

Photography arrived in Minnesota when Sarah Judd of Stillwater began making a silver-reflecting image called a daguerreotype in 1848. Minnesota was not yet a territory and photography was just nine years old. Within that nine years, photography had changed from a scientific discovery to a professional business centered on portraiture and the single process of daguerreotypy. By the end of the century, photography was to become a multipurpose medium, used by artists, commercial photographers, scientists, ethnologists, and amateurs, each having a choice of many different processes to achieve their visual goals. This article will spotlight mainly 19th-century professional photographers in Minnesota who have

WORKING THE LIGHT

Nineteenth-Century Professional Photographers in Minnesota

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outstanding work extant in the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.¹

Like many early practitioners, Sarah Judd of Stillwater, in what was then Wisconsin Territory, was a photographer for a short time between 1848 and 1850. She married Ariel Eldridge in 1849, perhaps leaving photography for family life. No known examples of her work survive.²

The process Judd used had been announced to the world in 1839 by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in Paris; it quickly spread to the United States via newspaper reports. The work involves sensitizing a silver-plated sheet of copper with iodine vapor, exposing the sheet in a camera, and developing the image with mercury vapor. Most early daguerreotypists learned the

¹ Much of this article is based on newspaper clippings, census records, and business directory excerpts collected by G. Hubert Smith and Alan Woolworth of the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) staff. Smith, museum curator in the late 1940s, was the first to document local photographers by collecting dozens of newspaper and directory citations and preparing a manuscript, "First Photographers of Minnesota." Woolworth, currently a research fellow at the society, took up Smith's work, adding to the collection of articles and preparing entries for the Minnesota Biographies Project. The author is grateful for their diligence in seeking out crucial and elusive background material. These collections and biographies are available in the society's publications and research division. Unless otherwise noted, photographic documentation is in the MHS collections.

² George E. Warner and Charles M. Foote, comps., *History of Washington County and the St. Croix Valley* (Minneapolis: North Star Pub. Co., 1881), 507.

process from other practitioners until a former Minnesotan published *The History and Practice of the Art of Photography* in 1849. Henry Hunt Snelling, son of Josiah, had lived at the fort named for his father from 1820 to 1827. He left Minnesota, received his formal education in the East, married the daughter of a publisher, and never returned. But his treatise was surely read by many of the Minnesota daguerreotypists who came after Sarah Judd.³

How many followed her? According to the newspapers of the time, there was one other photographer working in Minnesota in 1850, among the territory's population of 6,077, while there were 938 nationwide. William H. Jarvis, dentist and daguerrean, moved to St. Paul in the summer of 1850 and set up his dual business on Fifth Street. The next decade saw tremendous change, both within the world of photography and within the territory of Minnesota. By 1860 there were 14 photographers among the 172,023 citizens of the state and 3,154 nationally.⁴ Many were changing from "daguerreotypists" into "photographers," using a new process, the collodion wet-plate negative.

The collodion wet process, first introduced in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer of England, revolutionized photography because it was a practical, negative-producing process that made possible innumerable copies of the same image, whereas the daguerreotype could only produce one original. The negative was a glass plate upon which a syrupy, light-sensitive liquid was poured. Its disadvantage was that it had to be exposed and developed before it dried, but it made enlargements and multiple albumen prints possible, engendering and facilitating a wide distribution of both landscape and portrait photography. After the daguerreans, all professional photographers used the wet collodion method until about 1880.⁵



DAGUERREOTYPE OF A ST. ANTHONY BUSINESS BY JOHN MONELL

³ Henry Hunt Snelling, *Memoirs of a Boyhood at Fort Snelling*, ed. Lewis Beeson (Minneapolis: privately published, 1939). Snelling also published *The Photographic Art Journal*, beginning in 1851.

⁴ J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854), 126; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), Aug. 8, 1850, p. 3; Joseph C. Kennedy, comp., *Population of the United States in 1860; compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1864) 1: 263; Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York: Dover Publications, 1938), 61.

⁵ Albumen paper prints were made by coating paper with egg white mixed with sodium or ammonium chloride. Just before printing, the paper was sensitized with silver nitrate. For more on collodion and albumen, see James M. Reilly, *Care and Identification of 19th-Century Photographic Prints* (Rochester, N.Y.: Eastman Kodak, 1986) and Jerry Mason, ed., *Encyclopedia of Photography* (New York: Crown, 1984).

**ELWELL'S
SKY-LIGHT
DAGUERREAN GALLERY.**

THE subscriber, not content with little light upon a subject where luminous power may be brought to bear with such excellent effect as in *PORTRAIT MAKING*, has through the agency of CHARLES KING, Esq., secured a **Perfect Flood** of it by the construction of

**MAMMOTH LIGHT,
Containing upwards of
225 square feet of Glass.**

This light, rendered controllable by perfect curtain arrangement, can be made to produce any desired effect, and happily answers every purpose for which it was intended: if, perchance, it secures the *patronage* of that class of citizens whose cultivated taste enables them to judge correctly of Artistic Merit.

CRITICS, CONNOISSEURS

AND

Lovers of Art generally,

are especially invited to make the Gallery a place of

FREQUENT RESORT AND FREE COMMUNICATION:

while others, seeking to excite or gratify curiosity, or desiring to secure

**GEMS OF NATURAL SCENERY
OR**

SHADOWS FROM LIFE,

are assured that here they will always be welcome, and can have their wants supplied on the **Shortest possible Notice.**

Thus the invitation is to *ALL*, even the "SONS OF THE FOREST" shall be received with that consideration due to their rank as

NATIVE AMERICANS,

Pictures taken at all hours of the day, and in all kinds of weather. The images of little "wee bit of children" will be caught while *licking in the nurse's arms* if necessary, or if practicable while sitting quietly on the mother's lap. Interesting views of

SAINT ANTHONY FALLS,

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OR

LITTLE FALLS,

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or those representing

SCENES AMONG THE INDIANS.

will be forwarded to any part of the United States, free of postage, for the sum of \$2.25.

Address T. ELWELL, Artist.

P. S.—Good-nard wood, team work, lumber, carpenters' labor, specie, or good bills wanted in exchange for pictures, at CASH PRICES.
St. Anthony, April 26, 1854. 111C

WHILE photography was undergoing this major change, its practitioners were just getting started in Minnesota. The earliest ones were daguerreotypists only, staying in business for a few years, and then moving on to some other profession. St. Anthony, Minnesota Territory, on the east side of the Mississippi, was the home of five daguerreotype studios during the course of the 1850s. The studio of John Monell, established in 1854 on Main Street, overlooked the Falls of St. Anthony, one of the most popular subjects in Minnesota for daguerreotypists. Not surprisingly, Monell's newspaper advertisements featured views of the falls as a speciality; other offerings included the ambrotype, collodion negatives on glass, backed by a black surface to make them appear as positive images. He entered both daguerreotypes and ambrotypes in the 1856 Territorial Agricultural Fair and won a second premium on both. The last written record we have of Monell is his appearance on the 1860 census, after which he left for parts unknown.⁶

Also located in St. Anthony was Talmadge Elwell, a daguerrean artist who was first and foremost a businessman. He moved to Minnesota Territory in 1852 from New York State and soon began promoting himself. His flamboyant advertisements are the best of the era and illustrate how photographers conducted their business to maintain a competitive edge. His premises featured a gallery in which customers could browse, and Elwell also installed a 225-square-foot skylight, which allowed him to make shorter exposures to catch squirmy children and to photograph at "all hours of the day." Typical of frontier photographers was his willingness to accept something other than cash, in this case lumber or labor, in exchange for daguerreotypes. In 1857 he began a new venture, a paper town called Granite City, located on the Platte River in Morrison County. He lived at the townsite of Granite City until 1862 when the Dakota conflict made him feel unsafe. After living in Little Falls, St. Cloud, and Cottage Grove, he finally settled in Minneapolis, where in 1873 he founded the Elwell Manufacturing Company which made spring beds.⁷

⁶ In addition to Monell were the firms of Talmadge Elwell, Joseph Hill and James H. Kelley, John R. McFarlan, and C. C. Nelson; out of 27 scenic daguerreotypes in MHS collections, 12 are views of or near St. Anthony Falls. Mrs. Carrie V. Boyd of St. Anthony won first prize for her ambrotypes, and Moses C. Tuttle of St. Paul won first premium for daguerreotypes. *St. Paul Financial Real Estate and Railroad Advertiser*, Nov. 1, 1856, p. 4. The MHS owns two identified examples of Monell's work and no doubt has more, but few daguerreotypes have the maker's name on the case.

