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FRAMES BEHIND THE THRONE: CONTEXTUALIZING THE CALOTYPE ALBUMS OF PRINCE ALBERT 1850-1859

Sherri Sorensen-Clem

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By

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B.F.A., Printmaking and Photography, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1980
B.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 2002

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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Art History**

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Dedication

To Prince Albert and the inspirational loves of my life:

My husband Jim and my two beautiful children Kara and Duggan

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This thesis would have remained unwritten if Siegfried Halus and Steve Yates had not encouraged me to go back to graduate school and study the history of photography. To Geoffrey Batchen, I owe a debt of gratitude for challenging my vision within the history of photography and for loaning me his copy of *Crown & Camera* in 2000, which spurred my initial interest in Prince Albert and Queen Victoria's early association with photography. I am especially grateful to Kirsten Pai Buick, my patient and steadfast mentor, who impressed upon me that my voice was important. I could not have finished this thesis without her careful reading, continued support and belief in me throughout this long process. I am also grateful to Susanne Anderson-Riedel for her encouragement with my writing and for her expertise in the history of graphic arts and to Allison Moore who graciously agreed to be on my committee, and gave me an abundance of thoughtful guidance on my writing when I hit the wall. I also wish to acknowledge my friend and colleague, Michele Penhall for all her support and gentle prodding, as well as Joyce Szabo, Kathleen Stewart Howe, and Laura Andre.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines four extant calotype albums from the collection of Prince Albert and, contains approximately 383 images ranging in date from 1850-1859. I propose that the photographs in these albums, which belong to Queen Victoria's husband, operate as fragments of the visual world and form a pictorial autobiography of the Prince Consort, offering frames behind the throne. It is my contention that Prince Albert uses the mimetic faculty of the photograph and its placement within the album to become an object of narrative, autobiography, and identity. This thesis will also attempt to contextualize the historical impact of being a foreigner within the politically charged marriage to Queen Victoria and how Prince Albert used his active engagement in the collection of art and his burgeoning interest in promoting new technologies to elevate his social status.

In reading Prince Albert's albums as historical texts we discover that, while Prince Albert's albums contribute to Victorian culture, provide an insight into his royal public and

private life, they also archive photography as a new form of representation. As formal albums, they enshrine the passion and desire to collect and possess in a manner similar to the engraved folio collections of antiquities put together by such scholars and connoisseurs as William Hamilton and the Comte de Caylus from the previous century. The albums, as paper galleries, showcase the miniaturized subject—artifacts, collectibles, people, places, and events—and turn these subjects into objects of collection, possessions to be archived for posterity in photographic form.

For Prince Albert, these albums as collections become, in part, conversations to the self that illustrate the broader scope of this visual autobiography during his twenty year marriage to Queen Victoria. As a suspended conversation, the albums are a collection of sentiments, a series of individual utterances, a private monologue formulated by Prince Albert to visually validate and evoke the many pleasures and accomplishments in his life. In contrast to the historical focus on Queen Victoria’s life, Prince Albert’s albums allows us to see a different view—his world as he organized and created it.

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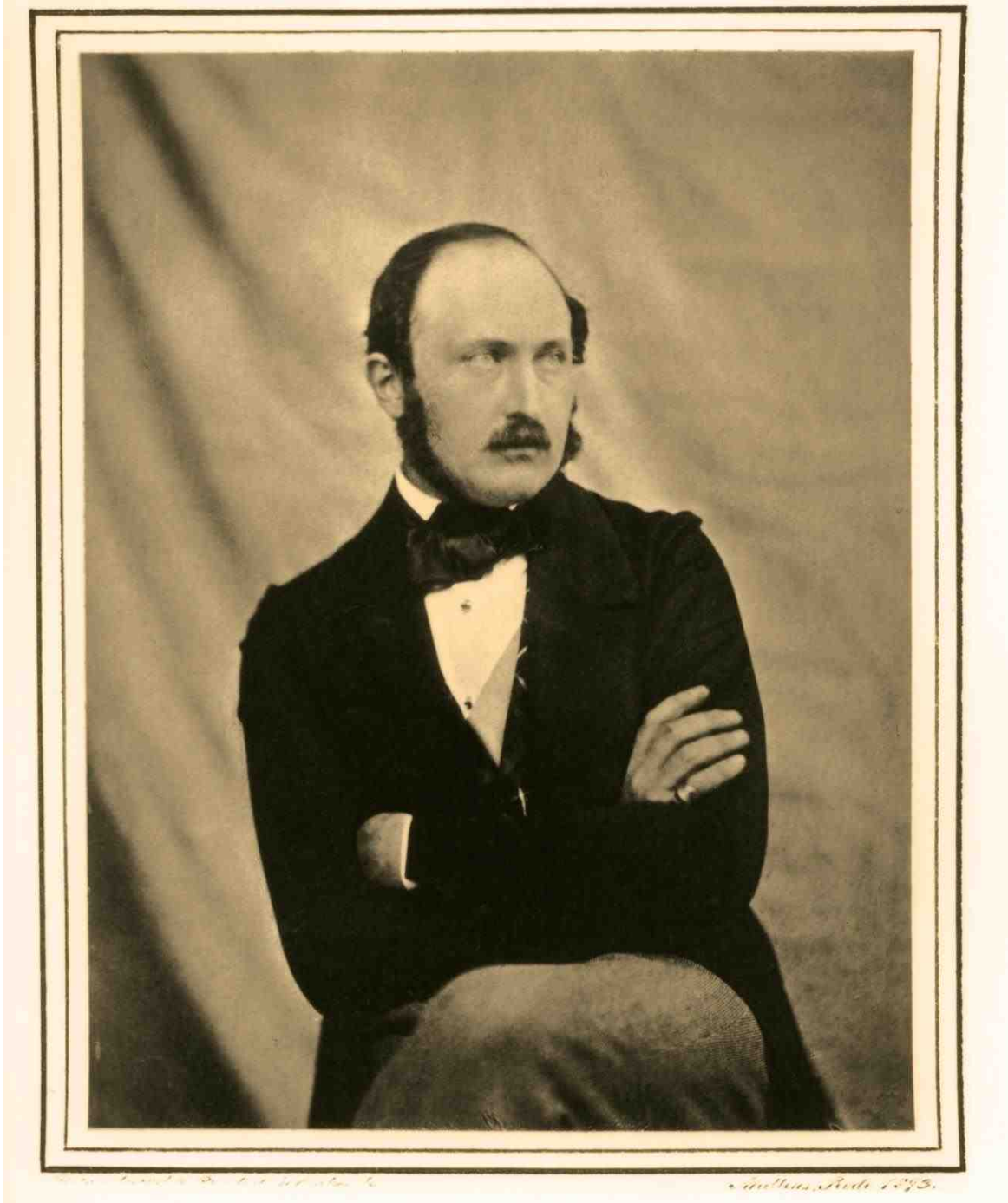
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Frontispiece: *The Prince Consort, May 1854.* By Roger Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
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Introduction: Frames behind the Throne

Susan Sontag wrote: “To collect photographs is to collect the world.”¹ But what did it mean to collect photographs from, and in, the Victorian World? More specifically, what do the Calotype Albums compiled by Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, Queen Victoria’s husband from 1840 until his untimely death in 1861, reveal about photography as a new form of representation, its early histories and the nature of collection? How do we define and interpret the photographic imagery contained within these albums in relation to collecting as one means of establishing identity? The images contained within Prince Albert’s Calotype Albums do not only form a microcosm of photography’s early histories, but the albums’ organization and thematics are also predicated on the history of collecting. Additionally, they form a visual autobiography of the Prince Consort, offering frames behind the throne.

The study of photographic albums is relatively new within the history of photography. There has been much scholarship and debate over the past two decades regarding photography and the idea of picturing place in reference to travel albums, but little has been published on the subject of personal vernacular albums, and in particular, those of historical dignitaries. In her book, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (2001), art historian and curator Martha Langford argues that albums are like suspended conversations that require an oral performance of memory to reinvigorate their meanings. Langford proposes that “the album is an instrument of collective show and tell. It engenders a text that is not a text but a conversation.”² Along the same lines, art historian and curator Maria Anontella Pelizzari in her essay, “Retracing

the Outlines of Rome: Intertextuality and Imaginative Geographies in Nineteenth-Century Photographs (2003),” proposes that nineteenth-century travel photographs of Rome could be read as “a series of individual utterances within the mass-produced description of Italy by the tourist industry.”³ Photographs as “utterances” emphasize the personal expression of such albums and often incorporate handwritten descriptions and sentiments, also a component in Prince Albert’s Albums. Likewise, photographer and theorist Allan Sekula in his essay, “On the Invention of Photographic Meaning (1982),” observes that photographic meaning is tied to the discourse of the spoken word. Sekula defines the photograph as “an utterance of some sort,” a message which is context-determined and therefore subject to cultural definition.⁴ Art historian and photographic scholar Italo Zannier in his book, *Le Grand Tour, In The Photographs Of Travelers Of The 19th Century* (1997) contends that photography, as an instrument for study and measurement, offered the traveler an excellent “diaristic” potential (as utterances to the self) by providing pre-selected choices of places to visit and instructions on how to look at them.⁵ The fact that these theorists read photographic imagery as a type of “utterance,” especially in reference to the album, gives credence to my interpretation of Prince Albert’s Calotype Albums as forming a type of visual autobiography.

The idea of the photographic album as a suspended conversation assembled through a series of pre-selected images to become individual utterances is the premise of this thesis. The wide-ranging, intimate, rambling nature of conversation speaks to the eclectic nature of the rich imagery found in Prince Albert’s Calotype Albums. As a

contemporary viewer entering Albert's private world, the problem becomes how to understand and re-animate these "suspended conversations."

Photographic albums are objects that become, in and of themselves, typologies of visual histories. They are what Gaston Bachelard would call "an object that may be opened" and as a consequence they become unique receptacles that house a particular vision of the past.⁶ As mutually exclusive objects, photographs often operate as autobiographic tools for narratives. Author and literary critic Paul John Eakin states in the preface of his book, *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative* (2008), "that narrative is not merely something we tell, listen to, read, or invent, it is an essential part of our sense of who we are" and that 'narrative identity' is based on "the idea that what we are could be said to be a story of some kind."⁷ Eakin contends that autobiographies (like albums) become "convenient containers for our life stories" and as narratives, they are based to a degree on biographical and historical fact which allows for the construction of identity.⁸

By reading Prince Albert's albums as cultural historical texts and, as Griselda Pollock advises, "re-reading...symptomatically as much for what is not said as for what is,"⁹ we discover that, while Prince Albert's Albums contribute to Victorian visual culture and provide an insight into his royal public and private life, they also archive photography as a new form of representation. As formal albums, they enshrine the passion and desire to collect and possess in a manner similar to the engraved folio collections of antiquities put together by such scholars and connoisseurs as William Hamilton and the Comte de Caylus from the previous century.

Frank Herrmann, author of *The English as Collector* (1999), defines the terms “connoisseur” and “collector” as “synonymous with ownership,” which, as he observes, “ultimately stems from a form of self-indulgence... a collector must be an enthusiast; he can and should take risks.”¹⁰ As we shall see in Chapter 1, *Collecting Photographs in a Victorian World*, with subheadings: *Usurping the Print: Paper Galleries*, and *Photography and the Cartes-de-visite*, this form of self-indulgence is directly linked to the “Victorian concern for rational leisure,” a term which Grace Seiberling describes in her book, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (1986), as a leisure predicated on the pleasurable activities of exploring scholarly, scientific, artistic pursuits.¹¹ Rational leisure bestowed on photography and photographic collecting a type of Victorian virtue or expectation associated with the leisured classes and provided acceptable forms of meaningful pastimes for those with the luxury of time and money to pursue them. Thus it was a socially acceptable form of self-indulgence.

In *Usurping the Print: Paper Galleries*, I explore through Prince Albert’s Albums how the photograph as a new form of representation contributed to the systematic replacement of the reproductive (engraved) print over the second half of the century. With the photographs forming a paper gallery, Prince Albert’s Albums reduce the world to a miniaturized series of collectible objects and images. See, for example, the photograph of a pair of Louis XIV pistols (Figure 1.1), taken by photographer Francis Bedford in 1854, which appears on the last page of Volume III. The historical pistols are positioned on a cloth background facing in opposite directions. The image reads as a straightforward photograph of singular similar objects, objects which represent centuries of conflict between the

monarchies of England and France. From a formal standpoint, what Bedford captures in this sepia photograph is not only the rich saturated tonal range so often seen in early photography, but also the delineated elegance of the pistols' sculptural form, their elongated slender barrels and the intricate floral filigree on the silver handles, all of which make the pistols objects worthy of desire and collection. Among other uses, the albums serve as portable contemporary versions of the eighteenth century cabinets of curiosities, and thus, allow Albert or the viewer to linger over or flip through images. As paper galleries, they showcase the miniaturized subject—artifacts, collectibles, people, places, and events—and turn these subjects into objects of collection, possessions to be archived for posterity in photographic form. For Prince Albert, his albums as collections become, in part, conversations to the self within the broader scope of this visual autobiography during his twenty year marriage to the Queen.

For the purpose of my investigation, I have chosen to examine the only four extant albums of calotypes belonging to Prince Albert, Volumes II-VI, containing approximately 383 images dating from 1850-1859. Of the original six albums, Volumes I and V are missing from the collection. According to Frances Dimond, former Curator of Photographs at the Royal Collection, they have never been seen in the archives at Windsor Castle. Three of the extant albums were actually assembled by Prince Albert and Volume VI has been attributed to him.¹² It is important to note that Queen Victoria referred to all photographs during this period as calotypes. As indicated by Dimond, very few prints in Prince Albert's Calotype Albums are actual calotypes (prints made from paper negatives). She states that "Most of them are either albumen prints or copies made with the carbon process. The copies were

made and affixed to the originals which were fading. Queen Victoria used the word 'calotype' as a generic term for early photographs and therefore the original title of the albums has been retained."¹³



Figure 1.1 *A pair of Louis XIV pistols, 1854. By Francis Bedford.*
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

Chapter 2, *Albert the Collector / Albert the Foreigner* attempts to contextualize the historical impact of being a foreigner within this politically charged marriage to Queen Victoria and how Prince Albert used his active engagement in the collection of art and his burgeoning interest in promoting new technologies to elevate his social status. To interpret Prince Albert's personal albums and his method of collection, I am adopting French philosopher Roland Barthes's position that the photograph becomes intelligible through our learned (conventional, cultural and historical) ability to recognize signs.¹⁴ By privileging

context over content, I am assigning meaning to Albert's selected photographs through the contiguous placement of images within individual albums, as well as through his creation of collective volumes of royal photographs.

In Chapter 3, *Album as Autobiography*, I propose that the photographs in these albums operate as snippets of the visual world and use photography as a means of assembling a princely profile. It is my contention that Prince Albert uses the mimetic faculty of the photograph and its placement within the album to become an object of narrative, autobiography, and identity. The idea of "collecting as metaphor" begins to resonate throughout the albums and more specifically through the images of dead stags, where the actual trophy is photographed. The "album" in general, and in particular, the personal albums of Prince Albert, function as self-referential repositories of signs that create a narrative autobiography of the album compiler, in this case Prince Albert and his historical circumstance, especially as a foreigner married to the Queen. These albums allow the viewer to enter the private world of Prince Albert which incorporates his public persona. Eakin too, describes autobiography as "a referential art," one that, "self-consciously and usually explicitly, positions itself with reference to the world...where memory and imagination conspire to reconstruct the truth of the past."¹⁵

These albums offer a charming glimpse of the visual inventory of the Prince's personal belongings, his passions, his interests, and his love of family during his twenty-one year marriage to Queen Victoria. Each volume displays a vast array of intermingled private and public images that document a full spectrum of photography, from art and architecture to new technologies and international sites of interest. The portraits range from depictions

of family and “exotic others” to domestic princely hunting scenes. The architectural images record in expansive detail the numerous royal lodgings as well as depictions of romantic ruins. There are commissioned photographs of palaces: Windsor Palace, Buckingham Palace, Balmoral Palace, Lambeth Palace, and Osborne—endless brickwork, leaded glass windows, turrets, chimneys, archways, and doors which collectively emphasize the magnitude and the monumental scope of the royal structures, mimicking Britain’s expanding empire. There are interior views of collections from the Louvre Palace in Paris, and photographs of paintings of the British royal family and antique sculpture from the Vatican Museum. There are roof top scenes from Rome and a photograph of the Leaning Tower of Pisa, as well as studio portraits of African Zulus posed with spears and dressed in animal skins. There are candid and posed views of the children coupled with the pomp and circumstance of royal state events, such as the opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham (June 10th, 1854), and the Queen in her “Drawing Room” Dress.

While these albums initially offer a glimpse into the world of the man who was married to Queen Victoria, they are a contrived form of personal expression. As a suspended conversation, the albums are a collection of sentiments, a series of individual utterances, a private monologue formulated by Prince Albert to visually validate and evoke the many pleasures and accomplishments in his life. In contrast to the historical focus on Queen Victoria’s life, Prince Albert’s albums allow us to see a different view—his world as he organized and created it; thus, a visual autobiography.

The *Appendix* that I have created here serves as an important research tool, to aid in future scholarship, by providing category locations for the specific photographic imagery

contained within the four extant Calotype Albums, Vol. II, Vol. III, Vol. IV, and Vol. VI, belonging to Prince Albert. I have listed all 383 photographs, from 1850-1859, in numerical order under specific category headings based on their exact positioning within the individual albums. This Appendix now provides an index of “types” with the original captions and photographers, which were (presumably) handwritten by Prince Albert in brown ink under each photograph. Since it is impossible to include descriptions and formulate assumptions about every image in Prince Albert’s Albums for this thesis, I have organized the collection of photographs in each volume into twelve separate category types: Objects; Statuary / Canon of Art; Reproduction of Paintings / Drawings, Watercolors, Engravings, Canon of Art; Hunting Scenes / Highlanders; Landscape; Palaces / Royal Estates; Architecture; Family Portraits / Other Royalty and Friends; Portraits / Exotic Others; Travel Photographs; Ships; and Miscellaneous. For example, *Calotypes, Volume II* contains the complete numerical index listing of all 99 photographs as they appear in that volume followed by *Calotypes, Volume II, Image Breakdown Into Types*; all subsequent volumes: Vol. III, Vol. IV, and Vol. VI are compiled only under their corresponding *Image Breakdown Into Types*. It should be noted that the primary research on Prince Albert’s Calotype Albums was conducted at the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle in 2005. Since these albums are not digitized, the photographic illustrations in this thesis are based, in part, on the copy negatives that were available from the Royal Archives at that time. For example, in Figure 2.3, I have replaced the photograph which I discuss entitled *The Princess Royal’s wedding Cake, 25 January 1858* with an engraved image of the Princess Royal’s Wedding Cake from *The Illustrated London Illustrated News*, from Saturday, February 6, 1858.

Upon the final phases of this thesis, two recent publications have come out on vernacular photographic albums: *Art and the Early Photographic Album* (2011), edited by Stephen Bann, a product of the symposium that I attended entitled “Art and the Early Photographic Album” organized by the Center for Advance Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, in March of 2007, in Washington; and *Photographic Memory: The Album in the Age of Photography* by author Verna Posever Curtis (2011). Curtis’ book, *Photographic Memory*, chronicles twenty-five albums produced in the twentieth century prior to digital photography from the collection of the Library of Congress’s photographic archives. As an album itself, *Photographic Memory*, contains a collection of album pages and album covers from each of the twenty-five albums, and supplemented with an explanatory page of text by Curtis. What *Photographic Memory* provides, unlike Prince Albert’s albums where Albert is the sole compiler, is an overview of the album’s unique utility as a one-of-a-kind photographic object through the vision and hands of twenty-five different compilers and / or photographers over the span of approximately 90 years.

Photographic Memory is a compilation of episodic albums which range from focusing on the life of the naturalist writer and poet John Burroughs during 1915-1922 by his friend, photographer and compiler Clyde Fisher, who was also the curator at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, to a quirky ‘flip-book’ on diving by compiler and photographer F. Holland Day entitled *The Seventh Thousandth And Eighth Hundredth And Sixty Third Performance At The Diving Board L.G.H.* (1911), an album on the Hitler Youth (1935), another compiled by Frank Sinatra and Hollywood photographer Phil Stern on the inauguration of John F. Kennedy, and a family album of Danny Lyon (2008-

2009) assembled by Lyon specifically for the Library of Congress's photographic album collection which spans thirty years of Lyon's family life through various Polaroids, instamatic snap shots, Ektacolor RC, and gelatin silver printed-out prints. According to Curtis, the twenty-five albums featured in *Photographic Memory* provide the viewer with "an opportunity to discover personal photographic narratives before the digital age."¹⁶

With Prince Albert's Calotype Albums my purpose is not solely to provide a compendium of personal photographic narratives but rather, to investigate how we as modern viewers can read the images that create this specific narrative not only as historical, and contextually driven, but also as a direct byproduct of photography's early histories and the history of collecting. I will argue that Prince Albert uses these private albums as a visual autobiographic tool to photographically (through collection and organization) establish a form of identity.

Chapter 1

Collecting Photographs in a Victorian World

In *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, Martha Langford reiterates the idea that the invention and subsequent development of photography “transformed the nature of pictorial information and revolutionized society.”¹⁷ This is particularly true in relation to how photography in the nineteenth century enabled collectors, institutions, and the populace to systematically compress the world and their families into albums. The sheer potency of the photographic image as an agent of memory and as an instrument of knowledge is that it visualizes moments. An album fixes select ephemeral moments and proposes constructed histories from the arrangement of these moments. Photography, unlike the interpretive hand of painting or printmaking, transformed the nature of pictorial information by seemingly to objectively capturing that which appears (or is placed) in front of the camera at a specific time and place. Photography, more than any other media, instantly commemorates moments by the camera’s mechanical ability to “stop time.” And it is through this mechanical procurement of sentiment (or remembrance) that photographic images as objects become dear. It is the notion of preservation, as invariably linked with the nature of photography, along with the need to possess, that inspires its collection.

In his book, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (2004), Geoffrey Batchen attempts to reconcile memory and photography and questions whether “photography is a good way to remember things.”¹⁸ He includes arguments by German critic Sigfried Kracauer who, according to Batchen, sees photography as “too coherent and

too linear in its articulation of time and space...capturing too much information to function as memory"¹⁹ and Barthes, who believes memory is not attached to an image but a sensation (of personal significance).²⁰ Batchen reminds us that "Memory, in contrast (to photography), is selective, fuzzy in outline, intensively subjective, often incoherent, and invariably changes over time—a conveniently malleable form of fiction."²¹ Seemingly, with Prince Albert, it was not the photograph itself that became dear but what it represented; thus the images in his albums photographically 'obey the rules of nonfiction' while expressing Batchen's notion of 'an extended act of remembrance', or 'state of reverie'.²²

The Victorian world culminated in the modern age of discovery which, as Stanley Weintraub, author of *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert* (1997) observed, "gave birth to the steamship, the railway, the telegraph, and the photograph."²³ Charles Irby proposes in the 1968 exhibition catalog, *Victoria's World: A Photographic Portrait drawn from The Gernsheim Collection* (1968), "that the achievement of the permanent photographic image during the nineteenth century was the culmination of man's efforts to record an exact representation of himself and his surroundings."²⁴ Oscar Maurer, in the exhibition catalog, *Victoria's World* (1968), also suggests that "these pictures give us the actualities (or more accurately, *the visual impressions*) which the novelists transcribe and bring us a step closer to their world...within these photographs; one finds the richest aspects of Victorian literature, the genre of Ruskin, Mathew Arnold and Dickens."²⁵ And it is within the 110 surviving personal photographic albums of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, spanning 100,000 images dating from 1850-1901, that one finds the richest representation of empire, family, Victorian culture, and progress. The Age of Victoria saw moral and social reform in

England through the regulation of child labor laws, improvements in sanitation, establishing housing for the poor, an emerging emphasis placed on education and cultural enrichment, and the establishment of societies to abolish slavery.²⁶ At the same time, outside of England the imperial landscape expanded at a rate of 100,000 square miles per year.²⁷

Collecting in the Victorian world was initially a pastime afforded to the cultured elite and the connoisseur. The noble desire to collect (classical) objects culminated not only from tenets of the Scottish Enlightenment regarding 'aesthetic and moral orders'²⁸ but also from the eighteenth century's obsession with archeological excavations in the ancient world, which provided a growing interest in the classification of natural objects, and the sweeping desire of the nation-state / Royal Throne to collect classical sculpture, ceramics, metals, gems, drawings, paintings, and prints related to colonialism and empire. Master drawings and prints were preserved in portfolios whereas the photographic album became a receptacle for objects of a more vernacular status.²⁹ Langford indicates that the album debuted in the seventeenth century as a repository for autographs.³⁰

In contrast to the connoisseur's portfolio, the album evolved into a personal and intimate vehicle for collecting watercolors, prints, sketches, mementoes, poems, and eventually photographs. One such an example are the albums of Lady Mary Georgiana Caroline Filmer, produced in the 1860s. The Lady Filmer albums display what Diane Block in her thesis, *Books and Company: Mid-Victorian Photocollage Albums and the Feminine Imagination* (1995), refers to as "a compelling and delightful example of the little known, mid-Victorian artistic genre of photocollage," stemming from the "feminine tradition of scrapbooks and sentiment albums" from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century,

which combine the amateur watercolorist with the imagination of the assembler.³¹ Lady Filmer's album pages reflect the leisured class in a sphere of domesticity. In this space she constructs her lively hybrid compositions of watercolor drawings and pen and ink with collaged and cut *cartes-de-visite* images of friends and relatives. Her album page *Trompe l'oeil letters*, c. 1866 (Figure 2.1), is of particular interest as it features the face of Prince Albert's son, the Prince of Wales, which was pasted on an actual stamp glued to a *trompe l'oeil* letter in the center of the page. The album page is covered in a pile of delicately drawn envelopes, scattered as a heap of correspondence on a writing desk. Each individual envelope is outlined in a colored wash; some have simulated cancellation marks and others spill forth collaged *cartes-de-visite* portraits like a collection of theatre tickets. The envelope bearing the portrait of the Consort's son is addressed to: *His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales, Abergeldie Castle, Aberdeenshire N.B.* According to Block, there are four album pages by Lady Filmer in U.S. collections that feature collaged images of His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales.³² Two of these album pages that Block identified entitled *Prince of Wales Shooting Party, 1864* and *Prince of Wales and Party at Sandringham, 1865* clearly indicate Lady Filmer's social connections to the Royal family.³³

Photographic albums, though often incomplete, with missing photographs or blank pages, create a sense of narrative through the selection and arrangement of their images. Albums tell stories, or versions of them. Even the most arbitrary positioning or sequencing of a picture can be considered a deliberate decision on the part of the compiler. When we view photographic albums what we initially encounter are pages of discontinuous photographs that become the visual evidence of social practices and censored history.

