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Summary: There were more than 140 Nebraska women practicing photography during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Learn more about them in this article.

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# NEBRASKA'S WOMEN PHOTOGRAPHERS

*By Martha H. Kennedy*

Most research on Nebraska photographers has concentrated upon well-known figures such as William Henry Jackson, Frank A. Rinehart, Solomon D. Butcher, and Louis Bostwick. Women photographers active during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have received little if any attention, even though more than 140 Nebraska women practiced photography during this period.<sup>1</sup>

Who were these women who chose to enter a profession dominated so conspicuously by men? They can be identified by name, and in most cases the location and approximate years of their photographic activity can be determined, but examples of their work are rare. It is possible, however, to characterize photographs taken by some amateur and professional women photographers and discuss whether they can be distinguished from those of their male counterparts. For almost all examples of work by Nebraska women photographers, problems of documentation and interpretation arise. This study focuses upon these and related issues, but does not resolve all of them completely.

A photograph of a young Nebraskan identified as Ellen Bruner DeBell (1868-1936) (fig. 1), who stands with her camera outside her home in Rosebud, South Dakota, about 1895 raises questions about the meaning of the picture. She holds the cable as if about to

release the shutter to make an exposure. Perhaps the image is intended to be a visual representation of her professional or vocational aspirations. No evidence found so far indicates that she worked professionally as a photographer.

The photograph of Ellen Bruner DeBell is one in a series of images that correspond in format and approximate date and appear to be the work of a single photographer. Part of the Lily B. Munroe Collection at the Nebraska State Historical Society, the series includes exterior views of the DeBell house, DeBell's three daughters, domestic interiors, and Indians at the Rosebud Agency (figs. 2-7).

There is no direct evidence that Ellen DeBell took these photographs, although a study of family papers and photographic artifacts strongly suggests that she was the photographer.<sup>2</sup> Information from the donor, Lily B. Munroe, states that Ellen took many photographs in Rosebud on glass plates. Further evidence can be found in the choice and sensitive treatment of the photographic subject matter, which (except for the Indian pictures) reflects much of the everyday domestic life and environment experienced by a woman. Before and after her years at Rosebud (about 1893-1908), Ellen DeBell lived in Nebraska and may also have taken some of the photographs of Nebraska subjects in the Munroe Collection.<sup>3</sup>

Another photographic collection at the Nebraska State Historical Society, donated by Mabel Souther, consists of scenes from her childhood, including views of ranch life in Wyoming and northwestern Nebraska. William

Souther, the donor's father, was involved not only in a large cattle business headquartered in Big Red, Wyoming, but he also worked as foreman of a large ranch near Crawford, Nebraska, which was owned by Marshall Field.<sup>4</sup>

According to the donor's record, Field purchased a camera and equipment so that the Southers could take pictures of the ranch, which were to be sent to decorate the walls of Field's office in Chicago. The record also states explicitly that Souther's wife, Mabel Graham McIntosh Souther (1864-1961), "did most of the picture taking."<sup>5</sup>

Some of these outstanding photographs, most taken about 1898, include scenes of shearing sheep, branding cattle, shipping cattle to market, and buildings at Big Red Ranch, Wyoming (figs. 8-9). A carefully composed view in Sioux County, Nebraska, of the Colville and Hall sheep camp near Glen (fig. 10), taken in 1897, and an unusual panorama of Crawford in 1904 (fig. 11), provide visual clues about the Southers' life in northwestern Nebraska. A ranch scene taken in 1898 shows Souther and son Barron on the Big Red Ranch in Wyoming (fig. 12).

Both Ellen DeBell and Mabel Souther's photographs express some similar interests — the desire to record the appearances of their homes and children. Yet the work of each also reveals a stronger documentary interest that sets it apart from the casual or ordinary photographs more typical of amateur photography. Mabel Souther's photographs of ranch operations and cattle about to be shipped to market certainly appear to

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satisfy the request made by Marshall Field. The number and quality of photographs which portray different aspects of ranch life and the fine two-panel panorama make up an extraordinary visual record.

Similarly, Ellen DeBell's pictures of the Sioux Indians on the Rosebud Reservation provide a valuable record of the Indians' appearance and dances. Her appealing studies of home interiors provide more than just useful documentation of furnishings and other objects of household use (fig. 4). Sensitivity to light and composition make these scenes exceptional. No human figure disrupts the neat, deliberately arranged interiors.

One also senses a certain deliberateness in the photograph identified as "School for DeBell's two oldest girls and a few other white children" (fig. 7). Ellen stands before a blackboard in front of what looks like a painted backdrop of the type commonly used by photographers in their studios. Five of the children seated at desks turn away from Ellen, the teacher. Only one girl in the right foreground turns to respond to Ellen's instruction.

