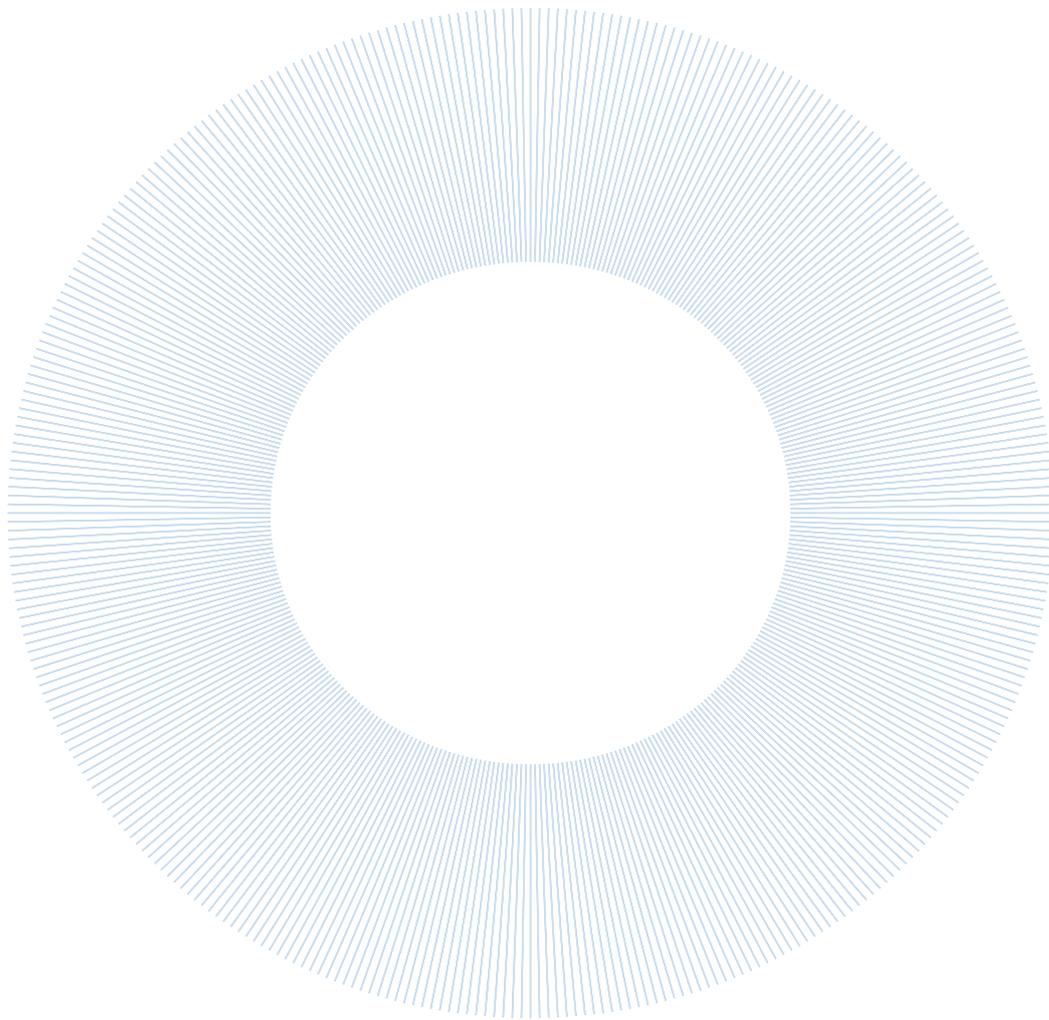


# Photography, Survey and the Desire for ‘History’



Elizabeth Edwards

**Volume 5**

**2012**

**Number 4**

ISSN 1756-2074

## *About Insights*

*Insights* captures the ideas and work-in-progress of the Fellows of the Institute of Advanced Study at Durham University. Up to twenty distinguished and 'fast-track' Fellows reside at the IAS in any academic year. They are world-class scholars who come to Durham to participate in a variety of events around a core inter-disciplinary theme, which changes from year to year. Each theme inspires a new series of *Insights*, and these are listed in the inside back cover of each issue. These short papers take the form of thought experiments, summaries of research findings, theoretical statements, original reviews, and occasionally more fully worked treatises. Every fellow who visits the IAS is asked to write for this series. The Directors of the IAS – Veronica Strang, Stuart Elden, Barbara Graziosi and Martin Ward – also invite submissions from others involved in the themes, events and activities of the IAS. *Insights* is edited for the IAS by Barbara Graziosi. Previous editors of *Insights* were Professor Susan Smith (2006–2009) and Professor Michael O'Neill (2009–2012).

## *About the Institute of Advanced Study*

The Institute of Advanced Study, launched in October 2006 to commemorate Durham University's 175th Anniversary, is a flagship project reaffirming the value of ideas and the public role of universities. The Institute aims to cultivate new thinking on ideas that might change the world, through unconstrained dialogue between the disciplines as well as interaction between scholars, intellectuals and public figures of world standing from a variety of backgrounds and countries. The Durham IAS is one of only a handful of comparable institutions in the world that incorporates the Sciences, Social Sciences, the Arts and the Humanities.

