Chansonetta Stanley Emmons

By Shawn Michelle Smith, School of the Art Institute of Chicago

Figure 1. Self-portrait by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons.

Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

On April 24, 1897, Chansonetta Stanley Emmons wrote to her brother: "I think I have after many, many failures, begun to gage the camera a little nearer right. I can't let it alone and find it very fascinating, so much so that I have not painted a stroke since I got the camera."[i] Thus began Emmons's four-decade long passion for photography.

Between 1897 and 1937, Chansonetta Stanley Emmons made hundreds of striking photographs of rural life in Maine and greater New England. Traveling with her daughter Dorothy, she photographed the people, land, waterways, and flora of her birthplace, Kingfield, Maine, and the environs around her home in Newton, Massachusetts, as well

as other New England locales in Nantucket, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. She made two trips to the Carolinas in 1897 and 1926, photographing in the Highlands of North Carolina, on plantations in South Carolina, as well as in Charleston. Other photographic excursions involved trips to Colorado, Europe, and Quebec. Her images depict rural farm and home life in New England, including striking interiors of elderly men and women undertaking typical tasks; lush landscapes populated with rivers, trees, mountains, and isolated homesteads; botanicals and "portraits" of trees; country and formal gardens; coastal scenes of ships and harbors and fishermen; castles and street scenes in Europe; studies of architectural details in Charleston; white mountain men and women in Appalachia; and scenes of African American tenant farm workers in the Carolinas.[ii]

Figure 2. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. 1995pho1017.

Figure 3. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. 1994pho10047.

Today Emmons's work is surprisingly understudied and relatively unknown. The striking beauty of the photographs and their varied subjects make them worthy of further consideration, and the images are historically important as they depict everyday rural life and work in the early twentieth century. They offer glimpses of what historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has called "the texture of ordinary life."[iii] The images are also important for the history of photography. They transcend and blur the categories scholars typically use to understand photographs -- as artistic, documentary, commercial, or vernacular. Emmons was a serious amateur, a sometime professional, and an unrecognized artist. Her images record what was important to one relatively privileged white woman photographing seriously and consistently for four decades in the early twentieth century.

**Description of the Collection**


Figure 4. The Sarton Room at the Maine Women Writers Collection.

Photograph by the author.

The Maine Women Writers Collection at the University of New England in Portland, Maine has on loan from the Stanley Museum in Kingfield, Maine the majority of Chansonetta Stanley Emmons's extant photographs. The collection includes approximately 1,600 items, including 100 5x7" glass plate negatives, 300 hand-colored glass lantern slides, and 1,200 photographic prints, in addition to some small snapshot prints and hundreds of 5x7" contact prints (with duplicate and triplicate prints of some of the images), as well as matted, signed, and dated prints for exhibition. Some of the large 5x7" contact prints are reproduced on Velox, a silver gelatin paper that could be developed with gaslight, and others are on various papers, probably including albumen

paper, silver gelatin printing out paper (Eastman Kodak's Studio Proof Paper for contact printing), and platinum paper.[iv] The prints themselves, especially those Emmons selected for exhibition, are gorgeous, warm-toned images of incredible detail captured by the large format negatives. Her sense of composition and balance is strong, and she uses natural light to highlight the figures and places to which she was attracted. Long exposures and the careful staging and arrangement of subjects lend the images a formal, quiet air.

Figure 5. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. 1995pho1003.

**Biography and Early Work**

Chansonetta Stanley was born on December 30, 1858, in the rural mill town of Kingfield, Maine. She was the only daughter of Appiah K. French and Liberty Solomon Stanley who together had seven children. Both Appiah and Solomon were descendents

of Kingfield's early settlers, and they raised their children in the small Cape style house built by Solomon's father (also Solomon), which today still stands on Maple Street.

Figure 6. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. The Stanley home.

