The Rape of the West: An Iconological Interpretation of the Post-Civil War Landscape Photographs of the American West in the 19th Century. Chicago,1978.

Slide-lecture presented by William E. Parker in 1978. The following transcription is a combination of two incomplete sources: a transcription by Candida Finkel in the Parker Archives at the Visual Studies Workshop, and a cassette tape owned by Nevil Parker. The two sources list a slightly different order of images from 19th century landscape painting and photography. The images were projected twice during the lecture: the first time through with author, title and date given, and a second time as a comparative backdrop to the various excerpts read by Parker. Parker's comments made while quoting other texts are set in ( ). -Bob Martin, November 2022.

Thank you, Alex, and greeting folks. I can promise you that I forewarned Alex and Candida that this would be a rather extended lecture, however I may be...by my own...since I am not feeling terribly chipper. On the other hand, for those of you that don't have your tolerance too tested by the end of this lecture, there will be by the way during the lecture, a break, a ten-minute break, and then we will return for some readings, an homage to the nineteenth century and particularly to that most important commentator on photography, Walter Benjamin. That second part will be the punchline and for those that wait for it, I don't think you'll be disappointed, and perhaps like Michael Bishop, who honored me by telling me, "Bill, I waited and it was the best bedtime story I ever heard."

My title is *The Rape of the West: An Iconological Interpretation of the Post-Civil War Landscape Photographs of the American West in the 19th Century.* A jaw-breaker to say the least. And primarily I intend to be somewhat methodological, that is, what I'm speaking to you about is based upon a condensation of a four-part lecture that I give to my own students, including both undergraduates and graduates, following several prior periods of discussion on developments of American photography in the West. That is to say we start with a ballast and then the ship is set to sail. And what I am doing tonight is carrying you on the ship with me and the sail is fully unfurled. What I want to do is first sensitize you by a group of comments, briefly, and then introduce you to a group of slides, a rather lengthy series, with some comments here and there, and then, after that, we will break and return for the punchline material. The major concern I would have is that if anyone is not familiar with the material they would think that this is somewhat chaotic because in the lecture, time is a wash, chronology is not respected, and I do burden you with the possibility that you will see certain things in these images that I need not articulate. I might add that there are some areas in the second part that might be offensive to some people and might I add there might be some at the beginning,

however, I would recommend to you that these are part and parcel of academic research and not in any sense intended to offend.

Latislav Tartokovich, in a book entitled, *Nineteenth Century Philosophy*, distinguishes between two types of philosophy and I think we could share his view concerning these two types of interpretive approaches within the history of photography. He speaks of one as the maximalist interpretation and the second as the minimalist. He says, “Since the beginning of recorded history there have been differences in the tone of philosophical inquiries. In some boldness is prevalent, in others caution prevails. In the nineteenth century this opposition intensified. Two diametrically opposed types of philosophy contended with one another. One we can call the maximalist and one minimalist. Maximalist philosophy,” (And I share this particular view this evening) “sets vast objectives for itself and tries to achieve them at all cost, including the patience of the audience. Of course, it tries to achieve them in as certain a manner as is possible, but failing this it is satisfied with uncertain results. Minimalist philosophy, however, considers only that which is certain. It poses and tries to solve only problems that it can handle with absolute, complete certainty. Maximalist philosophy is primarily guided by the goal it has in mind. Minimalist philosophy, by the means at its disposal. The first is the philosophy of ambition, the second is the philosophy of prudent abstention,” (a philosophy I have never learned). “Minimalist philosophy recognizes only the minima and becomes actual in...with phenomenalism, imperialism, subjectivism, and utilitarianism. Maximalist philosophy is inclined to recognize certain transcendental, a priori, intuitive truths, over and above these minima. It recognizes a spiritual, ideal, and supernatural world. Maximalist philosophy acknowledges other drives, goals, and goods, in addition to exclusively utilitarian ones. For the cautious mind, these minima seem sufficient to describe our world, knowledge, and behavior. Everything else seems illusory, or at any rate, uncertain. The results of Minimalist philosophy have been various forms of skepticism, subjectivism, empiricism, sensualism, and hedonism. The opposite results have generally stemmed from the Maximalist view.”

What is an iconological interpretation? Again, in order to introduce and clarify our subject, perhaps we had better consider for a moment, another text or another source: Erwin Panofsky’s commentaries in his great book, *Studies in Iconology, Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance.* For those that would be afraid of approaching a book with such a title, particularly those of you who are undergraduates, I would suggest that you note his chart that appears on page seventeen. If you can read *Howard the Duck* or *The Wizard* or *Mad Magazine* you will have no trouble understanding these levels and I am certain that you will be able to identify the interpretative levels that are articulated by Panofsky. He speaks of a level one interpretation in which one, even historically, might deal with the formal elements that

are apparent within a pictorial work. That is, naming things, both subject matter and formal elements such as line and shape and texture and color and mass and space. He also deals with on that level, or rather states that people deal with on level one interpretation with expressional elements: how the subject appears to behave. You know, a gesture for example, whether it is grand or whether it is minimal and also the way a certain linear construct might behave or an organizational construct. He states this is a matter of common experience and we've all had ourselves exposed to people who articulate what is happening before our eyes as if we were blind. Level two interpretations that Panofsky defines deal with semiotic allusions and illusions. Semiotic systems deal with signs and they are based upon conventions and they are reduced to subject themes or even certain phenomenon or events or factual relationships between subjects within a grander subject in order to foster the principle of meaning that is definitely based upon cultural symptoms, stories, allegories, and signs that are easily communicated to a collective audience. The subject matter on the second level functions as a matter of an expression of a particular period of time, what Germanic cultures would call the zeitgeist. That "spirit of the time" is centered around a particular period such as the Roaring Twenties, the Decade of Anxiety, the Anxious Generation of the 60s, something of this nature. Level three interpretation is what Panofsky calls iconological and that is, indeed, the level of interpretation I am trying to make. It deals primarily with the worldview, the Weltanschauung, which is basically a concern with what is happening in the psyche collectively, wherever cultures and groups are in communication with each other. It does not deal with the minima. It deals with the maximal interpretation of human consciousness at a certain period. And, of course, the title of my commentary is *Rape of the West*. Before we reach the reading period where we will deal with aspects of rape very directly and other aspects of sexual expression, I think it is necessary that we recognize that the commentaries I will make tonight do not deal with American culture alone. I don't have the time, nor could I tax your energy to have to go through a full exegetical commentary on the nature of rape as expressing some type of disenfranchisement with the feminine. However, I would like to say this: that within the nineteenth century, extending from its very inception and culminating at the turn of the century and entering into the mainstream of Modern Art, that one of the major concerns was the male/female relationship theme. One of the most direct expressions of this was in German Expressionist art. But it also appeared in French Symbolist art and even in belated expressions of Pre-Raphaelitism. And I think it might interest you to hear a few words that are written concerning the theme of the artist we're talking about the masculine, the male artist, who viewed women in prior centuries as property. As John Berger tells us, as objects, to be obtained or possessed, to be seen only with the male eyes. The nineteenth century viewed women, particularly in the post-Darwinian period, as a threatening force. And I hope to encourage those people in this room that are involved with the Feminist movement to please hold your stones before I

complete the lecture. Geraldine Pelles, in *Art, Artist, Society: Origins of a Modern Dilemma, Painting in England and France 1750-1850*, confirms the prevailing view of woman seen in terms of her conflict with men and the torments of their love and that at other times, she is seen as a sexually ambiguous, androgynous figure combining both the male and the female. Geraldine Pelles states this, “The new moral relationship between the sexes created a disturbance in the social image of women that was strongly accented by double reactions of respect and hostility.” From the internal war against basic desires, an ambiguous composite ideal emerged in the light of expectations that women should be Madonna-like and alluring pagan goddesses as well. Fragile zephyrs and dangerous temptresses, like Medea and the Furies. The new code made women seem creatures to be both cherished and on the other hand, destroyed. Following and coexisting with this ambiguous creature, an object of worship and sadism, was the vogue for the independent and aggressive woman, the lioness, ala George Sand. The enigmatic and dangerous woman, the deep, fixed glance, vaporous air, humid eyes and disordered hair were not only signs of passion and inspiration, the fatal and damned creature who was once charming and dangerous. In an impressive summary of the issues mentioned thus far, J.P. Hodin, writing on Edvard Munch, in The *Dilemma Being Modern*, stated, “It is the Mater DoloRosa as she is worshiped in the Stabat Mater which has moved the hearts of people, of the great musicians and of the great thinkers.” This ideal of womanhood faded out in the epoch of industrialization. It is understandable that modern man does not subscribe to Dogma, but it is deplorable that an archetypal conception should completely disappear. Significantly even hard-boiled dialectical materialists nowadays begin to doubt that it is only economic reasons which transform men into brutes. With the findings in experimental psychology the Christian notion of Original Sin is creeping slowly back into our consciousness, that is, the notion that man is both good and bad and that he is given the free will to decide upon which side he intends to stand. But in the time of Munch’s youth the impact of biological science was overwhelming. In 1852, Herbert Spencer had begun to put forward his philosophy of evolution. The year 1859 saw Darwin’s *Origin of the Species*. In Germany, Haeckel became enthusiastic and with Huxley and Galton pushed the matter further. Instead of an ideal of beauty and grandeur and mildness, nineteenth-century man was nourished on a biological notion of natural selection, the survival of the fittest, and so on. Is it not significant that pessimism began to spread? In his famous *Metaphysik der Geschlecbtsliebe* (1859) Schopenhauer already illustrates the supremacy of the biological point of view over the idealistic. Man in his love for a woman sees an ideal in her; but in doing so he is deceived as an individual by the sexual urge, the goal of which is to preserve the species. Schopenhauer quotes Plato to support his views: Strindberg, Baudelaire, and Nietzsche were the protagonists of this disillusionment in literature and philosophy; Felicien Rops, Munch, Redon in painting. This age witnessed also the rise of a conception of womanhood as opposed to that of the Madonna. The rise of the old

symbol of Ishtar from the Sumerian-Akkadian culture, the Jewish Lilith, the Babylonian Ishtar and her modern shape as the femme fatale, a deromanticized form of the La Belle Dame Sans Merci."

This new conception of the feminine as a threatening negative force which extended from the nineteenth century to become a major thematic concern of all modern art in its earliest developments, appears most dramatically in the art of Edvard Munch. And it also appears as the concern that was expressed by philosophers as well. Note for example Nietzsche's notes of 1881 and also let us hear for a moment as a conclusion to this hint that this was indeed, that is the subject for this evening, a world view. Nietzsche states this: "The reabsorption of semen by the blood is the strongest nourishment and perhaps more than any factor, it prompts the stimulus of power, the unrest of all forces towards the overcoming of resistances." The thirst for contradiction and resistance, the feeling of power has so far mounted the highest in abstinent priests and hermits, for example, among the brahmans. And then a letter from Vincent Van Gogh: "My dear comrade, (Emile) Bernard, why do you say Degas is impotently flabby? Degas lives like a small lawyer, and does not like women, for he knows if he loves them and fucked them often, he, intellectually diseased, would become insipid as a painter. He looks on while human animals, stronger than himself get excited and fuck, and he paints them well, exactly because he doesn't have the pretension to get excited himself. Rubens! Ah, that one! He was a handsome man and a good fucker, Courbet too. Their health permitted them to drink, eat, fuck. As for you, my poor dear comrade Bernard, I already told you in the spring: eat a lot, do your military exercises well, don't fuck too much. When you do this your painting will be all the more spermatic. Ah! Balzac, that great and powerful artist, has rightfully told us that relative chastity fortifies the modern artist. If we want to be really potent males in our work, we must sometimes resign ourselves to not fuck much and for the rest be monks or soldiers according to the needs of our temperament. I know that the studies of the Dutch painters can only do you good, for their works are so virile, so full of male potency, so healthy. Personally, I feel that continence is good for me, that it is enough for our weak, impressionable artists' brains to give their essence to the creation of our pictures. For when we reflect, calculate, exhaust ourselves, we spend cerebral energy."