The focal point of the IAS is a programme of work associated with, but not exclusive to, an annual research theme. At the core of this work lies a prestigious Fellowship programme. This programme gathers together scholars, intellectuals and public figures of world standing or world-promise to address topics of major academic or public interest. Their mission is to anticipate the new and re-interpret the old, communicating across and working between disciplinary boundaries.

Every year, the Institute invites as many as twenty highly creative individuals to spend up to three months in Durham. They are located in Cosin's Hall, a magnificent and spacious 18th century mansion which, together with Durham Cathedral and Durham Castle, forms part of Palace Green, dominating the World Heritage Site of Durham Peninsula. During their stay, Fellows engage with departments and colleges, deliver public lectures and seminars, and, above all, join an international community of researchers to address the theme selected for that year. Further details of the IAS and its Fellowship programme can be found at [www.durham.ac.uk/ias/fellows](http://www.durham.ac.uk/ias/fellows)

## *Copyright*

The design and contents of *Insights* are subject to copyright. Copyright and Reproduction Rights in all submitted contributions remain with the authors, as described in the Author's Copyright Agreement. Copyright and Reproduction Rights of all other material remain with *Insights*.

Except under the terms of Fair Dealing (UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988), the user may not modify, copy, reproduce, retransmit or otherwise distribute the site and its contents (whether text, graphics or original research concepts), without express permission in writing from the Institute. Where the above content is directly or indirectly reproduced in an academic context under the terms of Fair Dealing, this must be acknowledged with the appropriate bibliographical citation.

The opinions stated in the *Insights* papers are those of their respective authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Institute of Advanced Study, Durham University, or the staff and students thereof.

## PHOTOGRAPHY, SURVEY AND THE DESIRE FOR 'HISTORY'

*This paper<sup>1</sup> explores the idea of photographic survey as a transnational cultural moment. This movement, which was active in various forms between about 1880 and 1920, encouraged local amateur photographers to make records of buildings, customs and curiosities for the benefit of the future. Strongly related to questions of cultural salvage, preservation and national identity, the impulse for photographic recording is found in different forms and intensities across Europe and beyond. However, local endeavours were entangled with more expansive ambitions for photographic efficacy. These ambitions reveal the broader epistemological shaping of these apparently insignificant acts of photography. I explore briefly three moments of transnational articulation in Chicago, Brussels and Dresden, and what happens when we approach these photographic practices on the horizontal axis of the transnational, not simply on the vertical axis of contained 'national identities.'*

### Prologue

This essay emerges from my work on the photographic survey movement and historical imagination. My book on the subject, *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination 1885–1918*, was published during my stay at the IAS, but like all 'finished' projects, it actually felt like a beginning. While my book focused on England, it became very clear to me in the course of that research, listening to the late nineteenth-century voice, that the standard analytical approach to such photographic activities, as prisms of national identities alone, limited our understanding. Not only was there an intense localism at work, one of the arguments of my book, but the impulse to make photographs to record the past in the present for the future also constituted a clear transnational cultural moment across Europe and beyond. This sense was enhanced by the IAS theme 'Translating Culture: Purpose, Process and Consequence' which looked at translation as both praxis and metaphor. The 'surveys' which interested me sought to use photography and photographs to translate the historically experienced present into photographs and into forms of knowledge through a series of transformative communicative practices. What follows is an initial attempt to lay out the basic ethnography and suggest some analytical directions.

The photographic survey movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comprised a loosely cohered group of amateur photographers with intersecting interests in history, archaeology and photography itself. They embarked on projects aimed, self-consciously, to use photography to record what they perceived to be important survivals of the past in the present. They photographed ancient churches, farmsteads, old cottages and manor houses, folk customs and a huge range of curiosities which for them constituted a focus for historical imagination. Above all was a sense of the public utility of photographs to impart information to future generations for the general good, through archives in libraries, museums and learned societies (Edwards, 2012). While there was no central organisation, activities were left to individual enthusiasms, it was premised of the inscriptive powers of a photography undertaken in a straight and unmediated fashion. Yet at the same time these recording projects were entangled with a vision of an inclusive visual archive of photographic information.

They were based variously in towns, cities and regions, bringing together groups of enthusiasts for both photography and antiquities. They were often closely associated with either photographic

clubs and societies or the photographic sections of antiquarian, archaeological or natural history societies, although the precise nature of this relationship depends largely on local demographics and social networks. Some had quite formal organisation with officers, subscriptions and rule, others were less formal and depended more on personal drive and enthusiasm. What they all shared and what linked them discursively, whatever their constitution, was a sense of the efficacy of photography for recording the past in the present for the future, a sense of social duty in this work, and of an urgency in the face of modernity.

Consequently these survey projects, various in scale, focus and ambition, but with their self-conscious engagement with the past, are a useful prism through which to explore the perceived relationship between photography, memory and historical imagination. They give us the opportunity to explore empirically the links between these processes, rather than simply assuming them theoretically, for the survey movement presents a fully articulated, experienced and intentional constitution of a desire to make historical records.