⁷ *St. Anthony Express*, Sept. 24, 1853, p. 3; another wonderful ad in the *Minnesota Democrat*, Aug. 1, 1857, p. 4, describes in great detail how he proposed to create the town.

Olive Goodwin of Minneapolis was in the daguerreotype and ambrotype business briefly, from 1859 to 1860, but changing professions was not to be her fate. She had set up business on Bridge Square in competition with John Monell, C. C. Nelson, and Charles Robinson, engaging in a price war with the latter and cutting her charge for ambrotypes to 20 cents. She also advertised accepting "good grain in exchange for GOOD pictures." Then, "partly occasioned by the use of cyanide of potassium in finishing of Daguerrian work," she developed a disease of the throat and "for two or three days suffered intense pain." On the night of September 10, 1860, she borrowed her husband's penknife, went into another room, and stabbed herself nine times in the chest and cut the jugular vein in her throat, leaving "a husband and two children to mourn her dreadful and untimely end."⁸

THE FIRST major figure in Minnesota photographic history was Joel E. Whitney, a skilled photographer and astute businessman who moved to St. Paul, Minnesota Territory, from the state of Maine at the age of 28 in 1850. During the following 20 years he built a very successful photography business by changing with the new technologies that came along and by diversification of products and endeavors. In 1851 he began advertising his daguerrean studio located above Elfelt's dry goods store on Third and Cedar streets. From the beginning, he usually advertised a product or a service in addition to his photography. For example, in 1853 he advertised that he had "just returned from New York, with the largest and most magnificent assortment of Daguerreotype goods, ever offered to the people of Minnesota. . . . His assortment of Cases is the most splendid ever seen in this market" along with "Locketts! Locketts! The largest and best assortment ever offered for sale in St. Paul, which will be sold either with or

without likenesses in them; also, Locket Pins." In 1851 he offered "Instructions" in the "Art" and "Stock and Apparatus for sale." If these inducements were not enough, there was always the final motivation. "There is a Reaper whose name is Death. And since no one can tell when he will thrust in his sickle and cut us off from life, NOW is your time to get your Picture taken at Whitney's Gallery in St. Paul."

It is not known how Joel Whitney learned the daguerreotype business at first, but he soon adopted as his mentor one of the leading photographers in the United States, Alexander Hesler of Chicago and Galena, Illinois. Whitney studied under Hesler in Galena in 1852, and Hesler visited Whitney in Minnesota later that year. The story of their photographic exploits on August 15, 1852, has become legendary because, among the 80 views created during their 25-mile hike that day, one of Minnehaha Falls was to become Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's inspiration for *The Song of Hiawatha*.¹⁰

Whitney was one of the first Minnesota photographers to adopt the new collodion negative and albumen paper print process. On December 15, 1855, in the *Daily Minnesotian* he announced "Photographs! A New Art" to be seen at his gallery. He described them to the reader as "pictures taken on paper, somewhat resembling steel engravings, with all the beauty and perfection of the Daguerreotypes, and for wall pictures are considered superior to Daguerreotypes. . . . While a single picture will cost nearly as much as a daguerreotype, a number can be afforded at a much less price, as after the first one is obtained, they can be multiplied *ad libitum* at much less cost." This was news to his readers, even though it seems very obvious to us now. The new process quickly superseded the daguerreotype, and by 1860 Whitney and his competitors were entering mainly "plain Photographs" in the annual state agricultural fair.¹¹

The albumen paper prints became extremely popular in the form of cartes de visite. Invented in France in 1854, these small mounted prints, approximately the size of calling cards, became all the rage in Paris in the late 1850s, and Whitney introduced them to St. Paul in 1861. According to the *Farmer and Gardener* for that year, "Of late Whitney has made great additions to his stock of instruments, and . . . he is now able to take from one to sixty four pictures on a single plate." This was one of the advantages of cartes, allowing multiple exposures on a single negative, thus multiple prints on a single piece of paper, which was then cut into pieces and mounted on cards with captions and photographers' imprints on the bottom. Cartes were most typically portraits, but many landscapes were printed as both cartes and stereographs. Popular subjects, such as Indians, could be printed by the hundreds, and Whitney did so to capitalize on the great public interest in

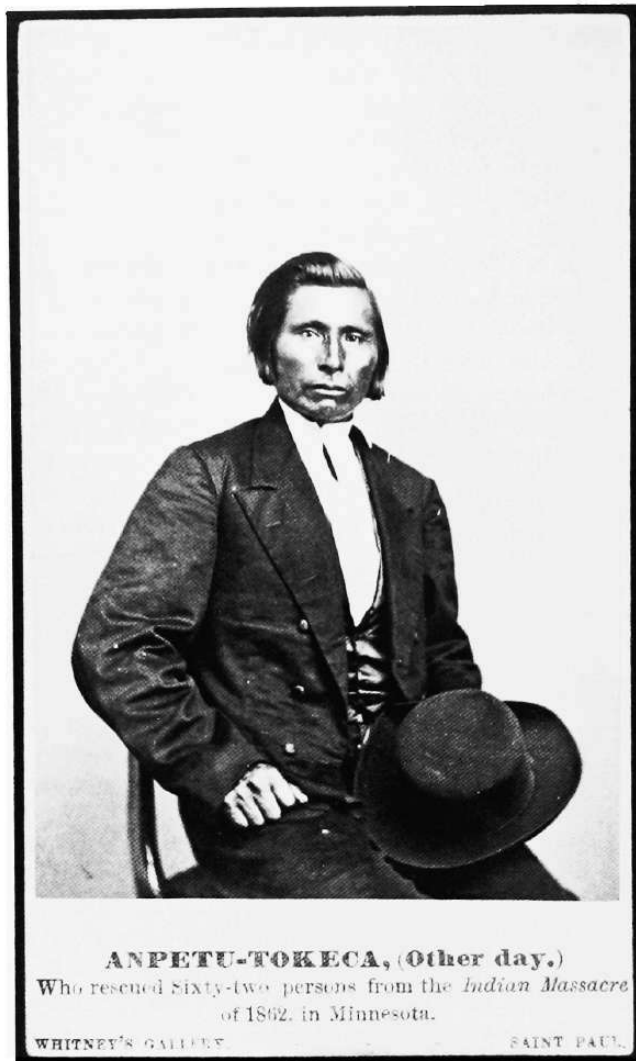
For more on Elwell, see Return I. Holcombe and William H. Bingham, eds., *Compendium of History and Biography of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minnesota* (Chicago: Henry Taylor & Co., 1914), 297.

⁸ *Commercial Advertiser Directory for St. Anthony and Minneapolis, 1859-1860* (St. Anthony & Minneapolis, 1859), 147; *State Atlas* (Minneapolis), Jan. 28, p. 3, July 4, p. 2, Aug. 8, p. 3, Sept. 12, p. 3—all 1860; *St. Anthony Express*, Sept. 15, 1860, p. 3. For more on women photographers, see Tracey Baker, "Nineteenth Century Minnesota Women Photographers," *Journal of the West*, Jan., 1989, p. 15-23.

⁹ *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), Nov. 26, 1853, p. 3; *Minnesota Pioneer*, Nov. 27, 1851, p. 2; *North-Western Democrat* (St. Anthony), Aug. 12, 1854, p. 4.

¹⁰ Beaumont Newhall, "Minnesota Daguerreotypes," *Minnesota History* 34 (Spring, 1954): 28-33.

¹¹ "List of Premiums Awarded at the State Fair," *Minnesota Farmer and Gardener* 1 (Nov., 1860): 21.



CARTES DE VISITE, A SPECIALTY OF JOEL WHITNEY'S STUDIO

Indians during the age of treaty delegations and news reports of friendly and hostile encounters.¹²

At this same time, soldiers going off to the Civil War were avid customers of the carte de visite, desiring inexpensive photos to leave with and receive from their loved ones. Whitney made hundreds of portraits of Civil War soldiers in his career and made lucrative business out of selling the newly invented family album to hold the cartes. The typical family album had preformed slots in which to place cartes of family members and friends, alongside local scenery like Minnehaha Falls and national heroes like Abraham Lincoln and George Armstrong Custer. One could have a portrait made at Whitney's, buy an album there, and start filling it immediately with views on sale in his gallery.

