"Reading" Family Photographs: A Contextual Analysis of the Codman Photographic Collection

ELLIE REICHLIN

In addition to their family papers, the last two generations of the Lincoln Codmans left behind a collection of approximately 3000 photographs, including several hundred that had belonged to Sarah Codman's sisters Alice and Mary Bradlee, and their respective husbands Theodore Chase and Louis Gaillard. As a collection it is a heterogeneous lot, typifying the media of the century between the late 1850s and the early 1950s, including cartes-de-visite, fancy albums, cabinet cards, an occasional tintype, large albumen prints, gelatine prints and the ubiquitous "Kodak" in several varieties.[1] Its subject matter is equally heterogeneous—portraits, scenic views, landmarks, rooms, family travel and activities, pets—much of it undated and unidentified. Overall it lacks distinguished examples of the art or technology of photography, or the work of important photographers, though there are a few highlights: a rare album of early albumen prints of Calcutta—its government buildings, rajahs, and beggars—taken by an unknown native photographer and a memento of Ogden Codman's long voyage to India in 1858; a dozen or so large albumen prints of Alpine villages and scenery, Rome, Paris, and Versailles by unidentified European photographers, probably collected by Sarah and Ogden Codman when they visited Europe in the mid-1860s; an equal number of carte-de-visite portraits by the "father" of carte-de-visite photography, Disderi, taken in Paris ca. 1860-1861; besides a few carte-de-visite portraits by Matthew Brady's New York studio, taken in 1861. By the early 1880s, the work of professional photographers is almost entirely superseded by that of family amateurs, as improvements in photographic technology made photography a pastime whose practice was within reach of even the most mechanically inept. From that period on, snapshots predominate, with the exception of several hundred cabinet views taken by Thomas Codman in the 1880s, whose work was visually, if not technically, prodigious.

Were it not for the fact that the collection contains a good deal of useful information about "The Grange" and its surroundings, and that it also enables us to visualize what its occupants looked like, its quality might tempt one to ignore it—even to put it back into the shoeboxes, trunks and bureau drawers from whence it came. However, an alternative is to consider the collection as an artifactual and documentary whole which constitutes a visual text of family history—intermittent, highly selective in subject matter, often inscrutable—but nevertheless a version of experiences and relationships with its own autonomy as a chronicle made up of visual units of communication, which narrates differently and is perceived differently from written text, though its reading today depends on writing for its interpretation. As a text it can also be inverted to read as a history of photographic usage in a family setting

Ellie Reichlin is Librarian of SPNEA, in charge of its photographic and manuscript collections. She received an M. A. in anthropology from the University of Rochester, where she was also a doctoral candidate. Before coming to SPNEA, she was on the staff of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

throughout nearly a century, a history which is also a version of how people expressed themselves before the camera, of the personal, social, and even decorative values that were attached to certain kinds of photographs, and the various ways in which photographs were perceived or experienced.

The two readings—one of family history, the other of photographic usage, cannot be carried out independently of one another. The structure of the family's visual narrative (episodic though it is) is intelligible only in the light of what it was technically feasible and conventionally possible, at any given period, to "say," while the way in which photographs were put to use is unintelligible unless we know what purposes photographs were intended to serve and what they connoted to specific individuals. Each becomes a context for understanding the other, a context which undergoes progressive changes over time, as new needs and new technical and stylistic possibilities are introduced into the system.

In thinking about a whole photographic collection as both a creative and a highly conventionalized form of text, it is useful to keep in mind that it represents a number of different choices, not only about whom and what to picture, but how and when to picture, and eventually about where the picture(s) should be placed and arranged. The factors which regulate these choices may be erratic or they may be patterned—virtually nothing is known about them. They may lie in the unique "culture" of the family, its idiosyncratic history and structure, or they may be derived from the culture of the society with which the family is identified, from which it has learned a code of visual etiquette. As a trivial example, there is a conspicuous absence of family portraits in the Codman photograph collection after the early 1890s, though prior to this period, portraits were taken regularly. What does this contrast imply? From the context of photographic history there is no evidence that portraiture was out of fashion, which suggests that something internal to the family is responsible. Thomas Codman had a camera which he used well, photographing such subjects as the family's ancestral paintings, the rooms at "The Grange," sailboats at Bar Harbor. In Dinard, France, where the Codmans lived between 1875 and 1884, people had been pleased enough with his portraits to pay for them and put them on display. Two of his most effective ones, besides those of his sister "Ahla," were of his parents—"Mère and Père Cot"—which are among the few still to be on view at "The Grange." After the mid-1890s something was keeping family members out of range of the camera that had nothing to do with Tom's skill, nor with lack of precedent. It is the regularity of avoidance as a strongly patterned feature, and its contrast to a previously-established pattern that constitutes a nucleus of behavior which might be usefully compared to behaviors in other collections, for there is a plausible connection here between the advancing age of family members and their apparent reluctance to be pictured.

This observation suggests a more inclusive question, one which asks what might precipitate the making of a portrait, or for that matter, any type of photographic record intended for private use. In portraiture, is there an underlying etiquette which times photography to coincide with one's period of maximum physical and social attractiveness? Is there a comparable etiquette involved in the discernible tendency of the camera to avoid portraying distasteful or painful episodes in the life cycle—illness, dying, accidents (though fires and explosions seem to be the exception) and the mundane routines of daily life, such as housework, eating, or shopping, to name but a few? Certainly the material from the Codman collection suggests that these subjects were regularly avoided, while others—such as picnics, visits, and other light-hearted occasions—were regularly stressed and whose reporting in the

family chronicle effectively associated family life with good and "wholesome" times.

It might be useful to examine what kinds of photographic "topics" appear to be compulsory elements of a family text. Certainly baby pictures are an example, though in this, as in countless other collections, the first-born receives the overwhelming share of attention. Photographs of Ogden, Jr. far outnumber those taken of his siblings at comparable ages, and there is some indication that he continued to be photographed more frequently than the others throughout his life. Next to Ogden, Jr., Alice—the second-born, but first girl—was most often photographed, while the remaining children received only cursory notice. It is worth noting that children are involuntary subjects, whose picturing at consistent intervals can be interpreted to express prevailing cultural conceptions about the significant phases and duration of childhood as a distinct period in the life cycle. This will be discussed more fully in a later section. In addition to the compulsory records marking off intervals in infancy and childhood, another photograph appears to have been required when childhood was finished as a developmental status, and adulthood had begun. Photographs of this type appear in both the generations of Ogden and Sarah Codman and of their children.

There is a noticeable lack of graduation pictures in both generations, at any level of the educational ladder. In Ogden and Sarah's case their absence can be attributed to technological factors alone, though in the case of their children—none of whom were graduated from college—the absence suggests that the completion of a secondary school education was not perceived culturally to be a significant enough developmental or social event to require commemorative recognition, unlike college graduating classes which began to be pictured by the early 1860s. Other themes

FIG. 80. SARAH BRADLEE CODMAN IN THE SITTING ROOM, MAISON CROLARD. 1882-1883. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

which are consistently overlooked, in contrast to those which are mandated today, include wedding pictures (partially explicable on technological grounds in Ogden and Sarah's case, but not in the case of the family's only other marriage, that of Ogden, Jr. to Leila Webb, a widow), birthday parties, and festive occasions, especially Christmas. Weddings, like funerals, may have been considered too sacred to record at the period of Ogden and Sarah's marriage, while in Ogden, Jr.'s case, a generation later, the fact that the bride was a widow may have made picturing inappropriate. Neither birthdays nor holidays would have been likely to be photographed until the advent of amateur equipment in the 1880s, by which time the family's children (with the exception of Dorothy, the last, late child) presumably had outgrown the ceremonial observance of birthdays. This leaves unexplained the absence of Christmas photographs or those of other festive occasions in which members of the extended family were gathered together. That these ritual gatherings took place is confirmed by entries in Sarah Codman's journals; the fact that they were generally indoor events, which required a more complex technical setup than is necessary today, may explain their omission from the record on technological, rather than preferential, grounds, since outdoor family gatherings *were* occasionally photographed. (See fig. 103.) However, on a purely intuitive level, one has the impression that the Codmans, with the exception of Ogden, Sr., were relatively unenthusiastic and perfunctory about being pictured. In those situations in which camera appearances were optional, such as being pictured at play or in the popular activity of "touring," the Codmans not infrequently slouch away from the camera, making themselves visually secondary to the ruins of Pompeii, or to the grounds of "The Grange," among many other examples.

By contrast, there was no reluctance whatsoever with respect to picturing the family rooms, a task which fell to Thomas Codman and occasionally to his sister Dorothy, while Ogden, Jr. (the only one of the children to have a profession and to live apart from the household of his birth) contributed literally hundreds of views of the elegant and frequently changing interiors to which he applied his classical theories of good taste. There is no question that as a subject of photographic discourse, written commentary, and of behavior itself, rooms, as environments expressive of taste and ancestral history, were extraordinarily important to this family, particularly to its final generation. The rooms were so closely tied with their sense of personal and collective identity that one wonders whether the family's truest portraits—how they wished to be perceived—may not be personified by the many photographs of their rooms, especially at "The Grange," which progressively came to serve as the functional equivalents of the personal portraiture which halted so abruptly after the early 1890s.

The "room portraits" begin in the early 1880s, with the house in Dinard (whose sitting room, in typically restless Codman fashion was redecorated at least once in a two-and-one-half year period, and perhaps several times previously), then continue with "The Grange" in the late 1880s and early 1890s, at the turn of the century, and again in the early 1930s, punctuated with interiors of the various temporary residences of the Codmans in Berlin and Paris in the 1890s, in Bar Harbor in the late 1880s and the early 1890s, and with Dorothy's various Boston apartments in the early 1900s, as well as Ogden, Jr.'s New York apartment, ca. 1910, and his French châteaux between ca. 1920 and ca. 1940.[2] Of these photographs, there is only one (one view and one copy, which is unusual since the collection contains many duplicate photographs) in which a figure appears in any of the family rooms, and this is Tom's portrait of Sarah Codman in the family's sitting room at Dinard (fig. 80). The

preference for empty rooms is typical of professional photographic practice, which facilitated the use of such photographs as inventories as well as a means of expressing pride of place. It would be considered unremarkable except for the marked contrast between Tom's portrayals of the Codman rooms in Dinard and those of other households. The latter are characteristically filled with activities such as eating, playing cards, reading, and sewing, while the Codman rooms are characteristically empty, a contrast which implies that the photographs either had an entirely different intention, or that Tom's perception of his own surroundings made it inappropriate to picture them in association with daily life.