The Stanleys were landowning farmers, teachers, temperance people, and abolitionists. Appiah and Solomon's eldest son, Isaac, fought in the Civil War and inherited the family farm. The twins, Francis (F. E.) and Freelan (F. O.), attended the Western State Normal School at Farmington, Maine, and had brief careers as teachers. F. E. also had a portrait studio in Auburn, Maine, where he specialized in crayon and large-scale photographic portraits. Frustrated by the cumbersome wet-plate process, he invented a dry plate negative in 1883, persuaded his brother to join him in the endeavor, and together they incorporated the Stanley Dry Plate Company in 1884. Eventually they sold the dry plate process to George Eastman, who continued to sell it as the Stanley Dry

Plate. This early collaboration initiated the twins' very prosperous business ventures, and together they would go on to invent a steam-powered automobile, the famous Stanley Steamer. The other brothers, John Calvin French Stanley, Solomon Liberty, a dentist, and Bayard, the "Baby," a farmer, all died of tuberculosis. Appiah was also brought down by tuberculosis in 1874, when Chansonetta was just sixteen. When Freelan (F. O.) contracted tuberculosis he went West, and, surviving the disease, helped to establish Estes Park, Colorado as a popular tourist destination.[v]

Figure 7. F. E. and F. O. Stanley in the first Stanley Steamer.

Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

In 1876, Chansonetta attended the Western State Normal School like her elder twin brothers to pursue a career in teaching, but after several months of instruction, she left the school intent on becoming an artist. For some time afterward she taught drawing

and sketching in New Portland and Kingfield schools, and then in the mid-1880s she moved to Boston to teach art in the school system there. During this time she also studied painting under J. J. Enneking, known for his landscapes, and J. G. Brown, known for his paintings of children. It is likely that she also became interested in photography at this time, as her brothers were perfecting the dry plate process.

In Boston, Chansonetta met her future husband, James N. W. Emmons, a businessman who sold boots and shoes. Solomon, Chansonetta's father, assented to the union after inquiring after Emmons's character. Writing to his nephew, William Moody, Solomon asked: "Is he a truly temperate and moral man and will he use a wife as a husband should? I care nothing about his wealth, if he is industrious and capable and will make a home pleasant and happy." To "Netta" he wrote with striking clarity and emotion, honoring her independence: "I have informed myself of the character of Mr. Emmons and learn nothing derogatory regarding him. You should yourself, being the one most vitally affected by this engagement, be a judge of its importance. I will say however if the union should prove a disaster it would destroy all my happiness for the future. I care not for wealth he may bring with his union with you, but integrity, honesty, perseverance [sic], morality, and kind regard for you through life is what I desire. Now Netta, I leave the matter with you to decide."[vi] Chansonetta and James were married on February 2, 1887. In 1891, they had their only child, a daughter, Dorothy.

James Emmons was not an especially successful businessman, and he was unable to keep his family situated in a stable position. He and Chansonetta accepted financial assistance from F. E. and F. O., and in 1895 F. O. bought them a huge house at 22 Harley Street in New Dorchester, a suburb of Boston. Chansonetta's pleasure and pride in this

house and her domestic life is documented in an early album she compiled in 1899 (see below).

Chansonetta's first work in photography dates from her married life. In 1897, she and Dorothy took a trip south to the Carolinas, financed by Freelan (F. O.). (It is unclear why she chose this destination, but it seems that James's family had some connections there.[vii]) She and Dorothy visited Charleston, boarded at a house in Summerville, South Carolina, visited the Highlands and Macon County as well as the town of Shortoff in North Carolina, and stayed at the Oaks Hotel in Asheville, North Carolina.[viii] This early trip to the Carolinas was the start of Emmons's serious interest in photography, and it was from Asheville, North Carolina that she wrote enthusiastically to Freelan of her first successes with the camera. The 1897 album, which she made as a gift for Freelan, includes photographs of African Americans, landscapes taken in the Highlands, a photograph of a white "woods-man," and images of mountain cabins. Emmons inscribed the album to Freelan and noted that it shows "snapshots at what we saw going through the Carolinas, Dorothy and I, in the spring of 1897."[ix]

