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## **Abstract**

### **Women's Photography and the American Civil War: The Case of Elizabeth Beachbard, Ambrotypist**

Despite recent feminist scholarship on women's roles in the American Civil War (1861–1865), their photographic participation remains poorly understood. As a result, women's wartime entrepreneurialism has not been recognised, nor has their agency in shaping the image economy and visual history of a nation-defining conflict. This article presents the first dedicated research on Elizabeth Beachbard, an elusive figure who ran an ambrotype portrait business in Louisiana during the conflict. This article charts her trajectory from downtown New Orleans to a military camp in rural Louisiana where she photographed soldiers during the summer of 1861 until her death only months later. I consider the gendered constraints on women's photography of the epoch and the methodological challenges for researching female photographers, examining the historical context for women's entrepreneurialism and the circumstances that led to Beachbard's business model. As well as analysing her practice as a female operator in a military camp, this article presents new evidence for an ambrotype hitherto unattributed to Beachbard, which constitutes only the third extant example of her work. I contend that Beachbard should be seen as a pioneering figure in the history of women's photography, and might be considered America's first identifiable female photographer of war.

## **Keywords:**

American Civil War

Gender

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## **Women's Photography and the American Civil War: The Case of Elizabeth Beachbard, Ambrotypist**

The photographic history of the American Civil War (1861–1865) is, by and large, assumed to be an exclusively masculine affair. The literature, both popular and scholarly, focuses on male photographers—Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, George N. Barnard, and George S. Cook, among others—whose photographs depict male protagonists: military leaders; troops on the march; soldiers manning artillery; the fallen on the battlefield.<sup>1</sup> Such images are considered quintessential not just of the Civil War, but also of the (then embryonic) genre of war photography. In his monograph *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography* (2005), Bob Zeller asserts that the conflict represents 'the dawn of combat photography', in which George S. Cook becomes 'the first photographer to capture a veritable image of battle while under fire himself'.<sup>2</sup> In this conception, war photography is epitomised as a practice undertaken by risk-taking professional men working in the field of battle.

The absence of women war photographers in the American Civil War is hardly surprising, given the historical lack of attention paid to women's participation in the conflict more broadly. War has conventionally been seen as the business of men: 'an entirely masculine activity' from which—claims military historian John Keegan—women, 'with the most insignificant exceptions, have always and everywhere stood apart'.<sup>3</sup> Only two pages of Keegan's magisterial *The American Civil War* (2009) consider the conflict in relation to women: not untypical of the historiography of the Civil War. Feminist scholarship has contested the masculinist approach,

demonstrating how women inflected the course of the Civil War as spies, sutlers, nurses, political activists, abolitionists, and even as soldiers in combat positions.<sup>4</sup>

Women's photographic participation, however, remains largely unexamined, limiting our understanding of their agency in shaping the image economy and visual history of a nation-defining conflict.

This article represents the first concerted effort to trace the career and assess the significance of Elizabeth Beachbard, an elusive figure who is known to have run a fleeting ambrotype business in Louisiana from 1860 to 1861. My discussion begins by bringing together some of the disparate photographic practices undertaken by women in the Civil War, providing context for female production and consumption of photographic images. Next, I consider methodological challenges for researching women photographers of the epoch which arise from both the ephemeral nature of mass photography and the structural masculine bias in record-keeping and archival practices. The core of the article presents empirical research that reconstructs the life and work of Elizabeth Beachbard, and makes the case for her authorship of a hitherto unattributed ambrotype. The discussion concludes with some reflections on the significance of Beachbard and implications for future research.

While questions of gender are central to the following discussion, I shall certainly not be arguing for essentialist notions of innately 'feminine' photography. Instead, I examine the gendered constraints that shaped Elizabeth Beachbard's practice, showing how she navigated social, political, economic and legal structures. Her journey from downtown New Orleans to the military arena of Camp Moore may be

measured in miles, but she also travelled great social and professional distances as a civilian woman entrepreneur.

This recovery of Beachbard's short life, while of intrinsic interest in the scope of women's history, has broader implications. My discussion is situated at the confluence of three recent scholarly developments: attention to gender as a category of analysis in business history; the 'cultural turn' in war studies; and a greater consideration of commerce and industry in photography studies.<sup>5</sup> Even positioned within this progressive territory, the very notion of women's photographic entrepreneurship in wartime seems radical. Scholarship on early women photographers of conflict and violence in the global field has often foregrounded impulses of humanitarianism and sympathy, as demonstrated by Christina Twomey's and Sharon Sliwinski's readings of Alice Seeley Harris, a missionary in the Belgian Congo, or Michael Godbey's account of Emily Hobhouse, a campaigner in the Second Boer War (1899-1902).<sup>6</sup> Rather than interpret Elizabeth Beachbard through the 'feminine' lens of compassion, however, I choose to read her corpus in terms of the 'masculine' realm of business. The notion that any photographer should profit financially from war is unpalatable, and that a *woman* photographer should do so unsettles orthodox assumptions of innate female empathy, and feminist inclinations to celebrate historical women. These concerns, however, hinder understanding of the true nature of women's business lives in the Civil War, and their participation in the larger structures of military and economic operations.

*Women as producers and consumers in the Civil War*

In the 1860s, women were (like men) avid consumers of photographic items. The commissioning and exchange of portraits prior to a soldier's departure was a mass industry, predicated on the memory function and emotional power of photographic objects to recall the absent sitter. Portraiture was not only familial and sentimental, however. Elizabeth Siegel notes that commercially-produced photo-albums were marketed towards women who collected *cartes de visite* of famous politicians and generals to display alongside pictures of their own menfolk. At least one manufacturer offered an album that could also incorporate the military records of husbands, thus providing evidence in the event of claiming widows' pensions.<sup>7</sup> Such activities register women's interest in the political and military figures of the conflict, as well as female agency in legal and economic affairs.

Women engaged with photography in other ways, too. Like men, they viewed photographs translated into wood engravings in popular periodicals such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and joined the throngs of visitors to the exhibitions staged at Brady's Gallery in New York in 1862. Women inserted miniature photographic portraits into jewellery to wear on their person, and expressed political affiliations by sporting campaign badges bearing the photographic image of Abraham Lincoln.<sup>8</sup> They peered through hand-held viewers to view stereoscopic scenes showing ruins and corpses in the aftermath of battle.<sup>9</sup>

Women also mobilised photographs to elicit philanthropic giving. Johanna Maria Heckewelder, an octogenarian from Pennsylvania, donated her portrait to be sold as a *carte de visite* at Cincinnati's Great Western Sanitary Fair in 1863 to raise funds for

the US Sanitary Commission, a charity dedicated to supporting Northern soldiers.<sup>10</sup> Catherine S. Lawrence, a nurse for the Union army, sold *cartes de visite* captioned ‘a redeemed slave child’, depicting a Southern orphan she had adopted.<sup>11</sup> The African American abolitionist Sojourner Truth repeatedly commissioned and distributed her portrait to raise funds and promote awareness of her campaign. Her mass-produced *carte de visite*, famously captioned ‘I sell the Shadow to promote the Substance’, was instrumental in advocating the political agency of African American women. It is striking that both Sojourner Truth and Catherine S. Lawrence appended copyright notices to their photographs, demonstrating their awareness of the economic value of images and a desire to control their distribution. Taken as a whole, these activities indicate the broad range of ways in which women actively engaged with photography in order to understand, comment upon, and inflect the course of the conflict. With the exception of Sojourner Truth’s campaign, which has been examined by Kathleen Collins (1983) and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (2005) among others, these forms of photographic engagement have largely been overlooked by scholars.<sup>12</sup>

Women were producers as well as consumers of photography. In the 1860s, photography was one of the few professions open to ‘respectable’ women, whose apparently innate social delicacy, attention to detail and nimble fingers were thought to make them particularly suited to commercial portraiture.<sup>13</sup> Although difficult to be definitive, it is likely that around 3 per cent of photographers listed in the 1860 US census were female; still others worked in partnership with husbands, or as assistants behind the scenes, and remained uncounted.<sup>14</sup> At the outset of the Civil War in 1861, perhaps between 100 and 150 women photographers were operating in the US as heads or co-heads of studios. Far more were working in a non-managerial capacity as



colourists, photograph-mounters, or other roles.<sup>15</sup> Women's working practice was affected, to a greater or lesser degree, by the upheaval of war: markets changed, supplies fluctuated, and male photographers departed for military service. The conflict offered women opportunities to expand their roles, technically, professionally and socially. Some developed their enterprises in new directions, others took over from husbands, brothers or fathers, and still others set up businesses for the first time.<sup>16</sup> Despite this, women working as photographers working in the Civil War have received scant attention.

