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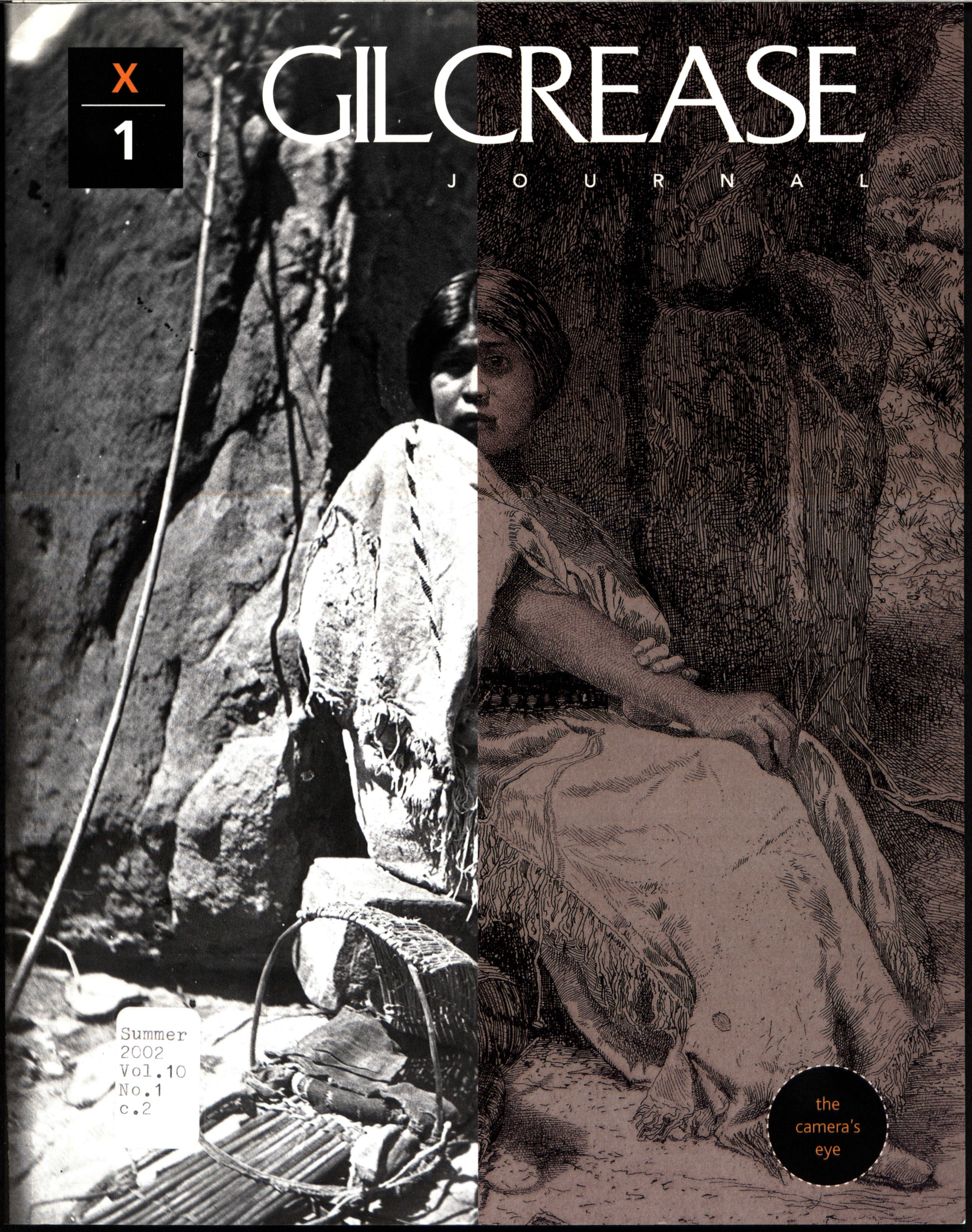

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Vol.10
No.1
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the
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Summer 2002
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GILCREASE JOURNAL

VOLUME TEN ~ NO 1 SUMMER 2002

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Previous page: **West side of Main Street, Muskogee, I.T., ca. 1888. Photographer unknown.** Gilcrease 4326.1686

This page: **Ready to Start. Andrew A. Forbes.** Western History Collection, Forbes 30.

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thecamera's eye

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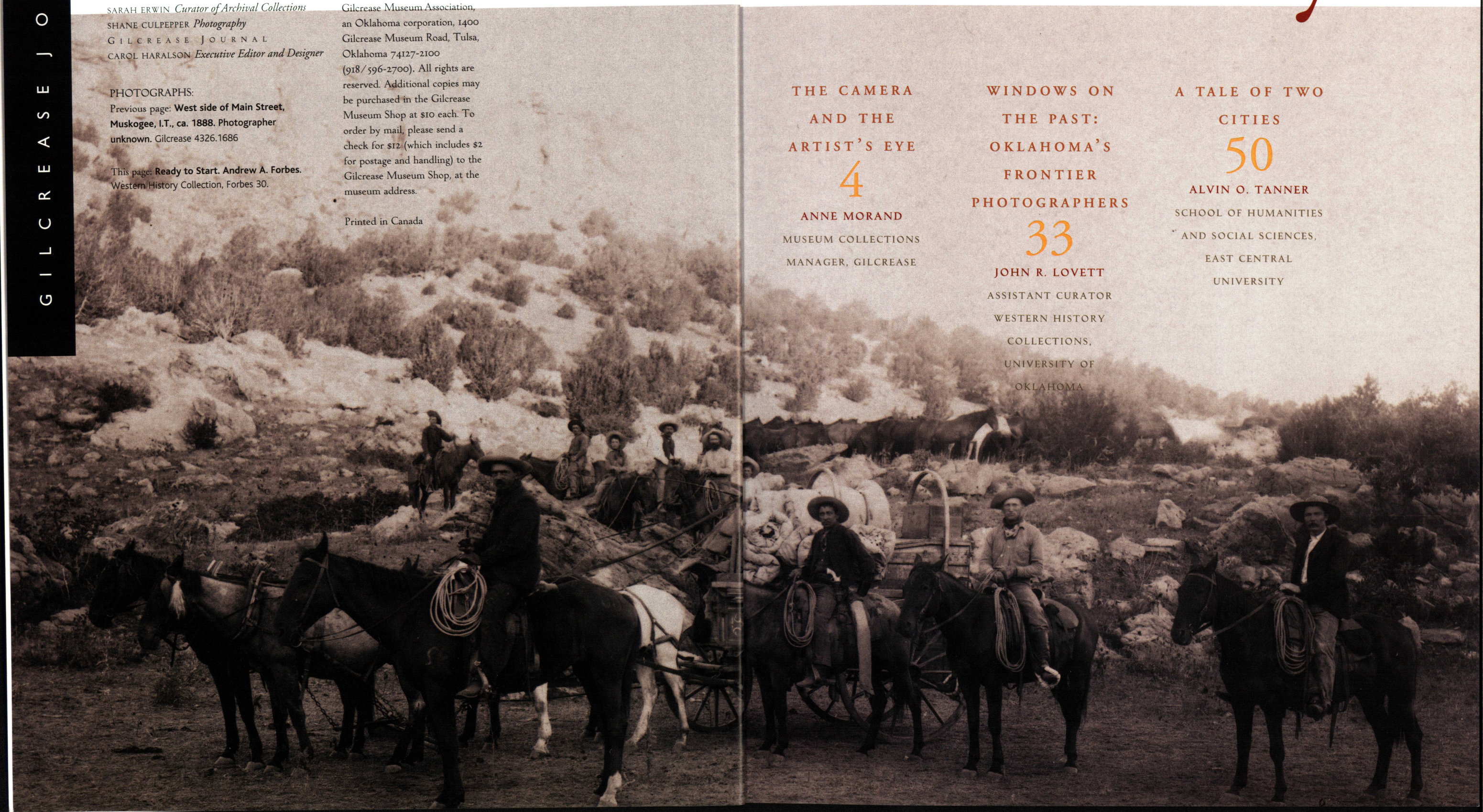
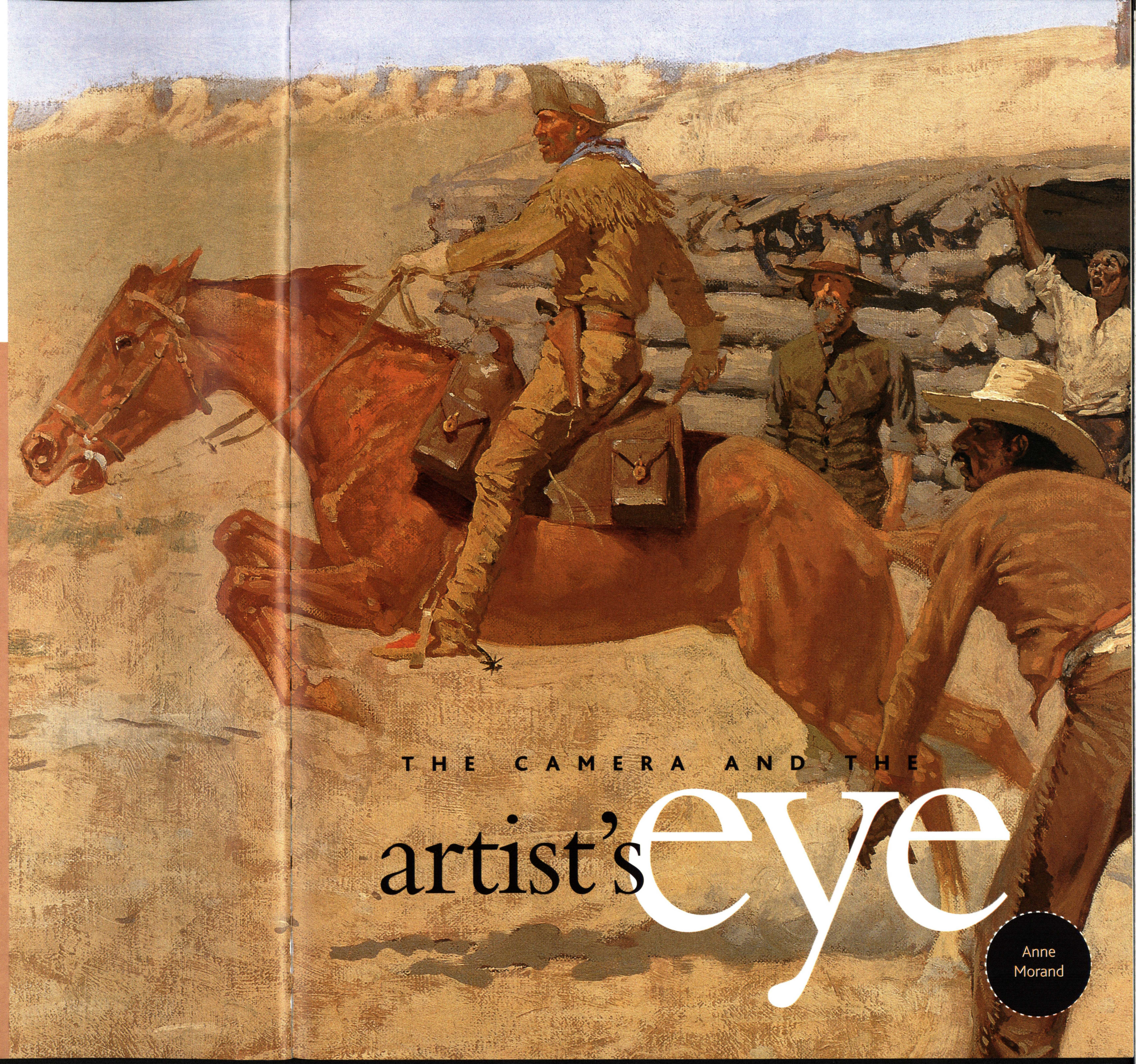




Artists had been using cameras long before 1839, when the first permanent photographic image was made. As early as the fourth century B.C., Aristotle observed the particular phenomenon of light that would become the basis for photography nearly two thousand years later. **Sitting in a dark room, he noticed that when outside light entered through a pinhole in the wall, it cast on the opposite wall an inverted image of the view outside.** Leonardo da Vinci described this same phenomenon in the sixteenth century, calling it the *camera obscura*, the dark room, in his secret manuscripts. But it was not until Giovanni Battista della Porta included it in his book *Natural Magic* in 1558 that the *camera obscura* became generally known and used. Further improvements came when Danielo Barbaro suggested in his book *Practice of Perspective* in 1568 that a lens be inserted in the pinhole, allowing for a clearer and much more brightly projected image.



THE CAMERA AND THE

artist's eye

Anne Morand

Improvements continued into the seventeenth century, including reducing the *camera obscura* down to a semi-portable size. Still, it was a clumsy apparatus until a truly portable *camera obscura* was perfected, in the form of a small box that became a popular artist's tool through the eighteenth century. Count Francesco Algarotti included a chapter on the camera in his *Essay on Painting* of 1764, in which he commented, "The best modern painters among the Italians have availed themselves greatly of this contrivance; nor is it possible they should have otherwise represented things so much to life."

Another development that made up for a lack of time or of skill in draftsmanship was the *camera lucida* (from the Italian for "light room"), invented by Englishman William Hyde Wollaston in 1807. It was completely portable and did not require an enclosure, making it suitable for travelers. Consisting of a glass prism with a peephole, it was held at eye level by a brass rod attached to the drawing surface. The artist looking through the peephole saw the scene or person before him projected onto paper laid on the drawing surface, and could then trace an accurate outline. Basin Hall wrote in the preface of his book *Forty Etchings Made with the Camera Lucida in North America* in 1827 and 1828 that it liberated the user "from the triple misery of Perspective, Proportion and Form."

The *camera lucida* was used most effectively by amateurs or non-artists pressed into service as draftsmen. Alfred Sully, an army officer in the West in the 1840s and 1850s, and Vincent Colyer, a representative of the Quaker organization Friends of the Indians in the 1860s, both made use of the *camera lucida* in order to make accurate images of the West for their various official reports. Here, the purpose for using the device was information rather than artistic endeavor.

Such drawing equipment was, of course, the forerunner of the photographic camera. The basic mechanics of capturing an image were gradually mastered by the seventeenth century, and then artists and scientists took the next step—attempting to fix the transient image in permanent form. For over ten years, Frenchman Joseph Nicéphore Niepce experimented with ways of preserving the fleeting image, and his work culminated in 1826 with the production of the earliest surviving photographic image. The feat inspired an almost immediate dichotomy of reactions. The medium's potential as a separate art form notwithstanding, some within the art community feared that photography tolled the death knell for the fine arts, that camera images would replace paintings. At the same time, there was appreciation for the possibilities for photography as a time-saving tool, if it could be made portable and simple. And the evolution toward this moved quickly.