The series of "room portraits" is possibly a unique sequential record of how a single family used photographs ornamentally from the mid-1880s until the death of Dorothy Codman in 1968, when SPNEA prepared a photographic inventory of the Codman House exactly as Dorothy had left it. With magnification, it is sometimes possible to identify the subject matter of the photographs on display, which potentially provides an unwitting source of information about the sentimental associations embodied by a class of objects—photographs in this case— in a room environment. The "room portraits" reveal that the use of photographs in rooms was, with one notable exception, limited to portraiture, a pattern of such unusual consistency as to suggest that any other subject matter would have been considered unsuitable. The exception is the use of two photographs of the exterior of "The Grange," which were hung in the schoolroom of the family's residence in Dinard (fig. 106). Secondly, they reveal that photographic display was limited to living areas and bedrooms at "The Grange" and elsewhere, though absent from the only available dining room views which were taken at Lincoln at two intervals between the mid-1880s and late 1890s. Of their use in utility areas, nothing is known until 1968, when a SPNEA photograph of an upstairs bathroom shows it to be one of the few remaining environments in which photographs were still displayed. A framed photograph of an unidentified gentleman, probably taken in the 1880s to judge from the moustache and hairstyle, confronts the bathtub.[3]

The earlier "room portraits" show photographs as an appropriate garniture for tables, mantels, and shelves, though they were rarely hung on walls. A significant departure from this norm occurs at "The Grange," where a small number of Tom Codman's photographs of painted ancestral portraits no longer in the family's own possession were framed and treated as original paintings, a usage which was permissible even in so august a chamber as the paneled room. For a period between 1886 and 1893, a facsimile of Copley's portrait of Katherine Graves Russell, then owned by Henry Dalton, occupied a prominent position on the wall above the fireplace, flanked by a framed portrait of Daniel Russell that was conspicuously propped on a cabinet adjoining the fireplace wall. The latter was hung later in the billiard room, together with a facsimile of the painting of the Ogden sisters. Tom's methodical photographic inventory of the ancestral portraits, carefully mounted and inscribed with his name as photographer, was located on a table in the paneled room, presumably to afford ready reference (see fig. 48). The use of facsimile portraits in contexts appropriate for the display of originals is dramatic evidence of their importance as visible testimony to the existence of both distinguished ancestral connections and ancestral possessions, a function which evidently outweighed the disadvantage of not being able to reproduce the size or color of the paintings themselves. At the same time, their display acquired further significance as evidence of Tom's virtuosity as a photographer. Facsimile portraits of John and Margaret Codman, the acknowledged

founders of the Lincoln line, were even carried to "Tanglewood," a summer cottage in Bar Harbor, Maine. Here they were paired among such contemporaries as Fanny Codman Sturgis and her sister Lucy Sturgis, and various Dinard acquaintances on the sitting room mantel.

Of the photographs that have been identified, the emphasis in Lincoln and Bar Harbor appears to have been on members of Ogden Codman's line of descent, rather than on the Bradlee line. However, evidence from the "room portraits" suggests that it was equally acceptable to include friends and even passing acquaintances among the ranks of photographic familiars.[4] Except in Dinard, when the family was younger, baby photographs seldom are subjects for public display, nor is there evidence of young children in room settings other than Dinard. In general, the overall emphasis (with the exception of painted ancestors) tends to be on the use of images which are relatively up-to-date with the present appearances of the persons they represent, a usage which orients the viewer to the photographic subject as "real" rather than "remembered." The active exchange of photographs, which family correspondence documents between 1880 and 1900, suggests that people were not unaware of the potential dissonance between actual and "photographic" time, and that this awareness may have been one of the factors which precipitated the timing of successive portraits until one reached an age when photographs threatened to undermine one's most cherished self-image. For example, Henrietta ("Etta") Reubell wrote to Ogden Codman, Sr.,

> "I want you to have a souvenir from dear mom and have sent you to Dinard the photograph in old stuff like my workbag. It always stood, you know, on the work table in the little drawing room and mom said it kept her company when I was out gadding. Do burn those photos you have of mine, for there is another in the frame."[5]

Mary J.T. Brown wrote Alice Codman from Wellington, New Zealand,

> "I wish you would send me your photograph. We think of being photographed sometime soon as we haven't been "done" for 8 or 9 years. I shall send you copies if you care to have them."[6]

By the turn of the century, "room portraits" reveal that photographic usage at "The Grange" was undergoing transformation, coinciding with the first of two periods of redecoration orchestrated by Ogden, Jr., and reflecting his preference for a less claustrophobic, more classical environment. The first cycle eliminated photographs from the living areas, with the exception of facsimile portraits which continued to hang in the former billiard room. Several photographs remained on view in various upstairs bedrooms, though by the end of the second cycle of redecoration in the late 1920s even these had been severely pruned. By the time "The Grange" was photographed in 1968, less than a dozen photographs were in evidence, in contrast to the several dozen which had been displayed until ca. 1900.

The logical explanation for this transformation is that photographs had become visually incongruous and historically inaccurate in rooms whose new style alluded to a pre-photographic time period. On the other hand, their removal took place in a context of declining interest in photography generally, a phenomenon not satisfactorily explained by decorative considerations alone. For example, after 1912 the family ceased to compile snapshot albums, though from 1896 until this date, albums had served as detailed (if often out-of-focus) chronicles of their travels and activities at "The Grange." If Dorothy were the person most responsible for their arrangement and annotation, it was not without a generous measure of assistance from Hugh, Tom, and even on occasion Ogden, Jr., whose collaboration as photographers was carefully recorded beside each image.

By 1920, Sarah Codman was unable to recall "where all the old photographs were put" that she had once removed from an album, and which Ogden, Jr. returned, still empty, a reminder that she should "hunt them all up" on a suitably rainy day.[7] Always intermittent and relatively thin in commentary, by 1920 the Codmans' photographic record slowed to a trickle of snapshots, the majority of which documented current changes in various rooms that Ogden, Jr. was redecorating. Whatever potency photographs had once had as objects of sentiment seems to have belonged only to the generation of Ogden, Sr. and Sarah, for after Sarah's death in 1922, they became progressively subject to casual treatment—neither framed, mounted, nor placed in albums.

Although there is no way to measure the extent to which the rate of photographic activity correlates with a family's perception of photographs as useful or desirable objects, it seems reasonable to assume that such a relationship exists. The fact that "old" photographs had been put away, and that few new photographs were being generated, suggests that there may be a "set-point" in the history of a family when it has enough photographs of itself, and when relationships and experiences are sufficiently predictable or routine to make further pictorial commentary redundant. There is also probably a point at which old photographs become tiresome and visually out-of-date with current perceptions of reality, and when new photographs, of family members or others of its generation, are bound to be unflattering. It may require marriages, births, and other metamorphic events to reactivate the keeping of a photographic record, none of which were part of the experience of the Codmans' final generation.

One also wonders if the devolution of photographic interest which first manifests itself in the disappearance of photographs from family rooms is not related to an increasing tendency on the part of the Codman children to look backwards, beyond their personal histories, to the family's ancestral origins as a source of their identity. Not long after Ogden, Jr. carried out his first redecoration of "The Grange" he began an ambitious program of genealogical research, simultaneously enlisting Tom, Hugh, and Dorothy to seek out every bit of provenance associated with the family's ancestral possessions. For over twenty years, beginning ca. 1918, their correspondence documents a consuming interest in their remote ancestral history, paralleled by a relative indifference to the relationships formed by their parent's marriage, except as subject for gossip and even occasional malice. Even the redecoration of "The Grange" itself might be interpreted as more than just an opportunity for Ogden, Jr. to apply his talents to rooms which undoubtedly needed refurbishing. In reverting to a more classical style, he not only showed himself to be in touch with the fashionable currents of his architectural generation, but in touch with generations of ancestral Codmans, whose memories the rooms thenceforth reinvoked, while revoking the imprint of the latter-day Codmans. Implicitly, in redesigning the family rooms, Ogden, Jr. redesigned the Codman "image" to reflect the family's earlier distinction, whose achievements could be counted upon to provide a source of pride to those of its last branch who had failed to leave their mark on time. From the turn of the century, and certainly gaining momentum after ca. 1912, those at the end of the line seem to have found their image not in their own accomplishments, but in the demonstrable authority of their ancestral paintings, genealogical integrity, and in all that "The Grange" had now come to embody as a purified symbol of ancestral continuity. One might speculate that there was no longer a need to picture themselves, when what they felt they were was now so effectively expressed by "place." By 1968, Ogden, Sr. and Sarah Codman had assumed a minor status as ancestors, even

though the house reflected little of their presence. Two of their photographs, taken in 1864 and artistically reinforced with painted tints, hang in an upstairs bedroom, while two others, taken by their son Thomas, are paired in handsome frames on a desk in the library. Not a single photograph of the last generation is in evidence, though there is a painted portrait of Ogden, Jr. on view. All the other photographs had been put away in boxes, trunks, drawers, or albums, and even the latter were not conspicuously displayed.

The manner in which the family's photographs were stored is further evidence of the casual regard in which they had come to be held, though one can partially reconstruct their former value to various family members by examining how they were physically maintained and, in the case of albums, how their contents were arranged. For example, Ogden Codman, Jr. accumulated dozens of snapshots and some professionally-made photographs of formal gardens, palazzi, and country estates for use as design sources in his architectural practice. Generally these were unmounted, some even remaining in the original envelopes in which they were sent. They were essentially meant for professional use, not as records of personal experience, and were treated with a minimum of ceremony. Their interest lies not only in what they document about architectural tastes, but also the factors which influenced the production of commercial photographic views. For example, Edith Wharton, one of a number of "scouts" whom he had informally commissioned to acquire architectural material, wrote,

> "I have been more constant in my thoughts than you, for I have been trying without much success, to get you photos of Parma and Modena, where there are some delightful palaces which you ought to see. Alas, however, there is no "call" for anything in architecture later than the 13th century and all the lovely barocco fountains, palaces, staircases etc. remain unphotographed. I only succeeded in getting you two wretched little reproductions of the Ducal Palace at Modena and the Maison de Plaisance of the Dukes of Parma."[8]

Similarly, English decorator Julian Sampson complained,

> "It's a poor lot but you may as well have them . . . one's difficulty in collecting . . . is accentuated by the fact that *most* of the good houses aren't photted [*sic*] at all whereas any large new thing belonging to a well known person is taken at once. There are some nice Georgian things in Newbury asking for a phot. Of one of them I was told "Oh, but it's only the doctor's."[9]

By contrast, Ogden, Jr.'s photographs of his own, many, rooms are generally carefully arranged in albums—the inexpensive, utilitarian "Shipman binders" which he favored for his personal records.

