisement, which depicts a man looking into the scissors' Stanhope lens and viewing images of nude women. Scissors' length: 11.6cm. Courtesy of the Kessler collection. Photograph: Mike Kessler.

man's reaction to what he saw. As mentioned previously, the private ownership of erotic or pornographic material was not illegal (in France, at least), and so men who were able to find and purchase this type of object were veritably without risk. Referring to the sexual milieu in which upper class men in the Victorian era found themselves, with easy access to bawdy houses and many forms of pornography, McCauley states "[erotic or pornographic] photographs therefore circulated within a complex field of corporeal representations – dreams, fantasies, real encounters – that determined their readings by the primarily male audience to whom they were directed."¹¹⁷ The class-specificity of erotic Stanhopes slackened over time, with the proliferation of erotic images made with cheaper technologies and materials, and increased industrial production, and by the 1920s cheap plastic versions of "French" Stanhope rings and Stanhopes in other forms were available in the U.S. by mail order to anyone who could afford to spend 1.00\$ to 1.50\$ (approximately 12.00-18.00\$ US today) (see figures 32 and 34, pages 46 and 47).

The Stanhope's tiny, intimate and concealable nature made the carrying of erotic or pornographic imagery on the body not only easier and safer, but also potentially more "titillating" for its owner, who held a naughty secret in plain sight of everyone else around them. Contrasted with the widely popular and familiar stereograph, the Stanhope can be seen as providing a more private photographic viewing experience. Stereograph viewing, while also occurring in schools and public and private libraries for educational purposes, for entertainment was usually consigned to the salon or living room of the middle and upper class family, and was also likely performed in gentlemen's clubs. It required a certain amount of space and special equipment, in the form of an assortment of cards and a viewing device. This meant that erotic stereo-viewing was not an easily concealable activity, unless one locked oneself in a room with the viewer, which in itself would likely be seen as suspect, unless one was in the company of like-minded viewers, as at a club.

Stanhopes and stereographs share certain visual qualities (which are not replicable in two-dimensional illustrations), such as the effect of being somewhat immersed in the image, although this effect is felt in very different ways. Primarily due to the stereograph's much larger physical size, and the amount of detail made available by its higher resolution, especially with daguerreotypes (see figures 35 and 36, page 49), viewing in stereo is much more like being within the space of the photograph, the viewer's peripheral vision restricted, and thus all focus is on the image area and one does not have a visual sense of oneself in space outside of that viewable area. This creates the effective loss of awareness of the body, exaggerating the conditions of actual

¹¹⁷ McCauley, "Braquehais and the Photographic Nude," 153.



Figure 35. Untitled stereo daguerreotype depicting two nude models with a mirror, c.1845. Courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction



Figure 36. Detail of stereo daguerreotype shown in figure 35.
Courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction

voyeurism, where a viewer would be concealed from the view of the subject. The sharper quality of the stereo image, and the illusion of immersive scale when viewed in stereo, create the sense that one could reach out and touch the subject, its textures and shapes described in detail, especially with daguerreotypes. Pellerin quotes journalist Ernest Lacan (1828-1879), describing a stereo daguerreotype, “Stretch out your hand and touch her silky dress [...] And what about that lace whose transparent folds provide a glimpse of her rounded arm, does it not seem as if you are about to crush it beneath your fingers?”¹¹⁸

With the Stanhope, the minuscule image and opening through which to see the image create almost an inverse, though related, effect – the image cannot be fully seen at once; instead, one sees a partial, blurred-at-the-edges image and the area beyond it simultaneously, this overall view depending on the type of external object into which one is looking. The object carrying the image must be moved about in order for the viewer to see the entirety of the image, although, as mentioned, this is never possible from one vantage point because the image goes beyond the edges of the viewable area, and further, the viewable image area is never fully in focus at once, the edges always blurred. It is thus always experienced as a fragmented image, but one that requires considerable engagement to see its entirety. As a direct result of the conditions of viewing erotic Stanhopes, the viewer is always placed at an insurmountable distance from the image’s subject, and the effect is indeed as though peeping through a keyhole or a hole in the wall. However, this action of “peeping” most likely made this type of object, carrying erotic photographs, appear even more naughty or illicit, as the viewer performs a wilful act of voyeuristic indulgence, peeping in at someone unawares, engrossing the viewer in a physically engaged fantasy, rather than the usual more “disembodied” viewing of a flat image.

The nineteenth century stereo view and the Stanhope formats share two other characteristics: the intended view is ephemeral, only viewable for the moment that one looks through the apparatus, and just one person at a time can view the image. This makes both solitary and fleeting photographic viewing experiences that cannot be shared simultaneously, and yet the excitement over these two novel optical photographic applications in their heyday was such that one would have wanted to share the experience. That the whole Stanhope apparatus could be carried in the pocket, in the hand, or worn on the body, of course made the sharing easier, especially covertly, when sharing images of a risqué nature was still only socially allowable in prescribed circumstances and company.

¹¹⁸ Pellerin, 94. The full passage quoted by Pellerin is much more extensive.

Both of these formats, and indeed all erotic photographs, have the effect of both bringing close and distancing the viewer from the object of desire. Susan Stewart, in her remarks about the nature of photography, states that it idealizes and distances an event, creating “a still and perfect, and thereby interpretable and unapproachable, universe whose signified is not the world but desire.”¹¹⁹ An erotic photograph represents a body you can hold in your hand and own, but can never truly engage with and touch, and in this sense, becomes an ideal always out of reach. The stereo view and the Stanhope both exemplify this dual closeness and distance, in the vividness, (the crisp, deep, three-dimensional image, in the case of the stereo view, and the rear-lit, magnified image in the case of the Stanhope) and the simultaneous ephemerality and intangibility of their images, and in the embodied and immediate action of viewing that engages the sense of touch. Discussing the cultural illusion of “the ideal” maintained by the still photograph, Stewart’s following statement also applies to the ephemerality of viewing: “[b]etween the here-and-now of lived experience and this ideal is a distance which creates and maintains desire.”¹²⁰ This relates to Stanhopes and stereo views in the sense that because the image is ephemeral and one can never truly own or hold onto it, between the experience of viewing and the memory of the image there is always a gap, a sense of loss, which again triggers the desire to see the image and to possess it in one’s memory, creating an infinite loop of desire, never satisfied. Feeding into this endless loop is the fact that the Stanhope can be held and carried, always on the body, its image always hidden but always accessible.

The Stanhope acts somewhat in opposition to the related forms of photographs and painted miniatures also worn on the body in the form of jewelry. Stewart points out that miniatures have been worn on the body since as early as the 1560s, usually in the form of locket, the format “allow[ing] possession of the face of the other.”¹²¹ Describing portraits of loved ones, this statement takes on a different meaning when applied to erotic Stanhopes, where the body of a stranger can be “possessed” and worn on the body. Her assertion that “the locket creates an additional secret recess of the body”¹²² is perhaps even truer of the Stanhope in its many functional, portable forms, where, unlike a locket, which is relatively large and commonly carries photographs of loved ones, no one would even suspect the Stanhope of holding a photograph unless one already knew it was there. It becomes an extension of the body that, considered within

¹¹⁹ Susan Stewart, “The Body Made Miniature,” in her *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993.): 115.

¹²⁰ Stewart, “The Body Made Miniature,” *On Longing*, 116.

¹²¹ Ibid, “Reading the Body,” *On Longing*, 126.

¹²² Ibid, 127.

the contexts discussed here, elucidates aspects of the trade in and the audience for erotic photographs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Taking their place within the sphere of mid- to late-nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century culture and the many technologies and entertainment novelties emerging at the time, and within the shifting market for, and definitions of, erotica and pornography, erotic Stanhopes outwardly exemplify the gendered codes that were inscribed in various types of photographs. It is for this reason that the following section will propose considerations for the exhibition of such objects, which would allow a fuller and embodied understanding and experience of the objects themselves, and the contexts in which they were originally produced and consumed.

4. Exhibiting Erotic Stanhopes

Stanhopes have rarely been exhibited. In the course of my research I corresponded with five curators and collectors¹²³ with experience exhibiting vernacular photographic material of various forms. It was from those correspondences that I ascertained that very few exhibitions (if any, beyond the two that I know of) involving Stanhopes have been undertaken. This is presumably due to their status as mass-produced photographic novelties, not adaptable to a modernist, aestheticized, image-based art discourse; to their small size and the difficulties of their presentation; and until the 2002 publication of Jean Scott's authoritative (but collecting-focused) book *Stanhopes: A Closer View*, likely due to the lack of resources on the subject, and the consequent lack of consolidated information about their history. With recent photographic theory opening up to the study of a much broader range of photographic objects than simply "art" photographs, it is now possible to propose the exhibition of photographic objects such as erotic stereo cards or Stanhopes, once considered mundane and low-culture, or offensive, because of their mass-produced and erotic nature. It is in light of this broadened field that the following sections will examine recent methods for the display of vernacular photographic objects, and propose new methods for the exhibition of erotic Stanhopes.

To establish the need for new, appropriate methods of display specific to Stanhopes, especially erotic Stanhopes, chapter 4, section 1 will examine recent exhibitions, illustrating the trajectory in art museums from the treatment of vernacular photographic objects as artworks, framed on a wall and aestheticized to fit a modernist agenda, to a more interactive and object-based approach that foregrounds the complexity, wholeness and specificity of the original context of the object, and its intended use. In chapter 4, section 2, suggestions for display will be proposed, in consideration of the historical and material aspects of erotic Stanhopes previously laid out in chapters 2 and 3, and in reference to the approaches to their installation outlined in chapter 4, section 1. Chapter 4, section 2 will establish approaches to display that would further synthesize current, object-focused photographic theory, as addressed in the literature survey, in museum exhibitions, specific to erotic Stanhopes but also applicable to other three-dimensional photographic objects.

¹²³ These included Maia-Mari Sutnik, Curator of Photography, and Sophie Hackett, Associate Curator of Photography, at the Art Gallery of Ontario; Alison Nordström, Curator of Photographs at the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography; Daile Kaplan, Co-Curator of *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969*, and Vice President and Curator of Photographs at Swann Auction Galleries; Jean Scott, Stanhope collector and historian; and Catherine Johnson-Roeher, Curator of Art, Artifacts and Photographs at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction.

4. 1 Prior Exhibitions of Vernacular Photographs and Stanhopes

The recent widespread reconsideration of vernacular photographs in photographic history and thus in museum collections has shifted the way they are presented to the public in permanent and temporary exhibitions. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart attribute recent photographic historical methods to the influence of the anthropological and cultural studies-driven “material turn,” stating: “in recent years [this method] has increasingly stressed the centrality and complexity of social meaning in relation to objects and the sociability of objects.”¹²⁴ Additionally, concerning the “social turn” that has also influenced recent art history, which they assert stems from methodologies emerging from history, philosophy and critical theory, Edwards and Hart state “[t]hese approaches [concentrate] on the mundane social existence of objects rather than on a fetishized object-other.”¹²⁵ These two methodologies enable the Stanhope, among other mass-produced commercial photographic products, to be studied and exhibited in ways that do not reinscribe them as art (“fetishized object-other”), but privilege their existence as tangible, socially inscribed and culturally embedded objects. It is with this conception of photographs as culturally embedded and mobile social objects that I will examine recent exhibitions of other vernacular photographic objects, some of which included Stanhopes, to identify curatorial approaches to installation that could be useful to the exhibition of erotic Stanhopes.

In some recent exhibitions, new methods of display have been adapted that move away from the canonical [framing] of “artworks” hung on a white wall, to make explicit the non-art functions originally intended for the objects on display. Considerations for the exhibition of the Stanhope benefit from reflection on installations that have engaged photographic objects and their viewers in this way, moving away from flat work mounted on a wall, toward interactivity and an acknowledgement of three-dimensionality, or “objectness,” as a means of conveying the originally intended use and contexts of specific vernacular photographic objects. As established in chapter 3, on erotic Stanhopes, stereo views are a useful point of comparison to the Stanhope form and its use for erotica. I also feel that homemade albums, as photographic objects requiring interactivity, also relate to Stanhopes in this way. By analyzing one exhibition that displayed vernacular photographic albums, then on moving to a selection that displayed stereo cards in various ways,

¹²⁴ “Introduction” in *Photographs Objects Histories*, 3.

¹²⁵ Ibid. They make reference here to Daniel Miller’s *Material Culture: Why Some Things Matter* (London: University College London Press, 1998): 3, 5, 10.

and then to those that have displayed Stanhopes, I will establish which methods will be useful and which can be improved upon or ignored in devising approaches to exhibiting Stanhopes.

As touched upon in the literature survey, the bulk of the major exhibitions involving vernacular material have been concerned primarily with the snapshot, a homemade, amateur production meant for display and sharing within the home, and often housed in multiple-photo frames, in albums, and in shoeboxes. Confusingly, these exhibitions have for the most part replicated the art-based tradition of matting and framing individual images and placing them on the wall, essentially erasing their intended mode of consumption and any existing relationships to other photographs from the same source. While some snapshots were undoubtedly framed and hung on a wall in the home, for the most part the snapshots selected for these exhibitions in art institutions deviate from those a family may have held in highest esteem; the mundane family group snapshot, or simple shots of loved ones smiling for the camera. Instead, the photographs selected, as in the SFMoMA's 1998 exhibition *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present*, for example, represent aberrations from the banal norm of snapshots, instead showing those that hold accidental charm or jarring juxtapositions, and which can be most easily adapted to a modernist or abstracted reading, related to currents in American art photography of the 1960s and 1970s. Some more recent exhibitions, such as *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*¹²⁶, which showed a variety of nineteenth century home-made albums and photo-collages from the United States, Europe and Australia¹²⁷, have tried to maintain clearer links to the original use of the objects by displaying a survey of examples of both entire albums and individual pages; by making the albums viewable in the round, in free-standing vitrines; and by using assistive technologies such as interactive digital displays that allowed viewers to virtually flip through albums in any order they choose; all this in addition to the traditional flat images mounted in frames on the wall (fig. 37, page 56). The presentation of the open albums reveals aspects of the photographs (or in this case hand-painted photo-collages) that are usually hidden by framing: the ragged, worn edges of the pages, which have been leafed through over the years, are now revealed as intrinsic artefacts of the lives of the objects themselves, allowing a deeper understanding of their original contexts and the reasons for their creation. Additionally, in this exhibition a space was provided where viewers could sit and "leaf" through the digital versions of

¹²⁶ This travelling exhibition, curated by Elizabeth Siegel, originated at the Art Institute of Chicago. The illustrations used here are from its installation at the Art Gallery of Ontario, which ran from June 5 to September 5, 2010. This exhibition was accompanied by an extensive catalogue.

¹²⁷ "Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage," Art Gallery of Ontario, <http://www.ago.net/playing-with-pictures>, accessed June 28, 2012.



Figure 37. Installation view, from the exhibition *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario from June 5 to September 5, 2010. © Image courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

the albums, replicating on some level the form the original experience of viewing the images in these Victorian albums would have taken. This interactivity, although “virtual,” engages viewers on an immediate level, enabling more agency over what is seen and in a sense allowing viewers to take the experience of the object into their own hands, creating their own narrative.

The 2011 exhibition *Songs of the Future: Canadian Industrial Photographs, 1858 to Today*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario¹²⁸, in addition to art and commercial photographs, incorporated examples of photographic objects created as documents, such as the many objects on display that were created through governmental, commercial, and private initiatives to document and celebrate Canada’s projects of industrialization from the mid nineteenth century onward. Some such examples on display were 27 of William Notman’s stereo card series documenting the construction and inauguration of the Victoria Bridge in Montreal (fig. 38, page 58).¹²⁹ These photographs, in the particular form of stereo cards, served a dual purpose; to document and promote the industrial growth of the country and its related feats of engineering, and to bring the experience of these sites back to viewers in their homes as vividly as possible, or rather, to bring viewers to the sites themselves. The stereograph would virtually transport the viewer, back at home, to the very frontier of the industrialized future through its intensified optical focus and through the viewing apparatus’ restriction of the full field of view, both of which cause a sense of immersion in the space of the picture. The stereo card as a photographic format was a commercial product, as in this case, often meant to be educational, and in all cases, meant to be entertaining, with its immersive optical effect. In the *Songs of the Future* display, the cards are mounted on thin rails, on a panel on the wall, behind a thick pane of glass, in a non-uniform but symmetrical arrangement, illustrated in figure 38. The cards are presented as whole objects, their “handled” condition visible at their edges. They are contextualized in relation to one another as a numbered series, although only part of the complete series was shown, and within the greater exhibition are contextualized among other photographs created for purposes of documentation, promotion, and the dissemination of information. Despite all of these contextualization tactics, the stereo images were not viewable in stereo, as they are meant to be experienced, and so their intended purpose and “actual” (three-dimensional) images were not conveyed.

¹²⁸ The exhibition ran from August 20, 2011 to April 29, 2012.

¹²⁹ From an email of July 6, 2012, with Sophie Hackett, Associate Curator of Photographs, Art Gallery of Ontario.



Figure 38. Installation view of stereo card display, from the exhibition *Songs of the Future: Canadian Industrial Photographs, 1858 to Today*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario from August 20, 2011 to April 29, 2012. © Image courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario.



Figures 39 (above) and 40 (below). Detail and wide installation views of stereo card installation and visitors interacting with it, using portable stereo viewers. From the exhibition *Seeking Solace: Francis Bedford's Framing of Victorian Ideals*, at the I. M. A. Gallery, Toronto, April 4 to April 28, 2012. Images courtesy of Steven Evans.

A contrasting but related installation of stereographs was in the exhibition *Seeking Solace: Francis Bedford's Framing of Victorian Ideals*.¹³⁰ In this exhibition, the stereo cards presented, which were not imprinted with series numbers, were grouped thematically according to subject matter into four frames holding eight cards each (fig. 39, page 59), with an extensive informational label contextualizing them among the other items in the exhibition, and their three-dimensional images were made accessible with modern hand-held 3-D viewers¹³¹ (fig. 40, page 59). In the context of this exhibition, the viewing of the stereo images as they were intended to be seen was very important, since one of the aims of the exhibition was to foreground the different functions of the many formats in which Bedford's photographs were made available, stereo cards being one of them. Modern stereo viewers are a good solution to the problem of viewing stereo images, as the original viewing devices are often too delicate and too valuable for the high volume and inexperienced handling to be expected in a museum, or in this case, a university gallery. The type of viewer used in *Seeking Solace* is cheap enough that if it were either damaged or stolen it would not be substantial monetary loss, and is easy enough to use and sturdy enough for the extensive handling expected in the exhibition.

An exhibition that went even a step further in putting the intended experience of stereo cards in the hands of the contemporary viewer, literally and figuratively, was *Connecting with Photography*.¹³² In this exhibition, a broad variety of types of photographs and photographic objects were displayed and their various functions were foregrounded. It provided an excellent installation for the display of stereo cards (figs. 41 to 43, pages 61 and 62), which provided the viewer with the opportunity to sit, examine, and handle authentic nineteenth-century stereo cards and stereo viewers, and to experience the stereo views seen through a period viewer that many thousands of households would have possessed in the nineteenth century. This installation also included text panels contextualizing the stereo format itself, explaining how and why it was used. Maia-Mari Sutnik, Curator of Photographs at the Art Gallery of Ontario, stated recently that "[t]his interactivity was very popular,"¹³³ demonstrating that the novelty and excitement over stereo cards

¹³⁰ This exhibition was composed of Bedford photographs and lithographs from the private collection of Steven Evans, and was organized as part of a course taught by Professor David Harris, as part of the Photographic Preservation and Collections Management M.A. program in the 2012 winter semester. It was held at the I. M. A. Gallery, Toronto, from April 4 to April 28, 2012.

¹³¹ The viewers employed were Loreo "Lite 3-D Viewers." These can be found for sale at: http://www.loreo.com/pages/products/loreo_lite_3d_viewer.html, accessed July 10, 2012.

¹³² This was an exhibition of works from the gallery's permanent collection, held at the Art Gallery of Ontario from November 2008 to May 2010.

¹³³ From an email with Maia-Mari Sutnik, Curator of Photographs, Art Gallery of Ontario, April 22, 2012.



Figure 41. Installation view of stereo card display, from the exhibition *Connecting with Photography*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario from November 2008 to May 2010.

© Image courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario.