Both Ellen DeBell and Mabel Souther used studio cameras, bulky, tripod-mounted devices. Donor records and family papers reveal nothing, however, about how the women learned to use them. Mabel Souther had an assignment from Marshall Field to make photographs but beyond that, there is no information about the probable motivation for their photography. In fact, documentation that would absolutely attribute the DeBell and Souther photographs to the two women is lacking.

In contrast, another Nebraska woman, Agnes Winterbottom Coony, is known to have made an album of cyanotypes now in the Minneapolis Institute of Art. She gave this album as a Christmas present to her sister in 1900.<sup>6</sup> As a skilled amateur in Rulo, Nebraska, Coony captured the appearances of family members, interior and exterior views of her home,



Fig. 1. Ellen Bruner DeBell, 1895. (NSHS-M968-174)

Rulo storefronts, and surrounding rural landscapes in detailed images. The domestic subjects and careful technique of Coony's work recall some of the work of Ellen DeBell.

One would expect that it would be less difficult to document the work of commercial women photographers in Nebraska. This is generally true, but evidence, especially visual evidence, is sparse. Documentation often consists only of a listing in a business directory or census record which yields the photographer's name, town, year, and sometimes the studio address. Similarly, cabinet card photographs may reveal the photographer's name and town. Maximum documentation may consist of a biographical sketch from an obituary or county history. At best, evidence is often ambiguous and problematic.

Some women photographers may have deliberately chosen to use forms of their names which made their sex ambiguous. Those who did so and used only a surname, or a surname and

initial(s), no doubt had reasons. In choosing such a noncommittal form of name, a woman photographer perhaps believed that her work would be appraised more objectively by potential clients, who otherwise might be prejudiced by the photographer's sex. The C. Andreas who photographed the eighth grade class of Gordon, Nebraska, about 1901 (fig. 13) was Clara Andreas, listed in the 1900 census of Sheridan County as a photographer, single, and living with her parents in Gordon.<sup>7</sup> Another photograph by Andreas is a portrait of John Hunt taken about 1912. Both photographs are in the personal collection of Robert W. Buchan, curator of the Sheridan County Historical Society. Although the sex of the photographer cannot be determined from the name on either image, the census record and information from family records which date the pictures all point to the identity of the photographer.

In contrast with Clara Andreas's reticence, the Reynolds sisters of Beat-



*Fig. 3. Three daughters of Dr. E. J. DeBell, whom Ellen married in 1895. (NSHS-M968-182) . . . Fig. 2 (above right). Exterior of DeBell house, Rosebud, South Dakota. (NSHS-M968-204) . . . Fig. 4. Parlor of DeBell House, Rosebud, South Dakota. (NSHS-M968-197)*

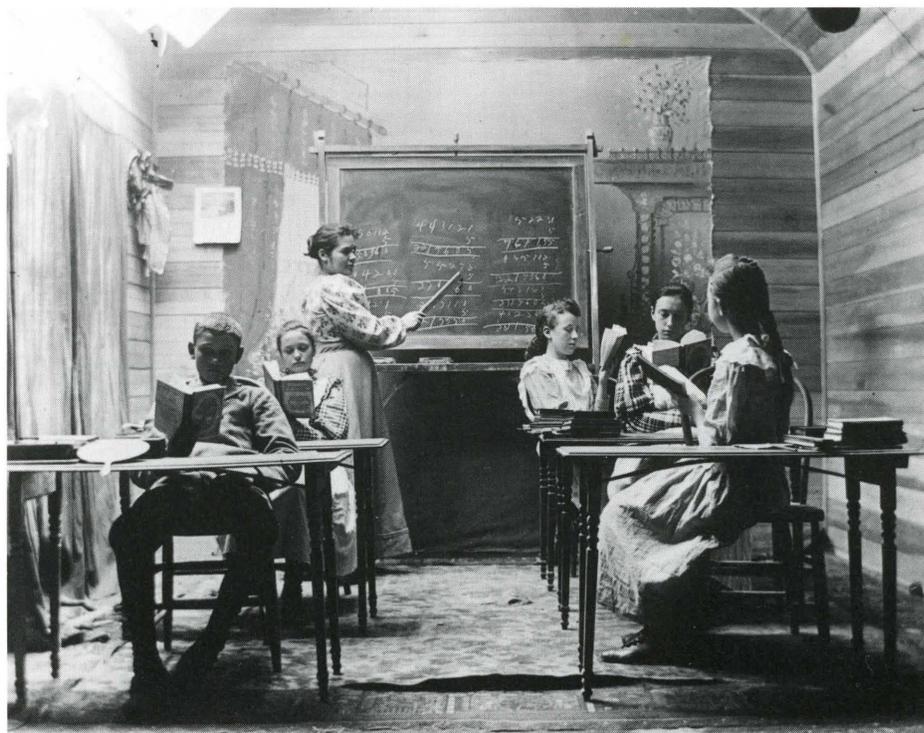
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Figures 5 (NSHS-M968-249, above left) and 6 (NSHS-M968-248). Rosebud Agency, South Dakota . . . . Fig. 7. DeBell (standing) taught school for her two older daughters and other white children. (NSHS-M968-241)