May we have the first slide please. Charles Wilson Peale, *Exhuming the Mastodon*, oil on canvas, 1806. Peale Museum, Baltimore. A sign of the emerging interest in only but one example of that sign, both in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the primordial nature of the earth itself. Particularly in entering the earth's...to know her secrets from fossils to geology, a conquering of the matrix of the past, a determination for the future.

Next: George Catlin, *Buffalo Chased in Snowdrift*, oil of canvas, late 1830s. Smithsonian Institute. Catlin, early student and painter of the American Indian, first began a series of summer excursions in the West in 1829. During winters in his eastern studio he completed his sketches in journals. Early in the 1830s it occurred to him that the extinction of the buffalo and the Indian was imminent. He once climbed a bluff, spread a pocket map of the United States before him and considered the effects of an expanding civilization. He stated, “Many are the rudenesses and wiles in nature’s works which are destined to fall before the deadly axe and desolating hands of cultivating man.” This is a siting, but one of the western wilderness and its promise and a foreboding recognition of the need for its preservation and the protection which was to fail for so long a period. John James Audubon, *The Eagle*, 1837. As Audubon traveled through the Ohio Valley in the 1820s he had many occasions to observe, as he called it, the destruction of the forests. His *Birds of America*, 1827-1838 marked him as a leader in calling attention to natural beauty. Yet he hesitated much in condemning the gradual western march, at that time by road, stating, “Whether these changes are for the better or worse, I shall not pretend or say.” Later descriptive essays written from 1818 to 1834 supplementing *The Birds of America* review that Audubon changed his mind. He heard “The den of hammers and machinery” and saw the woods fast disappearing under the axe and then he would conclude, “The greedy mills told a sad tale that in a century the noble forest should exist no more.” Thomas Doughty, *A River Glimpse*, oil on canvas, about 1830, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The United States did not have an active school of landscape painting until the 1840s. What first emerged, even in precedents like Doughty as you see here, was an imminent and reverential view of the landscape environment soon to develop into a school of landscape for landscape’s sake imagery by the late 1850s. Witness for example those painters in your memory such as John Kensett, Thomas Cole, Martin J. Heade, Asher B. Durand, George Innes. The paintings of Cole and later of his student, Frederick E. Church and of Albert Bierstadt, begin to represent landscape before the arrival of civilization. Later there emerged an interest in pure landscape, or as Weston J. Naef stated it in *Era of Exploration, The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860 - 1885*: “The pure landscape that depicts nature for its own sake and identifies these pictures with the results of the photographers who went out of doors, not to photograph towns, cities, occupations, events of purported civilizations, but to focus their attention on nature itself as the primary subject matter. Those who became deeply involved with the perception of land and nature and of course we have in an earlier period what is known as the basically intimate view. Worthington Whittredge, *The Trout Pool*, oil on canvas, 1870, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Asher B. Durand, *In the Woods*, 1855. Both examples, the Whittredge and the Durand, are the scale in which we would feel that neither is nature exerting an imagery that would overwhelm humankind nor indeed is humankind felt alienated from the grandeur of nature. Asher B. Durand, *Kindred Spirits:*

Thomas Cole and William Collin Bryant. This painting, developed in 1849, the idea of wilderness unsullied by man became the actual subject of Asher B. Durand's painting that you see before you. Durand painted William Collin Bryant and Thomas Cole at the moment they discovered a particularly beautiful vale. The painting is a typical representation of the deep reverence for nature that prevailed as a sensibility of this century which contributed in turn to the popularity of landscape photography. Early in his career, Cole painted many landscapes through this lifelong search for the pure state of nature. In a letter to Bryant, Cole said, "There is a valley, reputedly beautiful, in the mountains a few miles south of the clove I have never explored and am reserving the delicate morsel to be shared with you." Durand pays his homage to the painter and the poet. William and Frederick Langenheim of Philadelphia, group daguerreotypes entitled *Panorama of the Falls of Niagara,* 1845. Though they often reflected the formal conditioning of painting, the Langenheims, with William as camera operator, began to depict the forces of nature. The chain of intimacy was broken with such images that show the Falls of Niagara. Thomas Cole, in his *Mountain Landscape with Waterfall*, or *Genesee Scenery*, Rhode Island School of Design, 1847. We begin to see in paintings of this nature the emerging of a grander view, an opening up of spatiality, a principle of what we would speak of as spatial recession and potentials for spatial progression. Albert Sand Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes, *Niagara Falls*, daguerreotype about 1853. As Naef states in *Era of Exploration*, this is an image concerning frozen energy, of nature controlling its own self-destructive energy. This work reflects the aim of most photographers of the earlier landscape period. To capture nature in a rare moment and by this time nature wild, uninhabited, untamed. William and Frederick Langenheim in *Marshall's Falls, Delaware Water Gap*, about 1853, With their process patented in 1850, that is using negatives that bound the emulsion to a glass plate by the use of egg white and also printing it by the Talbot method on translucent paper, they could create stereographic views. They offered these stereographic views of nature where the subject appeared vivid in their illusion of three-dimensionality and perspectival spatiality and whether they dealt with the more intimate views such as the Delaware Water Gap, Marshall Falls, in that case seen behind the screen of the vegetation, or that they approached Niagara Falls directly again in these winter views, as in this work of 1854. The Langenheims realized that the role of the stereograph was to put a person directly on the brink of the territory observed. Obviously, the role of the stereograph and the genuine rise of landscape consciousness was enormous. The observer seemingly occupied the phenomenon viewed. Frederick E. Church was one who most likely saw the Langenheim's views and Church had also been influenced by a number of photographic images he had seen, as in this work of *Niagara Falls*, developed in 1857. It hangs at the Washington Corcoran Gallery. The photographic intent is basically evident. And I might add that even paintings began to betray a relationship to that infinitesimal, non-syntactical imagery that we found in the photographs of the period.

The photograph itself seemingly replaced the actual and Church consulted photographs of Niagara Falls as models for his paintings. Probably, as I stated, including the Langenheim's views. Now the painter pictured the heightened sense of space influenced by photography: a sense of space that revolutionized picture-making. The world was sighted and viewed with the illusion affected that one was present to the very facts of nature herself. The camera view began to prevail and the image of the world as endless vista began to prevail: a vista inviting occupancy and attainment. John Kensett, *Landscape,* 1852. Albert Bierstadt, *Thunderstorm*, Rocky Mountains 1859. Vista was associated not only with the principles of simply recessive perspective. That is to say the atmospheric perspective in which one's eye falls upon the detail in the foreground and surveys the territory virtually toward infinity. It could also be expressed in more magical, naive works, such as Erastus Salisbury Fields, *The Garden of Eden*, that hangs in the Shelburg Museum in Vermont and was done sometime in the 1860s. The landscape became the new Eden in the American consciousness. The new paradise and particularly this landscape we call vista. The inevitable milieu for the realization of America's manifest destiny. A phrase eventually shrilly trumpeted by William Gilpin, an earlier governor, not surprisingly, of Colorado, in the 1870s. In his work entitled, *Mission of the North American People: Geographical, Social and Political,* such statements did Gilpin utter! "Progress is God, the occupation of wild territory proceeds with all the solemnity of a providential ordinance, the extensions of pure Christianity, the replacement of the savage yell with the song of Zion." Or as an even earlier writing by Charles D. Kirk, summarized in his 1860 novel, Wooing and Warring in the Wilderness, called it the tramp trap, steady and slow but sure of the advancing hose of civilization and Christianity. But there was to be an interlude before the realization of this Eden. The War Photograph and Exhibition Company, *Wounded Trees at Gettysburg,* obviously between 1861 and 1865, War Photograph and Exhibition Company, Bomb *Proof Restaurant on Petersburg Line* between 1861 and 65 for the incident of the war, in this case, by the positive by Gardner. Barnard, *Ruins of the Railroad Depot*, Charleston, South Carolina, 1863. The Civil War but postponed the dramatic, collective assault on the West. Both during and in the wake of its ruin, the works of the painters often utilizing the collodion photograph as an assisting force, that is the collodion wet plate negative and ...print of grand scale, this work of the painter while the collective public was basically concerned with war, nor did the collective consciousness, basically that consciousness wanted a possessable world, despite the delay it seemed that each view of nature carried with it not only an aesthetic view, but a powerful self-image that could be translated into action. A moral and social energy that could be translated into action, as Barbara Novak has stated. For example, Frederick Church, *Twilight in the Wilderness* of 1860, the Cleveland Museum of Art. In other words, these works nor did the collective consciousness, that is to say the possessable world, need but be a delayed manifest destiny for images of this nature still reminded the world of that which

could be obtained and that limited spatial milieu. Albert Bierstadt, *A Wilderness Lake*, Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak, oil on canvas, 1863, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Bierstadt accompanied the Colonel F. W. Lander expedition in the west. An expedition whose mission was to survey the practicality of a wagon road over the south pass of the Rocky Mountains. Bierstadt first visited the Yosemite Valley after that in the summer of 1864. Albert Bierstadt, *Rocky Mountains*, Colorado, Boston Museum of Fine Art, 1860s. Bierstadt, *Yosemite Valley*, 1863, Detroit Museum of Art. Bierstadt, *Yosemite Valley*, 1866, Wadsworth Athenium, Hartford, Connecticut. The absurdity when we read, and so many have stated it and I would suspect that the only person that at least makes the advisement to the contrary is Nathan Lyons: that the American landscape photography of the West began without a precedent. That it knew no paradigm, that it had no forces operative, that it was a traditional-less imagery. Absurd. Clarence King, at the outset of his career in 1864 as member of Josiah D. Whitney's geological survey of California, 40th parallel survey. *Clarence King in Camp*, this is a detail of the location near Salt Lake City, October, 1868. The photograph is by Timothy O'Sullivan. *Taking Breath, Clarence King with T. H. O'Sullivan* in 1869 near the Bear River area of Utah. Photograph by Andrew J. Russell. William Henry Jackson, *The F. W. Hayden U.S. Geological Survey on Route*, 1871. William Henry Jackson photographing in high places in the Grand Teton range, 1872. Jack Hillers, John Wesley Powell with Tau-gu, the Great Chief of the Paiutes. This is during the period of the Powell survey along the Colorado River and this photograph is dated 1872 by Jack Hillers. U.S. Geological Survey Team, 1870, Camp and Red Buttes, Wyoming. F.W. Hayden is seated in the very direct center and William Henry Jackson is on the far right, looking suspiciously like Robert Redford. Carlton Watkins, The Sentinel, Yosemite, 1863-65. Watkins dates are 1829 to 1916. Watkins, El Capitan, Yosemite Valley, California, about 1870. Watkins, Yosemite Valley from the...view, number two, about 1864. Watkins, Grizzly Giant, Mariposa Grove, California, number 110, before 1864. Edward Muybridge, 1830 - 1904, Clouds Rest, Valley of the Yosemite, about 1872. Muybridge, Lyel Group, Yosemite Falls from the Sentinel Dome, about 1867. Muybridge, Yosemite Falls from Glacier Park, number 56, 1872. Watkins, Portrait of the Harvard Scientist, Louis Agassiz, about 1870. Andrew J. Russell, from the series on the joining of the rails and the driving of the golden spike ceremonies linking the Union Pacific Railroad from the east and the Central Pacific rails from the west. That is the linking of Omaha to San Francisco at Promontory Summit, Utah, May 10, 1869. Grandville N. Dodge of the Union Pacific is at the right and Samuel F. Montegue of the Central Pacific at the left, obviously. These were rival chief engineers. They clasp hands before the Union Pacific's number 119 at the right with the straight stack and the Central Pacific's Jupiter with the flare stack at left. This will become...important to the second half of the lecture, the iconography of this entire image. William Henry Jackson, 1843 - 1942 are his dates. Hell's Gate on the Colorado Midland Railway, composite, paste-up and hand painting,

