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# Era of exploration and new topographics : annotated bibliographies of two landmark exhibitions

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*ERA OF EXPLORATION AND NEW TOPOGRAPHICS:*  
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF TWO LANDMARK EXHIBITIONS

by

Jennifer Roger

BFA, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, NS, 2002

A thesis

presented to Ryerson University and The George Eastman House International Museum

of Photography and Film

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, 2007

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Jennifer Roger  
2007



*ERA OF EXPLORATION AND NEW TOPOGRAPHICS:*  
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF TWO LANDMARK EXHIBITIONS

Jennifer Roger

M.A. Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

Ryerson University, 2007

In 1975, two landscape photography exhibitions were held concurrently in upstate New York; *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*, at Buffalo's Albright-Knox Art Gallery and *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-altered Landscape*, at the International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House, in Rochester (now The George Eastman International Museum of Photography and Film). *Era of Exploration* treated nineteenth-century landscapes of the American west while *New Topographics* addressed contemporary landscape practices. Though applying fundamentally different approaches to their subject matter, each exhibition proved to be extremely important to the understanding and development of not only landscape photography, but also the genre's place in photographic history.

This thesis examines the essential literature relating to these two landmark exhibitions, through the construction of two extensive annotated bibliographies. Each bibliography comprises nine sections that present and evaluate significant materials, published both before and after the exhibition, relating to the exhibitions and their publications, the included photographers, and the exhibitions' influence as revealed in subsequent specialized studies and general histories of photography. The bibliographies' chronological listing allows readers to re-construct the exhibitions, and to trace the development of historical and curatorial interest in the exhibitions, the photographers, and American western landscape photography. The thesis describes the process of compiling and annotating this literature and offers reflections on how these two important exhibitions, while employing very different curatorial approaches, influenced the aesthetics, methodologies and concepts of landscape photography.

## Acknowledgements

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## Chapter 1

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### Introduction

In 1975, two landscape photography exhibitions were held concurrently within one hundred miles of each other: *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*, at Buffalo, New York's Albright-Knox Art Gallery (and later at New York's Metropolitan Museum), and *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape*, held at The International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House, in Rochester, New York. These two projects were different from each other in both their subject matter and approach. *Era of Exploration* treated historical landscape photography of the American west while *New Topographics* addressed contemporary landscape practices, and each applied distinct curatorial and conceptual approaches to the interpretation of these areas of landscape photography.

*Era of Exploration*, curated by Weston J. Naef, Assistant Curator of Prints and Photographs at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and James N. Wood, Associate Director at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, focused on landscape photography from the nineteenth century – specifically the period of 1860-1885 - and was concerned with recovering and presenting objects that had largely been forgotten and neglected within photographic history and study. Naef and Wood produced a comprehensive exhibition and publication that endeavored to place the landscape photographs by William H. Jackson (1843-1942), Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904), Timothy O'Sullivan (1840-1882), Andrew Joseph Russell (1830-1902) and Carleton E. Watkins (1829-1916) within their proper historical, social and artistic contexts, and to argue that these photographers should now be considered as significant artists whose work belonged in the art museum. Prior to this exhibition, art historians, historians and the museum community, if they had even known the work of these photographers, would have considered it as merely providing documentary evidence.

*New Topographics*, curated by William Jenkins, Assistant Curator of Photographs at the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, presented contemporary landscape photography, and was concerned with establishing a new category of landscape practice. It brought together a group of ten relatively

unknown photographers, whom, it was argued, shared similar aesthetics and concerns. *New Topographics* included the work by Robert Adams (b. 1937), Lewis Baltz (b. 1945), Bernd and Hilla Becher (1931-2007 and b. 1934), Joe Deal (b. 1947), Frank Gohlke (b. 1942), Nicholas Nixon (b. 1947), John Schott (b.1944), Stephen Shore (b. 1947), and Henry Wessel Jr. (1942). The exhibition proposed a consideration of a type of landscape photography that had not yet been either identified or conceptualized, one that focused on objective observation and a re-examination of the meaning of traditional documentary photography. The exhibition and its catalogue brought the work of these photographers to prominence, and the term 'New Topographics' was immediately accepted and widely adopted. The term continues to be used today to describe certain conceptual and aesthetic approaches within the genre.

Slightly more than thirty years later, I have become interested in these two exhibitions. While my initial proposal involved the investigation and comparison of these two exhibitions and their influence on later landscape photography practice, exhibitions and curatorial approaches, it soon became apparent that this would be an enormous project. I began to focus my attention on the exhibitions and related publications themselves, and to think about them as historical entities. With this came a number of questions: what was known about the subjects and the photographers before the exhibitions occurred; how the exhibitions were conceived; how were they initially received, and how have they been thought about subsequently? With this in mind, I decided to compile, research, and organize all of the relevant written material relating to these two exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues, and have assembled this literature into two extensive, annotated bibliographies, which list, describe and evaluate the primary and secondary material concerning these two projects. These evaluative bibliographies were intended to roughly map out the existence of these two exhibitions in photographic history, a map that I hoped would reveal precisely how, in and what ways, these exhibitions have influenced later photographers, curators and historians, and their understanding of landscape photography.

The purpose of my project is, through the construction of these bibliographies, to create a means of documenting these two contemporaneous exhibitions and revealing the influence that they had on subsequent scholarly study and photographic, art historical and, more recently, American cultural studies. In order to do this, I began by identifying the primary sources and secondary materials that were available to the curators prior to the exhibitions, so as to indicate what was previously known about

American western landscape photography and the included photographers: specifically what materials were influential and relevant to the curators during the development and preparation of the exhibitions and publications. This is followed by sections that document how these exhibitions and the work of the included photographers were initially received and how both the exhibition and the photographers have been subsequently studied, written about and exhibited.

It should be pointed out that these bibliographies, while extensive, are neither exhaustive nor comprehensive. Within the resources and time available, this was simply not possible; even to fully reconstruct one portion of this bibliography -- for example, all the available sources and materials that the curators drew upon in curating their exhibitions and preparing their publications -- would have been a project in itself. What I felt was possible and would be valuable to researchers and curators was to assemble and annotate the most relevant, important, and in some cases, representative literature on these exhibitions and their publications. These annotated bibliographies are then intended to function as research tools, to point to the most important primary and secondary material, to describe and analyze that literature concerning landscape photography and the included photographers, and to reveal patterns of research by identifying the most prolific and also neglected, areas of study within it.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 describes the methodology used in researching and constructing the bibliographies, which are found in chapters 3 and 4. The accompanying essays in chapters 5 and 6, working in conjunction with the annotations, offer through an analysis of the relevant literature my reflections and observations on the importance and influence of these exhibitions.



### Methodologies / Organization / Annotation System

#### Selection of the publications

There are an enormous number of publications on the subject of landscape photography, and a large number of publications concerning the photographers included in these two exhibitions, making it an impossible task to have included and reviewed every one of them in the bibliographies. Instead, the publications, exhibition catalogues and articles in these bibliographies have been selected because of their immediate relevance to the exhibitions and the exhibitions' publications. The inclusion of material is based on the following criteria: 1) titles that were listed in the exhibition publications by the curators as being influential source material. 2) later publications that mentioned or discussed the exhibitions; and 3) later publications concerning the individual photographers that discussed either their participation in the exhibition, or discussed the same or similar work that was featured in the exhibition.

The selection of these materials was conducted through a thorough library search, involving three libraries, which are listed below in the section 'Libraries', that offered rich and concentrated collections of photography-based publications and materials.

#### Bibliographic Models

In order to establish the organizational structure for the bibliographies, I consulted several annotated bibliographies and style guides before deciding on the present structure and format.

The two most useful publications were *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*, by Richard Rudisill (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), an historical analysis of the daguerreotype in America that includes an extensive annotated bibliography; and *Robert Frank: a Bibliography, Filmography and Exhibition*

*Chronology 1946-1985*, by Stuart Alexander (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1986), an intricately detailed and exhaustive annotated listing of Frank's work up to 1985. For the bibliographic citations, the *Chicago Manual of Style* was consulted, and the Author-Date system applied. (*Chicago Manual of Style. A Manual of Style For Authors, Editors, and Copywriters*. 15<sup>th</sup> Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.)

## Annotations

After careful consideration, I decided to combine the two models, by providing an evaluative description of the publication, an extended version found in Rudisill, with a more topic-specific information about the publication's relationship to the exhibitions and the included photographers, a component derived from Alexander.

The annotations provide brief evaluative descriptions of the publication, and discuss how the material relates to the topic of American western landscape photography and the exhibitions' photographers. The annotations describe the type and comment on the relevance of the publication, which photographers from the exhibitions are included, and whether the publication includes reproductions by the photographers.

## Sections

The sections in the bibliographies are arranged so as to follow a temporal development over time and to present the material in the clearest manner. The bibliographies begin with a description of the surviving archival material. This is followed by a description of the publications and the exhibitions. The primary and secondary material available to the curators is described next. This is followed by reviews of the exhibitions and publications and the later literature on the exhibitions and the photographers, an order that reveals how the publications and exhibitions were created, received and subsequently seen and understood.

Each bibliography is divided into nine sections.

### *1. Archival holdings / Exhibition Primary Documents*

This section lists the archival holdings, including checklists, curatorial notes and installation shots, relating to the creation, preparation and installation of the exhibition and its publication.

### *2. The Exhibition*

This section includes information on the exhibitions, including the number of works shown and the exhibition dates of each venue.

### *3. The Publication*

This section provides a bibliographic description and notes on the publication.

### *4. Reviews of the exhibition and publication*

This section lists both contemporary and later reviews of the exhibitions and their publications.

### *5. General Publications and Bibliographical Source Material*

The material in these sections was largely taken from the bibliography sections of the exhibition catalogues, and is intended to provide a sense of the material used by the curators in organizing the exhibitions and writing the publications.

The *Era of Exploration* catalogue includes a lengthy, three-page bibliography at the end of the publication, and Naef, Wood and Heyman also include substantial endnotes to the sections of the publication that each wrote, occasionally commenting on their sources. These notes and the bibliography have guided me in selecting the materials for inclusion in this section of the bibliography.

This section is divided into two sub-sections, corresponding to nineteenth-century and twentieth-century publications. The first comprises material produced and-published

during the period when photographs were made, and are, for the most part, original publications and documents; the second consists of secondary source publications. This division was made in order to better illustrate the timeline and the scope and range of writing, and demonstrate areas and years of concentration or interruption in research.

The *New Topographics* catalogue does not include a general bibliography, but has separate bibliographies for the individual photographers; these are discussed in section 6 below.

#### *6. Studies / Bibliographical Source Material on the Individual Photographers*

This section lists the source material relating to the included photographers that was readily available to the curators. The photographers are listed alphabetically, and the entries arranged chronologically.

In *New Topographics catalogue*, each section contains a short biography on the photographer and an extensive list of exhibitions, publications and references. These bibliographical references are noticeably shorter in number, in comparison with *Era of Exploration*, and in the case of two of the photographers – Nicholas Nixon and John Schott –, are very brief, due to the fact that their careers were only beginning.

The publications by Ed Ruscha (b. 1937) were not listed in the *New Topographics* publication as bibliographical sources, because his work was not included in the exhibition, but have been included in this section due to their prominence in Jenkins' introductory essay.

#### *7. Later Critical Studies Based on the Exhibition or Publication*

This section provides a chronological survey of later material relating to the exhibition, publication, and American western landscape photography.

#### *8. Later Critical Studies Individual Photographers*

This section provides a chronological survey of later material relating to the included photographers.

### 9. *References in Subsequent Histories of Photography*

This section provides a survey of the most significant English-language histories of photography publications, published after the exhibitions, in order to reveal the impact and relevance of these exhibitions on photographic history.

After completing the annotations for this section of the *Era of Exploration* bibliography, it became clear that while all publications mentioned some or all of the *Era of Exploration* photographers, very few discussed the actual exhibition or the publication. Nevertheless, this section was left in so as to remain consistent with the bibliography's overall format, and because the exhibition and publication's influence is still evident in the prolific writing on and widespread familiarity with the exhibition's five photographers, whose photographs became well-known as a result of the exhibition and publication. *Era of Exploration*'s influence lies in its treatment of the photographers as artists, and in the way that their work was reproduced and documented in the publication. These aspects constitute *Era*'s influence, a subtle, yet pervasive impact, that has altered the way that these photographers, as well as nineteenth-century American landscape photography, are now understood and written about.

By contrast, the *New Topographics* section demonstrates the immediate and wide spread use and acceptance of the terms 'New Topographics', and to a lesser extent, 'Topographers' and 'Topographic'. The exhibition, the included photographers, the influence of their work, and the related ideologies and aesthetics are discussed in almost all histories of contemporary photography to describe an approach to and a genre of contemporary landscape photography.

### Chronological Order

With each section of the bibliographies, the entries are listed chronologically, as opposed to alphabetically. This order is intended to indicate the scope of scholarly writing and how the exhibitions, publications, reviews, and catalogues have grown and evolved over time, and to reveal where the concentrations of scholarly study and interest

have occurred, and where there are notable gaps. This order reveals patterns of interest, interruptions in study, and resumptions of interest, configurations that would not be apparent in a traditional alphabetical listing.

## Entries

Each bibliographic entry has been given its own number, for ease of cross-referencing, and comprises two parts: a bibliographical description and a précis and evaluative discussion of the publication.

While every attempt was made to locate and evaluate as many relevant publications as possible, some entries continue to be left blank. Missing entries are a result of one of three circumstances: 1) that the publication could not be located (this was a problem particularly with some of the nineteenth century publications). 2) that the publication was not in the collection in any of the libraries that I had access to; and 3) that the publication was missing, lost or on extended loan in the libraries.

## Libraries

The research was carried out in the following three libraries:

The Art and Music Library and The Rush Rhees Library

The University of Rochester

Rochester, New York

The Library

The National Gallery of Canada

380 Sussex Drive

Ottawa, Ontario

The Richard and Ronay Menschel Library

The George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film

900 East Avenue  
Rochester, New York

## Chapter 3

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### Annotated Bibliography

*Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885.*

#### 1. Archival Holdings / Exhibition Primary Documents

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**The Metropolitan Museum of Art:** Archive contains 1 folder of related material.

1. List of hanging arrangement. Prints and Drawings Galleries, May 22-July 6, 1975.
2. "Era of Exploration --Travelling [sic.] version" Mary M. Naef, 155 Wooster St., New York, N.Y, 10012. Numbered list of works by William Bell, W.H. Jackson, E.J. Muybridge, T.H. O'Sullivan, A.J. Russell, and C.E. Watkins. Hand written notations.

**The Albright-Knox Art Gallery:** Archive contains 6 folders of related material.

1. *The Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885.* Mar. 22- Apr. 27, 1975. Organization (J.N. Wood).
2. Lists.
3. Miscellaneous research and correspondence, 1973-1976.
4. Loan records.
5. Shipping and grant information.
6. Correspondence with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974-1975.

Folders include curatorial correspondence, press releases, the Albright-Knox's exhibition layout, and essays that appear to be the didactic panels.



## 2. The Exhibition

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### ***Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885.***

Curated by Weston J. Naef, Assistant Curator of Prints and Photographs at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York and James N. Wood, Associate Director at The Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.

#### *Photographers:*

William Henry Jackson, Eadweard J. Muybridge, Timothy O'Sullivan, Andrew Joseph Russell, Carleton E. Watkins, Frederick and William Langenheim [two brothers working in partnership] and William Bell.

#### *Venues and dates:*

Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York

March 21-April 27, 1975

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York

May 21-July 6, 1975

Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas, Texas

July 23-August 31, 1975

Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

September 20-October 26, 1975

Oakland Museum of Art, Oakland, California

November 18-December 31, 1975

*Number of works exhibited:* (Based on The Metropolitan Museum's checklist)

119 objects exhibited. Included photographs by seven photographers, (exhibition also included images by Frederick and William Langenheim (1809-1879 and 1807-1874) and William Bell (1830-1910), in addition to the five photographers listed above; stereograph viewers with stereograph views, various camera and printing equipment and six topographical maps.

### 3. The Publication

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Naef, Weston J., in collaboration with James N. Wood, and with an essay by Therese Thau Heyman. *Era of Exploration The Rise of Landscape Photography In the American West, 1860-1885*. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Boston: distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1975.

Publication includes an introductory essay by the curators, Weston J. Naef and James N. Wood, and biographical information within the essays on the included photographers William Henry Jackson, Eadweard J. Muybridge, Timothy O'Sullivan, Andrew Russell, and Carleton E. Watkins, as well as an extensive bibliography and index.

The publication is 260 pages in length with 187 duo-tone figure illustrations and 130 duo-tone full-page plates, printed by Rapoport Printing Corporation. It was designed by Peter Oldenburg.

### 4. Reviews of the exhibition and publication

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1. Kozloff, Max. "The Box in the Wilderness." Exhibition review in *Artforum* 14 (2) (October 1975): 54-59. Reprinted in his *Photography and Fascination Essays by Max Kozloff*, pp. 60-75. New Hampshire: Addison House, Danbury, 1979.

Kozloff offers a critical discussion on the photography of the nineteenth century American west, as seen in the Metropolitan Museum's *Era of Exploration* exhibition. Kozloff notes the departure from romantic landscape depiction, evident in the exhibition's photographs, writing that images like those of O'Sullivan's portray a straightforward, undomesticated, unsentimental wilderness. Kozloff also discusses the important cultural impact of these photographs, writing that they "radiate a sense of great historical moment", a value brought on by their direct contact with the landscape and the dynamic changes they record. The author also discusses the self-referentiality evident in many of the photographs, suggesting that photographers related to their medium much differently from painters of the time, having often included themselves or their camera equipment in some of the shots. Kozloff includes images by Watkins, O'Sullivan, Muybridge, Russell and Jackson.

2. Novak, Barbara. "Landscape Permuted: From Painting To Photography." *Artforum* 14 (2) (October 1975): 40-45. Reprinted in Goldberg, Vicki, ed. *Photography in Print. Writings From 1816 To The Present*: 171-179. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.

Novak discusses the photography of the nineteenth century American west, placing it within an art historical context through a consideration of contemporary romantic and literary attitudes toward nature. Novak refers to the *Era of Exploration* exhibition and catalogue as having greatly contributed to an understanding of photographic history, and for having opened a dialogue concerning the relationship and convergence of the two main nineteenth century mediums of landscape representation, painting and photography. The author comments on the photographs of Jackson, O'Sullivan, Russell, Muybridge and Watkins, and draws comparisons between their work and that of contemporaneous painters such as Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran and others. See her later study *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, (bib. 88).

3. "Public Museum News" *Art Journal* 34 (4) (Summer 1975): 366.

Exhibition listing for the Bicentennial exhibition, *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*, at The Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo, N.Y. Also lists the locations and dates of the exhibition's subsequent venues.

4. Dippie, Brian W. "Review" *The Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (1) (January 1978): 58-59.

Dippie, a historian at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, briefly reviews the *Era of Exploration* publication, and acknowledges the publication as making an important contribution to western American history, and, as a significant study of the development of nineteenth century landscape photography, through its examination of the technological, aesthetic and scientific concerns that informed the work of the five photographers.

## 5. General Publications and Bibliographical Source Material

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### 19<sup>th</sup> Century Publications

5. Dix, John Ross. *Amusing and Thrilling Adventures of a California Artist While Daguerreotyping A Continent Amid Burning Deserts, Savages, and Perpetual Snows; and a Poetical Companion to the Pantoscope of California, Nebraska & Kansas, Salt Lake & the Mormons, Written by John Ross Dix; from 1500 Daguerreotypes by J. Wesley Jones, Esq.* Boston: John Ross Dix, 1854.

An account of the experiences of a company, formed by former U.S. Marshal J. Wesley Jones, to produce daguerreotypes of the American west that would form the basis of a painted panorama.

6. 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. Reprinted with an introduction by Rudolf Kingslake. Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y: Morgan & Morgan, 1971.

An early history of the stereoscope, examining its theory, construction and application. With diagrams.

7. Morton, H.J. "Yosemite Valley." *The Philadelphia Photographer* 3 (25) (January 1866): 376-379.
8. Van Tramp, John C. *Prairie and Rocky Mountain Adventures, or Life in the West. To which will be added a View of the States and Territorial Regions of our Western Empire: Embracing History, Statistics and Geography, and Descriptions of the Chief Cities of the West*. Columbus, Ohio: Gilmore & Segner, 1866.
9. "Views in the Yosemite Valley." *The Philadelphia Photographer*, 3 (28) (April 1866): 106-107.
10. Avery, B.P. "Art Beginnings on the Pacific." *The Overland Monthly* I (July 1868): 28-34; (August 1868): 113-119.
11. Hittell, John S. *Yosemite: Its Wonders and its Beauties, With Information Adapted to the Wants of Tourists About to Visit the Valley*. San Francisco: H.H. Bancroft, 1868.

This publication included twenty mounted albumen prints by Muybridge, using the pseudonym "Helios".

12. Whitney, J.D. *The Yosemite Book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California*. New York: Julius Bien, 1868.

A description and guide to the scenery, landscape and interesting features of California, with detailed information about the vegetation, the geography and its native inhabitants. Includes a map of the region prepared by Clarence King and drawn by J.T. Gardner, most likely drafted during the 1863 California geological survey, for which King volunteered. Also included, are twenty-four mounted albumen silver prints, by Watkins, and four by W. Harris.

13. King, Clarence, ed. *Reports of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Made by Order of the Secretary of War According to Acts of Congress of March 2, 1867, and March 2, 1869 Under the Direction of Brig. and Pvt. Major General A.A. Humphreys.* 7 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870-1880.
14. Hayden, F.V. *Sun Pictures of Rocky Mountain Scenery. With a Description of the Geographical and Geological Features, and Some Account of the Resources of the Great West. Containing Thirty Photographic Views along the Line of the Pacific Railroad, from Omaha to Sacramento.* New York, 1870.

This book, written by Ferdinand V. Hayden, leader of one of the Great Geological and Geographical Surveys of the West, provides a description of the scenery, vegetation and geography of the Rocky Mountain region, and features thirty mounted albumen silver prints of construction and geography surrounding the Pacific railroad, by Russell.

15. King, Clarence, Francis P. Farquhar, ed. *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1871.

A narrative of King's experiences in California's Sierra Nevada region, which King explored with a group that included William H. Brewer and J.T. Gardiner. King writes about the group's experiences in visiting the Big Trees, climbing Mount Brewer and Mount Tyndall, and his emotional reaction to the Yosemite landscape.

16. Coolidge, Susan [Sarah Chauncey Woolsey]. "A Few Hints on the California Journey." *Scribner's Monthly* 6 (May 1873): 25-31.
  
17. Langford, N.P. "The Wonders of Yellowstone." *Scribner's Monthly* (May 1871): 1-17; (June 1873): 341-342.
  
18. Nordhoff, Charles. *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travellers and Settlers by Charles Nordhoff*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1873.
  
19. *Sun Pictures of Yosemite, California*. Chicago: Coyne and Relyea, Knight and Leonard, 1874.
  
20. Geographical Surveys West of the 100<sup>th</sup> Meridian. *Photographs showing landscapes, geological and other features, of portions of the western territory of the United States: Obtained in connection with geographical and geological explorations and surveys west of the 100<sup>th</sup> meridian, seasons of 1871, 1872, and 1873, 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. Geo. M. Wheeler in charge*. Washington: Government Printing Office, [1871-74?].  
  

