Introduction


**Chapter 1. Photographing George Washington**


7. Ibid., 18.


10. While we don’t necessarily know whether Whipple photographed the original painting or a copy, given its location and potential accessibility, plus the
unfinished bottom right corner of the image visible in the daguerreotype, it is reasonable to assume that he photographed the portrait itself.


13. Ibid., 11. The small steam engine Whipple installed in his studio enabled him to polish plates automatically rather than time-consumingly by hand; in addition, the steam engine powered a fan to keep those sitting for portraits cool in the midday heat of a Boston summer.


15. Ibid., 102–103; Grant, “John A. Whipple,” 95.

16. On daguerreotypists’ early interest in making copies of art, see Gillespie, Early American Daguerreotype, 70–72, 81–89.


20. Ibid., iv.


24. Hugh Howard, The Painter’s Chair: George Washington and the Making of American Art (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009), 14. Matthew Fox-Amato points out that some of those portraits depicted Washington “with a slave on the margins of the canvas,” a choice that embodied “the foundation of white identity—of mastery, racial power, freedom, and wealth”; see Fox-Amato, Exposing Slavery:

25. Howard, Painter’s Chair, 13.


30. According to Keith Davis, the leading lithography firm in Hartford, Connecticut made three thousand to four thousand prints per day, and George Washington was its most popular subject; see Davis, Origins, 86.


32. For a discussion of how the Athenaeum portrait reappeared and recirculated in different aesthetic contexts during the twentieth century, see Adam Greenhalgh, “‘Not a Man but a God’: The Apotheosis of Gilbert Stuart’s Athenaeum Portrait of George Washington,” Winterthur Portfolio 41, no. 4 (2007): 269–304.

33. Pfitzer, Picturing the Past, 31.

34. Ayres, “At Home with George,” 100.

35. Qtd. in Wick Reaves, George Washington, xxi.


37. Ibid., 132.


40. Howard, Painter’s Chair, 206, 246; Meschutt, “Life Portraits,” 35.

41. Howard, Painter’s Chair, 198–200. The Lansdowne portrait is now owned by the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian.


44. Wick Reaves, George Washington, xxi.

45. Paul Staiti, “Gilbert Stuart’s Presidential Imaginary,” in McInnis and Nelson, Shaping the Body Politic, 175.


47. By “finished” I mean a copy where the artist—possibly Stuart but possibly also someone in his studio—seems to have added shoulders, a body, and a dark background to the unfinished head of the original.

48. The most recent and complete catalog of the work of Southworth and Hawes is Grant B. Romer and Brian Wallis, Young America: The Daguerreotypes of Southworth and Hawes (Rochester, NY: George Eastman House and International Center of Photography, 2005). The catalog lists six Southworth and Hawes daguerreotypes of the Athenaeum portrait, three whole-plate daguerreotypes and three half-plate (476–78).

49. Grant B. Romer, “‘A High Reputation with All True Artists and Connoisseurs’: The Daguerreian Careers of A. S. Southworth and J. J. Hawes,” in Romer and Wallis, Young America, 50.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., 36.


53. Ibid. In describing the Washington painting as an “original portrait,” Root seems to suggest that Southworth and Hawes photographed the actual painting; as with Whipple’s Athenaeum, we may not know for sure. In their discussion of the studio’s Washington daguerreotypes, Sobieszek and Appel suggest that Southworth and Hawes photographed the actual painting using a special lens that Hawes had developed “for copying two-dimensional works”; see Robert A. Sobieszek and Odelle M. Appel, The Spirit of Fact: The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes, 1843–1862 (Rochester, NY: International Museum of Photography, 1976), 126.

54. Wendy Wick Reaves and Sally Pierce point out the Southworth and Hawes Athenaeum daguerreotypes were studied by engraver Thomas B. Welch, who used them for his print of Washington; see Wick Reaves and Pierce, “Translations from the Plate: The Marketplace of Public Portraiture,” in Romer and Wallis, Young America, 98.
55. John Stauffer suggests that there is in fact not an eyeline match and questions whether perhaps the image might be interpreted as “an acknowledgement that women were not included as citizens and were therefore denied access to the Founders as a source for their own rebirth and regeneration.” Given what I have established here about Washington’s iconicity, Southworth and Hawes’s own repeated use of the Athenaeum image, and other photographers’ use of women and children in worshipful poses, I am less persuaded by this interpretation. See Stauffer, “Daguerreotyping the National Soul: The Portraits of Southworth and Hawes, 1843–1860,” in Romer and Wallis, Young America, 68.

56. The half-plate daguerreotype, by an unknown photographer, is in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri. See Davis, Origins, 122–23.

57. On Harrison, see Grant B. Romer, “Poetic Daguerrean,” Image 22 (1979): 8–18. Harrison is today most famous for photographing Walt Whitman multiple times, including the jaunty, full-frontal image that became the frontispiece of the first edition of Leaves of Grass (17).