rice appear among photographers listed in the *Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory* for 1894-95. Three photographs at the Nebraska State Historical Society pertain to these sister photographers.<sup>8</sup> Two cabinet cards, portraits of the same young woman identified as Ella Reynolds on the back of each, display slightly different labels. One reads "Reynolds Sisters, Beatrice, Nebraska" (fig. 14), the other simply, "Reynolds Gallery." The third image, a carte de visite of a young woman identified as Nora Reynolds, has no photographer's label. As if to signify her interest in her vocation, Nora holds a volume entitled *Wilson's Quarter Century of Photography*. The photographs themselves are circumstantial evidence to the specific identity of the "Reynolds Sisters." How long they worked as photographers, and the precise dates of these pictures remain unanswered. Nevertheless, the photographs by the Reynolds sisters and Clara Andreas represent some of the better docu-

mented examples found of work by Nebraska women photographers.

Another cabinet card of an unidentified man and woman bears the label of "The Misses Hitchcock, Plattsmouth, Neb" (fig. 15). Whether they were sisters, or the probable date of the photograph, is unknown. No listing for these women appears in business directories or census records.

A group of cabinet cards of unidentified persons (except a portrait of a boy which has "Bert" written on the back) raises some interesting questions (figs. 16-19). Two display the label, "Mrs. Rice-Wilber, Neb.," two simply the surname "Rice-DeWitt, Neb." (a town near Wilber), and two bear the name of "H. B. Rice-DeWitt, Neb." The *Nebraska State Gazetteer* of 1893 includes H. B. Rice in its list of photographers, and the same directory also lists H. B. Rice as a photographer in the town of Western in 1894-95.<sup>9</sup> It is impossible to tell whether "Mrs. Rice" was H. B. Rice, or whether she was in business with a man by that name. No

photographer named Rice appears in the U.S. census for DeWitt or Wilber in 1885, 1900, or 1910. Nor can it be determined whether Mrs. Rice practiced photography not only in Wilber, but also in DeWitt and Western. One question leads to another.

The portrait of the young boy ("Bert") (fig. 16) provides a partial answer to the last question. It displays the label "Mrs. Rice - Wilber and Dewitt, Nebraska." It was not unusual for photographers to practice in more than one town. These photographs bear no further information that might indicate a date more precise than 1888 or later, when the Aristotype process, the "Aristo Finish" on labels of four of the prints, came into use.<sup>10</sup>

The unresolved question of whether Mrs. Rice practiced photography with her husband raises an important issue. A number of women began their photographic careers as assistants to their husbands. Women were commonly employed to do hand-coloring and retouching of negatives in the



*Fig. 8. Branding, Big Red Ranch, Wyoming, 1898. (NSHS-S727-51)*



*Fig. 9. Bundle-cutting thresher, Big Red Ranch, Wyoming, 1898. William Souther (center) holds daughter Susan. His son, Barron, is boy on thresher. (NSHS-S727)*

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photography studios of men.<sup>11</sup> An article in the *Omaha Republican*, February 3, 1879, describes the renovation of E. L. Eaton's Art Studio and Photographic Gallery, and makes specific mention of the fact that Mrs. Eaton "does the delicate work in crayon, ink, and watercolors."<sup>12</sup> Like other photographers with large establishments, Eaton employed women as printers. A. C. Edmunds's book, *Pen Sketches of Nebraskans* published in 1871 and illustrated by Eaton, provides an example. Nine printers, including Miss Lou Davis and Miss Kate Metsker, are listed on a page that gives credit to photographers and other laborers on the book.<sup>13</sup>

Another couple, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Clark, opened a photography studio in Stromsburg in 1895.<sup>14</sup> Both may have practiced photography in nearby Osceola before opening the studio in Stromsburg since C. E. Clark is listed as a photographer in Osceola in 1885, as well as for many years afterwards.<sup>15</sup> Mrs. Clark is listed as a photographer in the *Nebraska State Gazetteer* and other directories for the years 1902-3, 1907, and 1915.<sup>16</sup> According to the centennial history of Stromsburg, she was not merely a proprietress, but a photographer and equal partner in the Clark photography business and ran the studio in Stromsburg until 1937.<sup>17</sup>

A cabinet card bearing the label "Clark - Osceola and Stromsburg, Neb." (fig. 20) could have been taken by Mrs. Clark. This is one of those rare portraits with information inscribed on the back which appears to be contemporaneous with the photograph. The little girl is identified as "Marjorie May Chaffee//Born July 10, 1894," and the photograph was taken in July 1897, well after the Clarks were established in photography studios. One would like to think that Mrs. Clark, like some other women photographers of this time who specialized in portraits of children, made this appealing portrait.

