

INDIANA

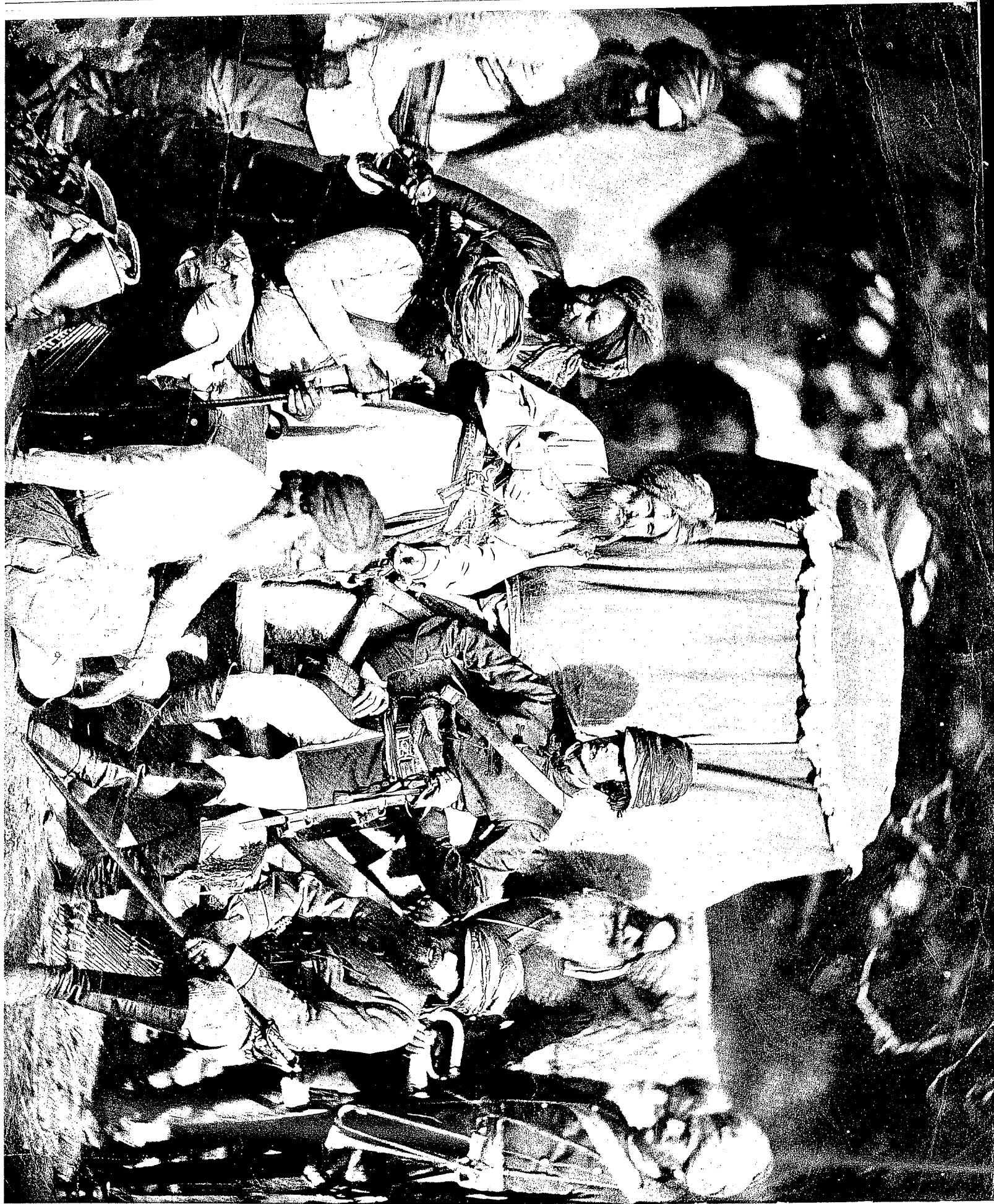
THROUGH THE LENS

Photography 1840-1911

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David Harris

Topography and Memory: Felice Beato's Photographs of India, 1858–1859

IN THE 1858 annual exhibition of the Photographic Society of London, twenty-six of Felice Beato's photographs of the city of Ludknow were exhibited anonymously.¹ A reviewer in the *Journal of the Photographic Society of London* provided the context for his brief listing of the views with the following remarks:

Besides portraits of a phalanx of Indian heroes; Lord Clyde [Sir Colin Campbell], [Robert] Napier, [Colonel F. M.] Birch, [William Wilberforce Harts] Greathead, and many others known to fame, the views of public buildings and localities in the city connected for ever with the chivalry of [Sir Henry] Havelock, and the successes of [Sir James] Outram and Clyde, are most striking and memorable. . . . These admirable views give us, in fact, the pictorial romance of this terrible war. They are necessary, as our contemporaries say, to an understanding of the war now, and will be indispensable to its future historians.²

The reviewer's use of "chivalry" to typify the behavior of one of the participants and his coupling of "romance" and "war" to describe the struggle then unfolding two continents away in northern India may now strike readers as surprising but such language reveals the depth and tone of contemporaneous feeling. From an impassioned British perspective, this conflict, which the English variously characterized as a "mutiny," a "revolt," or a "rebellion," could be imagined as a medieval "romance" of epic proportions, where geographical, rather than temporal, distance lent an exoticism to the events. The 16 July 1857 massacre of two hundred European and Anglo-Indian women and children after their surrender following the

siege of Kanpur seemed an event of startling betrayal and cruelty. The tenacious survival of the British held captive within the narrow confines of the Residency compound in Lucknow (a complex of buildings comprising the official home of the resident, the British representative to the local court, as well as a number of domestic, civil, and religious structures) through eighty-seven days was marked by heroic and stoic endurance, and their eventual liberation by Sir Colin Campbell in late November 1857 became one of dramatic and inspiring military daring. Not only were such events of consuming interest in themselves, but they were animated by equally vivid personalities and marked by grand gestures—the unflinching resolve of the Scotsman, Campbell, or the brutal and misguided sense of justice of William Hodson, who murdered the two sons of Bahadur Shah II, the king of Delhi, following their surrender to him.³

From early July 1857, when initial reports of the May 10 insurrection of native soldiers in Meerut first reached England, the British public was kept abreast of the events through continuing coverage in daily newspapers and in weekly and monthly periodicals such as the *The Times* (London), *The Illustrated London News*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and beginning in 1857, by illustrated memoirs and histories written by participants in the recent events.⁴ With such national interest and concern over the outcome of “this terrible war,” it is hardly surprising that Beato’s 1858 photographs of the participants and of Lucknow itself, where many of the most celebrated events had occurred, would find an immediate and receptive audience.⁵ Here were seemingly objective views, without any of the fictional embellishment or the unavoidable inaccuracies of engravings (derived from drawings) that frequently accompanied the reports and memoirs.

The impact of these photographs as authoritative forms of reportage rich in topographical information would have initially overwhelmed and obscured other, less immediately evident, purposes that the images were created to serve. It is only in hindsight, in light of later interpretations of this conflict and of subsequent political uses of war photography that we are able to acknowledge and understand the extent to which Beato’s photographs formed an integral component of nineteenth-century British colonial ideology. The historical meaning of Beato’s images now lies in reconciling these two alternative readings—between seeing his photographs as suppliers of factual information and accepting them as forms of thinly veiled propaganda.

Surprisingly little is still known about Beato (1820s?–1907?) beyond what can be inferred from his surviving photographs and gleaned from occasional references in the memoirs of his contemporaries.⁶ Even the date and place of his birth and death remain unknown. He is thought to have been born either in Venice or within the Venetian territory, possibly on the island of Corfu, in the 1820s or 1830s. Together with his brother Antonio (1820s?–1905?),⁷ he acquired his knowledge of the practice of photography in the 1850s from their brother-in-law, the Scotland-born photographer James Robertson (ca. 1813–1888).⁸ Robertson specialized in topographical photography of Constantinople and Greece, and with Beato's help, photographed the Crimean War from June 1855 through June 1856. Beato initially served as Robertson's assistant until early in 1857, when they formed a brief commercial partnership, evidenced by their joint credits on negatives. This partnership appears to have dissolved early in 1858, when Beato departed for India.