A descriptive report of the geographical surveys, led by Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, with photographs of Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, California and New Mexico, by expedition photographers O'Sullivan and William Bell.
  
21. Williams, Henry T. *The Pacific Tourist. Williams' Illustrated Trans-Continental Guide of Travel, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Containing full Descriptions of Railroad Routes. A Complete Traveler's Guide of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads by Henry T. Williams*. New York: H.T. Williams, 1876.
  
22. Rideing, William H. *A-Saddle in the Wild West: A Glimpse of Travel Among the Mountains, Lava Beds, Sand Deserts, Adobe Towns, Indian Reservations, and Ancient Pueblos of Southern Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1879.

23. Thayer, William Makepeace. *Marvels of the New West A Vivid Portrayal of the Stupendous Marvels in the Vast Wonderland West of the Missouri River*. Norwich, Connecticut: The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1891.

Describes the landscape, scenery and native inhabitants of the western regions, including Yosemite, the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone, pueblos, cliffs, and geysers. Includes a lengthy bibliography, and is illustrated with drawings and engravings, many of which are derived from uncredited photographs by Jackson and O'Sullivan.

24. Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*. Washington, 1894:199-227. Reprinted in *The Frontier in American History* forward by A Wilbur R. Jacobs (1920; reprint: Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1994).

25. Schmeckebier, L.F. *Catalog and Index of the Publications of the Hayden, King, Powell and Wheeler Surveys*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904.

A catalogue and index of the publications of the four great surveys of 1867-1879, led by Hayden, King, Powell and Wheeler. Provides an overview of the character of the fieldwork publications, issued by the United States Geological Survey.

26. Gardner, Alexander. *Gardener's Photographic Sketchbook of the War, 1861-1865*. Introduction by E.F. Bleiler. New York: Dover Publications, 1959.

This 1959 publication based on the two-volume album of Gardner's photographs from the American Civil War, published in 1866, presents the original book's one hundred images and text, which were intended as reminders and documents of localities that have become memorable and sacred through their association with the conflict. In his introduction, Gardner stated that the photographs, forty-four of which were taken by O'Sullivan, covered every point of importance, and provided truthful and more accurate representations of the war than any verbal or written account. The images depict the aftermath and impact of the war on the



landscape, architecture and people, and are each accompanied by descriptive text that explains the image's connection to the war. Significant for its early use and integration of text and photographs, this publication presents historically important documentation of American history through photography.

## 20<sup>th</sup> Century Publications

27. Dellenbaugh, Frederick S. *A Canyon Voyage, the Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition Down the Green – Colorado River from Wyoming, and the Explorations on Land, in the Years 1871 and 1872. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, artist, and assistant topographer of the expedition. With fifty Illustrations.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

A detailed record of the second geological survey led by John Wesley Powell, by survey artist and assistant topographer Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, describing the expedition and exploration of the Grand Canyon. With images by expedition photographer J.K. Hillers.

28. Farquhar, Francis P., ed. *Up and Down California in 1860-1864. The Journal of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930.

This volume contains the journals and letters of William H. Brewer, Principal Assistant in charge of Botanical Department, of the Geological Survey of California, from 1860 to 1864. Brewer accompanied the first geological survey of California beginning in 1860, led by Josiah Dwight Whitney, a survey that would influence and provide significant information for subsequent survey projects, including Clarence King's Survey of the Fortieth Parallel. Brewer's journal provides descriptive information of the geography and topography of California and Yosemite, and gives great detail about expedition life and work activities. Also discussed is Brewer's relationship and interactions with Clarence King;

Brewer originally hired King, who later went on to become Director of the Survey, and the volume includes several images of the two men, along with the rest of the geological survey staff. Several sketches of geological features are also included.

29. Taft, Robert. *Photography and the American Scene*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938. Reprinted: New York: Dover, 1964.

Traces the effect of photography on America's social history, and the affect of American social life on the progress of the photographic medium. Includes informative chapters on the photographing of the western frontier, with details of the careers and work of Watkins, Russell, O'Sullivan and Jackson. Taft presents information from his personal correspondence with Jackson, including details such as Jackson's equipment lists, method of working and daily image-production goals. Includes references to earlier publications and periodicals.

30. Taft, Robert. *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953.

Tells the story and experiences of painters and illustrators (although not photographers), who witnessed the transformation of the American west, from 1850 to 1900. Includes descriptions of artists' experiences working on expeditionary surveys and the construction of the railroad, and is illustrated with sketches, engravings and drawings from the period.

31. Sanborn, Herbert J. with an essay by Beaumont Newhall. *Image of America Early Photography, 1839-1900 A Catalog*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1957.

This catalogue accompanied an exhibition held at the Library of Congress in 1957. The exhibition displayed objects from the Library's photographic collection, arranged in the catalogue according to subject category in roughly chronological sequence. Sections on the exploration of the western frontier are included, as are several images by Jackson and O'Sullivan. Each image is accompanied by a

brief annotation, which provides background information on the subject matter, photographer and historical significance.

32. Huth, Hans. *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1957.

33. Wilkins, Thurman. *Clarence King*. New York: Macmillan, 1958.

A biographical account of King's life, and career as leader of several government-funded geological surveys of the American west. Includes extensive information on the development of the survey program, and includes information on O'Sullivan's involvement. With images by O'Sullivan.

34. Newhall, Beaumont and Newhall, Nancy. *Masters of Photography*. New York: G. Braziller, 1958.

This book presents biographical information and images by photographers, whom the Newhalls designated as masters of the medium. O'Sullivan is included for his skill in describing and interpreting his subjects with clarity, including the realities of both Civil War battlefields and the wild American west. Contains images and a brief summary of O'Sullivan's career as a survey photographer, as well as his images from the Civil War.

35. Miller, Nina Hull. *Shutters West*. Denver: Sage Books, 1962.

A biography of Arundel C. Hull, pioneer photographer and colleague of Jackson. Written by Hull's daughter, *Shutter's West* includes an extensive description of Hull's time spent working with Jackson, first, in the Jackson Brothers' Omaha studio, and later, traveling while the two were photographing the construction of the transcontinental railroad.

36. Bartlett, Richard A. *Great Surveys of the American West*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

A narrative, detailed biographical account of the Four Great Surveys conducted post-Civil War in the American west, from 1867 to 1879, led by King, Powell, Wheeler and Hayden. Written anecdotally, the text features short biographies and accounts of Jackson's and O'Sullivan's participation in the surveys, as well as photographs by Jackson from the Hayden survey, and photographs by O'Sullivan from the King and Wheeler surveys. This volume also includes an extensive bibliography of related publications, unpublished literature and government documents.

37. Szarkowski, John. *The Photographer and the American Landscape*. Exhibition Catalogue. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1963.

The catalogue for Szarkowski's 1963 exhibition presents the work of eighteen photographers, selected as representatives of major trends in the landscape genre. Szarkowski notes a common motivation among these photographers, one of concern with the definition and documentation of American's changing relationship with and concept of the wilderness. Includes the work of O'Sullivan and Jackson. See also his later survey of American landscape photography, (bib. 92).

38. Andrews, Ralph W. *Picture Gallery Pioneers 1850 to 1875*. Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1964.

A history of early photographers working in the west, with chapters focusing on the survey photographers, including O'Sullivan, Watkins, Jackson, Russell and Muybridge. Biographical information and images are included for each photographer, as well as many reproductions of photographers' advertisements and business cards. Other chapters discuss topics such as stereographs and cartes de visite, and profile specific nineteenth century galleries that were located in the major cities in the west.

39. Darrah, William Culp. *Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs in America and their Collection*. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Times and News Publishing Company, 1964.

A history of stereo views and stereo view collecting in the United States and Canada, with information on different types of views and their identification and interpretation. Includes a chapter on western views, which discusses the use of the stereo view by Watkins, Muybridge and Jackson. Also includes sections on the use of stereo views to document expeditions, railroads and native peoples. With images by Watkins.

40. Dewing, C.E. "The Wheeler Survey Records: A Study in Archival Anomaly," *The American Archivist*. (April 1964).

41. Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*. Fourth edition. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, in collaboration with The George Eastman House, 1964.

A general survey text, which includes a brief chapter on early documentary and expeditionary photography. Newhall discusses and illustrates the railroad documentation by Russell, as well as the work of O'Sullivan for the Wheeler survey, and Jackson for the Hayden survey. See also Newhall's later edition of this text, *The History of Photography*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982, (bib. 145).

42. Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1966.

An account of the exploration and opening of the American west, by Pulitzer prize-winning historian William H. Goetzmann. Goetzmann examines the role of exploration in the development of the American west, and analyzes the cultural significance and impact of exploration on civilization. The author advances the theory that pre-existing conceptions of exploration and social framework shaped the way that the west was explored and subsequently developed, as the U.S. government and its geological teams attempted to reconstitute the society they had known in the east. Includes a useful section on the Great Surveys of 1860 to 1900, which provides thorough historical information on the development of the

surveys, and the expeditions led by King, Hayden, Wheeler and Powell. Goetzmann also dedicates a portfolio to the presence and role of the camera in western exploration, and describes the process and materials of expeditionary photographers. The author mentions the inclusion of O'Sullivan, Jackson, and Watkins in the survey program, and briefly discusses the photographs' relationship and departure from landscape painting conventions. Includes images by the aforementioned photographers.

43. Lindquist-Cock, Elizabeth M. "The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting, 1839-1880." Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1967. Reprinted: new York: Garland, 1977.

An influential and much respected publication in which Lindquist-Cock examines the effect of photography on nineteenth-century landscape painting, arguing that photography became a powerful force for change in America's cultural scene, disrupting traditional ideas of picture-making and compelling painters to adopt a photographic aesthetic in order to compete for popular interest. Lindquist-Cock draws comparisons between the work of painters such as Albert Bierstadt and that of photographers Watkins, Muybridge and Jackson. Also included, are detailed accounts of the photographers' working relationships with the survey painters, such as Bierstadt and Thomas Moran, who also accompanied the expeditions. With images by Watkins, Muybridge and Jackson. See also her related studies, (bibs. 44 and 48).

44. Lindquist-Cock, Elizabeth. "Stereoscopic Photography and the Western Paintings of Albert Bierstadt." *The Art Quarterly* 33 (4) (1970): 360-378.

In this article, Lindquist-Cock discusses the influence of panoramic photography and the stereoscope on the landscape painting of Albert Bierstadt. Lindquist-Cock argues that it was the photographic medium and the painter's relationship with western photographers such as Watkins and Muybridge that greatly affected Bierstadt's work, as opposed to his previous experiences studying painting in Düsseldorf, as had been generally believed. Lindquist-Cock examines the appearance of photographic aesthetics and visual characteristics in Bierstadt's

work, through a discussion of the forms and tonalities that she sees as having been learned from depictions by the western photographers. Includes images by Watkins, Muybridge and Bierstadt.

45. Rudisill, Richard, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

Rudisill discusses the presence of the daguerreotype in America within a broader cultural context, suggesting how it helped to define American identity, both literally and symbolically. Includes a chapter on daguerreotypists photographing the west, as well as an extensive annotated bibliography.

46. Fowler, Don D., ed. *"Photographed all the Best Scenery," Jack Hiller's Diary of the Powell Expeditions, 1871-1875*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972.

This biography and diary of John K. Hiller, boatman on the second Powell expedition, and later, chief photographer of the US geological survey, recounts and illustrates the first Powell survey through detailed descriptions of the expedition team's daily activities and operations. This first-person account of the expedition lends a personal perspective to expedition literature and also includes some information on Hiller's involvement with the second Powell survey of 1874-75.

47. Edkins, Diana. *Landscape and Discovery. An Exhibition of Photography*. Exhibition catalogue. Hempstead, Long Island, New York. The Emily Lowe gallery, Hofstra University, 1973.

Presenting work from both nineteenth and twentieth century photographers, Edkins examines the shift in our culture's understanding of landscape and nature, and how the idea of the "unexplored" has changed over time. Edkins includes work by Watkins, Jackson, Muybridge, O'Sullivan and Henry Wessel, among others, in order to illustrate the artistic depiction of man's discovery of nature through each photographer's personal response to landscape.

48. Lindquist-Cock, Elizabeth. "Frederick Church's Stereographic Vision." *Art in America* 61 (5) (1973): 70-75.

Lindquist-Cock discusses the role of photography in nineteenth century landscape representation, using the painting by Church as her case study. Lindquist-Cock argues that Church believed photography was liberating painting from the western obsession with three-dimensional reality, and although he relied heavily on the medium, he never deviated from considering photography as being anything more than a scientific or artistic aid.

49. Heyman, Therese Thau. *Mirror of California: Daguerreotypes*. Exhibition catalogue. Oakland: The Oakland Museum, 1973.

This exhibition catalogue features daguerreotypes from the Oakland Museum's permanent collection, that document nineteenth century urban developments in California.

## **Archival Material**

### **Bancroft Library**

50. Watkins, C.E. Letters. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

### **Huntington Library and Art Gallery**

51. King, Clarence. Papers. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.



## Library of Congress

52. (O'Sullivan, T.H.) "Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel. Clarence King, Geologist-in-charge. Photographs by T.H. O'Sullivan." Typescript list of original photographs. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.

The Library of Congress has now digitized 218 photographs, taken by Timothy O'Sullivan on this survey, during the years 1867-1869 and 1872. The digitized images, of which many are stereo negatives of the area covered by the expedition in eastern California, Nevada, northern Utah, Southern Idaho, southern Wyoming and northwestern Colorado. The archive also contains an inventory and caption list.

<http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/>

## National Archives

53. King, Clarence. *Records of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel*. Record Group 57, National Archives, Washington.

## New York Public Library

54. Durand, Asher B. Papers. Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

Papers, letters and correspondence from a 1915 donation by Charles Henry Hart. Includes correspondence between Asher B. Durand, a noted nineteenth century engraver and painter, and Albert Bierstadt, nineteenth landscape painter who accompanied several of the great western surveys.

## 6. Studies / Bibliographical Source Material on the Individual Photographers

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### William H. Jackson

55. *Catalogue of Stereoscopic, 6" x 8" and 8" x 10" photographs by William H. Jackson, Photographer to the U.S. Geological Survey of the Territories*; Omaha, Nebraska. Washington, DC: Cunningham & McIntosh, Printers, 1871.
56. Jackson, W.H. *Report of the Ancient Ruins Examined in 1875 and 1877*. United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1878.
57. Jackson, W.H. *Photographs of the Principal Points of Interest in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, and Montana, from negatives taken in 1869, '70, '71, '72, '73, '74, and '75 by W.H. Jackson, Photographer to the Survey*. Washington, 1876.
58. Jackson, W.H. *Time Exposure, the Autobiography of William Henry Jackson*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. Reprinted with an introduction by Ferenc M. Szasz. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.

Jackson's autobiography published two years before his death. Based on his diaries and US government survey documents and records, Jackson describes his photographic career, his wartime experience, survey work and personal and professional details. The George Eastman House copy is signed and dated by Jackson.

59. Driggs, Howard R. *Westward America. With Reproductions of Forty Water Color Paintings by William H. Jackson. Trails Edition*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1942.

A history of western pioneers, featuring forty reproductions of Jackson's watercolors from the early 1930's, when he was appointed Research Secretary of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association.

60. Jackson, Clarence S. *Picture Maker of the Old West, William H. Jackson*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1947.

Written by the photographer's son, this biography of Jackson's photographic career is based on personal accounts, personal diaries of Jackson and F.V. Hayden, US geological survey leader, and government reports, documents and records. Illustrated with Jackson's drawings and photographs.

61. Hafen, Le Roy R., ed., and Ann W. Hafen, eds. *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson Frontier Photographer. To California and Return, 1866-67; and with the Hayden Surveys to the Central Rockies, 1873, and to the Utes and Cliff Dwellings, 1874*. The Far West and The Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875 Volume 10. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959.

In this publication, a brief biography precedes Jackson's diary of 1866-67, covering the photographer's first trip to the west. With illustrations, and a map prepared by the editors, which traces Jackson's route through the west.

62. Miller, Helen Markley. *Lens on the West. The Story of William Henry Jackson*. Garden City, CA and New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966.

A biography of Jackson's life and career as a photographer. Includes thorough details of the photographer's life and career, a brief chronology, and is illustrated with a good selection of early sketches, drawings and photographs.

63. Mangan, Terry William. *Jackson's Colorado Negatives*. Denver: Documentary Resources Department, State Historical Society of Colorado, 1974.

A catalogue of glass plate negatives in the Colorado State Historical Society's Wm. H. Jackson collection, acquired in 1948 through the cooperation of the Ford

Foundation and the Edison Institute. This catalogue is limited to Jackson's Colorado work, and includes images of the State's primitive wilderness and early development from the 1870's to the turn of the century. Arranged by broad subject, and classified by content.

64. Newhall, Beaumont and Diana E. Edkins. With a critical essay by Broecker, William L. *William H. Jackson*. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art; Dobbs Ferry, New York: Morgan & Morgan, 1974.

This publication accompanied a 1974 retrospective exhibition on Jackson, drawn from institutional collections. Newhall and Edkins argue that Jackson should be understood as a visual historian, documentarian and gifted photographer, who produced convincing and straightforward descriptions of the early western landscape with neutrality and a lack of artifice. Includes a detailed biography, major institutional holdings, and an extensive chronology of his life, career and working methods.

## **Eadweard Muybridge**

65. Muybridge, Eadweard. *Helios Flying Studio-Edw. J. Muybridge*. (Five albums containing stereo halves numbered in manuscript.) Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
66. Muybridge, Eadweard. *Catalogue of Photographic Views Illustrating the Yosemite, Mammoth Trees, Geyser Springs, and other Remarkable and Interesting Scenery of the Far West, by Muybridge*. San Francisco: Bradley & Rulofson, 1873.
67. Muybridge, Eadweard. *The Pacific Coast of Central America and Mexico, the Isthmus of Panama; Guatemala; and the Cultivation and Shipment of Coffee, A*

*Series of Photographs Executed for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company by Muybridge.* San Francisco, 1876.

Originally created as five albums, containing varied numbers of mounted albumen prints, and presented to selected clients by Muybridge. Surviving copies are at Museum of Modern Art, New York, California State Library, Sacramento, and Stanford University Library. See Burns, E. Bradford. *Eadweard Muybridge in Guatemala, 1875: The Photographer as Social Recorder*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986 (bib. 125).

68. Hood, Mary V. Jessup and Robert Bartlett Haas. "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 52 (1) (March 1963): 5-26.

A well-researched and thorough history of Muybridge's work in Yosemite. Hood and Haas, concerned that other aspects of Muybridge's career had overshadowed the photographer's significant body of work from Yosemite, supplement their bibliographic information with letters and statements from Muybridge, as well as his publishers Bradley and Rulofson. The authors include a chronology of Muybridge's work, as well as the evolution and development of his interest in landscape and special printing effects, his working methods and equipment preferences, along with reproductions of the Yosemite photographs.

69. *Eadweard Muybridge: The Stanford Years, 1872-1882*. Essays by Robert B. Haas and Françoise Forster-Hahn; catalogue with commentary by Anita V. Mozley. Exhibition catalogue. Stanford, California: Stanford University Museum of Art, 1972.

This important catalogue focuses on Muybridge's work during his collaborative years with Leland Stanford. Includes a biography, an appendix of annotated documents and letters, and drawings, illustrations and photographs from Muybridge's landscape and locomotion work.

## Timothy O'Sullivan

70. Sampson, John. "Photographs from the High Rockies." *Harper's Magazine* 39 (232) (September 1869): 405-75.-Reprinted in Beaumont Newhall, editor. *Photography: Essay and Images, Illustrated Readings in the History of Photography*, 121-27. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980.

A first-hand narrative of the 1867 U.S. geological survey of the Rocky Mountains, led by Clarence King. Thought to have been written by, or based on information supplied by O'Sullivan, the narrative describes the team's experiences, and the scenery of the mountains, canyons, lakes and geography of the explored region. The article is illustrated with wood-engravings made from uncredited O'Sullivan photographs, and describes many of the scenes and situations of his image-making, including Pyramid Lake, the Comstock Mines, and the shifting sand dunes of the Carson Sink area.

71. Baumhofer, Hermine M."T.H. O'Sullivan." *Image 2* (4) (April 1953): 20-21.

A short, biographical article on O'Sullivan, which includes details about the photographer's involvement with the geological surveys and the salary he was paid. Includes three images.

72. Blair, Jonathan. *The 40<sup>th</sup> Parallel Survey, 1867-1868-1869. Photographs by T.H. O'Sullivan*. Rochester, N.Y.: Blair, 1964.

In this unpublished study, Blair uses the collections at The George Eastman House and at the National Archives, as well as letters from survey leader Clarence King and documents from the U.S. War Department to provide a descriptive narrative to accompany O'Sullivan's photographic documentation. Blair provides biographical information and detailed insight into O'Sullivan's work, and includes a map of the survey's route.

73. Horan, James D. *Timothy O'Sullivan: America's Forgotten Photographer*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1966.

In Horan's biography, O'Sullivan is described as an underrated and unsung hero of the Civil War and western frontier photographers. Noting that many of O'Sullivan's images had been previously and mistakenly attributed to Matthew Brady, Horan provides lengthy historical documentation on O'Sullivan's career, and includes detailed information about the Wheeler Expeditions of 1871 and 1873 and 1874. Includes images.

74. Newhall, Beaumont and Newhall, Nancy. With an appreciation by Ansel Adams. *T.H. O'Sullivan, Photographer*. Rochester: George Eastman House with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1966.

This small publication offers a brief, yet detailed synopsis and chronology of O'Sullivan's life and career, providing details on the photographer's involvement with the King survey as well as his documentation of the Civil War. The publication also includes a short essay by Ansel Adams, extolling O'Sullivan's creative vision and his mastery of landscape photography. Includes forty duotones of O'Sullivan's photography, along with captions from the prints, which were included in *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* (bib. 26) and U.S. government publications (see bib. 13 and 20).

75. Bunnell, Peter C. Review of *T.H. O'Sullivan, Photographer*, by Beaumont and Nancy Newhall, and *Timothy O'Sullivan: America's Forgotten Photographer*, by James D. Horan. *Aperture* 13 (2) (1967): 111-114.

Bunnell criticizes the two publications, for viewing the documentary photographs of O'Sullivan through an art historical or artistic framework, stating that nineteenth century documentary photography should not be separated from its own history and stylistic conventions. Bunnell disapproves of Horan's journalistic style of writing, and although praising Horan's thorough bibliography suggests that the author has based his statements about O'Sullivan on personal taste, rather than on facts. Bunnell finds the book by the Newhalls to be better,

although lacking in any critical evaluation regarding the effect of O'Sullivan's photographs on the public's attitude towards landscape.

### **Andrew Joseph Russell**

76. Russell, A.J. *The Great West Illustrated in a Series of Photographic Views Across the Continent, Taken Along the Line of the Union Pacific Railroad West from Omaha, Nebraska, with an Annotated Table of Contents, Giving a Brief Description of Each View; Its Peculiarities, Characteristics, and Connection with the Different Points on the Road.* New York, Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1869.

Album with title page, table of contents, and fifty mounted albumen silver prints.

77. Russell, A.J. "On the Mountains with the Tripod and Camera." *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 3 (7) (April 1870): 33-45.

In this letter, Russell recounts his experiences of August 15, 1869, when he arrived at Spectre Lake, in the Rocky Mountains. Russell describes the setting of the explorers' campsite, the vegetation and abundance of wildlife, and recounts the group's daily activities, sleeping arrangements, food preparation and the profusion and clarity of the stars. A brief but interesting description of expeditionary life.