date unconfirmed, between 1879 and 1896 which is a rather broad spread. William Henry Jackson, High Bridge on the Loop Above Georgetown, Colorado Central Railway, date again unconfirmed and I won't repeat. William Henry Jackson, Sentinel Rock and Tunnel on the Market Road of Colorado, date unconfirmed. Andrew J. Russell again, Promontory Summit, Joining of the Rails, the Mountain Wedding, May 10, 1869. Russell, Malloy's Cut, near Sherman, Wyoming 1867-68. Russell, Union Pacific Railroad west of Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1867-68. Russell, Promontory joining, Promontory Summit, May 10, 1869. Russell, Building Tunnel number 3 near Weber Canyon, Utah, 1867-68. Andrew J. Russell, ...to Bear River, Utah, 1867-68. Andrew J. Russell, Dale Creek Bridge from Below, 1867-68. Andrew J. Russell, Temporary and Permanent Bridges and Citadel Rock on the Green River, Wyoming, 1867-68. C.R. Savage, One Thousand Mile Tree 1000 miles from Omaha, Nebraska, near Weber, Utah, about 1869. And Andrew J. Russell, Promontory Summit, May 10, 1869. Timothy O'Sullivan, Wave Rock, East Hubble Mountains, Nevada, 1868. Green River near Flaming Gorge, Colorado, 1868. Provo Falls, Provo Canyon ..Mountains, Utah, about 1868. Tufa Rocks, Pyramid Lake, Utah, Nevada, 1868. Metamorphic Limestone, Humble Mountain, Nevada, 1868. Green River, Colorado, 1868. Mouth of Geyser, Ruby Valley, Nevada, 1868. Hollow Mound by Thermal Springs, Provo Valley,...Mountains, Utah, 1868. Sioux Springs, Nevada. Canyon Deshay, Arizona, 1875...Arizona…The Southside of Inscription Rock, New Mexico, 1873. The latter three images taken during O'Sullivan's independent survey...and George Wheeler's geographic and geologic survey west of the 100th meridian. Houseworth and Co. Publishers. The Magic Tower on Union Point Trail, about 1867 in Yosemite. Carleton Watkins, now named Agassiz Column, Yosemite, about 1870. E. J. Muybridge, Trail to Union Point, upon which the Agassiz Column stood, about 1872. E. J. Muybridge, Ten Pin Rock, Union Point, number 1401, about 1872. Carleton E. Watkins, Agassiz Rock, near Union Point, number 3149, 1874...William Henry Jackson, untitled, date unconfirmed, 1870s or 80s. Edward Muybridge, Falls of the Yosemite from the Glacier Rock, 1872. This is ... the campground at night or something of that nature...William Henry Jackson, Grand Canyon of the Colorado, after 1880. Jackson, view number 30, 1869. Andrew J. Russell, Silver Mining District, Vale Creek, Wyoming. Russell, High Bluff, Black Buttes, Wyoming, 1867-68. William Henry Jackson, Rocks Below...Canyon, Colorado, 1870. WIlliam Henry Jackson, Tower of Babel, Guardian of the Gods, after 1880. W. G. Chamberlain, Monument Creek, Guardian of the Gods, Colorado, 1869. Andrew J. Russell, Monument Park, Mouth of Echo Canyon, Utah. William Henry Jackson, Devil's Slide, Weber Canyon, Utah, date unconfirmed. William Henry Jackson, Mammoth Hot Springs on Gardner's River, Wyoming, 1871. William Henry Jackson, Thomas Morain Observing Hot Springs on Gardner's River, Wyoming, 1871. William Henry Jackson, Mouth of Geyser in Action, Great Hot Springs on Gardner River, Wyoming, 1871. William Henry Jackson, Boiling Spring at Sulfur Mountain, Wyoming, 1872. William

Henry Jackson, Crater of Beehive Springs at Gardner River, Wyoming, 1872. William Henry Jackson, the Giant Geyser in Eruption, Upper Geyser Basin, Yellowstone National Park. William Henry Jackson, Old Faithful Geyser, Yellowstone National Park, 1872. Darius Kinsey, Loggers of the Pacific Northwest, date unconfirmed, perhaps 1880s. E.E. Henry, Mr. Burt Neils and Coal Miners, 1884. Silas Milander, Gold Nine Placer Claim #1, detail, Black Tail Gulch, South Dakota, 1876. Photographer unknown, perhaps Milander, Miners, 1870s. Andrew J. Russell, Joining of the Rails, Promontory Summit, May 10, 1869. Andrew J. Russell, Joining of the Rails, the Central Pacific Jupiter flared stack in the foreground, May 10, 1869. Participants in the ceremonies and a closer view. I ask you to remember he who is most responsible, the gentleman, the Reverend John Todd. Now we shall have our break and then if you are willing we will return for the punchline.

...Proceed with the second half of the talk. It is a rather extended period before the punchline, that was a convenient trick to make sure that you would at least remain for the introductory remarks of the second part, but it is there nonetheless. The procedure will be to show the slides approximately a half minute to three quarters of a minute apart without commentary. Again, as I read from various works, this is exactly what an iconological interpretation would tend to deal with, that is trying to build up a field of interpretive areas by turning to documents and texts by others. The majority of what I'll say in the second half will bear witness upon the commentaries of others. Iconological, logos, word: word basically serving the purposes of cultivating an understanding of image. In the beginning I need not read you a definition of rape, however, I'd like to call your attention to several factors that are cultivated from the intensive reading by this tome of 17 volumes on the subject of rape and I promise you that I am happily associated with my wife and that there is no danger of my slipping, I don't think. But I would like to read you a few brief words from a text entitled the *Clinical Aspects of the Rapist*, by Richard T. Rada, M.D.. Published by Grun and Staton, New York, San Francisco, and London, 1978. "By definition, rape is a crime that combines sexual and aggressive behavior, nevertheless rape tends at times to be viewed as primarily an exclusively sexual or aggressive in nature, but rape is not simply unbridled sexuality. Even rape committed following prolonged absence of an available sexual object, as in war, involves much aggression and often humiliation. Furthermore, many rapists do not apparently lack available sexual outlets. Neither is rape pure aggression or simply a desire to injure the victim, as has been frequently suggested recently. If aggression were the sole motive, it might more simply be satisfied by physical beating. Rape does combine sexual and aggressive components but then so does normal adult sexuality. By contrast with the rapist, however, the sexual and aggressive components of normal adults are fused in such a manner as to allow for mutually enjoyable sexual relationships and the rapist's diffusion has gone awry. Therefore, it is not simply hostility

toward women that motivates the rapist. Rape is not an attempt to mete out revenge for previous real or imagined wrong doings at the hand of significant female figures. Rather the rapist frequently lacks or feels he lacks the ability to appear to be…concerned with establishing a satisfying love relationship with a woman. According to these 17 volumes, there are seven stages that occur or seven developments that occur either in the mind of the rapist or in the act of rape. 1) Guilt. 2) The expectation of power and the need for power. 3) Identification with the demonic (pneumatic?), with divine orders, the holiness that comes with such identification. 4) Dismissal of the identity of the victim, the person as object to be obtained, possessed or seized. B- threat, C- silence, surveying the scene before the rape. 5) Compulsive ejaculation coupled with the fear of catastrophe. 6) Pillage, murder or stealthy abandonment of the victim. 7) Mental Peace.

I read from the exhibition catalog, entitled *Landscape and Discovery*, in an essay by Diana Edkins, from an exhibition that was held at the Emily Lowe Gallery at Hofstra University, Hempstead, Long Island, New York, January 29 to March 7,1973:

"The need to discover the unexplored, to mark it, to measure and define it has long been echoed in landscape photography. This exhibition deals with the shift in the nature of what is 'unexplored.' For the photographer in the nineteenth century the unexplored was the *terra incognito*, the unchartered lands of western America and the exotic regions separate from continental Europe. All the photographers in this exhibition, whether of the nineteenth or the twentieth century, share the ability to confront a vast unknown. They deal with the physical reality of a specific site. All the pictures convey accurate information; yet what distinguishes them from mere reportage is a sense of discovery. It is this never-ending search for discovery, the question not the answer, that is important. Mid-nineteenth century artists traveled widely, often to other continents, driven by a sense of mission combined with patriotism and the religious or aesthetic belief that they could transfer the heroic aims of historical paintings to a landscape iconography. Americans' nineteenth century search for manifest destiny lay in discovering and describing the wild and inaccessible unknown. Coupled with this spirit of nationalism was an immediate demand by the public for information concerning these largely unexplored territories. Hitherto, most knowledge of the western United States had been restricted to stories and legends portraying the “Great American Desert” and the mountains of America's “Wonderland.” Alexander von Humboldt in his book, *Cosmos*, advocated the exploration of uncharted regions for the purpose of scientific discovery and classification. Humboldt's contribution to the exploratory ferment of the mid-century was quite important; Humboldt also urged the use of photography as an aid

to this exact illustration of scientific reports. If we had no native cultural traditions or ideals, at least we had our ancient trees. There were four major government surveys in the late 1860s and 70s which were concerned with describing, analytically and objectively, the geology and mineral resources of the West. Clarence King, commander of the Geological Survey of the 40th Parallel, under whom Timothy O'Sullivan worked, was primarily concerned with viewing the west not as an isolated region but as an integral part of the continental nation. The expeditionary photographers had one aim in mind: to make a literal transcription of nature. They wished to photograph western scenery so accurately that a scientist could determine its precise nature without referring to written information. In the field nothing was taken for granted. These survey photographers, in collecting, cataloging and indexing nature, were performing the work of science. They were not delimited by aesthetic purpose but were photographing literally anything and everything. They did not strive for the monumental and epic in their work as did Eadweard Muybridge or Carleton Watkins. Their most impressive quality was their power to relate with immediacy and simplicity the sensuous qualities of all forms, surfaces, and spaces as they appear in the peculiar and chaotic juxtapositions of nature. These survey photographers were journeymen whose guiding philosophy was that "the truth was more remarkable than exaggeration. However, the central theme of the work done by two independent photographers, Watkins and Muybridge, was ultimately directed toward a depiction of the ideal. Watkins, endowed with the fervor of a botanist, felt it his duty to celebrate the splendor of the western terrain. He created icons of the South Dome, the giant Mariposa tree and the Draconis yucca plant. He regarded nature on a grand lens scale, constructing a camera which would hold enormous 16 x 20 plates. He was amazed by the presence of a monolithic object found in nature, not constructed by man. The evidence of man as referent does not occur in either man's work. Muybridge moved around Yosemite Valley's floor systematically, returning to his favorite spots at different times of the day, capturing not only the lay of the land, but also the atmospheric effects of nature upon the land. To Muybridge the synthesis of the two was the ultimate essence of a place. To do this he “cut down trees by the score that interfered with the camera's best point of sight. He was lowered by ropes down precipices in places where the full beauty of the object could be photographed.” This kind of production seemed to be the only way that would appropriately capture the sublimity of this remarkable American land.