Of the seven photographs taken by, or associated with Mrs. Rice, four are portraits of children, and the remaining

three are of women. In most of these the subject is carefully, but not woodenly, posed. The varied levels of the hands, arms, and supports in the portrait of the young girl in fig. 17 and the subject's direct gaze create an enlivening effect. Instead of showing the older girl in fig. 18 seated frontally, the photographer placed her slightly diagonal to the picture plane. A subtle tension arises from the pose, which has the subject's head, torso, and legs placed diagonally in space, in contrast to the arms inclined at rest on the right. In both cases, the photographer used pose and gaze to create an interesting composition and an effective portrait. Another of Rice's portraits shows a young woman in an unusually expressive pose, her head resting on her arm (fig. 19). This and her serious expression convey a pensive, melancholy effect and reveal skill and sensitivity uncommon in the portrait work of many commercial photographers.

In her book *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America*, C. Jane Gover observes that women photographers tended to specialize in portraits of women and children, other domestic subjects, and flower or genre scenes.<sup>18</sup> More information and examples of these photographers' work would help reveal whether some Nebraska women photographers specialized in certain types of subjects and favored particular approaches to photographing them.

Another photographic partnership of husband and wife was that of R. R. and Faye Graves. After establishing his studio in Chadron, Nebraska, Graves married Faye McManimie, a local resident, in 1909. He trained his wife in the beginning, then sent her to the Illinois College of Photography in Effingham in 1909 and again in 1914.<sup>19</sup> The collection of 1,100 glass plate negatives by the couple, housed in the Reta King Library at Chadron State College, consists of studio portraits, outdoor farm and ranch scenes, and portraits of Indians, children, businessmen, and

students representative of early twentieth century life in northwest Nebraska. Not only do these photographers deserve attention for the quality and scope of their work, but Faye Graves is one of the few female photographers of Nebraska known to have attended a school of photography. In this respect, she is atypical of women photographers in this study.

How did aspiring women photographers who were single or married to men who were not photographers, obtain their training? The experience of Elsie Shannon of Callaway, Nebraska, may be suggestive. After teaching at a country school for five years, she set out, at the age of twenty, to learn the art of photography. On May 16, 1904, she began working with photographer Isaac Brynner at his studio in Callaway and kept a detailed record of her instruction.<sup>20</sup> She then opened her own studio, visible in the background of a Callaway street scene taken by Solomon D. Butcher (cover, fig. 21).

Exactly how long Shannon practiced photography in her own gallery is unknown. She married Vern Shipley of Callaway July 19, 1906, and moved to a farm on Redfern Table not long afterwards. Her career as a photographer ended sometime before her son was born in April 1907.<sup>21</sup> Elsie Shannon Shipley's training with an established photographer, and her brief but seemingly successful career, probably were representative of the experiences of many women photographers in Nebraska. The data gathered so far indicate that women photographers who maintained a studio in the same town or city for a long period were exceptions.

For example, Mrs. M. J. Wyatt is listed as a photographer in Minden in the 1884-85 *Nebraska State Gazetteer*, and similar sources indicate that she continued as a photographer in various towns: Holdrege, 1886-87; Wilcox, 1894-95 and 1902-3; and again in Minden in 1909, 1911, and 1917.<sup>22</sup> Although her peripatetic career is unusual, it indicates the precariousness of the pro-



*Fig. 10 (above). Colville and Hall sheep camp, Glen, Nebraska, 1897. (NSHS-S727-46) . . . Fig. 11. Right half, panorama of Crawford (NSHS-S727-66)*

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Fig. 12. Mabel Souther and her son, Barron, Big Red Ranch, Wyoming, 1898. (NSHS-S727-63)

fession. Many women photographers in this study can be documented in only one source. Some appear in two, a few in two or more. This suggests that many careers were brief. Photography represented an economically risky profession for men too, as John Carter has shown in his fine book on pioneer photographer Solomon D. Butcher.<sup>23</sup>