In a similar fashion, the many hundreds of photographs which Tom Codman took between 1882 and the late 1890s are all either mounted or placed in albums, suggesting that their content—whose overriding emphasis is on persons, places, and things relevant to the family's shared experience—had enough significance to deserve treatment as records of permanent value. The albums in which many of these were placed resemble those used by Ogden, Jr. and by Dorothy and Alice for their snapshots of family travels and of "The Grange." None of the children took advantage of the more durable and expensive albums which were on the market, but uniformly used those of the cheapest sort. By contrast, the family's albums of the 1860s and again in the 1880s, all of them devoted to portraits, are distinctly sumptuous in quality—a fact which, in part, reflects fashion, for albums were still somewhat of a novelty—but may also be correlated with the far greater importance photographs seem to have had as a focus of sentiment at this earlier period in the family's history, and with the novelty of their subject matter of a generation undergoing visible transformations.

From this brief survey of some of the evolutionary characteristics of the Codmans' photographic "text" and the context

of its use, we move to a more detailed consideration of three groups of photographs which are representative of photographic usage at two different time periods. The first two concern portraiture, mostly of the carte-de-visite era which dominated photography in the 1860s. The last represents the work of Thomas Codman, the family photographer. All three represent climaxes in the cycle of the family's photographic activity, the first which peaked in the decade between 1860-1870, the second in the 1880s and early 1890s, and the third, which is not represented, between ca. 1897 until 1912. That each of these climaxes, as measured by the numbers of photographs created and the relative continuity of the photographic record which was otherwise subject to frequent lapses, corresponds with a shift in photographic technology is probably no accident. Like most people, the Codmans were susceptible to novelty and fashion, and photography was one of the great novelties of nineteenth-century technology. Of the three shifts, only two are treated here, one being the period in which paper photography first became a commercially feasible process after the mid-1850s, resulting in the development of the carte-de-visite and stereographic views and the second being the period when dry-plate negatives and gelatine papers first became available in the early 1880s, enormously simplifying the photographic process and enabling amateurs to expand the narrative scope of the family chronicle. For reasons of space, the period in which roll film and the "Kodak" came into widespread circulation in the late 1880s, has been omitted, though it undeniably occupies a major portion of the family's visual text.

In the following essays an effort also has been made to describe the nature of what, for lack of a better term, might be called the photographic "experience"—the penumbra of affect which surrounded both the use and perception of photographs and gave them meaning beyond that which is denoted by their visual content alone. One suspects that in a family setting photographs have relatively little value as a literal source of information about how one looked or where one lived, but that their real importance is mnemonic, in what they trigger in the way of memories and emotions that were connected with the image, but are in no way visibly part of it. On what cues does the mnemonic reading of photographs depend? Does it derive from the context in which the photograph is viewed or is it in the manner in which the image visually encodes certain kinds of information about the thing pictured, or in the special knowledge of, or relationship to, the subject which a viewer brings to the photograph? Or in all three? A very tentative attempt has been made to draw attention to the way in which these cues are organized, and how they undergo change over time.

Perhaps the greatest surprise in preparing this paper has been to find how much the Codmans and their circle recorded their responses to photographs, if only on such a superficial level as "I don't like how I look" to one which speaks of their capacity to arouse deeper emotions such as love or jealousy. The fact that so much material has been found to exist—and only a superficial survey of the gargantuan mass of family papers has been attempted—suggests that family manuscripts may be an unsuspected and potentially rich source of information about the bewildering issue of how and what photographs communicate.

Love and Marriage: Photographs as Messages of Endearment During the Carte-de-Visite Era

The exchange of photographs between Ogden and Sarah was as much a ritual of their courtship as the exchange of letters. They met at skating and riding parties when Sarah was fifteen and Ogden was twenty. By the time he left for a year's voyage to Calcutta in 1858—evidently intended to curb his spendthrift ways—Sarah had accepted a ring, "at the first road off

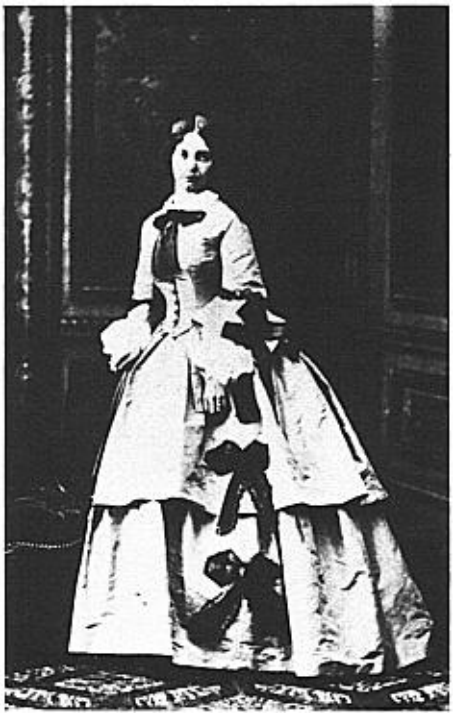

FIG. 81. FRANCES (FANNY) CODMAN STURGIS, 1860-1861. Mayer and Pierson, photographers, Paris (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

the Milldam" and Ogden had obtained her daguerreotype (now lost) that became one of his "greatest consolations" during the long absence from Boston. His response to her photograph was not unlike that expressed by his great-uncle James Russell, who found it "impossible to describe the satisfaction and comfort" he derived from looking at the Copley portraits of his father and mother. "I can almost see him [his father, James Russell] as in 1797 when he used to make me sit by him and tell him the news. I think sometimes I can almost see the lips move. They are the last thing I look at at night and the first things I look at in the morning."[10] In their capacity to arouse tender sentiments, photographs were no less powerful than paintings, despite their tendency to be less flattering to their subjects. Clearly the emotions they generated were in the eye of the beholder, rather than in the technical or aesthetic quality of the medium, which at this period disavowed the romantic visual effects that became common to photographic portraiture in the 1880s.

Ogden's frequent absences during their long courtship left to correspondence and photographs an unusually large share of the communication which, under normal circumstances, would have been transmitted personally. Their first exchanges were conducted secretly, through an intermediary affectionately dubbed "Cupid" (apparently R. F. Clark, to whom Ogden addressed his letters to Sarah). The secret understanding which had been established in 1858 was made official in 1859, six months after Ogden's return from Calcutta, when he became "anxious for . . . [Sally] to tell father."[11] This formality was completed on 13 November, when James Bradlee was told of their intentions, an event which necessitated consultations with Ogden's older brother Charles and prospective father-in-law on the fifteenth, and another review of Ogden's prospects on the twenty-second. Soon thereafter he again left Boston, this time for Europe. The nature of his business in London and Paris is unclear. He was gone until mid-June of 1860. In late September of 1860, their engagement was officially "out," and again Ogden left for Europe where he remained until the spring of 1861.[12]

To judge from one of Ogden's most impassioned letters, photographs were an effective substitute for real life contact, even in the form of the small carte-de-visite. He wrote "in the presence of the [Sarah's] picture" which had been placed in "the prettiest little carved rosewood frame I could find in Paris (though it is not half pretty enough for a picture of you dear little Sallie) standing in front of me so I can look up at you every now and then . . . and now I kiss your dear picture goodnight." She regularly sent other carte-de-visite portraits—one that Ogden showed to Aunt Rebecca who thought it was of Mrs. Sturgis

FIG. 82. SARAH BRADLEE, March 1861(?). Black and Batchelder, photographers, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 83. SARAH BRADLEE, March 1861(?). Black and Batchelder, photographers, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Multiple lenses, which could be separately uncapped, permitted several poses to be struck during a single sitting. The two poses illustrated here may be only a few of the photographs taken of Sarah on this occasion.

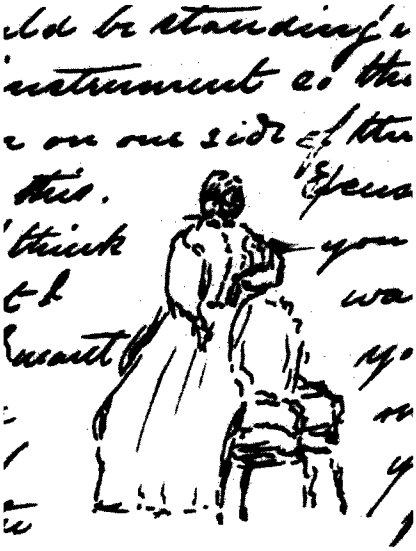

FIG. 84. LETTER FROM OGDEN CODMAN, SR. TO SARAH BRADLEE, 31 JANUARY 1860 (SPNEA, Codman Family Manuscripts Collection).

FIG. 85. SARAH BRADLEE, 1861(?). Photographer unknown; possibly Black and Batchelder, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). This is the only photograph which could be located that closely approximates the instructions of Ogden's sketch.

FIG. 86. OGDEN CODMAN, SR., 1860. Mayer and Pierson, photographers, Paris (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 87. OGDEN CODMAN, SR., 1860. A. Ken, photographer, Paris (SPNEA Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 88. OGDEN CODMAN, SR., 1860. A. Ken, photographer, Paris (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). The location of A. Ken's studio in Montmartre, the artists' quarter of Paris, suggests the possibility that it was a "cut-rate" establishment, in contrast to the highly reputable studio of Mayer and Pierson located on the affluent Boulevard des Italiens.

FIG. 89. SARAH BRADLEE, May(?) 1861. James Black, photographer (SPNEA Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 90. GROUP PORTRAIT, PROBABLY MEMBERS OF CHASE FAMILY AND FRIENDS, 1864. James Black, photographer, Newport, Rhode Island (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Black and Batchelder's two-year partnership was dissolved some time in 1861. By 1864, Black's independent business was sufficiently active to warrant the opening of a Newport studio. For further information on Black's career, see Pamela Hoyle, *The Boston Ambience* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1981).