The survey movement effectively constituted what Anderson has famously characterised as an 'imagined' and 'print' community, groups of people, not necessarily known to or communicating directly with one another, but bound by common values, modes of imagining and technical practices, articulated through print media (Anderson, 1983). It is this pattern of connection, the tentacles of common values on the efficacy of the relationship between photography and historical imagination as a transnational phenomenon, that interests me here. This pattern cannot be reduced to an ontologically or technologically determined response alone, but rather constitutes an expansive cultural moment.

### *Transnational Patterns*

From the start the desire to record was sustained by, and understood in, a transnational dimension. In its expansive forms, it offered the potential for world history, constituted through the multiple ties and connections that characterise transnationalism.<sup>2</sup> While the concept transnational tends to assume a contemporary context of twentieth and twenty-first-century globalisation, the 'constellation of mutually conditioning factors and parallel processes' (Vertovec, 2009, p. 23) which defines it can, as a number of scholars have argued, be demonstrated historically even if the precise configuration and flavour differs (Hofmeyr et al., 2006).<sup>3</sup>

The potential of photography as a practice enabled connections that might both mediate the local and translate the local into a utopian possibility of an international sense of archive. This potential of photographs, their flow through the networks of knowledge and political and cultural desire, make this process both intensely local and intensely global. For this was a shared methodology. It drew on transnational debates in photography, about the merging of photographic techniques, documenting practice and archival desire, and about the very purposes of photography itself.

Survey projects were undertaken in many European countries. There were movements in, for instance, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Switzerland, France, Poland, Italy and Germany. What links all these endeavours, and gives them what for us analytically is a transnational character, are two sets of intersecting values. First was the importance and validity of the photographic record. The use of the camera in this way espoused a specific form of transnational documenting impulse (Amad, 2010; Mittman and Wilder, forthcoming), linked through patterns of historical imagination, photographic desires and archival enthusiasm. Second was a shared anxiety about,

and valuation of, the impact of modernity on both cultural practices and the remains of the past through which identities might be negotiated. While appeals were, on the one hand, to the photograph as an objective record, on the other, they were simultaneously to a more subjective sense of civic, national and even humanistic duty to record for the future. Thus whatever individual and specific community hopes for these projects might have been, they emerged from shared values about the importance of the past in the future, the desire to create records and the indisputable efficacy of photography in achieving those aims.

These values, impulses and their photographic manifestations were linked to broader interests in, and debates about, the preservation of ancient monuments and the codification of national heritage.<sup>4</sup> These interests themselves were not necessarily contained within national and political boundaries but were, again, part of a broader cultural moment and sense of connected and emergent European heritage and its institutionalisation (Swenson, 2008). If photographic survey has clear cultural and intellectual links to preservationist movements, they did not necessarily map entirely on to infrastructures of national projects and their demographics in any simple way (a point to which I shall return). While there are overlaps and similarities in terms of both structure and class, at the same time the downwards social spread of photographic activity by 1900, linked to an expansion in the range and costs of photographic technology, expanded the possibility of making historical statements and engaging in what was perceived as a collective practice of historical imagination.<sup>5</sup>

This realisation of historical imagination can also be linked to shifting theories and evaluation of what it was to have 'memory' or 'history.' The photographic surveys were grounded in a positivist view of history and photographic potential, it was the trace of the past that gave these photographs their power. However a defining characteristic of photography is its translation of space and time, producing fragments of the experienced world. Through this process photographs elevated the everyday fragment as history of the present (Amad, 2010, p. 4). While this works at many levels, the historical bricolage, the amassed fragments, that photographs represent, is translated into the coherence of the archive. The archive was not only a metaphor for memory itself, but also a site of practices which determined the parameters of history and memory themselves (Amad, 2010, p. 8). The practices of photography in general and the survey movement in particular thus resonate with newly figured concepts in philosophical thinking on memory itself at this period. In particular was that of Henri Bergson whose work placed memory in everyday experience and collective habit. While Bergson had an ambivalent attitude to the mechanical inscriptions of time and the externalisations that the archive represented, his privileging of time, the everyday and of experience in the construction of memory accords with the inscriptive abundance of both photography and film (Amad, 2010).

This is not to argue that photographers were necessarily responding directly to Bergson, although his work reached an extensive and popular audience. Rather, such thinking raised the sense of the everyday and the ordinary as significant and translatable into archival form through photographs. In particular the heightening effect of photographs, in that they literally bring objects and moments into visibility, endowing them with the quality of a statement. Functions of everyday space and action became translated, even transfigured, into the utopian vision of the prosthetic memory bank.

There were of course profound national and sub-national differences in the signifying intensities of photographs; the sense of national heritage which they carried was rooted in different political imperatives (Swenson, 2008, pp. 85–6). Sometimes these processes worked in opposite directions. For instance, in Italy the production of photographs of cultural heritage was used to create a visual sense of unity after the 1870s, whereas in Poland photographic surveys

were used to delineate the specifically regional in response to the multinational dissipation of Polish heritage within the homogenising discourses of Russian, Prussian and Austro-Hungarian empires successively (Mattiello, 2011; Manikowska, 2011).