The preceding examples indicate how fragmentary and incomplete is the historical record, based mostly on business directories and random sampling of census records. Of those women photographers listed in the latter, a large number appear to be single, either daughters residing in parents' households (Clara Andreas), or living independently, a few even working in galleries they established. Census records also reveal some husband-wife teams of photographers, but single women photographers far outnumber them. This mirrors a national pattern noted by C. Jane Gover: "Women photographers mostly remained single and maintained close family ties."<sup>24</sup>

Women photographers in Nebraska faced conditions and problems common to their counterparts in other areas. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some popular magazines and newspapers featured articles on the topic of women entering the field of photography, either as amateurs or professionals. Frances Benjamin Johnston, one of the first women to have her photographs published in major magazines and newspapers, wrote several articles on women and photography. In one entitled, "What a Woman Can Do With a Camera," in an 1897 issue of *Ladies Home Journal*, she gave practical advice to women about becoming a successful photographer. Johnston advocated training through apprenticeship rather than enrollment in one of the few schools of photography in large cities. Such schools, she contended, were designed primarily for amateurs and not intended "to give a thorough and practical training for the business."<sup>25</sup> Opportunities for the kind of training

avored by Johnston did exist in the smaller cities and towns of Nebraska, whereas schools of photography did not. Johnston's writings would have been available to women readers in Nebraska and her advice may have been influential. Her work was broadly known and prompted correspondence from amateur and professional photographers from Massachusetts, New Jersey, Mississippi, and Nebraska!<sup>26</sup>

In the same article Johnston also recommended types of equipment and studio furnishings. Not only did the profession require specialized training, but also an investment of capital sufficient to cover the cost of equipment, furniture, studio and darkroom space. Both requirements made it difficult for women who wanted to enter this highly competitive field.

These conditions may account in part for the geographic distribution of women photographers in Nebraska during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, women practiced photography mainly in the small towns and cities throughout the state. They did not concentrate in the more populous centers of Omaha and Lincoln until later.

In the 1900 census the names of only ten women photographers appeared in Lincoln and Omaha, while twenty-three were listed in smaller communities ranging from Auburn to North Platte and Gordon to Holdrege. That same year approximately thirty-one male photographers were listed in Lincoln and Omaha.

The *Catalog of Nebraska Photographers*, compiled by John E. Carter from the *Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1879-1917, lists the names of approximately 234 men and 84 women photographers as well as many more whose gender cannot be determined.<sup>27</sup> Clearly male photographers outnumbered female photographers, particularly in Lincoln and Omaha. With less capital than their male counterparts, many women photographers in these cities would



Fig. 13. Clara Andreas's photo of eighth grade class, Gordon, Nebraska, 1901-2. Courtesy of Robert W. Buchan.

have found it difficult to compete successfully for a clientele already served by photographic businesses established by men. A woman photographer with limited capital encountered far less competition in Nebraska's smaller cities and towns.

Despite the problems women faced in entering the field, many did so. In the 1900 census some 3,850 women listed their profession as photographer. Given the rather limited options for vocations outside the home, it should not be surprising that a sizeable number turned to photography. The profession offered the opportunity for a relatively independent career that was socially acceptable and widely perceived as artistic. Popular literature of the period conveys equivocal messages

about working women and their place in society. There is implied approval of (and encouragement to) the working woman on the one hand, combined with insistence upon women's traditional nurturing and domestic roles on the other. Photography offered some women the attractive possibility of combining "domesticity with a profession," for it was possible to begin learning and working at home.<sup>28</sup>

The notion of photography as an artistic profession had also gained wide acceptance by the turn of the century. This artistic aspect lent the profession a special appeal and acceptability to American women. Frances Johnston's articles, "The Foremost Women Photographers in America," published as a series in the *Ladies Home Journal*

in 1901, promoted the work of her contemporaries and underscored the artistic aspect of the medium, an important attraction to women whose involvement in artistic endeavors had a tradition of social acceptance.<sup>29</sup>

In Nebraska too, women played an important role in supporting and developing the arts, notably as artists and early art instructors at the University of Nebraska, and as founding members of the Haydon Art Club, forerunner of the Nebraska Art Association.<sup>30</sup> One Nebraska woman photographer, Miss N.D. Stewart of Lincoln, emphasized the artistic aspect of her work when she identified herself as a "Photo Artist" in an advertisement offering "Pictures enlarged and all kinds of work in her line artistically executed."<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 14. Ella Reynolds, ca. 1894-95. The photo is labeled "Reynolds Sisters, Beatrice, Nebraska." (NSHS-G488-138)