60. Sobieszek and Appel, Spirit of Fact. Stauffer states that Southworth and Hawes may have used the Washington painting as a “studio prop,” but this claim is not substantiated textually by Stauffer, nor are there other images in the catalog of extant images by Southworth and Hawes that show any of it besides this one. See Stauffer, “Daguerreotyping,” 68.


64. Madison’s biographer Catherine Allgor writes, “One version of the legend holds that Dolley herself cut the portrait out of its frame with a butcher knife; some later illustrations even depict Dolley fleeing the burning White House, the canvas flapping behind her as she runs through the street.” See Allgor, A Perfect Union: Dolley Madison and the Creation of the American Nation (New York: Henry Holt, 2006), 4–5. For an example of one of these dramatic accounts, see “Scenes of the Last War: Mrs. Madison’s Flight from Washington,” Cleveland Herald, May 22, 1849, Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers database. Most scholars now believe that at most Madison may have ordered slaves to remove the portrait, which was
not an original but a copy of the original Stuart Lansdowne portrait (featuring, of course, the Athenaeum head). See Allgor, Perfect Union, 5; Elizabeth Dowling Taylor, A Slave in the White House: Paul Jennings and the Madisons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012), 51.

65. Allgor, Perfect Union, 6.


67. I explore the Anthony and Edwards project more fully in chapter 3, where I discuss John Quincy Adams’s experiences with the daguerreotype.


76. The painting by Stuart was commissioned by Samuel Parkman as a gift to the City of Boston in 1806. It hung in Faneuil Hall until replaced later in the century with a copy made by Stuart’s daughter Jane. The original now hangs in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. See “Washington at Dorchester Heights,” Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30879.

Chapter 2. Early Daguerreotypes in the U.S. and the Nation’s Capital


5. Gouraud mentions these and other cities on his U.S. tour in a letter to the editor reproduced in “The Daguerreotype,” Charleston Courier, Jan. 17, 1840, 2, America’s Historical Newspapers database.


8. Numerous successful daguerreotypes already had been made by late 1839; see Sarah Kate Gillespie, The Early American Daguerreotype: Cross-Currents in Art and Technology (Cambridge: MIT Press/Smithsonian Institution, 2016), 137–42.

9. Rinhart and Rinhart, American Daguerreotype, 40. See also Davis, Origins, 15–20.


11. Ibid., 29.

12. Qtd. in Gillespie, Early American Daguerreotype, 61.


15. Rinhart and Rinhart, American Daguerreotype, 53.

16. Ibid.


19. Ibid., 28.


32. Diary of John Quincy Adams, vol. 43, April 29 and May 1, 1843, Massachusetts Historical Society, http://www.masshist.org/jqadiaries/php; referred to hereafter as “JQA Diary.”


34. See JQA Diary, March 8, 1843; March 15, 1843; March 16, 1843; May 2, 1845; May 3, 1845.


36. Ibid.

37. On the daguerreotype’s discovery and sale, see also Jennifer Schuessler, “Found: Oldest Known Photo of a U.S. President (Socks and All),” *New York Times,*


39. As of March 2020 there are five recognized extant daguerreotypes of John Quincy Adams: two at the National Portrait Gallery from March and August 1843, respectively; one copy daguerreotype of an 1843 daguerreotype at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; one at the Missouri Historical Museum; and one at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History; see “Sotheby’s: Photographs.”

Chapter 3. John Quincy Adams and National Portraiture


2. Ibid.


4. JQA Diary, Aug. 1, 1843.

5. Ibid. The *New York Herald* followed Barnum’s amusements and attractions closely. In mid-July it reported that Barnum’s star attraction, General Tom Thumb, would soon leave the city for a tour that would take him “to Albany on Monday, and thence to Saratoga Springs, the Canadas, and so on to England.” A couple of weeks later, the paper reported that Barnum and his entourage, including General Tom Thumb, were in Albany and later in Saratoga and Niagara Falls, putting him in the vicinity of Adams’s own travels during the same period. See “Grand Gala Day at the American Museum,” *New York Herald*, July 15, 1843; “Theatrical and Musical,” *New York Herald*, July 24, 1843; and “Saratoga Correspondence,” *New York Herald*, Aug. 1, 1843; all in Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers database. On P. T. Barnum’s life and career, see James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