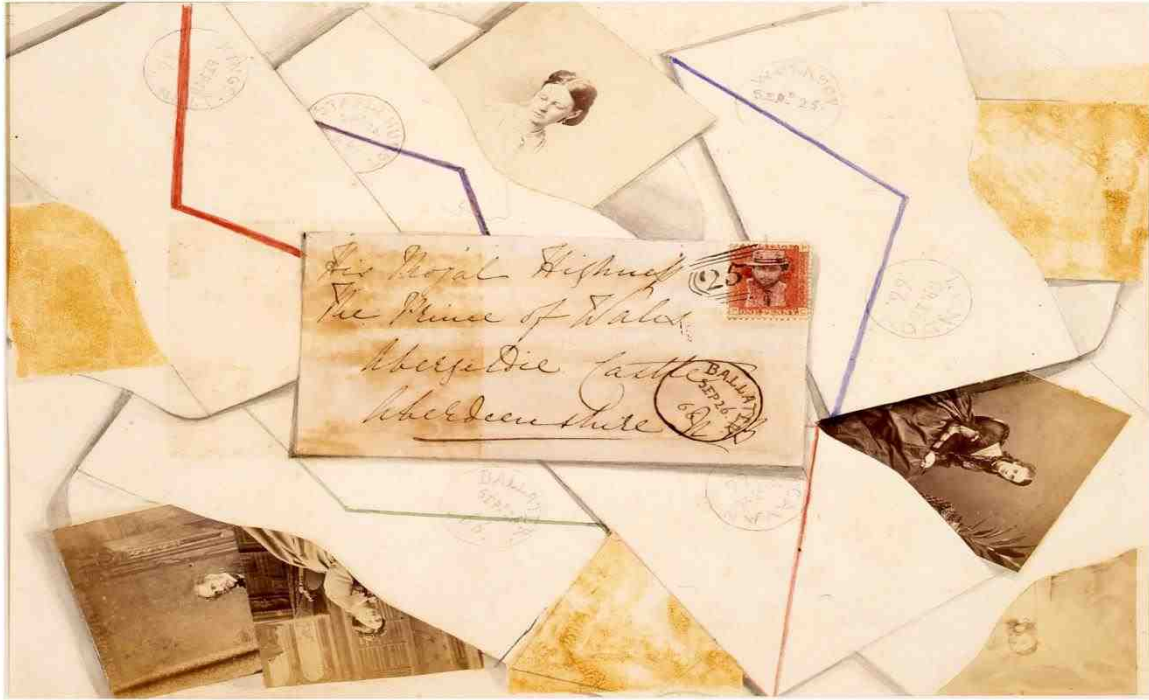


Figure 2.1 *Trompe l'oeil letters*, c. 1866. Lady Mary Georgina Filmer. Unbound plate from Lady Filmer Album. University Art Museum, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Supporting this notion, the photograph by Leonida Caldesi entitled *The Royal Family at Osborne, 26th May, 1857*, from Volume VI (Figure 2.2) displays the normative conventions of the family portrait, a seated mother surrounded by her children and the standing father surveying the scene. Here the entire Royal Family is documented in front of an alcove housing a female Greco-Roman sculpture on one of the expansive terraces of Osborne, the royal seaside estate on the Isle of Wight. Queen Victoria is seated holding the newest addition to the Royal Family, the Princess Beatrice, and the mother Queen looks down in the baby's direction, surrounded by her other children. The five younger girls all wear dresses with capes and fancy bonnets while little Prince Leopold wears a Scottish kilt. Bertie, the Prince of Wales and future king, wears a boy's military ensemble. Prince Alfred,

dressed in a young man's suit, causally leans on the balustrade with his hands in his pockets. Next to him is his father, Prince Albert, who also leans against the structure dressed in formal waistcoat attire and riding boots with his hand on his hip. The posed photograph captures a candid moment of boredom for several of the children, who have turned their faces in different directions, creating some blurring of movement.

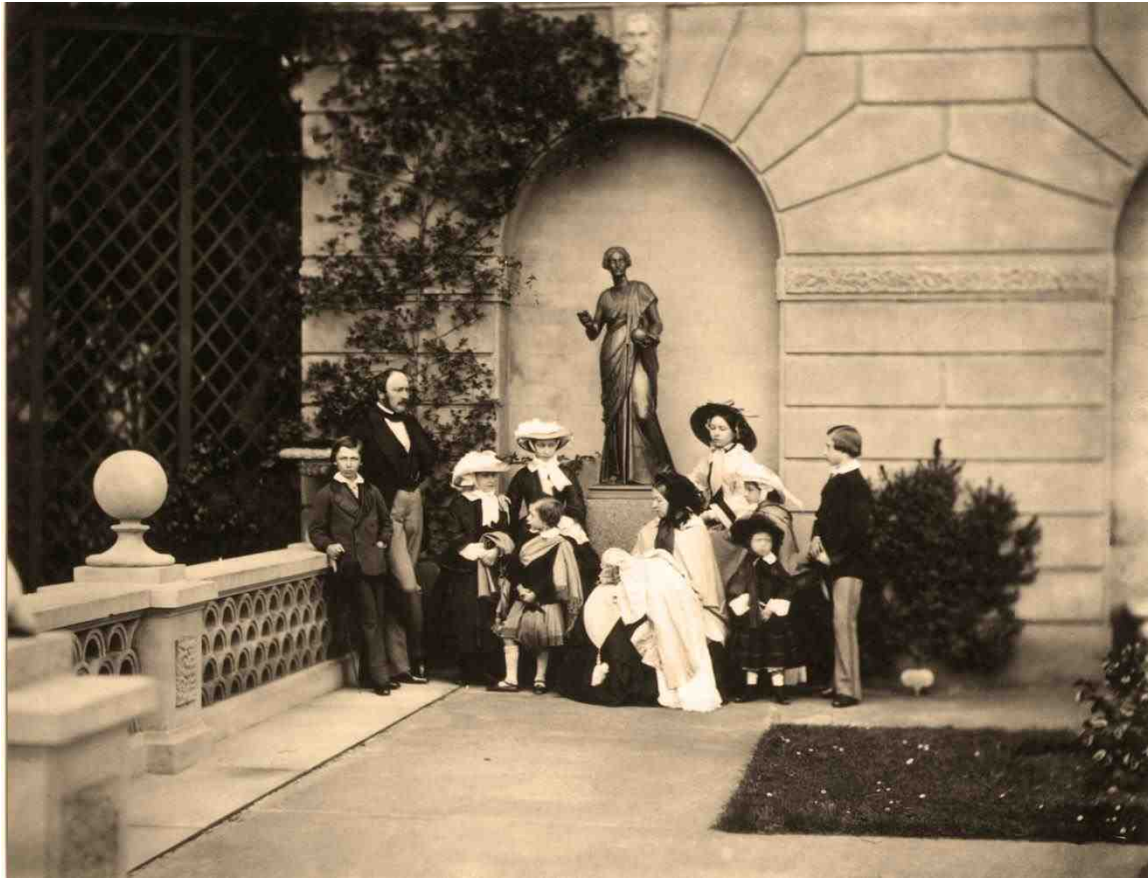


Figure 2.2 *The Royal Family at Osborne, 26th May, 1857. Left to right: Prince Alfred; Prince Albert; Princess Helena; Prince Arthur; Princess Alice; Queen Victoria with Princess Beatrice; Victoria, Princess Royal; Princess Louise; Prince Leopold, A.E. Prince of Wales. By Caldesi. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

The reality of this domestic scene was that Queen Victoria, whose maternal instinct was to love her children, resented the fact that her tenure as a young Queen was consumed

for 17 years in a revolving door of pregnancies and postpartum depressions.³⁴ In the wake of the excessive debaucheries of the previous Monarch George IV, a tenet of the Crown promoted by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert was to lead by example and exhibit high moral codes, especially in relation to the nuclear family.³⁵ This photograph demonstrates not only the camera's power to convey a social (didactic) convention as performed by the Royal Family, but it also promotes a new social practice—documenting the family through photography—or what Sontag would argue, almost one hundred and thirty years later, as “a rite of family life.”³⁶

History of Albums

With the invention of photography, selective visual histories were created and preserved in albums. Many were bound in leather or velvet, while others were elaborately hand-tooled or embellished with lavish trappings and metal clasps. These became the portable, precious shrines of history where images of dignitaries, family, place and national and world events culminate as ritualistic practices and commemorative displays. Rituals are the reenactment of symbolic gestures. In “Ritual, Politics, and Power,” David I. Kertzer defines ritual “as action wrapped in a web of symbolism” through which standardized sequences and repetition “helps to give meaning to our world in part by linking the past to the present and the present to the future.”³⁷ Photographs record the performance of ritual and symbolic behavior *by capturing the act* which links the individual to society.³⁸ And they become their own ritual performances.

As a commemorative display of ritualistic practice, the photograph of Princess Victoria Adelaide Mary Louise's wedding cake entitled, *The Princess Royal's Wedding Cake*,

January 25th 1858, by William Bambridge (Figure 2.3, engraving of the Wedding Cake from *The London Illustrated News*, February 6, 1858), from Volume VI, serves as an interesting example because the photograph is about the materiality of the cake as a singular object—a magnificent six-foot tall monument of royal white confection. It indexes the ceremony of marriage. Princess Vicky's wedding cake is composed of three ornate architectural tiers and is a breathtaking work of art. The bottom layer is decorated with Empire style panels which serve as elaborate frames for Wedgwood-like cameos and royal crests while the center tier is modeled on a Greek rotunda festooned with flowers draped above alcoves that hold classic statuary. Topping the cake is a spectacular crowned baldachin which houses the bride and groom. Surprisingly, this image provides the only reference to Princess Vicky's marriage in Prince Albert's albums, an interesting fact given that he and his daughter Princess Vicky were particularly close. There are no other wedding photographs of the union between the Princess Royal and her husband Prince Frederick William of Prussia in these albums—and all the other participants are absent. The photograph of the Princess Royal's wedding cake, which symbolizes the ritual of matrimony and the idea of pageantry as spectacle, depicts a confection of art designed by Italian artist, M. Conté, with serpentine Bernini style columns surrounded by a series of busts on pedestals and a dome flanked with naked putti.

Emily Allen, in her essay "Culinary Exhibition: Victorian Wedding Cakes and Royal Spectacle," *Victorian Studies* (2003), contends that "the Royal nuptials of Queen Victoria's reign represented the very apogee of state power as ceremonial performance, and the cake made to celebrate them were central props in these dramas of national affiliation."³⁹

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[WITH A SUPPLEMENT, FIVEPENCE]

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

One of the least safe subjects of prediction is a Session of Parliament. In February the Legislature is like an inflated balloon, buoyant, impatient of restraint, and with such a go-a-head air about it, that year after year we are tempted to foresee its inevitable collapse at the end of July. The stereotyped circular of the Prime Minister, which never fails to inform his supporters that measures of the almost impotence will be brought forward at a very early moment, endures the test of three months or so when patient members begin to discover that a single bill of the first class actually carried through both Houses and submitted into an Act of Parliament is a very good, as it is undoubtedly an average, work of a Session. No doubt around the *magnum opus* cluster, like barnacles on a ship's keel, a host of minor measures, the very ribblings of legislation—Acts to amend Acts; continuation Acts; and all the thousand and one bills, with out-of-the-way, incomprehensible titles, which figure night after night in the orders, and are always passed through their several stages, by the conjoint efforts of the Speaker and the Secretary to the Treasury, when every one else has gone to bed. As these things count for very little when they are in process of introduction, though they often turn out to be very effective little weapons in the hands of lawyers, we repeat that a single well-considered, well-digested, fully discussed bill, which deals with a man and really important question, is the ordinary product of a Session. When the Ministerial programme is delivered by the subordinate functionary who acts as the herald of the Cabinet on the first evening of the meeting of the Legislature, the list is, of course, always imposing enough; but every one knows that, like the Homeric prayers, a dispersion into empty air is the fate which awaits the very largest proportion of them.

What, then, is to be predicted of the Session which is now about to commence? We have before us reform in a multiplicity of aspects. There are reform in India, reform in Parliament, reform in banking, reform in church-rates, reform of criminals, military reform, medical reform, law reform—at home; and abroad we have a war in India, a war in China, the refugee question (which is certain to be brought forward in some shape or other), a probable difficulty with Naples, and all the little squabbles that are for ever bubbling up on the surface of European affairs. Here, then, are half-a-dozen first-class subjects demanding immediate attention, and just time enough to deal with one and a fraction of them. And yet what an opportunity for a young and vigorous Parliament to acquire legislative distinction! There is a glorious mass of business before them, and the only question is, what will they do with it? Will they set out for themselves a marked course, or pursue the old method of drifting through a sitting of five months with spasmodic bursts of debating, intermingled with languid conversation in Indian Committees? The genius and traditions of our legislative body up till now have clung to every Parliament with a tenacity which no infusion of new membership has been able to shake off; and it needs little prophetic capability to enable one to sketch, in three lines the history of the coming Session. An inundation of Government bills getting as far as first readings, an avalanche of notices by private members of more or less note, three or four immense debates and abstract propositions leading to nothing, one great measure driven into a corner, and forced by more force of Ministerial gravitation to commutation, just on the approach of autumn, and all the rest hurled recklessly into the limbo of next Session. As we set this down, we experience the somewhat curious hope that we are guilty of a gross blat on our Legislature, and that we shall be duly convicted of it some six months hence. Never would prophet be more pleased by the fulfilment of his sooth-saying than we shall be if our predictions are utterly and completely falsified by the facts and occurrences of the legislative year. It is, indeed, no time for dreamers, but the very critical moment for the ardent and steady intervention of workers. The House of Commons has a long debt of neglect towards India to repay. The time has come when the destinies of 150,000,000 of people are no longer to be dealt with by a third-rate official in a House composed of twenty-five members. In earnest, and with the utmost fulness of consideration and debate, an administrative revolution in our Eastern empire must be carried out. The question of our national self-government as typified in our representative system is no distant subject to be dawdled and dangled over on the one hand, or hurried over in heat and contention on the other. Turn which way you will, look at the various questions which are ripe even to readiness for settlement at this very moment, and it is impossible to look forward to the year which is before us without the certainty that, for good or for evil, it will form a political and national epoch, and must leave a deep imprint upon history. It will be a year either of great national advance, or of the most ruinous shortcomings. Since the struggle between this



MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL AND PRINCE FREDERICK WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA; THE WEDDING CAKE.—(SEE NEXT PAGE.)

Figure 2.3 The Princess Royal's wedding Cake, 25 January 1858. By Bambridge. Photograph not available. Marriage of the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick William of Prussia: The Wedding Cake, an engraving from The Illustrated London News, No. 902—VOL. XXXII.1, Saturday, February 6, 1858.

Allen goes on to state that Princess Vicky's wedding cake "was based on an extremely vertical, ornamental cake design that first debuted at the Crystal Palace, a design that (like the Palace itself) represented the triumph of technology and ingenuity over matter."⁴⁰ The Crystal Palace was the spectacular exhibition hall built entirely of metal and glass to commemorate the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. In light of this fact, the significance of this photograph in relation to Prince Albert coupled with his involvement in the Great Exhibition of 1851, has a double meaning.

As a casket of photographic memory, revived through the viewer's sight, the album framed not only the continuum of time but also could become a pictorial space like a painting where an assumed or even counterfeit identity was permissible. In the photograph taken by Dr. Ernest Becker, *Prince Arthur and Prince Alfred in the Costume of Sikh Princes, Osborne, 6th September 1854* (Figure 2.4), from Volume IV, we see the two young English Princes lounging on a bed upholstered in taffeta and masquerading as Sikh Princes. Dressed in turbans and extravagant embroidered silk tunics and striped pants, they adopt an orientalist pose framed by sumptuous drapery and a paisley Indian carpet. Prince Alfred, positioned like an odalisque, stares directly at the camera with a sly smirk. In an air of casual defiance he places his hand on his hip and crosses his legs which emphasize his bare feet. Prince Arthur, who is adorned in beads, is seated in profile and looks sullenly at his brother. As a delightful and humorous photograph of Albert's sons, it captures the act of role playing and the art of make-believe, and thus establishes an imperial connection between the royal children as Sikhs to the Jewel in the Crown. Here the playful photograph

becomes a metaphor for British sovereignty even though Queen Victoria and Prince Albert never traveled to India.



Figure 2.4 *Prince Arthur and Prince Alfred in the Costume of Sikh Princes, Osborne, 6th September 1854. By Dr. E. Becker. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

Usurping the Print: Paper Galleries

Art historian and photographic critic Abigail Solomon-Godeau claims “that the history of photography is not the history of remarkable men, much less a succession of remarkable pictures, but the history of photographic uses.”⁴¹ From its very conception in 1839, photography established itself as a new way of seeing and knowing the world, a vision that had been previously represented by prints. With photography, as the new model for

representation, commercial and private albums emerged as portable forms of “paper galleries” which showcased a variety of subjects, places, and themes through a collection of arranged (or curated) photographs.

In 1841, French painter Horace Vernet published a pamphlet first written in 1839, coinciding with the year of Daguerre’s announcement of the daguerreotype, entitled *Du Droit des peintres et des sculptures sur leurs ouvrages*.⁴² In his pamphlet on painters’ rights, Vernet argues that the painter produces two distinct dual commodities: an “intellectual object” which allows for the reproduction of the painting through engraving and a “material object” that consists of the canvas created by the artist’s brush.⁴³ Foreshadowing the advent of photographic reproduction, Vernet passionately argues for the right to engrave as being the passport to the painter’s immortality:

Engraving is the means of propagating and giving eternity to the painter’s work. Is it not engraving, in fact, that is for most of the time the most active agent in the painter’s reputation...Engraving is, so to speak, to the picture, what printing is to the manuscript: it is the thing that multiplies it; it is the thing that propagates and popularizes it; it is the thing that gives eternity to the work; it is the thing that immortalizes the genius of the painter.⁴⁴

Within ten years of Vernet’s treaty promoting the necessity of “the engraved painting,” the photograph replaced the reproductive print as the “intellectual object.” This is evident in Prince Albert’s albums. Also, The Great Exhibition was recorded through photography, and later Henry Cole, as the Director of the South Kensington Museum used photographs to record the museum’s art collections.⁴⁵ Thus, the mechanical ability of the camera to produce exact replicas of nature generated a widely held belief in the West that photographs were the faithful and accurate renderings of the world around them, a notion

that contributed to the systematic replacement of the reproductive print over the second half of the century.

While prints had been the primary means to disseminate knowledge and artistic reputation from the Renaissance through the mid-nineteenth century, reactions to the new photographic discovery of 1839 were often couched in terms of engraving. The London *Spectator* described Daguerre's invention after the January 7th announcement in Paris at the Academie des Sciences, as a kind of marvel that amounted "to nothing less than making light produce permanent pictures, by engraving them at the same time, in the course of a few minutes... To think of Nature herself reflecting her own face, though but as 'in a glass, darkly,' and engraving it too, that we may have copies of it!"⁴⁶ Likewise, the Paris correspondent for the London *Athenaeum*, having interviewed Daguerre while examining some of his images, reported that some of the daguerreotypes "have the force of Rembrandt's etchings."⁴⁷

Specific types of photographic images in Prince Albert's albums conceptually function as the new technological replacement for the reproductive print. Pepered throughout the four volumes are numerous photographs of commissioned paintings by Edwin Landseer and Franz Xavier Winterhalter, as well as photographs of antique objects, sword hilts, the pair of Louis XIV pistols, original statuary and ancient casts, cameos, and the interior views of the Louvre (Figures 2.5 through 2.9 and Figure 1.1). These photographic images of individual objects can be linked to the reproductive print in terms of how eighteenth century connoisseurs and antiquarian collectors archived collections, whereby

the illustrated object functioned as a stand-in for the original within the context of the folio, or in this case the album.