Figures 42 (above) and 43 (below). Wide and detail installation views of stereo card display. Figure 43 shows the interactive stereo viewers with cards, from the exhibition *Connecting with Photography*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario from November 2008 to May 2010. © Images courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

lies primarily in the action of viewing them as originally intended. This type of installation, of course, requires examples that are not part of the permanent collection and are expendable. As visible in figures 41 and 43, the viewing devices were tethered to the desk, securing them against theft. A selection of cards was presented loose to allow the viewer to pick and choose views, and providing visitors with a survey of different types of imagery. Two of the cards on display were lost, and the remaining cards were lightly physically damaged over the long duration of the exhibition, but they were inexpensive examples put on display for this purpose.¹³⁴ The potential of damage or loss would obviously pose a challenge to most institutions. Inexpensive examples of stereo cards generally are readily available for purchase, but general examples might not be appropriate in the case of an exhibition with a specific subject, such as erotica, where the required type of stereo view is relatively rare and usually quite expensive. In addition to the loose samples, the installation in *Connecting* displayed (presumably more valuable) stereo views behind glass above the viewing station, as well as showing an example of the faux-book boxes in which many stereo sets were originally sold in (center, fig. 43), under a clear acrylic cover on the desk, in a position accessible to the seated viewers, allowing a close examination and a further contextualizing element to the use of the stereo views. This non-photographic, complementary object hints at the locations in which stereo views would have primarily been viewed; its book-like disguise was meant to incorporate it seamlessly into a library or living room bookshelf, in the home. Its disguise might also suggest that the type of photographs it contained were seen as educational and entertaining, as with books in a library¹³⁵. This installation shows the influence of the material culture approach to photographs discussed earlier, in that it sought to show the social and cultural uses of these photographs as objects, through reference to how and where they would have been used and stored, and what types of functions different views may have had (i.e. educational, for entertainment, etc.). Within the last three exhibitions discussed, the stereo card was also contextualized as one distinct format among others, with distinctive functions different than those of art photographs.

¹³⁴ From an email with Maia-Mari Sutnik, April 22, 2012.

¹³⁵ There is an example at the Bibliothèque nationale de France of a book-shaped box set of pornographic stereo photographs, titled on the spine "Oeuvres de Buffon," seized from the photographer Joseph Auguste Belloc in 1860, showing that erotic or pornographic photographs present another use for the disguise of the book-shaped box. This set is illustrated in Reynaud et als., *Paris in 3-D*: 93.

Stanhopes

In the 2003 exhibition devoted almost exclusively to three-dimensional vernacular photographic objects, *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842 to 1969*¹³⁶, a vast variety of objects were displayed, spanning commercially produced items such as coffee tins printed with Ansel Adams photographs to hand-made or modified sculptural or functional items embellished with photographs in a variety of mediums and formats. Most of the objects in this exhibition were most definitely *objects*, in that they were in large part pre-existing functional or decorative objects to which photographs have been added, so their three-dimensionality would have had to be considered in approaching their installation. Many of the items in the exhibition were quite small, but none of their photographic images were as small as the image within the Stanhope pipe displayed. As previously discussed in the literature survey, Sarah Stacy's review of this exhibition brought forth some problematic aspects of the installation of the pipe. Displayed in a vitrine (fig. 44, page 65), the Stanhope was pipe presented as one of a slew of types of everyday objects incorporating photographs. As this is the purpose of the exhibition, this style of presentation is perhaps appropriate, however, from Stacy's review and from my own interactions with people encountering Stanhopes, the object itself is incomprehensible unless one is able to examine it and look into it so that the image may be seen. The display surface of the vitrine in which the Stanhope was shown was at or below waist height for most people, meaning that the tiny lens, located under the pipe bowl, is mostly invisible unless one knows where it is and what to look for. Although the location of the image and lens was presumably noted on the object label¹³⁷, unless viewers had already seen a Stanhope firsthand, they would not understand what they were looking at in this display, as a Stanhope's lens, on the outside of an object, just looks like a black, glass bead (see examples in figure 1, page 4). Even if the Stanhope pipe were placed closer to the front of the vitrine so that viewers could theoretically look into the lens, and even if they could bend down at that awkward angle, viewers would be unable to see the image because the Stanhope's required viewing distance from the eye is approximately 1cm, and additionally, the image must be rear-lit. It is for these reasons that the object label included a reproduction of a Stanhope image, although from the illustration in the

¹³⁶ At the Art Gallery of Ontario, April 26 to July 20, 2003, Curated by Daile Kaplan and Maia-Mari Sutnik.

¹³⁷ The exhibition label was not available during my research.

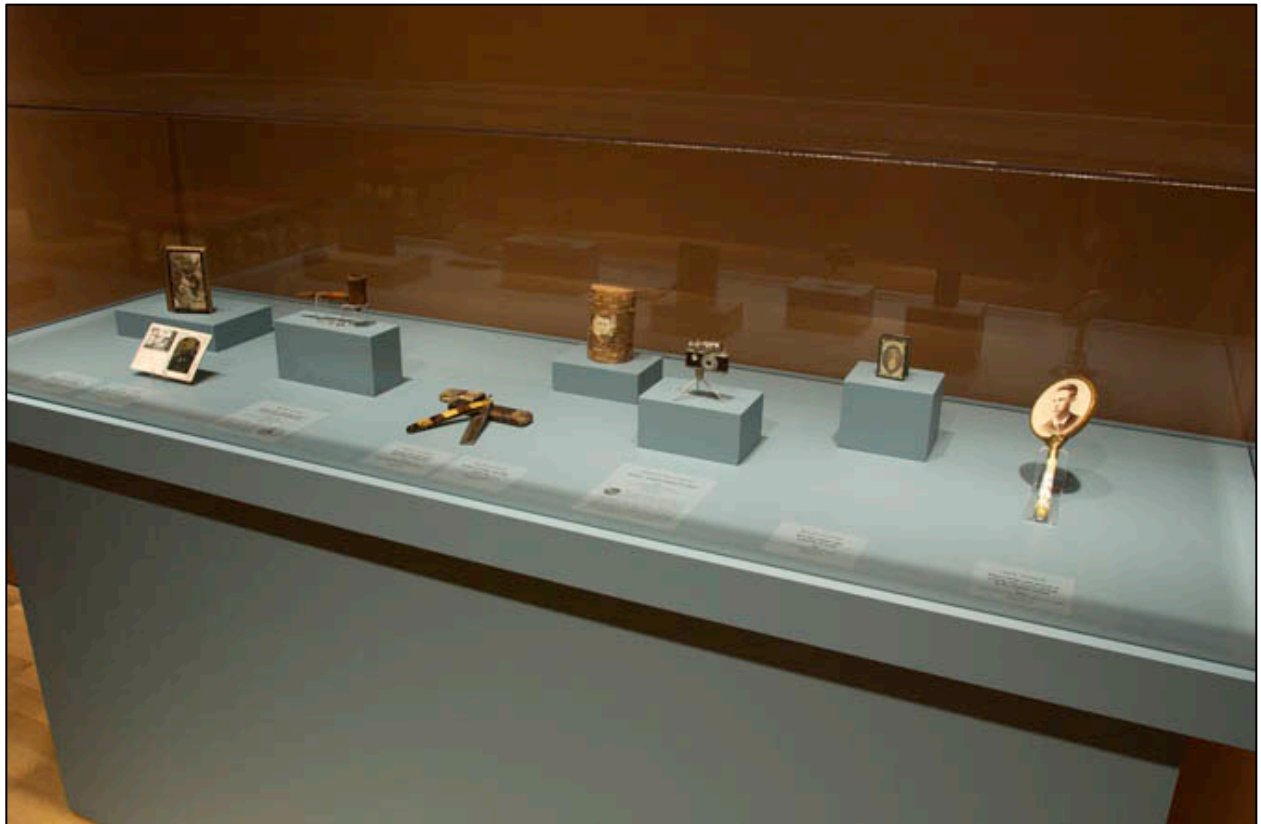


Figure 44. Detail installation view showing Stanhope pipe, the third object from the left. From the exhibition *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842 to 1969*, at the Art Gallery of Ontario, April 26 to July 20, 2003. © Images courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

catalogue, it is entirely unclear as to whether this was the actual image in the pipe¹³⁸. In all, the display functions, to a degree, as intended, to show the diversity of everyday objects into or onto which photographs have been incorporated, although in the case of the Stanhope pipe, the photographic element was not successfully presented or contextualized. Stacy's comment regarding the information offered on the object label¹³⁹ bears repeating here: "[its] description is completely bereft of any links to the society that created the object. Rather than answering the question as to why Victorian men would have placed a secret, miniature image in a pipe, Kaplan offers an explanation so generic it could have referred to any number of societies, cultures, or practices."¹⁴⁰ Stacy is drawing attention to the lack of explanation provided by the contextualizing information accompanying the pipe. Undeniably, more information would be useful in conveying the original context in which this object was produced and used, and also in distinguishing it as a commercially, mass-produced object as opposed to a homemade one. However, regardless of whether more information were to be presented, it is almost impossible for a person to understand what a Stanhope *is* and how it works unless they are able to experience it firsthand.

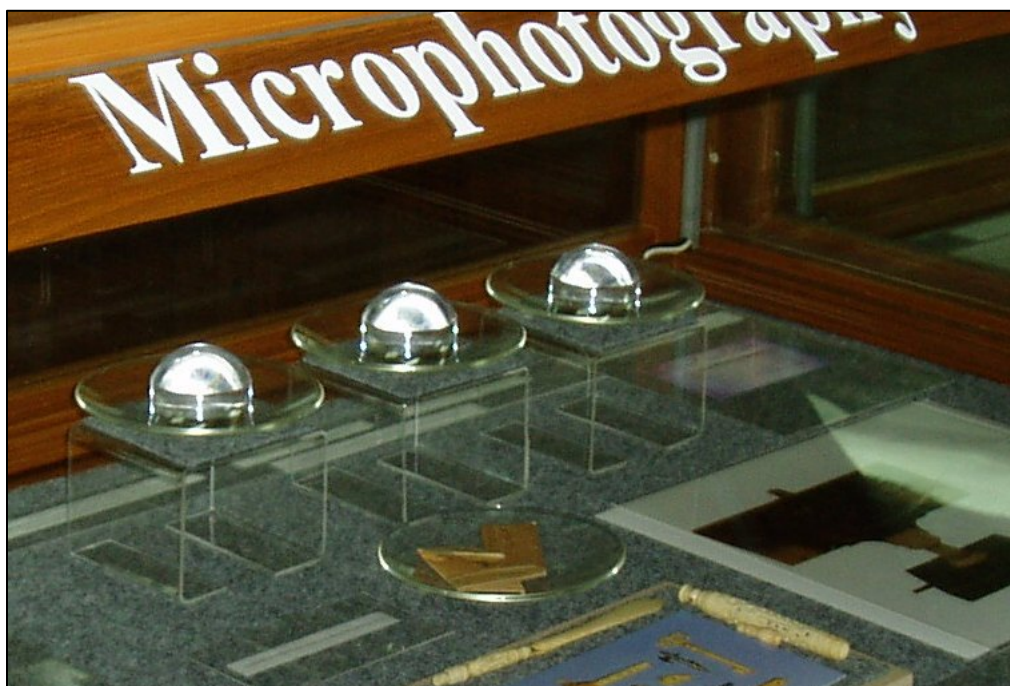
For this reason, a small display at the Museum of Imaging Technology at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok¹⁴¹, was more successful in conveying how a Stanhope works by allowing direct viewing of the components in an innovative way (figs. 45 to 48, pages 67 through 69). Stanhope components (cut image plates, figure 47; complete image and lens combinations, figure 48) have been placed on clear glass plates, raised up on clear acrylic stands to allow light to come through, and with the large magnifying lenses placed over them, provided a slightly enlarged view of multiple transparent images to be clearly seen. As visible in figure 45, this display additionally provided many types of contextualizing information, including diagrams of how Stanhopes work optically, images of the type of camera used to produce the photographs, images of some of the types of objects in which Stanhopes are found, an image of Jean Scott's book on Stanhopes, measurement scales, original packaging, images of the whole, uncut image plate, and examples of the range of image subjects found in Stanhopes. For a display in an imaging technology museum,

¹³⁸ Kaplan, *Pop Photographica*, 27. The item caption on page 27 states "Stanhope pipe, containing images of women in erotically inspired poses," the grammar of which implies multiple images. This could also simply be a typo. Either way, it does not make direct reference to the photograph pictured, of a naked woman on a bicycle, which may or may not be one of the images implied by the caption to be in the pipe.

¹³⁹ The object label included the information: "A quotidian and functional object, such as a gentleman's pipe, would have a small peephole in the stem or base, which housed a photograph." Kaplan, *Pop Photographica*: 27.

¹⁴⁰ Stacy, Exhibition review of *Pop Photographica*: 183-184.

¹⁴¹ Jean Scott informed me of this exhibit, which was on display in 2006.



Figures 45 (above) and 46 (below). Wide and detailed installation views of the display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006. Images courtesy of Jean Scott.

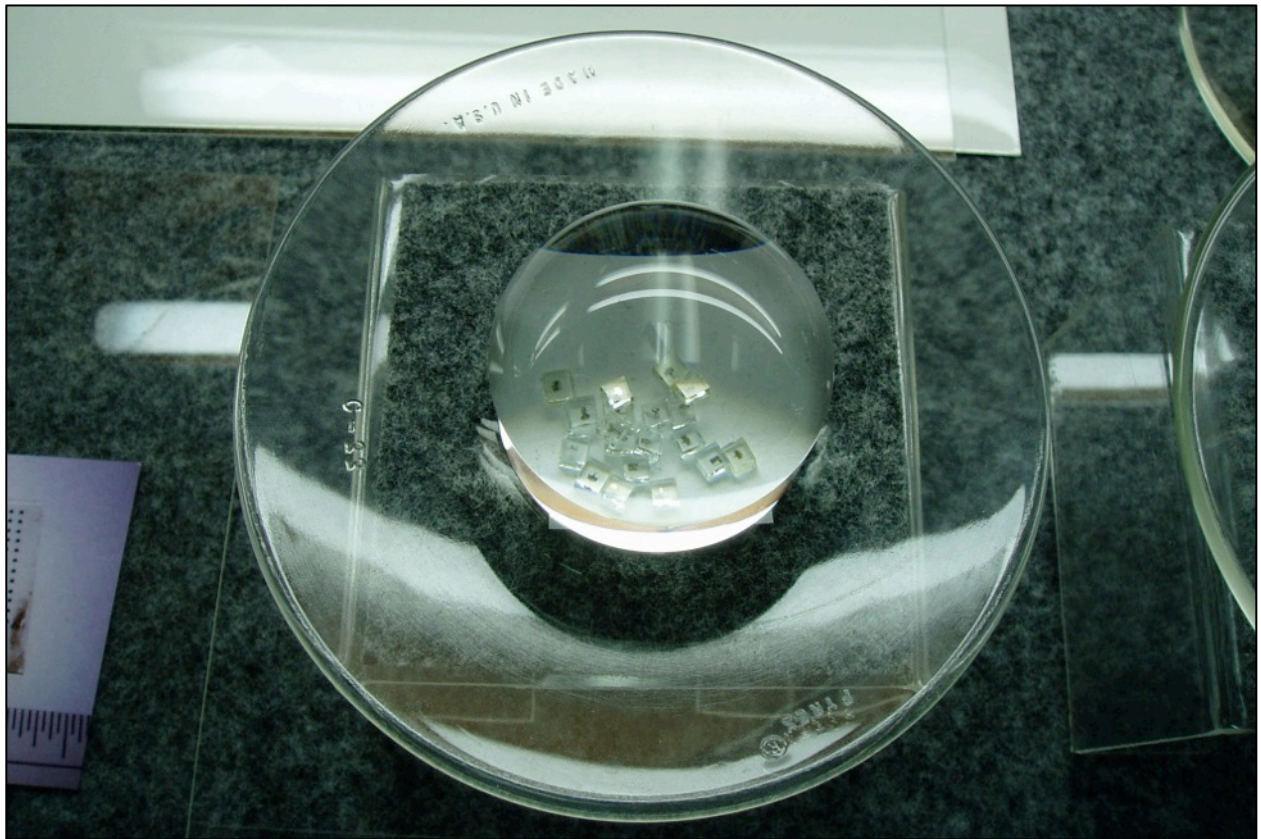


Figure 47. Detail showing Stanhope images under a magnifying lens. These individual images on glass have been cut down from a full plate (of up to 450 images). Display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006. Image courtesy of Jean Scott.

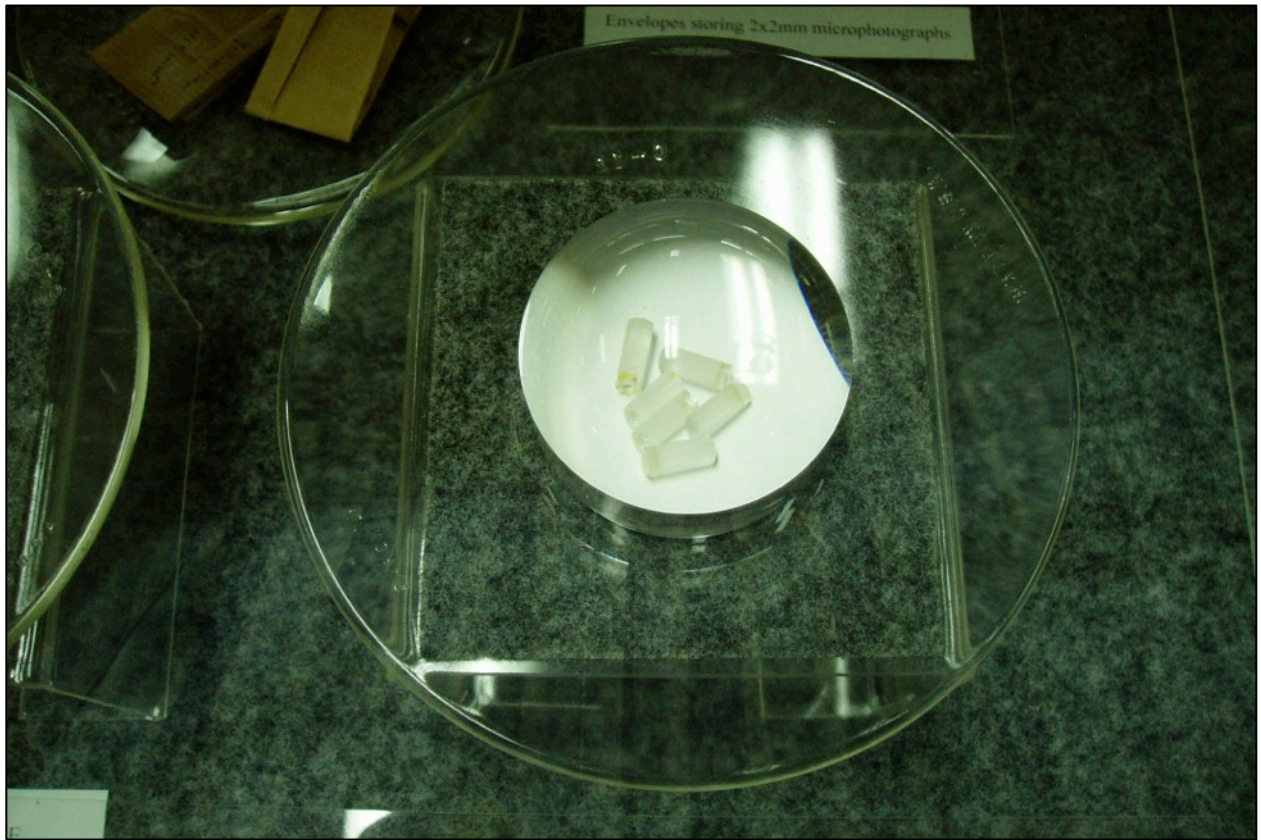


Figure 48. Detail showing magnified, unmounted Stanhopes (image glass and lens), in the display of Microphotography and Stanhopes at the Museum of Imaging Technology, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2006. Image courtesy of Jean Scott.

all of this supplementary information and explanation is entirely appropriate. Because Stanhopes are generally unknown and difficult to understand, I feel that the various elements of this display could be usefully adapted to any exhibition of Stanhopes. The one thing missing from this display, perhaps due to the main focus on optics in the context of a school of imaging technology, is a larger variety of examples of complete Stanhope objects¹⁴². There appear to be two or three objects near the center of the display (appearing to be made of bone, or faux-ivory, these are most visible in figure 46, near the bottom edge of the image), however these examples represent only a tiny portion of the types of Stanhope objects in existence, and thus do not represent the many social and cultural contexts in which they were embedded historically. The display overall is also cramped, housed in one small vitrine, and is not very aesthetically appealing, which would not be acceptable in a cultural institution such as an art museum.