6. JQA Diary, Aug. 1, 1843.
7. Ibid.
11. Andrew Oliver, Portraits of John Quincy Adams and His Wife (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 4, 37–41, 73–89. This count does not include photographs or popular prints.
12. JQA Diary, Aug. 15, 1843.
13. For example, Adams mentions evening visits with Greenough and King in his entries for both March 28, 1843, and April 6, 1843. On Greenough’s career and work with Adams, see Oliver, Portraits, 148–53. On King’s portraits of Adams, see Oliver, Portraits, 91–105. During his trip to western New York in the summer of 1843, Adams mentioned visiting the “splendid mansion” of one John Graig of Canandaigua, where he enjoyed the owner’s “handsome library and fine collections of paintings, engravings, ancient coins, and shells.” JQA Diary, July 28, 1843.
14. For my numbers, I rely on accounts in Adams’s diaries of his visits to photographers. His diary entries enabled me to quantify both the number of sittings and the rough number of daguerreotypes made at each sitting. While we cannot know for sure whether Adams accounted for every visit to a photographer in his diary, the thoroughness with which he kept the diary suggests its accounting is likely reliable. Similarly, Adams’s mentions of the number of images made per visit is sometimes specific and sometimes more vague (i.e., he might say “several,” which I conservatively take to mean more than two).
15. JQA Diary, Aug. 2, 1843.
16. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1843.
17. Ibid., Aug. 2, 1843.
18. Ibid., March 4, 1840.
20. Traub, John Quincy Adams, 472–81. In 1839 Africans who had been kidnapped in Africa and illegally sold into slavery rebelled and took over the Spanish ship Amistad, which was carrying them toward Cuba. After the ship was taken into custody outside of New York City, the Africans’ legal status became the subject of controversy. Eventually the case landed at the U.S. Supreme Court, where Adams argued that the Africans were not Spanish property but persons and that therefore


23. Ibid.


27. Ibid., 207.


32. *JQA Diary*, March 11, 1841. According to Knipe, Edouart made two copies of each silhouette he produced and always kept one for himself for his own collection. Edouart apparently worked by hand, drawing the subject in white chalk and then performing the cutout with scissors. Knipe, “Paper Profiles,” 208–209. The Harrison silhouette by Edouart is in the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian, listed in its *Catalog of American Portraits* as NPG.91.126.89.A.


34. The *National Intelligencer* reported on February 12 that Edouart had met President-Elect William Henry Harrison and managed to make “one of the most striking likenesses, in profile, of the person and countenance of the General that we have ever seen.” See “City News,” *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 12, 1841, Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers database. It may be a copy of this silhouette that Edouart gave to Adams at their meeting.


37. Ibid., June 15, 1841.
38. Ibid., July 12, 1843. Edouart must have summered in Saratoga to take advantage of the tourist trade there. See “For a Short Time Only,” which describes Edouart as “late of Saratoga, New York, etc.”

39. JQA Diary, April 3, 1843.


41. Records indicate “that by 1842 Plumbe had practiced daguerreotypy in Boston, Philadelphia, and probably New York, as well as Washington.” Taft and Krainik, “John Plumbe,” 52. By late November 1840, Plumbe was advertising himself as “a manufacturer of daguerreotype miniatures” on Court Street in Boston. Taft and Krainik, “John Plumbe,” 53. In July 1842 Plumbe was listed in the Daily Atlas, a Boston newspaper, as selling a “daguerreotype apparatus.” Daily Atlas, July 13, 1842, Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers database.

42. Fern and Kaplan, “John Plumbe, Jr.,” 11.


45. JQA Diary, Sept. 21, 1842; Sept. 22, 1842; Sept. 24, 1842.

46. Ibid., Sept. 27, 1842.


49. Portolano, Passionate Empiricist, 41.

50. JQA Diary, Sept. 27, 1842.

51. Sculptor Horatio Greenough wrote of Adams, “Mr. Adams is very agreeable as a sitter; he talks all the while, has seen much of art and artists, and remembers everything” (qtd. in Oliver, Portraits, 149).

52. See, for example, JQA Diary Sept. 27, 1842; March 15, 1843; May 2, 1844; June 19, 1846.


54. Taft, Photography and the American Scene, 40.


56. JQA Diary March 7, 1843; March 15, 1843; May 2, 1844. On the complexities of the ways that daguerreotypists harnessed the “agency of light” to make their images, see Thwaites, “Daguerreotypy,” 253.


59. JQA Diary, March 7, 1843.

60. Ibid., March 8, 1843.


63. Ibid.


65. JQA Diary, March 11, 1843.

66. Ibid., March 15, 1843.

67. Ibid., March 16, 1843.

68. Ibid.


72. See, for example, Robert A. Mayer, “Photographing the American Presidency,” Image 27 (1984): 2. Mayer states that the image was likely made in Adams’s home in Quincy, Massachusetts. Andrew Oliver also assumes it was produced in Quincy rather than in Washington; see Oliver, Portraits, 285–87. The Mayer assertion is unfortunate because his essay was published many years after Newhall’s new information about the daguerreotype was available. On the 1939 catalog’s original error about Quincy, see Newhall, “A Daguerreotype,” 152.


74. Ibid., 152.

75. “John Quincy Adams / Taken from a Daguerreotype by P. Haas,” Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2013645252. Bob Zeller argues that this lithograph may represent the first
time a lithograph was made directly from a daguerreotype. Zeller, “Haas, Philip,” 631.


77. See, for example, Oliver, Portraits, 60, 82, 107, and 111.


80. JQA Diary, March 16, 1843.


82. JQA Diary, March 16, 1843.

83. Ibid., April 12, 1844. When Tyler became president after the untimely death of William Henry Harrison, Adams wrote in his diary that Tyler had “vices of slavery rooted in his moral and political constitution, with talents not above mediocrity.” JQA Diary, April 4, 1841.