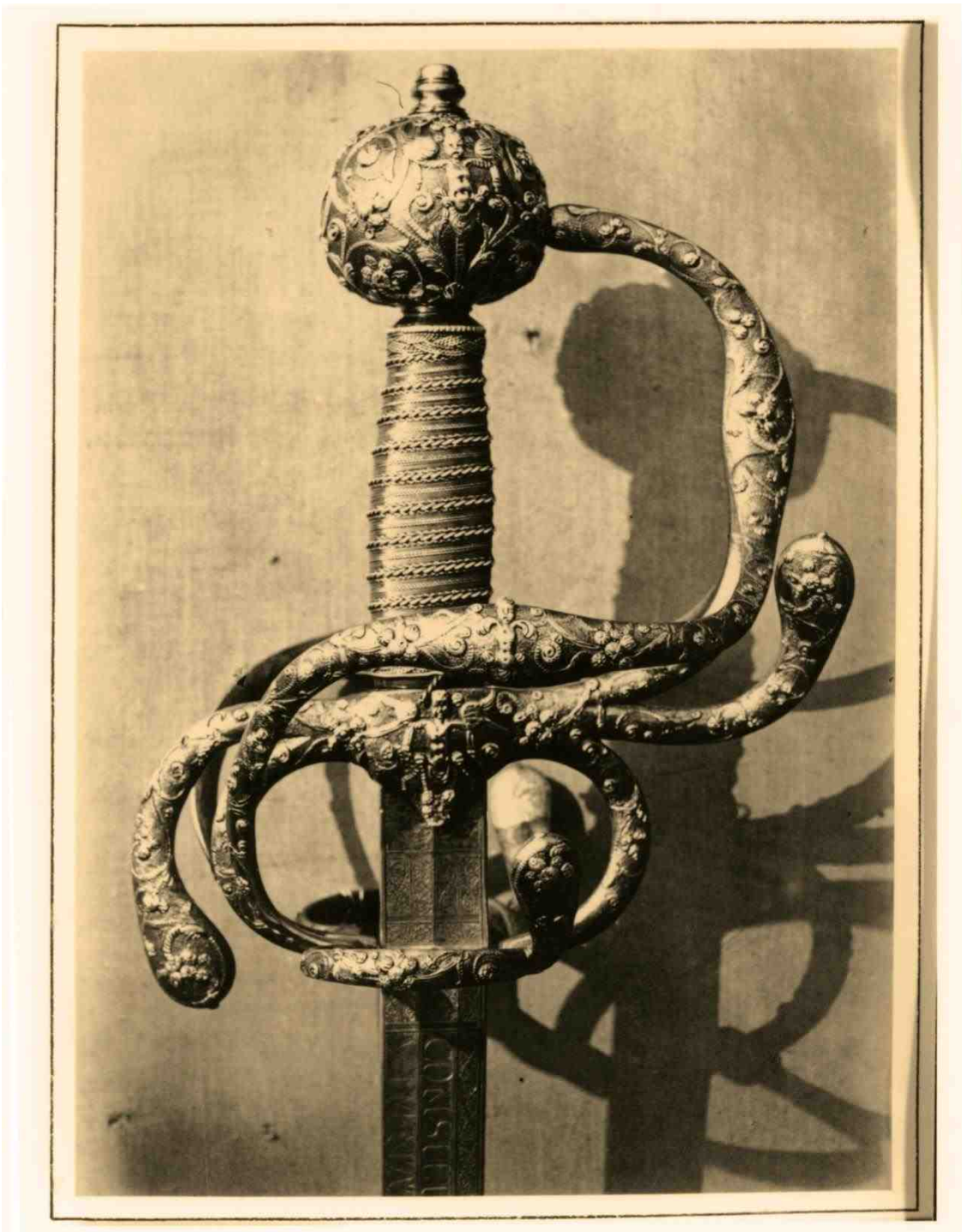


Figure 2.5 A Sword Hilt, 1854. By Francis Bedford. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 2.6 *Silver Vase by Vechté, 1853. By Francis Bedford.*
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

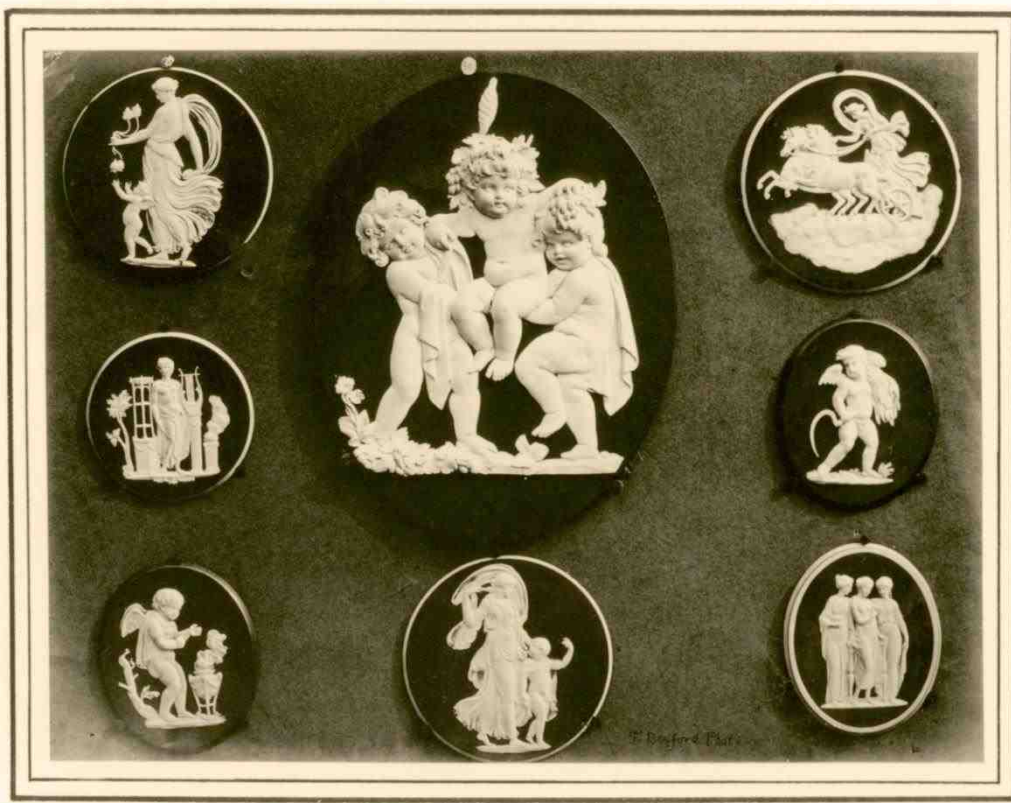


Figure 2.7 *Medallions by Flaxman.* By Francis Bedford.
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

Prince Albert had access to Sir William Hamilton’s folio volumes in his Print Room—especially the *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1766-1767) since the first volume carries on the frontispiece a grandiose dedication to George III on a stele surrounded by overgrown lush vegetation, a an exquisite Greek vase, and vestiges of Roman ruins. (Here Hamilton, as the esteemed collector and connoisseur, cleverly links his taste with that of the king.⁴⁸) Hamilton, the “Envoy Extraordinary of His Britannic Majesty at Naples,” was a “social historian, a natural scientist specializing in volcanology, and an authority on Greek and Roman antiquity.”⁴⁹ Albert Boime proposes that Hamilton’s great collection of Greek and Roman vases made him the model for aristocratic collectors in the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ He goes on to state, however, that Hamilton’s emphasis on producing

sumptuous folios of engraved illustrations was not only for display but also to “revive an Ancient Art” for the higher purpose of scholarship and research.⁵¹



Figure 2.8 *The Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican, 1853.* By Robert Macpherson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

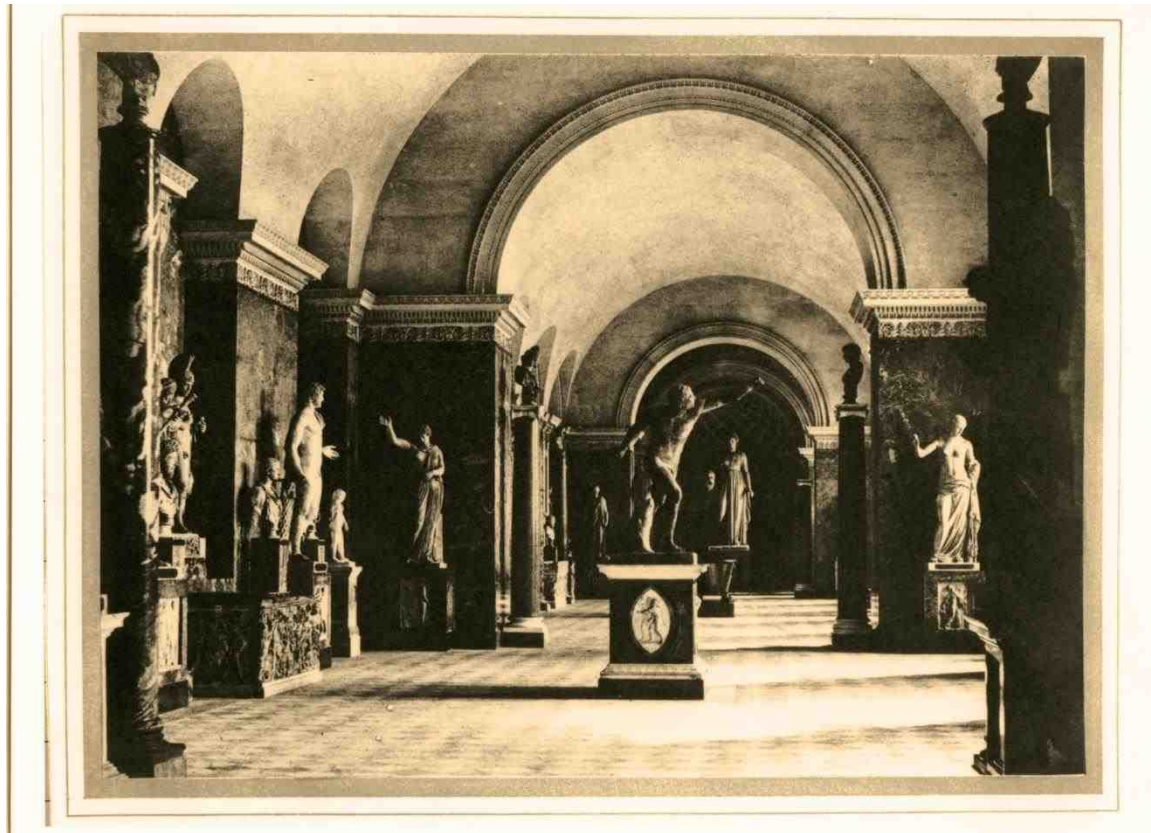


Figure 2.9 *Intérieur du Musée des Antiques au Louvre.* By Blanquart-Evrard.
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

Following the model of Hamilton and Caylus, the Prince participated in the intellectual exercise of collection and patronage. His objective interest in the medium of photography was to aid future scholars while promoting a new aesthetic through a new mechanical technology. Taylor indicates that it was Albert's "recognition that photography was also a technical tool, capable of accurately reproducing the minutest details of engravings, drawings and text," which enabled the Prince to form a study collection of Raphael's work based on photographic facsimiles of the originals.⁵² (See Figure 2.10, *A Woman and Cupid, after an engraving by Marco Antonio Raimondi*, by Mr. C.T. Thompson,

from Volume III, Figure 2.11, *The Last Judgment* by Michelangelo, from a drawing in the possession of Dr. Braun, 1853, by Robert Macpherson, from Volume II.)

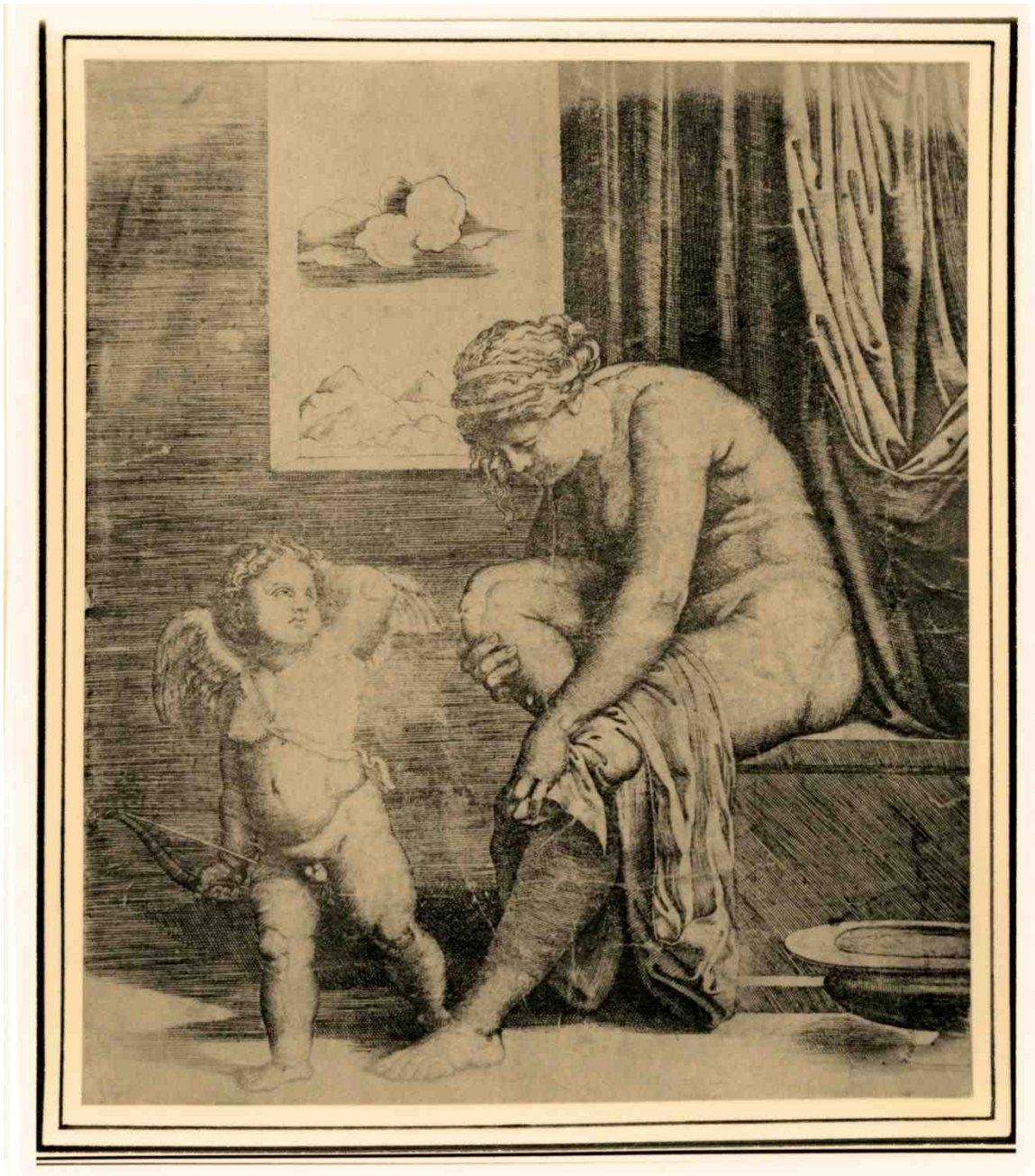


Figure 2.10 *A woman and Cupid, after and engraving by Marco Antonio. By Mr. Thompson. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*



Figure 2.11 *The Last Judgement, by Michelangelo, from a drawing in the possession of Dr. Braun, 1853. By Robert Macpherson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

The Print Room at Windsor Castle housed a collection of over 15,000 Old Master drawings and engravings, which had been primarily neglected until Albert began reorganizing the collection by artists and subjects. The most comprehensive collection represented contained the original drawings of Raphael and subsequent engravings after his work. What interested Albert was the variance between Raphael's drawings and the engraver's hand.⁵³ While reproductive engraving produces a subjective attempt at replication, it is not a photographic copy of the original; it is an interpretation of line and form produced by the dexterity of the engraver.

Accordingly, the Prince had all the Raphael drawings in the Royal Collection photographed, as well as all the related engravings.⁵⁴ He contacted private collectors across the continent seeking permission to have their Raphael collections of paintings, drawings, and engravings photographed for this monumental compendium. The Raphael Collection, as separate from his private albums, consisted of forty-nine portfolios. It was finally completed in 1876, fifteen years after Albert's death, through the continued support of Queen Victoria. The importance of the Raphael project, as assisted by photography, designates Prince Albert not only as a dedicated patron of photography but also places him in the service of art history.⁵⁵

As paper galleries, Prince Albert's Calotype Albums participate in usurping the print through photography by reproducing numerous works of art and objects in the Royal collection. The breakdown of the Calotype Volumes into categories of types such as objects, statuary, and the reproduction of paintings, drawings, watercolors, and engravings, as related to the canon of art, totals 79 images out 383 images or approximately 40 percent

of the total photographs in the four extant albums (see Appendix II). Surprisingly, there were no photographs in Volume VI that fell into these categories. What these albums demonstrate in terms of usurping the print is photography's role as the modern visual document and its subsequent contribution to the formation of an archive.

In placing Prince Albert in the service of art history, he is not only seen a collector of art and photography but also as a practicing collections manager who continually archived and cataloged specific work which provided for future scholarship by preserving it for perpetuity. While Hamilton used culture as a springboard to make his fortune and thus establish taste, Albert too, used English culture as a springboard for his patronage in the arts and sciences to secure his royal status as a progressive thinker and as a connoisseur of art.

Photography and the *Cartes-de-Visite*

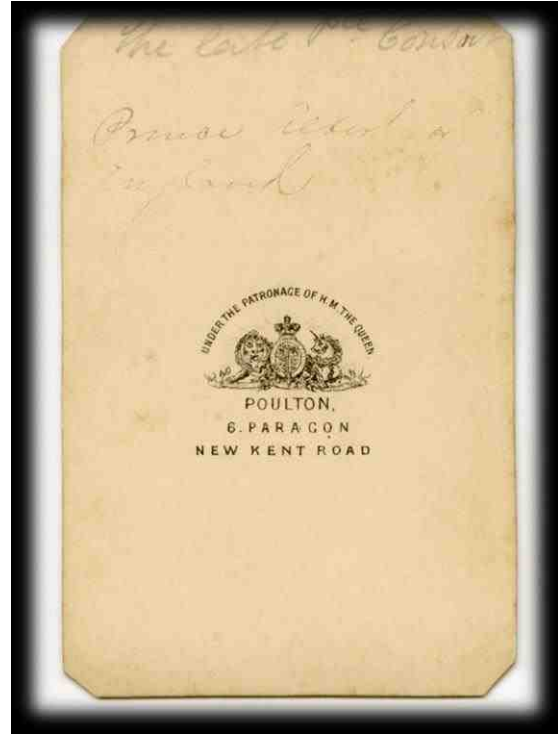
From the 1860s onwards, photographic albums became an integral component of the Victorian home for the simple reason that photography was affordable to a wider audience. In 1841, the London census had no listing of photographers by profession, in 1850 there were 51 photographers registered, and by 1861 there were 2, 879 commercial photographers listed on the official ledgers.⁵⁶ This new addition to the Victorian Home was further accelerated by the popularity of the ubiquitous *carte-de-visite*—the small calling-card-size type of photograph that featured a variety of subjects, people, places, and things, taken from popular culture—with portraits typically photographed in studio settings. The mania for collecting the *carte-de-visite*, which became a national and international trend, centered on images of celebrities and European royalty followed by heads of state,

depictions of architectural wonders, topographical views, exotic places, images of “others” and occupational “types,” and the portraits of family and friends—which could be economically collected, and traded and placed into pre-cut perforated specialty albums. *Cartes-de-visite* of European royalty proposed the visual and stylistic conventions of the aristocracy, illustrating a typology of power, literacy and fashion, to be emulated by viewers of lower class status. With the invention of the *carte-de-visite* the world became truly photographic on a commercial level.

The *carte-de-visite* image of *Prince Albert*, c.1860 (Figure 2.12) and the *carte-de-visite* of *An Anonymous Couple*, n.d. (Figure 2.13), which were both photographed in a studio serve as a comparative example of how viewers of lower class status emulated the stylistic conventions of the aristocracy. Prince Albert is photographed in a frontal three-quarter-length pose and is seated on a spindled high back chair. His eyes gaze at the camera. He wears a formal dress coat with dark pants, a white collared dress shirt with studs, and a stylish cravat tied in a bowtie. From his silk vest hangs the chain of his pocket watch. Prince Albert’s right forearm and hand rests on his knee while his other arm sits on a book that is placed on an adjacent table. Because of the unusual cropping of this *carte-de-visite* (a type of spontaneity achieved with hand held cameras of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries) part of his body is cut off and we see only a small portion of his arm, the book, and an ornately carved table leg. To the right, behind the Prince, stands an iconic fluted column.



Figure 2.12 *Carte-de-visite of Prince Albert, c.1860. By Poulton. Collection of the author.*



Verso; Carte-de-visite of Prince Albert, c. 1860.



Figure 2.13 *Carte-de-visite of an Anonymous Couple, n.d. Unknown photographer. Collection of the author.*

On the verso side of the *carte* is a stamp with the seal of the photographer Poulton, who apparently was one of the studio franchises authorized to photograph the Royal Family. Above the studio's address are the Royal Crest and a semicircle of type that reads: UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF H.M. THE QUEEN. There is a handwritten inscription in faded ink that reads *Prince Albert of England*, presumably by the purchaser or collector. Here the Prince becomes a symbol not only of the Queen's royal husband, but also embodies the visible signs of elegance, prestige, and knowledge as indicated by his attire, the presence of the book, the furniture, and the Greek column which encompasses the gamut of history, art, philosophy, and democracy.

The *carte-de-visite* of the anonymous couple attempts to mimic the general stylistic conventions of the studio portraiture established in the *carte-de-visite* of Prince Albert. In this full length portrait the woman is seated and the man, presumably her husband, is standing behind her, which establishes a patriarchal hierarchy. They stare expressionlessly in different directions she looks down to the right, and he towards the camera. She is dressed in a dark, long sleeved silk polka-dot dress that is edged in lace at the neck and the cuffs and is fitted at the waist with a full skirt. On her head she wears a beaded crown with hanging white beads and white flowers and two wide ribbons of embroidered white cloth. It is possible that this photograph could be her wedding picture. Her left arm rests on a small, modest, wooden table that displays a few paltry flowers in a woven basket. In the right hand corner of the image, behind the table, hangs a section of a draped curtain, the wall is blank and the floor has patterned carpeting.

The man, who is somewhat older, wears an ill-fitting long dress coat with a velvet collar, the sleeves are too long and the shoulders are too wide. Paired with this, he wears a dark pattern vest and light colored trousers, a trouser color traditionally worn with a fitted waist coat and riding boots (see Figure 2.2). He clumsily clutches a book at his side, gripping the outside covers between his thumb and middle finger while wedging his index finger into the center of the text. On closer inspection, this gentleman's oversized silk bowtie seems out of fashion and overpowers his face in relation to the necktie worn by Prince Albert. All of this would indicate that either some of the garments he wore were a hand-me-down or that the man borrowed his assembled wardrobe from the costume selections available at the photographic studio which ultimately allowed the client to choose an identity to portray in their portrait.

Geoffrey Batchen, in his essay, "Dreams of ordinary life; Cartes-de-visite and the bourgeois imagination (2009)," cites that the carte's inventor, Disdéri, declared that "one must be able to deduce who the subject is, to deduce spontaneously his character, his intimate life, his habits; the photographer must do more than photograph, he must 'biographe'⁵⁷—whereby claiming for *cartes-de-visite* the traditional function of painted portraiture as does the "wedding photograph" discussed on the previous page. Arguably, both photographic studios have captured "the language of the physiognomy, and the expression of the look" in the *cartes* of *Prince Albert* and the *Anonymous Couple* but one could hardly consider these static and wooden examples to be truly biographic.⁵⁸ While *cartes-de-visite* albums can indeed be spectacular entities—as eclectic collections of celebrity and family, to be collected and desired by all—they are literally structured to read

as a stamp collection of faces. Unlike the *cartes-de-visite* albums, autobiography develops in Prince Albert's Calotype Albums not through the conventions of multiple studio poses but through his organization and placement of relevant photographs that were individually produced by amateurs.

It was at this juncture that Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's royal image officially became a photographic commodity.⁵⁹ Author John Plunkett, in his book *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (2003), states "in August of 1860, Regent Street photographer John Mayall was permitted to publish his *Royal Album* which consisted of fourteen *carte-de-visite* portraits of Victoria, Albert and their children, a venture that became a phenomenal success."⁶⁰ Realizing the power of photography, the Queen's decision to allow *cartes* of the royal family to be disseminated throughout England and abroad was an intentional tactic to ingratiate the monarchy with the public. Prior to 1860, photographs of the royal family were private, although authorized and illicit royal images proliferated through the distribution of prints and the illustrated press. According to Plunkett, "*cartes* had a notable collective agency because, through their circulation, they went beyond the scope of engraving and lithography."⁶¹ Occasionally, photographic portraits of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert or pictures of family life were exhibited at different venues, as was the case with the Manchester Exhibition of Art Treasures in 1857 when "photographs of the royal family were first put on public display."⁶² The images were not available, however, for public purchase and thus collection.

The critical difference between Albert's private Calotype Albums of 1850s and the Royal Family's numerous *cartes-de-visite* albums collected by Queen Victoria from 1860

onward is that the photographs collected and commissioned by Prince Albert were produced by amateurs and entrepreneurs pursuing the new art of photography, while the *cartes-de-visite* images were produced by studio photographers selling a commodity. In fact, Queen Victoria was so enamored with the novelty of *cartes-de-visite* that one of her Ladies-in-waiting, the Honorable Eleanor Stanley, wrote in 1860: "I have been writing to all the fine ladies in London for their and their husband's photographs for the Queen. I believe the Queen could be bought and sold, for a photograph."⁶³ Queen Victoria's collections of *cartes-de-visite* portrait photographs from 1860-1861, most of which were physically arranged and categorized by Prince Albert, "were placed in a series of albums comprising Royal Portraits, Royal Household Portraits, English Portraits, Austrian, Belgian, Coburg (family of Prince Albert), French, Prussian, Spanish, and Portuguese Portraits, and portraits of artists, actors, and musicians."⁶⁴ With the exception of the 'mid-Victorian artistic genre of photo collage' as seen in Lady Filmer's albums of collaged *cartes-de-visite* portraits, assembling *cartes-de-visite* into albums ultimately became more a cataloguing project than a creation of personal expression.

