

Art, Reproduction and Reportage: Roger Fenton's Crimean Photographs

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Despite the acknowledgement of Roger Fenton (1819–69) as a significant Victorian artistic photographer, the photographs he took in 1855 during the Crimean War have been described as ‘propaganda’ intended to ‘counteract the negative depiction of the campaign in *The Times*.¹ With Fenton considered a Government stooge, it is, perhaps, not surprising that historians of photography have found the Crimean photographs difficult to incorporate into Fenton's story. Noted authorities on Fenton have suggested that Prince Albert (1819–61) may have had a role in commissioning the photographs or that the publisher Thomas Agnew and Sons was instructed to send a photographer to the Crimea to produce images intended to counteract the contemporary criticism of the war.²

A careful study of the visual sources as well as letters written by Roger Fenton, however, provides clear evidence that Agnew and Sons provided Fenton with a very specific commercial and artistic brief: to provide photographs to serve as studies for the painting by Thomas Jones Barker (1815–1882), *The Allied Generals with the Officers of Their Respective Staffs before Sebastopol* (1856) (Figure 8.1). The publisher also organized exhibitions of Fenton's Crimean photographs, which were staged in twenty-two British cities between 1855 and 1856. With these exhibitions reportedly visited by 2 million people in Britain, Agnew and Sons earned a substantial sum of money from admission fees and catalogue sales. Fenton's Crimean photographs participated in a visual culture in which works of fine art, the purchase of art reproductions and access to photographic images were inseparable from the public's knowledge of the war through reportage in the press.³

The Crimean War 1853–6

The Ottoman Empire declared war on Russia on 4 October 1853, and Britain and France joined the Ottomans in March 1854. As the campaign in the Crimean Peninsula continued, reports of the sufferings of British troops became harder to ignore, particularly as winter set in, and there was sustained criticism of the senior

military leadership. News of the war was reported daily in papers and magazines. There was little censorship at the time – reports came in from accredited journalists, such as William Howard Russell (1820–1907) for *The Times*; soldiers wrote letters for publication and observers or visitors to the battlefield published their own accounts. Many of these reports concentrated on the experiences of the ordinary soldier, suffering unnecessarily due to poor leadership in battle and poor logistical management in general. These reports began to change popular attitudes towards the war, although support for the ordinary soldier remained strong. The Poet Laureate, Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809–92), wrote *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1854) as a response to Russell's article in *The Times* describing this charge in the Battle of Balaklava. Russell's reports undoubtedly contributed to the fall of Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen's government in early 1855. The new political administration set about trying to improve conditions for the troops. By the time Fenton arrived on 8 March 1855 in Balaklava, where the British army was based, supplies were starting to arrive more frequently. The weather was also improving. The war Fenton experienced was quite different from the one fought the previous year.

Fenton's commission to take photographs in the Crimea

It is no surprise that Agnew and Sons turned to Fenton as the best and most appropriate photographer to work in the Crimea. Fenton had made photographs in Russia in 1852, when political tensions with Britain were rising. His photographs from this expedition were exhibited in Britain the same year and annually until the end of the Crimean War in 1856. *The Illustrated London News* published wood-engraved reproductions of Fenton's 1852 Russian photographs in the early months of the Crimean conflict, closely connecting Fenton's photographs with current events in their reader's minds.⁴ Fenton received his commission from Agnew and Sons in the autumn of 1854, but did not leave Britain until 20 February 1855. The letters Fenton wrote to his wife Grace and to Thomas and William Agnew, the commissioning agents, make the terms of his photographic commission clear.⁵ The Agnews asked Fenton to produce portraits of most of the senior officers and significant individuals, topographical subjects and photographic compositions of figures and groups—compositions which evoked situations in which the troops were placed at the scene. Fenton described his task in his letters as obtaining 'pictures of the persons & subjects likely to be historically interesting'.⁶ Whilst little direction about the choice of the topographical subjects was given, Fenton clearly had more instruction regarding the portraits. In the letters he expresses concerns over his ability to photograph everyone required for the commission, including the Duke of Cambridge and Sir John Fox Burgoyne, who had left the Crimea before Fenton arrived, and whom Fenton photographed after he returned to Britain in July 1855.⁷