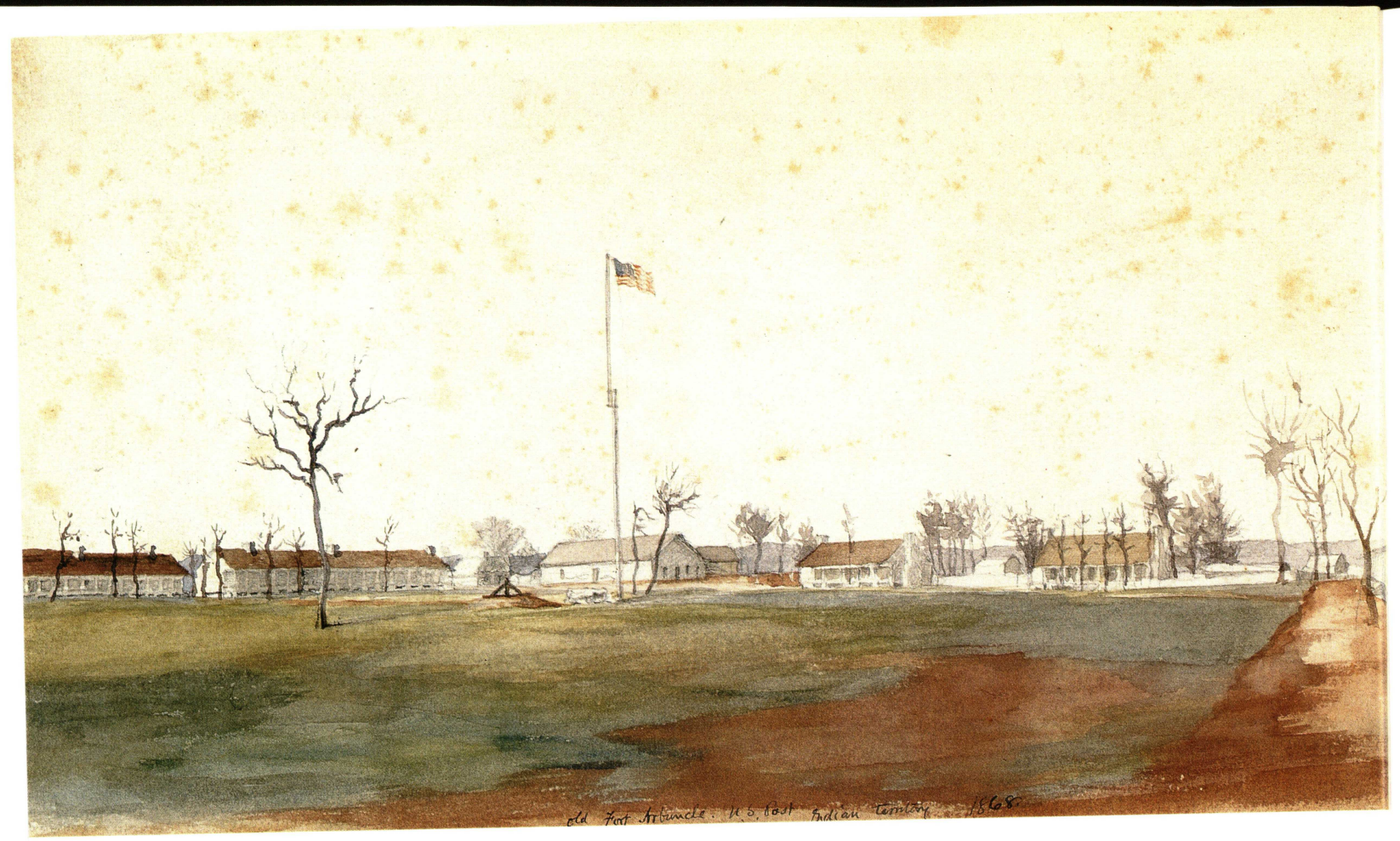
In 1829 Niepce, whose name is not so well known among laymen, partnered with Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre. When Niepce died in 1833, Daguerre continued alone, perfecting in 1839 the first practical photographic process, which he modestly named after himself—

we never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves.
John Berger

THE CAMERA LUCIDA WAS USED MOST EFFECTIVELY BY AMATEURS OR NON-ARTISTS PRESSED INTO SERVICE AS DRAFTSMEN. ALFRED SULLY, AN ARMY OFFICER IN THE WEST IN THE 1840S AND 1850S, AND VINCENT COLYER, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE QUAKER ORGANIZATION FRIENDS OF THE INDIANS IN THE 1860S, BOTH MADE USE OF THE CAMERA LUCIDA. . .



Alfred Sully
Ft. Kearney
Watercolor on paper
Gilcrease 0226.1335



Vincent Colyer
Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, 1868
Gilcrease 0226.1370

daguerreotype. The daguerreotype, although enormously popular, was limited by the fact that it produced a unique positive image impossible to duplicate. A few years earlier, Englishman Henry Fox Talbot had invented the positive/negative process that was the predecessor of modern photography. Spurred on by Daguerre's success, Talbot worked to make his process more practical, achieving success by 1840.

During the 1840s and 1850s, there was constant activity as artists and photographers worked making portraits and landscape views. The first landscape views brought attention to a problem with camera imagery that had existed since the earliest tracings made with the *camera obscura*—that of monocular versus binocular vision. What human binocular vision perceives as a single, three-dimensional image is based on two slightly different views of the same object or scene that the brain fuses together. The monocular camera lens captures only the single image, which in comparison is flat rather than dimensional. The camera lens also appears to distort the image by widening the field of vision—again a perceived distortion which seems unnatural because it is not identical to human vision.

In photography an invention was rather quickly devised to more closely mimic binocular vision—the stereographic camera. In 1849 Sir David Brewster built a camera with two lenses spaced about two and one-half inches apart (about the same distance as that between the



Every image embodies a way of seeing. Even a photograph.
John Berger

Unidentified Man
Daguerreotype
Gilcrease 4326.8030

centers of human eyes). The two resulting photographs, when viewed in a holder called a stereoscope, gave the observer the uncanny sense of three dimensions.

Both stereography and single-lens photography were aided in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer's invention of the reproducible negative, allowing multiple prints. This innovation paved the way over the next decades for one of the important eras in landscape photography—the documentation of the American West. Landscape photographs, frequently taken in support of scientific data on government surveys, were useful to painters as well, whether taken by artists or by specialized expedition photographers. Photographs at best could aid the preparatory process of developing compositions and could reference factual visual information. If the artist participated in the photographic process, working with or as the photographer, compositional selection in creating the image could be considered a viable part of the art process. At worst, photographs could be traced—no draftsmanship on the part of the artist was necessary.

From the early 1860s, large folio landscape photographs were exhibited in galleries in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The public was aware, through discussions in periodical literature and through lectures, of the adaptability of photography to the artist. They were well versed in the differences between the camera's-eye view and that of human observers, and they could spot artists who were duplicating photographs, usually more quickly and accurately than can viewers today. However, the same public considered artists such as Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran, who readily admitted using photographs in the same way they used field sketches, as masters who simply exploited every possible tool in the creation of their works.

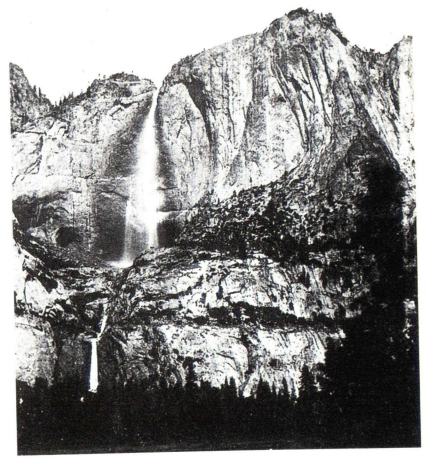
ARTISTS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS OF THE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE: ALBERT BIERSTADT, CHARLES BIERSTADT, AND CARLTON WATKINS

Painter Albert Bierstadt made stereographs during his first trip to the American West on the Lander expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1859. The following year, during a trip to the White Mountains in New Hampshire, he worked with his brothers Charles and Edward, whom he had helped establish in a photographic business. In December of 1861, Bierstadt saw a New York exhibition of photographs of Yosemite by Carlton Watkins. Watkins was one of the earliest western landscape photographers to become commercially and artistically successful, and he was considered America's greatest nineteenth-century landscape photographer. His Yosemite photographs, made with a wide-angle lens and mammoth eighteen- by twenty-two-inch plates, may have influenced Albert and Charles Bierstadt's decision to travel to the region five months later. Whether the two Bierstadt brothers made photographs in Yosemite that year is unknown, although Charles made many photographs during return trips. Bierstadt may have used only his own

Facing: Carlton Watkins
Yosemite Valley, California
Photograph
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, no. F36895

Albert Bierstadt
In the Sierra Nevada Mountains
Oil on canvas
Gilcrease 0126.1180

Charles Bierstadt
Yosemite Falls
Stereograph





sketches for paintings completed after that trip. He certainly was able to see Watkins work, both in New York and in Watkins's San Francisco studio, which he visited.

Included in the Gilcrease Museum collection is an awkward Bierstadt painting, *In the Sierra Nevada Mountains,* which is eerily like Watkins's photograph *Yosemite Valley, California.* This may have been an experiment by Bierstadt with a direct copy of a photograph. The painting appears flat and uninspired when compared with other Bierstadt paintings of the same time. With perhaps this exception, Bierstadt seems not to have resorted to projecting images as a





substitute for draftsmanship, although he was engaged later in his career as a magic lantern show promoter. (By the 1880s, magic lantern slides were developed for entertainment purposes.) For one thing, Bierstadt's knowledge of stereography and the functions of binocular vision gave him an understanding of the importance of the illusion of depth. One could not project and trace stereos, and single-lens photographs lacked depth. The artist had to be capable of painting the illusion—something at which Bierstadt was a master, as exemplified by paintings such as *Sierra Nevada Morning.*

Albert Bierstadt
Sierra Nevada Morning, 1870
Oil on canvas
Gilcrease 0126.2305

Other aspects of Bierstadt's, or any painter's, work with which photography offered no help included atmospheric details and color. The color limitation is obvious: early photographs were black and white. Atmospheric details such as clouds, the movement of water, and glittery effects of the sun also were lost due to the necessity of long exposures. Clouds simply disappeared and even the most violently moving water became a creamy, languid mass. The painter had to be able to portray these details convincingly and aesthetically without aid of a photograph.

ARTISTS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS OF THE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE: THOMAS MORAN, JOHN MORAN, WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON, JOHN HILLERS, TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN

Thomas Moran did not take his own photographs but understood the value of the medium through his brother John, considered the earliest landscape photographer. John traveled with his brothers Thomas and Edward throughout the wilderness of Pennsylvania in the 1860s taking beautiful photographic views and sketching in pencil and watercolor. John also served as the expedition photographer with the U.S. government survey of the Isthmus of Panama in the 1870s. Through John's experience, Thomas Moran was aware of the practical help of photography as an artist's tool.

John Moran
Indian Ladder Bluff
(Delaware Water Gap)
Photograph
Private collection





Thomas Moran
Delaware water gap, 1860
Pencil on paper
Gilcrease 1326.768



Moran benefited from a working relationship with expedition photographer William Henry Jackson during the U.S. Geological Survey of the Yellowstone in 1871. Jackson later recalled that "Moran became greatly interested in photography, and it was my good fortune to have him at my side during all that season to help me solve many problems of compositions. While learning a little from me, he was constantly putting in far more than he took out." Although Moran made pencil and watercolor sketches in Yellowstone, Jackson's photographs, of which he owned quite a few, served him as well for compositional studies and topographical details—though not as copy aids.

Comparisons of some of Jackson's photos with Moran's studio work reveal the connections. A formation of extinct geyser craters was photographed by Jackson in 1871 and painted in watercolor by Moran in 1872. Both images suggest the hardened mineral deposits of the extinct craters, but Jackson has recorded a minimal, strange scene. The reality in harsh black and white is peculiar, somewhat unappealing, while Moran's deep-toned paper and soft tints enhance the craters and mist. The long exposure that Jackson needed for sharp detail erased the subtle effects of

William Henry Jackson
Extinct Geyser Craters, 1871
Photograph
Gilcrease 4336.5432

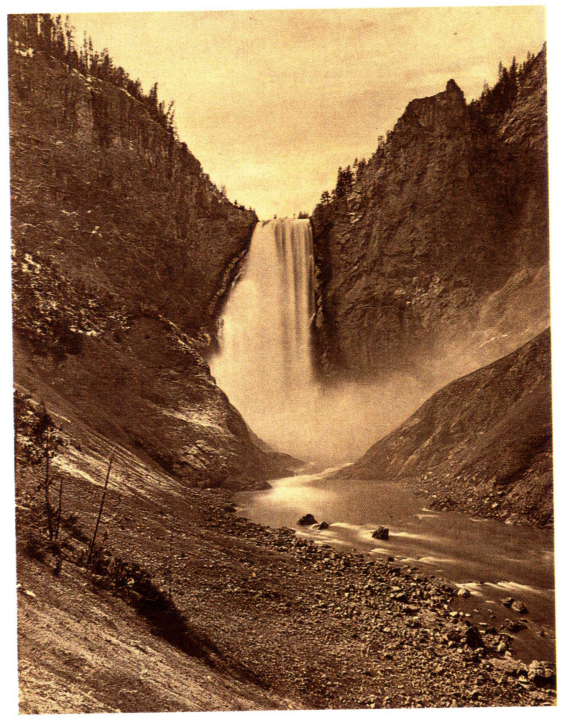
Thomas Moran
The Grotto Geyser. Fire Hole Basin, 1872
Watercolor on paper
Gilcrease 0226.1360

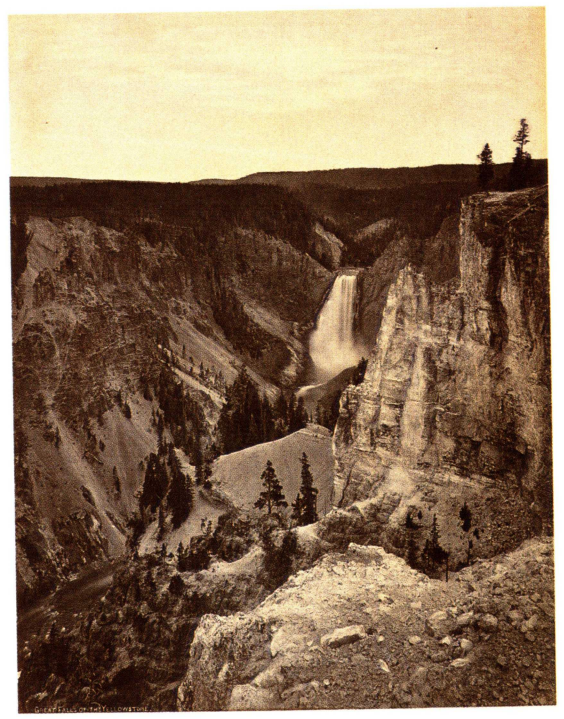
Every drawing. . .. proposed to the spectator that he was the unique centre of the world. The camera. . . demonstrated that there was no centre.
John Berger

the mist in which Moran wrapped trees and distant hills to create an infinite space. There is nothing in Jackson's composition to give clues about size, depth, or distance; elements could be huge or tiny. Moran used trees to define space by placing them in the middle ground. Jackson's purpose was to communicate a newly observed phenomenon, so his composition fills the lens for the most comprehensive possible record. Moran had the luxury of artistic license that allowed him to create a beautiful image for beauty's sake. With Jackson's work filling the role of indisputable evidence of existence, Moran could then make that evidence compelling and attractive.

One of the most persuasive arguments against artistic copying of a photographic image is demonstrated by the comparison of a suite of Jackson's 1871 photographs of the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone with two of Moran's versions of the same place: his enormous oil and his tiny watercolor, both painted in 1872. Aspects of Jackson's various views come into play throughout Moran's composition of his panoramic *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone,* in which he manipulated space to evoke the sense of an entire 360-degree view of the spectacular landscape.