78. Combs, Barry B. Introduction by J.S. Holliday. *Westward to Promontory: Building the Union Pacific Across the Plains and Mountains, a Pictorial Documentary.* Palo Alto, California; New York: American West Publishing Co., with the Oakland Museum; Garland Book, 1969.

A photographic and biographical account of the construction of the transcontinental railway by the Union Pacific Railroad, illustrated with duotone reproductions made from Russell's negatives. The negatives were discovered in



the archives of the American Geographical Society in New York City, and transferred to the Oakland Museum in 1969.

### **Carleton E. Watkins**

79. Watkins, C.E. *Daily Pocket Remembrance*, 1864. Bancroft. Library, University of California, Berkeley.
80. Turrill, Charles B. "An Early California Photographer, C.E. Watkins." *News Notes of California Libraries* 13 (1) (January 1918): 29-37.
81. Anderson, Ralph H. "Carleton E. Watkins, Pioneer Photographer of the Pacific Coast." *Yosemite Nature Notes* 32 (April 1953): 34-39.
82. Giffen, Helen S. "Carleton E. Watkins: California's Expeditionary Photographer." *Eye to Eye* (6) (September 1954): 26-32.

A short biography of Watkins' photographic beginnings in San Francisco, as well as a description of his studio and survey work. While offering no new or substantial information about the photographer, the article does include some detail about Watkins' methods of captioning his images, the types of photographic equipment he brought along on expeditions, as well as information on the stereoscopic holdings of the California State Library.

83. Johnson, J.W. *The Early Pacific Coast Photographs of Carleton E. Watkins*. Water Resources Archives series, Report No. 8. Berkeley: University of California, Water Resources Center, 1960.

A brief biography, followed by appendices that list public institutions with detailed listings of their holdings of Watkins' work. Includes a floor plan of Watkins' San Francisco gallery, an advertisement for his Yosemite stereo view business, and as well, images of Watkins, his children, and his San Francisco studio.

## 7. Later Critical Studies Based on the exhibition or publication

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84. Current, Karen. Photographs Selected and Printed by William R. Current. *Photography and the Old West*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., in association with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1978.

An survey of the work of nineteen nineteenth century photographers of the American west, who are presented as historical recorders of events, people and places. Current discusses each photographer's ideas of nature, and how these ideas were translated into their photographs that can now be seen as comprising a historical narrative. Includes a historical overview of photography's use in the west, including the survey expeditions, as well as an extensive chronology and bibliography, and detailed biographical information and images by Watkins, O'Sullivan, Muybridge, Jackson and Russell, among others.

85. Welling, William. *Photography in America The Formative Years 1839-1900*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1978.

A historical survey of nineteenth-century American photography, which includes brief chapters on survey photography and the development of landscape photography. Welling cites the work of Watkins, Jackson, Muybridge, Russell and O'Sullivan, and makes connection between the depiction of nature in their photographs and pictorial conventions found in nineteenth century landscape paintings. The author provides brief biographical information on each photographer, including images, and gives a succinct description of the different types of landscape lenses, used during this period. Text is supplemented with archival files, letters, correspondence, writing and text ephemera.

86. Himelfarb, Harvey and Roger D. Clisby. *Large Spaces in Small Places: A Survey of Western Landscape Photography, 1850-1980*. Exhibition catalogue. Sacramento, CA: Crocker Art Museum, 1980.

Publication accompanying the exhibition of the same title. In the introductory essay, Himelfarb discusses the shift in how American landscape has been represented through photography over this period of time, and argues that the transition from description to metaphor was the most significant change between landscape photography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Includes images by Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Jackson, Muybridge, O'Sullivan and Watkins, among others.

87. Hoobler, Dorothy and Thomas. *Photographing the Frontier*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980.

This publication focuses entirely on the nineteenth-century photography of the American west, profiling the roles and careers of the western photographers, and, discussing the function and impact that photography had on the cultural and artistic understanding of the western landscape. The authors include a chapter on the surveys in which they present detailed biographical information on Watkins, Jackson, O'Sullivan and Muybridge, and provide descriptions of their equipment, working conditions, relationships, and travel routes. Also included is chapter on the photographing of the railroads, in which the work of Russell is discussed. The authors include maps, an extensive bibliography, and, images by the five photographers.

88. Novak, Barbara, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Novak examines nineteenth century landscape representation in its cultural context, revealing how the meanings and cultural attitudes concerning nature informed and shaped not only landscape imagery, but also America's sense of nationalism and identity. Novak discusses the advent of photography in landscape depictions, noting its modern capacity for adopting, while at the same time transforming, the principles of contemporary aesthetics. The author describes the painterly conventions found in some landscape photography, and also points out the images that represented a clear departure from these conventions. Such images reveal angles and points of view that are inherently

photographic, angles that work to place the viewer within the photograph, and at the same time, remind him or her of the photographer's own vantage point in creating its composition. Russell, Watkins, Jackson, O'Sullivan and Muybridge are briefly discussed. See also her review of *Era of Exploration*, (bib. 2).

89. Cahn, Robert, and Ketchum, Robert Glenn. *American Photographers and The National Parks*. New York: The Viking Press, and Washington, D.C.: National Park Foundation, 1981.

This book, published to accompany an exhibition of the same title, includes a brief essay by Cahn that describes the role of photography in the development of the National Park System. He provides a concise, historical account of the photographers working on the geological surveys, their equipment and photographic processes, and the development of Yosemite as a national park. Includes images by Jackson, Watkins, Muybridge and O'Sullivan, among thirty other photographers included in this publication.

90. Galassi, Peter. *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981.

Galassi investigates the evolution of pictorial conventions, and examines the emergence of photography and its impact and influence on different modes of landscape representation. The author examines nineteenth-century western American photography, including the work of O'Sullivan and Russell, and discusses their work's relationship to aesthetics and landscape practice in painting.

91. Ostroff, Eugene. *Western Views and Eastern Visions*. Exhibition catalogue. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service with the cooperation of the United States Geological Survey, 1981.

This book, published to accompany an exhibition of the same title, provides a history of the exploration, settling and documentation of the west in the nineteenth-century, and discusses the important role that photography played in

the depiction and promotion of the unmapped and untamed territory. The introductory essay includes historical information on the types of early photographic processes and equipment used, and describes the nature of the photographers' working environment and professional concerns. Includes an extensive bibliography, as well as images with extended captions by Jackson, Watkins, O'Sullivan and Russell, among others.

92. Szarkowski, John. *American Landscapes Photographs from the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981.

Szarkowski's essay broadly discusses the evolution of landscape meanings, and how artists and photographers have contributed to the creation, understanding and changes of these meanings over time. Szarkowski mentions Pacific Coast photographers Jackson, Muybridge and Watkins, among others, describing their work as providing visual memorials of known wonders, as opposed to the exploratory work of O'Sullivan, whose photographs Szarkowski singles out for their remarkable originality, formal beauty and apparent modernity. The catalogue includes images by forty photographers, including the aforementioned photographers, and Russell. See also his earlier catalogue (bib. 37).

93. Krauss, Rosalind "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View", *Art Journal* 42 (4) (Winter, 1982): 311-319. Reprinted in her *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, 131-50. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: MIT Press, 1985.

In this influential article, Krauss discusses the problems of photographic interpretation, using O'Sullivan's 1868 image "Tufa Domes, Pyramid Lake (Nevada)", as a case study. Krauss considers different discourses to which the photograph belongs, suggesting that to interpret the image from a purely modernist standpoint would impose a false reading of it. While Krauss argues that consideration should be given to the image's purpose as geological documentation, she also identifies three points that altered the photograph's original function: firstly, that O'Sullivan composed his images so as to appear

visually interesting; secondly, that O'Sullivan referred to his photographs as "views" instead of documents, and thirdly, that his full-plate images were never published in the nineteenth century, and, as a result, his work was known primarily by the public in stereograph form, instead of as his large format geological records.

94. Naef, Weston J. "Prints and Photographs " Notable Acquisitions (Metropolitan Museum of Art) (1982/1983): 54.

A description and brief discussion of the museum's acquisition of The Ambrose Bernard Album, an album containing 101 albumen photographs of San Francisco by Carleton Watkins. Naef discusses the historical significance of this addition to the collection, citing Watkins' inclusion in the *Era of Exploration* exhibition, which for the first time placed the photographer's work in the same context as his peers O'Sullivan, Muybridge, Russell, and Jackson. Naef comments on the subtlety and artistic compositions of Watkins' images, distinctive qualities that separate his work from that of others, and which demonstrate the photographer's belief of the image-maker's unique power to depict the divine order of nature.

95. Sandweiss, Martha A., ed. *Masterworks of American Photography: The Amon Carter Museum Collection*. Birmingham, Ala: Oxmoor House, 1982.

An historical overview of American photography, illustrated with images from the Amon Carter Museum. Chapters on the photographer as historian, and on nineteenth-century landscape photography provide insight into the role that photographers such as Watkins, Jackson, O'Sullivan, and Russell played in the public's familiarity with the west, in the documentation and promotion of the railroad, and in influencing the U.S government towards the establishment of the national park system. With images and catalogue documentation. Many of these ideas are developed in Sandweiss' later writings, see bibs. 106 and 114.

96. Wolf, Daniel, ed. Introduction by Robert Adams. *The American Space. Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography*. Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.

This book offers a consideration of American western landscape and its quality of space, as depicted in the nineteenth century landscape photographs by Watkins, Jackson, Muybridge and O'Sullivan, among others. In his introduction, Adams discusses the serene and sublime character of the landscapes by early western photographers, and how these images became the form in which the west was viewed and known by the nation. Adams also argues that the significance and continuing relevance of these photographs lies in their ability to tell us, more compellingly than any other kind of document, exactly what has now been destroyed. Includes brief biographies, a glossary of nineteenth century photographic processes and a bibliography. Adams's essay is reprinted in his essay "Towards a Proper Silence: Nineteenth Century Photographs of the American landscape." *Aperture* 98 (Spring 1985): 4-11 (bib. 98), and in his *Why People Photograph. Selected Essays and Reviews*. New York: Aperture, 1994. (bib. 108).

97. Klett, Mark, Ellen Manchester, JoAnn Verburg, Gordon Bushaw, and Rick Dingus, with an essay by Paul Berger. *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

This publication provides a catalogue and report on the work of the Rephotographic Survey Project (RSP) from 1977 to 1979. Focusing primarily on geographical survey photography, the group produced precise replicas of images by Jackson, O'Sullivan, and Russell, among others. 120 rephotographed images are presented in the publication, placed in direct comparison with the nineteenth century originals. The pairs of images reveal changes in the landscapes over time, and suggest many perspectives from which one can approach and evaluate rephotographs. The project revealed for the first time the extent to which O'Sullivan manipulated and tilted his camera angles, thereby altering the orientation of a number of views. This project has continued; see: Mark Klett, *Third View Second Sights A Rephotographic Survey of the America West*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, in association with the Center for American Places, 2004. (bib.117). See also Thomas W. Southall, "Second View: A Search for the West that Exists Only in Photographs". In *Perpetual Mirage: Photographic*

*Narratives of the Desert West*, edited by May Castleberry. pp. 193-98. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1996; (bib. 110); and Rick Dingus, *The Photographic Artifacts of Timothy O'Sullivan*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico press, 1982 (bib. 128).

98. Adams, Robert. "Towards a Proper Silence: Nineteenth Century Photographs of the American Landscape." *Aperture* 98 (Spring 1985): 4-11. Originally published as the introduction to Daniel Wolf's book, *The American Space*, Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.

Adams discusses the importance of nineteenth-century American landscape photographs, writing that much of their value lies in their ability to demonstrate a quality of space and silence, elements which have been lost in the development and regrettable changes that have taken place in the landscape since the images were made. Adams describes the "visual stillness" of the nineteenth century images, an element achieved through both composition and straight-forward depiction, and laments the loss of this silence in the contemporary landscape. Adams also discusses the vanishing of the space itself, suggesting that the silence and stillness portrayed in the nineteenth century photographs was mainly a result of the subjects' remote locations, recorded by photographers who traveled lengthy distances by mule or wagon to capture the view. Adams writes that these locations are no longer remote, and now any tourist can obtain many of the same images by driving to the viewpoint by car. Includes two images by O'Sullivan. See Wolf's book *The American Space. Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography*. Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983. (bib. 96).

99. Jussim, Estelle and Lindquist-Cock, Elizabeth. *Landscape as Photograph*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Encompassing ideas and work that span both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the authors focus on the meaning and interpretation in landscape photography, and discuss changing attitudes towards nature and image-making. Includes an extensive bibliography and images by, Jackson, O'Sullivan,



Muybridge, Russell, as well as Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Joe Deal and Frank Gohlke, four of the *New Topographics* photographers.

100. Orland, Ted. *Man & Yosemite A Photographer's View of the Early Years*. Santa Cruz: The Image Continuum Press, 1985.

A historical examination of man's relationship with Yosemite Valley through historical photographs. Orland discusses the work of Watkins and Muybridge, comparing differences in their treatment of the landscape and evocation of atmospheric effect, and suggests that by studying the photographs of the Park's vistas and portraits of early visitors, we can see an evolution in public attitude towards the wilderness. The author includes historical and biographical details, as well as duotone reproductions of images by Watkins, Muybridge and others.

101. Trachtenburg, Alan. "The American West Comes Out of the Closet – Partially." Review. *American Quarterly* 37 (2) (Summer, 1985): 305-310.-

Trachtenburg comments on the interest in American landscape photography by discussing the various approaches and analysis of critics, writers, curators and archivists, through a review of three publications: *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West*, by Peter Palmquist (bib. 139), *The American Space: Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography*, edited by Daniel Wolf (bib. 96) and *The Photographic Artifacts of Timothy O'Sullivan* by Rick Dingus (bib. 128). Trachtenburg discusses the difficulty in determining a suitable language with which to examine and analyze the work of these western landscape photographers, one which answers both formalist and historical concerns, since their images fall under the categories of both "picture", and historical document, forever associated with a specific phase in American history. Trachtenburg commends the analysis of Palmquist, who discussed the commercial, business side of Watkins' career, as opposed to the heroic, landscape-visionary reading, an approach found in the *Era of Exploration* catalogue. Trachtenburg also refers to the writing of other authors on this subject, such as George Dimock. See his publication *Exploiting the View Photographs of Yosemite & Mariposa by Carleton Watkins*. Exhibition catalogue and lecture

transcript. North Bennington, Vermont: Park-McCullough House, 1984, (bib. 141).

102. Goetzmann, William H. and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1986.

Co-written by Pulitzer prize-winning historian William H. Goetzmann and former director of The Museum of Western Art in Denver, William N. Goetzmann. The authors include chapters on the documentation of Yosemite and the role of photography in landscape and western depictions. They discuss the images by photographers such as Watkins and Muybridge, suggesting that their work did much to shape American tastes toward real, as well as heroic, images of the continent. Also included are biographical information on Jackson, O'Sullivan, and Russell, and a discussion of their photographs for the geological surveys and the construction of the railroads. The authors provide valuable insight into the historical and artistic context of nineteenth century landscape photography, and describe the relationship of this form of representation to the development and understanding of Yosemite and the west. With images by Watkins, Muybridge, Jackson, Russell and O'Sullivan.

103. Gidley, Mick and Lawson-Peebles, eds. *Views of American Landscapes*. Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1989.

An anthology of twelve essays, in which contributing writers explore the meanings of the American landscape, as found in paintings, drawings and photography. The essays examine the pre-conceptions and aesthetic and historical conventions of nineteenth-century landscape depiction, and discuss how these modes of representation influenced how nature was and continues to be understood in American culture. The authors also consider the shift in this understanding over time, suggesting that nature today is seen less as a scene or view, and more as an organized, multi-facted place. In his essay 'The Impermanent Sublime: Nature, Photography and the Petrarchan Tradition', Olaf Hansen discusses how the inception of photography initiated a shift in nature study from theology to science, as photography introduced a scientific element to

landscape representation, a departure from the self-reflective and spiritual notions of nineteenth century wilderness exploration. Includes a few images by O'Sullivan.

104. Trachtenberg, Alan. *Reading American Photographs: Images as History. Matthew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1989.

In this collection of essays, Trachtenberg traces key moments in American social transformation through the evolution of photography from the 1840's through the 1930's. Photographers are discussed as artists who made conscious decisions in capturing their subjects, and who constructed "images" instead of simple depictions. In his essay on western landscape photography "Naming the View", the author touches on the photograph's relationship to the American notion of the sublime, and argues that O'Sullivan's photographs of western mines reveal a theme of contradiction: curiosity about nature turning into a quest for power, financial gain and domination. Includes images by O'Sullivan and Watkins, among others.

105. Grundberg, Andy. "The Machine in the Garden, Photography, Technology, and the End of Innocent Space". Lecture. In his *Crisis of the Real Writings on Photography, 1974-1989*, 50-65. New York: Aperture, 1990.

In this lecture, Grundberg, photography critic for *The New York Times*, discusses nineteenth century landscape photography, and the aesthetic choices that helped to perpetuate ideas of man's conquest over nature and general feelings of mastery and achievement. The author cites the emergence of nineteenth-century landscape images as reflecting what Grundberg calls "the end of innocent space", and characterizes the photographs by O'Sullivan, Watkins, Jackson and Muybridge as revealing a profound skepticism about man's relation to nature, an attitude that Grundberg argues, would later turn up in the photography of the 'New Topographers'.

106. Sandweiss, Martha A., ed. *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. Exhibition catalogue. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum; New York: Harry N.

Abrams, 1991.

This volume, published to accompany an exhibition of the same title, provides a comprehensive historical overview of photography in nineteenth century America, through a collection of essays by noted academics and photography curators. The chapters examine various aspects of landscape representation, the documentation of the railroad, and the influence and reciprocal relationship of photographic and painterly traditions. Sandweiss' introductory chapter provides insight into the establishment of photographic narrative traditions, discussing how western photographers sought to develop new ways of constructing narratives and conveying their experiences of the wilderness. In his essay "American Views and the Romance of Modernity", Peter Bacon Hales examines the motivation and intentions of the western photographers, and discusses the ways in which the photographs were used and viewed. Hales illustrates the complexities of the nineteenth century photography market by discussing the various formats in which western images were distributed and circulated amongst the public, and includes examples of nineteenth century newspaper clippings that featured images of landscape views and railroad construction, printed alongside advertisements for building and construction supplies. The work of Jackson, O'Sullivan, Watkins, Russell and Muybridge is discussed at length in this publication in chapters on Civil War photographs by Keith Davis and on western photography by Sandweiss. The authors' perspectives on various aspects of western landscape photography offer a well-rounded examination of the genre and its influence on photographic and cultural history. Includes biographies, exhibition checklist and images.

107. Buerger, Janet E. "Ultima Thule: American Myth, Frontier, and the Artist-Priest in Early American Photography" *American Art* 6 (1) (Winter 1992): 82-103.

Buerger discusses the role of the photographers in the portrayal of the American west, and their works' impact on the wider cultural understanding of nature. The author discusses the ability of the photographic medium to confirm and prove the reality of the natural world, and the perception of the photographer as an authoritarian voice, who in essence, "named the view", or proved the myths, by

providing scientific or truthful evidence in support of the stories and data collected by the survey teams, all of which heightened American culture's trust in science. Buerger includes the work of Watkins, Jackson, O'Sullivan and Russell, and discusses the various art historical readings and critical analysis of their work by writers such as Krauss (see bib. 93), Galassi (see bib. 90), Novak (see bib. 2 and 88), and others.

108. Adams, Robert. *Why People Photograph*. Selected Essays and Reviews. New York: Aperture, 1994.

In one of this volume's essays, entitled "In the Nineteenth-century West", which originally formed as the introduction to Daniel Wolf's 1983 publication *The American Space. Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography*, Adams examines the working conditions of nineteenth-century landscape photographers. He considers the state of the western wilderness when they began photographing, and discusses why the surviving images are so compelling. Adams suggests that the images reveal a wealth of information, demonstrating not only what the landscape used to look like before it was settled, but also how the photographers reacted to the landscape and their new medium. Adams focuses his discussion mainly on O'Sullivan, and describes the photographer's interests, goals and motivations for his image-making. Adams suggests that O'Sullivan, having begun his photographic career in the Civil War, carried with him a desire to create compositions of order and balance, to counter the confusion and violence he witnessed in battle. Adams sees the ambulance wagon that O'Sullivan used to carry his equipment through the west as a metaphor, for his 'wandering recovery from the disintegration he pictured at Gettysburg." For further remarks on this essay, see entry for Wolf, Daniel, ed. Introduction by Robert Adams. *The American Space. Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography*. Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, (bib. 96) and his essay "Towards a Proper Silence: Nineteenth Century Photographs of the American Landscape." *Aperture* 98 (Spring 1985): 4-11 (bib. 98).

109. Phillips, Sandra S., Richard Rodriguez, Aaron Betsky and Elderidge M. Moore. *Crossing the Frontier: Photographs of the Developing West, 1849 to the Present*. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, c1996.
110. Southall, Thomas W. "Second View: A Search for the West that Exists Only in Photographs". In *Perpetual Mirage: Photographic Narratives of the Desert West*, edited by May Castleberry. 193-98 Exhibition catalogue. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1996.

Southall reviews the Rephotographic Survey Project's (RSP) 1984 publication *Second View* (bib. 97), arguing that the project functions as a significant record of the environmental and geographical changes, both natural and man-made, in the American west, and also as a revelation of how photography has been used to shape perceptions of the region. Southall notes that while many images depict significant change, erosion and detrimental effects of industrialization, some images, when paired with their nineteenth-century counterparts, reveal areas of improvement, rejuvenation or little change, contradicting pessimistic assumptions about human encroachment on the land. Southall discusses how the RSP reconstructed the nineteenth-century photographers' activities, though identifying the exact locations and angles of perspective, thereby revealing how image-makers such as Russell and O'Sullivan composed and executed their images. Southall sees these discoveries as offering insight into the photographers' working methods, goals, intentions, and as well, providing evidence of their mastery of the medium, capable of adding drama to conventional scenes and interpretive perspective to descriptive documents. *Second View* is also valuable, Southall argues, for the questions it raises about the nature of photographic documents and how they control our perception and understanding of the land.

111. Frost, James E. "Envisioning the land: The Environmental Rhetoric of Landscape Photography of the American West." PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 1997.

This dissertation examines the ways in which landscape photography of the American west has influenced and reflected a cultural consciousness concerning the environment. Frost discusses the survey photography of the nineteenth

century, citing its role in relating scenes of American wilderness to the public, as well aiding in the establishment of the National Parks system.

112. Mautz, Carl. *Biographies of Western Photographers. A Reference Guide to Photographers Working in the Nineteenth Century American West*. Nevada City, CA: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997.

An exhaustive biographical dictionary of nineteenth century western photographers (including entries on O'Sullivan, Muybridge, Watkins, and Russell), listed by state, which includes information such as photographers' working dates and locations of their studios. Includes an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary literature relating to western photography.

113. Pool, Peter E., ed. *The Altered Landscape*. Essays by Patricia Nelson Limerick, Dave Hickey and Thomas W. Southall. Reno and Las Vegas: The Nevada Museum of Art in association with the University of Nevada Press, 1999.