Beato's formative years with Robertson allowed him an opportunity to perfect his photographic technique—both his preference for using albumen (rather than the commonly used collodion) in making negatives and his photographing of his finished prints to make additional negatives for printing purposes can be traced to Robertson's own practice.⁹ Over this period, he absorbed Robertson's skill in producing topographical photographs and constructing multipart panoramas. Beato's experiences in the Crimea had a decisive influence on his subsequent career. He developed a taste and talent for war photography, learning how to work under the extreme and unpredictable conditions encountered during campaigns and understanding the particular requirements of the British military. He first met a number of British officers in the Crimea, such as Garnet J. Wolsley and Henry Hope Crealock among others, whose careers also took them to India in 1857–59, and on to China in 1860.¹⁰

Beato arrived in Calcutta on 13 February 1858 and remained in India for slightly more than two years. Based upon scattered references in local newspapers and later published diaries and memoirs, his movements can still only be imperfectly traced.¹¹ Soon after his arrival, he attended the meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society on 17 February 1858, at which he described his use of the “dry” albumen process” for making negatives.¹² In early March, he was in Kanpur, where he photographed the ruins of the barracks of Wheeler's Entrenchment¹³ (no. 45), and in late March and early April he is documented

as having been in Lucknow.¹⁴ This evidence suggests that, at this time, he was following in the wake of the British forces under Campbell, and it seems probable that Beato made most, if not all, of the more than sixty photographs of Lucknow shortly after March 21 when the city was once again secured by the British (nos. 49–58). His brother Antonio arrived in Calcutta on June 30, and operated a studio at 37 Cossicollah until his return to Luxor, Egypt, where he remained until his death, in 1905. On 27 August 1858, Felice Beato advertised his photographs of Lucknow at the Calcutta studio. In October he was once again in Kanpur. In early February 1859, his travels took him to Meerut and back to Calcutta in late March, where he attended another meeting of the photographic society. He subsequently traveled to Agra in mid-April, Simla in early May, and Lahore in October. In late February 1860, he sailed for Hong Kong, where he joined the British contingent of the Anglo-French North China expedition.¹⁵

As a commercial photographer, Beato was entirely dependent upon the marketability of his images and clearly photographed what he felt to be topical and salable. The British military constituted his principal market, with their interests and needs largely determining his choice and treatment of subjects. In 1858–59, Beato made more than 130 topographical and architectural photographs and concentrated upon the three sites where British military and the public's interest were most sharply focused. He took approximately sixty photographs in Delhi, four at Kanpur, and another sixty photographs in Lucknow. Beato also photographed three additional sites of less military importance but nevertheless of considerable architectural and archaeological value. He photographed the bathing ghats in Benares (now Varanasi) and the Dhamekh Stupa at Sarnath (approximately ten views); the Taj Mahal and the Fort at Agra, as well as Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra (twenty-four views); and the Golden Temple (Hari Mandir) in Amritsar in the plains of the Punjab (seventeen photographs).¹⁶

Beato worked in the aftermath of sieges and campaigns, long after the 1857 siege and assault upon Delhi and the siege and massacres at Kanpur, but immediately after the final reoccupation of Lucknow in March 1858. As a result, he was able to plan and organize his coverage in advance and produce coherent, related groups of topographical views for his prospective customers. In effect, Beato could tailor his interpretation to the concerns of the British and mirror their perspective as victors. Given the circumstances, it seems likely that he would have not only sought the advice of British officers,

who were familiar with the specific topography and the campaigns, but would also have carried out his work with their participation. Judging from the state of the vegetation and the condition of the architecture, Beato appears to have completed his coverage of most of the sites at one time.¹⁷

Of the sixty photographs that Beato made in Delhi, thirty-nine, including two multipart panoramas, were concerned with the siege and the September 1857 assault on the city,¹⁸ while the remaining images were devoted to the archaeological remains at Qutb, south of the city. In assembling photographs to represent the three-month siege of Delhi (8 June to 13 September, 1857), Beato concentrated upon the British position along the ridge to the northwest of the city, of which he made twelve views. In addition, he produced a three-part panorama from "Hindoo Rao's house," the key British battery, which overlooked and surveyed the city.