Whilst there was clearly an agreement for Fenton's work to be put on public display when he returned to Britain, Agnew and Sons also commissioned Thomas Jones Barker to produce a large oil painting around the subject of the allied assault on Sevastopol. The painter was expected to include in the painting as many of the senior military

figures as possible, along with other notable individuals. Barker was to copy and incorporate Fenton's photographs into his painting in order to get the best likeness of each person. For *The Allied Generals with the Officers of Their Respective Staffs before Sebastopol* (Figure 8.1) Barker copied as many as fifty of Fenton's photographs. The visual evidence of the painting makes it clear that Barker copied some figures exactly; for other individuals, the painter combined two or more photographs, sometimes using one person's head with another person's body. Occasionally he copied entire groups, such as those in the Fenton photograph, *The 8th Hussars Cooking Hut*, transposed almost directly from the photograph into the lower left corner of the painting (although omitting the woman at the back of the group). Barker also copied Fenton's *Wounded Zouave and Vivandière*, inverting its composition and placing it at the lower right of the painting (Figure 8.2).⁸ A comparison of Barker's painting with Fenton's photographs also reveals that the figure of Florence Nightingale in the former was based on Fenton's study of another woman, Fanny Duberley, a telling indication that Barker did not treat Fenton's photographic study as an inviolate document, at least for portraits of women.

Barker was particularly known as a painter of contemporary historical scenes. Working with Agnew and Sons and other printsellers, he achieved commercial success through the sales of the copyright and the graphic reproductions of his works, usually following their public exhibition.⁹ Barker displayed a painting with the expectation that visitors would purchase a printed reproduction: sales of the prints were expected to make money, not the sale of the painting. This procedure meant that commissioning the original subject and acquiring the copyright for its graphic reproduction were paramount. It was reported at the time that Agnew and Sons spent £10,000 on Fenton's Crimea commission.¹⁰ The publisher's commission of photographic studies for Barker's painting goes some way to explaining why Fenton photographed certain individuals in different poses.



Figure 8.1 Thomas Jones Barker, *The Allied Generals with the Officers of Their Respective Staffs before Sebastopol*, 1856, oil on canvas, 64.5 × 14.1 cm. (25.4 × 5.6 in). Private Collection, London. Reproduced with permission of Sotheby's.



Figure 8.2 Roger Fenton, *Wounded Zouave and Vivandiere*, 5 May 1855, albumen silver print, 17.4 × 13.1 cm. Royal Collection, RCIN 2500401. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

For example, Fenton photographed Omar Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman troops, General Péliissier, the commander-in-chief of the French troops, and General Bosquet, a corps commander, all in the same way: seated in a three-quarters pose and in profile on horseback. We can infer that the Agnews may have instructed Fenton to photograph the most senior officers on horseback, as this is how the officers appear in his photographs and how they appear in Barker's painting. The Barker commission is evidence of the artistic imperatives behind Fenton's production of many of his images in the Crimea. In addition to portraits of individual sitters, Fenton produced several group portraits. These groups focus particularly on the soldiers of the regiments

who had participated in the Light Brigade charge, presumably because the publisher anticipated greater public interest in these men following the immense fame of their action. In Britain, the public narrative of the war already saw the Chargers as heroes. A number of Fenton's groups also included non-combatants, including women, known, respectively, in England and in France, as sutlers and *vivandières*, helping with cooking, laundry, general supplies and first aid.¹¹

Fenton photographed the personal servants, described as 'Nubians', who accompanied some of the senior officers, and the locals who helped with construction work and other menial tasks, including men referred to as 'Croats' and 'Tartars.' The number of these portraits of 'types' is more than would perhaps be expected, suggesting Fenton's personal interest in the subject matter; also there is both photographic and artistic precedent for concentrating on the non-combatants in depictions of warfare. The 'exotic' Zouaves and non-European men had been subject matter for artists depicting India and the Middle East for several decades as part of a broader colonial Orientalist project.¹² The Zouaves had gained a reputation for bravery during the war and became favourite studies for artists. They appear in various media from grand oil paintings to a private sketch made by Queen Victoria (1819–1901).¹³ Fenton may have thought the subject matter would appeal to Barker as well as his potential customers.