Illustrated volume featuring works from the Nevada Museum of Art's Altered Landscape collection, which focuses on contemporary landscape photography, particularly of the American west. The collection centers on the revision of ideas concerning beauty and landscape within cultural identity, and features photographic work that examines the relationship of humankind and the environment. Includes images by Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Joe Deal, Jackson and Watkins.

114. Sandweiss, Martha A. *Print the Legend Photography and the American West*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002.

In this publication, Sandweiss extends her analysis of western photography that she has previously addressed (see bib. 98 and 106), and provides an extensive examination of photography in the American west. She provides historical background, biographical detail and comprehensive analysis of not just the development and role of the photographic medium in landscape representation, but also, the impact that these images had on the creation of a nation's visual

collective memory and sense of identity. Sandweiss discusses the value of photographs as primary source documents, representing the ideals and beliefs of individual photographers as well as the cultural collective consciousness and imagination. She stresses the importance of western photography in playing a central role in American history, as the involved photographers were witness to the epic story of American discovery and settlement. Sandweiss discusses the work of Russell, Jackson, Muybridge, Watkins, O'Sullivan and the survey expeditions, and examines the photographers' motivations, influences, working methods and experiences. Sandweiss also includes information on the nineteenth-century public's reception and consumption of western photographs, and includes a chapter on the publication and circulation of photographic albums, books and illustrations that featured landscape images. Includes images.

115. Bentley-Kemp, Lynne Austin. "Recovering Eden: The Photographer in the Garden." PhD diss., Florida Atlantic University, 2003.

This dissertation explores the idea of the paradisiacal landscape, or Eden, as depicted in landscape photography. Beginning with the work of Watkins and O'Sullivan, Bentley-Kemp argues that there is a lineage of photographic representations of paradise as a metaphoric garden, an ideal that has been interpreted differently by landscape photographers according to their gender, socio-political influences, personal spirituality and cultural orientation. The author sees this ideal as providing the theoretical basis upon which art has been used to create utopias. Photographs by Watkins, O'Sullivan and others, are included as primary source material.

116. Nye, David E. "Visualizing Eternity: Photographic Constructions of the Grand Canyon." In *Picturing Place Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, edited by Joan M. Schwartz, and James R. Ryan, 74-95. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Nye investigates how the emergence of photography coincided with desire for creating landscape-based symbols of American national identity. Nye describes how photographic images of the Grand Canyon, one of the 'wonders' of the west



introduced the public to new views of this remarkable scenery, and helped to make the Grand Canyon, unknown to the public before 1870, nationally known by 1900. The author mentions the survey work of O'Sullivan and Jackson, and discusses the reasons why the Grand Canyon did not become as famous, in as little time, as either Yosemite or Yellowstone. Nye suggests that the Canyon was harder to depict and more difficult to grasp imaginatively, the scale of the landscape being too immense and too complex to depict successfully, and that the Canyon contained no single iconic feature such as Old Faithful at Yellowstone, or El Capitan at Yosemite. Nye discusses the various ways in which photographers attempted to depict the Canyon's complex geography, noting that even into the early part of the twentieth century, there was still no consensus on how to visualize the Canyon. Nye discusses how photographers continually championed three competing strategies in their attempts to describe the canyon; pragmatic documentation of a natural resource, depiction of the sublime, and emphasis of human interaction in the wilderness.

117. Klett, Mark et al. *Third View. Second Sights: A Rephotographic Survey of the American West*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, in association with the Center for American Places, 2004.

In this project, Klett and a new survey team have rephotographed 110 sites that had been photographed in the late 1970s (see bib. 97), and, in this publication, pair them with their nineteenth century originals, now forming a three-part comparison that demonstrates how the original images were made, and at the same time, documents more than a century of change in the landscape. Concerned with man's connection to place, time and community, Klett's rephotography project examines the west during its continuing transformation, revealing population growth, environmental and landscape evolution and a newer culture's impact on these places. The book presents rephotographed images of scenes originally documented by Jackson and O'Sullivan, among others, along with extended captions that provide information on the sites and the geographical changes that have taken place.

118. Neff, Emily Ballew. With an essay by Barry Lopez. *The Modern West American Landscapes 1890-1950*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in association with The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2006.

A substantial publication to accompany the *Modern West* exhibition, in which Neff examines the concepts and relationship of the American west to modernism through landscape painting and photography from 1890 to 1950. Citing the dramatic sociological and cultural changes that took place in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, Neff illustrates the impact of these developments on modernism, and specifically on the artistic depictions of the western landscape. Includes an extensive chapter on the photographic survey work, in which the work of O'Sullivan, Watkins and Muybridge is discussed in terms of their formal qualities, their historical and cultural context, and skillful depictions of the intersection of man and nature. Includes detailed historical and biographical information, as well as valuable contemporary analysis of western photography's role in the understanding and expansion of modernism's ideals and aesthetics. With images by the aforementioned photographers.

119. Scott, Amy, ed. *Yosemite: Art of an American Icon*. Los Angeles: Autry National Center, in association with the University of California Press, Berkeley, 2006.

In the introduction to this book, published in conjunction with the exhibition, editor Scott discusses the iconography of Yosemite National Park, the outcome of years of artistic depiction and description. Scott suggests that this art has played a major role in turning the park into a defining icon of American nature, popularizing Yosemite as a symbol and destination, as well an exotic, picturesque and wild locale. Included is a chapter on early survey photography, by Gary F. Kurutz. Kurutz provides a historical overview of the photographers who worked in the region, drawing comparisons between their images and the painterly effects of contemporaneous artists such as Thomas Moran and Albert Bierstadt. He discusses the introduction of tourism, and the subsequent popularity of tourist portraiture, taken within the park. With images by Muybridge and Watkins, among others.

## 8. Later Critical Studies on the Individual Photographers

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### William Henry Jackson

120. Hales, Peter B. *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Hales offers a thorough biography and extensive discussion of Jackson's role in western exploration. Hales argues that through his work, Jackson became a major force in the transformation of the American landscape from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, and, through his concentration on landscape photography, is now seen as a spokesman for the American landscape myths of the nineteenth century. The author also includes critical discussion of Jackson-related publications, as well as a detailed bibliographical essay on his research sources.

121. Lesy, Michael. *Dreamland America at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*. New York: The New Press, 1997.

Presents images from Jackson's Detroit Publishing Company, which he formed in 1898, along with financier William Livingstone and photographer Edwin Husher. The company produced postcards, lantern slides, panoramas and hand-colored prints, and, until 1909, deposited an example of every "scenic view" it produced in the Library of Congress. The images in this book illustrate the character of that collection, and show scenes from American life, including industrial scenes of labor, bathers enjoying a day by the ocean, people strolling through landscaped parks, city scenes, portraits of slaves and prisoners, and vistas of landscapes. Lesy discusses how these images depict a harmonious and balanced man-made world, an illustration of man's marvels, instead of Nature's.

Arranged chronologically, the eleven chapters include contextualizing, historical information.

122. Marston, Ed and John Fielder. *Colorado 1870-2000. Historical Landscape Photography by William Henry Jackson and Contemporary Photography by John Fielder*. Englewood, CO: Westcliffe Publishers in cooperation with The Colorado Historical Society, 1999.

A re-photographic project of over 300 of Jackson's Colorado photographs, by John Fielder. In this large-scale publication, Fielder's images are paired with Jackson's photographs of the wilderness and developing industry of nineteenth century Colorado, revealing what has changed in the scenery over time, or in some cases, remained much the same. Includes historical essays and descriptions of Colorado's landscape, development and industry.

## **Eadweard Muybridge**

123. Hendricks, Gordon, *Eadweard Muybridge The Father of the Motion Picture*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1975.

A biography of Muybridge. While this publication focuses mainly on his stop-action photography, useful biographical information and a brief, yet informative chapter on his photographic work in California and Yosemite is included. With a chronology, an extensive bibliography, and a listing of Muybridge works held in U.S. public collections. Minimal images.

124. Haas, Robert Bartlett. *Muybridge Man in Motion*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1976.

A comprehensive biography of Muybridge, that includes detailed information of his time spent working and photographing in California and the western frontier. Haas presents a well-researched profile of the photographer, and supplements his writing with personal letters and correspondence between the photographer and acquaintances. Includes historical documentation and images of Muybridge's work in Yosemite, San Francisco and other landscape projects.

125. Burns, E. Bradford. *Eadweard Muybridge in Guatemala, 1875: The Photographer as Social Recorder*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

Study of Muybridge's work during 1875, the year he spent in exile after his acquittal for the "justifiable homicide" of his wife's lover. See Muybridge, Eadweard. *The Pacific Coast of Central America and Mexico, the Isthmus of Panama; Guatemala; and the Cultivation and Shipment of Coffee, A Series of Photographs Executed for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company by Muybridge*. San Francisco, 1876; (bib. 67).

126. Rebecca Solnit. *River of Shadows Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West*. New York: Viking, 2003.

Solnit examines the life and career of Muybridge, placing his work and technological achievements within a historical and cultural framework. The author considers Muybridge's landscape photography from California and the Yosemite Valley, citing the photographer's emphasis on innovative composition in dealing with familiar landmarks and bringing a dramatic and unsettling element to the landscape that was noticeably different from other photographers working at the same time. Includes information on the geological surveys, biographical and historical details, and mention of Muybridge's photographer peers, such as Watkins. Includes images and a chronology.

## Timothy O'Sullivan

127. Snyder, Joel. *American Frontiers: The Photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan, 1867-1874*. New York: Aperture, 1981.

A biography and analysis of O'Sullivan's place in the development of the western American landscape representation. Snyder discusses the unique qualities of O'Sullivan's photographs, seeing them as existing outside of the standard nineteenth century ideas of picture-making, and challenging traditional conceptions of description and subject matter. Includes information on O'Sullivan and the western expeditions, an extensive selection of his images from the King and Wheeler surveys, as well as a chronology and significant bibliography. Snyder has returned to this subject in bibs.130 and 132.

128. Dingus, Rick. *The Photographic Artifacts of Timothy O'Sullivan*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico press, 1982.

A former member of the Rephotographic Survey (see bibs. 97 and 117), Dingus examines the work of O'Sullivan, his influences and methods of landscape documentation. He provides a cultural context for O'Sullivan's work, as well as an evaluation of his artistic photographic skill. Drawing upon his insights gained from working on the RPS project, Dingus maintains that O'Sullivan's agenda for picture making was a not a quest for conventional landscape representations, but responding to the ideology of Manifest Destiny, "a sustained mediation of nature and man's relationship to it".

129. Meyers, Amy R. Weinstein. "Sketches From The Wilderness: Changing Conceptions of Nature in American Natural History Illustration: 1680-1880". PhD diss., Yale University, 1985.

This dissertation examines changing conceptions of nature by considering the work of several naturalist-artists who explored the wilderness of North America from 1680 to 1880. Meyers includes O'Sullivan, writing that his photographs

reflected prevailing attitudes towards the natural world, and also acted as a catalyst, influencing new ideas about the wilderness and the west. Meyers discusses the changes in cultural awareness and understanding of nature, by tracing the shift from religious or spiritual perceptions of the utopian garden, to an increased interest in and development of the natural sciences.

130. Snyder, Joel. "Aesthetics and Documentation: Remarks Concerning Critical Approaches to the Photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan." In *Perspectives on Photography Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall*, edited by Peter Walch and Barrow, Thomas, 125-50. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Drawing upon his earlier study of O'Sullivan (bib. 127), Snyder's essay is concerned with the critical and historical issues surrounding the analysis of the nineteenth century landscape photographs of O'Sullivan, and discusses the opposing ideas regarding his work within art historical discourses. Snyder identifies two opposing critical positions: the first argues that O'Sullivan's work should be understood in terms of "documentary intention", since the photographer was employed to document the U.S. survey expeditions; the second focuses on the idea that a "purely photographic vision" is found in O'Sullivan's work, and that the photographs should function as a form of pre-modernist photographic art. Snyder refers to the *Era of Exploration* catalogue, and specifically Wood's essay as an example of this second position, in which Woods maintains that O'Sullivan, employed to document the government surveys, was free from pictorial conventions and the confusion of mixing painterly aesthetics with photography, and thus created images that are purely photographic. Snyder then proposes as a third position of how O'Sullivan's photographs could have functioned as documentation within the purposes of the scientific surveys. Images by O'Sullivan.

131. Kelsey, Robin. "Viewing the Archive: Timothy O'Sullivan's Photographs from the Wheeler Survey." *Art Bulletin* 135 (4) (December 2003): 702-23.

Kelsey discusses the contrasting arguments regarding the previous interpretation of O'Sullivan's photographs. He writes that to combine the arguments of the

“contextualists”, who place importance on the actual circumstances of the works’ production and reception, and the “modernists”, who, following the lead of Beaumont Newhall, see O’Sullivan’s images as displaying innovative pictorial conventions inspired by an informed awareness of visual culture, would result in a more insightful understanding of the photographer’s work and its place in photographic history. Focusing exclusively on O’Sullivan’s photographs from the Wheeler surveys, Kelsey considers argues that O’Sullivan utilized the graphic techniques of geologists, topographers and other survey specialists, in combination with values and strategies of nineteenth century survey visual culture, a unique practice that, Kelsey writes, not only persuaded viewers of the surveys’ success, reliability and scientific capabilities, but also demonstrated an early emergence of proto-modernist principles, resulting from the “deep embeddedness of survey photography in an instrumental matrix of graphic disciplines”. Includes images by O’Sullivan.

132. Snyder, Joel, with contributions from Josh Ellenbogen. *One/Many: Western American Survey Photographs by Bell and O’Sullivan*. Exhibition catalogue. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2006.

Published to accompany the exhibition of the same title, *One/Many* features the American expeditionary photographs of O’Sullivan and Bell, produced in the late 1860s and 1870s, which at their time of publication were viewed exclusively by geologists, naturalists, mapmakers, military officers and politicians, rather than a general public. Acquired in 2003 by The Smart Museum as part of the Gedney collection, this group of photographs by these two photographers features stereographic cards, large format photographs, and a significant number of largely unknown panoramas that inspired the title of the exhibition; *One/Many* is intended to suggest “the double status of photographic panoramas as singular and multiple objects”. Snyder’s essay, which builds upon his earlier studies of O’Sullivan (bibs. 127 and 130), includes historical and biographical information, and the catalogue includes sixty-five duotone reproductions and a checklist of the exhibition.



133. Kelsey, Robin. *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Building upon his earlier essay (bib. 31), Kelsey discusses the expeditionary photographs of O'Sullivan, writing that the technical demands of survey documentation "fostered the emergence of a taut graphic pictorial style", similar to that of diagram and mapmaking, a style that, Kelsey argues, displays proto-modernist qualities as well as the O'Sullivan's possible rejection of the surveys' authoritarian attitude. Kelsey discusses O'Sullivan's pictorial techniques, which were developed to enhance the persuasive power of the photographs in relationship to both the King and Wheeler surveys' specific purposes. Kelsey also examines the political aspects of O'Sullivan's aesthetic choices. Includes historical and biographical information, as well as twenty-six images by O'Sullivan and one by Watkins.

### **Andrew Joseph Russell**

134. Coke, Van Daren. "A.J. Russell: Workin' on the Railroad." Book review. *Afterimage* 3 (8) (February, 1976): 13-14.

Coke reviews the 1975 publication *Makin' Tracks: The Story of the Transcontinental Railroad in the Pictures and Words of the Men Who Were There*, by Lynne Rhodes Mayer and Kenneth E. Vose. Coke provides some historical background and biographical information on Russell, who, the author maintains, was more of a purist than other photographers such as Jackson and Muybridge, as far as his techniques were concerned. Coke notes that Russell was not bothered by imperfections caused by the tricky wet collodion process, and felt that to manipulate or retouch these flaws would introduce a degree of artificiality into his images. Coke criticizes *Makin' Tracks*, arguing that the authors had focused too strongly on the recorded subject matter instead of the eye and vision of the photographer. Coke stresses the importance of examining Russell's vision, writing that the photographer's unique perspective gives the images their

distinctiveness as both documents and pictures, and communicates something of the grandeur and significance of what was taking place before his eyes. Coke is equally critical of the authors' decision to crop Russell's images in the book, writing that they have largely destroyed the special character of the work of a photographer who had an eye for descriptive composition. By cropping out information and altering the images' original composition, the authors have detracted from the usefulness of their book as an indicator of Russell's achievement.

135. Walther, Susan Danly. "The Landscape Photographs of Alexander Gardner and Andrew Joseph Russell." Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1983.

An exhaustive examination of the problems and diversity of photographic interpretation in relation to the landscape work of Alexander Gardner and Russell. Walther discusses photography's duality of function and meaning, arguing that Gardner's and Russell's images have always revealed both artistic and commercial sensibilities, and analyzes how and why this photographic work has been viewed primarily as documentation. Walther cites the *Era of Exploration* exhibition and catalogue, stating that curator Weston Naef and essayist Therese Thau Heyman were the first to examine and treat the work of Russell within an art historical framework, and, in their presentation, successfully addressed issues of aesthetics and tradition in landscape photography. Includes images by Russell, as well as an extensive bibliography. See her later essays on Russell, bibs.137 and 138.

136. Fels, Thomas Weston. *Destruction and Destiny The Photographs of A.J. Russell: Directing American Energy in War and Peace, 1862-1869*. Exhibition catalogue. Pittsfield, Massachusetts: The Berkshire Museum, 1987.

This catalogue, published to accompany the 1987 exhibition of the same title, focuses on both of the major periods of Russell's work, the Civil War and the exploration of the American west. Curator Fels presents Russell's work as a record of the importance of photography in supporting national causes and developments in nineteenth century America, the War for the Union, and the

harnessing of resources of the west. Fels also sees these bodies of work as demonstrating Russell's role in the development of the American landscape photography tradition. Includes biographical and historical information, images by Russell, exhibition checklist and bibliography.

137. Danly, Susan. "Andrew Joseph Russell's *The Great West Illustrated*". In *The Railroad in American Art*, edited by Susan Danly and Leo Marx, 93-112. Cambridge, MA and London, England: The MIT Press, 1988.

In this essay, Danly discusses Russell's 1869 album entitled *The Great West Illustrated* (bib.79), which documented the construction of the transcontinental railway. Danly, describing Russell's album as an outstanding example of the advances made in landscape photography, analyzes the photograph in their dual functions as expressions of nineteenth-century ideologies of progress and as promotional support for western tourism via rail travel. Danly provides biographical information on Russell, and describes the photographer's motivations and influences, suggesting that Russell's work demonstrates a consciousness of contemporary art and European photography in the 1850s and 1860s. Danly suggests that the subtle complexities of Russell's photographs derive from an interaction between his rigorous formalism and the tensions within the imagery and subject matter itself, complexities which reflect changing attitudes about nature, and that ultimately, provide a valuable contribution to the development of landscape photography as a means of visual communication. Includes images. See also bib.135 and 138.

138. Danly, Susan. "Photography, Railroads, and Natural Resources in the Arid West: Photographs by Alexander Gardner and A.J. Russell". In *Perpetual Mirage: Photographic Narratives of the Desert West*, edited by May Castleberry, 49-55. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1996.

In this relatively brief essay, Danly compares the different ways that photographers Russell and Alexander Gardner chose to document the construction of the railway, through a discussion of the railroad's political agenda, and the methods used by the photographers to depict and promote the

settlement of the west. Danly focuses on the various elements of the landscape and human presence that the photographers chose to either include or exclude, depending on the purpose and agenda of their commissions. Danly discusses Russell's railway images of 1868 and 1869, published in *The Great West Illustrated* (bib. 79), writing that they were meant to draw attention to the heroic engineering efforts of man and the picturesque nature of the landscape. Here, Danly notes, Russell relied on traditional pictorial devices of landscape representation to put viewers at ease with the unfamiliar landscape of the west, thereby promoting ideas of tourism and settlement. Danly contrasts this approach with Gardner's photographs of 1867-1868, published in *Across the Continent on the Kansas Pacific Railroad (Route of the 36<sup>th</sup> Parallel)*. There, images were made to promote the expansion of the railway, and designed to encourage private and federal investment in this endeavor. Danly points out the constant presence of water in Gardner's images, a reminder that the natural resources needed for railway operation were plentiful. Danly also notes Gardner's avoidance of pictorial devices, such as the inclusion of human figures for identification of scale, an intentional decision meant to emphasize the expansive, limitless landscape and its potential for expansion and development. See also bibs. 135 and 137.

### **Carleton E. Watkins**

139. Alinder, James, editor. *Carleton Watkins: Photographs of the Columbia River and Oregon*. Essays by David Featherstone and Russ Anderson. Carmel, California: Friends of Photography, 1979.

Contextual essay by Featherstone and three-colour reproductions of the title page and the entire sequence of fifty-one mammoth-plate albumen prints that comprised the album *Photographs of the Columbia River and Oregon*, taken by Watkins in 1867. This album and a second Watkins album, *The Pacific Coast* (containing forty-nine mammoth-plates), were discovered in the library of The University Club of New York City, and were auctioned at Swann Galleries on May

10, 1979. Both albums subsequently have been dis-bound, and the prints sold individually. There is a nearly identical album of Oregon and Columbia River views in the Stanford University library.

140. Palmquist, Peter E. Foreword by Martha A. Sandweiss. *Carleton Watkins. Photographer of the American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico for the Amon Carter Museum, 1983.

This book, published in conjunction with the retrospective exhibition of the same title, was as the first thorough study of Watkins' entire photographic career. Palmquist discusses Watkins' aversion to dramatic romanticism and interest in abstract forms, convictions that are evident in his modern and adventuresome landscape images. Includes detailed biographical information, a chronology, a listing of institutional collections of Watkins' material, an extensive bibliography, and 102 duotone plates, a number of which had not been previously published.

141. Dimock, George. *Exploiting the View Photographs of Yosemite & Mariposa by Carleton Watkins*. Exhibition catalogue and lecture transcript. North Bennington, Vermont: Park-McCullough House, 1984.

Dimock discusses the importance and relevance of examining landscape images, such as those by Watkins, within their cultural context, as opposed to exclusively through formal concerns. Dimock argues that by analyzing an image solely in terms of its compositional elements, the historical referent is lost, and the image is separated from its iconographic context. The author presents an analytical approach to Watkins' imagery by discussing the complex and profound issues in nineteenth century America's developing culture, arguing that these issues are intrinsic to the photograph's meaning and its value now as a cultural artifact. Dimock analyzes Watkins' work by identifying and understanding the historical circumstances under which it was made, and that the interpretation of photographs depend upon context. In this case, the author discusses the economic issues surrounding the genesis of Watkins' Mariposa Trail photographs, which were commissioned by a wealthy patron to promote and highlight the area in an effort to secure a valuable gold mining deal. While

Dimock does acknowledge the formal qualities of Watkins' images, the author presents a historically grounded analysis of the entrepreneurial role and economic exploitation of western landscape photographs. With images by Watkins.

142. Fraenkel, Jeffrey, ed., with an essay by Peter E. Palmquist. *Carleton E. Watkins. Photographs 1861-1874*. San Francisco: Fraenkel Gallery in association with Bedford Arts, 1989.

A photographic dealer's catalogues that includes concise biographical information and an appreciation of Watkins as a photographer with a unique sense of vision, and whose photographs helped shape how the west has been, and continues to be, perceived. Includes 110 plates, including gate-folds.

143. Goodyear, Frank Henry, III, Ph.D. "Constructing a National Landscape: Photography and Tourism in Nineteenth-Century America." The University of Texas at Austin, 1998.