Like many photographers of this era, Whitney created an exhibition area within his business space to

display the best of his work and to give people a place to view the new photographic art. Before 1866 his business was called "Whitney's Gallery," and the *Farmer and Gardener* for 1861 described the portraits and scenes on view there, including Governor Alexander Ramsey, pioneer Joseph R. Brown, Territorial Governor Willis A. Gorman, Senator Henry M. Rice, educator Edward D. Neill, Senator Morton S. Wilkinson, the wife of General George B. McClellan, and "'Old Bets,' the motherly (?) squaw . . . surrounded by some of the

¹² "Whitney's Picture Gallery," *Minnesota Farmer and Gardener* 1 (Dec., 1861): 376. Whitney photographed many of the Dakota imprisoned at Fort Snelling after the conflict of 1862; on some of the carte-de-visite mounts, a caption indicates whether the sitter was friendly or hostile to white settlers.

Dakota braves." Minnesota scenery such as St. Anthony and Minnehaha Falls was exhibited as well. Sometime in 1866 he opened an "Art Depot" in the Lambert Building at Third and Cedar, consisting of three floors, one of which was devoted to exhibition space. "Here the visitor can while away a whole day," examining oil paintings, engravings, chromolithographs, stereographs, cartes de visite, colored lithographs, statuary and vases. Once again Whitney diversified in order to maintain a healthy business.¹¹

In describing himself as an "artist," Whitney emulated most professional photographers of the time. While he had an "art depot," others had "bowers of art," "wigwams of art," and various other architectural monuments to art. On their photographic mounts, photographers frequently referred to themselves as "artist" and used the palette as a decorative motif. Many books and journals of photography incorporated "art" in the title. It is clear that the word was purposefully used, but for what reason?

One explanation for the prevalence of the term is that photographers were using as a model the occupation they were, in some cases, supplanting. The new professionals were in many ways similar to miniaturists, who had made a living creating likenesses of people's faces for a modest sum, and who were now somewhat superfluous, thanks to the new invention. Even in the very early years of photography, many essays were written discussing whether or not it could be called an art. As the debate continued, most professional photographers consistently declared themselves to be artists by thus referring to themselves, ignoring the debate itself. Nor did members of the general public, who preferred to think of themselves as the subjects of an artist's work rather than objects portrayed by a skilled technician, challenge the use of the appellation. Critics and intellectuals continued to object to the term from time to

¹¹ "Whitney's Picture Gallery," 375; *St. Paul Pioneer*, Nov. 29, 1866, p. 4.

¹² A good sampling of these essays can be found in Beaumont Newhall, *Photography: Essays and Images* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), especially p. 79-119. For an excellent presentation of attitudes toward photography, see Gisele Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980), especially p. 69-82. On the meaning of art, see *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1:657 (1989), first definition; the sixth definition points out that defining art as "the application of skill to the art of . . . painting, engraving, sculpture, and architecture . . . does not occur in any English Dictionary before 1880."

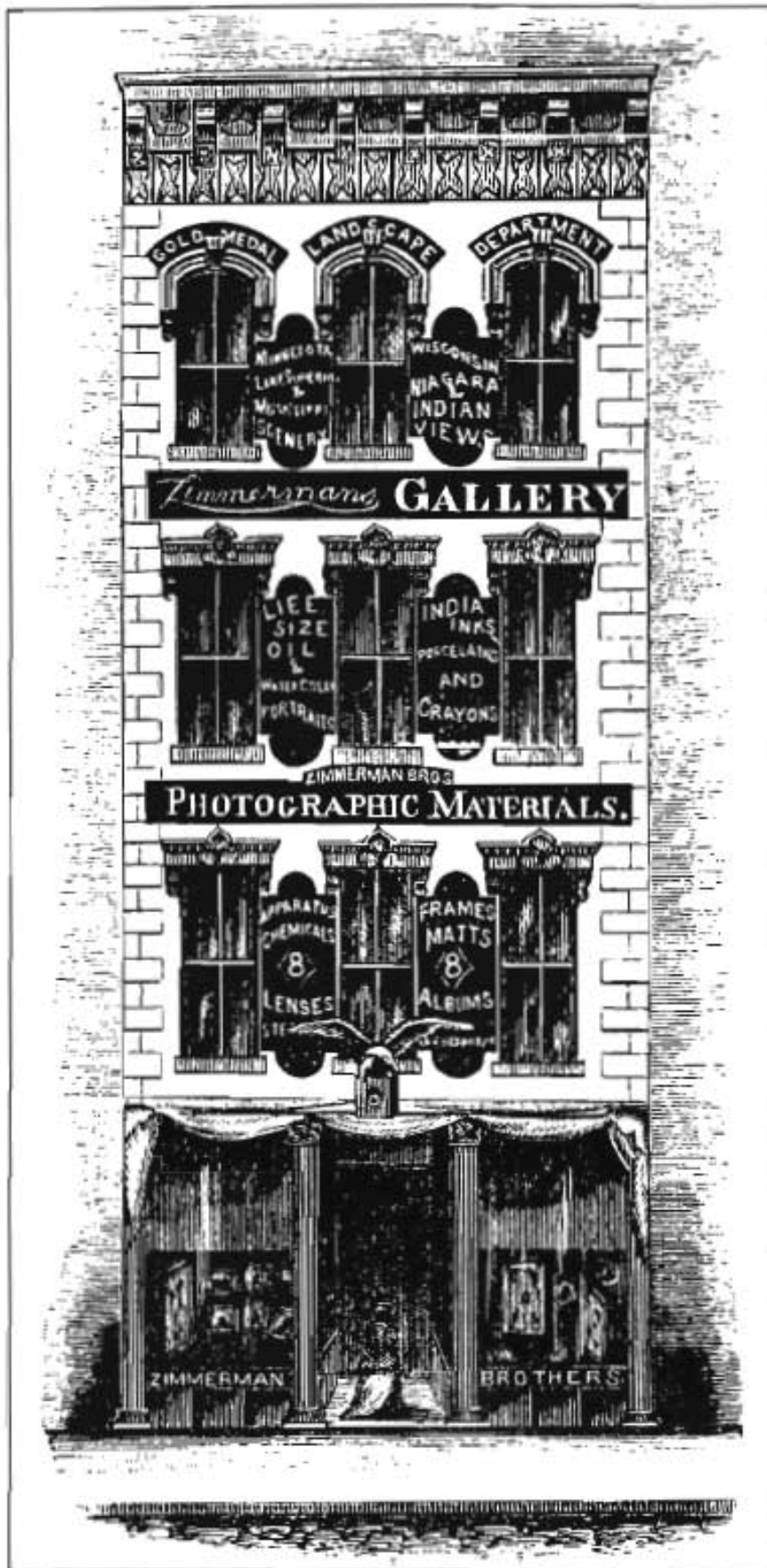
¹³ Thomas McLean Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers* (St. Paul: the author, 1886), 243; Henry A. Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity* (Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co., 1912), 1177; *Atlas of the City of St. Paul, Minnesota* (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins, 1884), plates 1, 3, 8.



A CIVIL WAR TRUMPETER, ANOTHER
WHITNEY CARTE DE VISITE

time throughout the 19th century, and Alfred Steiglitz enlarged the debate by defining a new art photography at the turn of the century. In Whitney's day the word was used to mean skill in any pursuit as the result of knowledge and practice as frequently as it was used to mean aesthetic excellence. In sum, the 19th-century professional photographers were pragmatic rather than polemic in describing themselves as "artists."¹⁴

While engaged in the photography business, Joel Whitney inherited and invested in St. Paul real estate, including 40 acres near Central High School on Lexington and Marshall, "Joel Whitney's addition" at 13th and Jackson, and several blocks surrounding Smith Park downtown. But ill health forced him to leave his thriving businesses in 1871 and move to a warmer climate in Georgia and Tennessee. He returned to St. Paul in 1880 and died January 20, 1886.¹⁵



THE CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
STUDIO IN ST. PAUL

WHITNEY'S best investment in the future was his discovery and education of an aspiring young photographer, Charles A. Zimmerman. Born in Strasbourg, Alsace, in 1844, Zimmerman moved to St. Paul with his parents in 1856. By the age of 14 he had built a simple camera and was astute enough to bring it to the best photographer in town. Whitney was so impressed, he hired the boy as his assistant, employing him until the lure of the Civil War became too much for the young man. He was a soldier from 1862 until 1865 in Company G of the 6th Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Regiment and returned to Whitney's studio after the war. By 1870 he was a partner and in 1871 purchased the business. Zimmerman had already built a strong reputation in photography, winning, among other awards, a photo contest in the *Philadelphia Photographer* for a landscape view of the Dalles of the St. Croix.¹⁶

Word of Zimmerman's skill was so widespread that John Wesley Powell asked him to be his expeditionary photographer down the Colorado River in 1871, "the Major being ordered to have first-class photographic views taken of the magnificent and awful scenery of that almost unknown land." This was an opportunity for Zimmerman to gain national recognition, but he declined with "regrets but would be away from family too long" and "have just obtained a gallery which I have to run myself."¹⁷

Nineteenth-century photographers like Zimmerman commonly entered fairs and expositions as a means of advancing their reputations and advertising their skills, and many entered the fine art competition at the annual state agricultural fair. Some professional

photographers who won prizes later placed notices in the local paper "announcing" their success and thereby advertising their work. Charles Zimmerman won two gold medals at national expositions: Philadelphia in 1871 and the Centennial Exposition of 1876.¹⁸ He subsequently used gold-embossed images of his gold medals on some of his cabinet-sized portrait mounts, as did many other photographers of the time to underscore the prize-winning quality of their work. Most gold medals seen on Minnesota cabinet views represent state fair competitions and not the national awards that Zimmerman had received.

