

**The Continuity of Landscape Representation:
The Photography of
Edward Chambré Hardman
(1898-1988)**

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Abstract

The major source of material for the research was the archive of the E. Chambré Hardman's Trust. This archive comprises Hardman's bequest of photographs, negatives and associated ephemera. Prior to the present research the author had undertaken extensive ordering and conservation of this collection and the present work therefore builds upon this earlier research. The research divides Hardman's oeuvre into portraiture and landscape, along lines that he had determined by ordering and concern. The thesis focuses exclusively on his landscape photography.

The representation of landscape is a recognised genre within the history of art. The thesis locates the landscape photography of the British photographer Edward Chambré Hardman (1898-1988) within the histories of landscape photography and to the broader genre of landscape representation by British artists during the first half of the twentieth century.

The research describes the representations of landscape made by painters prior to the invention of photography as providing the initial subject model for photographers. Subsequently photographers wrote their own history of landscape representation and it is to this tradition to which Hardman is heir.

Using Hardman's notebooks, diaries, letters and collected ephemera the research constructs an accurate chronology for Hardman's life and the sequential production of his landscape photographs. From this reference the research establishes an overview of his photography and points to significant changes in working methods which mark periods in his development as an artist.

The research then makes comparison between Hardman and the work of his peers and other notable photographers of the period. The thesis further locates Hardman among a small number of twentieth century British artists whose work is included in the broader canon of landscape art. Comparisons of date, subject and the changing style of Hardman's work suggest that a number of his landscape photographs should be considered as important and representative of the period.

The thesis concludes that Hardman's landscapes are a unique example of the art of photography and should be considered as representative of salon photography during the period 1930-1950. Furthermore the research finds correspondence between Hardman's work and that of subsequent generations of British landscape photographers.

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The work is dedicated to Lawrie, for whom this research contributes in part, to the cultural heritage of his generation.

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Introduction

The thesis locates the landscape photographs made by E. Chambré Hardman (1898-1988) within a history of landscape representation. The thesis describes the historical precedents for Hardman's landscape photography, and specifically locates his work in the context of British twentieth century photography.

In a broader context the thesis argues that the representation of landscape by visual artists, especially painters and photographers, have much in common. Historically the landscape has been a source for poets, writers, sculptors, painters and composers. This historical view, including the formal and technical considerations inherited by generations of artists, it is argued, can provide evidence to contextualise Hardman's landscape photography.

The photographer Edward Chambré Hardman has until recently received little attention in any critical history of photography. The thesis argues that Hardman should be considered as representative of British landscape photography during the period 1930-1955. Hardman was born in Ireland but came to live in Liverpool, England, aged 23 following service in the Indian Army. The city of Liverpool became his adopted home, from which he would explore on foot, bicycle and motor car the landscape of Britain. Hardman an autodidact photographer, became a highly respected professional portraitist and an acknowledged landscape photographer within the circles of the Royal Photographic Society.

During Hardman's professional life as a studio portraitist, he photographed tens of thousands of Liverpool residents and visiting personalities. The research does not however explore this part of his career but investigates instead his landscape photography. The division of his work into landscapes and portraits, is not an arbitrary one. It reflects Hardman's ordering of his oeuvre; comparatively such a division also has historical precedent, the oeuvres of other artists cited in the

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research. This separation between portraiture and landscape is important to the thesis, which seeks to locate Hardman's landscapes within a tradition of photography, practised as a medium of personal expression.

The descriptions "professional" and "artist" have been unusually problematic for critical overviews of histories of photography, where debate has sought to arbitrate whether the motive of the photographer - the "why", is important or not? The research therefore divides Hardman's oeuvre, to differentiate two poles of practice, which it will be argued differ more by ethos than by subject.

Hardman's oeuvre includes a body of landscape photographs, which is marked by its state of presentational completeness. This group of some two hundred works is used as the core material for the present research, and is described as his landscape photography. In conversation with the author Hardman described his photography as the "making of pictures". By drawing on other examples of landscape, the research describes the concerns and values, which Hardman shares with earlier artists, his contemporaries, and a subsequent generation of photographers.

I first met Chambré Hardman in the winter of 1979 when he was in his eightieth year. Social Services were concerned that a man of his age should be living in a large house, filled chaotically with cardboard boxes and paper ephemera and, to their knowledge, having no living relatives. I was at this time Exhibitions Director of the Open Eye Photography Gallery in Liverpool and was invited to advise on the value of the cardboard boxes and paper ephemera.

From the outset it was clear that Hardman's house, which was also his studio, offered an important historical resource for any future reconstruction of the history of professional photography in Britain during the early twentieth century. While it was easy to see that the studio equipment, darkroom apparatus, ancillary workrooms and ledgers were a treasure trove of professional practice, it was his photographs which retained my interest over the subsequent years. Had Hardman

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only been a portrait photographer, his work would perhaps have only been of local interest. The discovery that he was also a landscape photographer, and had been from the 1920s onwards, gave a different status to his ambition. During the following years Hardman and I established a close relationship, based on our interest in photography. In conversation it was clear that portrait photography had provided Hardman with an interesting and rewarding profession, the making of landscape pictures had however been his passion.

I subsequently organised a small retrospective exhibition of Hardman's work in December 1980 at the Open Eye Gallery, Liverpool. This attracted some local interest, and encouraged me to urge Hardman to establish a Trust in his name, to ensure that the work could be further protected. My own background, as a gallery director and as an artist working with photography, inclined me to the view that Hardman's landscape photography was of more than local interest. I based my opinion on two facts, the technical quality and presentation of his work and secondly I knew of few photographers, during Hardman's active period, who had extensively photographed the natural landscape.

In summary the research uses a method based on chronology. Hardman's landscape prints and negatives were all undated, but much of the other material found in his studio, such as diaries, correspondence and ephemera could be dated. This written and published chronological evidence provided the grid on which Hardman's life and photographs could be organised. The assignment and verification of a chronology for Hardman's life and works would subsequently suggest apposite comparisons, which could be made between Hardman and his contemporaries.

The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first presents an overview of landscape representation, while the second examines evidence supporting a chronology for Hardman's life and work. The final chapter analyses Hardman's photography in the context of the first chapter while using the evidence of the second chapter to suggest periods, which mark changes in Hardman's

photography. This chapter also offers comparisons that can be made between Hardman's work and that of other landscape photographers.

The Continuity of Landscape Representation.

Chapter 1 describes the broad tradition of western landscape representation. Initially it describes how earlier research evidence has demonstrated that the meaning of "landscape" can offer a variety of interpretations. From these various readings of "landscape" the thesis focuses on the historical development of the tradition of landscape representation in the fine arts and specifically uses evidence from histories of landscape painting. The description of the tradition of landscape painting is important to the thesis for three reasons. First because painting offers the earliest examples of landscape representation and secondly, it will be argued, the early landscape photographers drew on the established traditions of representation laid down by landscape painting, which preceded their own practice. Thirdly certain landscape painters and their works, can be compared and used to describe correspondences with Hardman's life and his landscape photography.

The representation of landscape has a long and particular history in the western visual tradition. Although the earliest extant examples of landscape paintings can be found in pre-Christian European painting, historians describe the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the period which saw the most conspicuous developments in the genre of landscape painting.¹ These centuries also coincided with the classical age of the *machine pour dessiner*, the *camera obscura*² and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, photography itself. This evidence forms the basis for considering landscape photographers as part of a continuity of artists, who addressed an audience for landscape representation.

Following from a description of pre-photographic landscape representation the thesis then describes the subsequent work of British landscape photographers. The works of significant British and European photographers are cited and

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references are made to their individual aesthetic values. Establishing Hardman's precursors is important to the thesis because these photographers would have at the least, provided a model for his practice as a landscape artist. Importantly some of these named photographers may also have had a more direct influence on Hardman's aesthetic values and his corresponding approach to landscape photography.

The thesis describes landscape photography as having a long history and cites evidence that the earliest examples of landscape photography, were made prior to the official revelation of the medium in 1839.³ Subsequently a number of inventors including William Henry Fox Talbot the English inventor of photography made many calotype representations of the landscape during the first decade of photography's history. Similarly in France, landscape was among the earliest subjects for the camera. One of Louis Daguerre's earliest extant daguerreotypes *Boulevard du Temple* (1839), is a landscape of the city of Paris. This view, across the boulevard and apartment buildings of Paris points to a distinction between the natural landscape and the artificial or man made landscape. This was not a new division within landscape, but with the expansion of photography any clear aesthetic distinction between the natural and the man made landscape became blurred. The representation of the man made landscape was a subject which during the next century photographers would reinvigorate, to the extent that city views became almost synonymous with landscape photography.

The chapter develops by locating the historical precedents for Hardman's own work. Beginning with the early experiments in landscape photography, the chapter further investigates and describes its continuation and development by practitioners throughout the nineteenth century. The chapter also describes examples of twentieth century poets who also took landscape as their theme. While the thesis acknowledges, and draws upon a broad historical tradition of landscape representation to contextualise Hardman's photography, the basis of the thesis lies in the history of twentieth century British art and particularly the medium of photography.

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The chapter concludes with a description of Hardman's contemporaries. This period in British photography included two World Wars, their interregnum and the subsequent economic recovery. The dramatic changes to British social and artistic life during this period, and the growth of a European led *avant-garde* in the arts, also affected British photography. The prevailing style in Britain, excluding the commercial applications of portraiture and advertising, has been described and arbitrated in various histories as the "documentary" photography era.⁴ For example the works of Bill Brandt (b.1904) and Humphrey Spender (b.1910) are considered by many historians to exemplify British photography of the period.⁵

The documentary style does not however accurately describe Hardman's own approach to photography. To establish Hardman's motives the research describes the work of earlier twentieth century photographers, whose photographic values centred on the spiritual and aesthetic, rather than the didactic and illustrative. The chapter also describes how since the 1960s, factual concerns in independent photography have declined and aesthetic values have reasserted themselves. The research therefore seeks examples of contemporary landscape photographers who have reinvigorated the tradition of landscape representation and who demonstrate a personal approach to landscape photography.

In summary the chapter describes the earliest evidence of landscape representation by artists and how nineteenth century photographers were influenced by an inherited tradition. Following from this the chapter describes the work of later nineteenth and twentieth century photographers who contributed to the genre of landscape representation.

Edward Chambré Hardman photographer.

The second chapter describes the contents of the Hardman archive and the source material used to establish a chronology for Hardman's life and work.

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The Hardman archive presents a unique source for photographic history. Currently it contains the working apparatus and studio paraphernalia of a mid-twentieth century photographic portraitist, as well as the large collection of Hardman's negatives, prints and associated ephemera. The studio and contents were bequeathed to a trust, established in the photographer's name in 1988. This date also marks the beginning of the conservation of his photographs. At this time the portrait negatives and prints, although in physical disorder, had already been carefully recorded by the staff of Burrell & Hardman as part of the active studio business. Hardman's landscape work was at this time in an equal state of disorder, but unlike the portraits, the landscape prints and negatives were entirely without dates and included no formal ledger or documentation. Most of Hardman's landscape photographs have been connected, by this author, to their corresponding negatives and also assigned dates. Recorded evidence from exhibitions, correspondence by and to Hardman, scripts, publications and catalogues found in Hardman's studio have been referenced to his photographs and a reliable chronology established. Where gaps in the Hardman archive record arose, evidence from other sources has been located.

Using this archival material the thesis proposes a chronology for Hardman's working life. This begins with his birth in Ireland and his subsequent military career. The chapter describes Hardman's earliest photographs made in India, while off duty from his post as an officer in the British Army in India. Following this period, from 1923 onwards, Hardman managed a Liverpool portrait studio with a colleague Burrell, in the partnership of Burrell and Hardman. This period also marked the beginning of Hardman exhibiting photographs. Hardman also made various trips to Europe during these years where he made many atmospheric pictures. The research describes these photographs as from his early period, corresponding to the years 1920 to circa 1930. The research further describes observable shifts in Hardman's working method or choice of subject, which allows subsequent, middle and late periods to be identified.

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The time between the early and the most productive years up to 1950 includes Hardman's meeting with, and subsequent marriage to Margaret Mills. Evidence recorded in extant correspondence describes dates and places they visited together which are germane to the research. The present work is not biography and I have therefore restricted discussion of Margaret Hardman, to where there is evidence relating to particular works. An account of common working practices between photographers and their wives during this period of British photography has already been published.⁷ I would therefore like to record in advance of subsequent interpretations, Hardman's answer to my question to him, of Margaret's contribution. "I could not have done it without her."

In 1949 the Hardmans moved studio and residence to 59 Rodney Street, Liverpool, which was to be their home and studio for the rest of their lives. It should be noted that this Georgian terrace property is now the premise of the Hardman Trust archive. The mid-twentieth century was also marked by Hardman's most enduring popular photograph, *The Birth of the Ark Royal*. Although 1950 may have been the zenith of Hardman's career, he continued to make landscape photographs for at least twenty five years after this date. The archive evidence pertaining to Hardman's later years also includes his writings on landscape. Hardman's writings are important to the thesis because while the photographs in the archive offer an archaeology of Hardman the photographer, in terms of his practice and working method, his writings can be read as another primary source which mediate his motives and influences. Using published and unpublished scripts, the chapter describes Hardman's opinions on landscape and landscape photography and by reference describes a correlation with his landscape photographs.

In summary, the chapter identifies early, middle and late periods in Hardman's photography and using these markers, describes an accurate and referenced model for Hardman's development as a landscape photographer. Using this narrative, the subsequent chapter describes comparisons that can be made between Hardman and his contemporaries.

Hardman's Landscape Photographs.

The final chapter uses evidence from the first and second chapters to make comparisons with other photographers of landscape, both historical and contemporary. I argue that Hardman can be seen as one of a small number of twentieth century photographers, who while expressing themselves in different styles, shared an approach to photography which was indebted to an earlier aesthetic tradition. Furthermore, the research describes how the work of these photographers has been largely neglected in favour of a reading of photography from this period as a documentary, illustrative and didactic medium. Consequently readings and overviews of the period have been largely content driven and have neglected possible aesthetic interpretations.

During the first half of the twentieth century many British documentary photographers exposed their work in the new format of picture stories in illustrated magazines. The research however, focuses upon a parallel tradition, in which photographers sought through their work a means of personal expression and chose to exhibit their photographs in galleries. This aesthetic attitude had an aspiration to equal painting, poetry and music and in the context of photographic representations of landscape, the twentieth century American photographers Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Weston and Ansel Adams⁷ are exemplary in this respect. In Britain a similar approach to photography, and particularly landscape photography can be found in the work of for example, Alexander Keighley and Mark Oliver Dell.⁸ These two individuals, it is argued offered an initial model for Hardman's own work and attitude. Further comparisons are made with work by other members of The London Salon of Photography and the Royal Photographic Society. As evidence the photography of W.F. Poucher⁹ and the writing and photography of Frank Smythe¹⁰ are cited. Two European contemporaries of Hardman, José Ortiz Echagüe and Josef Sudek¹¹ are also described as having had, in the former case an influence and in the latter an observable similarity in his early work. The chapter also considers the work of the *avant-garde* British

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photographer Bill Brandt ¹², the architectural photographer Edwin Smith ¹³ and the painter and photographer Paul Nash.¹⁴ The thesis concludes with a consideration of contemporary landscape photography and its relevance to the work of Hardman.

In summary the final chapter develops the proposition, that the attitude and philosophical approach of earlier twentieth century photographers, finds concordance with many contemporary practitioners. It is argued that many photographers have, since the nineteen sixties, re-invented photography as a medium of aesthetic value. Enriched by American and European photographic ideas, a new generation of British photographers have used the landscape as a source for their work. From this standpoint the thesis describes comparisons between Hardman's work and contemporary photographers including Fay Godwin, John Blakemore and John Davies.¹⁵ The thesis therefore seeks to establish Hardman as representative of a generation of photographers, who in opposition to prevailing trends, nurtured the idea of personal discovery through photography. In this respect the thesis describes Hardman as part of a continuity of British landscape photographers who subordinated the factual and illustrative content of their work to reflect instead values which are primarily aesthetic.

1.The Continuity of Landscape Representation

The chapter describes that in western art, the representation of landscape has a particular and continuous history. This continuity of landscape representation, is the context it will be argued, in which Hardman has made an important contribution. There is an established history of artists whose works can be described as contributing to an art of landscape. The thesis cites historical and contemporary artists and their works, which are subsequently used to make comparison with Hardman's work. The research considers Hardman as an artist who chose to represent landscape and investigates whether his work shares the qualities and values of works which are considered representative of an art of landscape.

Landscape as Reference

Landscape representation can be an aspiration to an accurate description of geology, topography, fauna and flora, useful to geologists, geographers and mountaineers. Science and art can both describe landscape, the cartographer and the painter of landscape could start with the same topography, but their desired ends are different. Given this diversity of possible interpretations of landscape representation, it would be valuable to establish how the criteria for an art of landscape, are different from other descriptions of landscape.

The values inherent in any representation of landscape include a relationship to the history of culture, including technology and aesthetics. The former could be explored through a chronological exposition of landscape and its relationship to the history of technology, while the latter could be explored through the appeal that the sentiment of landscape has for people. Clarke's aphorism

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with the exception of love, there is perhaps nothing else by which people of all kinds are more united than by the pleasure of a good view.¹

While describing the universality of the appeal of landscape, does not explain why it has such an appeal. More pragmatic explanations for the appeal of landscape vary. For example it is suggested that,

A beautiful axe to a person familiar with axes is a highly functional one. Similar responses are evoked by other functional objects. The concept of landscape beauty could well have similar roots because 'beautiful' landscapes are probably highly functional ones in that they potentially provide rich combinations of resources for human existence.²

Landscape beauty may therefore be a response to function, and surveying the landscape could provide verifiable evidence. Warnke has written that the landscape itself can be read,

Even the simplest topographical features are the results of political decisions. The size and disposition of fields, the crops that are grown in them and the location of the farms are determined by re - allocations "green plans", agricultural subsidies and control of the market.³

In overview these perspectives are perhaps focussed by Schama writing that "landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock."⁴ Schama's inference that landscapes are "constructs of the imagination" suggests an aspiration that is artistic rather than a scientific. An aspiration to make art from topography has a long history, although as late as 1834 there was no consensus as to whether landscape representation could be art. A humble John Constable wrote,

a sad freak with which I have long been 'possessed' of feeling a duty - on my part - to tell the world that there is such a thing as Landscape existing with "Art" - as I have in so great measure failed to "show" the world that it is possible to accomplish it.⁵

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Constable is now recognised as one of the great British landscape painters and for a twentieth century audience, his accomplishment has contributed to landscape being an accepted art genre. Furthermore twentieth century developments of the genre have extended landscape art beyond the familiar two dimensions of painting; to include the added dimensions found in works of sculpture and land art. For many contemporary artists, their art of landscape is often contingent with the landscape itself.⁶ Many of these artists also have secondary, political, usually ecological motives associated with their work. These non-aesthetic components found in their work can also be seen as part of the continuity of landscape representation. Researchers have, for example, described an earlier, conspicuous correlation between the politics of the landscape and the rise of a particular type of landscape painting. Bermingham writes:

The emergence of rustic landscape painting as a major genre in England at the end of the Eighteenth century coincided with the accelerated enclosure of the English countryside.⁷

Bermingham's research demonstrates a relationship between landscape representation and a parallel socio-economic history. Potentially Hardman's work could also be analysed for socio-economic readings. The thesis however seeks to establish Hardman's work within a more comparative reading of the landscape, based on his contribution to the history of British landscape photography. There is in the late twentieth century, a strong tradition of landscape photography which it will be argued draws on a broad legacy of earlier landscape representation. There is however no evidence that Hardman directly influenced any known contemporary landscape photographers.⁸ Therefore to establish his contribution to a tradition of landscape representation, the broader context of landscape representation, must first be described.

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The Representation of Landscape by Artists

If Hardman's landscape photography is to be considered as a continuation of an earlier tradition, it is necessary to establish continuity by making comparison between Hardman and earlier generations of landscape photographers. Research has described that the formal and aesthetic values of the earliest landscape photographers were preceded by, and had their antecedents in, the history of drawing and painting.⁹ The thesis therefore first examines historical examples from the genre of landscape painting.

From the earliest archaeological evidence left by the people of European pre-history there is no evidence that they chose to represent the landscape but only the animus of their world. Their symbolic art, represented in friezes drawn using charcoal and pigmented compounds on the limestone ground of cave and rock walls, describes themselves and native animals. The dominant motifs are the many and varied depictions of people and their hunting tools alongside animals including bison, horses and deer in various states of activity or locomotion.¹⁰ Sometimes the morphology of the rock wall is used as a contributory formal element, but the drawings are essentially on a flat ground, without perspective and importantly without a background. These early artists clearly saw the animals as different from the surrounding environment. The animals and themselves are not represented within nature but as separate, particular and in some way different. The clouds, mountains, forests and individual trees were seen as essentially different. For the Palaeolithic artist the environmental background was the undifferentiated stuff of the world. Their worldview was one in which a continuous arboreal landscape was merely a given, it was seen, but not recorded.

The later painters of Egyptian friezes and Greek, Etruscan and Roman frescoes did however record landscapes on the walls of architectural theatres. The given architectural space increasingly encouraged a scene framed within a rectangle; a format that subsequently developed into the bounded space of the panel or the

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portable stretched canvas. Physically separate, the description of landscape is now a contained worldview.¹¹ This relationship between landscape description and its cultural component, a world view, was not however transparent. Medieval Christian art was, for example, was an ideological record of landscape where the landscape was not just physically isolated, but also intellectually separate. For these medieval artists the moral dimension of a prescribed worldview does not allow the reality of contemporary life to intrude upon the picture on the page, instead the scene described a divine, spiritual landscape.¹²

Gombrich suggest that the first western landscape paintings were those in which "the landscape before which the actors of the picture move, is not just a background".¹³ Historically this subordination of the human figure and the preferred description of the landscape itself, marks, for many writers the beginning of the art of landscape. This has traditionally been ascribed to painters of the fifteenth century, for example Giorgione's *Tempesta* (c.1508).¹⁴

By the time of the early Renaissance, and in keeping with its investigative spirit, a more naturalistic approach to landscape can however already be seen in the works of Leonardo da Vinci. His scientific interest in the minutiae of the natural world, the morphology of rocks and the chaotic geometry of water are described in his writings, drawings and paintings.¹⁵ The English painter Turner described Leonardo's drawing of a river landscape *Day of Holy Mary of the Snow* (August 5th 1473) as "Rarely had landscape been represented for its own sake."¹⁶

Leonardo's observations were the beginnings of a scientific view of the natural world. Contingent with this new view, can also be noted Leonardo's interest in, and employment of, technology as an aid to making an accurate description of a given scene. As an adjunct to his and others observations and corresponding illustrations of landscape, Leonardo recommended the use of the *vetro*. This instrument had earlier been described by Alberti as the *reticulato*.¹⁷ Essentially the same, both devices used a rectangular frame, proportionally divided by strings into a series of squares, which gave a method for obtaining a two dimensional description of perspective, from a single; fixed viewpoint.

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This use of devices or instruments, to enable the painter or draughtsman to more easily represent a vanishing point perspective; also forms part of the continuity of landscape representation. The evidence is that such aids have been in continuous use, at the latest, since the time of Leonardo and have undergone continuous development and refinement. In the fifteenth century there were already more sophisticated devices to aid a two dimensional rendering of perspective from a single viewpoint, in particular the *camera obscura*, again described by Alberti. The *camera obscura* (literally dark room), was the basis for all of the later mechanical and increasingly portable devices which assisted the draughting of linear perspective.¹⁸ The subsequent development of more sophisticated instruments and their use by the military topographers, architects and artists has been described by other writers. Schwartz, for example, states that the "fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century were the classical age of the *machine pour dessiner*."¹⁹

We can be certain that during the eighteenth century there was an extensive use of optical aids in drafting perspective. The mid eighteenth century French *Encyclopédie* lists the then many uses for the *camera obscura*.²⁰ Writers like Crary emphasise, as part evidence for the pervasiveness of the instrument in science and art, that at this time "copying with the *camera obscura* was only one of its many uses"²¹ There is also substantial evidence that the use of the *camera obscura* by professional painters and draughtsmen was a common practice.²² The use of the camera obscura and other instruments was therefore important to the work of many painters from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The work of these artists, their drawings, engravings, watercolours and oil paintings of landscape and their comparative histories have previously been documented.²³ In these historical overviews of landscape painting and in the monographs on individual artists, a continuity and variety of landscape painting is described. This history forms the basis for an inherited model of how an artist could represent landscape.

This continuity of landscape representation in part derives from the theoretical model of a single, fixed perspective viewpoint, assisted by the aid of an

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increasingly sophisticated technology. Equally important was the continuity of aesthetic and cultural values, of how landscape should be represented. These different, but contingent concerns represented through drawing and painting were a model for any future art of landscape representation; this would include the subsequent landscapes made by photographers.

Landscapes of Light

While it is apparent that the formal transcription of a given landscape view onto a two-dimensional surface would follow similar and inherited rules for its formal construction, there were parallel, significant shifts; sometimes described as developments in the style of representation. The French landscape painter Claude Lorraine²⁴ who in his mature works achieved an enormous reputation; presented landscape poetically in terms of light and colour. In his late works Claude ignored the accepted conventions of composition and painted pictures that were boldly unbalanced. His painting of the *Sermon on the Mount* (1656) for example uses a broad stretch of landscape with only an isolated area of action. Claude was so influential that he became virtually synonymous with the ideals of the picturesque and while he was influential on many painters, he also inspired a revolution in English landscape gardening about the middle of the eighteenth century. As a result of Claude's influence a change in the style of composition and treatment in European landscape painting can be observed; this was particularly the case with English landscape painting. Klingender describes the earlier period in terms of:

The dominant element in the topographic drawing of the classical phase, represented by the work of Paul Sandby and his followers in the 1770's and 80's is the factual record.²⁵

At the end of the eighteenth century Klingender observes a decisive shift.

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- In the sublime and picturesque phases the emphasis shifts from discovery to contemplation, and to the poetic recording of the artist's emotions.²⁶

Galassi notes that during the nineteenth century there was another change in the style of landscape representation in painting; this time in a contemporary concern towards more realistic representation, notably in paintings by Constable. As evidence Galassi cites Constable's 1836 lecture to the Royal Institution when he insisted that "painting is a science, and should be pursued as an inquiry into the laws of nature."²⁷ Galassi also points to a "formidable shift in artistic values" during the period, in particular he argues that "the landscape sketch, was a ready vehicle for experiments in realism". He further makes comparison between "the bold realism of the sketch" prior to photography's invention, as "the syntax of an art devoted to the singular and contingent rather than the universal and stable" and notes that this "is also the syntax of photography."²⁸

For the first generation of photographers, the formal composition of the landscape within the frame of the ground glass screen of the camera was not a *tabula rasa*. On the contrary the artists using the new medium already possessed a historical model of how landscape was best seen and represented. From the Renaissance, at the latest, there were countless examples of landscape representation by artists along with the pedagogy of how best it could be achieved. For example the dominant themes of late eighteenth century landscape representation, notably the contrast between the sublime and the picturesque, were also the inheritance of landscape photographers.²⁹

The trio of Niépce, Daguerre and Fox Talbot, the major contributors³⁰ to the 1839 revelation of photography, all show in different ways their inheritance of this tradition. Batchen describes how Niépce in his writing chose the consistent designation "*points de vue*" for his photographic experiments in "recording scenes"; to distinguish them from other experiments concerned with the photomechanical copying of engravings which he called "*copies de gravure*".³¹

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Of the three Daguerre had the clearest relationship with an earlier artistic tradition. While young he sketched landscapes and later became an assistant to the history painter Pierre Prévost, in work that would have been largely background landscape painting. On becoming a professional painter in his own right Daguerre specialised in trompe l'oeil landscape scenery for the diorama theatre which "used every available convention of the sublime and the picturesque to achieve the dramatic effects desired."³² As advocate for his invention, Daguerre in 1839 would claim that "the daguerreotype could deliver these same effects to its practitioners."³³

Fox Talbot similarly inherited the model of the picturesque view. He writes in *The Pencil of Nature* of how to the artist:

A casual gleam of sunshine, or a shadow thrown across his path, a time withered oak, or a moss-covered stone may awaken a train of thoughts and feelings, and picturesque imaginings.³⁴

There is further evidence for Talbot's familiarity with the model of the picturesque in a letter to his mother, written in 1826 where Talbot writes of "hunting for the picturesque in the Ionian Islands."³⁵ Talbot was also familiar with the developing naturalistic movement in painting, where again evidence can be found in his writing. In his commentary to *The Haystack* in *The Pencil of Nature*, Talbot writes

One advantage of the discovery of the Photographic Art will be that it will enable us to introduce into our pictures a multitude of minute details which add to the truth and reality of the representation but which no artist would take the trouble to copy faithfully from nature.³⁶

From the beginning therefore photography inherited an aesthetic model of landscape representation. While the influence of painting on photography has been acknowledged, the influence of photography on painting has been less openly acknowledged. While in earlier centuries painters may have seen the *camera* as an aid, photography by its very facility questioned what "to paint" meant.³⁷ It is

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recounted that on seeing daguerreotypes from Paris, friends of the English painter Turner said "Our profession is gone" but Turner replied "We shall only go about the country with a box like a tinker, instead of a portfolio under our arm."³⁸ That Turner should be philosophical in seeing his role as an artist changing, rather than disappearing, is testament to his breadth of talent, but his thinking was not typical. Baudelaire for instance believed that:

art is losing in self respect, is prostrating itself before external reality, and the painter is becoming more and more inclined to paint, not what he dreams, but what he sees.³⁹

Walter Benjamin crystallises the relationship between landscape painting and photography when he writes that

in order to understand the powerful effect of the daguerreotype, in the age immediately following its discovery, one must consider that the *plein air* painting of that time had begun to show entirely new perspectives to the most advanced painters.⁴⁰

While the daguerreotype now made available accurate open air perspectives, photography was still seen as more technical than expressive. Painters like Dutilleux writing in 1854, pointed to painting having different qualities in its representation of landscape.

The reproduction we make of nature is never an exact, mathematically precise copy such as one can expect from a machine like the daguerreotype. It can only, and should only, be an interpretation in which the artist brings to bear his knowledge, his skill but above all his temperament, his own ideas and inner responses; his feelings.⁴¹

While photography may have focussed the question of what "to paint" meant, it also posed a more intractable question, of whether photographs could be art. Photography offers a broad and discursive practice, where different contributions can be measured, like writing, using its communicated content as the final determinant of value. For example, writing is a common skill employed for a

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variety of uses, but there is an important difference in how we value a shopping list, a commercial letter or a poem. Photography can similarly be employed for practical ends or its author may seek to communicate something less tangible and more aesthetic. While all photography is not art, the thesis takes as axiomatic that photographs are two-dimensional abstractions and as such photographers can offer interpretations that are particular and individual.

Appearance is however different from representation. The philosophical dilemma created in thinking that photography is a simple mirror on the world has historically inspired many writers. For some late twentieth century writers this received perception of the apparent "reality" of the photograph remains. Scruton for example maintains that photographs can never be considered a "representation."⁴² His argument, in part semantic is more importantly one of perception. The apparent fidelity of the photograph, is an abstraction. A photograph is a two dimensional representation of a four dimensional scene recorded in the grain of the photographer's film. It is not the moment itself. Photographs are heavily mediated, firstly by the photographer in space and time and secondly because photographs are only ever a narrow and partial description of a particular occurrence or object.

In photography the choice of method can aim at as pure a technical description as possible, for example the style which is described as "straight photography". Exemplars would be the French photographer Eugène Atget or the American Edward Weston.⁴³ Alternatively the photograph may be a directed illusion created by an interventionist photography practice, as in the work of the nineteenth century photographer Henry Peach Robinson or in the contemporary work of Joel Peter Witkin.⁴⁴ Whatever the photographer's working method, selection has progressed through many stages before the mechanical act of making a photograph. For the photographer and for earlier naturalistic painters, the process of selection, when and where to go? Where to stand? Where to look? What to gaze and focus on, is essentially the same.

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The process of composition in painting is a cumulative act and thus differs from the processes of photography. Photography does however offer similar additive and subtractive process. The photographer using the camera records an initial representation in film and ancillary content may subsequently, if desired, be altered or removed. Even "straight" photographers employ a repertoire of techniques, such as cropping and graduated exposure to control elements initially outside their control.

The choice between practising straight or interventionist photography can, retrospectively, be seen to swing pendulum like throughout photography's short history. The high point was the late nineteenth century argument between the photographers Henry Peach Robinson and Peter Henry Emerson, who publicly aired their views as to which was the correct approach.⁴⁵ The argument rumbled into the twentieth century with pictorialist photographers, who championed intervention, being denounced and ostracised by a new generation of social realist photographers. By the 1970s some photographers reverted to the directorial and post-production methods, contemporary with the revival of many earlier photographic processes in a rebellion against increasingly technically standardised materials and shifts in broader art practices.⁴⁶

Such freedom of selection has always been available to photography and there is much historical literature arguing the merits, or otherwise, of an interventionist approach. Whether photographers opt for intervention or not, the basis for a chosen practice can be seen by its oscillation to be determined by fashion or circumstance rather than a philosophical absolute. More recently the new digital technologies, and the appropriation of photography by the broader art establishment has given a new intellectual justification for interventionist practice.⁴⁷ With recent digital developments, photography has now reached a point where symbols and their referent, are now as malleable as gouache. The contemporary photographer's dilemma regarding intervention is not "if" but "how much".

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The overlapping of such discursive practices in a relatively short time has offered a complex choice for neophytes searching for meaning and direction in their photography. For Hardman's generation the nineteenth century could offer many models for practising photography. For example, evidence points to Hardman's use of darkroom intervention and a directed, narrative style in his early work. The thesis now establishes Hardman's predecessors in the genre of natural landscape photography and seeks artists who may have contributed to his thinking and attitude to landscape representation.

The First Generation.

Daguerre the inventor of the daguerreotype had as previously noted a stronger connection with the tradition of painting landscapes. There is however no evidence of his continuing this interest once the new medium was available to him. Many of Daguerre's extant works do describe landscapes, but unlike his previous paintings, his photography describes urban Parisian scenes rather than a "natural landscape". While the painting of city and urban views was not a new subject for artists, photography popularised this kind of subject to the extent that by the twentieth, the description "landscape photography" was equally appropriate for views of the city. The thesis however seeks to locate Hardman within a tradition that focuses on the natural landscape, and while there are examples in his own oeuvre of city views; I have restricted my references to photographers in whom the subject of the natural landscape is the major feature of their work.

While there is evidence for the inheritance of knowledge from the tradition of natural landscape representation, whether or not the early photographers consciously sought to contribute to the genre is uncertain. The struggles to refine the new technology by scientists, inventors, entrepreneurs and artists were during photography's first years largely focused upon the portrait. William Henry Fox Talbot the English inventor of the calotype process⁴⁸ was perhaps more of a scientist than an artist⁴⁹ but Talbot's previously described interest in the

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picturesque does point to a significant aesthetic sensibility. Similarly the French inventor Nicéphore Niépce was working with a process he described as heliography⁵⁰ His earliest extant "photograph", made in 1827, is a view looking out onto the landscape of his Gras estate in Chalon-sur-Saône. Niépce's subject was probably chosen for its sun lit convenience and therefore may be seen as a technical rather than an artistic composition, although such photographs were for Niépce a faithful image of nature."⁵¹

Although photography was first revealed in Paris in 1839, the immediate effect in England was that Talbot sought to make his own calotype experiments known and to grant licences for professional use. Among the early amateur calotypists was Talbot's cousin the Rev. Calvert Jones⁵² whose scenes include details of foreign landscape as a backdrop to architecture. Talbot's near relation, the photographer John Dillwyn Llewellyn⁵³ who lived in Wales, was also an early correspondent. He actively photographed the landscape, particularly the seashore of his native country, in photographs which Jeffrey's describes as "without guidance or some sort of emphasis."⁵⁴

Early photographers also established the Calotype Club.⁵⁵ Members included Roger Fenton⁵⁶ and Dr Thomas Keith⁵⁷, who met regularly to compare and discuss their work. Keith, an Edinburgh surgeon made no portraits but had a particular interest in making landscape photographs. He was an early exponent of the Waxed Paper Process⁵⁸ a refinement of the original calotype which he used in his photographs *Willow Trees* (1855) and *Reflections in a Pond at Blackford Farm near Edinburgh* (1855).⁵⁹ Fenton, a solicitor by profession, readily adopted innovations in photographic technology and would later make a larger contribution to photographic history. Also active at home and abroad were a number of other amateur British landscape calotypists including the English photographer Robert Henry Cheney⁶⁰ and the Scottish photographer John Stuart.⁶¹

The inherent technical restrictions of limited exposure latitude, long exposure times and the grain of the paper negative resulted in calotype landscape views,

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which were modest compositions. For example the strong tonal contrast between landscape and sky were beyond the capabilities of the medium. Consequently the grand vista was out of the question and the small detail was preferred. The texture of the positive print containing the imprint of the weave of the original paper negative also gave the calotype a different appearance to that of the rival daguerreotype process. This could however be a positive attribute, and it appears that the English preferred the calotype because of its similarity in texture and surface appearance to a watercolour painting. In particular the English photographer Benjamin Bracknell Turner⁶² made a virtue of the technical drawbacks of the calotype process in an emulation of painting. Turner, an English amateur, found the characteristic texture of the calotype so important to his landscape work that he continued to use the material until 1862, long after the use of glass plates had become commonplace.

There were other photographers who, soon after Talbot's announcement, paid a licence for his 1841 patented process and took the necessary equipment abroad to make landscape and other works in Italy, Greece and the Near East. While abroad the work of the Rev. Calvert Jones⁶³ continued to share the motivations and spirit of the amateurs at home, where the atmospheric use of light and shade balanced the purely descriptive in an aspiration to expressive art. The album of the amateur Dr Claudius Galen Wheelhouse *Photographic Sketches from the Shores of the Mediterranean*, made between 1849-50, and accompanied by written description and anecdote suggests a work of personal record but also describes the ideals of many of these early travel photographers.⁶⁴

The enthusiasm of the calotypist George Bridges was notable. Bridges travelled for nearly seven years during 1846-53 in the Near East and made some 1,700 pictures. He also had a then more general belief in the truthfulness of photography when he titled an album of his work *Palestine As It Is* subtitled *Illustrating the Bible* (1858/59) which appeared to offer a less personal reading, and more importantly a unique selling point for his photography.⁶⁵ There were many who embarked for exotic places with a more leisured itinerary including the French photographer Maxime du Camp who travelled to Egypt in 1849 accompanied by a

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young Gustave Flaubert. Pictures for armchair tourists were a major impetus for Near Eastern photography although there was, particularly for the French, a military interest in securing accurate topographic pictures of the Near East.⁶⁶ Dominant in the early years of photography were foreign discoveries expressed as accurate descriptions. The British photographers Samuel Bourne⁶⁷ the most prominent landscapist in India, and Francis Frith⁶⁸ who, complete with apparatus, reached the sixth cataract of the Nile by 1859, are representative of the expeditionary photographers of the period. While photographers like Bourne and Frith provided superb technical photographic views, it was different to the sleight of hand of the popular landscape paintings of the period. The paintings by the Scottish travel artist John Roberts for example, were a model for aspiring topographic painters.⁶⁹ His use of imagined colour and added foliage were a marked contrast to the barren landscape illuminated by a harsh sun which were characteristic of middle eastern topography described in photographs.

Early landscape photography can therefore be seen to fulfil a dual role. Firstly, as topographic evidence of strategic military importance and, secondly, as a means for a British audience to see, through documentary illustrations, a corner of its empire. During the first half of the nineteenth century photographs of foreign landscapes were viewed as new, hard scientific evidence of continents and peoples, which had previously been described by anecdotal descriptions made with pen and brush. The audience was however a small one; the calotype paper negative was fragile, allowing only a limited number of positives to be made from it, and the weave of the paper imposed its own texture. These paper prints were however the earliest examples of how landscape representation by photographers could fulfil an aesthetic as well as a technical role. The collodion wet plate negative⁷⁰, invented by 1851, was a technical revolution that offered later photographers like Bourne and Frith shorter exposure times. The faster emulsion on a glass support also offered high fidelity images and, importantly, an unlimited production potential. For photographers of landscape these developments offered a huge market for photographic sales, and during this period, hundreds of thousands of albumen prints were sold and pasted into albums or used in stereographic viewers.⁷¹

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The technically innovative French photographer Gustave Le Gray⁷² had during the 1850s, made landscape photographs which aspired to something more than popular description. In particular his early albumen prints made between 1852 and 1857 in the Forest of Fontainebleau. These photographs unlike the work of the contemporary commercial operators make no concessions to tourist sites, monuments or popular points of interest. Technically, Le Gray's choice of light was extreme and sometimes passed beyond the tonal range of the negative. For example his albumen print, from a waxed paper negative *Bas Bréau, Forest of Fontainebleau* (c.1853), was an exposure of more than twenty minutes.⁷³ In this remarkable formal composition the branches of trees dominate the frame, evocative of a cathedral interior in a forest. The backlit trees with their strong shadows and silhouettes echo in a sylvan world the concerns of the contemporary Barbizon landscape painters in their descriptions of the quality of natural sunlight and their observations of 'unspoilt' nature.

To overcome technical limitations of the early negative processes, it was commonplace among landscape photographers to combine two differently exposed negatives, one for the landscape and a second for the sky.⁷⁴ Le Gray's seascape *Brig on the Water* (1856) was perhaps his major achievement in its dramatic description of seascape and sky in a single negative. Le Gray's consistent artistic and technical development, often at the limits of the medium, require that his work be included as seminal early landscape photographs.

During the 1850's, it is in the work of Gustave Le Gray in France and Roger Fenton in England that we can see the greatest contribution to the genre of their respective native landscape photography. In Fenton more than any other British photographer of the period we see a formal change in how photography might be used and what the photographer might choose to represent. Fenton, an early exponent of the calotype, had during 1855 used collodion negatives in his photography of the Crimean War. Upon his return to England, Fenton made further use of the process in a series of British landscapes. Fenton refused to use combination negatives in his work, which resulted in the sky area printing white,

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for which he was frequently criticised. His purist stance shared with Le Gray what Rosenblum has described as "an authentic respect for what the collodion process could accomplish."⁷⁵ While changes in Fenton's work can be linked to constantly improving photographic processes,⁷⁶ his career can also be seen to follow the commercial fulfilment of the public demands made on photography. His Crimea photographs for the publisher Agnew & Son were early examples of magazine-supported reportage.⁷⁷ His later landscape photographs, made on his returns to England during and after 1856, were similarly directed by the commercial needs of the London Photo-Galvanographic Company.⁷⁸

During the early nineteenth century the concepts of the *sublime* and the *picturesque* were the common currency of landscape poets and painters, and these concerns are also found in Fenton's photography.⁷⁹ The *Bobbin Mills, Hurst Green* (1858) is perhaps the most interesting in a contextualisation of the picturesque. The photograph employs the familiar compositional device of a curved country road as formal emphasis. Flanked by a sylvan landscape, labour and family life appears to coexist in a natural harmony without politics. These Bobbin Mills at Hurst Green were among the "extensive properties" owned by the Fenton family and sublet to local manufacturers.⁸⁰ In context, places like The Bobbins Mills were the focus of the unrest and unemployment caused by industrialisation which had been particularly hard on the Yorkshire woollen industry.⁸¹ There is an obvious contradiction here between facts and representation. The *sublime*, with its connotations of awe, is also represented in Fenton's landscape photography, notably in his picture *Wall of Rock, Cheddar* (c.1858).⁸²

Fenton established the pattern for a succession of English view makers, including Francis Bedford, who had photographed in Egypt in 1862, but subsequently made large albumen prints of British landscapes, including the 'sublime' wilderness of *Glas Pwil Cascade* (1865).⁸³ Henry White, another prominent artistic landscape photographer, had work frequently shown at international exhibitions during the 1850s. White's photographic landscape idylls such as *Bramble and Ivy* (c.1856) were notable in being compared to those of contemporary poets.⁸⁴ The amateur

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photographer William Morris Grundy, also highly respected as a poet, became famous for his series of stereoscopic genre pictures entitled *Rural England* (c.1858).⁸⁵ The Manchester professional portrait photographer James Mudd also made a reputation "with brilliant landscape photographs" which he made for exhibition, notably his *Flood at Sheffield* (1864).⁸⁶

During the 1870's and 80's the marketing of photographs of scenic views was a major industry, and the Scottish photographer George Washington Wilson was considered "the most successful of the view publishers."⁸⁷ In the making of photographs at home or abroad the landscape view was now tailored to the potential of a mass audience. The remark by Wilson that he "had to study the popular taste.... and not only to get a pleasing picture of a place but one also that can be recognised by the public."⁸⁸ Suggests how much landscape photography of the period was orientated towards a defined market. In many ways Wilson continued ideas established some thirty years earlier, but now focussed on a market of popular taste. Landscape views for publication as single albumen prints, mounted in albums or boxed as stereographs, were overtaken as the century progressed. The printed postcard would subsequently become the new and enduring vehicle for marketing popular landscape views.

Art Photography

With the invention of the collodion process a new economic impetus to record landscape had been given to photographers. Practitioners like Fenton had also shown that photographers could make personal descriptions of landscape as had artists with other established media. A subsequent generation of photographers, drawing on these earlier experiments, would demonstrate that photography could make its own contribution to the representation of landscape.

The most popular and influential "art" photographer of the 1870's was Henry Peach Robinson.⁸⁹ Trained in painting he was strongly influenced by the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite school. Many of his early watercolours, from the 1850's, are

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descriptive of the landscape in and around Ludlow.⁹⁰ Although best known for his portraits and composite genre scenes, which use the landscape as background, many of Robinson's works have landscape as subject. Through his photography, and equally importantly his writing, Robinson had a major influence on landscape photography. His publications *Pictorial Effect in Photography* (1868)⁹¹ and *Picture Making in Photography* (1884) with their directions to photographers on preferred methods of picturesque composition were highly influential. As a contributor to *Amateur Photographer*, Robinson's articles were read by a mass audience, when published in a serial form.⁹²

Characteristic of Robinson's landscape photography was the inclusion of figures as the dominant subject in a scene. Robinson's figures were not however chance encounters at the scene, or more characteristic of the period, posed at the time of making. In works like *bringing Home the Hay* (1862) the *mise-en-scène* was directed by Robinson and further figures subsequently added in the darkroom.⁹³ Robinson was therefore one of the first photographers to employ a narrative directorial mode in his photography, a technique which became both popular and influential.⁹⁴

While Robinson's work was widely admired in the 1870's, by the 1890's there was a revolt among British photographers against Robinson's thinking. His most notable adversary was Peter Henry Emerson, whose views on photography, and landscape in particular, were strongly influenced by ideas emerging with the Impressionist painting movement in France.⁹⁵ Emerson is important to any survey of landscape photography for a number of reasons. His association with landscape painters demonstrates the relationship between photography and the other arts. Emerson's writings on photography are also the first to describe a differentiated model for photographic practice; and his use of gravure printing technology is innovative, making him among the first publishers of printed photographic books.