Goodyear investigates photography's impact on the growth of commercial tourism in nineteenth century America. The author examines five sites across America and the various photographers whose work has become associated with those areas. Goodyear includes Watkins in his discussion of Yosemite, and suggests that Watkins' photographs helped to formulate an image of the area, and helped to construct a new national identity. Goodyear argues that photography advertised Yosemite to potential visitors, and helped to define the boundaries of the modern tourist experience, altering traditional ideas of the natural world.

144. Nickel, Douglas R. with an introduction by Maria Morris Hambourg. *Carleton Watkins The Art of Perception*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Harry N. Abrams for The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1999.

A beautifully illustrated book, published in conjunction with the 1999 exhibition of the same title, examining Watkins' work from an art-historical perspective.

Nickels discusses Watkins' modern compositions and manipulation of abstracted space, arguing that because the photographer was responding to new modes and innovations of nineteenth century visuality, his work should be reconsidered and examined within the framework of modernism. Nickels also draws attention to Watkins' consistent interest in including signs of human presence within the landscape. Includes a historical overview of Watkins' career and a discussion of the climate of photography at the time, 105 plates and gatefolds, a chronology and bibliography by Peter E. Palmquist and a checklist of the exhibition.

## 9. References in Subsequent Histories of Photography

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145. Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982.

In the fourth and final edition of his *History* (see also bib. 41), Newhall discusses the work of O'Sullivan, and briefly, Watkins, Jackson, Muybridge and Russell, in his chapter on photography's capacity for communication and its inherent ability to document and portray the world with intricacy and detail, as opposed to attempting to mimic the painterly aesthetics of landscape depiction. Newhall discusses the photography work from the survey expeditions, and its success in communicating the sights and scenery of the developing west to the public.

146. Green, Jonathan. *American Photography A Critical History 1945 to the Present*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984.

Green's survey of American photography includes a brief discussion of the *Era of Exploration* exhibition, and contrasts it with *New Topographics*, describing the two exhibitions as pointing to visible changes in the landscape and in the approach to landscape tradition and representation. Green cites the exhibitions as raising fundamental questions concerning the nature of documentary photography, and praises *Era of Exploration* for providing the first substantive discussion of the origins of the experimental and sublime in American

photography. In this section, Green includes a short section on O'Sullivan and the American frontier, and sees the importance of his western landscape photography, due to their intensity and objectivity, as having now implanted themselves as fixtures of national consciousness and identity. Green also discusses the work of Watkins and Muybridge, identifying their aesthetic choices as being deeply connected to traditional models of pictorial representation, in comparison to that of O'Sullivan, whose work, displays no obvious parallels to the picturesque painting of the time. Includes images by the three photographers.

147. Turner, Peter. *History of Photography*. New York: Bison Books Corp, 1987.

Turner includes a brief section on photography in the American west, focusing his discussion on the careers of four photographers, Jackson, Muybridge, Watkins and O'Sullivan. Turner provides some historical background on the survey expeditions, and includes some biographical details on the participating photographers. Minimal images.

148. Rosenblum, Naomi. *The World History of Photography*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1997.

Rosenblum's book includes a substantial chapter on the history and evolution of landscape photography, a large part of which is dedicated to American survey photography and its most well known practitioners. Rosenblum's discussion includes historical and biographical information, as well as details about the processes used, and the photographers' survey peers, such as painter Albert Bierstadt, who also accompanied the expeditions. Rosenblum profiles Muybridge, Watkins, Jackson and O'Sullivan, and also includes information about Russell in a section dealing with the documentation of the railroad. Minimal images.

149. Frizot, Michel, ed. *A New History of Photography*. Translated from the French and German. Köln: Könemann, 1998.

In this collection of thematic essays by more the thirty photographic historians



and curators, Françoise Heilbrun, in her essay "Around the World: Explorers, Travelers, and Tourists, provides an historical overview of expeditionary and topographical photography, and includes a portfolio of images selected and introduced by Stuart Alexander, on photography in the American west. The portfolio includes images by Watkins, Jackson, O'Sullivan, Russell, and Muybridge. Alexander's brief essay summarizes the formation of the U.S geological survey program, discusses the relationship between the photographers and painters who accompanied the expeditions, and describes the impact that this landscape photography had on American society and also government legislature, revealing how it influenced the public's thought about nature, tourism and the development of the National Park System. An extensive bibliography is included in this volume.

150. Hirsch, Robert. *Seizing the Light A History of Photography*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

Hirsch includes a very brief chapter on photography in the American west, in which he discusses the U.S survey expeditions, the documentation of the railway construction, and the work of Watkins, O'Sullivan, Jackson, Russell and Muybridge. Minimal images.

151. Marien, Mary Werner. *Photography A Cultural History*. Second edition. Upper Saddle, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc, 2006.

Marien includes a chapter on expeditionary photography, with sections highlighting the work documenting the construction of the railroad, the photographing of Yosemite and other western landscapes, and the U.S. government surveys. Marien briefly discusses the work of O'Sullivan, Watkins, Jackson, Muybridge and Russell, offering basic biographical and historical information. With minimal images.

## Chapter 4

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### Annotated Bibliography

*New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered landscape*

#### 1. Archival Holdings / Exhibition Primary Documents:

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##### **George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film:**

Archive contains 1 folder of related material.

1. Press release dated 8/1/75.
2. Notice of exhibition's restricted rental availability re: traveling exhibitions program.
3. Checklist of the exhibition, with handwritten notations.
4. Thirty-six installation photos, with handwritten notations.
5. Handwritten list of photographs/object count, with checklist numbers and titles, by photographers Bernd and Hilla Becher, Joe Deal, John Schott, Henry Wessel Jr., Robert Adams and Frank Gohlke.
6. Cataloguing memorandum from 1996, re: accessioning exhibition prints and/or copy prints.

#### 2. The Exhibition

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*New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-altered Landscape.*

Curated by William Jenkins, Assistant Curator of Photographs at the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York. (Now The George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film).

*Photographers:*

Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Bernd and Hilla Becher, Joe Deal, Frank Gohlke, Nicholas Nixon, John Schott, Stephen Shore, Henry Wessel Jr.

*Venues and dates:*

1. International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York: October 14, 1975 - February 2, 1976.
2. The Otis Art Institute, Los Angeles, California: March 3 - April 4, 1976.
3. Princeton Art Gallery, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey: June 22-September 3, 1976.

*Number of works exhibited:*

168 images by ten photographers. There is a complete checklist in accompanying catalogue.

### **3. The Publication**

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Jenkins, William, ed. *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape*. Photographs by Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Bernd and Hilla Becher, Joe Deal, Frank Gohlke, Nicholas Nixon, John Schott, Stephen Shore, and Henry Wessel Jr. Rochester, New York: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1975.

Publication includes an introductory essay by William Jenkins, curator of *New Topographics*; an exhibition checklist; biographies, bibliographies and three plates for each artist. It was printed by Pentacle Press in an edition of 2, 500.

#### 4. Reviews of the exhibition and publication

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1. *Afterimage* 3 (4) (October, 1975): 19.

Brief exhibition listing for *New Topographics* at The George Eastman House, with reproduction of Adams' image "Tract house. Longmont, Colorado" (1973).

2. Desmarais, Charles. "Topographical Error." *Afterimage* 3 (5) (November, 1975): 10-11.

Charles Desmarais' review of *New Topographics*. While Desmarais finds merit in the work of each individual photographer, he describes the exhibition as being non-cohesive and an unsuccessful indication of new directions in contemporary photography. Desmarais has difficulty seeing connections between the exhibition's work and the title and thesis of the show, especially with the work of John Schott. Desmarais describes Schott's photographs as possessing the opposite qualities to curator Jenkins' ideas of non-judgmental imagery, and sees the work as having a clear judgment and subjective view of American society. While Desmarais does agree that the images in *New Topographics* share a common subject matter and certain visual characteristics, such as man-made structures, angular and geometric forms, and a virtually "straight" approach in depiction, he considers these visual similarities as a shaky foundation on which to build an exhibition. Desmarais questions Jenkins' introductory statement that posits a harmony among the exhibitors as "a viewpoint, which extends throughout the exhibition, that is anthropological rather than critical, scientific rather than artistic", and argues that the images do not convey this sense of unity. The writer suggests that the work by Henry Wessel Jr. is a prime example of this misfit, seeing his photographs as lacking in the criteria with which to consider them as descriptive, collected documents of information. Desmarais suggests that while topographical description may be an active element in contemporary photography, the audience is owed a clearer explanation of the

differences and similarities in the work, a discussion that, Desmarais feels, would clarify the artists' individual intentions.

3. Ratcliff, Carter. "Route 66 Revisited: The New Landscape Photography." *Art in America* 64 (1) (January/February 1976): 86-9.

Ratcliff reviews the work of the *New Topographics* photographers, (the exhibition was still on display at The George Eastman House when this article was published), as comprising a generation of photographers following in the footsteps of Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, whom he cites as being among the first photographers to record the realities of Americans' efforts to inhabit their landscape. Ratcliff traces the development of landscape imagery from the nineteenth-century depictions of pristine wilderness and ideals of the sublime to contemporary landscape photography, which reveals a continuing interest in these ideals, while simultaneously recognizing the impossibility of achieving them. Ratcliff discusses this clash between the social and the sublime as being apparent in the photographers' work, and writes that while some of their images may yet be described as 'picturesque', specifically the work by Joe Deal, 'picturesque' should not be understood as a derogatory term, as "it was hoped throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries that the picturesque could bring the freedom of the sublime down to the human scale." Ratcliff provides an informed description and commentary on the work of each *New Topographics* photographers, noting that the richness of the group's work derives itself in part from a tension between each photographer's aesthetics and his influences. Ratcliff also feels that all of the photographers reach beyond the purely aesthetic qualities of style to offer moral concern and implicit warnings.

4. Woolard, Robert W. "Man-Shaped Landscapes." *Artweek* 7 (13) (March 27, 1976): 12.

A review of *New Topographics* when it was shown at the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. Woolard describes the photographs as archaeological documents, and as being about the subjects they represent rather than about the art of photography. Woolard also addresses what he describes as a common

complaint, having overheard repeatedly that the exhibition is 'dull', by countering that the installation is intellectually, rather than visually, stimulating. Woolard provides a good description of the installation and how the photographs relate to each other on the walls, and as well, discusses the catalogue, describing it as "unpresumptuous" and expensive in relation to its size. (The catalogue sold for \$7 in 1975). Woolard notes that nineteenth-century landscape photographers such as O'Sullivan, Jackson and Watkins most likely influenced the *New Topographics* photographers, and that the exhibition reveals an enduring attitude towards the photographic medium.

## 5. General Publications and Bibliographical Source Material

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5. Ruscha, Edward. *Twentysix Gasoline Stations*. Alhambra, CA: Cunningham Press, 1962.

A small publication of Ruscha's black and white photographs of gasoline stations. Images are captioned with the name of the gas station, and the city and state.

6. Jackson, J.B. "The Meaning of Landscape," *Kulturgeografi* 88 (1965): 47-50.
7. Ruscha, Edward. *Some Los Angeles Apartments*. Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1965.

A small publication containing Ruscha's black and white photographs of various apartment buildings in Los Angeles. The only text is the address of each building.

8. Lyons, Nathan, ed. *Toward A Social Landscape. Photographs by Bruce Davidson, Lee Friedlander, Garry Winogrand, Danny Lyon, and Duane Michaels*. New York: Horizon Press, in collaboration with The George Eastman House, Rochester, New York, 1966.

This book accompanied the 1966 exhibition of the same name and was curated by Nathan Lyons, Associate Director and Curator of Photography at the George Eastman House. It presents the work of five photographers: each section includes the photographer's portrait, brief biography and exhibition history, followed by ten images. In the introductory essay, Lyons argues that we need to expand our concept of the environment and landscape, and questions whether depictions of a natural landscape have greater aesthetic value than depictions of a man-made environment. Lyons proposes that we become more conscious of how we have been conditioned to look at and understand photographs. Lyons suggests that we reconsider the idea of the snapshot as not being only the careless products of amateurs, and instead accept its potential to contribute to and inform our visual vocabulary and knowledge of the human condition.

9. Ruscha, Edward. *Every building on the Sunset Strip*. Los Angeles, 1966.

A small book containing Ruscha's photographs of every building along a substantial portion of Los Angeles' Sunset Strip. The photographs are printed as two panoramas, running parallel to each other on one long accordion foldout page that extends to twenty-seven feet in length. Aside from the title page, the only text is the typed address of each building.

10. Jackson, J.B. and Ervin H. Zube, ed. *Landscapes: Selected Writings of J.B. Jackson*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970.
11. Lewis, Pierce F., David Lowenthal, Yi-Fu Tuan, with commentaries by Donald W. Meinig, John B. Jackson. *Visual Blight in America*. Washington: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, 1973.

In this collection of essays, the authors discuss the current and future condition of the ordinary American urban landscape, and examine the problems associated with the extensive and irresponsible urbanization of this environment. In his essay 'The Geographer as Landscape Critic', Lewis argues that while the subject of the landscape's "visual blight" has commonly been the domain of artists and

art critics, these aesthetic problems would be a highly appropriate subject for debate amongst professional geographers. Includes images.

## 6. Studies / Bibliographical Source Material on the Individual Photographers

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### Robert Adams

12. Adams, Robert. "Nature Photography Can Include Us." *Sierra Club Bulletin*.
13. Adams, Robert. *The New West: Landscapes Along the Colorado Front Range*. Foreword by John Szarkowski. Boulder: The Colorado Associated University Press, 1974. Reprinted with additional texts by Heinz Liesbrock and Thomas Weski. Interview by Thomas Weski with Robert Adams. Cologne: Walther König, 2000.

A book of Adams' photographs, depicting signs of urban development in the Colorado landscape. In his introduction, Adams explains the need to look at the environment in its entirety, not just at the undamaged and untouched spaces found in national parks. Adams discusses the importance of seeing "the whole geography", and suggests that the quality of the western light is his actual subject, as it reveals the beauty of the landscape, both natural and man-made. In his foreword, Szarkowski suggests that in these photographs of poorly designed and constructed developments encroaching on the landscape, Adams has communicated a sense of virtue and importance, and that these settlements still express human aspirations and, as such, are worthy of contemplation. Includes fifty-four half-tone plates.

14. Adams, Robert. Review of *Wisconsin Death Trip* by Michael Lesy in *The Colorado Magazine* (Fall, 1974).



15. *14 American Photographers*. Introduction by Renato Danese. Exhibition catalogue. Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1975.

Publication accompanying the exhibition of the same title, which examined the condition of "straight photography" in the 1970's, through the work of fourteen contemporary American photographers. Curator Danese describes the work as stemming from a tradition of photographic documentation that has been basic to the medium since its inception, and has always been concerned with the photographers' effort to render their subject with accuracy and coherence. In this exhibition, Danese included images by Adams and Baltz, and writes that while Adams dispels our romantic notions of the grandness of the unspoiled west by including signs of man's presence, Baltz's images of industrial parks are balanced by a controlled and sophisticated sense of aesthetics, and function as an investigative survey of the character of Southern California's factory architecture. Includes four images by each photographer, as well as a checklist of the exhibition.

16. Baltz, Lewis. Review of *The New West* by Robert Adams. *Art in America* 63 (2) (March-April 1975): 41-2.

Baltz describes Adams' book, *The New West: Landscapes Along the Colorado Front Range* (1974; bib. 13) as a model of excellence in documentary photography, infusing his vision of Colorado with the authority of absolute fact, while at the same time, providing a moral understanding of the subject through his reductive style of image-making. Baltz notes Adams' antecedents as O'Sullivan and Jackson, and lists his contemporaries, working with similar beliefs in the primacy of photographic information, as Ed Ruscha, and Bernd and Hilla Becher. Baltz discusses Adams' method of maintaining an emotional and intellectual distance from his subjects, essential in the presentation of the actual relationship between the landscape and its inhabitants, and states that Adams' honesty and insistence in dealing with the ordinary and the typical, confounds critics who feel that his photography is a willful distortion of the world.

## Lewis Baltz

17. Baltz, Lewis. *Tract Houses*. Sausalito, California: Lewis Baltz, 1972.

Limited edition portfolio comprising twenty-five gelatin silver prints, each signed. Published in an edition of twelve.

18. Baltz, Lewis. *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine California*. Sausalito, California: Lewis Baltz, 1974.

Limited edition portfolio containing fifty-one gelatin silver prints, each signed, numbered and dated. Published in an edition of twenty-one. See also his *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California*. New York: Castelli Graphics, 1975 (bib. 20).

19. Baltz, Lewis and William Jenkins. "Notes on Recent Industrial Developments in Southern California." Commentary and Portfolio. *Image* 17 (2) (June, 1974): 1-9.

This article presents a small selection of Baltz's images depicting industrial buildings, along with texts and commentaries by both Baltz and William Jenkins. Baltz included a textual analysis of industrial site planning, construction, function and specifications, describing this type of architecture in a detached, factual manner. Jenkins, points out that this analysis is clearly a reflection of Baltz's approach to his own work, the equivalent of record keeping. Jenkins contrasts Baltz's work with that of the Bechers, writing that while the Bechers are interested in industrial architecture as a form of anonymous sculpture, and choose to use photography for their documentation, their main concerns involve the relationship of function and form. In contrast, Baltz's work is more than reportage, and while he is also interested in anonymous sites, he uses photography's visual language to convey his ideas and concerns.

20. Baltz, Lewis. *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California*. New York: Castelli Graphics, 1975. Reprinted: Santa Monica: RAM; Göttingen, Germany: Steidl,

2001; as part of a trilogy of publications (comprising *The Tract Houses*, *The Prototype Works*, and *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California*) Santa Monica: RAM; New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 2005.

This book presents fifty-one black and white photographs as duo-tone plates by Baltz, documenting the anonymous industrial factories in Irvine, California, and is the project from which images were selected for *New Topographics*. Captions in both English and German. See also his portfolio, *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California*. Sausalito, California: Lewis Baltz, 1974 (bib. 18).

21. Wise, Kelly, ed. *Photographers' Choice: A Book of Portfolios and Critical Opinion*. Danbury, N.H.: Addison House, 1975.

This book presents the previously unpublished work of twenty-eight photographers, selected by a panel of their peers, and includes photographs by Deal and Baltz from his series of *New Industrial Parks*. Also included are essays on aspects of contemporary photography, by four writers, Max Kozloff, William Jenkins, Harold Jones and John Upton.

## **Bernd and Hilla Becher**

22. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Industriebauten 1830-1930 / Eine fotografische Dokumentation von Bernd und Hilla Becher*. Introduction by Wend Fischer. Munich: Die Neue Sammlung (Staatliches Museum für angewandte Kunst). March 6-April 16, 1967.

A small catalogue from a 1967 traveling exhibition of the Bechers' work at the Staatliches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Germany. The selected images reveal the range of the photographers' industrial subject matter. German text.

23. Eindhoven, Netherlands. Stedelijk van Abbemuseum. *Bernd and Hilla Becher*. 1967.

24. *Industriebauten: 10 Fotografien von Bernd und Hilla Becher..* Limited edition portfolios of 10 gelatin silver prints with an introduction by Johannes Cladders. Mönchengladbach, Germany. Städtisches Museum, 1968.

25. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. "Anonyme Skulpturen." *Kunst-Zeitung*, [Dusseldorf: Verlag Michelpresse], (2) (January 1969).

Special issue devoted to the Bechers.

26. Becher, Bernhard and Hilla. *Anonyme Skulpturen: Eine Typologie technischer Bauten*. Düsseldorf, Germany: Art-Press Verlag, 1970. Published simultaneously as: *Anonyme Skulpturen: A Typology of Technical Constructions*. New York: Wittenborn and Co., 1970.

This book presents 194 half-tone plates documenting seven industrial structures: lime kilns, cooling towers, blast furnaces, winding towers, water towers, gas holders and silos. Each section is prefaced by a description of the construction and purpose of the structure. A short, concluding artists' text discusses the Bechers' subject matter, describing their interest in objects that are predominantly instrumental in character, anonymous in style, and whose peculiarities originate not in spite of, but because of a lack of design.

27. Becher, Bernhard and Hilla. *Form genom funktion Fotografisk dokumenttion av industribyggnader*. Poster and catalogue for the exhibition at Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 1970. Malmö, Sweden: Moderna Museet, 1970.

A large-scale fold-out poster with an image from the Bechers' oeuvre. On the reverse side of the poster are a grid of sixteen other images, a statement by the Bechers', and a catalogue of the exhibition. Swedish text.

28. Becher, Bernhard and Hilla. *Die Architektur der Förder-und Wassertürme*. Essays by Bernd and Hilla Becher, Heinrich Shönburg, and Jan Werth. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1971.

An extensive publication on the architecture, design and function of water towers, which, in addition to two scholarly essays with architectural sketches, charts, and diagrams, there is a portfolio of 206 plates of the Bechers' work. German text.

29. Sobieszek, Robert A. "Two Books of Ultra-Topography." *Image* 14 (4) (September 1971): 11-13.

In this article, Sobieszek reviews Mark Boyle's *Journey to the Surface of the Earth: Atlas and Manual* [Cologne, London, Reykjavik: Hansjorg Mayer, 1970] and *Anonyme Skulpturen. Eine Typologie technischer Bauten* (bib. 24), published in 1970 by Bernd and Hilla Becher. Sobieszek complains that at the time of writing, there was very little exciting contemporary landscape photography, and that few works could measure up to those of Jackson or Edward Weston. He maintains that the more important photographic work presently being made combined elements of social documentation and a staged approach to straight photography, claiming that contemporary straight photography was generally bland, derivative and formulaic. Sobieszek champions the work of the Bechers, arguing that while they are not photographers per se, their images are perfect models of good industrial and architectural photography, which draw viewers into a closer observation and refined awareness of industrial structures. Sobieszek draws comparisons between the Bechers' work and that of the calotypists who documented France's historical monuments in the 1850's, and with the serialization found in the work of Edward Ruscha.

30. Andre, Carl. "A Note on Bernhard and Hilla Becher." *Artforum* 11 (4) (December, 1972): 59-6.

A short history and summary of the Bechers' work. Andre mentions Bernd's artistic beginnings in painting, and the couple's subsequent interest in photography, seeing the medium as allowing for a more objective record of their subject matter. The article gives a partial list of their catalogue's typological

subjects, and includes several images from the Bechers' winding towers and water towers series.

31. Kassel, Germany. *Documenta V*. 1972.

32. Arts Council of Great Britain. With an interview by Lynda Morris. *Bernd and Hilla Becher*. London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1974.

A small catalogue published in conjunction with the 1974 exhibition of the same title. The images are preceded by a brief interview with the photographers, in which they discuss their interest in industrial structures, their selection process, and their thoughts on the preservation and appreciation of the structures, which they see as reflecting historical and local traditions in architectural design. Images are a selection of the Bechers' winding towers, silos, cooling towers, cola washing plant, gasholders and water towers.

33. La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, California. *Bernd and Hilla Becher*. Introduction by Germano Celant, translated by Anna Canepa and Charles Leslie. La Jolla California, February 23-March 31, 1974.

The introductory essay begins with a history of industrial and technological documentation, and the evolution of art's representation of first the natural landscape, and then later, the industrial landscape. Celant places the Bechers in this history, noting that their work continues this tradition of archeological-industrial documentation. Celant discusses the development of the Bechers' work, their formal and interpretive concerns, and their interest in providing a "reading system" for visual comparison, revealing the notable decorative and typological differences in the anonymous and seemingly banal structures. This exhibition was one of the Bechers' first solo exhibitions in the United States. Includes an exhibition checklist, a bibliography and exhibition history.

34. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Fotografien 1957 bis 1975*. Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1975.

A catalogue presenting the Bechers' documentation of various industrial structures. Includes an exhibition history. German text.

## **Joe Deal**

35. Wise, Kelly, ed. *Photographers' Choice: A Book of Portfolios and Critical Opinion*. Danbury, N.H.: Addison House, 1975.

This book presents the previously unpublished work of twenty-eight photographers, selected by a panel of their peers, and includes photographs by Deal and Baltz from his series of *New Industrial Parks* (bibs. 18 and 20). Also included are essays on aspects of contemporary photography, by four writers, Max Kozloff, William Jenkins, Harold Jones and John Upton.

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## **Frank Gohlke**

36. West, Stephen. "Report from the Provinces." *The Village Voice* (February 10, 1975): 83.

## **Nicholas Nixon**

No influential source material found.

## **John Schott**

No influential source material found.

## Stephen Shore

37. Kozloff, Max. "The Coming of Age of Color." *Artforum* 13 (5) (January 1975): 30-35. Reprinted in his *Photography and Fascination: Essays by Max Kozloff*: 186-96.

Kozloff comments on the emergence of color photography, writing that its strong impact and descriptive qualities can cause black and white photography to appear archaic. Kozloff includes a lengthy section on the history of color photography, before discussing several significant photographers working in color at the time. Kozloff describes Shore's work as containing an "unsettling current of aggression and passivity in his photographs of indigenous buildings and their settings". Kozloff writes that Shore's images, though of banal subject matter, are often transfigured by their assertive, yet unforced use of color and beauty of light. Kozloff describes Shore's 8 x 10 inch images of urban vistas as possessing "an almost Vermeer-like luminosity", and conveying a sense of one person's solitary experience of an inhabited environment, much as Eugène Atget did, to whom Kozloff suggests Shore pays homage. Includes one image by Shore.

38. West, Stephen. "Report from the Provinces." *The Village Voice* (February 10, 1975): 83.

## Henry Wessel

39. Lyons, Nathan, ed. *Vision and Expression*. New York: Horizon Press, In Collaboration with The George Eastman House, Rochester, New York, 1969.

The *Vision and Expression* publication, prepared in conjunction with the exhibition of the same title, continued a series of visual books intended to survey the work of a younger generation of photographers (see bib. 8). In the



introduction, George Eastman House Associate Director and Curator of Photography, Nathan Lyons proposes new approaches to understanding the photographic medium, suggesting that preconceptions about the medium have waned over time, and that new ideas and methods are required in order to communicate and represent experiences of contemporary culture. One image by Henry Wessel is included in this publication, as well as a brief biography of the photographer.

40. Szarkowski, John. *Looking at Photographs: 100 Pictures from the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973.

A selection of photographs, arranged chronologically and accompanied by short, provocative essays. Szarkowski includes a photograph by Wessel, and points out the photographer's concern with conveying a personal, existential experience instead of one of known meanings. Szarkowski uses Wessel's image to discuss the nature of the photographer's eye, noting that while the art of picture making is open to anyone, each image is as original as the person who makes it.

41. "Henry Wessel Jun." *Camera* 52 (5) (May, 1974): 12-19.

Short article, accompanied by six images by Wessel and biographical information on the artist, that discusses the photographs as ones that do not concern themselves with known meanings, but instead convey a compelling experience through existential facts.

## **7. Later Critical Studies based on the exhibition or publication**

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42. Hume, Sandy, Ellen Manchester and Gary Metz, eds. *The Great West Real/Ideal*. Essays by Lyons, Nathan and Gary Metz. Boulder: The Department of Fine Arts, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1977.

This publication examines, through several essays and photographs by fifty-five photographers, the issues that surround photographic representations of the contemporary western American experience. In the introductory essay, Lyons suggests that the terms of visual vocabulary have expanded and developed, and our perceptions of the photographic medium and its interpretive capabilities with it. Lyons cites the *New Topographics* exhibition, arguing that the exhibition extended an earlier topographic mode, depicting landscape in a manner that resides between fact and point of view. In another essay, Gary Metz also discusses the revitalization and continuation of a landscape model, writing that nineteenth century western photographers such as William H. Jackson and Timothy O'Sullivan, while working in an assumed vernacular style, extended our understanding of what a photograph can be, initiating a picture-making tradition that continues today. Includes photographs by Adams, Deal, Shore, and Wessel, among others, as well as brief biographical and bibliographical information.

43. Szarkowski, John. *Mirrors and Windows: American Photography Since 1960*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1978.

A catalogue for an exhibition of the same title, in which Szarkowski examines of the evolution of American photography, from the late 1950's through the 1970's. Szarkowski notes that changes in photographic representation are rooted in a changed definition of the photographer's function, and points to a shift in the professional circumstances and artistic environment in which photographers work. Szarkowski sees an acceptance of personal expression and vision, within a medium that can accommodate both public representation and private exploration. Includes images by Adams, Baltz, Gohlke, Nixon, Shore, and Wessel.

44. di Grappo, Carol, ed. *Landscape: Theory*. New York: Lustrum Press, 1980.

Includes informative, illustrated essays by Adams and Baltz.

45. Himelfarb, Harvey and Roger D. Clisby. *Large Spaces in Small Places: A Survey of Western Landscape Photography, 1850-1980*. Exhibition catalogue. Sacramento, CA: Crocker Art Museum, 1980.

Publication accompanying the exhibition of the same title. In his essay, Himelfarb discusses the shift in how the American landscape has been represented and understood through photography over this period of time, and argues that the most significant change was the transition from description to metaphor. Includes images by William Henry Jackson, Eadweard Muybridge, Timothy O'Sullivan and Carleton E. Watkins from the nineteenth-century, and Adams, Baltz, from contemporary photographers, among others.

46. Barrow, Thomas F., Armitage, Shelley and Tydeman, William E., eds. *Reading into Photography: Selected Essays, 1959-1980*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

This publication reprints several essays concerning contemporary landscape photography, including the foreword and introduction from *The New West*, by John Szarkowski and Robert Adams, respectively (bib. 13), as well as the introduction from the *New Topographics* catalogue by William Jenkins (bib. *New Topographics* publication description), and the review of *The New West* by Lewis Baltz, first published in *Art in America* in 1975 (bib. 3).

47. Jussim, Estelle and Lindquist-Cock, Elizabeth. *Landscape as Photograph*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Encompassing ideas and work spanning both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the authors focus on the meaning and interpretation in landscape photography, and discuss the changing attitudes towards nature and image-making. Includes an extensive bibliography and images by W.H. Jackson, T.H. O'Sullivan, Eadweard Muybridge and A.J. Russell, and Adams, Baltz, Deal, and Gohlke from *New Topographics*.

48. Turner, Peter, ed. *American Images: Photography 1945-1980*. New York: Viking, 1985.

For this publication, produced to accompany a 1985 exhibition of the same title, held at the Barbican Art Gallery in London, England, curator Peter Turner commissioned and reprinted several essays describing the evolution of American photography. Included, is a substantial essay by Lewis Baltz 'American Photography in the 1970's: Too Old to Rock, Too Young to Die', in which the photographer discusses the cultural climate of 1970's America, and the ways in which photography reflected the social issues and concerns of the time. Baltz discusses the exhibition and collecting practices of museums and galleries, and notes several influential publications and exhibitions, including *New Topographics*. Baltz argues that the generation of topographic photographers never experienced the landscape without its industrialization and human presence, and believes that to depict it without its realities would be escapist and sentimental. Baltz reiterates curator William Jenkins' contention that the photographers were attempting to eliminate 'style' from their work, and cites the commercial real-estate photograph as their vernacular model, and Timothy O'Sullivan as their mentor. Images by Wessel, Shore, Deal, Baltz, and Adams, among others.

49. Patton, Tom, ed. *New Views: Landscape Photographs From Two Continents*. Exhibition catalogue. Gallery 210. St-Louis: Gallery 210, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1986.

In the introductory essay to this exhibition catalogue, curator Tom Patton discusses the development of landscape photography, and how the depiction of nature has consistently reflected the image-makers' philosophies and cultural attitudes towards the wilderness. Patton summarizes the evolution of this genre in the nineteenth century and survey era, mentioning photographers such as Watkins, Jackson, and Russell, and their photographic records of the discovery and development of the west. Patton then discusses landscape photography in the twentieth century, citing the prevalence of interest in depicting changes to the environment, and the resulting impact of the growing urbanization of the

landscape. Patton discusses the exhibition and subsequent recognized style of *New Topographics*, referring to Adams and Baltz as ecological spokesmen and neutral observers, (with non-neutral imagery connotations) in their formal, distanced approach to rendering the encroachment of technology on nature. Patton suggests that both photographers have returned to a symbolic approach to landscape art, replacing the nineteenth century railroad with the twentieth-century automobile, as an emblem of new technology of a progress-oriented society. Images are by photographers other than the *New Topographers*.

50. Grundberg, Andy. *Crisis of the Real Writings on Photography, 1974-1989*. New York: Aperture, 1990.

A collection of essays by Andy Grundberg, photography critic for *The New York Times*. In one essay, entitled "The Machine in the Garden, Photography, Technology, and the End of Innocent Space", Grundberg discusses nineteenth century landscape photography, and the aesthetic choices that helped to perpetuate ideas of man's conquest over nature, and general feelings of mastery and achievement. The author cites the emergence of nineteenth-century landscape images that reflect what Grundberg calls "the end of innocent space", and characterizes the images by O'Sullivan, Watkins, Jackson and Muybridge as depicting a profound skepticism about man's relation to nature, an attitude that Grundberg argues, would later turn up in the photography of the 'New Topographers'. The *New Topographics* exhibition and its participating photographers are briefly discussed several times in other essays in this book, and while none of the essays are directly concerned with *New Topographics*, Grundberg does, in one essay, compare the work of Adams and Baltz to that of Timothy O'Sullivan, and also reviews later work by both Adams and Nixon.

51. Kozloff, Max "Ghastly News from Epic Landscapes" *American Art* 5 (1/2) (Winter-Spring, 1991): 108-131. Reprinted in his *Lone Visions, Crowded Frames: Essays on Photography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994: 192-206.

Kozloff describes the emergence of ecological concerns in contemporary landscape photography, and discusses how they have been expressed, what

sorts of responses they might achieve, and what their presence says about American culture. Kozloff compares nineteenth century representations of a harmonious Man/nature relationship with today's versions that testify to the damage humans have inflicted on the environment. Kozloff uses Baltz's *Park City* (1980, bib. 79) series as an example of landscape imagery that depicts a "wrongness" and incongruity in the environment, a symptom that reflects our interference with natural patterns. Kozloff also discusses Adams' publication *Los Angeles Springs* (1986), writing that Adams is a landscape photographer who is able to transgress the "wrong" factor, incorporating the human presence without isolating the viewer from a sense of place. Kozloff sees Adams as assuming nineteenth-century moral sensibilities and projecting these onto the landscape, left barren and affected, although this time by man instead of nature's forces.

52. Bright, Deborah. "The Machine in the Garden Revisited: American Environmentalism and Photographic Aesthetics" *Art Journal* 51 (2) (Summer, 1992): 60-71.

Bright investigates how landscape photography both reflected and created changing models for how nature has been viewed and understood in nineteenth and twentieth century America. Bright includes *New Topographics* in this discussion, citing the work of Adams and Baltz, among others, as signaling the end of romantic nature and depicting the blurring of boundaries between the human and the natural world. Minimal images.

53. Foresta, Mary A., Stephen Jay Gould, Karal Ann Marling. *Between Home and Heaven. Contemporary American Landscape Photography from the Consolidated Natural Gas Company Foundation Collection of the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution*. Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

This book examines the development and significance of contemporary American landscape photography, discussing its evolution from nineteenth century geographical and wilderness documentation to imagery concerned with

time, place and human interaction with the environment. In her essay *Foresta* discusses how the ten participating photographers in the *New Topographics* exhibition demonstrated that the representation of the vernacular creates a truthful record of place, their images standing in sharp contrast to the popular vision of the wilderness, as depicted by photographers such as Ansel Adams. However, Foresta disputes the claim by Jenkins that the included photographs were neutral and without style, arguing that the images were as deliberately conceived as the pristine views of nature that they replaced. Foresta points out the closed in, surface frontality of the *New Topographics* photographs, citing this as a deliberate aesthetic choice with which to critique both landscape photography and culture's relationship to the environment. This publication also includes essays by other authors on aspects of landscape photography, as well as a bibliography and a checklist of the exhibition, which this book accompanied.

54. Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography. *Critical Landscapes*. Essays by Norihiro Kato and Michiko Kasahara. Exhibition catalogue. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1993.

The essays in this publication, produced to accompany the exhibition of the same title, examine the point at which landscape photography separated itself from traditional romanticism and attempted to depict the relationship between man and nature. Focusing on imagery from two periods – the 1970s and the 1990s --, *Critical Landscapes* concentrates on landscape photography from the early 1970s, specifically *New Topographics*, which the curators identified as the turning point for this new type of landscape depiction, and as well, on other work from the later 1970s, specifically the Rephotographic Survey work by Mark Klett, Rick Dingus, Gordon Bushaw, and JoAnn Verburg, which dealt with the problems that exist between man and nature, among other issues. In the essay “The End of Landscape”, Kato discusses the *New Topographics* exhibition and examines the origins of the concept of neutral representation in the work of participating photographers Adams and Baltz, and how the idea of neutrality in landscape depiction has evolved and changed since the 1975 exhibition. *New Topographics* is discussed at further length in Kasahara's essay “Critical Landscapes”, in which he examines the photographers' interest in producing realistic depictions of

nature, and discusses their and Jenkins' approach to style, writing that the artists realized that although their photographs were personal representations of the landscape, they purposefully removed anything subjective or decorative in order to create an objective record of the scenery before their lenses. Kasahara also discusses the impact of the *New Topographics* photographs on later work by American, European and Japanese photographers working in the 1990s. *Critical Landscapes* includes images by Adams, Baltz, Ruscha and Wessel, among others, as well as brief biographies and exhibitions histories of the photographers, in addition to a thorough bibliography and captioned list of the catalogue's images.

55. Phillips, Sandra S, Richard Rodriguez, Aaron Betsky and Eldridge M. Moores. *Crossing the Frontier: Photographs of the Developing West, 1849 to the Present*. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, c1996.
56. Southall, Thomas W. "Second View: A Search for the West that Exists Only in Photographs". In *Perpetual Mirage: Photographic Narratives of the Desert West*, edited by May Castleberry, pp. 193-98. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1996.

In this essay, Southall discusses the connection between the Rephotographic Survey Project (RSP) and *New Topographics*. Southall writes that while the New Topographics photographers embraced signs of human intervention in the landscape, as opposed to photographers such as Ansel Adams and Eliot Porter, who eliminated these signs from their images of otherwise pristine nature, the RSP provided a third alternative, and recorded this human intrusion as it appeared in the selected sites. Southall writes that the RSP and the *New Topographic* photographers are also allied in their desire to develop a "styleless" form of photography, an attempt that Southall sees as being not entirely successful in the case of the RSP. In *Second View*, JoAnn Verburg comments on achieving a true sense of objectivity, a concept that Southall describes as an impossibility, and compares this perspective to that found in Jenkins' essay in the *New Topographics* catalogue, where he states that the new topographers were merely seeking the appearance of neutrality.



57. Longmire, Stephen. "Back West: Reviewing American Landscape Photography" *Afterimage* 25 (2) (September/October), 1997: 22-23.

In this article, Longmire assesses the 1996 book by Sandra S. Phillips et al., *Crossing the Frontier: Photographs of the Developing West, 1849 to the Present* (bib. 55), which accompanied the exhibition of the same name. Longmire describes the publication as providing historical background for the work of contemporary landscape photographers of the *New Topographics* group, championed by Phillips for "their synthesis of the documentary concerns for nineteenth-century western landscape photography with the self-consciousness of modernist art photography." Longmire suggests that while the work of these photographers seemed to mark the death of landscape photography, it ultimately carries it forward.

58. Pool, Peter E., ed. *The Altered Landscape*. Essays by Patricia Nelson Limerick, Dave Hickey and Thomas W. Southall. Reno and Las Vegas: The Nevada Museum of Art in association with the University of Nevada Press, 1999.

Illustrated volume featuring works from the Nevada Museum of Art's Altered Landscape collection, which focuses on contemporary landscape photography, particularly of the American west. The collection centers on the revision of ideas concerning beauty and landscape within cultural identity, and features photographic work that examines the relationship of humankind and the environment. Includes images by Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Joe Deal, William H. Jackson and Carleton Watkins.

59. Fox, William L. *View Finder Mark Klett, Photography, and the Reinvention of Landscape*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.

In researching this book, Fox accompanied Rephotographic Survey photographer Mark Klett on one of his expeditions. Through Klett's work, Fox investigates the history of landscape photography and traces the evolution of a genre and its role in the exploration of western America. Fox briefly discusses the

work of Adams, the Bechers and Baltz in the *New Topographics* exhibition. Fox describes the participating photographers' work as practicing a documentary style so neutral in emotional values that it was almost anthropological in nature. In a later section of the book, Fox describes Klett's reaction to the *New Topographics* exhibition, revealing that Klett was initially offended by the exhibition. Fox explains that Klett, possessing both geological and photographic training, and who gradually came to admire and respect the work of the photographers, felt at first that the photographers were not describing anything new, and that their self-professed depiction of neutrality was false.

60. Jacobs, Steven. "Sites and Sights: A Critical History of Urban Photography 1968-2000". PhD diss., Universiteit Gent, 2004.

In chapter six of his dissertation, 'The Suburban Desert of New Topographics', Jacobs discusses the work of the *New Topographics* photographers, examining its place in photographic history and tradition, and draws comparisons between it and influential landscape work by contemporary artists, such as Ansel Adams, Robert Smithson and Nancy Holt among others, as well as nineteenth-century photographers such as Jackson, Watkins, O'Sullivan and Russell. Jacobs discusses the New Topographers predilection for depicting the landscape of the American southwest, and examines how their work dismantled the stereotypical image of the idyllic western landscape, as represented by such twentieth century modernist photographers such as Edward Weston, Eliot Porter, Minor White and particularly Ansel Adams. Includes an extensive bibliography.

## **8. Later Critical Studies on the Individual Photographers**

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### **Robert Adams**

61. Adams, Robert. □ *Denver: A Photographic Survey of the Metropolitan Area*. Colorado: Colorado Associated Press in cooperation with The State Historical Society of Colorado, 1977.

Adams' photographs of the vacant lots, building sites, housing developments and construction zones of Denver, some of which were included in the New Topographics exhibition. Includes a brief introductory essay by Adams, in which he discusses his difficulty with photographing the city, where environmental changes, pollution and rampant urban development, have led him to adopt the pedestrian's viewpoint, as opposed to the Victorian age's predilection for serene mountaintop vistas. See also his *What We Bought: The New World. Scenes From the Denver Metropolitan Area, 1970-1974*. Hannover: Sprengel Museum, 1995 (bib. 71).

62. Jordon, Bill. "Book Reviews: Denver and The New West," *Photography* 1 (4) (July 1977): 30-31.

63. Meinwald, Dan. *Afterimage* 4 (4) (July 1977): 17.

64. Patton, Phil. "Special Section: Photography Books", *Art in America* 65 (6) (November/December 1977): 35-36.

Patton reviews Adams' publication *Denver* (bib. 61), finding the work problematic, uncertain and the book, a disappointment. Patton sees Adams' outdoor landscape work as more successful, noting that the photographer seems to understand the land and its human-altered character, but sees the interior shots of houses and factories as falling short, displaying unsuccessful compositions and over-exposed images. Patton also finds fault with the subject matter, complaining that the photographs include no identifying characteristics of Denver, implying that the scenes could be of anywhere, and criticizes the images for implying an "uneasy peace" between the landscape and the encroaching development.

65. Lifson, Ben. "Robert Adams: Notes Toward a Supreme Landscape." *The Village Voice* (February 26, 1979).

Lifson reviews two 1979 exhibitions of Adams' work, 'Prairie', held at the Museum of Modern Art, and 'From the Missouri West', held concurrently at Castelli Graphics. Lifson points out the consistency of Adams' photography, made apparent in the range of work that was being shown; 'Prairie' displaying some of Adams' earliest photographs and 'From the Missouri West' the photographer's newest work at the time. Lifson characterizes Adams' landscape photography as demonstrating how human artifacts and nature uneasily coexist.

66. Adams, Robert. *From the Missouri West*. New York: Aperture, 1980.

A book of forty-seven photographs, beginning with the Missouri River region, where the photographer's ancestors had originally settled, and moving westward to California and Oregon. In his short, concluding essay Adams states that he had wanted to rediscover some of the land forms that his ancestors had experienced, and decided to always include in the photographs some evidence of man, as a marker of truth.

67. Armitage, Shelly. "Robert Adams: Post Modernism and Meaning". *Exposure* 18 (2) (1981): 49-59.

68. Grundberg, Andy. "The Point of Photographs." *New York Times*, (November 29, 1981): 13-14.

Grundberg reviews Adams' book of eight essays *Beauty in Photography: Essays in Defense of Traditional Values* (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1981), and describes the photographer's writing as eloquent and passionate. Grundberg discusses Adams' essay "Truth and Landscape", citing the photographer's belief that landscape art is important because it can meet society's need to experience the world as comprehensible. Grundberg also notes the photographer's interest in truthful depiction, writing that Adams is able to suggest that photography has a special relationship to the beautiful because it is always forced to deal with the

actual, and notes Adams' belief that photographs that have been set up are somewhat limited in their beauty, as they are lacking in the "full and final Truth".

69. Adams, Robert. *To Make It Home Photographs of the American West*. New York: Aperture, 1989.

A well-produced and comprehensive publication that accompanied Adams' 1989 mid-career exhibition *To Make It Home*, organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Featuring work produced between 1965-1986, this book also includes a lengthy essay by Adams, "In the American West is Hope Possible?" (reprinted in his book of essays, *Why People Photograph* (New York: Aperture, 1994) (bib. 70), in which Adams laments the loss of the wilderness and sense of American place, and discusses his hopes for an amelioration of environmental problems such as land use and air pollution. Adams discusses his efforts to photograph western landscapes, only to be made ever more aware of the substantial changes and alterations in this landscape. Publication also includes a detailed chronology and bibliography.

70. Adams, Robert. *Why People Photograph*. New York: Aperture, 1994.

A selection of Adams' essays concerning various subjects, revolving around his belief that artists feel bound to the world by complex and important obligations. It includes the essay "In the Nineteenth-Century", which formed the introduction to *The American Space: Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography*, edited by Daniel Wolf (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1983) (bib. 96) and "In the Twentieth-Century West", his essay from his publication *To Make it Home* (bib. 69).

71. Adams, Robert. *What We Bought: The New World. Scenes From the Denver Metropolitan Area 1970-1974*. Hannover: Sprengel Museum, 1995.

Publication featuring 197 varnished duo-tone plates of a set of prints of Denver that Adams printed in the 1970s but had never exhibited, which illustrate the changes, both urban and environmental, that occurred during the city's

substantial periods of growth during the 1960s and 70s. Includes a brief introductory essay by Adams, in which the photographer states that the images “document a separation from ourselves, and in turn the natural world that we professed to love.” See also his *Denver: A Photographic Survey of the Metropolitan Area*. Colorado: Colorado Associated Press in cooperation with The State Historical Society of Colorado, 1977(bib. 61).