Building on these successes, Zimmerman opened a new, four-story gallery in 1872 at 9 West Third Street on St. Paul's Bridge Square, a prime location. Following Whitney's lead, Zimmerman offered diverse goods and services: cameras, chemicals, lenses, stereoscopes, and photography supplies, while maintaining his portrait studios, art galleries, a tintype gallery, and a landscape department "from which are daily turned out over 1000 views."¹⁹

In spite of the fact he turned down the chance to go on the Powell expedition, Zimmerman was not a stay-at-home artist. He took some of his era's finest landscape photos of Minnesota, specializing in stereographs of the Twin Cities area, but also traveling to Odanah, Wisconsin, for an Indian annuity payment and to Lake Pepin for scenic views from an open boat. At this point in the history of landscape photography, stereographs had superseded all other formats in popularity. The double image seen through a stereoscope created the illusion of depth in space; it utilized the natural tendencies of human vision to resolve into a three-dimensional image two views spaced eye-width apart. After paper-print stereographs were introduced in the early 1850s, they quickly became a parlor amusement for armchair travelers, an educational device, and a means of widely publishing one's work for hundreds of photographers in North America and Europe. Commenting on what popularity and success did to the quality of stereographic landscape views, Charles Zimmerman observed to the National Photographic Association's fifth annual meeting that most landscape photographers had to produce disaster views and landscapes with "curious or misshapen rocks, gnarled trees," to serve the "love of the sensational [that] is inherent in the masses." The latter type of views he calls "bread and butter photography" to distinguish it from true landscape photography.²⁰

During one local viewing excursion on November 28, 1869, Zimmerman almost lost his life to his art. "Wishing to obtain winter views of a place Longfellow has immortalized in his classic verse, Mr. Zimmerman passed under the falls. An hour later, a Mr. Haines, while exploring the rocks, happened to look behind the

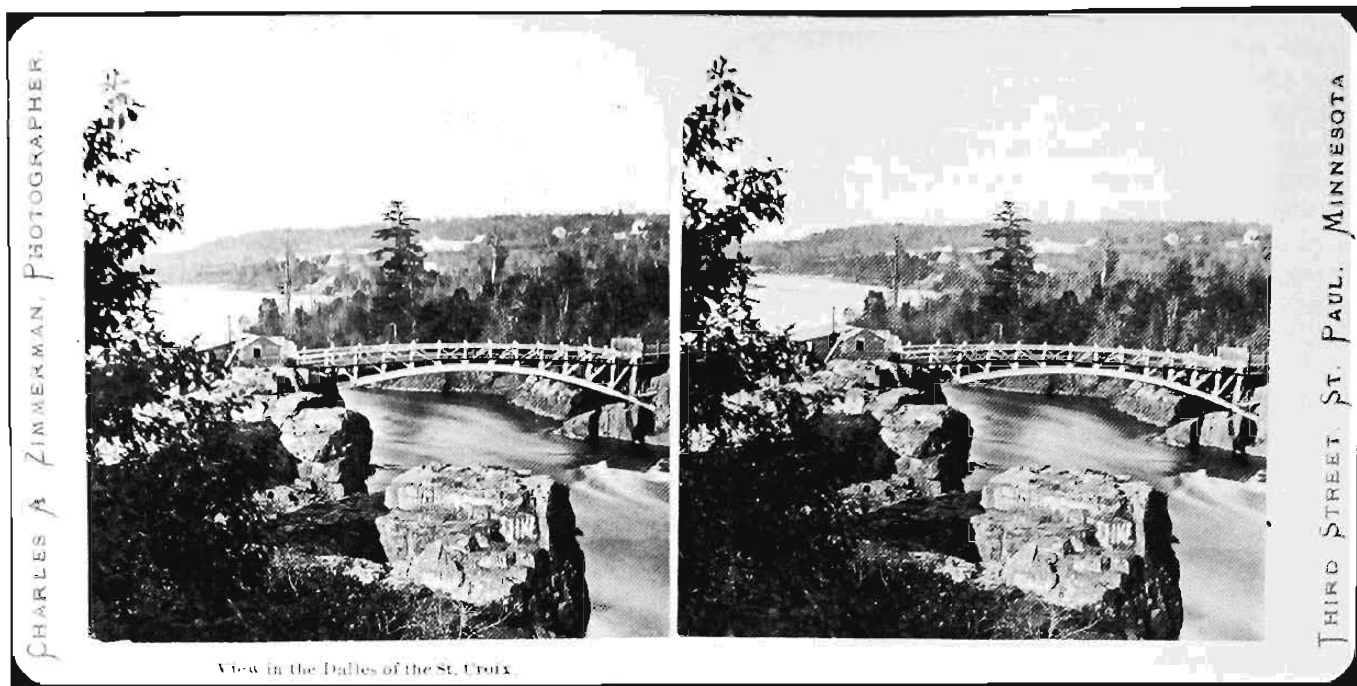
¹⁶ *Encyclopedia of Biography of Minnesota* (Chicago: Century Pub., 1900) 1:385-386; "Our Picture," *Philadelphia Photographer* 3 (April, 1871): 125-127.

¹⁷ *St. Paul Daily Press*, April 2, 1871, p. 4; Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 108.

¹⁸ For a good example of announcements as advertising, see *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, Dec. 22, 1859, p. 3. Whitney announced four first premiums and advertised ambrotypes after which the firm of Hill and Kelley announced a first prize in ambrotypes and "two or three other premiums." See also E. D. Neill, et al., *History of Ramsey County and the City of St. Paul* (Minneapolis: North Star Pub., 1881), 632.

¹⁹ *St. Paul Daily Press*, Jan. 11, 1874, p. 4.

²⁰ The MHS has ten views in the Odanah series, which were used as a basis for engravings in *Harpers Weekly*, Aug. 5, 1871. See also *Winona Republican*, Oct. 12, 1869, p. 3; "On Landscape Photography," *Philadelphia Photographer* 10 (Aug., 1873): 447. For a history of the stereograph, see William Culp Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettysburg: the author, 1977) and Edward W. Earle, ed., *Points of View: The Stereograph in America—A Cultural History* (Rochester, N.Y.: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1979).



A STEREOGRAPH BY ZIMMERMAN, 1871, SIMILAR TO HIS AWARD-WINNING LANDSCAPE OF THE DALLES

curtain of water as it leaped from the edge of the precipice to the abyss beneath, and was startled by what he saw. A large icicle, weighing between two and three hundred pounds, loosened by the thaw, had severed its connection with the roof above, and had fallen on Mr. Zimmerman, crushing him down, and leaving him insensible beneath it. Mr. Haines quickly relieved the prostrate artist, whom he found nearly frozen. Indeed, had succor been delayed half an hour longer, the unfortunate man would have most certainly died.²¹