Figure 8. Chansonetta Stanley Emmons photograph included in the 1897 album at the Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

Chansonetta's second photograph album, compiled of images made from 1897 to 1899, and completed in 1899, displays her pleasure and pride in her large Dorchester home, her elite lifestyle, her artistic interests, and her devotion to Dorothy and James. The first three images in the album show her enormous Victorian house in summer, autumn, and winter, and the final image shows the house in springtime. Photographs show James and Dorothy pursuing various indoor and outdoor activities, including James reading in the wood-paneled hall and cutting the grass, and Dorothy in the snow with her sled and in her bedroom with her impressive toy collection. Self-portraits present "Netta" at the piano and playing the guitar, and one photograph of Chansonetta with her family shows the three of them seated at the table in their dining room.[x] These images stage a wealthy and aesthetic domestic life, with a hint of bohemianism. They do not register the tragedy of James's sudden death of blood poisoning in 1898,[xi] even though the album

was completed the year following his demise. They do not show the 40-year old widow's mourning, or the move with her young daughter to a smaller duplex at 21 Bennington Street in Newton, Massachusetts, but instead preserve an image of idealized domesticity.

Figure 9. Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, from the 1899 photograph album at the Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

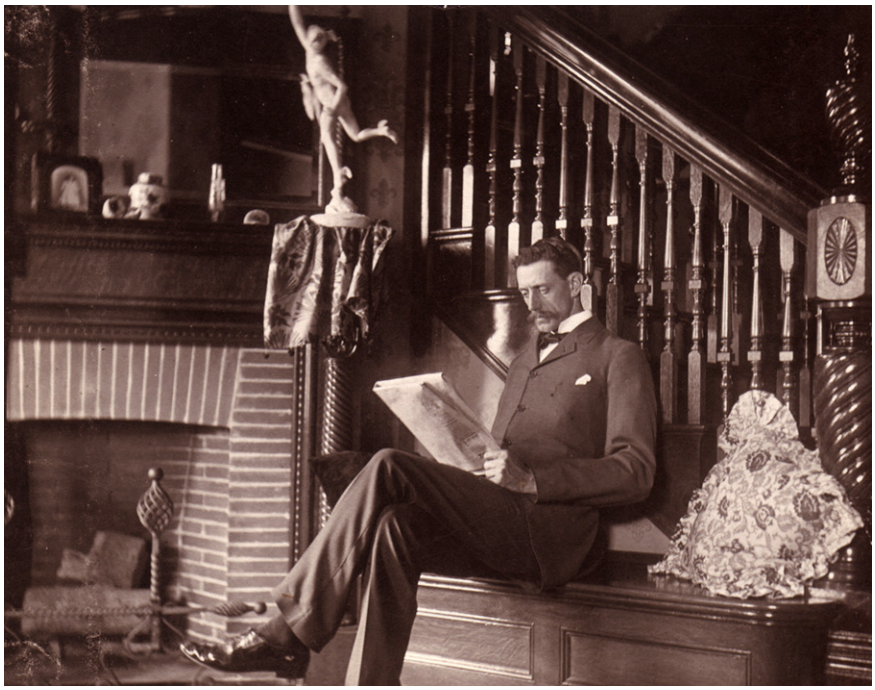

Figure 10. James Emmons, from the 1899 photograph album at the Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

Figure 11. Dorothy Emmons, from the 1899 photograph album at the Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

After James's death, Chansonetta and Dorothy returned to Kingfield to recover, and Chansonetta began to photograph domestic and farm life in rural Maine. Thinking that she would return to painting and drawing, she traveled to Chesham, New Hampshire in 1900, to study painting with William Preston Phelps, a genre and landscape painter. Phelps was also interested in photography, and he made a striking portrait of Chansonetta and Dorothy. During her stay in New Hampshire, Chansonetta continued to photograph the people and places about her.