Agnew's exhibitions of Fenton's photographs

Whilst Barker was selecting Fenton's photographs to use as studies for his painting, Agnew and Sons was mounting an impressive series of exhibitions of the photographs. The dedicated display of the photographs had been part of Fenton's commission from the onset of the project. The publisher opened the first exhibition of Fenton's photographs in London in September 1855, with 280 photographs displayed in the Gallery of the Water Colour Society, Pall Mall, London. Over the next year this exhibition was followed by at least twenty-six different more in locations across Britain, from Glasgow to Exeter. Some exhibitions ran concurrently, so several sets of the Fenton's photographs were required. Each venue had its own printed catalogue and, whilst small changes in the selection of photographs were made among some venues, each exhibition was essentially the same. Agnew and Sons published the majority of the photographs in 1855, using card mounts with letterpress captions giving photographer and publisher credits. Some photographs, including those portraits Fenton took in Britain, were published later, with the last batch appearing on 12 May 1856. Fenton's letters to Thomas Agnew suggest that they were thinking about publicity in advance of the exhibitions in Britain, and Fenton urged him to start making engravings straight away.¹⁴

Exhibition catalogues, which accompanied every show, contained an order form and price list for visitors to buy a selection of works. Photographs could be acquired singly or in groups and were priced according to their significance. The most expensive photographs, at £1/1/0, were *The Valley of the Shadow of Death*, *The Council of War* and *Tombs of the Generals on Cathcart's Hill*.¹⁵ News of the fall of Sevastopol in early September 1855 was reported at roughly the same time that Fenton's photographs first

went on display in London, and the long-awaited victory would have given particular significance to *The Council of War* as it purported to show the three commanders of the allied armies planning the final assault on Sevastopol (Figure 8.3). The three men thus came to represent the victory of the alliance.

Concurrently with the exhibitions, Fenton's photographs also received significant attention in *The Illustrated London News*. Even whilst Fenton was in the Crimea, his commission had been discussed and anticipated in the press. Portraits of significant



Figure 8.3 Roger Fenton, *The Council of War*. Lord Raglan, Omar Pasha and General Pelissier, June 1855, albumen silver print, 19.1 × 15.8 cm. Royal Collection, RCIN 2500527. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

officers, by Fenton and others, were popular subjects for engravings, as were scenes from Fenton's expedition. *The Illustrated London News* reproduced an image of his photographic van, with his assistant Marcus Sparling, in November 1855, and a group portrait, *Croats*, the following month.¹⁶ The vivid and graphic reporting of the war in *The Illustrated London News* led to a significant increase in its readership, and the inclusion of engravings after Fenton's photographs was undoubtedly part of this success, raising circulation by 50,000 to 200,000 copies sold each week.¹⁷ This, along with the extraordinary public attendance at the exhibitions, makes it clear that the public responded strongly to Fenton's images of the war.

By March 1856, it was being reported that 2 million visitors had seen one of Fenton's exhibitions somewhere in Britain.¹⁸ The visiting public responded enthusiastically to Fenton's work, and reviews published across the country were uniformly positive. Evidence in some reviews of the tour of Fenton's work suggests that the public found the experience of viewing the photographs as both informative and extremely emotional. Their emotional response is, perhaps, surprising, but the public brought to their experience of viewing the photographs an exceptionally sound knowledge of the war, from over a year's worth of newspaper reports consisting of detailed and distressing stories of death, injury and destruction. This was acknowledged in the press at the time—the audience for the exhibitions was described as being 'well prepared by reading'.¹⁹ Contemporary reviews noted, particularly, the emotional pull of *The Valley of the Shadow of Death*, with one reviewer writing that the photograph was 'a reminiscence that will draw forth many a silent tear'.²⁰