The British assault of Delhi was directed at the water bastion and the Kashmir Gate, two places along the city's northern sixteen-foot-high masonry wall. In advance of the assault, they relentlessly shelled these portions of the wall over several days, as well as the adjacent Mori bastion, whose guns protected this section of the wall. On the morning of 14 September they breached the walls and entered the city. In order to provide a framework for describing the assault in detail, Beato made clusters of images of these areas along the wall—two of the water bastion, four, including a two-part panorama, of the Kashmir gate (no. 46), and two-part panorama of the Mori bastion (no. 47). He also photographed Ludlow castle, the Custom House battery (no. 48), and the ruins of a former summer palace, Qudsia, where the British troops were massed immediately before the assault. In order to follow events over the subsequent six days (14–20 September), until the city was finally secured, Beato included views both within Delhi, such as the Lahore gate and the Chandni Chowk, and in the city's vicinity, notably, two views of the tomb of Emperor Humayun (reigned 1530–40; 1555–56), where William Hodson had captured the fleeing king and his two sons.

Beato sold his photographs as unmounted prints.¹⁹ By assembling a selection of images, the purchaser could construct a personal visual record that would reflect his professional interests and mirror his experiences. Each photograph contributed precise information concerning the circumstances of the lengthy siege and carefully planned assault. The characteristics of the surrounding topography were

delineated; those places where pivotal events occurred were described; and information of particular concern to the British officers and engineers, such as the composition of the city's massive walls, was included. When ordered and sequenced in albums, these photographs provided the framework around which a narrative of the events could be developed. In Beato's photographs lay the potential for distilling memories for the participants of the conflict and for evoking the places and events for their families as well as satisfying the interests and imagination of the British public.

The more than sixty photographs exclusively devoted to the military campaigns at Lucknow form the most extensive and intricate group of images that Beato made to commemorate the events of 1857–58. Three separate factors contributed to this unusually large number. Firstly, the city itself was physically larger than any of the other centers of conflict, encompassing many palaces, gardens, bazaars, and Muslim mosques along the Gurni River and having a population of about 500,000 in 1857. Secondly, a succession of events had dramatically and continuously unfolded over almost a year.²⁰ The mutiny of the 7th Light Cavalry on 30 May 1857, and the subsequent humiliating defeat of the British forces at Chanhat on June 30, a few miles north of the city, led to the occupation of Lucknow and the siege of the Residency compound, whither fifteen hundred British and loyal Indians had retreated for their safety. An initial but unsuccessful attempt by the British forces, under General Havelock and Sir James Outram, to relieve the beleaguered British garrison on September 25, ended with their own captivity within the compound. A second and much larger relief force, under Sir Colin Campbell, reached the Residency compound on November 17, and over the next few days successfully evacuated it, but left the city in rebel hands. In March of the following year, Campbell returned with an enormous army of 25,000 soldiers and finally subdued and reoccupied the Lucknow (March 14–21). Thirdly, as the reviewer of Beato photographs in the *Journal of the Photographic Society* intimated, the fate of Lucknow had assumed a far greater importance for the British public than its military and strategic significance alone warranted. Any attempt by Beato to describe the city and the related dramatic events with any degree of thoroughness required many more photographs than had been needed for either Kanpur or even Delhi.