William Henry Jackson
Great Falls of the Yellowstone, 1872
Photographs
Gilcrease 4536.84.20 (top) and 4536.84.19 (bottom)



Thomas Moran
The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1872
Watercolor on paper
Gilcrease 0226.1619



ONE OF THE MOST PERSUASIVE ARGUMENTS AGAINST ARTISTIC COPYING OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE COMPARISON OF A SUITE OF JACKSON'S 1871 PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE LOWER FALLS OF THE YELLOWSTONE WITH TWO OF MORAN'S VERSIONS OF THE SAME PLACE. . .



Thomas Moran
Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1872
Oil on canvas
The U.S. Department of the Interior Museum, Washington, D.C.

William Henry Jackson
Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1872
Photograph
Gilcrease 4536.84.23

While Moran seems to have used Jackson's photographs without yielding to the temptation to trace or copy, he was known to have made direct copies of ones by John Hillers and Timothy O'Sullivan under the extenuating circumstances of commissions. Moran met and worked with Hillers during the 1873 survey expedition to Utah and the Grand Canyon of Arizona. In 1878 Moran etched a version, called *The Empty Cradle,* of Hillers' 1873 photograph of a Paiute woman, giving full credit to the origin of the image.

About 1874, Moran produced a watercolor of Shoshone Falls on the Snake River in Idaho, a place he would not see for another twenty-five years. Based on one of the many photographs made by Timothy O'Sullivan—a photographer with whom Moran had little opportunity to work—during Clarence King's U.S. Geological Survey of the Fortieth Parallel in 1868. The watercolor was made for Louis Prang to be chromolithographed for inclusion in *The Yellowstone National Park and the Mountain Regions of Portions of Idaho, Nevada, Colorado and Utah.*

Not only was this kind of copying not censured, it was readily accepted and understood for what it was. Before photographs could be reproduced as photographs, it was common practice to copy them, in the same way that drawings and paintings were copied, for reproduction as engravings or lithographs in periodicals. *Harper's Magazine* published a wood engraving in 1869 based on a different view of Shoshone Falls, and King's official report was illustrated with a lithographed copy by Julius Bien.

Below right: John Hillers
The Empty Cradle, Paiute woman, Kanab, Utah, Photograph
Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, No. 275fld7(13)

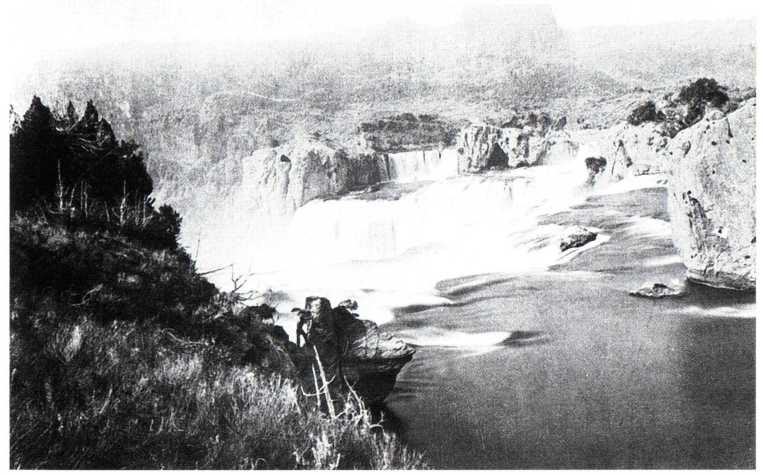
Below left: Thomas Moran
The Empty Cradle, 1878
Etching on paper
Gilcrease 1426.410
Moran produced this etching based on the Hillers photograph shown at right.







Thomas Moran
Shoshone Falls, Snake River, Idaho, ca. 1875
Watercolor on paperboard
©Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia. Gift of Hugh Gordon Miller, 60.52.47

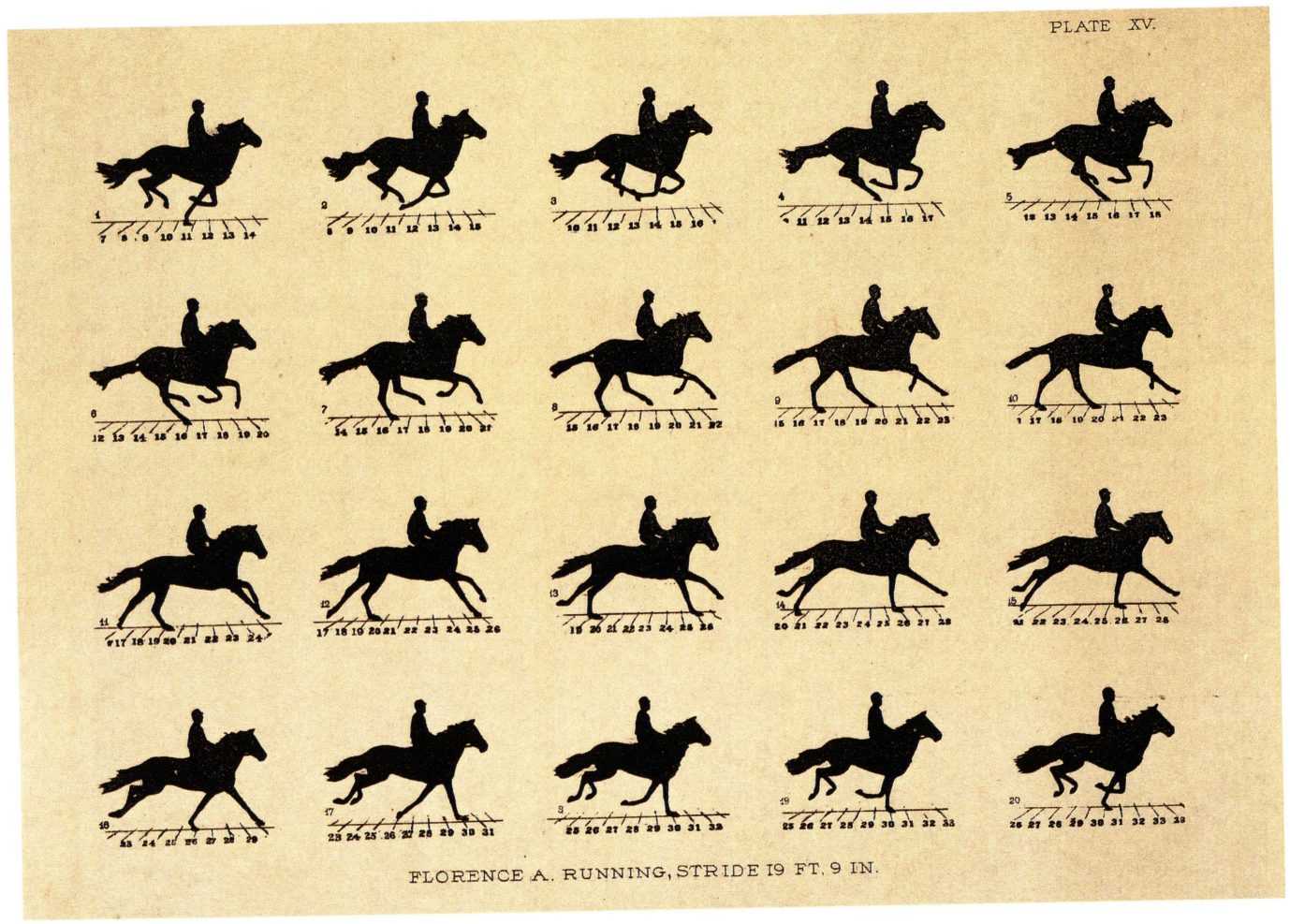


Timothy O'Sullivan
Shoshone Falls, Upper Terrace, 1868

Eadweard Muybridge, who began his career as a landscape photographer in Yosemite in 1867, conducted the earliest experiments with photographing animal locomotion. To provide proof in settling a wager, Muybridge was hired in 1873 by Leland Stanford to photograph a horse in motion. Stanford hoped to prove that all four of the horse's feet leave the ground during a gallop.

According to an article in the *San Francisco Alta* of April 7, 1873, Stanford "wanted his friends abroad to participate with him in the contemplation of the trotter 'in action,' but did not exactly see how he was to accomplish it until a friend suggested that Mr. E.J. Muybridge be employed to photograph the animal while trotting. Not sooner said than done. Mr. Muybridge was sent for and commissioned to execute the task, though the artist said he believed it impossible… then came the question how could an impression be transfixed of a body moving at the rate of thirty-eight feet to the second." Muybridge made several attempts before achieving an image that showed the horse in air.

Eadweard Muybridge
Plate 15 in the book
The Horse in Motion
Photograph
Gilcrease 3426.541



TO PROVIDE PROOF IN SETTLING A WAGER, MUYBRIDGE WAS HIRED IN 1873 BY LELAND STANFORD TO PHOTOGRAPH A HORSE IN MOTION. STANFORD HOPED TO PROVE THAT ALL FOUR OF THE HORSE'S FEET LEAVE THE GROUND DURING A GALLOP.

In 1877 Muybridge returned to his work for Stanford. Desiring to make a series of photographs of the moving horse, he set up a series of cameras with trip wires at intervals along a racecourse. Although he used instantaneous or stop motion photography that had been invented decades earlier, Muybridge's contribution of the first shutters for a camera made this project feasible. As a horse moved along the course, it triggered the camera shutters.

When Muybridge's work was published, it immediately influenced the way artists showed the horse in motion. The October 19, 1878, issue of *Scientific American* carried an article illustrated with eighteen drawings based on Muybridge's photographs of horses walking and running.

The photographs were copyrighted and sold, and Muybridge began a world tour. The July 1882 issue of *Century Magazine* carried an article entitled "The Horse in Motion," illustrated with line drawings. More experiments continued under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania from 1883-85, and their results were published in 1887 in the form of collotypes, using a photomechanical printing process that produced an exceptionally fine grain. One could purchase the 781 plates separately or as a series of eleven bound volumes called *Animal Locomotion.* The plates included not only horses, but all kinds of animals and humans in various activities—walking, running, jumping, climbing stairs, fencing—because Muybridge hoped to create an atlas of motion.

Thomas Eakins, one of America's foremost painters and an amateur photographer, was drawn to the work of the innovative photographer. He even wrote to the photographer in 1879 suggesting a method of showing lines of measurement and reference in photographs. Eakins made no secret of the fact that he used Muybridge's horse studies for reference when he painted *A May Morning in the Park (Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand)* 1879.

Reaction to the use of motion photography by artists was mixed. American artist Joseph Pennell, delivering an address to the London Camera Club that was published in the *British Journal of Photography* in 1891, responded with a barely veiled reference to Eakins' painting, "If you photograph an object in motion, all feeling of motion is lost, and the object at once stands still. This painter wished to show a drag coming along the road at a rapid trot. He drew and redrew, and

> . . . the camera showed that the notion of time passing was inseparable from the experience of the visual (except in paintings).
> John Berger



photographed and rephotographed the horses until he had gotten their action apparently approximately right. Their legs had been studied and painted in the most marvelous manner. He then put on the drag [the vehicle driven by Fairman Rogers was referred as a park drag]. He drew every spoke in the wheels, and the whole affair looked as if it had been instantaneously petrified or arrested. There was no action in it. He then blurred the spokes, giving the drag the appearance of motion. The result was that it seemed to be on the point of running right over the horses, which were standing still."

Eakins did not begin his career as a painter working from photographs. His earliest paintings from the 1870s, such as a series of rowing pictures, are realistic and detailed, resulting from five years in

Thomas Eakins
The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (A May Morning in the Park)
Oil on canvas
Philadelphia Museum of Art:
Gift of William Alexander Dick.
Photo by Graydon Wood, 2001.
Acc. No. 1930-105-1

academic training in Paris and his own interest in such things as perspective. But after his experiment with the Fairman Rogers picture, he continued using photographs as preparation for some of his paintings. Especially significant are paintings from the 1880s that include elements taken directly from Eakins' own photographs. The fact that Eakins used photographs has long been known, but to what extent has only recently been revealed through x-ray examination that detected evidence of possible tracing. When an artist draws a compositional element, the lines are broken and uneven, unlike a traced line that is solid and continuous.

Eakins' investigation of the use of photographs to develop paintings ranges from *Shad Fishing at Gloucester on the Delaware River,* 1881, which comes directly from a single photographic composition, to *Mending the Net,* 1881, for which Eakins drew elements from at least six photographs. By the 1890s and through the rest of his career, Eakins concentrated on large portraits. Although he still used photographic studies, he was less reliant upon them as copy aids. Instead, they became one more part of the arsenal of studies used to make the final painting. The 1895 painting *Frank Hamilton Cushing,* for example, was created using not only photographs, but also sketches in pencil and oil done with the sitter present, as well as photographs of the sitter in costume taken by other photographers. The final result, while related to the photographs, is not completely dependent upon them.



Thomas Eakins
Gloucester: Shad Fishing—Setting the Net
Copy negative from contact print
The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia. Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection. Purchased with the partial support of the Pew Memorial Trust.
Acc. No. 1985.68.2.887



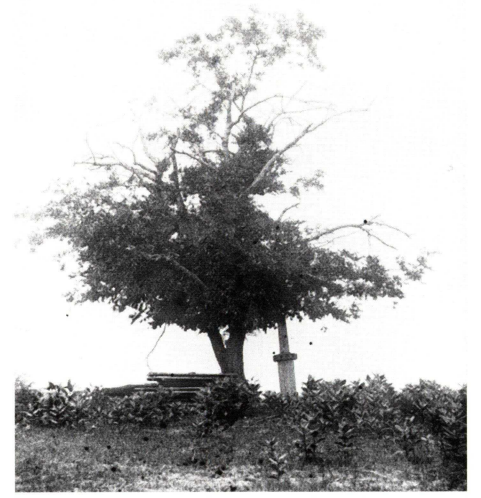
Thomas Eakins
Two fishermen mending nets
Copy negative from dry plate negative
The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia. Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection. Purchased with the partial support of the Pew Memorial Trust. Acc. No. 1985..68.2.918