With their knowledge of the war, the Victorian viewers to the exhibitions did not need narrative nor action scenes in the photographs, as these events existed already in the viewer's imagination. Rather, exhibitions of Fenton's works provided visitors the opportunity to engage with the photographs as images of a real, but also imaginative space, into which they could project collective narratives of the war, based upon what they had read. Viewing *The Valley of the Shadow of Death*, which depicts only a ravine with scattered round shot, a visitor could populate the scene depicted in the photograph with their own images of the conflict that had occurred on this site. The title, a phrase from Psalm 23, prompted contemplation of the line between life and death. Many of Fenton's landscapes of views across the plains towards the besieged city of Sevastopol present bleak and empty spaces. He captured the desolation of war in these photographs by leaving the scenes unoccupied, save for 1 or 2 military figures. The photograph of the cemetery on Cathcart's Hill, a depiction of the impact and legacy of battle, shows only a solitary figure positioned contemplating the hastily erected grave markers. In contrast, *The Council of War* is a strong depiction of the leaders of the three main allied nations working together to defeat a common enemy.

Some reviewers of the exhibitions felt that many of the portraits in the exhibition were problematic. One reviewer in Liverpool commented, 'The portraits are generally the least satisfactory class.'²¹ The photographic invitation to a viewer's imaginative projection worked well, however, when a portrait could be read within the dominant narrative of the war, which characterized the conflict as one of great suffering and great bravery. An example is the portrait of Lord Balgonie (1831–57), an officer in the Grenadier Guards (Figure 8.4). The portrait, which has been described as the first photograph of shellshock, is roughly composed, with a sheet half-pulled across the