Beato followed his general procedure, organizing his photographs topographically rather than strictly adhering to the chronological sequence of events. He began with two views of the Alam Bagh, a

royal palace located three miles south of the city and then moved in a northeast curve to include the Dilkusha Palace (which Campbell used as his headquarters during both campaigns) and the Martiniere School (still functioning as La Martinière Boys' School) (no. 49) immediately to the east of the city. From this point, Beato's photographs sweep in a northwest direction through Lucknow, and include such royal palaces as the Kaiser Bagh (the headquarters of the rebels) (nos. 50–52) and the Chutter Manzil (no. 53), the Residency compound (nos. 54, 55), and Asaf-ud-daula's Imambara (with its mosque, then used, respectively, as the quarters of the 53d Infantry Brigade and a field hospital) (nos. 56, 57). Beato's coverage ends with a final view of another royal place, the Musa Bagh, built four miles northwest of the city, the final stronghold of the rebels. In addition to describing the city's topography and its prominent structures, this organization also corresponds to the routes taken by each of the three successive relief forces.²¹ Within this general framework, Beato was able to document each phase of Campbell's two relief campaigns,²² a process reinforced by the incorporation of military information into the captions that accompanied each of his photographs. Beato's series of views showed the succession of captured and, in the case of the Kaiser Bagh, savagely plundered palaces, while pausing and lingering over selected sites, such as the Sikandarbagh and the Residency compound, which held particular significance for the British.

Perhaps the most notorious photograph associated with the entire struggle is Beato's image of the interior of the Secunderabad, a relatively small, walled pleasure garden on the eastern outskirts of Lucknow.²³ Beato devoted two photographs to this site, which he conceived as an architecturally and thematically linked pair. Figure 1 shows the exterior wall and formal entrance as seen from the road. Beato carefully positioned figures across the scene to form a frieze, including an Indian who, standing in profile at the right, marked the place where, on 16 November 1857, the British first breached the wall and entered the garden. The second related view (no. 58) shows the pavilion within the garden where, as Beato's own caption dispassionately recalls for the viewer, two thousand Indians were mercilessly slaughtered. It is evident from contemporaneous British military accounts of this incident that the rage that sustained this slaughter sprang from the desire to avenge and seek retribution for the earlier massacre of children and women at Kanpur.²⁴ In the restaging of the interior view four or five months later, Beato not only posi-

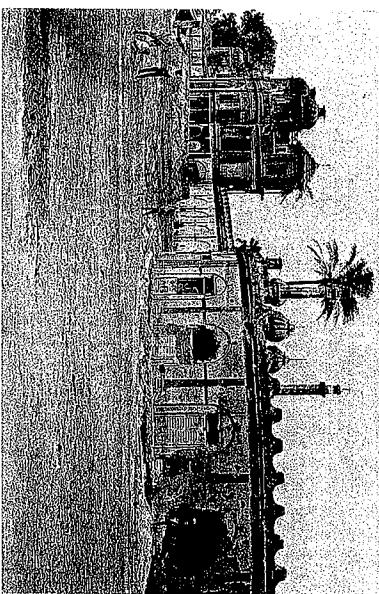


FIGURE 1 Felice Beato (1820?–1907?), *The Secundera Bagh, Showing the Breach and Cartway, First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November, 1857, Lucknow, March or April 1858* (negative exposed), albumen silver print from albumen on glass plate negative, 23.4 x 29.4. Plate 5 in the album *Lucknow—The Indian Mutiny*, Michael and Jane Wilson Collection

tioned the horse and Indians, but, even more chillingly, arranged for disinterred bones to be scattered in the foreground.

Beato devoted eight photographs, by far the largest concentration, to the Residency compound. Four of his images center upon the shell of the former three-storied Residency building itself, and Beato used one as a memorial to the British commander Sir Henry Lawrence (1806–1857), who had died early in the siege (no. 54). As he had done elsewhere, Beato deliberately positioned an Indian to mark the room in which Lawrence had been mortally wounded by cannon fire. The remaining four photographs focus upon the Baillie guard gate and show it in the context of the surrounding city (no. 55) and the adjacent buildings within the Residency complex. Perhaps because the entire Residency has been preserved in its ruined state as a permanent memorial, these photographs now have a strongly commemorative feeling.