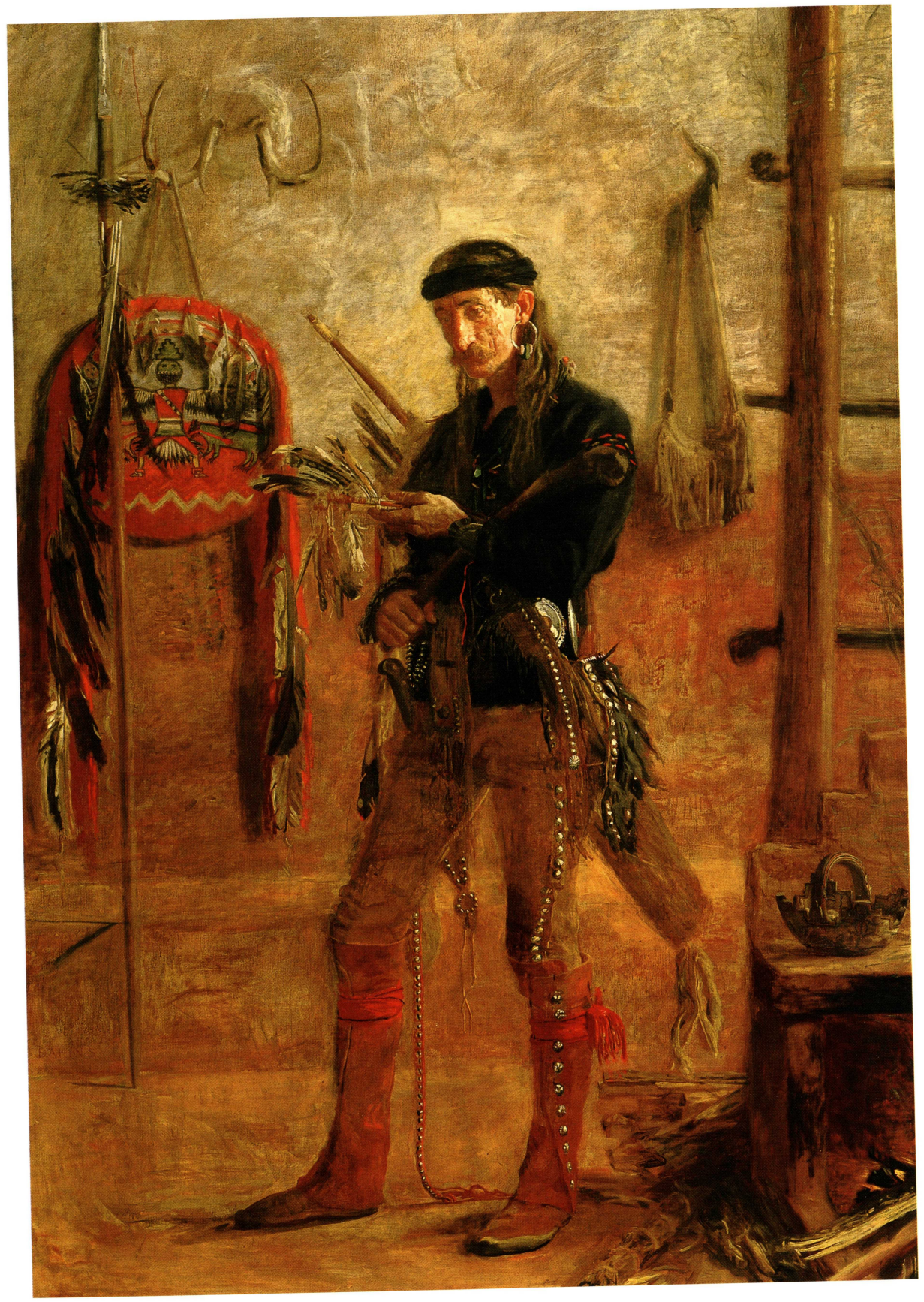
Thomas Eakins
Gloucester: Benjamin Eakins, standing, and an unidentified man under a tree, near the Delaware River
Copy negative from contact print
The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia. Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection. Purchased with the partial support of the Pew Memorial Trust. Acc. No. 1985.68.2.924



Thomas Eakins
Mending the Nets, 1881
Oil on canvas
Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams. Photo by Graydon Wood, 1991. Acc. No. 1929-184-34



Thomas Eakins
Tree near Delaware River
Copy negative from contact print
The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia. Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection. Purchased with the partial support of the Pew Memorial Trust. Acc. No. 1985.68.2.966



Facing:
Thomas Eakins
Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1895
Oil on canvas
Gilcrease 0126.2315



Thomas Eakins
Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1895
Platinum print on paper
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. Transferred from Hirschhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Archives, 1983. Museum No. HMSG 83.85.

After artists began to use Muybridge's animal locomotion studies to portray more realistically positioned horses, it took the public a little while to adjust to the change from the standard hobbyhorse representation of a running horse. The "hobbyhorse" stance, with all four of the horse's feet outstretched, was a way to imply forward motion. The academics, who had been painting horses for hundreds of years, as well as their public, knew horses did not move that way. The original intent of Muybridge's work had only been to prove one very specific aspect of the running gait, not to diagram its entire range. When the later inclusive studies, motivated by scientific curiosity of the 1880s, became available, artists who wanted to be very current understandably began to incorporate them in their work. The artists who acknowledged the benefit were wide-ranging and included Jean Louis Ernest Meissonier, Edgar Degas, and Edouard Manet in France, to name an illustrious few. An artist who rejected the notion that he had been influenced by Muybridge's work was Frederic Remington.

Frederic Remington used photographs—his own as well as those by others—throughout his career, for details, ideas, animal and human locomotion, and for later reference. At the time Remington was establishing himself as an illustrator, he made a trip to the American Southwest and Mexico in 1886. Along with pencil and watercolor sketches, Remington made scores of photographs that he developed himself. It seems that the use of the camera allowed him to spend less time drawing. No fewer than fifteen pages of his journal of this trip mentioned the camera, with Remington noting, "I got lots of ideas but no sketches as my camera was not loaded."

Almost immediately a controversy arose when a few of his fellow illustrators, perceiving the relationship between his photographs and illustrations, criticized his reliance on photographs in lieu of sketches. Certainly illustrators had transformed photographs into illustrations without raising criticism; the periodical publications frequently reproduced such images. However, Remington considered himself above such recapitulation of imagery.

Although he denied it, Remington was influenced by Eadweard Muybridge's work. When the *Scientific American* images were published in 1878, Remington was studying art at Yale. In the 1880s he was living and working in New York, where Muybridge was well known and had occasion to lecture. It is inconceivable that he would not have been aware of Muybridge's work, especially in light of his self-proclaimed interest in the horse.

When connections between photographs and Remington's illustrations, the artist denied them, writing that "It has been said that I first got my ideas of [the] horse in action from the Muybridge instantaneous photographs. The fact is, I have never seen them. But I've taken lots of photographs of horses myself, and they never give you the

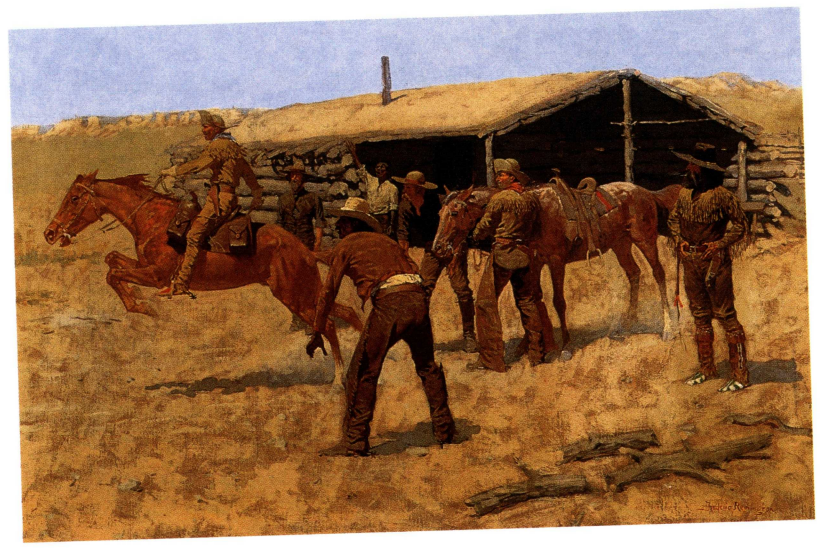
feeling of motion. The camera paints what it sees and not what our eyes see. We want what we see." Although Remington made a good point, it was not an original concept.

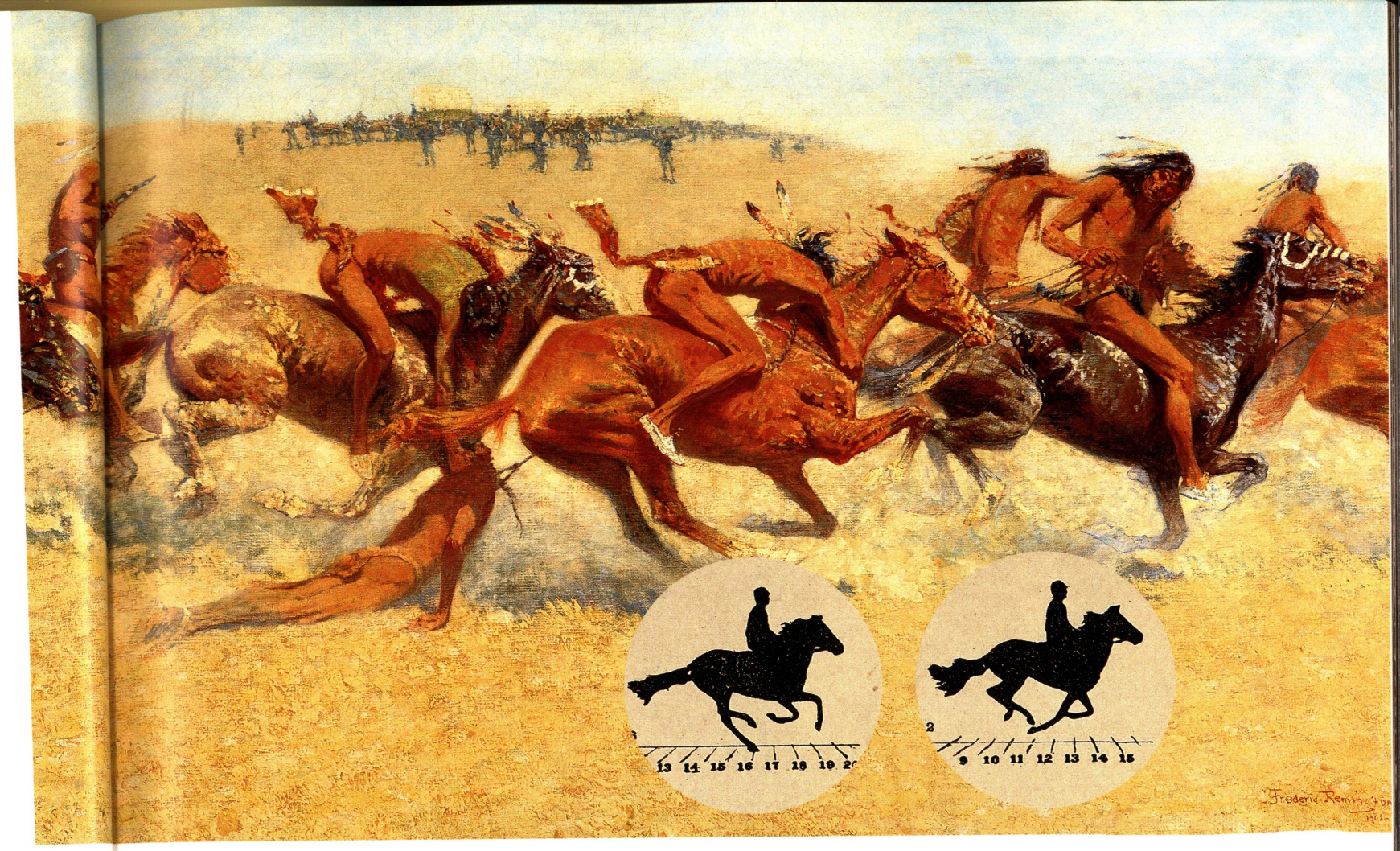
Besides asserting the discovery of horse motion through his own instantaneous photography, Remington also credited a study of photographs of the north frieze of the Cella wall of the Parthenon in Athens, which correctly illustrate galloping horses. Insisting that his knowledge of the horse in motion was later proved by Muybridge's work, Remington claimed that he had formulated his own views before he had seen it, the proof being that he was not among those who had purchased Muybridge's privately printed book. He never commented on the widely available *Scientific American* and *Century Magazine* of 1882. Unfortunately for Remington, his own work proved differently, since his horse depictions changed only after Muybridge's work became well known among the reading public and art community.

At first the changes relied so much on Muybridge that they were awkward, betrayal coming in the form of foreshortening, which is another difference between monocular and binocular vision. Many artists, including those much earlier, such as Vermeer, had found that the camera lens "sees" a closer object disproportionately large in relation to distant objects when compared with human perception.

Within a reasonable amount of time, Remington worked out a method to offset the flaws of photographic copying. By the time he painted works such as *Indian Warfare,* his technical expertise was powerful. The horses in the work appear to be in positions that the casual viewer can accept without question. Comparisons with Muybridge's motion studies show inaccuracies that Remington judiciously perpetrated. While using isolated aspects of locomotion, he drastically altered the legs, combining in one animal the positions of several different instances of the running movement. Remington found this method implied action on the static field of the canvas more convincingly than simply copying one of the photographs. He said the horse was now no longer Muybridge's, since it was "incorrectly drawn from the photographic standpoint."

Frederic Remington
The Coming and Going of the Pony Express, 1900
Oil on canvas
Gilcrease 0127.2333
(Also reproduced in detail on pages four and five.)





Frederic Remington
Indian Warfare, 1908
Oil on canvas
Gilcrease 0127.2307

Inset images details from Eadweard Muybridge, The Horse in Motion, plate 15, Gilcrease 3426.541, shown in full on page 22.

IN FAIRNESS to Bierstadt, Moran, Eakins, and Remington, many of the memorable aspects of their art—color, light, mood, emotional or dramatic effects, and the beautiful manipulation of paint—have nothing to do with photography of the time. And this essay is certainly not an indictment of photography or an attempt to discredit it as an art form. In the nineteenth century, the art of photography was so young that artists struggled to identify its place in the artistic world. Was it a fascinating tool or art for art's sake?

Because of this, I have considered here only photography's use as an artist's tool. When the camera's image completely replaces draftsmanship and composition, through tracing or projection, viewers should question whether the end result can be considered art. This question has been long discussed and still prompts a debate to either side of which there are few converts. Very simply stated, some believe that the foundation of figurative and naturalistic art is draftsmanship and composition and that, lacking these, even an appealing image cannot be true art. Others believe in a much broader interpretation, that regardless of methods and tools, any creation by an artist can be called art.



FACING: Annette Ross Hume's setting for this photograph of George and Etta Mopope was the front porch of the Hume family home at the Anadarko Agency. The Mopopes wore their best buckskin clothes for the image. Etta wore a trade shawl wrapped around her waist in the style fashionable among Kiowa and Comanche women at the time. George holds a Pendleton trade blanket and his braids are wrapped in fur. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Phillips 14.

In January of 1839 a Paris newspaper announced that commercial artist Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre had done an astonishing thing. He had captured an image on a metal plate using chemicals and sunlight. His invention, the daguerreotype—the "mirror with a memory"—fired the French imagination and quickly spread to the rest of Europe and the United States. The age of photography had begun.

The success of the daguerreotype was quickly followed by important technical advances that improved the length and ease of the processes involved in producing a photograph. The inevitable demise of daguerreotype photography came with the invention of the newer wet glass plate process, which after 1850 became the first choice of American photographers. The wet plate method used a clear sheet of glass coated with a solution of light-sensitive collodion. The plate was placed in the camera and exposed to light, which produced a negative image. The advantage of this process over the daguerreotype was that multiple prints could be made from a single negative.

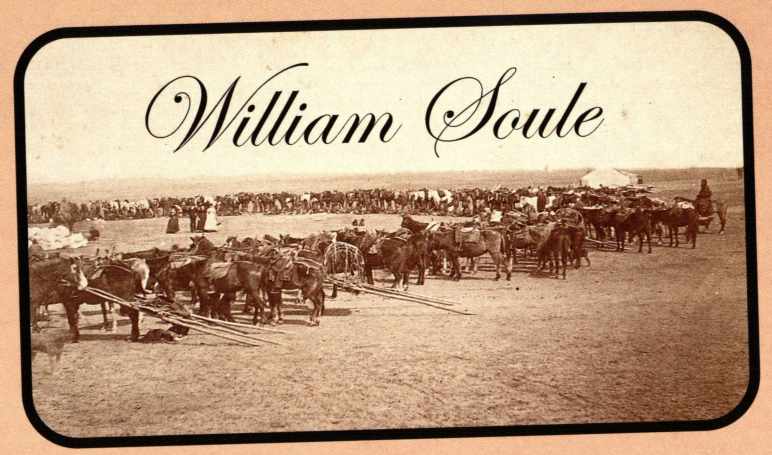
From 1865 until Oklahoma achieved statehood in 1907, photographers in the Territories were at work creating a rich visual legacy that would link the future to the frontier past. Among the best were William S. Soule, William S. Prettyman, Andrew A. Forbes, and Annette Ross Hume . . .