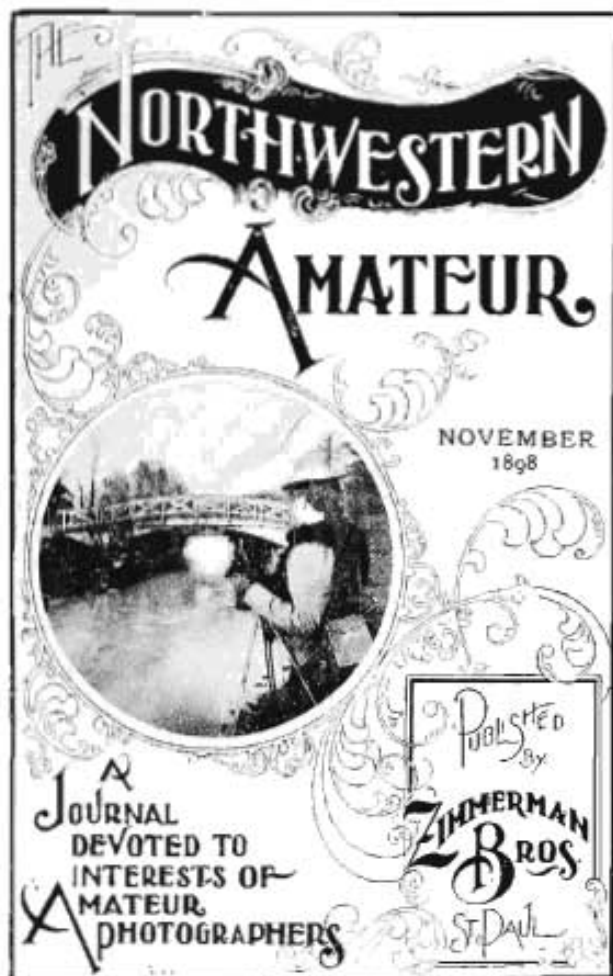
Charles Zimmerman was a man of many talents and interests. His photographic business was also an art gallery, not just because Whitney had established a similar combination, but because Zimmerman was a watercolor artist himself. His specialty was wildlife and sporting scenes, with titles like "Stopping an Incomer," "A Side Shot," and "Trying for a Double," some of which were reprinted as chromolithographs. In 1873 Zimmerman formed a partnership with his brother, Edward O., to create a photographic supply company. In 1898 the firm started publishing *The Northwestern Amateur*, "A Journal Devoted to Interests of Amateur Photographers." It was the first such journal published in Minnesota, and nothing like it has been published in the state since it ceased in 1900. It was both a means of advertising the products sold by Zimmerman Brothers and a vehicle for local amateurs to publish their work. Each issue had a photo competition centering on a

theme such as "interiors" or "at home portraits" with prizes such as a camera or tripod awarded monthly. The issues were also filled with "how to" articles written by local amateurs or copied from national publications and carried news of the recently formed St. Paul Camera Club.

The invention in 1871 of the gelatine dry-plate negative, much easier to use than the collodion wet-plate negative had been, was a boon to amateur photographers.²² Not until 1888 when George Eastman introduced the snapshot camera using flexible roll film did the world of photography become available to thousands of amateurs. The first advertisements were illustrated with images of women and children taking photographs, underscoring the idea that everyone could now be a photographer, even though women had been working in the field for 40 years in Minnesota. To encourage this new clientele for its products, the Eastman Kodak Company began publishing amateur photography manuals in 1888. But the audience was eager for more, and journals like the *Northwestern Amateur* sprang up all over the United States. Obviously the

²¹ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Dec. 25, 1869, p. 253.

²² For more information on the dry-plate negative, see Taft, *Photography and the American Scene*, 365–376.



ability to take one's own photographs had a great impact on the commercial photography profession. Many commercial photographers branched out into photo supplies as the Zimmerman Brothers did to maintain a viable business. Zimmerman Brothers eventually became Eastman Kodak Company of St. Paul.

AT THE SAME TIME that Whitney and Zimmerman were establishing art galleries and a strong business in St. Paul, two Minneapolis photographers were making names for themselves. Benjamin Upton and Alonzo Beal, both from the state of Maine, soon became competitors. Upton opened his business in St. Anthony in 1856. Recognizing that paper prints were the medium of the future, he did not set up a daguerreotype studio,

² Here and two paragraphs below, see *Minneapolis Sunday Times*, July 28, 1901, p. [34]. Many of the Upton ox cart views are in the MHS collections.

even though that had been his business in Maine since 1844. One of his first endeavors was to get a good overall view of the cities that were his new territory, so in 1857 he climbed to the tops of the tallest buildings and took three sets of views that became the icons of the new state. From the Winslow House he showed the Falls of St. Anthony and Main Street, the major business district on the east side. From the Woodman Block in Minneapolis, he captured the primitive beginning of business on the west side of the river, soon to dominate the area's commerce. And from the courthouse in St. Paul, he created a panorama of a city thriving with new construction. These views were made with an 8x10 view camera and sold as individual albumen prints, later to be reprinted by Edward Bromley, Minneapolis photo collector and historian. Much that is known about Upton was published by Bromley who interviewed him in 1901.²⁹

According to Bromley, "One of Upton's first acts after he had located in St. Anthony was to have a wagon built in which he carried all of his photographic apparatus and which he used for his bedchamber when night overtook him on the road. Every day, except Sunday, when the weather was favorable, he was 'out viewing.'" Upton views, such as his series on the Red River ox carts and métis drivers, show activities in the new state that other photographers were not attempting to record in the field. He took views on the trail whereas Whitney and Zimmerman photographed the carts and drivers on the streets of St. Paul. Among Upton's notable field work, published as cartes de visite and as stereographs, are his portraits of the Dakota Indians imprisoned at Fort Snelling after the 1862 conflict, a series called "Winter in the Pine Forests of Minnesota," and another called "Views of the Upper Mississippi."

Upton did not set up a studio in the city as most other photographers of the time had done, perhaps because of his propensity for field work and the fact that he was not a portrait photographer. For about eight years he lived at Big Lake in Sherburne County and spent his summers at Lake Minnetonka, where he took the first photos made of that lake. He lived in St. Anthony from 1865 to 1875 and then moved to Florida, pursuing his vocation with a photo trip by boat along the Indian River and a tour via railroad handcar following the eastern shore of Florida.

While Upton was roaming the countryside, Alonzo Beal was building "art galleries" rivaling those of Joel Whitney. Burned out twice since beginning in 1860, Beal kept rebuilding until in 1874 his gallery on Washington Avenue was described as "the most unique in the whole West . . . not excelled, in all its appointments or in its work by any gallery on the continent." He purchased an illustration in the *Andreas Atlas* of 1874 and may have also purchased those glowing words in the



BENJAMIN UPTON'S 1857 VIEW OF ST. ANTHONY AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, PHOTOGRAPHED FROM ATOP THE WINSLOW HOUSE

1874 commercial guide. Nevertheless, the article gives a glimpse into the gallery environment of the time: "The entrance to the gallery is through a beautiful grotto-like alcove, filled with rare plants and sweet-scented flowers. A number of sweet-voiced feathered songsters join their melodious notes with the music of a beautiful fountain, altogether creating a fairy scene of surpassing beauty. Passing through this enchanting alcove, we reach the reception room which is lighted from an arched dome of ground glass. The walls of the room are hung with the choicest productions of Mr. Beal's rare artistic skill." According to the local press, he had annual "openings" in his "bower of art," accommodating "fully two thousand people" who "examined the beautiful specimens of photographic art there displayed."²⁴

Beal is credited with introducing the first scenic cartes de visite to Minnesota by publishing small views of the Falls of St. Anthony as early as 1860. His portraiture is best represented in the Beal portrait album in the Minnesota Historical Society collections. His sons, Charles and Eugene, were interested in the photography business and ran the gallery for a short period after Beal retired in 1885 and moved to California in 1892.²⁵

THERE were 38 professional photographers working in the state by 1870. Among them were two outstanding

stereographers: William Jacoby of Minneapolis and William Illingworth of St. Paul. Jacoby, a former Ohioan, opened a photography business with his brother Hiram in 1867 at Bridge Square, the center of the Minneapolis business district. The next year Hiram established himself in St. Peter where he was a successful small-town photographer for 20 years.²⁶

Jacoby of Minneapolis stands out as an inventive photographer and businessman. Within a year of opening his gallery, he advertised "Something New . . . a fine collection of views of Minnesota scenery, taken by himself, in a mammoth stereoscope suspended at the foot of the stairway leading to his gallery, where all . . . can stop and examine them." With an entrepreneurial spirit he built his own business block, the Jacoby Block, on the corner of Nicollet and Third Street in 1871, at a cost of \$19,000, just four years after beginning business in the state. Publishing stereographs from

²⁴ *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, Supplement, June 21, 1874, p. [3]; *Minneapolis Evening Mail*, May 25, 1875, p. 4.

²⁵ W. H. Mitchell and J. H. Stevens, *Geographical and Statistical History of the County of Hennepin* (Minneapolis: Russell and Belfoy, 1868), 114.