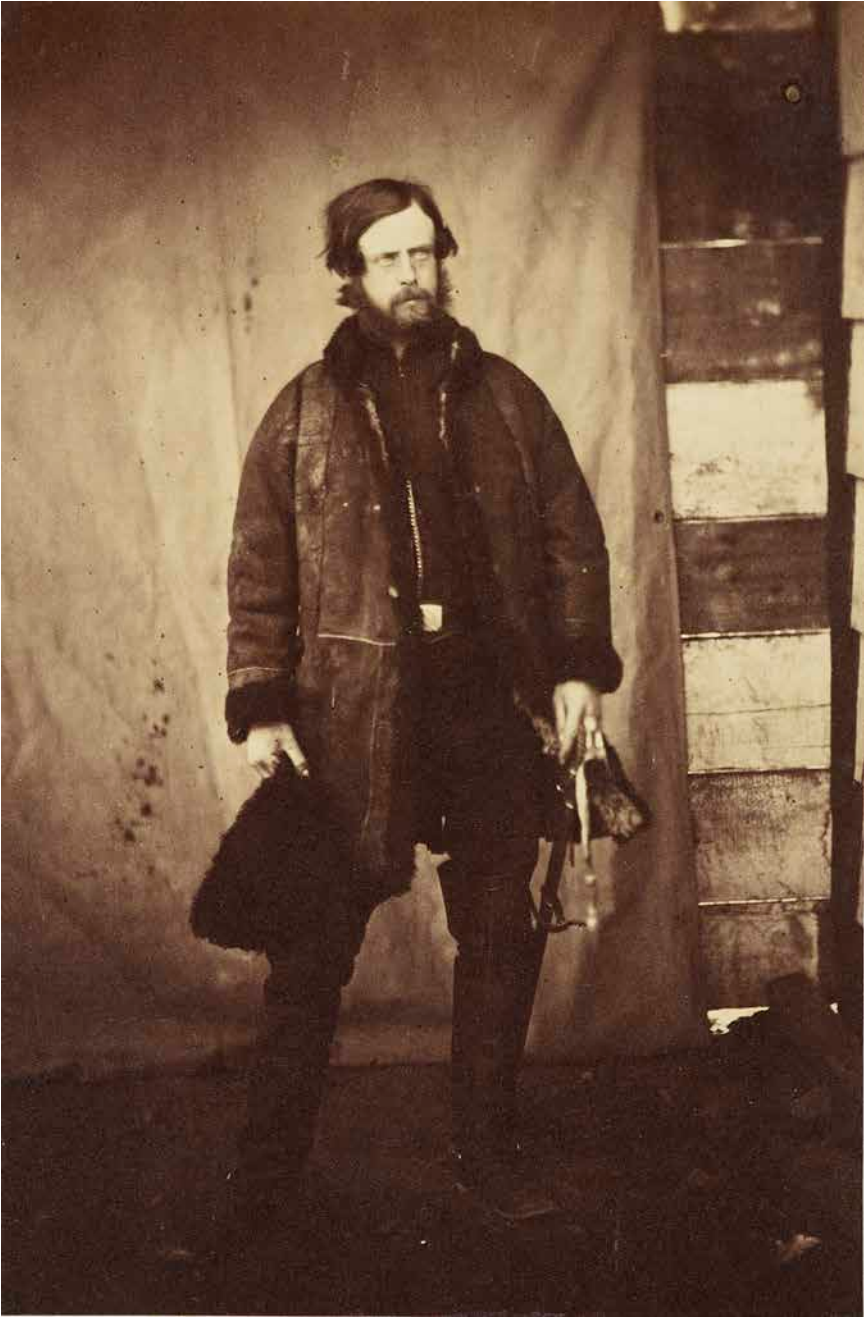


Figure 8.4 Roger Fenton, *Lord Balgonie*, 1855, albumen silver print, 17.7 × 11.7 cm. Royal Collection, RCIN 2500273. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

back of the wall, in front of which Balgonie stands, staring blankly into the distance.²² Wooden planks are revealed behind him, suggesting a temporary structure built because of the conflict. His disheveled appearance and pose suggests he has recently stepped off the battlefield. (His premature death in 1857 was attributed to the hardships of the war.²³) Fenton included Balgonie's portrait in all of the exhibitions of his photographs across Britain, a decision which suggests that he felt this photograph had something to contribute to the debates about the war and the impact that the conflict had on returning veterans.

The reception of Fenton's Crimean photographs

Whilst the audience for Fenton's photographic exhibitions was significant, such high visitor figures did not translate into sales of his work to the public. In December 1856 Agnew and Sons sold the wet collodion glass negatives and remaining photographic prints to their rivals, Paul and Dominic Colnaghi & Co. Very soon Fenton's photographs were on sale at a much-reduced price.²⁴ The publisher's decision could have concerned their promotion of Barker's painting, completed that year. Agnew and Sons had already made a large profit from admission fees to the exhibitions of Fenton's photographs. It is possible that public interest in the tour had run its course. It is in the subsequent translation of paintings – based on Fenton's photographs – into graphic versions that we begin to see how the negotiated veracity of the photographs and the imaginative space that they could create for a viewer at an exhibition became problematic after the conclusion of the war.

Exhibition halls provided a public space where an audience could gather to think about the war through viewing a sequence of images, in the company of others who were also affected by the events. When translated into engravings, the photographs lost some of their immediacy, but they also became easier to consume. A good example of this is the transformation undergone by Fenton's *The Council of War*, the group portrait of the three commanders, on display when news of the allied victory arrived in Britain. The photograph quickly became one of the most commented upon of all his Crimean works, with even Queen Victoria singling out this image in her journal.²⁵ Augustus Egg, another prominent history painter, produced a painting after Fenton's photograph of *The Council of War*. Egg's painting was exhibited in 1856 at Graves's Gallery in London.²⁶ Egg departed from Fenton's photographic image in several ways, most significantly in changing the position of General Pélissier into a more dynamic one, with Omar Pasha looking up admiringly at him. This depiction of Ottoman deference to Pélissier was suited to the contemporary narrative which described Pélissier as the main force in the allied successes in June 1855, which led to the conclusion of the war. Egg also added figures in the background and a glimpse of the regimental encampments, placing the figures securely in a military setting. Egg and Barker's transformation of Fenton's photographs allowed subtle changes to be made which aided the public's reception of the works. Perhaps the graphic content of the photographs and their emotional affect were too much for the Victorian public to desire to purchase Fenton's photographs of the front and view them within a domestic setting. The war had been traumatic at home as well as at the front, with a particular

focus on the conditions in Britain of the returning wounded soldiers in photographs, prints and paintings.²⁷ It is also possible that the photographs were too ambiguous to deliver a clear message to the public, and Egg added more detail to make the message of the scene clearer.