I read from a doctoral dissertation published by Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock called, *The Influence of Photography on American Landscape Painting 1839 to 1880*: "If the English painters of the 1850s and 60s misinterpret Ruskin's advice to young painters, to observe nature carefully, by the firm confirmation of knowledge, before attempting to

achieve the sublime art, as meaning they would arrive on the scene with a camera, there were no contemporaries or likewise…Indeed if one could name a single most important influence on the American landscape painters of the mid-nineteenth century who were imitating the sharp focus lens of the early camera, that influence would be John Ruskin. In the preface to the second edition of *Modern Painters*, 1855, Ruskin expressed the philosophy that would establish the goal of landscape painting for the next twenty years: "It will be the duty of the landscape painter to descend to the lowest details with undiminished attention. Every bird and flower in the field has its specific, distinct and perfect beauty. It has its peculiar habitation, expression and function. The highest art is that which seizes this specific character, which aside from its proper position in the landscape, every class of rock, every kind of earth, every form of cloud, must be studied with equal industry, and rendered with equal precision." Two influential art journals of the 1850s and 60s helped to promulgate this Pre-Raphaelite doctrine in the United States: *The Crayon*, edited by William James Stillman, a friend of Ruskin and of Rosetti, appeared in January 1855 and continued until 1861. It published Ruskin's *Modern Painters* in installments and became the major emissary of Pre-Raphaelitism in America. *The New Path* published by the Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art, appeared from late 1863 to December of 1865. That it was proselytizing to Ruskin was obvious, "By the mercy of God Ruskin has consented to open our eyes and loose the seals of darkness. He has shown us the truth, and we thank him and give God the…*The New Path*, 1863. In August of 1863, *The New Path* published an article called *Art as a Record,* which urged American painters to record the American scene first and foremost. It praised a woodcut of *New York Illustrated News* of a Rebel Infantry column crossing Chickahominy Bridge as, "a vigorous and good art because it was the true record of an interesting event." In the articles of organization of *The New Path* it was obvious that the inspiration of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, quote from *Modern Painters*: "We hold that the primary object of art is to observe and record truth, whether of the visible universe or of emotion. The greatest art includes the widest range, recording with equal fidelity the aspirations of the human soul, and the humblest facts of physical nature.” The publication echoed Ruskin-ean teaching in advising young artists to attempt "a loving study of…in nature, selecting nothing and rejecting nothing, seeking only to express the greatest possible amount of fact." The spread of Ruskin thought was not without some opposition. In the October 1863 issue of T*he New Path* Ruskin described the work of his friends the Pre-Raphaelites as "The wholesome happy and noble will not notice the simple transcripts of nature." The American critic, James Jackson Jarves, replied that Ruskin was encouraging a type of art which elevated pebbles and petals to equal importance with the human form and the extra… play of features. Ruskin's disciple, William James Faulk, replied that, "The criticism of Mr. Jarves shows that his mind is so soaked with conventional doctrines that his assumption that the noble works of god are secondary to them.” He added that the true

Pre-Raphaelite paintings, "Never exalted lesser truths over greater ones, and that they feel an openness to the greater truths and paint them with the utmost fidelity. Truths not only of external matter but of the divine or the human spirit within."

John Ruskin's changing views of the importance of photography to the fine arts reflect a confusion of the age. As pointed out by what has been read preceding, it was Ruskin's advice to a young painter to go to nature, selecting nothing and rejecting nothing that was responsible for much of the photographic painting of the period. Church's student, William Stillman, was one of those who came across an edition of *Modern Painters* and like so many others widened his eyes and received from a stimulus to nature worship which he later believed to be a catastrophe for himself and for his painting. In the 1840s, Ruskin had referred to photography as, "The most marvelous invention of the century." The nobility of the daguerreotype lay simply in its ability to record with astonishing speed, the worth of truth. However, by 1851 Ruskin had become fearful of subjugation of imagination, or of the soul, to optics. "All art is good and true only so far as distinguishing work of manhood in its entire and higher sense, that is to say not the work of lens and fingers, but of the soul, aided according to her necessities by the inferior powers, and therefore distinguished in essence from all interior powers held by the soul. For as a photograph is not a work of art, so neither would a drawing like a photograph made directly from nature be a work of art. It is no more art than using the cornea and the retina, for the reception of an image, than to use a lens, a piece of silver and paper, but the moment that the inner part of a man stands forth with its solemn beholding in his eye, then the work becomes art indeed. By the 1860s Ruskin had completely lost faith in the power of the camera to depict truth in nature. He would write, in the *Justice of Regalia,* 1865: "They are popularly supposed to be true and at their worst they are no more than a sense of echo, as is true of the conversation in which it omits the most important syllables and reduplicates the rest." And by 1870, Ruskin's disenchantment with the photographic processes had become complete. In his lectures on art he would write, "Almost the whole system and hope of modern life are founded upon the notion that you may substitute mechanism for skill, photograph for picture, cast iron for sculpture, that is your main 19th century infidelity."

I read you now from an article by Barbara Novak, in the January/February 1972 issue of *Art in America*. The title of the article is, *American Landscape, the Nationalist Garden and the Holy Book*: "In the early 19th century in America, nature couldn't do without God, and God apparently couldn't do without nature. By the time Emerson wrote *Nature* in 1836, the terms God and Nature were often the same thing, and could be used interchangeably. The transcendentalists accepted God's immanence. More orthodox religions, which had always insisted upon a separation of god and nature, also capitulated to their union. A "Christianized Naturalism," to use Perry Miller's phrase,

transcended theological boundaries so that one could find "sermons in stones and good in everything." "Nature," wrote Miller, “Somehow, by a legerdemain that even so highly literate Christians as the editors of *The New York Review* could not quite admit to themselves, had effectually taken the place of the Bible…" That legerdemain was facilitated by the pervasive nature worship, not only of Emerson, but of Wordsworth, Rousseau, and Schelling. With this added international force it is not surprising that most religious orthodoxies in America obligingly expanded to accommodate a kind of Christianized pantheon. Ideas of God's nature and of God *in* nature became hopelessly entangled, and only the most scrupulous theologians even tried to separate them. If nature was God's Holy Book, it *was* God. In recent years, a number of brilliant historians have tried to isolate and define the ideas the nineteenth century projected on nature, ideas that strove to reconcile America, nature, and God. In *Errand into the Wilderness*, Perry Miller suggested that, “Nature, not to be too tedious, in America means the wilderness.” In *Virgin Land*, Henry Nash Smith speaks of the American agrarian dream as the garden of the world. In *The American Adam*, R. W. D. Lewis suggests the idea of Edenic innocence before the fall. To these three, nature is primordial wilderness as the garden of the world, as the original paradise, we can add a fourth, America awaiting the regained paradise attending the millennium, a concept that acknowledges the existence of guilt and its possible expurgation. The new significance of nature and the development of landscape painting coincided paradoxically with the relentless destruction of the wilderness in the early 19th century. The ravages of man in nature were repeated concerns in artists' writing and the symbol of this attack was usually the axe. Cutting into nature's pristine and thus godly state. In a review of two landscape paintings by Cole’s Hudson River colleague, J.F. Cropsey, in 1847, *The Literary World* pointed out the artist’s role in preserving the last evidences of the golden age of wilderness: "The axe of civilization is busy with our old forests, and artisan ingenuity is fast swinging away the relics of our national infancy. What were once the wild and picturesque haunts of the Red Man, and where the wild deer roamed in freedom, are becoming the abodes of commerce and the seats of manufacturers. Yankee enterprise has little sympathy with the picturesque, and it behooves our artists to rescue from its grasp the little of it that’s left, before it is too late.” Such intense reverence for nature came only with the realization that nature could be lost. Given the indissoluble union of God and Nature at this moment the fate of both God and Nature is obvious. Each view of nature then carried with it not only an aesthetic view but a powerful self-image, a moral and social energy that could be translated into action. Many of these projections on nature augmented the American’s sense of his own unique nature, his unique opportunity, and could indeed foster a sense of destiny which, when it served to rationalize questionable acts with elevated thoughts, could have a darker side. And the apparently innocent nationalism, so mingled with moral and religious ideas, could survive into another century as an imperial iconography. With such a range of religious,

moral, philosophic, and social ideas projected onto the American landscape, it is clear that the painters who took it upon themselves to deal with this loaded subject were involved not only with art, but with the iconography of nationalism. In painting the face of God in the landscape so that the less gifted might recognize and share in that benevolent spirituality, they were among the spiritual leaders of America's flock. Through this idea of community we can approach a firm understanding of the role of landscape not in American art, but in American life, especially before the Civil War. The sense of community fostered by the natural church was reinforced by an all-pervasive nationalism that identified American destiny with the American landscape. In 1848, James Batchelder, in a book called *The United States as a Missionary Field*, wrote, "Its sublime mountain ranges, its capacious valleys, its majestic rivers, its inland seas, its productiveness of soil, immense mineral resources and salubrity of climate render it a most desirable habitation for man, and all are worthy of the sublime destiny which awaits it, as the *foster mother* of future billions, who will be the *governing* race of man." There was a widespread belief that America's natural riches were God's blessings on a chosen people. Perhaps it is safe to say despite its international complexion, nineteenth-century nature worship was more strongly nationalistic in America than elsewhere. For nature was tied to the group destiny of Americans united within a still-new nation, 'one nation, under God.' This is perhaps the key explanation for the acceptance of immanence by the religious orthodoxy. It was only god's grace, according to the Reverend David Riddle in 1851, "not enterprise, or physical improvements, or a glorious constitution and good laws, or free trade, or a tariff, or railroads and steamships, or philosophy, or science, or taste can bring the salvation appearing to every man in the heart that can save us from the fate of former republics, and make us a blessing to all nations. That grace had been apparent to the early settlers in the midst of America's natural bounties. If, within the decade of Reverend Riddle's writing, the axe, 'a-x-e,' growing technology, and the sense of Darwinian savageries, had begun to threaten the dream of an American paradise, and of a nature which was both benevolent and godly, the belief in a chosen national destiny did a lot to keep such an awareness at bay. It was no wonder that Christianity and nationalism, two forms of hope, twin primateurs of destiny, continually emerge from the face of American nature. The unity of nature bespoke the unity of god. The unity of man in nature assumed an optimistic attitude toward human perfectibility. Nature, God, and Man composed an infinitely mutable Trinity within this para-religion. This gave confidence to all aspects of nature study, from the detailed with its microscopic perfection, to the grandeur of huge spaces. And in the mutability which landscape presents, God's moods could be read through a key symbol of God's immanence: light, the mystic substance of the landscape artist. Thus the landscape painters, the leaders of the national flock, could remind the nation of divine benevolence and of a chosen destiny by keeping before their eyes the

mountains, trees, forests, and lakes which would reveal the Word in each shining image."