²⁶ *Merwin's Business Directory of Minnesota for 1869-70*, 214-216; *St. Peter Herald*, Oct. 1, 1909, p. 6.

the outset, he specialized in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Lake Minnetonka views and was known for very fine portraiture. One of his specialties was "imitation porcelain pictures" printed on paper to look as though they were printed on porcelain, a popular photographic base of the time. The desired result seems to have been a "softness" in appearance. Twice in 1873, in April and in November, portraits by Jacoby were published in the *Philadelphia Photographer*. This was quite an accomplishment because in each issue only one photograph was chosen to be tipped in as an illustration. Both of these were examples of the "Imitation Porcelain and Combination Printing Frame" invented by Jacoby.²⁷

Jacoby's business instincts sent him to Northfield a day or two after the famous robbery there on September 7, 1876. Four days later he was advertising that the "most reliable description of the dead robbers can be obtained by getting their pictures at Jacoby's. . . . he is not able to print them fast enough to supply the demand."²⁸ Jacoby published most of the robbers' portraits as cartes de visite, ready to be placed in the parlor souvenir or family album.

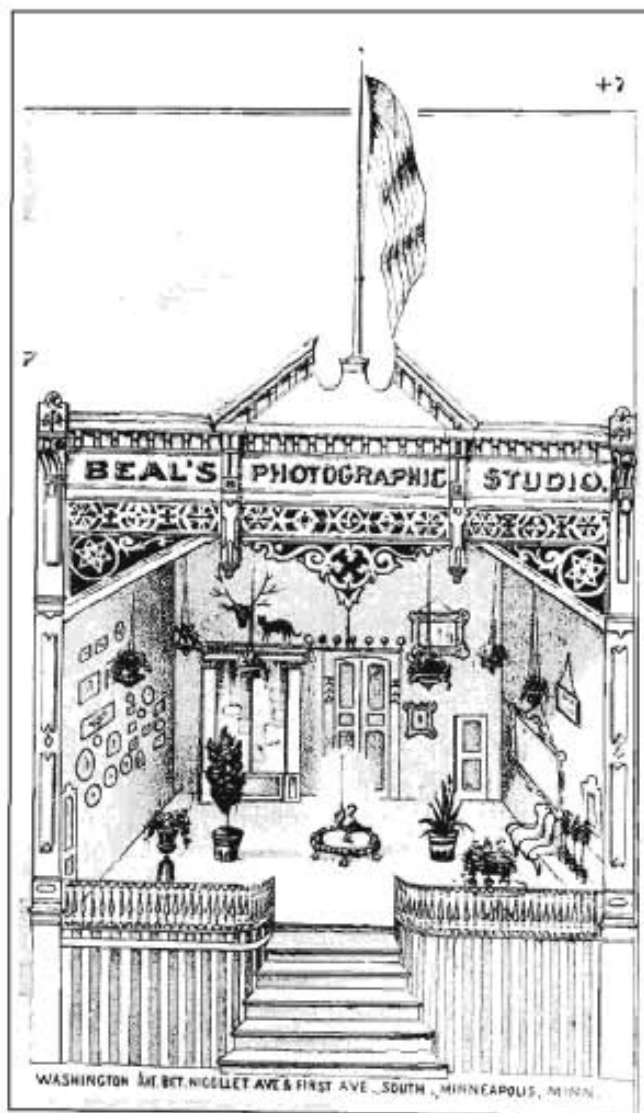
In 1887, two decades after the establishment of his photography business, William Jacoby turned the studio over to his son, Charles L., and moved on to other fields of invention and entrepreneurship. He joined Charles A. Fuller to form Jacoby and Fuller, manufacturers and sellers of "Fuller's Bosom Boards" and neckband shapers. These were probably devices designed as aids to laundry and ironing, despite their intriguing names. At the same time, Jacoby was a partner in the Minnesota Smokeless Hydro-Carbon Furnace Company. In the early 1890s, he established the Jacoby Novelty Company and sold the photography business to F. E. Haynes of Minneapolis.

STEREOGRAPHY experienced a flowering in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and William Illingworth of St. Paul exemplifies the best in stereography at this time. His surviving work shows that he was more wide-ranging than the photographers described above and

that he was interested in going on expeditions to further his scope.²⁹

After the turmoil of the Civil War, the United States government was concerned with exploring its frontiers and finding new ways to stimulate the economy and new places to settle its burgeoning population. The landscape and resources of the west were relatively unknown, and so the government paid for expeditions to survey the land, make treaties with Indian tribes, and locate mineral resources. Most such ventures were carried out between 1866 and 1877, and most hired a photographer to make a visual record of their discoveries. The most common form of dissemination of the discoveries made was the stereograph. A large printing and

THIS REPRESENTATION OF THE BEAL STUDIO APPEARED IN THE 1874 ANDREAS ATLAS.



²⁷ *Minneapolis Daily Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1868, clipping in WPA newspaper files, MHS; *The Tribune's Annual Exhibit of the Manufacturing and Commercial Industry of the Cities of Minneapolis and St. Anthony, Minnesota for 1871* (Minneapolis, 1872), 10; Frontispiece and "Our Picture," *Philadelphia Photographer* 10 (April, 1873): 125-126 and 10 (Nov., 1873): 547-548.

²⁸ *Minneapolis Tribune*, Sept. 11, 1876, p. 4.

²⁹ William Culp Darrah, *Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs in America and Their Collection* (Gettysburg: Times and News Pub. Co., 1964), 91-97; Albums 52, 53, 54, in MHS photo collections. These albums contain the largest single collection of Illingworth's regional views.



PORCELAIN PORTRAIT BY JACOBY, PUBLISHED
IN PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER, 1873

publishing industry was in place to take advantage of the enthralling views captured on these expeditions. The distribution system was also well established in book stores, photographers' galleries, and by mail order; there was no competition from the newspaper and magazine industry, which did not then have the capability of printing photos.³⁰

Thus, in the mid-1860s a young man like William Illingworth with photographic skills and a desire to travel had a natural outlet for his natural inclinations. He had arrived in Minnesota with his parents in 1850 from Leeds, England, his birthplace. After studying clockmaking under his father, he turned to photography, studying in Chicago and Philadelphia in 1862 and 1863 and opening his first studio that year next to his father's clock shop in St. Paul. He moved his studio to Red Wing for one year, 1865, and then began his expeditionary adventures.³¹

Unlike Zimmerman who had turned down an invitation to join the Powell expedition, Illingworth joined over 300 people on the 1866 James Fisk expedition to establish an overland route from Minnesota to Montana, especially the gold fields there. He left St. Paul in

June with an assistant, George Bill, and returned in August with about 30 collodion stereographic negatives of the wagon train, Indians, and military posts between St. Cloud, Minnesota, and Fort Union, Montana. Unfortunately, Illingworth did not have the funds and contacts to publish these views on his own, so he sold the negatives to the Chicago photographer, John Carbutt, who then sold stereographs with his own imprint and no credit to Illingworth.

An exciting year in Illingworth's life was 1874. In March he went to England, mainly to claim a legacy, but also to photograph the birthplaces and former homes of a number of St. Paul citizens and to sell Minnesota views. "Everywhere they were much admired, and he confidently believes that immigration to an extent will be the result of the exhibition" of Minnesota views. He was obviously interested in developing new markets, both among his fellow St. Paulites and in England. This was also the year he was invited to join the George Armstrong Custer expedition to the Black Hills, organized ostensibly to survey the latitude and longitude of Bear Butte, but reported vividly in the newspapers as a gold-seeking expedition. During July and August he accompanied General Custer and the others, creating between 60 and 70 stereograph negatives of the dramatic terrain and the wagon train. Once again he chose not to print and publish the work himself, but contracted with Huntington and Winne of St. Paul to be his publishers and agents.³²

Although Illingworth was fortunate that the expeditions enabled him to fulfill his desire to work in the field instead of the studio, he had little good fortune in other aspects of his life. Soon after he returned from the Custer expedition, he was charged with embezzling and misappropriating government funds because he had not supplied the expedition's chief engineer with six sets of stereographs as promised. It is possible that he was prevented from doing so by a fire that destroyed the photo gallery of business associates, Huntington and Winne, although the Black Hills negatives were not in their possession at the time. The government's

³⁰ Darrah, *World of Stereographs*, 7, 45, 160–161. On the development of the halftone process for illustrating newspapers and magazines, see Taft, *Photography*, 434–447.

³¹ Here and below, see *St. Paul Pioneer*, July 1, 1863, p. 4; Jeffrey P. Grosscup, "Stereoscopic Eye on the Frontier West," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 25 (Spring, 1975): 36–50.