*Tracing women photographers: methodological challenges*

This is due, in part, to the paucity of female photographers in the record, for reasons logistical, cultural and political. Recent feminist and postcolonial interrogations of archival sources for history, anthropology and literature, by scholars including Ann Laura Stoler, Carolyn Steedman, Bonnie Smith, and Zeb Tortorici, have pointed to the politics of the archive, the structural biases that shape what is collected and what is excluded, and the methodological challenges of archival lack.<sup>17</sup> Steedman eloquently evokes 'the silences and absences of the documents' and the need to read 'for what is *not there*, as well as what is.'<sup>18</sup>

The researcher seeking to find women photographers from the Civil War is beset by challenges. From a practical perspective, ambrotypes and tintypes of the 1860s were usually presented in generic mass-produced cases without a photographer's mark.<sup>19</sup> Separated from their owner, sold on the secondary market or relocated to archives,

ambrotypes and ferrotypes—more popularly known as tintypes—tend to lack credits, captions, or reliable provenance. Establishing female authorship of such anonymous objects is almost impossible.<sup>20</sup> The identification of *cartes de visite*, which generally have a maker's stamp on the reverse, is more straightforward. Yet even if a female photographer is named, attempts to trace her career trajectory may be thwarted by the inherent masculine bias of historical records. The US censuses prior to 1850, for example, list only heads-of-household by name, meaning that wives and daughters often remain anonymous; in the censuses of 1850 and 1860 women's occupations frequently went unlisted. Adoption of husbands' surnames after marriage leads genealogical research to abrupt dead-ends.

Furthermore, women photographers working in joint enterprises with men were not always credited in trade directories or journals. Photographers whose forenames are indicated only by initials may be erroneously assumed to be male.<sup>21</sup> Women's careers, interrupted or halted by motherhood, tended to be shorter than those of men, with small enterprises such as portrait studios sometimes operating only for a handful of years. Moreover, as Tucker and Bogadóttir have argued, women have been less likely than men to bequeath their work to national and official archives, leaving photographs to languish in attics, ultimately to be dispersed or discarded.<sup>22</sup> As a result, the identification of women photographers from the historical record is, to say the least, a challenge. It is against all odds that the career of Elizabeth Beachbard should surface to the present day.

Yet even beyond these archival limitations, there are conceptual barriers concerning the gendered nature of war photography, and the ineligibility of women to enter the

canon. These barriers parallel those identified by feminist art historians Linda Nochlin, Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, whose work in the 1970s and 1980s radically challenged the inherent male bias of art history.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, one might productively co-opt the rhetorical question of Nochlin's seminal 1971 article, 'Why Have There Been No Great Female Artists?' to ask 'why have there been no great female war photographers?'<sup>24</sup> The reply might be that the genre of war photography has become synonymous with the practice of 'hard news' photography undertaken alongside soldiers on the battlefield, a practice that due to social, professional and legal restraints has historically excluded women.<sup>25</sup> Other kinds of photography—home front portraiture of ordinary soldiers, for instance, a staple of women photographers—have been dismissed as unimportant or provincial practices, not worthy to enter the canon of *bona fide* war photography. As a result, as Val Williams has argued in her path-breaking 1994 study *Warworks: Women, Photography and the Iconography of War*, female photographic production has been considered peripheral, even ineligible.<sup>26</sup>

Clearly, Elizabeth Beachbard did not work under fire, in the manner that George S. Cook did; nor is there any evidence that she aspired to lofty ideals of history or 'truth', as Brady and his colleagues sometimes claimed.<sup>27</sup> Her images, such as survive, are aesthetically unremarkable, and follow the conventions for photographic portraiture of the epoch. However, it is not my aim to argue for Beachbard's place in the canon. As Nochlin has argued, inserting exceptional women into the masculinist canon merely upholds the pre-existing frameworks that exclude the activities of the majority.<sup>28</sup> It is only by reconfiguring the genre of war photography to make it adequate to women's participation, I suggest, that women's involvement may come to

the fore, offering more diverse and nuanced viewpoints, and greater insights into the experience and prosecution of conflict. The following account of Elizabeth Beachbard should be seen as one small contribution to this larger project.

### *Looking for Elizabeth Beachbard*

On 31 May 1861 the *New Orleans Bee* published an editorial extolling the virtues of Camp Moore.<sup>29</sup> The recently established military camp in Tangipahoa Parish, some 75 miles north of New Orleans, was home to thousands of soldiers prior to deployment in the Louisiana regiments.<sup>30</sup> After describing the fine setting among the woods and the rows of white army tents with their ‘brilliant-hued flags’, the unnamed writer turns to the unofficial sutlers that had sprung up to supply the needs of the rapidly-expanding military population. Among the little booths of fancy goods and *ad hoc* restaurateurs there was, the writer claimed, ‘the shanty of an enterprising ambrotype artist, who furnishes handsome warriors with their “counterfeit presentments”’. Although the identity of the photographer was not revealed, to describe clients as ‘handsome’ implies a flirtatious interaction between photographer and subject, more fitted to heterosexual social relations between women and men, rather than the more appropriately homosocial terms ‘brave’ or ‘gentlemanly’ that were common to newspaper accounts of the time.

The suggestion that the ambrotypist in question was, in fact, a woman might be entirely disregarded were it not for a physical marker of her presence at Camp Moore, in the shape of a gravestone in Tangipahoa town cemetery bearing the brief

inscription ‘Mrs E. Beachbard / Died / at Camp Moore, La / 22 November 1861’, as shown in figure 1. That year’s *Gardner’s New Orleans Directory* lists a Mrs E. Beachbard [sic] at 173 Rampart Street, whose occupation is described as ‘ambrotypist’.<sup>31</sup> The markers of her existence—the trade directory listing, the newspaper report, and the gravestone—raise a number of questions. Who was Mrs Beachbard, and how did she come to be the proprietor of a photography business in New Orleans? What prompted her to leave behind the city and travel 75 miles north to establish herself in a military—and predominantly masculine—environment? What was the nature of her practice, and to what degree was she a pioneering woman in her time?

While Beachbard is absent from important works such as Naomi Rosenblum’s *A History of Women Photographers* (2010), or Calvin & Deacon’s *American Women Artists in Wartime 1776–2010* (2011), her existence has not gone unnoticed by photography histories of the region. Beachbard features in Palmquist & Kailborn’s *Directory of Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide* (2005); Roberts & Moneyhon’s *Portraits of Conflict: A Photographic History of Louisiana in the Civil War* (1990); and Smith & Tucker’s *Photography in New Orleans: The Early Years, 1840–1865* (1982). In a rare instance of a national context, Beachbard is mentioned in Ron Field’s ‘Camp Photographers: Pictures by the Thousand’ (2017).<sup>32</sup> Yet Beachbard’s contributions have merited, at most, a couple of paragraphs in any of these works.

The only dedicated effort to consider Beachbard as a central subject of enquiry comes from N. Wayne Cosby, a local historian and curator at Camp Moore Museum in

Tangipahoa, a not-for-profit institution devoted to recovering the stories of those who lived and died there during the Civil War. Cosby's short profile, 'Camp Moore's Photographer', published in *Camp Moore News* (2013), represents the first attempt to sketch the story of this 'mysterious lady' (to use Cosby's phrase), and the present discussion is indebted to his generosity in sharing his knowledge.<sup>33</sup> Our email correspondence set me on a trail that led me to examine photographs and ephemera in archives and collections in Louisiana; to scrutinise genealogical resources and databases of military, professional, social and legal records; to pore over the tittle-tattle columns and small ads pages of mid-nineteenth-century newspapers; to walk around the former sites of Beachbard's businesses in downtown New Orleans and rural Tangipahoa; and finally to visit the headstone marking her grave in an unremarkable cemetery, two miles from the site of Camp Moore.

Who was Elizabeth Beachbard? Attempts to trace her biography are hampered by her short life, by her migration from the mid-West to the South, by her status as a woman in the Confederacy, and not least by her triple-identity: as Miss Elizabeth Brinegar, as Mrs Warner, and as Mrs Beachbard—these last two identities overlapping. Variants on spelling (Brinegan, Beachabard, Peachbard, Beachboard etc) and the vagaries of handwriting make records disjointed, while the disappearance of Confederate-era records in the chaos of the war and post-bellum Reconstruction presents a tangible archival lack.<sup>34</sup> Fortunately, Elizabeth (as she will be called hereafter for consistency) was a vocal, even confrontational individual whose activities surface in lively accounts in local newspapers and legal records, leaving not only the imprint of her existence but also a flavour of her character.

Elizabeth Brinegar was born between 1822 and 1828 in Estill County, a sparsely populated farming region in Kentucky. Although lack of detailed records makes it impossible to be definitive, she most probably came from the large family headed by Israel Brineger and his wife Catherine ‘Kitty’ née Hughes. In 1840 Elizabeth married local boy William Warner in Estill. Her age is not known, but she could—according to state legislation—have been as young as twelve.<sup>35</sup> The circumstances of the Warners’ married life are not known, but by 1855 they had parted ways.<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth resurfaced in the port city of New Orleans in Louisiana, more than 700 miles to the south of her homeland. The *Daily Picayune* of 8 July 1855 reported that a Mrs Elizabeth Warner, staying at the Verandah Hotel, had accused a man of holding her at gunpoint and robbing her of jewellery and baggage.<sup>37</sup> After her rural upbringing in Kentucky, this introduction to the notoriously crime-ridden metropolis must surely have daunted lesser spirits, but subsequent events attest to Elizabeth’s resilience.