Emerson described his photographs as "naturalistic" and believed in making "A photograph true to the sentiment of nature...giving the visual appearance of things as truly as possible...in which the foci of different planes is so arranged as to help

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this truthful appearance"⁹⁶ Emerson's belief in differential focussing and truthful description has been stated by various writers as influenced by the "naturalistic" French artists Millet, Corot and Jules Bastien-Lepage.⁹⁷ While advocating the optical vision of *avant-garde* painters, Emerson was also aware of an earlier history of the representation of landscape. Writing in 1884 he describes how he had "revelled in the living landscapes of Suffolk, the living landscapes of Constable and Gainsborough."⁹⁸ Emerson was also aware of the difference between how photography and painting could respond to a scene. There are for example corresponding scenes photographed by Emerson and illustrated by the painter Goodall.⁹⁹

Modern writers have noted that while Emerson can be seen as an artist advocating naturalism, his work can also be read as subjective and romantic. Turner and Wood describe him as "deeply concerned about the social imbalances that drove people to poaching."¹⁰⁰ while Jeffrey describes Emerson as looking "for an alternative reality opposed to and better than the one which prevailed in England in the 1880s."¹⁰¹ Jeffrey in his discussion of the influences, which shaped *Life and Landscape*, the first of Emerson's illustrated books, points to a tradition of "regionalist reporting... where Norfolk had been envisaged as a primitive paradise."¹⁰²

Taylor makes quite different readings of Emerson's diaries and photographs asserting that they operate as statements of nineteenth century class politics based on Emerson as "upper-middle class...a professional man with an inherited income"¹⁰³ and that Emerson "harnessed [photography] to the project of class separation".¹⁰⁴ Emerson clearly offers a complex practice for any critical analysis of his photography and writings by modern researchers. In his role as writer and critic, Emerson's American ancestry also made him a powerful advocate for British photography in America. America had its own tradition of landscape photography that remained largely unknown to a British audience until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁰⁵

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The photographer Frank Meadow Sutcliffe¹⁰⁶ occupies an intermediary position in late nineteenth century British landscape photography. He earned his living as a portraitist while privately making landscape photographs influenced in his early years by the work and success of Robinson. Sutcliffe's early photography contains many elements of the picturesque but he, unlike Robinson, preferred patiently waiting for his composition to be complete, rather than assembling it in the darkroom. Sutcliffe waited as long as was necessary in the landscape for a subject to appear or move into place on his ground glass screen. Sutcliffe, like Emerson, was an early naturalistic photographer, for whom nature was a given and, in practice,

the selection of landscape is and always will be slow work, for only with the help of the sun, and other outdoor forces such as the wind, the snow, the mist, the seasons, is the photographer able to get what he wants.¹⁰⁷

Hiley has pointed to the strong connection between photographs by Sutcliffe and the work of the painter George Clausen, and the ideas of the open air Newlyn School.¹⁰⁸ Sutcliffe himself cited the painter Millet as a major influence and Frank Brangwyn as his favourite contemporary painter.¹⁰⁹ Hiley further notes a comparison between Millet and Sutcliffe in that

both buried themselves in the countryside - Millet in the village of Barbizon... and Sutcliffe in a remote corner of North East England.¹¹⁰

Sutcliffe shared Emerson's concept of naturalism "of giving the visual appearance of things as truly as possible." By the 1890s, however, Emerson's analysis of realism and his dismissal of the photographers of bald fact and the "mathematically true" had wider repercussions. For a new generation of photographers these ideas were the basis of a rebellion against technical and increasingly commercial exhibitions of photography.

The Royal Photographic Society exhibitions had been the forum for professional and serious amateur photography since 1853 but there was an increasing

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discontent among some members. Photographers for whom the medium was one of personal expression felt increasingly ignored by the technical focus of the annual exhibitions. This clash led in 1892 to some members seceding from the Royal Photographic Society and establishing the The Linked Ring Brotherhood.¹¹¹

This division in British photography coincided with broader American and European movements which were inspired by the Viennese Camera Club Secession exhibition of 1891. At the Viennese exhibition greater emphasis was placed on 'art photography', rather than technical photography, and the jury accepted photographers working in both an established realist and an emerging impressionist photography. By 1900 the Secession had achieved international ascendancy with the new photographers describing themselves as pictorialists. These new photographers were confident that photography was a medium for artists and that their pictures reflected this. While the earlier landscapes by Fenton and Emerson offered dual readings, as art objects and as documents for sociological and topographic interpretation; for the *fin de siècle* generation of the Secession the photographic ideal was a singular expression of romantic aestheticism.

While Emerson aired his views on naturalism and its opponents, he was also a supporter of two younger British landscape photographers George Davison¹¹² and Alfred Horsley Hinton.¹¹³ Both photographers became founder members of the Linked Ring and both in different ways overturned the paradigms on which Emerson had formulated his art.

George Davison had an early commitment to Emerson's naturalistic photography, but was also praised by Robinson. Davison was however to reject both of his mentors. His exhibit *The Old Farmstead* (1890)¹¹⁴ at the Photography Society of Britain was a clear rejection of academic and technical values. He created a sensation in respect of subject and technique by using a pinhole rather than a lens on his camera. In a further separation from technical values he drew on the tenets of French impressionism when he made landscapes using the malleable gum process as a source for his gravure prints.¹¹⁵ His championing of a new direction

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led, in 1890, to an invitation by the Royal Academy to present a lecture which Davison called *Impressionism in Photography*.¹¹⁶

Davison's rejection of Emerson's purist style, and his influence on other photographers, marked a significant shift in art photography at the beginning of the century. In America Stieglitz applauded Davison's work and reproduced his photographs in three editions of *Camerawork*.¹¹⁷ While Davison had displayed innovation through his photographs, the writings of Alfred Horsley Hinton were the most influential texts on British landscape photography of the period.

Initially Hinton had trained as a painter and is described as having an early interest in landscape representation.¹¹⁸ In 1893 he became editor of *Amateur Photographer*, which he edited until his death in 1908 and in which his editorials became a major vehicle for his views on landscape photography.¹¹⁹ Harker cites J. Dudley Johnston as saying that "Hinton was the founder of the British School of Landscape Photography";¹²⁰ yet the members of the Royal Photography Society "blackballed" Hinton in 1894. Hinton, in the eyes of his contemporaries, was a major figure but, while his writings are conserved, there are few extant examples of his photography.¹²¹

After Hinton's early death, Alexander Keighley¹²² became the most prominent landscapist within the British pictorial school. He like Hinton had been influenced early by the teachings of Robinson but had subsequently followed Davison's impressionism. Much of Keighley's work is a continuation of these influences, borrowing from an earlier generation of Pre-Raphaelite inspired painters, with their emphasis on the historical and biblical subjects. Keighley's photographs also include scenes of fantasy, where posed figures are included in the landscape. Although most of Keighley's photographs were made outside Britain, in works such as *The Rest is Silence* (1909), which describes an Umbrian landscape, Keighley renders the landscape as a formal composition with an appeal beyond its geographic locale.¹²³ In his later photography, while remaining true to his romantic leanings, Keighley adopted a new realism in photographs such as *Day Spring from on High* (1917).¹²⁴ Keighley can be seen to adopt a more

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documentary form of narrative in his later, timeless Moroccan scenes made in the 1930s with a hidden hand camera.¹²⁵

During the 1920s there was also encouragement to members of the London Salon and the Royal Photographic Society, from the successes of the Belgian landscape photographer Leonard Misonne.¹²⁶ His moody sepia-coloured bromoils such as *Fraicheur Matinale* (1926)¹²⁷, were a photographic homage to the paintings of Whistler, and a feature of many British photographic salons. The sleight of hand offered by bromoil processes was also a feature of the work of the English photographer Bertram Cox.¹²⁸ Misonne's work is exemplified by dramatic atmosphere and rich coloured inks. In contrast, Cox's cloudless skies, in pictures such as *Arundel* (1923)¹²⁹, evoke English high summers. The bromoil transfer prints of this period by Fred Judge¹³⁰ are even further removed from their photographic origins. In the bromoil *Snowdon and Aberglasyn* (1924)¹³¹, for example, there appears to be a conscious rejection of the photograph in this imitation lithograph.¹³²

In Britain, after the first world war the natural landscape, as an important subject for photographers, reached its nadir.¹³³ In parallel with the broader cultural shifts in painting, poetry and music, where the pastoral had also been a major theme, with the outbreak of war the description and representation of the British landscape through photography would increasingly describe a social and urban environment.¹³⁴

Modern Photography

After the First World War, an art of photography, which had been nurtured in the late nineteenth century, was largely redefined in the twentieth by the emerging

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media industries. The rise of the illustrated press created employment for corps of photojournalists who offered a new humanistic photography grounded in modern life. Intellectually and stylistically removed from the Victorian and Edwardian world of the pictorialists, modern photography was sharp and urbane. Largely of European origin, the influence of a new realism with its emphasis on form and function, made photographers eager allies with the publishing and advertising industries. The global ambitions of the motion picture market and its fostering of the cult of personality similarly fuelled a growth in fashion photography and photographic portraiture, which was already of national importance in Britain during the years of war.

Against this background a new style of photography was becoming apparent. After the war, the movement was to be described by German photographers like Albert Renger-Patschz as the "new objectivity".¹³⁵ The movement's essential tenet of realism was linked to a broader abandonment by European and American photographers of romantic impressionism in pursuit of a hard-edged documentary style. The documentary ethos also had overtly didactic rather than aesthetic criteria, the leading documentary filmmaker John Grierson retrospectively remarked of this period "it would not have occurred to us at this time, to photograph a rose."¹³⁶

The archives of the international press, recently re-presented as the history of the period, have similarly left little room for the landscape photograph. The narrow cropping by picture editors, with their emphasis on the factual and didactic, gave a new materialistic reading to photographs.¹³⁷ In Britain and Europe, concurrent with the new realism was a decline in the number of photographers for whom an art of landscape could fill a central role. There was an increasing demand for publications of illustrated books and magazines relating to tourism and leisure but, like the picture postcard, the requirements of marketing to a target audience and the small format of reproduction defined different criteria for these more commercial photographers.

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Some photographers had a clearer visual signature than most. The Abraham Brothers¹³⁸ had learned early from their father how to harvest the Lakeland peak views for mountaineers, as did William A. Poucher in his *sublime* mountaineering compositions.¹³⁹ In more than thirty titles published from the 1940s onwards Poucher's landscape photography of Scotland and Wales such as *A Mountain Stream* (1941),¹⁴⁰ brought breathtaking views to a popular audience. Later Alfred Wainright¹⁴¹ would achieve similar acclaim for his mountain walk guides, although his photography was increasingly an adjunct to his writing. The less commercial landscape photography and philosophical writings of Frank Smythe show a similar rare romanticism during the war years.¹⁴²

A closer link with a later contemporary landscape photography can be found in the work of Mark Oliver Dell.¹⁴³ Dell was from the 1920's primarily an architectural photographer. He also made pictures of the landscape, which were often used as photographic illustrations. Dell's photography was in many ways a continuation of the earlier tradition established by both pictorialists and the more modern mountaineering photographers and journalists. Through European travel, particularly in the Pyrenees, Dell found material to exhibit at the Royal Photographic Society and the London Salon.¹⁴⁴ Dell's work in photographs such as *In Cheddar Gorge* (1949) and *The Forest of Gabas* (1946)¹⁴⁵ describes a landscape of rocks and trees, occasionally softened by mist but in a naturalistic representation. Working with a large format camera Dell's later, crisply focussed but atmospheric studies *Astazou and the Marbore* (1947) and *The Valley of Luz* (1951)¹⁴⁶ describe mountains and woods where the still quietness has a presence similar to that found in his architectural photographs of cathedral interiors. While Dell's photographs like Keighley's are mainly of European sites, they have none of the attendant interventionist effects found in the earlier generation of pictorialists of whom Dell was a spiritual heir.

The decades of the 1920's and 30's did however see a growth in British landscape painting. Spalding writes that "After World War One there was a revival of interest in landscape and a return to the traditional values of representational painting."¹⁴⁷ A new generation of painters in the wake of Augustus John and the

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influences of European abstraction was however, distanced from the earlier romantic values of the Newlyn school. In many ways this shift offers a parallel reading with the new photography's dissociation from pictorialism. The increasing post Second World War move towards abstraction by painters like Graham Sutherland and Victor Passmore¹⁴⁸ marks a more significant break. The influence of modernism on painting; in its directive to abandon formal representation and the use of perspective, makes subsequent comparative readings of landscape painting with landscape photography impossible.

Individual photographers of the period can be associated with explorations of the British landscape. The painter and photographer Paul Nash together with Bill Brandt and Edwin Smith all chose, although to differing degrees, to represent the landscape through photography.¹⁴⁹ In general the natural landscape makes up only a small part of their oeuvres; but these named photographers more than others of their generation practised photography as a personal concern, which in subsequent generations would develop into a major independent movement. Hardman, it will be argued, can be seen in the context of the work of Brandt, Nash and Smith as a photographer working in Britain between the 1930-1950 who took the natural landscape as the central inspiration for his work. Edwin Smith like Dell earned his living as an architectural photographer. Widely published much of Smith's work reflects the tamed landscape and architectural treasures of England's stately homes and gardens, often with a surreal twist.¹⁵⁰ Pattern and decorative architecture are common in Smith's work and in pictures like *Logs in a Field of Dog Daisies* (1935)¹⁵¹ there is a reverie of pattern and form from the flowers and their shadows. Smith's friendship with Paul Nash in the 1930s aided his career and Mellor notes that "It was with photographs like *Elm Tree* (1938) that Smith came closest to his patron Paul Nash."¹⁵² Subsequent commissions for the books *English Parish Churches* (1950) and *English Cottages and Farmhouses* (1951) confirmed his preference for the vernacular. Numerous further published books followed in the 1960s, but Smith's landscape photography remained what Cooke describes as "revealing details of great houses and the poetry of great gardens"¹⁵³ The landscape as the subject in Smith's pictures, most commonly focuses on the

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narrow detailed view, the wide view in scenes like *Bantry Bay, Co Cork* (1965)¹⁵⁴ are exceptions.

Photographs by Paul Nash, which he initially made as a record and source for his paintings, are now seen as "important for an understanding of his paintings".¹⁵⁵ Cardinal states that "Nash's output tends to be restricted to pictures of inert objects or unpeopled vistas.... empty market stalls and studies of local buildings".¹⁵⁶ Laver says that Nash "learned to 'paint with light' to some purpose, and that there is nothing 'arty' about his photographs: they are clear and definite."¹⁵⁷ Nash's photographs were all made during the period 1931-46 and like the work of Edwin Smith his photographs relish detail. While Smith's interest lay in architecture and particularly the vestiges of Edwardian decoration, Nash's concerns are Neolithic artefacts and the natural forms of plants and trees in the landscape. The surreal proposition of a tree trunk as a *Stalking Horse* (n.d.) and his sculptural *Objet Trouvé* (n.d.)¹⁵⁸ are typical of Nash's closely framed subjects and are at times reminiscent of the work of the American photographer Edward Weston. Nash's photographs also have a more private quality; his public work, like the wide landscape vista, he reserved for paintings. In this respect he links with other artists, especially the Shell stable of artists, for whom the British landscape in its broadest terms was a major interest.¹⁵⁹

Bill Brandt was the most influential photographer of this generation, vitalising British photography with a strong European influence. Born in Hamburg Germany in 1910 he later moved to Vienna. After a brief period as an assistant to Man Ray in Paris he settled in England in 1932. He thus arrived in England fully conversant with the art of the European *avant-garde*. By 1936 he had published the first of his books *The English at Home* which was to act as a springboard for a life working for the illustrated press. Brandt's work was therefore largely directed by the needs of the media to the extent that his landscape photography was mainly the result of commissions by the illustrated magazines *Lilliput* and *Picture Post*. Jeffrey describes landscape as "one of Brandt's more impure categories, for it is most often landscape with building" and notes that "There is little landscape in the 1930s if any"¹⁶⁰

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During the 1940s Brandt's photographic essay *The Threat to the Great Roman Wall* describes sweeping views across the Scottish borders. Brandt's later and preferred style was a compression of the picture planes using a long focus lens, and a tonal range compressed in the darkroom. Printed in the book *Shadows and Light* the photographs *Over the Sea to Skye* (1947), *Top Withens* (1945), *Stonehenge* (1947) and *Barbary Castle* (1948) are characteristic of Brandt's photography in their use of compressed tone and perspective.¹⁶¹

In a later series *The Vanished Ports of England* made for *Picture Post* in 1949 the tonal range remains long and the angle of view is again narrow. Hardman's contemporaries, Brandt, Nash and Smith all generally reject the wide landscape vista in favour of the close up.

The model presented by Brandt in his photographs, of narrow and hard graphic formal presentations of the British landscape; have not however been influential on future generations of landscape photographers. The subsequent generation including Ken Baird (b.1930), Fay Godwin (b.1931) and John Blakemore (b.1936) all express themselves through a long tonal range and usually describe the broad vista rather the detail. For many of this generation, unlike the preceding one, the representation of the British landscape was the major, if not the exclusive focus of their work. These photographers all have a unique visual signature and are also exemplary in respect of their commitment to, and belief in, photography as a means of individual expression. Their passion has in turn influenced another generation, including John Davies (b.1949), Simon Marsden (b.1948) and Chris Locke (b.1950) for whom the landscape is similarly the primary focus of their work.

The big view was a feature not only of later British photography but also of American photography. The contemporaneous American landscape views are similarly characterised by huge sweeps of landscape where Ansel Adams and Robert Adams (b.1937) are major figures. While Robert Adams has been included in exhibitions of *New Topographics*¹⁶² where landscape artists sought to escape

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the conventions of picturesque composition, a fundamental concern for ecology is shared by both generations. While British photographers share this American concern for ecology in their work, in other respects they have been less willing to take risk, in terms of composition and how they might present the landscape to the viewer. Clarke has noted that compared to American photography

in contrast, British landscape photography has followed quite a different path, and for the most part finds its roots in the picturesque codes of the nineteenth century.¹⁶³

Hardman's generation made their major contribution during the years 1930 to 1950. For the generation of photographers born after 1930¹⁶⁴ the representation of landscape would take on a new urgency born of an environmental concern. However as Clarke describes, the means of compositional presentation, in Britain particularly, remained rooted in a pictorial "code" of representation. This picturesque model was also part of Hardman's compositional repertoire. Subsequently, evidence will be described, of a late landscape by Hardman, *Limestone Cliff, Wales* (c.1970), in which he came close to abandoning the pictorial model, providing part evidence for Hardman as an early, if little known, transitional figure in British landscape photography.

The chapter has described in overview a history of British landscape photography and the accumulated inheritance of generations of artists. It is now necessary to establish any correspondence Hardman may have with these broader histories. The research now establishes a chronology for Hardman's landscape photographs from which comparison can be made.

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The chapter presents a chronology of Hardman's life and work. Material from his house and studio had been conserved and catalogued as an earlier part of my research. Using this earlier inventory of items, supplemented when necessary with material from other sources, a referenced chronology was then established.

This part of the research and its findings are divided into three categories

1. The archaeological background and the material available for research at the E.Chambré Hardman Trust, 59 Rodney Street, Liverpool.
2. The selected materials and the methods used in their study.
3. A chronology based on the research material demonstrating the sequential production of the photographs against the background of Hardman's life.

Archaeological Background

A description of the source material available for research at the E.Chambré Hardman Trust (est. 1989), 59 Rodney Street, Liverpool and its relevance to the research.

Hardman had used the house since 1950 as his home, portrait studio and workrooms. He officially retired as a professional photographer in 1966, after which the contents suffered increasing neglect. There had been a number of pipe bursts during successive winters, which partly explained the chaos found in many

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rooms, where material had been hastily moved and removed by builders and plumbers. The house, part of a late Georgian terrace in a central Liverpool location, comprised three floors and basement rooms, all of which were filled with material relating to Hardman's life and work as a photographer.

The basement contained a working negative processing darkroom and three storage rooms. The ground floor included a reception room at the front that doubled as Hardman's parlour and a second room, which was now Hardman's ground floor bedroom; previously this had been used as a dressing room for portrait sitters. At the ground floor rear were three connecting rooms, which had been used for framing and mounting photographs and the retouching of negatives and prints. The third room had been used for the recording and invoicing of the business.

The first floor front room, the largest room in the house, had been used as Hardman's portrait studio and still included his photographic apparatus. A second smaller room on this floor contained further studio paraphernalia. At the first floor rear were a toilet and three connecting small rooms which had been used for domestic purposes, comprising a kitchen and two linked bedrooms.

The second floor contained a large room used as a storage area for materials, adjacent to Hardman's personal darkroom. At the rear were a further three connected and fully equipped darkrooms which had been used by the studio staff.

Social Services perceived the inherent fire risk at the property, although to separate the detritus from the valuables would be a huge undertaking. On a number of occasions I suggested to Hardman that we might begin the task, but little was achieved during his lifetime. I did, however uncover as many photographs as possible and, in conversation with Hardman, assigned titles, dates and when possible, other relevant details.

Hardman's collection was in serious jeopardy, as he had made no will, declaring he had no relatives to whom he wished to bequeath his estate. I encouraged him

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to establish a Trust in his name to ensure that the collection would be protected. Upon Hardman's death in April 1988 and at the instigation of his executors, I began a programme of conservation and a catalogue of his oeuvre.

While Hardman had spent his professional life working as a portrait photographer, privately he made landscape photographs; and while the former received high praise it was the latter with which Hardman most identified. From the outset therefore his oeuvre was divided into landscape and portrait photographs. The original studio staff had meticulously recorded in ledgers the studio sitters and corresponding portrait negatives were carefully numbered and filed. In contrast Hardman's private work had received no such attention; a number of exhibited prints did bear titles or legends, most did not. The one thing that all of these photographs lacked was a date and against the background of the thousands of other photographs in the house, any easy chronological reconstruction was to be frustrated from the outset. Worse was that there was no easy way to match positive prints with their parent negative or vice versa, since there was no written record.

Hardman had retired from professional photography more than twenty years before this initial research. Boxes of negatives, prints, correspondence and other ephemera had, before and after 1964, been stored unlabelled in many rooms of the house. Alterations and repairs had resulted in further movements of material; often without regard to contents. Consequently the upper floors of the house were in a state of total disorder, with boxes crammed into every available space. It was difficult to gain access to some of these rooms, with boxes piled to ceiling height and stored with no regard to content. Repairs and other work by builders had over the years resulted in many boxes being contaminated with plaster dust and rubble. In the uppermost rooms of the house a fine film of soot covered everything. Single-handed, over a period of five years, I sorted this material. Waste paper, cardboard and other detritus filled eight industrial waste skips.

Following this work and as part of the initial conservation programme photographs and negatives were individually brushed clean of dust, assigned an

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inventory number and housed in suitable, protective, archival material. A computer database was established for the inventory of prints to which relevant information, particularly dates and details of corresponding negatives, could subsequently be added. A separate computer database inventory of landscape negatives was made and correspondences with positive prints recorded where possible. These computer files provided the prime reference inventory of source material to which subsequent research would refer.

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The Research Source Material

A description of the research material selected as relevant to Hardman's landscape work and the methods used for its analysis.

1. Photographic Prints
2. Photographic Negatives
3. Writings by Chambré Hardman
4. Writings on Chambré Hardman
5. Exhibition Catalogues
6. Reproductions of Hardman's work
7. Correspondence
8. Diaries and Notebooks
9. Audiotapes
10. Videotapes
11. Hardman's collection of books

1. Photographic Prints

The research created the Trust's current database listing of 650 distinct non-portrait photographs as the core material in establishing the sequence in which they were made. Some of the prints have been paired with parent negatives during conservation, although many still await association.

Individual photographic prints and duplicate prints; when they existed, were logged, assigned an inventory number and the following details were noted.

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- i. Whether the photographic print was mounted on board or was unmounted.
- ii. Whether Hardman had signed the photograph or mount.
- ii. The size and condition of the mounted or unmounted print.
- iv. Any legends, titles, labels or signature on recto or verso.

The material type of the photographic prints was also recorded and the following types were noted

Platinum Prints

Gum Bichromate Prints

Carbon Prints

Chloro-Bromide Gelatin Silver Prints

Bromide Gelatin Silver Prints

Colour Transparency Film

Colour Coupler Prints

2. Photographic Negatives

The research further created the Trust's current database listing of 2,900 distinct non-portrait negatives which were used as the secondary source to establish the sequence in which photographs had been made. The pairing of negative to corresponding parent print was by visual comparison.

Individual negative types were recorded including details of negative size and whether the emulsion support was glass, nitrate or safety film; and the following types were noted.

Enlarged Negatives (various sizes)

Glass Negatives (various sizes)

Nitrate Sheet Film (various sizes)

Nitrate Roll Film 120

Safety Sheet Film (various sizes)

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Safety Roll Film 120

Colour Negatives (various sizes)

3. Writings by Hardman

There are a number of essays and articles written by Hardman on the subject of photography. For example, two were originally given as lectures to members of the Royal Photographic Society and subsequently reproduced in photographic journals. There are also technical articles and drafts for talks. Where writings have not been published, references in this document use the Trust's inventory description or where this has not been assigned, the Trust's conservation box number.

4. Writings on Hardman

There are a number of writings about the work of Chambré Hardman. Those of particular interest are listed in the bibliography.

5. Exhibition Catalogues

These include catalogues of solo and group exhibitions.

6. Reproductions of Hardman's work

The source material here is broad including newspaper and magazine reproductions, professional journals and industrial brochures.

7. Correspondence

There is a large collection of correspondence in the Trust's collection. Some is relevant to the research, although much pertains to the commercial transactions of the studio portrait business. Correspondence references use the Trust's inventory location reference or, where this has not been assigned, the name and date of correspondents.

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8. Diaries and Notebooks

Many of Hardman's personal pocket diaries and A6 single ruled notebooks survive in the Trust collection, both were used by Hardman for occasional note-making rather than as a systematic record of events. The diaries are referred to by their relevant year and, when relevant, by the day date. Similarly the notebooks are rarely systematic records but contain drafts of correspondence and prospective articles and talks. The notebook references in the thesis use the Trust's inventory number or where this has not been assigned the Trust's conservation box number. It should be noted that the discovery of these notebooks during the research was intermittent. Thus the sequence of their inventory numbering does not describe their chronological order, but the order in which they were found.

9. Audiotapes

There are a number of audiotapes
see Appendix for complete listing

10. Videotapes

There are a number of videotapes
see Appendix for complete listing

11. Hardman's Library

The Trust still retains the complete collection of books owned by Edward Chambré and Margaret Hardman.

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The research material can be collated chronologically and thereby demonstrate the sequential production of the photographs against the background of Hardman's life.

The research evidence collected can be used to describe the sequence of Hardman's life; his birth in Dublin in 1898, his joining the Indian Army, and then his move to Liverpool in 1923 where he established a studio. Hardman made various visits to France and Spain in the 1920s; while when at home, he was exploring the British landscape. During the 1930s Hardman made many landscape photographs in Britain, explorations which continued until the 1960s. In 1949 he and his wife moved to a studio in Rodney Street, Liverpool, the source of the present research material.

The Family Tradition, from Dublin to India.

There is an extant picture postcard sent to Hardman by his sister Audrey (Audrey Phyllis Hardman 1905-c.1976). The photographic illustration on the postcard is of Blarney Castle in Ireland and on the reverse Audrey hints at a part of their family history.

This is where some of our fore-bears come from - The Colthursts, and some of them are living there still, Sir Richard La T. Bart is the present occupant.¹

Hardman himself refers in a letter to

My grandfather (i.e. my mother's father) was a Welshman - John Quenten Davies.... who died shortly after the Indian Mutiny. I won't bore you with the details of all of

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my ancestors, they are what is known as Anglo-Irish and can be traced back for many generations in Debrett, Burkes Landed Gentry and similar works of reference.²

In another letter he states that "Two of my kinsmen (one on my fathers side, and one on my mothers) have held the office of Viceroy of India."³

In a conversation with this author Chambré Hardman referred to his own father, Edward Townley William Hardman (1860-1917), as a land agent for various estate owners and landlords in County Dublin. There are a number of diaries written by Hardman senior in the Trust collection⁴ which describe "visits to the office" and many references to shooting, fishing, sailing and swimming. There is also a reference to Townley Hardman's father, who died of typhoid fever in 1887. Further evidence from these diaries gives the Hardman family's early residential address as 14 Urbsworth Street; Dublin, but by 1898 the family address was Fox Rock House, Fox Rock, County Dublin.⁵ It can be presumed that by 1893 Edward Townley Hardman had married Gertrude Elizabeth Davies (d.1959), for on the 20th July of the following year she gave birth to their first child Molly (1894 - 1986). This was also the year that Townley Hardman was elected to the Grand Lodge of the Masons of Ireland.⁶

Edward Fitzmaurice Chambré Hardman was born on the 25th November 1898 the third child of the marriage and their only son.⁷ An extant newspaper clipping from the period describes one aspect of Hardman family life with the headline "Foxrock Lady fined for setting dog at children". The ensuing court case included evidence in which "Rose Coga a maid in the service of Mr Hardman" was in charge of the children on the day. One of the children was Edward Hardman and the other an unspecified sister.⁸ In conversation with the author Hardman said that in his youth "I had an aptitude for science and mathematics but was not particularly interested in art, I preferred the country pursuits of hunting and fishing." It was however during this period that Hardman made his first experiments with photography and, in conversation with this author, recollected "I was encouraged in this by my father who was a keen amateur and took pleasure in photographing the family and their pets as well as making use of photography for recording land

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tenures". He further recalled how his "first negatives were made using his father's quarter plate brass and mahogany Lancaster stand camera, and how the exposed glass plates were processed in the wine cellar and contact prints made in the apple loft."

The only definite extant landscape photograph from this period by Hardman *A Farmstead Carrickmines* (c.1914)⁹ is a small quarter plate contact print "printed by daylight on a self toning collodion chloride paper, possibly Seltona paper."¹⁰ There are a number of other photographic prints and negatives in the Trust's collection which show views of a house, garden and family from this period, which although without label are likely to be of the Hardman family and home. It is difficult to know with any certainty whether these photographs are the work of Hardman or his father. There is one curious photograph acknowledged by Hardman to be his work of the period. It is a small print showing an x-ray photograph which clearly shows the skeletal structure of the five digits of a human hand.¹¹ Hardman described this dangerous experiment as having been made with the assistance of one of his friends. There were other experiments by Hardman at this time, originating from his interest in electricity and amateur radio. He recollected that "although government war-time edicts forbade the use of radio receivers", he had used local telephone wires as antennae, so to avoid the detection of a conventional aerial.¹²

Hardman describes his education in various curricula vitae as "Preparatory School followed by seven years boarding at St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin." From 1916 there followed a period, which Hardman described as "following in the family tradition of service in the Indian Army and Colonial service". After sitting his Sandhurst examinations in January 1918, he was appointed Second Lieutenant in the Indian Army unattached list.¹³ The same year, he sailed from Devonport to Bombay from where he travelled overland to Wellington, near Madras, to begin his training as an officer cadet. There is an undated autobiographical note in Hardman's hand, relating to this period, in which he refers to an interview by a superior officer who asked Hardman which brigade, he would like to serve in. Hardman told the officer that "his father had been a

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regular in the 104th Wellington Rifles" and that he was related to two previous Viceroys of India "the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava who was Viceroy of 1859 on my father's side, immediately followed by the Marquis of Lansdowne on my mother's side."¹⁴

Hardman subsequently obtained a commission as a regular officer in the 2nd Battalion of the 8th Brigade of Gurkha Rifles stationed at Lansdowne, Gorwal. He wrote to his sister "The Khyber Pass is an awful place, no trees, stones on the hills and no level ground, nothing to do and every chance of getting shot."¹⁵ In an earlier letter to his mother of April 17th 1920 he described how "At last I can produce a photograph of myself - at least it is more a photograph of my horse than of me - he is an Australian gelding, a very affectionate animal."¹⁶ Conditions were far from ideal but he was clearly managing to process and print his own negatives. In a letter of the spring of 1920 Hardman wrote

I send you some long promised photographs. I have not had my camera up here for long and have to work under great difficulty owing to the lack of a bungalow. We are now in tin huts, which are better than tents, but the floors are mud and the dust gets into everything.¹⁷

The correspondence suggests that photographic facilities were primitive and that the large exhibition prints from negatives, such as *Village in Kerala* (c.1921-22), and *Pandikkad, Kerala* (c.1921-22), were printed after 1923 when Hardman had left India and had established his studio in Liverpool. Other extant prints include small contact prints, which are mainly photographs of army social life and some small portraits of officers and their wives. Many of these small photographs are platinum prints, a process Hardman appears not to have used after his stay in India. Two other negatives made by Hardman during his time in India are of particular interest. The photograph *Cholera Camp* (c.1921-22) uses a marked cropping of the top and bottom of the negative which gives the photograph the look of a panoramic picture. The second photograph *Landscape with Tree* [India] (c.1921-22) is a stark, formal, landscape composition; although it should be noted that the print in the Trust collection is modern and was probably printed

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in the 1950s.¹⁸ When Hardman first arrived in India he recollected using a Kodak No 3 Special camera which used quarter plate negatives, by 1919 he had purchased a new Sanderson Tropical Camera and this camera became his "favourite instrument during this period."¹⁹

Around this time an important event occurred when Hardman met a fellow officer, Captain Kenneth Burrell, described by Hardman as "formerly of the Cheshire Regiment and entitled to wear the 1914-18 ribbon."²⁰ In a letter to his mother of March 15th 1922 Hardman refers to Burrell by name and as "a friend." They must however have met earlier because by the December 19th 1922 they had agreed to resign their commission under the terms of the April 22nd Royal Warrant.²¹ During their time together in India, Hardman and Burrell had come to know each other well enough to agree that they would return to England and would open a portrait studio where Hardman would make the pictures and Burrell would look after the business. Hardman later recalled "I decided to cut short my army career and return to England and make photography - especially portraiture - my future profession."²² There was clearly an established trust between the two men and they arranged for passage on a boat bound for Liverpool. Hardman himself felt confident enough to start a new life in a new country. In correspondence, Hardman's mother was "very disappointed" at the decision her son had made.²³ A contributory factor in Hardman's decision not to return to Ireland may well have been that in 1917, shortly after his arrival in India, his father had died aged 57.²⁴ The subsequent discovery that there was no bequest only debts and that the family had to leave their home at Foxrock House meant that there was little, other than filial responsibility, for Hardman to return to.²⁵

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Liverpool and the Sandon Society.

In an undated autobiographical note Hardman wrote "my interest in photography dates back to boyhood, but I had no idea of making it my profession until I was 24."²⁶ Kenneth Burrell was clearly a strong influence on Hardman's decision to become a professional photographer, though there is little evidence that Burrell himself was a serious photographer. There are, however, references to Burrell being "a photographer"²⁷ and in correspondence Margaret Mills refers to "KB's [Kenneth Burrell's] old darkroom."²⁸ Hardman wrote that his first studio was established in March 1923.²⁹ This studio was not however registered as a company until June 1929.³⁰ The Burrell and Hardman photographic portrait studio was on the first floor, No. 51a Bold Street, then one of Liverpool's most prestigious thoroughfares. They succeeded in attracting a number of important portrait sittings during this early period such as the 17th Earl of Derby and various members of staff from the University of Liverpool including Professors Patrick Abercromby and Charles Reilly. The playbills of Liverpool's Playhouse Theatre record numerous other portraits of famous sitters by Burrell & Hardman during the 1920s.³¹

An event of professional and artistic importance was Hardman joining the Sandon Studios Society in 1923. Located in the Old Bluecoat School, Liverpool, the Sandon Society was the social focus for Liverpool artists. Hardman declared that here he "became intimately acquainted with a circle of practising architects, painters, sculptors and musicians."³² Founded some twenty years earlier, the Sandon Society was still, in the 1920s at the centre of Liverpool artistic life and Burrell & Hardman were the photographers of fashionable choice. Bisson in his history of the society writes.

From 1923 when they established the partnership of Burrell & Hardman it was more or less obligatory for anyone on Merseyside with any pretension to distinction to be photographed by them.³³

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The Sandon Society led to many portrait sittings from members, and the beginnings of friendships with the architect Francis Xavier Velarde, the sculptor Herbert Tyson Smith and the portrait painter Henry Carr.³⁴ Other Sandon Society members had strong photographic connections, especially G.E.W. Rawlins, inventor of the oil process, George Davison, impressionist photographer and retired Kodak executive, and the noted pictorialist photographer and painter Malcolm Arbuthnot.³⁵

While working in central Liverpool, Hardman was living in rented accommodation in a private house at Danecroft, Formby.³⁶ Formby is some fifteen miles from Liverpool and was easily accessible by rail, allowing Hardman to commute to the Bold Street studio. In a notebook he described this as a time when

Leisured friends of both sexes would drop in for drinks, tea and chats and sometimes a whole morning's work would be lost. The afternoons would be devoted to making an exhibition enlargement of one of my holiday landscapes. This was all very pleasant, but it soon became apparent that building up a business meant hard serious work.³⁷

Establishing the photography business was not easy and there is evidence that Hardman was selling and arranging repairs for wireless apparatus as a means of subsidising the studio in its early years.³⁸ In the following year 1924 he was more confident about his future profession when he enrolled as a member of the Royal Photographic Society. The acceptance of two of his portrait photographs the following year for the annual exhibition of the London Salon of Photography³⁹ was a further indication that among his peers he was recognised as a competent photographer. Where his skills were learned is not clear. The only evidence of Hardman ever having been a student or apprentice is the notes from a correspondence course at the John H. Gear School of Pictorial and Technical Photography, London.⁴⁰ Evidence suggests that Hardman was an autodidact whose only practical education in photography was some instruction from his father. He also described inspiration from a young woman.

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- She was about nineteen - the doctor's daughter and the beauty of the district.... She had a half - plate stand camera with several lenses, and used to print her negatives by the Carbon process.... She taught me the rudiments of choosing and composing a subject, and I think you could date the beginning of my interest in landscape to the[se] days.⁴¹

In 1924 Hardman also became a member of the Liverpool Amateur Photographic Society where he made the acquaintance of "Chris Symes of bromoil transfer fame, HG Allen, [and] WA Blanchard...."⁴² In 1926 Margaret Mills (1909-1970), who was later to become Hardman's wife, was newly matriculated from the Liverpool Institute, and she came to work as an assistant at the Bold Street Studio. Margaret was an aspiring portrait photographer and during these early years she looked after the studio in Hardman's absence.⁴³

During the summer of 1926 Hardman visited Provence with a fellow Sandon member, the architect Harold Hinchcliffe Davies, and his wife Norah, in the company of another architect, Jenkins.⁴⁴ Hardman made a number of photographs during this trip including *A Memory of Avignon*, *Washing Potatoes*, *St Remy*, *A Street in Marseille*, *A Glimpse of the Mediterranean*, *Place Marcou*, *Palais des Papes*, *Martigues* and *An Old Frenchman*.⁴⁵ During 1930 one of the photographs from this series, *Martigues* (1926) was awarded first prize by *American Photography* magazine.⁴⁶ In August 1928, Hardman made a second visit to France, this time to Biarritz on the south west coast. On this occasion he was accompanied by Francis Xavier Velarde (1897-1960) a friend, fellow Sandon Society member and an architect of standing.⁴⁷ Velarde had been commissioned by *The Architects Journal* to write an article describing the new Pergola Casino at St Jean de Luz while Hardman was to make photographs to illustrate the article.⁴⁸ There is an extant map in the collection of the Trust which shows the route Hardman and Velarde took and the towns they visited. Their marked itinerary enables us to differentiate French photographs made in 1926 from those made in 1928.⁴⁹

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In 1929 Margaret Mills decided to leave the Burrell & Hardman partnership and by March of the same year she had accepted a position with another portrait photographer in Paisley, Scotland.⁵⁰ In May of the same year Kenneth Burrell also decided to leave Liverpool. Henceforth Hardman would run the Burrell & Hardman studio on his own, although helped by a number of studio assistants.⁵¹ In correspondence with Margaret Mills dated April 1929, he wrote of his first solo exhibition at the Liverpool Amateur Photographic Society.⁵² Later writing to her from Bridgenorth describing his current photography: "Velarde and I and Sharpe the painter are here for the weekend" and how "I may do quite well out of the photographs of Water Street published in *The Post*."⁵³ This is a reference to his photograph of the construction of the Martins Bank building in Water Street, Liverpool designed by the architect and fellow Sandon member Herbert Rowse.⁵⁴ In the same letter he refers to "the great group of condensers at Lister Drive Power Station" and included a sketch of the cooling towers as seen in his corresponding photograph. Subsequent letters between the two of them continue during September with Hardman remarking that he "has sent six prints to the London Salon amongst them being his new one of *Lister Drive*."⁵⁵ In the autumn of 1929 Margaret wrote from Paisley to thank the painter Henry Carr "for her portrait"⁵⁶ She subsequently writes in September, and refers to another Hardman photograph from this year, "I love the one near Tate and Lyle's Place" a reference to his *Little Howard Street* photograph.⁵⁷

At this time Hardman was still living in bed and breakfast accommodation with Mrs Ada Short, at Formby. It would be around this date that *On Formby Shore* was made, picturing Hardman relaxing among the dunes. It is possible that Margaret was the author of this picture, the beach at Formby would have been a convenient place for them to meet and make photographs and she does refer "to the happy times we had at Formby"⁵⁸. The print is however signed by Hardman and we must assume therefore that it is a self-portrait made using an auto-timer on the camera. This is his only self-portrait; and when first published in 1930, was captioned with an author credit to him.⁵⁹ The correspondence during these years between Hardman in Liverpool and Margaret Mills in Paisley reveals more than professional friendship. Letters from the summer of 1929 also refer to many

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arrangements for meetings between them at various locations in Scotland. In one letter he refers to a visit they made together to Whiting Bay, Arran; and includes some small contact prints made by them on 27th June. Their letters also include arrangements for other rendezvous, including a second meeting in Edinburgh when they visited North Berwick, referred to in a letter of 11th July. The letters continue with a description of other occasional meetings including Loch Lomond on the 30th September. Their intimate letters also describe tentative but growing thoughts about marriage and a business life together. Hardman made numerous portraits of Margaret during these years, in particular a portrait in swimming costume *The Diver*, which was first published in *The Manchester Guardian* as *Poised for a Dive* (1929).⁶⁰ Further letters by Hardman describe journeys he made with his friends, there are references to his visiting "Bunbury, Burwardsley, and Beeston Castle"⁶¹ and from December there is a bill from the Crown Hotel, Evesham, dated December 26/27th and invoiced to Hardman and his friend, the architect Velarde. There are a number of photographs of Evesham in the collection, but there are also later references to the town in correspondence and notebooks. As most of the Evesham photographs show fruit trees in blossom, they were not made on this December visit, but at a later time.

In 1929 Hardman's work was featured in an article *The Man and the Print* appeared in the *Amateur Photographer and Cinematographer*.⁶² The article, accompanied by a reproduction of *An Old Frenchman* (1926) included a description of Hardman's working method, in particular his use of the enlarged negative. There were other published photographs this year including an industrial brochure for British Insulated Cables⁶³, six reproductions in *The Cunard Magazine*⁶⁴ and many reproductions in Liverpool newspapers.⁶⁵ Evidence from his notebooks also point to photographs which may have been made in 1929, or earlier. These include *Flamborough Head*⁶⁶, *Canal Terminal Warehouses*, *Ellesmere Port*⁶⁷ and *Dry Dock Cammel Laird*.⁶⁸

During 1930 Hardman's friendship with Velarde continued indicated by references to mountain walks that the men made together.⁶⁹ There is also further correspondence arranging a meeting with Margaret in Callander⁷⁰ and in June,

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arrangements for another visit to North Berwick.⁷¹ Margaret writes "how delighted she was to get the D[aily] Post version of his Hooten Hall picture."⁷² In July she refers to his "Burwardsley view"⁷³, although there are a number of references in correspondence to Burwardsley, in this instance we can deduce that Margaret is referring to Hardman's photograph *Burwardsley Landscape*. The print of *Burwardsley Landscape* in the Trust collection uses the method and has the appearance of work from this period and a pencil sketch in the original letter from her describes formal elements in this photograph.⁷⁴ In July 1930, Hardman and Margaret contemplate starting a portrait business together, she suggests that she could set up "a special children's studio."⁷⁵ In correspondence Hardman constantly complains of the financial difficulties of running the studio business. He was keen to make a success of it, although at times he doubted if this was possible. Earlier in the year, Margaret had written of "letting her know how he gets on at Kodak"⁷⁶ a reference to Hardman decision to apply for a full time job with the photographic company. He did not obtain a position with Kodak, but the fact of his writing suggests that the studio business was not as financially successful as he would have wished.⁷⁷ By August she was exhorting him to "try and get fixed up with some good firm and then Pearl [Margaret] will keep her promise to come and help him with [the] Bold St.[studio]."⁷⁸

In the same month he did however receive some encouragement when he won the first prize of 100 dollars for his photograph *Martigues* (1926) in the 10th Annual Exhibition of American Photography organised by the magazine *American Photography*.⁷⁹ Reproductions of his photographs in Liverpool newspapers also brought much needed money, in particular his shipbuilding scene *Wooden Scaffolding*.⁸⁰ On a solo holiday to Scotland in September 1930, Hardman wrote of visiting Dunblane, a second visit to Stirling and "whether he gets to Oban depends on the weather."⁸¹ By October, Hardman was back in Liverpool, sending "both prints of Menai Bridge to the Post" and mentioning "the possibility of publishing a book of my photographs."⁸²

As previously noted Burrell & Hardman were the photographic portraitists of choice among Bluecoat's Sandon Society members. Among the members he was

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also a respected architectural photographer and in writing to Margaret, he remarked that he had "six photographs in the architecture section" of the Society's autumn exhibition.⁸³ Hardman took numerous photographs of ecclesiastical architecture, notably for two ex-students of Sir Charles Reilly the Liverpool University Professor of Architecture, Velarde, and the Liverpool architect, Bernard Alexander Miller⁸⁴, both also Sandon members. In 1930 Velarde saw the completed building from his design of St Mathew's Church at Clubmoor in Bootle and Hardman made a number of photographs of the church that year. He subsequently photographed many other Velarde churches.⁸⁵ There are also photographs in the Trust collection of Liverpool Cenotaph which had its unveiling that year, based on a design by the architect Lionel Budden⁸⁶ and bronze relief panels by Herbert Tyson Smith.⁸⁷ Hardman's association with the artists who were members of the Bluecoat Sandon Society was an important part of his social and professional life. Further evidence of this can be found in a photograph of Jacob Epstein's carved sculpture *Genesis* (1931) in a Bluecoat studio, prior to its completion.⁸⁸

In October 1930, Hardman sent Margaret a copy of his photograph *Ludlow Bridge and Castle* and explained how he had obtained the particular view using "a wide angle lens."⁸⁹ There were also a number of his photographs which were published that year including the previously mentioned *Landscape at Burwardsley, near Chester*⁹⁰ and *Landscape, Tattenhall, Cheshire*.⁹¹ The Hardman self-portrait referred to as *Formby Shore* was reproduced in the Liverpool press⁹² as was *Barges on the Canal at Ellesmere Port*.⁹³ An early Hardman photograph, *A Street in Peshawar, India* (c.1922) was reproduced in *The Observer* newspaper⁹⁴ and various photographs were reproduced in commercial brochures and magazines. These included the formal study *Dry Dock*, which was used with four others as hand-tipped-in illustrations.⁹⁵ The portrait of Margaret as *The Diver* was again reproduced this time as the cover picture for *Amateur Photographer* magazine.⁹⁶ He achieved further success when a number of his photographs were included in national and international exhibitions. *A Street in Marseille* was shown in the Royal Photographic Society's annual exhibition of 1930⁹⁷ and the photograph *Little Howard Street* was exhibited in

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New York.⁹⁸ Evidence from another exhibition suggests that the industrial photograph *Radiant Heat Bath*, commissioned by the Bon Marché, Liverpool department store, can be given a latest date by its inclusion in the 1930 Annual Professional Photographers Association exhibition.⁹⁹ There is also a catalogue reference to the inclusion of thirty-seven Hardman photographs in a Liverpool Amateur Photographic Association (L.A.P.A.) exhibition at Bootle Public Museum.¹⁰⁰

On a personal level the end of 1930 was not a happy time for Hardman. During December, Margaret Mills, in a number of letters, writes that her relationship with him is over. Perhaps correspondence and only occasional meetings were insufficient, by the end of the year she declares their relationship "finished".¹⁰¹ That year there was also a letter from Kenneth Burrell declaring that he was "unofficially.... leaving the partnership." On a more positive note there was a third visit to Europe for Hardman in the spring of 1931 when he was invited by Paul Zacharias, a cotton broker and a member of L.A.P.A., on a tour to Spain in Zacharias's Rolls Royce.¹⁰³ The tour was well documented by Zacharias¹⁰⁴ and the journey can be further dated from paper ephemera. An invoice from a hotel at Evreux for May 15th and 16th and a list by Hardman of their shared expenses¹⁰⁵ marks points on the journey to Barcelona. The return journey to Liverpool can be traced from a receipt from Collioure through May 24th to the 26th¹⁰⁶, and a letter from the Haute Pyrenees dated May 27th.¹⁰⁷ This tour with Zacharias included a stay in Barcelona, which would be Hardman's second visit to Spain. He had in 1928 briefly crossed the border into Spain and photographed a bull fight on his trip with Velarde.¹⁰⁸ Hardman's photographs of the city of Barcelona however date from 1931 as does the photograph *Fishermen of Collioure*. The photograph *Pont Valentre, Cahors* on the western side of the Pyrenees would also fit in with the 1931 itinerary, as would the photographs made in Carcassonne and at *The Fortress of Salses*. It is possible that the picture *Palais des Papes* in Avignon also dates from that year. In this picture Hardman's photography has a more modern, formal approach, which is quite different from soft focus French pictures made on his earlier visit in 1926. On the second visit to Europe, Hardman records "that we took about three hundred photographs.... and covered three thousand miles in

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twenty one days."¹⁰⁹ Although Hardman says "we", how many photographs were by Hardman is unclear, given that Zacharias subsequently gave two illustrated talks to L.A.P.A.¹¹⁰ There are also extant letters in the Trust collection of Hardman's continuing correspondence with Margaret Mills during the tour. Readings show him to be still concerned with retrieving their relationship.¹¹¹ These include a telegram from the Hotel Ritz, Barcelona, followed by a number of other letters, culminating in he and Margaret agreeing to marry.¹¹²

Hardman recorded a list of Liverpool photographs which date from 1931, including *Runcorn Transporter Bridge* and the marine vessels *Reina del Pacifico* and *Orbita and Oropesa*.¹¹³ His photographs were also included in a number of portrait exhibitions that year including an exhibition of the Professional Photographers Association (P.P.A.)¹¹⁴ and an exhibition of portraits at the Bon Marché Galleries, Liverpool.¹¹⁵ He was also included in the London Salon exhibition where, *A Corner of the Sitting Room* and *The River Mersey* were shown.¹¹⁶ Another article written by Hardman was also published this year, in two consecutive issues of the journal *The Camera and Amateur Cinematographer*.¹¹⁷ This technical article featured under the heading, "Commanding Artistic Control", and subtitled "Modification of Tone Values by Dye Tinting" describes Hardman's method in the use of the red dye coccine nouvelle as an aid to controlling tonal values in an enlarged negative.¹¹⁸ *Washing Potatoes St Remy* (1926), a work made five years earlier was also published in *The American Annual of Photography* this year; a notable feature of this picture was his use of coccine nouvelle on the enlarged negative.¹¹⁹ There were also a number of newspaper reproductions in the local Liverpool press in 1931, including *The Linesman*¹²⁰, *The Edge of the Welsh Hills*¹²¹ and *Low Tide on the Menai Straits*.¹²²

By September 1931 Hardman had left his bed and breakfast accommodation in Formby,¹²³ although where he subsequently resided is not clear, perhaps he was living in his Bold Street studio. His friendship with Paul Zacharias continued and late December 1931 found Hardman, Margaret and the Zacharias family skiing in Engelberg, Switzerland.¹²⁴ They remained in Switzerland until the second week of

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January and there are a number of Swiss scenes by both Hardman and Margaret in the Trust collection which date from this holiday.