72. Jones Jr., Malcolm. “The Littoral Truth.” *Newsweek*, November 13, 1995.

Jones reviews Robert Adams’ book *West from the Columbia: Views From the River Mouth* (Aperture, 1995), which features the photographer’s images of the U.S.’s coastal Northwest. Jones describes the images as being even more reductive than Adams’ previous landscape work, and cites Adams’ involvement in *New Topographics* and the participating photographers’ desire to escape the romantic aesthetic of earlier landscape artists. Jones notes the New Topographers similarities to nineteenth-century photographers such as Carleton Watkins, and describes Adams as a “contrarian traditionalist”, referring to him as today’s Timothy O’Sullivan, and an archivist of the natural world, seeking to articulate and thereby protect what is valuable.

73. *Perpetual Mirage: Photographic Narratives of the Desert West*. Exhibition catalogue. Edited by May Castleberry. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1996.

A collection of essays and photographs that are concerned with the ‘image’ of the American west from 1840 to 1996. The volume includes Adam D. Weinberg’s essay on Adams’ 1980 publication, *From the Missouri West* (bib. 66). In this essay, Weinberg places the images by Adams and other photographers of his generation within historical context, discussing the long tradition of western landscape photography initiated by such figures as Carleton Watkins and Timothy O’Sullivan, a noted influence of Adams’. Weinberg notes the references to survey photography in *From the Missouri West*, pointing out the documentary, data-collecting aesthetic, the cloudless skies and distanced views, all characteristic of Adams’ “new topographical” approach to landscape depiction.

The volume also includes Robert A. Sobieszek's essay "Terminal Documents: The Early Desert of Lewis Baltz". In this essay, Sobieszek discusses Baltz's project *Nevada* (bib. 78). Sobieszek describes this project as a significant juncture in Baltz's work, combining the deadpan severity of a Donald Judd sculpture, the wry irony of an Edward Ruscha photograph from the 1960's, and a romantic sensibility as found in photographs by Timothy O'Sullivan. Sobieszek also argues that with *Nevada*, Baltz constructed a new vocabulary for landscape photography, having understood that what was generally thought of as "landscape" no longer existed. The book also includes a catalogue of the exhibited images, biographies of the photographers, and an extensive bibliography.

74. Kemmerer, Allison; John R. Stilgoe, Adam D. Weinberg. *Reinventing the West. The Photographs of Ansel Adams and Robert Adams*. Exhibition catalogue. Andover, Massachusetts: Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, 2001.

Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, *Reinventing the West* juxtaposes the work of Ansel Adams and Robert Adams, examining the differences and similarities in their aesthetic approaches and personal responses to the American western landscape, and investigates how their work reflects changing cultural attitudes towards nature. In her essay, Kemmerer refers to Adams' involvement in the *New Topographics* exhibition, pointing out that at the same time that the photographers included in this exhibition were moving beyond the romantic vision of the sublime, and capturing an ordinary landscape, Ansel Adams' photography, which employed the same formal devices that the New Topographers rejected, was simultaneously reaching its peak in popularity. Includes biographical information and thirty-nine reproductions of the photographers' work.

75. Belz, Emily. "Western Expansion". *Art New England* 23 (5) (August/September, 2002): 18-19.

Belz reviews *Western Expansion*, a 2002 exhibition at the Yale University Art

Gallery, featuring Robert Adams' 1970s work *What We Bought: The New World* (see bib. 71) and Lewis Baltz's 1978-79 work *Park City* (see bib. 79). The Gallery had recently acquired both bodies of work. Belz discusses the photographers' participation in *New Topographics*, citing the 1975 exhibition as the turning point that marked the shift in landscape representation from an idealized, untouched view of nature to a more mundane, human-influenced environment. Belz writes that the work, over twenty years old, has not lost its relevance, and describes still current environmental threats.

76. Adams, Robert. *Commercial Residential Landscapes Along the Colorado Front Range, 1968-1972*. PPP Editions, 2003.

This book features images that were omitted from Adams' 1974 book *The New West* (bib. 13). Short statement by Adams that describes his early interest in recording and describing the geography of the developing American west.

## **Lewis Baltz**

77. Baltz, Lewis, ed. *Contemporary American Photographic Works*. Exhibition catalogue. Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1977.

This exhibition reflects Baltz's attempt to organize an exhibition around three areas of activity that he believed defined the sensibilities of photography in the 1970's. In his introductory text, Baltz identifies one of these areas of activity as being concerned with the attitude characterized by William Jenkins two years earlier, as "new topographics", and includes images by Adams, Deal, Nixon, and Bevan Davis in this section of the exhibition. Baltz describes the work of these four photographers as rejecting "stylistic conceits in favor of a more measured and contemplative view of the secular world and its contents." Includes extensive biographical and bibliographical information on each artist. With images.

78. Baltz, Lewis. *Nevada*. New York: Castelli Graphics, 1978.



Portfolio comprising fifteen gelatin silver prints taken in 1977, each signed, numbered, and dated. Published in an edition of forty with six artist's proofs and two exhibition sets. At the time of its publication, Castelli Graphics exhibited the work and published a modest catalogue with plates of the fifteen photographs.

79. Baltz, Lewis. Essay by Gus Blaisdell. *Park City: Photographs by Lewis Baltz*. Albuquerque: Artspace Press; New York: Castelli Graphics, 1980.

A book featuring Baltz's photographs of Park City, Utah, a housing development and town built around a booming and subsequently failing, silver mining industry. In addition to the sequence of 102 duo-tone plates, the publication includes an essay by Gus Blaisdell that discusses Baltz's photographs and deliberates on the tragedy of a destroyed environment and appearance of what already resembles the ruins of a vanished race.

80. Baltz, Lewis. *Lewis Baltz: Rule Without Exception*. Exhibition catalogue. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press in association with the Des Moines Art Center, 1990.

Publication accompanying a mid-career exhibition featuring Baltz's images from each of his major bodies of work from the 1960s to 1989, including his *New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California, 1974-75* (bibs. 18 and 20), *Nevada, 1977* (bib. 78), *Park City, 1978-80* (bib. 79), as well as installation shots and excerpts from critical texts. Includes a biography, selected exhibition history and a bibliography.

81. *Perpetual Mirage: Photographic Narratives of the Desert West*. Exhibition catalogue. Edited by May Castleberry. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1996.

A collection of essays and photographs that are concerned with the 'image' of the American west from 1840 to 1996. The volume includes Adam D. Weinberg's essay on Adams' 1980 publication, *From the Missouri West* (bib. 66). In this

essay, Weinberg places the images by Adams and other photographers of his generation within historical context, discussing the long tradition of western landscape photography initiated by such figures as Carleton Watkins and Timothy O'Sullivan, a noted influence of Adams'. Weinberg notes the references to survey photography in *From the Missouri West*, pointing out the documentary, data-collecting aesthetic, the cloudless skies and distanced views, all characteristic of Adams' "new topographical" approach to landscape depiction. The volume also includes Robert A. Sobieszek's essay "Terminal Documents: The Early Desert of Lewis Baltz". In this essay, Sobieszek discusses Baltz's project *Nevada* (bib. 78). Sobieszek describes this project as a significant juncture in Baltz's work, combining the deadpan severity of a Donald Judd sculpture, the wry irony of an Edward Ruscha photograph from the 1960's, and a romantic sensibility as found in photographs by Timothy O'Sullivan. Sobieszek also argues that with *Nevada*, Baltz constructed a new vocabulary for landscape photography, having understood that what was generally thought of as "landscape" no longer existed. The book also includes a catalogue of the exhibited images, biographies of the photographers, and an extensive bibliography.

## **Bernd and Hilla Becher**

82. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Fachwerkhäuser des Siegener Industriegebietes*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1977. Reprinted: Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2000. Published simultaneously with *Framework Houses of the Siegen Industrial Region*. Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1977. Reprinted: Cambridge, Mass, and London, England: MIT Press, 2001.

This book is introduced by a short history of the Siegen industrial region and a comprehensive chart relating to the inhabitants of the photographed houses, with information about their address, names, profession, and the corresponding plate numbers. The 350 images are divided into seven sections corresponding to the type of house construction and the photograph's viewpoint.

83. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Water Towers*. Forward by Reyner Banham; commentary by Weston J. Naef. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1988.

84. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Blast Furnaces*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1990.

Publication featuring 223 single images and four typologies from the Bechers' documentation of blast furnaces, made from the mid-1960s to mid-1980s. The images present the subject matter in several contexts, including wider views that show the structure's surrounding industrial complex, typologies presented in grids and details of the structures. Introductory text describes the history, function, and construction of the furnaces.

85. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Tipologie Typologien Typologies*. Introduction by Klaus Bussmann. Exhibition catalogue. München: Schirmer/Mosel Verlag, 1990.

A catalogue, published in conjunction with their exhibition at the 1990 Venice International Art Biennale, and shown subsequently at three other venues in 1990 and 1991, that provides a selection of the Bechers' photographic work from the preceding thirty years. The images are presented in grids, and range in subject matter from water towers to post-war houses. Included is a brief introduction that describes the photographers' work as 'industry archeology,' documenting reality rather than their own expressivity. The essay provides a useful summation of the Bechers' position, describing their subject matter as isolated monuments or sculptures, standing as symbols of a function and efficiency-driven society.

86. Grundberg, Andy. "Seeking Human Qualities in Industrial Forms." Review. New York Times. January 7, 1990.

Grundberg's review of a 1990 exhibition of the Bechers' work at Manhattan's Dia Art Foundation, in which he begins by noting that the photographers had chosen

to hang their images singly, instead of in their usual grid format. He suggests that the presentation allowed viewers to better understand the Bechers' relationship to the New Topographics movement. Grundberg felt that the Bechers' work looked slightly out of place in the 1975 exhibition because of its gridded, conceptual presentation, and that this installation tactic allowed the photographs to be seen as individual images rather than elements of a larger presentation. Grundberg also compares the Bechers' work with that of Ed Ruscha and Dan Graham, from the 1960's and 1970's respectively, and points out the Bechers' influence on the work of their students, fellow Germans Thomas Ruff, Thomas Struth and Andreas Gursky.

87. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Pennsylvania Coal Mine Tipples*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: The Dia Center for the Arts, 1991.

Published in conjunction with the exhibition, this book features the Bechers' selection of their Pennsylvania Coal Mine Tipples, or small-scale mine heads, presented in this publication both individually and in groups of four related views of the same structure. This work was included in the Dia exhibition, and marked the first time that the Bechers chose not to exhibit their works in their familiar grid sequences, but as single larger format prints. The publication also includes an introductory essay by the Bechers, in which they describe the function, purpose, design and operation of the coal mine tipples, as well as their use in the Pennsylvania mining region. Includes ninety-nine plates, as well as a chart that provides information on each mine's location, condition and dimensions, and its corresponding plate number.

88. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Gas Tanks*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1993.

Publication featuring 102 images from the Bechers' documentation of gasholders, or gas tanks, made from the early 1960s to early 1990s. Brief introductory text describes the various types of gas tanks and their design, function and purpose.

89. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Industriephotographie. Im Spiegel der Tradition*. Edited by Monika Steinhauser. Richter Verlag, Düsseldorf: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Ruhr-Universität, 1994.

Catalogue published in connection with an exhibition at Kunstsammlung of Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, with essays on the Bechers' photographic documentation of industrial structures, and their work's relationship to industrial, technological and social documentary. German text.

90. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Industrial Façades*. Introduction by Klaus Bussmann. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1995.

Publication featuring 264 images from the Bechers' photographic documentation of the industrial façades of factory buildings. In the introduction, Bussmann points out the contrast to their earlier series of blast furnaces, cooling towers, coal silos, gas tanks, water towers and coal mine tipples, noting that in these photographs, the function of the architecture is not obvious in its exterior.

91. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Mineheads*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1997.

Publication featuring 190 images from the Bechers' photographic documentation of mine heads, made from 1965 to the early 1990s. Brief introductory text describes the purpose, function, structure and design of the mine entrance structures.

92. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Industrial Landscapes*. Interview by Susanne Lange. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 2002.

Publication featuring 180 images from the Bechers' photographic documentation of industrial buildings and their surrounding areas. Lange's introduction suggests that at first glance, the photographs do not appear to fit into the Bechers' familiar repertoire, noting that the images in this volume go beyond a focused description of the industrial structures, and also include the landscape and in some cases,

the urban surroundings of the architecture. Lange suggests that by showing the context of the structure, the images allow for social and historical readings and opens up the subject matter to descriptive and narrative elements.

93. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Cooling Towers*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 2005.

This publication features 236 from the Bechers' photographic documentation of cooling towers, taken between 1965 and 2000. Brief introductory text describes the purpose, history and function of the industrial structures.

94. Becher, Bernd and Hilla. *Grain Elevators*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 2006.

A selection of 246 images from the Bechers' photographic documentation of grain elevators, dating from the early 1960's to the present. Brief introductory text describes the purpose history and function of the industrial storage containers.

95. Lange, Susanne. Translated by Jeremy Gaines. *Bernd and Hilla Becher Life and Work*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 2007.

An exhaustive analysis and biography of the Bechers' partnership. Lange's text is supported by extensive interviews with the photographers, as well as access to the Bechers' personal papers, notes and journals. Lange discusses the functionalist and aesthetic aspects of the Bechers' subject matter, their typologizing of industrial constructions. She argues that industrial buildings have imposed themselves on modern consciousness, and that photographic images of the Bechers have helped shape our understanding of these forms. Includes statements, interviews, notes, list of exhibitions, a comprehensive bibliography and 126 figure illustrations and fifty-three plates.

## Joe Deal

96. Hajicek, James and Jay, Bill, eds. "Joe Deal: New Topographics." *Northlight* 4. Tempe: Arizona State University, 1977.

This issue of *Northlight* is devoted entirely to Deal and his participation in *New Topographics*, and contains an interview between the editors of the publication and the photographer, when he visited the Arizona State University in 1977 as a guest lecturer. Deal describes his early beginnings in photography, the influence of working at The George Eastman House, and his time spent in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he began making the images that would appear in *New Topographics*. Deal discusses his knowledge of, and relationship with some of the other *New Topographics* photographers, as well as the ideas and circumstances that led to the creation of the exhibition, and the coining of the term "New Topographics". Deal offers his thoughts on his stylistic considerations, influences and choices of subject matter, and how much importance is placed on formatting, printing decisions and other formal considerations. Deal also discusses his ideas on publishing his images in book format, and shares his belief that experiencing his photographs in a larger number provides a better form with which to properly understand his work.

97. Glenn, Constance W. and Bledsoe, Jane K., eds. *Long Beach: A Photography Survey*. Joe Deal, Judy Fiskin, Anthony Hernandez, Kenneth McGowan, Grant Mudford, Leland Rice. Exhibition catalogue. Long Beach, CA: The Art Museum and Galleries, California State University, Long Beach, 1980.

This exhibition catalogue includes several images by Deal, along with a brief essay on his work, a biographical chronology, exhibition history and bibliography. Bledsoe's essay discusses Deal's images of Long Beach, citing his interest in presenting each image as a self-contained examination of pure subject matter. Bledsoe points out Deal's elimination of the horizon line and other spatial references, a formal decision that removes any sense of hierarchy or interrelationships of subject matter within the frame.

98. *Joe Deal: Southern California Photographs, 1976-86*. Foreword by J.B. Jackson; essays by Mark Johnstone and Edward Leffingwell. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press in association with the Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery, 1992.
99. Deal, Joe; Mark Johnstone, Richard Meier, Weston Naef. *Between Nature and Culture: Photographs of the Getty Center by Joe Deal*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Center, 1999.

Publication featuring photographs of the construction of the Getty Center as well as its surrounding landscape, made between 1984-1989 and between 1992-1997, by Deal. Architect Richard Meier's preface describes the images as capturing fleeting moments of process and preserving the buildings in their transitory forms. Deal's essay describes his initial interest in the project, his working process and formatting choices, as well as his concern for interpreting not the architect's work, but also the creation of a cultural icon.

## **Frank Gohlke**

100. Pare, Richard, ed. *Court House: A Photographic Document*. New York: Horizon Press, 1978.

This publication investigates the architectural history and cultural legacy of the American county court house, through a series of essays and photographs. The book features images by twenty-four photographers, including Baltz, Gohlke, Nixon and Shore, who were commissioned to depict regional courthouses throughout the United States. Includes both color and black and white images.

101. Swanson, Mary Virginia. "Frank Gohlke: An Interview." *Northlight* 10. Tempe: Arizona State University, 1979.

This entire issue is devoted to an interview with Gohlke, made in August 1978, and includes three illustrations, a biography and bibliographical information. Gohlke offers his reflections on *New Topographics*, discussing his relationship



with the other involved photographers and how they helped and inspired one another. He states that he was not entirely happy with his body of work that was exhibited. Gohlke discusses his first meetings and relationship with Jenkins, and now believes that the show should have been titled "New Geographics", as none of the photographers were in fact interested in topographics or surfaces, and were instead concerned with capturing their subject matter in their relationship to land and culture, and the "particularities of social existence". Gohlke also discusses the photographers' apprehension about the exhibition's premise, and how their work was subsequently defined by the new topographics style, a style with which Gohlke did not entirely identify.

102. Gohlke, Frank. *Landscapes From the Middle of the World: Photographs, 1972-1987*. San Francisco: Friends of Photography; Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1988.

This book was published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same name. The introductory essay by Ben Lifson describes Gohlke's vision as one of clarity, precise description and documentation, and states that although he photographs with apparent neutrality, Gohlke makes his images as emotional responses, which ultimately lend themselves to a metaphoric investigation. Gohlke's essay discusses his interest in landscape, and the role of landscape or nature photography in society. Gohlke expresses his interest in discovering a connection to place, and believes that the best landscape images depict a loss or point of transition between what we used to understand nature to be, and what it has become. Includes both black and white and color images.

103. Gohlke, Frank. With an essay by John C. Hudson. *Measure of Emptiness: Grain Elevators in the American Landscape*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Publication featuring Gohlke's photographs of American midwest grain elevators and their surroundings, taken between 1972 and 1975. In Gohlke's essay, he discusses his interest in grain elevators and their imposing presence in the Midwest, and describes his frustration with the discrepancy between the

ordinariness of the grain elevators and their function, and his excitement and emotional response to the structures. Hudson's essay offers an historical and cultural overview of grain elevators in America. Includes forty-two plates and a biography.

104. Sichel, Kim. With additional essays by Judith Bookbinder and John Stomberg. *From Icon to Irony: German and American Industrial Photography*. Boston: Boston University Art Gallery, 1995.

Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, this book examines the machine as a photographic icon, and compares the representation of this icon in German and American cultures and images. Sichel selected the work of the photographers, including that of Bernd and Hilla Becher and Frank Gohlke, in order to examine the impact of the machine on their respective cultures of the two countries. In her introductory essay, Sichel cites the New Topographics exhibition as one of the first exhibitions to outline the new debate about the continuing role of industrial photography in American culture, and argues that it highlighted several changes in photography and its relation to industry since the 1920's, focusing on the incidental and quotidian aspect of industrial structures. Sichel writes that the photographers' goal of objectivity could be seen as echoing ideas of the German *Neue Sachlichkeit* of the 1920's, and suggests that the term topography itself suggests a change in attitude. By avoiding heroism, creating an illusion of neutrality and mapping their subjects, the "new topographics" photographers captured industrial places "in the full complexity of their fading power." The essay of Bookbinder discusses the work of Gohlke and the Bechers and images by each photographer are included.

## Nicholas Nixon

105. Herwaldt, David. "Nicholas Nixon: Beyond the Nineteenth Century". Exhibition review. *Afterimage* 5 (3) (September 1977): 19.

Herwaldt reviews two exhibitions of Nixon's photographs, one at Boston's Vision Gallery and the other at the Worcester Museum. In the latter, the photographer's work was shown alongside a group of twenty photographs by Stephen Shore. Herwaldt argues that Nixon's work, a grouping the writer calls "occupied landscapes", are understood to possess similarities to nineteenth-century landscape photography, but are unmistakably contemporary, and that Timothy O'Sullivan would never have constructed a photograph in the manner of Nixon. Herwaldt also states that light is another differentiating factor, stating that light was rarely used or seen as the focal point in nineteenth century imagery, whereas in Nixon's contemporary landscape photography, light is used to convey emotion and pleasure. Includes three images by Nixon.

106. Pare, Richard, ed. *Court House: A Photographic Document*. New York: Horizon Press, 1978.

This publication investigates the architectural history and cultural legacy of the American county court house, through a series of essays and photographs. The book features images by twenty-four photographers, including Baltz, Gohlke, Nixon and Shore, who were commissioned to depict regional courthouses throughout the United States. Includes both color and black and white images.

107. Galassi, Peter. *Nicholas Nixon: Pictures of People*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1988.

Publication, accompanying an exhibition of the same name and featuring Nixon's photographs of people. In the introductory essay, Galassi mentions Nixon's involvement in the New Topographics exhibition, noting that Nixon and four others used a view camera, resulting in clarity in image detail not unlike the work of Walker Evans and Timothy O'Sullivan. Galassi discusses the two divergent attitudes of New Topographics, one of admiration of beauty in which the images risked prettiness, and one concerned with facts, in which the images risked banality. Galassi suggests that Nixon's subsequent work might be described as an effort to reconcile the two approaches.

## **John Schott**

108. Jackson, J.B. "Urban Circumstances." *Design Quarterly* 128 (1985).

Illustrated with photographs by Stuart Klipper and John Schott.

## **Stephen Shore**

109. Pare, Richard, ed. *Court House: A Photographic Document*. New York: Horizon Press, 1978.

This publication investigates the architectural history and cultural legacy of the American county court house, through a series of essays and photographs. The book features images by twenty-four photographers, including Baltz, Gohlke, Nixon and Shore, who were commissioned to depict regional courthouses throughout the United States. Includes both color and black and white images.

110. Shore, Stephen, Auping, Michael, ed. *Photographs*. Exhibition catalogue. Sarasota, FL: John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art, 1981.

This exhibition catalogue includes an introductory essay by Auping, in which the curator writes that the cool, seemingly detached vision of the New Topographics photographers is eloquently expressed in the work of Shore. Auping writes of Shore's subtle, yet profound affect on the photographic medium, beginning the 1960's, and discusses Shore's career. Also included, is an interview between Auping and Shore, in which the photographer offers insight into his choice of subject matter, and draws formal and ideological comparisons between his work and that of Walker Evans, Eugène Atget and Carleton Watkins. Includes several of Shore's images, an exhibition history, bibliography and exhibition checklist.

111. Shore, Stephen, Liesbrock, Heinz, ed. With texts by Bernd and Hilla Becher. *Photographs from 1973-1993*. London: Schirmer Art Books, 1995.

This book contains three essays, a conversation about Shore between Heinz Liesbrock and Bernd and Hilla Becher, and both black and white and color photographs, taken by Shore between 1975 and 1993. In one of the essays, Liesbrock discusses Shore's participation in New Topographics, writing that Shore's images contrasted with the other photographers' work, and suggests that while the other new topographers were concerned with documenting the point where landscape meets civilization, Shore possessed a more unconditional gaze, approaching his subjects without fixed expectations. Includes biographical information and exhibition history.