In contrast, Prince Albert's Calotype Albums reflect the early aesthetics of amateur photographic imagery, as opposed to the uniform utility of a commercial likeness. A distinct comparison can be drawn between the photograph taken by Roger Fenton, *The Queen in her Drawing Room Dress, May 11th 1854*, a carbon print reproduced by Hughes and Mullins, 1893, after the original salted paper print (Figure 2.14), from Volume III, and the *carte-de-visite of Queen Victoria, c.1863*, by the Wothlytype Photography Studio (Figure 2.15). As Roger Taylor points out, Fenton was not only a competent artist and a founding member of

the Photographic Society, but he also had a unique relationship to the Crown which provided access to the Royal Family, and he was invited to take pictures of them on numerous occasions.⁶⁵ In Fenton's image of the Queen, we see her in a post official capacity at Buckingham Palace wearing her beautiful Drawing Room Dress after a "Drawing Room" held in the throne room of Saint James Place, a stately affair where individuals were formally presented to the Queen.⁶⁶

This is a particularly sensitive and striking portrait of the Queen seated in what Taylor describes as a "cloud of tulle and lace,"⁶⁷ and it is also one of few actual photographic images in Prince Albert's albums that portray Queen Victoria as a sovereign dressed in ceremonious attire—as she often preferred to be represented photographically as a wife and a mother.⁶⁸ See the photograph by Roger Fenton entitled *The Queen and The Prince, 30th June 1854*, also from Volume III (Figure 2.16), which substantiates Frances Dimond's claim that often times portraits taken of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria "give no indication of their rank."⁶⁹ It is in this aftermath of ritual, with Victoria wearing her lovely Drawing Room Dress amidst a cloud of clustered flowers, white silk, pearls, and lace, that Fenton photographs an angelic Queen with folded hands. He captures a contemplative moment as Her Royal Highness gently tilts her head with her eyes cast slightly down. Noticeably, she has removed one of her white gloves to reveal her favorite piece of jewelry, a gold bracelet bearing the enameled photographic portrait of her beloved husband Prince Albert. Here the aesthetic nature of the salt print, which diffuses articulate detail into the toothy fibers of the paper unlike the smooth surface of the albumen print, not only softens

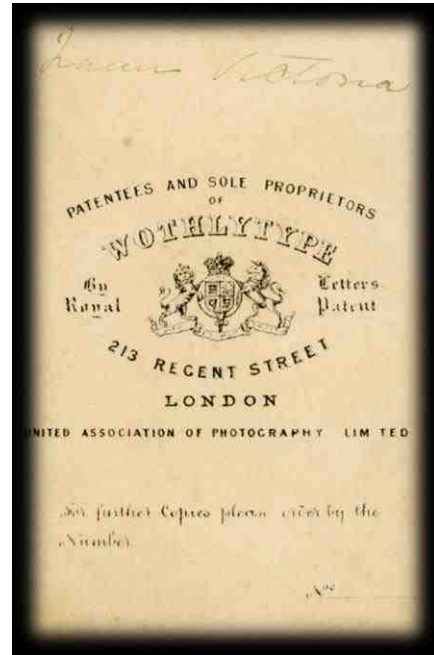
the angularity of the Queens facial features through its velvety tonal range but also further aestheticizes her dress to create an idyllic sense of regal demure.



Figure 2.14 *The Queen in her Drawing Room Dress, May 11th 1854.* By Roger Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 2.15 *Carte-de-visite of Queen Victoria, c.1863.*
By Wothlytype United Association of
Photography, Limited. Collection of
the author.



Verso; Carte-de-visite of Queen Victoria, c.1863.

In contrast, the *carte-de-visite* of Queen Victoria by the Wothlytype Studio, taken almost a decade later, offers an appropriately unromanticized image of the recently widowed queen. In this full-length albumen portrait Her Royal Highness is also seated, she looks slightly to the right without expression with her hands folded in her lap. She wears a black mourning dress with a white veil, what James Ryan calls “her characteristic black ‘widow’s weeds,’”⁷⁰ and is accompanied by a dog that looks directly at the viewer. Regardless of the portrait’s conventional lackluster appeal, the image is a likeness of the Queen and it confirms the utility of the camera as a recording device. As an index it identifies who she is and photographically inscribes her as a frumpy widow with a dog. Batchen discusses the issue of the Queen and her performance in *cartes*—as an ordinary

wife and mother—as intentionally “collapsing the distinction between ruler and ruled.”⁷¹

Here the Queen can be seen an ordinary woman in mourning, and therefore, her photograph contributes to a communal experience among widows.



Figure 2.16 *The Queen and The Prince, 30th June 1854.* By Roger Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

The images in Prince Albert's albums not only differentiate the art of the amateur from the rise of the professional studio photographer, but they also illustrate the nature of photographic collection as the private art of connoisseurs. Connoisseurship implies not only a distinction in taste but also assigns collection value as based on the criteria of aesthetics and artisanship, as well as scholarly appreciation. In 1885, the journal *Amateur Photographer* described the early amateur as "presumably, a man of more cultivated education and greater leisure than the professional photographer, and [he] may reasonably be expected to have a keener sense of the aesthetic principles, and a more educated knowledge of the history and science of art than his professional brother—better skilled through the latter may be in the technique of his art."⁷² For early photographic connoisseurs, collecting photographs revolved around the phenomena of practicing photography as opposed to the mania for acquiring it.

It was at this time, in around 1853, that photographs began to enter museums. The South Kensington Museum and its Founding Director Henry Cole became engaged in championing the tradition of collecting photographs, which at this time were primarily photographs of works of art or images of monuments.⁷³ Cole not only collected photographs for the museum but also used photography to record their exhibitions.⁷⁴ In *Museum & The Photograph: Collecting Photography at the Victoria and Albert Museum 1853-1900* (1998), Mark Haworth-Booth describes an exhibition in 1858 that was staged and ceremoniously opened by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at the South Kensington Museum which combined the Photographic Society of London and the *Société française de Photographie*.⁷⁵ The importance of this exhibition, according to Haworth-Booth, points to

the fact that “photography gained fashionably year by year during the 1850s,” and that “photographs were not only exhibited in important art contexts but acquired by collectors.”⁷⁶

With the popularity of *cartes-de-visite*, photographic collection passed into the public realm by democratizing the image making it available and affordable to participate in shared collective experience.⁷⁷ *Cartes* not only provided the public with an equal opportunity to mimic portraits of the elites (framed by a swag of sumptuous drapery and leaning on a balustrade or classical column while holding a book) but they also provided consumers an economic opportunity to purchase popular mass-produced photographic images as objects of collection, and thus initiates the ongoing cult of the photographic souvenir. The week following the Prince Consort’s death on December 14, 1862, 70,000 *cartes* of Prince Albert were issued for sale.⁷⁸ In a demonstration of solidarity, the public flocked to purchase his royal image as a testament of their sympathy and support for the grieving Queen Victoria.

Initially, photography was an elitist hobby for the well-to-do (or genteel) amateur. It encompassed the idea of experimentation which led to chemical and technological advancements in processing and producing artistic images. The early amateurs formed photographic clubs which fuelled a passion, later shared by Prince Albert and Queen Victoria, for collecting photographs. Prior to Frenchman André Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri’s patent of the *carte-de-visite* in 1854, photography in England was primarily experienced through amateurs’ work, as *cartes* had virtually no impact on the British consumer market

until the late 1850s when Disdéri's *cartes* of Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie became popular in Britain.⁷⁹

Grace Seiberling describes the early English amateur photographers as a cultivated class who had the means, the education, and the leisure not only to pursue this new art-science with 'ardent seriousness' but who also used photography as a pleasurable activity to record their existence.⁸⁰ She claims that amateur aesthetic values were influenced by pictorial tradition and cultural convention (which later were codified in the stilted studio conventions of *the cartes-de-visite* that ultimately democratized portraits into a middle-class ideal).⁸¹ When Seiberling comments on the imagery of amateur photographs—the peaceful landscapes, trees, monuments, ruins, and still life compositions—as reflecting the shared values of the groups as well as their interest in art, history, literature, and travel,⁸² she speaks directly to the types of amateur images that can be found in Prince Albert's Albums.

One such example, *The Baptistery of Canterbury Cathedral, 1857*, by Francis Bedford (Figure 2.17), from Volume VI, was purchased by Prince Albert after it was displayed at the Manchester Exhibition of Art Treasures.⁸³ Framed like a Gothic fairy tale, this photograph glorifies the English perception of the romantic ruin and reflects contemporary literary tastes as in the writings of Sir Walter Scott and others. Similar to a painting, the viewer's eye travels along a dirt path to the Baptistery through a field of overgrown weeds and wildflowers. The circular stone tower of the Canterbury Cathedral and the tracery of stained glass windows are swallowed in a thick entanglement of climbing ivy that consumes most of the Baptistery and its conical roof. As an indicator of scale, a working class man

with a receding hairline, mutton-chop whiskers, and crumpled pants causally leans with folded arms against a column of one of the Baptistry's archways. Sitting next to him, in front of the stone buttress, is a young boy in a collared jacket wearing a brimmed cap.



Figure 2.17 *The Baptistry of Canterbury Cathedral, 1857.* By Francis Bedford.
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

His hands are on his knees and he glances awkwardly in the direction of the camera. As a photograph rich in sepia tones, it not only frames the idea of romanticism but also presents nature as an untamed entity colliding with the architecture of faith. The framing of the Cathedral allows for multiple readings of the figures that function as the metaphorical custodians of the landscape, as village people, or as witnesses to the overgrowth of time.

Amateurs who traded photographs during Prince Albert's period of active collection hailed from a variety of prominent and educated professions; they were doctors, writers, scientists, artists, antiquarians, and academics. They became united through their passion for photography and vigorously pursued this medium as a means to combine and explore their interests. For Albert, the act of collecting photographs, coupled with his association with The Photographic Society (later The Royal Photographic Society), became an extension of what Seiberling termed "the Victorian concern for rational leisure" —a leisure that encompassed all levels of collecting as well as the pleasurable pursuit of musical performance and antiquarian and scientific studies.⁸⁴ This is what Langford describes as "Victorian intellectual pastimes," a stimulating recreation or hobby that "could be transposed onto photography; sketching, collecting, and preserving specimens; mounting theatrical productions; storytelling and conversation," by the leisured class.⁸⁵

The Prince's photographic albums became the new portable cabinets of curiosity in the form of a palpable paper gallery. Cabinets of curiosities were literally cabinets of curios containing objects, specimens, and fragments peculiar to the natural world. Organizing the cabinets became a way of systemizing knowledge through the classification, possession, and display of collected objects. For the owner, they became privatized little museums of

natural history, or as Langford suggests, “A theatre of the world.”⁸⁶ In *The Cultures of Collecting* (1994), Anthony Alan Shelton describes cabinets of curiosities as a type of allegorical mirror that offered a complete and idealized representation of the world in this case, Albert’s world. Activities such as “cultivating gardens, gathering antiquity’s remnants, and completing the full metaphorical extension of collection were undertaken by influential groups to demonstrate personal worth and to legitimize their social positions.”⁸⁷ The same activities associated with establishing cabinets of curiosities were absorbed into the Victorian concern for rational leisure and rational recreation.

It was through his collection practices and his involvement as a patron of the arts that would play a vital role to elevate Albert’s public persona as I will show.

Chapter 2

Albert the Collector / Albert the Foreigner

The English people, as heirs of a Teutonic heritage, saw themselves as the byproduct of a superior Anglo-Saxon race. The problem facing Prince Albert was that he was German and a foreigner. Even Lord Melbourne, the English Prime Minister, pointed out to Queen Victoria prior to her marriage that “Albert was, in character and upbringing, alien to English ways.”⁸⁸ Reginald Horseman, author of *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (1981) argues that “A major obstacle in England to the linking of Germans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans as one great race was that the English thought of themselves as the supremely successful group within the Germanic tradition.”⁸⁹ Racial theories proposing that “the affinity of language proved the affinity of race”⁹⁰ were fostered (ironically) by “the great precursor of German Romanticism, Johann Gottfried von Herder,” who stressed “language as the basis of nationality” and emphasized “the common past of a people” by “replacing the idea of the nation as a political unit with that of a nation as a cultural community.”⁹¹ American author Ralph Waldo Emerson in his book, *English Traits* (1856), asserts that in England “exists the best stock in the world,” and “it is in the deep traits of race that the fortunes of nations are written.”⁹² Horseman maintains that “a mystical faith was placed in the English language ... and when a community began to speak the English language it was ‘half Saxonized’ even if there were no Anglo-Saxons there.”⁹³ The adoption of an Anglo-Saxon racial theory with “language as the basis of nationality” allowed particularism to become a convenient prejudice against the German born Prince

Albert, coupled with the fact that the Coburgs had a history of mounting the thrones of Europe by either “marriage or election.”⁹⁴

To be a foreigner within the context of this royal marriage carried the connoted message of marginal political power along with a marginal annuity which signified the marginal acceptance of Prince Albert (from the English people) within the sovereign state. Prince Otto von Bismarck, in summarizing the general national discontent, which was partially due to the fact that Albert was Queen Victoria’s Coburg cousin and nephew of her mother, disparagingly dubbed Prince Albert’s German dukedom of Saxe-Coburg ‘the stud farm of Europe’ because the Prince brought virtually no inheritance to his union with Queen Victoria.⁹⁵ Albert, who never lost his German accent, became the perpetual sign of foreignness within the royal household, the Government, and the populace at large, an attribute which plagued him until his death.⁹⁶

Deprived of the constitutional authority “to participate in the political life of the country,” Prince Albert would “invest his energy in progressive committees and institutions” for the betterment of the English people.⁹⁷ Connoisseurship enabled Prince Albert to elevate his social status with select members of Parliament through his active engagement in the collection of art and his burgeoning interest in promoting new technologies. An avid collector since his youth, Albert and his brother Ernest had amassed their own cabinets of curiosities based on the Renaissance model of collection. These cabinets were a means of pursuing scholarly entertainment while traveling with their tutor during their father’s extended absences.⁹⁸ Albert and Ernest’s collection of specimens became the foundation of the Naturmuseum in Coburg, Germany, and the Prince, with his interest in natural history

continued to support and contribute to the collection throughout his life.⁹⁹ To engage his children in collection, Prince Albert set up a small natural history museum at Osborne, their seaside estate on the Isle of Wight, to house the objects that the young Royals collected.¹⁰⁰

One of the philosophical debates of the eighteenth century centered on virtue and the outcome of action with the subsequent questioning of “what is a good action, and how is it known to be good.”¹⁰¹ In *Crowded with Genius, The Scottish Enlightenment: Edinburgh’s Moment of the Mind* (2003), author James Buchan describes the liberal sentiments of Francis Hutcheson, who was the chair of Moral Philosophy (and professor of Adam Smith) at Glasgow University in 1729: “For Hutcheson, the mind was imprinted not just by objects of sense—by what could be seen or heard or tasted or felt—but by objects in the aesthetic and moral orders. Man possessed an internal sense that derived an involuntary pleasure from beauty, consisting (for him) of such values as ‘Uniformity, Order, Arrangement, Imitation;’”¹⁰² principles which were clearly embraced by Prince Albert.

For Albert, the process of selection and the systemizing and cataloging of objects was a passion he would share with fellow colleague Henry Cole, who as the new Director of the South Kensington Museum (later renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum) began “the world’s earliest collection of art photography” in 1856.¹⁰³ Albert also organized the Queen’s inherited collections by sorting old prints, censoring the improper or indecent engravings acquired by George IV, and establishing a catalog of the Royal Paintings and Drawings.¹⁰⁴ He subsequently arranged portfolios and albums and created the Print Room at Windsor Castle, under George IV’s library.¹⁰⁵

In *Crown and Camera* (1987), Roger Taylor states, “it had basically been the Prince’s ambition to become a patron of ‘artists...men of learning and science.’”¹⁰⁶ Thus it was fortuitous in 1841 that the newly elected Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, initiated Prince Albert into public life by his appointment of the Prince as President of the Royal Commission of the Fine Arts, a position that Albert viewed as an opportunity for state patronage to stimulate government interest in the arts.¹⁰⁷ Two years later, in 1843, Albert became the President of the Society of Arts, an institution that was founded in 1754 “for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce of the Country.”¹⁰⁸ As its President, Albert was able to foster the idea for the Great Exhibition of 1851 with help from Henry Cole. Prince Albert and the Queen became the Patrons of the Photographic Society of London in 1853,¹⁰⁹ which established a primary source of photographic exchange for Albert as well as technological discussions with Britain’s leading amateur photographers. In 1855, when the problem of fading photographs was brought to the attention of Prince Albert by the Photographic Society, he donated the sum of fifty pounds to help fund the research to discover the causes and the solution to fading.¹¹⁰ And, as the Consort of the Sovereign, artistic patronage was certainly expected of the Prince.¹¹¹

The proclamation of the invention of photography in January of 1839 coincided in the year of Victoria’s engagement to Albert. On October 15, 1839, the day the Queen proposed marriage, they viewed their first daguerreotype together.¹¹² Subsequently, the Queen and Prince Albert made their first Royal photographic purchase of daguerreotypes from Claudet & Houghton in the spring of 1840.¹¹³ Both the Queen and Prince Albert were rather visionary in their perception that the new science of photography had the potential

to emerge as an art form, as well as being an instrument to disseminate knowledge. In August of 1842, the Queen had the Chinese portion of the Treaty of Nanking photographed, so that she could have an official copy for her Royal signature with the Great Seal of England as well as a duplicate copy for display at Buckingham Palace.¹¹⁴ The signing of the Treaty of Nanking, which took place on August 29, 1842 between China and Britain, ended the 'Opium Wars,' facilitated trade relations with the East, and ceded the Island of Hong Kong to Britain.¹¹⁵

One might consider Prince Albert's passion for photographs as an extension of his lifelong interest in new technologies. Both the Queen and the Prince, who were skilled in the art of etching, learned photography in the early 1850s through Albert's secretary, Dr. Ernest Becker, an amateur photographer and a founding member of the Photographic Society. Becker supplied the Royal Family "with cameras, lenses, chemicals, and all the necessary paraphernalia. Under his tutelage, the young Prince Alfred became a proficient and talented photographer."¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, none of the photographs taken by Albert or Victoria have survived.

The photographs collected and commissioned by the Prince Consort range from those taken by his personal secretary Dr. E. Becker (ranging from numerous candid and posed family portraits, photographs from the Royal Art Collection and the Royal Residences) to those of renowned photographers. A partial list of the prominent photographers found throughout the collection reads as a who's who of early photography including Roger Fenton, who produced the first images of war in his photographs of the Crimean War, with the patronage of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert; Francis Bedford, a lithographer-turned-

photographer; Charles Thurston Thompson, an engraver-turned-photographer; Frederick Scott-Archer, the inventor of the wet plate collodion process; Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard, the inventor of the albumen process; Joseph Cundall, Philip Henry Delamotte, Oscar G. Rejlander, a producer of composite photographs from separate negatives; William Bambridge, Samuel Buckle, and Antonio Perini. What these albums clearly demonstrate is Prince Albert's involvement in collecting photographs in the early years of British amateur photography and the diverse representation of photographic approaches through the selection of known and unknown photographers working in the 1850s.

The arrangement of the photographs by prominent amateurs in the Calotype Albums is not consistently sequential, in terms of images or themes. The lack of pictorial sequence can be attributed to factors related to the nature of photographic collection (which at that time was primarily through exchange clubs, exhibitions, and dealers) and to photographic technology in general the mid-nineteenth century. With the exception of *cartes-de-visite*, which allowed for eight different exposures on a wet collodion single glass plate negative, all photographs during this period were produced individually from single exposures on glass plates or paper negatives. The negatives were then contact printed in the sun on albumen paper or paper soaked in silver salt solutions (salt prints), followed by chemical development in a photographic darkroom. Since modern film, which allowed for multiple exposures, was not available until the invention of the Kodak (snapshot) camera in 1888, my assumption is that Prince Albert probably assembled the photographs for his albums as he received them, either through collection or commission.

Taylor explains that “from 1854, prints were regularly purchased for the Royal Collections either directly from photographic exhibitions, or through established London print dealers, who were then adding the work of British and Continental photographers to their inventory.”¹¹⁷ In his most recent book, *Impressed By Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860* (2007), Taylor lists the Photographic Institution, founded in 1853, by Joseph Cundall and Philip Delamotte, as an entrepreneurial establishment that not only offered the art of photographic instruction but was also a comprehensive retail business selling photography equipment, chemicals, and instruction booklets, along with a gallery featuring photographic studies of landscape and architecture.¹¹⁸ Cundall and Delamotte sold their inventory of photographs at prices comparable to fine engravings and lithographs to position their British and European photographers, such as Roger Fenton, Samuel Buckle, Gustave Le Gray and Henri Le Secq, alongside established artists represented by the leading London print sellers.¹¹⁹ As Taylor points out, “the Photographic Institution quickly became *the* place to buy photographs in London, and when reports of Prince Albert’s visits there began to appear in court circulars, the success of the enterprise was ensured.”¹²⁰

The composite drawn from these albums not only implicates photography as a means of positing a definition or a profile in relation to Prince Albert, but also underscores the idea of photography as a history of photographic uses rooted in the early practices of British amateur photographers, the connoisseurship of collection, and the reproductive print. “Connoisseurship,” as Lady Eastlake insisted, “is neither just a knack nor an instinct with which some individuals are born; it requires unwearied diligence, sound sense and true

humility.”¹²¹ With Prince Albert’s Calotype albums, what we are left with, borrowing from Lady Eastlake, are a series of photographs, a series of individual utterances, and four extant volumes of suspended conversations.

For Prince Albert, connoisseurship and the collection of amateur photography as linked to the “Victorian concern for rational leisure” becomes a vehicle which allows him to negotiate the perception of his foreignness by engaging in socially acceptable cultivated (English) forms of self-indulgence—exploring the pleasurable Victorian virtues of scholarly, scientific, and artistic pursuits. It is through his participation in the intellectual exercise of collection, as modeled after aristocratic collectors in the eighteenth century, that Albert, the connoisseur and the collector, successfully solicits state patronage to stimulate government interest in the arts. Following the model of Hamilton and Caylus, Prince Albert uses English culture as a springboard for his patronage in the arts and sciences to secure his royal status as a progressive thinker and as a connoisseur of art.

Chapter 3

Album as Autobiography

Prince Albert's participation in the Victorian ideal of 'rational leisure' was tempered by the equally Victorian virtue of prudence and constraint. This point was made literal by Parliament through an unprecedented reduction, initiated by the Tory member Colonel Sibthorp who was later to voice opposition against the Prince regarding the Crystal Palace, of what was to be his annual annuity upon marriage to the Queen—from the traditional sum of 50,000 to 30,000 pound sterling.¹²² While Lord John Russell had proposed the higher annuity, other radicals and Whigs supported Sibthorp's motion due to the fledgling state of the economy.¹²³ Prince Albert was granted naturalization but received no title and thus remained the uncrowned king; it was not until four years before his death that Albert was officially granted in 1857, by Letters of Patent, the title of Prince Consort, his universal but unofficial name.¹²⁴ According to biographer Robert Rhodes James, "Prince Albert had been reasonably philosophical about the cutting of his annuity, remarking sadly that it would tend to limit his opportunities of assisting artists and men of learning and science, which he had already marked down as a personal priority, but the uproar over his title angered and upset him intensely, while the Queen was incensed."¹²⁵

In *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (1993), author Michael Taussig describes Susan Buck-Morss's interpretation of the idea of "the objectness of the object" in Walter Benjamin's writings as "its unremitting attempt to create 'exact fantasies,' translating objects into words, maintaining the objectness of the object in language such that here translation is equivalent to more than translation, to more than

explanation—to a sizzling revelation exercising the peculiar powers of mimetic faculty.”¹²⁶

The so called sensuousness of “mimetic faculty,” according to Taussig, “lies in the copy drawing on the character and power of the original, to the point whereby the representation may even assume that character and that power.”¹²⁷ It is my contention that Prince Albert uses the mimetic faculty of the photograph and its contiguous placement within the album to become an object of narrative, autobiography, and identity.

As tangible objects, the albums can be seen a self-conscious effort to intellectually and aesthetically counter Prince Albert’s diminished position as the Queen’s foreign husband. They become a visual autobiographic archive of Albert’s accomplishments not only as patron, collector, architect, and connoisseur, but also as the Consort to the Queen, and father of the Royal Children.

The royal albums, which measure 30 x 24 cm or 11.8 x 9.4 inches, are bound in red leather with gold tipped pages. The photographs are approximately 23.4 x 28.6 cm or 9.2 x 11.25 inches and meticulously framed by hand drawn ink borders. While the Prince’s albums operate as a testament to his organization skills, they also promote the fallacy of a possible surplus of leisure time—however; nothing could be further from the truth as exhaustion and overwork were considered to have been major contributors to Prince Albert’s death from pneumonia. For example, before one can even begin to marvel at the collection of these early amateur photographs, the viewer is struck by the clarity and the extraordinarily beautiful, fluid handwriting of the Prince Consort (in brown ink), illustrating the Victorian pride of English penmanship. He has a hand that never falters throughout his descriptive and loving labeling of 383 photographs.¹²⁸

These are personal albums that were not intended for public consumption, yet they are extremely formal in their elegant and uniform presentation. As the assemblage of the albums was not spontaneous or haphazard, the selection of particular images and their subsequent placement within the albums often appears eclectic, as opposed to thematic groupings. As previously discussed, this could be the result of early photographic collection and commission practices. As stated in the Introduction, in the Appendix, I have organized the collection of photographs in each volume into twelve separate category types: Objects; Statuary / Canon of Art; Reproduction of Paintings / Drawings, Watercolors, Engravings, Canon of Art; Hunting Scenes / Highlanders; Landscape; Palaces / Royal Estates; Architecture; Family Portraits / Other Royalty and Friends; Portraits; Travel Photographs; Ships; and Miscellaneous. The missing Volume I, being the premier album of the collective set, would have been of particular interest in terms of what types of images were initially chosen to be archived, and whether or not a precedent was established.