Travels by Cycle and Train.

While portraiture was the main business of the studio Hardman undertook an increasing amount of commercial and industrial landscape work. Soon after his return from Switzerland in January 1932, he was in Dublin to photograph a Jacob's "biscuit factory".¹²⁵ At the end of May he visited Rotherham to make industrial photographic views of the area and subsequently made a second visit in October that year. Both of these visits were to make photographs for the industrial publication "Rotherham The Iron & Steel Town" which was published the following year.¹²⁶

In a notebook, Hardman records a visit he and Margaret made to Borth-y-Gest in Wales in the summer of 1932.

We spent the morning sunbathing on the rocks with the camera set on a tripod beside us, a plate always in position and the release handy. A flotilla of boats rode at their moorings swinging lazily and changing their groupings from time to time with the vagaries of wind and tide. Beyond was a background of blue mountains. Whenever the varying elements combined in happy unity, the shutter clicked. Again and again it clicked.¹²⁷

This notebook reliably dates when the photographs of *Borth-y-Gest* in the Trust collection were made. There were also a number of previously unpublished photographs which were reproduced in 1932 including *Goree Piazzas*, *Dibbindale*, *Clarence Dock site of new Power Station*, *Old Post Office Place*, *Liverpool*, *In Dry Dock*, *Birkenhead*, *The Birth of a Liner*, *Leaving the Princes Landing Stage* and *Salthouse Dock*.¹²⁸ A photograph exhibited at the London Salon that year of Margaret posed against an arch and titled *The Gateway*, can be

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given a latest date by its inclusion in the catalogue.¹²⁹ On the 10th August 1932, Hardman and Margaret Mills were married at Rainhill Parish Church, Liverpool. Their domestic address was, subsequently, 53 Hope Street, Liverpool; a ten minute walk from the Bold Street studio.¹³⁰

The following year, 1933, Hardman was admitted as an Associate Member of the Royal Photographic Society.¹³¹ His exhibition work continued and two of his recent photographs, *Swiss Scene* (1931) and *A By-Product Plant, Rotherham* (1932), were also exhibited at the London Salon.¹³² The same year the formal photographic study *Mooring Warps* was published in *The Listener* magazine.¹³³ 1933 was also the year that Hardman's industrial landscapes of Rotherham were finally published.¹³⁴ In a notebook for 1934 there is a record "Easter photographs taken" the list describes the locations of fourteen pictures made in the Lake District including "Borrowdale, Derwentwater, Stonethwaite, Rosthwaite and Skiddaw from Eagle Crag."¹³⁵ On 12th May he writes of another visit to Evesham where he was "Disappointed to find all the orchards were plum not apple. Consequently all the blossom was over."¹³⁶ In the same notebook Hardman records an August visit to Galloway, although his handwriting for this entry is extremely difficult to read.

At the end of 1933 and through the Christmas and New Year holidays of 1934 the Hardmans travelled by train to Devon stopping overnight at Bridport and taking the bus the following day to Lyme Regis. On December 28th he describes seeing "a beautifully shaped copse of beech trees, domed on top like Paul Nash's picture, the low angle of the sun...gave them a curious luminosity, making them look almost unreal."¹³⁷ The entries continue with January 1st when they "walked down to the Cobb"¹³⁸ and on January 3rd he writes that they "walked through Uplyme to Monkton Wyld. A climb brought us to Stammery Hill, leading to Axminster. The views from this bridge were superb."¹³⁹ The following day they were "searching for fossils" and on January 5th he writes "alighted at Seaton and walked along the west beach in order to photograph the chalk headland"¹⁴⁰ which is a confirmation date for his photograph *White Cliff, Seaton* in Devon. The earlier reference to the copse of trees looking like a "Paul Nash picture" suggests

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that this might be the source for Hardman's own photograph *The Copse*. While strongly reminiscent of the painter's view, this photograph was not made in England; having the subtitle *Laurieston Kirkcudbright*, it was made in Scotland.¹⁴¹ Hardman records elsewhere that another summer photograph *Farm near Grassmere* was made in 1933.¹⁴² The following year a previously unpublished photograph *Mersey Tunnel Ventilation Tower* (c.1934) was given national exposure in the *Manchester Guardian*.¹⁴³

During 1935 Hardman was elected a Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society.¹⁴⁴ His notebooks also describe further excursions when, during the weekend of the June 8th-9th, he, Margaret and "the pup" [Pep their dog] visited the Peckforten Hills together. He describes taking bicycles on the train to Beeston Castle Station and after "dumping spare kit at the hotel... crossed the ridge at Peckforten Village and descended to Burwardsley."¹⁴⁵ In July 1935 there is a notebook entry where Hardman records a visit by them to Scotland in July and includes references to "River Affric, Loch Affric and Loch Ben",¹⁴⁶ places which suggest a preliminary date for his photograph *Upper Glen Affric*. In another notebook for that year he describes a visit by them to the Lake District from December 26th until the first week of January the following year.¹⁴⁷ On December 29th he wrote:

there was a very attractive view of Derwentwater and Skiddaw...The lake surface, although calm being full of different tones - all in a key of pearly greys and blues and the islands smokey and insubstantial. the stark black branches of some ash trees near the lakeside gave quality to the distant scene. Took two of these photographs at 1/16 and 1/32 sec at f4.5 with G filter.¹⁴⁸

During 1935 Hardman again showed landscape work at the London Salon of Photography with the first exhibition of *Cliffs, Flamborough* (1929).¹⁴⁹

Dated entries in a notebook for January 1st-4th 1936 includes Hardman writing of cycling in the Lake District on their further travels by train and bicycle.¹⁵⁰ He writes in a later notebook of:

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the road leading to Elmley Castle.... and.... after the turning by Kensore we saw ... a perfectly cut hayrick with a ladder leaning against it. Great white cumulus clouds were piling up in the sky behind it.¹⁵¹

This is a clear reference to the making of the photograph *The Rick*. Writing a month later, on May 30th he describes their "third visit to Evesham"¹⁵² and at the weekend June 27/28th describes them visiting the Elwy Valley.¹⁵³ Later in the notebook Hardman describes walking by Loch Dee in Galloway between August 4th and 7th, and refers to "a previous ascent in '34."¹⁵⁴ In another notebook there is a reference to a visit to Galloway during the weekend of August 17th-19th where he describes a farmhouse: "It is right on the top of a rounded knoll deriving what shelter it can from a copse of dense stunted trees."¹⁵⁵ There is no year written in this latter notebook and the entry may refer to 1934. The earlier *Copse* view, without clouds¹⁵⁶ may therefore have been made in 1934, and the second better-known view, with clouds, in 1936.

Hardman's notebook entries continue in 1936 with a description of them visiting Beeston on August 22nd "the sun was out.... the whitewashed Carden Arms Inn was dazzling against the heavy blue of the distant landscape.... took several photographs."¹⁵⁷ Later in the same script there is a reference to "Dropping Stone Farm". Both of these buildings feature separately in titled photographs by him. Another notebook from that year¹⁵⁸ has as a title on the first page "Visit to Bath & Torquay Dec 1936" in his hand, but no other entry. A further notebook of this year includes a reference to Rossall School and "List of illustrations required."¹⁵⁹ Exhibition and publications continued with the photograph *Electric Welder* published twice in 1936¹⁶⁰ after its exhibition at the London Salon. While Hardman had success selling his pictures to local newspapers there is evidence that he was not quite so successful in London where he appears to have had an unexplained disagreement with the editor of *The Observer* newspaper.¹⁶¹

A bill in the trust collection dated July 21st 1937 from the Royal Hotel, Kirby Lonsdale for 18/6d, is of interest because it is for two persons and the "garage of car". Henceforth the Hardmans are motorists, rather than travellers by train and

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cycle. Elsewhere Hardman writes "Most of our explorations in Wales and Scotland were done before the war by push bicycle."¹⁶² However on that July working day the Hardmans drove from Kirby Lonsdale and "proceeded via Sedbergh in hopes of finding sun on school buildings. Rained, typical Sedbergh day."¹⁶³ They continued on to the ancient village of Crosby Ravensworth, and from there to Appleby where:

we only had time for a glance at this orderly and self respecting town with its wide main street, grass verges and trees. I think the expression 'in apple pie order' originated in Appleby.¹⁶⁴

The entry in the notebook continues the following morning in Corbridge "photographed The Angel Inn from our bedroom across the road and after breakfast photographed the bridge." Later that day they visited the Roman excavations at Corstopitum, although there is no reference to them visiting Hadrian's Wall on this occasion. On the same day they continued to the old village of Rothbury and then north-east to Alnwick where Hardman refers to the town's "magnificent castle". The day ended at Bamburgh, which they found " full up and after a lengthy search found a very nice bedroom at the Victoria Hotel, but as the tariff was 18/- we moved next day to the Ship Hotel at Seahouses."¹⁶⁵ In another notebook he records that on August 28th they "Left Liverpool at 10pm for Sedbergh"¹⁶⁶ a reference which relates to a commission from Sedbergh School to provide photographs for its year book and prospectus.¹⁶⁷

Reproductions of Hardman's pictures brought a small but steady income during these years, in 1937 *Beech Copse in Winter* was published in a book ¹⁶⁸ and the photograph *Water Street, Liverpool* (1929) was reproduced in *Photograms of the Year*.¹⁶⁹ There were also a number of newspaper reproductions this year in the *Liverpool Daily Post* including *Loch Alshe to the Mountains of Skye*¹⁷⁰, *Birds Eye View of Water Street*¹⁷¹, *Duke's Dock*¹⁷² and *Poplars, Bolesworth* (1931).¹⁷³

There was also further international exposure when *Old Carcassonne* (1931) was exhibited at the 1937 San Francisco Invitational Salon of International Photography.¹⁷⁴

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Burrell & Hardman: Liverpool and Chester.

In 1938 Hardman took over the lease of a second portrait studio, in Chester.¹⁷⁵ During April 1938 there was correspondence about having a new sign and window front made, by May 3rd a tenancy agreement had been signed. Henceforth the company would be called "Burrell & Hardman, Liverpool and Chester", a title they would use for the next twenty years. The Bold Street studio processed the negatives and printed all of the sittings from Chester as well as those made in Liverpool. The staff at Bold Street consequently had an increased work load although at the Bold Street premise the Hardmans were assisted by at least four full-time technicians and a part-time hand colourist.¹⁷⁶ The weeks began to fall into a working pattern with Hardman driving to Chester to make portrait negatives while working in Liverpool on other days. The portrait studio was becoming increasingly successful, as was Hardman's status among his peers, indicated by his winning first prize in the "Men" section of the 1938 Professional Photographers Association exhibition at the Bluecoat Chambers.¹⁷⁷ Sitters in the previous year had also included *The New Countess Leverhulme*¹⁷⁸, *Lady Delamere*¹⁷⁹ and the dancer *Margot Fonteyn*.¹⁸⁰ There was also an exhibition in Liverpool of "Camera Portraits" by both Chambré and Margaret¹⁸¹, representing Burrell & Hardman, which would have further encouraged local sales. Hardman was also commissioned this year to make exhibition prints for The Council for the Preservation of Rural England (C.P.R.E.) although the actual subjects are not known.¹⁸² Also from this year is a carbon copy of a letter from Hardman recording "I send herewith the print of the Roman Wall for reproduction in *Historic Haunts of England*."¹⁸³ It seems very probable therefore that Hardman did make the photograph of *The Roman Wall* on the earlier 1937 visit to Corbridge and Corstopitum.

The busy Chester studio required new working arrangements, and the new Mersey Tunnel, which linked Liverpool to the Wirral peninsula, undoubtedly

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assisted Hardman's frequent crossing of the River Mersey by car. From the evidence, work and commuting seemed to have left little time for travel in 1939. He noted in his personal diary, "Portraits in Chester every other day."¹⁸⁴ In conversation, he further remembered this as a period when "the appointment book was always black with names" and

The lack of photographic supplies in the war helped us really. Amateurs simply couldn't get them, so the demand for professional work increased. We had pre-war quotas, which were filled. I did have to go down from half plate to quarter. We were very busy indeed during the war, as Liverpool was army, navy and airforce personnel, Americans and Canadians, all wanting to be pictured in uniform.¹⁸⁵

There is evidence of further business growth in a letter where he recollected:

By 1940 we (my wife and I - Burrell having left the business) had a busy concern, with leases on two properties and a staff that kept growing to the number of fourteen or fifteen.¹⁸⁶

There is also extant part correspondence between Hardman and the London portrait photographer Gilbert Adams in which Adams asks Hardman:

to assist me in a special exhibition...Devoted to the 'Glory of Britain'; these are to be portraits of people in the open air and are to be 5 or 6ft. high enlargements and should be of an inspirational type with as much life as possible.¹⁸⁷

Their proposed collaboration on this project appears not to have developed, although why, given their initial enthusiasm, is not explained. Another event prior to the Second World War is described in a brief jotting in a notebook, which from the grammar, was written by Margaret where she refers to:

When we were staying at Rhicomach in Sutherland just before the war in '39 when the PM Neville Chamberlain was staying [there]. Take a camera I said, and see if you

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- can get a picture, you took the heavy 1/4 plate graphlex.¹⁸⁸

Hardman has given 1939 as the date for two other photographs he made in Scotland *Gypsies, Loch Erribol*¹⁸⁹ and *Loch Maree, Wester Ross*.¹⁹⁰ Given this date for *Gypsies, Loch Erribol* made on their visit to Sutherland this year, it is possible that the landscape photograph *The Mountains of Sutherland*, which describes similar atmospheric conditions¹⁹¹, is contemporary with it. Similarly this year could be the earliest date for his photograph *Suilven, Sutherland*. The picture *Thunder over Glencoe* was exhibited at the London Salon that year, perhaps again made on the same visit to Scotland, although it could be earlier.¹⁹²

A chequebook for the spring of 1940 found in the Trust collection has stubs recording a number of interesting transactions, including overtime payments of £1 16s 0d to Miss Sylvia Bone and the payment of 13s 8d for "Alterations to Chester shop window to conform to blackout regulations". The stubs also record the payment of £3 14s 8d for the "painting of miniatures"¹⁹³, and the date of Hardman's purchase of a Rolleiflex camera for £35 1s 8d on June 20th. We can therefore deduce an earliest date for negatives made with this new camera.¹⁹⁴ From all evidence it appears that The Burrell & Hardman portrait studios were thriving during the war years; for example Hardman's 1941 appointments diary in the Trust collection shows another very busy year. There are frequently six or more sitters each day at roughly one hourly interval, and eight sittings were booked for Christmas Eve. This same diary also refers to a holiday in Wales during the last week in July and the first in August and includes notes referring to hotels in Dinas Mawddy and Tal-y-Llyn.

During the war Liverpool was frequently bombed, first in August 1940 and at its worse during the May Blitz on the nights of May 1941. Recollecting these years, Hardman describes:

we worked in the building in Bold Street throughout the war. Enlargers and camera lenses as well as negatives of

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work in progress, ledgers etc were taken out on most nights to our house between Storeton and Barnston.¹⁹⁵

Clearly some time earlier the Hardmans had moved from their Hope Street address in Liverpool to a new address on the Wirral peninsula on the other side of the River Mersey. There is an extant letter from a former studio assistant who wrote to Margaret.

How are you managing to run the Chester studio with petrol so scarce? You must have had a shock the night Gambier Terrace was hit and also when St James's Road got it.¹⁹⁶

This remark suggests that Chambré and Margaret were still, at this time, living in Hope Street, which is adjacent to the locations described as bombed. The first air raids on Liverpool occurred in August 1940; they must therefore have moved sometime after that date, probably in 1941. The new domestic address at Barnston, referred to in the earlier letter, would have made travelling between the two studios much easier as Barnston lies almost mid-way between Chester and Liverpool. While further from the enemy bombers' target of Liverpool, their new home now suffered from the effect of home defence ordinance. Hardman recollected that, "The roof of our house (Three Stacks) was blown off one night by a land mine, the bedroom ceiling collapsed on the bed and the roof was ripped off my car."¹⁹⁷ The new house called Three Stacks at 21 Private Drive, Barnston, had been designed by Hardman's friend, the architect Velarde, although not to Hardman's commission. Three Stacks would be home to the Hardmans for the next nine years.¹⁹⁸

Hardman was later to describe official attitudes to portrait photography, which at that time was a reserved occupation and considered of national importance.

My photographic knowledge caused me to be included in the list of reserve occupations. About this time it came to be realised by the 'high ups' that the portrait branch of photography had a valuable part to play in sustaining morale on the home front as well as in the three services.

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- There were hardly any films to be had for amateurs and every wartime parting, mother from son, son from children and so on caused a photograph to be practically a necessity. I received many letters, almost pathetic in their gratitude from those who had sustained loss and who considered the portrait I had taken to be their most precious possession.¹⁹⁹

Government edicts did however curtail the activities of photographers during the war²⁰⁰ and this, coupled with the busy studios, meant that Hardman made few landscapes during the period. There is only one reference to a holiday for the Hardmans that year, when they stayed in Wales in July.²⁰¹ Exhibitions did however continue during the war and he refers in his personal diary for 1943 to another exhibition at L.A.P.A. This diary also itemises six lectures in October at Heswall Methodist Hall; which were probably arranged by the local amateur photographic association. There is also a notebook script by him describing the climate for his election in 1943 as First President of the West Lancashire and Cheshire Institute of British Photographers.

There was little fraternisation among Liverpool photographers, they were like a pack of suspicious dogs walking stiff legged around each other with their hackles up, this attitude persisted right up to the war. Then all photographers were faced with serious problems such as call-up, Purchase Tax, clothes and petrol rationing which meant dealing collectively with government departments.²⁰²

Around 1944 Hardman began part-time teaching of practical photography at Chester Army garrison; he would continue with these evening classes for the next twenty-five years.²⁰³ There are a large number of Chester views in the Trust collection. Most of these photographs were made in the city centre and the main emphasis is architectural, he appears to have been quite systematic in his survey of the city describing much of the city centre period and *faux* architecture, although there are also Chester photographs which relate to his teaching. The majority of these photographs would have been made during the years Hardman held the lease on the St Werburgh Street Studio (1938-59). A number of pictures such as *Groves with Footsoldier* (c.1945) and *Street Scene with Stars and Stripes*

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(c.1945) clearly relate to the war years, while the scene *Rainy Day in Chester*, from the evidence of the cars and the dress of the figures, is probably later, circa 1947. Evidence of other pictures possibly made during these years can be found in a letter dated June 1944 from Hardman's sister Audrey, in Dublin, addressed to the Hardmans at Ty-y-Crocs Hotel near Dolgellau, Wales, in which she writes "I am glad you are able to have some much needed holidays". A photograph by Hardman *The Pass to Llanberis* was published in *The Liverpool Daily Post and Echo* newspaper²⁰⁴ and it is possible that this photograph was made that year on the route to Dolgellau, although it could be earlier. Two more Welsh landscapes, similarly perhaps made the year before, were also published in a Liverpool newspaper in 1945.²⁰⁵

Before the war, when time could be found away from business, and especially at weekends and holidays, Hardman went in search of the large landscape subject. Wartime constraints perhaps predicated another direction for his personal work during those years. There are in the Trust collection many still life studies from this period; most are 10x8 inch proof prints although some have been worked to exhibition size. The subjects of the exhibition print still-life pictures vary, but include nature studies and observations of man-made artefacts such as *Unemployed*, a photograph of an abandoned ship's boiler which Hardman dates as 1944.²⁰⁶ Elsewhere he gives the same year for his picture of empty beer bottles, *Bottles in the Snow*.²⁰⁷ Other experimental works from the period include *In the Witch's Mirror*, which was exhibited at the London Salon of Photography annual exhibition of 1946.²⁰⁸ Notes by Hardman date three other photographs from 1946: the twilight photograph of Liverpool *Museum Steps*, the agricultural scene *Harrowing near Bala* [Harrowing in Wales] and the winter river scene *Ice covered Dee*.²⁰⁹ This was also the year of his taking the photograph *Helsby Hill*, which can be dated by the contemporary environmental concern for the landscape in question.²¹⁰

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.The Rodney Street Studio.

By 1947 the Liverpool studio was producing photographs for the Liverpool Playhouse. This Liverpool theatre is the key to contextualising many of the important portrait photographs from the period, notably his portrait of *Abraham Sofaer as King Lear* (1947).²¹¹ This year the portrait of Sofaer prompted a rare occasion on which Hardman chose to exhibit a portrait at the London Salon, although it was exhibited alongside the pre-war landscape photographs, *Nursery Slopes* (1931/32) and *Pont Valentre, Cahors* (1931).²¹² Evidence of further commercial work can be found in a book marking the centenary of Rossall School illustrated with photographs by Hardman which was published that year.²¹³ The following year 1948 he was; according to diaries and notebooks, busy organising meetings with the Institute of British Photography (I.B.P.)²¹⁴ and a lecture at Blackpool School of Photography.²¹⁵ This year he also refers to a visit to Coleg Harlech²¹⁶ and refers to what was perhaps his first use of colour film when he describes his use of Ektachrome film to photograph botanical specimens for the Bee's seed company in July.²¹⁷

A major forthcoming event in the Hardmans business and personal life is referred to in a 1948 diary where he noted: "preparing to move to Rodney Street."²¹⁸ The impetus for this move was the end of the lease on the Bold Street Studio. Henceforth all of the studio processing and printing would be done at Rodney Street where Hardman records that they had a staff of ten and a turnover of £3,800.²¹⁹ The purchase of the house at 59 Rodney Street, Liverpool, also marked a rise in status. The new studio was about half a mile from the original Bold Street premises, but it was no longer a high street studio. Situated in a more residential environment, Hardman's new neighbours were no longer shopkeepers but were more likely to be medical consultants and architects. In June 1949 "Three Stacks", the Barnston residential home, was sold.²²⁰ The pattern of commercial photography for the Hardmans continued in 1949 with further production photographs for the Playhouse theatre²²¹, "photography of Eaton Estate"²²² and numerous I.B.P. meetings.²²³ Similarly his exhibition at the London Salon annual

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exhibitions continued, in the 1948 catalogue two of Hardman's photographs are listed *Rain in Chester* [Rainy Day in Chester] and *Fishing Nets* [Fishing Nets near Whitby].²²⁴ The pattern followed in following year when the view of the border landscape *The Roman Wall* (1937) was exhibited at the 1949 London Salon Exhibition.²²⁵

The studio business was still prospering and Hardman noted in his personal diary for 1950 "increasing trade" and lists "things we do" as well as further references to I.B.P. meetings. 1950 was also the year that Hardman made his masterpiece *The Birth of the Ark Royal*. The origin of this photograph has been previously corroborated.²²⁶ Hardman also records this as the year of his informal portrait photograph of a *Liverpool Dustman*.²²⁷ Apart from his regular contributions to the Salon, evidence shows that he was also selected by other venues, the *Old Dee Bridge* in Chester was exhibited at the Royal Photographic Society in 1950.²²⁸ He was also prominent in an exhibition organised by the I.B.P. where he was listed in the 1951 catalogue as exhibiting portraits, theatre photographs, colour transparencies and landscapes. Two earlier landscape photographs *The Rick* (1936) and *Suilven* (c.1939) were also exhibited at the London Salon that year, the latter was also reproduced in *Photograms of the Year*.²²⁹ There is evidence that Hardman also submitted the landscape *Loch Duich* (c.1939) to the London Salon, although it was not exhibited.²³⁰

While he was a frequent exhibitor at national exhibitions and the studio business appeared financially successful, the following year there is another instance of Hardman's doubts about his career as a professional photographer. The first had been in 1930, when he had written to Kodak applying for a job. In November 1951, he applied for the post of Senior Lecturer in Photography at the Guildford School. In a letter to Bertram Simkinson, vice president of the Royal Photographic Society, who was to act as a referee, Hardman confided:

Life has not been easy for the past three years.... it is for my wife's sake that I apply for this post....by hard work we have increased the number of our sitters in 1951 by

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18% over 1950 and by 30% over 1949 but most sitters spend less money than was the case three years ago.²³¹

By January of the following year Hardman had accepted that he was unlikely to be appointed.²³² These were evidently difficult and uncertain years for the studio because in 1953 he subsequently applied for another post, this time at Birmingham College of Art, again his application was unsuccessful.²³³

Although business was not going well he continued to make landscape photographs and records that *Great Bulk of Manod* was made in 1951.²³⁴ Similarly he continued to exhibit his landscape work in preference to what would have been more commercially expedient; the exhibiting of portraits. The following year he exhibited at the 1952 London Salon the Chester photograph *Netting Salmon on the Dee*²³⁵ and following this, *Cliffs of Devon* (1934) at the 1953 Royal Photographic Society.²³⁶ *Cliffs of Devon* was also subsequently reproduced in the society's annual photographic review *The Year's Photography 1953-54*.²³⁷ Landscape was again his chosen subject for the 1953 London Salon which included *The Copse on Harvest Hill* [The Copse, 1936], *Frost on a Weeping Elm* (c.1945) and *Weeping Ash* (c.1945)²³⁸. Following this his 1954 London Salon exhibits were a further demonstration of his commitment to landscape when he showed *Whitby* (c.1949), *Shadow of the Aqueduct* (c.1953) and *By the River Chester* (c.1953-54).²³⁹ He was also continuing to write about photography, there is a typed script in the Trust collection of a review he wrote of *Photograms of the Year* for 1953, although it is not clear who commissioned it and there is no evidence of it being published.²⁴⁰ In 1954 Hardman visited the American photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn who was then living in Wales but the purpose and outcome of their meeting is not known.²⁴¹

In March 1955, Hardman was invited to address the Pictorial Group of the Royal Photographic Society and his lecture "Exhibition Quality: Some Ways of Attaining it" was subsequently reproduced in the *Photographic Journal*. This essay is probably the clearest statement of Hardman's aesthetic stance, in which he states that

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Quality in a pictorial photograph may be likened to personality in a human being. It is linked to the subject and can only be judged in relation to it.²⁴²

Concerning his technique he wrote,

I have no hesitation in using any means of control, at any stage which will help to give me the result I want, providing it does not conflict with the photographic quality of the image.²⁴³

He also lamented current photographic practices remarking that. "In place of individuality of style we now have a great deal of semi-standardised technique" and how "many photographers fail to exploit fully the great flexibility of their medium" and with the advent of the small camera there is "a disproportionate interest in purely technical matters as compared with the more imaginative use of photography."²⁴⁴

At the 1955 London Salon, Hardman exhibited his unusual negative print *Guardians of the Viaduct* which was also reproduced in *Photograms of the Year*.²⁴⁵ The autumn exhibition at the Royal Photographic Society included further landscapes, the prints *A Shropshire Farmhouse* and *Zig Zag Landscape* [Dropping Stone Farm] and two colour transparencies *Farm near Denbigh* and *Hawarden Castle*. The following year Hardman's 1956 London Salon exhibits included *Borth-y-Gest* (1932) and *The Vale of Clwyd*.²⁴⁶ Elsewhere Hardman gives 1956 as the year of his making of the photograph *Connah's Quay Power Station*.²⁴⁷ The 1957 London Salon included relatively new work by Hardman, *Snow Capped Urns*, *Dusting of Snow Kerry Hill*, *Evening Upholland* and the earlier *Loch Leven from Glencoe Village* (c.1939).²⁴⁸

In 1958 Hardman decided not to renew the lease on the Chester studio²⁴⁹, although elsewhere he records that the Chester Army College photography classes continue.²⁵⁰ In a rare dated entry on July 14th, 1958, Hardman recorded in his notebook "Sunny evening so visit made to King's Dock. M.V. Pinto

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photographed", giving a definitive date for the photograph with that title.²⁵¹ In another notebook he gives 1958 as the date of making *The Cockle Hole* and also a second, alternative date for his photograph *Connah's Quay Power Station*.²⁵² Elsewhere he records 1958 as the year of his making his composition of seagulls on a ferry, *Passengers from Dublin*.²⁵³

In June 1958 the Hardmans took a ten day holiday in Tregaron.²⁵⁴ Business was however not going well and by November he was applying for another job, this time as Secretary to the Bluecoat Society of Arts; again his job application was unsuccessful.²⁵⁵ At the London Salon that year Hardman exhibited *Where Great Ships are Built* (1950) [Birth of the Ark Royal] and the new photograph of *M.V. Pinto in Dock* (1958). The Ark Royal photograph was subsequently acquired by the trustees of the American Stephen Tyng Collection.²⁵⁶

The Late Years.

1959 saw the Burrell & Hardman studio business continuing to decline with the end of the lease on the Chester studio.²⁵⁷ There was the further personal loss for Hardman with the death of his mother²⁵⁸ which may explain the title of the photograph *Grieve Not*²⁵⁹ and the sentiment of *Snow Capped Urns*.²⁶⁰ At the London Salon of 1959 Hardman exhibited two photographs, atypically of people in an urban setting.²⁶¹ In both *Family Stroll* and *Playing Bowls* the evidential descriptive content of the pictures is further enhanced by a strong formal pattern created by shadows. This year the *British Journal of Photography* first published *Where Great Ships are Built* (1950) [Birth of the Ark Royal].²⁶²

In a 1960 notebook Hardman made notes in preparation for a relatively new type of photography, his documentation of the opening of the Rio Tinto Zinc plant at Ditton for public relations purposes.²⁶³ The same year his activities at the London Salon increased when he became an "Active Member of the Salon Organising Committee"²⁶⁴ while continuing to also exhibit landscapes at the annual exhibition which included *Cold February Evening, Liverpool, Bulls Eye View, Windy Day,*

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Llyn Awen Reservoir and *Late Afternoon, Borrowdale*.²⁶⁵ He also recorded in notebooks for 1960 that this was the year he made the photographs *Three Logs and Three Clouds*²⁶⁶ and *Ballet on the Railings*.²⁶⁷ His work for the Salon selection committee necessitated visits to London and there is an extant postcard, postmarked June 28th 1961, from Chambré in London to Margaret in Liverpool, referring to selected works for the exhibition; "Three of ours are in, except *St James's Road*". Although the subject of this picture is currently unidentified, the Salon catalogue does list *Richmond Castle, The Grey Pony* and *Trial Sketch* as exhibits.²⁶⁷ The following year the 1962 London Salon catalogue illustrated Hardman's technically superb combination negative *Something Fishy Here* and records his other exhibits as *Manorbier Castle, Late Evening Crossing, R.W.Gemmel* and *Passengers from Dublin* (1958).²⁶⁸ Hardman was by now a highly regarded photographer among Salon members and the 1963 exhibition included four further pictures by him, *The Hills near Sedbergh, Loch an Ais Wester Ross, Links of a Monster Chain* and *Haughty Lady with Soldier* the latter being reproduced as a catalogue illustration.²⁶⁹ Similarly in the 1964 exhibition, Hardman had four photographs included, *Burwardsley Hill, Channels of Communication, Grieve Not* (1960) and *Near Laurieston, Kirkcudbrightshire*. The last was also reproduced in the catalogue.²⁷⁰

In 1965 Hardman officially retired from commercial photography although privately he continued to undertake portraits, small commissions and evening photographic classes for the Army. He also continued his personal landscape photography and, at the London Salon that year he exhibited *Sundown; Cilcowen Hill, Road to Lochinver, An Old Lancashire Lane* and *The Old Man of the Sea; Llangranog*, the latter was also reproduced as a catalogue illustration.²⁷¹

In 1966 a second essay by Hardman "Landscape Another Personal View"²⁷² was published in the Royal Photographic Society's *Photographic Journal*. The essay derived from a lecture Hardman had given to the Society's Pictorial Group in March that year. This was Hardman's second lecture to the Society and was given more than a decade after the first. The second lecture explored different ground and addressed the subject of landscape photography with respect to "one

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particular aspect which appeals strongly to me; the open, spacious view in our own homeland."²⁷³ Here Hardman aligns himself with a view of landscape which gives a political and documentary reading to landscape representation.

In a pastoral or cultivated landscape.... every lane, every field, every hedgerow is eloquent of man's association with and dependence on the soil.²⁷⁴

In his essay Hardman also touches on a more mystical, psychoanalytical interpretation of his interest in the natural landscape

Most of my childish dreams were of landscapes; usually of some remote and spectacularly sited lake, which I could never find again. I still love remote lakes, and now usually being able to find them, I sometimes fish in them while waiting for the right light for a photograph.²⁷⁵

At the 1966 Salon, Hardman exhibited further landscapes, *The Great Bulk of Manod* (1951), *Loch Duich* (c.1939), *Night Patrol* and *Across the Mersey* (1965) [The Cackle Hole], which was also reproduced in the catalogue.²⁷⁶ The following year Hardman's photograph *At the Fortress of Salses* (1931) was published as the cover illustration for an issue of *Amateur Photographer*.²⁷⁷ This picture had also been illustrated in the London Salon catalogue that same year and had been exhibited at the annual exhibition alongside landscapes of *Loch Alsh* (1937), *Loch Maree* (1939) and *Evening on the Mersey*.²⁷⁸ A further photograph can be dated to this year from a notebook reference to visiting Wensleydale in June, which is a probable date for the modern looking photograph *In Wensleydale*.²⁷⁹

In 1968, Hardman continued to give talks on photography to L.A.P.A. on "Pictorial and Landscape Photography"²⁸⁰ and to the English Speaking Union on "Highlights of a Career in Photography."²⁸¹ At the London Salon that year he again exhibited landscapes, this time a mixture of early and later works, *Manorbier, Pembrokeshire* (c.1961), *Power for Industry* (1956) [Connah's Key Power Station], *Poplars, Bolesworth* (1931) and *The Coast of Devon* (1934).²⁸² There is an extant London Salon entry form for 1969 which indicated the

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Hardman submitted, or intended to submit, a portrait of *H.R. Wildermuth, Gypsies Loch Erribol* (1939), *Summer Clouds* and *Liverpool's Two Cathedrals* (c.1968).²⁸³

In March 1970 Margaret Hardman died, a loss for Hardman of not only a wife and photographic companion but also a business partner who was an extremely skilful darkroom printer.²⁸⁴ At the 1970 London Salon that year Hardman exhibited *Ballet on the Railings* (1961), *Canal Warehouses, In Wensleydale* (1968) and the complex photomontage *Property Merger*.²⁸⁵ In 1971, although retired, there is a record of him still making portrait photographs²⁸⁶, and in a letter to his sister his enthusiasm for landscape photography appears undiminished. "Having the car is some consolation because occasionally (two such times this year) I can get into the country and if necessary sleep in the car for a night."²⁸⁷

There is an extant entry form for the London Salon of 1971 indicating that Hardman submitted or intended to submit for selection *Welsh Mountain Demon, Gossips* (1926), *A Liverpool Skyline* and *Hill Farming Country*.²⁸⁸ The London Salon catalogue for 1972 cites Hardman's exhibiting *Shed a Tear for the Unemployed* (1944) [Unemployed], *Old Man with his Memories* (1926) [An Old Frenchman], *Village in Pandikkad Kerala* (1921/22) and *Cornfield in Flintshire*.²⁸⁹ This was a very broad range of work from different periods by Hardman and increasingly he became retrospective in his selections for submission. There is no reference in the 1973 Salon catalogue to Hardman, although in the 1974 catalogue he is represented by five works *On the City Walls Chester, Kintail, The Bin Man* (1950), *Three Logs and Three Clouds* (1960) and *Seen from Glencoe* (1939) [Thunder Over Glencoe] which was also illustrated.²⁹⁰

In March 1975 an exhibition of Hardman's work *Fifty Years of Photography* was organised by The University of Liverpool.²⁹¹ There is however no evidence that Hardman submitted work to the London Salon this year.²⁹² There was further recognition of his achievements when in 1976 he was profiled in an illustrated feature article in the magazine *Lancashire Life*, titled "E. Chambré Hardman Photographer."²⁹³ In March 1976 the *Liverpool Daily Post* reported "140,000

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negs from 1925 handed over to Central Library."²⁹⁴ This newspaper article describes Hardman as selling negatives from his collection to the city of Liverpool's local history archive. The material purchased and now held by the library are almost exclusively negatives from portrait sittings and the registers pertaining to them.

In 1976, Hardman was still a member of the active Organising Committee for the London Salon of Photography and in that year he had a further four pictures included in the annual exhibition, *Upper Glen Affric* (c.1935), *Mountains of Sutherland* (c.1939), *Pennine Rock Monster* and *Two Men in a Boat* (1951) [Salmon Fishing on the Dee].²⁹⁵ A decade after his retirement Hardman's enthusiasm for photography appeared undiminished and as late as 1977 he wrote to his sister Audrey, in Ireland, of the "idea of a book of paired photographs."²⁹⁶ This correspondence also gives an explanation to the collection of more than one hundred small proof photographs in the Trust archive. This group of pictures are loose and physically unconnected but are paired by formal similarity or shared metaphor.²⁹⁷ At the 1977 London Salon Hardman was again included in the catalogue listing as exhibiting *Boy and Drinking Fountain* (1931), *Barrow Boy Stops for a Light* (c.1940), *Late Evening Sun, Welshpool* and *Think Again Brother*.²⁹⁸

In 1978, Hardman was the subject of a radio broadcast called *The Image Maker* in which he recollected memories of his working life, including anecdotes of his time in India. In a Desert Island Discs format he was also asked to choose a selection of his favourite music to accompany the interview.²⁹⁹ At the London Salon exhibition 1978, of which he was still a committee member, Hardman exhibited *A Memory of Avignon* (1925), *The Mersey at Widnes, Ben Stack, Sutherland* (c.1939), *Drudgery* (c.1946) and *Village in the Sun* (1931/2).³⁰⁰ There are no photographs by Hardman listed in the catalogue of the London Salon of 1980, although *The Photography Year Book* for 1980 published two of Hardman's photographs, *An Old Frenchman* (1926) and *Unemployed* (1944).³⁰¹

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In December 1980, Hardman's photographs were exhibited at the Open Eye Gallery, Liverpool, in a small retrospective exhibition of fifty of his works.³⁰² The following year his photographs *Loch an Ais Wester Ross* (1939) and *The Enchanted Wood* were again exhibited as part of a group exhibition of landscape photography at the Impressions Gallery, one of the new regional photography galleries.³⁰³ That year the *British Journal of Photography* also published its first feature on Hardman, where he was described as "a landscape photographer trapped in urban surroundings."³⁰⁴ His photograph *Shadow of the Aqueduct* (1953) was also reproduced in 1981 in the *Photography Year Book*.³⁰⁵ Hardman had by now retired as a member of the organising committee for the London Salon of Photography although he did have four prints *Near World's End; Llangollen, Limestone Cliff; North Wales, Painting; Bamburgh Castle* and *Gypsy Horse Dealer* exhibited at its annual exhibition.³⁰⁶

In 1982, Hardman was awarded Honorary Fellowship of the Royal Photographic Society³⁰⁷ and also exhibited by invitation at the Lancashire and Cheshire Photographic Union 75th Anniversary Exhibition³⁰⁸, and a further photograph *A Welsh Harpist* was published in the *Photography Year Book*.³⁰⁹ A photograph of a significant wedding dress was also reproduced this year in a book of wedding fashions.³¹⁰ Hardman's work did not appear in the London Salon of Photography exhibition of 1982 nor in any of its subsequent exhibitions.³¹¹

In 1983, The Photographer's Gallery London did feature Hardman's work in a small exhibition with an accompanying essay.³¹² The exhibition was subsequently shown at The National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford in 1985, accompanied by a videotape of Hardman in conversation about his photography and the *Birth of the Ark Royal* in particular.³¹³ Another major public gallery also gave Hardman a venue this year when a selection of six of Hardman's photographs were included in a group exhibition "Merseyside Artists" at the Walker Art Gallery.³¹⁴

After a serious fall in his home in the winter of 1979, Hardman had increasing difficulty walking, and made few excursions outside of his home; and by 1980 he

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was practically housebound. On the advice of the author Hardman established a Trust in his own name to protect, conserve and make better known his work.³¹⁵ During the winter of 1987 his condition deteriorated requiring several surgical operations and long stays in hospital. He died in Sefton General Hospital, Liverpool, on April 2nd 1988 and his body was cremated.

Posthumously, a major retrospective exhibition of Hardman's photographs was organised by The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, The National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford and The Chambré Hardman Trust. The exhibition was accompanied by an extensively illustrated catalogue with an essay by Professor Margaret Harker who as a near contemporary of Hardman's, shed considerable light on professional photography during their lifetime.³¹⁶ After its showing in Bradford the exhibition was also shown at the National Theatre, London in 1995.³¹⁷

Upon Hardman's death, the Trustees of his estate instigated a conservation programme and sought to promote the establishment of his home and studio as a resource open to the public. At the time of writing, the Trust is still endeavouring to obtain funding to enable it to open the house to the public.³¹⁸

3. The Landscape Photographs.

Previous evidence has chronicled Hardman's life as a photographer and has demonstrated a sequential production to his photographs. Based on this research the thesis now describes observable changes in Hardman's landscape photography; how his early work reflected the ideas of his pictorialist mentors and subsequently, from the 1930s onwards, how he made a significant contribution to landscape representation. Comparisons are made between Hardman's landscapes and the work of earlier artists, his contemporaries and the subsequent generation. The research also locates Hardman's photography in the broader context of British photography.

The Inheritance.

From the elevation of Foxrock House, Hardman's childhood home, the landscape extends to the Irish Sea.¹ On inland journeys by trap from home to school, through roads flanked by trees, a sylvan world would have appeared to Hardman as the natural order. The more common view of Ireland as a land of sparse vegetation would not have been part of Hardman's early experiences.² The 1914 photograph, *A Farmstead Carrickmines*, is a singular print by the sixteen-year-old Hardman. This small, mounted photograph describes a white farmhouse and adjacent trees, which look onto a summer field. Without its title, it would be difficult to locate geographically; it appears to be the sole representation of how Hardman saw his native Ireland.³

Although of Irish birth, Hardman never again lived in Ireland after leaving for India. Consequently any relationship to an indigenous tradition is difficult to

3. The Landscape Photographs

establish. There was however an established Irish Salon of Photography⁴ as well as a broader tradition of landscape representation within Ireland.⁵ At the age of seventeen Hardman sat his Sandhurst examinations before moving to the colonial outpost of India. Hardman described how he remembered the subcontinent. In terms reminiscent of Kipling's, India "it was a grand life ... where one could afford a horse or two."⁶ The undated photographs from this period reflect Hardman's colonial view of India. Through an employment of directorial skills, applied narrative and subsequent darkroom technique Hardman sought to bring to his photography an individual insight. *Scene in an Indian Village* (1921/22) is a posed and constructed view, where Hardman directed the scene, while working the plate into the Sanderson camera. Similarly *Pandikkad, Kerala* (1921/22) poses questions concerning a directorial approach in another village scene, where morning light streams into a tea shop. The same village is further recorded in the photograph *Village in Kerala* (1921/22). This time Hardman's treatment suggests another era. Here, using the same people as in the morning scene, the narrative describes a group conversation. These contemporary and similar scenes suggest different connotations. Hardman's camera and film stock were probably the same as was the primitive processing available to him; it is very probable however that the print of *Village in Kerala* was made much later.⁷ There is also a difference in treatment, Hardman's printing of *Pandikkad, Kerala* uses warm tones, softened focus and pictorial composition; *Village in Kerala* by comparison has a continuous grey scale with a cooler black tone. The latter looks like a much later work and its treatment in printing suggests a more authentic, documentary picture. Comparatively *Pandikkad, Kerala* is a timeless and romantic evocation, while the harder *Village in Kerala* could be used to illustrate a modern democratic India. This comparison of Hardman's darkroom control demonstrates his ability, during post-production, to force apparent chronological shifts in our reading of two photographic subjects that are actually contemporary. This is a subtle demonstration of his skills and important in considering questions of truth, veracity or objectivity in his photographs.