The appeal of the subject of *The Council of War* was clear, given that it was symbolic of the allied victory. The mezzotint reproduction of Egg's painting is significantly larger than Fenton's photograph (Figure 8.5). If the number of surviving prints available

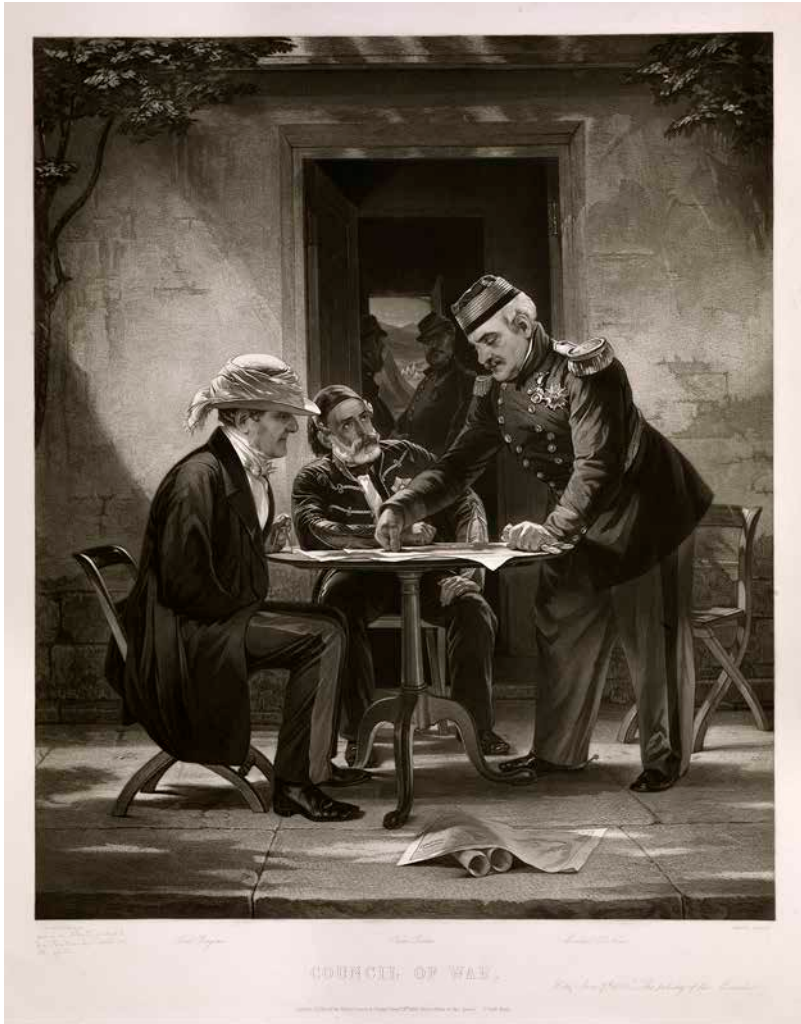


Figure 8.5 Samuel Bellin, after Augustus Egg, after Roger Fenton, *Council of War*, 1857, mixed media mezzotint, 74.7 × 60.3 cm (plate). Royal Collection, RCIN 661975. Royal Collection Trust/ © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

today is any indication of the success of Egg's work, the mezzotint reproduction was hugely popular. As with Barker's painting and its subsequent reproductive prints, the connection of these images with Fenton's photograph was not hidden. The importance of truthfulness for recent events was paramount and for the Victorian public the link to photography guaranteed this, but Egg's representation of Fenton's photograph repositions it securely within the public narrative of the war already being established through the multiple written accounts and images appearing in the public domain. Additionally, the larger size probably made the work more attractive as an object for framing and display.