112. Shore, Stephen. *Uncommon Places: Photographs by Stephen Shore*. Millerton, New York: Aperture, 1982.

This publication features forty-nine photographs by Shore, made on a series of cross-country trips across North America in the years 1972 to 1979. Shore's work from this period is notable for its pioneering and distinct use of color, made during a time when this medium was primarily used for fashion and advertising. See also bib. 113.

113. Shore, Stephen. Essay by Stephan Schmidt-Wulfen, conversation with Lynne Tillman. *Uncommon Places: The Complete Works*. New York: Aperture, 2004.

In this book, Shore presents the series of photographs he made on trips across North America from 1972 to 1979. A number of these images have been published before, in *Uncommon Places* (1982; bib. 112), but with a different sequencing and a primary focus on urban views. With this publication, Shore presents a new and much larger selection that he feels more accurately reflects the breadth of the project, and in addition to the urban and landscape photographs, there are portraits and interiors. Includes an interview with Shore by Lynne Tillman, as well as biographical notes.

114. Shore, Stephen. Introduction by Bob Nickas. *American Surfaces Stephen Shore*. London and New York: Phaidon, 2005.

This book publishes the photographs by Stephen Shore that were originally shown in New York in Shore's 1972 exhibition, *American Surfaces* at Light Gallery. Nickas writes that while at first glance the photographs look like they could have been taken by anyone, possessing an informal snapshot aesthetic, their unaffected natural appearance was entirely intentional. Nickas argues that this project signaled a major shift in art photography, and continues to serve as a major landmark, in which Shore helped define the American vernacular photography. The 312 photographs included in this book were produced on a cross-country trip, and depict landscapes, portraits and interiors, and demonstrate, as Nickas contends, the human element at the centre of Shore's project.

## Henry Wessel

115. Wessel, Henry. *Henry Wessel California and the West, Odd Photos, Las Vegas, Real Estate Photographs, Night Walk*. Boxed set of five books. Göttingen, Germany: Steidl, 2006.

A set of five books that presents Wessel's major photographic work from the 1960's to 2004. Wessel has written an introductory statement for each book, providing brief background context and anecdotal information concerning the inspiration or circumstances under which the images were made.

116. Zander, Thomas, ed. *Henry Wessel*. San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, Göttingen, Germany: Steidl, 2007.

A beautiful exhibition-related publication that presents Wessel's photographic work from the late 1960's to 2003, along with two essays, by Georg Imdahl and Sandra S. Phillips. While Imdahl investigates Wessel's subject matter and

compositional treatment, Phillips provides a comprehensive overview of Wessel's life and career, discussing his discovery of the medium, his influences, colleagues, exhibitions, methodology and achievements. Phillips mentions Wessel's participation in *New Topographics*, stating that the exhibition confirmed his importance as a photographer of an inhabited western landscape, and discusses the influences and framework from which his topographics style and attitude emerged. Includes 133 black and white and color images.

## 9. References in Subsequent Histories of Photography

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117. Green, Jonathan. *American Photography A Critical History 1945 to the Present*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984.

In this historical survey of American photography, Green includes a significant section on new landscape photography and the new topographics movement, describing the work as photographing the point where the Old West was unceasingly and irreversibly dissolving into contemporary, homogenized America. Green discusses the *New Topographics* exhibition and the term 'new topographics', which immediately became used to describe a major photographic attitude of the seventies. The author discusses the work of Baltz, Deal, Adams, the Bechers, Nixon, and Gohlke, and uses Jenkins' catalogue essay to support his interpretation of their work as disassociating themselves from the emotionalism and sentimentality of American popular landscape photography, through objectivity and neutrality. Includes images by the aforementioned photographers, as well as an extensive bibliography.

118. Davis, Keith F. *An American Century of Photography From Dry-Plate to Digital*. Foreword by Donald J. Hall. Kansas City, Missouri: Hallmark Cards, Inc., in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995. Second edition revised and enlarged: Kansas City, Missouri: Hallmark Cards, Inc., in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1999.

In this volume, Davis describes the collective style of the participating photographers in the *New Topographics* exhibition as deriving from a wide group of influences ranging from nineteenth-century topographic photographers to Walker Evans, Ed Ruscha, and Minimalism. Davis discusses the statement by Jenkins on the photographs' elimination of style, arguing that this seeming lack of style represented a set of highly disciplined artistic choices. The work of Adams and Baltz are discussed, as is the slightly later work of Deal and Gohlke.

119. Hulick, Diana Emery and Marshall, Joseph. *Photography: 1900 To The Present*. Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1998.

Hulick and Marshall include an extensive excerpt from Jenkins' introductory essay to *New Topographics*.

120. Mora, Gilles. *PhotoSpeak A Guide to the Ideas, Movements, and Techniques of Photography, 1839 to the Present*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.

Gilles includes a small section on *New Topographics*, in this book that functions as a photography reference dictionary. Gilles lists the photographers featured in the exhibition, and describes their work as differing from that of earlier landscape photographers, by taking a "quasi-scientific, almost cartographic approach, which was also informed by social and ecological concerns." Gilles cites their influences as Walker Evans, Charles Sheeler and the Precisionist painters such as Charles Demuth, as well as conceptual art of the 1960's. Minimal images.

121. Rosenblum, Naomi. *The World History of Photography*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1997.

Rosenblum includes a brief discussion of the new topographics movement, describing it as having evolved out of the 'social landscape' concept of the 1960's. Rosenblum writes that the highly structured appearance of objectivity in *New Topographics* photographs is actually a style in itself, and that one consequence of this structured neutrality is that these images may serve multiple



purposes, such as aesthetic, informational and propagandistic. One image by Baltz.

122. Hirsch, Robert. *Seizing the Light A History of Photography*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

Hirsch includes a brief section on 'new topographics', including a discussion of the exhibition, and describes the term as a theme that allowed the photographers, seeking a return to the landscape aesthetic but without adhering to conventions of the picturesque or sublime, to portray the intersection of where nature and culture collided. Hirsch argues that the approach was problematic, because viewers were unaware of the informing premises, and the minimalist, stark similarities to commercial images further confused the public. Images by Adams, Baltz, and Ruscha.

123. Marien, Mary Werner. *Photography A Cultural History*. Second edition. Upper Saddle, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc, 2006.

Marien briefly discusses the *New Topographics* exhibition in her section on American suburban photography, citing the participating photographers' interest in documenting the banality and regularity of an inhabited landscape, with a distanced and neutral eye. Images by Adams and Baltz.

### **Analysis and Reflections on the Bibliography: *Era of Exploration***

*Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*, as an exhibition, and to a much larger extent as a publication, changed the understanding and ways of exhibiting, publishing and interpreting nineteenth-century American landscape photography. The bibliography, found in chapter 3, illustrates the nature and scope of written material relating to *Era of Exploration* and the subject of nineteenth-century American landscape photography, produced both prior to and after the exhibition, and reveals an important shift in perception, revealing how the exhibition, its photographers and their photographs were, and are now understood.

Jointly organized by Weston J. Naef, then-Assistant Curator at New York's Metropolitan Museum, and James N. Wood, then-Associate Director at Buffalo's Albright-Knox Art Gallery, *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*, was a monumental project, not only in the size, scope and execution of its multi-venue exhibition tour, but also in the quality and comprehensiveness of the exhibition's renowned publication. *Era of Exploration* examined and presented the landscape photography of the nineteenth-century American west in a manner and on a scale that no exhibitions had attempted before. It placed the work of the photographers William H. Jackson, Eadweard J. Muybridge, Timothy H. O'Sullivan, Andrew J. Russell and Carleton E. Watkins within art historical, social and artistic frameworks, thereby providing a new contextualization for general viewers, scholars and historians, who had previously understood this work as a form of documentation.

Prior to *Era of Exploration*, the landscape work of Jackson, Muybridge and O'Sullivan was already known to some extent, while the work of Russell and Watkins was far less well known. The inclusion of Russell and Watkins in *Era of Exploration* marks the first time that their work had been shown in a major exhibition since the nineteenth century. Even more importantly was the fact that these five photographers

were singled out from other nineteenth-century American landscape photographers as significant artists, whose work was seen as worthy of being exhibited in art museums. In 1975, photography had not achieved nearly the amount of interest or value that it holds today. The fact that this exhibition was jointly organized by two prominent art museums, and subsequently shown at three other ones, at a time when few museums exhibited or even collected photography, is significant when considering and evaluating the historical importance of this exhibition.

While there had been several historical photographic landscape exhibitions at museums before *Era*, such as John Szarkowski's *The Photographer and the American Landscape*, (1963; bib. 37), and Diana Edkins' *Landscape and Discovery* (1973; bib. 47), these were accompanied by modest publications with relatively few illustrations; and while there was academic writing published on this topic by authors such as Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock (*The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting, 1839-1880* (1967; bib. 43), the overall quality of the illustrations was poor. *Era of Exploration* stands out as a remarkable and pioneering exhibition both for its attention to the aesthetics of the photographs as art objects in a museum and for the catalogue's scholarly writing and beautifully produced reproductions.

Extensively researched and illustrated, the catalogue is notable not only for its essays and informative biocritical texts on the photographers, but also for its striking treatment of the photographers' images, printed in duotone. In the publication's preface, the curators discuss the importance that was placed on the selection of prints for the exhibition, which were borrowed from more than forty public and private collections, and on the quality and faithfulness of the book's reproductions, noting the need to match the colors, tonal range and proportionate dimensions of the nineteenth-century formats.

With the exception of Beaumont and Nancy Newhall's 1966 exhibition catalogue on O'Sullivan (bib. 74), *Era of Exploration* was the first exhibition publication to devote such attention to reproduction quality. While image quality is an aspect of publishing that has improved enormously over the years, and today has become an essential element of photography books, it is significant to look at exhibition catalogues published prior to *Era*, such as Szarkowski's *Photographer and the American Landscape* (1963; bib. 37), Edkins' *Landscape and Discovery* (1973; bib. 47), or Edkins and Newhall's *William H. Jackson* (1974; bib. 64), to appreciate the enormous advance that *Era of Exploration* represented. Later exhibition catalogues, such as Joel Snyder's *American Frontiers: The*

*Photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan, 1867-1874* (1981; bib. 127), Sandra S. Phillips' *Crossing the Frontier: Photographs of the Developing West, 1849 to the Present*, (1996; bib. 109), Peter Pool and the Nevada Museum of Art's *The Altered Landscape* (1999; bib. 113) and Douglas Nickel's *Carleton Watkins: The Art of Perception* (1999; bib. 144) all demonstrate a noticeable improvement in the accuracy and authenticity of the photographic reproductions.

*Era of Exploration's* pioneering treatment and presentation of its photographs as aesthetic objects is equally evident when examining the earlier publications on the five photographers, published prior to this exhibition. These publications, used by the curators during the exhibition's preparation as source material, often demonstrate earlier, and very different attitudes, ones that primarily understood the photographers' work as mere documentation of the western survey expeditions, functioning chiefly as descriptive side notes to the surveys' geographical reports. With the exception of a few earlier texts by such authors as Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, (*The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting, 1839-1880*)(1967; bib. 43) and Robert Taft, (*Photography and the American Scene*)(1938; bib. 29), that are acknowledged in the *Era* publication's notes as being extremely valuable<sup>1</sup>, the majority of earlier publications regarded these photographs as only geological and historical documentation as opposed to artistic responses to nature and the landscape. They presented the images as illustrations, clearly secondary to the descriptive and historical texts. Publications such as *Shutters West*, by Nina Hull (1962; bib. 35), *Great Surveys of the American West*, by Richard A. Bartlett (1962; bib. 36), and *Picture Gallery Pioneers* by Ralph W. Andrews (1964; bib. 38), function as biographical and historical publications, and treat the photographic work as documentary illustrations rather than art historical objects.

It was not until the 1970s that curators and scholars considered applying an art historical approach to photography, and began evaluating and discussing landscape photographs within artistic and historical contexts. This arose from the belief that these photographers were not naïve recorders of geological information and technological innovations, but informed picture makers, aware of the aesthetic, philosophical and technical possibilities of the photographic medium, a theoretical approach evident in the *Era of Exploration* exhibition and publication.

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<sup>1</sup> Naef, Weston J., Wood, James N. *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*. Buffalo: The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and the Albright-Knox Art Gallery and New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975, pp. 251; see, for example, notes 2 and 13.

*Era of Exploration* presented its five photographers as innovators in landscape depiction, possessing sophisticated, individualistic understandings of both painterly conventions and photography's capabilities for recording the western landscape, an attitude that is found in most subsequent landscape studies. In publications such as, for example, *Photography and the Old West* by Karen Current (1978; bib. 84), the author discusses the *Era of Exploration* photographers, among others, as conscious historians with distinctive ideas of wilderness depictions. Most publications of landscape study also shared *Era of Exploration's* concept and premise of, in the words of Naef, a celebrated "golden age of photography"<sup>2</sup>, in which photographers responded to their medium, utilizing it as more than simply a recorder of scientific detail and means of employment, and looked in the words of Naef, "at nature with a new seriousness", in which "exploration and experimentation went hand in hand."<sup>3</sup>

Later publications, however, reveal a crucial departure from the idea of the nineteenth century photographer as a heroic genius that was championed in *Era of Exploration*, and instead examine and evaluate the photographs in terms of the commercial and social contexts, in which the work was created, following a more culturally-influenced understanding of the photographs. This approach is demonstrated, for example, in George Dimock's 1984 lecture, published as *Exploiting the View Photographs of Yosemite & Mariposa by Carleton Watkins* (bib. 141), in which the author emphasizes the importance of acknowledging a photograph's historical and cultural contexts, ones that Dimock maintains are intrinsic to an image's meaning and cultural significance. Other publications that share this same position but address it differently include Peter Galassi's 1981 exhibition catalogue *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (bib. 90), in which he discusses the nineteenth century photographers' relationship to landscape aesthetics and how they translated ideas of nature into their own individual styles; Rosalind Krauss' article "Photography's Discursive Spaces" (1982; bib. 93), in which Kraus discusses the problems of photographic interpretation and the issues associated with the conventions of specific "discourses"; and, as one further example, *The American Space: Meaning in Nineteenth-Century Landscape Photography* (1983; bib. 96), in which Robert Adams, in his introduction,

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<sup>2</sup> Naef, Weston J., Wood, James N. *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885*. Buffalo: The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and the Albright-Knox Art Gallery and New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975. pp. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13

emphasizes the cultural role of landscape imagery of the nineteenth century, discussing how landscape photography not only influenced nineteenth century attitudes about nature, but also continues to have significance and relevance in society today.

This approach, of examining landscape imagery from within its own cultural context, and of investigating how this context is understood now, is a standard attitude among later researchers, writers and curators. As illustrated in this chronologically ordered bibliography, these authors, writing after *Era of Exploration*, reveal a continuing interest in understanding and in deriving meaning and significance in photographic work by examining the object's use, history and original cultural context. While these later studies may differ in the way they understand the "artistic" nature of nineteenth-century landscape photography from that found in *Era of Exploration*, they share the same passionate belief in the historical and aesthetic value of original photographs.

### **Analysis and Reflections on the Bibliography: *New Topographics***

The *New Topographics* exhibition, along with its now rare, and highly sought-after catalogue, had a profound impact on landscape photography, altering not only the understanding of landscape depiction, but also the ways in which the genre has subsequently conceptualized and defined. *New Topographics* was concerned with establishing a new category of contemporary landscape practice, by bringing together the work of ten relatively unknown photographers who, it was argued, shared similar aesthetics and interests. This new category helped to expand photographers', curators', and historians' concepts of photographic landscape representation by allowing more room for the depiction of the human presence within nature, as opposed to confining it to idealized depictions of an untouched wilderness.

The annotated bibliography, which is found in chapter 4, documents the nature and scope of this influence, through an examination of the written material concerning the *New Topographics* exhibition and publication, and reveals how the exhibition, its photographers and their photographs were, and are now, understood and discussed.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the influence of *New Topographics* on photographic history, study, and practice, was the way in which the term and concept of 'new topographics' was immediately adopted. While the term 'topography' had been in use in relation to art photography prior to the exhibition, for example, in reference to the work of the Bechers' (see bibs. 30 and 33), the 1975 exhibition and its publication proved to be extremely influential in this matter, and the term 'new topographics' became almost instantly a critically accepted term, one that has been subsequently used to describe a category of landscape photography as is seen, for example, in general photographic history books, such as Jonathan Green's *American Photography: A Critical Study* (1984; bib.117) or Robert Hirsch's *Seizing the Light: A History of Photography* (2000; bib.122).

*New Topographics* exhibited together as a group for the first time, the work of Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Bernd and Hilla Becher, Joe Deal, Frank Gohlke, Nicholas Nixon, John Schott, Stephen Shore and Henry Wessel Jr., whose work was described in

Jenkins' introductory essay as sharing similar aesthetics and concerns, characterized by minimal personal inflection and a non-judgmental, objective approach to observation and picture making. This characterization of the group's work as a whole has been questioned by a number of photographic historians and critics who felt that not all of the work fitted this idea either conceptually or formally. This criticism was first voiced in Charles Desmarais' exhibition review, (1975; bib. 2), in which he argued that Schott's work in particular appeared to contain judgmental, subjective views of urban topography, and that Wessel's photographs possessed a sentimentality as opposed to a strictly descriptive approach. As well, many subsequent critics have questioned the inclusion of the Bechers, as their work seemed to stand apart as being conceptually different and exclusively concerned with industrial architecture, as opposed to investigating the relationship between humans and the natural environment.

While some of the photographers have subsequently questioned Jenkins' description of their work, and see themselves as working differently from the others (see, for example, Frank Gohlke's interview in *Northlight* 10, 1979; bib. 101) and while others entirely changed their subject matter, such as Nicholas Nixon switching to portraiture as of 1977, Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Joe Deal and Stephen Shore have been seen as most closely embodying the essence of the show's ideology and aesthetics, and, since the exhibition, their work has been inextricably linked to the new topographics movement. This development is evident in the later histories of photography, such as, for example, Keith Davis' *An American Century of Photography From Dry-Plate to Digital* (1995; bib. 118), in which he specifically identifies what he felt were the core photographers from the show, Adams, Baltz, Deal and Gohlke. This definition of the new topographics category in relationship with specific photographers is also evident in the number of subsequent publications, exhibition catalogues and monographs on the individual photographers, especially Adams (See bibs. 61-76) and Baltz (See bibs. 77-81), almost all of which, discuss their involvement with *New Topographics*.

Writers were also quick to raise questions concerning Jenkins' discussion of style, or what appeared to be 'style-less' photography. This formed a key point in Jenkins' catalogue introduction, in which, supported by statements by four of the photographers – Adams, Baltz, Deal, and Nixon -, he argued that all the work in the exhibition aspired to be strictly descriptive and neutral in its depiction, and that the meanings expressed in the images were more important than their aesthetics. Jenkins



argued that the photographers were following in the tradition of Ed Ruscha, specifically his photographic work from the 1960s, which Jenkins described as “stripped of any artistic frills and reduced to an essentially topographic state, conveying substantial amounts of visual information but eschewing entirely the aspects of beauty, emotion and opinion.”<sup>4</sup> To exclude all traces of personal opinion or judgment in a photograph is clearly an impossibility, and most critics continue to agree with Jenkins when he argued that photographers such as Robert Adams made specific choices as to how their photographs would look, itself a stylistic choice, and in their work attempted to subdue as much as possible the intrusion of a personal style.

In acknowledging that the photographer's were making stylistic choices, however minimal in appearance, critics and historians began to consider the possible influences of the work of earlier photographers. The *New Topographics* approach to landscape photography, which depicted a landscape altered by humans as opposed to the idealized, traditional views of untouched wilderness, seemed to have certain affinities with the slightly earlier concerns of 'social landscape' photography, a term that seems to have been coined by Lee Friedlander in 1963.<sup>5</sup> The term was later adopted by Thomas Graver in his exhibition and catalogue *Twelve Photographers of the American Social Landscape* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, 1966) and as well, by Nathan Lyons, in his 1966 exhibition *Toward a Social Landscape*<sup>6</sup> (bib.8) to describe photography of the everyday urban environment.

Critics have also discussed other earlier influences. Along with Ruscha's work from the 1960s, such as *Twentysix Gasoline Stations* (1962; bib.5), *Some Los Angeles Apartments* (1965; bib.7) and *All the Buildings on the Sunset Strip* (1966; bib. 9), scholars have identified influences in the work of the nineteenth century survey photographers, such as Timothy O'Sullivan, Carleton Watkins and William H. Jackson, (bib. 3, 4, 42, 49, 53, 72, 120), as well as Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans, both of whom had major retrospective exhibitions with accompanying publications at MOMA, respectively in 1966 and 1971. Comparisons with the work of Lange or Evans are made in Carter Ratcliff's article "Route 66 Revisited: The New Landscape Photography" (1976; bib. 3), Peter Galassi's *Nicholas Nixon: Pictures of People* (1988; bib. 107), Stephen

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<sup>4</sup> Jenkins, William. *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-altered Landscape*. Rochester, New York: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1975. p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> In a statement for a portfolio of his work in the journal *Contemporary Photographer* 4, no. 4 (Fall 1963), p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> This information on 'social landscape' found in Galassi, Peter. *Lee Friedlander*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2005, p. 37.

Shore's exhibition catalogue *Photographs* (1981; bib. 110), Davis' *An American Century of Photography From Dry-Plate to Digital* (1995; bib. 118), and among others, Mora Gilles' *Photospeak* (1998; bib.120). In these different ways, critics sought to contextualize the work of the *New Topographers* within recognizable photographic traditions.

The *New Topographics* exhibition occurred at a time when traditional landscape photography -- the imagery of the sublime, unaltered wilderness as represented by photographers such as Ansel Adams and Eliot Porter -- was still extremely popular. For many critics and later historians, *New Topographics* signaled the end of this type of idealized depictions, forming a decisive break with the tradition of romantic landscape imagery, and opening new doors to the possibilities of photographic portrayal of the contemporary relationship between humans and nature. This idea is discussed in several publications, including Mary A. Foresta's *Between Home and Heaven. Contemporary American Landscape Photography from the Consolidated Natural Gas Company Foundation Collection of the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution* (1992; bib.53), the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography's exhibition catalogue *Critical Landscapes* (1993; bib. 54), and, among others, Stephen Longmire's article "Back West: Reviewing American Landscape Photography" in *Afterimage*, 25 (2) (September/October), 1997 (bib. 57).

This understanding of *New Topographics* as forming the turning point in landscape photography is the common attitude among photographic historians, curators and critics. *New Topographics* is now seen to have adapted nineteenth-century concerns for straightforward documentation and pictorial clarity, and fused these aesthetic values with contemporary concerns with the changing relationship of man and nature. Timely and significant in its message and appearance, *New Topographics* instantly defined a category and approach in the landscape photography, its title becoming a recognizable term in photographic history.

### Conclusion

This project has for me, revealed much about not only the influence of these exhibitions on the landscape genre, but also the contribution and relevance of exhibitions in the development of photographic history. By tracking the literary evidence of an exhibition's influence, a sort of map is revealed, one which shows us how and where interest or aesthetic developments occurred as a result of an exhibition's presentation, and demonstrates how curatorial interest in particular photographers or movements have shaped the evolution of photographic history as it exists today. At the very least, this project may serve as a small step in the documentation of exhibition histories, and underscores the invaluable resource of photography publications.