While topographical work absorbed most of Beato's time, he also made portraits of the leading British generals, such as Campbell, Sir James Hope Grant, Outram, as well many of the British officers, including Wolseley and Crealock, and loyal Indian soldiers.²⁵ In his 1858 portrait of Hodson's Horse (no. 59), for instance, Clifford Henry Meclan standing in the center and Dr. Thomas Anderson seated to his right are shown surrounded by this Sikh cavalry regiment.²⁶ In addition to satisfying an immediate market for such portraiture among the British soldiers, some of his portraits, particularly of the more prominent participants, were directed at a wider audience. In addition to architecture and portraiture, Beato also produced copy work for the British. For instance, he supplied photographic copies of drawings and sketches, which Crealock had made of the relief of Lucknow and the 1858 campaigns in Rohilkhand, Baiswara, and north of the Ghaghara River.²⁷

Later historians would fully concur with the anonymous reviewer in *The Photographic Journal* that Beato's photographs played and continue to play an essential role in our knowledge of this colonial conflict. However, they would also argue that these images have a significance beyond simply supplying topographical information or contributing to the recitation of military adventures. The historical value of such photographs rests upon their ability to reveal aspects of the inner mechanics of imperialism, and particularly in furnishing an apparently objective, but in reality a highly circumscribed and one-sided record of the contemporaneous events.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, photography was still considered a largely mechanical process, which necessarily yielded accurate and impartial records rather than, as we have gradually come to accept them, *interpretations*, which are created to validate and support identifiable ideological positions.²⁸ At the time, Beato's photographs were asked to assume a largely subsidiary and supportive role. They made the places where "significant" events had occurred vividly present to the viewer's imagination. Through a wealth of topographical information, they created a suitable framework within which a single chronological version of events as perceived from the British perspective could be developed and fully articulated. Inherent in the *Journal of the Photographic Society's* text is the certainty that the events of 1857–59 would always be understood and remembered in the same way, and that Beato's photographs would continue to support that viewpoint and interpretation.

Historians have increasingly moved away from master narratives—those corresponding to a single reading of events—and have sought multiple interpretations, ones that allow for alternative, even contradictory, viewpoints and that more accurately reflect history's inherent complexity. In the case of British colonial history, there has been a widespread scholarly acknowledgment of the symbiotic relationship between economic demands and political priorities in determining policies and shaping attitudes. As part of this process, historians of nineteenth-century photography have become increasingly concerned with examining and clarifying photography's role within the context of colonialism and imperialism.²⁹ In contemplating how Beato's choice and treatment of his subject were shaped by the circumstances under which he produced and marketed his photographs, and in considering what ideological purposes his images served within the larger demands of British imperialism, his images now invite and elicit further questions. Any interpretation of them is thus an increasingly complex and open-ended process. Rather than appearing as merely documentary records, Beato's photographs reveal as much as they obscure and cloud.

Beato's photograph of the interior of the Secunderabad seems emblematic of the problems now facing viewers as they attempt to confront and contemplate these photographs (no. 58). Undeniably, this is a constructed image of military triumph and celebration. Today, the horror of such an image lies in the strangeness of its composition—in the unsettling juxtaposition of, on the one hand, the battle-

scarred European-derived architecture and the picturesquely composed grouping of Indians, and, on the other, of the grisly remains in the foreground. The tranquillity of the background sits uneasily with the implied violence in the foreground, as symbolized by the scattered bones. How does one reconcile the serenity and order of this image with the graphic and repellent descriptions of four hours of continuous slaughter as recorded in British military memoirs? How does the knowledge that Beato deliberately conceived and arranged this scene—that, in an aesthetic sense, he *composed* the view—affect one's understanding of his personal pathology as a photographer of war? What does the existence of such a photograph reveal about contemporaneous public taste, and what was considered suitable as a photographic record of an event? And finally, and most poignantly, what did the Indians, who were posed so picturesquely before the shattered building, understand about the photographic process in which they formed an integral but perhaps unwitting part, and through which they had entered into history?