(Frances Codman Sturgis, Ogden's sister) and she was "considered very handsome. Perhaps this ought to be taken as a compliment to you though I must say it is one to her" (fig. 81). The comparison is justified, though not necessarily the conclusion.[13]

Photographs were intended as much for discriminating public scrutiny as for personal meditation. It was important that the carte-de-visite portrait convey a favorable impression of the subject, flattering not only to the sitter but also the recipient's discernment. In a quite remarkable bit of photographic history, Ogden repeatedly demonstrated concern for having Sarah project an appropriate image, something which was far less under the subject's control in photography than in painting, which so readily lends itself to idealization. "Go in a simple dress" he wrote, "that is without much trimming which I hate, and be taken one standing and one sitting down."[14] As can be seen from the illustrations (figs. 82, 83), she dutifully complied. The cost of the photographs was $3.25, greater than any of her expenditures in March, 1861. Earlier that year, Ogden had been even more specific about the details of her appearance, formulating a specific set of instructions accompanied by a sketch (fig. 84),

> I send you a photograph of my sister thinking you might like to see it and two of myself as I promised. I wish you would have yours taken again in the new gown you had just before I left that I liked so much (I think it was a brown one) with your face turned just as much to one side as it is in this one (but without your bonnet and cloak) and leaning either one or both arms on the back of a chair about as high as the one you sent me. The chair should be standing with its side towards the instrument so that it may show your gown on one side of the picture something like this. Excuse this horrid scrawl but I think you may get an idea of what I want from it. Besides this I want you to tell the operator to have more room between the top of your head and the top of your picture than between the bottom of your dress and the bottom of the picture. I am particular because I intend to have it copied on a larger scale and then painted in Paris. Would you be so kind as to send a little lock of your hair with it in order that the artist may see the color of it. I shall have to stand over him so that he gets the eyes right.[15]

Whether the photograph illustrated here (fig. 85) was made in response to this letter is not certain, though the distance between the top of Sarah's head and the top of the picture certainly differs from the norm. It is not known if the painted enlargement (a common method of hybridization which associated photography with the "fine arts") materialized, for by 4 May 1860, the requested photograph had not yet been received, and Ogden wondered if he would have another chance "to have it copied here [in Paris] for I shall have to leave in a short time."[16]

Ogden's final photographic exchange with his fiancée consisted of portraits taken by Mayer and Pierson in Paris, a firm to which he was recommended by his sister Fanny Codman Sturgis, as a source of those "small cartes de visite" where Fanny also wished he "would have yr. photograph

FIG. 91. OGDEN CODMAN, SR. WITH HIS DOG "GRIG," 1860. Black and Batchelder, photographers, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 92. "GRIG," 1860. Black and Batchelder, photographers, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

taken."[17] As photographers to the Emperor Napoleon, they did a superior job (fig. 86), far better than the portraits taken in the course of a "lark" when Ogden went "with a party" to the studio of A. Ken in Montmartre. Here he doffed his hat, made a bow and assumed other postures symbolic of the status of "gentleman" which he was to list on his marriage certificate as his occupation.[18] In one of them he "was supposed to be making a bow, but I wasn't rightly placed so it wasn't very good."[19] Possibly he was "spirituous." Whatever the reason, he appears to better advantage with his hat placed firmly on his head (figs. 87, 88).

As befitted a "gentleman" Ogden spent lavishly on clothing in Paris and London in the year before his marriage, a vanity to which his photographs from this period attest.[20] The use of photographs to display one's pride in costume apparently was a conscious factor in the evolution of carte-de-visite portraiture towards full-length representations of the subject, especially for women's portraits.[21] The becoming portrait of Sally in a feathered hat (fig. 89) also documents the most lavish of her expenditures in 1861, to which photographs consistently ran a close second. At $14.00, the bonnet was an extravagance intended for display, and a significant enough departure from her normal purchases to deserve a photographic memorial. The portrait was probably taken in May or June of 1861, shortly after the hat was acquired in May. There are entries for photographs in her accounts in both these months.

During the period of their courtship, both Ogden and Sarah patronized the studio of Boston photographer James Black, whose modish assortment of studio props appears to have encouraged his patrons to act out their latent theatrical fantasies. A view made by Black's newly opened Newport studio (which included such ingenious props as a rowboat) illustrates the element of theater associated with camera "performances." This example (fig. 90) includes friends and relatives of Kitty Chase, who was to become Sarah's sister-in-law after Alice Bradlee's marriage to Theodore Chase. However, despite the fact that Mr. Black "himself attends to the positions" of his clients,[22] he was never able to elicit from Sally the spirited camera presence which came so naturally to Ogden. On one occasion Ogden visited Black's Boston studio with his dog "Grig" who is shown patiently curled in a corner, awaiting his turn to exhibit his considerable acrobatic talents (fig. 91). Ogden's erect posture owes much to the use of a head stand, designed to hold the pose during a long exposure. Grig's posture is evidently due to innate talent and long training (fig. 92). His photographs, of which this is but one, were later shown "to several people" when Ogden returned to Paris, who "all unite in praising them."[23]

FIG. 93. OGDEN CODMAN, SR. AND SARAH BRADLEE CODMAN, 1864. L. Pierson photographer, firm of Mayer and Pierson, Paris (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 94. SARAH BRADLEE CODMAN, 1864. L. Pierson, photographer (signed), Paris; tinted by A. Schad (signed), Paris (SPNEA, Codman House). A companion portrait of Ogden, Sr., by the same artists, hangs with Sarah's in an upstairs bedroom at "The Grange." They are among the few photographs to remain on view.

The marriage of Ogden and Sarah took place on Saturday, 26 October 1861, though Sarah's journal makes no further mention of the event beyond its date. No photographs were made of the wedding itself, not unusual in view of the difficulties of lighting and the bulkiness of photographic equipment at this period. The customs of posing the bride in her gown or of making a

FIG. 95. SARAH BRADLEE CODMAN WITH OGDEN CODMAN, JR., 2 June 1863. John Whipple, photographer, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 96. SARAH BRADLEE CODMAN WITH ALICE CODMAN, 1866. John Whipple, photographer, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Notice the re-use of the bonnet that was also worn by Ogden, Jr. when his first picture was taken at approximately the same age as this one of "Ahla."

ritual portrait of the bride and groom does not seem to have become popular until the 1880s. However, portraits stating Ogden and Sarah's formal relationship as a married couple were made three years later in 1864 (by which time they had also added the status of parenthood to that of husband and wife), when they visited the studio of Mayer and Pierson in Paris to "have photographs taken" and two days later went "to see our photographs."[24] That this deserved an entry suggests that the visit was of more than trivial importance. Two of the photographs were later enlarged, and then painted by A. Schad, possibly the copyist whom Ogden had intended to hire for a painted portrait of Sarah in 1860, mentioned earlier. The final versions, (which were among the few photographs to remain on view at "The Grange" after photographs had been banished as an element of room decoration) were selected from a series of poses (figs. 93, 94), some that showed them individually, others which represented them as a pair. That they selected individual likenesses for copying is consistent with the emphasis of all portraits of members of the immediate family to be upon individuals pictured in isolation, rather than defining their relationships within the same visual field. This is a tendency which persists throughout the entire period of active portraiture and, with rare exceptions, holds true for both adults and children. The definition of relationships depended on the knowledge of the observer or was achieved by means of paired

FIG. 97. SARAH BRADLEE CODMAN WITH DOROTHY CODMAN, 1883. A. Crolard, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Note the difference between this strongly asymmetrical pose of mother and infant, and Whipple's "baby pictures" taken at approximately the same age. A similar asymmetry is evident in a portrait of Sarah with infant Hugh Codman, also by a French photographer, L. Joliot of Paris (1875). Visually the asymmetry emphasizes the mother as a dominant presence, in contrast to the equivalence of mother and child suggested by Whipple's poses. Whether the preference for this form of presentation is characteristically French, or reflects a more general shift in picturing mother-infant relationships, deserves further study.

displays of portraits and the way in which photographs were sequenced in albums, leaving considerable room for editing according to the observer's interpretation of the kinship networks. Whether this striking preference for individuality of representation is idiosyncratic or reflects the force of prevailing pictorial convention deserves to be explored. Options apparently existed, for photographs taken at the same period of members of the Crowninshield family, into which Sarah Bradlee's sister married, represent persons in pairs or even groups. These were options that, for whatever reason, the Codmans were disinclined to pick up, making the portrait of Ogden and Sarah especially significant as the only image in the entire collection to specify their distinct identity as a couple. The dress that Sarah wore for this photograph later touched off a Proustian recall in their son, Ogden, Jr., whose train of thought moved from his own physical maladies to mother to wallpaper and finally to photograph:

> I have been thinking of poor Mère Cot these last 2 or 3 days because so many of her letters used to be so full of troubles . . . another thing that reminds me of Mère Cot is the wallpaper of this room which is a sort of brown yellow, very like a dress she had in Paris, I think, when she was first married. I think she wore it in a photograph taken there. She had it made over later and I certainly recollect pieces of it. I like this color very much and it makes a very pleasant room.[25]

The Beginnings of the End of the Line

Ogden, Jr., the first of the last of the Lincoln Codmans, was born in January of 1863, and had his first picture taken on 2 June 1863, an event which merited a terse entry in Sarah's journal (fig. 95).[26] The photographer was John Whipple, who, like James Black, was the foremost of Boston's photographers in the 1860s. The choice of Whipple, who also ushered in Alice's and Tom's first appearances before the camera, reflects a switch in patronage from Black, who had been responsible for the majority of Sarah and Ogden's carte-de-visite portraits prior to their marriage. Of the two, Whipple was far more conservative, at least to judge from his studio props. Instead of the several chairs of varying design that Black offered his clients, Whipple had one, which appears throughout these photographs. It was used interchangeably by

FIG. 98. OGDEN CODMAN, JR., 1868. John Whipple, photographer, Boston. (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Ogden is shown here before his curls were cut, an event which occured on 24 June 1868, and was noted in Sarah Codman's journal.

adults of both sexes, though children had access to a different model. Black, on the other hand, had chairs specifically designated for the use of men or women, besides a number of other stylish appurtenances such as painted backdrops, balustrades, and various draperies which Whipple tended to eschew.[27] Perhaps Whipple's disdain for fashion made him the more suitable choice for family portraiture (fig. 96, compare with fig. 97). By today's standards, the interval between birth and a newborn's first picture seems unusually long, but several factors may account for the difference. Foremost is that photography required a visit to the photographer's studio, and was necessarily dependent on the conclusion of the mother's confinement. In Sarah's case, this extended to a month or five weeks beyond the birth of each of her children. The cessation of nursing may also have been a decisive factor. The doctor told Sarah to stop nursing Ogden, Jr. on 28 May 1863, five days prior to the time his portrait was taken.[28]

While Ogden, Jr.'s photograph is the only one to be specifically mentioned as an event, there is reason to believe that it was an important one, if Ogden, Sr.'s satirical account of a similar occasion is to be taken seriously:

FIG. 99. OGDEN CODMAN, JR., 1869-1870(?). John Whipple, photographer, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Ogden appears here after his symbolic entry into manhood. Note that Whipple provided children with a fringed chair that was a standard equipment in many photographic studios of the period, and widely advertised in the trade literature. In contrast, adults used a Renaissance Revival chair, somewhat conservative in style, and distinctly non-commercial in connotation.