Taking into account both the popularity of the exhibitions of Fenton's work and the transformation of his photographs into woodcuts, paintings and engravings, it is clear that the Victorian public were prepared to accept multiple visual contexts simultaneously for his photographs: as war reportage; as emotional and poetic reflections upon the war; commentary on the heroism of the individuals presented; as 'truthful' source material for other artists. Today, to understand Fenton's Crimean photographs, we need a less rigid approach to categorizing them as reportage, produced by an artistically innovative photographer. With a greater willingness to see Fenton's Crimean photographs not just as finished works, but also as interim studies which can undergo transformation through context and reproduction, we can develop more nuanced understandings within this remarkable group of photographs. Clearly the relationship between photography and art in the 1850s was closely knit, and seen as not only acceptable but entirely beneficial by the Victorian audiences.

I am immensely grateful for the contribution of Louise Pearson who worked with me on Fenton in 2016–17 and painstakingly cross-referenced Fenton's photographs with Barker's painting.

Notes

- 1 Orlando Figes, *Crimea* (London: Penguin Book, 2010), 308. Figes is not alone in interpreting Fenton's work in this way, but he is perhaps the most influential writer to do so.
- 2 See a summary of previous discussions of Fenton's Crimean work in Gordon Baldwin, Malcolm Daniel and Sarah Greenough, (eds) *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852–1860* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), 17–24, 205, 223.
- 3 Some of this evidence has been implied, but the various threads have not previously been gathered together. See Helmut Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton Photographer of the Crimean War* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1954) and Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 2001). *Belfast Newsletter*, 31 March 1856, 2, 'The pictures have received the marked approval of Her Majesty, and have been visited by more than two millions of persons in the various towns where they were exhibited.'
- 4 For example, *The Illustrated London News*, 'Russian Peasants, from a photograph by Fenton', 4 February 1854, 88.

- 5 Transcripts of all the surviving letters are at www.rogerfenton.dmu.ac.uk. The website is the source of all the letters cited here.
- 6 Letter from Roger Fenton to William Agnew, 18–20 May 1855.
- 7 Fenton expresses concerns or implies this in several letters, for example, in the letter from Roger Fenton to William Agnew, 9 April 1855: 'It will take me longer than I calculated to get through my work here.'
- 8 See Sophie Gordon, *Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea, 1855* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2017), 66–7, for other examples of photographs which have been incorporated into Barker's painting.
- 9 The evidence of surviving engravings and their public sale listed in newspapers and journals presents a clear pattern of the commission of a painting followed by the sale of its engraved version. There was a similar commission from Agnew's to Barker for another Crimean painting (*General Williams and his staff leaving Kars*, oil on canvas, 1857) which resulted in an almost identical situation: an engraving was issued in June 1857, following the exhibition of the painting in London, alongside *The Allied Generals*. Barker does not appear to have used photographs as source material for the Kars painting, but a reviewer in *The Illustrated London News* still criticized the work for being 'too much like a photograph'. See Peter Harrington, 'The Defence of Kars: Paintings by William Simpson and Thomas Jones Barker', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 69, no. 277 (Spring 1991): 22–8.
- 10 *Bristol Mercury*, 'Fenton's War Picture', 15 March 1856, 5; Geoffrey Agnew, *Agnew's, 1817–1967* (London: The Bradbury Agnew Press Ltd., 1967), 67.
- 11 Fenton's photographs of the royal children, taken in 1854, had also been used as a source material by the artist Carl Haag (1820–1915), who produced watercolour portraits of the photographs as a gift for Queen Victoria. Whilst Barker was not unique in copying from numerous photographs in his painting, he probably was one of the few artists to base his entire work on photographic evidence alone. The *Allied Generals before Sebastopol* may mark a new imperative as regards expectations of actuality in painterly commemorations of actual events. This imperative may be at work in Agnew and Sons's decision to publish *Key Plate to the Painting 'Allied Generals before Sebastopol'* (lithograph, 18 May 1859), which included the phrase 'Painted by T. J. Barker Esq. K.L.H. from Photographs and Sketches taken in the Crimea expressly for this picture by Roger Fenton Esq.' The *Key Plate* identified every person in the painting and named a few of the more significant topographical features. Perhaps the mention of Fenton in the *Key Plate* is an indication of the strength of Fenton's reputation at this time. It is probable that anyone interested in purchasing the *Key Plate* or visiting the painting on display would also have been familiar with Fenton's war photographs from *The Illustrated London News*.
- 12 See, for example, Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, (eds) *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013); Mary Anne Stevens, ed. *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse: European Painters in North Africa and the Near East* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1984).
- 13 Two examples of this are an oil painting by Émile-Jean Horace Vernet, *Zouaves at the Malakoff* (oil on canvas, 1856, RCIN 406470), which Queen Victoria gave to Prince Albert in 1857, and the Queen's own sketches of Zouaves guarding the royal palace in Paris, made on 23 August 1855 (pencil and watercolour, RCIN 980029.cz).
- 14 Letter from Roger Fenton to William Agnew, 18–20 May 1855.
- 15 Thomas Agnew and Sons, *Exhibition of Photographic Pictures taken in the Crimea, by Roger Fenton, Esq.* (London: Thomas Brettell, 1855). This first edition of the