Windows on the Past

Oklahoma's Frontier Photographers

John R. Lovett

William Soule



One of Oklahoma's first photographers was a veteran of the Civil War. William Stinson Soule, born in 1836, was a Union soldier who was severely wounded at the bloody battle of Antietam. With his discharge in 1865, Soule went to work in a Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, photography gallery. His employment there ended when the gallery was destroyed by fire. At this point in his life, Soule, like thousands of others, decided to go west for health and financial gain. When he joined other venturesome West-seekers en route to Fort Dodge, Kansas, in 1867, he came prepared with photography equipment suited for both portraiture and landscape work. At Fort Dodge he worked at the post store, practicing photography as a side business. In 1869 *Harper's Weekly* used one of his photographs for an engraving in its January 16 issue. The image showed a scalped hunter, killed less than a mile from Fort Dodge by Indian raiders. Soule's West, as indicated by this image, was a dangerous place for the careless.

At the time Soule arrived at Fort Dodge, the post had only been established for two years. It was one of a line of frontier forts created to protect new white settlements from hostile Plains tribes like the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanches. The Indians defended their portion of the Great Plains, raiding in the vicinity of Fort Dodge. However, they also came in from time to time to trade for supplies. Soule likely became interested in photographing the Indians of the region during his tenure at Fort Dodge.

In 1869 Soule traveled to Camp Supply, in what is now western Oklahoma. Camp Supply had been established a year earlier to support Major General Phil Sheridan's winter campaign against the Kiowa and Cheyenne. A photograph made by Soule either at Fort Dodge or Camp Supply shows a scene of Osage scouts employed by the U.S. Army. The Osage scouts played an important role in the winter campaigns against the Plains tribes. In 1868 they served as scouts for George Custer's seventh cavalry.

From Camp Supply, Soule continued on to the newly established Fort Sill, Indian Territory. There he photographed several of the new buildings constructed by members of the tenth U.S. cavalry, commonly known as "buffalo soldiers," who were under the command of Colonel Benjamin Grierson. It was at Fort Sill that Soule made a series of extraordinary photographs of Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and Caddo Indians.

Soule's Indian photographs made at Fort Sill capture the defiance of the Kiowa war chiefs Satank, Satanta, and Big Tree, as well as the distinguished bearing of the Kiowa peace chief Kicking Bird. His photographic subjects arrived wearing bone breastplates, silver bracelets and ornaments, peace medals, fur-wrapped braids, trade blankets, and borrowed U.S. Army uniforms. It is not known if Soule presented his Indian sitters with photographs of themselves, but in light of the Indian intrigue with photography and the willingness of his subjects it is likely that some did receive such gifts.

William Soule left Fort Sill sometime around 1874 and returned to Boston. He operated a photography gallery there until 1902, and he died in 1908. Sixty-nine of Soule's glass plate negatives and nearly one hundred-seventy original prints survive today. His photographs, although clearly appreciable for their aesthetic value, also serve as a vital link with the past by showing the culture of the West in transition.







Kiowa Leaders

CLOCKWISE, LEFT TO RIGHT: Kicking Bird, Sitting Bear, Satanta or White Bear. All photographs by William Soule. Gilcrease 4526.127.18; 4516.90.3; 4526.128.41.

Soule photographed the Kiowa chief Kicking Bird at Fort Sill sometime around 1869. Kicking Bird was a chief, a statesman, an advocate of peace, and a signer of the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty. He died mysteriously in 1875. This portrait is one of Soule's best photographs, and provides future generations a rare image of the exceptional Kiowa leader.

Satank (Sitting Bear) was a Kiowa chief and medicine man at Fort Sill before 1871. He was captured at Fort Sill as a militant and under the direction of General William T. Sherman was ordered to be returned to Texas to stand trial for murder. Preferring to die fighting as a warrior, he attempted escape and was killed near Fort Sill.

Satanta (White Bear), also a Kiowa chief, is still revered by the Kiowa Tribe today. Soule made this photograph sometime between 1869 and 1874. Satanta was one of the leaders of the militants who resisted reservation life, even though he signed the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty. Admired as a great orator and warrior, he died in 1878 when he jumped from a second story window at the Huntsville, Texas, prison.

FACING, INSET: An image by Soule of Indians receiving their regular rations at Fort Sill. Gilcrease 4526.128.8.

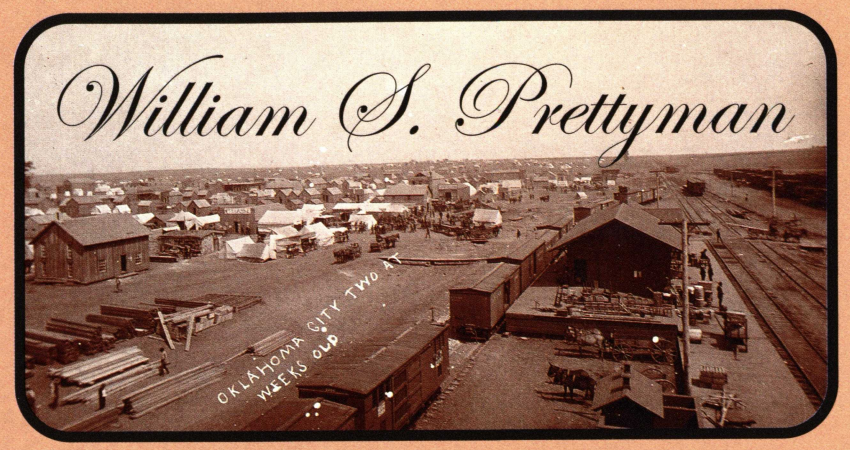




PHOTOS FROM FORT SILL

Soule photographed John S. Evans's post trader store at Fort Sill circa 1869-1870. Evans was both a post trader and a licensed Indian trader. The lumber to construct his establishment was hauled 300 miles to Fort Sill from the railhead at Fort Hawker, Kansas. In this photograph, both white and Indian customers pose with store employees for Soule's camera.

A view of Medicine Bluffs, with Medicine Creek flowing at their base, left, was captured by Soule sometime during his tenure at Fort Sill. It is an excellent example of the photographer's landscape work. Soldiers from Fort Sill can be seen at the left of the image. Gilcrease 4526.128.48; 4326.5254.



WILLIAM S. PRETTYMAN, one of Oklahoma's best known frontier photographers, was drawn by the lure of the West in 1879, when he left his native Maryland for Emporia, Kansas. After working at various other jobs, Prettyman became a photographer's apprentice in Arkansas City, Kansas. His apprenticeship was brief; he easily mastered the necessary skills and proved to be a very talented photographer. When he left his employer, Prettyman opened his own photography gallery in Arkansas City.

Prettyman's gallery was popular, and word of his skills provided him with a steady flow of local patrons. After photographing a group of Osage Indians in his studio, Prettyman became interested in Indian Territory. Many residents of Kansas believed that it was only a matter of time before the Indian lands south of Kansas would be opened to settlement. Prettyman realized that photographing the area before its opening would be a unique opportunity. In 1883 he began preparations for his first photography expedition into Indian Territory. In September of that year he set forth with camera, glass plates, chemicals and photographer's board in his one-man quest to experience and visually document the Indian Territory frontier before an influx of settlers changed the area forever.

Beginning in 1883 and continuing for a decade, Prettyman made at least one trip annually to Indian Territory to photograph the landscape and cultures. The number of his photographic expeditions and the volume of his work assured that many Prettyman prints and glass plate negatives would survive to the present.

Some of Prettyman's best work south of the Kansas border was of cowboys in the Cherokee Outlet, also known as the Cherokee Strip. The area was comprised of 6,344,562 unoccupied acres owned by the Cherokee Nation. In 1880 a group of cattlemen had formed the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, and in 1883 they obtained a five-year lease of the Outlet from the Cherokee Nation for exclusive grazing rights for their herds. Cowboys who worked in the Outlet found Prettyman's visits a welcome distraction. The photographer not only provided them with current news from beyond the Outlet, but also gave them the opportunity to have photographs made of themselves which they could send home to sweethearts and family members. As a result, the cowboys proved to be cooperative subjects for Prettyman's lens.

Prettyman's photographs of scenes in the Cherokee Outlet featured all of the key elements of the range cattle industry. He captured the cowboys mounted on horseback, gathered around the chuck wagon at mealtime, performing roundups, branding calves, and grazing the cattle herds. Due to Prettyman's comprehensive documentation of all aspects of the range cattle industry in the Cherokee Outlet during the 1880s, his photographs serve as an excellent visual record of the day-to-day operations of the cattle industry.

When the Unassigned Lands were selected for opening to settlers by the federal government on April 22, 1889, Prettyman loaded his wagon with photography equipment and joined the thousands of hopeful settlers to journey south from Kansas to the border of the Unassigned Lands. His images of the days

before and after the famous run capture a scene that is unique in American history. One of his most striking views is that of a long wagon train of settlers crossing the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River as they moved south to the land run area. Prettyman also circulated among the settlers prior to the run making photographs that he sold for profit, but at the same time taking some pictures because he had a genuine interest in the event. After the run he followed settlers to Guthrie, the new territorial capitol, where he recorded the birth of the town on the Oklahoma prairie and some of its subsequent development. In Guthrie Prettyman made images of settlers lined up at the land office to file claims on a homestead or town lot, and in Oklahoma City he photographed a California Avenue whose temporary fabric tents outnumbered its permanent wooden buildings.

Prettyman was also present for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in September 1893. Oklahoma historian Muriel H. Wright has called his work that day a landmark in news photography. Besides recording the event, Prettyman participated in the run and claimed a homestead on which he and his family lived for a short period. He later sold the claim and moved his family to Blackwell, Oklahoma Territory, where he opened a photography studio that featured a large display area for his Indian photographs.

Prettyman's images of Indians are considered the highlight of his achievements. His studio portraits of Indians are exceptional examples of the work of a truly gifted artist. His outdoor scenes of the Indians in their camps and at ceremonies capture a pivotal period in their history, as they struggled to retain a way of life that increasingly eroded by the encroachment of white settlement. The photographer developed a special relationship with his Indian subjects, and the Ponca, Pawnee, Kaw, Sac and Fox, Osage, and other tribes of the area welcomed him as a trusted friend.

Prettyman also photographed a Ponca Sun Dance before the ceremony was discouraged and eventually banned by the federal government. In one of his photographs of the Sac and Fox, the tribal chief Pa She Pa Ho selected only the full blood members of the village to pose with him. It is said that after Pa She Pa Ho's death, he was buried with his favorite Prettyman photograph of himself.

In 1905 Prettyman sold his Blackwell studio and moved his family to California, where he established a wholesale drug company with his son. He brought only one camera with him to California, and completely abandoned his large collection of prints and glass plate negatives in Blackwell. Even those who knew him could not explain why he abruptly left his photography career and deserted his collection. It is unknown how many of Prettyman's prints and glass plate negatives were destroyed through neglect and careless handling after their abandonment. Prettyman died in 1932. However, a sufficient number of his works have survived in institutions such as the Gilcrease Museum to secure his reputation as one of Oklahoma's foremost frontier photographer-artists.



This photograph of Sac and Fox chief Pa She Pa Ho with his council was made by Prettyman around 1884 during one of his photographic expeditions into the Indian Territory. The central figure, chief Pa She Pa Ho, was a friend of Prettyman. The chief wears a Hudson Bay blanket and a bear-claw necklace. Gilcrease 3426.3507.

PREVIOUS PAGE, INSET: Prettyman positioned his camera on the roof of the railroad depot in May of 1889 to record Oklahoma City as it looked when it was only two weeks old. To the left and right of the depot stacks of lumber can be seen, ready for sale to moneyed settlers who wished to replace their tents with more permanent structures. Gilcrease 4327.3504.



Prettyman photographed Osage leaders and U.S. government officials.at his Arkansas City, Kansas, studio around 1887. Saucy Chief, first from the left and seated, holds an eagle tail feather fan and wears his hair in the traditional roached style. This hair style helped accentuate their height, and made Osage warriors even more fearsome. Gilcrease 4326.4228.







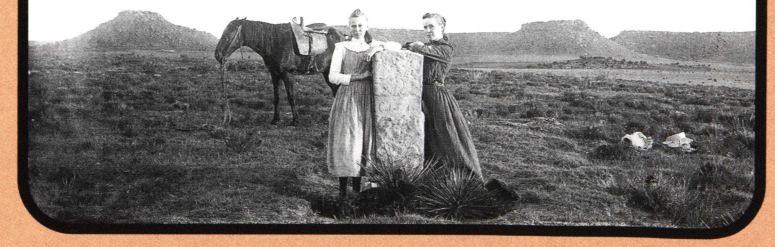
Life on the Range

Prettyman attended several spring roundups in the Cherokee Outlet. The ranchers of the area would join in a cooperative effort to locate and collect their cattle and brand the spring calves. In the top two images, cowboys hard at work branding spring calves.

The bottom photograph, taken at Turkey Creek Ranch located west of present day Enid. shows hands. enjoying a meal of coffee, beans, and beef as they pose for Prettyman. Most wear the Plainsman-style hat that features a broad brim for protection for the sun. At the right of the image are two essential pieces of equipment for the cowboy and the chuck wagon cook: a well-used Dutch oven and the ever-present coffee pot.

Gilcrease 4527.85.9; 4527.85.10; 4527.85.7.

Andrew A. Forbes



Andrew A. Forbes's activity in what is now western Oklahoma appears to have begun around 1885. Like other itinerant photographers of the time, he maintained a mobile, self-contained "studio" that was transportable by wagon or pack animal. Forbes found the largest customer base for his photographic trade among working cowboys in western Oklahoma and the Texas panhandle. This area was home to vast herds of cattle, but just a few years earlier had been the grazing range of the great herds of buffalo hunted by Plains tribes. Forbes often joined a range cattle outfit for several days to photograph the cowboys working the herds in their natural environment. Although the Texas range cattle groups had no legal claim to the western part of Oklahoma, then considered Indian Territory, they drifted their herds over the Texas state line to graze on Indian lands. For this reason, it is difficult to determine with certainty the location of many of Forbes's cowboy scenes. He did, however, provide a clue to the location and the range cattle outfit he photographed by cutting the brand symbol that the cowboys rode for on the emulsion of the glass plate negative.

Forbes's arrival provided the range workers with a welcome distraction from their everyday tasks and he was customarily invited to share the delicacies offered by the chuck wagon cook, a steady diet of beans and beef. In return for the hospitality, Forbes supplied current news and conversation, as well as the opportunity to be photographed.

As a businessman, Forbes preferred to photograph groups of cowboys as opposed to individuals. For a single glass plate negative, he could make multiple reproductions to supply each cowboy in the group with a photograph. This method reduced the price to his cowboy customers, yet did not reduce Forbes's inventory of glass plate negatives or burden him with transporting many used plates. The price for a finished photograph adhered to a photographer's board was usually between fifty cents and a dollar. Forbes hoped to sell each photographic subject at least two finished prints.