> My youthful niece India Sturgis is to have her likeness taken today and there is consequently an intense excitement pervading the establishment. I can hear even now interesting and intensely exciting discussions taking place in the next room as to what her dress shall be. Owing to the universal interest taken by the family in the success of this attempt, our riding party has been postponed for three hours and a half so that I consider that my affection for the infant is put to a rather severe test.[29]

In the case of the Codman children, the "intensely exciting" discussion about what baby should wear seems to have been resolved by the decision to clothe them in what appears to be the same gown, and in two cases, the identical cap.

The intervals at which subsequent photographs were taken appears to have been determined by standardized perceptions of what constituted significant developmental thresholds. The passage from long to short clothing precipitated another photograph in the case of Ogden, Jr., a transition that took place when he was eight months old. Other notable moments in childhood which the camera was called upon to record were when a child could literally stand on his own feet, and after the cutting of a boy's curls. Ogden is shown here before and after this event, which symbolized the formal beginnings of manhood (figs. 98, 99).

All of the photographs illustrated here are cartes-de-visite, the predominant form of portraiture from the late 1850s to the early 1870s (fig. 100). Measuring two and a half inches by three and three-quarters inches when mounted, they were first patented by the French photographer Disderi in 1854. By the end of the 1850s, their popularity far surpassed the one-of-a-kind daguerreotypes and ambrotypes (the first commercially successful photographic media), which within the short span of twenty years from their introduction became outmoded. Printed on albumen-coated papers from glass plate negatives, cartes-de-visite and stereographic views were to transform photography from a medium of limited circulation to one which was capable of almost endless reproduction and wide transmission.

The problem of how to store cartes-de-visite, which despite their name were seldom used as visiting cards, was solved by Queen Victoria, who commissioned an especially-designed album to house a collection of family pictures made by the British photographer John Mayall. In deference to both practicality and royal precedent albums rapidly became a vogue, stimulating even further the rage for cartes-de-visite. Between the years 1861 and 1865, fifteen patents were issued for albums in the United States alone, accompanied by a similar enthusiasm in Europe.[30].

Ogden was as susceptible to the whims of this fashion as everyone else, writing Sarah in 1860 that "I hear it has become quite the fashion to make collections of those card photographs. I shall try to send you some either in this or my next letter." His sister-in-law, Lucy Sturgis Codman, urged him to "execute commissions" including "nice photograph books with as many photogs. [*sic*] as you can collect" for the unidentified "Annie, Alice, Ellen," with "an ornamental frontispiece of yrself [*sic*] to keep yr. active service in the cause, in remembrance."[31]

Albums came in several styles, but their predominant characteristic can best be described as personal, with a touch of luxury in their finish and design which differentiated them from ordinary books, after which they presumably were modeled. Fitted with heavy clasps and occasionally with locks, "reading" them appears to have involved a certain sense of ceremonial disclosure which one would extend to another as a privilege. To be included in an album implied a certain level of intimacy with its owner, which under certain circumstances risked being misunderstood, especially if the photograph were of an unmarried member of the opposite sex. For example, Ogden established the propriety

FIG. 100. UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN, probably a member of the Chase family ca. 1860. Attributed to John Whipple, photographer, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). The attribution to Whipple is based on the chase as well as the table, which often figured prominently as props in his portraits. This carte-de-visite is by no means typical of his generally conservative approach to portraiture, though it was not uncommon for subjects to "spoof" or act out pantomimes before the camera. Its witty, enigmatic quality makes this photograph one of the highlights of the Codmans' collection.

FIG. 101. ALICE "LA PROVENÇALE," ca. 1860. Petit and Trinquart, photographers, Paris (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). This is typical of the slightly "racy" carte-de-visite portraits of actresses that were especially favored by male collectors. Both Ogden, Sr. and his brother-in-law, Theodore Chase, assiduously collected these before their marriages.

of the following request with reference to his forthcoming kinship relationship to Sarah's unmarried sisters, while the propriety of giving Mary Hammond's photograph a "distinguished place" in his album derived from her status as a married woman and her friendship with both Ogden and Sarah. "Mary Hammond and the rest of their party have come back to this hotel. She has given me her photograph which occupies a distinguished place in my-book. By the by, have none of your sisters had theirs taken? If they have, I think they might let you send them to their future brother." However, no such formal statuses defend Sarah's image from becoming a potential object of erotic contemplation, a possibility which seems to account for Ogden's uneasiness when he wrote: "I had a letter from Arthur Dehon yesterday but he does not speak of your having given him your photograph. I hope you wont [*sic*]

FIG. 102. OGDEN CODMAN, JR., ca. 1880. Ordinaire, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Of the two Dinard photographers patronized by the Codmans and their circle, Ordinaire appears to have been preferred to Crolard (see fig. 97), though it was from the latter that Thomas Codman apparently learned photography. Ordinaire's studio was equipped with a lavish array of props and painted backdrops, including the turbulent surf against which Ogden, Jr. appears becalmed.

FIG. 103. CODMAN FAMILY GROUP AT "THE GRANGE," with Lady Grey-Egerton and her daughter, Violet, ca. 1890. Dorothy or Hugh Codman, photographer, Lincoln, Massachusetts (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Ahla offers the bouquet. Tom Codman is seated with dog on right. Ogden, Jr. is seated below Violet Egerton, perched on railing, left. On the porch, left to right, Lady Egerton, Sarah Codman, and Ogden Codman, Sr. Tom Codman made several portraits of Violet in this dress, presumably on the same day. It is quite possible that he arranged for either Hugh or Dorothy to shoot this rare view of family members assembled as a group. Both are inexplicably absent from the picture.

give away any more photographs. Of course I am not angry but I wish you hadn't given that one to Cupid [R.F. Clark]—not that I care for his having [it] but it will may [*sic*] seem silly to refuse it to someone else if they should ask."[32]

A similar sense of propriety prohibited the mingling of the very popular cartes-de-visite of stage personalities—especially actresses (which both Ogden and Theodore Chase collected)—in the same albums which contained photographs of kin or other loved ones (fig. 101). That they were so rigidly segregated suggests not only a defense of the family, as a "sacred" institution, against the contaminating influence of the profane and vaguely illicit world of the stage, but also that they were intended for a different kind of "reading" which, in the case of the former, facilitated respect, and in the latter, permitted a degree of erotic fantasy. Interestingly, none of the albums which can be attributed to the Bradlee sisters contain the photographs of public figures which fueled the craze for cartes-de-visite. Evidently their acquisition was in this family at least a predominantly masculine fashion.

The narrative sequence in the albums from this period is not altogether clear; one suspects that there has been re-editing, possibly by Dorothy, the last of the Lincoln Codmans, to mirror her conceptions of the hierarchy of kinship. In the few albums which seem to be in their original state, the themes are simple enough. They relate to the Codman children at successive periods in their development, with primary emphasis on early childhood when physical transformations occur with greatest rapidity. Each child is assigned to what amounts to a separate chapter which visually charts his development. As the rate of growth decelerates, the intervals between photographs become progressively longer. Few photographs, for example, show children in the period between eight or nine years of age to about fifteen or sixteen. At this point they reappear as adults. The boys who were last seen in short pants now reappear, clothed as the gentlemen they have become. In Ogden, Jr.'s case he is pictured with additional insignia of manhood, in the form of a hat and cane (fig. 102). Similarly, the transformation of girls to women is witnessed by photographs that show them with their hair "up" in contrast to the loose curls of their childhood.

FIG. 104. OGDEN JR., ALICE, AND THOMAS CODMAN, 1869-1870(?). John Whipple, photographer, Boston (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

Besides children, the other primary theme of the family album was kin, especially siblings and their children, together with first cousins and occasionally close friends. Full recognition, again in chapter form, is given to the bilateral nature of the family—the Codmans in one section, the Bradlees in the other. The siblings are arranged in an order which reflects their chronological positions, followed by their children, again in chronological order. Cousins and friends are rather loosely arranged as appendices to the main body of

the "text." Antecedents are surprisingly absent, except in the Bradlee line where James Bradlee, father of Sarah Codman, Alice Chase and Mary Gaillard, is respectfully placed in a progenitive position before the images of his daughters, preceded in one instance by *his* father, Josiah Bradlee. The death of Ogden's parents before the advent of the carte-de-visite explains their absence, though very little, except perhaps animosity, explains the consistent omission of Mary Perrin Bradlee from her daughters' albums. If albums are in any sense expressive statements of how kinship was perceived, then it is clear that her daughters chose to ignore her contribution to their ancestry.

Within the images themselves are a number of peculiarities which bear mention, though the extent to which they reflect significant departures from convention remains uncertain until comparable collections can be investigated. Sarah, for example, strongly asserted her maternal presence by being pictured with each one of her children on the occasion of their first photographs. By the time they were able to stand on their own feet, she was out of the picture. However, other photographs from the same period, in this and other collections, suggest that the alternative was to prop an infant in a chair, to be pictured in solitary if lopsided splendor as an independent "self." Ogden, on the other hand, is never photographed with his children, at any point in their development. Only when he was in his fifties does he appear in conjunction with the family, in a photograph taken when the family's friends, the Grey-Egertons, visited Lincoln (fig. 103). Nor, with the exception of a photograph made by Whipple of Ogden, Alice, and Thomas Codman about 1870 (fig. 104), are the children pictured together until they, too, are adults—and then in candid snapshots. Perhaps there were logistical problems in assembling everyone at the photographer's studio which the introduction of amateur equipment resolved. Or perhaps

FIG. 105. MAISON CROLARD, Dinard, France, ca. 1882. Thomas Codman, photographer (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Located on the Rue de l'Avenir (now renamed), this was the Codman family residence between 1876 and 1884. The house has since burned. The street is now Dinard's major shopping artery.

the emphasis on individuality derives from the conventions of painted portraiture. Nevertheless, an option existed which was put to use by Sarah's brother-in-law, Benjamin Crowninshield, who in the early 1870s posed proudly with three of his children in a studio portrait.

One of the most arresting features of the family portraits is their emphasis on youthfulness. If there were required intervals at which children were photographed, these requirements were lifted by the time they reached adulthood. After ages sixteen to eighteen, the making of portraits was clearly optional, and it was an option that most of the Codmans avoided. The exception was Ogden, Sr. whose sure camera presence and evident relish for posturing brought him before the camera on several occasions, not only during his courtship but during the period between 1875 and 1884 when the family lived in France. The general avoidance of portraits after youth has the effect of freezing time at precisely those periods when personal attractiveness is apt to be at its height. It creates a misleading impression of perpetual youthfulness which, in a sense, makes photographs an

unrealistic model of the actual experience of family life in which adjacent generations would presumably recognize the process of aging among their members. On the other hand, the emphasis on youthful appearances may serve to idealize the family as an institution which survives the inevitable progression of time. However one chooses to interpret this phenomenon, there is no doubt that a marked transition occurred in the imagery of the family text after the mid-1890s, shifting its focus from "face" to "place." When the aging of family members is revealed at all, it is in the context of snapshots whose emphasis is on activities rather than individuals, and after ca. 1912 even these are superseded by "room portraits" as a form of personal representation.