In particular, archaeological and ethnological delineation became a central conceptual underpinning of much survey work. Even if in realisation it was limited, the importance of recording 'peasant,' 'folk,' 'rural lifeways,' and 'customs' before they disappeared carried extraordinary discursive and rhetorical weight in the photographic survey movement. In Germany, Poland and Hungary, for example, ethnography in particular was linked to national identities, as ethnological knowledge translated into knowledge of the nation and its history, in which peasant and rural custom stood for the grounding of identity in the very soil of the nation (Vermeulen and Alvarez Roldán, 1995, p. 10). There were very strong links, for example, between the making of the photographic record and the emergence of local ethnology museums in the former Prussia and Poland, such as was the case in Dresden and Danzig, just as there was in Scandinavia a few decades later where photographic survey was systematised and professionalised under the auspices of the Nordic Museum (Joschke, 2004, p. 64; Becker, 1992). Even in Britain, where perhaps these links were less marked, there were strong conceptual and discursive links between the British Association for the Advancement of Science's ethnographic survey of the British Isles, launched in 1894, and photographic survey (Edwards, 2010). Both were concerned with recording and tracing the long histories of place 'in a world that stood on the threshold between the traditional and the modern, the local and the global' (Amad, 2010, p. 8). What is significant is the range and similarity of content, purpose and aspiration of the lists of historical desiderata, almost a 'shooting script,' issued by a range of surveys, from local endeavours such as the Photographic Survey and Record of Surrey in England, to those such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science, or the Musée de Suisse des Photographies Documentaires.

This broad view was, as I have suggested, articulated in different ways with different intensities, informing a wide range of salvage agendas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One cannot, of course, be certain of the extent to which individual photographers were, or were not, aware of these theories or bodies of knowledge in any directly causal way. What is clear, in a broad currency of ideas, is the correlation between scientific ideas and their poetic translation as salvage and preservation on the one hand, and on the other the values of the photographic survey and related movements such as architectural preservation. They are patterned by shared epistemological assumptions around temporalities of salvage and preservation. This sense of urgency, that 'The matter is one that will not brook any undue delay [...] as the evidence is slipping out of our grasp' (Brabrook, 1893, p. 274), was a moment, as Nora puts it, of the 'irrevocable break of peasant culture, that quintessential repository of collective memory' (Nora, 1989, p. 7).

Racial mappings of Europe, which, in many cases, were entangled with ethnological description, were also deeply inflected with a discourse of origin and nation. While there are colonial implications too, of course (Edwards, 2012, pp. 153–9), many surveys included both ethnographic and anthropometric dimensions, especially in what were perceived as the margins of Europe, the Balkans, northern Scandinavia, and in the British case, an Ireland 'yet to be corrupted by Anglocentric modernity' (Carville, 2011, pp. 105–6). As Richard McMahon has argued, the delineation of European races, and indeed languages, was used 'to scientifically legitimize nations as ancient families and naturalize their geopolitical manoeuvrings, ethnic power struggles and ideological responses to modern change.' But he also demonstrates the ways in which, like the endeavours of photographic survey, concepts also moved across national boundaries, defining what it was to be European (McMahon, 2001, p. 71).

In a way, the inscriptive quality of photographs and the indexical tracing of the material remains of those processes were a way of holding the flux and ambiguity of histories. For in all these endeavours there was a sense that visual media, especially photography, functioned not only as record making for the future but as a way of disseminating the values of history. For instance, in Germany, the *Heimatschutz* movement, although more broadly grounded in landscape, feeling and the aesthetics of nationhood, understood photography and other visual forms as central to its agendas. Thus Fritz Koch, a young lawyer from Thuringia, and a leading light in the movement, instigated a series of picture postcards, describing them as being of 'extraordinary significance [...] for the propaganda of the *Heimatschutz*' (quoted in Rollins, 1997, p. 175).

The existence and progress of photographic survey and the reproduction of its values, were maintained by networks of connection. For example, Boston Camera Club in the USA sent a set of lantern slides of their survey to Liverpool Photographic Society; there were exchanges of information between the English survey movement and Léon Vidal's archive of document photographs in Paris; Giacomo Boni, who was undertaking surveys of Italian antiquities, corresponded with Philip Webb of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings who had links with the Survey of London; the National Photographic Record Association in Britain was in correspondence with Léon Vidal, with enthusiasts in Mysore State, India, and with a nascent project in Stockholm. The Archaeological Survey of India was held up as an example to amateur photographers in Europe, and the journal *Photogram* which carried a column entitled 'Doomed and Threatened' also included threatened antiquities in other countries (Pollock, 2009; Mattiello, 2011, pp. 220, 226; Edwards, 2012). These articulations constitute a shared consciousness, processes of cross-fertilisation and mode of reproduction that encompasses a wide variety of individuals, groups and organisations, emerging from a 'common consciousness and bundles of experiences which bind people into social forms and networks' (Vertovec, 2009, pp. 4–6).