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Violet Hamilton, curator of the Michael Wilson Collection, and particularly to Janet Dewan for their help in carrying out the research for this essay.
2. *The Journal of the Photographic Society* 5, no. 79 (1899): 185.
3. Hodson's action remains controversial. See the entry, with further bibliographic references, in Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 2: 969–70.
4. In the bibliography of P. J. O. Taylor, ed., *A Companion to the "Indian Mutiny" of 1857* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), fifteen memoirs are listed as published in 1857 and fifty-one in 1858. [The immediate trigger for the military insurrection known as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was a rumor to the effect that the cartridges for the newly issued Enfield rifles were lubricated with beef tallow and pork fat, animal products taboo to devout Hindus and Muslims, respectively. The high-caste sepoy, or soldiers, of the Bengal Army, stationed at Meerut near Delhi, refused to handle them. On 10 May 1857, when sentences of imprisonment with hard labor were imposed on eighty-five sepoy, their fellow soldiers mutinied, murdering their British officers and the British civilians attached to the military garrison, and torching their houses. Freeing the eighty-five prisoners, they marched to Delhi, where the local sepoy joined them in taking their British officers prisoner and killing British civilians. The mutiny spread rapidly across northern India, and the towns of Lucknow and Kanpur were among those hardest hit. In particular, the unfortunate massacre of British women and children at Kanpur was seen as an outrage to Britain's honor, and the British response was to crush the rebellion at any cost. By the time the mutiny was over, thirteen months after the initial insurrection, thousands of Indians had lost their lives to the fury of British forces, supported by loyal native forces. One result of the mutiny was the abolition of the East India Company, which had thus far ruled the country, on 1 November 1858, the British crown assumed direct rule of India.—Ed.]
5. While this essay deals exclusively with Felice Beato, there were other photographers, such as Dr. John Murray Major Robert C. Tyler (of the 38th Bengal Native Infantry) and his wife, Harriet, and, among others, J. Milliken (of the 23d Company, Royal Engineers) who also made topographical views in 1858–59 of places associated with the mutiny.
6. On Felice Beato, see John Clark, John Fraser, and Colin Osman, "Chronology of Felix (Felice) Beato (1825?–1908?)" in John Clark, *Japanese-British Exchanges in Art, 1850–1930: Papers and Research Material* (Canberra, Australia: Department of Art History, Australian National University, 1989), 96–118; this chronology now provides the foundation for our present knowledge of Beato's life. Various articles by Colin Osman, including his "The Later Years of Felice Beato," *Photographic Journal* 128, no. 11 (1988): 511–14, have further clarified aspects of Beato's life and career. See also David Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty: Felice Beato's Photographs of China* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1999), 19–27.
7. On Antonio Beato, see Colin Osman, "Antonio Beato, Photographer of the Nile," *History of Photography* 14, no. 2 (1990): 101–11.
8. On Robertson, see Bridget A. Henisch and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople: A Chronology," *History of Photography* 14, no. 1 (1990): 23–32; and Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 1992). Robertson married Marie Matilda Beato around 1855 and had three children; see Henisch and Henisch, "Chronology," 30.
9. See Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*, 21–22 and note 11 below.
10. *Ibid.*, 20, 24, and 133.
11. Information on Beato's movements in India is drawn from Clark, "Chronology," 97–98.
12. There was a very brief reference at the February 17 meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society, and a complete technical description was read at the next meeting of March 17; see the *Bengal Harkara* of February 23 and March 23, 1858. I am grateful to John Fraser, who kindly supplied me with these references.
13. For the March 1858 dating, see Pat Hodgson, *Early War Photographs*