While recent methods of display for many types of vernacular photographic objects are innovative and gradually responding to theories based in material and social culture, little has yet been attempted in terms of exhibiting Stanhopes in museums. Although there may have been more exhibitions over the years, the two discussed here are the only ones incorporating Stanhopes that I have discovered. As established here, the installation of such objects as albums, stereo views and Stanhopes, which require interaction for their full effect to be experienced and for the contexts of their production and uses to be understood, presents a challenge to curators and institutions relying on an art-based conception for the display of photographs. To exhibit such an object as an erotic Stanhope, the physical, socio-cultural, and visual aspects must be taken into full consideration, for more appropriate, informative, historically contextualized, and more aesthetically appealing installations to be developed and carried out. Certain elements of the installations discussed here would be useful for exhibitions of Stanhopes, and the following section will address these successful elements and elaborate upon them.

¹⁴² This was originally Jean Scott's assessment of the display, conveyed to me in an email, June 7, 2012, with which I fully agree.

4.2 Proposed Considerations and Methods for Exhibiting Erotic Stanhopes

As discussed in the preceding section, there are few resources on which to draw for the exhibition of Stanhopes, other than related curatorial approaches to “interactive” vernacular objects such as albums and stereo views, in addition to the two known examples of Stanhope exhibits. The suggestions outlined here will thus be based on the material-culture-based theory touched on in the literature survey; on my firsthand experience with, and research into, Stanhopes; on my own curatorial experience; on my conversations with museum curators; and on what I feel would create a successful, educational, and immersive experience in the museum. This section will establish the physical and intellectual elements that would require attention in designing and mounting an exhibition incorporating erotic Stanhopes – for the purpose of this thesis, this would presumably be an exhibition about the history or an aspect of erotic photography, about photographs and the body, or about representations of the body, or of women, specifically, etc. – in order to contextualize Stanhopes as fully as possible within the larger frameworks presented in the exhibition. These considerations and methods would also provide a museumgoer with an embodied experience, as the Stanhope is a format that demands direct physical interaction to enable a clear understanding of what it is, and how it works. I will first address the general curatorial considerations required by such an exhibition; I will then outline some considerations for the presentation of Stanhopes generally, as a form that is new to most people; and, lastly, I will propose approaches to the installation of specific erotic Stanhope objects, providing theoretical examples representing the synthesis of the material-culture approach to photographs in exhibitions.

Establishing the context of what is on display immediately at the entrance to an exhibition of erotic photography would be of central importance¹⁴³, since there are always individuals and communities that have objections to erotic or nude photographs being displayed in public institutions, especially with the inclusion of commercial, as opposed to “art” photographs, the former of which are sometimes seen as inappropriate or unsuitable to such institutions. Even though nineteenth century erotica may be considered very tame by today’s standards, not everyone feels this way about the subject, and thus textual notices should be placed in prominent locations near the entrance to the exhibition, informing visitors that they will encounter potentially offensive nudity within. If an institution is concerned with prospective problems of community

¹⁴³ This would also apply to promotional materials released prior to the opening of the exhibition.

backlash in this vein, and if there were large examples of erotic photographs on display that might be visible from the entrance, or through windows or other access points, a curator might consider a different placement, if appropriate, placing the photographs so that they are visually inaccessible to passers-by outside the space of the exhibition. Another tactic, if such an approach is not possible, is to drape access points with curtains or some such barrier, preventing accidental or non-consensual exposure. An appropriate title would be an aspect of the exhibition worthy of deep consideration, as it establishes the exhibition's goals and its tone, and will also alert the viewer of its erotic content. One example of a related, moderate, and informative exhibition title is "Naked Before the Camera," the name of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,¹⁴⁴ that incorporated many types of images of naked people, across the span of the history of photography, including photographs depicting sexual activity. This title remains appropriately neutral and open, not implying an ideological position, while alerting the viewers to the general visual and intellectual subject of the exhibition. Other such details as the typeface and scale of the title and opening texts in the gallery should be considered, as there is the danger, when working with erotic material, of sensationalizing the subject, and reiterating the theme of erotic stimulation rather than creating a space for discussion and analysis.

Erotic Stanhopes, while not potentially offensive in their external form in the same way as larger photographs, are most often so tiny that people entering an exhibition space might not easily understand what they are seeing or how such objects relate to photography or erotica. Even when the *object* carrying the image is larger and fully visible, as with a walking cane, it would be confusing in a photographic exhibition, as the *image* is not immediately visible. In any display of Stanhopes it would be essential to consider the flow of the exhibition and how each element relates to the others, to establish a succession of displays culminating in a clear comprehension of what the Stanhope is and contextualizing it appropriately. Ideally a linear flow should be established, first explaining generally what a Stanhope is, including some of the important details of its history and manufacture, and how it works optically. To this end, diagrams of how it is constructed and how it is used (how it is held in order to see the image), as well as examples of whole Stanhope objects, should be provided. Complementary objects such as the reducing cameras, the fully-exposed microphotographic plates, and related manufacturing artefacts could also be provided to contextualize the manufacture of Stanhopes. Here, the approach taken at the Museum of Imaging Technology at Chulalongkorn University, of displaying items under large

¹⁴⁴ The exhibition ran from March 27 to September 9, 2012.

magnifying lenses, would be very useful, as it would make the images on the exposed plates, for example, visible to the eye. Alternately, multiple individual examples of the exposed plates (or the cut image glasses, or image-and-lens combinations) could be displayed simultaneously for comparison, one under a magnifying lens, and one un-magnified, respectively showing the single image, and the entire object (with all 450 images; see figure 5, page 15). Magnification could also enable the viewer to see the varying quality of the processed images. A plate that shows the photographer's selection, with unacceptable images scratched out¹⁴⁵, would also make a good illustration of the great variation in image quality inherent to the Stanhope microphotographic process.

At this point in the exhibition an example of a complete Stanhope object should be made available for viewing, allowing visitors to look directly into the lens, so that they will have a tangible understanding of the experience of viewing Stanhopes. This would set the tone for the rest of the exhibition by helping visitors to imagine this initial experience in relation to each of the objects presented, especially where direct viewing of individual objects is not possible due to their value, rarity, and fragility. An array of examples of the different types of imagery that Stanhopes carry (e.g. religious, tourist, political, erotic, etc.) should be presented, either in enlarged, printed form, or preferably in an interactive digital display that would allow viewers to independently discover the general categories of images, with specific examples from each category. These images, presented digitally, could be zoomed in on by the viewer, from actual size (approximately 2mm) to a greatly enlarged scale, demonstrating the actual scale of the original images in a comprehensible way, as well as simulating the process of discovery inherent in viewing individual Stanhope images, which are invisible to the eye at their true scale, but enlarged when brought close to the eye and seen through the lens. Once the concept of what exactly the Stanhope *is* has been established through these engaging means, it should be contextualized within the history of other photographic forms, relating such aspects as its commercial nature, the novelty of immersive viewing, and the experiences of shared and private viewing to other such related formats as *cartes de visite*, photographic jewelry, real photo post cards, and stereo views.

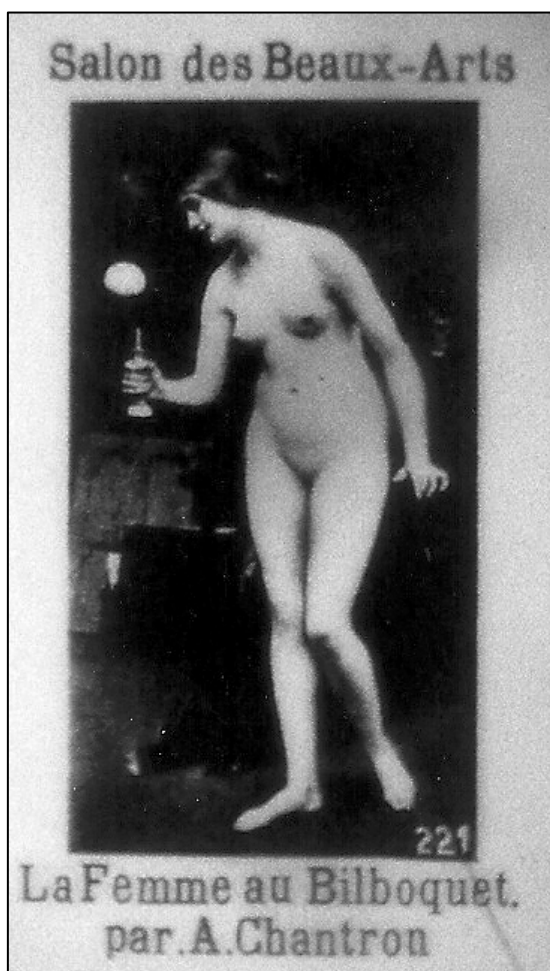
After contextualizing it generally and establishing it as a discrete photographic form within the history of photographic media, it would then be essential to place the erotic Stanhope within the context of the history and dissemination of erotic photography. Other formats important to this

¹⁴⁵ Plates of this description are held in the collections of the George Eastman House, Rochester, New York, and the Musée Nicéphore Niépce, Chalon-sur-Saône, France, and one is illustrated in Scott's *Stanhopes*, page 23.

history, including stereo views in both daguerreotype and paper form, mounted photographs, and post cards, should also be displayed, to provide context and visual references against which to compare the visual photographic qualities of Stanhopes, and the types of images that are common to each of them. If possible, examples of one image reproduced in multiple formats should be displayed, as individual erotic and pornographic photographs were often copied, replicated in different formats (e.g. from *carte de visite* to Stanhope), and in many successive generations (i.e. a copy of a copy of a copy, etc.). The resulting visually degraded quality of many erotic or pornographic photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a telling characteristic regarding the dissemination of, and demand for, this type of imagery.¹⁴⁶

The individual displays of Stanhope objects should be contextualized with extended didactic panels explaining the relevant historical contexts, as described in chapter 3, regarding the complex gender relations at play in their production and use for erotic imagery, and the ways in which they fit within the overall history of the dissemination and experiences of the viewing and consumption of photographic erotica. Different parts of the installation could highlight different aspects or eras, perhaps broken up into the mid-to late nineteenth century, and the turn-of the century, as these seem to have been the most prominent periods for the production of Stanhopes, although it can be difficult to date individual objects precisely. These periods also represent the shift from collodion- and albumen-based photographic materials before the mid-1880s to silver gelatine glass plates, and later flexible film and silver gelatine paper prints. The production of photographs subsequent to these shifts increased on a massive scale, due to the improved sensitivity of the new media, and their ease of development and transport. This would be a significant point to highlight in the history of the dissemination of erotica, especially around the turn of the twentieth century with the newly popularized real photo postcards.

¹⁴⁶ In sorting and documenting the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute I discovered that two of the images were ones that I had seen elsewhere in the form of photographic erotica. The first (figure 50 on the following page, and appendix 3, plate 19, page 118) is a variation of another Stanhope image printed in Jean Scott's book (figure 49 on the following page); both appear to be variations based on A. J. Chantron's (painting, print or drawing?) "*Femme au bilboquet*" (Open Library, "*Le Salon de 1895*," page 87, <http://www.archive.org/stream/salondemont1895mont#page/n86/mode/1up>, accessed July 10, 2012). The second is the identical image of a woman in a striped bathing suit (see appendix 3, plate 27, page 126) to one reproduced on what I believe to be a cigarette case; this object is visible on the "Background" page of Daile Kaplan's website "Pop Photographica," (<http://www.popphotographica.com/background.html>, accessed July 10, 2012.) Additionally, many of the photographs in the collection of the Kinsey Institute, including a large number of stereo views, are actually copy prints, made at different times, often in the twentieth century.



Figures 49 (left) and 50 (right). Variations of Stanhope images. Figure 49 is a Stanhope image from a vesta case, with caption: "Salon des Beaux-Arts / La Femme au Bilboquet, par A. Chantron." (Courtesy of the Kessler Collection. Photograph: Milan Zahorcak.) Figure 50, Untitled [full-length study of a naked woman playing with a bilboquet toy; from A. J. Chantron's (painting?) *Femme au bilboquet*, (1895)] is a Stanhope image from the collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction. There is no caption in this version, and no number in the bottom-right corner. Photograph: the author. (See appendix 3, plate 19, page 118, for a view of the full image glass of the Stanhope illustrated in figure 50.)

As for the installation of individual objects, a number of approaches would be appropriate in establishing the contexts in which erotic Stanhopes and other formats of erotic photographs would have been viewed. Displays showing assortments of the specific types of objects, such as the many smoking-related items, as illustrated in chapter 3, figures 26 through 31, into which erotic photographs were very often placed, would illuminate the environments in which these images were encountered and meant to be viewed. Again, in conjunction with the appropriate textual information regarding, in this case, British and French upper-class male social rituals and pastimes, presenting a number of examples of these types of Stanhope objects together would instill a museumgoer with a deeper understanding of their prevalence and popularity in that era, and of the specific audience to which they were marketed. An installation representing a period gentlemen's club sitting room, with period furniture and mannequins in period costume, might further crystallize this idea, in that the physical acts of both viewing and sharing the Stanhope images, and of using the actual objects for their functional purposes, could be presented. For instance, one mannequin could be shown smoking with his Stanhope pipe, while another peers into the base of his own pipe, while the two sit together. There might be a similar display using stereo cards, showing that the two forms for erotica were likely shared in the same environments, a sanctioned space for viewing images thought generally to be "obscene." The use of three-dimensional mannequins in period dress would provide a tactile, immediately tangible idea of the integration into everyday life of the various forms of Stanhopes, since they were so often carried or worn on the body.

To allow their direct experience, not only presenting the physical and cultural contexts of the use of Stanhopes, would be critical in providing a museumgoer a real understanding of their effect. It would be crucial also to enabling a comparison of the experience of viewing with the other photographic formats presented, such as stereo views. If stereo views were displayed similarly to those in the exhibition *Connecting with Photography* (illustrated in chapter 4, section 1, figures 41 through 43) enabling viewer interaction, a direct comparison would be made possible, allowing a viewer to make the connections between the different effect of the two formats, provoking thought about why either format would be desired, and what the physical and visual strengths and limitations of each might be, and highlighting how the specificities of photographic format shape the experience of viewing. Stanhopes such as those in the collection at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction, which comprise just the image and lens component, not mounted into objects, could potentially be inserted into temporary wall

panels, false walls or standing display boxes for direct viewing. The specific example of the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute would be very useful in this context, providing a broad sample of the types of images considered erotic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and placed into Stanhope objects, which, (as illustrated in chapter 3 (figs. 11 through 14) and throughout appendix 3), included images purely painted, purely photographic, or a mixture of the two. Showing multiples of the same images from this collection could also highlight the great variation in quality of the manufacture of these objects, and the way each Stanhope's specific combination of image and lens (and deterioration) can form a radically different experience in viewing the same image. In addition to the approaches outlined here for exhibiting historical Stanhopes, new Stanhopes in the form of charms, or in a variety of forms, with imagery related to the exhibition, or perhaps advertising the exhibition, could be produced and given out or sold as souvenirs. One or several of these could also be made fully accessible, though tethered for security, to the visitors of the exhibition, enabling a completely embodied and tactile experience of a Stanhope object in its entirety.¹⁴⁷

As illustrated here, through various practical means and strategic contextualizing and technical considerations, the accessibility of Stanhopes in an exhibition, as three-dimensional photographic objects, can be ensured, exemplifying a curatorial approach that synthesizes the material culture methodologies so prevalent in photographic history and theory today. With the approaches proposed here, a visitor to an exhibition incorporating erotic Stanhopes should come away with a clear, first-hand comprehension of the ephemerality and singularity of the experience of viewing Stanhopes, on the basis of which, and in conjunction with the considered layout of the elements of the exhibition and the contextual, historical information provided, they should arrive at an appreciation of the ways in which photographic form influences and defines the experience of viewing images, acutely so in the case of erotic Stanhopes. As historical photographic objects whose comprehensibility as both objects and images can only be understood jointly, their historical meanings and the implications of their form and use can only fully be imparted through direct experience.

¹⁴⁷ Regarding some of the technical considerations for displaying Stanhopes, full Stanhope objects could be mounted into clear acrylic boxes, to enable the full visibility of both the image and the object, as well as keeping the object secure from theft and from potentially damaging handling. In all of the methods outlined here for direct viewing, the Stanhopes would require rear-lighting to enable visibility, as they are transparencies. Accessibility by people with a range of physical needs should be taken into account as well, including such considerations as the height and depth of the displays.

With the exhibition and further critical study of such complex commercial, “vernacular” photographic objects as erotic Stanhopes, deeper and broader histories of photography will continue to emerge and expand. Their study and exhibition would also prompt further examination of the commercial uses for photography historically; of the intersections between conceptions of “art” and commerce embodied by some erotic and pornographic photographs; and of the important relationships between photographs and the multiple physical senses involved in the “viewing” of, and engagement with photographs¹⁴⁸. It is my hope that this document will help pave the way for the future exhibition of these remarkable objects, continuing “vernacular” photo-historical dialogues in the public sphere, and sparking further academic study.

¹⁴⁸ Geoffrey Batchen’s extensive essay “Forget Me Not,” in the exhibition catalogue *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004.) discusses photography’s “haptic” or tactile qualities in great depth, and would be a valuable point of reference for the further study of Stanhopes and erotic Stanhopes, which relate in many ways to photo-jewelry and to Batchen’s discussion of the multi-sensory aspects of photographs worn or carried on the body.

APPENDIX 1

Rehousing the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction

My first visit to the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction in Bloomington, Indiana, spanned December 12th through the 14th, 2011, the purpose of which was to study the Stanhopes in its photographic collection. The Stanhopes in this collection, with identification number #397R A039, consist of (likely) thousands of items¹⁴⁹, made up of only the image glass adhered to the lens, but not mounted into other objects. The catalogue record states that the original box, housing the whole group and measuring only 5.2 (h) x 12.2 (w) x 7.4cm (d) (figs. 51 to 53, page 84), was acquired by the Institute in 1959 from an unknown source in Washington D.C., where it had been confiscated by the post office in 1924. Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this group of Stanhopes, how they came into the collection, from whom and from where they originated, or to where and to whom they were en route.

When I arrived in December, 2011, the Stanhopes were all housed, loose, in an archival box (see figures 58 and 59, page 87), having already been rehoused once for the sake of easier and safer access (meaning less potential damage to the objects). They were previously crammed into the original, acidic, cardboard box, and were thus mostly inaccessible and a danger to each other, with a high risk of abrasion; also true of the newer housing. I made the proposal to rehouse the Stanhopes because I quickly realized I could not efficiently study them or refer back to any of them specifically because they were all simply piled together and not sorted in any way. Due to their nature and the need to hold them and squint into each one to see its photographic image, it would require that I, or any other researcher, handle a number of them every time, in order to find one specific example. I had also noticed upon initial study of the objects, that several of the images were repeated many times over, which led me to believe that they could potentially be sorted into image groups, and, once sorted, could be handled much less frequently or not at all by researchers, unless absolutely necessary.

I proposed to Catherine Johnson-Roehr, Curator of Art, Artifacts, and Photographs at the Institute, that I would sort and rehouse the group. Within the limitations of time that I was under and with the materials with which I was provided to work, my focus lay in creating a housing that

¹⁴⁹ They have not been counted, and in the time I had available to sort them I was not able to also keep count. Although uncounted at this time, a conservative estimate of the total number of Stanhopes in the group at the Kinsey Institute would range from 1000 to 2000 individual objects. By “individual objects,” and “Stanhopes” (in the context of the appendices), I am referring to the lens and image-glass combination, as they are adhered to one another, and form one unit for viewing.

privileged access for research, and that reduced the potential damage to the objects as much as possible. I was provided with two Hollinger boxes, identical to the one the objects were already in, with clear plastic lids. I decided to construct two inner, shallow trays per box, both because of the limited materials I had available to me, and because the relative depth of the boxes severely inhibits the safe handling of the tiny objects¹⁵⁰. I also attached a clear plastic cover to each tray to inhibit the potential of Stanhopes “jumping” out due to accidental jostling of the boxes, and for the purpose of affixing the identification images for each image group (see appendices 2 and 3).

I began constructing the new housings back in Toronto, after my first visit to the Institute. Since the total number of image groups was unknown, I made an estimate of how many total groups there might be, on the basis of the group that I had already sorted, which led me to believe there would be no more than thirty-two groups.

My second visit to the Institute spanned February 20th to 23rd, 2012. Once the sorting was completed it turned out that there were twenty-five groups of repeating images, a substantial number of loose lenses and image glasses, and a handful of Stanhopes with unrelated and/or individual images. Because I had estimated there to be a maximum of thirty-two repeating image groups, I constructed that number of storage compartments in the trays, with eight in each of the four trays. The loose image glasses, the loose lenses, and the assortment of Stanhopes with unrelated and/or individual images are each stored in separate trays in the same housings as the rest of the Stanhopes. I have also included a pair of metal tweezers in one of the housings for handling, as removing the Stanhopes individually from the piles that they are in with the fingers is hazardous; it is impossible to touch only one object at a time, and any attempt will cause the abrasion of many of them.¹⁵¹

On my second visit to the Institute, I also documented a sampling of the repeating-image groups (see appendix 2 for the description of this process, and appendix 3 for the inventory of images). The documented Stanhope images were printed out, to be affixed to the mylar covers for each tray, indicating the image represented by each group in the tray compartment underneath.