84. The figure of John Quincy Adams may be found fourth from the left in the background of the U.S. Senate Chamber print. A solo engraved portrait of Adams by Thomas Doney offers a nearly identical profile, suggesting that both engravings are likely based on one of the Anthony and Edwards daguerreotypes the congressman sat for in 1844. See Oliver, Portraits, 289–90.


86. The engraving was roughly thirty by forty inches, and an 1847 edition of it is archived in the Library of Congress. See https://www.loc.gov/item/2003666712.

87. JQA Diary, March 27, 1945.

88. Ibid., May 2, 1845.

89. Gillespie, Early American Daguerreotype, 64.

90. Adams’s diary mentions two sittings with Philip Haas in 1844 for the painter James Reid Lambdin and one sitting at Plumbe’s studio in Washington for George P. A. Healy in 1846. See JQA Diary, May 1 and May 2, 1844, and July 20, 1846.

91. On Lambdin’s portraits of Adams, see Oliver, Portraits, 217–21.

92. JQA Diary, April 13, 1844.

93. Oliver, Portraits, 219.

94. JQA Diary, May 3, 1844.

95. Ibid., Aug. 1–2, 1843.

96. Ibid., April 29, 1843.

97. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1843. See also Oliver, Portraits, 2.

98. Oliver, Portraits, 2.
99. Ibid., 4.
100. JQA Diary, Aug. 9, 1843.
101. On Adams’s late life illnesses, see Traub, John Quincy Adams, 391–92, 441. Adams wrote regularly about his health complaints in the diary during the 1840s, and those complaints sometimes included insomnia.
102. JQA Diary, Nov. 13, 1843.
103. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1843.

Chapter 4. Handheld Photography and the Halftone Revolution

4. On this daguerreotype and its subsequent discovery and publication in 1895, see Finnegan, Making Photography Matter, 51–60.
6. The Library of Congress holds the original ambrotype of Lincoln made by photographer Calvin Jackson, in Pittsfield, Illinois, on October 1, 1858; see http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009632130. The Macomb portrait was made by photographer William Judkins Thompson on October 11, 1858. The Library of Congress holds a print, and the original ambrotype is in the collection of the Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery; see http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009630670 and https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.82.52.


23. For an example of a similar, centennial-themed image of presidents, see http://lincolncollection.tumblr.com/post/121051559509/our-presidents.


27. Holmes’s stereography essays were published together along with other pieces in *Soundings from The Atlantic* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1864). See also Finnegan, *Making Photography Matter*, 33–35.


37. Harris, Cultural Excursions, 306.


39. Taft, Photography and the American Scene, 444.


43. See Taft, Photography and the American Scene, 362–69, for a detailed technical discussion of the evolution of the dry-plate method. Taft points out that despite these benefits, dry-plate was slow to emerge because (1) the plates cost more than the wet process, where photographers made their own plates with cheaper materials, and (2) because the additional sensitivity of the gelatin produced problems for photographers with light leaking into their cameras and fogging the unexposed plates (372–73). For these reasons, professionals were slower to adopt it.

44. Taft, Photography and the American Scene, 374.


52. West, *Kodak*, 21–22; Carlebach, *American Photojournalism*, 18. An 1899 instruction book for the Kodak No. 4 lists nine separate steps for loading the film properly into the camera and another nine separate steps to unload it once the roll was exposed. Thus, even apart from the messiness of developing, one can see why the company might have encouraged customers to avoid mistakes and simply send everything back to them. While the manual says, “We recommend everyone to do their own developing,” it also pointed out that if the “Kodaker prefers to have us ‘Do the Rest,’ he can send his exposures to us by mail. We have larger and better facilities for developing and printing and more skilled operators than anyone else, and it is in our interest to get the best results from every negative.” See *The Bulls-Eye Kodak No. 4 Instruction Book* (Rochester, NY: Eastman Kodak, 1899), 21; italics in original text.


54. Ibid., 32.


56. Qtd. in Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, 315.


58. For example, a Google Books Ngram Viewer search of the phrase shows that the term “camera fiend” more or less appeared around 1885 and spiked in frequency around 1898, a rise roughly parallel to that of amateur photography during this same period. While the Ngram Viewer uses only those texts archived in the Google Books database, it still offers a useful metric for tracking the general rise and fall in print culture of cultural terms and references. On the origins of the Google Ngram Viewer and its potential value for research, see Jean-Baptiste Michel et al., “Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books,” *Science*, Dec. 16, 2010. On its limitations, see Eitan Adam Pechenick, Christopher M. Danforth, and Peter Sheridan Dodds, “Characterizing the Google Books Corpus: Strong Limits to Inferences of Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Evolution,” *PLOS ONE* 10, no. 10 (2015), https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0137041.


64. West, *Kodak*, 75.
67. On Kodak’s emphasis on photography by and of children, see West, *Kodak*, 74–108.
72. Ibid., 70, Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers database.
77. “Public Men Look Pleasant,” *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), Sept. 8, 1890, 6, Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers database.