I now read you several passages from *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West 1860 to 1885*, a catalog which accompanied the Albright-Knox Gallery exhibition with text by Weston J. Naef in collaboration with James N. Wood, with an essay by Therese Thau Heyman: (page 16) "The popularity of studying nature in its purest form had much to do with discoveries in natural science and the wide dissemination of the new knowledge. Charles Darwin, who figures in the aesthetics of landscape in a curious way, made his voyage around the world in *The Beagle* in 1832, and his writing on the origin of the species caused great public and private comment after it was published in 1859. Louis Agassiz, the eminent anti-Darwinian, abandoned his family in Europe to study with Alexander Von Humboldt, whose seminal *Cosmos* first appeared in an American edition in 1851. Having published on tropical fishes and European glaciers, and having coined the phrase "ice age," Agassiz came to America, where he declared that "nature was rich." His essay on methods of study in natural history appeared serially in the *Atlantic Monthly* before their publication as a book. John Tyndall, the geologist who taught with Agassiz at Harvard, laid out the principles of geology for the United States, which was endowed with both the oldest known rocks and the youngest mountain ranges. Reports of Tyndall's investigations, along with those of botany, ornithology, and zoology, regularly appeared in popular journals and newspapers. Indeed, nature studies were so popular that the poet Ralph Waldo Emerson observed Agassiz's crowded classes and unsympathetically remarked that "something should be done to check the rush toward natural history." Photography ascended as the medium of picture making at exactly the same time the heightened popular appreciation of the natural orders occurred. Photography also played an essential role in integrating science with the traditional liberal arts, which, as Emerson's remark suggests, resisted accepting the relevance of science to painting and literature. Photography played a significant role in the initial courtship between science and the arts and the unfolding of American culture of the 1850s. Landscape consciousness in the 1860s was elevated in part by the pervasive art, literature, and writing on natural history and by the social and philosophical conclusions that followed. It was also fueled by a more practical series of developments after the completion of the western half of the transcontinental railroad. The railroad linking Omaha to San Francisco was the primary force behind the burst of outdoor photography that took place in the wake of the Civil War and brought photographers in touch with land in a manner not too different from the war itself. War photographers were engaged in photographing distinctive subjects-- the dead-on battlefields, fortifications, armaments, bridges, transportation vehicles, etc., all of which rested in a landscape environment. Similarly, the railroads, as they penetrated to the Great Plains and the far West, became

increasingly minute specks in a vast landscape. The photographers, while still concentrating on the essential subjects of tracks, locomotives, trestles, and water towers, were increasingly required to contend with the relationship between landscape and the immediate subject. The advent of the railroads prompted two types of landscape consciousness that bear on photography between 1862 and 1870. Photographers who were associated with the railroads during the construction phase, generally easterners, were seeing the immense scope of the plains and the Rockies for the first time. They were asked to satisfy the needs of the railroad companies for photographs illustrating the progress of construction, and in their work landscape became the background. Among the railroad-hired easterners were Andrew J. Russell, and Alexander Gardner, employed by the Union Pacific. Many other photographers were not employees of railroads but worked independently making photographs on speculation for the expected stream of travelers who would, hopefully, want photographs as mementos. Entrepreneurial photographers began their work during the final stages of construction in 1868 and 1869. The first wave of speculative photographers included A.A. Hart, W.H. Jackson, and C.R. Savage as well as Watkins and Muybridge. The speculators had no visual precedents, since they were delineating regions that had previously had been entered only rarely. In contrast, when Frederick Langenheim photographed along the route of the Reading, Williamsport, and Elmira Railroad in 1855, his eye was guided by a decade of views by artists working in lithography, whose chosen subjects had become standard motifs by the time of his arrival. The first generation of photographers along the western railroads had the task of supplying views of landmarks which were sometimes as unpicturesque as the *Thousand Mile Tree*, or of rock formations such as, *Finger Rock*, which were discovered by photographers. Science and art had been interconnected since the Renaissance, but their relationship has been obscured in the 20th century. Photography was an art born of science, and the flowering of landscape photography was one expression of the ongoing interdependence between the two liberal arts. Carlton E. Watkins methodically made portraits of trees, identifying each by its proper Latin name as if to associate his handiwork with that of the scientist. His motivations in making the tree studies and so naming them can only be guessed, but the photographs radiate his deep appreciation for the trees as objects. The interaction between Timothy O'Sullivan and the scientists of the King survey resulted in a body of visual evidence and prolific writing that sheds considerable light on their working relationship. O'Sullivan was directed by both King and the geologist S.F. Emmons to make photographs that provided evidence for King's theory of 'catastrophism' and Emmons' more sober principle of 'mechanical geology,' an outgrowth of King's thinking. Catastrophism had deep socio-religious implications, indeed, was overtly anti-Darwinian in all its premises. King wanted to prove in his geology that sudden violent changes occurred, which not only caused geological upheavals, but which had happened in recent enough history that the "experience of

sudden, unusual telluric energy left a terrible impression burned upon the very substance of human memory." The most widely acknowledged theory of geology was a form of uniformitarianism, propounded by Charles Lyell and refined by Darwin, which held that change in nature was gradual. King was adamantly opposed to the concept that man evolved from primates and hoped to prove by geological evidence that “if catastrophes extirpated all life at oft repeated intervals from the time of its earliest introduction, then creation must necessarily have been oft repeated.” King invoked the cosmogony of Sanskrit, Hebrew, and Islam as well as the Bible, which he quoted in a very fundamentalist way. King's position was a typical expression of Unitarian background, which fostered the nature-oriented spiritualism that guided his life. He would now be considered very conservative scientifically, compared to a Darwinian like Harvard's Asa Gray, but in his time, King's words and deeds had the ring of progress. It is not surprising to find that O'Sullivan's photographs from 1867 and 1868 reflect an attempt to gather visual evidence for catastrophism, as did William Bell's photographs on the Wheeler survey of 1872-- on which Emmons was also working to gather evidence for his theory of mechanical geology. O'Sullivan photographed latent natural phenomenon, such as Geyser Mouth, Ruby Valley, and Tufa Rocks, Pyramid Lake. O'Sullivan's Geyser Mouth represented latent future change, while his Tufa Rocks of volcanic origin represented violent change in the near past, as did 'Karnak' Montezuma Range, Nevada. The photographs themselves are powerful images, almost iconic. They are not only evidence for King's geological theories but would have also pleased John Ruskin. They are compelling for their perfect points of view and describe better than drawings the accumulated details that ultimately compose rocks, trees, and mountains. Tufa Rocks and Volcanic Ridge are composed of small, perfectly formed shapes, the cumulative presence of which defines the very qualities valued by Ruskin when he said of drawing and painting, "It is just as impossible to generalize granite and slate as it is to generalize a man or a cow." Many photographers focused their attention on the Agassiz Column between about 1870 to 1900, not solely because of its accessibility. They saw beauty in the formation, and it suggested a meaning beyond the literal. The series of photographs reveals much about the esthetic principles guiding landscape photography in the late nineteenth century. The Agassiz Column was photographed, however insensitively, as early as about 1868, by an agent of the publisher Thomas Houseworth. Carlton E. Watkins photographed the rock in about 1870 and printed the first photographs bearing the name Agassiz in about 1875. A series of photographs by various photographers, including many views executed up until the turn of the century, demonstrate the powerful effect of the individual photographer's eye and imagination on the resulting image. Watkins's two photographs of such a minimal motif as the column reveal how very differently a single artist can visualize his subject. In the photograph made about 1870, he delineated the granular structure of the granite and its evocative fissures by choosing a light that subtly modeled three intersecting planes. In the later

photographs Watkins did an artistic about-face in creating a highly mannered composition with strong contrasts of light and shadow, which exceeded Muybridge's visual pyrotechnics. Watkins named the column for Lewis Agassiz, America's most prominent anti-Darwinian scientist, and to Watkins's mind the rock formation must have symbolically represented certain aspects of Agassiz's thought. Clarence King had attended Agassiz's popular lectures at Harvard in 1863, taking leave from Yale to do so, and was an outspoken admirer of his theories. It is possible that Watkins himself heard Agassiz's lecture on the principles of natural history in San Francisco in 1870. King may have introduced the two. However it happened, they did meet, and Watkins photographed the eminent teacher: it is one of the few Watkins portraits extant. King and his associates had introduced Watkins to the art of photographing rocks as still-life studies on Mount Lassen earlier in 1870, and the Agassiz Column was probably made soon afterward. The photograph begs for a phallic interpretation: perhaps that effect is Watkins's attempt to demonstrate that the "relations and proportions which exist throughout the animal and vegetable world have an intellectual and ideal connection." For Agassiz, the proof of the Creator was nature itself; the form, shape, and structure of nature were only symbols of Him. The harmony of natural forms was a manifestation of a divine and illimitable intellect. Clarence King was not the first to bring the Universalist thought of Agassiz to San Francisco. He was preceded by an influential figure who coincidentally bore his surname, the Reverend Thomas Starr King. Starr King, a gifted preacher, left the famed Hollis Street Church in Boston for San Francisco, where he captivated his congregation. William H. Brewer, who first introduced Josiah Whitney and Clarence King to the virtues of photography for geologists, described King's sermon of April 13, 1862 as "a most brilliant and eloquent performance, the crowd in church could scarcely be restrained from bursting out with enthusiasm." Starr King also spoke of nature as "a vessel" full of spiritual meanings, a belief he articulated in his writings and lectures. He held that "every gigantic fact in nature is the index and vesture of a gigantic force. Everything which we call organization that spots the landscape of nature is a revelation of a secret force that has been wedded to matter, thus the stuff that we weigh, handle, and tread upon is only the show of invisible substances, the facts over which subtle and mighty forces rule."

I now read you from an issue of *Art Forum*, October, 1975, in another article by Barbara Novak entitled, *Landscape Permuted: From Painting to Photography.* She is commenting in this essay on the photographs that appear in *The Era of Exploration*, and that also appeared in the two exhibits. "The photographs in this exhibition, even more than the rhetorical paintings of Moran and Bierstadt, embody the exploratory energies that vitalized the Western expeditions. They were the issues of pragmatism and an idealism so intrinsic to the culture that it was an unconscious part of the equipment of the photographers who perceived these wonders. Landscape photography rarely had

this rich matrix of technical, spiritual and perceptual resources informing its exertions. Artists and photographers accompanied these expeditions to assist science, to record, to register images of a nature that was virgin to most American eyes. By documenting the unknown, they were making it readable, intelligible—above all, usable. But there was, I feel, another impulse, closer to their deepest feelings, and very much a part of their cultural context: a tropism toward the silence and solitude that characterized the first moment of encounter with primal nature, an encounter that carried the promise of spiritual renewal. The world's "Serene order . . . inviolable by us" was, as Emerson put it, "the present expositor of the divine mind." Emerson's wise silence, like Eckhart's central silence, was the vehicle through which God might enter. Clarence King, who conducted the geological survey that included O'Sullivan as a photographer, found on Mount Tyndall "A silence which gratefully contrasting with the surrounding tumult of form conveyed to me a new sentiment. There is around these summits the soundlessness of a vacuum. The sea stillness is that of sleep, the desert of death, this silence is like the waveless calm of space." The photographs, presumably scientific in intent, registered geological effects. But those effects were somehow transmuted by the photographers into larger ideas which, through awe, silence, solitude and infinite time, summoned the universal Mind that obsessed the age. We tend to identify with these ideas more readily…yet it is important to recognize that in the West, where the possibility of that primal encounter motivated artists, photographers, and scientists alike. Underneath it all they seem to have been searching, like de Tocqueville, for "Those rare moments in life when physical well-being prepares the way for the calm of soul and the universe seems before your eyes to have reached a perfect equilibrium. Then the soul half asleep, hovers between the present and the future, between the real and the possible, while the natural beauty all around and the air tranquil and mild. At peace with himself in the midst of universal peace, man listens to the even beating of his arteries that seems to him to mark the passage of time flowing drop by drop through eternity."