Village in Kerala (1921/22)



A Street in Marseille (1926)

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Pandikkad, Kerala suggests comparisons with the landscape photography and aesthetic ideals of pictorial photographers like Alexander Keighley.⁸ Hardman's photographic autodidacticism was, during these early years, largely influenced by reproductions in the *Amateur Photographer* and *Photograms of the Year* to which pictorialist photographers like Keighley were frequent contributors.⁹ During the years prior to 1923, Hardman had shifted continents; and his upbringing reinforced by his colonial experience, would have been unlikely to encourage any departure from a political or artistic status quo. On both a professional and social level, Hardman sought an English milieu. In his photography this can be seen in his appropriation of the English photographic salon style that was late pictorialism.¹⁰

The ethos of the pictorialist movement maintained that photography was a medium of personal expression; and in realisation of this, treatment particularly in darkroom post-production, was often considered more important than content. Importantly the pictorialists also distanced themselves from commercial illustrative photography, choosing instead to concern themselves with art.¹¹ Pictorialism as a movement had reached its nadir with the First World War, but still found many advocates; and Hardman's adoption of pictorialism, of which photographers like Keighley were old, but influential exponents was an understandable and a perhaps necessary conformity for future acceptance by the London Salon. While there are few instances of Hardman submitting portraits for the approval of his peer group and the London public, Hardman was very keen that his landscapes should come under such scrutiny.¹² During this period it would have been difficult for Hardman to find an alternative way to exhibit his work outside Liverpool. While the various amateur photographic societies held frequent local and national exhibitions of members' work these would not compare in (inter)national status to the London Salon.¹³ The alternative to exhibition was photographs for reproduction which was an expensive process reserved for books and newspaper editorials. It was not until the publication of magazines like *Lilliput* during the 1930s that photography in reproduction would offer a venue for broader photographic themes.¹⁴

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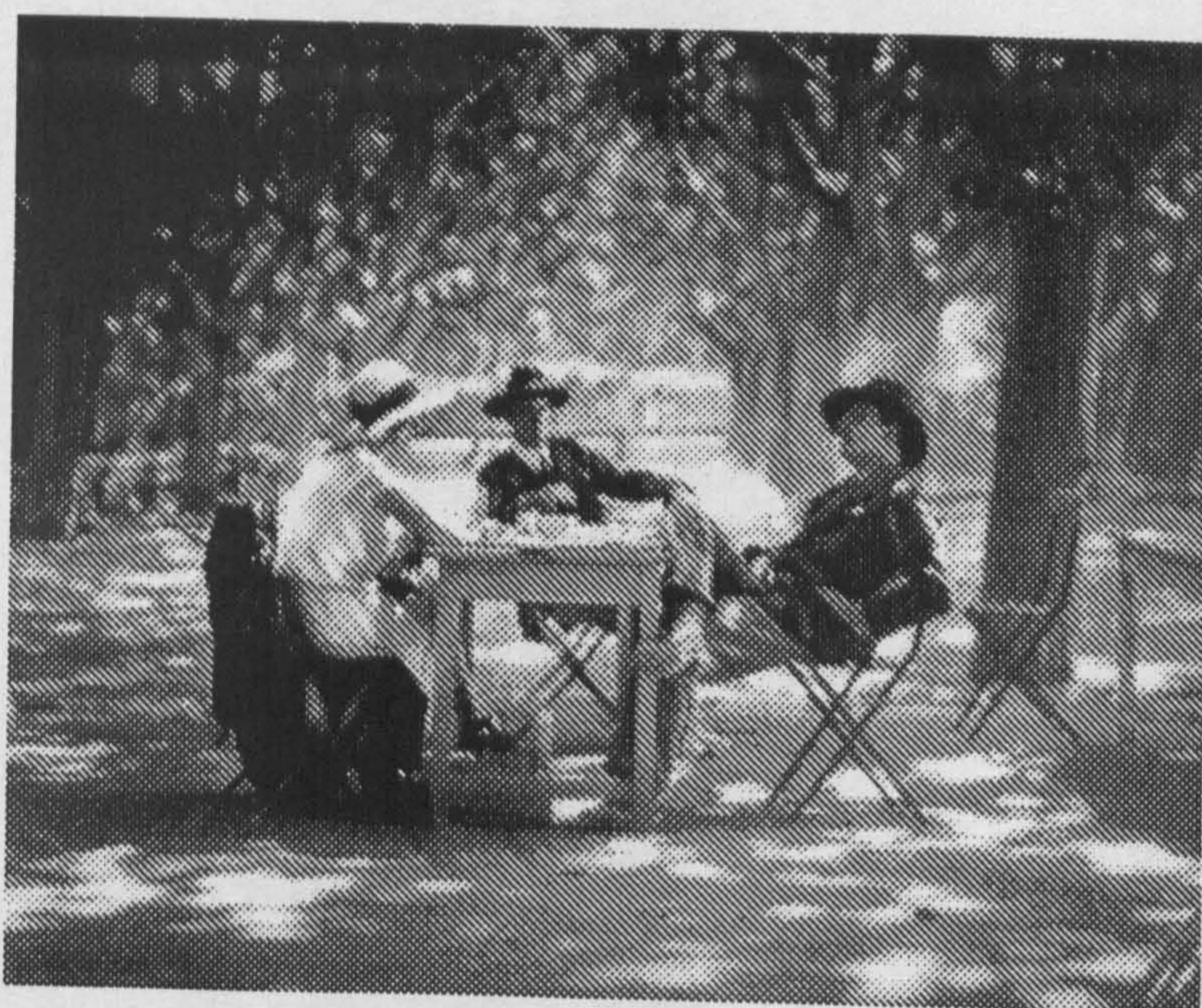
Although with hindsight he said that Oxford might have been a better place to establish his studio¹⁵, Liverpool became Hardman's permanent home after his arrival in England and was the subject of many of his urban and dock landscapes. Liverpool also had its own connections to photographic history.¹⁶ It was home to the oldest amateur photographic society in Britain, founded in 1853¹⁷, and it was birthplace of the then President of the Royal Photographic Society, Dudley Johnston.¹⁸

From his Liverpool studio Hardman made frequent weekend and longer holiday explorations of other parts of Great Britain, and in 1926 he made his first visit to France. This holiday, in the company of three friends, resulted in a suite of pictures, which, as a group, represent the high point of Hardman's early work. The photographs, *A Street in Marseille* (1926), *Washing Potatoes St Remy* (1926), *A Glimpse of the Mediterranean* (1926), *Martigues* (1926) and *A Memory of Avignon* (1926), are unified by treatment and can be considered together. The source negatives for all these pictures were made with a Graflex camera.¹⁹

Upon his return from France to England, Hardman began the making of prints from his negatives.²⁰ Using then common darkroom post-production techniques the original negatives, with the exception of *A Memory of Avignon*, were enlarged onto 12 x 15-inch sheet film. These film positives were then contact printed onto a second piece of 12 x 15 inch sheet film to give a working enlarged negative. While the making of enlargements directly onto photographic paper would have been easier, Hardman offered two reasons for his use of enlarged negatives: the assurance of exactly matching subsequent prints from the master enlarged negative and the ease of carrying out local modifications on an enlarged negative.²¹ The enlarged negative would also allow the making of other types of photographic prints favoured by Hardman at that time, notably carbon prints which from technical necessity require a contact printing method.²² Hardman's modifications continued with the local application of a red dye (coccine nouvelle) to control the detail in the shadow or to highlight areas of the negative.²³ This suite of five photographs had all of its negatives locally treated in this way and in



Martigues (1926)



A Memory of Avignon (1926)

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the case of *A Memory of Avignon*, treatment was applied directly to the original negative. None of this intervention is apparent in the final prints, where the most characteristic feature is Hardman's use of a primary soft focus lens and his use of differential focus.²⁴

In *A Street in Marseille*, Hardman makes a vignette composition using the foreground shadows and darkened buildings on the left and right of his frame. Two silhouetted figures anchor the foreground plane, before a descending curve to the distant landscape. In the composition, the perspective of discrete planes and the diffuse horizon are further examples of Hardman's legacy from earlier pictorialist photographers who had been inspired by earlier painters of picturesque landscapes.²⁵ Co-existent with Hardman's use of the picturesque, is a continuation of his earlier use of narrative. Subject and treatment again suggest comparisons with the work of Keighley. There are however, in Hardman's work, none of the fantastic elements found in Keighley's photography.²⁶ *Washing Potatoes St Remy* uses narrative and chiaroscuro to describe the potato washers, observed by Hardman and a small boy in the shadows. In his darkroom post-production, Hardman preserved the small boy in the relatively under-exposed shadow area. Hardman's intervention is esoteric knowledge obtained from observing his work on the negative. His post-production work is not apparent in the final print; there is no observable handwork in his method of revealing the figure in the shadow of the house. The rural subject matter in this scene may suggest the late nineteenth century work of painters like Frank Bramley, George Clausen, Stanhope Forbes, and other members of the New English Art Club and The Newlyn School²⁷; although the probable influences on Hardman during this period were broad and would have included an earlier generation of photographers like Keighley, Craig Annan and Malcolm Arbuthnot.²⁸ Another photograph from Hardman's French group describes the shore line at Martigues, where fishermen's boats and houses are reflected in the still water beneath cirrus clouds. While the picture is a reminiscence of a Mediterranean day, the record was again "modified" by Hardman in the darkroom.²⁹



Washing Potatoes, St Remy (1926)



A Glimpse of the Mediterranean (1926)

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The two other pictures from the 1926 series suggest the European tours of the *nouveaux riches*. In *A Glimpse of the Mediterranean*, Hardman records Norah Davies looking out over the Bay of Marseille, dressed as for a party, in what could be a scene from *The Great Gatsby*³⁰ Perhaps on this tour Hardman and his companions were retracing the journey made by Augustus John some ten years before on his visit to Provence, Martigues and Marseille.³¹ We know little about the visit to France by Hardman and his friends, but anecdotal evidence regarding the conversation piece *A Memory of Avignon* points to four travellers and their attempts to recapture through a posed group photograph, a 1920s that was bohemian travel and post-war fun. All of the photographs in this group are characterised by romantic themes, the dignified workers in Marseille and St Remy or the contrasting freedom of another class in Avignon.

The heightened atmosphere and softened focus show that Hardman's mannered approach still adhered to the tenets of pictorialism. The French pictures consequently met with the approval of Salon photographers and brought Hardman some success.³² The most enduring picture from this series, *A Memory of Avignon*, was not however exhibited until 1978, more than fifty years after its making.³³ Perhaps Hardman was aware that his treatment of the dappled sunlight scene risked accusation of parody and cliché and he chose therefore not to exhibit the work until it was clearly retrospective. Certainly at the time such a study of leisure, from a documentary viewpoint, must be contextualised as contemporary with a general strike in Britain. Perhaps we demand too much of the photographer with this assertion; this was a holiday snapshot, a little orchestrated, but otherwise a memento to be shared with friends. One final photographic comparison may show Hardman's photograph in a different light. This is with a group of three photographs by the Czechoslovak *avant-garde* photographer Josef Sudek (1896-1976). Photographs from his series *Sunday Afternoon at Kolin Island* (1924-26) show a remarkable resemblance to Hardman's *A Memory of Avignon*.³⁴

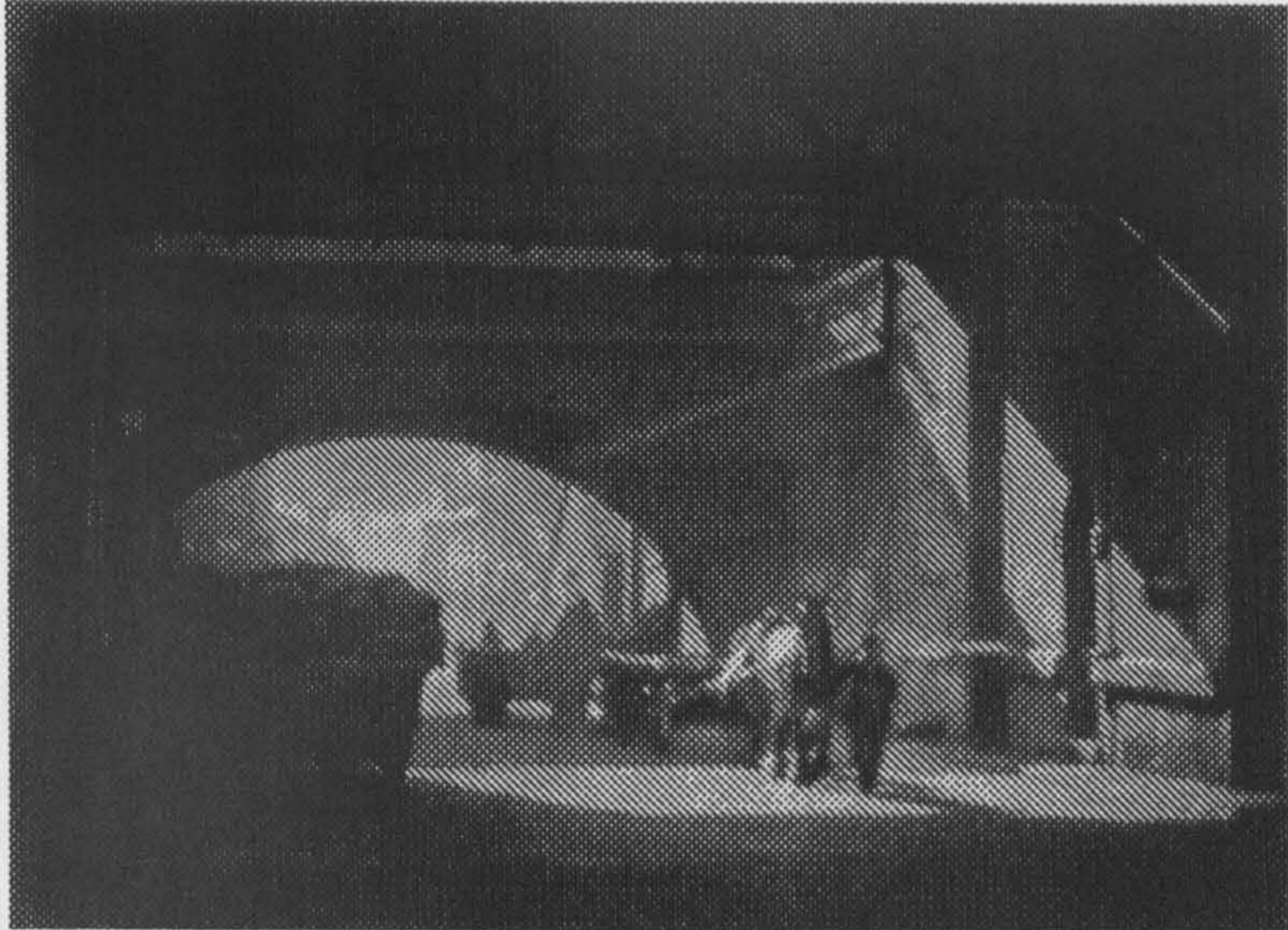
Of importance to Hardman's discovery of a more modern approach to photography was a request from *The Architects' Journal* to photograph the new casino at Jean de Luz in the company of the architect Francis X. Velarde. The

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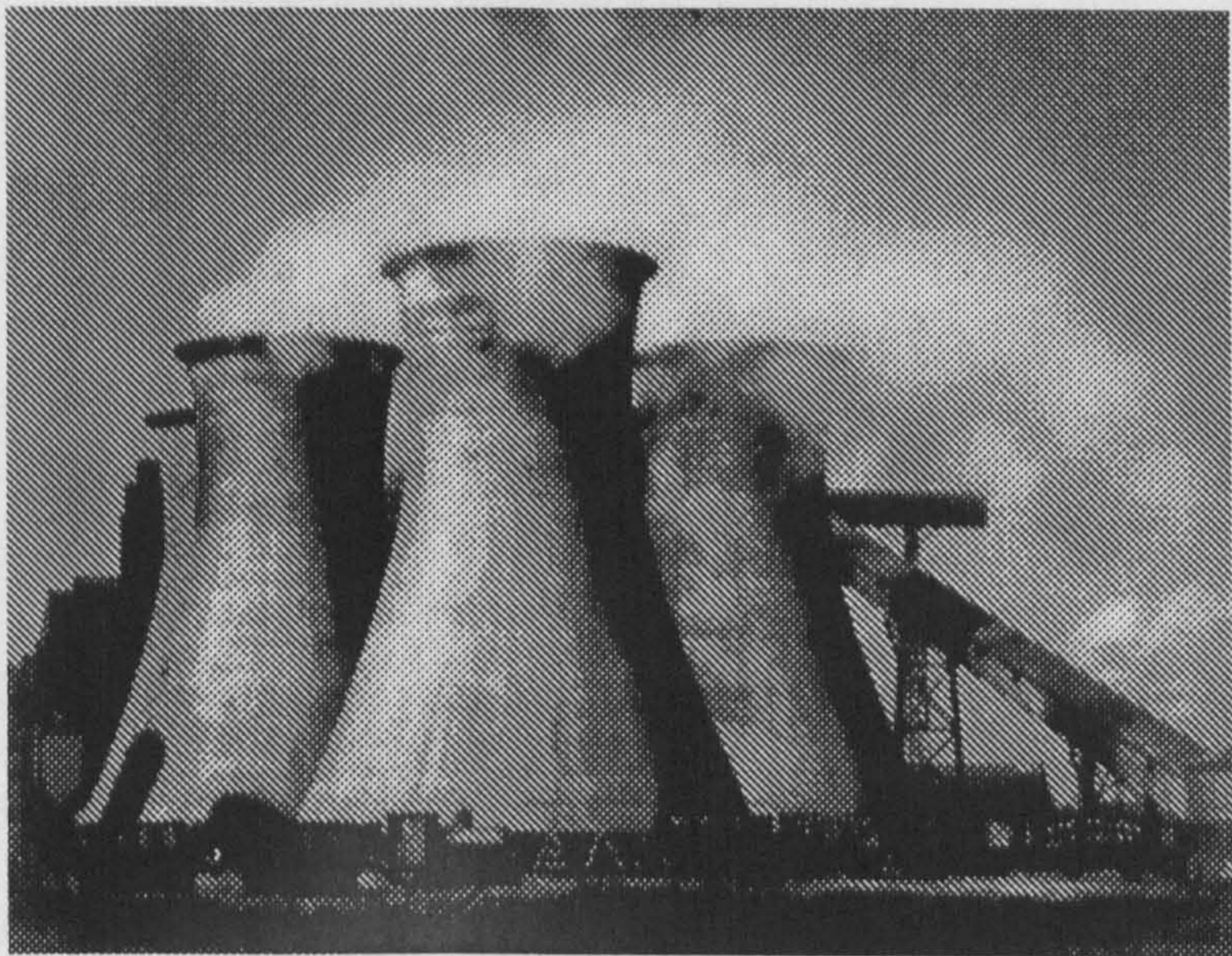
new architecture at *La Pergola*, demanded from Hardman a modern, hard-edged description for his commission to accompany Velarde's article. Velarde describes the architecture as a "sharp lemon yellow colour" where "thin, thread-like lines of black edge the silhouette", but in an example of English reserve suggests that "it is perhaps wiser to be cautious and to employ only those forms which we have tried and know can be relied upon."³⁵

Returning to the conservative city of Liverpool and the jurisdiction of the Salon would not have encouraged further development of Hardman's exposure to modernism.³⁶ *Little Howard Street* (1929), made after his visit to *La Pergola*, continues the urban theme in another vignette composition with diffused tones. In this photograph the hard shadows show Hardman to be less reliant on the soft focus lens and any softening he insisted was "as seen", the diffuse atmosphere being created by the dust from flour milling.³⁷ However observation of Hardman's negatives from this period shows that he continued to exercise manual control over the tonal values in the print. At this time Hardman can also be seen to be exploring new subject matter. Industry is a recurring theme and, in photographs like *Power Station, Lister Drive* (1929), a group of condenser towers are depicted in a composition, which describes their form and function. Atmosphere continues to prevail as foreground shadows rise in a transition to white evaporating steam in the narrative of a process fuelled by supplies of coal from train and conveyor. Hardman's narrative composition, previously seen in agricultural and urban landscapes, is now also seen in industrial commissions. In another photograph, *Coke Oven Plant, Rotherham* (1932), Hardman can again be seen to describe a formal composition of industrial architecture which contains a narrative of process.³⁸

A developing theme in Hardman's work at this time is his increasing exploration of shipping and dockland scenes. There are numerous photographs of the River Mersey and the traffic of steam vessels, which were used as contemporary reproductions in local newspapers.³⁹ Sailing vessels had been a popular theme among earlier pictorialist photographers, notably the shipping in the port of Whitby by Frank Meadow Sutcliffe.⁴⁰ Later photographers, Keighley for example



Little Howard Street (1929)



Power Station, Lister Drive (1929)

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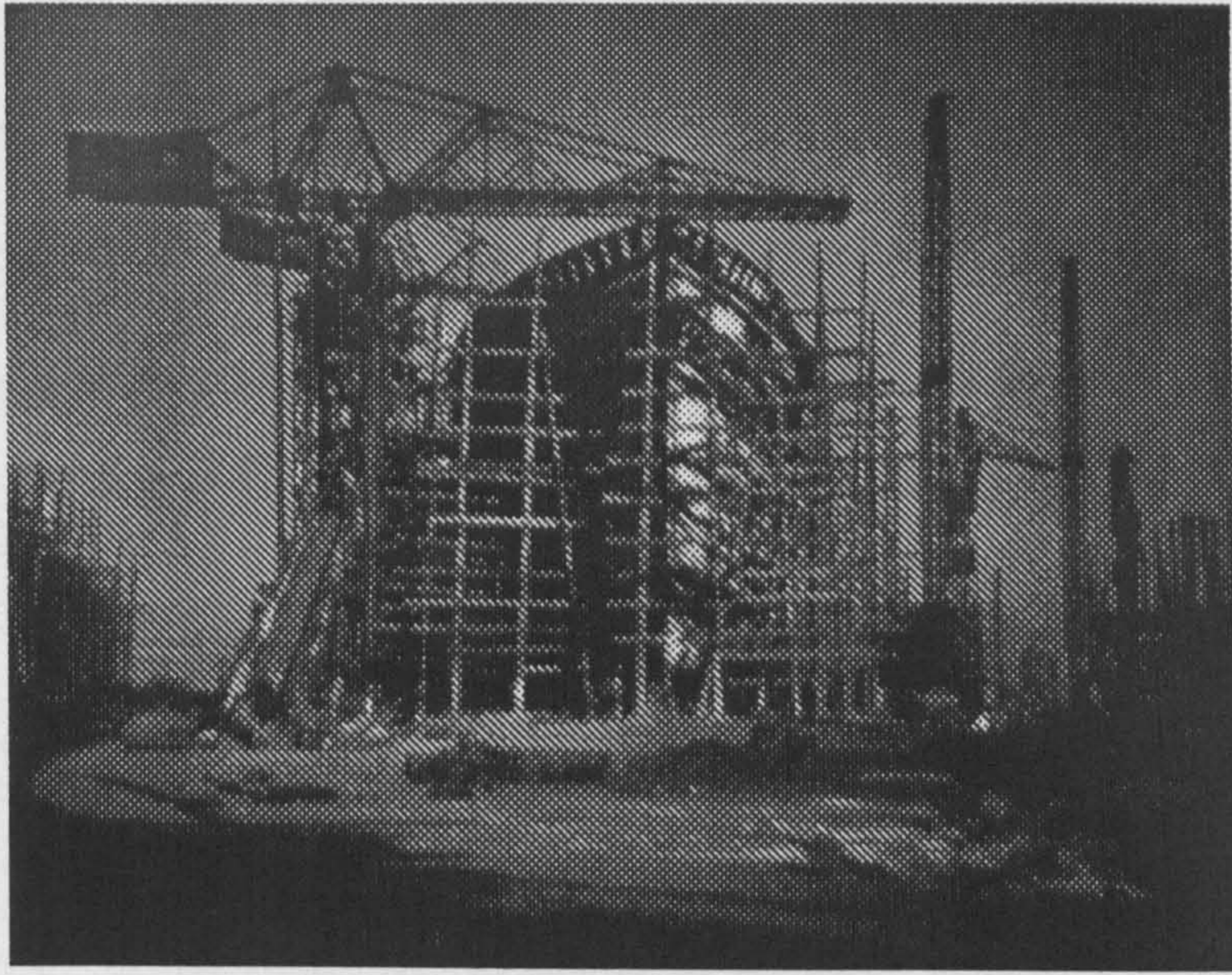
in works such as *White Sail* (1901)⁴¹, frequently used the sail motif. The subject can also be seen in the more modern Liverpool dockland study of spars and rigging *Spider Webs* (1906) by the American photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn.⁴²

The romance with sail characterises pictures of the sea, made by artists during this period, in a way that steam vessels do not.⁴³ In photographs such as *Tugs Pulling Out, Pier Head* (c.1928) and *Tug Egerton* (c.1928), Hardman softly focuses on a new era of marine engineering. He also recorded near obsolete dockland technology in the scene *Wooden Scaffolding* (1930). The picture is similar, in his compositional use of the figure, to his industrial pictures from this period; *Wooden Scaffolding* describes the figures dwarfed by the scaffolded vessel. Hardman described this as "the last occasion" on which wood was used as the structural support for shipbuilding by Mersey shipwrights.⁴³

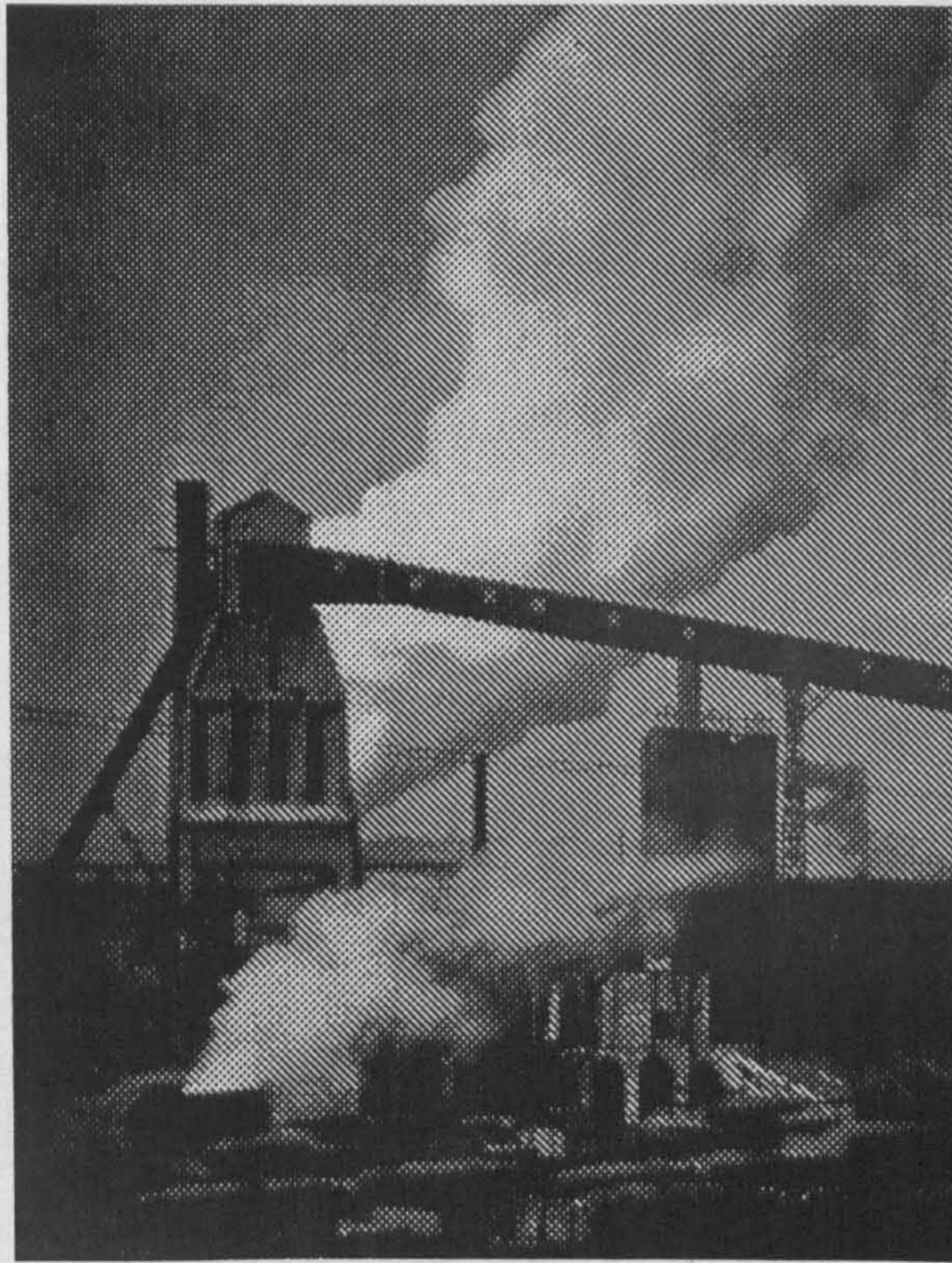
In overview, Hardman's work in the twenties can be seen to accept and reflect, in choice of theme and treatment, the values of his peer group The London Salon. Hardman saw the London Salon as a singular venue for photographers aspiring to exhibit more than technical expertise or fashionable portraiture. Perhaps his acceptance of and adherence to the values of the Salon was also a reflection of his "conservative" nature.⁴⁵

The Thirties

During the 1920s, Hardman clearly mastered the photographic process. His early work, while dominated by inherited models, is alert to an independent choice of subject. Hardman photographs during the 1930s show an observable difference from those of the previous decade, firstly in the abandonment of his earlier use of soft focus and secondly in the natural landscape becoming his major theme. Hardman's abandonment of pictorialism is first apparent in his architectural photography. Subsequent to his work for *The Architects Journal*, Hardman was

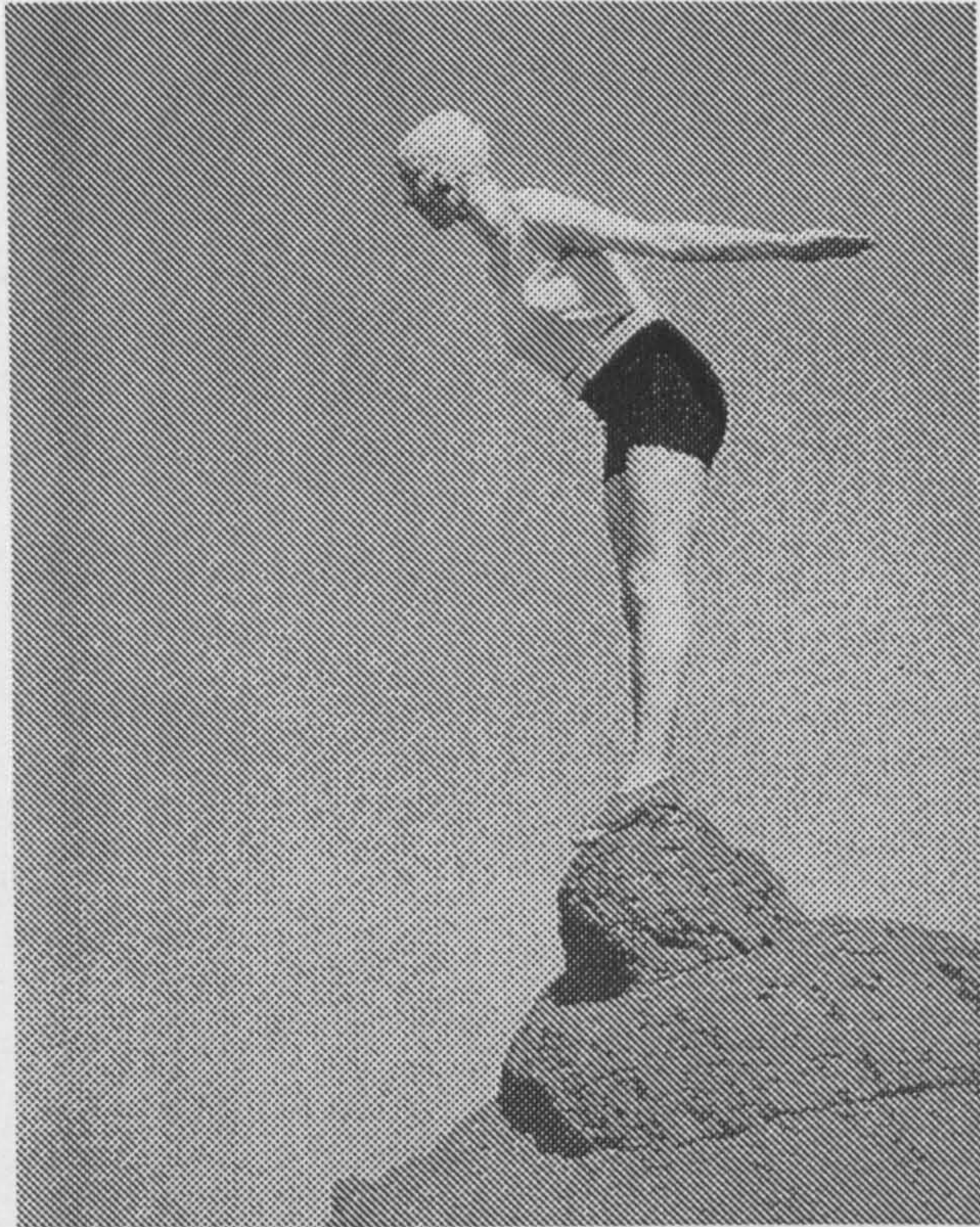


Wooden Scaffolding (1930)

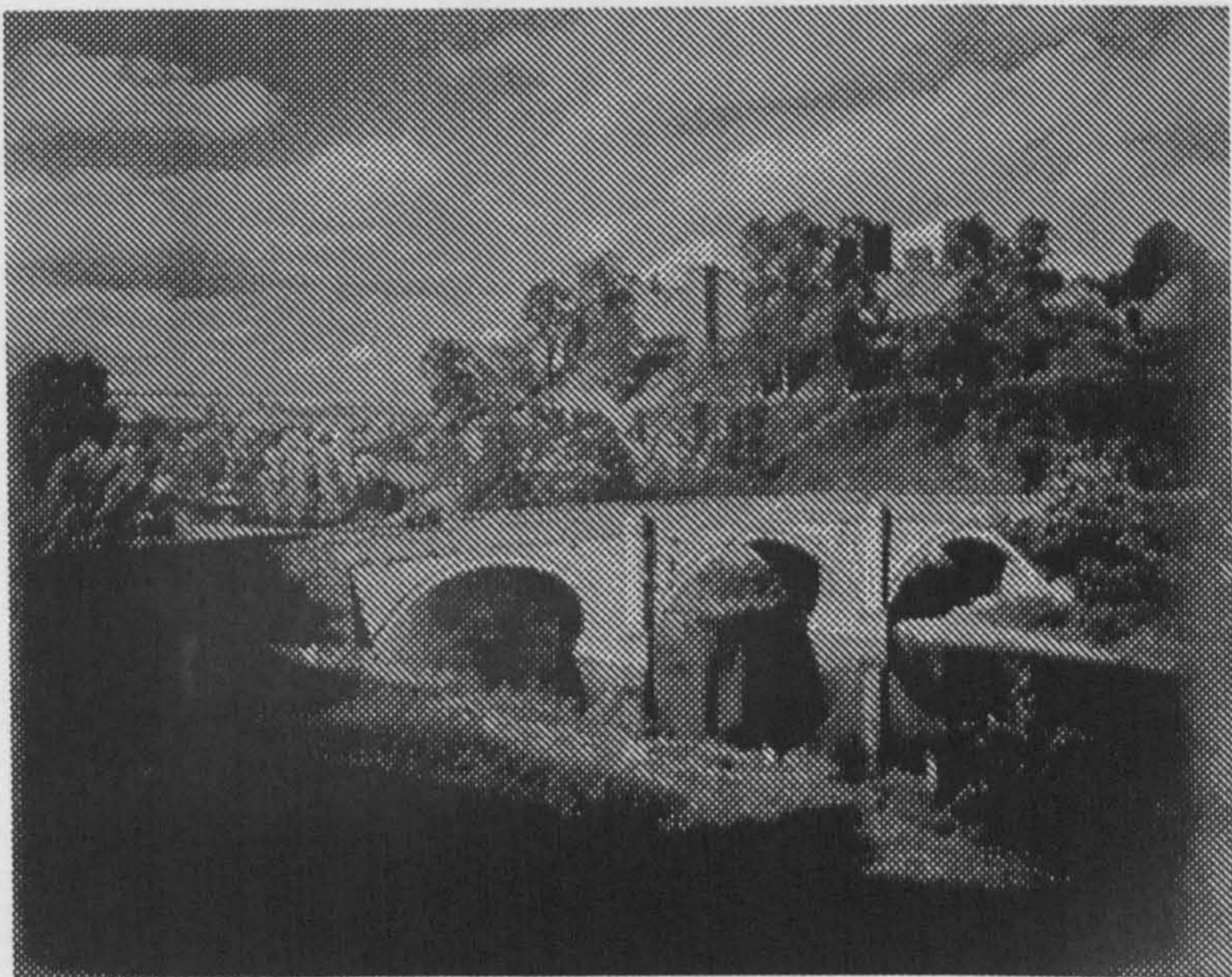


Coke Oven Plant, Rotherham (1932)

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Poised for a Dive (1929)



Ludlow Bridge and Castle (1930)

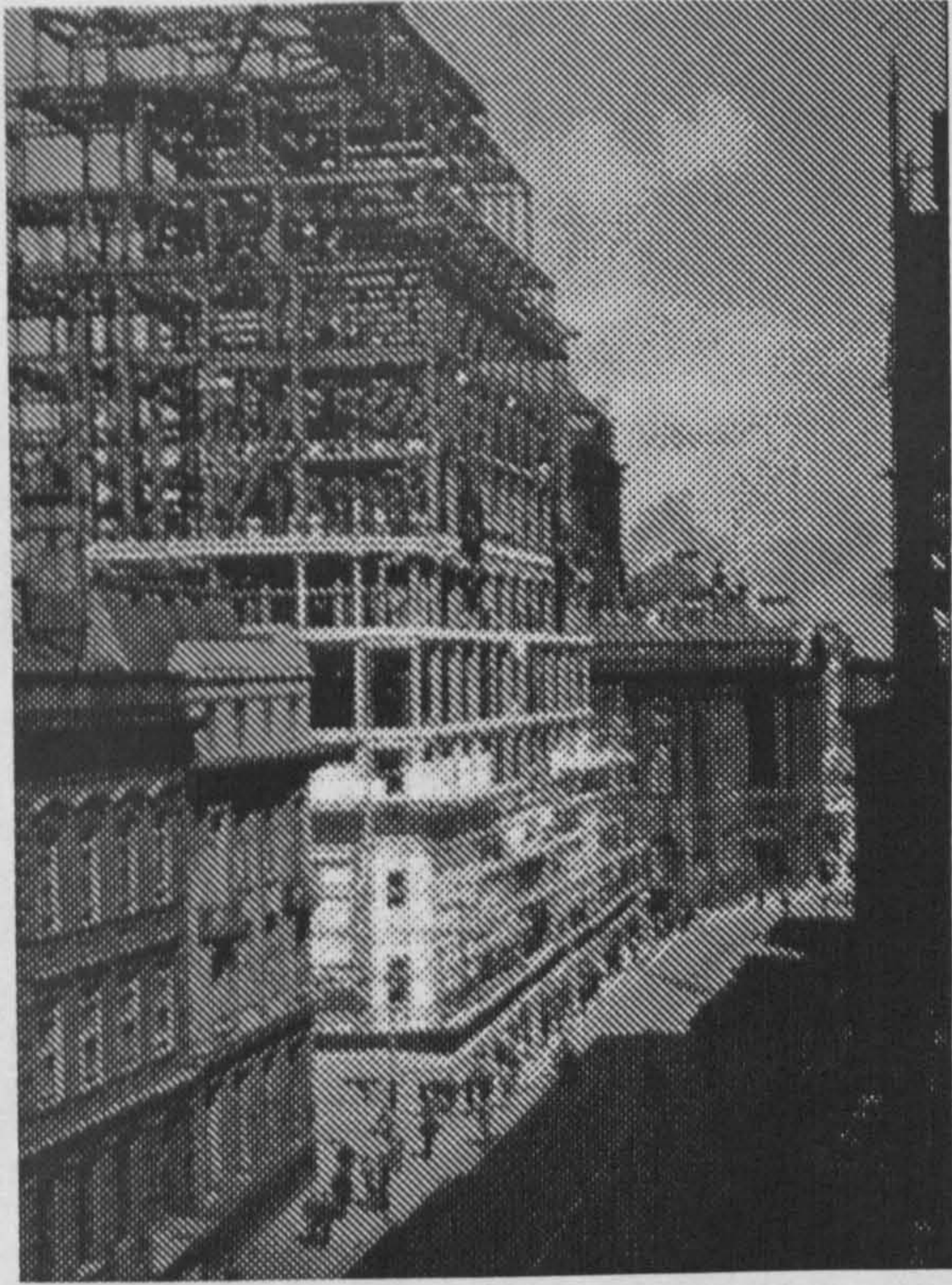
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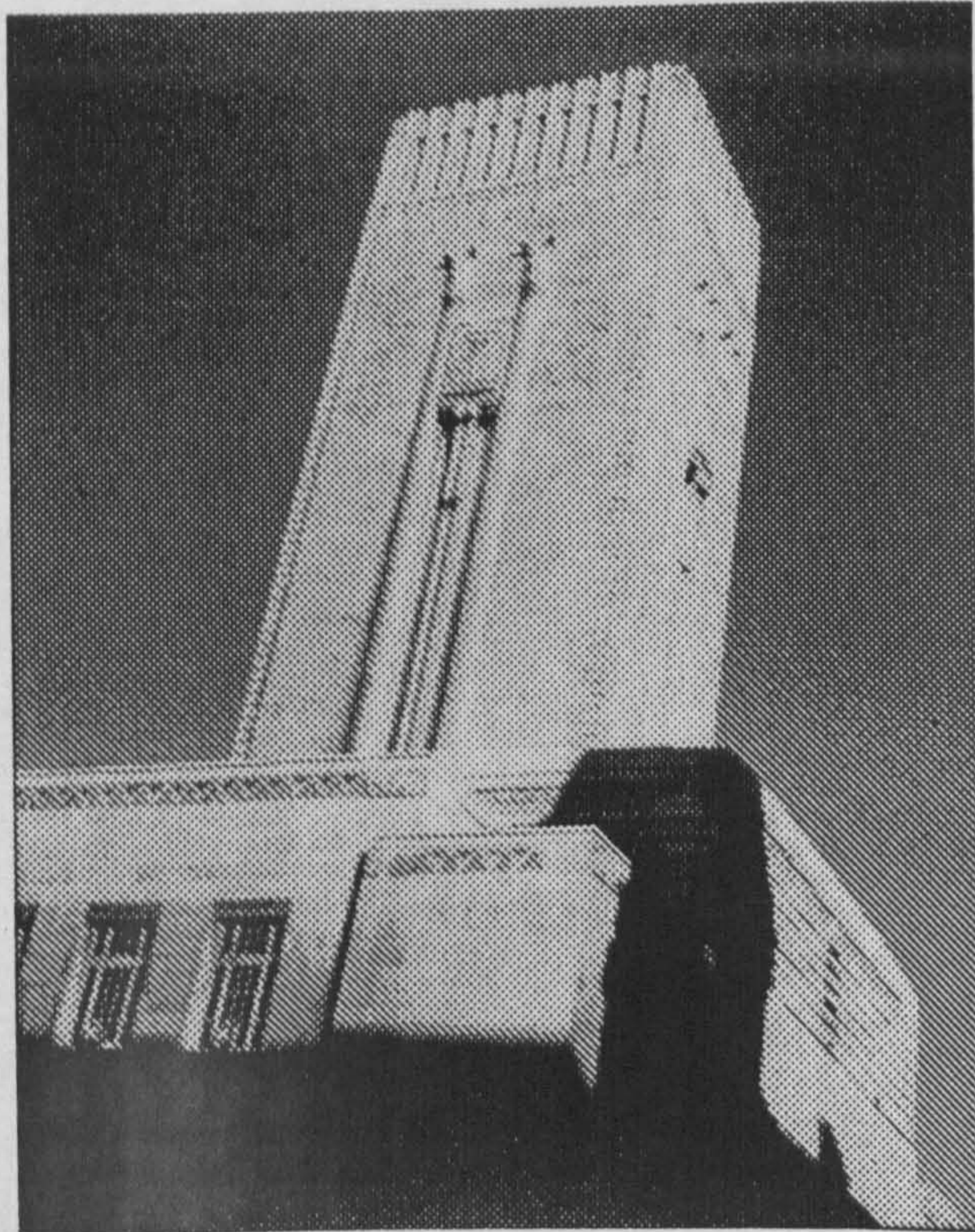
commissioned in the summer of 1929 to photograph the construction of a new Martin's Bank headquarters in Liverpool. Hardman selected a high elevation to describe the advanced steel-framed construction of the building and its environs. The photograph *Water Street* (1929) records the monumental structure rising above the surrounding buildings while, on the pavements below, a procession of pedestrians provide scale and counterpoint. The subject, like that of *La Pergola*, demanded a modern interpretation and, while Hardman did work on the sky area of the negative, the result is a sharp, formal composition, descriptive of a contemporary subject.

Construction was also the theme of a series of photographs Hardman made in the Cammel Laird Dry Docks during these years. In the photographs *The Birth of a Liner* (c.1931) and *In Dry Dock, Birkenhead* (c.1931) the elements of the picture, the propeller, hull and dockland architecture have a new formal boldness which can be contrasted with the narrative approach in his earlier pictures. *White Star Line Cranes* (c.1930) similarly adopts a formalist approach to the hammerhead cranes, with their arms pointed skywards on a Sunday afternoon. Hardman's photographs at the beginning of the 1930s begin to show a more objective description, the previous atmospheric soft focus is replaced with greater definition and focus.⁴⁶ In his architectural photography modernism is most apparent in *Mersey Tunnel Ventilation Tower* (c.1934) where through sharp focus, a neutral black tone and strong perspective, architecture is described in a strong formal composition.⁴⁷ There is an earlier example of Hardman's modern formal approach in his photograph *Poised for a Dive* (1929), a fashionable study of Margaret Mills in two piece swimwear and cap, appearing to be poised to dive, from a curvaceous rock. Her influence, her hobbies of amateur opera and golf, her modern haircut and suffragette sense of independence make this photograph probably a collaborative work. Margaret as subject and in the role of muse and probable printer of the finished work, at the very least shared an idea, directed and realised with enthusiasm.

During his first years in Liverpool, Hardman had made photographs of the landscape, on weekend visits to Wales. In the Trust collection there are a number



Water Street, Liverpool (1929)



Mersey Tunnel Ventilation Tower (1934 c.)

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of early, soft focus, unidentified landscapes. Some of these photographs have titles, some are of Wales, a few finished prints have been signed, many have only been proofed. These photographs are difficult to locate and date. It is possible that some may predate his move to India.⁴⁸ On his visit to France in 1926 Hardman also made landscapes which complement the photographs made the same year in Provence. The romantic optimism of *A Glimpse of the Mediterranean* is contemporary with the sombre silent formation of trees in *Landscape Audi, France* (1926) and *The Valley of Isere* (1926). In these landscapes, comparison can again be made with the photographs of the French landscape by Mark Oliver Dell. Dell's photography shows a similar use of space and the same motif of the poplar tree.⁴⁹

By 1930, Hardman was photographing the Cheshire landscape, where a windbreak of poplars is the subject for his *Burwardsley View* (1930). During these years he discovered further Welsh castles, bridges and valleys.⁵⁰ The castle in the British landscape was, and still is, a common subject. For Hardman, castles would have military significance as well as being part of the pictorialist canon. On this occasion and, perhaps in homage to Robinson, Davison and countless other workers, Hardman made his late pictorialist gesture, *Ludlow Bridge and Castle* (1930). In a more modern context the photograph also suggests the Georgian values of rural England, its ancestors and the history of their land.⁵¹ Hardman continued to photograph castles until the 1960s; and as a subject it follows a similar development to his broader landscape photography, moving away from narrative and towards a more formal description. *Manorbier* (1944) for example, is an oblique view of the castle remains in the landscape. Photographically it documents little other than the remnants of the outline of the castle, and the strong contrast encourages a reading of this formal picture as a metaphor suggesting a more primitive fortification.⁵²

While Hardman referred to his use of a wide-angle lens for *Ludlow Bridge and Castle*, the advantage gained by a technically wider view was further aided by the post-production of retouching an enlarged negative. This intervention resulted in a print, where an apparent record suggesting the idea of an idyllic England, comparable to the reflections of Georgian poets,⁵³ was in fact heavily mediated by

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Hardman to achieve this effect. By contrast the picture *St Helens; Lancashire* (c.1934), again a wide angle view, is a landscape of factories and the smoke of industry revealed in grey and black, this time to suggest comparison with the objective descriptions of landscape by the poet Auden. Natural landscape was however Hardman's preferred theme and during the thirties he was to travel the length of Britain in his search for suitable subjects. *Cliffs at Flamborough* (1929) describes the chalk rocks as much as the details of the picnic makers on the beach but still strikes a pictorial note. In comparison *White Cliff, Seaton* [Cliffs of Devon] (1933), with its cool blue tones, marks the beginning of a more modern landscape; while *The Copse* (1934) is the maturation of Hardman's landscape photography. In this work the minimal contours of the land and sky are dramatic in their formal description. Hardman has described his perseverance, his earlier attempts to photograph this particular copse, and why he considered them failures.⁵⁴ In his final composition the austere Galloway landscape is represented by a cumulus cloud anchored to a copse on the curves of the land. The composition is comparable to works by the painter Paul Nash who repeatedly used the motif of a copse.⁵⁵ Hardman mentions Nash and the copse, although the copse, like the castle, is a common landscape motif.⁵⁶ Hardman's second formal element in *The Copse*, the cloud, was also a dominant landscape subject for many other contemporary photographers of the period.⁵⁷

The Copse describes terrain, agriculture and season in a work of formal statement rather than documentary record. The combination of the geometry of the cloud, the modulated greys of the hillside and the copse itself, create a composition of abstract forms derived from natural topography. The elements of this photograph describe found natural forms, in which work by Nash was perhaps an influence but Hardman's photographs can also be seen in a broader context.⁵⁸ Photographs by Hardman in which the representation of landscape is close to abstract formal description include *Near Laurieston, Kirkcudbrightshire* (1934) where stooks are seen against the distant



The Copse (1934)



Near Laurieston, Kirkcudbrightshire (1934)

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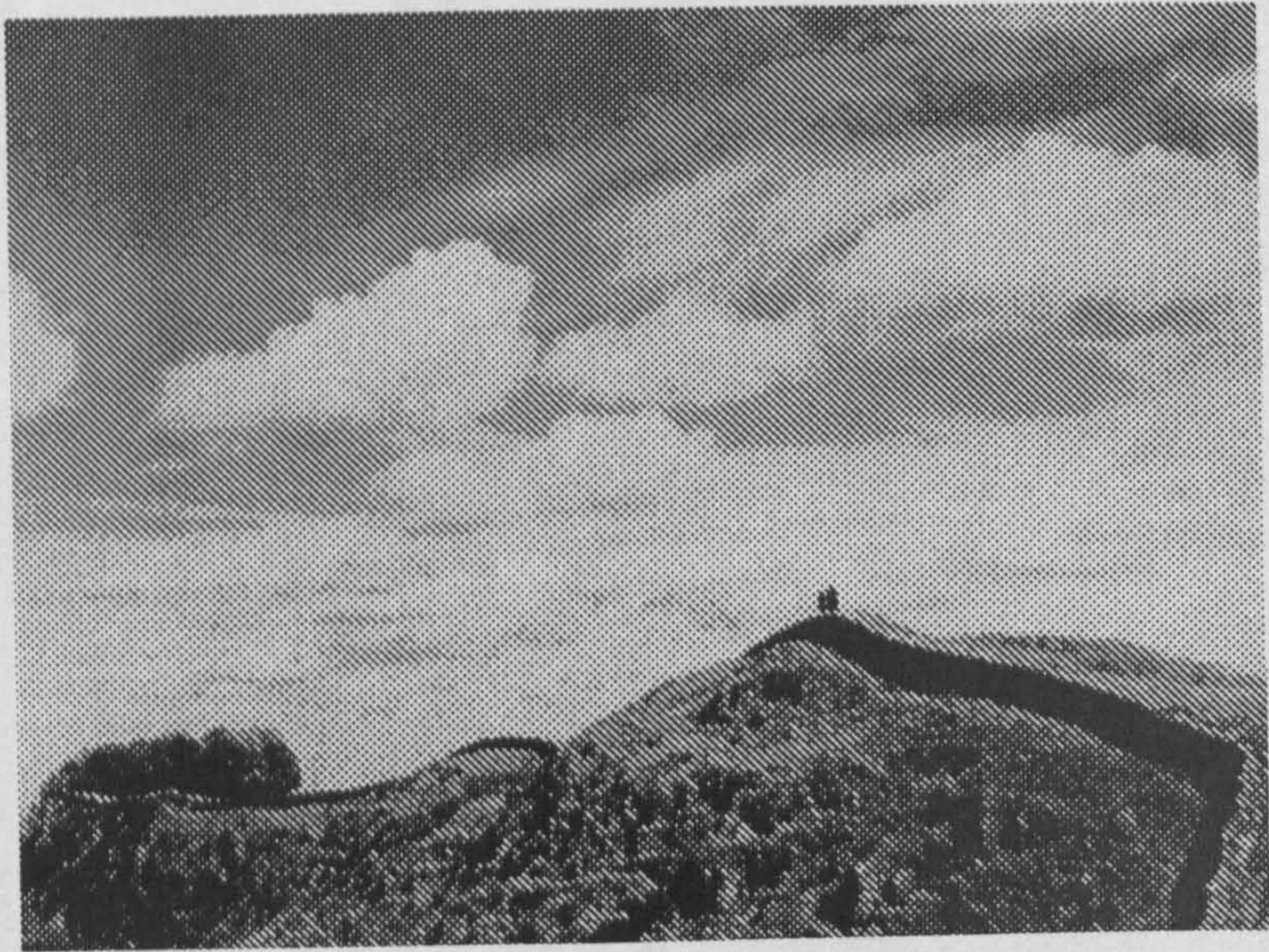
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silhouetted trees and quickly moving clouds. This was a device that Hardman would use again in later photographs for instance, *Dance of the Trees and Clouds* (1947), where the cumulus form dominates and the earth remains a dark ribbon at the foot of the picture. Stratus dominates the vertical frame in *Windy Day, Llyn Alwyn Reservoir* (c.1958), another scene of particular British weather.