"Tom's path in life is marked out 'photography' "

Few additions were made to the family's albums between the early 1870s and early 1880s. In part this may reflect the declining rate at which family ties were being formed by means of marriages and births and which photographs were used to commemorate. It may also reflect the declining popularity of the carte-de-visite, which by the 1870s had been replaced in popular favor by the larger format cabinet card. Speciality portraits of theatrical personalities became a new rage—Theodore Chase collected a number of these—and their dreamworld character generated an "artistic attitude toward posing,"[33] and a creative practice of retouching negatives to

FIG. 106. INTERIOR, MAISON CROLARD, ca. 1882. Thomas Codman, photographer (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Note the photographs of "The Grange" above chair, and framed, top right. Other photographs on view include two identical portraits of Sarah Codman with Hugh, before his curls were cut. A much-admired portrait of Ogden, Sr. is framed on bookcase (see fig. 107). The portrait on the table may be Sarah Codman's brother, Joseph Bradlee.

glamorize the subject, quite different in style from the generally straightforward "standing up and sitting down" portraits of the carte-de-visite era. The impact of the cabinet card did not really make itself felt in the Codman family until 1882, when Thomas Codman emerged as the family photographer. The introduction of equipment suitable for amateur use fortuitously coincided with the creative energies of his adolescence. He was fourteen when he first began making photographs, and soon proved himself to be a prodigy. He learned the craft—to which he supplied the art—from "young Mr. Crolard" whose photographic studio was located on the same Rue de l'Avenir in Dinard, France as the Maison Crolard (fig. 105)—or as Sarah described it, "the corner Crolard"—where the family took up residence between 1876 and 1884.[34]

The family quarters were decidedly different from those in Lincoln, a contrast which was kept alive by the prominent display of two framed photographs of the exterior of "The Grange"[35] which had been brought from Lincoln (see fig. 3; fig. 106). Aside from the different configurations of the rooms, one suspects there was a considerable difference in their tone. Photographs as well as other forms of memorabilia festooned the mantels, tables and even walls, a use which Eastlake, the contemporary English tastemaker, had sanctioned as "an admirable means of legitimate ornamentation" that "contributes greatly to that appearance of comfort which is the especial characteristic of an English house."[36] The element of privacy and privilege associated with the display of photographs in albums had clearly given

FIG. 107. INTERIOR, SOMERSET FAMILY HOME, DINARD, FRANCE, 1882-1884. Thomas Codman, photographer (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). The Somersets' "photo screen" was one of the many ingenious devices for photographic display typical of the Dinard rooms that Tom Codman frequently photographed. Two of Tom's photographs are exhibited, one of Rose Somerset, the other of her sister, Sybil. The display also includes Ordinaire's portrait of Ogden, Jr. (see fig. 102).

FIG. 108. OGDEN CODMAN, SR. 1880-1881. Ordinaire, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Of the several other photographs which were taken of Ogden, Sr. at the same sitting, this one possesses an undeniable verve which may explain its wide circulation to friends and family members.

FIG. 109. LADY HENRIETTA GREY-EGERTON, 1882-1884. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Tom made judicious use of structural elements, such as the parasol shown here as well as tree trunks, ladders, and swings to add interest to his compositions.

way to a different perception of their use as objects of household decoration, to be publicly rather than privately admired. No doubt this was facilitated by the increasingly artistic nature of their conception as well as their more imposing size. In any event, the fact that photographs had become focal elements in room decoration was an ideal milieu in which to encourage Tom's talents, since the results of his efforts were often exhibited in the homes of family and friends who commissioned his work (fig. 107).

Curiously the Codmans' own "photo gallery" appears to have been limited to the work of professional photographers, rather than serving as a showcase for Tom's work, and there is no ready explanation for this oversight. Their photographic displays included several portraits of family members including a jaunty view of Ogden, Sr., taken by the Dinard photographer, Ordinaire (fig. 108). It was made at the same time as one of Sarah, though hers was not displayed. So pleased was Ogden with his portrait that he sent a copy to Lady Grey-Egerton (fig.

FIG. 110. OGDEN CODMAN, SR., 1883-1884. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

FIG. 111. HILDA WOLFE MURRAY, 1882-1884. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection).

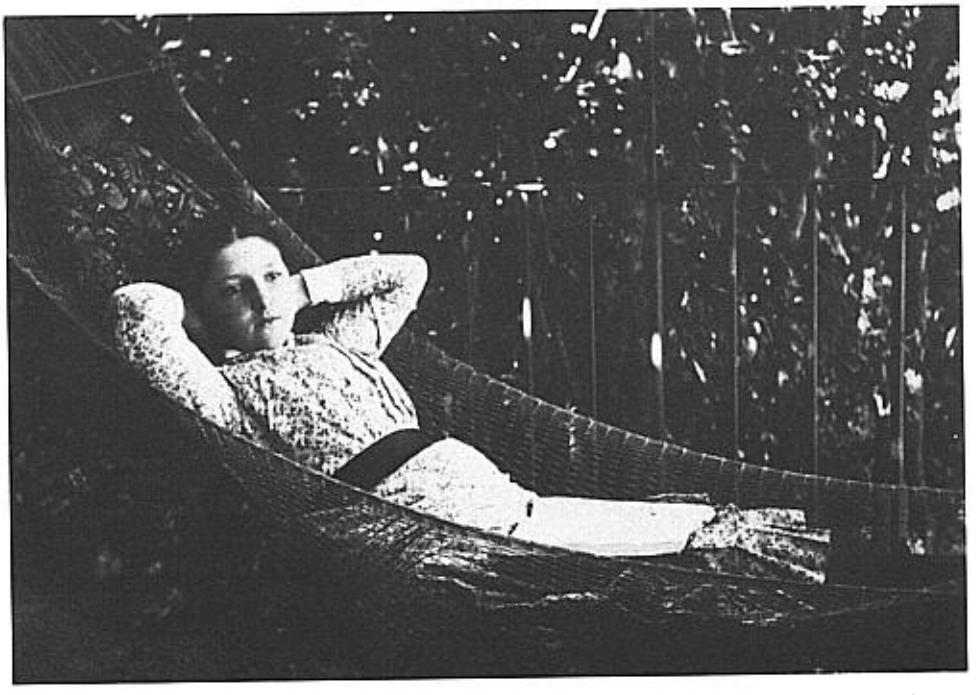

FIG. 112. VIOLET GREY-EGERTON, ca. 1883. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Violet's repose belies an unpredictable romantic temperament. In August 1897, one day before her scheduled marriage to Ernest Cunard, she broke off wedding arrangements and by means of a special license, instead married Lord Romilly "who, among the many aspirants for her hand, had been singularly faithful." (SPNEA, Codman Family Manuscripts Collection, Alice Newbold Codman Papers.)

109), a part-time Dinard resident with whose family he and Sarah were closely acquainted. Her response was generous:

> Dear Mr. Codman—Your photograph sitting on the writing table and gazing at me with eyeglass in eye and *lovely* flower in buttonhole, is so perfectly irristible [*sic*] that I am obliged to write you. Augusta, who is sitting working close by declares that lovely flower was not meant for you, but for Mr. Euston and she doesn't know how you could have come by it. *I* say it was probably lent you for the day and you then had to give it up. She says she would send you miles of eye glass twist if she were near any suitable shop—we have both been partaking of a glass of port wine (the gentlemen being safe out shooting) and so feel rather up in the bottle; having been previously a little depressed after a long talk over Dinard, etc."[37]

On another occasion Ogden sent Etta Reubell, a Bostonian who resided in Paris, a portrait of himself that Tom had taken, one of the few that still remains visible at "The Grange." Evidently, he had earlier sent her a copy of the photograph which so inspired Lady Grey-Egerton, for on receiving this one (fig. 110) she commented: "I am so pleased, so very pleased you sent me a standing photo of yourself. I had been wishing Tommy do you."[38] The contrast between the two portraits of Ogden could not be greater. In Tom's photograph he looms large—if somewhat rumpled—as "father," while in the view by Ordinaire he assumed the posture of a somewhat seductive "blade."

Unlike the majority of the photographs in the family's collection, Tom's work is capable of speaking for itself—not only as a source of documentary reference, but as a genuinely successful example of the use of photography as an artistic medium (figs. 111-113). The accolades he received were many: "I am perfectly delighted with the selection you had made for me and you have executed my commission so cleverly that I can't resist asking you to help me again"; "have you still the clichet [negative] of Miss Minna Gilbert Smith—

FIG. 113. VIOLET GREY-EGERTON AND ALICE NEWBOLD CODMAN, 1883. Ogden, Jr. referred to this photograph as "the two heads." It was widely circulated to members of the family and Ogden remarked: "Several people have seen that photograph of her [Ahla] with Violet and said who is that pretty girl or how pretty. Violet to [*sic*] is thought pretty. I don't want you to tell her this." (CFMC, Ogden Codman, Jr. to Sarah Codman, 24 August 1883; Ibid, 18 July 1883).