- (Reading, England: Osprey, 1974), 49. Beato made only four photographs of Kanpur, two of the barracks in Wheeler's Entrenchment, and two of the sites where separate massacres on June 27 and July 16, 1857 had occurred. For an account of these events, see John W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858*, 5th ed. (London: W. H. Allen, 1870), 2: 286-385.
14. John Fraser, "Beato's Photograph of the Interior of the Sikandarbagh at Lucknow," *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* 64, no. 237 (1981), 51-55; and *The Journal of the Photographic Society* 5, no. 79 (1899): 185.
15. On Beato's photographs in China, see Isobel Crombie, "China, 1860: A Photographic Album by Felice Beato," *History of Photography* 11, no. 1 (1987): 25-37; and Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*.
16. The estimate is based upon the evidence of surviving Beato prints and albums and an analysis of Henry Herring's 1862 subscription list, *A Magnificent Collection of Photographic Views and Panoramas Taken by Signor F. Beato During the Indian Mutiny in 1857-58, and the late War in China*. During the winter of 1861-62, Herring purchased and then had duplicated a large number of portraits and "400 views of India and China" (*The Journal of the Photographic Society* 9, no. 136 [1863]: 335), which he then exhibited in his gallery at 137 Regent Street in London, and offered for sale through subscription. Herring's prints are distinguishable from Beato's through their evidence of being copies and from the inscribed reference numbers that appear in white in the lower corners of the prints. This Herring list is reproduced in facsimile in Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*, 177-80.
17. There are exceptions to this pattern. For instance, in an album (PH1987:1084) in the photographs collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, formerly from the collection of John Murray, there are variant views of *The Taj [Mahal] from the Fountains, Central View of the Taj [Mahal]*, and *Tomb of Humayun-daulah [Humayunabad] at Agra* (Beato list nos. 7, 8, and 22, respectively). Each of these pairs was made from virtually the same camera position, but reveals a different arrangement of figures and seasonal transformation of the vegetation.
18. Details of the siege and assault of Delhi are drawn from Kaye,

History of the Sepoy War, 513-22; and Colonel George B. Mallison, *History of the Indian Mutiny 1857-1858*, 3rd ed. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 2: 1-96.

19. Beato's original stock list does not survive, but it can be largely reconstructed through the pencil annotations on the verso of his unmounted Indian photographs and from information contained in Herring's 1862 subscription list; see note 16 above. Beato divided his photographs of India into four series—Lucknow and Kanpur, Delhi, Agra and Benares (Varanasi), and Amritsar—and numbered each series separately, beginning at number one. Normally, he inscribed his title and stock number on the verso of each print that he sold. The Herring list maintains Beato's four divisions and follows his numbering sequence and (with some variants in spelling) his titles.

20. The following highly abbreviated summary of the siege and reliefs of Lucknow is drawn from Martin R. Gubbins, *An Account of the Mutinies in Oude, and of the Siege of the Lucknow Residency* (London: Richard Bentley, 1858); Lieutenant-General James Melcod Innes, *Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny: A Narrative and Study* (London: A. D. Innes and Co., 1895); and Mallison, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 144-225 and 342-415.

21. A map with all three relief routes indicated is reproduced following the index in Sir Frederic John Goldsmid, *James Outram: A Biography* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1880), vol. 2.

22. There are two exceptions to this pattern, which refer to the earlier relief effort of Hawlock and Outram, *The Place in Which General Neil was Killed in the Bazaar*, and *The Road by Which General Hawlock Entered the Residency* (Beato list nos. 27 and 31 respectively).

23. See Fraser, "Sikandarbagh."

24. See, for instance, Mallison, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 180-87; and Fraser, "Sikandarbagh."

25. For a partial list of Beato's portraits, see Herring's 1862 subscription list, reproduced in Harris, *Of Battle and Beauty*, 180. Since all of Beato's portraits are unsigned, their attribution is based upon credited reproductions in periodicals and publications. In addition, Beato constructed a makeshift studio, possibly in Lucknow, where

he took a number of these portraits. The same props—notably an elaborately decorated vase and plain cloth backdrop—reappear in many portraits.

26. For the identification of the sitters, see Hodgson, *Early War Photography*, 55. Mechem also published engravings after his drawings in his and George Couper's *Sketches and Incidents of the Siege of Lucknow* (London: Day and Son, 1858). A copy of this publication, with eight of Beato's Lucknow photographs, was auctioned as lot 54 in the Sotheby's Belgravia sale of July 1, 1977.

27. Six Beato photographs of Crealock's drawings are included in the album cited in note 17 above.

28. On the ideology implicit in war photography, see, for instance, Joel Snyder, "Photographers and Photographs of the Civil War," in

The Documentary Photograph as a Work of Art: American Photographs, 1860–1876, exh. cat. (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Gallery, University of Chicago, 1976), 17–22; and Caroline Brothers, *War and Photography: A Cultural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

29. On aspects of colonialism and photography, see such recent studies as James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); and Richard Ovenden, *John Thomson (1837–1921): Photographer* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1997).