I am reading from *Pioneering the Union Pacific, a Reprisal of the Builders of the Railroad* by Charles Edgar Ames, Appleton Century Press, 1969, (page 337-343): "Monday, May 10, dawned with a skim of ice on water left standing. The storm had rolled by, and a fresh northwesterly was snapping the Star-Spangled Banner above the telegraph pole which marked the gap between the track-ends topping the pass between the North and South Promontory Mountains. A brilliant morning sun in a deep blue, cloudless sky flooded this brownish, red and yellow little saucer of a valley dotted with pungent, blue-gray clumps of unchanging sagebrush and greenish, stunted cedars high on the slopes amidst an occasional snow patch. The thermometer warmed steadily into the 60's as noon approached. 'Promontory Town, of a single miserable street lined with canvas and rough board shacks, was arrayed, the drab, in all her festal clothes. It was her hour. For one brief heyday she occupied the center of the National stage and acted

as hostess to giants of finance and industry…She stood upon her present, not upon her rather dubious past, short and turbulent." The visitors, grateful for the change to fine weather, rolled slowly up the sharply winding grade, and reveled in the lovely spectacle of the rugged, snow-capped Wasatch Range towering behind white Corrinne and the great lake hundreds of feet below, shimmering with foam-flecked waves that gradually vanished in a blue haze. Surely this was a moment to forget the toils and tussles and just enjoy a simple spot of history in the making. Many of the great libraries of the nation have innumerable pages on the day of the golden spike but 'there is no single and accurate account of all the details.' The words that follow draw a little composite picture based on the more authentic records. The two UP trains and one CP train were waiting when Governor Stanford's special pulled up near the flag at about eleven o'clock. Officials and their guests, reporters of the press, infantrymen, and bandsmen were surrounded by hundreds of curious, jostling, cheering Chinese and Irish workers of the track. Altogether, it was a crowd of about one thousand persons, using the average of a dozen widely varying guesses. *Who were there:* (Parker speaking: and thus we have a very long list of who was there and for who was not there we have an equally long list. *The Last Tie:* While the two last rails were being spiked down, one by the UP and one by the CP, the Last Tie was solemnly carried by Strowbridge and Reed from Stanford's special and gently bedded in. It was one of several fine gifts from the sentimental and generous states of California, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, and Montana. Eight feet long, eight inches wide, and six inches thick, it was of Californian laurel, beautifully polished, bound with silver, and ornamented with a silver plate bearing the names of the Central's Directors and officers. Holes had been drilled so that the soft metal spikes would not be injured by the hammering and extracting. It was presented to Stanford by West Evans, a CP tie-contractor. Sad to say, the laurel tie was destroyed, along with all the Central's records, in the earthquake and fire which devastated San Francisco in April 1906. *The Golden Spike Is Placed:* Finally, after some long delays in the program, Stanford stepped up to the rail over the last tie and stood ready with a large silver-headed maul presented for the occasion. A wire led from the hammer to the instruments of W.N. Shilling, a Western Union telegrapher from Ogden, sitting at a table nearby. The idea was that the impact of the hammer on metal would create a dot on the transmitter which would be instantly relayed to the entire Western Union circuit, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. In effect it worked, at most places. Shilling now tapped out a message to his nationwide hook-up of operators: 'Everyone keep quiet. Just before the last spike is driven we will say done. Then listen for the strokes of the hammer.' Minutes later: 'Almost ready. Hats off. We are praying.' Stanford, Durant, and Dodge made very brief speeches, then led cheers; the bands played, the engines tooted and 'we all,' said one spectator, 'yelled fit to bust.' Shilling fingered his key: 'Already now. The spike will soon be driven. The signal will be three dots for the commencement of the blows.' Dot, dot, dot, DONE. At nearly 12:30,

Governor Stanford had made his only stroke at 'The Last Spike.' It was a moderately lusty blow, and he missed the spike and hit the rail instead, sparking the first electric impulse. Durant, who had a bad headache, followed but also missed, hitting the rail resoundingly again. The two misses may well have been intentional. The expert sledgers of the crews could hardly restrain their groans at these bungling swings, but Shilling obligingly signaled them as though the spikes had been struck-- sounds compared by the enthusiastic press to the shot at Lexington heard around the world. The Golden Spike was then gently tapped home by the two chief engineers, Dodge and Montague, followed by General Jack Casement and Jim Strowbridge. *Echoes:* The tick recording the Governor's blow reached Washington at exactly 2:47 p.m. (allowing about two hours for difference in time, which was not yet standard time) and sounded the bell of the Capitol. In San Francisco the fire bell in the city hall pealed and two hundred twenty cannons at Fort Point roared in answer. In New York, one hundred guns were fired, and the chimes of Trinity Church chanted a *Te Deum*. The Liberty Bell in Philadelphia sounded its cracked note. Chicago celebrated with a four-mile-long procession. There was a long parade in Omaha while one hundred guns boomed from Capitol Hill. At Ogden, all business places were closed and seven thousand Mormons gathered at its new Tabernacle, while in Salt Lake City the great Tabernacle overflowed. Back in Boston's Faneuil Hall, cradle of American liberty, there were patriotic speeches. The first message telegraphed to President Grant and the Associated Press, read: The last rail is laid! The last spike is driven! The Pacific Railroad is completed! The point of junction is 1086 miles west of the Missouri River and 690 miles east of Sacramento City. Signed, Leland Stanford, Central Pacific Railroad, T.C. Durant, Sidney Dillon, John Duff, Union Pacific Railroad.

And then other wires were sent: 'To complete the ceremony, the locomotives were uncoupled, and, loaded with everyone who could find a place to cling, crept forward until their pilots touched, and the engineers clashed together bottles of champagne which foamed on the laurel tie. There promptly purred Union Pacific's brawny, unnamed Rogers-made number 119 with a tall pipe of a stack, a coal-burner born last year, and Central Pacific's lighter Jupiter number 60 with a flaring funnel stack, a survivor of the storms of Cape Horn and the Sierras. Both were gracefully 4-4-0 wheeled, highly polished, and ornate with brazen bands and filigree-- lions of the day. A classic photo by Savage shows Dodge and Montague clasping hands, the last tie visible between them, and the dark steeds of iron behind. *What was it the engine said, the pilots touching, head to head, facing on a simple track, half a world behind each back?* (Parker speaking: That was Bret Hart of course). Whatever they said, surely they were the best, the truest of all immortal words uttered that day. After a lavish luncheon for the combined party in Governor Stanford's car, the steamers backed to work again, picking up their cars. Number 119 gently drew the first train full across the joined tracks and

then pushed it back over; Jupiter repeated the ritual. All precious spikes and mauls, and the laurel tie, were put under guard. The jackknives of souvenir-seekers whittled to splinters the ‘last last tie’ --at least six of them before count was lost and the sun had sunk behind the valley ridge in its own cloudless blaze of yellow and red gold.

The Golden Spike Monument: Today waterless Promontory consists only of a white, pyramidal monument, about twice the height of an adult, and a few dilapidated buildings. On a summer day, little whirlwinds of dust go chasing around through the sagebrush seeking a place to rest. Probably the only persons to be seen will be other curious motorists, for the Southern Pacific Railroad abandoned and dismantled this section in 1942. The monument is surrounded by a neat, black iron fence, outside of which are two short, undersized and under gauged rails anchored in concrete. On the west side of the pyramid is fixed a little bronze tablet. Under a little bronze eagle, whose head is gone, appear the following words: National Historic Site. GOLDEN SPIKE. The last rail is laid, the spike is driven. The Pacific railway is completed. Here at Promontory, Utah, at 12:47 p.m., on May 10, 1869, the driving of a golden spike completed the first Transcontinental Railroad. Climax of a dramatic railroad-building race between the Union Pacific building from the East and the Central Pacific building from the West, this event symbolized attainment of a long-sought goal--a direct transportation route to the Pacific Ocean and the China Trade. And it achieved the great political objective of binding together by iron bonds the extremities of the continental United States, a rail link from ocean to ocean.”

I read you now from a book entitled, *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life: Men's Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth Century America*, by G.J. Barker-Benfield, chapter twelve, entitled, *The Reverend John Todd*: "The Reverend John Todd (1800 to 1873) was, perhaps, preeminent among the nineteenth-century experts who addressed themselves to the problems of being a successful male in America. Paradoxically, they told young men how to be "self-made." Todd was recognized as a kind of bishop in western Massachusetts. His son, John E. Todd, compiled and edited Todd's autobiography, entitled, *John Todd The Story of His Life, Told Mainly by Himself* (1876). He explained his father's prominence: “Most of all on account of his strong common sense and practical wisdom, and his unconscious tendency to push to the front, from sheer weight of energy and character.” There was scarcely a convention or anniversary, a dedication or installation, or a meeting or gathering of any kind, secular or religious, that did not command his presence. Ministers, difficult tasks, people in trouble, all called on Todd as the country's best known troubleshooter. He was the presiding chaplain at the junction of the first continental railroad in 1869 at Promontory Point, Utah. His continental and international fame grew from the popularity of his books. He published at least fifteen of them, together with a number of pamphlets and sermons, and introductions to other writers' work. Todd's books included biblical exegesis, Christian

theology simplified for young children, the Sabbath School Teacher, didactic tales, personal recollections, and, most popular of all, books to equip young American men with systems of self-discipline. George Bancroft recommended Todd's *Index Rerum* or *Index of Subjects*: *Intended as a Manual to Aid the Student and the Professional Man, in Preparing Himself for Usefulness*. With an introduction, *Illustrating Its Utility and Method of Use* (1834), the fine English novelist George Gissing said that the self-educated Edward Widdowston, a main protagonist of *The Odd Women* (1893), deemed it his duty to make acquaintance with the great, the solid authors. A little-known work once well-known, Todd's *Student's Manual,* had formed his method and inspired him with zeal. Todd was one of those writers immensely popular in one age and forgotten in the next, although their message and the assumptions it represents pass into the fabric of both. He wrote “simply and entertainingly for the masses, not because he could not write technically, but because he wished to do the most good. The results, however, for which he chiefly wrote, have been immense.” Todd himself came to see *The Student's Manual* as his most significant book: "I am receiving much attention as the author of *The Student's Manual,* I begin to think that it is the great work of my life; it seems to loom up above all the rest that I have done." Indeed, he said it was "the only good thing that I see ever to have done." Within two years of its publication in 1835, *The Student's Manual* had run into seven editions, and in the twenty-fourth edition in 1854, Todd pointed out that, "there has never been less than one edition yearly published in this country, and not less than one hundred thousand copies have been sold across the water." Young men came to Todd to acknowledge: "Sir, I owe or all of what I am to your pen."

Dr. Gardiner was one such beneficiary, the father of gynecology. He was ‘emboldened’ to address himself in 1870 with the problem of ‘personal pollution’ by the example of, ‘the immense good that has been done for the male youth of this country by the kind and forcible statements of the Reverend Dr. Todd in his *Student's Manual*. This work has done an incalculable good in molding the minds of America's youth; and more especially by his warning chapter called *Onanism*. As a boy, I knew it, it was the frequent subject of discussion among my academic and collegiate associates. Although the propriety of its publication was doubted by many, the result has proven that the earnestly sought decisions eminently sound, and thousands now live to thank this conscientious teacher for the first information they received of the ills arising from a habit more pernicious to the intellectual man (setting aside the physical disabilities resulting therefrom), than any other habit to which he is usually addicted. Tobacco and alcohol are not so potent to rob a man of all the high prerogatives of manhood, as this humiliating, self-abasing vice. Gardner, then, saw the chief importance of *The Student's Manual* in the book's focus on masturbation.”