By the following year, she is known to be in a relationship with the man who will become her second husband, Barnabas H. Beachbard, a roofer from Trimble Co., Kentucky.<sup>38</sup> According to advertisements taken out in the *Weekly Pantograph*, Barnabas worked in St Louis, Missouri, as a foreman from 1850 to 1852 before establishing B.H. Beachboard & Co [sic], a company selling composition roofing based in Springfield, Illinois, from 1852 to 1855.<sup>39</sup> Elizabeth and Barnabas may have encountered each other in the mid-West, or perhaps they gravitated together as fellow Kentuckians in cosmopolitan New Orleans, a boom-town that was attracting many opportunists.<sup>40</sup> The first indication of their relationship appears in a court record where ‘Mrs Warner and Beachbard’ are cited as joint witnesses to an overheard conversation in January or February 1856, in connection with a legal disagreement

between M.S. Hedrick, a sewing machine agent, and Thomas and Charlotte Bannister, proprietors of a millinery shop. The testament of Elizabeth and Barnabas is discounted as unreliable, but not before Elizabeth's acerbic summation of Mr Hedrick as 'very mean' has been recorded.<sup>41</sup>

By November 1856, Elizabeth was receiving mail addressed to her as Mrs E. Brachboard [sic], indicating her change in identity although no marriage had yet taken place.<sup>42</sup> Seven months later, a flurry of small news items in local newspapers *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, *Daily Delta*, and *Daily Picayune* reported that Elizabeth, variously described as 'Mrs E. Warner, also known as Beachbard', 'Elizabeth Beachbard' and 'Mrs Peachbard', had threatened to 'utterly ruin the prospects' and burn down the house of F.W. Sumner at 162 Poydras Street 'for peculiar reasons'.<sup>43</sup> It appears that Elizabeth had been boarding at the Sumners' house (whether alone or with Barnabas, 'her reputed husband', is not clear), had withheld her rent, and refused to leave when served notice to quit. Altercations continued, and on 26 June 1857 the *Daily Picayune* reported that:

Mrs E. Warner, *alias* Beachbard, was required to furnish peace bonds, and her charge against some of her neighbors dismissed as unfounded. The witnesses gave Mrs W. anything but a good character.<sup>44</sup>

On 25 July 1857, Elizabeth was released on bail pending trial for perjury at the First District Court, although the outcome of the trial went unreported.<sup>45</sup> The episode indicates not just Elizabeth's confrontational personality, but also the difficult circumstances in which she found herself, hovering on the fringes of the lower middle



class, and lacking the respectability and security of either a *bona fide* husband or her own home. It was about this time, moreover, that her daughter, also called Elizabeth, was born out of wedlock.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps her landlord objected to his tenant's twilight marital status; perhaps he was reluctant to rent a room to a woman with a small baby; or maybe Elizabeth's volatile character simply made her undesirable. Although Elizabeth's next action is not reported, it seems she was forced to move on.

### *Female entrepreneurship and photography in antebellum New Orleans*

The following year marked a new phase in her life. On 9 February 1858, the *Daily Picayune* reported that 'Mrs Elizabeth Warner' had accused two men of stealing an ambrotype from her, valued at six dollars.<sup>47</sup> This is the first mention of Elizabeth in connection with ambrotypes, though it is not stated from where the item was stolen, or whether it was a personal possession or a commercial item of stock. The incident, however, demonstrates that Elizabeth was both familiar with the recent innovation of ambrotypes, and had a sharp awareness of their economic value.

The ambrotype, also known as the collodion positive, was patented in 1854 and became a popular replacement to the earlier but more expensive daguerreotype process announced in 1839.<sup>48</sup> The technique involved preparing a glass plate with sensitized chemicals, exposing it while still tacky (hence 'wet' collodion), and developing the plate to reveal a negative image. This negative was then bleached with nitric acid or dichloride of mercury to reverse the silver salts. When the glass plate was placed against a black cloth or other backing, it appeared as a positive in reflected

light. One advantage of the process was that it resulted in a positive without having to through the additional step of making a paper print. The other advantage of the process was its relative cheapness: although Elizabeth claimed her stolen ambrotype was worth six dollars, by 1857 they were being advertised in New Orleans for as little as one dollar each.<sup>49</sup> The drawback to the process was the fragility of the glass plate, which had to be fortified by an additional sheet of glass adhered with Canada balsam, or kept in a hinged protective case, making them bulkier to carry and send than the small card-mounted *cartes de visite*. A further disadvantage was the ambrotype's uniqueness and lack of reproducibility: each image was a one-off, making them precious but inflexible commodities. Nonetheless, the market for ambrotypes, along with the more ubiquitous tintype (a similar unique wet collodion process using iron-based plates), flourished between 1856 and 1865.<sup>50</sup>

There is no evidence to indicate where Elizabeth learned how to make ambrotypes, or why she decided to enter the business. However, historicised accounts of the photography as a gendered profession (by Val Williams, Naomi Rosenblum, and Patricia Vettel-Becker among others) make it possible to make some plausible suggestions.<sup>51</sup> Portrait photography was professed to be a business that could be suited to women, who were used to the precision work demanded by sewing and other crafts, as well some forms of manual labour.<sup>52</sup> Women's status as social and familial beings gave them an apparently innate ease in posing and assuring sitters, and attending to their elegant appearance and dress. As a recent invention, photography had acquired less gendered baggage in the form of male-dominated traditions, academies or unions than its distant cousins painting or chemistry (although that is not to say chauvinism did not exist).<sup>53</sup> Women were not discouraged from entering the

profession as portraitists, especially if it meant they could work from home, their assumed rightful sphere. When Queen Victoria professed her interest in all things photographic, even commissioning portraits from a female photographer in 1859, the respectability of the practice earned a royal seal of approval.<sup>54</sup> Despite these conducive factors, however, dominant societal restrictions on women's roles in business and the public sphere remained formidable barriers. Elizabeth's decision to establish herself as an independent operator would have demanded a high degree of confidence and determination.

There were clearly commercial inducements to her enterprise. Photography was a thriving and conspicuous new industry in downtown New Orleans, where by the end of the 1850s almost thirty businesses were in operation, serving a population approaching 150,000.<sup>55</sup> Clustered on a small number of streets—Poydras, Canal, Camp, Chartres, St. Charles, Royal, and Gravier—Elizabeth would have passed photography studios on an almost daily basis from 1857 to 1861 while she resided on Poydras and later Rampart Street. Apparatus, plates and chemicals for ambrotypes were readily available, as was instruction in technique. James Andrews at 8 St. Charles Street advertised both supplies and tuition, claiming that '[p]arties can learn in one week'.<sup>56</sup> Dolbear's Commercial College on 106 Camp Street offered courses in photography 'by able and experienced professors', and Jay D. Edwards even expressly promised to teach 'Ladies'.<sup>57</sup> While Elizabeth may have undertaken tuition, it is equally possible that, like many other photographers of her generation, she acquired skills through an apprenticeship, serving as an assistant in one of the many New Orleans studios. In all events, by 1860 she had set herself up in business,

according to a listing in the *Gardner's City Directory* of that year, and was offering ambrotypes from 203 Rampart Street and the following year at 173 Rampart Street.<sup>58</sup>

The establishment of a commercial enterprise, however small, necessitated a certain amount of confidence, as well as capital: two factors perhaps less in abundance for women of the epoch than men. What prompted Elizabeth to make this leap? Susan Ingalls Lewis, a business and gender historian, cautions against making retrospective assumptions about women's motivations. While dire economic circumstances, widowhood or alcoholic husbands may have provoked some women to take on the reins of business, others were not 'forced'.<sup>59</sup> Many started small businesses for the same reasons as their male counterparts: to make a living and to provide for their family; to have greater control over working hours and more security; and perhaps to exercise the satisfaction of a skill or service in the community. Home-based work was particularly advantageous for mothers, allowing them to combine childcare with an income.<sup>60</sup> This may have suited Elizabeth, whose daughter was three years old in 1860, according to the census that year.<sup>61</sup> These collective factors will be familiar to present-day freelancers and small-scale entrepreneurs, regardless of gender.