¹⁵⁰ Although the boxes were only approximately 5-6 centimeters deep, this is very deep relative to the minute scale of the Stanhopes, which are approximately 2-3 millimeters in diameter (or in height, when they are lain on their sides, as they are in the housings).

¹⁵¹ The Stanhopes (and loose components) should be lifted very carefully and gently with the tweezers by the sides of the lens, avoiding pinching too hard or scratching the lens glass, and avoiding contact with the image glass, many examples of which are very precariously adhered to the lenses due to the deterioration of the Canada balsam. The Stanhopes should also be released very gently from the tweezers onto the work surface, again due to the delicacy of their condition. In the future perhaps the tweezers could be replaced with a rubber-tipped or “safety” version.

Ideally, had I more time (or perhaps this is a direction for a future project), I would have constructed a custom-sized tray or box for each image group (each group contained a different number of objects) to reduce potential movement, and I would have done research into and incorporated some sort of cushioning for the bottom of the trays, also to reduce potential movement, and to absorb shock, within the housing. I would also have sorted the groups physically into a logical order, perhaps following the order laid out in appendix 3 (as it stands they were not ordered or individually identified in any way by the Institute).

The following illustrations and their captions document the process of constructing the housing, of sorting and of rehousing the objects.



Figures 51 (above), 52 (below, left) and 53 (below, right). Original box for the Stanhopes in group #397R A039, 5.2 (h) x 12.2 (w) x 7.4cm (d); figure 51 shows the front of the box, figure 52, the back, and figure 53, the two open halves of the box.

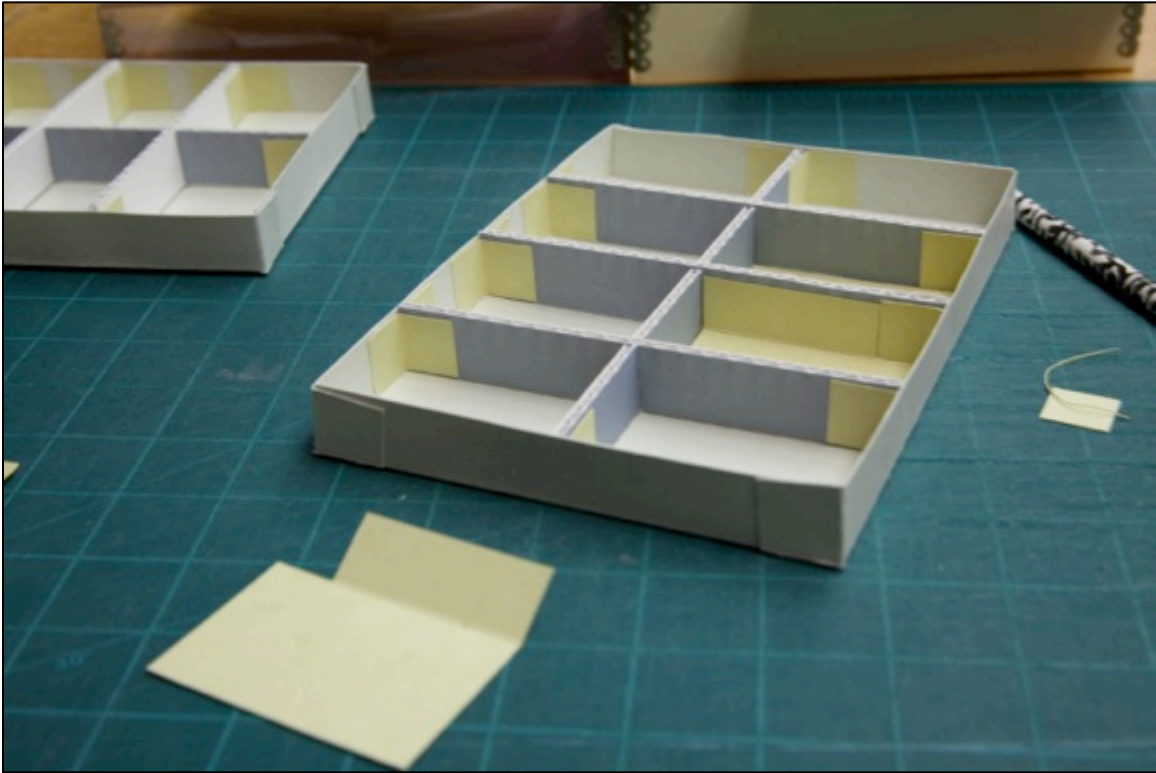


Figure 54. Constructing stacking trays with archival museum board and archival cardboard, and adding (archival) protective barriers so that Stanhopes don't roll under the dividers. The adhesive used was PVA (polyvinyl acetate), which was allowed to fully cure before using the housings.

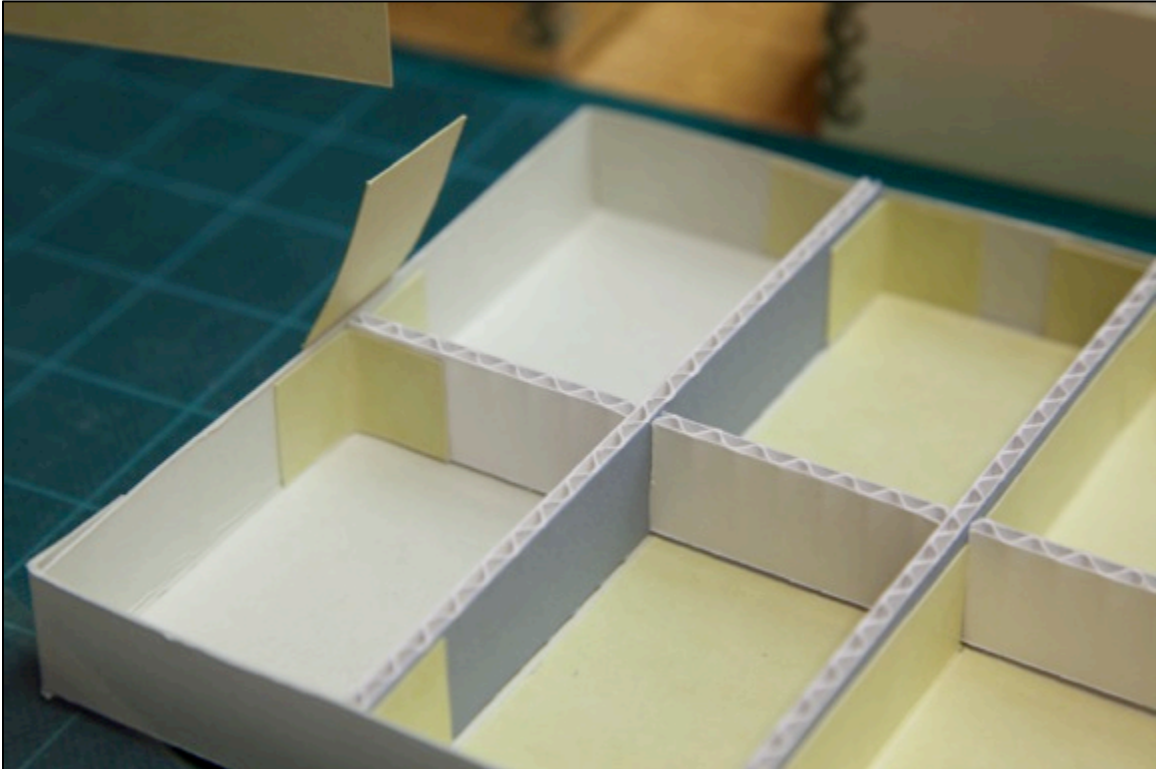


Figure 55. Tabs were added to the sides (in a strip adhered across the bottom) of each tray for easy lifting out of the box. Shorter tabs were placed on the upper tray for each box, with longer tabs on the bottom trays, for easy access when stacked. (See figure 65, page 90.)



Figure 56. Mylar covers were attached to each tray (adhered along the top edge), for protection and for the forthcoming identification images to be adhered to, which would be aligned with each image group in the tray below.



Figure 57. The sorting begins, using small archival paper labels with sketches or textual descriptions for the purpose of identification.



Figure 58. Sorting underway. The box in the center is that into which the Stanhopes were rehoused from their original cardboard box (figs. 51 to 53).



Figure 59. Detail view of the loose Stanhopes in the old housing.



Figure 60. Many of the image-glass components had come loose from the lens, so those were sorted into their own category, as I could not see the images magnified, and if they were sorted in with the other complete Stanhopes, they could abrade the other objects and cause more lenses and image-glasses to loosen.



Figure 61. Illustration of Stanhope scale. I worked without gloves because any attempts with cotton or latex gloves endangered the objects, due to their small size and the precision required for their handling.



Figure 62. The loose condition of the Stanhopes caused many of the image glasses to detach, and the deteriorated, dried-out Canada balsam left a yellow-brown flaky residue behind.



Figure 63. Illustration of the general size of the image groups, in a completely sorted tray.



Figure 64. The fully sorted group of Stanhopes.



Figure 65. Illustration of how the trays stack in the new housing.



Figure 66. A closed housing with trays of sorted Stanhopes.



Figure 67. The completed housing, with small archival museum-board insert trays for the smaller groups of detached image glasses, and of random one-, two-, or three-of-a-kind images. A cutaway was also made to hold the tweezers, which are to be used for handling the objects.

APPENDIX 2

Documentation of the Images in the Stanhopes at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction

The project to photographically document examples of each of the twenty-five repeating images represented in the group of Stanhopes numbered “397R A039” in the collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction, in Bloomington, Indiana, was undertaken on Thursday, February 23, 2012. Also documented at that time were the thirteen related and unrelated images found within the larger group of repeating images, of which there were only one or a small number of examples each. The photographs comprising the inventory found in appendix 3 were taken, by myself, at the Institute’s digital imaging lab.

The basic purposes of this project were: a) to identify each of the repeating images represented in the larger group and create permanent documents of them; and b) to enable the physical identification of each (now sorted) group of images with a printed photographic label (or “surrogate” image), attached to the relevant section of the Stanhopes’ housing. The first purpose will serve obvious practical functions: the Institute will benefit by having a general photographic inventory of the images in the Stanhope group in their collection. The second purpose of the project, making these images accessible to researchers, is crucial to both basic research and to the objects’ preservation; applied image labels will enable easy identification of each image group and its location, providing general access to the Stanhopes’ image content while minimizing handling of the actual objects themselves.

As discussed in appendix 1, a conservative estimate of the total number of Stanhopes in the group at the Kinsey Institute ranges from 1000 to 2000 individual objects¹⁵². This number is primarily made up of the aforementioned twenty-five images, each repeated many times over in unequal numbers. As representative of each of these image groups, I chose the clearest example possible, as many of the objects are in advanced states of deterioration, fully or partially obscuring the image, or were partially or fully non-viewable due to shoddy manufacture.¹⁵³

¹⁵² By “individual objects” I am referring to the lens and image-glass combination, as they are adhered to one another, and form one unit for viewing.

¹⁵³ Although microscopic, a droplet of moisture or a tiny scratch can obscure an entire Stanhope image, rendering it useless. There were many examples like this. Shoddy manufacture also seems to have been common, with many images off-center and thus not fully viewable nor properly magnified, and some with the straight edge of the cut image glass remaining, and in the field of view (see appendix 3, plate 21, page

I documented the Stanhopes with a Canon EOS 5D Mark II camera, and a Canon MP-E65mm f/2.8 1-5x macro lens, set to maximum magnification¹⁵⁴. They were shot using a copy stand, with an LED light box placed underneath the objects, as the source of transmitted light, and using a wireless remote (for the set-up, see figure 68, page 95). Each Stanhope was partially sunken into a sheet of black foam-core with a small hole punched in it to hold the Stanhope and allow the light from the light box to be transmitted, and to eliminate excess light coming into the camera lens from the sides (fig. 69, page 95). The plane image-glass end was left exposed above the foam core due to the delicacy of its degraded adhesive and the ease of accidental separation from the lens. The camera was set to an aperture of f8, an ISO of 100, for ~2-second exposures. Because it is impossible to document Stanhopes from the viewing end of the lens due to their minute focal length, they were shot from the plane end of the image glass, which required that I then laterally reverse the digital image to return it to its viewed orientation. This also means that these reproductions are not accurate representations of what is seen when looking into the lens with the eye, showing none of the Stanhope's inherent distortion and smaller visible image area, but document the entire image presented within the Stanhope, in addition to the substantial surrounding non-image area.¹⁵⁵

The following illustrations and their captions document the process of photographing these objects.

120 for a particularly good example of the straight edges of the glass remaining in the finished Stanhope.) The Stanhopes selected for documentation were the best examples.

¹⁵⁴ The actual magnification cannot be verified due to small adjustments made while shooting.

¹⁵⁵ I also documented for my own reference a sampling of interesting forms of deterioration, which could prove helpful in the future in studying the deterioration and interactions of glass, collodion or silver gelatine emulsions, and Canada balsam, as these images of the Stanhopes display the effects of deterioration on a microscopic scale. It is assumed, due to the documented date of seizure of this group of objects, which is 1924, that their emulsion is silver gelatine, but this remains unconfirmed at the time of this writing.

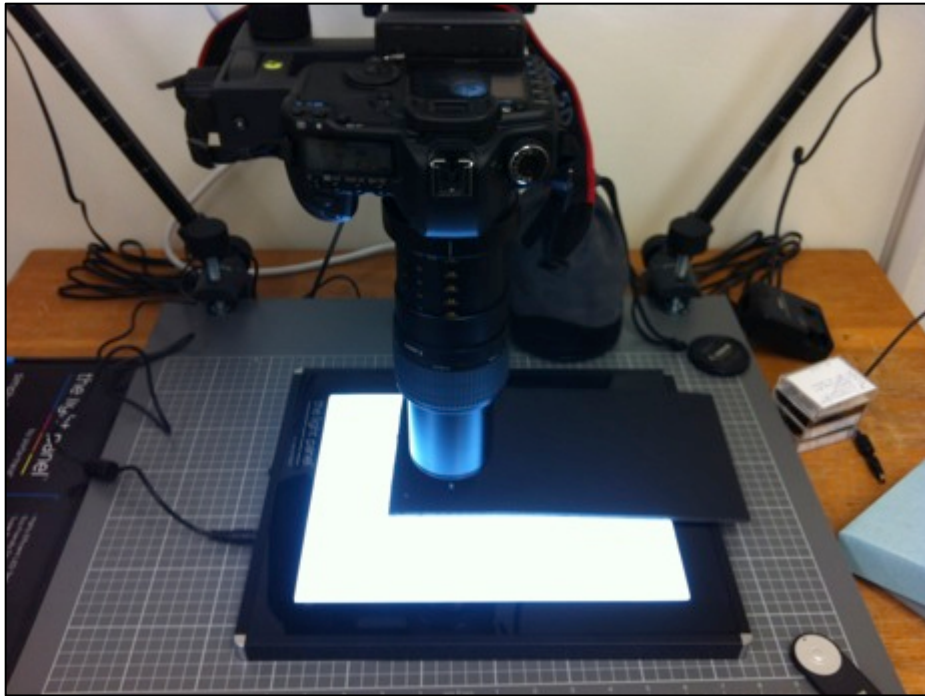


Figure 68. The set-up for documentation of the Stanhopes.

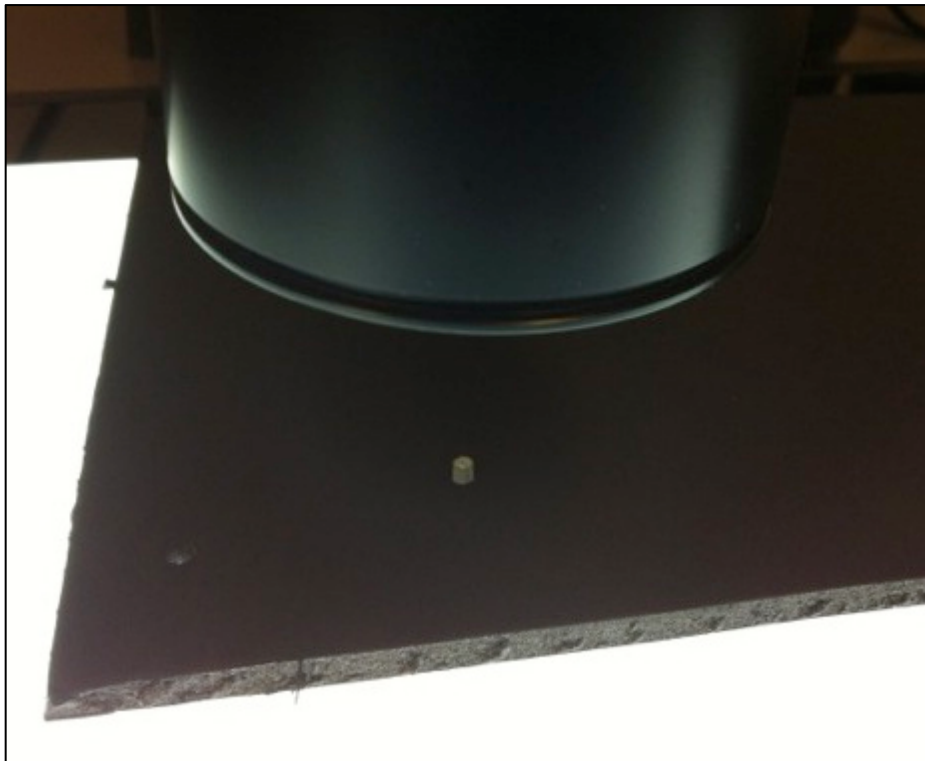


Figure 69. A Stanhope mounted in foam core, atop the light box, beneath the camera lens



Figure 70. The magnified view of a Stanhope image seen zoomed through the camera. See appendix 3, plate 5, page 104, for the full image-glass view of this object, laterally flipped to replicate the image orientation as seen through the lens.

APPENDIX 3

3.1 Inventory of Representative Samples of the Stanhope Images at The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction; Introductory Note Regarding the Inventory

The following section, 3.2, is a photographic inventory whose images are taken from individual examples of Stanhopes that represent each newly sorted group, in item # 397R A039 at the Kinsey institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction. At the time of this writing, the total number of Stanhopes in each of the twenty-five groups is unknown. Because neither the Stanhopes nor the representative images are individually numbered, titled, or identified in any way by the Kinsey Institute, I have numbered each image (plate) and given it a descriptive title here, and have arranged them into three categories: a) those images that are identifiably photographic in origin (section 3.2.1); b) those that have come from a painted, drawn, or printed source (section 3.2.2); and c) those where it is uncertain whether they are from a photographic or a painted, drawn or printed source (section 3.2.3). Within these categories, I have arranged the images by subject and pose (e.g. single figure, half-length; single figure, full-length; two figures, full-length, etc.).¹⁵⁶

Section 3.3 represents images with only one or a few examples found in the group. These images are divided into four sub-sections corresponding to the three sub-divisions in section 3.2 noted above, and the fourth representing non-erotic (or “unrelated”) images. I have included the non-erotic images for the sake of documenting what is actually in the entire group, since their inclusion lends context to the overall nature of the business of Stanhope production, this group representing one shipment from a manufacturer to a distributor of Stanhopes.

Finally, it must also be noted that there were a high number of image-glasses that had come loose from Stanhope lenses, and as a result, these were not viewable to the eye, and thus have not been identified as belonging to any of the image groups or the sub-categories outlined here.

¹⁵⁶ I must unfortunately note that in the challenges presented by the sorting process, and due to the similarity of certain images, a representative example of one of the 25 repeating image groups was inadvertently not documented, and so there is no representative image for that group. I have kept one page blank as a place marker, with a brief description of the missing image (plate 14, page 113.)