I read from Thurman Wilkins' biography on Clarence King (page 28): "'Oh Jim, my hot nature must need a great deal of checking. I am sure my trying troubles must be sent for the purpose of teaching me to govern myself.' He (King) worked off much of his energy in walking or in riding horseback, especially on a Morgan mare that belonged to Mr. Bolles. And by the end of the year he had nerved himself for an invasion of Manhattan. The ease with which he found a job as a clerk with William Brown and Company, flour merchants, was a surprise even to Clarence himself, for he chose to believe that no help had come from Mr. Howland. 'My old enemy pride,' he wrote to Jim, 'is laughing in its sleeve at my scorning assistance, both in carrying on my education and in procuring me a place. I feel that I am my own man, dependent upon no one, and if I fall no one but myself is to blame.' And it pleased him to remind his friend of a summer prophecy 'that I should do it all by myself. *I have*.' He settled down in Brooklyn, where his mother joined him near the end of January. Morning and evening, he crossed the East River on the Brooklyn ferry, noting a two-cent fare in his pocket diary. His work did not come easily; or at least he took it with enough seriousness to feel 'overwhelmed...on weekdays,' while Sunday was 'little more than a resting time.' He did not understand that his perceptual weariness, that 'perfectly fagged out' feeling, came not so much from the work itself at his South Street office as from his constant struggle to suppress forbidden feelings. He appealed to Jim for 'all sorts of moral suggestions, counselings,' to help him fight his sinful thoughts. 'It was very nice to talk about moral purity in a little city, but Great Jones! Jim-- how many more seductive, wicked, beautiful, fascinating, jolly, voluptuous, apparently modest, artful women there are to one poor chicken here; they show you their necks and bosoms without intending to, and all the abominable wiles they practice on a fellow... are mighty inflaming.' He found it hard, evidently, to concentrate on ledgers; for help he read the Psalms and went to vesper services at Grace Church. Then he hit upon the sedative of art, bought a season's ticket to the Academy's exhibitions and hypnotized himself on Hart's autumn pieces or Albert Bierstadt's vistas of the Rocky Mountains."

Back to Barker-Benfield: Todd was preoccupied with this kind of exhaustion throughout his life, feeling his essential energy was susceptible to 'running out' through his fingers. This preoccupation reflected Todd's sharing in the common belief of the fundamental law of animal economy. Todd called energy 'that moving active spirit.' The belief in the need to arouse and discipline it was the common denominator between orthodox and revivalist groups, between ministers and doctors, professionals and businessmen. In Todd's view, men were forced to enter the world outside home by virtue of having their particular set of reproductive organs. 'The whirl and the will contact with the world, is the inheritance of our sex,' he stated. Conversely, women's sexual organs precluded such contact. Todd pointed out the majesty resting on the ownership of male organs but believed men had to be reminded of the fact; or, perhaps, he felt men might not realize

to what their effortless possession of male organs entitled them. ‘Do not forget, the majesty of the destiny of manhood, and though you will pass through foes as numerous as the leaves of autumn, yet you are not to forget that you are in the midst of a boundless magazine, filled with every kind of armor and weapons.’ It was the manhood that gave men access to this arsenal, the metaphor suggesting how clearly Todd associated penis and testicle with explosive deadly weapons (to be discharged against other men). His private study was the objectification of such a metaphor, his hunting, fishing, and handicraft collections extensions of that reified, personal arsenal. The beginning of this modern efflorescence of masturbation phobia coincided with the expansion of democracy between the publication of *Medical Inquiries* and the *Student’s Manual*. In 1835 Todd cited Rush’s chapter *The Morbid State of the Sexual Appetite* which gives two cases of Onanism, at the same time claimed that he, Todd, was the first to attack Onanism directly. ‘I cannot satisfy my conscience without saying what others have, to my certain knowledge, wished to say and ought to say, but which no one has had the courage to say, in tones loud and distinct. Yet Todd was constrained to say it in Latin, consistent with the novelty of his publishing the subject. In the same place where he mentioned Rush, Todd supported his own warning about masturbation by reference to the ’very intelligent and respectable Superintendent of the Insane Hospitals of Worcester and Hartford. [They] will say, not only that this is the cause of bringing many of their patients there, but an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of their recovery.’ the Superintendent of the Insane Hospitals of Worcester and Hartford, and one of its founders, was Dr. Eli Todd, a relative of John Todd, as his son records in the appendix of Todd’s biography. The Superintendent of the asylum was Samuel B. Woodward (1787-1850). On Christmas Eve 1838, three years after Todd referred to his views on masturbation, Woodward wrote to the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* that masturbation was ‘doubtless very much more common in this country than is generally supposed, or than most medical men are ready to believe.’ In 1835 the same journal had published some cases of masturbation by ‘W’ which may well have been Woodward’s initial, given his Christmas eve letter. This kind of anonymity may be compared to Todd’s use of Latin in his account of the effects of the ‘secret’ vice. It is obvious that Todd was not the first to speak out on masturbation, even if he was drawing a distinction between a medical forum and a popular one: one of the articles in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* described how the doctor’s masturbation patient had been first arrested in his career by reading the chapters on the subject in the *Young Man’s Guide*, one of Todd’s self-help competitors. Richard Shryock links anxiety about masturbation to the popular literature on the exalted theme, *Of What a Young Man Should Know*, and placed its emergence in the 1830s and early 1840s. America was in no sense immune from eighteenth century masturbation phobia, either at Rush’s level or at that of the popular imagination. *Onania* and a similar work, *The Pure Nazarite*, appeared there during the century. But pervasive and obsessive masturbation

phobia in America took hold during the early nineteenth century, possibly in the 1830s, and was extraordinarily intense through the first third of the twentieth century. What Gardner remembered as Todd's warning chapter upon Onanism in *The Student's Manual* was in fact a chapter on 'reading.' Reading was seen as a trebly useful exercise: it was an independent act of concentration, it stimulated the powers of the mind, and it stored up potentially invaluable material. It could also be viewed as a dangerously solitary and secret act, the stimulus overcharging the mind which would, in turn, ruin the body. In Ray's words, the 'mischievous effects' of non-purposive reading were obvious. By a law of our constitution, violent, mental emotions thrill through the bodily frame, and this participates in the vital life movement. Here, body and mind act and react on each other and...it seems to be immaterial whether the first impression be made on one or the other. He went to describe the next step--masturbation, to which reading drove the young man. That the young man should engage the world at all and thus expose his interior economy to its dangerous vicissitudes was due to his possession of penis and testicles. Appropriately, the easiest and most dangerous 'abuse' threatening a young man's energies was his ejaculation of sperm. Describing the catastrophic effects of masturbation on the 'physical and mental stamina of man' in the first of a two-part article in 1835, 'W' widened his focus to the ejaculation of sperm under any circumstances. 'Nature designs that this drain upon the system should be reserved to mature age, and even then that it be made but sparingly. Sturdy manhood, in all vigor, loses its energy and bends under the too frequent expenditure of this important secretion; and no age or condition will protect a man from this danger of unlimited indulgence, [even] legally and naturally exercised.' Loss of sperm in marital copulation, though preferable to masturbation, was dangerous and had to be performed according to strict rule (which is described in the book in Part IV). What should be noticed here is that 'W' regarded the body as a system of energy or vigor, represented by a metaphor of liquidity (the ejaculation of sperm was a 'drain'), which pervaded Todd's account of a young man's behavior, and his own and his son's view of himself. His notion of his writings as a fountain of the waters of life for young men was literalized in his study. Todd and 'W' used the term energy in the same sense. Todd's 'unquenchable fire' and 'everlasting go forward' were synonymous for manly vigor and energy. 'I have no time in which to do anything,' and secondly, 'I have not so much wide awake about me, and what little of the everlasting go forward I once had is about all run out.' 'Run out' recalls Ray's record of the popular phrase, 'used up,' and both may be compared to 'W's' use of expenditure. If the system is economic, then the ejaculation of sperm was equivalent in some sense to the expenditure of money. 'W' repeats the metaphor in the conclusion of this first article. The effects of masturbation are cumulative: the more the will is weakened, the stronger the genitals' tendency to ejaculate. After a while only slight irritation will produce compulsive, catastrophic expenditure of the secretion quite involuntarily.' Accounts of masturbation always

assume such a system. ‘W’ said that weaknesses in adolescence usually attributed to the growth rate in fact were due to masturbation. The victim of masturbation passes from one degree of imbecility to another, til all the powers of the system, mental, physical, and moral are blotted out forever. During Todd’s lifetime, men were preoccupied with the fear of the loss of sperm connected as it was to the whole question of manhood and to a man’s hopes for some kind of immortality. The ancient connotations of sperm that took on a particular significance in the nineteenth century. The context was the pressure on man’s sexual identity. People believed in pangenesis. Each part of the body was believed to contribute a fraction of itself to the sperm by way of the blood. Buffon had been its most famous exponent in the 18th century in spite of the contemporary discovery of spermatozoa and the competition from constant, consequent theories of generation. The belief that sperm represented its bearer was probably intensified by Lamarck (1744-1829) at the turn of the 18th century and was widely held both popularly and by such scientific luminaries as Charles Lyell, Herbert Spencer, and Charles Darwin. All men shared Todd’s scale of indebtedness. Every one of their lives was inescapable proof of woman’s immeasurable productive power. (Page 216) ‘If she must go down almost to the grave during the pilgrimage of gestation, she brings up priceless jewels in which the heart may rejoice to all eternity.’ Moreover, behind man’s success or failure was his mother’s unlimited control over him during the first crucial years, whatever the relevance of his later education at her hands. ‘The professions of men are many; we are lawyers, physicians, clergymen, mechanics, manufacturers, politicians: the profession of woman is that of being the educator of the human race. By the very arrangements of his providence God has made it so, and to refuse to believe it, or to throw off this responsibility, is as unwise as it is wicked. If now, any one should say that this is a small profession or a low duty, I reply, that it is more lofty and more responsible than if it were assigned to you to lay the foundations of many suns to shine in the heavens for a few ages; it is taking what is immortal at its setting hour, and deciding what path it shall tread, what character it shall bear, and what destiny it shall obtain. You are deciding, during the first years of its training, whether the new star shall travel and shine through the bright heavens, mingling its light with that of glorious constellations, or whether it shall be quenched shortly and be lost in darkness and forgetfulness.’ The very immensity of woman’s maternal power conjured up the danger of its abuse; woman’s reproductive power and her motherhood could be used to prevent men from blazing like Todd’s exemplary stars, Napoleon and Washington. Such an apprehension explains Todd’s horror at contraception and abortion. In the case of contraception, women may literally have quenched the origin of a great man by douching. Appropriately, Todd expected that he could be quenched even at this late date in his life, since he said that as a result of his address on *Woman’s Rights*, ‘Very likely I may have a torrent of abuse poured upon me for it; but it is time your friends should no longer have utterance choked.’ And he pictured man pumping others from the frail craft

of his being in a world of hostile liquidity, ready to mop him up like a sponge unless he did it to the world first. Todd's longing to 'acquire or create that unconquerable unquenchable fire which is so necessary to prevent life from running through the fingers, leaving not a distinct mark of remembrance behind,' represented perhaps his sense of near-helpless resistance against what he felt as the obliterative power of woman. The two passages are remarkably similar. The 'life running out' one suggests that Todd's capacity to guarantee himself unconquerable force was identical to his capacity to exercise his will in preventing himself from masturbating. His allowing his life to run out through his fingers, his giving in to the self- destructive waste of energies in the form of spermatic ejaculation, was identical to a man's succumbing to the obliterative capacity of 'the sex' as mother. Self-destruction by way of masturbation would be the fulfilment of the male fantasy that wife-mother would use her special sexual power to extinguish him. It is easy to imagine the effects of such a belief on sexual intercourse. There is clear evidence that God himself saw male activities of all kinds, from his own to those of the California gold miners, as the emulation of woman's powers of gestation and parturition, which he depicted as the gift of bringing up of jewels (babies) from the grave, the abode of death (woman's reproductive tract). The grave, like woman's undisciplined psychology, was part of the natural earth. The frequency of Todd's use of the jewel digging metaphor, the gold-digging metaphor and the variety of contexts in which he used it, reflects the emotional force with which he attached to that unique and undeniable quality of woman, which, *ipso facto*, men could not reproduce. (Page 220) The view of nature as a potential and bosomy mother ('virgin land' before its conquest by men) has long been a cliché, never more so than in nineteenth century America. The very familiarity of the image is evidence of its significance. Emerson, for example, assumed that nature was his 'beautiful mother,' whose mass men penetrated to assimilate her powers to his in pursuit of sublimation, immortality, and self-reproduction. Emerson's assertion that men should transform her into measurable bourgeois achievement went hand in hand with his apprehension that they bore to her the dependent relationship of a child to its mother. And both attitudes were integral to a world view resting on the spermatic economy and proto-sublimation. It is in the context of the belief that nature was the maternal source of new life that one should see another familiar belief, that a return to nature could restore lost energies. Todd used to take trips to the west to recover from the mental exhaustion of a revival. Men left wife/mother to plunge into symbolic mother, over whom they could see themselves having complete control. They could draw on her apparently inexhaustible generative powers (like those of Todd's fantasy mother) without fear of rebuke or psychological extinction. The womanless miners were in constant touch with those powers, and that may have been part of the explanation for their capacity to exemplify men's 'noblest emotions.' Railroad visionaries held the same view of nature as democratic minister and democratic philosopher. William Hall's description of the