On 29 October 1859 Elizabeth and Barnabas married. She signed the certificate in her maiden name of Elizabeth Brinegar, concealing her first marriage to William Warner.<sup>62</sup> By 1860 the Beachbards were living together at 203 Rampart Street, both running their own businesses. Barnabas had established Beachbard & Co, a composition roofing firm, with associate Anson Ferguson. Elizabeth was operating her ambrotype enterprise from the same premises, probably in the attic or an extension at the back of the building, where skylights could provide the necessary

illumination for the wet collodion process. Business must have proved successful, as the following year the Beachbards took on an additional property at 173 Rampart Street, between Poydras and Lafayette, and Elizabeth transferred her operation there. The ground floor of the brick-built building was occupied by a depot for Barnabas's roofing business while Elizabeth ran what was variously described as 'an ambrotype saloon' or 'photograph gallery' in the upper storey.<sup>63</sup>

Her business was not high-profile. The majority of studios were clustered near the riverfront, and Elizabeth was the only operator listed with a Rampart Street address.<sup>64</sup> Aside from two listings in the annual *Gardner's City Directory*, she seems not to have advertised. Nor did she commission ambrotype cases embossed with the name of her business, as did some of her competitors.<sup>65</sup> The fashionable studios on Camp and Canal—E. Jacobs, Anderson & Blessing, and John H. Clarke, among others—employed teams of assistants and offered patrons elegant surroundings, exhibitions of art, and additional photographic services such as hand-colouring.<sup>66</sup> It is unlikely that Elizabeth, a small-scale outlying operator situated above a roofing depot, could offer such refined experiences, but presumably her prices reflected her more modest situation.

The 1860 census does not record Elizabeth's profession, maybe because as a married woman it was deemed unnecessary, or perhaps her business was concealed for tax reasons. She is described as white, literate, and 25 years old: quite a discrepancy based on her marriage date, which would make her 32 at the youngest. The stated age could be an error, given that census-taking was by no means an exact science. It is also possible that Elizabeth, with a first marriage already behind her, concealed her

true age from Barnabas. He is listed as being 30 and his profession as ‘slater’ (i.e. roofer). Also in the household is their three-year old daughter Elizabeth; an eighteen-year old Irish servant named Catherine Cluro who may have helped Elizabeth with childcare and photography; and a twenty-five-year old labourer M. Auguste, a Kentuckian who probably assisted Barnabas in his roofing business. The Beachbards’ property was valued at \$200: not a great sum, but given that between them they owned two businesses, lived in a brick-built domicile and employed two staff, their situation was reasonably prosperous.<sup>67</sup>

By the end of 1860, however, the Beachbards’ fortunes took a turn for the worse. Barnabas became embroiled in a lawsuit when Beachbard & Co. unsuccessfully sued Harris, Finley and Vogle. The appellants claimed that the company had refurbished a property at 46 Magazine Street, and were owed \$459 plus interest by Harris et al. in unpaid bills. However, their claim was overthrown when it was revealed that the property in question was to be used as an illegal gambling house, and Beachbard & Co. not only lost the case, but were ordered to pay costs.<sup>68</sup> By December the company had started an appeal, a long drawn-out process that would not be concluded until after the Civil War had ended. This was not Barnabas’s first brush with scandal: in 1858 he had been publicly disowned by a roofing manufacturer in an open letter published in the *Times-Picayune*, asserting that ‘Beechbard’ [sic] had never been in their employ and was not authorised to use their products.<sup>69</sup> On 30 November 1859, just a month after the Beachbards’ marriage, Barnabas was found guilty of assault and battery, although the victim and circumstances of the incident are not recorded.<sup>70</sup>

Hard on the heels of the 1860 lawsuit, there was fresh calamity in store. A fire, ‘supposed to be accidental’, broke out on 7 February 1861 at Mr Robinson’s newspaper store located in a ‘shanty’ (a wooden shack or cabin) on Rampart Street between Poydras and Lafayette. The *New Orleans Daily Crescent* reported:

The flames spread fiercely and rapidly, and, before they could be stayed, destroyed several houses on Rampart street [...] The interior of the square [at the back of the street] was closely filled with wooden shanties and sheds, which accepted the flames as readily as pitch-pine torches [...] A two-storey house occupied below by Mr Beachbard’s patent roofing agency, and above by his wife’s ambrotype saloon, [was] destroyed.<sup>71</sup>

Whether or not the Beachbards were insured is not known, but the damage to her studio must have brought Elizabeth’s business to a halt.

### *The expanding market for military portraits in the Civil War*

Meanwhile, the clouds of war were brewing. On 26 January 1861 Louisiana became the sixth state to secede from the Union. On 21 March that year, Louisiana joined the Confederate States of America. It was a Louisianan native, Brigadier General P.G.T. Beauregard, who led the assault on Fort Sumter that sparked the formal declaration of war between the Union and the Confederacy on 12 April 1861. Patriotic fervour swept the country as North and South called for volunteers to defend their cause. Hundreds of local companies rapidly formed and offered their services to their home

state, with Louisiana no exception. New Orleans was transformed, as impromptu enlistment stations sprang up and men in their thousands mustered at the city's Metairie racetrack, soon renamed Camp Walker. By 29 April 1861, the concert hall at the corner of Poydras and Carondelet, just three blocks from the Beachbards' home, had been commandeered as the enlistment station for the Jefferson Davis Light Guards, and was calling for volunteers.<sup>72</sup>

The pressure for men to volunteer was intense. The US was swept by 'volunteer fever'—the glamorous English fashion for forming independent rifle clubs in defence of the nation—while the printed press extolled the manly virtues of soldiering.<sup>73</sup> The regular army in the US had previously been tiny; most of the new volunteers had no experience of military service, and many recruits were illiterate labourers or farmers eager to prove their manhood in what was assumed would be a glorious and short-lived war. Barnabas Beachbard already had some military experience, having enlisted as a young man in the US Army in 1846, the start of the Mexican-American War. His service had been short-lived, however, and he was discharged on unspecified medical grounds after barely three months.<sup>74</sup> Now a man in his thirties, he enlisted for the duration of the war with the Jefferson Davis Light Guards on 14 May as a junior officer at the rank of 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant.<sup>75</sup> Patriotism and societal pressure aside, there may have been a financial motive in Barnabas's decision to enlist. Ordinary soldiers at the rank of Private were promised a basic wage of eleven dollars a month; a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant, by contrast, could earn eighty, a substantial sum that may have been especially welcome given the Beachbards' financial circumstances.<sup>76</sup>



There was a further economic opportunity offered by the Civil War, one that was seized by Elizabeth: photography. The demand for photographic portraits of both civilians and soldiers had surged, as indicated by the *Times Picayune*:

Every young man who goes to war ought, before starting, leave his likeness with his mother, sister, wife or other dear parent, and every lady whose husband, or brother, or son is sent to Pensacola [the theatre of war in Florida], ought to give her miniature to the gallant young volunteer; for, during the long night watch, or around the camp fire, it may be his only solace to look at the picture and kiss it.<sup>77</sup>

The notion that photographic portraits might also function as poignant records of those who were killed was not, at this early stage, generally acknowledged.

High-street photography studios continued to serve customers, but as military camps were established a number of enterprising photographers relocated to take advantage of captive markets. Camp Moore in the parish of Tangipahaoa promised a lucrative opportunity for a photographer bold enough to relocate. The Civil War photo-historian Ron Field cites the *Daily Picayune* of 24 May 1861, which claimed that if a photographer were to visit Camp Moore, ‘pictures [of soldiers] may be taken by the thousand’.<sup>78</sup> Field hypothesises that Elizabeth responded to this call, as by 31 May the *New Orleans Bee* reported ‘an enterprising ambrotype artist’ operating at Camp Moore.

Elizabeth may in fact have already been installed at Camp Moore when the *Daily Picayune* conjectured about sending a photographer there, if by the end of May a shanty had not only been constructed but the business was up and running. Barnabas is recorded as enlisting on 14 May, although whether at New Orleans or Camp Moore is unrecorded.<sup>79</sup> From 12 May, the newly formed companies encamped in New Orleans were being transferred to Tangipahoa, and future units went there directly. It is likely that the Jefferson Davis Light Guards also made their way to Camp Moore in mid-May. Elizabeth may have travelled with her husband, or along with the hundreds of other civilians making day-trips by train to bid soldiers farewell.<sup>80</sup>

Certainly, by the end of May 1861, Elizabeth and Barnabas Beachbard were both living at Camp Moore. It seems that Barnabas was in limbo for some time while local informal companies were officially mustered into the army: the Sabine Rifles, for instance, becoming Company A of the 6<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Regiment. Formal acceptance into the army was not guaranteed, and local companies were sometimes disbanded.<sup>81</sup> Some were rejected on the grounds of having too few men; others dispersed upon learning that they would be required to enlist for the duration of the war rather than a year, as had been initially promised.<sup>82</sup> Still others were turned away due to simple lack of weapons to equip them to fight.<sup>83</sup> According to the *Pointe Coupée* of 1 June 1861, the 'Jeff Davis Lt Guards' were poised to join the 8<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Regiment and, a fortnight later, an order of bayonet scabbards and other accoutrements was delivered to Camp Moore, with recipients including the 72 men of the 'Jeff Davis Light Guards'.<sup>84</sup> After this date, however, no more is heard of the company, and its constituent soldiers seem to have been dispersed or enrolled in other units.<sup>85</sup>

Given Barnabas's skills as a roofer, it is plausible that during the days of uncertainty he was instrumental in the construction of a wooden shanty on the bank of Beaver Creek that could serve as Elizabeth's ambrotype saloon and, presumably, temporary residence. While many itinerant photographers during the Civil War served military clientele from tents or wagons, others constructed semi-permanent saloons.