**Chapter 5. William McKinley’s Last Photographs**

2. One possible exception is the “cracked plate” print of Abraham Lincoln mentioned in chapter 4.
4. These two types of time have been known from the classical period as chronos and kairos, respectively. Sharon Crowley and Debra Hawhee write, “The Greeks had two concepts of time. They used the term chronos to refer to linear, measurable
time, the kind . . . that we track with watches and calendars. But the ancients used kairos to suggest a more situational kind of time, something close to what we call ‘opportunity’”; see Sharon Crowley and Debra Hawhee, Ancient Rhetorics for Contemporary Students, 4th ed. (New York: Prentice Hall, 2009), 45. Photographer Chan-fai Cheung links photography to kairos through Henri Cartier-Bresson’s famous notion of “the decisive moment.” What makes photography kairotic for Cheung is “the clicking of the shutter by the conscientious photographer”; see Chan-fai Cheung, Kairos: Phenomenology and Photography (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2009), v.


19. See, for example, Johnston diary entries for Jan. 11, 1900; Feb. 26, 1901; March 4, 1901. Frances Benjamin Johnston personal papers, Library of Congress.


23. Ibid.


26. Ibid., 10–34.

27. Ibid., 4.

28. Ibid., 13. An Edison company short film of the Pan-American Exposition’s Illumination may be found at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/16/Pan-American_Exposition_by_Night_%281901%29.webm. Several other Edison films featuring the exposition may be found at the Library of Congress.
See, for example, “A Trip around the Pan-American Exposition,” https://www.loc.gov/item/00694338.

31. Ibid., 260.


33. “Printing and Allied Arts: All Branches to be Illustrated at the Buffalo Exposition,” *Washington Post*, Nov. 4, 1900, 17.


37. Ibid., 268.


40. Based with a factory in New Hampshire, B. W. Kilburn became a successful producer and dealer of stereographs beginning in the late 1870s; see William Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Nashville: Land Yacht Press, 1997), 45–46.


45. Exposition visitors made images and assembled scrapbooks of their trips to Buffalo. The Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, for example, has Pan-American Exposition scrapbooks among its holdings.

46. “Plans for Greeting the President,” 2.


49. The undigitized cabinet cards may be found in the McKinley collection of the Presidential File in the Library of Congress. Each of the three images is captioned “The Last Photograph of Pres. McKinley by his own permission. Taken at the International Hotel, Niagara Falls, N.Y., Sept. 6, 1901.”

50. “President McKinley’s Last View of the Falls at Niagara—Taken Early on the Afternoon of the Day on which he was Shot,” Frank Leslie’s, Oct. 5, 1901, 322.

51. Miller, President and the Assassin, 300.

52. Creighton, Electrifying Fall, 87.

53. Miller, President and the Assassin, 301.

54. Ibid.

55. Parker’s role was later erased by other accounts that emphasized the valor of the Secret Service agents and negated the important contribution of an African American citizen and exposition worker in stopping the shooter. See Creighton, Electrifying Fall, 125–26, 150–52.

56. Miller, President and the Assassin, 301–304, 312–14; Creighton, Electrifying Fall, 95–99.

57. Miller, President and the Assassin, 315.


59. “President Better,” Buffalo Courier, Sept. 8, 1901 (noon extra), 1.

60. Miller, President and the Assassin, 316.


62. Miller, President and the Assassin, 316; Creighton, Electrifying Fall, 101–103.

63. “Scenes about Milburn Home,” Buffalo Courier, Sept. 8, 1901, 10.

64. “Night Scenes in Press Tent,” Buffalo Courier, Sept. 9, 1901, 4.


66. A vintage Edison cylinder recording of the tune by popular singer Will F. Denny, plus lyrics, is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=btBhgXzAW84.


68. In the spring of 2017 I contacted the William McKinley Presidential Library and Museum in Canton, Ohio, and shared with them the Buffalo Courier article that obliquely suggested that snapshots of the shooting existed. A researcher there confirmed that the museum knows of no snapshots of the shooting. Email from Judith Pocock to the author, April 14, 2017.


70. Ibid.

71. See, for example, Buffalo Courier, Sept. 15, 1901 (Sunday supplement), 1–3.


74. See, for example, “Watching Over the Stricken President,” Collier’s, Sept. 21, 1901, 10.
75. Creighton, Electrifying Fall, 133; Miller, President and the Assassin, 319.
76. Creighton, Electrifying Fall, 136. After McKinley died, doctors who treated him publicly discussed the president’s treatment, in some cases accusing one another of bad practices; see Miller, President and the Assassin, 323–24. See also articles by McKinley’s various doctors published in a special issue of the Buffalo Medical Journal, Oct. 1901, 226+.
77. Illustrated Buffalo Express, Sept. 16, 1901, 1.
79. “We Picture It” (advertisement), Illustrated Buffalo Express, Sept. 21, 1901.
81. Ibid., 69.
82. My examples are drawn primarily from four heavily illustrated local and national publications that covered the shooting and McKinley’s death extensively: the Buffalo Courier, the Illustrated Buffalo Express, Frank Leslie’s Weekly, and Collier’s Weekly.
85. Collier’s, Sept. 21, 1901.
86. Collier’s, Sept. 14, 1901.
87. “The Last Photograph Taken of President and Mrs. McKinley During Their Buffalo Visit,” Frank Leslie’s Weekly, Sept. 28, 1901, 294.
90. “The President Addressing the Throng at the Exposition on President’s Day,” Illustrated Buffalo Express, Sept. 15, 1901, 4, 1.
96. “Last Photograph Taken,” n.p.