While *The Copse* is a notable example of Hardman's photography from the 1930s, it remained until 1953 a latent work in the studio.⁵⁹ By contrast the earlier photograph *The Roman Wall* (c.1935), which was published in 1938, denies an abstract reading by the inclusion of human scale and part-narrative. In this wide-angle composition two hikers make their way along the edge of a snaking dyke as it crosses the land under a summer sky. There is a comparison here with Bill Brandt's later, 1943 photographs of the Roman Wall, for *Picture Post*. Hardman's photograph is compositionally much wider than Brandt's sweeping views.⁶⁰

There are many landscape proofs in the collection; the 1930s in particular were prolific years for Hardman's landscape photography. From the finished mounted works, there are a number of Scottish landscapes, which show Hardman seeking a less peopled, more austere terrain. *Wild Glencoe* (1936) describes a dramatic topography in formal terms. A comparison with Brandt's later *Lord Macdonald's Forest, Isle of Skye* (1947), which uses a narrower palette of tones in printing, shows a remarkable compositional similarity with Hardman's picture.⁶¹

Hardman's scene at *Upper Glen Affric* (1935) describes mountain, tussock and small lakes enclosed by nimbostratus in a landscape of damp and barren isolation. Perhaps this sublime photograph is too primeval a scene to be the lake of memory, which Hardman described in "Most of my childish dreams were of landscapes; usually of some remote and spectacularly sited lake, which I could never find again."⁶² The photograph *Upper Glen Affric* has detail, focus and blue black rather than brown tones which mark this picture as a modern work. Similarly *The Mountains of Sutherland* (1939), a view of Fragamore in the most northerly part of Britain, looks a more contemporary work. This picture of an elemental wilderness of water, rock and clouds is a singular example, but



The Roman Wall (c.1935)



Wild Glencoe (1936)

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Upper Glen Affric (1935)



The Mountains of Sutherland (1939)

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comparable in its perspective and tonal range, to the landscape work of Ansel Adams.⁶³ That both *Upper Glen Affric* and *The Mountains of Sutherland* were not first exhibited until nearly forty years later⁶⁴, again suggests Hardman's self-imposed adherence to Salon values when it came to selecting from his work for submission. For example, the less innovative *Cliffs at Flamborough* (1929) was exhibited in 1935, and *Poplars Bolesworth* (1930) in 1937. One landscape from this period *The Beech Copse in Winter* [Winter Near Stow on the Wold] (c.1936) was however published in 1937. This photograph, a reworking of *The Copse* composition, is another modern work in its description of the distant trees in a bold silhouetted view, with a foreground of intersecting branches, which sweep the sky.⁶⁵

The Rick (1936) was a return to a narrative composition, which Hardman had earlier established in photographs like *Shipbuilding*. The rustic landscape of *The Rick* is one of time and the tools of summer haymaking. Ricks and haystacks, castles and copses are common formal landscape devices,⁶⁶ in conversation however; Hardman stated that the rick as subject was preceded by the cloud, which first attracted his attention. Through directorial composition, the Hardmans then used the cloud, with the rick and the props of ladder and harrow to narrate a pre-war agricultural scene.⁶⁷ *The Quarry* (1937) is a similar return to process narrative, although here the subject finds a contemporary comparison with works such as Walter Bell's *Derbyshire Quarry* (1937).⁶⁸

Around this time Hardman made *Gypsies Loch Erribol* (1939), a group portrait out of doors. Portraits made out of doors are unusual in his work but this photograph, made on a visit to Scotland, describes two adult gypsies with a child and a greyhound against a dramatic landscape.⁶⁹ This photograph has two precedents in Hardman's work, *An Old Frenchman* (1926) and *At the Fortress of Salses* (1931). Both of these portrait studies were made out of doors, and Hardman in these works invites comparison with the work of the Spanish photographer Echagué.⁷⁰



The Rick (1936)



The Quarry (1937)

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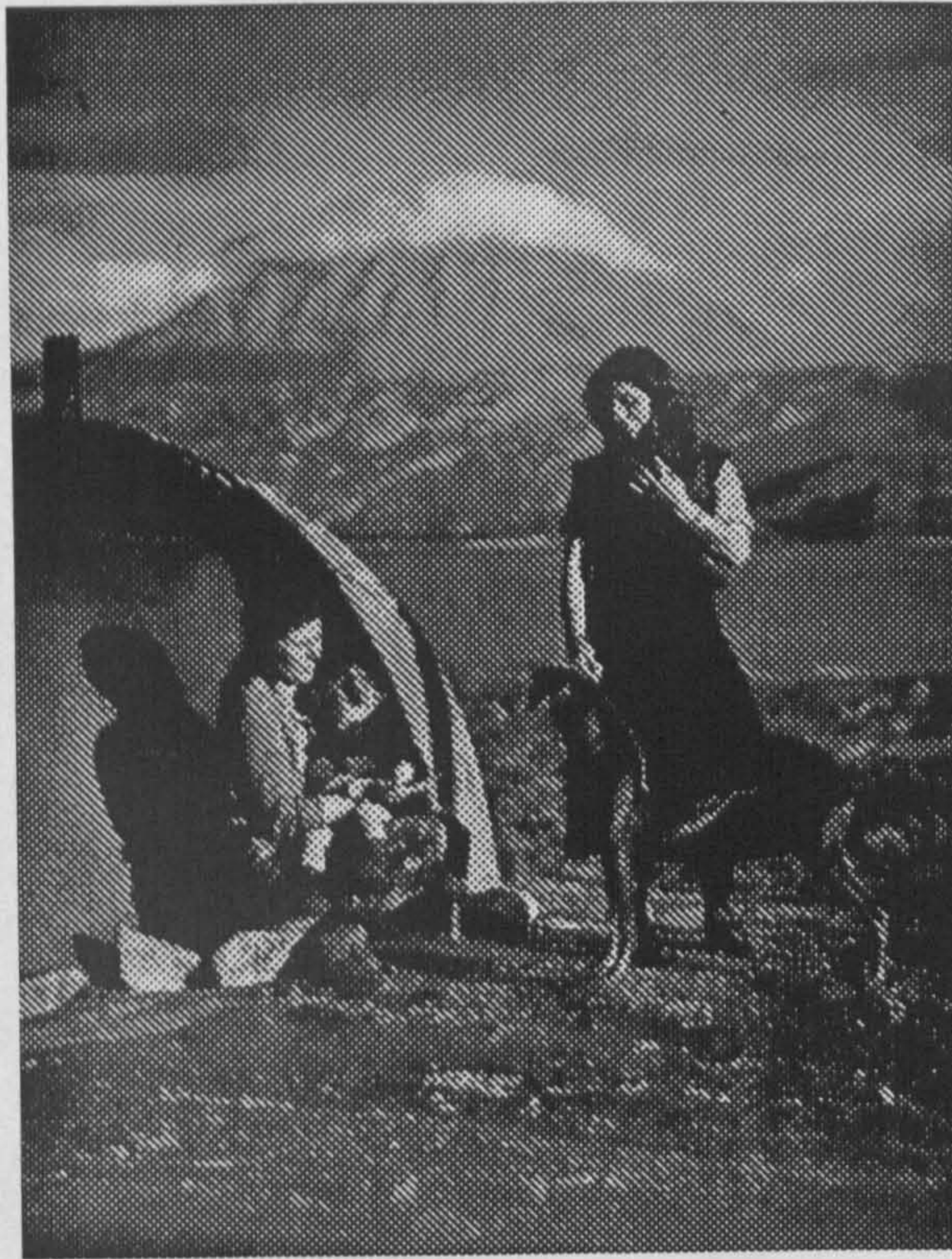
3. The Landscape Photographs

Hardman's photography was still economically sustained by portraiture, a market which his diaries indicate would continue to grow until after 1945. Privately, he was concerned to pursue his landscape photography and, in this respect, he shows a divergent practice from many of his better-known contemporaries. By the end of the 1930s the pattern of contemporary British photography was changing. While photographers were still supplying the established portrait market, some were informing a popular audience through new magazines like *Lilliput* and *Picture Post*.⁷¹ From 1938 *Picture Post* was at the vanguard of publishing the new photography and during the Second World War, its concern for social realism was a major contribution to a new documentary photography movement. Social realism became the dominant photography, and through its depictions of everyday life found a ready market in the newspaper and magazine industries. Subsequently, using their photographic archives, these same publishers would recycle seminal images to write their own vision of British photographic history.⁷²

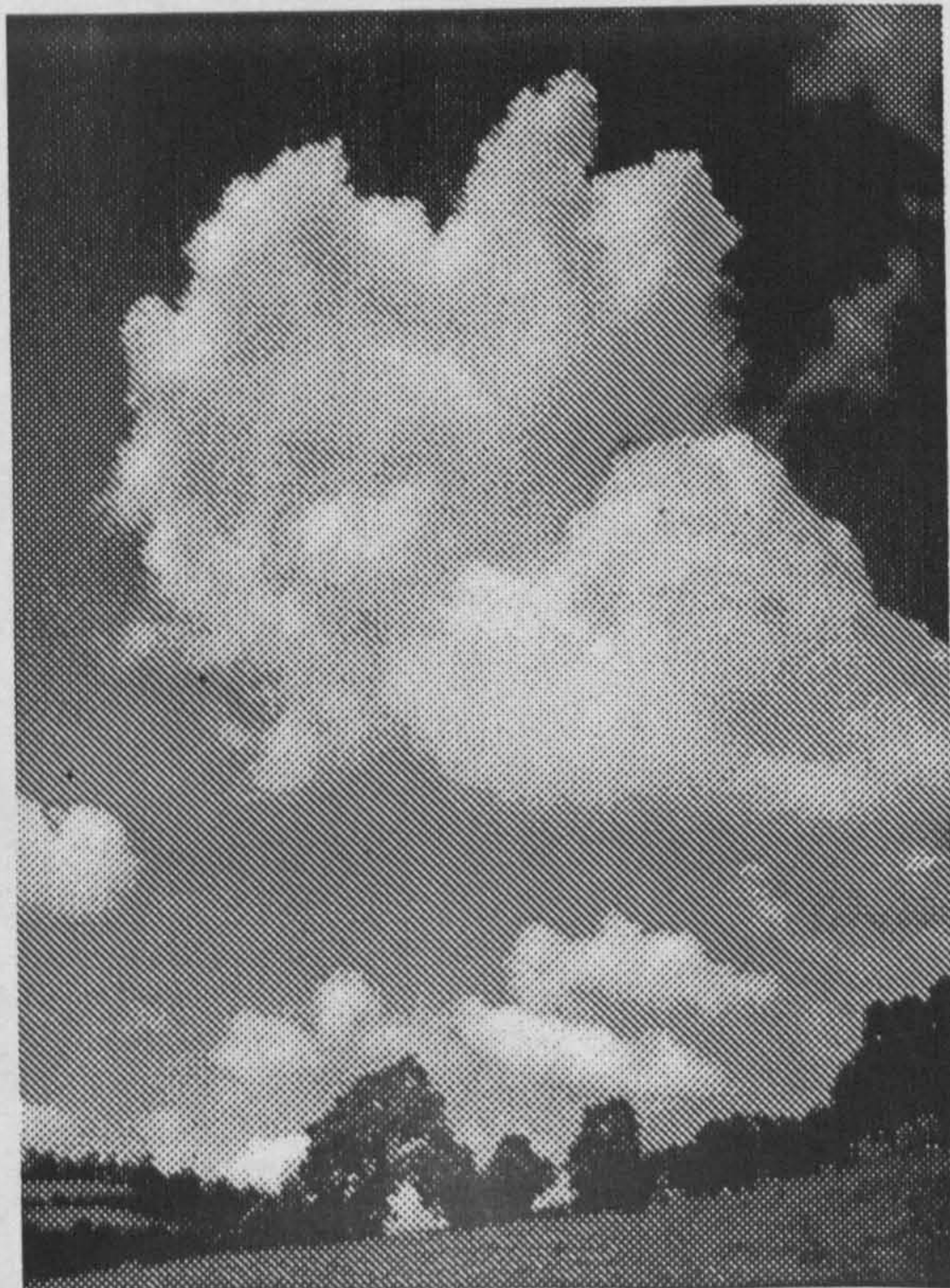
The foremost British photographer of the period, Bill Brandt,⁷³ had during the 1930s used his European perspective in an incisive contrast of the varieties of British social life in *The English at Home* (1936). Similarly in 1937 Humphrey Spender was making his contributions to the *Mass Observation* archive.⁷⁴ But Hardman's large format landscapes define a practice that is quite different from the prevailing accounts in the histories of British photography. There are however comparisons which can be made between Hardman's work and the broader currents in British landscape art. In a description of paintings at the *Palace of Arts* at the Empire Exhibition of 1938, William Feaver writes of

assembled works that made much of land and people...The landscapes were mostly of a Campaign for the Preservation of Rural England persuasion: stone walled dales a-winding, glittering estuaries, elms reaching up to brush the stately cumuli, hikers heading delightedly across country in search of Youth Hostels.⁷⁵

The complex relationship between photography and the other arts during this period is further demonstrated by Mellor's 1987 exhibition *A Paradise Lost: the Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain 1935-1955*.⁷⁶ It is among the neo-romantic



Gypsies, Loch Erribol (1939)



Dance of the Trees and Clouds (1947)

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photographers in Mellor's exhibition that we can locate Hardman's spirit, alongside the mountain photographs of Poucher⁷⁷ and the tamed landscapes of English country houses and gardens represented by Edwin Smith photographs.⁷⁸ Smith's photographs are counterpoints to Hardman's untamed naturalism. Whereas Smith sought close views of architectural artefacts, Hardman searched his adopted homeland in search of a spirit of place, which he seemed to find in the north-west of Scotland, in landscape which was almost wilderness.

Hardman's vision was therefore removed in outlook and aspiration from the new European realist, social and documentary photographers. Perhaps his early army life in India is part explanation. His experiences were different from the World War One experiences which radicalised many British and European artists. During the Second World War, portraiture remained the mainstay of Hardman's economy. His peers, when war allowed, remained those of the conservative salon selection committee. Hardman was not radical but increasingly pursued and developed his practice of landscape observation and representation.

The Post War Years

Hardman's sharing of broader cultural influences is also seen in a series of studies made during the post-war years, in which he explored metaphor. The photographs *Stone Sheep* (c.1948), *Pennine Rock Monster* [Brimham Rocks] (1948) and *Rock Dragon* (c.1948) find representation of animal morphology in geological subjects. The discovery of metaphor and surreal association in found objects is prevalent in the work of many other artists of the twentieth century, notably in a photographic context the work of Paul Nash.⁷⁹ The isolated study of parts of the landscape was not, however, Hardman's major theme, he preferred the vista and the widest angle of landscape and sky in a unified composition.⁸⁰ *Suilven* (1948) is such a photograph, where a small white dwelling is isolated in the centre of the



Suilven (1948)



The Liverpool Waterfront (1946)

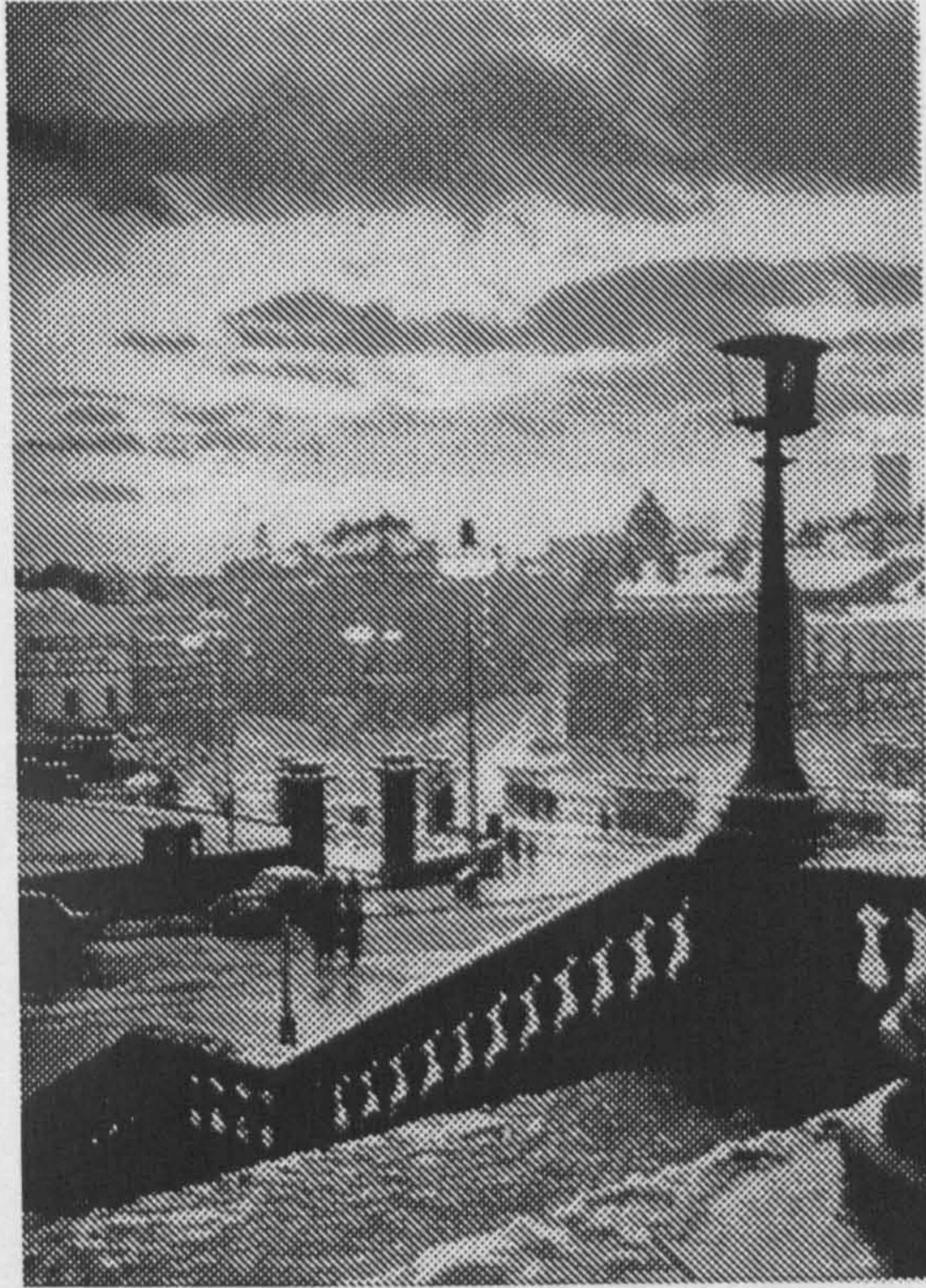
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horizontal plane. The house, imperceptible to the viewer at a distance, gives human measure to the grand vista.

Hardman's visits to Scotland had resulted in many earlier landscape photographs but he increasingly looked to less distant locations. Liverpool had been the subject of earlier Hardman photographs and after 1950 he turned to photographing the city and its docks. *The Liverpool Waterfront* (1946) is an unusual composition, which describes traffic on the River Mersey and the distant Pier Head architecture. From the same year, his twilight view *Museum Steps* (1946) frames the Art Deco street furniture of the Mersey Tunnel with the neo-classical architecture of the museum, in a view over the city. Unlike earlier sunnier views of the city, the post war view from the steps is dominated by a brooding cloudscape where the city's pedestrians weather an evening of rain and snow. While Hardman's photography has already been distinguished from the prevailing documentary social realism of the period, he himself was keen to distinguish photographs of artistic merit from work of technical accomplishment alone writing "We all know.... that a photographic print can be a technician's delight, and yet fail utterly to carry any artistic message."⁸¹

The distinction between technical record and poetic interpretation is evident when comparing Hardman's work with that of another photographic company. From the 1940s onwards the Liverpool company of Stuart Bale was commissioned to record the construction and the interiors of the great ocean liners made by the Merseyside shipyards. The large photographic plate record, which is the Stuart Bale Collection⁸², was a model of technical excellence and has become a valuable source for documentary research. The employees of The Stuart Bale company were not however artists, and from their thousands of recorded negatives, few offer more than a documentary record. In comparison Hardman's oeuvre suggests no easy direct reading, his photographs offer instead an individual interpretation. It is ironic that, although the Mersey and its shipping were a part of Hardman's landscape only by proximity, his *The Birth of the Ark Royal* (1950) has become the most reproduced photograph illustrating an era of Liverpool's commerce.⁸³



Museum Steps (1946)



The Birth of the Ark Royal (1950)

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The gestation of *The Birth of the Ark Royal* in which the vessel lies on the skyline and is surrounded by hammerhead cranes supported by a landscape of suburban housing has been described by Hardman. On an April day the vessel, newly painted prior to her launch by the Queen Mother, "stood out like a ghost. It looked monstrous in its size."⁸⁴ Hardman's photograph of a schoolboy on an urban street with an aircraft carrier in the distance, while probably his most famous picture, offers varied and multiple readings. The schoolboy anchors the foreground plane and offers a contrast of scale to the massive vessel, which is so dramatic that the juxtaposition looks surreal. The eye is not so much led into the picture from foreground to distance but rather from distance to foreground, the perspective of the photograph does not offer the eye a vanishing point. It has the look of an optical illusion or a clever montage, but it is not. The composition is similar to that of an earlier Hardman work *A Street in Marseille*. Both compositions use a coulisse in the foreground and a midpoint loosely defined at the foot of a hill. The Ark Royal photograph has, however, the fantastic organisation of pictorial space in which floats the white hull of the vessel. The symbolism suggests the serenity of a golden age, where sentiment and composition point to a post-war picturesque drama. As a metaphor, the enduring power of this picture may lie in it being read as an allegory of change.

A 1958 analysis of the Ark Royal photograph, using its earlier alternative title *Where Great Ships are Built*, described it as a model of pictorial composition:

It is the mark of a true artist to be able to produce a thing of beauty from a scene like this, and emphasises that it is not the subject, but your interpretation of it that makes a picture pictorial and lifts it right out of the record or documentary class.⁸⁵

More contemporary writers have preferred to look to the documentary qualities of the picture. Implicit to a document is integrity and truthfulness, criteria, which, with respect to this photograph, are notional. Powell refers to the schoolboy in the picture as "the stroke of luck on which so many great photographs depend",⁸⁶ an inference which locates the picture in a canon of photographic decisive

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moments, where the photographer records a fraction of time as a formally coherent summary of an event. There is an implied truthfulness in such a photograph and an attribution of skill to the photographer in recognising and recording the moment.⁸⁷ However the apparent coincidence of the schoolboy was unlikely to be a decisive moment, it is more likely that the boy walked if not on the pavement, then at the side of the road. Consequently, I doubt that the picture is a "decisive moment" and suggest alternatively that the picture is another example of Hardman's use of the directorial mode, where the schoolboy was employed as an actor in the composition.⁸⁸

The Birth of the Ark Royal in a different context raises other questions about truthfulness in Hardman's work and photography in general. In his earliest works Hardman openly employed interventionist practice in his darkroom post-production, but increasingly he came to rely less on modifications to the optical record. This was probably because of improvements in photographic materials rather than an aspiration to good documentary practice. *The Birth of the Ark Royal* is, however, a notable return to evident modification. Hardman recollected that "when I came to look at my negative that white washed gable end was a severe snag. It threw everything out, you see. I was trying to recreate what I had seen, to produce an effect. And anything that goes against the effect that I want, I rule out."⁸⁹ Subsequently he would treat the gable end in his negative to achieve a more even tone to the wall of the house to achieve his desired effect.

Hardman's frequent interventions in supposed documentary records were designed to increase the formal quality of the composition of his photographs. In the twentieth century this approach has not been fashionable. The association of photography with evidence and fact has since its inception been its most valued attribute as handmaiden to art and science. Yet trickery through montage or the employment of the directorial mode have offered a parallel tradition, particularly among photographers who aspired to extend photography from a medium of record to one of art.⁹⁰ While extremely popular with nineteenth century photographers, the directed *mise en scène* became in the twentieth century,

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unfashionable. However the pragmatic use of montage and the directorial mode did not disappear, on the contrary these techniques saw an unprecedented growth as the mainstay of political satire and the advertising industry. In the context of modern photography *The Birth of the Ark Royal* marks a transition. For the early part of the century intervention had been perfectly acceptable, but during the documentary era it became an unacceptable practice. Hardman's masterpiece therefore seems to offer a challenge to critics, who have not thought through the fundamental abstract qualities of photography but wish to confine it to being a mirror with a memory. Late twentieth century photography has however seen a reinvigoration of the directorial mode by certain conceptual photographers. By employing a once outmoded style, they have sought to question the claims of photography's authenticity or alternatively by their use of the transparency of photography have sought to encourage the viewers willing suspension of disbelief.⁹¹ A purist criticism of *The Birth of the Ark Royal* can be construed as no more than a reflection of fashion and does not answer any questions pertaining to how photography can be used or best practised. In any reading of *The Birth of the Ark Royal*, the balance between record and romantic interpretation, fact and fiction, history and memory, combine in an allegorical composition. The possible readings of this photograph are complex and offer the spectator a permutation of possible interpretations. However, for all its industry and documentary suggestion, Hardman's desire "to produce an effect" and his use of the directorial mode locates *The Birth of the Ark Royal* culturally within a pictorialist tradition. At the same time if read as metaphor for a city's maritime golden age, it is a quintessential example of the synthesis of the romantic and the literal, a representation rather than a description of landscape.

In 1955 Hardman read a paper to a Royal Photographic Society's Pictorial Group meeting on "Exhibition Quality", which he refers to as "from the point of view of the pictorialist."⁹² In the context of modern photography, "pictorialism", which originated in the nineteenth century, has archaic connotations. In 1955 however it would have been difficult for Hardman to find an alternative word to describe his photographic values. His talk lamented that "In place of individuality of style, we

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now have a great deal of semi standardised technique" and that "quality is somewhat mechanical and impersonal". He further argued that:

Some critics - those that belong to the world of photojournalism- would have you believe that it is almost a crime to produce a pictorial photograph. The highest praise goes to semi-documentary photographs showing life and action - often a very slummy kind of life.⁹³

In these passages Hardman clearly dissociates himself from photojournalism and advocates individual interpretation. Photojournalism, a growing industry in the 1950s, would subsequently become a genre in its own right and with its own values, which were quite different from those of the documentary movement. The documentary photographer's fundamental values were and still are based on humanism.⁹⁴ While many documentary photographers have adopted an individual approach to subject, in general the approach is consciously didactic. A parallel movement, often intertwined with the documentary tradition during the 1950s, claimed to be an "independent photography", which unencumbered by the media agenda of the magazines hoped for a larger vision and "aspired to realise personal truths through photography."⁹⁵

From the 1940s in the United States and the 1950s in Britain, the realisation of "personal truths" became, as it had been in the nineteenth century, the grail of photographers working outside the portrait and media industries. The choice of style and subject were as varied as the photographers themselves. Characteristic was a concern for quality in the photographic print and sales from exhibition and publication. The guiding principles of this later generation of "independent photographers" were those of the earlier pictorialist photographers. Their commitment was to a photographer's individuality, and its expression through choice of subject and fine print control. Seen in the broader context the pictorialist ethos, as distinct from the pictorialist style, has not disappeared, but has been reformulated as the ethos for many late twentieth century photographers seeking gallery exposure.

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The Fifties

Hardman continued to search the landscape during the 1950s, looking for open spaces where the land and atmosphere suggested a formal interpretation.

Carefully observed meteorology is a feature of many Hardman photographs and his description of low cumulo-stratus in *The Great Bulk of Manod* (1951) is as important to the scene as the form of Manod itself. Perhaps Hardman had reconnoitred the landscape around Ffestiniog when earlier weather or restrictions had prevented photography.⁹⁶ The dramatic weather, on a day when the forms of dark cloud and landscape meet, does not sound auspicious. In his photograph of Manod in 1951 Hardman uses the gravid form in the landscape as the main element, but the rest of the composition is a sombre vista of stonewalled empty fields. A new optimism can be seen in the later *Shadow of the Aqueduct* (c.1953) where Telford's construction over the Dee Valley becomes a gnomon marking time on the landscape.⁹⁷ A similar transient phenomenon is evident in the English border landscape *A Dusting of Snow Kerry Hill* (c.1955). The print tone, resolution and distant perspective show a marked shift from his earlier 1928 photograph of the adjacent city of Ludlow, where he used the castle and post-production to describe man's control over the land. By 1955 the fields on Kerry Hill bounded by hedgerows happily coexist with Newtown architecture.⁹⁸ A similar comparison can be made between *Coast of Devon* (c.1950) and *Cliffs of Devon* (1935), where similar subject matter is interpreted by Hardman in very different ways, where each are representative of their period of making.

Hardman's modern formal and descriptive style suggests comparison with the work of Fay Godwin, who during the 1970s made photographs of the landscapes of Glencoe, Sutherland and Wales which Hardman had similarly photographed in earlier decades. Ian Jeffrey, in an introduction to Godwin's work makes further comparisons with an earlier British literary tradition of Richard Jeffries, Edward Thomas, Hilaire Belloc, Ford Madox Ford "and a dozen other writers [who] knew their country and their countryside. They delighted in the names of villages, hills,



The Great Bulk of Manod (1951)



Shadow of the Aqueduct (1953)

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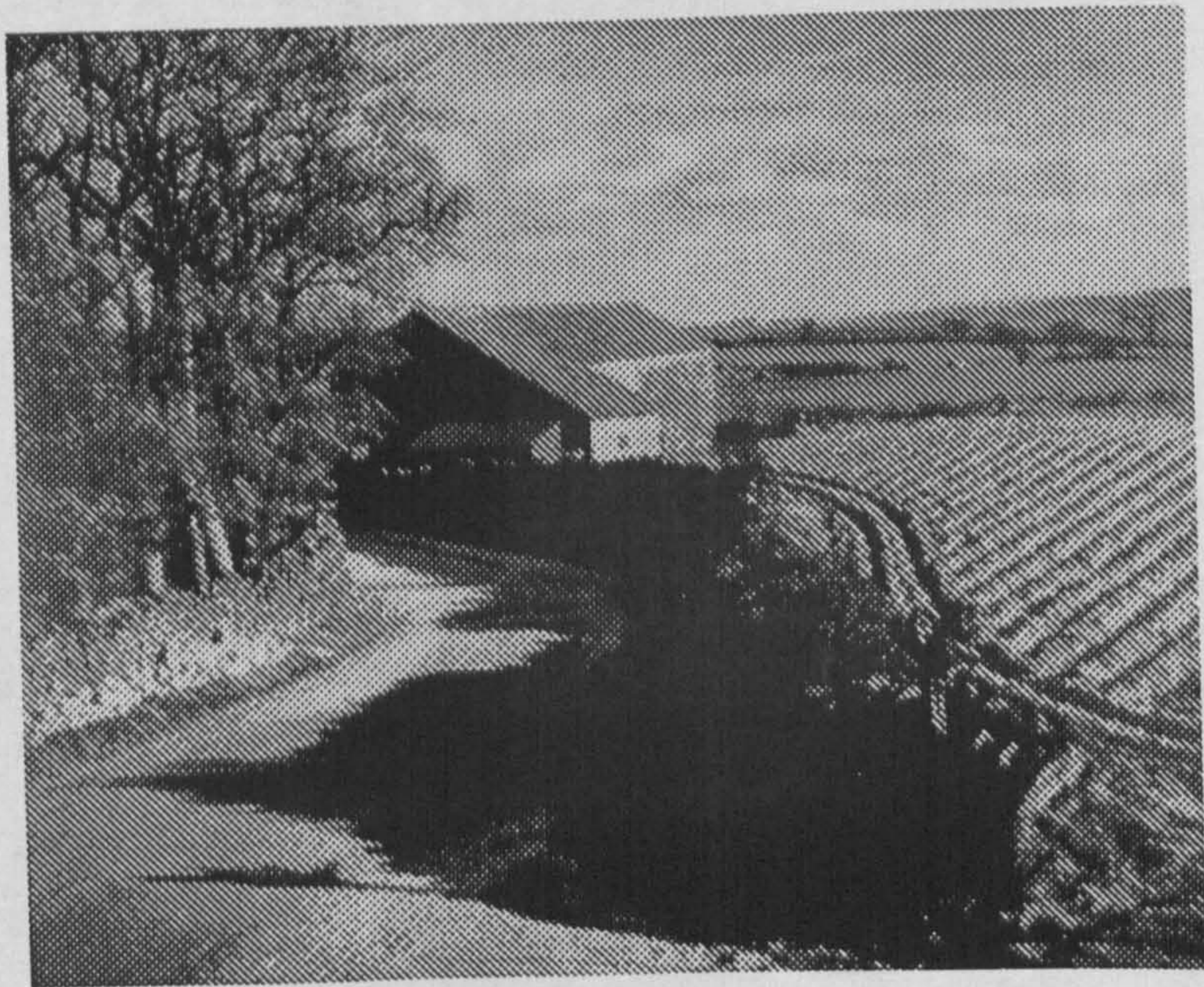
pathways and fields, and they knew the names of flowers."⁹⁹ Much of this could have been written of Hardman's photography. Associations with poetry, literature and music form part of the representation of the British landscape in which Hardman has a niche. He can be seen to continue a British tradition represented by the earlier works of painters like Richard Wilson and Anthony Devis.¹⁰⁰ Comparisons of early works by Hardman such as *Landscape Tattenhall* (1930) with Devis' *Landscape with Four Trees* (n.d.), and *Whitecliff Seaton [Devon]* (1933) with Devis' *Beechy Head, Sussex* (1780), show a remarkable continuity of concerns in their treatment of the common subject of the landscape, its trees, fields and cattle, or the cliffs and beachhead of southern England.¹⁰¹

Of Hardman's generation, the examples of Smythe and Poucher have been cited; and, in a broader visual arts context, landscape was as it had been in the past the focus for many painters.¹⁰² In a similar contemporary context, Hardman's photography can be compared to the work of British painters and illustrators like John Nash and Roland Hilder.¹⁰³ In his 1966 talk to the Royal Photographic Society, subsequently published as "Landscape: Another Personal View", Hardman says "little about the technical side of landscape photography".¹⁰⁴ His concerns are rather the decline of landscape photography and the importance of protecting the countryside of "our small country".¹⁰⁵ In his presentation Hardman distances himself from the landscape as essentially a picturesque subject. Instead he urges his listeners to look beyond conventional "pretty scenery" and to look to "all aspects of contemporary reality, some by no means beautiful in the popular sense."¹⁰⁶ His concerns are also environmental, encouraging his audience to support conservation and preservation societies.¹⁰⁷ The photography of landscape has, contrary to Hardman's predictions, seen a resurgence since the 1970s. It is now as important, if not more so, to a new generation.¹⁰⁸

For a post-industrial generation, landscape ecology and environmental protection are a focus of concern, exemplified in book titles like Fay Godwin's *Forbidden Land*.¹⁰⁹ There is also a continuity of landscape writings about the landscape as a source of spiritual inspiration. In his 1975 essay accompanying *The Land*, a compendium of contemporary landscape photography, Aaron Scharf asks



A Dusting of Snow, Kerry Hill (c.1955)



An Old Lancashire Lane (c.1962)

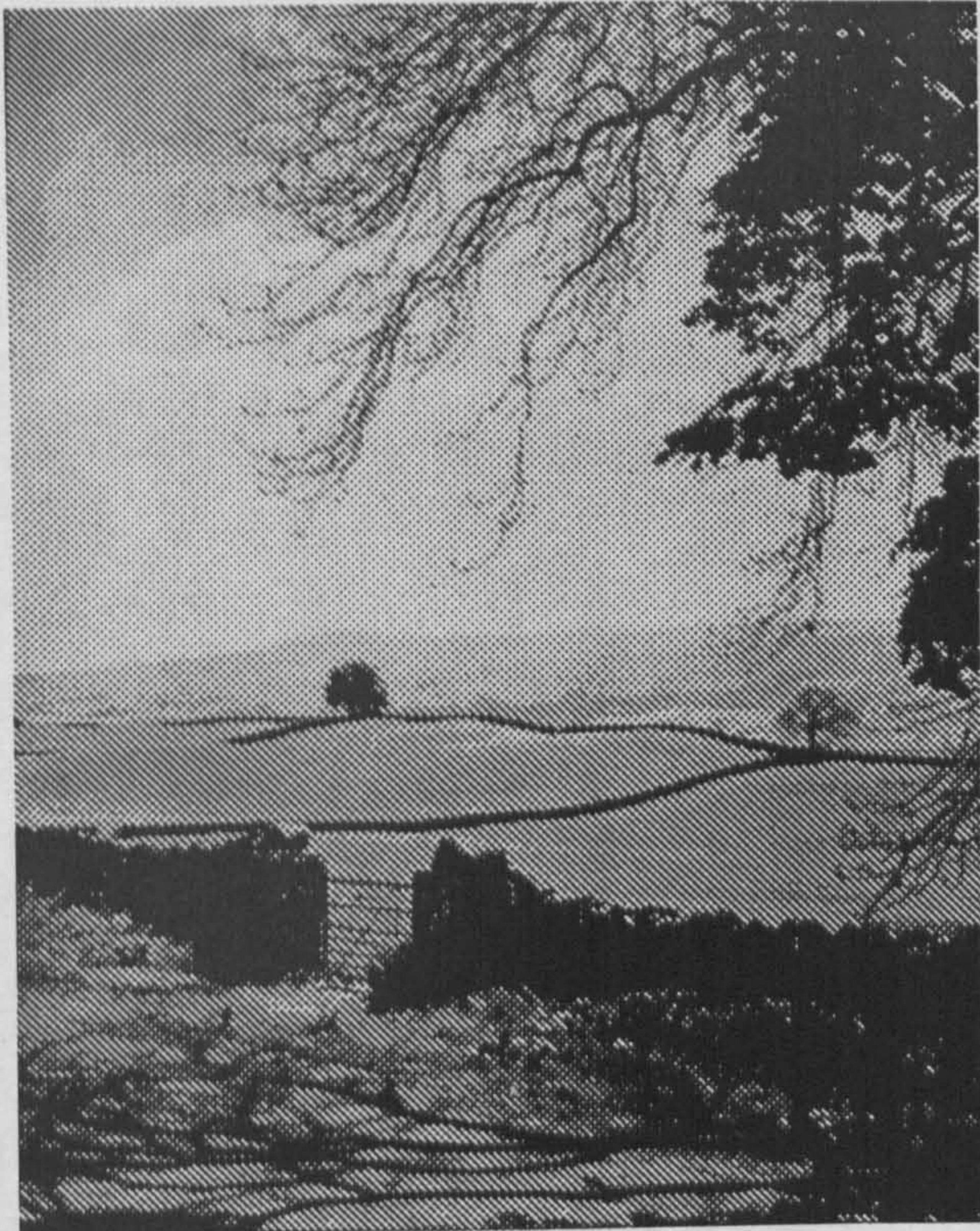
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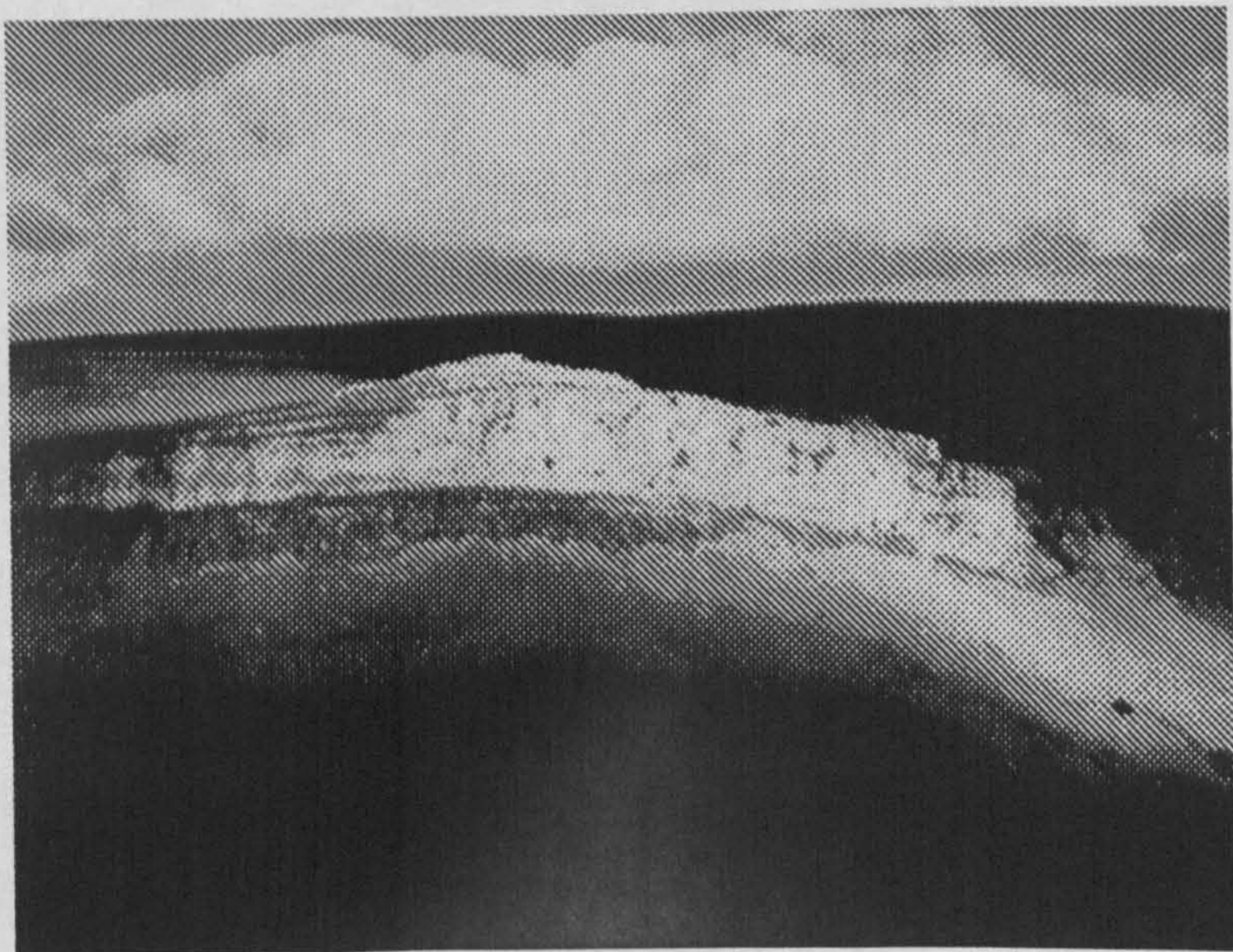
"Doesn't the photograph, by its very nature, exercise a certain constraint on artistic conceits and thus brilliantly fulfil Ruskin's conditions for the moral representation of landscape?"¹¹⁰ Hardman's views on Ruskin are unknown but ideas about art and landscape described by other writers, particularly the spiritual dimension explored by earlier twentieth century writers like John Cowper Powys and George Santayana were both probable influences on Hardman's thinking.¹¹¹

Hardman's work during the 1960s began to explore less dramatic landscapes. *An Old Lancashire Lane* (c.1962) makes a strong formal composition from an undramatic scene; the corner of a stone walled lane, a furrowed field and farm outbuildings are united in a composition of curves and the shadows of afternoon. Stonewalls and curves in the landscape are also the formal devices used; *In Wensleydale* (1968), where a foreground gate is an invitation to the landscape. The history of the land and its cultivators are the dominant themes in *Hill Farming Country* (c.1965), where corn stooks are evidence to a vanished economy. These later works are quietly controlled compositions, which culminate in *Limestone Cliff* (c.1970), which by contrast, is a representation of the sublime. This most minimal of his landscapes describes the curve of a cliff in a composition which is largely shadow. The sky normally dominates Hardman's landscapes but in *Limestone Cliff* atmosphere is subordinated to geology. The face of the cliff appears like a scar on the land as it disappears into the infinite blackness of the valley below. The only lightness in this picture is the transient cumulus; the rest is a primeval scene with no trace of man. Perhaps this darkness was influenced by the recent death of his wife? It is certainly among Hardman's last finished landscapes and appears to mark a final achievement.¹¹²

Clarke, in a comparison of British and American landscape photography, has remarked that "British landscape photography of the twentieth century has followed a quite different path, and for the most part still finds its roots in the picturesque codes of the nineteenth century."¹¹³ Clarke's twentieth century British landscapists include Raymond Moore (1920-87), Fay Godwin (b.1931), and John Davies (b.1949), previously referred to as part of a continuity of landscape representation. A comparison between Davies' *Agecroft Power Station, Salford*



In Wensleydale (1968)



Limestone Cliff (c.1970)

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(1983)¹¹⁴ and Hardman's *Power Station, Lister Drive* (1929) which are common in subject and formal representation, suggests divergent cultural reading. For Hardman, the industrial subject is an innovation with great promise, for Davies, in a post-industrial age the condensers represent a blight on the landscape. Two generations separate these works, Hardman had no direct influence on Davies but the continuity is clear.

Comparative readings of the photography of Godwin and Hardman, separated by only one generation, are less easily summarised. Included in her work before 1980 *The Oldest Road - An Exploration of the Ridgeway* (1975), *The Drovers Roads of Wales* (1977) and *Remains of Elmet* (1979)¹¹⁵ are many recurrences of landscape subjects and motifs that had appeared in Hardman's work. However Godwin's sequential photographs for publication gives a thematic reading to her pictures, while Hardman more frequently offers a single narrative.