F. O. and F. E. supported Chansonetta and Dorothy for nearly four decades, after James's death in 1898 until Chansonetta's own death in 1937. While she was able to supplement her income by selling photographs and painted miniatures, and through the small admission fees she charged at her lantern slide lectures, Emmons never returned to teaching full time. Letters suggest that money was tight, and at times family relations were strained, but she nevertheless relied on the support of her brothers and lived in the Newton, Massachusetts duplex they provided for her. This support allowed her to pursue her artistic endeavors without interruption throughout the second half of her life.

**Circulation of Emmons's Work**

As early as 1901, Emmons had her first photography exhibition at the Universalist vestry in Farmington, Maine, and in that same year she exhibited work in the Sixth Annual Photography Show sponsored by the *Youth's Companion* magazine, winning a prize in the "Country Life" category for a photograph of sheep. She was evidently very proud of this accomplishment, as a photograph made several years later, of Dorothy playing the piano in their Newton, Massachusetts home, shows the prize-winning sheep photograph still displayed prominently. In 1904 Emmons purchased her own camera, a

5x7” Century view camera, and although she never had her own darkroom, she made her own prints throughout her life, contact-printing the large glass negatives on a variety of photographic papers in darkened closets and kitchens.

Figure 12. Chansonetta Stanley Emmons’s camera at the Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine. Photograph by the author.

She joined the Guild of Photographers of the Society of Arts and Crafts in Boston, and exhibited with the Society throughout the 1920s, including in the 1927 Tricentennial

Exhibit at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. She also exhibited with the Boston Young Men's Christian Union Camera Club, at the South Carolina Art Association in Charleston, and at the Wellesley College Farnsworth Museum of Art (Wellesley was Dorothy's alma mater). She produced her own book, *The Old Table Chair*, in 1909 (republished in 2009 in a Centennial Edition by the Stanley Museum),[xii] and she published photographs in *Country Life* (January 1927) and *American Forests and Forest Life* (October 1928) (the latter in an article written by Dorothy). In the mid-1920s she began to make glass lantern slides of what she considered her best and most interesting photographs, and she hand-colored them brightly and meticulously. The shows included one on rural New England, and one on the Carolinas. Because Chansonetta was entirely deaf by this point in her life, Dorothy gave the lectures and answered questions, while Chansonetta worked the lantern slide projector.

Figure 13. Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, hand-colored lantern slide.

In the last several decades, this understudied photographer has begun to receive renewed recognition. Marius B. Péladeau's *Chansonetta: The Life and Photographs of Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, 1858-1937*, published by Maine Antique Digest in 1977, is the book that most extensively details her life and work. A few additional contemporary books reproduce images by Emmons, including *Documenting a Myth: The South as Seen by Three Women Photographers, Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, Doris Ulmann, Bayard Wootten, 1910-1940* by Naomi Rosenblum and Susan Fillin-Yeh; *A History of Women Photographers* by Naomi Rosenblum; *The Way Life Was: A Photographic Treasury of the American Past* by Jeffrey Simpson; *American Album: How We Looked and How We Lived in a Vanished U.S.A.*; and the 1979 Franklin Library illustrated edition of Sarah Orne Jewett's *The Country of the Pointed Firs and Other Stories*.[xiii] Emmons's photographs were also reproduced in "Nineteenth Century Rural Maine Life," a filmstrip made in the 1970s for Maine public schools.[xiv] Contemporary exhibitions of her work have been shown at Neikrug Gallery in New York (1977-78), The National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washingon, D.C. (1990), University of Maine at Farmington Art Gallery (1991 and 1997), Danforth Museum of Art in Framingham, Massachusetts (1992), Estes Park Area Historical Museum in Estes Park, Colorado (1993), Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery, Reed College, Portland, Oregon (1998), and Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine (2000). Emmons's work has also been included in several group shows on women in Maine art, women in the history of photography, the history of New England, and the history of African Americans in South Carolina.[xv]