Not surprisingly, one finds few statements which address how male photographers viewed the entry of women into their profession, nor would one expect a consensus of opinion. Well before Frances Benjamin Johnston began her career, photographer John H. Fitzgibbon expressed his enlightened views in a January 1877 issue of his journal *The St. Louis Photographer*:

To the ladies in the profession, we would say, don't be bashful, for we believe in Woman [sic] Rights in so far as they are right, and shall be at all times most happy to let the world know that some things are as good as others even if woman has a hand in it.<sup>32</sup>

This photographer also entrusted his wife to oversee the operation of his photographic gallery in the late 1870s when he embarked on a new career as a writer, editor, and publisher.<sup>33</sup> In contrast Sadakichi Hartmann, well known art and photography critic, persisted in identifying women with their traditional domestic role and resented their intrusion into photography. Alfred Steiglitz, on the other hand, encouraged and effectively assisted several women

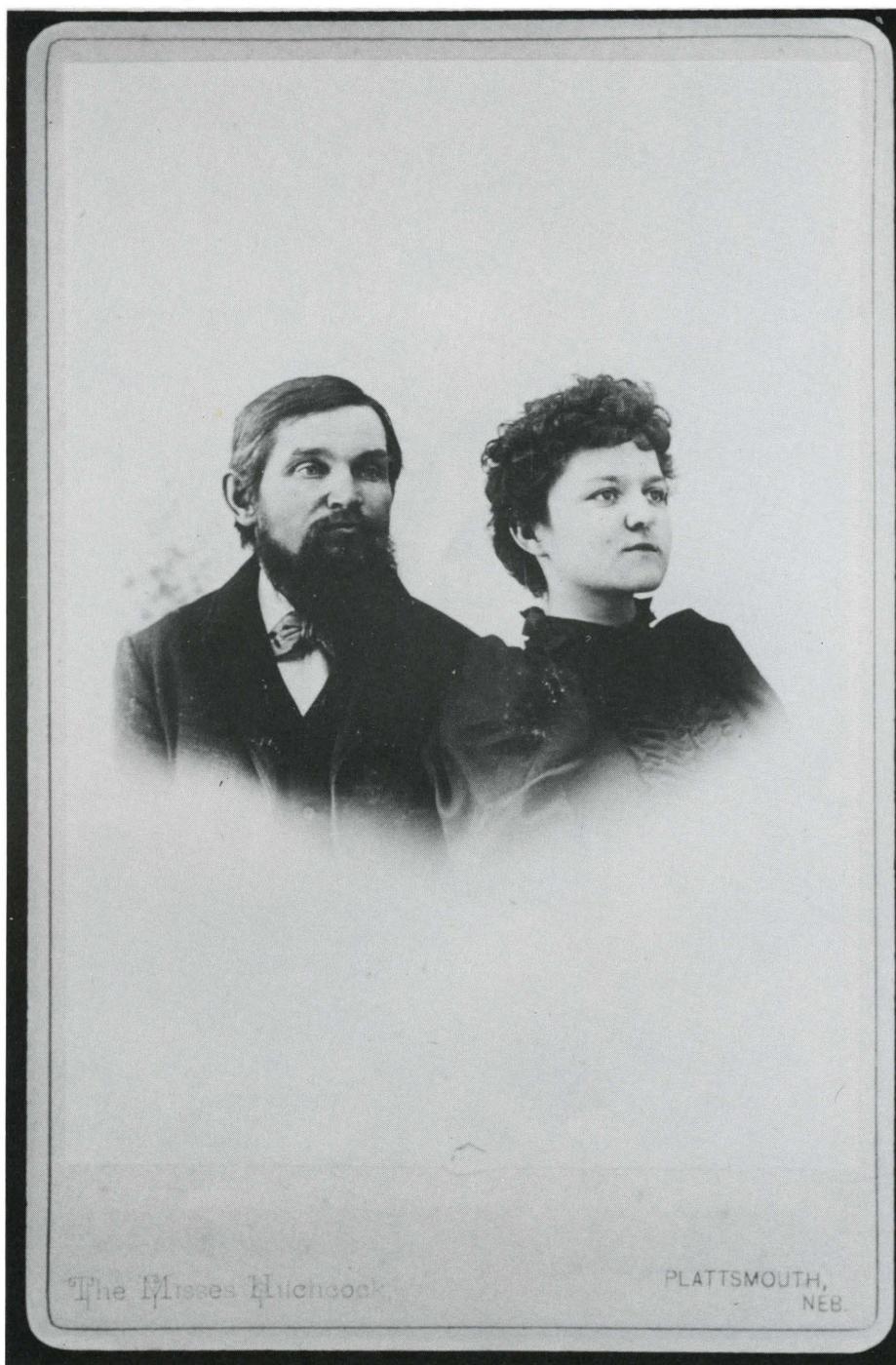


Fig. 15. Cabinet card labeled "The Misses Hitchcock, Plattsmouth, Neb." Courtesy of author.