³² *St. Paul Daily Press*, Mar. 26, 1874, p. 2. The *Press*, Sept. 3, 1874, p. 4, reported 60 negatives while Grosscup, "Stereoscopic Eye," 46, credits him with 73. For newspaper accounts of the expedition, see Herbert Krause and Gary D. Olson, *Prelude to Glory* (Sioux Falls: Brevet Press, 1974). The original Illingworth-Custer expedition negatives are owned by the South Dakota Historical Society.



WILLIAM ILLINGWORTH (STANDING, CENTER) AND SOME FRIENDS
ENJOYING THE SPORTING LIFE AFFORDED ALONG
THE ST. CROIX RIVER

charges were dropped within a few days. At this point Illingworth was no stranger to the courts, having been charged with assault and battery to his second wife, Celia, who later petitioned for divorce. He countered with a suit of his own, claiming she was abusive to him. His third wife, Flora, divorced him as well. Even his father had attempted to disinherit him, and William contested the will in court.²⁷

Up to this time, Illingworth had taken hundreds of excellent stereographic views in Minnesota and Wisconsin and established a firm reputation as one of the best landscape photographers in the state. But as his competitors became more numerous and the enthusiasm for stereographs waned, Illingworth had to rely on portraiture and new printing techniques to keep his business thriving. In 1878 he advertised sole ownership of the carbon process, producing photos that were "absolutely imperishable" and "the most beautiful, finished picture ever yet produced." During the 1880s, his career was not so stellar. In his decline, he succumbed to alcoholism and committed suicide on March 16, 1893.²⁸ At the turn of the century, what remained of his original stereographic negatives were collected by Edward Bromley and sold to the Minneapolis Public Library and the Minnesota Historical Society.

IN ADDITION to the many commercial photo studios in Minneapolis and St. Paul in the last quarter of the 19th century, there were dozens of studios in the smaller towns throughout the state. Most of them were primarily portrait studios, but a few specialized in landscape photography, and one of the best was Newton J. Trenham of Alexandria. He arrived in Minnesota from New York State in the spring of 1875 and immediately began photographing views of the town and selling them as stereographs. Within six months he drove out his only competition, a photographer named George Roe who tried to stay competitive by moving the telegraph office to his gallery and by selling candy and tobacco on the side.²⁹

The nation's centennial year, 1876, was a good year to promote local pride and a sense of history by selling views of the town. Accordingly, Newton Trenham traversed the streets of Alexandria, depicting its prosperity and growth in views that now resemble the stereotype of the primitive frontier settlement: false-fronted frame buildings lining the muddy main street. These views were sold as a centennial souvenir album of 4x6 albumen prints. He carried out a similar project for the city of Glenwood that same year. According to his own advertisement, "nothing would be more pleasing to your wife, more instructive to your children, more interesting to your friends, than a selection of stereoscopic views. The great Northwest is an almost unexplored



A VIEW OF NEWTON TRENHAM'S STUDIO ON ONE OF THE

region as far as its beauties are concerned; but such good, artistically handled stereoscopic views . . . [will] extend a knowledge of those 'beauteous wilds.'³⁰

With his career off to a good start, Newton Trenham took time to be involved in a variety of civic affairs. His first position was director of the Alexandria

²⁷ *St. Paul Daily Press*, Sept. 10, Nov. 24, 1874, both p. 4; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, July 22, 1870, Jan. 20, 1871, both p. 4; *St. Paul Weekly Press*, July 28, 1870, p. 8; *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, Aug. 25, 1870, p. 2.

²⁸ In 1873 the State Agricultural Society awarded him a medal for the "Best Stereoscopic Views" exhibited. See also *The Stranger's Guide and Reference Book to the City of Saint Paul* (St. Paul: Edmund A. Kirby, 1878), 80; *St. Paul Dispatch*, Mar. 17, 1893, p. 3. On the carbon process, see Reilly, *Care and Identification*, 69, and Mason, ed., *Encyclopedia of Photography*, 97.

²⁹ *Alexandria Post*, June 25, 1875, Jan. 14, 1876, both p. 4.

³⁰ MHS, photo collection, the Alexandria file, and Album 234; *Alexandria Post*, Oct. 6, 1876, p. 4.



MAIN THOROUGHFARES OF FERGUS FALLS, ABOUT 1895

Library Association. In subsequent years he would serve as the village recorder, fire chief, and on various boards and committees, all reported in the local newspapers. Life in a small town is recorded in such detail that one can learn of a burglary in his home and the fact that he had a pet prairie dog.²⁷

²⁷ *Douglas County News* (Alexandria), June 15, 1882, July 24, 1884, both p. 8.

²⁸ Thanks to Pam Brunfelt, formerly of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, for noting the connection between Trenham and this special newspaper edition. Halftone photos are photomechanical reproductions made by employing a screen to break the image into dots for ease of printing on a press. For more on the history and development of the halftone process in newspaper printing, see Taft, *Photography*, 434-447.

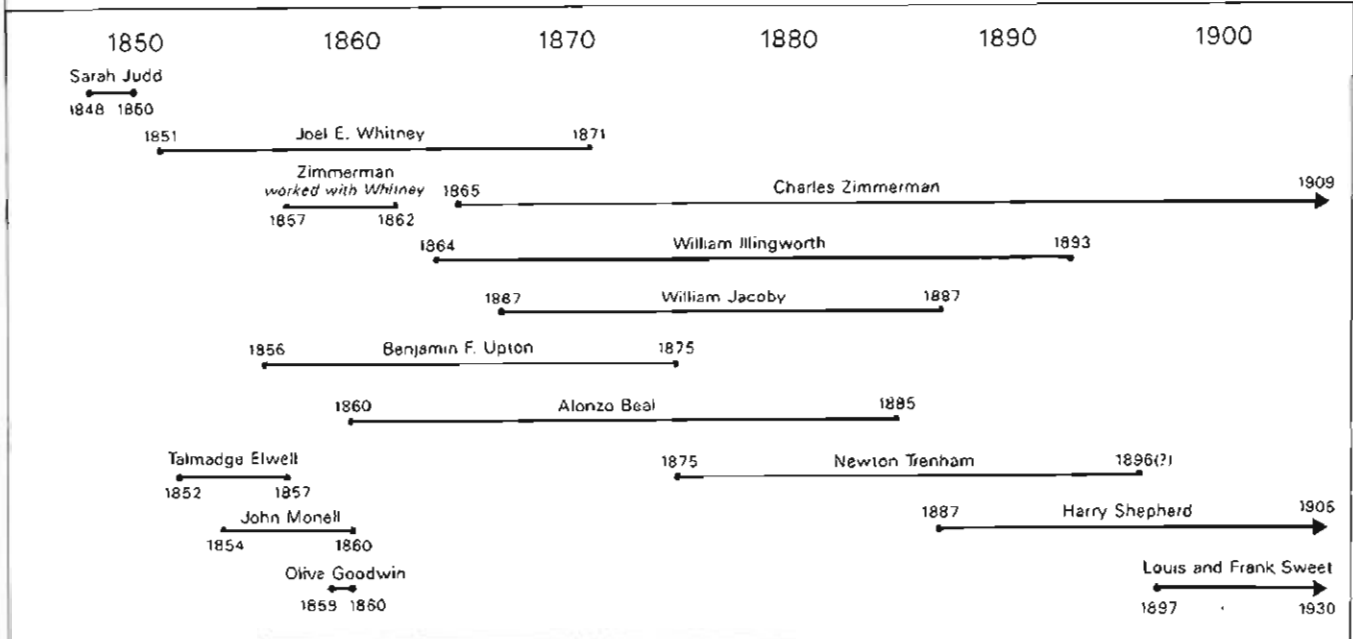
²⁹ *Douglas County News*, Dec. 30, 1886, p. 4. According to St. Paul city directories, Trenham was working in St. Paul only during 1887 and 1888. On Trenham's later years, see Thelma Peters, *Biscayne Country 1870-1926* (Miami: Banyan Books, 1981), 248-249.