Langford and other scholars have pointed to the fact that “objects were photography’s earliest subject.”¹²⁹ Unsurprisingly, the first album page of Volume II is a photograph of a circular collection of objects—the cameos of the Royal Children (Figure 3.1). The inscription reads *Medals of the Royal Children, by Mr. Leonard Wyon, 1850, Reproduced and Printed in Carbon by Mullins, 1892*. The image contains seven beautifully rendered cameo medallions of the profiled faces of Albert and Victoria’s children, floating against a flat space. This photograph is reminiscent of the early calotypes of objects from Henry Fox Talbot’s *The Pencil of Nature*, specifically *The Milliner’s Window*, January 1844, a salt print from a calotype negative (Figure 3.2).

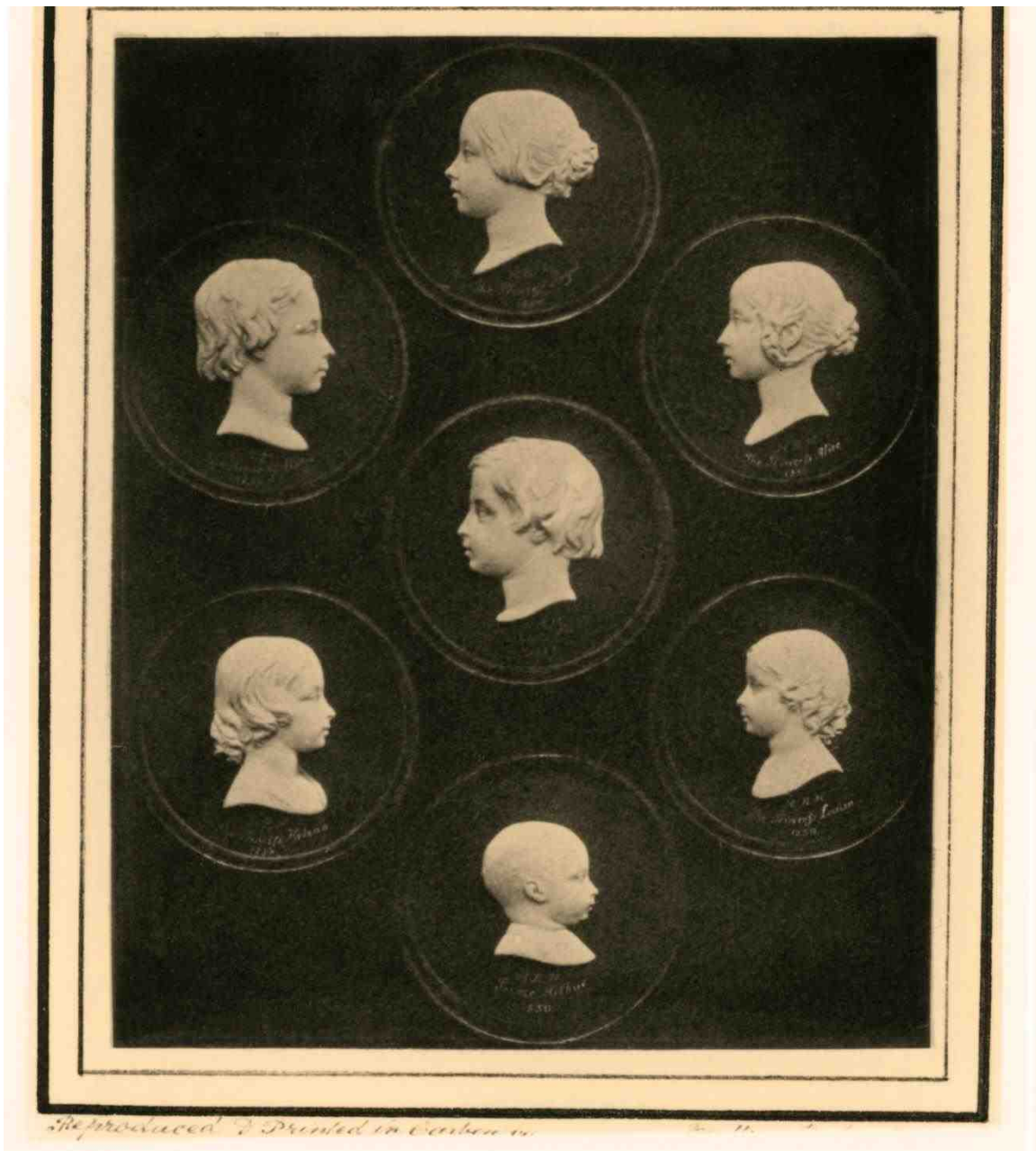


Figure 3.1 Medals of the Royal Children, by Mr. Leonard Wyon, 1850. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

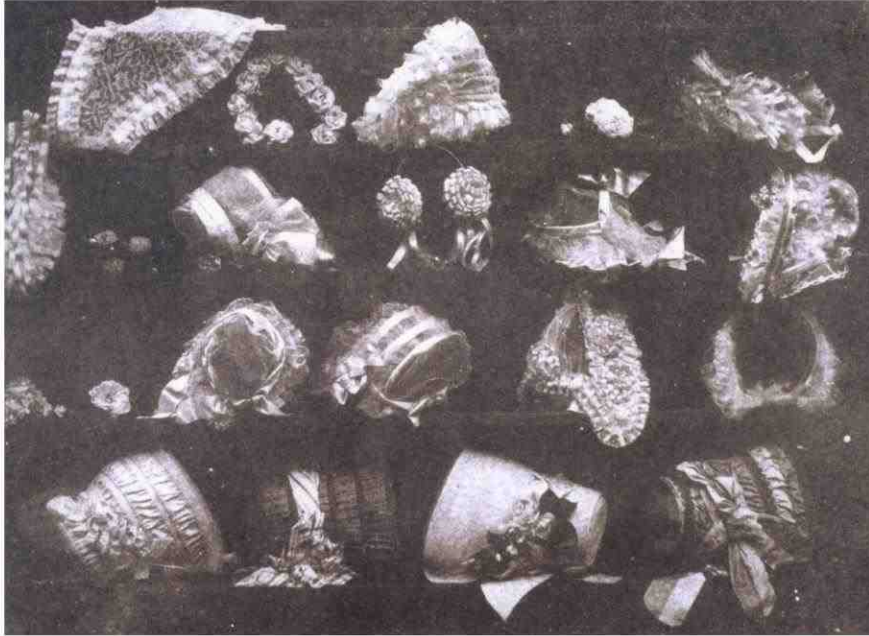


Figure 3.2 *The Milliner's Window*, January 1844, salt print from a calotype negative.
By Henry Fox Talbot

Placed strategically in the center of the *Medals* photograph is the medallion of “Bertie,” the young Prince of Wales and future King of England, Edward VII, surrounded by the rotating medallions of his current brothers and sisters. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert’s last two children, Prince Leopold, the Duke of Albany and Princess Beatrice had not yet been born. Clockwise from the top of the image is the royal couple’s eldest child, Victoria, the Princess Royal. She is followed by Princess Alice, Princess Louise, the infant Prince Arthur (Duke of Connaught), Princess Helena, and Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh).

Each click of the camera shutter (or in this case the removal of the lens cap) results in a photograph that captures the past, an action which empowers the image with a sense of legacy. Sontag argues that while “all photographs are *momento mori*... the photograph is never neutral.”¹³⁰ Accordingly, this seemingly benign image of the royal children immortalized

in silver metal disks can be read as a subversive political commentary by Prince Albert. It diplomatically proclaims through its restrained aesthetic that Albert—the foreigner—succeeded where the most famous of English monarchs, Henry VIII had failed. Through a collection of commissioned medals and the technology of photography, Albert has claimed superiority over the incompetence of Henry VIII—the notorious English king and father of Queen Elizabeth I, who renounced Pope Clement VII and the Roman Catholic Church in order to pursue a cavalcade of women to become his wives in his quest to sire a son. As a representation, the *Medals* photograph literally traces the genetic portrait of the Prince through his children and thereby stands as evidence and bears witness to the fact that Albert has sired the future king. As a photograph it records the past but as a testament to the future it records an image of potency and virility forecasting the genealogical legacy in which Queen Victoria ultimately became “The Grandmother of Europe.”¹³¹ Thus, *Medals of the Royal Children* as the first photograph of Volume II puts a counter spin on Bismark’s disparaging remarks regarding Prince Albert as merely hailing from *the stud farm of Europe*.

The second photograph in this volume is a statue of Richard the Lion Hearted seated on a horse (reminiscent of a statue of Marcus Aurelius) with the handwritten inscription: *Statue of Richard Coeur de Lion, by Marochetti, outside the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, 1851*. This may seem like a random image to follow the photograph of the *Medals of the Royal Children* as the third photograph taken by Dr. Becker was from a picture drawn by Queen Victoria of six of her children performing in *The Tragedy of Athalie*, February 10th 1852. This is followed by six consecutive photographs, presumably also by Dr. Becker, of paintings featuring members of the royal family by the Queen’s favorite contemporary

painters—Franz Winterhalter (Figure 3.3) and Sir Edwin Landseer—as well as an ink drawing from a painting by Paul Delaroche of his late wife and two children (Figure 3.4), and the portrait of the *Madonna, after Raphael, in Lady Cowper’s possession at Panshanger* (Figure 3.5). With the exception of *Richard Coeur de Lion*, all of these images place photography in (what Walter Benjamin would consider) the service of mechanical reproduction as a technological replacement for the engraved reproductive print.¹³² These particular photographs speak not to photography’s formal qualities but rather to its celebrated function as a recording device as a new way of archiving an existing inventory, and its ability to reproduce a collection from a collection.^{133,134}

Aesthetically, *Medals of the Royal Children* and *Statue of Richard Coeur de Lion* are among the least visually captivating photographs in the entire album series. Compositionally, they are not particularly compelling images and they almost lack what Barthes calls “punctum,” that little thing or detail that pricks the viewer’s interest. Consequently, at first glance, the photographs read as analogs: cameo heads of children as a circular collection of objects and a statue of a historical male figure on a horse in front of a building, followed by several reproductions of paintings from the Royal Collection. The first two photographs operate on the level of metaphor and autobiography. In *Medals of the Royal Children*, Prince Albert has positioned himself as the progenitor of future crowns while the *Statue of Richard Coeur de Lion, outside the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, 1851* signifies Prince Albert as “the Great Crusader” uniting international manufacturers with arts and new technologies under one roof—in the state-of-the-art Crystal Palace, a prefabricated glass and steel structure designed by Joseph Paxton that showcased over

100,000 exhibits of which half the 13,937 exhibitors were foreign.¹³⁵ As a predecessor to the world's fair, it was an international exhibition organized by Prince Albert to showcase the ever-growing market of new products (including photographic advancements), novel inventions, and international technologies.



Figure 3.3 *The Duchess of Nemours and Queen Victoria, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.*
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 3.4 *The Portrait of the late Madame Delaroche and her two children, from a drawing in Indian Ink, taken from the original picture by P. Delaroche, 1853. By Dr. Becker. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*



Figure 3.5 *Madonna, after Raphael, in Lady Cowper's possession at Panshanger. Reproduced by W. Bambridge, 1868. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was considered an enormous success with an attendance of over six million people, coming from all walks of life, during the six months that the exhibition was open. Prior to its opening, the London *Times* deemed the Crystal

Palace, “the largest building ever made by human hands, without mortar, brick, or stone.”¹³⁶ In its review of The Great Exhibition of 1851, the *North British Review*, a conservation nineteenth-century periodical wrote:

The Exposition of 1851—the great experiment of modern times, at first an idea, at last a reality—now stands before us, gigantic and sublime, commanding the admiration, and challenging the criticism of the civilized world. Commingling its crystal canopy with the azure vault which surrounds it, and stretching its magic corridors beyond our visual range, we are at once startled by its colossal magnitude, and enchanted with its fairy trellis work. In its moral and political, more than in its physical aspect, it is instinct with deep instruction...Thus has the Palace of the Arts become a cosmopolitan gymnasium for the instruction of the world.¹³⁷

The specific context and metaphoric significance of these two photographs *Medals of the Royal Children* and *Statue of Richard Coeur de Lion* cannot be underestimated. In reiterating the subtext of Albert’s foreignness, Marina Warner, author of *Queen Victoria’s Sketchbook* (1979), stipulates that Prince Albert was, “in the double sense of the word, étranger—a foreigner, an outsider. He spoke excellent English, but German was his mother tongue. His combination of industry and sentiment, his persevering quest for moral improvement through art, reflected the highest philosophical ideals of German Romanticism.”¹³⁸ According to Hermione Hobhouse, the Prince’s greatest contribution to his adopted country would be “the creation of ‘South Kensington’, that un-English complex of museums, scientific institutions, colleges of music and art, which was part university and part polytechnic,” a multi-acreage center of learning that was conceived by Albert and subsidized through the revenues generated from The Great Exhibition.¹³⁹ As a man dedicated to expanding public education and cultural enrichment through visual and

performing arts, Prince Albert was acutely aware of the negative effects of educational and cultural depravity on society.

The first two images counter the prevailing national sentiment not only by self-aligning the foreign born Prince with two of England's most legendary kings, Henry the VIII and Richard the Lionhearted, but also by framing two of Albert's most celebrated achievements during his first eleven years of marriage to Queen Victoria, fathering the future King of England and championing The Great Exhibition of 1851.

The third photograph in the album taken by Dr. Becker is of Queen Victoria's drawing depicting six of her children performing in *The Tragedy of Athalie*, February 10th 1852. This is a charming but revealing image to follow the previous two photographs because it is a photograph of a drawing by the Queen that shows an intimate moment in the domestic life of the royal couple as their children perform a play for them. It also shows Queen Victoria's talent as an artist. And it demonstrates her gift for quick, gestural drawings that captured the likeness of her children as she would often sketch her family, Prince Albert, their pets, and friends.¹⁴⁰

When we look at the sequencing of the first three photographs an intriguing narrative begins to emerge. Even with the first volume missing, Volume II makes a declarative statement that the Calotype Albums are first and foremost about Prince Albert, the compiler and the owner. The first and second photograph describe and position Prince Albert as the progenitor, followed by Albert the crusader, uniting art and technology, and the third photograph is about his wife Victoria, the amateur watercolorist and mother of his children, *not* Victoria the Queen, nor Victoria as the symbolic Mother of England. The

subsequent photographs of paintings demonstrate Prince Albert's interest in using photographs to archive and document selective images from the holdings of the Royal Art Collection. Among the other 97 images in this volume, following the already discussed reproductions of paintings and historical objects, we see five views of classical statues from Osborne (Figure 3.6), the royal seaside estate on the Isle of Wight, along with multiple views of the estate itself (Figure 3.7). These are followed by a series of photographs of dead stags shot by the Prince during a family stay at Balmoral, Victoria's and Albert's beloved Scottish Estate and royal residence.

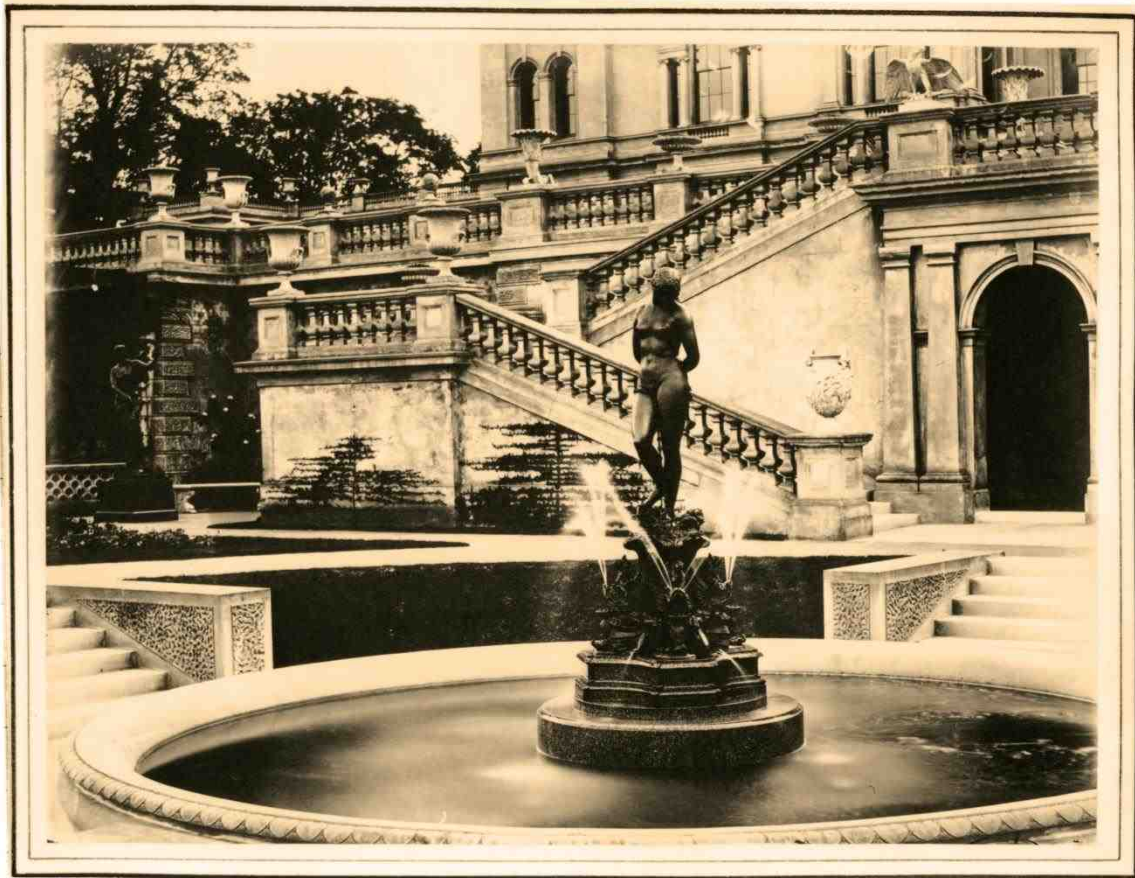


Figure 3.6 *Statue of Andromeda on the Lower Terrace at Osborne, August 1854. Dr. E. Becker. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

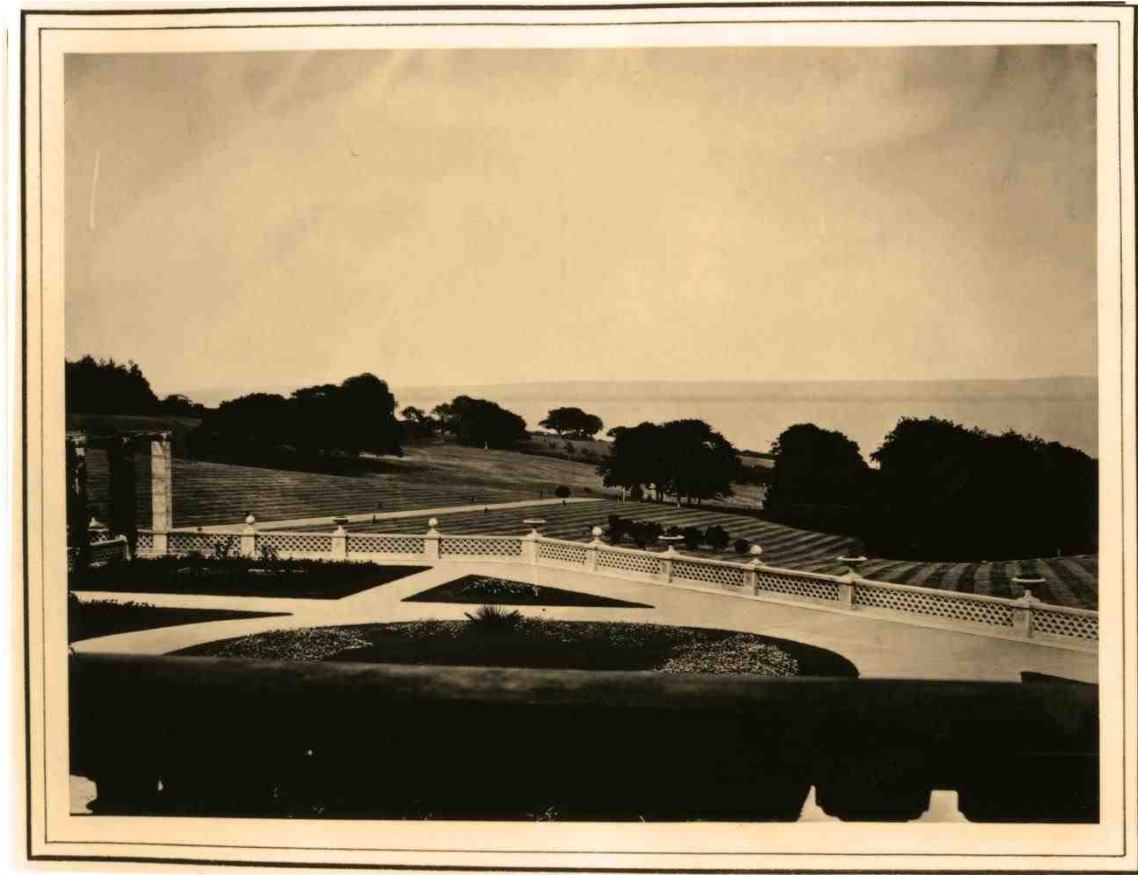


Figure 3.7 *View from the Alcove of the Upper Terrace at Osborne, September 1854.* By Dr. E. Becker. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

James Ryan proposes, in his book, *Picturing Empire: Photography and Visualization of the British Empire*, “The very idea of Empire depended in part on an idea of landscape, as both a controlled space and the means of representing such control, on a global scale.”¹⁴¹ One can begin to contextualize these photographs, in terms of British imperialism, when we apply the idea of landscape as a mechanism of representation and control to the numerous affixed photographs of royal architecture (the royal estates and castles and the unending views of the royal expansive grounds). As beautifully composed images these photographs represent the British sovereignty’s ownership of land, becoming visual evidence that the

idea of Empire is conquered at home. Along with the multi-faceted views of Balmoral and Windsor Castle, which feature photographs of architectural sections, close-ups of statuary, and overall scenic views (including lavish exterior and interior space, such as *The Drawing Room, Osborne House, c.1858, Figure 3.8*), were numerous photographs recording the extensive building expansions underway at the different royal locations. Pictorial expansion depicting royal structures can be viewed in correlation to the British imperial expansion in India, Africa and the Orient (for examples see Figures 3.9, 3.10, and 3.11).