99. See, for example, Buffalo Courier, Sept. 22, 1901; Illustrated Buffalo Express, Sept. 15, 1901; Collier’s, Sept. 21, 1901, 7; Brooklyn Eagle, Sept. 14, 1901; Frank Leslie’s Weekly, Sept. 15, 1901; Buffalo Medical Journal, Oct. 1901.

100. “Souvenir Pictures of the President,” Illustrated Buffalo Express, Sept. 15, 1901, 1.


102. See, for example, “The President at Buffalo,” Collier’s, Sept. 21, 1901, 6, 8; “Incidents and Scenes of the Day,” Buffalo Courier, Sept. 21, 1901, 3.

103. Asherman, Photographic Legacy, 36.

104. See Illustrated Buffalo Express, Sept. 15, 1901, 1, 2, 4.

105. Berch, Woman Behind the Lens, 71.

106. See, for example, letters to Johnston from George Millard Benson, Dec. 14, 1901; Citizens Club of Fulton, NY, Nov. 23, 1901; Harvey R. Keeler, Nov. 27, 1901; all in Frances Benjamin Johnston personal papers, Library of Congress.

107. Sculptor and Ohio native Charles Henry Niehaus created the statue based on Johnston’s photograph. He had also created two statues of another assassinated president from Ohio, James Garfield, during the 1880s. On Niehaus, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Henry_Niehaus.

108. Asherman, Photographic Legacy, 36.

Chapter 6. Visual News in the Early Twentieth Century


4. Ibid., 29.

5. Ibid., 31.


11. Ibid., 193.


13. Ibid., xiv; xvii.


18. Kenney and Unger, “Mid-Week,” 244; Benson, Printed Picture, 236.


26. Ibid., 31–32.
38. See Juergens, News from the White House, 17–20. Charles Willis Thompson writes that Roosevelt understood the work of journalists and their deadlines and would tip them ahead of time whether what he said was likely to make news; see Thompson, Presidents I’ve Known and Two Near Presidents (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1929), 142–43.
40. Juergens, News from the White House, 27.

44. Thompson, *Presidents I’ve Known*, 295.


48. Ibid., 105.


52. Ibid., 5–6.

53. Ibid., 7–8.


61. Ibid.


### Chapter 7. Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, and the Candid Camera


6. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid; ellipsis in the original text.
13. Knapp, “Toy or Tool,” 82; ellipsis in the original text.
15. “Sailorman’s Daughter Chosen Miss Candid Camera of 1940,” Life, April 22, 1940, 83.
18. Ibid., 6.
21. For more on Salomon’s early work, see Freund, Photography and Society, 119–24.
23. Ibid., 6.
24. Ibid., 9.
29. Ibid.
36. “Supreme Court Sits,” 60.
39. Ibid., 16.
46. Ibid.
52. Salomon, Portrait of an Age, 172. See also Hunter, Erich Salomon, 9.
56. Ibid., 210. For one recent example of the “triumph” narrative, see David Greenberg, Republic of Spin: An Inside History of the American Presidency (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016), 195.
61. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 107. See also Gould, *Modern American Presidency*, 82.
81. Ibid., 112.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., 114.
93. Ibid., 14.
94. Ibid., 13. See also Winfield, *FDR and the News Media*, 113.
97. Ibid., 87.
20. Ryan Linkof terms such images “humiliating photographs” and describes the 1930s as the “fruition of the humiliating press photograph.” While Linkof’s study focuses on Great Britain, he notes that “the vogue for embarrassing photographs took hold perhaps most soundly in the United States”; see Linkof, *Public Images: Celebrity, Photojournalism, and the Making of the Tabloid Press* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 67.
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4. Ibid.


10. Tretick, “I Shoot the Big Shots,” 84.


19. George Tames, oral history interview with Donald Ritchie, Jan. 30–May 16, 1988, Interview #3, 100; see also Brack, Presidential Picture Stories, 70.


21. Ibid., 25–26; Brack, Presidential Picture Stories, 72–73.


24. On the history of the paparazzi and celebrity photography more generally, see Kim McNamara, Paparazzi: Media Practices and Celebrity Culture (Cambridge,


26. Ibid., 12.


34. George Tames, oral history interview with Donald Ritchie, Jan. 30–May 16, 1988, Interview #4, 125.


37. Greenberg, Republic of Spin, 410.


40. On the rise of twenty-four-hour news, see Greenberg, Republic of Spin, 419; Jeffrey E. Cohen, The Presidency in the Era of 24-Hour News (Princeton, NJ: Princ-

41. Greenberg, Republic of Spin, 422.


43. Ibid., 9.

44. Cox Han, Presidency Upstaged, 48.

45. Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 6. Walsh mentions that, like Roosevelt, Rowe himself had a disability as the result of polio. See also “Abbie Rowe Dies at 61; Lensman of Presidents,” Washington Post, Apr. 19, 1967, B10.