3.2 Repeating Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.2.1 From a Photographic Source



Plate 1. [Half-length study of a naked woman with a hat], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 2. [Three-quarter study of a partially draped woman], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

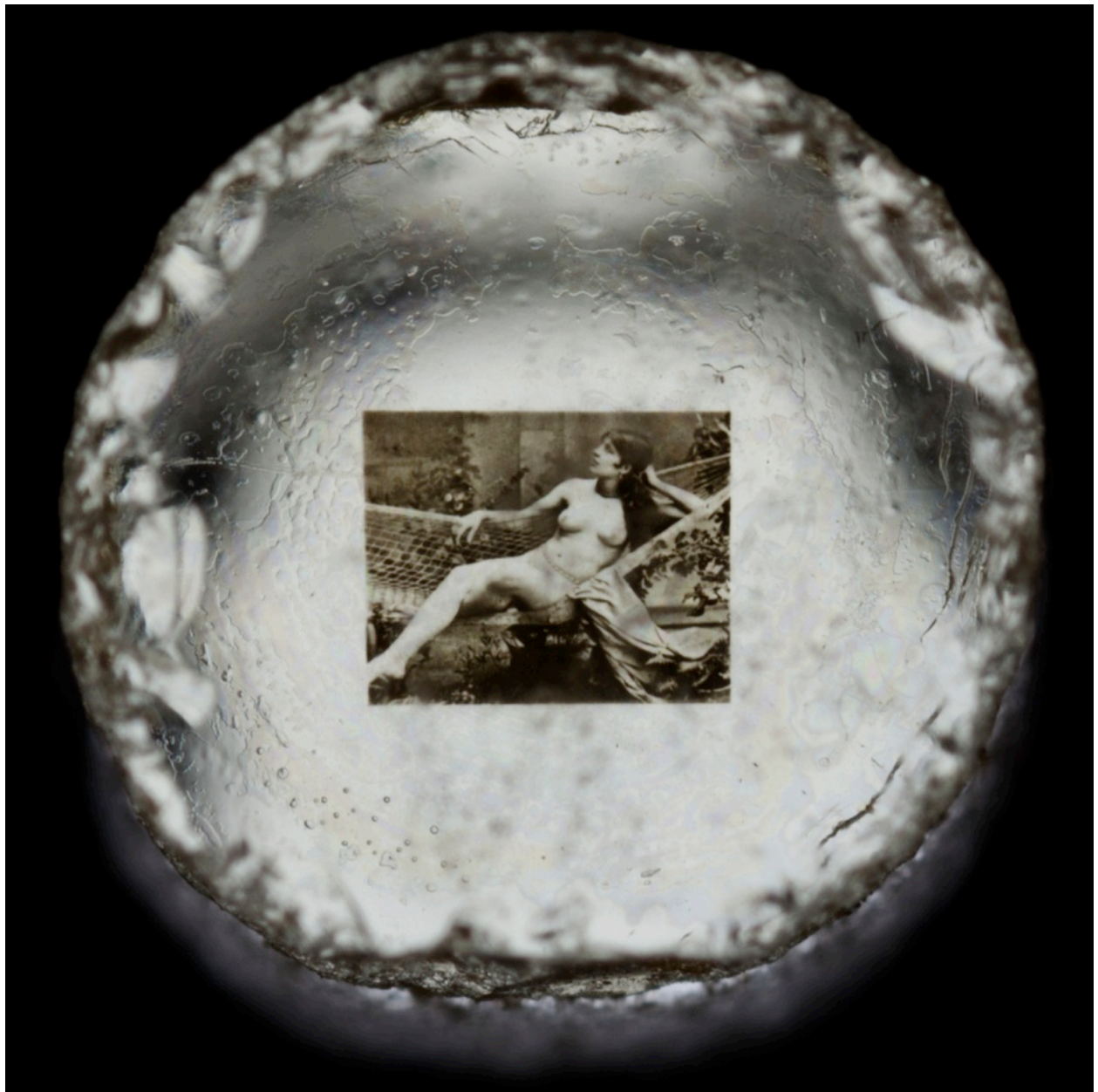


Plate 3. [Full-length study of a naked woman reclining in a hammock], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 4. [Full-length study of a partially draped woman seated on a wooden bench], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

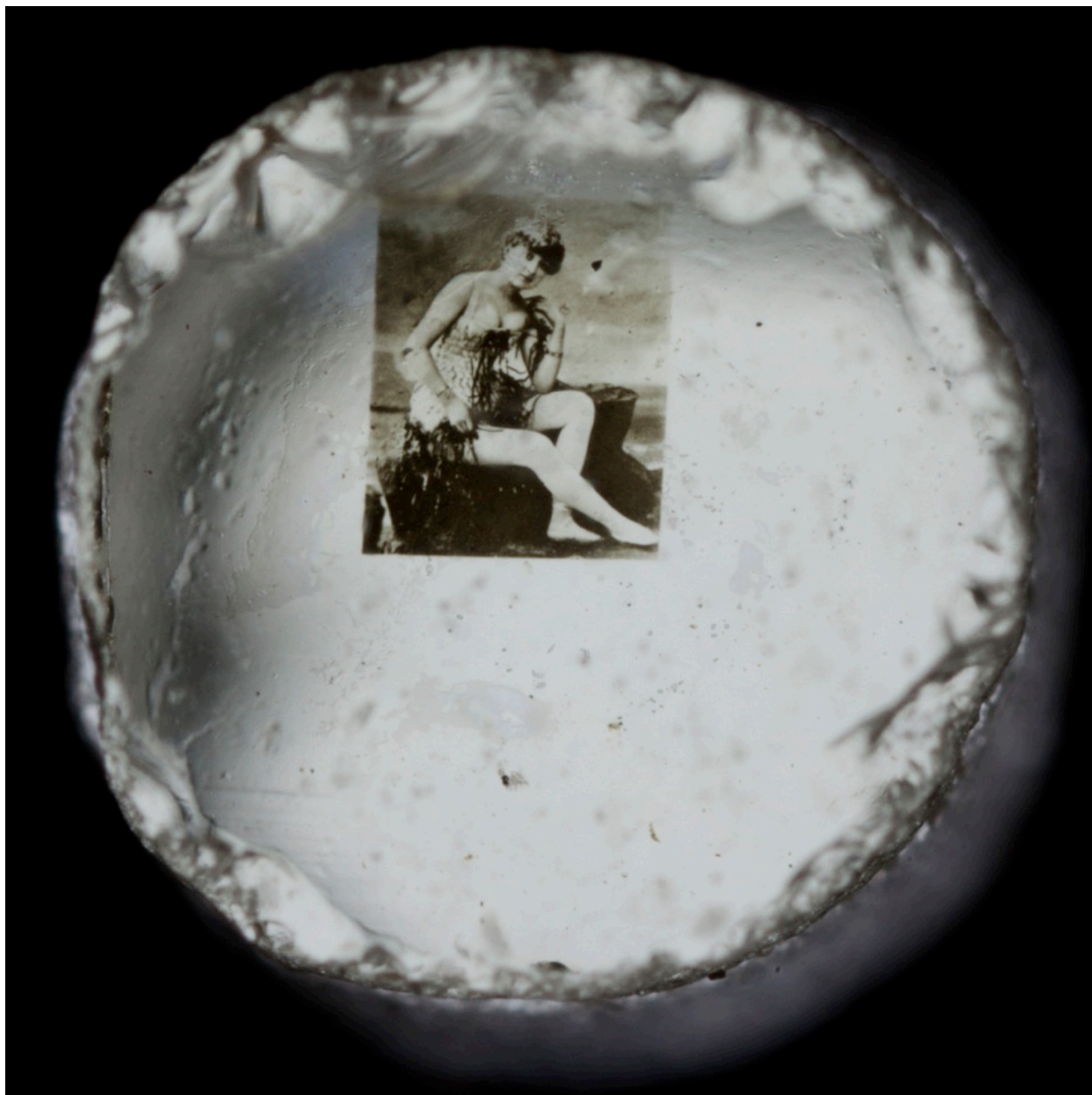


Plate 5. [Full-length study of a woman in a costume seated on a rock before a painted backdrop of waves and clouds], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 6. [Full-length study of a partially draped woman seated on a rock], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 7. [Full-length study of a standing woman clothed in a short dress; background removed], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 8. [Full-length study of a naked woman standing in a doorway], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

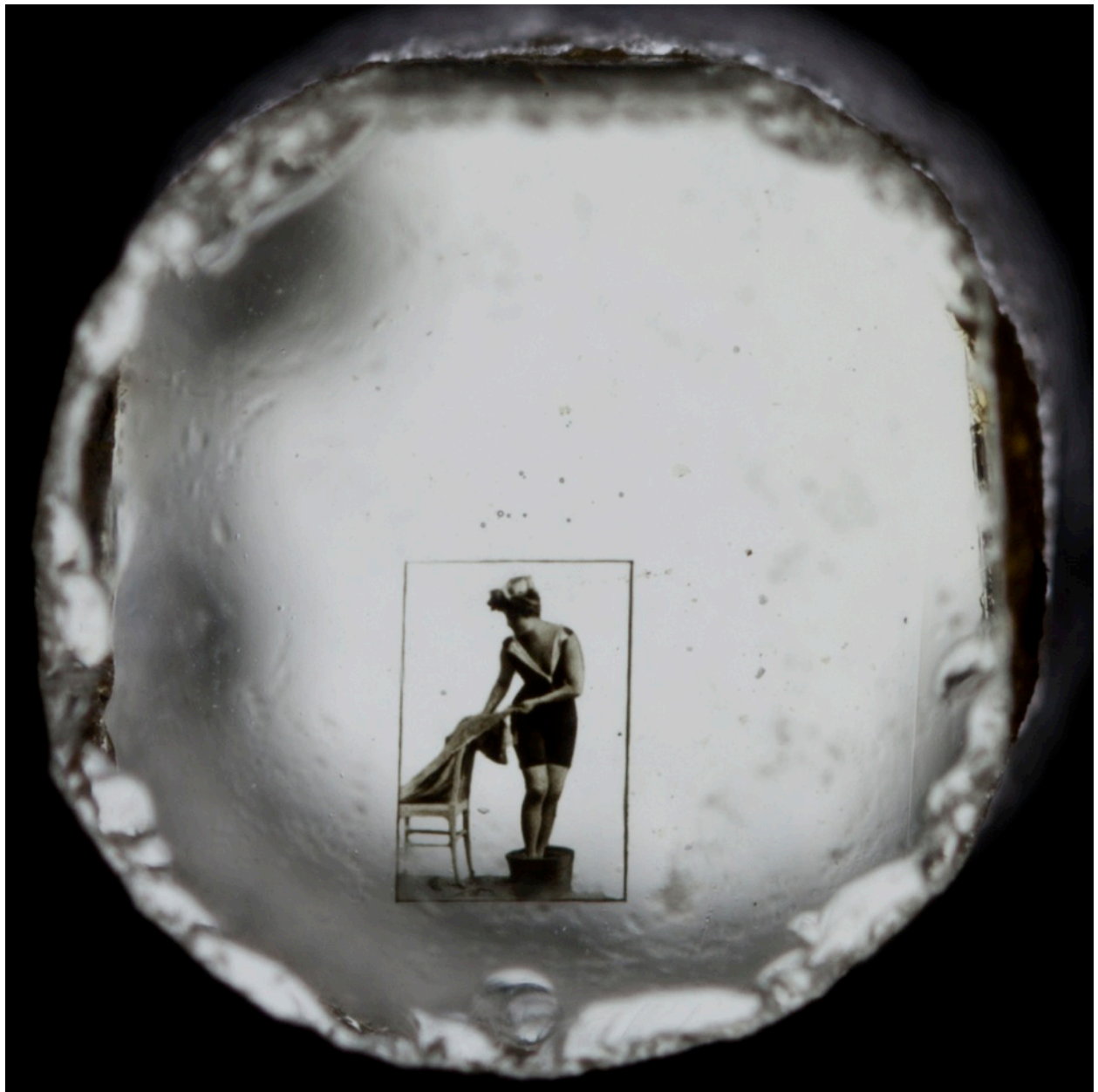


Plate 9. [Full-length study of a woman clothed in a bathing suit, standing in a bucket, with a chair and towel (?) to the left], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 10. [Full-length study of a woman in costume, holding a swath of fabric, partially kneeling on a rug-covered support], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 11. [Full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised, with a painted backdrop and lamp post], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 12. [Full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with arms raised, her hands on the back of her head], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 13. [Full-length study of a woman wearing a body stocking (?), with her arms raised, one hand touching the top, and the other the back, of her head], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

Plate 14. [Woman in costume, facing camera, standing with one foot propped on a support to the side, and arms raised, her hands on the back of her head], approx. 2-3mm diameter (no image available).



Plate 15. [Full-length study of two standing women, posed identically and dressed in identical costumes with hats, with their hands on their hips], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

3.2 Repeating Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.2.2 From Paintings, Prints or Drawings



Plate 16. [Full-length study of a naked woman reclining in a landscape, on leopard-print fabric, based on Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* (c.1510)], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

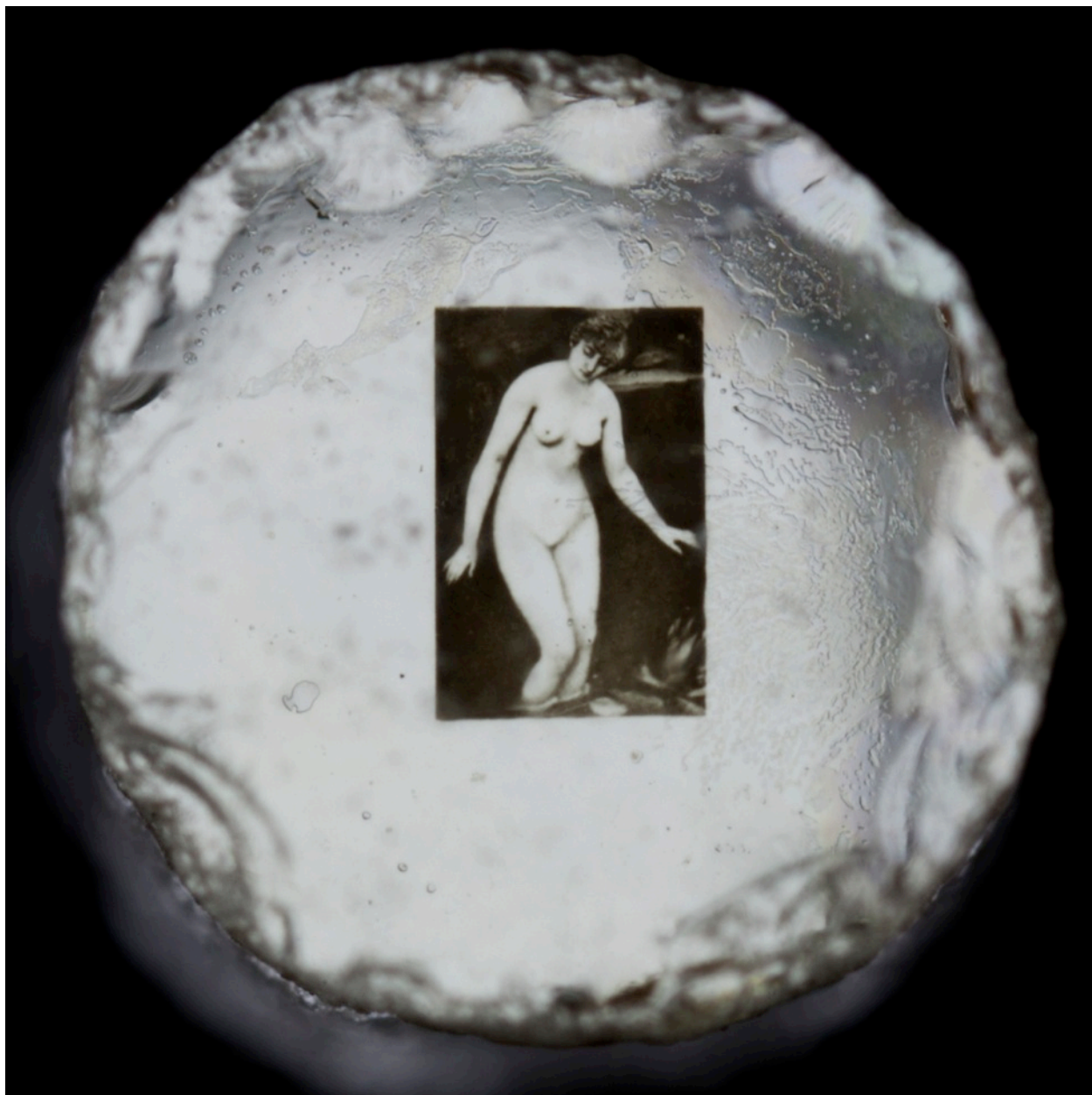


Plate 17. [Three-quarter view of a naked woman standing in water], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

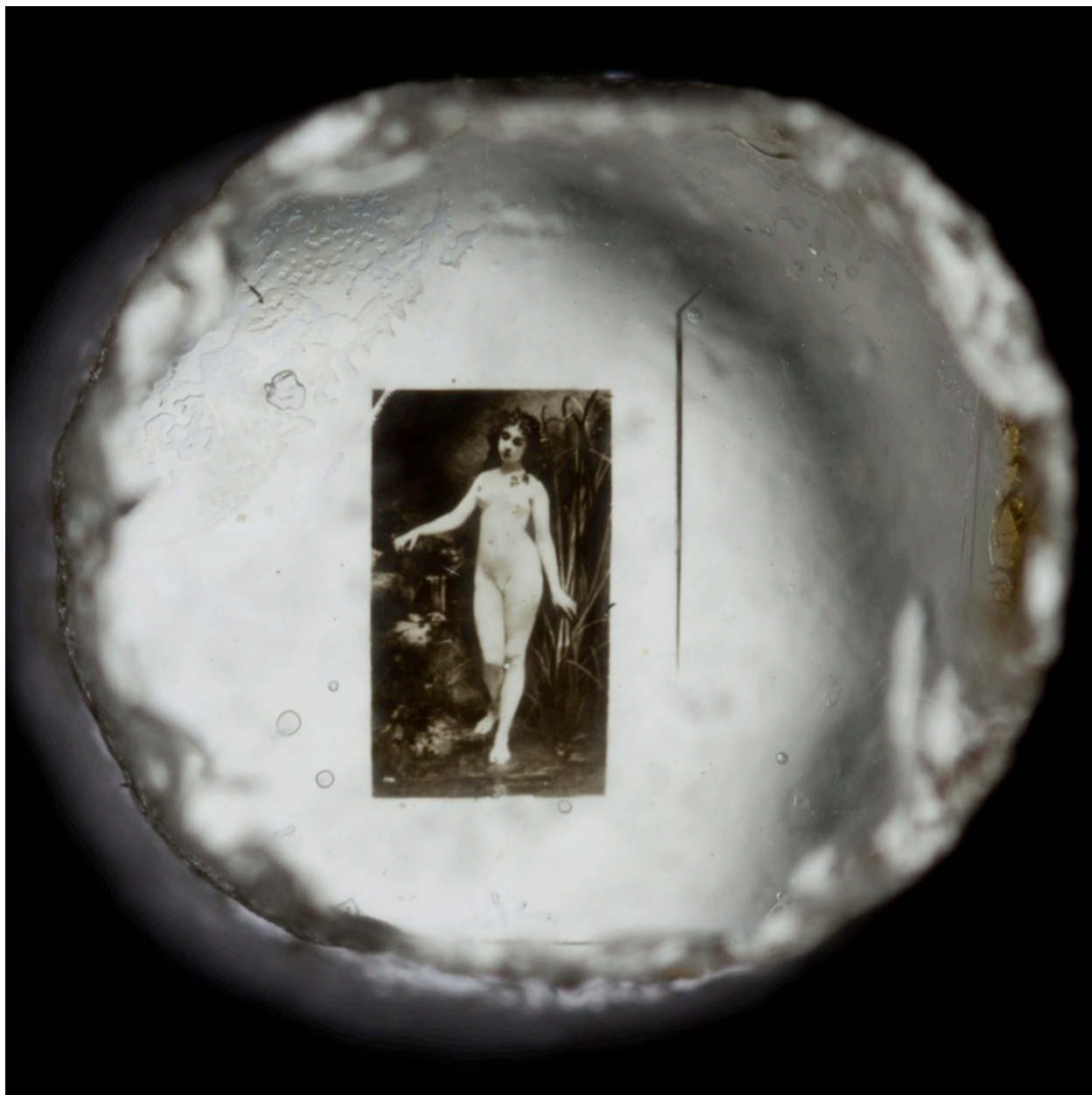


Plate 18. [Full-length study of a naked woman standing by the water's edge, with reeds in the background], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