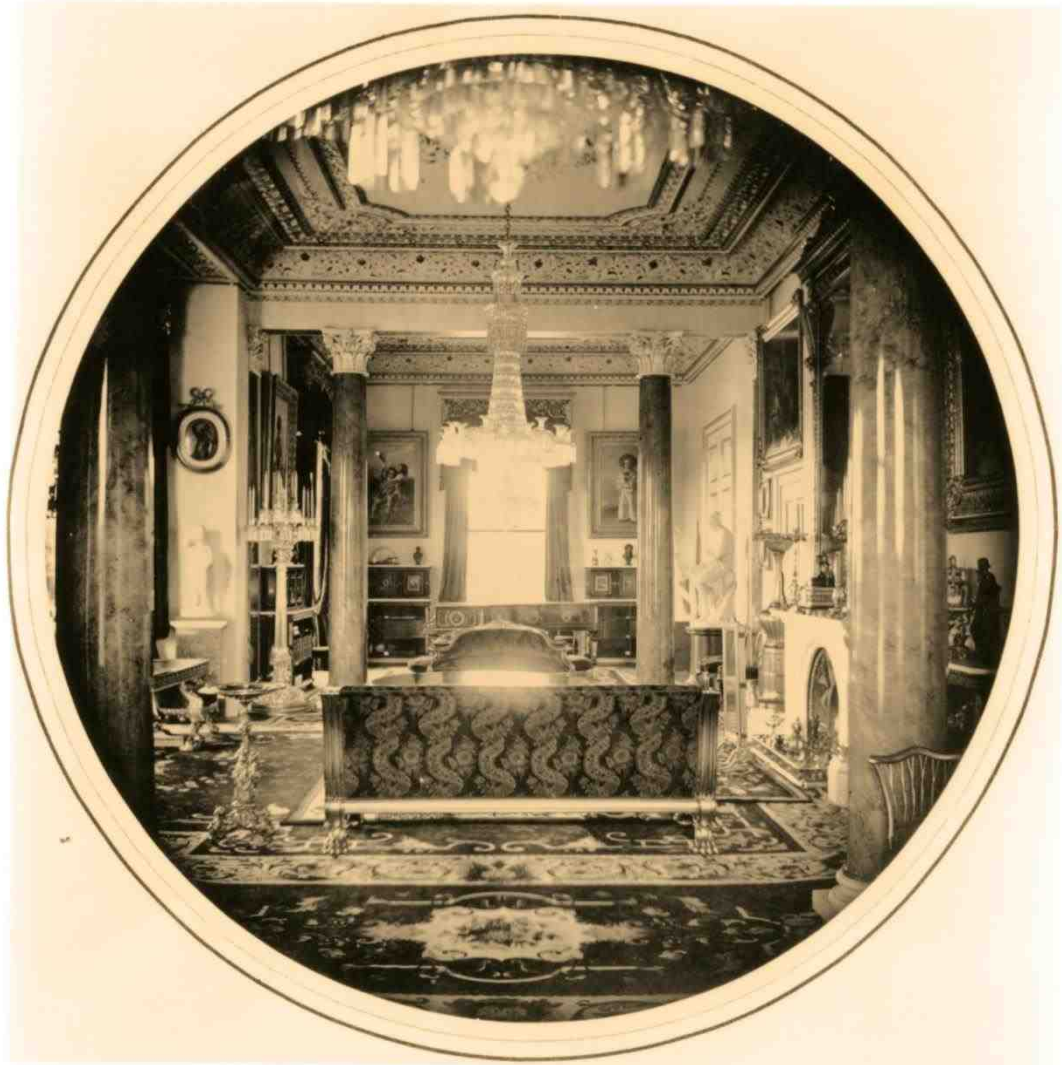


Figure 3.8 *The Drawing Room, Osborne House, c. 1858.*
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 3.9 *The new Castle at Balmoral, June 1854.* By Wilson and Hay.
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

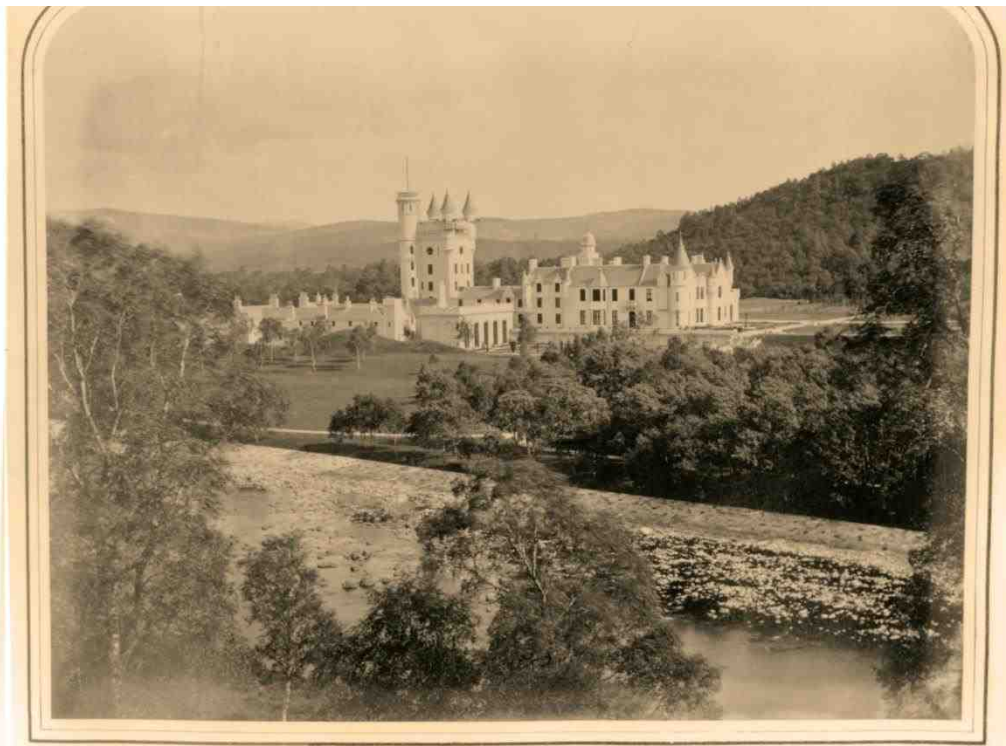


Figure 3.10 *Balmoral Castle from the opposite side of the Dee, 1857.* By George Washington Wilson.
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 3.11 *Balmoral, Showing the old and new Castles, from the top of Craig Gowan, October 1854.*
By Wilson and Hay. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

According to Ryan, Englishmen in the nineteenth century loved the country and they considered themselves a nation of excursionists, embarking on the Grand Tour, enlisting in her Majesty's army to support the expansion of Empire, and they transversed the English countryside. In this spirit of excursionism, we find numerous photographs of the beautiful lush, ivy-covered English countryside, country churches and cathedrals, romantic dilapidated ruins and the princely hunting scenes, interspersed throughout all four extant volumes.

It is from the issue of the Prince Consort's foreignness that the fourteen photographs of domestic princely hunting scenes are of interest as they become symbolic of Albert's effort to become all things English. When we read the signs of iconicity—the images of dead stags shot by the Prince—Barthes would propose a reading linked between the signified and signifier as “cultural,” and historically based.¹⁴² Let us assume that the connotative meaning of the images of dead stags is by association with Prince Albert and the context of his cultural and historical predicament within the Royal English Court. In theorizing Prince Albert's effort to assimilate him within this spirited nation of excursionists, one could begin to read the royal hunting scenes as a metonymic substitute for *Englishness*.

The portraits of dead stags, shot by Prince Albert, are compositionally compelling as the deer are posed like angelic sleeping trophies. The animal itself consumes almost the entire picture frame, photographed either in profile or full frontal view, flaunting its massive or delicate horns while nestled in the picturesque setting of its death, in some royal glen. And while the images of the dead stags seem to project a type of sentimentality belonging to that of a prized cow (Figure 3.12) or horse, these scenes can be aptly interpreted as images of virility, indicating the power of the Prince as conqueror, an Englishman, an excursionist.

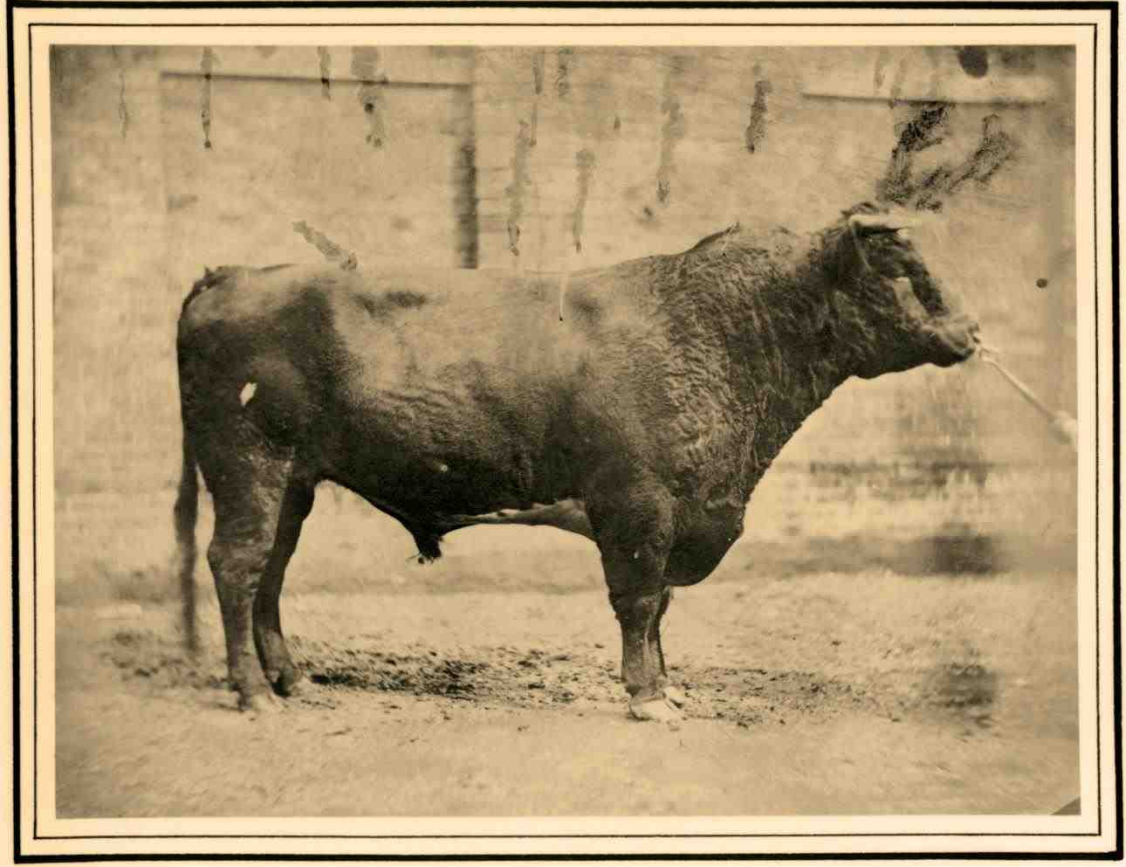


Figure 3.12 *Bull belonging to the late Lord Ducie, 1857. By Mr. Cundall.*
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.

In examining one of the many photographs of stag hunting taken by Dr. Becker, from Volume II, *A Stag Shot on Craig Daiegn by The Prince, September 30th, 1852* (Figure 3.13), we are confronted with an aesthetic image of a fallen stag laying in the grass whose death has been softened by chiaroscuro details. The hunter is conspicuously absent. Within the frame, lies a regal stag whose dead propped-up body appears to gaze upward as if called into a metaphoric state of attention. While the photograph does not supply a specific pictorial sense of place in correlation to the handwritten caption on the album page, historical and cultural hunting practices would suggest that the soil onto which the stag fell

was royal ground, as commoners were not allowed to hunt in the royal woods or forests. Here the photograph of the dead stag is the trophy, and as shot by the Prince it indexes Albert's absolute power of subjugation and monarchical control as procured within the frame. Counter to the Prince Consort's *alien birthright*, which inhibits his elevation of status to King, the pictorial trophies of dead stags frame the Prince as victorious, he has conquered and he has slain and through his contiguous relationship to the regal stag he has metaphorically subjugated a nation, an English nation, and an empire.



Figure 3.13 *A Stag shot on Craig Daiegn by the Prince, September 30th, 1852. By Dr. Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

We can begin to contextualize these photographs of dead stags in terms of British imperialism when we apply the idea of landscape as synonymous with ownership and

possession. Through this seemingly simplistic yet complex photographic sign encoded with various metonymic and metaphoric meanings (stag as trophy, trophy for evidence of Englishness, Foreigner becoming English conqueror, the Prince Consort as dominator), we can visually and metaphorically (again) perceive *the idea of Empire* as being conquered at home.

The image of this particular stag can also be seen as a stand in for Queen Victoria. It is well known that Queen Victoria was totally enamored and devoted (even at the expense of her children) to her husband Prince Albert. Victoria's favorite royal residence where she often sought solace throughout her life was Balmoral, the Scottish estate that Albert as the burgeoning architect had redesigned and rebuilt (see Figures 3.9 and 3.10). Following Prince Albert's premature death in 1861 from pneumonia at the age of forty-one, Queen Victoria remained in mourning until her death in 1901, having dedicated most of her private life to memorializing the man she loved through statuary, photographs, sentiments, and public architecture. Thus, the viewer could substitute Victoria for the stag in the photograph as related to the scenario of Cupid piercing the heart of Venus. However, without a context the stag simply becomes a photograph of a dead horned-ungulate in an unspecified grassy area.

Some of the more interesting photographs in the albums, in terms of illustrating the advancement of construction and technology during the 1850's, are a series of images documenting the demolition phases of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park in 1852. The Crystal Palace, as a prefabricated structure, was designed with the versatility to be disassembled and moved to another location. Thus the photographs in Volume II of Albert's albums

indicate the removal phase of the original building for the future reconstruction of an enlarged Crystal Palace in Sydenham Hill, an area south of London. The actual design of the Crystal Palace is indebted to the water lily, which was brought to England from the Amazon.¹⁴³ Paxton succeeded in bringing the plant to bloom and presented the first flower to Queen Victoria whereby the Amazonian water lily was renamed the *Victoria regia*.¹⁴⁴ Paxton built a glass and iron chamber, similar to a miniature rounded greenhouse, for the protection of the lily—which ultimately became the structural prototype for the Crystal Palace.

Another alluring component of photography during the Victorian era was the visual depiction of “the other,” exotic and ethnographic portraits representing cultures from around the world. These too were represented in Prince Albert’s albums see *A Zulu Kaffre*, June 14th 1853 by Nicholaas Henneman from Volume II (Figure 3.14), *Earthmen from the South of Africa, exhibited in England, August 8th 1853* by Nicholaas Henneman from Volume II (Figure 3.15), and *A Chinese Family, 1854*, Reproduced by William Bambridge, 1868 from Volume III (Figure 3.16). Henneman’s photograph, *A Zulu Kaffre* is a full length studio portrait of the African Noble Savage.¹⁴⁵ Posed as a Zulu warrior dressed in animal skins, the subject adopts a regal stance with his spear firmly planted like the flag of a British Colonizer on the patterned carpet floor. As a Zulu Kaffre, he embodies the Zulu skill at warfare, bravery, and honor. The image itself bears an uncanny resemblance in stature and pose to *The Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican, 1853* by Robert Macpherson (Figure 2.8), an odd fact given that the pseudo-science of phrenology in the nineteenth century unfairly differentiated the facial features of blacks from classical Greek sculptures.



Reproduced & Printed in carbon by

Mullins Hyde, 1896.

Figure 3.14 **A Zulu Kaffre, June 14th 1853.** By Nicholaas Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1982. The Royal Collection © 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 2.8 *The Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican, 1853.* By Robert Macpherson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 3.15 *Earthmen from the South of Africa, exhibited in England, August 8th 1853.* By Nicholaas Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1853.
The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 3.16 *A Chinese Family, 1854. Reproduced by William Bambridge, 1868. The Royal Collection © 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

Interestingly, Ryan points out that, “Visitors to the first exhibition of the Photographic Society in London in 1854 were, according to one reviewer in the Art Journal, greatly impressed by a range of human portraits, including ‘the Zulu Kaffirs’ by a Mr. Henneman and ‘the insane’ by Dr. Hugh Diamond.”¹⁴⁶ What is curious from a modern perspective is that the reviewer of the Art Journal has semantically linked the spectacle of ‘Zulu Kaffirs’ and ‘the insane’ (for Victorian viewers) as being the same. Subsequently, this is where we see the emerging power of the photograph to create stereotypes. However,

Prince Albert's purchase and collection of Zulus Kaffirs photographs from the exhibition does not imply that he adopted this visual bias but it does reveal that photographing specimens of race and photographing natives in the Victoria era (and at the turn of the century) did "constitute an important part of the colonial encounter."¹⁴⁷

Throughout the collective volumes, Prince Albert, the progenitor of future crowns and a crusader of arts and technology, proceeds to use photography to illustrate his passion for collection, architecture, and hunting, and as a means of visual autobiography. While these albums offer a glimpse into the world of the man behind the throne, they tend to present all of the pictorial contents as objects of personal possessions, whether they actually belong to Prince Albert or not.

Conclusion: Conversations with the Self and with the Nation

Roger Taylor concludes in his essay, “Royal patronage and photography 1839-1901” that Prince Albert’s initial photographic collection appeared tentative and limited in scope.¹⁴⁸

The earliest known album is entitled Calotypes Vol. II 1850-1854; and its contents, chronologically ordered illustrate the changing pattern of the Prince’s collecting over this period. The images from 1850 and 1851 are chiefly representations of paintings, engravings, drawings, statuary, medallions and architecture. There are few photographs taken from life. The latter part of the album, which covers the years 1853-54, is much more lively. It contains portraits by Roger Fenton, ethnographic studies of ‘Zulu Kaffirs’ by Nicholaas Henneman, panoramas of Florence by E. Kater, and studies of prize livestock by Joseph Cundall.¹⁴⁹

In contrast to Taylor, my contention is that Prince Albert’s Calotype Albums form a visual autobiography that offers frames behind the throne, frames that extends beyond the scope of illustrating Prince Albert’s collection patterns. While Taylor considers the initial photographic collection in Vol. II 1850-1854 to be “tentative and limited in scope,” specifically in relation to the images from 1850-1851, I argue that the selection of paintings, engravings, drawings, statuary, medallions, and architecture can be seen as an early model of the photographic collection practices championed by Henry Cole at the South Kensington Museum in 1853—which according to Haworth-Booth were primarily images of art or images of monuments (prior to 1856 when the museum began their collection of art photography).

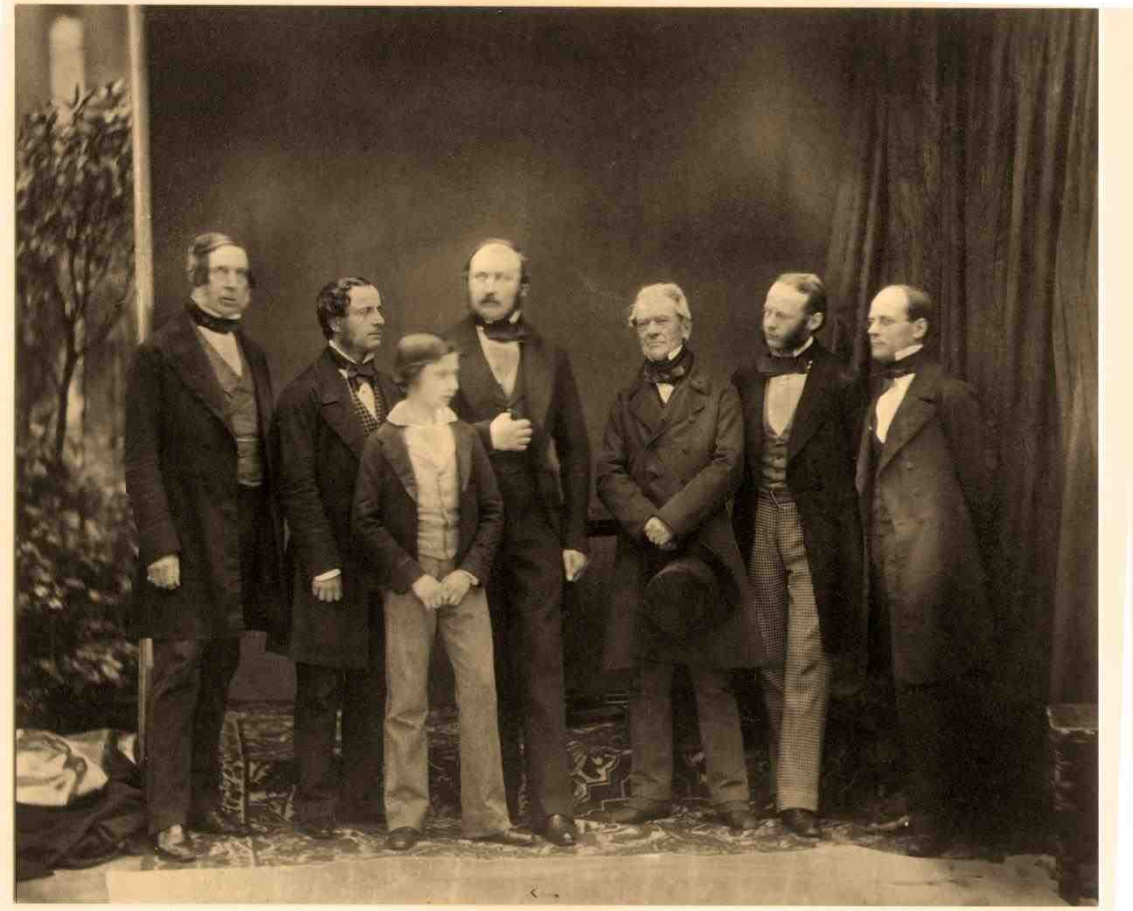
Prince Albert’s Calotype Albums are a privatized form of the miniaturized museum; they become not only paper galleries but portable cabinets of curiosities that resemble a travel guide of utterances to the self. The Calotype Albums themselves do not provide a

cohesive narrative but rather guide us photographically, like a slide show, through a series of important moments punctuated by the imagery of photography. How these moments are chosen and organized reveal the workings of Prince Albert's mind—they illustrate his methodologies, his relation to the Victorian world, his interests, his passions, and his knowledge, his love of family, his achievements, and his struggles. Prince Albert used these paper galleries as a vehicle to construct his multifaceted identity.

The critical difference between Albert's private Calotype Albums of 1850s and the Royal Family's numerous *cartes-de-visite* albums collected by Queen Victoria from 1860 onward is that the photographs collected and commissioned by Prince Albert were produced by amateurs and entrepreneurs pursuing the new art of photography, while the *cartes-de-visite* images were produced by studio photographers selling a commodity. The images in Prince Albert's albums not only differentiate the art of the amateur from the rise of the professional studio photographer, but they also illustrate the nature of photographic collection as the private art of connoisseurs. As Prince Albert was deprived of the constitutional authority "to participate in the political life of the country," connoisseurship enabled him to elevate his social status with select members of Parliament through his active engagement in the collection of art and his burgeoning interest in promoting new technologies. In placing Prince Albert in the service of art history, he is not only seen a collector of art and photography but also a practicing collections manager who continually archived and cataloged specific work which provided for future scholarship by preserving it for perpetuity.

Using the agency of photography, Prince Albert—the foreigner and the “uncrowned king”— is able to assert his identity, as the ultimate progenitor of future crowns (as history as shown), and claim superiority over the incompetence of Henry VIII to sire a male heir for the throne of England, through the seemingly benign image of *Medals of the Royal Children*. As a representation, this photograph literally traces the genetic portrait of the Prince through his children and thereby stands as evidence and bears witness to the fact that Albert has sired the future (English) king. In an autobiographic attempt to photographically reconcile his foreignness, the fourteen photographs of dead stags as trophies, which are peppered throughout three of the four extant albums, become symbolic of Albert’s effort to become all things English. In theorizing Prince Albert’s efforts to assimilate him within this spirited nation of excursionists, we could read the photographs of royal hunting scenes as a metonymic substitute for Englishness.