46. “Robert Knudsen Dies; Photographer was 61,” New York Times, Jan. 31, 1989, D22. I am grateful to Pete Souza for alerting me to the role of this less publicly recognized photographer. Histories of White House photography seem to underplay Knudsen’s decades of work; Kenneth Walsh describes him as a “deputy” of Cecil Stoughton, and John Bredar refers to Knudsen briefly as “another photographer” with whom Stoughton shared an office. See Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 50–51; Bredar, President’s Photographer, 51. Yet Cecil Stoughton’s oral history for the John F. Kennedy Library suggests that the two worked as peers during the Kennedy administration to cover both the West Wing and the social events taking place at the White House. See Cecil W. Stoughton, recorded interview by Vicki Daitch, Sept. 18–19, 2002, 9–10, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program.


48. Bredar, President’s Photographer, 250; see also Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 33–60.

49. Okamoto was hired twice because the mercurial LBJ fired then rehired him when a January 1964 Newsweek story questioned what appeared to be Johnson’s obsession with photographs of himself. The story goes that right after Johnson fired him, Okamoto just kept on making pictures of the president, much to Johnson’s surprise. See Bredar, President’s Photographer, 89. See also James Pomerantz, “Yoichi Okamoto, Lyndon Johnson’s Photographer,” New Yorker, March 28, 2012, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/photo-booth/yoichi-okamoto-lyndon-johnsons-photographer. For an overview of Okamoto’s relationship with Johnson, see Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 61–72.

50. Bredar, President’s Photographer, 85.

51. Qtd. in ibid., 86.

52. Bredar, President’s Photographer, 90.
53. George Tames, oral history interview with Donald Ritchie, Jan. 30–May 16, 1988, Interview #1, 18.


55. Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 74.

56. Ibid., 73–75.

57. Bredar, President’s Photographer, 123. For a more sanitized discussion of Nixon’s relationship with Oliver Atkins, see Julie Nixon Eisenhower, Eye on Nixon: A Photographic Study of the President and the Man (New York: W. Clement Stone, 1972), 122–23.

58. George Tames of the New York Times claimed that he was initially offered the role and was prepared to take it “until I found out that Carter didn’t want to give me the title. He didn’t want the Imperial Presidency, so he said.” See Tames, Interview #3, 105–106. On Roslyn Carter’s photographer, Mary Anne Fackelman, see Frank Breithaupt, “The Second ‘First Lady’ in the White House,” News Photographer, April 1980, 18–23. See also Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 103–104.


61. On Kennerly’s White House work, see Walsh, Ultimate Insiders, 93–106; Bredar, President’s Photographer, 128–36.


63. Kennerly, Shooter, 174. See also Kennerly, Photo Op, 78–83.


75. The blog BagNews Notes, later renamed Reading the Pictures, gained attention as an early critic of Bush-era visual politics. See, for example, posts from 2004–2005 at https://www.readingthepictures.org/category/bush-focus/page/14.


81. Ibid., 33; See also Alan Steinberg, “Exploring the Adoption and Use of New Media in the Obama Presidency: Is White House 2.0 Really Just White House 1.5?” *White House Studies* 12, no. 4 (2013): 343–60.
Chapter 9. Barack Obama and Flickr


18. Qtd. in Eilperin, “Risks Stream with Rewards,” A01.


21. Ibid., 16. Phillips served as new media director for the campaign and early administration but left the White House in 2013.


23. Katz, Barris, and Jain, *Social Media President*, 108; emphasis mine.


25. “About We the People,” *We the People*, https://petitions.obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/about/#terms.


27. Ibid., 120.


29. Ibid., 11.

30. Auletta, “Non-Stop News.”


33. Qtd. in Eilperin, “Risks Stream with Rewards,” A01.


37. For a wide-ranging discussion of Souza’s work during the Obama administration that touches on some issues examined in depth in this chapter, see Kenneth Walsh, *Ultimate Insiders: White House Photographers and How They Shape History* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 163–80.


42. Ibid., 143.


46. Steven Booth, email to the author, March 2, 2018.

47. Souza, “Portrait of a Presidency.”

48. Qtd. in Lenkoski, *President’s Photographer*.

49. Ibid.

50. Qtd. in Caplin, *Photo Brigade* podcast.


56. Ibid., 91. See also José van Dijck, “Flickr and the Culture of Connectivity,” Memory Studies 4, no. 4 (2010): 401–415.