Forbes's cowboy photographs are the work of a true photographer-artist. Of superb quality, they are rich in composition and clarity, especially considering his less-than-ideal working environment on the wind-swept plains. Several images include the chuck wagon at mealtime—an opportune time for him to ply his trade because generally a number of hands were present, and the relaxed atmosphere provided the perfect setting for the slow speed of his large-format camera. He probably never imagined that he was creating historical documentation of the range cattle empire for future generations.

Forbes's cowboy customers appear in their normal working attire, wearing wide-brimmed hats, long-sleeved shirts for protection from the sun, and sleeveless vests. Some sport revolvers, and many are mounted or have their trusty equine work partners positioned nearby.

Many agree that Forbes's photograph of a group of "Hanging Y" cowboys at mealtime is an example of his best work. The photograph is of remarkable composition, clarity, and detail. The combination of the horses standing in the background, the Hispanic cook working at the chuck wagon tailgate, the hatless youngster, and the cowboy who holds up a piece of food for his friends' amusement make it a wonderful scene.

The opening of the Unassigned Lands in April of



1889 was an irresistible business opportunity for Forbes and other itinerant photographers. Forbes packed up his portable studio and reached the new settlements soon after the land run had taken place. He made several photographs of Oklahoma City just a few days after its establishment. His landscape photographs capture images of a frontier town at birth and include a long-range shot of tents, wood buildings with false fronts, frames of buildings under construction, and piles of lumber positioned near the railroad station. It is impossible to determine how many images he made while marketing his photographs in Oklahoma City, and how many of the plates were lost through lack of proper care over the years.

As more photographers arrived in the new towns and established studios, Forbes and the other itinerant photographers found themselves with fewer customers. They were forced to choose between establishing their own studios to compete for a portion of the local photography market or returning to the life of a wandering photographer. Forbes chose not to found his own studio, in favor of the freedom and new experiences the life of an itinerant photographer afforded. He simply preferred traveling from homestead to homestead in search of new scenery and more potential customers.

Only a few of Forbes's photographs of settlers in Oklahoma Territory survived. However, the images that did survive are excellent examples of his artistry, and they provide an authentic view of the settlers. Two consistent features in these images are the barren landscape that is devoid of vegetation and the settlers' preference to be photographed in their best clothing, which was normally reserved for church and social gatherings. Forbes might be able to sell the family two or three photographs for a cash payment, the preferred method of compensation. However, if cash was not available, a meal with the family might be traded for his services. The photographs, which were often made in front of sod houses, would become important family heirlooms passed down through many generations.

Forbes spent approximately seven to eight years in Oklahoma Territory before continuing his trek west. He eventually settled in Bishop, California, where he established a studio that he operated for several years. Forbes died on March 21, 1921. Although only a small segment of his work can accurately be accounted for, the images that remain are powerful visual documents of the past.

TOP: Forbes photographed this family of settlers in front of their sod house circa 1890. The family has been on their homestead long enough to have planted corn, which can be seen to the left of the house. When Forbes arrived, the family often dressed in their best clothes for the photograph, which become a cherished family memento. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Forbes 73.

FACING: Forbes cut the title for the top image, "Ready to Start," into the emulsion of the glass plate negative. The scene includes three key elements of the range cattle industry: the cowboy, the horse, and the chuck wagon. Just visible in the background is the outfits' remunda, or extra horses. Loaded in the back of the chuck wagon are the cowboys' bed rolls. The bottom image was likely profitable if each cowboy purchased one print. Two of the hands display their horsemanship by standing on their saddles, and one has his revolver pointed at a friend's head. Behind the group to the left is the range cattle baron Charles Goodnight, the first cattleman to settle in the Palo Duro Canyon, Texas, panhandle following the defeat of the Comanche Indians. At one time, Goodnight and his partner, John G. Adair, ran 100,000 head of cattle on one million acres. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Forbes 30; 25.

PREVIOUS PAGE, INSET: Two young women stand at the boundary marker for Colorado and New Mexico in what would become the Oklahoma panhandle. They have removed their sunbonnets for this photo. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Forbes 125.





Considered by many to be Forbes's best work, this image captures the "Hanging L" cowboys at mealtime somewhere in western Oklahoma or the Texas panhandle in the mid-1880s. The chuck wagon is parked under a canopy of trees to shade the cook and cowboys, and the horses stand in the background. The Hispanic cook at the tailgate has probably served up a hearty meal of beans and beef with strong coffee. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Forbes 67.

Annette Ross Hume



MANY GIFTED AMATEURS also photographed the frontier period in Oklahoma. Annette Ross Hume was one of the many, but her choice of subjects and location makes her body of work exceptional.

Hume was born in Perrysburg, Wood County, Ohio, on March 8, 1858. At the age of sixteen she met and married Charles Robinson Hume, a recent medical school graduate who had come to Perrysburg to practice medicine. However, the Hume family soon joined the western movement and moved to Caldwell, Kansas.

In December 1890, Dr. Hume was appointed agency physician for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency in Indian Territory. When the Hume family left Kansas for the Anadarko Agency in December 1890, like so many other families of the time they left behind the graves of children who had died in infancy. Two sons and a daughter would remain in the dry earth behind them, but two sons had survived.

Mrs. Hume began photographing the Anadarko Agency during her first year in residence there. Although photography was still considered by society to be a male profession, it was becoming a popular hobby for women. The introduction of lightweight cameras and commercial dry glass plate negatives helped make this transition possible.

The exact model and source of Hume's photographic equipment are unknown. In the late 1800s, several photography companies offered a variety of cameras and equipment for amateur photographers. For example, one of the Anthony Photography Company's promotional slogans was "Dry Plate Photography for the Millions." Such slogans emphasized the ease with which novices could learn to create photographs. An instruction book was provided with the purchase of a camera and supplies. It is likely that Hume acquired her camera through mail-order purchase.

Upon her arrival at the Anadarko Agency, Hume discovered an extensive operation that presented an unusual photographic opportunity. Twelve years earlier, the Kiowa and Comanche Agency had consolidated with the Wichita Agency. The agency consisted of 1,800 square miles with an 1890 population of 4,121 Indians. This vast area comprised Dr. Hume's medical practice.

Mrs. Hume's photography included all the elements of her surroundings. She frequently drove her buggy on errands across agency lands and took her camera with her. The subjects of her lens on these outings ranged from agency employees and missionaries to various aspects of everyday Indian life. As a frequent visitor to the missionary and government Indian schools, Hume photographed the children attending classes, group scenes, choirs, and Christmas activities. She also photographed Indian mothers with their infants in cradleboards.

Hume photographed a number of events on the agency, including a council meeting of Kiowa and Comanche Indians with Comanche chief Quanah Parker as the predominant figure. She also captured scenes of Wichita Indians gambling and Indian families receiving their regular allotment of fresh beef from the U.S. Indian agent.

Mrs. Hume frequently photographed Indian friends whom she had met at the agency and provided the sitters with prints that likely became treasured family items. In an effort to emulate studio portrait backdrops, she sometimes draped blankets or lace curtains behind her subjects as they posed on the front porch of her home. One such photograph of George and Etta Mopope is an example of her best work. The photograph shows the Mopopes dressed in fine buckskins. George holds a Pendleton blanket and his braids are wrapped in fur. Etta wears a fringed trade shawl wrapped around her waist over a buckskin dress in the style fashionable at the time among Kiowa and Comanche women.

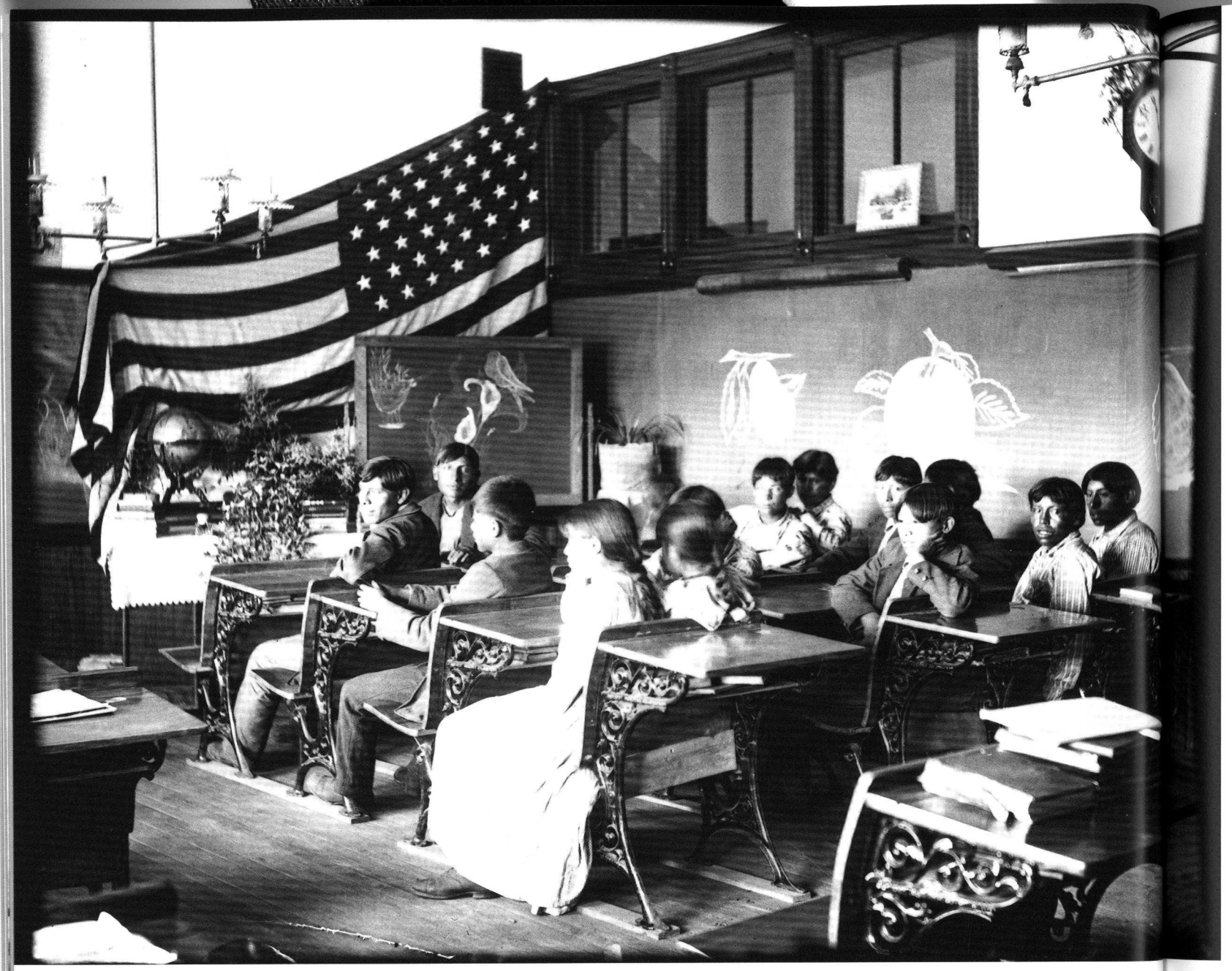
In 1901 the Anadarko Agency Indian lands were opened to white settlement. The opening occurred after Indian tribal members received their land allotment, and the surplus was made available to settlers by means of a lottery. Anadarko was designated as the county seat of Caddo County. The area chosen for the town site was a cornfield located south of the Anadarko Agency. Hume photographed this cornfield the day before the opening of the new frontier town. She continued photographing the cornfield in a series of images that captured its quick transition over the next year from an agricultural space to a fully operational town. Her photographs record life in the tent city, the hurried construction, throngs of settlers waiting for mail, merchants displaying their wares on outdoor tables, and other scenes that depict the typical opening of a new frontier town.

Hume's photographic work ended around 1910 due to her numerous social and civic activities, and the added burden of failing health. Before she died in 1933, she saw several of her photographs reprinted as illustrations in books about Oklahoma history. Over seven hundred of her glass plate negatives and many prints have survived to the present. She was one of few women who photographed Indian life on an agency before 1900. Although she practiced photography as an amateur, the scope and quality of her work is that of a talented professional.



In one of Hume's numerous images of Anadarko Agency life, Tso-Tuddle and Red Bone are cutting and drying beef in May of 1902. Beef issue was an important social event at the agency because it was also a time of tribal gathering. Most tribal members traveled to the agency headquarters to receive the beef, and sometimes the men of the tribe were allowed to kill the cattle themselves. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Phillips 7.

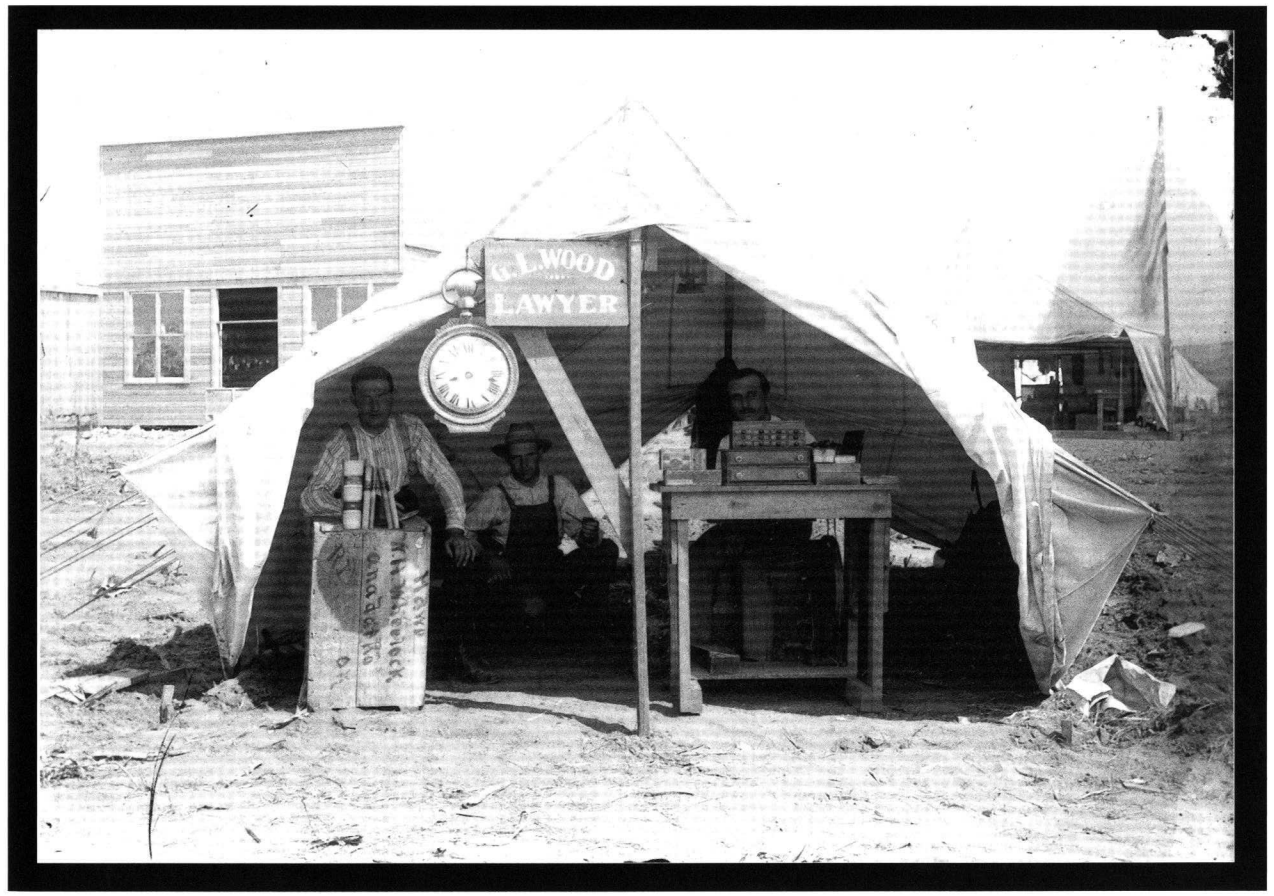
INSET, FACING: Merchants gather on the main street of Anadarko in August of 1901. Along with laundry services, the new citizens of Anadarko are also able to buy cigars, and Dr. Pepper on ice. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Phillips 252.