### *Photographic Ambitions in Chicago, Brussels and Dresden*

This network of interconnections is borne out in two projects and an exhibition which attempted to translate the local into the global, transnational and universal, and to realise the anticipated visual demands of an international future. While both projects failed in their different ways – they were wildly over-ambitious and unwieldy in relation to the human and financial resources available – they are nonetheless paradigmatic of the encyclopaedic aspirations for photographs.

The potential of this sense of interconnectedness was first given concrete form at the Chicago Worlds Fair in 1893, where, at an auxiliary congress on photography organised by the Photographic Association of America, a meeting advocated an 'international bureau established to record and exchange photographic negatives and prints' (Harrison, 1893). In this W. Jerome Harrison, a leading light in the British survey movement, moved his national vision for photographic survey onto the global stage, calling for a systematic photographic record 'of the face of the earth.' The aim was to be 'a true pictorial history of the present day.' However, crucially he continued 'it seems a great pity that the results should be confined to the locality in which they are produced' (1893, p. 548). While these photographs had local or national significance, they also, it stressed, constituted a broader record of human experience and human existence.

The international committee formed included members from Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Japan, India and France. In response to this call for photographic action, in 1895 Léon Vidal founded the Musée des Photographies Documentaires in Paris, which by 1900 had over 20,000 negatives. A similar project was founded in Switzerland, Musée Suisse des

Photographies Documentaires, under the presidency of Emile Demole in 1901 and in the same year the International Institute of Photographic Documents, modelled on Vidal's project in Paris, was founded by Ernest de Potter in Brussels under the auspices of the International Institute of Bibliography (Joschke, 2004; Cousserier, 2010).

This latter provides a second instance of intense transnational desire and it is significant that it is closely linked from the beginning with a sense of transnational management of knowledge. Instigated by a group of Brussels enthusiasts, notably de Potter, its roots were local but its ambitions became expansive. Again it was premised on a sense of photographs as an exchangeable form and universal language to constitute a knowledge form for the future. Like other survey endeavours, it attempted to establish standards for photographic inscription, so as to provide a systematic rendering of the past for the future. But it saw its remit not only in terms of cultural heritage – ethnology, archaeology and architecture – but also in zoology, landscape and the conditions of modern life as 'a dream of an exhaustive inventory of the visible world' (Cousserier, 2010).

Despite these projects and the universalising aspiration for photography, the Chicago meeting progressed little beyond inspiring rhetoric, although the committee, by all accounts, 'did good work in disseminating a knowledge of the survey movement' (Harrison, 1906, p. 58). Yet by 1902 Vidal in Paris was lamenting that 'we yet lack an international organisation for the production and preservation of record photographs [...]. The various photographic societies – English, French, German, Austrian, etc – should have excellent reasons to undertake the making of collections of photographs showing the state and progress of each country, but an obvious preliminary to organised international action is to arrange the conditions under which photographs are to be taken, and to formulate some system by which the contracting nation or association can exchange sets of prints' (Vidal, 1902). The project in Brussels likewise failed to attract the support of photographers, many of whom preferred to put their efforts into the more local projects of cultural heritage from which the more universal aspirations had emerged (Cousserier, 2010). But what is significant is that these projects were perceived of, and thought of, as desirable and realisable even if the latter proved not to be the case.

While the universal dreams of archival possibility collapsed under the weight of their own ambition, the transnational potential of photographic collaboration remained more strongly articulated at a local level. Nonetheless these local endeavours must be understood as part of the same cultural aspiration for photography which, as I have argued, has multiple strands of convergence and coherence. A particularly cogent demonstration of this was at the 1909 Dresden International Photographic Exhibition when individual survey endeavours were presented in a context of collective and interconnected action. This exhibition contained no less than 21 rooms of survey photography from across Europe and beyond. There were contributions from Austria, Russia, Germany, including a series of photographs of 'Old Hamburg,' and a series from Saxony made in conjunction with Dresden's museum of ethnology. There was a set of photographs of Asia, and the United States, which had survey endeavours in Boston and Pennsylvania for instance, was instead represented through photographs of Native American people and their everyday life, an aboriginal deep past for the United States, provided by the Smithsonian Institution. There were contributions too from the burgeoning local surveys in Britain – from Warwickshire, Surrey, London and the National Photographic Record Association, which had co-ordinated the British contribution. These survey contributions included photographs of the historical built environment, folkways and 'peasant types,' notably those from Russia by the ethnographic pictorialist Sergei Lobovikov (Anon, 1909; Joschke, 2004). It should be noted that 'overseas' photographic survey endeavours and their exhibition, whether in Europe, in settler colonialism or in empires, were reported frequently and in detail in the photographic press; and equally

frequently they were conceptualised in shared terms, through networks of influence, interaction and exchange.

Informing all survey activities, whatever their individual scales, was the idea of public access and public utility, for it was through these that the photographs could effect their historical work, projecting material into the future, with the aspiration of shaping that future. From its inception the movement strove to create an externalised or prosthetic ‘collective memory’ bank, a holding of the past both literally and metaphorically. The camera became, in effect, a prosthetic eye, and the creator of prosthetic memory through the photograph, to be held as a form of externalised collective memory, in both its real and metaphorical roles – a ‘holding’ of the past in which photography, properly executed, monitored and archived, could become a memory bank of the material traces of personal, local, national and transnational histories. These processes are enabled through the broad repetition of shared values, desires and techniques, transcending the local, regional and national.