exhibition catalogue from 1855 did not contain the notices from the press which were included in subsequent editions.

- 16 *The Illustrated London News*, 'Mr Fenton's Photographic Van – From the Crimean Exhibition', 17 November 1855, 557. *The Illustrated London News*, 'Croats: from a photograph by R. Fenton in the Crimea Exhibition', 29 December 1855, 753.
- 17 Christopher Hibbert, *The Illustrated London News' Social History of Victorian Britain* (London: Angus & Robertson 1975), 13. The abolition of the newspaper tax also occurred on 1 July 1855, helping to keep costs down.
- 18 Op. cit. *Belfast Newsletter*, 31 March 1856, 2.
- 19 *London Daily News*, 20 September 1855. Reprinted in Thomas Agnew and Sons, *Exhibition of the Photographic Pictures Taken in the Crimea*, by Roger Fenton, Esq. (London: Thomas Brettell, 1856), 5.
- 20 *Literary Gazette*, 22 September 1855. Reprinted in Agnew, *Exhibition of the Photographic Pictures Taken in the Crimea*, 1856, 12.
- 21 'Exhibition of the Photographs of the Crimea', *Liverpool Photographic Journal* 2, no. 23 (10 November 1855): 134.
- 22 Taylor Downing, *Breakdown: The Crisis of Shell Shock on the Somme* (London: Little, Brown, 2016), 335.
- 23 He 'suffered severely from the hardships of the Crimean campaign' and returned home in 1855. William Fraser, *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville and The Leslies, Earls of Leven* (Edinburgh, privately printed, 1890), 379. Balgonie's death was reported in an obituary to have occurred 'after a lingering illness, brought on by his services in the Crimean campaign', *Dundee Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, 4 September 1857, 4.
- 24 'Now prepared to sell at a considerable reduction on the published price', *The Athenaeum*, 'Fenton's Photographs', 3 January 1857, 2.
- 25 'The most historic and interesting of these is, the picture of *The Council of War*', 'Photographs from the Crimea', *The Athenaeum*, 29 September 1855, 1118. Queen Victoria wrote, 'We dined alone, & looked at some most interesting photos, taken by Mr Fenton, in the Crimea, – portraits & views extremely well done, – one, most interesting, of poor Ld Raglan, Pélissier & Omar Pasha, sitting together, on the morning, on which the Quarries were taken.' Royal Archives VIC/MAIN/QVJ, 8 August 1844.
- 26 The location of Egg's painting today is unknown, but the mezzotint issued by Graves & Co. is in numerous collections.
- 27 See, for example, the photographs and paintings of the wounded soldiers visited by Queen Victoria, commissioned by her from Joseph Cundall and Robert Howlett. Examples of these, and other works, are reproduced in Gordon, *Shadows of War*, 2017.