A frequent visitor to the Indian schools in the agency area, Hume photographed this classroom interior at the Riverside Indian School in 1901. The Riverside school was operated exclusively for Indian children. The double desks, globe, blackboard, and gas lights made this school superior to most frontier schoolrooms. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Phillips 357.

Hume, Soule, Prettyman, and Forbes—along with numerous other photographers both professional and amateur—left a rich legacy of Oklahoma frontier images. Many such chroniclers, even though they worked primarily to earn a living, were driven by the desire to practice their medium as an art form. Current generations are fortunate that so much of their work has survived. We are also fortunate that the work is available to an interested public. Without the efforts of cultural institutions such as the Gilcrease Museum to locate, collect, preserve, and display their works, these windows to Oklahoma's frontier past would be closed to all.

In this Anadarko street scene made by Hume in August of 1901, a lawyer and a jeweler share a tent. The lawyer has his sign on tent pole, and his four law books atop a wooden crate. Although the jeweler lacks a sign, he does display the traditional large clock that identifies his trade. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Phillips 111.



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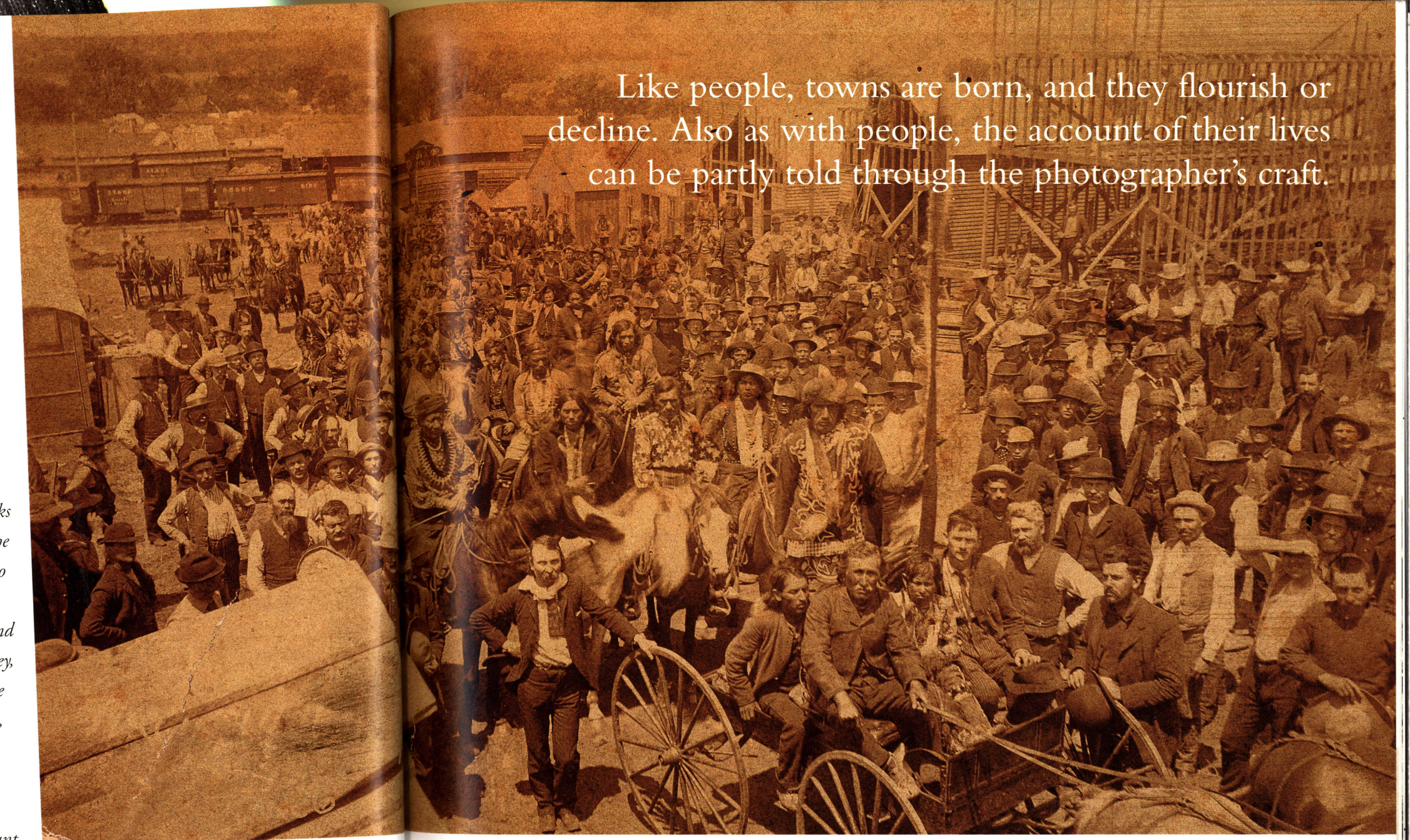
C. Ross Hume Collection, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Western History Collections.

A Tale *of* Two Cities

Alvin O. Tanner

At first glance, Muskogee and Guthrie seem an unlikely pair. Muskogee's very name links its history to an Indian Nation—that of the Muskogees, or Creeks, who were removed to Indian Territory in the early nineteenth century. Guthrie came into existence to serve white settlers and travelers. Named for John Guthrie, a Kansas railway attorney, it was the departure point for Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe trains traversing Indian Territory in the late 1880s. As such, it could well stand as a symbol of the railroad's role in the destruction of tribal claims to Oklahoma.

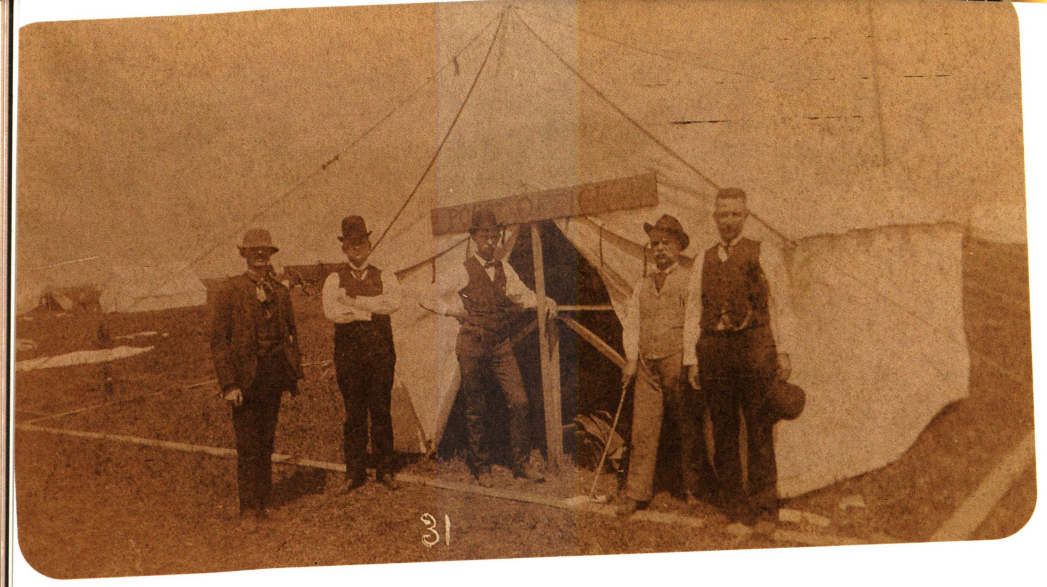
Yet first glances are often deceptive, and the differences between these two Oklahoma communities obscure significant parallels between them. Both towns began with the railroads, developing much faster than did the farming communities characteristic of earlier frontiers, and their joint histories can be only understood against the backdrop of American commercial expansion in the late nineteenth century. Even more to the point, both enjoyed temporary preeminence in their respective regions and were expected to dominate the subsequent politics and economies of a state or region. Both found their respective claims preempted by comparative upstarts. Finally, each would build a significant part of its modern economy on foundations rooted in its history.



Like people, towns are born, and they flourish or decline. Also as with people, the account of their lives can be partly told through the photographer's craft.

Photographer unknown
Guthrie, May 14, 1889
Gilcrease 4326.1611

Muskogee is located at the southern edge of the historic Three Forks region, the center for most of the earliest historical events directly linked to modern Oklahoma. Shaped by the convergence of the Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand Rivers, Three Forks became a center for French fur trading activity by 1800. When the United States gained a claim to the area with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Americans began to focus their military and economic energies near Three Forks as well. One such effort brought Thomas Nuttall, the noted English naturalist, to eastern Oklahoma to collect plants and explore in the spring of 1819. One of his journeys brought him to the site of present-day Muskogee, which he predicted would later become the home of an important city.



Photographer unknown
The Guthrie Post Office soon after settlement
Gilcrease 4326.1596

Nuttall understood the vital conncection between waterways and commerce in interior regions, and in all likelihood his prediction would have been fulfilled if Oklahoma's development had followed the patterns typical of earlier American frontiers. When the first riverboat steamed up the Arkansas River to the newly established Fort Gibson in1825, the naturalist's vision seemed close to fruition. But history took another course. The United States launched the first of many assaults on Native American communities that ended with their forced removal from the southeast region to the newly defined Indian Territory. The completion of that process during the next decade effectively disrupted developments that might otherwise have spawned a city at the location of Muskogee. The Arkansas River provided an important link to Mississippi River commerce for a number of small tribal villages and surrounding farms for decades thereafter, but there was not enough population or economic growth to sustain the kind of city Nuttall had expected. That development awaited the arrival of the railroads in Indian Territory.

Tribal governments correctly feared the approach of the "iron horse." The railroads' interests directly challenged tribal sovereignty and traditional Naive American land holding systems. Nevertheless, the tribes were forced to permit railroad access to Indian Territory under provisions of the new treaties negotiated with the United States following the Civil War. Although many Native American tribes, especially the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees, had been divided by the war, new treaties punished all tribes for supporting the Confederacy. Two punitive provisions required land cessions and the opening of tribal domains to the railroads.

ALTHOUGH MANY NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBES. . . HAD BEEN DIVIDED BY THE WAR, NEW TREATIES PUNISHED ALL TRIBES FOR SUPPORTING THE CONFEDERACY. TWO PUNITIVE PROVISIONS REQUIRED LAND CESSIONS AND THE OPENING OF TRIBAL DOMAINS TO THE RAILROADS.

The first requirement freed lands in western Oklahoma for the settlement of plains Indians. A small portion of those lands was never used for that purpose and thus became known as the "Unassigned lands" —the first areas opened to white settlement in Oklahoma. The second provision triggered the growth of new towns along rail lines in eastern Oklahoma, among them Muskogee.



Photographer unknown
Presbyterian Church, Muskogee, I.T., 1876
Gilcrease 4326.1647

Photographer unknown
Old Indian Agency, Muskogee, I.T., ca. 1876
Gilcrease 4326.1672

On Christmas day, 1871, the tracks of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad reached the site of present-day Muskogee with completion of a bridge across the Arkansas. A tent city sprang up within days, quickly followed by establishment of a post office at "Muscogee Station." Over the next two years, businesses from smaller nearby communities moved to the new town, giving it the look of a prosperous frontier community; it even had a Presbyterian church, built in 1874. Relocation of the Union Agency to Muskogee the next year assured future importance and continuing growth for the town.

By 1885, most of the institutions and individuals that would define the town and shape its immediate future were in place. Clarence W. Turner and Frederick B. Severs were already established as leading businessmen when Robert L. Owen, an attorney and future U.S. senator from Oklahoma, arrived. Turner alone eventually owned dozens of businesses throughout the region, and together Turner, Severs, and Owen soon owned much of the most valuable real estate in the Muskogee vicinity.

For both Guthrie and Muskogee, the period from 1889 to statehood represented the high-water mark of both prominence and expectations. Muskogee was nearly crushed by a fire that destroyed much of its business area in 1887, but two years later it was largely rebuilt. In 1889 it was selected as the location for a federal district court. As the court held its first session the next year, Muskogee was looking forward to the installation of its first commercial telephone service and reporting 1,200 residents to federal census takers. In the meantime, 130 miles west, the newly formed Guthrie reported 5,333 residents.



Guthrie had been born overnight, the largest town formed in the land run of April 22, 1889. A day before that event, there were only a few buildings at the site. Most belonged to the Santa Fe Railroad, which maintained a station to service the company's trains as they moved across Oklahoma. The U.S. government began building a land office in mid-April just before a horde of tens of thousands rushed into the Unassigned Lands.

The opening of Indian Territory lands to non-Native settlement is usually understood as a by-product of pressure from land-hungry farmers. Indeed that group made up the majority of the settlers, but large numbers also sought their futures in more urban settings. For example, Guthrie's 1890 population represented about 42 percent of the residents in Logan County and still others clustered in the county's smaller towns.

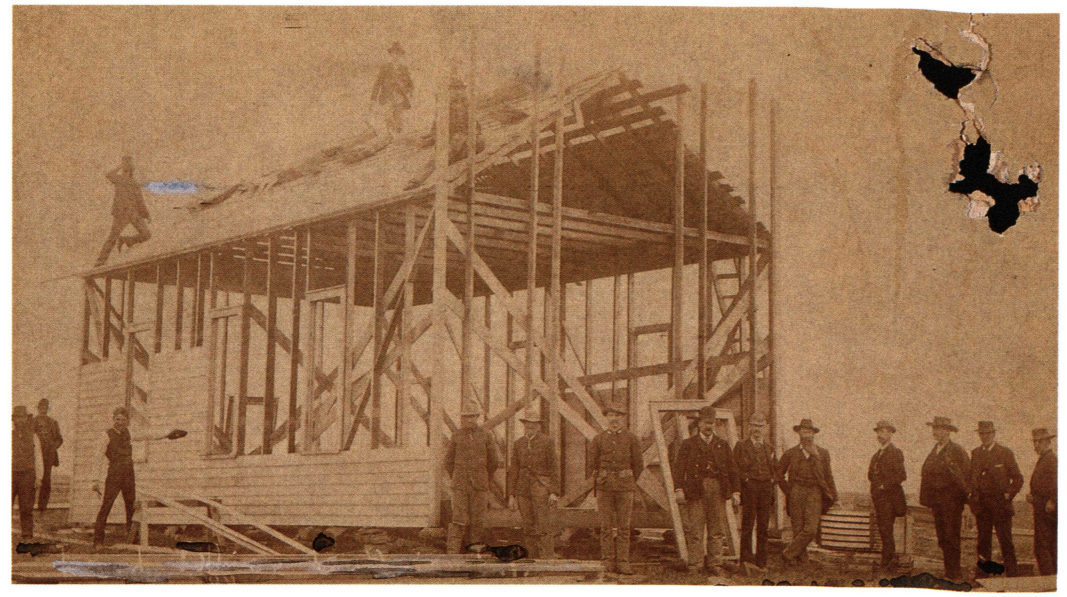
By the time of Oklahoma's settlement, a generation of entrepreneurs defined their land of opportunity as a town lot where they could establish a business. That conviction drove much of the speculative fervor seen in hundreds of towns created in Oklahoma during the next twenty years. Most such towns soon faced a reality much different from the one their promoters envisioned. Only a few of those created by the opening of the Unassigned Lands achieved permanence; two were positioned to become leading cities in an emerging state.