It is particularly significant that the emergence of these recording practices is exactly contemporary with the emergence of international bibliographic standards and systems of classification. These systems were specifically designed to cohere global systems of knowledge, and could be used to contain the meanings of photographs.

This is a huge field which I can only address briefly here. However, the involvement of lawyer and bibliographer Paul Otlet with the Brussels project is particularly significant because it too marks the transnational character of photographic survey. Otlet was interested in the synthesis and transferability of knowledge, and had, at his Office International de Bibliographie, developed the Universal Decimal Classification in 1905. He had worked with de Potter on a standardisation of photographic description which was presented a year later at the Congrès International de la Documentation Photographie (Rayward, 2008; Cousserier, 2010). If the Brussels International Institute of Photographic Documents was a manifestation of Otlet’s bibliographic standardisation, even local endeavours were increasingly absorbed into library systems of classification whose object was to contain the messiness of photographic inscription and knowledge. It is significant that *The Camera as Historian*, a *vade mecum* for the British survey movement published in 1916, not only devoted some 54 of its 250 pages to a locally developed system drawn from the structure of the Otlet’s universal classification, but also included an illustration of the International Institute of Photographic Documents in its pages (Gower et al., 1916). This local classification was in all likelihood the work of one of the authors of *The Camera as Historian*, Stanley Jast, one of the new breed of professional librarians in the early twentieth century, who had a deep understanding and experience of the potential for the expansion of knowledge through library reform, especially the application of modern systems of classification and open access. In particular, Jast was guided by a belief in the interconnectedness of the human race at a metaphysical level. The flow of knowledge, and thus historical consciousness, contained in documents such as photographs, and the role of libraries within that system, was for Jast, part of that global interconnectedness (Black, 2007, pp. 180–1).

### *Closing Thoughts*

This is very much a work in progress. I have ranged widely over what I see as the important constituent parts of any analysis of this material. There are significant areas that I have left untouched here – colonial dimensions, differently nuanced configurations of nationhood and modernity, relationships between power and knowledge, and differential class dynamics, for instance. I have argued, however, that whatever the immediate constitution of photographic

surveys, they were all inflected with the possibility of a transnational dynamic, through the networks, connections and indeed aspirations which shaped them. They emerge from a moment of specific European cultural imagination in relation to modernity and the values of the past, translated through ethnography, photography, film, museum collecting, the codification of cultural heritage and a range of popular preservationist movements. These strands might be locally expressed but their intellectual framing is far from local. They operated on a dialectic of scale which encompassed transnational, national, regional and local contexts, framed through shared meanings and values through which collective practice was both legitimised and motivated.

To think about the endeavours of survey photography in the contexts of transnational practices opens up 'broader analytical possibilities for understanding the complex linkages, networks and actors' (Hofmeyr, 2006, p. 1444) on which it depended and which defined it as a product of a specific but fluid and interpenetrating matrix of values, aspiration and apparatus. My particular study raises the question of how we might understand these photographic practices on the horizontal axis of the transnational, not simply on the vertical axis of contained 'national identities.' These endeavours were held together by a specific vision of photographs as records and as translations of the world, by a community of practice and its 'ability to link the civilised world' (Harrison, 1893), exemplified in Otlet's bibliographic Utopia and Jast's universalist humanist belief in the emancipating power of knowledge, including visual knowledge for the future.



### *Acknowledgements*

I owe great thanks to my colleagues at the IAS for their wonderful critical conversation; to Annelies Cousserier (Leuven), Ewa Manikowska (Warsaw) and Estelle Sohler (Geneva) for their generosity in sharing their work and interesting finds with me; to Divya Tolia-Kelly (University of Durham) and the Social Anthropology Seminar at the University of Oxford for their most helpful comments as the paper developed.

### *Notes*

<sup>1</sup>A much extended version of this paper will be published in *Transnational Memory: Beyond Methodological Nationalism* edited by Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013).

<sup>2</sup>Amateur survey endeavours can be linked conceptually to government surveys and the expansion of institutionalised knowledge such as government-sponsored geological surveys on the western USA or Archaeological and Ethnological Surveys of India.

<sup>3</sup>Historical studies in the field have tended to focus on the transnational and translational character of colonial encounter.

<sup>4</sup>What is significant though is that a number of these surveys were a response to state resistance to undertaking systematic photography of antiquities.

<sup>5</sup>The extent and configuration of this collective is shaped by local patterns of class and the ability to make such statements. For instance, participation was, socially, much wider in England than in Poland where it is more clearly vested in local elites (Edwards, 2012, pp. 41–9; Manikowska, 2011).