Elizabeth's operation is explicitly described as being undertaken in a shanty: a timber building, which probably had some kind of skylight in the roof. Like those of the other sutlers at Camp Moore, her business was located on the banks of Beaver Creek, providing a convenient water source for the necessary chemistry as well as living needs. It is not known if her husband and young daughter also lived in the shanty. Nor is there evidence that she was assisted by her servant Catherine, although it seems likely that Elizabeth would have required someone to help her with the preparation and development of ambrotypes.

A perfect storm of circumstances thus persuaded Elizabeth to go to Camp Moore and, ultimately, to her death. She and her family were most probably in difficult financial circumstances following the unsuccessful lawsuit, and her studio may still have been out of operation following the fire, making relocation desirable. With her husband enlisted in the army, there were further inducements to go to Camp Moore. Barnabas could broker the necessary permissions from the authorities to allow Elizabeth to operate as a sutler.<sup>86</sup> As well as providing an *entrée* into army life, perhaps introducing customers, his construction skills would have been invaluable in building a shanty that could serve as an ambrotype saloon. For Elizabeth, the presence of a husband would have endorsed her respectability in a predominantly male environment. The location of the camp, moreover, easily reached by the New

Orleans-Jackson Railroad, meant that civilian access and replenishment of photographic supplies was not an obstacle. All of these factors would, however, have come to nothing if Elizabeth had not herself demonstrated a bold temperament and appetite for risk.

It appears that Elizabeth enjoyed a monopoly on photography at Camp Moore from May to November 1861. Contemporary accounts of the layout of the camp describe a photographic operation in the singular: ‘a photograph saloon’; ‘the shanty of an enterprising ambrotype artist’.<sup>87</sup> It is possible that itinerant photographers may have visited the camp, but there is no record of their doing so. It is worth noting that many male photographers from the South had enlisted (more so than their counterparts in the North), meaning they were unable to continue their photographic businesses.<sup>88</sup> In this respect, Elizabeth’s gender—and therefore ineligibility to serve as a soldier—was a distinct advantage, freeing her from the obligation of serving in the army and allowing her to continue her trade.

#### *A woman ambrotypist at work in a military camp*

Elizabeth’s decision to relocate to a military arena must not be underestimated. Although the presence of photographers in camps became so common that the *New York Tribune* declared in the summer of 1862 that no camp was free from the ‘omnipresent artists in collodion and amber-bead varnish’, in the first months of the war they were still a novelty.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, as far as is known, all the itinerant photographers serving military markets—such as the Bergstresser Brothers, Thomas P

Adams, James Coleman and David Le Rosen—were men.<sup>90</sup> What was life like for a woman running a photography business in the masculine sphere of the military camp?

It should be acknowledged that camps were not, as might be assumed, off limits to women. While the vast majority of army positions were restricted to men, women undertook a range of roles in official and unofficial capacities.<sup>91</sup> Some regiments employed uniformed *vivandières*, modelled after women attached to the French armies, who provided official auxiliary services to troops.<sup>92</sup> More commonly, lower class women, often poor immigrants, worked as cooks and laundresses in a civilian and less glamorous capacity. A disapproving account by a soldier at Camp Moore described German and Irish women who had ‘the masculine habit of smoking... and the rest’, but such women were vital to the functioning of the army.<sup>93</sup> Sutlers included entrepreneurial women such as the popular African American cook known as ‘Aunty Mary’ or ‘old black Mary’, who served beefsteak and gravy to Camp Moore recruits in her lop-sided shanty close to Elizabeth’s ambrotype saloon.<sup>94</sup> These women thus occupied a space that straddled both the homefront, defined as feminine, civilian and domestic, and the war zone, defined as masculine, military and public.

The camp was also popular with female visitors, who took advantage of special day trips by steam-train from New Orleans to spend time with their menfolk. A popular lithograph produced in May 1861 by the local artist Marie Adrién Persac depicts bourgeois ladies in hooped skirts and bonnets strolling the camp ground, which appears more like a picturesque park than a place for military training (see figure 2).<sup>95</sup> Persac declined to show the numerous prostitutes that, in common with every military base, arrived to meet market demand for their services.<sup>96</sup> All told, however, these

various classes of female visitors and residents formed but a very small proportion of the total population at Camp Moore. Elizabeth Beachbard's decision to relocate her business there should be seen as a bold move.

### *Attribution of ambrotypes to Elizabeth Beachbard*

Almost nothing is known about Elizabeth's working life during these six months. She left behind no diary, letters, tax assessments or business records. What have survived, however, are the ambrotypes she made. Two have been attributed to her, both inscribed with the soldier's name, the date of the photograph (or possibly enlistment), and the place, Camp Moore. The fact that so few extant ambrotypes, by any author, have handwritten inscriptions indicates this was an unusual feature, perhaps done by Elizabeth herself.<sup>97</sup>

The first ambrotype, as shown in figure 3, states its subject to be Edward Lilley, photographed at Camp Moore, July 5<sup>th</sup> 1861. The clean-shaven, even debonair, soldier holds a knife tucked into his belt; touches of colour have been added to highlight the buttons and braid of his military uniform and the blade of the knife. His subsequent military career is not known. The second ambrotype, shown in figure 4, is dated 18 August 1861. The image depicts Amasa Vernon 'Mace' Going from Union Parish, Louisiana, who enrolled with Co. E, 12<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Infantry, and was a member of the 'Independent Rangers', according to the inscription.<sup>98</sup> Going appears a stocky and determined individual, although the long exposure times required for the wet collodion process meant that a certain rigidity of pose was inevitable. His neat

beard, smart uniform and ample provision of weaponry—possibly supplied as props—indicate a soldier at the beginning of his career.<sup>99</sup> On his belt he sports a Pelican buckle (the symbol of Louisiana). Going did not survive the war; he served in the Georgia campaign of 1864 and was killed somewhere in the Atlanta area in July that year. In both the cases of Going and of Lilley, the ambrotypes bearing their name and image have passed into private hands and, were it not for the inscriptions, posterity might be ignorant of both the identity of the sitter and the photographer.<sup>100</sup>

From mid-May to the end of August 1861, eight regiments had been mustered into service, and about eight thousand men had passed through Camp Moore.<sup>101</sup> Given Elizabeth's tenure there, from the end of May until her death on 22 November 1861, it is likely that she made hundreds of ambrotypes. Sadly, ambrotypes are fragile, unique objects, and only a small proportion have survived to the present day. In at least one case, a copy remains while the original has long disappeared. As shown in figure 5, Camp Moore Museum possesses a charcoal drawing of an ambrotype depicting a sitter named A. J. Kimball, inscribed with the characteristic handwriting 'Camp Moore La Aug 18 1861'. Andrew J. Kimball is recorded as enlisting on 13 August 1861 at Camp Moore, as a Private in Co. C, 12<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Infantry.<sup>102</sup> His military records state that he went missing after the Battle of Baker's Creek on 10 May 1863, and became a prisoner-of-war at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on 4 July 1864. It seems highly likely that the portrait was made by Elizabeth Beachbard; unfortunately, the whereabouts of the original ambrotype are unknown.

My research has so far uncovered one more ambrotype that may be attributed to Elizabeth Beachbard, which depicts Thomas Taylor, a prominent Louisianan and son

of Judge Miles Taylor. It is first necessary to consider a *carte de visite* in the Taylor (Miles and Family) Papers at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, shown in figure 6.<sup>103</sup> The image depicts a full-length portrait of a young beardless man in military garb with a bedroll on his back, holding a Model 1855 Springfield Rifle-Musket with bayonet attached. The rudimentary sheet or board that forms the backdrop, and the rough ground on which the soldier stands, suggest an improvised saloon in a military camp rather than the interior of a bourgeois high-street studio. On the back of the card is the handwritten inscription, 'Taken about June 15<sup>th</sup> 1861 at Camp Moore Louisiana', and in two different hands, 'Thomas Taylor' and 'Son Miles Taylor'. The soldier in question is known to have enlisted as a Private in Company K, 8th Louisiana Infantry, which mustered at Camp Moore on 15 June 1861.<sup>104</sup>

The dates correspond to Elizabeth's tenure at Camp Moore, but the *carte de visite* format departs from her customary ambrotypes. The backstamp on the verso of the card reads 'J.A. Sheldon, No. 101 Canal Street, New Orleans', and thus far, the image has been attributed to Sheldon. Yet in June 1861, the date the image is stated to have been made, 101 Canal Street was occupied not by Sheldon, but by the photographer John H. Clarke. It is not known when Sheldon began his operations at that address, but the first record of his doing so appeared on 1 December 1864, when he took out a string of advertisements in the *Daily Picayune* promoting his 'Skylight Photograph Gallery'.<sup>105</sup> That would mean that the *carte de visite* dates from 1864 (at the earliest). Yet by then Thomas Taylor was a prisoner-of-war, having been left for dead on the battlefield and captured by Union forces after the Battle of Antietam, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, in September 1862.