Fig. 16 (left). "Bert," 1893-95, by "Mrs. Rice." (NSHS-E462-F3) . . . Figures 17 (above), 18 (above right), and 19 (right). Additional portraits by "H. B. Rice." Courtesy of author.

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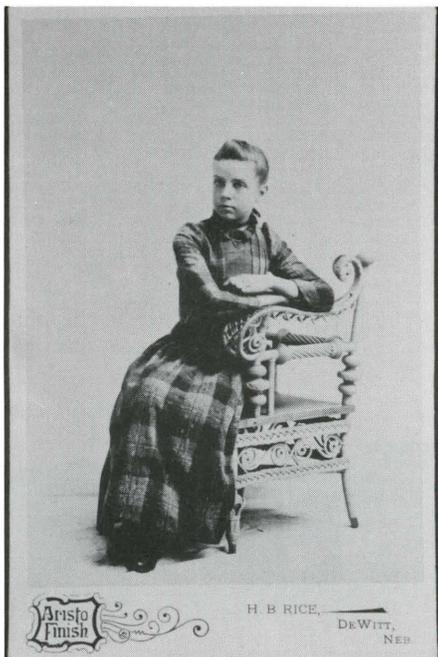


Fig. 20. Marjorie May Chaffee, by "Clark, Osceola and Stromsburg, Neb." July 1897. Courtesy of author.

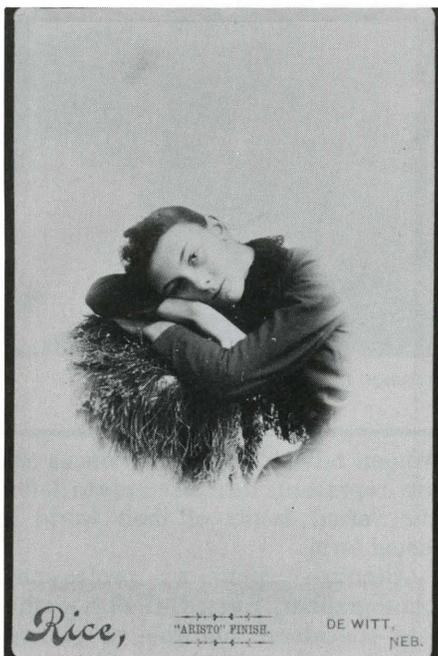




Fig. 21. Callaway, 1907, with photographer Elsie Shannon's studio visible on the right. Photo by Solomon D. Butcher. (NSHS-B983-3448)

photographers in their careers.<sup>34</sup>

The question of whether work by the women photographers studied here can be distinguished from that of their male counterparts remains unresolved. Although women working as professional photographers in Nebraska probably completed much the same range of assignments as men, examples found so far consist mainly of portraits of women and children, a trend observed nationally during the same period. Some examples reveal a sensitive approach and skill, as seen in some of the portraits associated with Mrs. Rice

and the portrait by the Clark Studio. Subjects photographed by amateurs Ellen Bruner DeBell and Mabel McIntosh Souther also coincide with trends noted nationally by Gover — women photographers' preference for subjects such as family members and domestic scenes. The work of both DeBell and Souther, however, reflects successful efforts to document life beyond the immediate domestic sphere — in Souther's panorama of Crawford and scenes of varied ranch work and in DeBell's pictures of Sioux Indians at Rosebud. Certainly the work of these

women reflects their experiences and also represents their attempts to define the varied facets of their world in visual terms.

Although not a professional photographer, Ellen DeBell nonetheless considered her role as photographer an important one, as the picture in fig. 1 shows. Holding the cable from her camera, she appears ready to release the shutter and make an exposure. She presents herself symbolically in the act of photographing. Though we may never know her precise intention in posing for this portrait, she

has asserted her identity as a photographer. This picture could also be emblematic of the aspirations of other women photographers represented in this study.

The examples have shown some of the ways in which the experience and work of women photographers may have differed from those of men. The need to compile more information on these and other women in the field continues — not only to further illuminate these differences, but to assess the contributions made by women to the photographic history of Nebraska.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This represents a conservative estimate based primarily on listings of photographers in the *Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, Nebraska census records, and other sources spanning the years 1879-1917.

<sup>2</sup>In addition to the Munroe photograph collection, see MS3589, Bruner Family Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society. Inscriptions consisting of "Ellen Bruner," "Mrs. DeBell," "Rosebud Scenes," and lists of views corresponding to the photographs in the Munroe collection were found on boxes for dry plate negatives in the Bruner Collection.