*Reference List*

- Amad, P. (2010) *Counter-Archive: Film, the Everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la Planète*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anon. (1909) Dresden exhibition. *British Journal of Photography* July 2: 514.
- Bayly, C. A., Beckert, S., Connelly, M., Hofmeyr, I., Kozol, W. and Seed, P. (2006) On transnational history, an AHR conversation. *American Historical Review* 111(5): 1440–64.
- Becker, K. (1992) Picturing our past: an archive constructs a national culture. *Journal of American Folklore* 105: 3–18.
- Black, A. (2007) Networking Knowledge before the Information Society: The Manchester Central Library (1934) and the Metaphysical-Professional Philosophy of L. S. Jast. In Rayward, W. B. (ed.) *European Modernism and the Information Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 165–84.
- Brabrook, E. (1893) On the organization of local anthropological research. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 22: 262–74.
- Carville, J. (2011) *Photography and Ireland*. London: Reaktion.
- Cousserier, A. (2010) Archive to educate: the Musée de Photographie Documentaire and the Institut International de Photographie in Brussels, 1901–1913. Unpublished conference paper, *Photography Next*, Nordiskamuseet, Stockholm: February.
- Edwards, E. (2010) Salvage Ethnography at Home: Photographing the English. In Morton, C. and Edwards, E. (eds.) *Photography, Anthropology and History*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- - - . (2012) *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination 1885–1910*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gower, H., Jast, S. and Topley, W. (eds.) (1916) *The Camera as Historian: A Handbook to Photographic Record Work for Those Who Use a Camera and for Survey or Record Societies*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.
- Harrison, W. J. (1893) The desirability of an international bureau. *British Journal of Photography* 25 August: 548–9.
- - - . (1906) The desirability of promoting county photographic surveys. *Reports of the 76<sup>th</sup> BAAS Meeting* (York): 58–67.
- Joschke, C. (2004) Aux origines des usages sociaux de la photographie: la photographie amateur en Allemagne entre 1890 et 1910. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 154: 53–65.

- McMahon, R. (2001) Networks, narratives and territory in anthropological race classification: towards a more comprehensive historical geography of Europe's culture. *History of the Human Sciences* 24(1): 70–94.
- Manikowska, E. (2011) Building the Cultural Heritage of a Nation: The Photo Archive of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments at the Twilight of the Russian Empire. In Carrafa, C. (ed.) *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*. Berlin: Kunstlag, pp. 279–88.
- Mattiello, A. (2011) Giacomo Boni: A Photographic Memory for the People. Documenting Architecture through Photographic Surveys in Post-Unification Italy. In Carrafa, C. (ed.) *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*. Berlin: Kunstlag, pp. 217–26.
- Mittman, G. and Wilder, K. (eds.) (forthcoming) *Documenting the World: Film, Photography, and the Scientific Record*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nora, P. (1989) Between memory and history. *Representations* 26: 7–24.
- Pollock, V. L. (2009) Dislocated narratives and sites of memory: amateur photographic surveys in Britain 1889–1897. *Visual Culture in Britain* 10(1): 1–26.
- Rayward, W. B. (ed.) (2008) *European Modernism and the Information Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Rollins, W. H. (1997) *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement 1904–1918*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Swenson, A. (2008) Zwischen Region, Nation und Internationalismus Kulturerbekonzepte um die Jahrhundertwende in Frankreich, Deutschland und England. In Altenburg, D., Ehrlich, L. and John, J. (eds.) *Im Herzen Europas: Nationale Identitäten und Erinnerungskulturen*. Cologne: Bolau.
- Vermeulen, H. F. and Alvarez Roldán, A. (eds.) (1995) *Fieldwork and Footnotes: Studies in the History of European Anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Vertovec, S. (2009) *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge.
- Vidal, L. (1902) News from France: record photography. *Amateur Photographer* 18 August: 165.

*Backlist of Papers Published in Insights***2008 Volume 1**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Series</b>
1	Boris Wiseman	Lévi-Strauss, Caduveo Body Painting and the Readymade: Thinking Borderlines	General
2	John Hedley Brooke	Can Scientific Discovery be a Religious Experience?	Darwin's Legacy
3	Bryan R. Cullen	Rapid and Ongoing Darwinian Selection of the Human Genome	Darwin's Legacy
4	Penelope Deutscher	Women, Animality, Immunity – and the Slave of the Slave	Darwin's Legacy
5	Martin Harwit	The Growth of Astrophysical Understanding	Modelling
6	Donald MacKenzie	Making Things the Same: Gases, Emission Rights and the Politics of Carbon Markets	Modelling
7	Lorraine Code	Thinking Ecologically about Biology	Darwin's Legacy
8	Eric Winsberg	A Function for Fictions: Expanding the Scope of Science	Modelling
9	Willard Bohn	Visual Poetry in France after Apollinaire	Modelling
10	Robert A. Skipper Jr	R. A. Fisher and the Origins of Random Drift	Darwin's Legacy
11	Nancy Cartwright	Models: Parables v Fables	Modelling
12	Atholl Anderson	Problems of the 'Traditionalist' Model of Long-Distance Polynesian Voyaging	Modelling