Trenham had a desire to travel, as Upton and Illingworth had, but limited his viewing to central Minnesota. In addition to the landscape around Alexandria and Glenwood, he photographed Sauk Centre, the aftermath of a cyclone in St. Cloud and Sauk Rapids, and Fergus Falls, Battle Lake, Henning, Perham, and New York Mills. These latter towns in Otter Tail County were photographed in 1895, when Trenham had a gallery in Fergus Falls and traveled all across the county, gathering views in preparation for a special edition of the *Fergus Falls Weekly Journal* published November 21, 1895. This illustrated edition is a 24-page printing extravaganza of boosterism and real estate promotion, containing 202 halftone photos of the county landscapes and buildings taken by Trenham and A. P. Overland, as well as 140 portraits of local citizens. After the publication of this work, Trenham sold the Fergus Falls studio and returned to Alexandria.²⁸

An interesting part of the story of Minnesota 19th-century photography is the connection among its photographers. For example, Zimmerman got his start from Whitney, and Newton Trenham reportedly went to work for Zimmerman in January, 1887. Earlier, there were even more connections between photographers. In the 1850s and early 1860s, Joseph Hill (of Hill and Kelley), Moses Tuttle, and Andrew Falkenshield had all worked out of Whitney's studio. An itinerant, Adrian Ebell, received supplies and equipment from Whitney before embarking on his field work up the Minnesota River that ended with his joining and photographing white settlers fleeing the Dakota conflict of 1862. Paralleling Benjamin Upton's move of 1875, Newton Trenham moved to Florida after a long and successful career in Minnesota. Upton continued his photography, whereas Trenham helped settle a new town, Fulford (now North Miami Beach), as its postmaster and general storekeeper.²⁹

IN THE LAST DECADE of the century, two portrait studios came into prominence: the Sweet Studios in Minneapolis and the Shepherd Photographic Company in St. Paul. R. Harry Shepherd is unique in Minnesota photographic history because he was the earliest black proprietor of a photographic studio in the state. He moved north from Virginia and in October, 1887, began to establish a photography business by taking over the failing "People's Photo Gallery" on East Seventh Street in St. Paul. He proposed to buy it from Charles Wetherby in 60 days if he could free it from debt. He did so within 30 days and was sole proprietor by the end of 1887. By 1889 he owned two galleries and employed eight people, making hundreds of cabinet portraits, the most common type at the time. He also made

Time Line, 19th-Century Minnesota Photographers



tintypes, photos on ivory, on watch dials, and on silk handkerchiefs.⁴⁰

Fairs and expositions were important to Harry Shepherd as they had been to Whitney, Zimmerman, and many others. In 1891 he won a gold medal at the Minnesota State Fair for the "best collection of cabinets and larger portraits and views," and thereafter he had the medal embossed on the front of his cabinet portraits. In 1900 he was appointed official photographer for the Afro-American exhibit at the Paris Exposition, but he ran into some controversy as he was working in the South and returned home before he was finished. One local black newspaper, the *Afro-American Advance*, reported that he had been dismissed for "preaching anarchy" to the blacks in the South. The newspaper cautioned that he should have acted more conservatively so as not to have lost his "fat position." Mr. Shepherd replied in a rival newspaper that a "fat position" had not been lost, but that he had quit after his small commission (\$4 per day) had been exhausted within four weeks, and he was not likely to have been paid more. He preferred to return to his gallery where he said he made from \$18,000 to \$20,000 per year. The article explains Shepherd's "trouble . . . was created by the paragraphs under the pictures of Shepherd's 'Unsung Heroes' with which he had flooded the South" two years earlier.⁴¹

No studio records survive to verify whether Shep-

herd indeed brought in \$20,000 per year, but hundreds of examples of his work remain to illustrate what a popular photographer he was. For example, he took portrait and wedding photos for Ignatius Donnelly, the sage of Nininger, in February, 1898, and made portraits of the entire Minnesota state legislature in 1903. Prominent black people, like Frederick and Mattie McGhee, also patronized the Shepherd Studio.⁴²

⁴⁰ *The Appeal* (St. Paul), July 13, 1889, p. 2. Cabinet portraits are mounted on 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 card stock, usually embossed with the photographer's name on the front or pre-printed with a design and photographer's name on the back. Introduced in 1866, they quickly superseded the carte de visite in popularity and were the most common format for portraits from 1870 to 1900. An interesting sidelight to 19th-century photography was the variety of surfaces on which photos were printed and the use of photos in jewelry such as lockets, brooches, and rings. Photographers were constantly inventing new types and uses of photographs to entice their customers.

⁴¹ Minnesota State Agricultural Society, *Annual Report for 1891*, 189; *The Appeal*, Feb. 3, Mar. 10, 1900, both p. 3; *Afro-American Advance* (Minneapolis), Mar. 3, 1900, p. 2. *The Appeal* credited Shepherd with spending "time and money to fight the Afro-American's battle when certain theatrical managers in St. Paul decided to relegate their Afro-American patrons to the gallery in their several theaters."

⁴² *St. Paul Dispatch*, Feb. 22, 1898, p. 3.

In May, 1905, Harry Shepherd moved to Chicago, and *The Appeal* lamented the loss. "Mr. Shepherd has established nine photograph establishments during his business career here, all of which were disposed of advantageously. He has been one of our most enterprising and successful business men and his loss will be deeply felt."⁴³

At the end of the 19th century a new studio emphasizing art and elegance came into existence as the Sweet Studio, operated by Louis and Frank Sweet of Minneapolis. Born in Minnesota in 1868 and 1870, they opened the carved oak door to their stylish studio in the Syndicate Arcade on Nicollet Avenue in 1897. An exceptional series of photographs survives to document the artistic, Mission style of the studio's gallery and waiting rooms designed by Louis Sweet himself to be "One of the Cities Show Places."⁴⁴ The brothers Sweet were talented in both landscape and portrait photography, but instead of stereographs or cabinet portraits, they printed 8x10 landscapes and encased large portraits in elegant folders. Their negative file included the 19th century because they purchased the William Jacoby negatives, but their lenses were clearly aimed at the century ahead. Louis continued to operate the studio until 1930, while Frank went to work for a rival portrait studio, Lee Brothers, in 1912.

LOOKING BACK on the 19th century from the end of the 20th, it is difficult to imagine the way photography was perceived in a culture largely familiar with only the professional studio photographer. Today there are millions of amateurs, thousands of photojournalists, and hundreds of fine art photographers, in addition to the modern-day counterparts of the 19th-century professionals. Within the 19th-century practices, however, one can see the roots of the many types of contemporary photography. Upton and Illingworth, for example, can be seen as forerunners of photojournalists who have a desire to go far afield, depicting places and events for an audience back home. Louis Sweet's artistic inclinations appeared just as fine art photography was emerging under the guidance of Alfred Steiglitz, and Sweet Studio portraits show some of the Pictorialist influence that became a basis for photography as a fine art. Snapshooting amateurs, a new phenomenon at the turn of the century, were served and fostered by studios like Zimmerman's, which saw a new market and capitalized on it.

⁴³ *The Appeal*, May 20, 1905, p. 3.

⁴⁴ [Samuel E. Ellis], *Picturesque Lake Minnetonka* (Minneapolis: S. E. Ellis, 1906), 86, and "An Artist's Studio," *Keith's Magazine* 10 (Sept., 1903):116.

Like commercial photography today, the 19th-century studios can be characterized as very competitive, requiring the photographer to keep up with new developments and to keep his or her name before the public via advertising and self-promotion. The most successful were the most entrepreneurial. There were also many differences. Most photographers produced both landscapes and portraits, and they sold photographs, art, and related merchandise in their galleries, whereas practitioners today are much more specialized. Nineteenth-century photographers were not able to publish photos in newspapers and magazines, so they created a different exhibition and distribution network consisting of their own galleries, stereograph publishers, and local and national fairs and expositions. Finally, 19th-century technology was so labor intensive and unpredictable that an expedition of two months might yield 70 negatives whereas today a photo shoot of two hours can yield hundreds.

A CABINET PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK L.
MCGHEE, ST. PAUL LAWYER



One constant in the 19th century seems to have been the stereograph as the main medium for landscapes and the most common way for a photographer to reach the public. Portraiture, on the other hand, went through many phases, including the popular daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, cartes de visite, and cabinet photos; it allowed for experimental formats such as the carbon and porcelain prints that infused new activity into the business.

Nineteenth-century photography in Minnesota re-

flects patterns elsewhere in the United States. Its practitioners may be less known, but they were as talented and skilled as their colleagues elsewhere. This article is an attempt to give them their moment in the sun.

The photograph on p. 55 is from the collection at the Minneapolis Public Library and Information Center; that on p. 48 is from Jno. E. Land, *Historical and Descriptive Review of the Industries of St. Paul* (1883), 120; all others are in the Minnesota Historical Society audio-visual library.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE SWEET GALLERY IN MINNEAPOLIS



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