There is, I suggest, another explanation. An 1866 advertorial in the *New Orleans Daily Crescent* announced that Sheldon was, like many of his competitors, offering print reproductions of now-obsolete ambrotypes and daguerreotypes, advertising ‘old photographs copied’.<sup>106</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the Thomas Taylor *carte de visite* is in fact a copy of an ambrotype made at Camp Moore in 1861, which Taylor or a family member took to Sheldon to be reproduced, later adding the handwritten caption on the back of the card. To be definitive, there would need to be an original. And by great good fortune, the original ambrotype has survived, as seen in figure 7. The item was donated to the American Civil War Museum in Richmond, Virginia, by Taylor’s sister Mrs Mary May between 1898 and 1905.<sup>107</sup> Cross-referenced with the date and place written on the back of the *carte de visite*, it seems almost certain that the ambrotype was made by Elizabeth Beachbard at her shanty at Camp Moore in the summer of 1861, when the youthful Thomas Taylor was to begin a long and difficult war.

The story of Elizabeth Beachbard ends abruptly. According to her headstone at Tangipahoa cemetery, she died on 22 November 1861. In the absence of a coroner’s certificate, the cause of her death is unknown, but the date coincides with a fatal measles epidemic at Camp Moore. On 18 November 1861 the *New Orleans Daily Crescent* reported ‘considerable sickness and numerous deaths’ at Camp Moore.<sup>108</sup> Disease was the inevitable consequence of the proximity of thousands of men, many of whom had never left their locality or acquired immunity to ordinary illnesses, crowded together sharing tents and a compromised water supply. Without modern-day inoculations, measles was a potentially critical illness, giving rise to complications that could cause death. The number of soldiers that succumbed to

illness at Camp Moore, before they even had the chance to face the enemy, is estimated at anything between two and eight hundred.<sup>109</sup>

Elizabeth Beachbard seems to have been the only recorded civilian casualty of the camp. In the midst of so much death, soldiers were buried *en masse*, indicated by wooden markers that quickly rotted to leave the graves indistinguishable. The headstone of Elizabeth, by contrast, lies two miles away in the town cemetery, although it is not known who transported her remains there. Nor do we know the identity of the benefactor that provided her headstone: given that the inscription reads ‘Mrs E. Beachbard’ rather than ‘Elizabeth, wife and mother’, it would be plausible that someone beyond her own family was responsible.<sup>110</sup> It seems a curious and solitary end to an event-filled and energetically-lived life, and even traces of her husband and daughter dwindle after a few years.<sup>111</sup>

### *Conclusions*

The case of Elizabeth Beachbard opens up possibilities for a more nuanced understanding of the nature of women’s business lives in the Civil War, and their photographic participation in the larger structures of military and economic operations. Her status as an entrepreneur operating in the military arena with a predominantly male clientele complicates assumptions of ‘separate spheres’ for men and women in the epoch. As Lucy Eldersveld Murphy has shown in her study of women in business in the mid-West in the mid-nineteenth century, the lines between masculine/public and feminine/domestic cannot be neatly drawn. In reality, women

who ran businesses—even small-scale home-based enterprises—developed skills and engaged with clients and suppliers, male as well as female, at home or elsewhere.<sup>112</sup>

Female proprietors of photography businesses acquired technical skills to operate photographic equipment, purchased consumables, mixed chemicals, promoted their services, and invited strangers into their studios. Elizabeth's case is noteworthy in her relocation of her business to the avowedly masculine environment of the military camp, but should be seen as part of wider pattern of women in business in the epoch. It is perhaps ironic that the profession of photographic portraiture, deemed so suitable to the feminine temperament, should be the means by which she expanded her orbit into a masculine sphere.

Certainly Elizabeth Beachbard does not conform to the 'Southern Belle' of popular imagination, a figure that—according to John Keegan—remained traditionally feminine in her patriotic supporting role to men during the conflict.<sup>113</sup> Neither, however, can Elizabeth be presented in purely celebratory terms as some kind of proto-feminist or advocate of women's independence, nor as a forerunner to humanitarian reformers such as Emily Hobhouse or Alice Seeley Harris. Based on the evidence that has survived, she seems to have been a forceful, even abrasive, individual with a willingness to bend convention (and the law) and a talent for survival. She assuredly did not consider herself to be a 'feminist' in the present-day political sense, yet she negotiated the social and professional constraints on lower middle-class women with spirit and energy, finding innovative ways to engage with commerce and militarism to her advantage.

Future research will, I hope, uncover more photographs that can be attributed to Elizabeth Beachbard, as well as stimulate further investigations of other women operating photographic businesses in the Civil War. There are numerous candidates that would merit attention. Candace Reed, for instance, the proprietor and head of a successful photographic business in Quincy, Illinois from 1858 to 1888, is known to have made portraits of soldiers.<sup>114</sup> The New York City-based Matilda Moore made *cartes de visite* of Northern soldiers at her studio on Canal Street in 1862.<sup>115</sup> Jennie Fleming, who had a long-running business in Council Bluffs, Iowa, marketed a *carte de visite* tribute to President Abraham Lincoln after his assassination in 1865.<sup>116</sup> Northern photographers were able to keep their businesses running throughout the Civil War, but Southerners were hampered by the Union blockade, which severely limited provision of photographic supplies to the Confederacy. It would be illuminating to investigate how Southern women photographers responded not only to the challenges of the blockade, but also to military occupation. Given the influx of new potential customers in the shape of Union troops from 1862 onwards, how did female entrepreneurs reconcile Southern patriotism with economic opportunism?

The racial dimension of the Civil War, moreover, invites examination of the ways in which issues of race intersect with gender and class. The little-known photographic practice of African American women such as Mary A. Smith, a widowed photographer and former laundress who worked near the Brooklyn Navy Yard c.1864-5, would be of particular pertinence.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, the role of women in the wider photographic economy of the Civil War, such as the activities of campaigners and fundraisers including Johanna Maria Heckewelder, Catherine S. Lawrence and Sojourner Truth, invites further analysis.

Finally, the case of Elizabeth Beachbard demonstrates the inadequacy of the Civil War photographic canon—and indeed the genre of ‘war photography’ more widely—to convey the ways in which photography reflected the realities of those who lived and died during the conflict: women as well as men. The narrow conception of war photography as a masculine battlefield practice, typified in the Civil War by photographers such as Brady, Gardner, Cook et al., is inadequate to accommodate the participation of such women. When all is said and done, Elizabeth Beachbard worked in a military arena, made pictures of soldiers in wartime, and lost her life in the activity. She deserves to be remembered as a pioneering figure in the history of women’s photography; perhaps, even, she could lay claim to being considered America’s earliest identifiable female photographer of war.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The literature on American Civil War photography is vast. The foundational work is Francis Trevelyan Miller's ten-volume set, *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Review of Reviews) published 1911-12. Recent salient contributions include Bob Zeller (2005) *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography* Westport CT: Praeger; Shirley Samuels (2004) *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War* New York: Oxford University; Anthony W. Lee and Elizabeth Young Berkeley (2007) *On Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* Berkeley: University of California; Jeff L. Rosenheim (2013) *Photography and the American Civil War* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; and J. Matthew Gallman and Gary W. Gallagher, eds (2015) *Lens of War: Exploring Iconic Photographs of the Civil War* Athens GA: University of Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> Zeller, *The Blue and Gray*, p.119

<sup>3</sup> John Keegan (2004) *A History of Warfare* London: Pimlico, p.66; John Keegan (2009) *The American Civil War* London: Hutchinson.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Elizabeth Leonard (1999) *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women and Civil War Armies* New York: W.W. Norton. Scholarship on women in the Civil War  
For a historiographical essay assessing some of the key contributions, see Lyde Cullen Sizer (2011) 'Mapping the Spaces of Women's Civil War History', *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol.1 No.4, pp.536~548.