**2009 Volume 2**

1	Robert A. Walker	Where Species Begin: Structure, Organization and Stability in Biological Membranes and Model Membrane Systems	Darwin's Legacy
2	Michael Pryke	'What is Going On?' Seeking Visual Cues Amongst the Flows of Global Finance	Modelling
3	Ronaldo I. Borja	Landslides and Debris Flow Induced by Rainfall	Modelling
4	Roland Fletcher	Low-Density, Agrarian-Based Urbanism: A Comparative View	Modelling
5	Paul Ormerod	21st Century Economics	Modelling
6	Peter C. Matthews	Guiding the Engineering Process: Path of Least Resistance versus Creative Fiction	Modelling
7	Bernd Goebel	Anselm's Theory of Universals Reconsidered	Modelling
8	Roger Smith	Locating History in the Human Sciences	Being Human
9	Sonia Kruks	Why Do We Humans Seek Revenge and Should We?	Being Human
10	Mark Turner	Thinking With Feeling	Being Human

No.	Author	Title	Series
11	Christa Davis Acampora	Agonistic Politics and the War on Terror	Being Human
12	Arun Saldanha	So What <i>Is</i> Race?	Being Human
13	Daniel Beunza and David Stark	Devices For Doubt: Models and Reflexivity in Merger Arbitrage	Modelling
14	Robert Hariman	Democratic Stupidity	Being Human
<b>2010 Volume 3</b>			
1	John Haslett and Peter Challenor	Palaeoclimate Histories	Modelling
2	Zoltán Kövecses	Metaphorical Creativity in Discourse	Modelling
3	Maxine Sheets-Johnstone	Strangers, Trust, and Religion: On the Vulnerability of Being Alive	Darwin's Legacy
4	Jill Gordon	On Being Human in Medicine	Being Human
5	Eduardo Mendieta	Political Bestiary: On the Uses of Violence	Being Human
6	Charles Fernyhough	What is it Like to Be a Small Child?	Being Human
7	Maren Stange	Photography and the End of Segregation	Being Human
8	Andy Baker	Water Colour: Processes Affecting Riverine Organic Carbon Concentration	Water
9	Iain Chambers	Maritime Criticism and Lessons from the Sea	Water
10	Christer Bruun	Imperial Power, Legislation, and Water Management in the Roman Empire	Water
11	Chris Brooks	Being Human, Human Rights and Modernity	Being Human
12	Ingo Gildenhard and Andrew Zissos	Metamorphosis - Angles of Approach	Being Human
13	Ezio Todini	A Model for Developing Integrated and Sustainable Energy and Water Resources Strategies	Water
14	Veronica Strang	Water, Culture and Power: Anthropological Perspectives from 'Down Under'	Water
15	Richard Arculus	Water and Volcanism	Water
16	Marilyn Strathern	A Tale of Two Letters: Reflections on Knowledge Conversions	Water
17	Paul Langley	Cause, Condition, Cure: Liquidity in the Global Financial Crisis, 2007-8	Water
18	Stefan Helmreich	Waves	Water
19	Jennifer Terry	The Work of Cultural Memory: Imagining Atlantic Passages in the Literature of the Black Diaspora	Water

No.	Author	Title	Series
20	Monica M. Grady	Does Life on Earth Imply Life on Mars?	Water
21	Ian Wright	Water Worlds	Water
22	Shlomi Dinar, Olivia Odom, Amy McNally, Brian Blankespoor and Pradeep Kurukulasuriya	Climate Change and State Grievances: The Water Resiliency of International River Treaties to Increased Water Variability	Water
23	Robin Findlay Hendry	Science and Everyday Life: Water vs H <sub>2</sub> O	Water

**2011 Volume 4**

1	Stewart Clegg	The Futures of Bureaucracy?	Futures
2	Henrietta Mondry	Genetic Wars: The Future in Eurasianist Fiction of Aleksandr Prokhanov	Futures
3	Barbara Graziosi	The Iliad: Configurations of the Future	Futures
4	Jonathon Porritt	Scarcity and Sustainability in Utopia	Futures
5	Andrew Crumey	Can Novelists Predict the Future?	Futures
6	Russell Jacoby	The Future of Utopia	Futures
7	Frances Bartkowski	All That is Plastic... Patricia Piccinini's Kinship Network	Being Human
8	Mary Carruthers	The Mosque That Wasn't: A Study in Social Memory Making	Futures
9	Andrew Pickering	Ontological Politics: Realism and Agency in Science, Technology and Art	Futures
10	Kathryn Banks	Prophecy and Literature	Futures
11	Barbara Adam	Towards a Twenty-First-Century Sociological Engagement with the Future	Futures
12	Andrew Crumey and Mikhail Epstein	A Dialogue on Creative Thinking and the Future of the Humanities	Futures
13	Mikhail Epstein	On the Future of the Humanities	Futures

**2012 Volume 5**

1	Elizabeth Archibald	Bathing, Beauty and Christianity in the Middle Ages	Futures II
2	Fabio Zampieri	The Holistic Approach Of Evolutionary Medicine: An Epistemological Analysis	Futures II
3	Lynnette Leidy Sievert	Choosing the Gold Standard: Subjective Report vs Physiological Measure	Futures II

*Insights*

Insights is edited by Barbara Graziosi, IAS Director and Professor of Classics. Correspondence should be directed to Audrey Bowron (a.e.bowron@durham.ac.uk)