Contemporary newspaper reproductions and accounts of Emmons's work include a July 24, 1977 *New York Times* article, "Timeless Summers in Old-Time Maine," advertising Péladeau's forthcoming book and the show at the Neikrug Gallery, a brief

review of the Neikrug Gallery show in the *New York Times* (December 9, 1977), and exhibition reviews in the *Boston Globe* (July 22, 1990), the *Boston Herald* (December 29, 1991), and the *Bangor Daily News* (March 14, 1997). In her assessment of Emmons's work at the Neikrung Gallery, Vivien Raynor writes: "Extremely sensitive to textures and light effects, she made prints of etchinglike delicacy."[xvi] Journal and other periodical articles that reproduce her work include those published with some regularity in the *Stanley Museum Quarterly*, as well as three short articles in *Down East*, and an article in *American Heritage*.

Figure 14. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. 1990pho20080.

Shortly after the publication of Péladeau's book, one of Emmons's early photographs was used in a Kodak advertisement in the *New York Times* (July 16, 1978). Beneath the photograph a caption reads: "There wasn't anything special going on that day (except Mrs. Emmons taking a picture of Moses Mitchell at his mill) – Possibly

tomorrow or the next day or next Sunday will be a very ordinary day in your own life. So much the better. Suppose you just decided to take your camera and use it to share one of your ordinary 1978 days with someone – perhaps a descendant – who will be born in, say, 2030. An unusual kind of gift. Think about it. Then do it." While clearly intending to expand amateur practices of photography beyond the recording of "special" events such as holidays, trips, and celebrations, and to make photography an everyday, ordinary practice, and therefore much more profitable for Kodak, the advertisement also highlights the "everyday life" subjects of many of Emmons's photographs, emphasizing their role in reproducing family ties and memories as well as their historical interest and importance.

**Emmons Among Her Contemporaries**

Emmons was certainly not alone as a woman photographer at the turn of the century. Indeed, many women took up Frances Benjamin Johnston's call and endeavored to discover just what it was that a woman could do with a camera.[xvii] Photography was relatively inexpensive and training in the practice was still rather casual. People largely learned photography through pamphlets, brief apprenticeships, and trial and error. In other words, photography as an art form or a trade was available to many people of modest means and limited time. Although they may not have been aware of one another, in Maine alone Emmons was joined by at least two other women photographers working at the turn of the century – Nettie Cummings Maxim and Emma D. Sewall. Maxim photographed the people, landscapes, and animals of Maine farm life in and around her home in Bethel, Maine, and Sewall photographed everyday life in Bath and Small Point, Maine. Sewall's images of women spinning, knitting, quilting, making butter, and preparing food, of children picking blueberries, and farmers cutting and loading hay, of

blacksmiths, country homesteads, and even the interiors of her own home, resemble Emmons's in many ways.[xviii] Closer to her home in Massachusetts, Emmons was joined by Deerfield residents Frances and Mary Allen, who also photographed New England country life.[xix]

Figure 15. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. 1995pho1032.

While she clearly considered her photography art, Emmons did not adopt the soft focus and overt symbolism that characterized much pictorialist photography at the turn of the century, such as that of Gertrude Kasebier. She did not manipulate her prints for painterly effect, nor did she give them allegorical titles. She did not strive to mask the camera's detailed view of the world, but neither was she a strict documentarian like the photojournalist Jessie Tarbox Beals. Her photographs were not intended to be informational documents or records of important news events. Although not as wealthy as Alice Austen, she was, like her younger contemporary, able to devote herself to

photographic pursuits as a serious artist and amateur. However, perhaps because she was a slightly older mother at the turn of the century, her photographs lack the playful high jinks of the younger, single, wealthier Austen. She did not achieve the professional standing nor secure the high profile commissions that Frances Benjamin Johnston did, but her photographs resemble Johnston's in composition and formality, although they are rarely of institutions and institutional settings.[xx] Like Johnston's photographs, Emmons's are clearly driven by an aesthetic sensibility even as they also act as focused visual records. They are both art and document, and in some ways they presage a later modernist aesthetic.[xxi] Both Johnston and Emmons worked with natural light, and staged and arranged their scenes carefully. The slow exposures of their large view cameras required subjects to remain frozen, but both photographers were able to manipulate that stasis into a kind of stillness rather than stiffness.