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- <sup>5</sup> For discussions of these recent developments, see Angel Kwolek-Folland (2001) 'Gender and Business History', *Enterprise and Society* Vol.2 No.1, pp1~10; M. Evans (2007) 'Opening Up the Battlefield: War Studies and the Cultural Turn', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, No.1 Vol.1, pp.47–51; and Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield (2016) War, Photography, Business: New Critical Histories, *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, Vol.9, No.2, pp.94-114.
- <sup>6</sup> See Christina Twomey (2014) 'The Incorruptible Kodak: Photography, Human Rights and the Congo Campaign' in Liam Kennedy and Caitlin Patrick, eds, *The Violence of the Image: Photography and International Conflict* London: I.B. Tauris, pp.9-33; Sharon Sliwinski (2006), 'The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo', *Journal of Visual Culture* vol.5 no. 3, 333-363; and Michael Godbey (2006) 'Confronting Horror: Emily Hobhouse and the Concentration Camp Photographs of the South African War', *Kronos*, No.32, 34–48.
- <sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Siegel (2003) 'Talking Through the "Fotygraft Album"' in Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (eds) *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, pp.242~245.
- <sup>8</sup> Rosenheim (2013) *Photography and the American Civil War*, p.22.
- <sup>9</sup> For the popularity of stereographs in the Civil War, see Alan Trachtenberg (1985) 'Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs', *Representations*, No.9, pp. 5~6.
- <sup>10</sup> Richard Leisenring, Jr. (2018) 'Philanthropic Photographs: Fundraising During and After the Civil War' *Military Images* Vol.36 No.2, pp.44~57.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>12</sup> Kathleen Collins (1983) 'Shadow and Substance: Sojourner Truth', *History of Photography* Vol.7 No.3, pp.185~205; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (2015) *Enduring Truths: Sojourner's Shadows and Substance* Chicago: University of Chicago.

<sup>13</sup> Virginia Penny, for instance, devoted almost four pages to 'Photographers and Colorists' in her 1863 volume *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work* Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., pp.90~94. For a historicised account of women's suitability to perform photography, see Patricia Vettel-Becker (2005) *Shooting From the Hip: Photography, Masculinity, and Postwar America* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, pp.1~29.

<sup>14</sup> The exact number of women photographers at the outset of the American Civil War has yet to be quantified. The report of the 1870 US census was the first to analyse occupations by gender, listing 228 female photographers (including daguerreotypists) out of a total of 7558, about 3 per cent. In the 1860 census, the total number of photographers was 3,154 but there was no breakdown by gender. See William C. Hunt, sup. (1904), 'Special Reports: Occupations at the Twelfth Census' Washington DC: Government Printing Office, pp. lii, lxii. Based on the ratio of 3 per cent women to men, this would indicate 94 female photographers. However, while occupations of persons over the age of fifteen were supposed to be listed in the 1860 census, married women were sometimes disregarded. Elizabeth Beachbard, for instance, is recorded without details of her profession as an ambrotypist. My estimate of 100 to 150 women running or co-running photo businesses in 1860 is based on the 3 per cent ratio, expanded to acknowledge women who, like Beachbard, might not be recorded by census counters, but were listed in trade directories.

<sup>15</sup> For the range of roles available to women, see Virginia Penny, 'Photographists and Colorists' in *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work*, pp.90-



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94. For the mass production of *cartes de visite*, in which many young women were employed, see Trachtenberg 'Albums of War', p.11.

<sup>16</sup> Virginia Penny claimed that '[in] times of excitement, like the present, when soldiers are going from their homes, there is much for artists to do'. Penny, *The Employments of Women*, p.94. See also Lucy Eldersveld Murphy (1991) 'Business Ladies: Midwestern Women and Enterprise, 1850-1880', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 3 No.1, p.68; pp.73~74.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, Ann Laura Stoler (2009) *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, Princeton: Princeton University; Carolyn Steedman (2013) 'Archival Methods', in *Research Methods for English Studies*, ed. Gabriele Griffin, Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press; Lia Brozgal (2014), 'In the Absence of the Archive (Paris, October 17, 1961)', *South Central Review* vol.31 no.1, 34–54; Zeb Tortorici (2018), *Sins against Nature: Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.

<sup>18</sup> Carolyn Steedman (2013) 'Archival Methods', in *Research Methods for English Studies*, ed. Gabriele Griffin, Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, p.26.

<sup>19</sup> The difficulties of identifying ambrotypists is discussed by Philippe Maurice (1993) 'Ambrotypes: Positively Capturing the Past', *Material History Review* No.38 (Fall), p.55.

<sup>20</sup> The US collector Dale West observes that the vast majority of Confederate soldier images are ambrotype or ferrotypes, whereas Union images are predominantly *cartes de visite*. He attributes the difference to the US Naval blockade of Southern ports during the war, cutting off the supply of sensitized paper that was produced in France. Email communication with the author, 2018.

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<sup>21</sup> To cite one example, ‘S. Muchart’, an assumed male Spanish photographer who worked in Melilla during the Hispano-Moroccan conflict of 1893, has recently been identified as Sabina Muchart Collboni. See Eduardo del Campo (2016) ‘La primera fotografía de guerra de la Historia es española’, *El Mundo* 30 June 2016. <[www.elmundo.es/cronica/2016/06/30/576d65ef268e3eae368b45e5.html](http://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2016/06/30/576d65ef268e3eae368b45e5.html)> [accessed 1 October 2020].

<sup>22</sup> See Susan Tucker and Svanhildur Bogadóttir (2008) ‘Gender, Memory, and History: In One Culture and Across Others’, *Journal of Archival Organization* Vol.6 No.4, pp.288–310.

<sup>23</sup> Linda Nochlin (1989), *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays*, London: Thames and Hudson; Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock (1981) *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, Ideology* London and Heney: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

<sup>24</sup> Linda Nochlin’s 1971 essay ‘Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?’ is reprinted in in Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays*, pp.145–178.

<sup>25</sup> See Pippa Oldfield (2016) ‘Calling the Shots: Women's Photographic Engagement with War in Hemispheric America, 1910–1990’, PhD thesis, Durham University, pp. 35~74 <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/11786/>> [accessed 27 April 2018]. For an account that focuses on mid-twentieth century practices, see Vettel-Becker *Shooting From the Hip*, pp.31~59.

<sup>26</sup> Val Williams (1994) *Warworks: Women, Photography and the Iconography of War*, London: Virago. For a historicised account of war photography as a gendered practice, see Pippa Oldfield ‘Calling the Shots’, pp. 35-74.

<sup>27</sup> Mathew Brady, for instance, attributed his motivations for photographing the Civil War as kind of calling: “I felt that I had to go. A spirit in my feet said ‘Go’, and I

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went”. Cited in Roy Meredith (1974) *Mr Lincoln’s Camera Man* Mineola NY: Dover, p.1.

<sup>28</sup> Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays*, pp.145–178.

<sup>29</sup> ‘City Intelligence: Our Volunteers at Tangipahoa’, *New Orleans Bee* 31 May 1861.

<sup>30</sup> Exact figures are difficult to determine, but estimates suggest up to 8,000 in the first four months alone. For an in-depth history of the camp, see Powell A. Casey (1985) *The Story of Camp Moore and Life at Camp Moore Among the Volunteers* [no place]: FPHC.

<sup>31</sup> Charles Gardner, comp. (1861) *Gardner’s New Orleans Directory for 1861* New Orleans: Charles Gardner, p.50.

<sup>32</sup> Naomi Rosenblum (2010) *A History of Women Photographers: Third Edition* New York: Abbeville Press; Paula E. Calvin and Deborah A. Deacon (2011) *American Women Artists in Wartime, 1776-2010* Jefferson NC: McFarland and Co; Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn (2005) *Directory of Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide, A Biographical Dictionary 1839~1865* Stanford, CA: Stanford University, pp.96~97; Bobby Roberts and Carl Moneyhon (1990) *Portraits of Conflict: A Photographic History of Louisiana in the Civil War* Fayetteville and London: University of Arkansas, p.10; Margaret Denton Smith and Mary Louise Tucker (1982) *Photography in New Orleans: The Early Years, 1840–1865* Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University, pp.100, 153; Ron Field (2017) ‘Camp Photographers: Pictures by the Thousand’, *Military Images* (Autumn) <<https://militaryimages.atavist.com/camp-photographers-autumn-2017>> [accessed 29 April 2018].

<sup>33</sup> N. Wayne Cosby (2013) ‘Camp Moore’s Photographer’, *Camp Moore News*, Vol.15 No.4, pp.7~8.

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<sup>34</sup> For instance, Camp Moore was destroyed and records burned by Union forces in late 1864. Casey *The Story of Camp Moore*, p.32.

<sup>35</sup> Kentucky Birth, Marriage and Death Records – Microfilm (1852-1910). Microfilm rolls #994027-994058.

<sup>36</sup> The censuses prior to 1850 do not list household members, making it difficult to locate individuals. The 1850 census records a young childless couple named William and Elizabeth Warner, originating from Kentucky, residing in Dubuque, Iowa. Alternatively, it is possible that by 1850 the marriage was already on the rocks, with the census recording an Elizabeth Warner aged 26, of no known provenance, residing in a mixed house (probably a boarding house) in the city of Louisville, Kentucky. William (disingenuously declared to be a widower) later married Elvina Hall, a woman ten years his junior, in Estill County on 20 April 1855 and settled down to raise a family in Kentucky. Kentucky Birth, Marriage and Death Records – Microfilm (1852-1910). Microfilm rolls #994027-994058. Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Frankfort, Kentucky.