At the close of the twentieth century, environmental concern has given photographers a new polemical urgency. In this context Hardman can be seen as a transitional figure. Through a reading of his pictorial narratives of the 1920s, his formalism in the 1930s and the descriptive landscapes of subsequent decades, his contribution is a period vision. Furthermore his representations of the British landscape were made in an era when few thought of landscape photography "as being a way of life".¹¹⁶

Conclusion

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the painter John Constable felt it necessary to argue that “landscape is a genre within art.”¹ The first part of the thesis, in seeking precedent for Hardman’s achievement, suggests that the representation of landscape has been a genre within art for at least two millennia. With the invention of photography, the first generation of its practitioners inherited a tradition of landscape and how it should be represented. In particular the thesis notes the use of the popular landscape models of the sublime and the picturesque. The further relationship of photography to painting during this period is also considered and is described as reciprocal; in that photography offered to *plein-air* painters of landscape an accurate guide for their description of perspective, while photography received from painting a map of subjects and a model for visual representation.

From these beginnings the thesis describes how later nineteenth century photographers found a ready market for foreign landscape views, particularly of the Near East. By the mid-nineteenth century an increasing number of photographers made landscape pictures which the research distinguishes as statements of personal response, rather than products for a commercial market. The fact that many of these photographers had been trained in art and had earlier practised painting is noted. The thesis argues that these and later generations of landscape photographers provided the initial model for Hardman’s practice.

The chapter then describes a number of Hardman’s British contemporaries who also made landscape photographs, in particular Bill Brandt, Paul Nash and Edwin Smith. It is noted that this period in England, after the First World War, saw a decline in photography, painting, poetry and music that focused on landscape representation. Subsequently, however there was a revival of landscape representation in the later twentieth century, which included a new environmental concern and a shift in emphasis from the pastoral to the urban landscape. In this context, it is noted that various critical historians of landscape painting have

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written of a conspicuous relationship between landscape representation by painters and the politics of landscape administration. The thesis also notes that writers on landscape photography have described a similar correlation.

Within this chronological exposition the thesis also describes how the aspirations of landscape photographers were often divergent and chose to employ very different techniques in realisation of their ideas. For example, in the nineteenth century there was a division between photographers who argued for naturalistic representation, while their opponents demonstrated their artistic status by a variety of interventionist practices, including the use of multiple negatives or direct physical intervention on their negatives. It is noted that the invention of digital photography in the twentieth century has restated questions about the role of intervention in photography. The thesis states that the question for contemporary digital photographers is not whether photographers should intervene, but by how much.

The second chapter describes the source material available for research at Hardman's Liverpool studio and how the catalogue of his negatives and prints provided the starting point for the research. Supplementary readings from his notebooks, diaries, correspondence and publications were then used to establish an accurate chronology for his life. This evidence forms the basis for a description of the sequence in which Hardman made his photographs and includes precise dates for many of them.

The final chapter describes the technical and stylistic evolution of Hardman's photography. In particular photographs from his early period, during the 1920s, reflect Hardman's inheritance from earlier photographers, especially their use of narrative and a directorial approach to composition. His earliest extant negatives, made in India were subsequently through darkroom post-production often modified in the making of prints in a desire for control and the making of a personal statement. Hardman's use of darkroom post-production, his use of enlarged and retouched negatives and positives, were techniques which he was

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always prepared to utilise when necessary. These processes are best seen in his suite of French photographs made in 1926. Of these, the most famous *A Memory of Avignon* (1926) demonstrates a conspicuous use of soft focus, narrative and darkroom post-production. The thesis also notes a comparison between this picture by Hardman and early work by the Czechoslovakian photographer Josef Sudek.

The thesis also points to the influence of Hardman's peers, who were the members of the London Salon of Photography and the Royal Photographic Society. Their influence and Hardman's aspiration to make an art of photography meant that conformity to the values of the salon were a prerequisite for his acceptance. While the conservative salon may have been detrimental to Hardman's development, the author shows evidence that he consistently made photographs which he knew would not be acceptable to the salon committee, work which was often not exhibited until many years after their making. The conclusion drawn from this is that Hardman's photography was directed more by a personal vision than by the academic standards of his peers.

The chapter then describes an observable shift in Hardman's photography at the end of the 1920s when industry, shipping and dockland scenes became subjects in his work. Later, during the 1930s the natural landscape became Hardman's major theme and the thesis describes the photograph *The Copse* (1935) as a landmark in his formal approach to landscape representation. The research subsequently analyses Hardman's landscape photographs, made during the following decades, in their chronological sequence. In overview the research describes changes in Hardman's landscape photography as a shift from his use of narrative as the basis of his compositions to the more formal descriptive use of landscape elements. The chapter also describes that changes in Hardman's work can be seen to mirror broader movements in the visual arts in Britain during the twentieth century.

Following from this the thesis describes comparisons, which can be made with the photographs by a number of Hardman's contemporaries including Paul Nash, Bill Brandt and Edwin Smith. Using further comparisons the thesis describes Hardman

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as removed in aspiration and temperament from the new European realist, social and documentary photographers. The research locates Hardman instead within a period and tradition of British art described by David Mellor in his 1978 exhibition *A Paradise Lost the Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain 1935-1955*. The thesis describes that Hardman during this period has the land at the core of his work, an echo of one of Mellor's themes "The Origins of the Land". In particular Hardman's *The Copse* (1935) and the *Birth of the Ark Royal* (1950) should contribute to any view of landscape in Britain during this period. *The Copse*, contemporary with similar paintings by Paul Nash, represents landscape as a formal composition, the meteorology of a British summer day. This and many other works by Hardman represent the natural landscape during Mellor's selected period 1935-1955. Hardman's landscape photography during this period is also contemporary with, and descriptive of, major shifts in agriculture; for example the rise of monoculture and the establishment of National Parks by the 1949 "National Parks Act". In contrast Hardman's 1950s landscape *The Birth of the Ark Royal*, exploits pictorial composition to create a surreal description of building and birth. It has been suggested that this industrial landscape is a picture made in a documentary style, but analysis has shown; that intentionality, direction and manipulation were used by Hardman to create layers of meaning and possible interpretations. The finality of Hardman's *Limestone Cliff, Wales* (c.1970), is similarly a landmark in his work. While this photograph has a formal relationship to *The Copse* in the sharing of clouds, but where the limestone cliff replaces the earlier copse in this late, sublime and timeless landscape. All three of these works can be considered representative of Hardman's imaginative and romantic contribution and through the evidence of these works should be included among the significant British photographers of the period

Finally the thesis suggests further correspondences between Hardman's work and two later generations of landscape photographers. For example, comparisons are made between Hardman work and the landscape photographs by Fay Godwin and John Davies, both of whom provide evidence of an indirect continuity of landscape representation between Hardman and subsequent generations. It is also

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noted that these later photographers, in their aspiration to realise personal truths through photography, embraced values, which were also shared by Hardman.

The thesis describes a continuity of landscape representation that has been practised in Britain for many centuries. While it is clear that Hardman, in the genesis of his own work, drew on prior and broad histories of landscape painting and photography and their practitioners, to what extent has he contributed to the genre? More specifically what has been his contribution to landscape photography and its more general history in Britain during the twentieth century?

Evidence has pointed to landscapes from any period reflecting the values as well as the topography of their time. In comparison the landscapes of Giorgione are clearly different to those of Constable or Turner, but there has not been progress in the sense of improvement or bettering. Popular taste, technological improvements and aesthetic preference have all influenced the history of landscape representation. There has however been a continuity of individual artists; who at different points in time, have sought meaning from representing the landscape. Similarly there has been a continuous audience who has demonstrated that the best works of landscape representation have meaning beyond their own time. This interest by artists and their audience in descriptions; usually of their homeland, indicates that landscape representation fulfils a role in cultural history and is perhaps equally important as a vehicle for evocations of *memento mori*.

Clearly some artists have more facility than others do, although the attributions of who was best or most important can be seen to waver with the whims of fashion. This is particularly the case in consideration of work from the immediate or preceding historical period, the acknowledgement and appreciation of the work of many artists has consequently only been conferred retrospectively. Evidently there is no discernible objective assessment for contemporary work, the sole arbitrator is time; a measurement of whether the work continues to have meaning beyond its own time and milieu.

Conclusion

Hardman died an honoured member of the Royal Photographic Society and a respected member of the London Salon. At the end of his life he had also begun to exhibit at modern independent photographic galleries who were keen to exhibit his work. Subsequently he also had major retrospective exhibitions at The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool and the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford. These rewards attest to a successful professional career as a photographer and artist, and suggest that Hardman made a contribution to British artistic life. In an attempt to measure his contribution, the thesis now answers questions, which appear germane: for example does Hardman's work have aesthetic and cognitive value? Is there coherence to his oeuvre suggesting an individual signature in respect of his photographic style? Was he of his time and has he subsequently influenced subsequent generations of landscape artists?

In respect of the question as to whether his work has aesthetic value, his exhibitions in national art galleries are perhaps sufficient evidence. In presentational and technical terms Hardman from his earliest photographic experiments also demonstrated an uncommon facility for composition and technique in the realisation of a personal response to a scene. Made during his twenties, his French photographs of the 1920s are seminal examples of his technical control and ability to convey mood and atmosphere to an audience. Subsequently, as has been described, his work shifts to a more formal emphasis in his description of subject and in overview his pictures demonstrate the use of a wide variety of processes and print types. During a working period in which warm toned prints aided by soft focus gave way to a preference for cool blue-blacks and crisp focus, his work offers a broad picture of changing photographic styles. Hardman was always eager to avail himself of technical developments to improve his own technique. As evidence of this his landscape photographs are model examples of the craft of twentieth century black and white photography.

In cognitive terms Hardman's work can also offer meanings beyond photography. For example his landscapes of the 1930s, made prior to the mid-century expansion of road building and the subsequent growth of tourism, offer a complex mixture of views. *The Rick* (1936) offers a picturesque and idyllic view, which could be

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thought typical of this period. This interpretation must however be contrasted with the primordial, sublime description of the landscape of *Upper Glen Affric* (1935) which chronologically precedes it. Similarly *The Rick* can be compared to another contemporary work *The Copse* (1935). Here formal elegance marks a high modernist statement in his work with no trace of the language of the picturesque. Given that these three works are almost contemporary, any single reading of photographs made during this period is clearly impossible. Following the Second World War Hardman continued with his more formal descriptions of landscape but during the 1950s he re-employs narrative in a surreal exploitation of picturesque composition in his most famous photograph *The Birth of the Ark Royal* (1950). The thesis describes this work as an anomaly in a chronological reading of his work, and locates this particular work as part of a pictorialist tradition of photography. Consequently the thesis questions earlier research which had suggested that the photograph is an example of the "decisive moment". Work from the years 1923 to 1955 coincides with Hardman's most productive period and during these decades he produced a variety of landscapes that offer interpretation about the landscape as well as photography. More measured political and sociological readings that could be made from Hardman's landscapes are beyond the scope of the present research but it is clear that his work presents a rich resource for many disciplines.

Another measurement could ask does Hardman demonstrate coherence in his work that suggests the individual signature of an author. It is accepted that he acknowledged the contemporary salon style, and to an extent is representative of that style. In contrast he also demonstrates a strong individual taste for subject and location, characterised by the wide view and a full treatment of meteorology and atmosphere. His individuality as a photographer is perhaps better seen when compared with the work of his most significant contemporaries including Bill Brandt, Edwin Smith and Paul Nash who are all acknowledged as contributing to British landscape photography. It is noticeable that these three; in general rejected the wide landscape vista, in favour of the close up. Writing of the most appreciated photographer of this period Bill Brandt, Jeffrey has previously been cited as describing landscape as "one of Brandt's more impure categories, for it is

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most often landscape with building".² Similarly architecture was for Edwin Smith of paramount importance in his descriptions of corners of England. Of the three, Nash seems closest to sharing with Hardman a deeper concern with the natural landscape of Britain. Although in their respective photography there are only occasional similarities in composition, Nash preferring to focus on landscape detail or the surreal *objet trouvé* in the landscape, while Hardman preferred a broader view.

The practice of landscape photography in Britain during this period also included many professional garnerers of views for reproduction. Most of these individuals, do not however, offer discrete and personalised views with a clear signature. Evidence from the record also suggests that there were few practising photographers who interpreted landscape through photography as represented by Hardman's oeuvre, and there were none that were as prolific or consistent. I have found no evidence, in libraries or archives, of equally large and significant collections of work by other British Salon members of his generation. In this respect and until evidence to the contrary appears, his bequest appears to be unique.

Therefore can Hardman be considered a photographer representative of his time? Inevitably a photograph is a timed event, and although rarely recorded, it carries the cultural marks which establish its time of making, the cars, clothes, carriages and street furniture of everyday life. Some photographers notably of the documentary schools have deliberately sought to record such timely artefacts. With landscape these marks are not so evident, but Hardman's natural views operate as both aesthetic objects and historical documents of the land. However from his earliest extant negatives made in India through to his French suite made in the mid 1920s Hardman deliberately altered the historical record in pursuance of the timeless landscape. For example with the notable exception of the conversation piece *A Memory of Avignon*, little of his 1926 series suggests the period of the 1920s. Instead Hardman made every effort to make the scenes more rustic and timeless by judicious cropping and occasionally as in *Martigues* making a deliberate obliteration in the record. During the 1930s Hardman again sought to

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describe natural landscapes, typically during this period of the harsh terrain of Northern Scotland, a surprising location for the lyrical photograph *The Copse* in its timeless description of summer. Subsequently hedgerows, bicycles, hikers and cars would frequently locate many of Hardman's pictures in a particular place and time. He continued however to seek a timeless description of landscape which can be traced through his many compositions dominated by cloud forms during the 1950s and culminating in his late work *Limestone Cliff* (c.1970).

Hardman's timeless landscapes are however punctuated by other photographs; for example *The Birth of the Ark Royal* derives much of its strength from appearing to encapsulate time. The signifiers in this composition: the style of housing, the street furniture, school boy and vessel combine to anchor the picture around mid-century. Many of his city views can similarly be referenced, and his landscapes therefore offer a duality in their approach, contrasting formal, timeless natural landscapes with more factual, contemporary industrial landscapes and city views.

In another respect the question of Hardman being of his time also suggests that he would share the values of his contemporaries. Brandt for example, already familiar with the broad agenda of the European *avant-garde*, arrived in England and began a career as an independent photographer working for various publishers. Edwin Smith similarly, although initially trained as an architect, became friends with Paul Nash and became a successful and frequently published architectural photographer. Of the broader mass of photographers Humphrey Spender can also be seen as an influential and important documentary photographers of the period. Hardman had little in common with the metropolitan careers of his contemporaries; his life was instead in Liverpool and the northern territories with only occasional visits to the capital. In consideration of this we should remember that Hardman like Brandt was a *émigré* who brought the values of another country to enrich the culture of his adopted homeland. Perhaps it is here that we find an explanation for his separateness and individual contribution; but it would be wrong to describe Hardman as an outsider. His association with the Royal Photographic Society and the London Salon are writ large on his *curriculum vitae* and significantly contributed to his personal development.

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Unfortunately during this period of British photography, the Royal Photographic Society and the London Salon contributed little to re-inventing contemporary photography for a new generation. Consequently during Hardman's active working life from 1925-1960 there is little evidence, from extant work, that members of either of these organisations nurtured or associated with individuals who have subsequently been included in retrospective histories of fine art photography. Hardman in some ways characterises the salon attitude and therefore his work has value as representative of it. More importantly his oeuvre survives intact, and more significant than his salon successes is his demonstration of an individual approach within the confines of salon approval.

Hardman worked hard to make the portrait studio a success but I argue that this work, although a rich resource for further research, is not his major contribution to British photography. Every city can claim a talented portrait photographer, but few one whose contribution to the art of photography focused on the landscape. Instead I have argued that his contribution lies in his private work. All students of photography produce a portfolio, seek exhibitions for prestige or career, but soon either abandon the medium or settle into a professional practice. Few continue to make large exhibition prints that are not directly linked to an improvement in their economic livelihood. Photographers like Hardman are rare, he made exhibition photographs though out his life and the number extant at his death were an indication of how poorly they sold. He also preferred to exhibit landscapes rather than professional celebrity portraits and neither time nor expense inhibited his personal output. At the age of seventy two he could still write of how "I can get into the country and if necessary sleep in the car for a night."³ Hardman could at any point in time have discontinued his landscape work and settled for a comfortable professional income, he preferred instead the long game played by ancestors like H.P. Robinson, P.H. Emerson and A.H. Hinton et al. for whom photography had been a way of life.

Was he then behind the times, cherishing the grandeur of exhibition photography in the past? On the contrary for a new generation, an art of photography practised with the assiduousness of the other arts has become almost commonplace. Along

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with this popularity Hardman's perceived values of fine print quality in a photograph that can hang as a picture, still remains crucial to the modernist canon of photography. Furthermore the career decision to make art using a camera, while still risky is increasingly popular and following the American model, creative photography courses offered by British universities rival alternative vocational courses. This ethos, the belief that photography can be a means of individual expression, is the continuity of which Hardman is part. It does not exclude the best in any of photography's disciplines but for its exponents photography is clearly practised as an art rather than a science.

This continuity also forms part of the link to investigating whether Hardman has had an influence on subsequent generations of photographers. Histories describe Brandt as the most influential photographer of his generation. Widely published in his lifetime, his work and that of the documentary schools have become characteristic of modern photography between 1930-1950. Hardman it has been established had little in common with Brandt and the documentary movement, and this coupled with his salon associations and the preference for relatively unpublishable pictures of natural landscape has meant that he has achieved little popular exposure until recent times. I have argued that he does however share the ethos of a new generation of photographers and perhaps his life work in photography, will suggest a re-interpretation of the long game for future generations.

Using the chronological evidence of this thesis, subsequent research may use this descriptive framework for Hardman's photographs to focus on broader cultural values of the period and their relationship to his photography. In particular the present research has described a conspicuous correlation between political and cultural values inherent in landscape representation; future research could investigate this in the context of his work.

Specific to the history of photography future research might also look at the landscape photography made by the generations subsequent to Hardman, seeking evidence of further shared values, in particular whether his landscapes and the

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pictorialist tradition form part of a broader indirect model for representing the landscape through contemporary photography. There are similar questions that can be asked of the *avant-garde* movements of the 1930s in questioning whether they provided a model for subsequent generations of landscape photographers or whether the inspiration was from another source.

Finally the Hardman archive offers numerous sources for potential research in the further cataloguing of his landscape work and in an ordering of his portrait photographs. In this respect subsequent research should also investigate Margaret Hardman's contribution to photography starting with the small extant collection of her work in the Hardman archive.

Notes.

Introduction

1. (Clarke 1976), p.59.
2. (Schwartz 1985), pp.100-103.
3. (Batchen 1997), p.70.
4. Ian Jeffery described the 1930s as “ a fine decade for documentary photography, a veritable era of observation (Jeffrey 1973) p.109. See also (Rosenblum 1989) p.540.
5. (Jeffrey 1973), p.110.
6. (Harker 1994), intro. p.11.
7. Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), Edward Weston (1886-1958) and Ansel Adams (1902-1984).
8. Alexander Keighley (1861-1947) and Mark Oliver Dell (1883-1959).
9. W.F. Poucher (b.1891).
10. Frank Smythe (active 1940-50).
11. José Ortiz Echagüe (1886-1980) and Josef Sudek (1896-1978).
12. Bill Brandt (1910-1983).
13. Edwin Smith (1912-1971).
14. Paul Nash (1889-1943).
15. John Blakemore (b.1936), Fay Godwin (b.1931) and John Davies (b.1949).

Chapter 1 The Continuity of Landscape Representation

1. Clark K. *Landscape into Art*. (1976) p.147.
2. Orians G.H. *An Ecological and Evolutionary approach to Landscape Aesthetics*. (1986) p.18.

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3. Warnke M. *Political Landscape, The Art History of Nature* (1994) p.10.
4. Schama S. *Landscape and Memory* (1995) p.61.
5. Parris, Shields & Fleming-Williams. *John Constable Documents and Correspondence* (1975) p.5.
6. The contemporary artist Christo (b.1935) for example.
7. Bermingham A. *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (1987) p.10
8. Late in life Hardman became friends with a photography student who subsequently wrote her degree dissertation on Hardman. See (Wesson 1988) .
9. The research of Coke V.D. *The Painter and the Photograph from Delacroix to Warhol* (1964) and Scharf A. *Art and Photography* (1968) have demonstrated the close link between painting and photography, while Galassi P. *Before Photography* (1981) specifically makes comparison between artists representations in the two mediums at the beginning of the nineteenth century.
10. From the European Upper Palaeolithic era, approximately 30,000 years ago to post Ice Age and the European Bronze Age these rock drawings are striking in their comparative similarities see Khun H. *The Rock Pictures of Europe* (1966).
11. The rectangular landscape composition has been so successful that the relative proportions have continued through painting printing, photography to film, television, video and computer digital pictures.
12. A new vehicle for the description of landscape representation can be found in illustrated herbals and the secular prayer books notably The Book(s) of Hours of the Medieval period. These idealised landscapes while not a representation of a place do describe a medieval topography. See Duc de Berry's manuscript "*Très Riches Heures*" painted by the Limburg Brothers (active 1399- 1420). Collection of The Louvre, Paris.
13. Gombrich E.H. *The Story of Art* (1954) p.106.
14. Giorgione's "*The Tempest*" (c. 1508) collection of Venice Academia. This overview is common to (Clarke 1949), (Gombrich 1954) and Rothenstein J. *An Introduction to English Painting* (1933).
15. In his notebooks Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1515) described "*The Four Elements*" which clearly informs the geological description in paintings such as "*Virgin of the Rocks*" (c. 1483-86) Collection of The Louvre, Paris.
16. Turner R.A. *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy* (1966), p.18.

17. Leon Batista Alberti (1404-72). His publication *Della Pittura* (Florence, 1436) contained the first published description of perspective construction.

18. Crary J. *Techniques of the Observer, On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (1991) p.32. Crary in his analysis of the history of vision has an important note of caution in any tendency to a teleological description of the earlier mechanical instruments as precursors to the photographer's camera. He has remarked that "There is often a presumption that artists were making do with an inadequate substitute for what they really wanted, and which would soon appear - that is, a photographic camera

19. Schwartz H. *Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences* (1949) p.102. The portable machine pour dessiner, in its many forms, used a lens and a glass screen, which could be mechanically brought to a focus. This offered the draughtsman or painter a correct description of the perspective for the two dimensional representation of the scene.

20. "It throws great light on the nature of vision; it provides a very diverting spectacle in that it presents images perfectly resembling their objects, it represents the colours and movements of objects better than any other sort of representation is able to do and by means of this instrument someone who does not know how to draw is able nevertheless to draw with extreme accuracy "*Encyclopédie' ou Dictionnaire des Sciences, des Artes et des Metier*" (Paris 1753) quoted in (Crary 1991), p.33.

21. (Crary 1991) p.32.

22. The research of (Shwartz 1949), (Coke 1964), (Scharf 1968) and (Galassi 1981) have described landscape artists including Canaletto [Giovani Antonio Canal] (1697-1768), Paul Sandby (1725-1809), J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851), John Constable (1776-1837), Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot (1796-1875), Jean François Millet (1814-75), Charles Daubigny (1817-79) and John Everet Millais (1829-96) as among the artists who used the camera obscura as a source for perspective and material composition.

23. Clarke (Clarke 1949) and Rothenstein (Rothenstein 1965) have both suggested systematic chronologies. Klingender F.D. *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (1968) describes more interpretative studies including the cultural context during the nineteenth century. Similar comparative studies have also been described with respect to the seventeenth century by Alpers S. *The Art of Describing Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (1993) and the eighteenth century by Bermingham (Bermingham 1987).

24. Claude Lorraine (1600-82) [Claude Gellée called Le Lorrain, and in England Claude Lorraine], French landscape painter. An example of Claude's innovative composition can be seen in *The Sermon on the Mount* (1656) Collection of Eaton Hall, Chester.

25. Paul Sandby (1725/6 - 1809), (Klingender 1968) p. 72.

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26. *ibid.*

27. (Galassi 1981) p.25.

28. (Galassi 1981) p.24.

29. The "*sublime*" and the "*picturesque*" were the most frequently used adjectives to differentiate types of landscape. Edmund Burke (1729-97) first described the "sublime" in 1757. It was described as a negative pleasure, and contrary to art which was a positive pleasure. Burke defined the sublime as "Whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects or operates in a manner analogous to terror is a source of the sublime" Views from high rock peaks or gale lashed seas would fall into this category. see Burke E. *Philosophical enquiry into the origins of our ideas of the Sublime and the Picturesque*(1757) quoted in (Klingender 1968). In contrast the "*picturesque*" first described in 1792 by the Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804) and first published by him in 1803, was an appreciation of the dilapidated and time worn "A piece of Palladian architecture may be elegant to the last degree.... should we wish to give it picturesque beauty we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw mutilated members around in heaps. In short from a smooth building we must turn it into a ruin." see Gilpin W. *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty, On Picturesque Travel and on Sketching Landscapes* (1803) quoted in (Klingender 1968).

30. Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833), Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877). Batchen cites Pierre Harmant that they were among at least twenty other experimental chemists and entrepreneurs in seven different countries who "claimed the honour of being the inventor of photography" Batchen J. *Burning with Desire* (1997) p.35.

31. Landscape was among the earliest subjects for Niépce's "*points de vue*" which he described in an 1827 letter to his son. "I shall take them up again today because the countryside is in the full splendour of its attire and I shall devote myself exclusively to the copying of views from nature [*points de vue*]." (Batchen 1997) p.70.

32. (Batchen 1997), p.71.

33. (*ibid.*).

34.. See Chapter 1. *Brief Historical Sketch of the Art*. In Talbot W.H.F. *The Pencil of Nature* (1844). Weaver refers to "the tradition of the conversation piece may be inferred from *The Pencil of Nature*." See Weaver M.(ed.) *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century* (1989) p.12.

35. Kemp M. *Talbot and the Picturesque View* (1997), p.273.

36. (Talbot 1844) commentary to "*The Open Door*" Plate X.

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37. Benjamin remarked that "At the moment when Daguerre succeeded in fixing images in the camera obscura the painter had been distinguished on this point from the technician." see Benjamin W. *A Short History of Photography* (1931).
38. Hamilton J. *Turner A Life* (1997) p.253.
39. In his review of the National Academy Paris, Salon of 1859, Baudelaire included a critique of photography. see Trachtenberg A. *Collected Essays on Photography* (1980) pp.83-89.
40. (Benjamin 1931), p.205.
41. Quoted in (Scharf 1968) p.94.
42. Scruton R. *The Aesthetic Understanding* (1983) pp.103-126.
43. The photographic "*Albums*" of Paris by Eugène Atget (1857-1927) are among the earliest twentieth century examples of this style the first of which *L'Art dans le Vieux Paris* dates from 1900-1909 see Nesbitt M. *Atget's Seven Albums* (1992). The American Edward Weston (1886-1958) would later become one of the major exponents of the precisionist photography of the *f 64* group. see Newhall N. *The Day Books of Edward Weston* (1973). Weston remarked "I must conclude-after all- that my ideals of pure photography-unaided by the hand - are much more difficult in the case of landscape workers - for the obvious reason that nature unadulterated and unimproved by man - is simply chaos." See Weston E. *Random Notes on Photography* in Bunnell P.(ed.) *Edward Weston: On Photography* (1983) p.31.
44. Henry Peach Robinson (1830-1901) was one of the most successful nineteenth century photographic artists. His work is characterised by the use of directed and montaged photographs see Harker M.F. *Henry Peach Robinson, Master of Photographic Art 1830-1901* (1988). The contemporary work of Joel Peter Witkin while working with different subjects employs many of the techniques of late nineteenth century photographers for example *Woman Breast Feeding an Eel*" collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum see also Fontanella L. *Matter into Spirit* (1981) pp.53-63.
45. The correspondences between Emerson and Robinson originally appeared in *Amateur Photographer* and *The British Journal of Photography* from 1889 onwards. A selection of these can be found in Newhall N. *P.H.Emerson The Fight for Photography as a Fine Art* (1978), pp.74-110.
46. Scopick D *The Gum Bichromate Book* (1978) was one of many subsequent modern publications, which described methods for the use of early processes by contemporary practitioners.
47. Mitchell in his academic research has described an overview of the relationship between Renaissance perspective and the new digital photography see

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Mitchell W.J. *The Reconfigured Eye; Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era* (1992). See also the web sites (Meyer 1998) and (Gardner 1998).

48. The calotype process also known as the talbotype was a development of Talbot's original photogenic-drawing process. In the photogenic drawing process writing paper was sensitised with silver chloride and exposed to light until an image was visible, the print was then "fixed" using sodium chloride. In the improved calotype process, the sensitised paper was exposed to produce a latent [invisible] image, which was made visible by chemical processing before being fixed.

49. Retrospectively Talbot described his own idea as "Light, where it exists can exert an action, and, in certain circumstances does exert one sufficient to cause changes in material bodies. Suppose, then such an action could be exerted on the paper; and suppose the paper could be visibly changed by it." Research by Kemp has further pointed to the dichotomy of artist/scientist in Talbot's use of photography, in particular his scientific opinions on the value of photography in the classification of trees. See (Kemp 1997) p.276.

50. The heliograph process used a polished metal or glass plate coated with asphalt (Bitumen of Judea) which was then exposed to light under an engraving or in a camera obscura. The asphalt hardened where it was exposed to light. Subsequent washing of the plate in a solvent mixture of lavender oil and light petroleum removed the unexposed asphalt.

51. (Batchen 1997) p.62.

52. Rev. Calvert Richard Jones (1804-1877) see Colnaghi P.& D. *Photography the First Fifty Years* (1976).

53. John Dillwyn Llewellyn (1810-1882) see his *Woods at Penllergare* (c.1853-57) and *The Country Bridge* (c.1853-57) collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

54. Jeffrey I. *Photography a Concise History* (1981) p.23.

55. The Calotype Club (The Photographic Club) formed in 1847 and Hannavy has stated, "its twelve members all used Talbot's calotype process." See Hannavy J. *Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall* (1976) p.23.

56. Roger Fenton (1819-1869).

57. Dr Thomas Keith (1827-95).

58. The Waxed Paper Process, a post production treatment of the paper negative using wax, which produced a translucency in the calotype negative giving a greater clarity in the resulting positive print.

59. The Thomas Keith Collection, Edinburgh City Library. See (Hannavy 1976), p.16.

60. Robert Henry Cheney (active 1850's) In this context his albumen print *Guy's Cliffe, Warwickshire* (n.d.) Collection of The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

61. John Stuart, (active 1850-1887) a Scottish photographer. See for example his calotype *Passage in the Pyrenees* (n.d.) collection of Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh.

62. Benjamin Bracknell Turner (1815-94). Candle manufacturer and amateur photographer. Many of Turner's photographs are of Worcester villages including a view of *Ludlow Castle* (1852-54). See also his *Photographic Views of Nature, taken in 1853, 1854 and 1855* collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

63. Rev. Calvert Jones active in the 1840's made many photographs in Italy, for example his calotype *Porta della Ripeta, Rome* (1846), collection Science Museum, London.

64. Dr Claudius Galen Wheelhouse (1826-1909), see Perez N.N. *Focus East, Early Photography in the Near East 1839-1885* (1988) p.232.

65. George W. Bridges' photographs were however subject to serious fading and few survive see Rosenblum D. *A World History of Photography* (1989) pp. 98-103.

66. Maxime du Camp (1822-94) French writer and photographer. A similar motive can be found in the work of the English calotypists Dr John McCosh and Captain Linnaeus Tripe who were the first to make photographs of Indian scenery and monuments during the 1850's. The work of Tripe in particular can be seen as exemplary of the cultural values inherent in foreign landscape photographs. See Thomas G.S. *Captain Linnaeus Tripe in Madras Presidency* (1981). There were also many landscape photographs made at home and abroad by The Royal Engineers Military School (Chatham) many of which are now in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

67. Samuel Bourne (1834-1912) was a partner in the commercial firm of Bourne & Shepherd, who during his seven year stay in India explored remote areas in the high Himalayas and Kashmir. see Sampson G. *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India* (1992).

68. Francis Frith (1822-1898) A successful grocery entrepreneur who subsequently made three photographic explorations of Egypt. By 1860 Frith owned a successful photographic establishment with thousands of stock photographs from all over the world which Frith used for postcard and other publications. see Jay B. *Francis Frith Victorian Cameraman* (1973). Perez has remarked that Frith's approach was "always a strictly commercial one and his concern was to make truthful and accurate views of the area. The technical quality

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of Frith's photographs was exceptional but most of his production limits itself to a sterile reproduction of sites. Often frontal, his images remain essentially informative and of minor artistic and creative merit." (Perez 1988) p.165.

69. Painters like the Scottish travel artist David Roberts (1796-1864) in his watercolours of Egypt and Palestine (1838-39) offered a more pleasing and colourful description of the landscape. Roberts often enhanced with imagined flora and fauna, more pleasing rearrangements of architectural ruins and the inclusion of human tableaux.

70. The Collodion Wet Plate Negative was patented in 1850-51 by its inventor Scott Archer (1813-57). The Collodion negative used a solution of gun cotton (cellulose nitrate) dissolved in ether as the substrate for the photosensitive silver salts. It was however necessary that the plates be exposed while wet, collodion is waterproof when dry. This was a hazardous process given the flammability of ether and guncotton.

71. Stereographic viewers for photographs were an evolution of Charles Wheatstone's 1832 stereo image viewer. As a home entertainment the craze for collecting and viewing photographic "stereos" peaked in the 1860s.

72. Gustave Le Gray (1820-1882) had been a student of the painter Paul Delaroche and in his early years was a close affiliate of the Barbizon landscape painters and Jean François Millet in particular. See Janis E.P. *The Photography of Gustave le Gray 1820-1882* (1987) p.113.

73. *Bas Bréau, Forest of Fontainbleau* (c.1853) collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. See also similar illustrated (Janis 1987).

74. Camille Silvy's *River Scene* (1858) is an excellent example of how convincing landscape photographs from combination negatives can be. Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum

75. See (Rosenblum 1989), p.108. Snyder in a consideration of the white skies of collodion negatives has noted that "on a wet plate, overexposed areas become less rather than more opaque with increasing exposure. Moreover the reversal is not continuous, and in prints these overexposed areas look grey and mottled. To correct this problem landscape photographers carefully outlined the horizon with opaque paint and cut mats to cover the sky." Snyder J. *American Frontiers, The Photographs of Timothy H. O'Sullivan 1867-74* (1981) p.111.

76. Fenton had since c.1845 used the calotype process, and by 1852 he was using the new refinement of the wax paper negative. His still life studies for the British Museum are excellent technical examples of the wax paper negative. By 1853 Fenton had adopted the new collodion process which he used extensively from a travelling darkroom in his coverage of the Crimea war.

77. Agnew and Sons employed Fenton in the hope of selling albums of his photographs. Reportage photographs, although in advance of the capabilities of

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mechanical reproduction, did provide the basis for line drawings published by the Illustrated London News. "Photographic reproductions" such as Fenton's Crimea views published in the London Illustrated News were hand-drawn impressions from the photographs. See (Hannavy 1975) p.65.

78. The London Photo-Galvanographic Company proposed to produce by patent process photo-engravings for sale to the general public. Patented by Pretsch in Vienna 1854 the Photo-Galvanographic process allowed the inclusion of grey tones in photographic reproductions. Commercial interests did not however prevent Fenton from changing from the didactic and descriptive photography characteristic of his first decades, to a more poetic stage. This new phase in his work, contemporary with the increasing industrialisation of Britain, looked to the English and Welsh landscape as a source for his photography.

79. In particular the photograph *Rievaulx Abbey* (1854) collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum is a period narrative of the picturesque. Similarly descriptive of more popular ideas of the picturesque theme, is his conversation piece *At Rievaulx, Yorkshire* (1857) see (Hannavy 1975) p.73. See also his landscape *Paradise, a view near Stoneyhurst* (1858) collection of Stoneyhurst College.

80.(Hannavy 1975) p78. *The Bobbin Mills, Hurst Green* collection of Stoneyhurst College.

81. Klingender stated that "The Luddite Riots in the manufacturing north focussed on the cloth-dressers whose work is better done by gig-mills and shearing frames" (Klingender 1968) p.9.

82. In Fenton's photograph the massive rocks of the gorge appear to hang, unsupported above the road awaiting the unwary traveller, collection of The Royal Photographic Society. A similar, if more miniature experience can be found in many of Fenton's stereoscope pictures of Welsh landscapes in his *The Conway in the Stereoscope*, where Fenton recorded the natural landscape as seen by "tourists...artists and anglers" see (Hannavy 1975) p.88. *The Conway in Stereoscope*, was made in the summer of 1858 and published as a boxed set of stereocards by Lovell Reeve (1860).

83. Francis Bedford (1816-94) had photographed in Egypt in 1862 as photographer accompanying an expedition organised for the Prince of Wales.

84. Henry White (1819-1903) "His landscape idylls were compared with the poems in James Thompson's *The Seasons*, see Gernsheim H. *Creative Photography; Aesthetic Trends 1839 to Modern Times* (1962) p.51.

85. William Morris Grundy (1806-1859) was a poet as well as a photographer. The posthumous private publication in 1861 of *Sunshine in the Country*, an anthology of his poetry, was also illustrated with twenty of Grundy's photographs.

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86. James Mudd (active 1850's-1860's) made a reputation "with brilliant landscape photographs" (Gernsheimp1962) p.242. See his *Flood at Sheffield* illustrated (op. cit.) p.44.
87. George Washington Wilson (1823-93). A former portrait painter Wilson employed some thirty assistants in his Aberdeen studio where he produced carefully washed and rich gold toned albumen prints. With works like *The Silver Strand, Loch Katrine* (1875-1880) Wilson found an eager audience for his photographs. See (Rosenblum 1989) p.110.
88. (Rosenblum 1989) p.106.
89. Henry Peach Robinson. (1830-1901).
90. Photographic landscapes by Robinson such as *Rusthall Quarry* (1895) ,private collection of Margaret Harker, differ from his later work, in that the landscape assumes an importance other than as a backdrop for included figures. See (Harker 1988).
91. *Pictorial Effect in Photography* was first published in instalments and the following year in revised form was published as a single volume. It was so popular that it ran to thirteen editions.
92. A series of articles on *Pictorial Composition* in twelve parts were published in the *Amateur Photographer* of 1891, *Art Photography in Short Chapters* was published in 1895.
93. For an illustrated example of Robinson's combination printing and illustrations of the individual negatives see the article on *Bringing Home the Hay* in *Aperture* (New York; Millerton. 1977) No. 79.
94. Robinson had been influenced in this by the earlier work of the Swedish photographer Oscar Gustave Reijlander whose famous composite photograph *Two Ways of Life* (1857) remains an outstanding example of this style. The American critic A.D. Coleman who first suggested this stylistic mode described the *directorial mode* as "where the photographer rather than intervening in a photomechanical approach by judicious selection, arrangement and composition. Directs the scene as a painter may do". See *Artforum* (New York) September 1976.
95. Peter Henry Emerson (1856-1936) a child of prestigious Anglo American parents, was born in Cuba in 1856, and after an American education came, at his fathers instigation, to Cambridge; England to train as a doctor. During his studies he became a passionate advocate of photography and subsequently abandoned his medical career to devote himself to photography and writing.
96. Emerson's essay *Naturalistic Photography* was published in *The Photographic Journal* (London) March 28th 1893.

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97. In particular the work of Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-84), the foremost naturalistic painter of the 1870s and 1880's, his work was regularly to be seen in London and has been cited as a model for Emerson's own work. (Jeffrey 1981), p.68 and McConkey K. *Dr Emerson and the Sentiment of Nature* (1986) p.48.
98. Quoted in (Newhall 1978) p.32.
99. Emerson's first major work *Life and Landscape in the Norfolk Broads* (1886) was jointly written with his friend the painter T.F.Goodall. Emerson's *Setting the Bow Net* (1886) in *Life and Landscape on the Norfolk Broads* (1886) finds a direct correspondence with Goodall's oil painting *The Bow Net* (1886) collection of The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.
100. Turner & Wood (eds) *Peter Henry Emerson; Photographer of Norfolk* (1974) p.25.
101. (Jeffrey 1981), p.67.
102. The Norfolk broads had been a subject for authors and publishers since the 1830's but Emerson and Goodall's 1886 publication inspired a new wave of artists who used the broads as a source of inspiration or commercial gain. Jeffrey has described George Christopher Davies' *Norfolk Broads and Rivers, or The Water-Ways, Lagoons and Decoys of East Anglia* (1883) with photo-lithographic illustrations as a probable influence on Emerson, and that Davies was the "laureate of English Arcady" see (Jeffrey 1981) p.68..
103. Taylor J. *A Dream of England: Landscape Photography and the Tourists Imagination* (1994) p.100.
104. *ibid.* p.102.
105. The representation of the American landscape has its own large history, and the early nineteenth century work of the photographers Carleton Watkins (1829-1916), Timothy H. O'Sullivan(1840-1882), William Henry Jackson (1843-1942) and Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868-1952).were significant contributions see Szarkowski J. *American Landscapes* (1978). Similarly in the twentieth century America has made the largest contribution to the continuity of landscape representation.
106. Frank Meadow Sutcliffe (1853-1941) photographer. He was the son of a watercolourist and grew upon in a modest but artistic environment in Whitby, a town with which he has become synonymous.
107. Hiley M. *Frank Sutcliffe: Photographer of Whitby* (1974) p.210.
108. (Hiley 1974) pp. 94-97. Sir George Clausen (1852-1944) an English painter of Danish parentage who was strongly influenced by Bastien Lepage and the French *plein air* school.

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109. Sütcliffe wrote "J.F. Millet has shown me more than any other ...[and] ...Frank Brangwyn I consider the greatest living painter." Quoted in (Hiley 1974) p.91.
110. (Hiley 1974) p. 87.
111. The Linked Ring Brotherhood (London 1892) was an organisation of art photographers that had European counterparts in the Vienna Camera Club (1891), The Photo-Club de Paris (1894) and the Photo-Secession (New York 1902). See Harker M. F. *The Linked Ring, The Secession in Photography 1892-1901* (1979) for a detailed description of its origins, aims and members.
112. George Davison (1856-1930) became in 1898 a Kodak executive, he became very rich from stock options but was forced to resign from the company in 1912 due to his anarchist associations. see Coe B. *George Davison: Impressionist and Anarchist* (1989) pp.215-243.
113. Alfred Horsley Hinton (1863-1908) had an art school training in painting, but by 1889 was practising photography. He subsequently followed a career in journalism.
114. Davison's photograph was of an onion field with farm buildings and ominous stratus clouds. A gravure print *The Old Farmstead* (1890) was subsequently retitled *The Onion Field*.
115. Gum printing sometimes known as photo-aquatint was particularly suited to impressionistic effects. A mixture of gum arabic and potassium bichromate mixed with a suitable pigment formed the emulsion. This was coated onto drawing paper and exposed when dry. Exposure to ultra violet light renders the bichromate insoluble and subsequent washing removes unexposed emulsion in the lighter areas of the print. Examples include *A Pond at Weston Green* (1898) collection of Royal Photographic Society, *The Long Arm* (1900) collection of Royal Photographic Society, and *Harlech Castle* (c.1907) collection of Royal Photographic Society.
116. *Impressionism in Photography* (London, Royal Society of Arts Journal) Dec 19th 1890.
117. *Camerawork* (New York), No.18 (April 1907), No.26 (April 1909) and No.28 (October 1909)
118. Taylor has written how Hinton, aged 26 while working in a photographic warehouse would "escape at weekends to Epping Forest to paint" Taylor J. (ed) *Pictorial Photography in Britain* (1978) p.80.
119. Hinton was also a frequent contributor to *The Times* newspaper and also wrote a weekly column for the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Yorkshire Post*.

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120. (Harker 1979), p.153. John Dudley Johnston (1868-1955) photographer and businessman. Johnston was twice President of the Royal Photographic Society. In 1923 and thereafter he became their curator of prints. Harker also describes Hinton "as one of the strongest influences on pictorial photography between 1893-1898." *ibid.*

121. Photographs of "his favourite subjects... the Essex flats and the Yorkshire Moors" (Harker 1997), p.153, appear to have been lost, and examples such as *Fleeting and Far* (1903) a combination carbon print, collection of The Royal Photographic Society and *Niagara* (1904) a combination platinum print, Collection of The Royal Photographic Society are rare examples of his work. Harker refers to Hinton's "blackballing" but offers no elaboration other than "he had made enemies" (Harker 1979) p.153.

122. Alexander Keighley (1861- 1947) Worked in his family's successful business as wool merchants and "had a distinguished record among Pictorialists". See also Johnston D. *Alex Keighley Artist and Photographer* (1947) and Naylor C. (ed.) *Contemporary Photographers* (1988).

123. *The Rest is Silence* (1909) carbon print, collection of The Royal Photographic Society.

124. *Day Spring from on High* (1917) carbon print, collection of The Royal Photographic Society.

125. See (Johnston 1947) also (Taylor 1978), p.81. and (Harker 1979), p.155-6.

126. Leonard Missonne (1870-1943) a photographer of independent means whose coloured carbon and oil prints were highly distinctive.

127. *Fraicheur Matinale*(1926) green bromoil print, collection of the Royal Photographic Society. Bromoil prints [developed by Wall & Piper 1907] could be made in any number of colours. A Gelatin silver print was immersed in a reducing bichromate solution, which bleached the image and also changed the surface gelatin so that it selectively absorbed an oil pigment in proportion to the amount of silver in the original image. The original shadow areas therefore absorbed the most ink.

128. Bertram Cox (active 1920-1950). Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society and frequent London Salon exhibitor. See *Photograms of the Year* from 1921 onwards.

129. *Arundel* (1923) bromoil print, collection of the Royal Photographic Society.

130. Fred Judge (active 1920-1940). Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society and frequent London Salon exhibitor see *Photograms of the Year* from 1917 onwards.

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131. *Snowdon and Aberglasyn* (1924) bromoil transfer print, collection of the Royal Photographic Society. Bromoil transfer prints were a variation of the Bromoil process in which the inked print was contact printed, under pressure onto plain paper. Transferring the image several times in register increased the tonal control of the print.

132. Earlier photography by the Liverpool born John Dudley Johnston (1868-1955), while peripheral to natural landscape photography, but do show that in gum bichromate and gum platinum prints such as *In Normandy* (1904) and *Corfe Castle* (1910), collection of the Royal Photographic Society, alternatives to the silver print did not need to lose definition. The Glasgow photographer James Craig Annan (1864-1946) also explored similar themes. His gravure prints which while naturalistic, occasionally resulted in enigmatic compositions such as *The Dark Mountains* (1890) and *Stirling Castle* (1906) collection of Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

133. Dudley Johnston wrote "It was about this date that there began to appear some photographs that were regarded as freaks at the time, but in reality marked the embryonic germs of a new development. These were associated with the names of Arbutnot, Muir, Dubreil and Strand." Quoted in (Harker 1979), p.134. All of these photographers were modernists concerned with formalism in their work. Their affiliations were with the city and the urban landscape, and with the exception of Strand had little association with nature.

134. In contrast American landscape photography of this period showed spectacular growth, in particular the photography and ecological conservation work of Ansel Adams (1902-1984) see (Adams 1946), and subsequently the photography and writings of Robert Adams (b.1937). see Adams R. *Beauty in Photography: Essays in Defense of Traditional Values* (1981).

135. Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966). New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit) was a realist movement among painters and photographers, which had its beginnings in Germany in the 1920s. See Schmeid W. *Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties* (1979).

136. Grierson's comment was part of his recollections on the making of the documentary film "*Night Mail*" (1935) commissioned by the General Post Office Film Unit. *The Nineteen Thirties* (BBC Open University Television, n.d.).

137. Jeffrey wrote "In the 1930's press pictures were expected to be and where heavily edited. They survived as fragments, 'frame cut' into a photographic interlace or trimmed down to serve as emblems at the head of an essay or story. Photographers were felt to be no more than contributors to an intricate composite work completed elsewhere". Jeffrey I. *Feeling for the Past: Photojournalism* (1979) p.109.

138. George Perry Ashley Abraham [senior] (b.1844), George Dixon Abraham [junior] (1872-1965) and Ashley Perry Abraham (1876-1951) were photographers and mountaineers.