FIG. 114. MRS. ANNE (EGERTON) CORBETT, 1884. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). The photograph which Mrs. Corbett found objectionable, on grounds she looked too youthful!

her sister wants the one you did better than any other"; "I like your photos very well and shall take every one altho' their value is very different—some being so very superior—I am delighted with the best and like them all for one reason or another—I wish very much you had been able to take Julian [Codman]. I should so much like to take with me such a very satisfactory likeness as that of the others"; and the ultimate in praise from a stern critic, John Sturgis, whom Ogden, Jr. quoted, "Uncle John says Tom's path in life is marked out 'photography'." Ogden, Jr. himself agreed that "he really succeeds wonderfully."[39] There were occasional brickbats: Mrs. Corbet, another intimate of the Codman family in Dinard (fig. 114), wrote somewhat incoherently to Sarah

> Please thank 'Thomas' for the photographs but tell him they have been so much touched up that I appear like a round faced plump 18—instead of nearer 50 years. They are very good photographs and I fear the touching up cannot be lessened—at my age a few wrinkles must be. I enclose a photo to show the shape of my face to compare—and they say my face is thinner now than in the photo. I should like to have 6 of no. 4 and 5 of no. 5. Mr. Corbet likes the reading position only the touching up has made my face too round—a queer and odd expression to the mouth. I am afraid this cannot be bettered."[40]

Worst was a run-in with the Morgans, to whom Tom had gone to Versailles to photograph on 15 May 1884. Mrs. Ann Morgan complained of a discrepancy in price between what Tom had charged and what

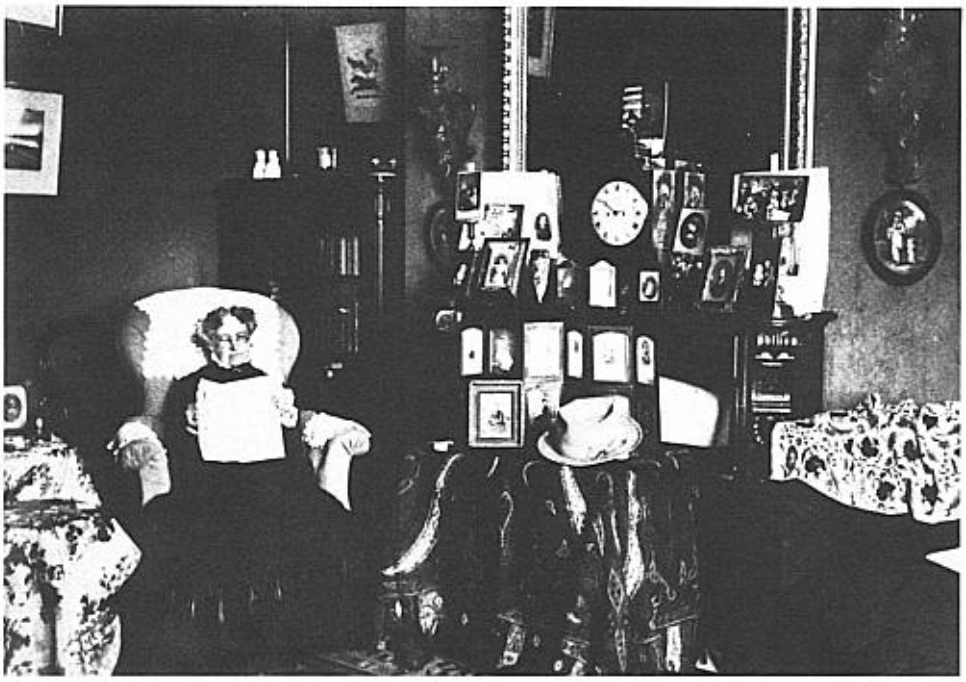

FIG. 115. MRS. MAIN IN THE BRYDONS' SITTING ROOM, 1883-1884. Thomas Codman, photographer, Dinard, France (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). Mrs. Main was the mother of Mrs. Brydon. Tom took several photographs of the Brydon family "at home," including scenes at the breakfast table, of card games and sewing circles. The Codmans owned a portable photographic display case similar to the one illustrated here, which accompanied them on extended travels to Germany and Maine, and was eventually installed in the ballroom at "The Grange" in the 1890s.

"Mrs. Snelling told me you had charged her and prevents my ordering others. I return to you five large and four cabinets which are failures and one cabinet that was not ordered."[41] Tom met her objections by returning her money.

Tom evidently found photography to be a lucrative business, since all of his clients speak of their intention to pay him for his work. However, his expenditures were considerable, amounting to over $400.00 in bills from Crolard in the three years between 1882 and 1884 for supplies, mounts and the retouching which Mrs. Corbet found so objectionable, but which was a standard practice among photographers at that period.[42] The Maison Crolard was fitted up with a "photo room" where Tom did processing, adjacent to the room occupied by Felice, the nurse responsible for young Dorothy Codman's care.[43] He had no studio as such, though he made frequent use of a garden (the exact location is unknown) whose luxuriant foliage made a particularly nice backdrop.

Tom's general practice was to visit the homes of his patrons, though Sarah's journal indicates that on occasion they came to the Codman residence to be pictured. There is no doubt that his footing with his patrons as social equals enabled him to achieve the relaxed close-ups with which he had special success and which give his

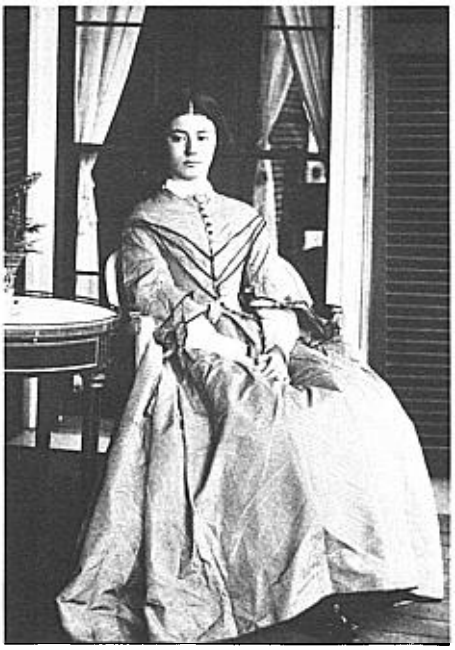

FIG. 116. DOROTHY CODMAN, 1896-1897. Thomas Codman, photographer, Lincoln, Massachusetts (SPNEA, Codman Family Photograph Collection). One of several portraits taken by Tom of Dorothy in this dress, and one of his final attempts at serious portraiture. According to Richard Nylander, the dress is a mid-nineteenth-century one, although no correspondence has been found which would explain why she wore it. Note the resemblance to her mother, Sarah Codman, at age eighteen (figs. 82, 85).

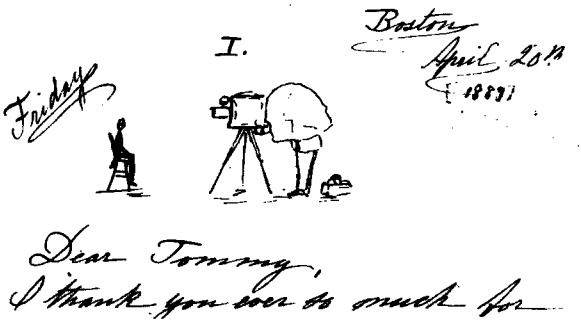

FIG. 117. LETTER FROM HARRY THORNDIKE TO THOMAS CODMAN, 20 APRIL 1883(?). (SPNEA, Codman Family Manuscripts Collection, Thomas Newbold Codman Papers). Harry Thorndike, who later became an architect, made it a habit to illustrate his letters with pen and ink drawings, including some charming views of Boston's horse cars and snowball fights on Commonwealth Avenue. His correspondence also provided Tom with detailed quotes of current prices for photographic supplies available in Boston.

photographs a quite unusual grace. It was also to his advantage that he was so close in age to many of his subjects, for his portraits rarely sentimentalize their youth, but takes its freshness for granted. His social position also gave him access to domestic environments where he photographed the routine scenes of daily life which photographers—both amateur and professional—often have tended to overlook in favor of more picturesque subjects (fig. 115).

His growing professionalism also manifests itself in the practice of signing his work—from the crudely marked initials "T.C." scratched onto the glass plate negative he moved to a stamp of his interlaced initials "TNC," and finally to a stamp which incised his name, "T.N. Codman" on the card mount. The latter appears only after his return to Boston, on the extensive series of photographs taken of the family's painted portraits. Though Thomas continued to take photographs actively until 1897, when his bills for photographic supplies fall off markedly, the quality of his work in Boston fell short of the exceptional standard which had been set by his achievements in Dinard. There were notable exceptions, such as Dorothy's portrait (fig. 116), and a few taken of his mother and sister Alice in Bar Harbor in the late 1880s. But for obscure reasons he abandoned the dry plate apparatus by the turn of the century, when he began to share the use of the Kodak with Dorothy, Hugh, and occasionally Ogden. It was a camera ill-suited for the careful efforts which his previous equipment had required, and one whose use altogether obstructed the promising "path" for which his Uncle John had so confidently predicted he was "marked."

Within the family papers themselves there is unfortunately little that sheds light on Tom's own response to his short-lived but successful career which contributes so greatly to the overall quality of the Codman photographic collection. A letter to Ogden mentions only the fact that he had "photoed Brian [Stephenson] and Violet [Grey-Egerton] today and am going to p. [*sic*] Mary Dean tomorrow."[44] In another letter he described the various views he had taken from windows and rooftops in Dinard, from the Maison Crolard and the houses of his friends. The most likely source of information about his attitudes towards photography and the technical nature of his practice would be the frequent letters he wrote until 1884 to his friend Harry Thorndike, who had returned from Dinard to Boston. The correspondence is not only rich with information about current prices for photographic equipment and supplies, but is often illustrated with careful sketches which foretell Thorndike's future as an architect. The one shown here (fig. 117) is suggestive of Harry Thorndike's admiration for his mentor, and in an underlying sense also suggests the important role of friendships in nurturing Tom's brief photographic career, which flourished so heartily in the supportive atmosphere of Dinard's closely knit expatriate circle.

> Do you still wear that Eton suit? I've quite forgotten what they look like as they are not worn here. You are wrong about my having given up photos. I took the sink room in the attic, which has a window opening into a well, and covered the window with two sheets of ruby paper. There is a sink and running water besides some large shelves, so what could be more handy. I'm not going to speak any more about photos until I get something good, but to tell the truth, I have only taken 3 this year, two of which failed as I discovered there was no plate in the shield![45]

Conclusion

Because he failed to load the camera properly, Harry missed two pictures. It was a rueful, not a tragic, loss. Any family's photograph collection is filled with missed opportunities and mistakes, of photographs that might have been, but were not taken. Yet there are probably

other photographs too important to leave to chance or amateur blunderings, whose existence is somehow thought to be necessary to a family's understanding of itself, a way of reckoning its passage through time and making itself known to the future. Most others are optional, made perhaps for the sheer pleasure of using an instrument to create a pleasing image, rather than to say something beyond what lies on the surface of the picture. Many of Tom Codman's photographs appear to fall into this category, which is not in the least to disparage them, for his pleasure in creation is still an infectious one. Still others, such as many snapshots, function as little more than souvenirs or memoranda, a way of saying "we were here" or "didn't we have an amusing time that day."[46]

Given these varying degrees of meaningfulness, it would be a mistake to take family photographs *too* seriously, for their meanings—if we can discern them at all—are not equally grave. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to ignore their importance as an alternative to verbal communication, a way of stating different assumptions about relationships and experiences which words cannot, or will not, convey. At a minimum, getting at these unspoken assumptions requires that we know who or what photographs represent, when they were taken, and who was the photographer. Often this proves an insurmountable obstacle, since family photographs are notoriously free of annotation, their identification depending on common knowledge and oral tradition. However, only with this basic information can we begin to understand their particular form and content in relation to the options for picturing and photographic usage at any given period. Secondly, it is desirable to know how, and in what sequence, photographs were originally maintained. A loose batch of photographs is a loss of context which cannot be restored. Thirdly, it is essential to have access to written records, in order to understand the evolution of a photographic collection in relation to the family which compiled it, as well as to the history of photography. Lastly, it is important to keep in mind the types of photographs and photographic topics which are absent from a collection, but whose existence was technically feasible, for this becomes a framework for comparison with other collections, and a means for differentiating between idiosyncratic and culturally patterned usage.