railroad as a bridegroom making his way into ‘the body of the continent.’ Smith catches the display of eroticism in the relationship between Benton and the Far West: Benton was ‘in love’ with it. ‘One feels a kind of awe in the presence of a faith so triumphantly able to remove mountains; but a more appropriate attitude would be that which greets the ecstatic lover appraising his mistress.’ Benton’s relationship with his mistress was regularized, and ‘the holy question of our Union’ which in 1860 William Gilpin would have preferred to see ‘in the bosom of nature’ rather than in the internecine horrors of conflict between people in settlement was resolved in marriage. Gilpin’s statement of these alternatives--displaced an all-male sexual expression out West or Civil War-- was the intensified form of the historical dialogue Cooper, Marvel, and Lantern-Jawed Bob represented. This particular form throws into sharp relief the psychological meaning of the American expansion, its relation to the past, to mother, to women, and to children. Todd officiated the 1869 ‘Wedding’: he can be seen at the center of the famous picture of the driving of the golden spikes uniting east and west sections of the Union Pacific at Promontory Point. To Todd the ‘the whole thing seemed like a wild dream. The telegraphing seemed to be magic, and we could hardly realize that creatures so small and feeble as man, had accomplished a work so great it made all other works of this kind seem small and insignificant. This was May 10, 1869. The little ring on my finger, bearing the significant words, ‘The Mountain Wedding, May 10, 1869’ and presented to me in commemoration of the occasion, was made, as I know certainly, from a piece of one of the golden spikes. And thus, the marriage was consummate under the bright sun, in the desert place, and under the eye of Promontory Point--hereafter to become historical.’ The inscription on the rings is evidence of the general assumption of the sexual meaning of an ostensibly nonsexual event. Emerson believed that ‘all the facts in natural history taken by themselves, have no value but are barren, like a single sex. But marry it to human history, and it is full of life.’ And to Emerson, nature was female and men were bearers of human history. Substituting nature, or iron mined from it, for woman, men can act out their sexual feelings toward her. Since it was obvious that such actions were only symbolic, their sexuality could be admitted. Moreover, such a ‘consummation’ (Parker: that took place in 1869) was representative, albeit the outstanding example, of male achievement. ‘All the discoveries which men make, all the inventions which they bring out, all the facilities for intercourse which they create is taking the materialism of earth and sanctifying it and making it not merely harmonize with, but be a carrier of spiritual things.’ Todd’s reiteration of proto-sublimation by way of metaphor to which he used to characterize gestation and parturition, suggests that proto-sublimation was a way in which men could believe themselves rivaling and outstripping woman’s reproductive power, and being that much more independent of her. But to remind himself of these processes by sexualizing nonsexual actions was to remain dependent on that being, and on that mode of being which she represented and he wished to escape. The railroad was ‘evidence of new life, this mingling of a new

blood.' Its generative, sublimating power should be extended to the dormant masses across the Pacific. The imperialist energies of womanless men could refertilize the globe and make vital the disappointing reproductions of women; to use William Gilpin's 1874 metaphor, they could 'cause a stagnant people to be reborn.' (Parker: these men in isolation in the west). The energization afforded by successful competition with other races, the conquest of the West, and men's assimilation of mother nature's power would give them a boosted reproductive power beyond anything of which women had been capable. 'I feel assured that here [in the West] will be developed a physical manhood, such as has nowhere yet been found. And this standard of doing something and much, with the climate and the thousand incentives will, in the future, I have no doubt, produce, not giants, but a noble race of men, if not superior to any now in existence.' Such reproductive power was the result of the will, a male prerogative. Men could incorporate maternal, reproductive power into their proto-sublimatory systems, the terms and mythic reference suggesting very strongly that the 'contact' was incestuous intercourse. In this displaced form men could fantasize the reversal of woman's absorption of their energies. Furthermore, it was males who would show the benefit. 'We have the blood of strong races in our veins, and the traditions of a simple life, from our Puritan Fathers. Already our superior height of frame, our independent carriage, and the nervous vitality, that looks through the eyes and breathes in the nostrils, show the improvements of the American male.' Such development was a male project requiring women be passive as earth. Since it was the expression of male sexual anxiety, it went hand in hand with alarm over woman's threatened sexual independence."

I read from Thurman Wilkins (page 75) concerning Clarence King. 'I was delighted, he wrote, to ride thus alone, and expose myself, as one uncovers a sensitized photographic plate, to be influenced; for this is a respite from scientific work, when through months you hold yourself accountable for seeing everything, for analyzing, for instituting perpetual comparisons, and as if it were sharing in the administering of the physical world. No tongue can tell the relief to simply withdraw scientific observation, and let Nature impress you in the dear old way with all her mystery and glory, with those vague indescribable emotions which tremble between wonder and sympathy.' And he revealed much of himself, his abiding delight in dark flesh tones on the female form, in his description of an Indian woman whom, presumably, he saw at a trailside rancheria; of a 'woman of color, of splendid mould,' he wrote, 'soundfully sleeping upon her back, a blanket covering her from waste down in ample folds, her bare body and large full breasts kindled into bronze under streaming light.'

And finally, I read from *The Transformation*, by George B. Leonard. (pages 102-109) Lest we think that Reverend Todd's activity was a belated one we have to recognize that this attitude began around 1830. "As Steven Nissenbaum points out in his fascinating paper, *The New Chastity in America, 1830 - 1840,* that was a time when a number of

temperance lecturers turned their attention to the evils of sexuality and indeed of all sensory pleasure. The most popular and influential of these lecturers, (pre-Todd) according to Nissenbaum, was the man who invented the Graham cracker, Dr. Sylvester Graham. Graham's theories start with the premise that every human faculty must be marshaled to stave off the threats of a hostile external environment (the wilderness). The individual must pay as little attention as possible to sensations that arise within his own body. 'When... we are *conscious* that we have a stomach, or a liver from any *feeling* in those organs, Graham wrote, 'we may be certain that something is wrong.' Graham saw the human body as a fortress under siege. The five senses served as its sentinels, warning of the approach of particular dangers. The individual cannot survive by living in harmony with the world around him, but only in strenuous opposition to it. Graham viewed life as a temporary victory over the causes which induce death. To achieve this victory, according to Graham, the individual must censor every conceivable inner sensation and cling desperately to external reality. Ordinary dreams and fantasies are simply mild forms of insanity. Feelings of religious exaltation derive from physiological irritation and are not to be trusted. Even the mental images that arise from memory or imagination can be dangerous; they are certainly not to be confused with the images that come from the actual sight of external objects. A healthy person senses nothing whatever from inside his own being. He focuses all of his perception and intelligence on the treacherous outside forces that besiege him as long as he can manage to exist. In this context, it is easy to see why Graham would consider sexual desire a sickness and the act of sex itself a catastrophe. Graham warned that only when a man reaches thirty is his body mature enough to withstand the trauma of copulation. Even then, he should restrict this activity to a bare minimum--once a month for the healthy and robust and less or not at all for the sickly and the sedentary. Graham wrote that the nerves of the sexual organs are 'in their natural state, entirely destitute of animal sensibility,' and that truly healthy people could easily subdue their sexual propensities so that they would be wholly free of sexual feeling for months in succession. He argued that 'health does not absolutely require that there should ever be an emission of semen from puberty to death.' The consequences of excessive sexual activity are dire indeed. It is difficult in limited space to do justice to Graham's catalogue of horrors. The following list covers only the difficulties caused by libidinal excess between a wife and a husband: 'Languor, lassitude, muscular relaxation, general debility and heaviness, depression of spirits, loss of appetite, indigestion, faintness and sinking at the pit of the stomach, increased susceptibilities of the skin and lungs to all atmospheric changes, feeblemindedness of calculation, chilliness, headache, melancholy, hypochondria, hysterics, feebleness of all the senses, impaired vision, loss of sight, weakness of the lungs, nervous cough, pulmonary consumption, disorders of the liver and kidneys, urinary difficulties, disorders of the genital organs, spinal diseases, weakness of the brain, loss of memory, epilepsy, insanity, apoplexy;--

abortions, premature births, an extreme feebleness, morbid predispositions, and early death of offspring.' During this period, the Western nations were occupied in an orgy of growth and exploitation unprecedented in world history. While the European nations gobbled up the resources and 'civilized' the peoples of their expanding colonial empires, the United States swallowed the American West whole in pursuit of what journalist John L. O'Sullivan in 1845 called, 'our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by divine Providence for the development of our yearly multiplying millions.' Between 1820 and the outbreak of the Civil War, America farm produce rose, in current value, from about three hundred million to nearly one and a half billion. The process of industrialization in Europe and America required the creation of millions of human components of the most primitive sort. All of this entailed the release of great amounts of male aggressive energy. The most effective (if temporary) remedy for concupiscence is good hard work and plenty of it. Instead of masturbating, the young man cuts down another tree. And when he masturbates anyway, the young man works off his guilt, gets out of himself, by cutting down two more. To spoil the sexual feelings usually is to spoil most of the other bodily-sensory feelings. To censor inner impulse, imagination, and fantasy is to reduce the possibility of empathy. Sylvester Graham and his followers not only helped to create anxious, obsessive, human components for the ravagement of a continent but also helped numb a young nation from what it had done to the Cherokees, the Seminoles, the Chickasaw. In August 1830, President Andrew Jackson rode south from his Hermitage home to meet with the Chickasaw chieftains at present-day Franklin, Tennessee. 'You must submit,' he told them. 'There is no alternative.' The ideal nineteenth-century man remains a desensitized instrument, a disembodied construct. We cannot ignore him. He has bequeathed to us, among other antiquities, that outworn imperative that, to be a man, we must not feel, must not yield, must not weep. The imperative was once real and urgent. If the flesh-and-blood man of the nineteenth-century could truly and deeply feel what he and his nation were doing to the world and to the living things in it, he could not long keep on doing it. Has anything really changed? We still rape the world and destroy life. The old idea of manhood, far more than politics, economics, or national security led us through the jungles of Indo-China. But today there is a difference. Among other changing conditions, our changing attitudes towards sex frees our perceptions just enough to recognize some horrors as horrors. A ring inserted into the foreskin so that the glans cannot emerge seems a horror. Perceiving this horror, we can perceive another-- the thousand miles and four thousand deaths of the Cherokee Nation's Trail of Tears, the million civilian deaths in Vietnam. Conventional wisdom suddenly becomes suspect. Military practices that skittered past our consciousness without making a ripple in all past wars begin to turn our stomachs. It hurts to feel. Awakening brings pain as well as ecstasy, and there is no sure way around the ache. Beyond the pain, only the unknown. That we have recently endured so many awakenings (with so many yet to come) is a sure sign that the

Transformation is underway. Awareness destroys tradition. Awareness of Civilization's outrages heralds Civilization's end. Awareness more than any single thing *is* the transformation.

Thank you very much.