If we return to the premise that Charles Irby proposes in *Victoria’s World*, “that the achievement of the photographic image during the nineteenth century was the culmination of man’s effort to record an exact representation of himself and his surroundings,” then these albums do indeed function, in reference to Prince Albert, as a form of profile and autobiography. They imply a visual description of this would-be king through his own commissioned and collected photographs by metaphorically conquering the domestic British domain. “It is through the cameras of these photographers that we see the Victorians, both as they were and as they wanted to see themselves.”¹⁵⁰



Final image *Group, April 1857. Left to right: Colonel Phipps; Mr, F.W. Gibbs; Albert Edward, Prince of Wales; Prince Albert; Baron Stockmar; Dr. E. Becker; Baron Ernst Stockmar. By Caldesi. The Royal Collection© 2008 HM Queen Elizabeth II.*

Appendix I

List of Photographers

1. William Bambridge
2. Dr. Ernest Becker
3. Francis Bedford
4. Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard
5. Alfred Brothers
6. Samuel Buckle
7. Leonida Caldesi
8. Thomas Carr
9. Wenceslas Cifka
10. Charles Clifford
11. G. Coen
12. Thomas Craddock
13. Joseph Cundall
14. Philip Henry Delamontte
15. Dolamore & Bullock
16. George Downes
17. Roger Fenton
18. Ferrier
19. L. Haase
20. John Havers
21. Nicolaas Henneman
22. Captain Inglefield
23. Edward Kater
24. John Dillwyn Llewellyn
25. Maxwell Lyte
26. Robert Macpherson
27. Moulins At lier Photographique
28. Henry Mullins
29. Antonio Perini
30. Samuel E. Poulton
31. Lake Price
32. Oscar G. Rejlander
33. Alfred Rosling
34. James Ross
35. William Russell Sedgfield
36. Frederick Scott-Archer
37. Charles Thurston Thompson
38. William John Thoms
39. Henry White

40. George Washington Wilson
41. Wilson & Hay

Appendix II

Calotypes

Calotypes, Volume II

1. Medals of the Royal Children by Mr. Leonard Wyon, 1850. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
2. Statue of Richard Coeur de Lion, by Marcochetti, outside the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, 1851. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
3. From a Picture by Queen Victoria of the Princess Royal, Princess Helena, the Prince of Wales, Princess Alice, Prince Alfred and Princess Louise, in the tragedy of Athalie, February 10th 1852. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
4. Signor Lablache, from the painting by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
5. The tableau in the 2nd Act of "The Corsican Brothers", 1852, from the picture in watercolours by Mr. Corbould. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
6. The Prince of Wales, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
7. Prince Alfred, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
8. The Duchess of Nemours and Queen Victoria, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
9. a) Dandie Dinmont, from a picture by Sir E. Landseer, 1853
b) Deckle, from a picture by Sir E. Landseer, 1847. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
10. Madonna, after Raphael, in Lady Cowper's possession at Panshanger. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
11. The Princess Royal, Princess Alice, Princess Helena and Princess Louise. Picture after F. Winterhalter, 1850.
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32. Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, in progress of demolition, 1852. By Philip Henry Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
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36. a) Zulu Caffir.
b) Zulu Chief and woman, and one the Zulus called "the doctor", June 14th 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
37. a) Zulu Caffir and woman
b) Zulu woman and child, June 14th 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
38. Zulu woman, June 14th 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
39. Zulu Caffir, June 14th 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
40. Prince Alfred and Princess Helena, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1849. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
41. Molière's Monument at Paris. By Ferrier
42. The Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican, 1853. By Machperson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
43. Two views of a bust of The Queen by Gibson, 1853. By Machperson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
44. La Pieta (sculpture), 1853. By Machperson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
45. The Last Judgment, by Michelangelo, from a drawing in the possession of Dr. Braun, 1853. By Machperson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

46. Two panoramic views of Florence, September 2nd 1850. By Mr. Edward Kater. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
47. Antique colossal bust of Ocean, in a niche on the Lower Terrace at Osborne, 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
48. Earthmen from the South of Africa, exhibited in England, August 8th 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
49. a) Earthmen from the South of Africa.
b) Earthmen from the South of Africa, with the daughter of the merchant who brought them to England, 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
50. Bas relief: Cupid and Psyche, by Gibson, 1853. By Machperson.
51. Bas relief: Venus and Cupid, by Gibson, 1853. By Machperson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
52. Prince Arthur, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1851. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
53. Prince Leopold, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, July 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
54. Two photographs of statues of Muses, on the lower Terrace at Osborne, August 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
55. The Princess Royal, Prince of Wales, Princess Alice and Prince Alfred on the Lower Terrace at Osborne, August 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
56. The Steam Squadron which attend The Queen from Holyhead to Kingstown harbour, lying off Osborne, August 20th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
57. The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred, August 20th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
58. The Fleet at Spithead, August 20th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
59. The Reading of the Bible at the Reformation, from the line engraving after Wilkie's picture. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
60. Balmoral, 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.

61. Grant, Brown, Macdonald, etc., Balmoral, September 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
62. Princess Helena, Princess Royal and Princess Alice Balmoral, September 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
63. Count Alexander Mensdorff Pouilly, Balmoral, September 27th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
64. Prince Alfred and Macdonald, Balmoral, September 30th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
65. The Prince's Highland pony and Campbell, Balmoral, October 3rd 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
66. Mr. Carl Haag and the Prince's dogs, October 3rd 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
67. South-east view of the new building at Balmoral, October 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
68. "Lalla Roohk" (bull), 1857. By Joseph Cundall. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
69. Bull belonging to the late Lord Ducie, 1857. By Joseph Cundall. (Odd Date 1857)
70. Lanercost Priory. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
71. Brinkburn Priory, August 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
72. Meeting at the Chateau d'Eu, September 1845, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
73. Windsor Castle, December 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
74. Queen Victoria in her Bridal Dress, February 10th from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
75. Intérieur du Musée des Antiques au Louvre. By Blanquart-Evrard.
76. Mother and Child, after Van Dyck. By Blanquart-Evrard.
77. Holy Family and other after Correggio (engraving). By Blanquart-Evrard.

78. Reception of the King of the French at Windsor by Queen Victoria and the Royal Children, October 1844, from a picture by F. Winterhalter in the Corridor at Windsor Castle, 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
79. Young woman, from a small picture by F. Winterhalter, 1847. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1853.
80. Old woman making lace, from a picture by Dykmans. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1853.
81. Neptune giving the crown to Britannia, from a sketch in oil colours by Dyce for the fresco at Osborne, 1847. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854.
82. The Queen, Prince and Royal Family ascending Loch Nagar, from a watercolour picture by Carl Haag, 1852. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854.
83. Prince Leiningen and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg returning from a chase in the Tyrolese Alps, from a watercolour picture by Carl Haag, 1852. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
84. Hampton Court. Side of Wolsey's Hall, September 21st 1853. By William John Thoms, FSA.
85. Hampton Court. Side of Wolsey's Hall, September 21st 1853. By William John Thoms, FSA.
86. Hampton Court. Side of Wolsey's Hall, September 21st 1853. By William John Thoms, FSA. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
87. Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, September 1853. By William John Thoms, FSA. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
88. The Queen's toilet in Staffordshire Porcelain (Minton) at Osborne, 1854. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
89. Statue of Venus from the Berlin Museum, on the Lower Terrace at Osborne, 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
90. Prince Arthur as Henry VIII, from a watercolour sketch by F. Winterhalter, 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854.
91. a) Prince Alfred, February 8th 1854
b) The Prince of Wales, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton.

92. Albert and Victoria Van de Weyer and the Prince of Wales as Un Garde in “Les Duex Petits Savoyards”, January 1854. By Roger Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
93. Master Albert Van de Weyer as Un Garde in “Les Duex Petits Savoyards”, January 1854. By Roger Fenton.
94. Princess Helena and Princess Louise as Clermont and Lousion in “Les Duex Petits Savoyards”, January 1854. By Roger Fenton.
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96. The Prince of Wales, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
97. The Princess Royal and Princess Alice, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton.
98. The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred with their tutor, Mr. Gibbs, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton.
99. John Macdonald, the Prince’s Jäger, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton.

Calotypes, Volume II: Image Breakdown into Types

OBJECTS:

1. Medals of the Royal Children by Mr. Leonard Wyon, 1850. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
27. Part of the The Queen’s lace flounce, 1852. By C. T. Thompson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
28. Part of the Cellini Shield, 1852. By Philip Henry Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
88. The Queen’s toilet in Staffordshire Porcelain (Minton) at Osborne, 1854. By Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

STATUARY / Canon of Art:

2. Statue of Richard Coeur de Lion, by Marcochetti, outside the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, 1851. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

13. One of the Lions on the steps leading from the Lower Terrace at Osborne, 1852. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
14. Statue of Hindoo girl, at Osborne, 1852. By Dr. Ernest Becker.
41. Molière's Monument at Paris. By Ferrier
42. The Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican, 1853. By Macpherson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
43. Two views of a bust of The Queen by Gibson, 1853. By Macpherson. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
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REPRODUCTION OF PAINTINGS / Drawings, Watercolors, Engravings / Canon of Art:

3. From a Picture by Queen Victoria of the Princess Royal, Princess Helena, the Prince of Wales, Princess Alice, Prince Alfred and Princess Louise, in the tragedy of Athalie, February 10th 1852. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
4. Signor Lablache, from the painting by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
5. The tableau in the 2nd Act of "The Corscian Brothers", 1852, from the picture in watercolours by Mr. Corbould. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
6. The Prince of Wales, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.

7. Prince Alfred, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
8. The Duchess of Nemours and Queen Victoria, from a picture by F. Winterhalter, 1852.
9. a) Dandie Dinmont, from a picture by Sir E. Landseer, 1853
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22. Balmoral, 1852. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
24. Balmoral: Back-side, 1852. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
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ARCHITECTURE:

29. Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, in progress of demolition, 1852. By Philip Henry Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
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71. Brinkburn Priory, August 1853. By Philip Henry Delamotte.
87. Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, September 1853. By William John Thoms, FSA. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

FAMILY PORTRAITS / FRIENDS: (image 55 first actual family portrait photograph)

55. The Princess Royal, Prince of Wales, Princess Alice and Prince Alfred on the Lower Terrace at Osborne, August 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
57. The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred, August 20th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
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b) The Prince of Wales, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton.
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98. The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred with their tutor, Mr. Gibbs, February 8th 1854. By Roger Fenton.

ZULU AND SOUTH AFRICA:

35. A Zulu Kaffre, June 14th 1853. By T. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
36. a) Zulu Caffir.
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b) Zulu woman and child, June 14th 1853. By N. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.
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b) Earthmen from the South of Africa, with the daughter of the merchant who brought them to England, 1853. By N. Henneman. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHS:

47. Two panoramic views of Florence, September 2nd 1850. By Mr. Edward Kater. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

SHIPS:

56. The Steam Squadron which attend The Queen from Holyhead to Kingstown harbour, lying off Osborne, August 20th 1853. By Dr. Ernest Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

58. The Fleet at Spithead, August 20th 1853.

BULLS:

68. " Lalla Roohk" (bull), 1857. By Joseph Cundall. Reproduced by Mullins, 1892.

69. Bull belonging to the late Lord Ducie, 1857. By Joseph Cundall. (Odd Date 1857)

Calotypes, Volume III: Image Breakdown into Types

OBJECTS:

25. Medallions by Flaxman. By Francis Bedford.
26. Two terra collta Friezes, by Clodion. By Francis Bedford.
37. Ivory Carving ascribed to Fiamingo, 1853. By Francis Bedford. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
38. Agate Cup by Morel, 1853. By Francis Bedford.
39. Silver Vase by Vecht , 1853. By Francis Bedford.
40. Alto Telievo in Pottery of the Madonna and Child with cherubs, by Lucca della Robbia. By Mr. Thompson, 1853.
42. An Ivory Card Rack, 1853. By Francis Bedford.
43. Terra Cotta Bacchanale group by Clodion, 1853. By Francis Bedford.
45. The Cross of Cong (Irish Antiquities), 1853. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
46. The "Fiacail Phatraie" ("Patrick's Tooth") (Irish Antiquities), 1853. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
101. A Sword Hilt, 1854. By F. Beford.
102. A Pair of Louis XIV pistols, 1854. By F. Beford.

STATUARY / Canon of Art:

9. A statue of a young woman, by M ller.
10. A bust of a woman, by M ller.
79. Statue of Richard I in Palace Yard, 1853.

REPRODUCTION OF PAINTINGS / Drawings , Watercolors, Engravings / Canon of Art:

2. Nelson on the quarter deck of the San Josef, receiving the swords of the vanquished Spaniards, February 14th 1797, from a picture by Barker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
7. Isabella II, Queen of Spain, after a picture by Franz Winterhalter, December 1852.
8. Marie Isabelle, Princess of the Asturias, at the age of 1 year, after a picture by Franz Winterhalter, December 1852.
21. a) Dona Maria II, Queen of Portugal, from a picture by Corden, 1850.
b) Ferdinand, King of Portugal, from a picture by Corden, 1850. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
22. Ferdinand, King of Portugal, from a picture by Corden, 1850. By Mr. Delamotte.
24. A woman and Cupid, after an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi. By Mr. Thompson.
99. A Centaur teaching Apollo, after a pencil engraving.

HUNTING SCENES / HIGHLANDERS:

NONE

LANDSCAPE:

57. Ballater, 1854. By Wilson & Hay. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1869.
58. In Caswell Bay, Glamorganshire, 1853. (collodion) By J.D. Llewellyn. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1869.
59. East Side, 3 Cliffs Bay at Gower, Glamorganshire, 1853. (collodion) By J.D. Llewellyn. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1869
60. East Side, 3 Cliffs Bay at Gower, Glamorganshire, 1853. (Talbotype) By J.D. Llewellyn. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1869.

PALACES/ ROYAL ESTATES:

1. Royal Mews at Windsor, from the South Terrace, 1853. By Dr. Becker.
53. The new Castle at Balmoral, March 1854. By Wilson & Hay. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.

54. The new Castle at Balmoral, March 1854. By Wilson & Hay. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.

55. The old Castle at Balmoral, March 1854. By Wilson & Hay. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.

80. Lambeth Palace, 1853.

97. The New House at Balmoral, May 1854.

ARCHITECTURE:

32. High Street, Lincoln, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

33. Roman Arch, Lincoln, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

34. North-East Turret of Peterborough Cathedral, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

43. Brinkburn Priory, 1853. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

47. Kenilworth Castle, from the Tilt Yard, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1865.

48. Caesar's Tower, Kenilworth Castle, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1865.

49. Leicester's Buildings, Kenilworth Castle, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1865.

50. Shakespeare's House, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1853. By Samuel Buckle. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

51. Ann Hathaway's Cottage at Shottery, 1853. By Samuel Buckle.

52. The Princess Mary of Cambridge, April 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

FAMILY PORTRAITS / FRIENDS:

3. The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred with their tutor, Mr. Gibbs, February 8th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

4. Prince Alfred as Autumn, February 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
5. The Prince of Wales as Winter, February 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
19. Mr. Landseer, Father of Sir Edwin Landseer, aged 87 (sic). By Cundall. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1893.
60. The Prince, May 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
61. The Prince, May 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
65. The Princess Alice as "Spring" in the Tableau, represented February 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
66. The Princess Alice as "Spring", May 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
67. The Princess Royal and Prince Arthur as "Summer", May 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
68. The Princess Royal and Prince Arthur as "Summer" in the Tableau, represented February 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
69. The Princess Royal and Prince Arthur as "Summer", May 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
70. Prince Alfred as "Autumn", May 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
71. Prince Alfred as "Autumn" in the Tableau, represented February 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
72. The Prince of Wales and Princess Louise as "Winter" in the Tableau as represented February on 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
73. The Prince of Wales as 'Winter', May 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
74. The Prince of Wales as 'Winter', May 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
75. The concluding Tableau. Princess Alice as Spring, Princess Royal and Prince Arthur as Summer, Prince Alfred as Autumn, Princess Louise and Prince of Wales as Winter, Princess Helena as "A spirit Empress", May 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
76. The concluding Tableau represented, February 10th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

87. The Queen in her Drawing Room Dress, May 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
88. The Queen in her Drawing Room Dress, May 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
89. The Queen and The Prince, May 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893
90. The Queen, The Prince and seven Royal Children, Buckingham Palace, May 22nd 1854. Instantaneous Photograph by Mr. Fenton.
91. The Queen, The Prince and eight Royal Children, Buckingham Palace Garden, May 22nd 1854. Instantaneous Photograph by Mr. Fenton.
95. Lady Harriet Hamilton as Mary, Queen of Scots, May 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
96. Lady Harriet Hamilton as Mary, Queen of Scots, May 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

PORTRAITS / EXOTICS OTHERS:

23. A Chinese Family, 1854. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
27. Portrait of a negro man, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique.
28. Study of a young woman with a pitcher, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
29. Study of a young girl with a straw box, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
30. Study of a young girl with a basket and net, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
31. Study of a young girl with a basket of eggs, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1865.
35. Study of woman with a spinning wheel and little girl, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1865.
36. A study of a girl ironing, 1853. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.

TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHS:

6. Puerta de Sol: a Moorish gateway at Toledo, 1852. By G. Clifford. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
20. Gateway of the Hospital of the Santa Cruz, Toledo 1852. By G. Clifford. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
62. View of the Parc, Pau, 1853. By Maxwell Lyte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
63. Chateau of Henri IV, Pau, 1853. By Maxwell Lyte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
64. Study of Trees, Avenue in the Parc, Pau, 1853. By Maxwell Lyte.
98. Porte de la Bibliotheque du Louvre, 1853. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
100. Doorway of St. Lawrence Church at Nuremberg, 1853. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

SHIPS:

11. The "Victory" in harbour, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
12. The Fleet at Anchor, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
13. Steam Boat waiting for the Commander-in-Chief, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
14. Sir C. Napier going off, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
15. The "Fairy" steaming through the Fleet. Fairy in the middle. March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
16. Spithead after the departure of the Fleet, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
17. Spithead after the departure of the Fleet, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
18. The "Neptune" coming out of harbour, March 11th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

MISCELLANEOUS:

77. Horse Guards, 1853. By R. Sedgfield. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

78. The Treasury etc., 1853. By R. Sedgfield. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
81. Greenwich Observatory, 1853. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
82. Stonehenge, 1853. By R. Sedgfield.
83. Salisbury Cathedral, 1853 By R. Sedgfield. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
84. High Street, Salisbury, 1853. By R. Sedgfield.
85. In Beddington Park, 1853. By R. Sedgfield
86. Beddington Church, Surrey, 1853. By R. Sedgfield
92. The Opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, June 10th 1854. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
93. The Opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, June 10th 1854. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
94. The Egyptian Court at the Crystal Palace, July 8th 1854. Madame Rollande, Princess Alice, Miss Hildyard, Princess Royal, Mr. Digby Wyatt and Sir Joseph Paxton. By Mr. Delamotte. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

Calotypes, Volume IV: Image Breakdown into Types

OBJECTS:

9. Cingalese Sword Hilt, 1854. By F. Bedford.
13. An old Ivory Tankard, 1854. By F. Bedford.
18. A Slender Billed Curlew. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

STATUARY / Canon of Art:

19. Statue of Andromeda on the Lower Terrace at Osborne, August 1854. By Mr. Becker.
21. From Gibson's Basso Relievo of Cupid and Psyche, 1854. By Macpherson.
22. From Gibson's statue of Cupid, 1854. By Macpherson.

REPRODUCTION OF PAINTINGS / Drawings, Watercolors, Engravings / Canon of Art:

90. Madonna, by Raphael, in the possession of Lord Cowper at Panshanger. By R. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
104. "Night", by Monti, 1854. By Mr. Delamotte.

HUNTING SCENES / HIGHLANDERS:

71. A Stag shot by The Prince, 4th October, on Corrie na Poitch, and Donald Stewart, one of the Foresters, Balmoral, October 5th 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
72. A Stag shot by The Prince, 5th October, in Corrie Buie, and the Jäger Macdonald, Balmoral, October 6th 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
73. Group of Foresters and Gillies with the Stag shot by The Prince, October 6th 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
74. A Stag shot by The Prince, 5th October, in Corrie Buie, and the Jäger Macdonald, Balmoral, October 6th 1854. By Wilson & Hay.

LANDSCAPE:

4. On the Wye near Whitebrook, 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

5. St. Briavels, Wales, 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
76. View from Ballater, up the Muick, 1854.
81. Edinburgh, from Calton Hill, 1854. Photographed from the top of Nelson's Monument, by "Albumen Process". By James Ross. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
94. Waterfall, Virginia Water, 1854. By Mr. A. Rosling.
95. Mr. Rosling's Garden at Peckham, 1854. By Mr. A. Rosling.
103. Isleworth, with natural clouds, 1854. By Scott Archer, the inventor of the Collodion process.

PALACES/ ROYAL ESTATES:

23. The new Castle at Balmoral, June 1854. By Wilson & Hay. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
24. The new Castle at Balmoral, June 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
25. The new Castle at Balmoral, June 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
26. The new Castle at Balmoral, June 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
30. A view at Osborne, August 1854. By Dr. Becker. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
31. A view from the Alcove of the Upper Terrace at Osborne, September 1854. By Dr. Becker.
58. South Front, Lambeth Palace, 1854. By John Havers.
65. Osborne, September 1854. By Dr. Becker.
68. Balmoral Castle, October 1854. By Wilson and Hay.
69. Balmoral, showing the new and old Houses, October 1854. By Wilson & Hay.
70. Balmoral, showing the new and old Houses, from the top of the Craig Gowan, October 1854. By Wilson & Hay.

75. View from the Moss House on Craig Gowan, looking down on the Dee towards Abergeldie, October 1854. By Wilson & Hay.

79. Windsor from the Brocas, 1854. By Mr. Poulton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

80. The Library, Lambeth Palace, 1854.

ARCHITECTURE:

6. A small Chapel in Tintern Abbey, 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

10. The last Window of Tintern Abbey, 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

11. The South Aisle of Tintern Abbey, 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

12. A small Chapel in Tintern Abbey, 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

47. Scott's Monument, Edinburgh, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

48. Stirling Castle, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

49. South East View of Melrose Abbey, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

50. East View of Melrose Abbey, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

51. South West View of Melrose Abbey, 1854.

53. Canterbury Cathedral, 1854. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

59. Central Tower, Dissenters' College, New Finchley Road, 1854. By John Havers.

92. St. Paul's on a misty morning, 1854. By Mr. A. Rosling.

93. Southwark Bridge, 1854. By Mr. A. Rosling.

99. York Minister, from Lord Mayor's walk, 1854. By F. Bedford.

100. Fountains Abbey, from the South East, 1854. By F. Bedford.

105. Ely Cathedral, 1854. By T. Craddock. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

FAMILY PORTRAITS / OTHER ROYALTY AND FRIENDS:

1. The Queen and the Prince, June 30th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
2. The Queen, June 30th 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
3. The Queen and the Prince, June 30th 1854. By Mr. Fenton. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
8. Lady Harriet Hamilton as Mary, Queen of Scots, May 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
14. Mr. F. Winterhalter, June 27th 1854. By Dr. Becker.
20. The Comte d'Eu and Duc d'Alençon, Osborne, July 26th 1854. By Mr. Becker.
45. The Queen and Prince Arthur with the Marchioness of Ely and the Hon. Flora Macdonald, Osborne, August 19th 1854. By Mr. Becker. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
46. The Maharajah Duleep Singh, Osborne, August 23rd 1854. By Mr. Becker.
66. Prince Arthur and Prince Alfred in the costume of Sikh Princes, Osborne, September 6th 1854. By Mr. Becker.
67. The Queen, Duke of Oporto and King of Portugal, Osborne, September 8th 1854. By Mr. Becker
77. Prince Nicholas of Nassau, November 3rd 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
78. Prince Nicholas of Nassau, November 3rd 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
82. Princess Victoria Gouramma, Daughter of the Ex Rajah of Coorg, November 1854. By Mr. Fenton.

PORTRAITS:

15. Study from Life, 1854. (2 women and girl). By Moulins At lier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
16. Study from Life, 1854. (nun). By Moulins At lier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
17. Study from Life, 1854. (man with gun). By Moulins At lier Photographique.

27. Study from Life, 1854. (2 young women). By Moulins At elier Photographique.
28. Study from Life, 1854. (nun and young girl). By Moulins At elier Photographique.
29. Study from Life, 1854. (woman with bird cage). By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1868.
40. Study from Life, 1854. (woman, young girl and baby). By Moulins At elier Photographique.
41. Study from Life, 1854. By Moulins At elier Photographique. Reproduced by Bambridge, 1870.
42. Study from Life, 1854. (older and youner women). By Moulins At elier Photographique.
54. Greenwich Hospital, 1854. By John Havers.
55. Greenwich Pensioners, 1854. By John Havers. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
56. Greenwich Pensioners: Boatswain of Royal Charles, The Adjutant and the Poet, 1854. By John Havers. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
57. Greenwich Pensioners: Ralph, Ausdell and Whitty, 1854. By John Havers. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
102. The "Gardern Chair". Portraits. Photographed by the Collodion process, 1854. By Henry White.
106. Study from Life. (woman and child). By Lake Price. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHS:

36. A general View of Rome, 1854. By T. Carr.
37. The " Coliseum", Rome, 1854. By T. Carr.
38. The " Coliseum", Rome, 1854. By T. Carr.
39. Interior of the Coliseum, Rome, 1854. By T. Carr. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
43. The Baptistery of Pisa, 1854. By T. Carr.
44. The Leaning Tower of Pisa, 1854. By T. Carr.

83. Entrance to St. Mark's, Venice, 1854. By A. Perini.
84. The Giant's Staircase, Venice, 1854. By A. Perini.
85. Palazzo Pisani, Venice, 1854. By A. Perini.
86. The Doge's Palace, Venice, 1854. By A. Perini.
87. The Rialto, Venice, 1854. By A. Perini.
88. Palazzo Grimani, Venice, 1854. By G. Coen. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
89. The Doge's Palace, Venice, 1854. By A. Perini.

MISCELLANEOUS:

7. A quiet moment, 1854. By Mr. Thurston Thompson.
32. A Study taken at Hastings, 1854. (group). By Mr. Cundall.
33. A Study taken at Hastings, 1854. (cliff). By Mr. Cundall.
34. A Study taken at Hastings, 1854. (ruined arch). By Mr. Cundall.
35. A Study taken at Hastings, 1854. (net shops). By Mr. Cundall.
52. The "gardener's basket", 1854. By Mr. Fenton.
60. A Romance, 1854. By Mr. Fenton. No. 1) Strong flirtation, of which one Spectator highly disapproves.
61. A Romance, 1854. By Mr. Fenton. No. 2) "Popping the question".
62. A Romance, 1854. By Mr. Fenton. No. 3) "Sealing the covenant".
63. A Romance, 1854. By Mr. Fenton. No. 4) "The Honeymoon".
64. Minka, Olga, Venus and her puppies, and Pedro. Pugs belonging to The Queen, at the Kennel, Home Park, 1954. By Mr. Bambridge. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.
91. H.M.S. Hannibal, fitting for the Black Sea fleet, December 1853. By C.T. Thompson.