Figure 16. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. 1994pho10058.

Because Emmons was rarely if ever working as a professional photographer on commission, her work has not had the same kind of circulation as has that of other photographers at the time. However, because she was not working for others, she was largely left to her own devices and desires when it came to her photography. She chose her subjects and decided how they would be represented. Some of her imagery resembles

that of the painters she studied with, especially Phelps's and Enneking's landscapes. Some of her photographs also have the sentimentality of Brown's paintings of children. Many of the early images are clearly nostalgic, invested in capturing a moment that has already passed. But despite some of the similarity in subject and scene that Emmons's work shares with that of the painters with whom she studied, her work is not derivative, and Emmons was not attempting to reproduce paintings in her photographs. As she continued to work with the camera, she recorded the places about her with a unique vision, treating trees as venerable subjects worthy of "portraits," and rural homesteads as sentient inhabitants of the land. Many of her landscapes have a tiny figure embedded within them, perhaps for scale to highlight the expanse of the natural scene, or perhaps to humanize a landscape that she consistently makes feel animate, like a quiet waiting presence. Her devotion to the land and flora of her native Maine is clear in her photographs, and explicitly articulated in an inscription she penned on the back of one of her images: "No human device could ever represent what we saw among the old beech trees on the Stanley Hill after the leaves turned. All the foliage was burnished gold with rose and lavender shadows. To see it was to live in beauty. C. S. E."[xxii] Implicitly denying the camera's capacity to capture the beauty of the natural world, Emmons nevertheless employed it to do just that.

Figure 17. Photograph by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons (recto). Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine. 1990pho10255.