57. Van Dijck, Culture of Connectivity, 96.


60. Qtd. in Catlin, Photo Brigade podcast.

61. For a discussion of how the Presidential Records Act (PRA) works, see National Archives, Guidance on Presidential Records (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 2016), 12, https://www.archives.gov/files/presidential-records-guidance.pdf. For the first five years after a president leaves office, the public has no access to presidential records. Based on the provisions of the PRA, the Obama records will be available to the public only through Freedom of Information Act requests starting in January 2022. By the time twelve years have passed since a president left office, all previously unrestricted presidential
records should be made available to the public. (Some restrictions, of course, will inevitably apply.) On the Presidential Records Act, see also Mary E. Stuckey, “Presidential Secrecy: Keeping Archives Open,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9, no. 1 (2006): 138–44.


65. Ibid.

66. Qtd. in ibid.


72. Souza, *Obama: An Intimate Portrait*, 38, 130. Souza reports in the book that the Jacob Philadelphia photograph was briefly taken down in 2012, but staffers asked that it be put back up because it was a popular stop when they would give West Wing tours (38).


74. Senior, “Message Is the Message.”


79. McFarlane, “Visualizing the Rhetorical Presidency.” Another kind of Photoshopping occurred as well when *Di Tzeitung*, a Yiddish-language newspaper published in New York City, digitally removed the two women in the photo, including Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, before they published it. Editors cited the paper’s policy never to publish images of women, because that would promote immodesty. They later apologized—not for the sexism but for violating the White House’s instructions that its Flickr photos not be digitally altered. See “Orthodox Jewish Newspaper Apologises for Hillary Clinton Deletion,” *The Guardian*, May 10, 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/10/jewish-paper-apologises-hillary-clinton.


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The White House’s caption for the photograph read in part that the president and those in the room were receiving “an update on the mission against Osama bin Laden.” See Obama White House Flickr Photostream, May 1, 2011, https://www.flickr.com/photos/obamawhitehouse/5680724572.


85. Erica Gonzales, “Barack Obama’s White House Photographer Trolls Donald Trump’s First 100 Days in Office,” Harper’s Bazaar, April 25, 2017, https://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/features/news/a22228/barack-obama-donald-trump-100-days. Shell, who had previously served as Vice President Al Gore’s official photographer during the Clinton administration, covered Obama’s political rise and received special access to the White House during Obama’s first one hundred days. See Callie Shell, Hope, Never Fear: A Personal Portrait of the Obamas (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2019).


87. Hendler, “No Handouts.”


89. Qtd. in Hendler, “No Handouts.” Hendler pointed out that in 2005 the WHNPA lodged similar protests at the George W. Bush administration, leading to a “near-boycott” of photo handouts by wire services that led to an agreement by the Bush White House to reduce the number of photo releases.


95. Qtd. in Landler, “Limits on Access.”


98. Rainey, “Nearly 40.”


102. Flickr changed its policy in 2015 to offer both public domain and what is known as “CC-zero” options, the latter allowing the owner of the image to allow any use of it at all with no rights reserved. See Rajiv Vaidyanathan, “Flickr Now Offers Public Domain and CCo Designations,” Flickr blog, March 30, 2015, https://blog.flickr.net/en/2015/03/30/flickr-now-offers-public-domain-and-cc-zero-designations/?linkId=13226047. The Trump White House chose to use the “public domain” designation on its Flickr site.


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105. Ibid.
106. Singel, “Flickr Creates New License.”
115. The current usa.gov statement on this point is followed by this sentence: “For example, you can’t use a photo of a government official wearing your product in an ad.” I do not believe that this specific sentence appeared on usa.gov in 2009–2010. “About Government Works,” https://www.usa.gov/government-works.
116. Ibid.
-misuses-white-house-picture-for-political-purposes-2011-12. The article was later updated with the information that “the image was purchased by the campaign, and not just copied off the Flickr website.”

120. For just a few examples of comments on White House Flickr Photostream images, see https://www.flickr.com/photos/obamawhitehouse/4074700585/in/album-72157622593716998 and https://www.flickr.com/photos/obamawhitehouse/4753132441/in/album-72157624332927216. Although the site has been frozen in time since Obama left office, Flickr members are still able to add comments on the photographs that allowed for comments before July 2010.

121. While the comments that apparently violated Flickr’s terms of service appear to have been removed, the Cairo album today still contains two comments from user Shepherd Johnson that appear to date from this period in 2009. See https://www.flickr.com/photos/obamawhitehouse/3610757033 and https://www.flickr.com/photos/obamawhitehouse/3610754817.


123. Carson, “Yahoo Bans.”


129. See, for example, the “President Obama with Babies,” Tumblr, https://presidentobamawithbabies.tumblr.com; and the Twitter feed @ObamaPlusKids, https://twitter.com/obamapluskids.


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155. Pete Souza, Shade: A Tale of Two Presidents (New York: Little, Brown, 2018). In the fall of 2020, a documentary on Souza was released; see The Way I See It, directed by Dawn Porter (Los Angeles, CA: Focus Features, 2020).


157. As of August 29, 2019, the Trump White House Flickr Photostream contained 6,864 photographs. See https://www.flickr.com/photos/whitehouse. By November 2020, that number was over 14,000.


Conclusion

1. Many thanks to Davis Houck for suggesting this approach to writing my conclusion chapter.