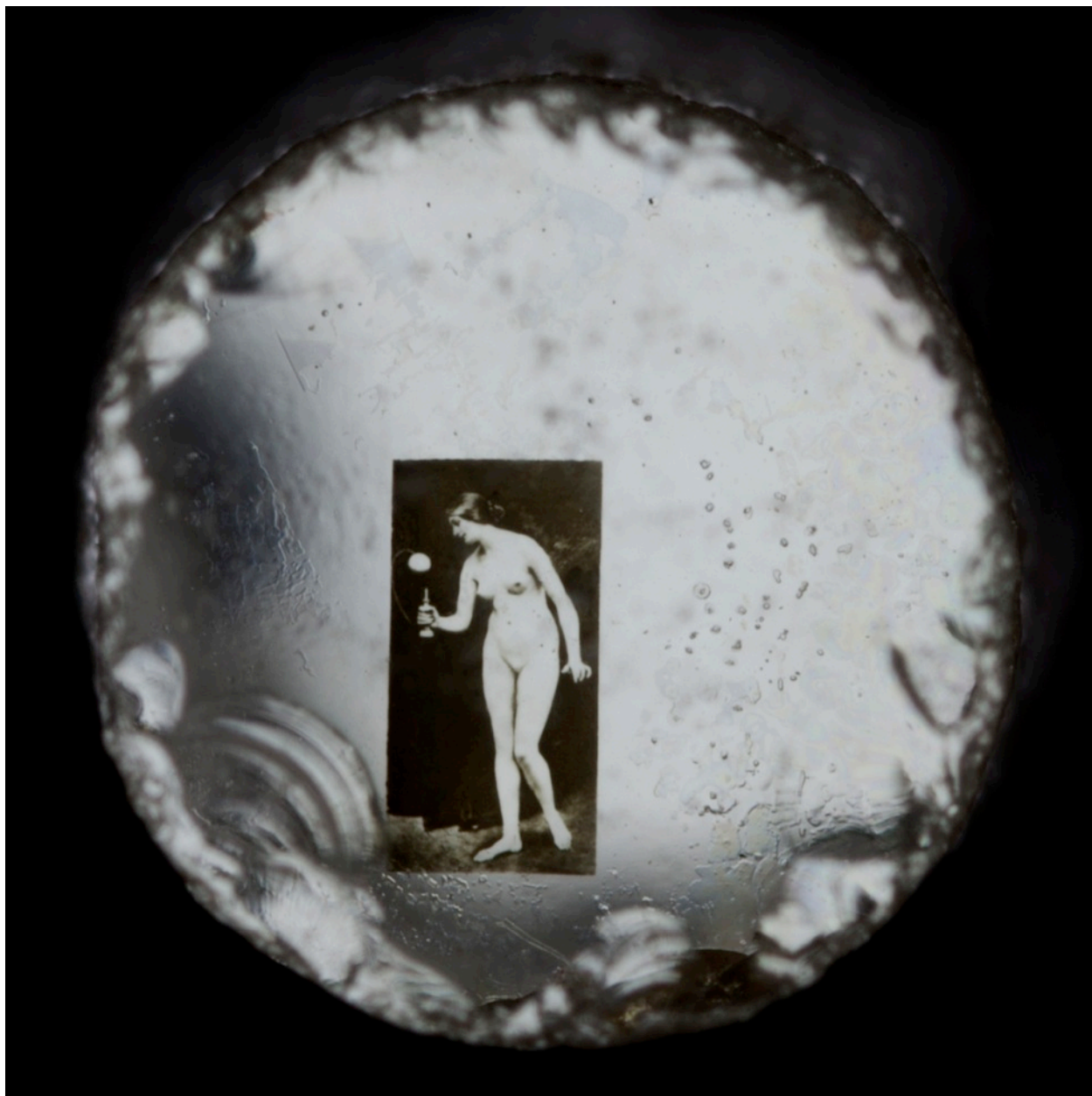


Plate 19. [Full-length study of a naked woman playing with a bilboquet toy, from A. J. Chantron's *Femme au bilboquet*, (1895)], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 20. [Full-length study of a naked woman walking on a path, with one arm raised, holding an unidentified object, and holding a branch over her shoulder with her other hand, with a musical instrument on her back, slung with a strap over her shoulder], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

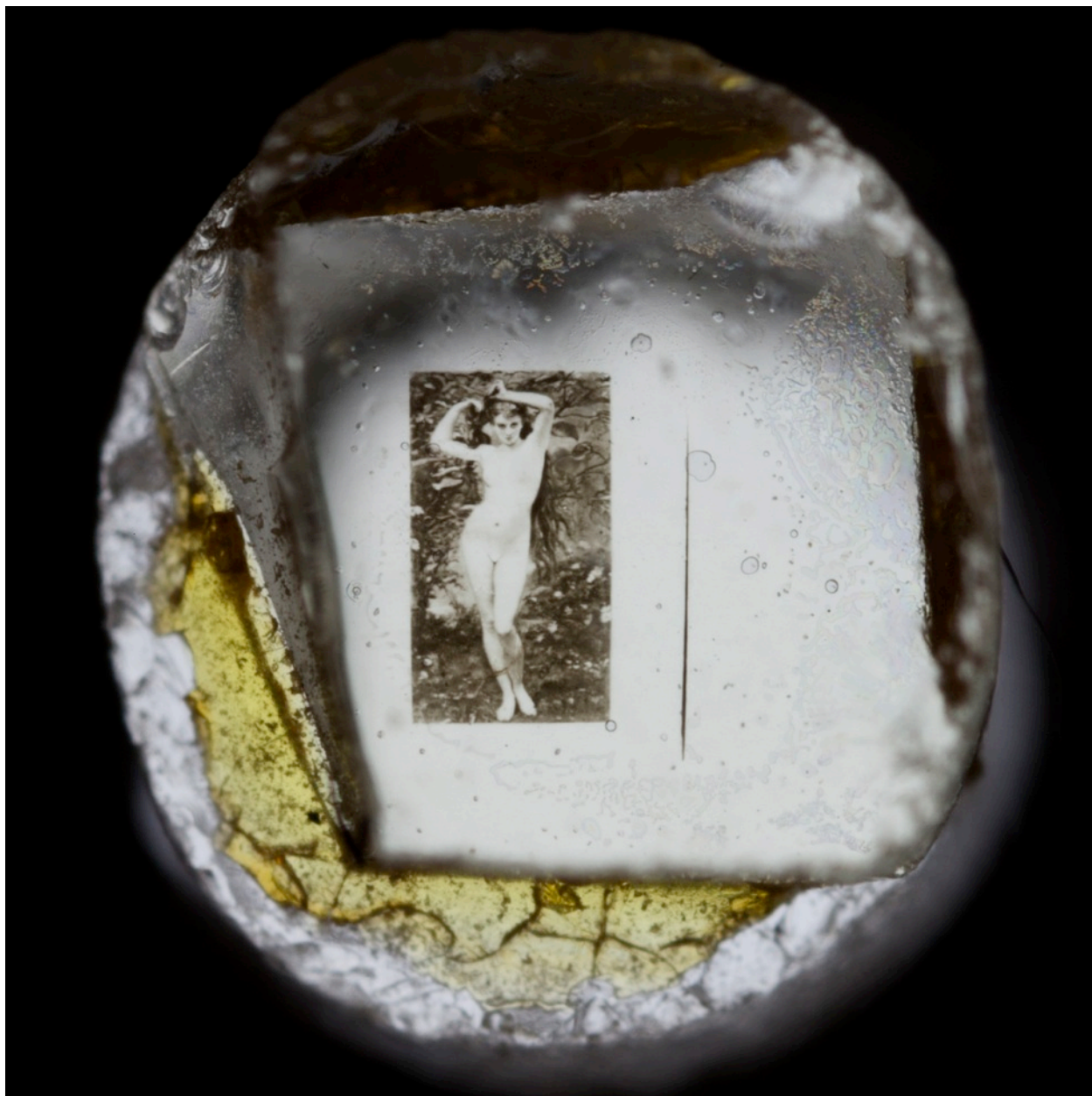


Plate 21. [Full-length study of a naked young woman arranging her hair], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

3.2 Repeating Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.2.3 From an Uncertain Source

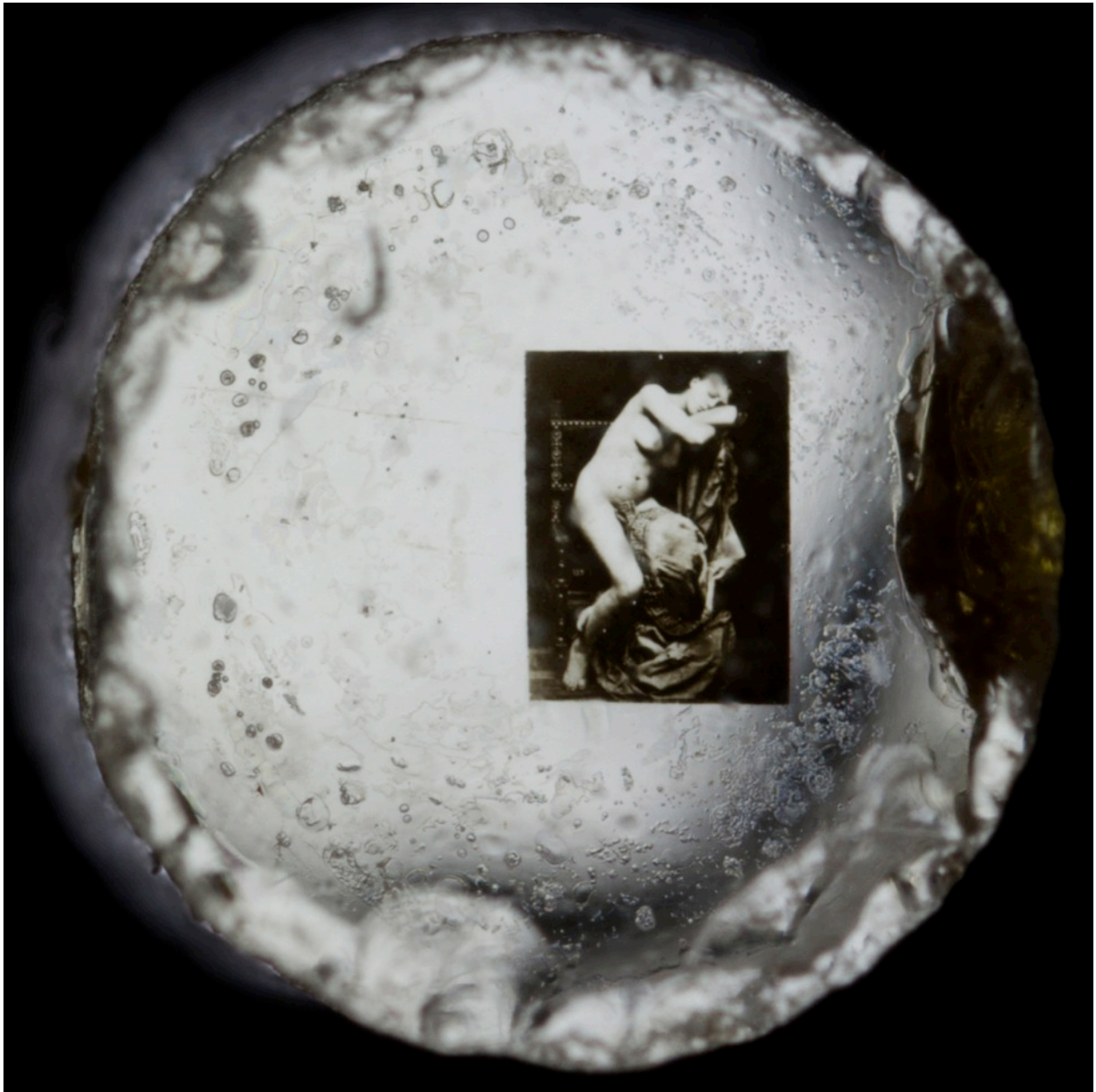


Plate 22. [Full-length study of a partially draped woman sleeping in a wooden chair], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 23. [Full-length study of a woman standing, leaning on an easel (?), with her head turned to her left], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 24. [Full-length study of two naked women, one standing with arms raised, one laying on the ground, resting on her elbows], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

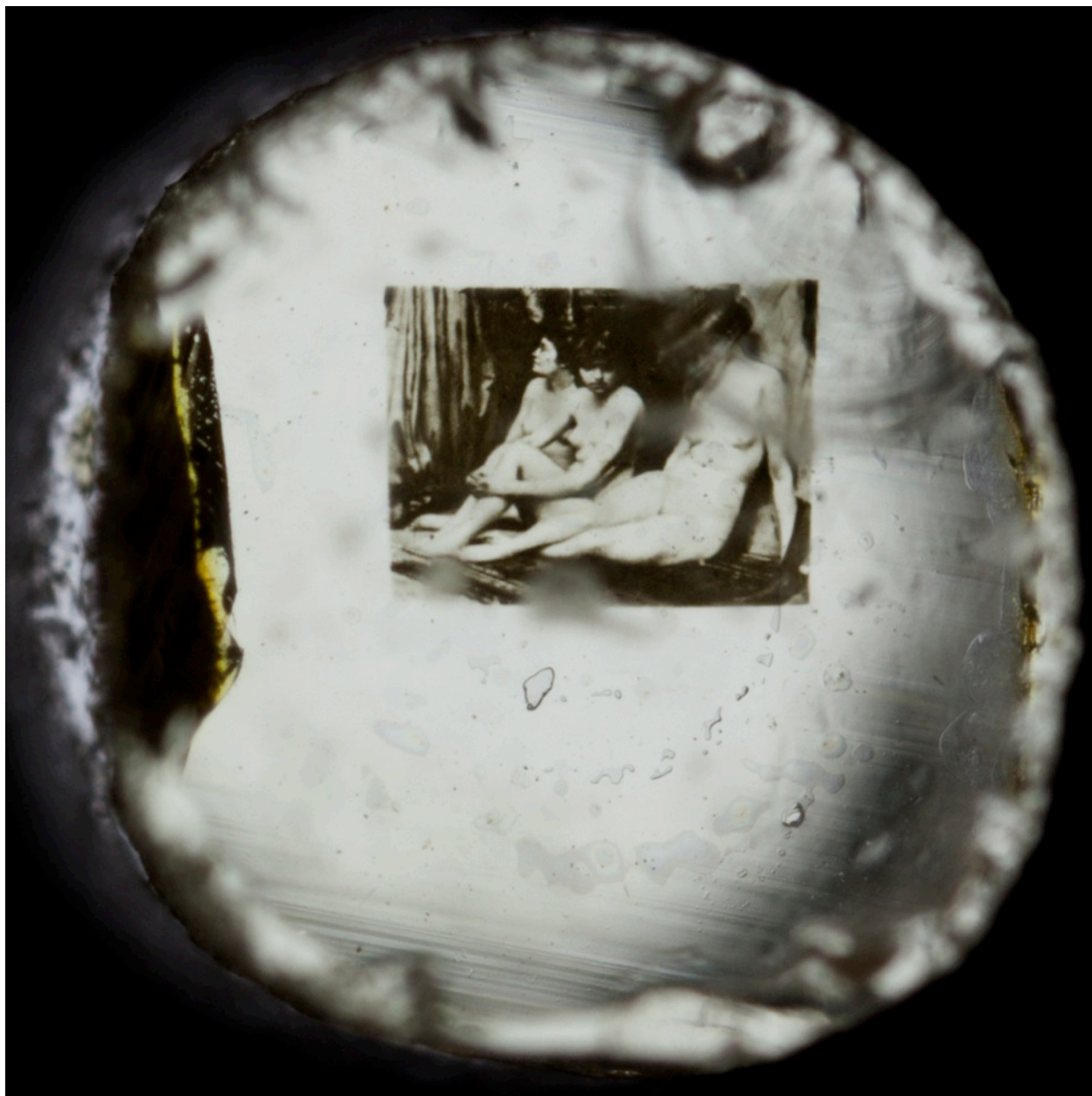


Plate 25. [Full-length study of three naked women seated on the ground], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

3.3 Individual or Rare Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.3.1 Erotic

3.3.1.1 From a Photographic Source



Plate 26. [Three-quarter-length study of a clothed woman standing, leaning on a stick], approx. 2-3mm diameter.



Plate 27. [Full-length study of a woman in a striped bathing suit, leaning on a railing in front of a backdrop with painted waves], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

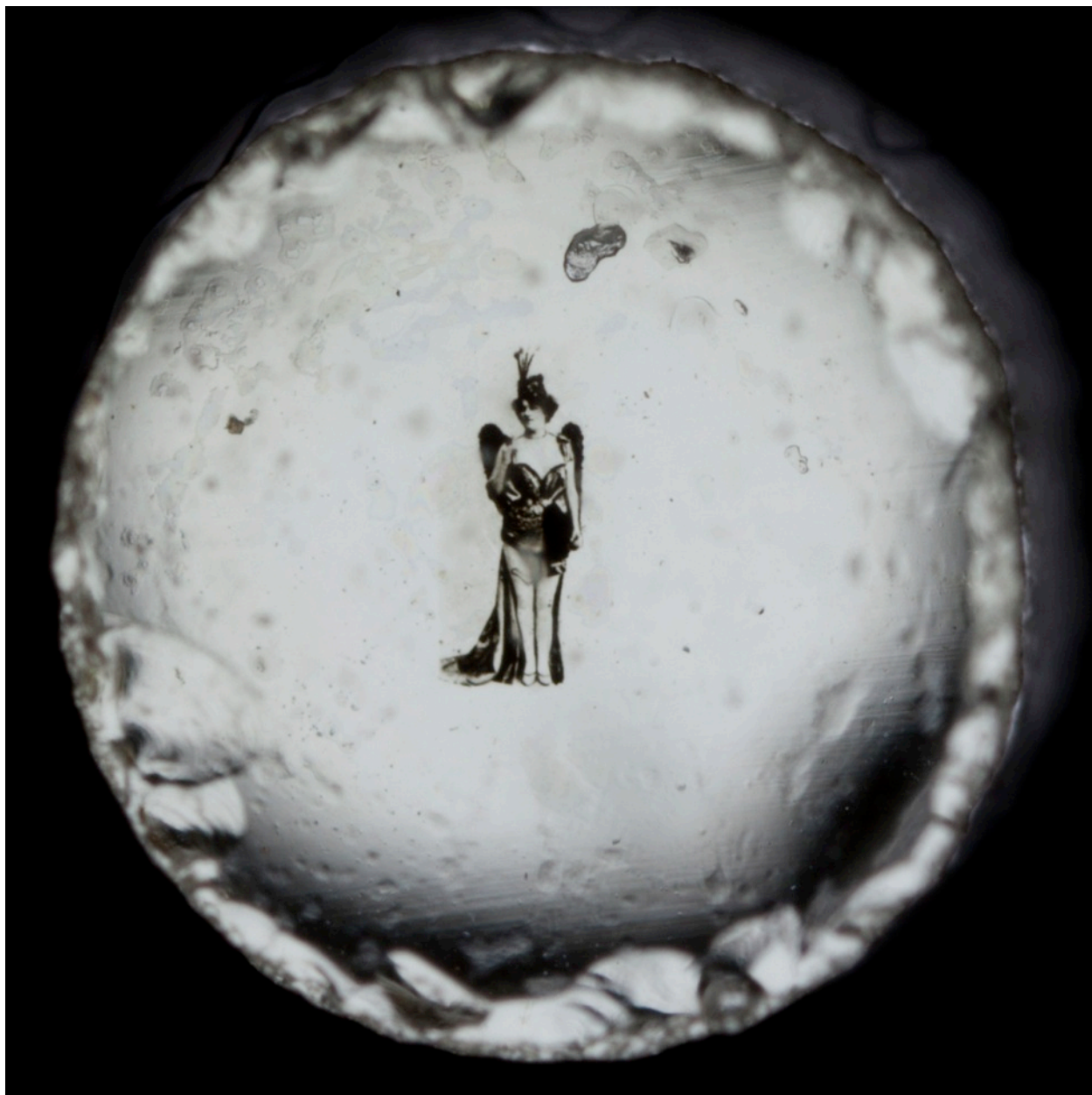


Plate 28. [Full-length study of a standing woman, in a costume with a cape and hat; background removed], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

3.3 Individual or Rare Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.3.1 Erotic

3.3.1.2 From Paintings, Prints, or Drawings



Plate 29. [Full-length study of a seated, partially draped woman holding cat, in "Oriental" interior], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