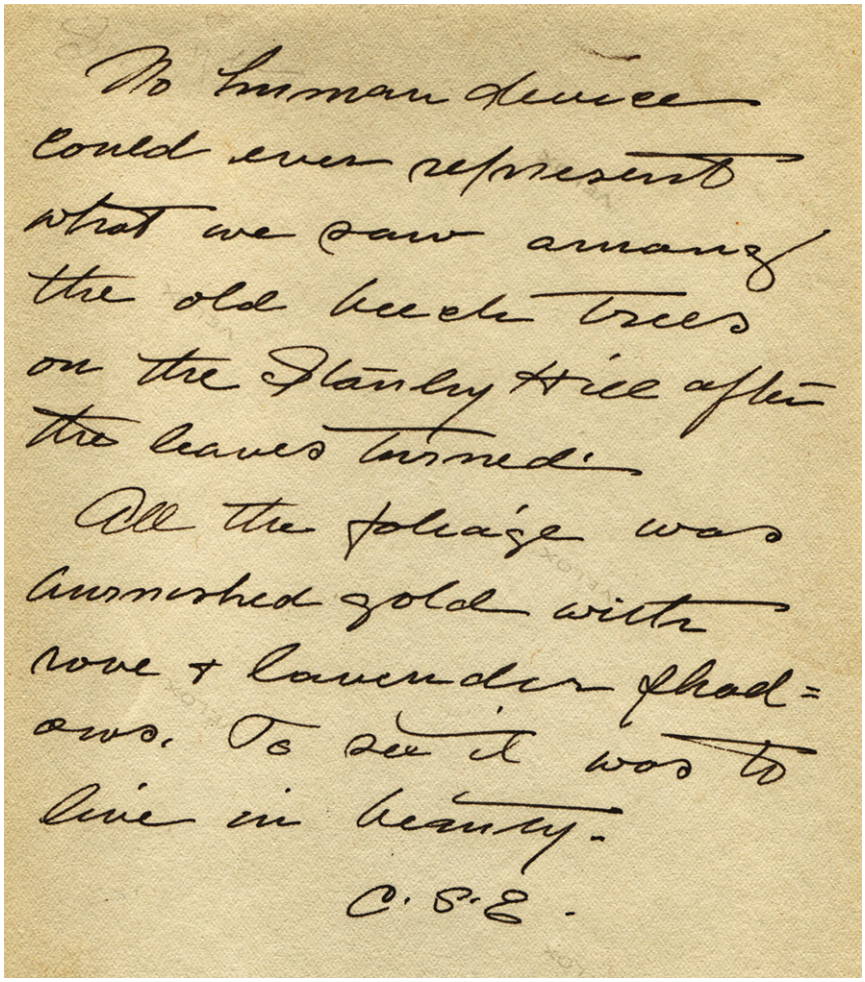


Figure 18. Inscription on the back of the photograph (verso) by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons. Stanley Museum, Kingfield, Maine.

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I hope that Emmons's photographs will send others back to the archives, to examine and take seriously her work as well as that of other little known photographers who were not influential, but who were passionate and persistent in documenting their worlds. Emmons's images record aspects of everyday life in all their beauty and complexity, and as such they have an intrinsic historical value for those interested in early twentieth-century American culture. They also have value for the history of photography, for they demonstrate the extent to which our categories and expectations

limit us. Emmons only published about half a dozen of her photographs, and she exhibited only a small number as well. With better opportunities, or perhaps more intense ambition, she might have been a Frances Benjamin Johnston, an Edward Curtis, or even an Alfred Stieglitz. But she wasn't. Neither was she a weekend hobbyist, documenting only family outings, holidays, and birthdays. Emmons was a serious amateur who followed her own interests and made images for her own reward for forty years. Her work draws on previous imaging traditions, and charts new paths as well. I would like to make room for the work of Chansonetta and other photographers like her in the canon of photography. Such work enriches the history of photography by expanding our understanding of its serious practitioners and their serious practices. It opens windows onto the beautiful, everyday lives of photography itself.

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This work was supported by a grant from the Maine Women Writers Collection at the University of New England. I would like to thank Jennifer S. Tuttle of the University of New England, Cally Gurley of the Maine Women Writers Collection, Jim Merrick at the Stanley Museum, Kirsten Brown Burbank at the Kingfield Historical Society, and Susan Davis at the Maine Narrow Gauge Railroad and Museum, for their tremendous generosity in helping me to conduct the research for this essay. I also thank the Stanley Museum for granting me permission to print photographs from their collection and to cite from their manuscript holdings.

[i] Letter to Freelan O. Stanley, Raymond W. Stanley Collection, Stanley Museum Archives. This and all subsequent quotations from the Stanley Museum Archive are cited by permission.

[ii] See Marius B. Péladeau, *Chansonetta: The Life and Photographs of Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, 1858-1937* (Waldoboro: Maine Antique Digest, 1977), especially pages 11-12.

[iii] I am quoting from Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's 1981 NEH grant application, which helped her to begin the research that eventually resulted in her award winning study of Martha Moore Ballard's diaries in *A Midwife's Tale*. A copy of the grant application is available online at: http://dohistory.org/book/100_grantapp.html.

[iv] Descriptions of these photographic papers are included in a photographic history exhibit at the Stanley Museum, entitled "Timeline: Use of Major B&W Photographic Processes to 1930."

[v] I am grateful to Jim Merrick, archivist at the Stanley Museum in Kingfield, Maine, for this information about the Stanley family.

[vi] Both letters Raymond W. Stanley Collection, Stanley Museum Archives.

[vii] On the back of one of Chansonetta's cyanotype prints in the Kingfield Historical Society is a note that identifies a cabin as the house that James inhabited in 1877 in the Highlands of North Carolina. The Stanley Museum also has a photograph of a group on a porch that identifies Grandfather and Grandmother Emmons in Shortoff, North Carolina. In a letter to Flora, F. O.'s wife, dated April 14, 1892, Chansonetta notes that she and James have both suffered from terrible colds, and "so he talks N. Carolina to me." Raymond W. Stanley Collection, Stanley Museum Archives.