<sup>3</sup>Born near Omaha in 1868, Ellen Bruner grew up in West Point, Nebraska, attended the University of Nebraska, and graduated from the Bagnell School of Music before going to Rosebud, South Dakota, in the fall of 1893. She married Dr. E. J. DeBell in 1895 and the family moved back to West Point in 1909. See obituary in *Cuming County Democrat*, Jan. 9, 1936.

<sup>4</sup>*Compendium of History, Reminiscence, and Biography of Western Nebraska, Containing a History of Western Nebraska* (Chicago: 1909), 425. See first page of record of donation of Miss Mabel Souther to Nebraska State Historical Society, May 15, 1962. The camera and photographic equipment are in the Society's museum. The photographs are in the Society's photographic collections.

<sup>5</sup>Souther donor record. Mabel Graham McIntosh married William Souther in 1892. Their daughter, Mabel Souther, donated the photographs.

<sup>6</sup>Sylvia Paine, "Once Upon a Time In Nebraska," *Arts*, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 12 (Apr. 1989), 8-11.

<sup>7</sup>U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Census of Nebraska, 1900, Village of Gordon, Nebraska, E. D. 178, Sheet 5, Line 54.

<sup>8</sup>*Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1894-95, 880; Cabinet cards G488-122, G488-138; Carte de Visite, G488-123, Nebraska State Historical Society.

<sup>9</sup>*Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1893, 773; 1894-95, 882.

<sup>10</sup>Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth, *Collection, Use, and Care of Historical Photographs* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977), 210.

<sup>11</sup>Peter Palmquist, "Photographers in Petticoats," *Journal of the West*, 22(April 1982):64.

<sup>12</sup>*Omaha Republican*, Feb. 3, 1879.

<sup>13</sup>A. C. Edmunds, *Pen Sketches of Nebraskans* (Lincoln: 1871), n.p.

<sup>14</sup>*Stromsburg 1872-1972: A Centennial Book of the Swede Capital of Nebraska* (Stromsburg: 1972), 269.

<sup>15</sup>*Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1902-3, 836; 1909, 1201; 1911, 1242; 1913, 1239; 1915, 1283; and 1917, 1242.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 1902-3, 838; 1915, 1284; *Nebraska Business Directory*, 1907, 1447.

<sup>17</sup>*Stromsburg 1872-1972*, 269.

<sup>18</sup>C. Jane Gover, *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America* (Albany, NY: 1988), 107-12.

<sup>19</sup>Information sheet on the Graves Collection, Reta King Library, Chadron State College, Chadron, NE.

<sup>20</sup>Copy of notebook by Elsie Shannon, "Property of Elsie Shannon//Photography//Beginning May 16, 1904 Callaway, Neb." furnished to the author by Wayne D. Shipley.

<sup>21</sup>Letters from Wayne D. Shipley to author, Feb. 9, 1984; Mar. 24, 1984.

<sup>22</sup>*Wolfe's Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1884-85, 603; *Nebraska State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1886-87, 636; 1893, 774; 1902-3, 838; *Nebraska Business Directory*, 1907, 1446.

<sup>23</sup>John E. Carter, *Photographing the American Dream* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 3-9.

<sup>24</sup>Gover, *The Positive Image*, 45.

<sup>25</sup>Frances Benjamin Johnston, "What A Woman Can Do with a Camera," *Ladies Home Journal*, 14 (Sept. 1897), 6.

<sup>26</sup>Gover, *The Positive Image*, 56.

<sup>27</sup>In addition to the eighty-four women photographers in John E. Carter's *Catalog of Nebraska Photographers*, unpublished (Nebraska State Historical Society, 1988), names of fifty-nine other women photographers have been compiled by the author mainly from Nebraska census records. Evidence of work by women photographers not documented in written sources (Mrs. Rice, the Misses Hitchcock) has been collected by the author.

<sup>28</sup>Gover, *The Positive Image*, 20.

<sup>29</sup>Frances Benjamin Johnston, "The Foremost Women Photographers in America," *Ladies Home Journal*, 18(November 1901):13.

<sup>30</sup>See *Nebraska Art and Artists*, ed. by Clarissa Bucklin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1932), 15-22, 27-53, 68, for biographical information on women artists.

<sup>31</sup>*Western Women's Journal*, 1(May 1881), 31.

<sup>32</sup>Bonnie Wright, "This Perpetual Shadow-Taking: The Lively Art of John H. Fitzgibbon," *Missouri Historical Review* 76(October 1981):27.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>Gover, *The Positive Image*, 26, 86-103.