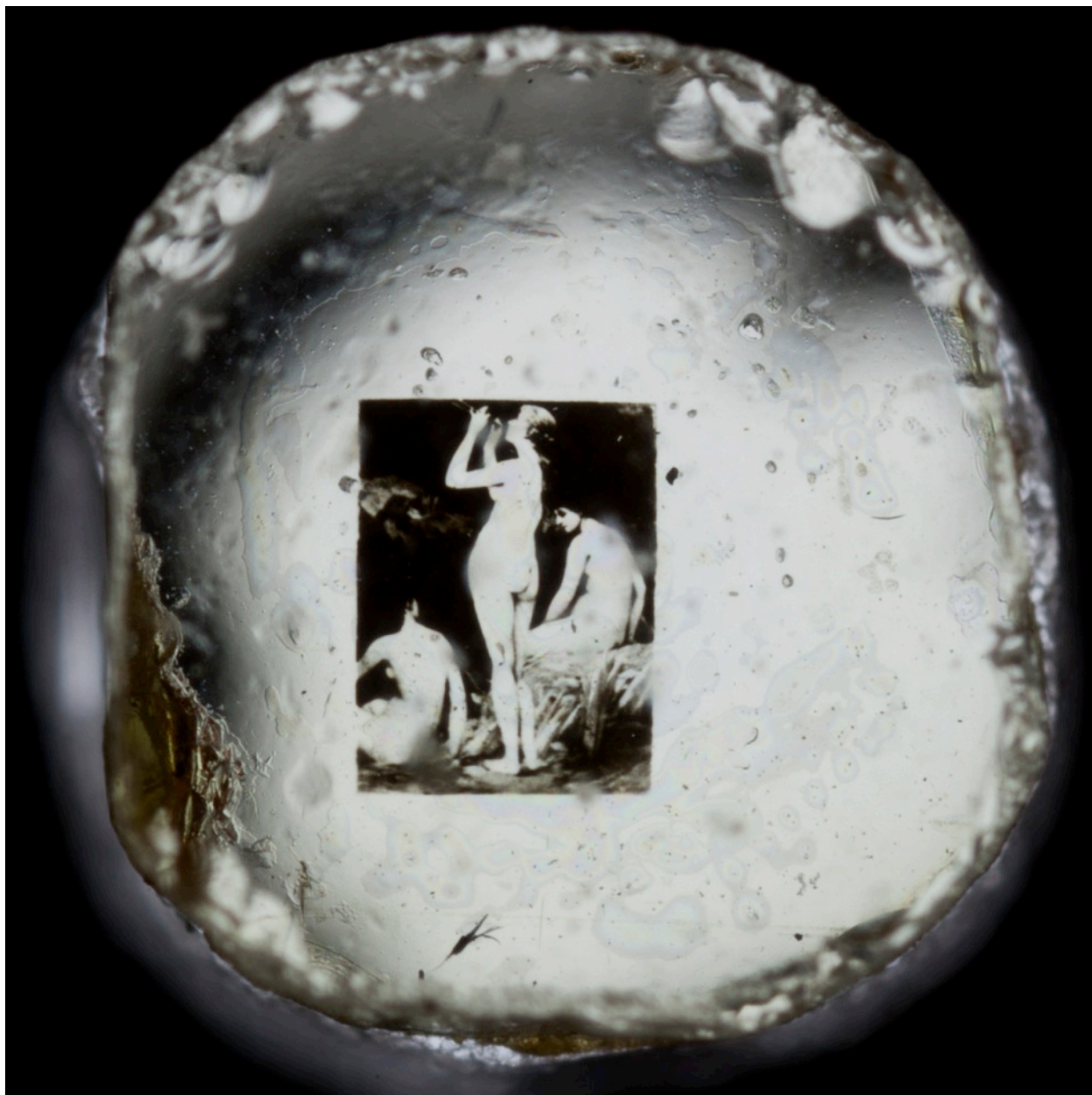


Plate 30. [Study of three naked women; one standing (playing flute?), two seated], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

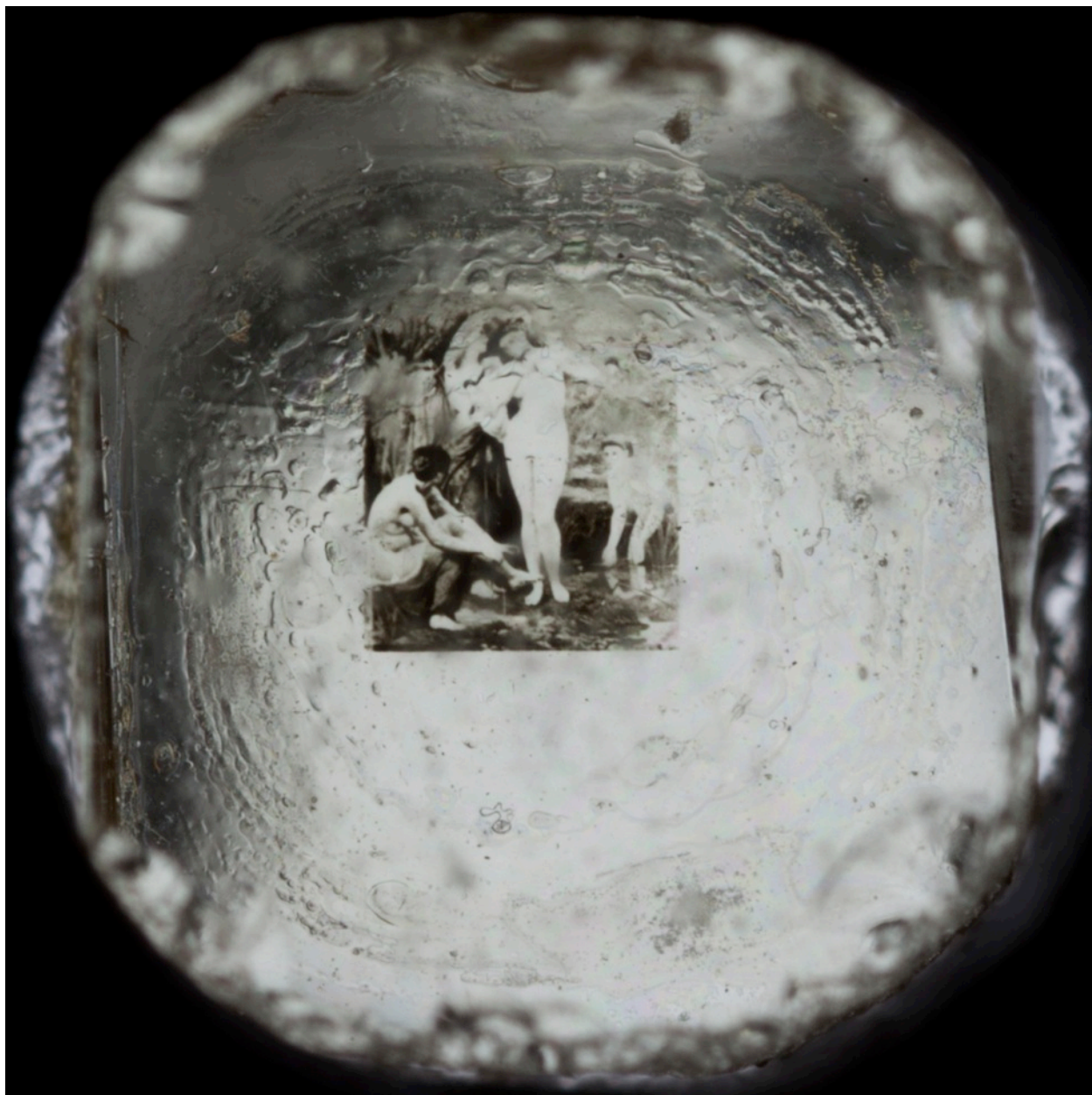


Plate 31. [Full-length study of a group of (4?) naked women bathing by water's edge], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

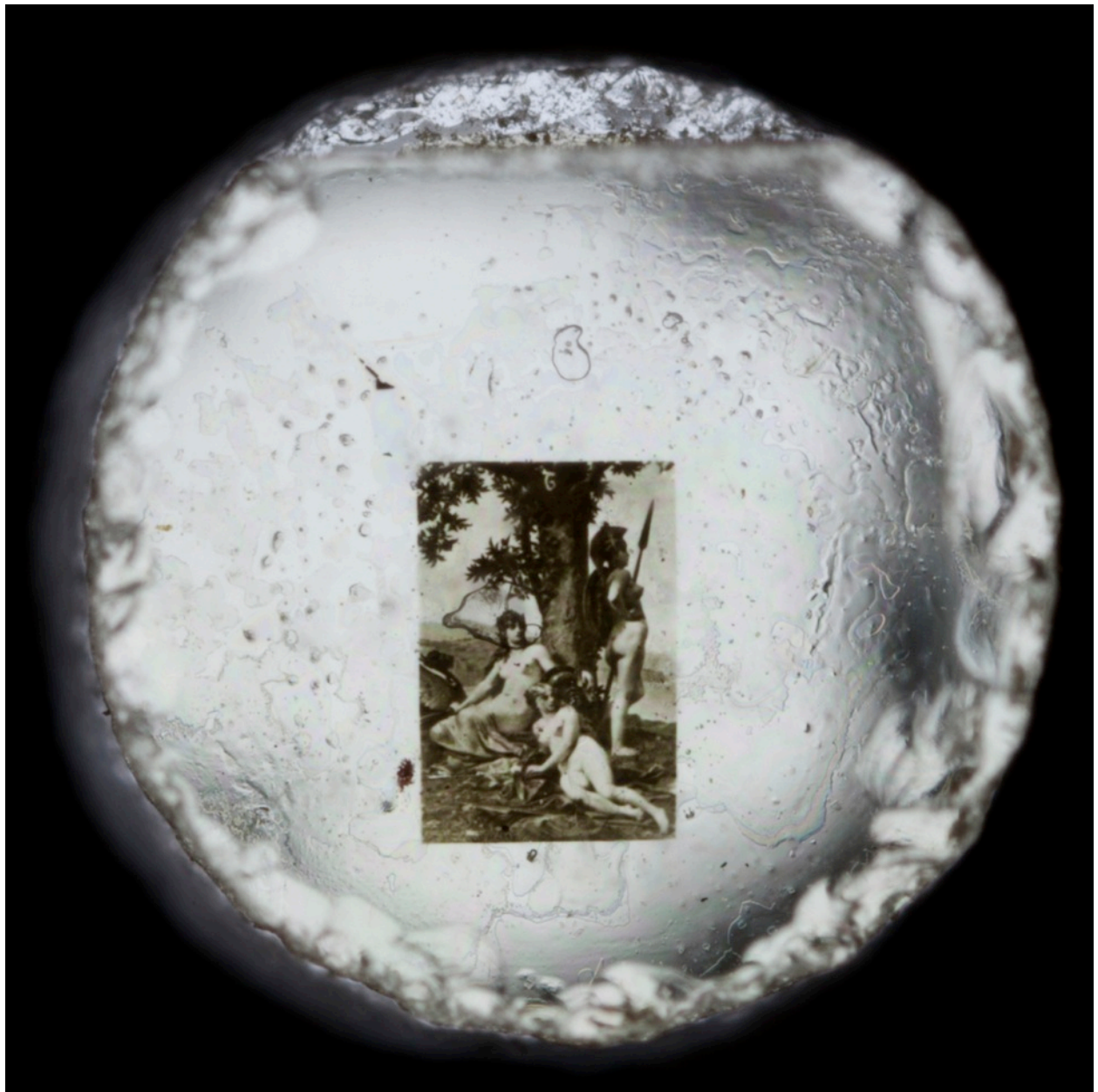


Plate 32. [Full-length study of three partially dressed women (warriors?), two seated and one standing, leaning against tree trunk, holding a spear], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

3.3 Individual or Rare Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.3.1 Erotic

3.3.1.3 From an Uncertain Source

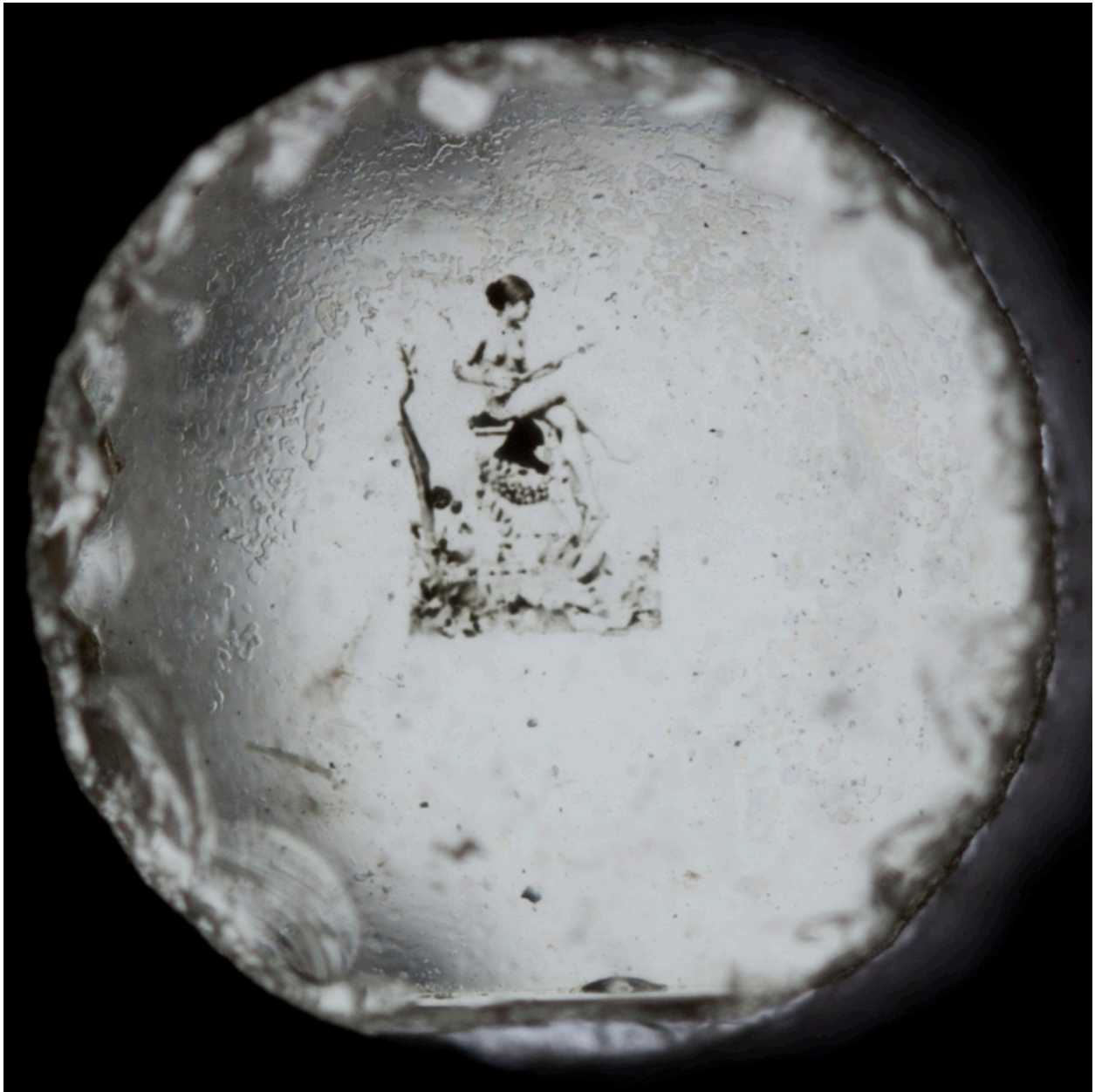


Plate 33. [Full-length study of a naked, seated woman playing a stringed instrument], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

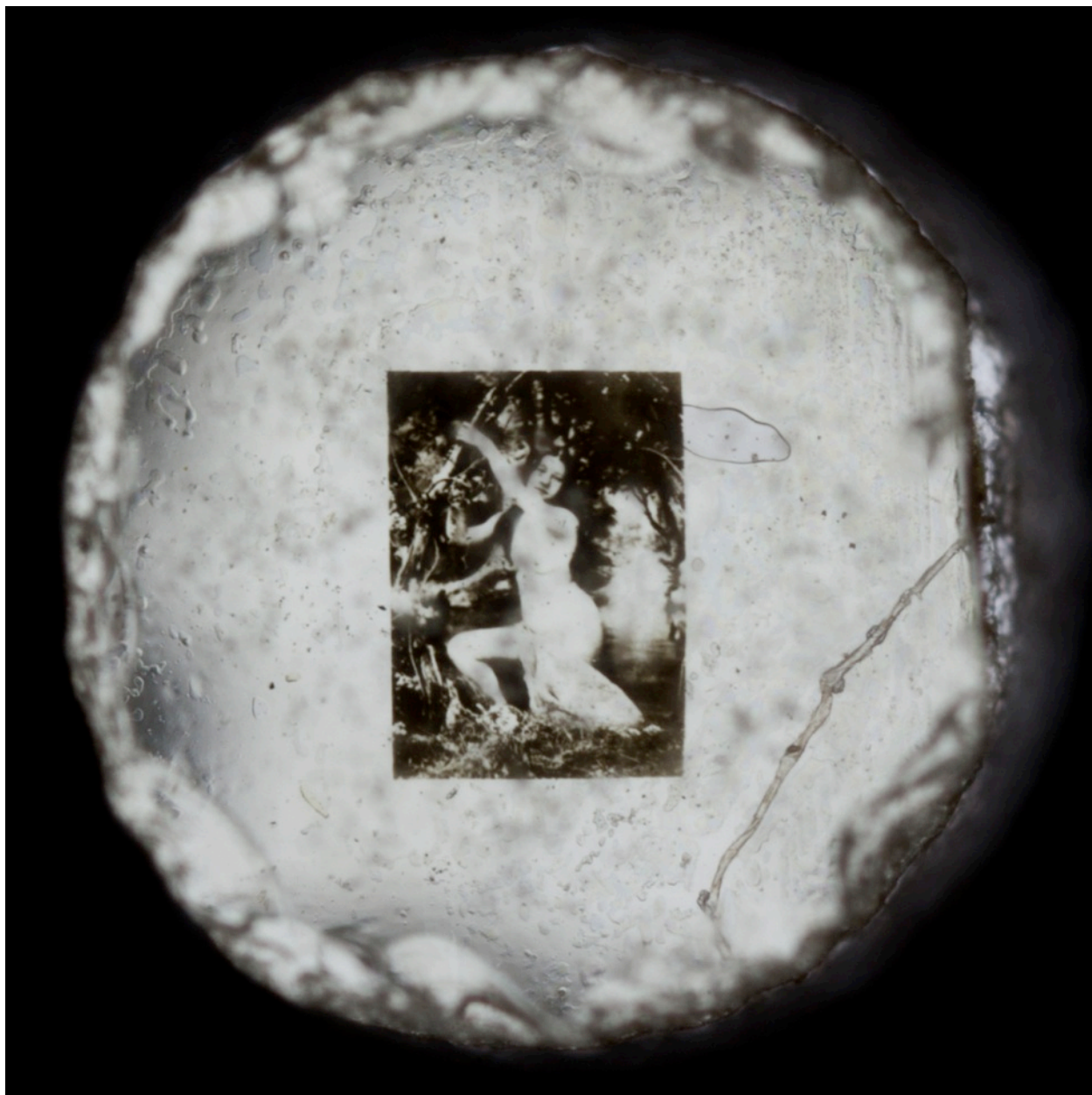


Plate 34. [Full-length study of a naked, seated woman holding a reed instrument aloft], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

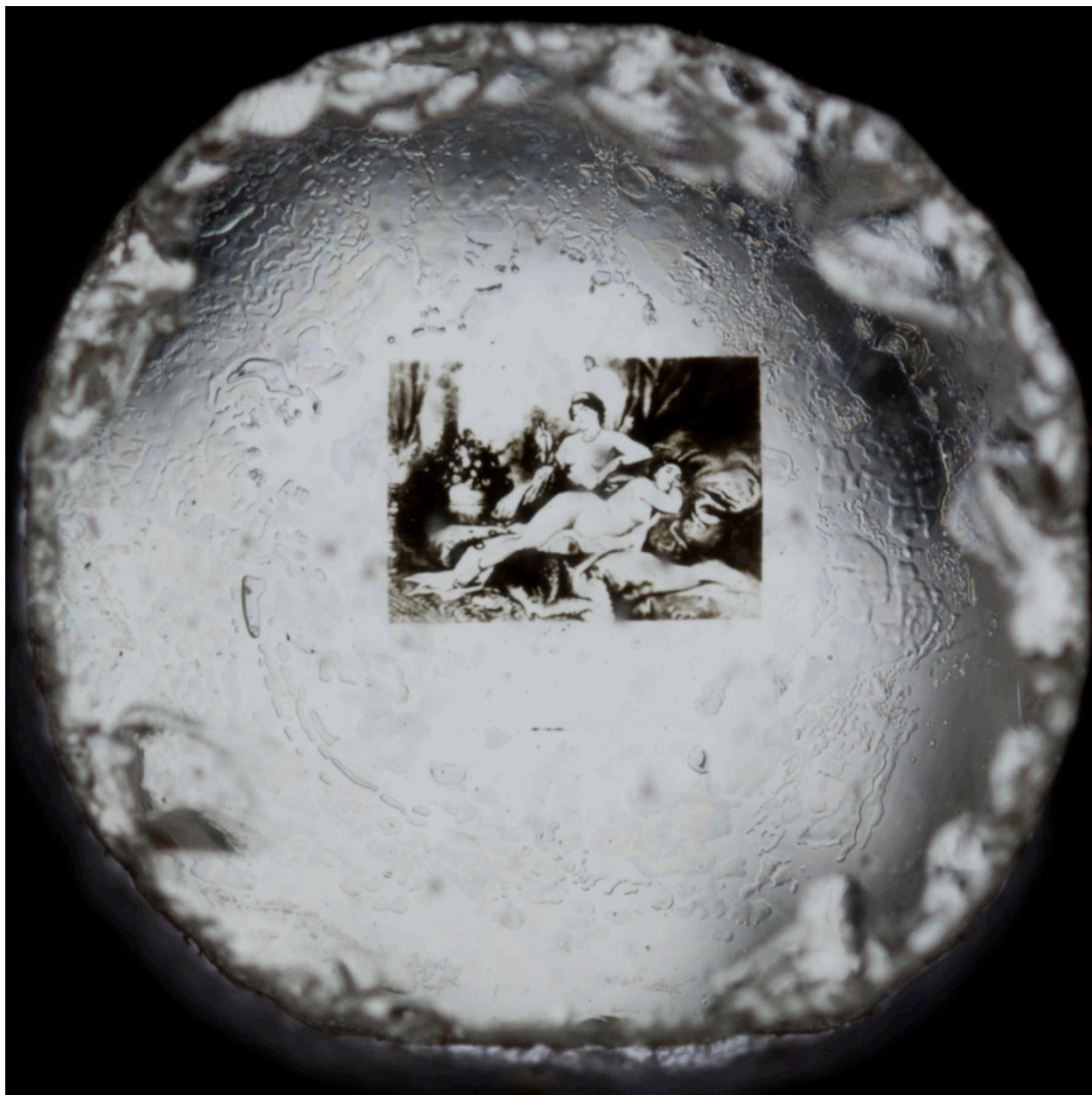


Plate 35. [Full-length study of two partially draped women reclining on low cushions, with flower arrangement], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