Not all family photograph collections offer the same possibilities for analysis as the Codmans'. However, it is likely that many libraries and archives have similar collections with associated manuscripts which might lend themselves to "reading" either as a whole or in distinct chapters. The "reading" may bring forth little more than scattered insights, which has been the case here. But cumulatively these insights may suggest how photographs "say" what they mean and what importance these meanings have in family life. The fact that the telephone has usurped so many of the functions once served by written records makes it all the more important that photographs be understood, since they eventually may be the only evidence of family experience available to historians of the future.

Notes

This paper owes an intellectual debt to Alan Trachtenberg's introduction to *The American Image: Photographs from the National Archives, 1860-1960* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), pp. ix-xxxii, and also to Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1977; reprinted from original edition published by Farrar, Straus and Girous, 1973). I would also like to thank Elizabeth Krase for her patient support and editorial judgment.

1. For unknown reasons, the family collections include only a dozen or so daguerreotypes, though there must certainly have been others. Ogden, Sr., for example, wrote Sarah Bradlee that "I should think you had a collection of daguerreotypes. If I had known you had so many I don't think I should have sent those photographs." (Codman Family Manuscripts Collection, hereafter referred to as CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee, 3 April 1860, box 48, folder 1160). The daguerreotypes which have been located seem to have belonged to Mary May Bradlee Gaillard, and picture her school friends.

2. It is curious that no photographs were taken of the interior of "The Grange" prior to the Codmans' departure for Europe in 1875. It is not that Boston photographers were unavailable, since Josiah Hawes photographed the interior of "Rockwood," the Lowell farm in Roxbury, Massachusetts in the 1860s, and by 1873, Augustus Folsom, also of Roxbury, was making interior photography a speciality. In 1873, the Codmans hired Barton Sprague to photograph the exterior of "The Grange" but he evidently was not invited inside.

3. Until recently, residential photographers have ignored utility areas, though this practice appears to be changing as kitchens and even bathrooms have become multifunctional. In the early 1890s, Thomas Codman took a few unprecedented photographs of kitchens in the family's temporary residences in Berlin and Paris, none of which show photographs as elements of room decoration. He also photographed the dining rooms of various Dinard friends in the early 1880s, and it is worth noting that these photographs are conspicuously absent, though they appear in great abundance in sitting rooms and other living areas.

4. In both settings, photographs include a Mr. Baillie and Rose Biddulph in Breton dress, neither of whom receive even passing mention in the family's records, though they were evidently acquaintances from Dinard. On their travels, the family used a portable display case to house their photographs, sometimes placed in the bedroom, sometimes apparent in the sitting room. In the late 1880s and early 1890s it appears in the ballroom at "The Grange." Of those persons who can be identified, the majority appear to be Dinard friends, and the above-mentioned acquaintances.

5. CFMC, Henrietta (Etta) Reubell to Ogden Codman, Sr., 29 October 1884, box 35, folder 801.

6. CFMC, Mary J.T. Brown to Alice Newbold Codman, 28 March 1897, box 129, folder 2070.

7. CFMC, Sarah Codman to Ogden Codman, Jr., 2 January 1924, box 82, folder 1653.

8. CMFC, Edith Wharton to Ogden Codman, Jr., 17 April 1895, box 83, folder 1668.

9. CFMC, Julian Sampson to Ogden Codman, Jr., 28 March 1908, box 85, folder 1689. With the advent of amateur photographic equipment, "taking pictures" became an activity not unlike hunting in which one stalked and eventually "shot" a quarry. "Photting," "photoging," "kodaking"— all terms which appear in the Codman family correspondence—suggest how language was gradually adjusting to the idea of photography as a pastime, instead of a passive experience of "sitting" for one's likeness.

10. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee diary, 29 May 1858, box 58; Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 21 June 1858, box 48, folder 1119; James Russell to Sarah Russell, 21 November 1816, box 118.

11. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 28 October 1859, box 58.

12. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, box 58. The exact dates are uncertain. Sarah, for unknown reasons, destroyed her diary entries between 4 December 1860 and August 1861. It is equally curious that Ogden Codman, Sr. who ordinarily was careful to save all correspondence and other records, appears to have disposed of the letters he must have received from Sarah Bradlee during this period. However, her papers include letters sent to her by Ogden at this time.

13. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 21 January 1860, box 48, folder 1120; Ibid., 7 February 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

14. Ibid., 7 December 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

15. Ibid., 31 January 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

16. Ibid., 4 May 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

17. CFMC, Frances Codman Sturgis to Ogden Codman, Sr., undated (1860?), box 35, folder 804. For further information on the firm of

Mayer and Pierson see Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

18. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. Papers, Marriage certificate, Boston Registry Department, 1 June 1896, box 45, folder 1062.

19. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 7 December 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

20. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. Papers, bills, box 37, folders 856, 861, 862, 863.

21. Dan Younger, "Photography with a New Face: The Advent of the Carte de Visite in American Culture" (M.A. thesis, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, 1980), p. 13.

22. Quoted in William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), p. 170.

23. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 23 November 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

24. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 26 and 28 May 1864, box 58.

25. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Jr. to Thomas Newbold Codman, 26 July 1924, box 87.

26. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 2 June 1863, box 58.

27. Unpublished observations by author, based on examination of fifty-seven carte-de-visite portraits by Black and thirty by Whipple, taken between 1860-1865, in which chairs appeared. It is worth noting that Black's photographs often make use of the chair as a visual element, while Whipple's more often conceal it, perhaps accounting for the discrepancy between the number of times chairs appear in their respective photographs.

28. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 28 May 1863, box 58.

29. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 3 April 1860, box 48, folder 1120.

30. Welling, *Photography in America*, p. 143.

31. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 21 January 1860, box 48, folder 1120; Lucy Sturgis Codman to Ogden Codman, Sr., 18 September (1860?), box 35, folder 813.

32. CFMC, Ogden Codman, Sr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 19 January 1861, box 48, folder 1121; Ibid., 14 April 1861, box 48, folder 1121. Alice Newbold Codman's Dinard friend, Evelyn Rowley, expressed a similar concern that in giving her photograph, she perhaps had surrendered herself unwisely: "I have had to give away my last [photograph] to an officer friend of mine when he left here I gave it to him as he wanted one so much & I got one of his in exchange it[*sic*] is very seldom I give mine away indeed this is the first and I am never going to give another one to anybody. I am very sorry I ever gave him one now." CFMC, Evelyn Rowley to Alice Newbold Codman, May 1886, box 127, folder 2029.

33. Welling, *Photography in America*, p. 281.

34. CFMC, Mrs. (?) Lewis to Thomas Newbold Codman, 6 May 1885, box 140, folder 2150; Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 31 October 1876, box 58.

35. The photographs of "The Grange" had been taken in 1872 by Barton Sprague of the Boston Photographic View Company, a short-lived firm (1866-67, 1872-73) specializing in photographs of "residences, scenery, public buildings." CFMC, bill, Boston Photographic View Company to Ogden Codman, Sr., 10 November 1872, box 40, folder 930.

36. Charles Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste*, ed. Charles A. Perkins, 8th American ed. (Boston, 1886), pp. 196, 189. The more public display of photographs was anticipated some years earlier, by an unknown observer who remarked: "It is supposed that the albums are now full, and that the public now intend to fill their walls." Quoted in Welling, *Photography in America*, p. 170.

37. CFMC, Lady Henrietta Grey-Egerton to Ogden Codman, Sr., undated (1882?) box 35, folder 821.

38. CFMC, Etta Reubell to Ogden Codman, Sr., 29 October 1884, box 35, folder 801.

39. CFMC, Alice Somerset to Thomas Newbold Codman, 17 June 1884, box 140, folder 2150; Blanche Stephenson to Thomas Newbold Codman, August 1884, box 140, folder 2150; Lucy Sturgis Codman to Thomas Newbold Codman, 23 August 1884, box 140, folder 2150; Ogden Codman, Jr. to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 6 December 1883, box 49, folder 1148.

40. CFMC, Mrs. Ann (Egerton) Corbet to Sarah Bradlee Codman, 21 October 1884, box 47, folder 1107. Mrs. Corbet evidently sat more than once for Tom's photographs, since Sarah Codman's journal mentions that on 17 September "Mrs. Corbet comes again to be photographed." Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 17 September 1884, box 58.

41. CFMC, Sarah Bradlee Codman diary, 15 May 1884, box 58; Anne Morgan to Thomas Newbold Codman, 17 June 1884, box 140, folder 2150.

42. CFMC, Mr. (?) Crolard to Thomas Newbold Codman, box 160, folder 2371. Tom's expenses have been calculated on the basis of twenty-five cents to the franc, the prevailing rate at this period.

43. The information about the placement of Tom's "photo room" is based on a hand-drawn plan of the "Maison Crolard," attributed to Dorothy Codman, but more likely the work of Sarah Codman, since Dorothy was an infant when the family left Dinard in 1884. The plan indicates that the Codmans had a resident staff of three, including a cook, maid, and Felice, the nurse. The occupants of each room are identified, except for Sarah and Ogden Codman, who apparently occupied adjoining rooms on the second floor. Until Dorothy's birth, Thomas and Alice Codman had bedrooms at the other end of the corridor. The staff slept in the attic. After Dorothy was born, Hugh moved from the nursery to Tom's bedroom, and Tom moved up to the small bedroom (next to the "Cook") which Ogden, Jr. had previously occupied. CFMC, Dorothy Codman Papers, box 195, folder 2938.

44. Ibid., undated (1883?), box 82, folder 1657.

45. CFMC, Harry Thorndike to Thomas Newbold Codman, 8 March 1884, box 141, folder 2171.

46. Charlotte Miller was one of the many correspondents to whom Dorothy Codman regularly sent snapshots. She once commented that the pictures "are so very good, and I especially like the one of the island with the cap of big white clouds over the mountains. Also the one of our happy cruise [?] to Northeast—Didn't we have an amusing time that day!" CFMC, Charlotte Miller to Dorothy Codman, undated (1903?), box 185, folder 2768.