96. Sailor Boy, 1855. By O.G. Rejlander. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893. (The first photograph The Prince Consort had collected from Rejlander).
97. A "Set to", 1855. By O.G. Rejlander.
98. A Polish Lady, 1855. By O.G. Rejlander.
101. A Study of Plants, 1856. By F. Bedford.
107. "Talbot", "Phoenix", "Diligence". "My Squadron", Greenland, 1854. By Captain Inglefield. Reproduced by Mullins, 1893.

Calotypes, Volume VI: Image Breakdown into Types

There are 74 images in Volume VI. There is no page 71. Photographs up to this page (1-70) were arranged by the Prince Consort between 1855-1857.

OBJECTS:

NONE

STATUARY / Canon of Art:

53. Statue of The Queen in Salford Park, Manchester. By A. Brothers.

59. Theseus and the Amazones: Marble group by Engel, at Osborne. No date, no photographer listed.

REPRODUCTION OF PAINTINGS / Drawings, Watercolors, Engravings / Canon of Art:

NONE

HUNTING SCENES / HIGHLANDERS:

10. Deer, with 14 points, shot by The Prince n Windsor Great Park, October 22, 1856. By W. Bambridge.

LANDSCAPE / CITY SCENES:

2. At Conway, North Wales. 1857. By F. Bedford.

8. At Port Aberglestyn, North Wales, 1857. By F. Bedford.

23. [Landscape with trees, river, and large house in far distance] No date, no photographer listed.

28. The Aberdeen Docks, 1856. Instantaneous Photograph. By G.W. Wilson.

29. Bridge over the Falls of the Garbhalt, Balloch Buie, 1857. By G.W. Wilson.

32. The Falls of Corrie Mulzie, 1857. By G.W. Wilson.

54. Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill. No date, no photographer listed.

72. The Wolf of Badenoch's Castle, in loch in Derb. No date, no photographer listed.

Not arranged by the Prince Consort.

73. Loch Avon, Banffshire. No date, no photographer listed.

Not arranged by the Prince Consort.

74. [Untitled: view of lake or loch.] No date, no photographer listed.

Not arranged by the Prince Consort.

PALACES/ ROYAL ESTATES:

34. Balmoral from seat on foot-path, Craig Gowan, August 1857. By G. W. Wilson.

35. Balmoral Castle, from the opposite side of the Dee, 1857. By G. W. Wilson.

42. The Drawing Room, Osborne. No date, no photographer listed.

43. The Drawing Room, Osborne. No date, no photographer listed.

45. Osborne. No date, no photographer listed.

46. The Corridor, Osborne. No date, no photographer listed.

ARCHITECTURE:

5. The Baptistry of Canterbury Cathedral, 1857. By F. Bedford.

6. The Choir, Canterbury Cathedral, 1857. By F. Bedford.

47. Raglan Castle, across the Moat. No date, no photographer listed.

48. Tong, Shropshire. No date, no photographer listed.

49. Tong Church, Shropshire. No date, no photographer listed.

50. Tong Castle, Shropshire. (Lord Bradford's). No date, no photographer listed.

51. Hall Porch, Cobham Hall. No date, no photographer listed.

52. Porch, Charlton, Kent. (seat of Sir Thos. Maryan Wilson, Bart.) No date, no photographer listed.

58. St. Beat. No date, no photographer listed.

60. Carew Castle, S.W. No date, no photographer listed.

FAMILY PORTRAITS / OTHER ROYALTY AND FRIENDS:

9. The Queen, The Princess Royal, Princess Alice and The Prince of Wales, Windsor, February 10th 1857. By W. Bambridge.
13. Signor Lablache, 1856. By Caldesi
17. The Family Brousil of Prague, March 1857:
Mlle. Bertha, violin solo, 14 yrs.; M. Albin, violoncello, 13 yrs.
Mlle. Antonia, piano, 17 yrs.; M. Adolphus, viola gamba, 11 yrs.
Mlle. Cecilie, 2nd violin, 6 yrs; M. Aloys, 1st violin, 7 yrs.
27. Hon. Col. C. Phipps, Mr. Gibbs, the Prince of Wales, the Prince Consort, Barron Stockmar, Mr. Becker, and Baron E. Stockmar, April 1857. By Caldesi.
33. The Royal Family at Osborne, May 27th 1857. Prince Alfred, the Prince Consort, Princess Helena, Prince Arthur, Princess Alice, Queen Victoria with Princess Beatrice, the Princess Royal, Princess Louise, Prince Leopold, the Prince of Wales. By Caldesi.
41. Princess Louise, Princess Alice, Princess Helena and Prince Arthur. By Captain Hon. D. de Ros.
44. Prince Alfred. By Lake Price
56. Princess Frederick William (Princess Royal) and Princess Alexandria of Prussia. By L. Haase.

PETS/ DOGS, CATS, PONIES:

11. Snowdrop, [cat] belonging to Prince Leopold, to whom it was sent, July 1856. By W. Bambridge.
25. Alma, one of the Queen's own saddle horses, March 26th, 1857. By Caldesi.
26. Peter, a favourite cat in the Royal Stables, March 26th, 1857. By Caldesi.

PORTRAITS / EXOTICS OTHERS:

19. A Turkish Lady. By William Gourdy.
20. [Man in ? Turkish costume] By William Gourdy.

21. [2 men in ? Turkish costume] By William Gourdy.
22. [Group of European and Eastern dignitaries] By William Gourdy.
24. [Poor boy with musical instrument] By William Gourdy.
62. [Untitled: portrait of a lady]. No date, no photographer listed.

TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHS:

NONE

MISCELLANEOUS:

14. [Untitled: young girl riding pony, with young boy holding bridle]. No date, no photographer listed.
15. [Untitled: lady in light carriage with groom at horse's head]. No date, no photographer listed.
16. The Emperor Napoleon leaving the Tuileries on the morning of the Te Deum, 1855. No photographer listed.
36. The Queen's Christmas Tree, Windsor Castle, December 24th 1857. Dry Collodion Plate. By Mr. Becker.
38. The Princess Royal's wedding cake, January 25th 1858. By Bambridge.
39. Study of a Horse. No date, no photographer listed.
40. The daft Fiddler. No date, no photographer listed.
57. Table of Presents. The Queen's Birthday. Osborne, May 24th 1859. By Bambridge.
61. [Untitled: man in livery with horse] No date, no photographer listed.
69. [Untitled : group of three men]. No date, no photographer listed.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY OSCAR G. REJLANDER:

1. Dear Brother's tired: (2 little boys). No date. By O.G. Rejlander
3. The day's work over. (3 men). 1857. By O.G. Rejlander

4. Non Angeli, sed Angli, 1857. (2 children). By O.G. Rejlander.
7. The Washerwoman, 1857. By O.G. Rejlander.
12. Longing for Home, 1857 (young man). By O.G. Rejlander.
18. Smooth Water. (young boy in sailor suit), 1855. By O.G. Rejlander.
30. Trying to catch a fly, 1857. (young boy) By O.G. Rejlander.
31. The fly is caught, 1857. (young boy) By O.G. Rejlander.
63. Study of a head of John the Baptist. No date. By O.G. Rejlander.
64. Study of a head (old man). No date. By O.G. Rejlander.
65. Study (old man). No date. By O.G. Rejlander.
68. [Untitled: portrait of a man- O.G. Rejlander as Garibaldi]. No Date.
70. Study (old man looking out of window at little boy sweep). No date. By O.G. Rejlander.

Appendix III

Additional Photographs



Prince Alfred as Autumn, 10th February, 1854. By Roger Fenton



The Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred with their tutor, Mr. Gibbs, February 8th 1854.
By Roger Fenton



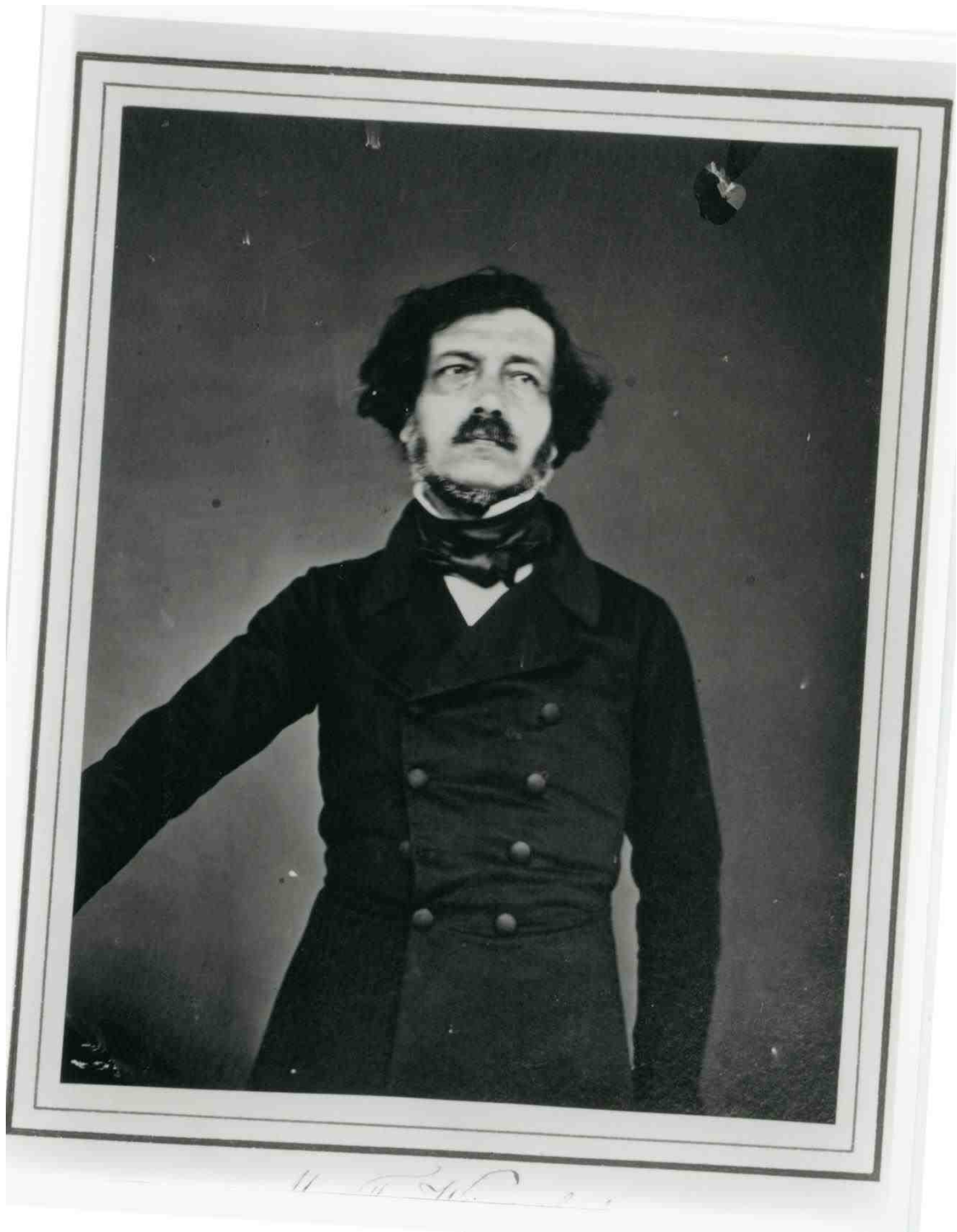
The Leaning Tower of Pisa, 1854. By T. Carr.



The Queen's Toilet in Staffordshire Porcelain (Minton) at Osborne, 1854. By Delamotte.



Table of Presents. The Queen's Birthday, May 24th 1859, Osborne. By William Bambridge.



The painter *Franz Xavier Winterhalter*, June 27th 1854. By Dr. E. Becker

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Notes

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- ¹ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 3.
- ² Martha Landford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, p. 20.
- ³ Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Retracing the Outlines of Rome: Intertextuality and Imaginative Geographies in Nineteenth-Century Photographs," *Picturing Place: Photography And The Geographical Imagination*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2003, p. 56.
- ⁴ Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," *Thinking Photography*, p. 85.
- ⁵ Italo Zannier, *Le Grand Tour: In The Photographs of Travelers of The 19th Century*, p. 28.
- ⁶ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, Forward to the 1994 edition, p. viii.
- ⁷ Paul John Eakin, *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative*, p. ix.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ix, x.
- ⁹ Martha Landford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, (Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, p. 26), p. 20.
- ¹⁰ Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, p. 21-23.
- ¹¹ Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, And The Mid-Victorian Imagination*, p. 3.
- ¹² The frontispiece of the albums state that Prince Albert assembled them, Volume VI contains 74 images; it states on the listing for page 71: "Photographs up to this page were arranged by the Prince Consort between 1855-1857.
- ¹³ Frances Dimond, *Crown and Camera*, p. 45. According to Dimond, very few prints in these albums are actual calotypes (prints made from paper negatives). "Most of them are either albumen prints or copies made with the carbon process. The copies were made and affixed to the originals which were fading. Queen Victoria used the word "Calotype" as a generic term for early photographs and therefore the original title of the albums has been retained."
- ¹⁴ Roland Barthes, *Image—Music—Text*, p. 28.
- ¹⁵ Paul John Eakin, *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative*, p. 21, 63.
- ¹⁶ Verna Posever Curtis, *Photographic Memory: The Album in the Age of Photography*, p.7.
- ¹⁷ Martha Landford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, p. viii.
- ¹⁸ Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance*, p. 14.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 14, 16.
- ²³ Stanley Weintraub, *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert*, p. xiii.
- ²⁴ The Art Museum of The University of Texas at Austin, *Victoria's World: A Photographic Portrait drawn from The Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas at Austin, September 22 - November 3, 1968*, p. 4.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ²⁶ Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 57. The Prince Consort's first public speech was presented to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, on June 1, 1840.
- ²⁷ Timothy Parsons, *The British Imperial Century, 1815-1914*, p. 18.
- ²⁸ James Buchan, *Crowded with Genius, The Scottish Enlightenment: Edinburgh's Moment of the Mind*, p. 70.
- ²⁹ Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, And The Mid-Victorian Imagination*, p. 102-103. "The first amateurs had stored and presented their prints in albums or portfolios, the way they had kept their drawings, watercolors, and intaglio prints or lithographs...the model of the portfolio of fine prints lack wide appeal, but the photographic album soon became a commonplace."
- ³⁰ Martha Landford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, p. 23.
- ³¹ Diane W. Block, *Books and Company: Mid-Victorian Photocollage Albums and the Feminine Imagination*, p. 1-2.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³³ Ibid., p. 28-29.

³⁴ Robert Rhodes James, *Prince Albert: A Biography*, p. 103, 126, 131, 244. “Victoria’s intense dislike of pregnancy and child-bearing—‘the ONLY thing I dread,’ with Bertie “it was clear that the Queen was suffering from acute post-natal depression;” Baron Stockmar wrote about the Queen in the 1840s, “she loved London and its excitements, was certainly not interested in ‘a cheap Court,’ intensely resented her pregnancies, and had so little in common with her husband’s intellectual concerns and activities that the strength of their marriage is even more remarkable;” According to James, the Queen worshiped Prince Albert and was a dutiful wife but “basically was uninterested in her children until they became adults,” and he quotes Prince Albert in a letter to his wife dated October 1, 1856, “It is indeed a pity that you find no consolation in your children...” implying that she is too busy scolding them to appreciate them.

³⁵ Roger Taylor, *Impressed By Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*, p. 9.

³⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 8.

³⁷ David I. Kertzer, “Ritual, Politics, and Power,” *Readings in Ritual Studies* (1996), p. 340.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Emily Allen, “Culinary Exhibition: Victorian Wedding Cakes and Royal Spectacle,” *Victorian Studies*, Spring 2003, Vol.45, No.3, p. 459.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.466. The description of the cake continues on page 467: “a CAKE, from the celebrated establishment of Mr. Gunter of London, who has employed a clever Italian artist, M. Conté, to design it for him, and to model the elegant little figures which ornament the base.”

⁴¹ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, p. xxiv.

⁴² Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines*, p. 35.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Mark Haworth-Booth and Anne McCauley, *The Museum & The Photograph: Collecting Photography at the Victoria and Albert Museum 1852-1900*, p. 5, 10.

⁴⁶ Richard Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Art historian and photographic scholar Richard Rudisill explains that the comparison with Rembrandt is due to the sheer marvel of the medium’s monochromatic subtleties of continuous tonalities of light and dark along with the camera’s acute ability to render atmospheric conditions.⁴⁷

⁴⁸ Albert Boime, *Art In the Age of Revolution 1750-1800*, p. 84.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 82.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 82, 85.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 82, 84.

⁵² Roger Taylor, “Royal Patronage and photography 1839-1901,” *Crown & Camera*, p. 12.

⁵³ Frances Dimond, “Prince Albert and the application of photography,” *Crown and Camera*, p. 48

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵⁶ James Ryan, “Images and Impressions: Printing, Reproduction and Photography,” *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain*, p. 226.

⁵⁷ Geoffrey Batchen, “Dreams of ordinary life: Cartes-de-visite and the bourgeois imagination,” *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, p.82.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, p. 144.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, p. 145.

⁶² Ibid., p. 147.

⁶³ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Victoria R: A Biography with 400 Illustrations based on Her Personal Photographic Albums*, p. 261. Thus, the Queen became an avid collector of the new commodity. Throughout her life she amassed over one hundred cartes-de-visite albums which collectively contained 100,000 images. Frances Dimond points out that Queen Victoria often sought solace and comfort during her widowhood by looking at her albums of *cartes* when she was sad.

⁶⁴ Frances Dimond, *Crown and Camera*, p. 67.

- ⁶⁵ Roger Taylor, “Mr. Fenton Explained Everything: Queen Victoria and Roger Fenton,” *The Almighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852-1860*, p. 17.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ Frances Dimond, *Crown and Camera*, p. 67. “During Queen Victoria’s lifetime many of her portraits were issued for sale... the majority depict her as a woman rather than as a queen: those of 1860 and 1861, showing her with Prince Albert give no indication of their rank.” There are, however, numerous photographs of paintings by Winterhalter, Landseer, and others in the albums that picture the Queen in her royal regalia with her family and presiding over state affairs.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and Visualization of the British Empire*, p. 14.
- ⁷¹ Geoffrey Batchen, “Dreams of ordinary life: Cartes-de-visite and the bourgeois imagination,” *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, p.83.
- ⁷² Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, And The Mid-Victorian Imagination*, p. 114.
- ⁷³ Mark Haworth –Booth, *The Museum & The Photograph*, p. 9, 11.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, p. 145.
- ⁷⁸ Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, p. 64.
- ⁷⁹ John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, p. 151.
- ⁸⁰ Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, And The Mid-Victorian Imagination*, inside jacket cover.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, back jacket cover.
- ⁸³ Frances Dimond, *Crown and Camera*, p. 52.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction p. 3.
- ⁸⁵ Martha Landford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, p. 23
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- ⁸⁷ Anthony Alan Shelton, “Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World,” *The Cultures of Collecting*, p. 185, 186.
- ⁸⁸ Stanley Weintraub, *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert*, p. 6.
- ⁸⁹ Reginald Horseman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, p. 38.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 177.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- ⁹⁴ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Victoria R: A Biography with Four Hundred Illustrations based on her Personal Photographic Albums*, p. 15.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁶ Stanley Weintraub, *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert*, p. xiii. “His royal diadem was a crown of thorns. Having come to an alien country to sire the succession, he always remained the alien...his adopted people never fully accepted him.”
- ⁹⁷ Valerie Lloyd, “Roger Fenton and the Making of a Photographic Establishment,” *The Golden Age of British Photography 1839-1900*, p. 70.
- ⁹⁸ Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 6-8.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Victoria R: A Biography with 400 Illustrations based on Her Personal Photographic Albums*, p. 50. Albert also set up a working farm
- ¹⁰¹ James Buchan, *Crowded with Genius, The Scottish Enlightenment: Edinburgh’s Moment of the Mind*, p. 69.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- ¹⁰³ Mark Haworth-Booth, *Photography: An Independent Art, V&A 1839-1996*, p. 8.

- ¹⁰⁴ Delia Millar, "Royal Patronage & Influence," *The Victorian Vision*, p. 39.
- ¹⁰⁵ Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 75.
- ¹⁰⁶ Roger Taylor, "Royal Patronage and photography 1839-1901," *Crown & Camera*, p. 11.
- ¹⁰⁷ Delia Millar, "Royal Patronage & Influence," *The Victorian Vision*, p. 41.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- ¹⁰⁹ Roger Taylor, "Royal Patronage and photography 1839-1901," *Crown & Camera*, p. 13.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19. As briefly explained in footnote¹⁰ fading became a problem with some of the photographs in Prince Albert's Albums over the years following his death. The images that were fading were reproduced as carbon prints in 1893 which was a more stable process and affixed to the original photograph in the album.
- ¹¹¹ Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 70.
- ¹¹² Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Victoria R: A Biography with 400 Illustrations based on Her Personal Photographic Albums*, p. 15.
- ¹¹³ Roger Taylor, "Royal Patronage and photography 1839-1901," *Crown & Camera*, p. 11.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ¹¹⁷ Roger Taylor, "Mr. Fenton Explained Everything: Queen Victoria and Roger Fenton," *The Almighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852-1860*, p.75.
- ¹¹⁸ Roger Taylor, *Impressed By Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*, p. 61.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹²¹ John Steegman, *Consort of Taste 1830-1870* (1950), extracted from Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, p. 318.
- ¹²² Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 23.
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁴ Robert Rhodes James, *Prince Albert: A Biography*, p. 90.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p 91.
- ¹²⁶ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History Of The Senses*, p. 2.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
- ¹²⁸ It is an assumption on my part that Prince Albert wrote the captions for the photographs in the albums. There is no record of who the handwriting is actually attributed to, however, it is also possible that it was Albert's private secretary Dr. Becker whose photographs appear in the albums. Hermione Hobhouse brings up the issue of Albert titling papers in her discussion of the Prince's relationship with Henry Cole when she states, "Cole's system of classification had intrigued the Prince, whose own papers were impeccably filed at Windsor, often titled in his own hand." Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 91-92.
- ¹²⁹ Edited by Mark Haworth-Booth, Introduction by Marina Warner, *Things; A Spectrum of Photography 1850-2001*, p. 60. Also see Martha Landford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, p. 23. Landford states that "albums of photographs originated with the first successful prints," and gives the example of the Brewster album of 1842 which was started by Juliet Brewster as "a book of specimens" that preserved experiments.
- ¹³⁰ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 15 and p. ___
- ¹³¹ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Victoria R: A Biography with 400 Illustrations based on Her Personal Photographic Albums*, p. 208, see Chapter IV, "The Grandmother of Europe" for the genealogy of Queen Victoria's extended family. Prince Albert and Queen Victoria had 40 grandchildren including 4 reigning monarchs: King George V of the United Kingdom, Kaiser William II of Germany, Ernest Louis, Grand Duke of Hesse, and Carl Eduard, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, as well as Alexandra, the wife of the last Tsar of Russia. Their great-grandchildren included 2 kings of England, 3 kings of Greece, a king of Norway and a king of Romania.
- ¹³² Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," 1935.
- ¹³³ Charles Baudelaire, "The Modern Public and Photography," Edited by Alan Trachtenberg, *Classic Essays on Photography*, p. 86-89.
- ¹³⁴ The idea of photography in the service of mechanical reproduction is explored in Chapter 1, under the heading *Usurping the Print: Paper Galleries*.

¹³⁵ Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*, p. 100.

¹³⁶ Roger Taylor, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*, p. 31, 33.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹³⁸ Marina Warner, *Queen Victoria's Sketchbook*, p. 89.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.110.

¹⁴⁰ Marina Warner, *Queen Victoria's Sketchbook*, p. 8. According to Warner, Queen Victoria "has been, until now, an unknown example of a marvelous and extinct breed: the Victorian amateur watercolorist....Victoria drew and painted to chronicle her daily life."

¹⁴¹ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and Visualization of the British Empire*, p. 46.

¹⁴² Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, p. 16.

¹⁴³ The Art Museum of The University of Texas at Austin, *Victoria's World: A Photographic Portrait drawn from The Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas at Austin, September 22 - November 3, 1968*,

p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ In reference to the idea of "the savage," the word Kaffre or Kaffir was a name bestowed on the Zulus by Islamic traders which meant nonbelievers.

¹⁴⁶ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁴⁸ Roger Taylor, "Royal Patronage and photography 1839-1901," *Crown & Camera*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ The Art Museum of The University of Texas at Austin, *Victoria's World: A Photographic Portrait drawn from The Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas at Austin, September 22 - November 3, 1968*, p.5.