3.3 Individual or Rare Stanhope Images in Group #397R A039

3.3.2 Unrelated

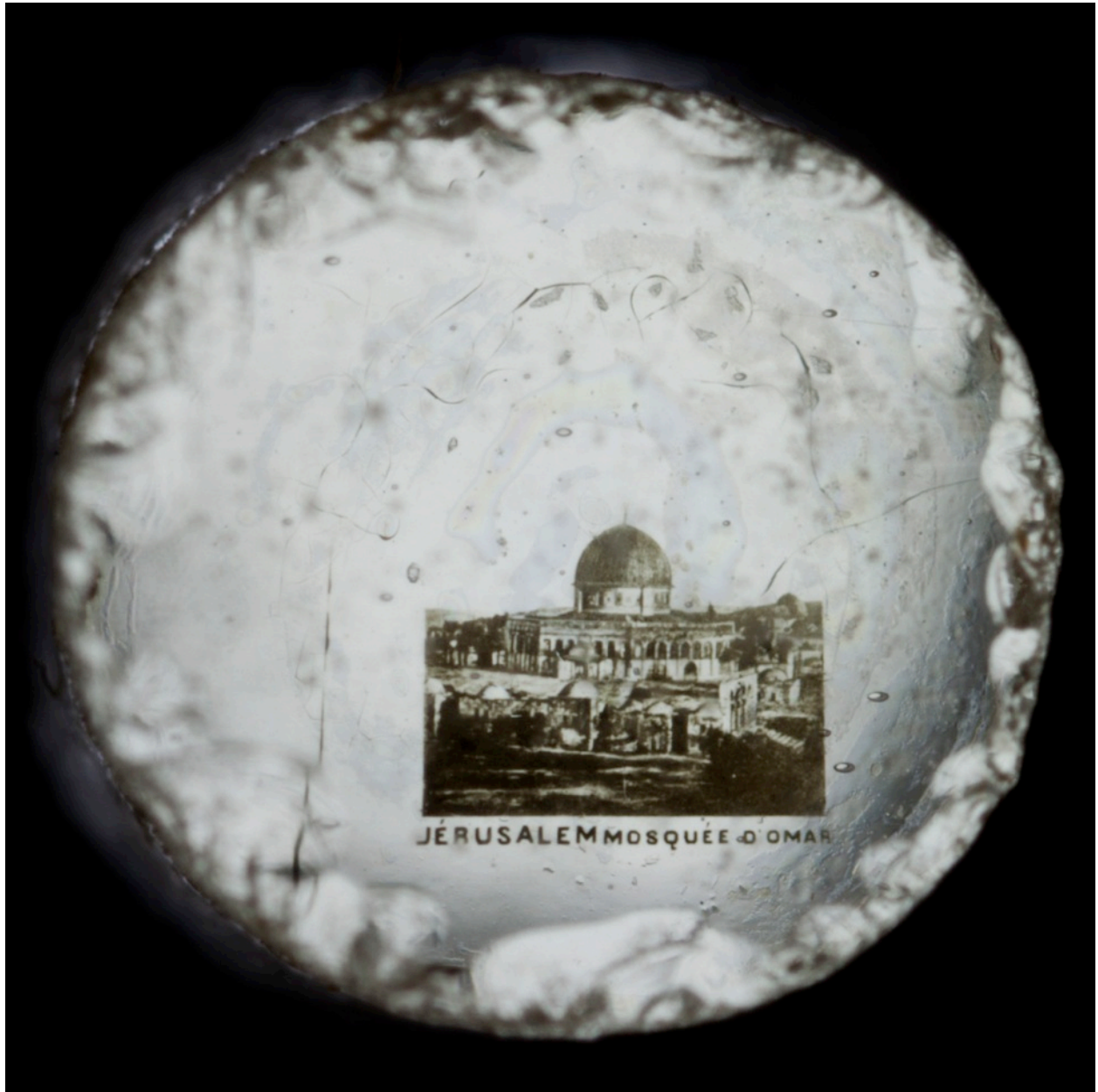


Plate 36. ["JÉRUSALEM MOSQUÉE D'OMAR," (Jerusalem, Mosque of Omar)], approx. 2-3 mm diameter.



Plate 37. ["OOSTACKER / OL V. VAN LOURDES / KERK V.H / VLAAMSCH LOURDES" (approximate translation from Dutch: Oostacker / Our Lady of Lourdes / Church [V.H?] / Flemish Lourdes; author's translation)], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

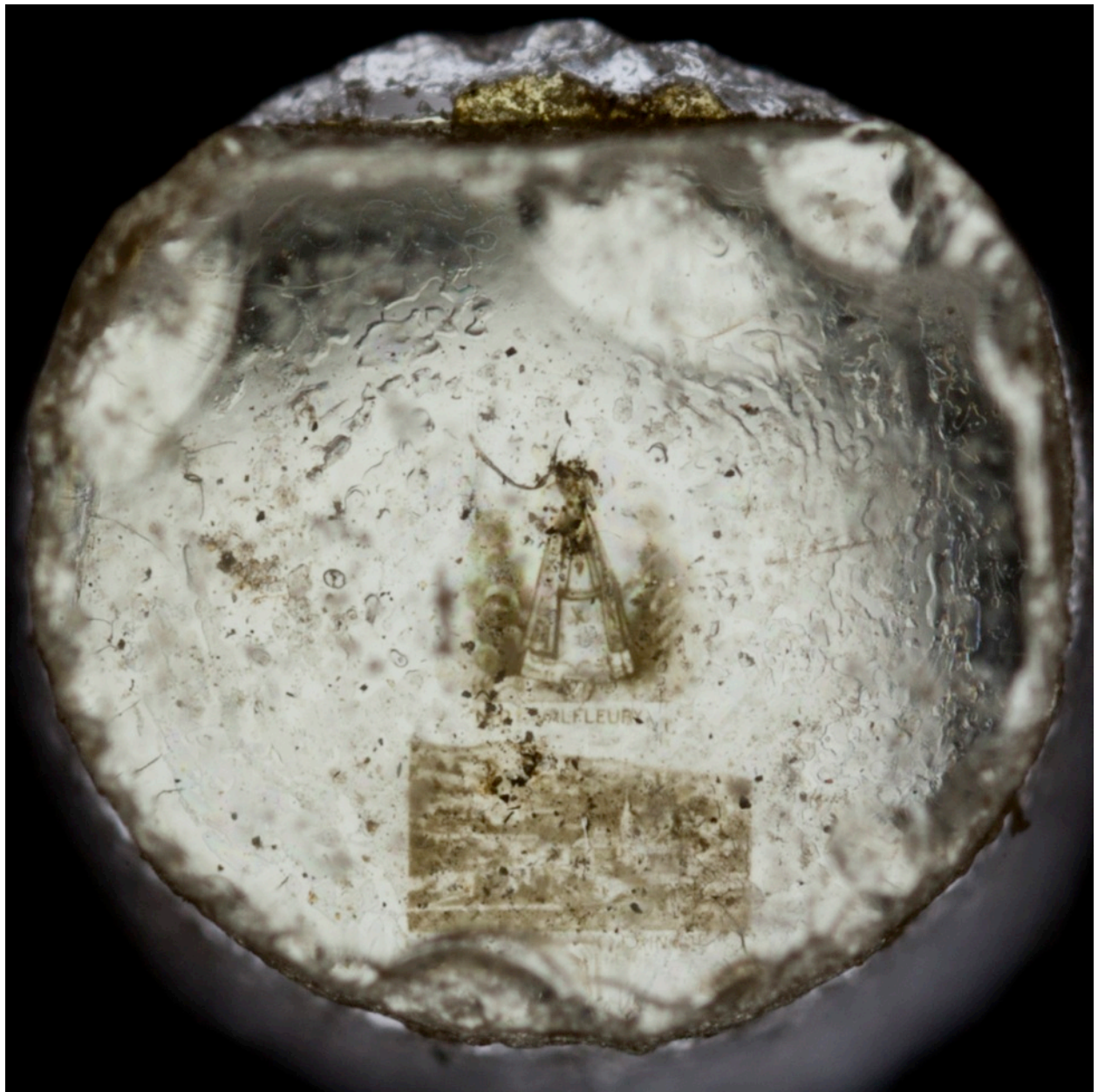


Plate 38. ["(?) VALFLEURY / (?)"], approx. 2-3mm diameter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Materiality of Photography, Vernacular Photography, Exhibition of Vernacular Photography, and Historiography

About, Ilse and Clement Chérout. "L'Histoire par la photographie." *Études Photographiques* 10 (Nov. 2001): 8-33.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*. Cambridge, MA; London, England: The MIT Press, 1999.

----- . "Vernacular Photographies: Responses to a Questionnaire," in *History of Photography*, vol. 24, no. 3, (Autumn 2000): 229-231.

----- . "Vernacular Photographies," in *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography History*, 56-80. Cambridge, MA; London, England: The MIT Press, 2002.

----- . *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*. Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum; New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004.

Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart. "Introduction," in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London: New York, Routledge, 2004: 1-15.

Fulford, Robert. "Photos you could wear: A new exhibit reveals the lost history of 'pop photographica'." *National Post*, April 26, 2003.

Greenough, Sarah and Diane Waggoner with Sarah Kennel and Matthew S. Witkovsky. *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888-1978: From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson*. Washington: National Gallery of Art in association with Princeton University Press, 2007.

International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House. *Picturing What Matters: An Offering of Photographs*. Rochester, NY: George Eastman House, 2002.

Kaplan, Daile. *Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969*. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003.

Levine, Barbara, Stephanie Snyder, and the Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery. *Snapshot Chronicles: Inventing the American Photo Album*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press; Portland, Or.: Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery, Reed College, 2006.

Nickel, Douglas. "History of Photography: The State of Research," in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 83.3 (September 2001): 548-558.

----- . *Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life, 1888 to the Present*. San Francisco, Calif.: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1998.

- Reynaud, Françoise, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby, ed. *Paris in 3-D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality, 1850-2000*. London: Booth-Clibborn Editions; Paris: Paris-Musées, 2000.
- Smith, Joel. "The Snapshot's Museum Afterlife," in *Afterimage*, vol. 29, no. 2, (Sept./Oct. 2001): 8-11.
- Stacy, Sarah. Exhibition review of "Pop Photographica: Photography's Objects in Everyday Life, 1842-1969," in *Archivaria* 55, Spring 2003: 181-185.
- Stewart, Susan. "The Body Made Miniature," in her *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, 111-117. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Waldie, D.J. and the J. Paul Getty Museum. *Close to Home: An American Album*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002.
- Willumson, Glenn. "Making Meaning: Displaced Materiality in the Library and Art Museum," in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 62-80. London: New York, Routledge, 2004.
- Zuromskis, Catherine. "Snapshot Culture: Personal Photography in Everyday Life." Masters thesis, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2000.
- . "Intimate Exposures: The Private and Public Lives of Snapshot Photography." PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2006.
- . "Ordinary Pictures and Accidental Masterpieces: Snapshot Photography in the Modern Art Museum" in *Art Journal*, vol. 67, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 105-125.

Photography, Erotica and Pornography

- Barss, Patchen. *The Erotic Engine: How Pornography has Powered Mass Communication, from Gutenberg to Google*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2010.
- Bramly, Serge. *Anonym*. Munich: Gina Kehayoff, 1996.
- Bright, Deborah. *The Passionate Camera: Photography and Bodies of Desire*. Routledge, 1998.
- Cerf, Richard and Yves Aubry. *Photographies*. Paris: Natiris, 1982.
- Connolly, Cressida, with Danny Moynihan and Jason Beard, ed. *Private Collection: A History of Erotic Photography (1850-1940)*. Harry N. Abrams, 2008.
- Dennis, Kelly. *Art/Porn: A History of Seeing and Touching*. Oxford: New York: Berg, 2009.
- Dupouy, Alexandre. *Erotic Art Photography*. London: Parkstone, 2003.

- Ellison, Alfred. *The Photo Illustrated History of Pornography*. San Diego, Calif.: Academy Press, 1971.
- Erotic Print Society. *The Sins of Our Fathers: A Study in Victorian Pornography*, Volume II. London: Erotic Print Society, 2000.
- and Paul Ryan. *The Sins of Our Fathers: A Study in Victorian Pornography*, Volume I. London: Erotic Print Society, 2000.
- Gavard-Perret, Jean-Paul. "Le voile de la nudité." *Gradhiva: revue d'histoire et d'archives de l'anthropologie* (1999): 25,14.
- Kinsey Institute for Sex Research, with texts by Betsy Stirratt, Jeffrey A. Wolin, Carol Squiers, Jennifer Pearson Yamashiro. *Peek: Photographs from the Kinsey Institute*. Santa Fe: Arena, 2000.
- Kohler, Michael, ed. *The Body Exposed: Views of the Body: 150 Years of the Nude in Photography*. Edition Stemmler; illustrated edition, 1995.
- Lalvani, Suren. *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies*. NY: State University of New York Press, 1995.
- Maddow, Ben. "Nude in a Social Landscape," in *Nude: Photographs 1850-1980*, edited by Constance Sullivan, 181-196. New York (etc.): Harper & Row, 1980.
- McCauley, Elizabeth Anne. "Braquehais and the Photographic Nude," in her *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, 149-194. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Mirabelli, Eugene. "Looking and Not Looking: Pornographic and Nude Photography." *Grand Street*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Autumn 1985): 197-215.
- Pellerin, Denis. "File BB3 and the Erotic Image in the Second Empire," in *Paris in 3-D: From Stereoscopy to Virtual Reality, 1850-2000*, edited by Reynaud, Françoise, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby, 91-95. London: Booth-Clibborn Editions; Paris: Paris-Musées, 2000.
- Rougeron, Jean. *Photos interdites*. Cannes: Sunset Editions, 1982.
- Sobieszek, Robert. "Addressing the Erotic: Reflections on the Nude Photograph," in *Nude: Photographs 1850-1980*, edited by Constance Sullivan, 167-179. New York (etc.): Harper & Row, 1980.
- Sollers, Philippe. *Photos licencieuses de la Belle époque*. Paris: Les Éditions 1900, 1987.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Reconsidering Erotic Photography: Notes for a Project of Historical Salvage," in her *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices*, 220-237. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

------. "The Legs of the Countess," in *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, edited by Emily Apter and William Pietz. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. (Originally published in *October*, vol. 39, winter 1986: 65-108.)

Erotica and Pornography

Bayuk Rosenman, Ellen. *Unauthorized Pleasures: Accounts of Victorian Erotic Experience*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Hyde, H. Montgomery. *A History of Pornography*. London: Heinemann, 1964.

Marcus, Steven. *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid Nineteenth-Century England*. (First edition: New York: Basic Books, 1964); New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 2009.

Sigel, Lisa Z. *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815-1914*. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Slade, Joseph. *Pornography in America*. Santa Barbara, California; Denver, Colorado; Oxford, England: ABC-CLIO, 2000.

Smith, Alison, ed.; Tate Britain Gallery. *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*. London: Tate Publishing, 2001.

Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Technical, Historical and General Sources on Stereoscope, Microfilm, and Stanhope Formats

Brewster, Sir David. *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction With its Application to the Fine and Useful Arts and to Education*. London: J. Murray, 1856. (Facsimile: Hastings on Hudson, New York: Morgan, 1971.)

------. "On the photomicroscope," in *The Photographic Journal*, Vol. 8, Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain, January 15, 1864 (Original text dated Dec. 1863, Edinburgh College), 439-441. Accessed online, April 19, 2012.
http://books.google.ca/books?id=PFpLAQAIAAJ&pg=PA440&lpg=PA440&dq=dagron+patent&source=bl&ots=bMZyLHUu8K&sig=1KLIN410z0ofPQ_p7QbPCEu8AAc&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RJeQT5_MHeqg6QHU2YmFBA&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=dagron%20patent&f=false

Darrah, William Culp. *Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs in America and Their Collection*. Gettysburg, PA: Times and News Publishing Co., 1964.

International Exhibition 1862. "M. Dagron. Photographie microscopique montée et non-montée sur bijoux, breveté [s?] g. d. g. pour la France, l'Angleterre, et tous autres pays. Paris, Rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, 6." *Section Française, Catalogue officiel*. 98-100.
Accessed online, July 15 2012. http://books.google.ca/books?id=aycBAAAAQAAJ&pg=RA1-PA99&lpg=RA1-PA99&dq=bijoux+microscopique+Dagron&source=web&ots=_TaQSfUOyc&sig=AXn_Yej7l7G_3AjkeUIE5JzIH5w&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=bijoux%20microscopique%20Dagron&f=false

Jull, Douglas. *Collecting Stanhopes*. West Sussex, UK: D.S. Publications, 1988.

Kass, Philip J. "Life Through a Lens," *The Strad*, vol. 116, no. 1383, (Oct. 2005): 60-61.

Luther, Frederic. "The Earliest Experiments in Microphotography," *American Documentation*, vol. 2, no. 3, (summer), 1951: 167-170.

Pellerin, Denis. "Les Lucarnes de l'infini." *Études Photographiques* no. 4 (May, 1998): 27-40.
Accessed July 18, 2012. <http://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/index156.html>.

Peres, Michael R., Editor-in-Chief. *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition. Amsterdam, etc.: Elsevier, 2007.

Scott, Jean. *Stanhopes: A Closer View: A History & Handbook for Collectors of Microphotographic Novelties*. Whitham, UK: Greenlight, 2002.

Stanhope Microworks. "About Us."
<http://marketplace.amazia.com/stanhopemicroworks/aboutus.asp>. Accessed June 27, 2012.

------. (Home page). <http://www.stanhopemicroworks.com/>. Accessed June 27, 2012.

University of California Southern Regional Library Facility. "The History of Microfilm: 1839 to the Present." Accessed December, 2011. <http://www.srlf.ucla.edu/exhibit/default.html>.

------. "Chronology Of Microfilm Developments, 1800 – 1900." Accessed April 19, 2012.
<http://www.srlf.ucla.edu/exhibit/text/Chronology.htm>

Waldsmith, John. *Stereo Views: An Illustrated History and Price Guide*. Radnor, PA: Wallace Homestead Book Company, 1991.

Photographic Theory

Brassat, Emmanuel. "L'intrusion de l'image technique dans le réel à l'âge des appareils." *Essaim*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Dec. 16, 2009): 37-50.

Breitbach, Julia. "The Photo-as-thing." *European Journal of English Studies*, 15, No. 1 (2011): 31-43.

Pultz, John. *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present*. Harry N. Abrams, 1995.

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Histories of Photography

Freund, Gisèle. *Photography & Society*. Translated by Richard Dunn et al. Boston: David R. Godine, 1980 (1974).

Frizot, Michel. *A New History of Photography*. Köln: Könemann, 1998.

Plunkett, John. "Depth, Colour, Movement: Embodied Vision and the Stereoscope," in *Multimedia Histories: From the Magic Lantern to the Internet*, edited by James Lyons and John Plunkett, 117-131. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007.

McCauley, Elizabeth Anne. *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.

------. "The Business of Photography," in her *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, 47-102. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.