[viii] On the back of one of Chansonetta's cyanotype prints in the Kingfield Historical Society is a note that identifies the house in Summerville, South Carolina, where "Netta" boarded. One of the photographs in the Stanley Museum's 1897 album documenting her trip shows the view from her hotel room window in Asheville, North Carolina. All of the other places are identified in captions to the 1897 album, which is held in the collection of the Stanley Museum, 1990-PHO1-1029-1083.

[ix] The 1897 album, Stanley Museum, 1990-PHO1-1029-1083.

[x] CSE album 1899, Stanley Museum, 1990-PHO1-1085-1128.

[xi] Péladeau 11.

[xii] *The Old Table Chair*, Centennial Edition, written and illustrated by Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, with additional commentary by H. James Merrick, Stanley Museum Archivist (Kingfield, Maine: Stanley Museum, 2009).

[xiii] Thanks to Jim Merrick and Kirsten Brown Burbank for their help compiling this list. Marius B. Péladeau, *Chansonetta*; Naomi Rosenblum and Susan Fillin-Yeh, *Documenting a Myth: The South as Seen by Three Women Photographers, Chansonetta Stanley Emmons, Doris Ulmann, Bayard Wooten, 1910-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (New York: Abbeville, 2000); Jeffrey Simpson, *The Way Life Was: A Photographic Treasury from the American Past*, Chanticleer Press Edition (New York: Praeger, 1974); Oliver Ormerod Jensen, Joan Paterson Kerr, and Murray Belsky, *American Album: How We Looked and How We Lived in a Vanished U.S.A.* (New York: American Heritage, 1968); Sarah Orne Jewett, *The Country of the Pointed Firs and Other Stories* (Franklin Center: Franklin Library, 1979). See also my recent article, "Laying Claim to the Land(scape):

Chansonetta Stanley Emmons (1858-1937)," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 26:2 (2009).

[xiv] C. Stewart Doty, "Bringing State and Local History to the People: The Maine History Filmstrip Project," *The History Teacher* 11:4 (August 1978): 543-548, 546.

[xv] Two of the group exhibitions include: "Women in Photography," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (1975), and "Sharon Lockhart: Lunch Break," Colby College Museum of Art (2010). Thanks to Jim Merrick for bringing these to my attention.

[xvi] Vivien Raynor, "Art: Noise in the Attic," *New York Times*, 9 Dec.1977, C19.

[xvii] Frances Benjamin Johnston, "What a Woman Can Do with a Camera." *Ladies' Home Journal* (Sept. 1897): 6-7. Laura Wexler also notes that "throughout the 1890s, the periodical press carried many articles that praised photography as a vocation for women." Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) 210.

[xviii] Diane and Jack Barnes, *Maine Life at the Turn of the Century* (Arcadia Publishing, 1995) focuses on the work of Nettie Cummings Maxim, and Abbie Sewall presents the work of her great-great grandmother, Emma Sewall, in *Message Through Time: The Photographs of Emma D. Sewall 1836-1919* (Gardiner, Maine: The Harpswell Press, 1989). Sewall also photographed coastal scenes, including lobstermen, fishermen, clam diggers, and driftwood collectors. She was a member of the Boston Camera Club and exhibited with them extensively, including in Paris, and received Boston Camera Club prizes throughout the 1890s.

[xix] Suzanne L. Flynt, *The Allen Sisters: Pictorial Photographers 1885-1920* (Deerfield, Massachusetts: Pocumtuk Valley Memorial Association, 2002). See also the entry for the Allen sisters on the Museums of Deerfield webpage: http://www.deerfield-ma.org/allen.htm

[xx] Laura Wexler discusses the work of Kasebier, Beals, Austen, and Johnston in *Tender Violence*.

[xxi] Angela Kathleen Dietz discusses the convergence of pictorialist and documentary aesthetics in turn-of-the-century American photography in chapter three of her dissertation, "Teaching through the Eye," *Spectacles of Labor: Visualizing a Nation at Work, 1850-1920* (Dissertation: Saint Louis University, 2008).

[xxii] Stanley Museum Collection.