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139. William A. Poucher (b.1891), photographer and mountaineer.
140. *A Mountain Stream* (1941), collection of the Royal Photographic Society.
141. Alfred Wainwright (b.1970).
142. Frank Smythe (active 1940-50). In books such as *A Camera in the Hills* (1942), Smythe through elegant landscape composition and reflective prose eerily captured the mood of an island population fearing invasion.
143. Mark Oliver Dell (b.1883), architectural photographer.
144. The London Salon was established in 1909 as a group who favoured a more open approach to submissions than the "R.P.S could offer." (Harker 1979), p.123.
145. See *A Selection of the Pictorial Work of M.O.Dell* (London; Royal Photographic Society, 1961)
146. *Astazou and the Marbore* (1947) and *The Valley of Luz* (1951) collection of the Royal Photographic Society.
147. Spalding F. (ed) *Landscape in Britain 1850-1950* (1983) p.18. Hemming also noted that "Beyond the currents of the Society of Eight, The Fitzroy Group, The Camden Town Group, The Bloomsbury Group, The Seven and Five Society and Unit One there remained a strong and steady current of realist landscape painting in Britain through out the inter-war years." Hemming C. *British Landscape Painters* (1989) p.107.
148. Graham Sutherland (1903-1980) and Victor Passmore (b.1908).
149. The photographers Paul Nash (1889-1943) Bill Brandt (1910-1983) and Edwin Smith (1912 - 1971) are all of Hardman's generation.
150. Mellor writes "Smith was familiar with Atget's photographs" Mellor D. (ed.) *Modern British Photography 1919-1939* (1980), p.37. Part of Smith's agenda was also a reaction against modernism and a concern with the decorative architecture of the past.
151. Illustrated in Cook O. *Edwin Smith Photographs 1935-71* (1984). Collection of the artists estate.
152. (Mellor 1980) p.37.
153. (Cook 1984) p. 11.
154. Illustrated in Osman & Turner (eds.) *Creative Camera Year Book 1978* (1978) p.26

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155. Lãver J. Introduction to (Cook 1984) p.19.
156. Cardinal R. *The Landscape Vision of Paul Nash* (1989) p.28.
157. Laver J. Introduction to (Cook 1984), p 19.
158. Illustrated in (Cook 1984), Collection of the artist's estate.
159. In 1935 Nash was responsible for compiling the 1935 Dorset Shell Guide.
160. Jeffrey I. *Bill Brandt Photographs 1928-83* (1993) p.125.
161. Brandt B. *Shadow of Light* (1977).
162. *New Topographics Photographs by Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Joe Deal* (Bristol Arnolfini Gallery, 1981).
163. Clarke G. *The Photograph* (1997) p.67.
164. A subsequent generation of independent British landscape photographers included Ken Baird (b. 1930), Fay Godwin(b.1931), John Blakemore (b.1936), Paul Hill (b.1941), Roger Palmer (b. 1946), Thomas Joshua Cooper (b.1947 USA), John A. Davies(b.1949), Simon Marsden (b.1948), Chris Locke(b.1950) and John Kippin (b.1956).

Chapter 2 A Hardman Chronology

1. Undated postcard from Hardman's sister Audrey to Hardman.
2. Carbon copy of a letter to Major James November 29th 1979.
3. Hardman in his *curriculum vitae* to the Bluecoat Society November 29th 1958.
4. The diaries in the Trust collection are from the years 1885 and 1887.
5. This is the address given on Hardman's Birth Certificate, Trust Collection.
6. The original Masonic certificate is extant, Trust Collection.
7. There were two other daughters Gertrude Theodosier Hardman (b.1897)and Audrey Phillis Hardman (b.1905). All three of Hardman's sisters are now deceased. I have found little evidence of Hardman's earliest years prior to 1907 when he was enrolled at Earlsford House Preparatory School in Dublin and subsequently from 1910 onwards at St Columbus College, Rathfarnham, Co Dublin.

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8. The 1910 clipping in the Trusts collection is undated and from an unidentified newspaper, but describes Hardman as aged eleven.
9. Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Acquisition reference number 9705.82.
10. Hardman in conversation with the author.
11. The print from the X-ray negative is in the Trust Collection and was described by Hardman to the author.
12. Hardman in conversation with the author.
13. Her Majesty's Stationary Office (H.M.S.O.) *Indian Army Unattached List 1922*, Trust Collection.
14. Undated biographical note by Hardman, captioned "Wellington 1917", the script is located in the Trust Inventory "Scripts by Hardman". Hardman wrote "my grandfather had been a regular officer in the 104th Wellesley Rifles."
15. Hardman in a letter to his sister Molly Hardman April 26th 1920, wrote "We will have been here a year on May 15th and there is no getting out of it until the autumn." There are numerous letters from Hardman to his sister which were returned to his possession, probably after her death.
16. As with the previous letter to his sister, this one to his mother has also been returned.
17. Letter from Hardman to his sister Molly April 26th 1920.
18. *Landscape with Tree* [India] is a large mounted, modern print in the Trust collection, which has no legend, leaving its geographical location uncertain. The original negative is currently unlocated but the photographic description suggests the flora of a sub-continental landscape. By contrast it is possible that the platinum process used for the print of *Cholera Camp* suggests that this unique print may have been made in India.
19. Hardman Note Book No.56. Hardman also referred to his purchase of a Sanderson camera in a radio interview, see Radio Merseyside (1978).
20. Carbon copy of Letter to Major James October 30th 1979.
21. Letter from the India Office, Whitehall: to Lieutenant Hardman (December 1922).
22. Undated autobiographical manuscript by Hardman, Inventory "Scripts by Hardman".

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23. Hardman in a letter to Margaret Mills January 20th 1932 referred to "I spent the evening defending myself from the usual formidable attacks on my folly in leaving the army."
24. Obituary of Edward Townley Hardman in an unidentified newspaper cutting August 2nd 1917, Trust Collection.
25. This was recounted by Hardman in two later letters from Hardman to Margaret Mills on October 4th 1929 and again on the May 21st 1931 where described his father as "living on far too lavish a scale for his income." There is further corroboration of the family debts in correspondence from the family solicitor Cyril Hardman on 19th March 1952.
26. Undated autobiographical manuscript by Hardman.
27. see Bisson R.F. *The Sandon Society and the Arts* (1965) p.146.
28. In a letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman July 21st 1930.
29. Undated autobiographical manuscript by Hardman.
30. The business registration does not include Burrell's name, the named persons are E.F.C. Hardman and J.A.Beddow, an accounts clerk. From an unidentified newspaper cutting, June 29th (no year date) the company is described as "Burrell & Hardman Ltd, Private Company with capital of £1,000. Objects [of the company] to carry on the business of photographers, silent and talking motion picture photographers and producers, miniature painters, artists and fine art dealers." The Burrell & Hardman Certificate of Incorporation as a Limited Company is dated 1929.
31. There are numerous examples in the Trust collection of various mechanical reproductions of work by Burrell & Hardman from this period.
32. Hardman described this in a letter to the Bluecoat Society of Arts in a job application dated November 29th 1958.
33. (Bisson, 1965) p.146.
34. There are numerous letters in the Trust collection from Tyson Smith and Carr, as well as numerous extant portraits.
35. Bisson has referred to many people in Hardman's social and business circles in his history of the Sandon Society, see (Bisson, 1965). There are for example specific reference to the photographers: Davison and Arbuthnot, p.78, and George E.H. Rawlins (inventor of the oil print) p.118.
36. This is the address given in the company registration. Burrell's address at this time, recorded on an order for studio carpets, is given as 19 Croxteth Road, some 2 miles from the studio.

37. Hardman Notebook No.15.

38. There are extant letterheads with the legend "E. Chambré Hardman Wireless Repairs". There are also a number of letters and invoices for the year 1928 referring to this business. For example a letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman on August 31st in which she wrote "Someone came for Mr Evans' wireless set t'other day".

39. In the *London Salon of Photography Catalogue 1925*, Hardman is recorded as having two portraits exhibited one of which *Hugh Williams Esq.* was a bromoil print.

40. The correspondence notes and instructions from the Gear School are in the Trust Collection. John H. Gear was a member of the Royal Photographic Society a portrait photographer and "prominent Pictorialist " (Harker, 1981), p.VII. Hardman wrote in a c.v. manuscript that he undertook this course in 1922. Hardman however also wrote "I was already able to make passably good photographs, and to win prizes whilst still a schoolboy" (Untitled, Hardman autobiographical typed manuscript, Trust Collection).

41. Quoted by Hardman in his essay *Landscape a Personal View* (Hardman, 1966), p.241.

42. Hardman referred to these and other Liverpool photographers in an undated autobiographical note in his Notebook No.2.

43. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman August 29th 1928.

44. Much of the background to this picture has been described in conversation with Beryl Bainbridge, Harold Hinchcliffe Davies was her father in law. See Bainbridge B. *London Evening Standard* June 22nd 1990. Harold Hinchcliffe Davies (d.1960) architect, see Sharples, Powers & Shippobottom (eds.) *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architects 1904-33* (1997) p.165. See also (Bisson, 1965) p.164.

45. I have referred elsewhere (Hagerty, 1995) to Hardman's working method during this period. See also Hardman's notes in Blue Duplicate Book No 1. (Hardman's "Blue Duplicate Books" have alternate pages interleaved with blue carbon paper , which provided a record of his notes and correspondence).

46. This photograph was also reproduced in Mortimer F.J. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year 1927* [for 1926] (Iliffe & Sons Ltd, London), plate XIV. *Martigues* was also awarded a gold medal at The London Salon of this year, the medal is in the collection of the Trust. *Martigues* (1926) was subsequently also reproduced on the cover of *American Photography* (Boston, Mass; American Photography Publishing Company, September 1930) Vol. XXIV No.9.

47. See (Sharples, Powers & Shippobottom, 1997) p.178.

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48. The French architect Robert Mallet Stevens designed the casino and the subsequent article by Velarde included six illustrations by Hardman. *The Architects Journal* (London; The Architectural Press, December 5th 1928) Vol. 68 No. 1768 pp.801-804.
49. There is also a list of shared expenses in Notebook No.17. Their itinerary, which included a visit to San Sebastian in Spain is recorded in Hardman's personal diary of 1928.
50. William Peden owner of the J.D. Ritchie Studio, 39 High Street, Paisley, Scotland. The fortunate result of this separation is a large number of retained letters written by and to Hardman in Liverpool and Margaret Mills in Paisley. This correspondence while confirming their romantic attachment also adds to our knowledge of various photographs from this period.
51. In a letter to Hardman on the April 27th 1929 Margaret wrote "K.B. [Kenneth Burrell] is going off on his London punt in May" and describes his departure from the partnership, when she wrote "She hope's he'll be successful.. he was a very nice man.. generous ... a real sport I thought." Further evidence from correspondence points to Burrell becoming a stockbroker's agent, and subsequently around 1935 becoming secretary to the Royal Portadown Golf Club in Ireland. He subsequently died as a result of an accidental fall, date unknown.
52. In a letter to Margaret Mills April 5th 1929 Hardman wrote "Exhibition at L.A.P.A. [Liverpool Amateur Photographic Society] opens they are delighted with it".
53. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills August 31st 1929. The photograph *Martins Bank Construction, Water Street* was published in the Liverpool Post and Mercury August 23rd 1929. in a subsequent letter of the August 31st Hardman writes to Margaret Mills that the reproduction fee was £2 2s 0d.
54. Herbert James Rowse (1887-1963) architect. See (Sharples, Powers & Shippobottom, 1997) p.177.
55. In a letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills September 2nd 1929. The photograph *Power Station, Lister Drive* was subsequently published in the Liverpool Post and Mercury September 17th 1929.
56. Margaret Mills in a letter to Hardman September 1st 1929. Henry Carr was a popular portrait painter and another Sandon member. The portrait of herself that Margaret refers to, is a signed oil painting by Carr in the Trust collection.
57. Letter Margaret Mills to Hardman September 5th 1929. Hardman further corroborates the date of his *Little Howard Street* photograph in his Notebook No 38.
58. Letter Margaret Mills to Hardman August 10th 1930.

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59. *September Morning on Formby Shore* Liverpool Daily Post & Mercury September 27th 1930. The Liverpool Daily Post, instituted November 6th 1855, was the first penny newspaper in general publication in the United Kingdom. In October 1904 it absorbed the Liverpool Mercury (instituted August 28th 1861) and was published as the Liverpool Daily Post & Mercury until 1935. After this date the newspaper reverted to its earlier title of Liverpool Daily Post and is still in progress.

60. This photograph was not made on Formby dunes but more probably at North Berwick. In correspondence Margaret Mills referred to this photograph in a letter of July 9th 1930 as "reproduced in the Manchester Guardian" although there is no corroborative date in the letter. The photograph was also exhibited at the London Salon of Photography Exhibition of 1930 again referred to in a letter of September 4th 1930. Two other studies of Margaret in swimming costume had been published in 1928 in *Sunday Pictorial* and *Daily Mirror*. These photographs have a formal similarity to the photograph of Margaret as *The Diver*.

61. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills July 25th 1929.

62. *Amateur Photographer and Cinematographer* (London) October 30th 1929, Vol. LXVIII No.2138.

63. British Insulated Cables, Prescott, Liverpool. Company brochure 40pp. June 1929 illustrations by Hardman are of factory interiors.

64. The reproductions were *Martins Bank [Water Street], Cottages in Shropshire, Street Scene in Provence, Old Man of Martigues, The Bay of Marseille. Cunard Magazine* (Liverpool) Christmas Number, 1929.

65. The reproductions were *Martins Bank [Water Street]*, (Liverpool Post & Mercury August 23rd 1929). *Power Station, Lister Drive* (Liverpool Post & Mercury September 17th 1929). *Dibbindale near Bromborough* (Liverpool Post & Mercury October 9th 1929).

66. Hardman Notebook No.31.

67. Hardman recorded this in his "Blue Duplicate Book No.1". *The Birth of a Liner [Cammel Laird Slip and Scaffolding]* and *In Dry Dock, Birkenhead* were both published in *Merseyside: a Souvenir of the 8th Advertising Convention, Liverpool June 1932*. The date of publication suggests that these photographs were made in the previous year.

68. Hardman Notebook No.31.

69. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman April 20th 1930.

70. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman April 23rd 1930.

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71. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman June 8th 1930.
72. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman June 29th 1930.
73. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman July 20th 1930.
74. The print in the Trust collection is from an extant enlarged negative, but more importantly it is a carbon print, a process Hardman made frequent use of during this period.
75. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills July 21st 1930.
76. Letter from Margaret Mills to Hardman March 13th 1930. Hardman also referred to this application in a draft script of his correspondence in Hardman Notebook No. 31.
77. Hardman in a letter to Margaret Mills October 4th 1929, wrote "I'm only earning £400 per year".
78. Letter from Margaret Mills (Portrush) to Hardman August 15th 1930.
79. The photograph *Martigues* (1926) was used as the cover illustration for the *American Photography* magazine (1930), Hardman's success in this competition was also featured in the *Liverpool Post & Mercury* August 16th 1930.
80. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* September 9th 1930. The reproduction had the alternative caption *Shipbuilding*.
81. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills September 16th 1930.
82. Letter Hardman to Margaret Mills October 6th 1930 in which Hardman described discussing with the Liverpool University Professor of Architecture Charles Riley the possibility of publishing a book.
83. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills October 7th 1929.
84. Bernard Alexander Miller (1894-1960) architect. See (Sharples, Powers & Shippobottom, 1997) p.175.
85. See also the photographic reproduction "St Mathew's Clubmoor by F.X. Velarde" in *Liverpool Post & Mercury* January 22nd 1930.
86. Lionel Budden (1887-1956) architect. See (Sharples, Powers & Shippobottom, 1997) p.168.
87. Herbert Tyson Smith was an ornamental sculptor who had a studio at the old Bluecoat School. There is extant correspondence in the Trust collection, as well as photographs, which suggest that he and Hardman were good friends. In a notebook reference to Margaret's place of burial Hardman wrote "She lies at

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Allerton within hailing distance of my dear old friend Herbert Tyson Smith."
Hardman Notebook No. 1.

88. Epstein's modern sculpture *Genesis* was very popular. Bisson wrote of its first exhibition at the Bluecoat studios in 1931 when "49,687 people paid sixpence each to see it." (Bisson 1965) p.174.

89. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills October 7th 1930. I have elsewhere referred to the significant modifications Hardman made to this photograph in his intermediary enlarged negative, in particular his removal of a terrace of houses in front of the castle see Hagerty P. *Control by Patience* (1995).

90. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* July 4th 1930.

91. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* July 4th 1930.

92. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* September 27th 1930. *Formby Shore* was given the alternative caption "September Morning on Formby Shore".

93. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* March 12th 1930.

94. *The Observer* August 17th 1930. Captioned as "A Glimpse of Peshawar".

95. The original pictures have all been referred to earlier *Water Street* [Martins Bank] (1929), *Lister Drive* [Power Station] (1929) and *Wooden Scaffolding* (1930). *Industrial Liverpool and Birkenhead* (Liverpool, 1930).

96. *Amateur Photographer* (London) September 1930.

97. There is a Royal Photographic Society 1930 Annual Exhibition label on verso of the print in the Trust collection.

98. Hardman referred to this in Blue Duplicate Book No1. Although exactly where the work was exhibited is not clear.

99. The work is listed in the *Professional Photographers Association Exhibition* catalogue 1930.

100. Exhibition catalogue *The Art of the Photographer*, Bootle Public Museum, 1930.

101. This final letter is undated but letters from Margaret Mills on December 21st, 28th and 30th described her new partner, with whom she is to "become engaged [at] the beginning of the New Year."

102. Letter from Kenneth Burrell on letterheaded paper of Sewill, Bailey & Hamilton, Members of the London Stock Exchange, 7 Drapers Gardens, Throgmorton Avenue, London EC2. The meaning of "unofficial" is not clear, but in 1929 a Certificate of Incorporation for Burrell & Hardman as a limited

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company was issued. There are subsequent periodic letters from Burrell asking for various items he had left in the studio to be forwarded to him, but there is no evidence of an official legal winding up of their partnership. This may be because Burrell was never registered as a member of the company.

103. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills May 9th 1931.

104. The L.A.P.A. [Liverpool Amateur Photographic Association] Bulletin for October 1931 announced "Two lectures by F.A.P. Zacharias - 3,000 miles through France and Spain."

105. Hardman Notebook No.17.

106. There is an extant receipt from the "Hotel Collioure" for these days.

107. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills captioned "Haute Pyrenees" May 27th 1931.

108. Hardman's personal diary for 1928. There are also proof prints from their 1928 visit to a bullfight in the Trust Collection (Box No.82).

109. Letter from Hardman to Margaret Mills 2nd June 1931.

110. L.A.P.A. Bulletin October 1931. There is also an extant collection of unlabelled lantern slides in the Trust collection, which are very likely to be the source material for the Zacharias lectures.

111. Letter From Hardman at The Hotel Ritz, Barcelona to Margaret Mills, Paisley, Scotland 21st May 1931. In this long letter Hardman wrote of "you and I buying a house together". This letter is also of interest in that it lists the current staff at the Burrell & Hardman Studio and their weekly wage, including Hardman's own drawings of £4 10s 0d per week.

112. In a letter Hardman to Margaret Mills 21st May 1931, Hardman referred to a previous, unlocated letter saying "As regards taking the header as she puts it, he would be only too pleased to do it at the earliest possible moment."

113. Hardman recorded these titles in his Notebook No.38.

114. *Professional Photographers Association Exhibition* catalogue, 1931.

115. There is an extant script of a proposed opening speech by Jane Baxter (actor) dated November 9th 1931.

116. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition* 1931 catalogue. Neither of these photographs is illustrated, making a clear identification of the latter title difficult, the former is of an unidentified Rodney Street domestic interior.

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117. *The Camera and Amateur Cinematographer* (London) June 1931 and July 1931. [No publisher's reference available].

118. I have previously described in detail the nature of this process see (Hagerty, 1995). Coccine nouvelle was employed to control shadow contrast in the negative. By painting onto selected areas the effective density of the negative could thereby be increased. The enlarged negative (16 x 12 inches) was a practical necessity; smaller negatives made handwork difficult and sometimes impossible.

119. *American Annual of Photography*, 1931 (Boston, Mass).

120. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* March 13th 1931.

121. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* March 17th 1931.

122. *Liverpool Post & Mercury* March 24th 1931.

123. Letter from Hardman to Mrs Ada Short September 14th 1931.

124. Hardman Notebook No.39.

125. Hardman records this in Notebook No.39 and records his fee of £43 for 35 views. There is also an earlier letter from Margaret Mills on the April 20th 1930 where she referred to "his photographing Jacob's factory machinery". Jacob's had a factory in both Liverpool (Aintree) and in Dublin, it may be deduced that the earlier 1930 visit was to their Aintree factory. Hardman refers to "the terrific amount of work there is to done at Jacob's" in a letter from Hardman (Dublin) to Margaret Mills (Liverpool) January 21st 1932.

126. There is an extant Rotherham hotel bill for the period May 28th-30th. Hardman's second visit is recorded in a list of expenses in Hardman Notebook No. 16.

127. Hardman Notebook No.12. dated July 1932.

128. Convention Brochure: *Merseyside, A Souvenir of the 8th Advertising Convention in Liverpool. June 1932*. Ten reproductions of Hardman photographs were included. Photographs not referred to by title in the thesis have an earlier date.

129. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1932* catalogue.

130. Their marriage certificate is extant, as are items of ephemera giving this address.

131. Royal Photography Society "List of Fellows and Members" for 1933.

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132. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1933* catalogue. *Swiss Scene* was also reproduced in Mortimer F.J. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year 1933* [for 1932] (London; Illiffe & Sons Ltd, 1933) plate XXXVI.

133. *The Listener* (London, British Broadcasting Corporation) December 20th 1933.

134. These commissioned photographs were reproduced as six hand tipped reproductions in the industrial publication *Rotherham The Iron and Steel Town* (Rotherham, 1933).

135. Hardman Notebook No.52. The entry is in Margaret Hardman's hand.

136. Hardman Notebook No.42.

137. Hardman Notebook No.49.

138. *ibid.*

139. *ibid.*

140. *ibid.*

141. There are two versions of this photograph, the first without clouds and the second with the dramatic cumulus cloud. See the comparative reproductions in "Exhibition Quality" (Hardman, 1955) pp.228-229 where the earlier and later versions of *The Copse* are reproduced. *A Galloway Landscape* is listed in *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1934* catalogue.

142. Notes for Senate House Exhibition, University of Liverpool 1975. Large Blue Duplicate Book No. 1.

143. *The Manchester Guardian* April 27th 1934.

144. Royal Photography Society List of Fellows and Members, for 1936.

145. Hardman Notebook No. 42.

146. Hardman Notebook No. 50.

147. Hardman Notebook No.11.

148. *ibid.* This would corroborate the date of 1935 for his photograph *Late Afternoon in Borrowdale*. However the foliage is wrong for December, and when first published the photograph was captioned "Spring afternoon in Borrowdale" in the *Liverpool Post & Mercury* (n.d.). There is also a notebook record in Hardman Notebook No.52 of his photographing Borrowdale during Easter 1934.

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149. London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1935 catalogue. The mounted photograph *Cliffs, Flamborough* in the Trust's collection also has a 1935 London Salon exhibition label on its verso.

150. Hardman Notebook No.11.

151. Hardman Notebook No.57.

152. *ibid.*

153. Hardman Notebook No.12.

154. Hardman Notebook No.10.

155. Hardman Notebook No.13.

156. See note 141, *ibid.*

157. Hardman Notebook No. 46.

158. Hardman Notebook No.5.

159. Hardman Notebook No.10.

160. *The Manchester Guardian* (n.d.)[1936] and in Mortimer F.J. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year 1937* [for 1936] (London, Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1937) plate XXX.

161. In a draft letter for 1936 Hardman wrote to the editor of *The Observer* "you owe me a gesture of peace in view of your having, by attitude and implication, insulted me in the presence of my wife". The cause of their disagreement is however unclear. Hardman Notebook No.10. Hardman did however have a photograph *Mooring Warps* (c.1932) reproduced in *The Listener* December 20th 1933.

162. Letter Hardman to Major James, November 1979.

163. Hardman Notebook No,5

164. *ibid.*

165. *ibid.*

166. Hardman Notebook No.43.

167. *The Sedbergh School Prospectus Book* (Sedbergh, n.d.).

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168. Massingham H.J. *Cotswold Country* (1937) fig.18. Hardman is credited with three other illustrations in this book, *Spring in Evesham Vale*, fig.26. *Buckland Village* [Church], fig.86. *A Snowy Day Stow on the Wold*, fig.98.

169. Mortimer F.J. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year* (London, Iliffe & Sons Ltd., 1938) plate LVI.

170. *Liverpool Daily Post* July 14th 1937.

171. *Liverpool Daily Post* January 21st 1938.

172. *Liverpool Daily Post* December 4th 1937.

173. *Liverpool Daily Post* (n.d.).

174. Hardman Notebook No.54.

175. The bill of sale from the original owner R.W. Morris records "Purchase of Cathedral Studio, 27 St Werburgh Street, Chester. Total goodwill, fixtures and fittings: £210.00." Elsewhere Hardman noted that the "The Cathedral Studio dates back to 1860" see Hardman Notebook No.65. There is one box of negatives in the Trust collection labelled "Morris Negatives"; which are a mixture of commercial portraiture and other studio photographs. The small number of Morris negatives suggests that the original Morris studio negatives were not part of the sale.

176. A previously referred to letter from Hardman from the Hotel Ritz, Barcelona May 21st 1931, referred to "four" staff plus a "part time hand colourist and cleaner" although it is probable that by 1938 the Bold street staff would have increased. At the Chester studio they had one full time manageress whom also worked as the receptionist.

177. The prize-winning photograph was of the actor Percy Marmont holding an electric razor. There is an extant letter in the Trust collection from the Professional Photographers Association to Hardman advising him of his success.

178. *Cheshire Life* frontispiece February 1937.

179. Typed copy of a letter from Hardman to Lady Delamere October 28th 1937.

180. Liverpool Playhouse Theatre Programme 1937 contains a reproduction captioned Burrell & Hardman.

181. *Liverpool Daily Post* newspaper, which although without a year reference refers to an exhibition at Bon Marché Galleries Liverpool, November 9th-14th.

182. Letter from C.P.R.E. to Hardman May 11th 1938.

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183. Hardman in a hand-written draft letter to an unidentified publisher February 14th 1938.

184. Hardman Personal Diary for 1939.

185. (Powell, 1981) p.855.

186. Letter from Hardman to Major James November 1979.

187. Letter Gilbert Adams to Hardman June 1st 1939. In a subsequent letter Adams wrote "The problems you raise about portraits in the open air.... are I know considerable. It occurs to me that your sitter with his deer park as a background is admirable. The contact prints you sent me are really beautiful landscapes, and are exactly the quality I want". Letter Gilbert Adams to Hardman July 12th 1939. See also note 212 *ibid*.

188. Hardman Notebook No.14. In the Trust collection there are extant photographs by hardman of Neville Chamberlain salmon fishing. One of these photographs was reproduced in *Daily Sketch* August 16th 1939. p.3.

189. Captions for the University of Liverpool, *Senate House Exhibition* 1975.

190. Hardman Notes for Liverpool *Open Eye Exhibition* 1980.

191. Although *The Mountains of Sutherland* is a vague description of locale, the orographic cloud in the distance is similar in both of these photographs. Although it should be noted that clouds of this description are a frequent feature of some mountains; for example the Table Top Mountain in South Africa.

192. Hardman's exhibition print was made from a 12 x 16 inch enlarged negative, the actual original negative is unlocated, the use of an enlarged negative was a method which Hardman had favoured in the previous decade.

193. A miniature refers to small hand coloured portrait photographs, framed at various sizes but rarely exceeding 3 inches in either dimension. There are a number of undated and unidentified pieces in the Trust collection, which were presumably used as samples for prospective purchasers. The chequebook payment is to "Acme Art Ass[ociates]", the miniatures where therefore not painted by the Burrell & Hardman studio's own staff.

194. The Rolleiflex camera makes negatives in a 6cm x 6cm format, which is quite different from the earlier quarter plate format that Hardman had used. Film stock, a scarce resource during the war time period could also be more economically used with this new camera.

195. Hardman in a letter to Major James November 1979.

196. Letter to Margaret Hardman signed "Mick", November 12th 1940.

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197. Hardman letter to Major James November 1979.

198. There is a Wirral Council Appointment Document recording Hardman being appointed a Civil Defence Fire Guard at this address on March 18th 1942. There is also a subsequent bill of sale for the property in 1949.

199. Letter from Hardman to Major James November 1979.

200. War Time Photography restrictions were listed in the *War Office: Control of Photography Order (No.1)* September 10th 1939. While its directives include "there is no ban upon the carriage of cameras in public places" and "it is not forbidden to photograph views", the restrictions would have made photographers careful of where and what they photographed.

201. In an unposted letter to an unidentified "Doreen" dated July 25th, 1943, Margaret wrote, "We have just come to the end of our holiday at a place called Ganllwyd about 5 miles from Dolgelly - we feel more like human beings again as we were in dire need of a rest this year. There seem to be more and more problems with staff call ups and awful film and paper quota worries."

202. Hardman Notebook No.70.

203. Hardman referred to "twenty five years" in a letter to Major James November 1979.

204. *Liverpool Daily Post* (n.d.) Cutting, Trust Collection.

205. *Sheep on bridge over River Dwyfor*, (*Liverpool Daily Post* 3rd April 1945) and *On Cader Idris* (*Liverpool Daily Post* July 21st 1945).

206. In Hardman's notes for his 1980 Open Eye Exhibition, he gives an alternative title for this photograph as *Shed a Tear for the Unemployed*. In this unusual still life the normal tonal values of the photograph are reversed, the print has the blacks and whites appearing as they would in a negative.

207. Dated 1945 by Hardman in a notebook with the caption "Printing Instruction Notes".

208. In this picture, the subject Margaret's step sister Pauline [Alexandra] Mills is seen distorted through a piece of glass.

209. See Hardman Blue Duplicate Book No.1.

210. The photograph *Helsby Hill* was used to illustrate a newspaper article, captioned "£1,000 appeal to save Helsby Hill." (*Liverpool Daily Post* July 29th 1946).

211. There is correspondence between Hardman and Abraham Sofaer in which Sofaer wrote "Thank you for the charming booklet of "Lear photographs"" Letter

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Abraham Sofaer to Hardman April 5th 1947. There are also many portraits of actors and theatre production photographs in the collection.

212. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition* catalogue 1947. *King Lear- Abraham Sofaer* was also reproduced in Mason F.H. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year* (London, 1947), plate LII. Gilbert Adams commented on the photograph in the editorial introduction as "A great strength of character is depicted... the quality of the large original print is truly magnificent and caused one a thrill that is at most times lacking when viewing monochrome prints."

213. *Rossall School Centenary Book* (Rossall, n.d.) [1947]. There is a previous 1936 reference to "List of illustrations required" for Rossall School in Hardman Notebook No.10 (1936) which may mark the beginning of this work, publication was probably interrupted by the war.

214. Hardman's Personal Diary for 1948.

215. Hardman Notebook No.33.

216. The reference in Hardman Notebook No. 51 offers no further clue as to the purpose of the visit to this house. The building designed by George Walton was commissioned by the photographer George Davison in 1910 as a domestic residence and sold by him in 1925 for use as an education college.

217. Hardman Notebook No.33. See also a further reference in Hardman Notebook No.51 to this work continuing in November. There is also a collection of 3.25 x 4.25 inch colour transparencies of flowers in the collection, which can be dated from this entry.

218. Hardman Personal Diary 1948.

219. Hardman Notebook No.9.

220. There is a bank credit slip dated June 3rd for £2,497 4s 6d which is labelled "Sale of Three Stacks".

221. Hardman Notebook No.55.

222. *ibid.*

223. Hardman Personal Diary 1949.

224. R.H. Mason F.I.B.P., F.R.P.S., F.R.S.A. and President of the Institute of British photographers reviewing the annual 1948 London Salon in the 1949 *Photograms of the Year* wrote of Hardman's *Rainy Day in Chester*: "Another typical English scene. It is so full of the atmosphere of a rainy day that even the paper looks wet." *Photograms of the Year* [for 1948] (London, Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1949), plate XXX.

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225. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1949* catalogue.
226. See (Powell, 1983) and (Hagerty, 1995).
227. Hardman notes for Liverpool *Open Eye Exhibition 1980*.
228. The *Royal Photographic Society Annual Exhibition 1950* catalogue.
229. In describing the photograph R.H. Mason in his editorial remarked, it "is a beautiful landscape, which makes the most of an interesting cloud formation". *Photograms of the Year 1951* [for 1950] (London, Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1951) plate XLII.
230. There is an extant exhibition entry form, presumably Hardman's duplicate copy.
231. Letter from Hardman to Bertram Simkinson November 28th 1951. Hardman's application was also supported by fellow photographer and London Salon member Stuart Black and by the Liverpool photographer and I.B.P. member William Pightling.
232. In a letter to Stuart Black on January 10th 1952, Hardman wrote "I have heard nothing from Guildford, I assume they do not like me".
233. The following year 1953 there is a duplicate draft copy of a letter, which records Hardman applying for another job as a lecturer in Photography at Birmingham College of Art.
234. There is a notebook reference to a 1951 visit to Manod Slate Quarry, Ffestiniog, in Hardman Notebook No. 32.
235. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1952* catalogue. *Netting Salmon on the Dee* was also reproduced in *Photograms of the Year* [for 1952] (London; Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1953) p.95.
236. *Royal Photographic Society Annual Exhibition 1953* catalogue.
237. *The Years Photography 1953-54* (London; Royal Photographic Society, 1954).
238. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition* catalogue, 1953. Both *Frost on a Weeping Elm* (c.1945) and *Weeping Ash* (c.1945) were made in Chester, hence the assignment of their approximate date. *Frost on a Weeping Elm* was also reproduced in *Photograms of the Year* [for 1953] (London; Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1954), plate 14.
239. The extant London Salon entry form includes *Shadow of the Aqueduct, By the River Chester* and *Whitby* (c.1949). *By the River Chester* was also reproduced in *Photograms of the Year*. Mason R.H. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year* [for 1954]

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(London; Iliffe & Sons Ltd., 1955), plate 73. The clothing of various people in the photograph *By the River Chester* suggests this photograph is probably circa 1953-4. There is also a 1950 record of a picture Old *Whitby* ["Whitby"?] exhibited as a colour transparency at an Institute of British Photography exhibition *Professional Photography* (I.B.P. Exhibition Catalogue, 1950).

240. Typed script by Hardman, Trust Inventory "Scripts by Hardman".

241. Hardman referred to this meeting in conversation with the author but did not offer any elaboration other than that he had Coburn sign a copy of his book *Men of Mark* (Coburn, 1933) on the October 24th 1954. There are few other details of their meeting, other than in a draft script where in reference to a portrait by Coburn, Hardman referred to "he [Coburn] told me recently that it was taken with magnesium ribbon". Draft script by Hardman for his 1955 article *Exhibition Quality*, Trust Inventory "Scripts by Hardman". There is also a reference to Coburn's portraits in Hardman 1955 p227.

242. See (Hardman, 1955), p.225.

243. *ibid.* p.230.

244. *ibid.* p.225.

245. Mason F.H. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year* (London, Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1956) plate 104.

246. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1956* catalogue. *Borth-y-Gest* was also reproduced in Mason F.H. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year* (London; Iliffe & Sons Ltd, 1957) plate 100.

247. Hardman notes for Open Eye Exhibition 1980.

248. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1957* catalogue. *Evening Upholland* was also reproduced in Mason F.H. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year* (London; Iliffe & Sons Ltd., 1958), plate 18. Hardman also recorded in his Personal Diary for this year that he submitted, or intended to submit, *Near Northop, August* and *A Break in the Mist, Engelberg* (1929-30).

249. In correspondence with his accountant Hardman wrote "The rent has been trebled and in view of falling trade we must decline the offer to renew the lease" (Trust Inventory "Hardman Correspondence"). The Chester studio finally closed in March 1959 after twenty years. Further correspondence between Hardman and his accountant show a continual fall in portrait sittings, Hardman writing that nationally "Portraiture has declined all over the country in the last dozen years" In 1958 Hardman cited 273 sittings from the combined Liverpool and Chester studios, compared to a previous average for the years 1950-56 of 470 sitters per annum.

250. Hardman Notebook No.29.

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251. Hardman Notebook No.13.

252. Blue Duplicate Book No.1.

253. Hardman Notes for Liverpool *Open Eye* 1980 exhibition.

254. Margaret Hardman in a letter to Audrey Hardman, June 26th, 1958.

255. Hardman in a letter to The Bluecoat Society of Arts, November 29th, 1958.

256. The Tyng collection is administered by the Royal Photographic Society. There was also an interesting pictorial analysis of *Birth of the Ark Royal* captioned "Where Great Ships are Built", published in *The Amateur Photographer* without an author credit on November 5th 1958.

257. In a letter to his accountant Mr. Eaves, Hardman referred to "Portraiture all over the country, has diminished greatly during the last dozen years" and that the Chester studio was "an extra burden", January 19th 1959.

258. Margaret Hardman's mother in a letter of condolence to Hardman September 1st 1959.

259. Hardman in notes for his Liverpool Open Eye exhibition gave the date as the following year, 1960.

260. Hardman gave 1959 as the year of making, in an undated manuscript note, perhaps written for his Senate House Exhibition.

261. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1959* catalogue.

262. *British Journal of Photography Almanac* (London; Henry Greenwood Ltd, 1959).

263. Hardman Notebook No.54.

264. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1960* catalogue.

265. *ibid.* *Bull's Eye View* was also reproduced in Mason FH. (ed.) *Photograms of the Year 1961* [for 1960], plate 72A.

266. Hardman Blue Duplicate Book No.1.

267. Hardman Notes for Liverpool Open Eye Exhibition 1980.

268. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1961* catalogue.

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269. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1962* catalogue. *Something Fishy Here* was also reproduced in the [Liverpool] *Daily Post & Echo* September 13th 1962.

270. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1963* catalogue. *Haughty Lady with Soldier* was also reproduced in the [Liverpool] *Daily Post* October 2nd 1963.

271. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1964* catalogue.

272. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1965* catalogue.

273. See (Hardman 1966).

274. *ibid.* p.236.

275. *ibid.* p.238.

276. *ibid.* p.240.

277. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1966* catalogue.

278. *Amateur Photographer*, November 1967.

279. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1967* catalogue.

280. Hardman Notebook No.64 two entries are dated June 7th and 10th [1968]. There is another reference in the same notebook to a visit to Wensleydale on May 17th 1969.

281. Hardman Notebook No.2.

282. *ibid.*

283. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1968* catalogue.

284. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1969* catalogue. The date of the photograph *Liverpool's Two Cathedrals* (1968) has been assigned on the basis that the modern Cathedral of Christ the King was consecrated in 1967.

285. Hardman described Margaret as printing many of his landscape photographs in a radio broadcast (*Radio Merseyside* 1978). In the studio business Margaret supervised the printing of all of the portrait negatives. There is also a collection of photographs of various subjects signed by Margaret Hardman notably *Monks on Skates* (1931) in the Trust collection. Professor Margaret Harker has written that "her role was never openly acknowledged" and that "This was the usual practice in those days. Most women photographers who shared production of work with their husbands seldom received any credit" Harker M. *Portrait of an Era* (1994) p.XI.

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286. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1970* catalogue.

287. There are formal portrait photographs of the new Mayor of Bebington Mrs Helen G. Hebron in the collection which were made this year.

288. Letter from Hardman to Audrey Hardman August 30th 1971.

289. I have been unable to locate a *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1971* catalogue.

290. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1972* catalogue.

291. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1974* catalogue.

292. The exhibition held at Senate House in the University of Liverpool during March was reviewed by the *Liverpool Weekly News* on March 13th 1975. There are also extant notes made by Hardman relating to the pictures exhibited especially in his Notebook No.59. There is also various extant correspondence but no list of exhibits.

293. There is no reference to Hardman in *the London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1975* catalogue.

294. *Lancashire Life* (January 1976).

295. *Liverpool Daily Post* (March 13th 1976). These 140,000 negatives were the largest part of Hardman's collection of portrait negatives. The collection also includes twenty negatives of landscape. Liverpool Central Library, Hardman Collection in the Local History Archive.

296. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1976* catalogue.

297. Letter Hardman to Audrey Hardman, December (postmarked day illegible), 1997.

298. The photographs are collected together with the title "Candidates for Comparison" in the Trust collection. There appears to be no further correspondence relating to the "idea of a book". The use of paired photographs, which suggest visual puns or metaphors were commonly featured in magazines like *Lilliput* from the 1940's onwards.

299. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1977* catalogue. The photograph *Boy and Drinking Fountain* is a photograph made on Hardman's 1931 visit to Carcassonne.

300. Radio Merseyside 29 minutes. *Radio Times* (London; British Broadcasting Corporation) Sunday August 24th 1978.

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301. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1978*. In the photograph *Drudgery* Hardman and Margaret used of Margaret's sister Pauline [Alexandra] Mills as model.
302. *Photography Year Book 1980* (Watford, Argus Books Ltd, 1980). The photograph *Village in the Sun* is a Swiss landscape and would have been made on the Hardmans 1931-2 visit.
303. There was also an illustrated feature in its newsletter see Hagerty P. (ed.) *Open Eye* (Liverpool) No 11 November 1980 pp 4-10.
304. *The Landscape Season Impressions Gallery* (York), August 1981.
305. See (Powell, 1981).
306. *Photography Year Book 1981* (Watford, Argus Books, 1981).
307. *London Salon of Photography Exhibition 1981* catalogue.
308. R.P.S List of Members 1983. There is also a letter from B.E.Shaw F.R.P.S. to Hardman "Congratulations on your award of Honorary Fellowship March 27th."
309. *Lancashire and Cheshire Photographic Union 75th Anniversary Exhibition* catalogue (Preston; The Harris Museum & Gallery, 1982).
310. *Photography Year Book 1982* (Watford; Argus Books, 1982).
311. (Lansdell 1983) plate 85.
312. I can not locate extant copies of the London Salon catalogues for 1982, 1983 or 1984 exhibitions. However Hardman's work is not included in the catalogues of 1985 or 1986. We may tentatively presume therefore that 1981 was the final year of his inclusion.
313. (Powell 1983).
314. *Chambré Hardman : The Birth of the Ark Royal*) Videotape 20 minutes. See Appendix (Bradford 1985)
315. *Merseyside Artists 2 Exhibition* , Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool and catalogue (Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1985).
316. Hardman had no living relatives and although he had written a will in 1948 bequeathing his estate to his wife or "should she not survive me to my mother", both were in 1987 deceased. There was nobody else in 1987 to whom he wished to bequeath his estate, and consequently he would have died intestate.
317. *E.Chambré Hardman Photographs 1921-1972* Walker Art Gallery Liverpool September 1994 exhibition, catalogue 80pp. 60 illustrations (Liverpool;

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National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside & The E.Chambré Hardman Trust, 1994). see also the numerous articles and reviews including : Henri A. "Photos honour splendid artist", *Daily Post* (Liverpool) August 3rd 1994. Ward D. "Ephemera in Camera" *The Guardian* July 9th 1994. Richards J. "Retouch of Genius" *The Independent* July 26th. Tierney M. "British exhibition planned for Dublin genius of photos" *The Sunday Press* (Ireland) July 17th 1994.

318. Exhibition review Thrift J. "E.Chambré Hardman: National Theatre" *Time Out* (London) August 16th 1995.

319. The Trust is a registered charity, located at Hardman's studio home at 59 Rodney Street, Liverpool

Chapter 3 The Landscape Photographs

1. Foxrock House is now a convent school. It has been renovated and an extension has been built to the original building. The district of Foxrock has itself also developed from being an earlier rural outskirts of Dublin, when Hardman was a child, to become a Dublin suburb. The Foxrock archive (Local History Department; Deans Grange Library, Foxrock, Dublin).

2. Referring to his childhood Hardman wrote; "When I look back on my childhood I realise how lucky I was that it was spent wholly in beautiful surroundings" Hardman E.C. *Landscape, Another Personal View* (1996) p.240. Also that "At that time...there was nowhere in sight a factory chimney, a pylon, a petrol filling station or the slightest sign of creeping suburbia; town was town and country was country." *ibid.* p.241.

3. There are some later negatives of Dublin city (c.1934), made presumably on a visit to his mother or in connection with business.

4. See "From the Irish Salon" *Amateur Photographer*, (London, 1915) pp.109-111, 130-132.

5. Jack Yeats (1871-1957) is perhaps the most conspicuous example of an earlier generation of Irish artists working in the western landscape tradition. In Yeats' late, increasingly abstract work (between 1930 -50) Cusack has written that his paintings from this period describe an "uncultivated land peopled by isolated individuals." see Cusack C. "Migrant Travellers and Touristic Idylls: The paintings of Jack B. Yeats and postcolonial identities " in *Art History* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1998) Vol.21 No.3 June pp.201-208.

6. Hardman himself referred to "Kipling" in a radio broadcast. (Radio Merseyside 1978) see Appendix.

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7. As previously described these negatives were not printed until after Hardman left India. *Village in Kerala* was probably first printed much later than the other mentioned pictures of India, perhaps as late as 1960.

8. Alexander Keighley (1861-1947) Taylor described Keighley as "One of the most eminent pictorialist photographers" (Taylor 1978) p.81. The directorial mode and post-production treatment is a notable feature of Keighley's work.

9. There is a collection of part sheets removed by Hardman, from the *Amateur Photographer* from the period 1918-24 in the Trust collection. There is also in the Trust collection an almost complete collection of *Photograms of the Year* dating from 1916 onwards.

10. Traditionally the Salon had been an exhibition designed to expose, promote and sell the work of painters. The adoption of this form of venue by photographers in the late nineteenth century, as Photographic Salons was based on a similar premise. The pictorialist movement itself had developed during the 1880s in Europe, in Great Britain the formation in 1892 of The Linked Ring in an act of secession from the Royal Photographic Society, was a breaking away by various photographers, who in part wished to be seen as artists rather than tradesman. For a history of British pictorialism, and the salons which were precursors to the London Salon see (Harker 1979).

11. See (Harker 1979) and (Taylor 1978) for a fuller description of pictorialism and pictorialists.

12. Hardman's earliest photograph, which was accepted at the 1925 London Salon, is listed in the catalogue as a portrait of the actor Hugh Williams (1923). Subsequently however he did not use the Salon as a potential advertisement for portrait commissions. For example at the 1927 exhibition when Cecil Beaton showed a "*Portrait of Edith Sitwell*", Hardman exhibited *Martigues* although he could have shown portraits, of [Sir] *Charles Reilly* (1924) or [Sir] *Patrick Abercrombie* (1924).

13. In 1925 many renowned international photographers were currently and had in the past exhibited work at the London Salon (founded 1910). In consideration of Hardman's decision to submit work to the Salon from 1925 onwards he was exhibiting in good company. Up to and including the year 1927 exhibits included work by the American photographers Edward Weston (1916, 1917, 1921), Imogen Cunningham (1916), John H. Anderson (1916-28), Margarethe Mather (1917-21), Alvin Langdon Coburn (1916-1924), Clarence H. White (1917), Karl Struss (1921-22). European contributors included Robert Demarchy (1916), Jose Ortiz Echagué (1916-27), Leonard Missonne (1916-1927), Rudolf Koppitz (1925) and Josef Sudek (1927). A number of these photographers continued after this selected date to exhibit work. The British photographers Cecil Beaton (1925-1930), Frederick Evans, Alexander Keighley, Ward Muir, Frederick J. Mortimer and Bertram Cox and Christopher Symes similarly continued to submit and exhibit work during this period. The London Salon was the major source for photographs reproduced in the annual publication *Photograms of the Year*.

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14. *Lilliput* founded in 1937 and edited by Stefan Lorent was the first British, popular magazine, which used photographs as feature illustrations.

15. His stated reasons were "more interesting sitters.... more writers and scientists" lived in Oxford whose careers he as a photographer could follow. Audio recording (Radio Merseyside 1978). See Appendix.

16. References have already been cited to Hardman's association with the fellow professionals Christopher Symes, W. A. Blanchard and H.G.Allen. Liverpool had prior to the First World War, also been the home of the pictorialist Malcolm Arbuthnot (1874-1967). The *Amateur Photographer* in 1909 described Malcolm Arbuthnot as "The most advanced of the moderns, see (Taylor 1978) p.76. George Davison, was perhaps the most innovative photographer at the turn of the century, see Coe Brian *George Davison Impressionist-Anarchist* in (Weaver 1989) pp. 213-241. Davison a friend of Arbuthnot's was a frequent Liverpool visitor to Liverpool's Sandon Society see (Bisson 1965) p.78.

17. Liverpool Amateur Photographic Association L.A.P.A. founded March 1853 the founding members included Francis Frith see (Gernsheim 1962) p.233.

18. John Dudley Johnston (1868-1955) was born in Liverpool, becoming President of L.A.P.A. between 1909-11, subsequently he moved to London. He became President of the Royal Photographic Society in 1923 and thereafter until his death was curator of the print collection, see (Harker 1979). Harker dedicated her book *The Linked Ring* (Harker 1979) to "[Mr & Mrs] John Dudley and Florence Johnston".

19. The Graflex was a reflex camera allowing the photographer to compose the scene up to, but not including the moment of exposure. The Graflex camera used by Hardman used 3.25 x 4.75 inch plates or roll film with a glass, nitrate or safety film emulsion base.