GUTHRIE HAD BEEN BORN OVERNIGHT, THE LARGEST TOWN FORMED IN THE LAND RUN OF APRIL 22, 1889.

Photographer unknown
U. S. Court in Muskogee, I.T., ca. 1897
Gilcrease 4326.1673



Photographer unknown
Building the land office in Guthrie, April 15, 1889
Gilcrease 4326.1607







Photographers unknown
Scenes from early Guthrie: Staking lots (above) and the first wholesale grocers
Gilcrease 4326.1597; 1606

Guthrie seems to have won that distinction before any competition began. The location of the land office there buttressed its claim as the future capital of the newly formed territory, and Guthrie's leaders and entrepreneurs quickly built on their initial advantages. The day after the land run, tent businesses from restaurants to wholesale grocers and a post office, also in a tent, could be seen in the town. A photograph taken ten days after the run shows at least six buildings, and many more were undoubtedly in various stages of completion.

By June 5, a photographic view of Guthrie from a distance seems to show as many buildings as tents. A photograph made when Guthrie's citizens celebrated Independence Day the following month gave the appearance of a completed town. In this case, appearance mirrored a growing reality. The city was now home to five banks, fifteen hotels, and three music halls. Lighting was available to downtown businesses, and planning was underway for a street railway to serve residents of a reported 4,000 homes under construction.

Such rapid development virtually assured corresponding levels of turbulence. In fact, violence was never far from erupting during the early days of settlement. A photograph showing one claimant protecting his claim by holding a gun on another is undoubtedly a gag shot, but it reflects the immediate concerns of many claimants. Federal officials had been totally unprepared for the vast numbers of people who poured into the Unassigned Lands. With only a few U.S. marshals and scattered military units to enforce order, disputed claims were frequent and often violent. Congress had neglected to establish a basis for any form of local government, so the settlers were forced to rely upon common-consent governments.

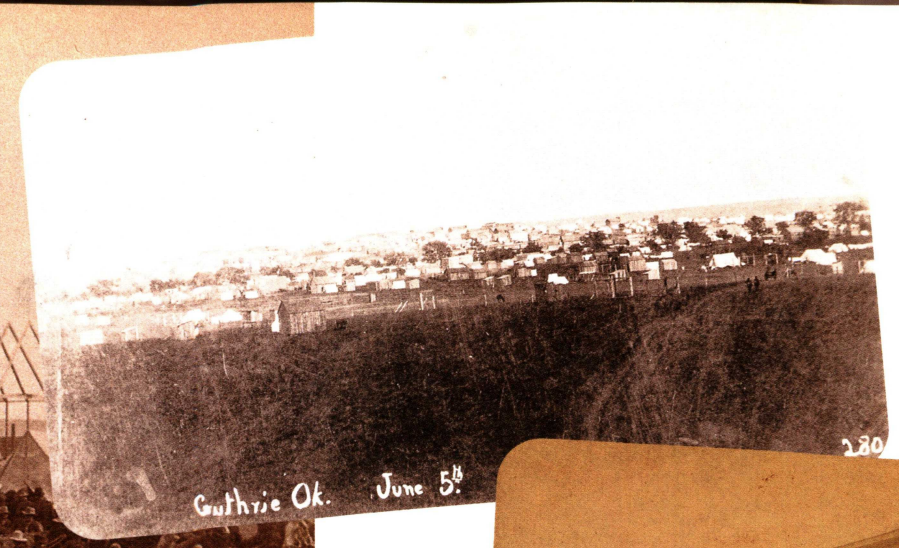


Federal officials estimated that as many as one third of the claims occupied after the land run were held by "sooners," individuals who had entered the Unassigned Lands before they were officially opened. Resultant cases clogged the courts for decades, and violent responses were always possible. One individual estimated that claim disputes led to as many as fifty homicides in Payne County alone in the year after the run. Such difficulties were compounded by the proliferation of outlaw bands that had long claimed Oklahoma as their home.

Yet the settlers also built institutions, just as they did communities and businesses, that countered the forces of lawlessness and established enduring foundations to perpetuate their values and dreams. In doing so, they demonstrated their commitment to social and cultural as well as

William Prettyman
Street scene in Guthrie, ten days after the opening
Photography
Gilcrease 4527.85.22

Facing: William Prettyman
Holding down a town lot, Guthrie, April 22, 1899
Photograph
Gilcrease 4527.85.20



Photographer unknown
Guthrie, June 5, 1899
Gilcrease 4326.1622

J.J. Hargrave's Photograph Gallery
Guthrie, City Hall corner on South 2nd Street, July 4, 1889
Photograph
Gilcrease 4326.1625





economic goals. At the same time, they demonstrated their understanding of and commitment to democracy. In the absence of Congressional authorization, they remembered that constitutional authority had begun with the people and established self-government for them. They wrote their charters, conducted campaigns, and held their elections within days of arrival. They adapted to the lack of ballots and voted with their bodies, literally "standing behind" their candidates to nominate or elect them. The men elected proceeded to justify the trust placed in them, launching a campaign to assure that their community would be the capital of the territory and of the state they assumed would be founded shortly.

Guthrie solidified its claim in the next decade. Two days after the opening, Guthrie's leaders had completed arrangements to set aside ten acres for the future capital. The magnitude of that accomplishment was staggering as it required adjusting dozens if not hundreds of claims. The location of Santa Fe offices in Guthrie and corresponding activities by Santa Fe officials seemed to assure continuing political prominence for the town, and its growth, economy, and cultural life supported its claim to leadership.



William Prettyman
The way they nominated the first mayor of Guthrie
Photograph
Gilcrease 4527.85.18

At the end of one year, Guthrie counted eleven schools, nine churches, and eight newspapers, including three dailies, to serve the largest concentration of people in the territory. In contrast, its upstart rival Oklahoma City, which had begun calling itself the "future capital of Oklahoma," had barely 4,000 residents, less than 80 percent of Guthrie's total. The other potential claimant, Kingfisher, could not produce half those numbers. Even more importantly, the May 1890 Organic Act, which finally provided a legal basis for territorial government for Oklahoma, called for temporary placement of the capital at Guthrie. Territorial governor George Steele hoped that provision would quiet the capital location issue at least long enough to allow him to attend to more pressing territorial business, but his request to delay consideration of the question was completely ignored. Council Bill Number Seven called for removal of the capital to Oklahoma City. Lobbyists supporting Oklahoma City's claim soon descended on Guthrie, and those from Kingfisher also entered the fray. Months of intrigue and excitement followed, with varied plots and counterplots and even one mob gathering to hang a member of the House from Oklahoma City.

Guthrie's leaders were shaken when the legislature passed two successive measures to move the capital. The first, the so-called Daniel's Bill, called for removal to Oklahoma City. Steele vetoed that measure, and the house then passed a bill calling for placing the capital in Kingfisher. Steele's veto of that bill ended the strongest immediate threat to Guthrie's preeminence, and the city strengthened its hold on the capital when Congress passed legislation in 1894 threatening to cancel territorial officials' salaries if the capital were relocated.



William Prettyman
Voting for the first mayor of Guthrie
Photograph
Gilcrease 4527.85.19

. . . A CRUCIAL QUESTION REMAINED TO BE ANSWERED BEFORE CONGRESS WOULD AUTHORIZE CREATION OF A STATE FOR ANY CITY TO BE CAPITAL OF: WHAT WAS TO BE DONE WITH INDIAN TERRITORY?

Eventually, the struggle for the capital would help bring a shift in Oklahoma politics from Republican to Democratic dominance. The Democratic majority, which dominated the state after 1907, accused the Republican party's appointed governors of frustrating the will of the majority and delaying the arrival of statehood for partisan reasons.

Only the most astute observer could have foreseen those realities in the first few years after 1894. A Carnegie library, Masonic consistory, and county high school added to the city's luster along with the Brooks Opera House and Ione Hotel. In fact, however, Guthrie's star was already in eclipse by 1900. In 1897, its proud leaders were convinced they had negotiated to bring the St. Louis and San Francisco, or Frisco, railroad to Guthrie. But Oklahoma City offered a better deal, and the Frisco linked there. Guthrie's loss could be read in the 1900 census. The town had grown to 10,006, but Oklahoma City fell only thirty-one people short of that, and trends now clearly favored the usurper. By statehood seven years later, Guthrie's population was barely one-third of Oklahoma City's.

Population alone, of course, does not determine the location of a state capital, and Guthrie's claim rested on more than that base. Further, there was as yet no state for any city to be capital of. Congress had not decided what to do with Indian Territory.

That decision would revolve around events centering in Muskogee, which had grown during the 1890s to nearly 5,000 residents—largely through destruction of tribal sovereignty. In 1887, Congress had passed the Dawes Severalty Act, ending communal ownership of tribal land. In 1893 the Dawes Commission was formed to allot individual units of land to family heads. Congress charged the commission with three crucial tasks: it was to define tribal membership (and thus who was eligible to receive land); determine the specific allotment for each family; and set aside land for other uses.

The process took years, and its hub was Muskogee. Related legal challenges were heard at the Muskogee district court, which gained even more importance when Congress passed the Curtis Act in 1898. That legislation abolished tribal courts, called for surveying and incorporating towns, and otherwise shifted legal jurisdiction from tribes to the federal government. An ever-increasing stream of attorneys was drawn to Muskogee. Still more people arrived there when the Dawes Commission relocated its headquarters there from Ft. Gibson.

Grant Foreman, historian and one of Muskogee's favorite sons, would write: "From this time her growth was rapid as she assumed the dominance which she maintained for many years over the Indian Territory . . ." The boom continued into the new century with six railroads locating in the town by 1903. Two years later, it briefly flirted with the possibility that it might become a state capital.

By 1905, the leaders of many Native American tribes had reluctantly accepted the loss of tribal control over their domains. Nevertheless, neither they nor the business leaders of Indian Territory were prepared to merge with Oklahoma Territory. In 1902, they began holding regular meetings to plan their response to that threat. Their last major effort culminated in August 1905, when 182 delegates gathered in Muskogee to create a constitution for a proposed state of Sequoyah. Muskogee's leaders saw their town as the state's natural capital. But they were doomed to double disappointment. Surprising virtually everyone, the convention proposed Fort Gibson as Sequoyah's capital. More predictably, Congress refused to ratify the Sequoyah constitution, even though it had been approved overwhelmingly by Indian Territory voters. Congress had decided to create only one state. On June 16, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the enabling act that would begin its creation.

The act provided that the Constitutional Convention would be held in Guthrie and that the capital should remain there until 1913. That seeming victory soon proved a hollow one for Guthrie. Much has been written of the subsequent maneuvering and assorted developments, court cases, and other actions that thwarted the Congressional provision and saw the removal of the capital to Oklahoma City in 1910. One can still find die-hards in Guthrie who believe their capital was stolen. Robbery or not, Guthrie's fate was all but sealed even before the new state elected Charles Haskell, a Muskogee Democrat, as its first governor. A strongly Republican city in an emerging Democratic state, Guthrie carried the scars of almost two decades of turbulent territorial politics, and it had already been supplanted as the economic center of the state.

If Guthrie retained any hope of retaining the capital, it was destroyed by a sudden, bitter, and public rivalry between Governor Haskell and Frank Greer, publisher of the *State Capital* newspaper in Guthrie. Few could rival Greer's capacity for invective; Haskell chafed so much under the editor's unrelenting attacks that he called in Guthrie's civic leaders to demand they control Greer or face the loss of the capital. Guthrie's leaders refused the governor's request, doubting he could make good on his threat. The law did seem to favor them, but it would not stand resultant court tests. Haskell better understood the state's politics and won a decisive victory when the voters spoke. On June 11, 1910, 96,261 voters supported moving the capital to Oklahoma City. Guthrie received only 31,301 votes and Shawnee 8,382.

Despite the loss of the capital, grass did not grow in the streets of Guthrie as Haskell had threatened. But the town had clearly lost its place in the sun. Within a decade, the bustling city depicted in photographs from its founding days had fallen into torpor, witnessing the slow and steady decline of the symbols of its glory. The proud Commercial Bank building would spend its last days as a store for distressed merchandise and eventually be replaced by a parking lot. By 1970, the Brooks Opera House, Ione Hotel, and Constitution Hall had met comparable fates.

. . . THE MOST PRODUCTIVE OIL DISCOVERY IN HUMAN HISTORY TO THAT TIME, GLENN POOL SPAWNED DECADES OF EXPONENTIAL GROWTH AT NEARBY TULSA, WHICH BECAME THE OIL CAPITAL OF THE WORLD.

Photographer unknown
West side of Main Street, Muskogee, I.T., ca. 1888
Gilcrease 4326.1686

Muskogee never fell as dramatically as did Guthrie. With 14,418 people in 1907, it was the second largest city in the new state. A boom triggered in part by oil discoveries in the nearby Okmulgee Pool pushed the town's population to 25,278 people in 1910. One attendant development triggered a revival of freighting on the Arkansas River, this time to haul oil field equipment and supplies. That proved short-lived because of the same low water levels that had prevented significant use of the river for decades. Muskogee's status as Oklahoma's second largest city lasted only a little longer. The Okmulgee Pool was large by the standards of the time, but it was quickly overshadowed by Glenn Pool, the most productive oil discovery in human history to that time. Glenn Pool spawned decades of exponential growth at nearby Tulsa, which became the oil capital of the world.





Robertson Studio
Riverboat, City of Muskogee, ca. 1908
Photograph
Gilcrease 4326.1984

THESE ACCOUNTS END ONE TALE OF TWO CITIES, but another history could also be written containing many recognizable elements from the first version. For Muskogee, that story might not require beginning with Nuttall's prediction, but it must include the river. In 1970, Oklahomans celebrated the completion of the Arkansas River Navigation Project that restored and improved that river's capacity for freight traffic. The first port on the hundred-mile waterway to the Mississippi River was at Muskogee and with it came new sources of capital and growth for the former "Metropolis of Indian Territory." Likewise, Muskogee's participation in the state's tourism industry is linked to its past, notably in the building which once housed the Union agency, now home to the Five Civilized Tribes Museum.

Guthrie's present and future are even more clearly linked to its history. In the 1970s, a new generation of leaders determined that they had witnessed the destruction of the last of their historic buildings. In cooperation with the Oklahoma legislature, the State Historic Preservation Office, and the Oklahoma Historical Society, they gained recognition of the downtown area by the National Register of Historic Places. The following year the Register added additional areas, making Guthrie the largest historic district in the nation. Guthrie began drawing new sources of capital and a steady flow of investors and visitors. Tourists include casual observers of Victorian architecture, those with special interests in the designs of Joseph Foucart—possibly the architect for the Commercial Bank—and visitors to the Oklahoma Territorial Museum or the *State Capital* Museum, where the fiery newspaper publisher Frank Greer, with his passionate dreams for the city, had once held sway.

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the camera's eye

and the western frontier



Front cover: Composite image: JOHN HILLERS, The Empty Cradle, Paiute woman, Kanab, Utah. Photograph. Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, No. 275fld7(13); **and THOMAS MORAN, The Empty Cradle, 1878, etching on paper based on the Hillers photograph.** Gilcrease 1426.410. The Empty Cradle etching has been intentionally reversed to mirror Moran's photographic model.

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