20. From the evidence of the original negatives; where they are extant, different emulsion base supports were used, *A Glimpse of the Mediterranean* was from an original 3.25 x 4.75 inch glass negative, *Martigues* was from an original 3.25 x 4.75 inch safety negative and *A Memory of Avignon* was from an original 3.25 x 4.75 inch nitrate roll film negative. The original negatives for *A Street in Marseille* and *Washing Potatoes, St Remy* have not been found.

21. Hardman described his reasons in *Exhibition Quality: Some Ways of Attaining It* (1955) p.231. It should be noted that the same retouching requirements pertain to the use of large format transparencies in contemporary advertising photography.

22. There are a number of extant experimental prints by Hardman using variations on the gum process, particularly a significant number of signed carbon prints. The Gum Process (Poitevin 1855 and Rouillé-Ladâvéze 1894) was an adaptation of Poitevin's 1855 gum bichromate process. Based on the principle that parts of the

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print affected by light became to an extent hardened, and unexposed areas of pigmented gum can be removed by washing. The carbon print (Poitevin 1855 and Swan 1864) was in principle similar to the gum print except that gelatine not gum arabic was used and the pigment was powdered carbon, "carbon tissue" was usually bought in a manufactured form.

23. Hardman described this process in detail in Hardman E.C. *Commanding Artistic Control, Modification of Tone values by Dye Printing* (1931) see also (Hagerty 1995). This method of controlling the detail in the shadow areas of a negative would, during its printing, have the same effect as the "dodging" technique practised by photographers in the darkroom. Hardman's method would however give consistency in the reprinting of negatives, which other methods can not guarantee.

24. It is apparent in the instance of the original *A Memory of Avignon* negative, that a soft focus lens was used at the time of taking.

25 In conversation I asked Hardman who was his favourite painter, without hesitation he replied "Claude" [Claude Geleé, called Le Lorrain (1600-82). French landscape painter]. Claude's paintings are synonymous with the ideals of the picturesque and were equally influential on both nineteenth century painting and photography. Bermingham writing of nineteenth century painting has written, "In general the picturesque landscape aspires to the vignette - that is a centralised composition in a shallow space whose boundaries are undefined or shaded off." (Bermingham 1987) p.85. The late eighteenth century painters Turner and Wilson both acknowledged their debt to Claude and as previously discussed in Chapter 1. The influence was equally important in early photography see (Scharf 1974) pp.77-119.

26. Keighley made many pictures of landscape and rustic life in France during this period, for example "*The Gathering of the Flock*" (1924) and "*The Gorge*" (1924), collection of The Royal Photographic Society. It is more likely however that Hardman would have been more familiar with Keighley's Salon exhibits which frequently, and increasingly, employed fantastic elements in his reworking of Pre-Raphaelite like themes, see (Johnston 1947).

27. The New English Art Club was founded in 1886. Holroyd has described the members as "*plein-air* Victorian painters [who] were theatrical realists and their pictures were deliberately staged in an endless static way." Holroyd M. *Augustus John* (1975) p.110.

28. James Craig Annan (1864-1946) was a Scottish photographer and frequent international exhibitor who made many photographs and photogravures of agricultural scenes in France. Annan's ploughing scenes in Lombardy during the 1890's were the beginning of a collection of agricultural scenes made by him although in works such as "*Bullock Cart, Burgos*" (1913) where his handworking is very obvious. See Buchanan W. *The Art of the Photographer J.Craig Annan* (1992). There are also comparisons in the themes explored by Malcolm

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Arbuthnot's (1874-1967) such as "*La Laveuse*" (1909), collection of the Royal Photographic Society.

29. Evidence from the original negative shows that Hardman, during post-production removed a vessel from the horizon.

30. Hardman in conversation with the author stated his admiration for and recommendation of *The Great Gatsby* (1926) by F. Scott Fitzgerald (b.1896) as the "perfect" expression of the novella form. Hardman also provided some technical background to this picture and described the "negative as remaining unprocessed for eighteen months... after which time it had undergone some changes and required significant correction in the darkroom." see Hardman (1931) Part 2.

31. August John, a decade older than Hardman was also born in Dublin, entering the Slade School London in 1897. Augustus John had taught at Liverpool University School of Art in the early 1900s (c.1901-05) and had made a considerable impression on Liverpool's artistic community see (Holroyd 1975), pp.113-153. John was also associated with the Liverpool Sandon Society, see (Bisson 1965), p.49. In his autobiography John refers to his visits to Provence, Martigues and Marseille as "before the war" John A. *Chiaroscuro, Fragments of an Autobiography* (1952) pp.92-95. There is another connection between Augustus John and Hardman in that they shared two famous portrait sitters, Charles Reilly and Harold Chaloner Dowdall both of whom John painted in 1902 and Hardman subsequently photographed in 1924 and c.1931 respectively.

32. *Martigues* was awarded first prize by *American Photography* for 1930 and was used as the cover illustration for *American Photography* (Boston Mass) September 1930. For the same picture Hardman was also awarded a gold medal at the 1927 London Salon and subsequently selected by Francis Mortimer for *Photograms of the Year* for 1927.

33. *London Salon of Photography* catalogue for 1978.

34. Josef Sudek (1896-1978). Sudek's photograph "*Sunday Afternoon at Kolin Island*" describes a similar scene and employs a similar soft focus style. There is no evidence that Hardman knew of these photographs or that he had met Sudek, although Sudek was an exhibitor at the 1927 London Salon exhibition. There are also other photographs by Sudek from this period which share formal similarities with Hardman's work see Bullaty S. *Sudek* (1988).

35. *The Architects Journal* (London; The Architectural Press) Vol. 68, No.1768, December 5th 1928, pp. 801-804.

36. After the First World War Russian and western European avant-garde artists embraced Constructivism and Dada respectively. In England these innovative movements were however slow to be appreciated. As previously noted French Impressionism had not been seen by the London public until 1910 and the subsequent *International Surrealist Exhibition* was not held until 1936. In

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consideration of England being slow to accept modern movements in art Hobsbawm remarked of the period "A large number of names who would be on most people's list of eminent 'modernists' were all mature and productive or even famous in 1914... these children of at the latest, the 1880's, remained icons of modernity forty years later." Hobsbawm W. *The Age of Extremes* (1994) p.179. The first modern photograph to win acceptance at the London Salon was Pierre Dubruiel's *Spectacles* (1932) which was published in *Photograms of the Year* 1933.

37. Conversation with the author.

38. Harker has made a comparison of the Rotherham picture with the billowing smoke in Alvin Langdon Coburn's (1882-1966) city view *St Paul's from Ludgate Circus* (1902) see (Harker 1994), p.12. Hardman's scene is however industrial and may find better comparison with Coburn's *Pillars of Smoke, Pittsburgh* (1910). In theme, if not treatment, comparison can be also be made with the more advanced work of the formalist American photographer Edward Weston's *Armco Steel* (1922) and Charles Scheeler's *Grain Elevators* (c.1929). Further examples of Hardman's industrial pictures can be found in his work for the Liverpool company British Insulated Cables in *British Insulated Cables; Prescott*. Company brochure (June 1929), Trust Collection.

39. From 1929 onwards Hardman's work was frequently reproduced in Liverpool newspapers these are extensively referred to in Chapter 2. Throughout Hardman's career Liverpool's docks and shipping provided many subjects for photographs including *SS Hubert in Queen's Dock* (c.1960), *Evening on the Mersey* (c.1965) and *SS Lagos Palm, Brunswick Dock* (c.1972).

40. Frank Meadow Sutcliffe (1853-1941) earned his living, like Hardman, as a portrait photographer. Sutcliffe has subsequently become better known for his dockland and landscape scenes in and around Whitby. See (Hiley 1974).

41. (Johnston 1947), plate 3.

42. Alvin Langdon Coburn (1882-1966) photographer. Coburn worked periodically in Liverpool in the early years of the century, notably to document construction of the Anglican Cathedral, see (Gernsheim 1978), plate 37.

43. Photographers, for example, F.J. Mortimer (1874-1944) made photographs like *Sail* (1938). Prior to and during the Second World War, Mortimer did however make many dramatic and patriotic photographs of later British warships.

44. Hardman in conversation with the author.

45. From personal experience, and from reading his professional correspondence; especially in matters of advice to others, it is difficult to describe Hardman other than as "conservative". Hardman himself, in a written recollection of India and the "attitude" he had inherited wrote, "We were certainly a snobbish lot, brought up to believe we were the salt of the earth... It was not a money based society but

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one which had been built up on exclusiveness and tradition." Typed script by Hardman titled *Lansdowne* (n.d.) Trust Collection.

46. In Blue Duplicate No. 1. Hardman suggests that the "Dry Dock" pictures are from 1929. The "Dry Dock" photographs are very different from *Wooden Scaffolding*, which had been reproduced in the *Liverpool Post & Mercury* (September 9th 1930), which suggests that either *Wooden Scaffolding* was made earlier than 1929-1930 and that the "Dry Dock" series were later than 1929. Alternatively Hardman is deliberately giving an older look to the 1930 picture *Wooden Scaffolding* through treatment suggesting another era. This is quite possible given that his pictorial control has previously been described as capable of confusing comparative dating.

47. The Liverpool Mersey Tunnel system was opened in 1933. The architect was Sandon member Herbert J. Rowse, who had also designed The Martin's Bank headquarters.

48. *U.I. Welsh Landscape* (c.1924) and *Welsh Landscape* (c.1924) look early. They both also have a pencil signature on the verso in a larger script than later examples. Many of the proof prints are less identifiable.

49. Mark Oliver Dell (1883-1959) photographer. Hardman referred to "Mr M.O. Dell's lovely landscapes of the Pyrenees." see (Hardman 1955), p. 225. See also *A Selection of the Pictorial work of M.O.Dell*, Royal Photographic Society Pictorial Group (Royal Photographic Society 1961). Harker has also referred to this association and specifically makes a comparison with Dell's "*The Valley of Luz*" (1924) in (Harker 1994) p.XIV.

50. There is business letter, which lists various payments for newspaper reproductions during 1931. The Liverpool Daily Post and Echo Reproduction Fees (1931) lists "Nerguin, Mountain view @ £2 2s, Menai Straights view (Half page) @ £3 3s and March Day at Raby @ 15s." Trust Collection.

51. The Georgian movement in English poetry before the First World War, collectively describes the works of poets including Edwin Thomas, A.E. Houseman and Edward Blunden who all reflected a nostalgia for a vanished rural past. Margaret Mills in particular reflects this in her own later poetry, some of which were read by Abraham Sofaer in a private gramophone recording, see Appendix.

51. There is evidence that Hardman was interested in castles other than as photographic subjects. There is a five page typed script by Hardman in the Trust collection with the caption *The Castles of Wales*. Perhaps written to accompany an exhibition?

53. Hardman removed a terrace of houses from below the castle; I have previously described this in (Hagerty 1995).

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54. Hardman described his method as, "control by patience", the result of repeated visits to the location until the climate was right, see (Hardman 1955) pp.228-229.

55. Paul Nash (1889-1946) painter and photographer. Nash's first use of the copse motif was in his *Wood on the Downs* (1929). Although he made many variations on this motif, his best known painting on this theme is *Landscape of the Vernal Equinox* (1944) see (Cardinal 1989).

56. See Frederick Evans (1853-1943) *The Sussex Downs* (n.d.). Bill Brandt also used the form of copse[s] in a similar but high contrast description of *Barbary Castle, Marlborough Downs, Wiltshire* (1948) see Brandt (1977), plate 103.

57. Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) represented American modernist beliefs in the use of the cloud as a visual metaphor in his series *Equivalent* (1929), collection Boston Museum of Fine Arts. More popular are the later landscapes of Ansel Adams (1902-1984) where the skyscape is an essential and frequently dramatic compositional device. In Adams' work however the atmosphere is not, as in Stieglitz's work, detached from *terra firma*. See Adams A. *Photographs of the South West* (1976) and Quinn & Stebbins *Ansel Adams The Early Years* (1991).

58. Formal representation of the natural landscape can be found in the work of modernist German photographer Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966) in works like *Untitled [Country Road]* (1930's). See Christie's *20th Century Photographs* (1997) Lot 151. Also the American modernist photographer Edward Weston (1886-1958). In particular Weston's "Dunes Series" made in Oceano circa 1936, for example the photograph *Dunes, Oceano* (1934), see also Newhall N. *The Flame of Recognition* (1975) plate 49. Also Weston's photograph *Dunes* (1940) collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

59. Hardman did not exhibit *The Copse* until the 1953 London Salon exhibition. This was nearly twenty years after he made the negative.

60. "The Threat to the Great Roman Wall" in *Picture Post* (London, 23rd October 1943). See also (Jeffrey 1993).

61. (Jeffery 1993) plate 110.

62. (Hardman 1966) p.240

63. Adams was noted for his technical excellence, particularly in his control of tonal range. His landscape photography from the 1930's onwards has become a benchmark for this genre of photography. See Adams A.& V. *Illustrated Guide to Yosemite Valley* (1946).

64. Both *Upper Glen Affric* (1935) and *The Mountains of Sutherland* (1939) were not exhibited until the 1976 London Salon of Photography.

65. (Massingham 1937), plate 18.

66. Fox Talbot first photographed a haystack for his *Pencil of Nature: Daily Scenes*, see (Talbot 1844), Plate 10. Haymaking was also a common theme among later nineteenth century photographers like Peter Henry Emerson (1856-1936). The painter Monet famously painted hayricks in changing light during the 1860's and the English painter Vanessa Bell (1879-1961) also used it as a subject in her *Landscape with Haystack* (1912).

67. See Chapter 2 note 151.

68. Walter Bell (b.1904) painter. *Derbyshire Quarry* (1937) oil on canvas. Collection of Sheffield City Art Galleries.

69. Although the final print is a vertical composition the original negative was a horizontal composition. During printing a second child on the right hand side has been cropped out of the scene.

70. Jose Ortiz Echagüe (1886-1980) Spanish photographer. In conversation with the present author Hardman suggested that Echagüe was the only one of his contemporaries that he "admired". In 1958 Hardman purchased a print of Echagüe's *Old Rebec Player* (1912) from an exhibition at the Royal Photographic Society.

71. *Lilliput* (London 1937-57) originated and edited by Stefan Lorant, a European who settled in London. Working with European photographers like Bill Brandt, Robert Doisneau, and Brassai, Lorant brought a new European influence to British photography. In partnership with Hulton Press followed the publication of *Lilliput with Picture Post* (London Oct 1938- June 1957) he was a major contributor in encouraging a new school of newspaper photographers.

72. David Mellor states: "We lack a historical account of the interactions and dynamics of art and photography in 20th century Britain. Art history and photographic history have drawn up deficient versions of actual developments. Fixation on monographic approaches have only succeeded in detaching painters and photographers from their cultural context." *Camerawork* (London) No.11 September 1978, p.12.

73. Bill Brandt (1910-1983) was born in Germany and in 1929 moved to Paris where he briefly worked as assistant to the American avant-garde photographer Man Ray (1890-1976). He moved and settled in London in the 1930s.

74. David Mellor described The *Mass Observation* project as "The largest investigation into popular culture to be carried out in Britain this century...between 1936 and 1947." *Camerawork* (London) No. 11, p.1. The work originating from this project is held by The Mass Observation Archive, Collection of University of Sussex. Mellor also notes that "Spender was similarly transformed by re-examining photo-reportage during stays in Germany around 1930" see (Mellor 1980), p.36.

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75. Feather W. *Art at the Time* (1979) p.35.

76. Mellor D. *A Paradise Lost: The Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain 1935-55* (1987).

77. William Poucher (b.1891) photographer and mountaineer. There are also comparisons, which can be made with the work of Frank Smythe, photographer and mountaineer, whose landscapes and writings are very evocative of this era. Two of Smythe's books were in Hardman's personal library: *Over Welsh Hills* (Smythe 1941) and *A Camera in the Hills* (Smythe 1942).

78. Edwin Smith (1912-1971) photographer. Smith worked extensively as an architectural photographer and editorial photographer for *House & Garden*. He also became part of Paul Nash's circle, when he "was unexpectedly befriended" by the painter. See (Cook 1984) p.8.

79. Metaphor and surreal associations with found objects repeatedly appear in Nash's photographs. For example *Monster Field, Study* (n.d.), and perhaps most successfully his *Stalking-Horse* (n.d.), see Nash M (ed.) *Paul Nash Fertile Image* (1974). The work of Henry Moore (1898-1986) similarly explores the theme of abstract forms as metaphors.

80. The comparison with Ansel Adams and subsequent American landscapists has already been cited. The vista and wider view is also a feature of contemporary British landscape photographers for example, Fay Godwin (b. 1931) and John Davies (b.1949).

81. (Hardman 1955) p.225.

82. *Stuart Bale Collection*, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside.

83. *The Birth of the Ark Royal* was during 1993-94 reproduced in many national newspapers as an illustration to reports of shipyard closures and subsequently as reproductions illustrative of Hardman's larger contribution to British photography. See Chapter 2 Note 316.

84. Powell R. *Edward Chambré Hardman, Photographer* (1981).

85. Anon. "Pictorial Analysis" *Amateur Photographer* November 5th 1958.

86. Powell R. *Photographs in Context No.1 The Birth of the Ark Royal* (1983).

87. The Decisive moment is most closely associated with the work of the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson (b.1908). It was also a feature of other European reportage photographers during the thirties such as Robert Doisneau and subsequently became part of the style of modern photojournalism. Contemporary evidence however shows that many photographers have falsely exploited the style in their pictures. The example of the court cases surrounding Robert Doisneau's *The Kiss* (1950), lauded as a decisive moment of Parisian

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romance, was an embarrassment to the photographer when he finally admitted that it was a staged photograph see *The Independent on Sunday, Supplement*, (May 6th 1990), p.14.

88. While not referring specifically to this photograph, in conversation with the author he admitted that it was not uncommon for him to pay boys to pose in photographs.

89. Quoted in (Powell 1983). Hardman's "rule out" was that he subsequently retouched an intermediate positive of the original negative to change the grey-scale value of the "gable end" of a house in the foreground from white to dark grey. Previous to this the mark on the gable end had created a white patch, which distracted the eye. Subsequent to his treatment the mark was a grey colour that blended better and did not distract the eye from the main composition, see Hagerty 1995. Hardman writing in 1955 said "I have no hesitation in using any means of control at any stage, which will help to give me the result that I want providing that such control does not conflict with the photographic character of the image" (Hardman, 1955) p.230.

90. The work of Henry Peach Robinson, described in Chapter 1, is perhaps the most conspicuous British example of both the directorial mode and the use of montage.

91. The arrival of digital photography has resulted in a reinvention of the photographic montage, for example Pedro Meyer's theory paper and forum <http://www./Zone Zero> (1997) or the manipulated photographs of Sandy Gardner <http://www.members.aol.com/zimkit> (1998). A new generation of artists has also reinvigorated the photographic directorial mode, for example the British artist Mari Mahr and the Canadian artist Jeff Wall. Wall is probably the most successful contemporary artist who uses transparency in his directed scenes.

92. (Hardman 1955) p.225.

93. *ibid.* p. 227.

94. Rosenblum states that "Traditional documentary was carried on and modified after the war by photojournalists Bert Hardy, George Rodger, Phillip Jones-Griffith and Don McCullin among others. (Rosenblum 1989) p. 540. Jonathan Green was more critical of the genre when he wrote: "The photo essay, rather than being as *LIFE* has stated: 'the best and most complex product of photography.... a distinct art form of great editorial complexity', was probably the worst and easiest product. It sorely hindered the possibilities of individual expression since it obscured photography's power to provoke, challenge or disturb." Quoted in Turner P. (ed.) *American Images* (1985) p.12.

95. Bishop writes of this parallel movement with reference to Raymond Moore (1920 -87), John Blakemore (b.1936), Paul Hill (b.1941), Thomas Cooper (b. 1947), all of whom are landscape photographers. See Bishop W. *Realising Personal Truths in Photography* (1997) pp. 18-19.

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96. The disused slate quarries at Manod were used as storage for part of the collection of the National Gallery during World War Two.

97. In Hardman's library there is a copy of a biography of the architect, *The Story of Telford* by Sir Alexander Gibb (London; Alexander MacLehose, 1935) which is signed on the flyleaf "To E. Chambré Hardman from Alexander MacLehose June 1937". There are no illustrations by Hardman in this volume and the reason for the gift is unknown. Clearly Hardman knew and had an interest in Telford's architecture, and the Pont Cystlte Aqueduct on the Ellesmere canal is not far from Liverpool or Chester and could have been visited on day trips. The print of *Shadow of the Aqueduct* (c.1953) is dated on the basis of its first exhibition, but may be earlier. Evidence for this argument is an extant press cutting from *Liverpool Daily Post* of a different photograph of the same subject captioned "Aqueduct" and dated 30th June 1932.

98. The perspective of Hardman's view suggests that this photograph was made from Cilfaesty Hill looking north towards Newtown.

99. Ian Jeffrey in his introduction to Godwin F. *The Land* (1985) p.27. Hardman himself cited Richard Jeffries and refers to "John Evelyn's crusade" in Hardman 1966, p.242.

100. Richard Wilson (1713-82) Similarly earned his living as a portrait painter but subsequently devoted himself to painting landscapes including many of northern England and Wales typical of which is *Mount Snowdon* (n.d.) collection of City Museum and Art Gallery, Nottingham.

101. Anthony Devis (1729-1816) watercolourist. *Landscape with Four Trees* (n.d.) and *Beechy Head, Sussex* (n.d.) collection of The Harris Museum Preston. See Anthony Devis *A Picturesque Traveller* exhibition catalogue (Preston; The Harris Museum, 1993).

102. Francis Spalding in considering painters of the period wrote "After World War One there was a revival of interest in landscape" see *Landscape in Britain 1850-1950* exhibition catalogue (London; Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983), p.18. See also (Rothenstein 1965) pp.139-142.

103. John Nash (1893-1977) brother of Paul Nash. The photograph *An Old Lancashire Lane* offers a compositional comparison with Nash's painting *Blue Landscape*, collection of The Harris Museum Preston. Roland Hilder (b.1905) was a prolific illustrator, particularly in the service of the Shell petroleum company. Hilder's style employs many of the compositional devices found in Hardman's landscape and dockland scenes. See Lewis J. *Roland Hilder, Painter of the English Landscape* (1987).

104. (Hardman 1966), p.243.

105. *ibid.* p.243.

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106. *ibid.* p.236.

107. Hardman suggested The Council for the Preservation of Rural England, The Ramblers Association and The Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, adding "Try and do something for at least one of these" *ibid.* p. 242.

108. The work of Raymond Moore, Fay Godwin, John Blakemore and John Davies are examples of the continuity of the landscape theme, see Gaskins B. *Perspectives on Landscape* (1978).

109. Godwin F. *The Land* (Godwin 1985) and *Forbidden Land* (Godwin 1990).

110. Scharf A. "The Gospel of Landscape" introduction to *The Land* (Scharf 1975).

111. Books in Hardman's collection included John Cowper Powys *The Meaning of Culture* (London Jonathan Cape, 1930), George Santayana *The Sense of Beauty, being the outlines of aesthetic theory* (London; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), the latter was a second-hand purchase c. 1945, as presumably where his purchases of John Ruskin *Modern Painters Vol. II* (London; Allen Sunnyside & Orpington, 1896), and William Gilpin's *Observations on several parts of England. Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (London, Cadell & Davies Strand, 1808).

112. Harker describes *Limestone Cliff* as "the most impressive amongst his landscapes" (Harker 1994) p.14.

113. (Clarke G. 1997), p.67.

114. *Agecroft Power Station, Salford* (1983) collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

115. *The Oldest Road - An Exploration of the Rigeway* co-authored with J. Anderson (Godwin & Anderson 1975), *The Drovers Roads of Wales* co-authored with Shirley Toulson (Godwin & Toulson 1977) and *Remains of Elmet* co-authored with Ted Hughes (Godwin & Hughes 1979).

116. (Hardman 1966), p.240.

Conclusion

1. See Chapter 1. Note 1.

2. See Chapter 1. Note 160.

3. See Chapter 2. Note 287.

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Appendix A

Hardman Chronology

1898

b. November 25th, Edward Fitzmaurice Chambré Hardman. Parents live Fox Rock House, Fox Rock, County Dublin, Ireland.

1910-16

Boards St Columbus College, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin.

1916

Commissioned as a regular officer in the Gurkha Rifles.

1922

Resigns army commission and returns to England with fellow officer Kenneth Burrell.

1923

Opens "Burrell & Hardman" photographic portrait studio in Liverpool.

1925

Hardman's first inclusion in The London Salon annual exhibition, he subsequently exhibits every year thereafter until 1978. Becomes a member of The Royal Photographic Society.

1926

Visits Provence, France.

1928

Travels to Jean de Luz with the architect F.X. Velarde.

1931

Travels to France, Spain and Switzerland.

1932

Marries Margaret Mills

1938

Opens second portrait studio at 27 Werburgh's Street, Chester.

1939

Elected Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society.

1943

Elected First President of West Lancashire and Cheshire Institute of British Photographers.

1949

Moves studio and home to 59 Rodney Street, Liverpool.

1955

Gives lecture "Exhibition Quality" to the Royal Photographic Society.

1958

Appointed to qualification board of I.B.P.

1959

Awarded one of the four London Salon Golden Jubilee Medals.

1960

Elected a Life Member of London Salon, becomes a Member of the Organising Committee.

1965

Officially retires from professional photography.

1966

Gives lecture "Landscape Another Personal View" to the Royal Photographic Society.

1970

Death of Margaret Hardman

1980

"E.Chambré Hardman Retrospective" Open Eye Gallery, Liverpool.

1983

"The Birth of the Ark Royal" Photographers Gallery, London.

1986

Elected Honorary Fellow of the R.P.S.

1988

Dies April 2nd, Sefton General Hospital, Liverpool.

1994

Retrospective exhibition "E.Chambré Hardman Photographs 1921-72" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool and National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford.

Appendix B

Exhibited and published photographs and articles by Hardman.

Dates referring to "Made" are corroborated dates for the making of the negative. Works having an uncorroborated and therefore an assigned date, based on the latest possible date of making, are indicated by an asterisk.

Abbreviations

I.B.P. Institute of British Photography
L.A.P.A , Liverpool Amateur Photography Association
R.P.S. Royal Photographic Society

1915

Made

A Farmstead Carrickmines.*

1921/22

Made

Cholera Camp.

Landscape with Tree.

Scene in an Indian Village.

Village Scene, Kerala.

Pandikkad, Kerala [Tea Shop].

1923

Made

Overhead Railway and Dock Road traffic.

1924

1925

Exhibited

Portrait of Hugh Williams: London Salon.

Portrait of Margaret Bennett: London Salon.

Published

Portrait of Child in Sowester: *The New Photographer* (London), May 1925.

1926

Made

A Glimpse of the Mediterranean.

A Memory of Avignon.

A Street in Marseille.

An Old Frenchman.

Martigues.

Place Marcou, Carcassonne.

Washing Potatoes, St Remy.

1927

Exhibited •

No London Salon Catalogue located.

Published

Martigues: Photograms of the Year.

Martigues: American Annual of Photography.

1928

Made

Little Howard Street

Published

Margaret on Formby Dunes: Sunday Pictorial, (n.d.).

Margaret on Formby Dunes: Daily Mirror, (n.d.).

The Pergola Casino, St Jean de Luz: The Architects Journal, December.

Exhibited

No London Salon Catalogue located.

1929

Made

Canal Terminal Warehouses, Ellesmere Port

Dry Dock Cammel Laird

Flamborough Head

Lister Drive Power Station

Ludlow Bridge and Castle

Martins Bank, Water Street

Scene in BICC works, Prescott

Published

Cottages in Shropshire: Cunard Magazine Christmas Number.

Dibbinsdale near Bromborough: Liverpool Post & Mercury, October 9th.

Martigues: Cunard Magazine Christmas Number.

Martins Bank, Construction, Water St: Liverpool Post & Mercury, August 23rd.

Martin's Bank Construction: Cunard Magazine Christmas Number.

Old Man of Martigues [An Old Frenchman]: Cunard Magazine Christmas Number.

Poised for a Dive: Manchester Guardian, (n.d.)

Power Station, Lister Drive: Liverpool Post & Mercury, September 17th

Power Station [Lister Drive]: L.A.P.A. Monthly Bulletin, December 1929

Street Scene in Provence: Cunard Magazine Christmas Number.

The Bay of Marseille [A Glimpse of the Mediterranean]: Cunard Magazine Christmas Number.

“British Insulated Cables”, Company Brochure, June 1929

“The Man and the Print” (Amateur Photographer; London, October).

1930

Made

Baskets, Great Nelson Street.

Burwardsley Landscape.

Hooton Hall Columns.

Landscape Tattenhall.

Ludlow Bridge and Castle.

Menai Suspension Bridge.

On Formby Shore.

Radiant Heat Bath.

Shipbuilding.

Exhibited

A Street in Marseille: Royal Photographic Society Annual Exhibition.

Little Howard Street: New York *

Martigues: Professional Photographers Association Annual Exhibition.

Radiant Heat Bath: Professional Photographers Association Annual Exhibition.

The Bay of Marseille: Professional Photographers Association Annual Exhibition

Washing Potatoes, St Remy: Professional Photographers Association Annual Exhibition

"The Art of the Photographer" Bootle Public Museum, Merseyside. A Liverpool Amateur Photographic Association Group exhibition which included 37 unidentified exhibits by Hardman.

Published

A Glimpse of Peshawar: *The Observer*, August 17th.

An April day at Raby in Wirral: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, April (n.d.)

Bardsey Island: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, January 16th.

Barges on the Canal at Ellesmere Port: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, March 12th.

Bidston Hill under a Late Evening Sun: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, May 31st.

Columns, the Remains of Hooton Hall: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, May 22nd.

Doorway, Vernon Street: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, July 22nd.

Dry Dock: Industrial Liverpool and Birkenhead.

Early June, Chestnut Trees at Overpool: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, June 7th.

In Dry Dock: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, Oct 24th.

Kent Square: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, January 10th

Landscape at Burwardsley near Chester: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, July 17th.

Landscape, Tattenhall, Cheshire: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, July 4th.

Last Leaves of November, Woolton Woods: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, Nov 17th.

Lister Drive Power Station: Industrial Liverpool and Birkenhead.

Liverpool Cathedral from the Spire of St Michael's Church: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, June 16th.

Martigues: *American Photographer*, September.

Martin's Bank: Industrial Liverpool and Birkenhead.

Midsummer in Wirral, The Remains of Hooton Hall: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, June 27th.

Old Gibbet Mill near Capenhurst: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, June 19th.

Pile Driving near Formby: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, June 21st.

Plains of Cheshire from Bickerton Hill: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, July 31st.

September Morning on Formby Shore: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, September 27th.

St. Mathew's Clubmoor by F.X. Velarde: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, January 22nd.

Storeton Hall, Wirral: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, December 9th.

Sunlight in Workshop, B.I. Cables Prescott: *Liverpool Post & Mercury*, January 31st.

The Diver: *Amateur Photographer*, October.

The Sand Beds at St Helens Estuary: Liverpool Post & Mercury, Oct 31st.
Unspoiled Wirral, Saughall near Backford: Liverpool Post & Mercury, May 14th.
Wooden Scaffolding: Cammel Laird: Liverpool Post & Mercury, July 17th.
Wooden Scaffolding: Industrial Liverpool and Birkenhead

1931

Made

At the Fortress of Salses.
Fairground at Chester.
Fishermen of Collioure.
Loading Sacks, Salthouse.
Orbita and Oropesa.
Pont Valentre, Cahors.
Palais des Papes, Avignon.
Reina del Pacifico.
Runcorn Transporter Bridge.

Exhibited

The Toy Bird: Professional Photographers Association.
A Corner of the Sitting Room: London Salon.
The River Mersey: London Salon.
"Camera Portraits" exhibition at Bon Marché store, Liverpool.

Published

Construction & Repair, Cammel Laird: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).
Haytime, near Brimstage, Wirral: Liverpool Post & Mercury, July 18th.
Low Tide on the Menai Straits: Liverpool Post & Mercury, March 24th.
Martigues: The Camera & Amateur Cinemaphotographer, June.
Native Woman of Malabar: The Camera & Amateur Cinemaphotographer, July.
"The Edge of the Welsh Hills, A bright day on Nerquis Mountain looking towards Cheshire": Liverpool Post & Mercury, March 17th.
The Linesman: Liverpool Post & Mercury, March 13th.
Reina del Pacifico: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).
The Mail Boat: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).
Washing Potatoes, St Remy: The American Annual of Photography.

"Commanding Artistic Control, Modification of Tone Values by Dye Tinting 1:
The Camera & Amateur Cinemaphotographer; London, June.
"Commanding Artistic Control, Modification of Tone Values by Dye Tinting 2:
The Camera & Amateur Cinemaphotographer; London, July.

1932

Makes

Borth-y-Gest
South Yorkshire Chemical Works, Rotherham [Landscape].

Exhibited

The Gateway: London Salon

Published

A View at the B.I.C.C. Works: Merseyside, A Souvenir of the 8th Advertising Convention in Liverpool, June 1932.
Clarence Dock Site of new Electric Power Station: *ibid.*
Dibbindale: *ibid.*
Formby Self Portrait [On Formby Shore]: *ibid.*

Goree Piazzas: *ibid.*
In Dry Dock, Birkenhead: *ibid.*
Leaving the Princes Landing Stage: *ibid.*
Old Post Office Place, Liverpool: *ibid.*
The Birth of a Liner: *ibid.*
Salthouse Dock: *ibid.*

1933

Exhibits

A By-Product Plant, Rotherham: London Salon.

Swiss Scene: London Salon.

Published

Ludlow [Bridge and] Castle: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

Mooring Warps: The Listener, Dec 20th 1933.

"Rotherham: The Iron and Steel Town" Promotional Brochure.

1934

Makes

Copse, Laurieston, Kirkcudbrightshire.

Farm Near Grassmere.

Exhibited

Burwardsley Landscape: London Salon.

Galloway Landscape: London Salon.

Published

A Scene at Engelberg: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

Mersey Tunnel Ventilation Tower: Manchester Guardian, April 27th.

Rotherham Coke Oven Plant: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

1935

Makes

Loch Alshe and Skye.

Poplars near Tattenhall.

Exhibited

No London Salon Catalogue extant.

Cliffs, Flamborough: London Salon Label.

1936

Makes

On the Clywd near Rhyl.

Seen From Glencoe [Wild Glencoe].

The Rick.

Water Street (bird's eye view).

White Cliff, Seaton, Devon.

Exhibits

The Electric Welder: London Salon.

Published

Borrowdale in Springtime: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

The Electric Welder: Manchester Guardian, (n.d.).

The Electric Welder: Photograms of the Year 1937 for 1936.

1937

Makes

Portrait of Lady Delamere.

Portrait of Margot Fonteyn.

Exhibits

In Old Carcassonne: San Francisco Invitational Salon of International Photography.

Portrait of Audrey Preston: The Professional Photographers Association.

Portrait of Betty Glynne Evans: The Professional Photographers Association.

Published

Beech Copse in Winter: (Masingham 1937).

Birds eye view of Water Street: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

Dukes Dock: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

Loch Alshe to the Mountains of Skye: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

Pine Trees at Storeton: Cheshire Life, February.

Poplars, Bolesworth: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

The New Countess Leverhulme: Cheshire Life, February.

1938

MAKES

Water Street from the Liver Building.

Exhibited

Portrait of Percy Marmont: Professional Photographers Association.

"L.A.P.A. Annual Exhibition": Bluecoat Chambers, Liverpool.

"Camera Portraits" Basnett Gallery, Bon Marché Store, Liverpool.

Published

Water Street seen from Liver Building: Liverpool Daily Post, (n.d.).

1939

MAKES

Gypsies Loch Erribol.

Loch Maree, Wester Ross.

Exhibited

Thunder over Glencoe: London Salon.

1940

1941

1942

1943

MAKES

*The Groves with Footsoldier, Chester.**

1944

MAKES

*Chester Street Scene with Stars and Stripes.**

Shed a Tear for the Unemployed.

Published

The Pass to Llanberis: Liverpool Daily Post (n.d.).

1945

MAKES

Bottles in the Snow.

In the Witches Mirror.

Pistyll Cairn.

Watergate Row Chester.

Exhibited

LAPA Exhibition, Bluecoat Chambers, Liverpool.

Published

Sheep on bridge over River Dwyfor: Liverpool Daily Post, April 3rd.

On Cader Idris: Liverpool Daily Post, July 21st.

Johnny Farr Child of the Year: Daily Sketch, February 5th.

1946

MAKES

Museum Steps.

Harrowing near Bala.

Ice Covered Dee.

Exhibited

In the Witches Mirror: London Salon.

Published

"£1,000 appeal to save Helsby Hill" Liverpool Daily Post, July 29th.

1947

MAKES

*Rainy Day in Chester.**

Exhibited

King Lear [Abraham Sofaer]: London Salon.

Nursery Slopes: London Salon.

Pont Valentre [Cahors]: London Salon.

1948

Exhibited

Rain in Chester: London Salon.

Fishing Nets: London Salon.

1949

Exhibited

The Roman Wall: London Salon.

The Late Sir Charles Reilly: Institute of British Photography.

The Late Sir Percy Bates: Institute of British Photography.

1950

MAKES

Birth of the Ark Royal.

LLanrychwan Church.

A Liverpool Dustman.

Exhibited

Old Dee Bridge: Royal Photographic Society 95th Annual Exhibition.

The Rick: London Salon.

The Rick: Institute of British Photography.

Suilven: London Salon.

Suilven: Institute of British Photography.

Published

Suilven: Photograms of the Year 1951 [for 1950].

1951

MAKES

Pleasure Cruise.
Great Bulk of Manod.

1952

Exhibited

Jazz: London Salon.

Netting Salmon on the Dee: London Salon.

Published

Netting Salmon on the Dee: Photograms of The Year 1953 for 1952.

1953

Exhibited

Cliffs of Devon [White Cliff, Seaton] R.P.S. Annual Exhibition.

Frost on a Weeping Elm: London Salon.

The Copse on Harvest Hill: London Salon.

The Rick: L.A.P.A. Centenary exhibition Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Weeping Ash: London Salon.

Published

Cliffs of Devon [White Cliff, Seaton]: R.P.S. The Year's Photography.

Frost on a Weeping Elm: Photograms of the Year 1954 (for 1953).

1954

MAKES

Mersey from Widnes-Runcorn Bridge.

Exhibited

Bottles in the Snow: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Shadow of the Aqueduct: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Watergate Street, Chester: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

By the River, Chester: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

The Judge: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Whitby: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

1955

Exhibited

A Shropshire Farm House: R.P.S. Autumn Exhibition.

Farm Near Denbigh (Colour Transparency): R.P.S. Autumn Exhibition.

Hawarden Castle (Colour Transparency): R.P.S. Autumn Exhibition.

The Guardians of the Viaduct: London Salon.

Zig Zag Landscape [Dropping Stone Farm]: R.P.S. Autumn Exhibition.

Published

The Guardians of the Viaduct: Photograms of the Year 1956 [for 1955].

Zig Zag Landscape [Dropping Stone Farm], Illustration, 1955 R.P.S. Autumn Exhibition catalogue.

"Landscape, Another Personal View" Photographic Journal, October.

1956

MAKES

Connah's Quay Power Station.

Exhibited

Borth-y- Gest: London Salon.
In the Vale of Chwyd: London Salon.

1957

Exhibited

A Dusting of Snow, Kerry Hill: London Salon.
Evening Upholland: London Salon.
Loch Leven from Glencoe Village: London Salon.
Snow Capped Urns: London Salon.

1958

MAKES

Connah's Quay Power Station.
Passengers from Dublin.
The Cockle Hole.

Exhibited

J.Camm Hartley: R.P.S. Autumn Exhibition.
M.V. Pinto in Dock: London Salon.
Where Great Ships are Built [Birth of The Ark Royal]: London Salon.
Published
Portrait of J.Camm Hartley: Amateur Photography October 1st.
Pictorial Analysis of Where Great Ships are Built: Amateur Photography
November 5th.
Lower Huxley Hall, Cheshire: frontispiece C.P.R.E. Annual Report.

1959

MAKES

Snow Capped Urns.

Exhibited

Evening Bowls: London Salon.
Family Stroll: London Salon.

Published

Where Great Ships are Built: Photographic Journal Almanac

1960

MAKES

Ballet on the Railings.
Grieve Not.
Three Logs and Three Clouds.
Winter Near Stow on the Wold.

Exhibited

Bulls Eye View: London Salon.
Cold February Evening, Liverpool: London Salon.
Late Afternoon, Borrowdale: London Salon.
Windy Day, Llyn Alwen: London Salon.

1961

Exhibited

Richmond Castle: London Salon.
The Grey Pony: London Salon.
Trial Sketch: London Salon.

1962

Exhibited

Late Evening Crossing: London Salon.

Manorbier Castle: London Salon.

Mrs. R.W. Gemmel: London Salon.

Passengers from Dublin: London Salon.

Something Fishy Here: London Salon.

Published

Something Fishy Here: Daily Post & Echo, September 13th.

Something Fishy Here: Illustrated London Salon Catalogue.

1963

Exhibited

Haughty Lady with Soldier: London Salon.

Loch an Ais, Wester Ross: London Salon.

Links of a Monster Chain: London Salon.

The Hills near Sedbergh: London Salon.

Published

Haughty Lady and Soldier: Liverpool Daily Post, October 2nd.

Haughty Lady with Soldier: Illustrated London Salon Catalogue.

1964

Exhibited

A Dusting of Snow, Kerry Hill: Chester Photographic Society International Exhibition.

Bull's Eye View: Chester Photographic Society International Exhibition.

Burwardsley Hill: London Salon.

Channels of Communication: London Salon.

Grieve Not: London Salon.

Hills near Sedbergh: Chester Photographic Society International Exhibition.

Loch an Ais, Wester Ross: Chester Photographic Society International Exhibition.

Near Laurieston, Kirkcudbrightshire: London Salon.

The Haughty Lady and Soldier: Chester Photographic Society International Exhibition.

The Judge: Chester Photographic Society International Exhibition.

Published

Near Laurieston, Kirkcudbrightshire: Illustrated London Salon Catalogue.

1965

MAKES

The Cockle Hole.

Exhibited

An Old Lancashire Lane: London Salon.

Road to Lochinver: London Salon.

Sundown Cilcower Hill: London Salon.

The Old Man of the Sea Llangranog: London Salon.

Published

The Old Man of the Sea Llangranog: Illustrated London Salon Catalogue.

1966

Exhibited

Across the Mersey [The Cockle Hole]: London Salon.

Loch Duich: London Salon.

Night Patrol: London Salon.

The Great Bulk of Manod: London Salon.

Published

Across the Mersey [The Cockle Hole]: Illustrated London Salon Catalogue.

1967

Exhibited

At the Fortress of Salses: London Salon.

Evening on the Mersey: London Salon.

Loch Alsh: London Salon.

Loch Maree: London Salon.

Published

At the Fortress of Salses: Amateur Photographer November.

At the Fortress of Salses: London Salon Catalogue.

1968

Exhibited

Manorbier, Pembrokeshire: London Salon.

Power for Industry [Connah's Quay Power Station]: London Salon.

Poplars, Bolesworth: London Salon.

The Coast of Devon: London Salon.

Published

Power for Industry [Connah's Quay Power Station]: London Salon Catalogue.

1969

Makes

Ballet on the Railings.

Exhibited

E.R. Wildermuth: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Gypsies Loch Erribol: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Liverpool's Two Cathedrals: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Summer Clouds: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

1970

Exhibited

Ballet on the Railings: London Salon.

Canal Warehouses: London Salon.

In Wensleydale: London Salon.

Property Merger: London Salon.

1971

Exhibited

Welsh Mountain Demon: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Gossips: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

A Liverpool Skyline: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

Hill Farming Country: London Salon (no catalogue available, entry form extant).

1972

MAKES

Brunswick Basin.

Exhibited

Shed a Tear for the Unemployed: London Salon.

Old Man with his Memories [An Old Frenchman]: London Salon.

A Village in Pandikkad Kerala: London Salon.

Cornfield in Flintshire: London Salon.

1973

1974

Exhibited

On the City Walls Chester: London Salon.

Kintail: London Salon.

The Bin Man: London Salon.

Seen from Glencoe: London Salon. (Illustrated)

Three logs and Three Clouds: London Salon.

Published

Seen from Glencoe: London Salon Catalogue.

1975

Exhibited

"E. Chambré Hardman Fifty Years of Photography" Senate House,
Liverpool University, March.

Published

Half a Century of Merseyside Photography": Liverpool Weekly News, March
13th.

1976

Exhibited

Mountains of Sutherland: London Salon.

Pennine Rock Monster: London Salon.

Two Men in a Boat: London Salon.

Upper Glen Affric: London Salon.

1977

Exhibited

Boy and Drinking Fountain: London Salon.

Barrow Boy Stops for a Light: London Salon.

Late Evening Sun Welshpool: London Salon.

Think Again Brother: London Salon.

1978

Exhibited

A Memory of Avignon: London Salon.

The Mersey at Widnes: London Salon.

Ben Stack, Sutherland: London Salon.

Drudgery: London Salon.

A Village in the Sun: London Salon.

1979

1980

Exhibited

"E. Chambré Hardman Retrospective Exhibition" Open Eye Gallery; Liverpool, December.

The Rick: Acquisition Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Where Great Ships are Built [Birth of the Ark Royal]: Acquisition Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Published

An Old Frenchman: Photography Year Book 1980

Unemployed: Photography Year Book 1980

1981

Exhibited

Gypsy Horse Dealer: London Salon.

Limestone Cliff, North Wales: London Salon.

Loch an Ais Wester Ross: "Open Landscape Exhibition" Impressions Gallery, York.

Near World's End Llangollen: London Salon.

Painting, Bamburgh Castle: London Salon.

The Enchanted Wood: "Open Landscape Exhibition" Impressions Gallery, York.

Published

Shadow of the Aqueduct: Photography Year Book 1981.

Lace Bridal Dress worn by Miss Teleri Jones: (Lansdell 1983).

1982

Exhibited

Lancashire & Cheshire Photographic Union 75th Anniversary Exhibition, Harris Museum & Art Gallery, Preston.

Published

Welsh Harpist: Photography Year Book 1982.

1983

Exhibited

Birth of the Ark Royal: Photographers Gallery, London.

1984

1985

Exhibited

Across the Mersey: "Merseyside Artists" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Birth of the Ark Royal: National Museum of Photography Film & Television, Bradford.

Gypsies Loch Erribol: "Merseyside Artists" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Hill Farming Country: "Merseyside Artists" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Rain in Chester: "Merseyside Artists" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Passengers from Dublin: "Merseyside Artists" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Sir Charles Reilly: "Merseyside Artists" Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

1986

1994

Exhibited

E.Chambré Hardman Photographs 1921-1972: Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

E.Chambré Hardman Photographs 1921-1972: National Museum of Photography,
Film and Television, Bradford.

1995

Exhibited

E.Chambré Hardman Photographs 1921-1972: National Theatre, London.

Appendix C

Published Articles about Hardman

Anon "Liverpool Photographer wins Exhibition Prize" Liverpool Post & Mercury, August 16th 1930.

Anon "Museum Plans are Threatened" British Journal of Photography November 22nd 1990

Amos W. (ed.) "E.Chambré Hardman Photographer" Lancashire Life, January.

Gross J. "Hardman" Photography Magazine, August 1989.

Hagerty P. "E.Chambré Hardman Photographer" Liverpool; Open Eye Gallery, November 1980.

Hagerty P. "E.Chambré Hardman" Liverpool Magazine November 1989 (Light Impressions, Liverpool).

Hopkinson A. "Liverpool Echo" British Journal of Photography May 21st 1992.

Melly G. "Portraits of a City" Independent Magazine August 12th 1990.

Powell R. "E.Chambré Hardman, Photographer" British Journal of Photography, August 21st 1981.

Powell R "Photographs in Context: Birth of the Ark Royal" Photographers Gallery, London 1983.

Wesson D. "A Personal View" B.A. (Hons) Degree Dissertation, Derbyshire College of F.E. 1988.

Wesson D. "E.Chambré Hardman Obituary" London Salon Catalogue 1988.

Appendix D

Audio & Videotapes about Hardman

"The Image Maker" Broadcast Recording BBC Radio Merseyside 29 minutes (London; Radio Times), Sunday 24th August 1978. [Recorded and edited, 24th May 1978].

Abraham Sofaer reads poetry by Margaret Hardman, private gramophone recording and pressing circa 1945. Trust Collection.

"Untitled" Three 20 minute Video unedited recordings (Hagerty P. & Malone C. 1982). Trust collection.

"E. Chambré Hardman" (c.1985) 20 minute edited video recording. Education Department, National Museum of Film, Photography and Television, Bradford.