<sup>37</sup> The Verandah Hotel was located at the corner of Julia and Tchoupitoulas), not far from Elizabeth's future homes on Poydras Street and Rampart Street. 'Assault with a Deadly Weapon and Robbery', *Daily Picayune* Sun, Jul 8, 1855.

<sup>38</sup> Barnabas Beachbard's occupation and provenance is recorded in his military records. 'Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Alabama', National Archives, NARA M311, Roll 0263.

<sup>39</sup> 'New Advertisements: To Carpenters and Master Builders', *Weekly Pantagraph*, 29 December 1852.

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<sup>40</sup> For the attractions of 1850s New Orleans for photographers and other opportunists, see Smith and Tucker, *Photography in New Orleans*, p.54.

<sup>41</sup> See 'M.S. Hedrick v. Thomas and Charlotte Bannister' in A. N. Ogden (1858) *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Louisiana for the year 1857* New Orleans: Office of the Louisiana Courier, pp.373~374.

<sup>42</sup> 'List of Letters', *Times Picayune*, 16 November 1856.

<sup>43</sup> 'Police Matters', *Times Picayune*, 10 June 1857; 'Police Matters', *Times Picayune*, 5 July 1857; 'Recorders' Courts', *Daily Delta*, 25 July 1857; 'Recorder Stith's Court', *New Orleans Daily Crescent* 25 July 1857.

<sup>44</sup> 'The City: Police Matters', *Times Picayune*, 26 June 1857.

<sup>45</sup> 'Recorder Stith's Court', *New Orleans Daily Crescent* 25 July 1857.

<sup>46</sup> The 1860 census records a 3-year old named Elizabeth, inferred as daughter, in the household of Elizabeth and Barnabas Beachbard. 1860 United States Federal Census, New Orleans Ward 3, Orleans, Louisiana; Roll MS53\_417, p.106; Library Film 803417.

<sup>47</sup> 'Police Matters', *Times-Picayune*, 9 Feb 1858.

<sup>48</sup> The ambrotype was apparently named after the Greek *ambrotos* meaning 'immortal', but perhaps it was no accident that the term also invoked 'Ambrose', the middle name of the enterprising Philadelphia daguerreotypist James Ambrose Cutting who patented the process in the US in 1854. The process had originally been developed by the English sculptor Fredrick Scott Archer, who declined to patent the innovation and died a poor man. See Maurice 'Ambrotypes', pp. 50~66; and John Hannavy (2008) 'Cutting, James Ambrose (1814–1867): American Inventor', in John Hannavy (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography* London: Routledge, p.357.

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<sup>49</sup> The difference in price might be due to the additional cost of an ambrotype case.

Ambrotypes for one dollar were advertised by Guay's 'Depot of Opera Glasses and Ambrotypes' at 126 Poydras Street in the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 6 May 1857.

<sup>50</sup> After the Civil War, the ambrotype declined, although isolated examples exist up to 1880. See Maurice 'Ambrotypes', p.51. Robert Taft claims that the peak popularity of ambrotypes was even briefer—from 1856 to 1857—before being superseded by paper photographs. Robert Taft (1964 [1938]) *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History of Photography, 1839~1889* New York: Dover, p.126.

<sup>51</sup> Val Williams (1986) *Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present*, London: Virago; Rosenblum *A History of Women Photographers*; Vettel-Becker *Shooting From the Hip*.

<sup>52</sup> Vettel-Becker *Shooting From the Hip*, p.1-29.

<sup>53</sup> For instance, women were discouraged, or even barred, from joining some photography clubs. See Margaret Denny (2009) 'Royals, Royalties and Remuneration: American and British Women Photographers in the Victorian Era', *Women's History Review* Vol. 18 No. 5, pp.811~813.

<sup>54</sup> The photographer in question was a Miss Day, who made formal portraits of Victoria and Albert at Osborne House. See Denny (2009) 'Royals, Royalties and Remuneration', p.803.

<sup>55</sup> Smith and Tucker *Photography in New Orleans*, p.87.

<sup>56</sup> 'Dealer in Ambrotype and Photographic Chemicals', *Times Picayune*, 31 March 1858.

<sup>57</sup> 'Dolbear's: Commercial College', *Times Picayune*, 1 December 1855; Smith and Tucker *Photography in New Orleans*, pp.91~92.

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<sup>58</sup> Listings were compiled in advance, meaning that Elizabeth may have actually been in business in 1859. Charles Gardner, comp. (1860) *Gardener's New Orleans Directory for 1860* New Orleans: Charles Gardner, p.45; Charles Gardner, comp. (1861) *Gardener's New Orleans Directory for 1861* New Orleans: Charles Gardner, p.50.

<sup>59</sup> Susan Ingalls Lewis (1995) 'Beyond Horatia Alger: Breaking through Gendered Assumptions about Business "Success" in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America', *Business and Economic History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, p.101. See also Susan Ingalls Lewis (2009) *Unexceptional Women* Columbus: Ohio State University, pp.54~64.

<sup>60</sup> Lewis 'Beyond Horatia Alger', p.103.

<sup>61</sup> 1860 United States Federal Census, New Orleans Ward 3, Orleans, Louisiana; Roll MS53\_417, p.106; Library Film 803417.

<sup>62</sup> Louisiana, Parish Marriages, 1837~1957, B.H. Beachbard and Elizabeth Brinegar, 29 October 1859, Orleans, Louisiana, FHL microfilm 903,953. Divorce was a costly, complex and discreditable business, which might explain why Elizabeth and William Warner opted for bigamous second marriages. See Hendrik A. Hartog (1991) 'Marital Exits and Marital Expectations in Nineteenth Century America', Georgetown University Law Center, <<http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/hartlecture/8>> [accessed 27 April 2018].

<sup>63</sup> 'Local Intelligence: The Fire Yesterday', *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 8 February 1861; 'Extensive Fire Yesterday', *New Orleans Bee*, 8 February 1861. The building was demolished around 1906 to make way for the Poydras Market branch of the Commercial Germania Trust and Savings Bank.

<sup>64</sup> For a comprehensive listing of New Orleans operators, see George F. Witham (1994) *Catalogue of Civil War Photographers, Fourth Edition*.

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<sup>65</sup> Felix Moissenet, for instance, presented his daguerreotypes in cases customised with his business details. See Smith and Tucker *Photography in New Orleans*, p.67.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.87.

<sup>67</sup> The present-day value of this sum is difficult to calculate. According to Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, the annual income needed by a family of four in 1860 was about \$500. Property and savings valued at \$500 (i.e., the equivalent of a household's annual earnings) might denote comfortable middle class status; the Beachbards might be considered lower middle class. Murphy 'Business Ladies', p.74.

<sup>68</sup> B.H. Beachbard & Co v. Richard Harris et al., State of Louisiana Fifth District Court of New Orleans, No. 13764, Transcript of Appeal, 4 January 1861, Earl K. Long Library, New Orleans.

<sup>69</sup> Samuel M. Warren et al., 'Read This Letter', *Times Picayune*, 23 December 1858.

<sup>70</sup> 'First District Court', *Times-Picayune*, 30 November 1859.

<sup>71</sup> 'Local Intelligence: The Fire Yesterday', *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 8 February 1861.

<sup>72</sup> 'The Jefferson Davis Light Guards', *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 29 April 1861.

<sup>73</sup> Volunteer rifle clubs in Britain, formed in response to French aggression, were fuelled by Tennyson's stirring call, 'Riflemen form!' in his 1859 poem 'The War'. For the fashion for 'volunteering', and complexities of the volunteer enlistment system and the formation of companies, see Keegan, *The American Civil War*, pp.38~57. For local militias in Louisiana, see Terry L. Jones (2011) 'Louisiana Troops Mobilized for Civil War in 1861' *The Piney Woods Journal* (June) <[www.thepineywoods.com/CivilWarJun11.htm](http://www.thepineywoods.com/CivilWarJun11.htm)> [accessed 27 April 2018].

<sup>74</sup> Oran Perry, comp. (1908) *Indiana in the Mexican War* Indianapolis: W.B. Burford, contractor for state printing, p.398.



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<sup>75</sup> ‘Barnabas H. Beachboard’ [sic], Unfiled Papers and Slips Belonging in Confederate Compiled Service Records, NARA M347, Roll 0020.

<sup>76</sup> ‘Military Pay’ (2018), Civil War Trust <[www.civilwar.org/learn/articles/military-pay](http://www.civilwar.org/learn/articles/military-pay)> [accessed 27 April 2018].

<sup>77</sup> Cited in Smith and Tucker *Photography in New Orleans*, p.102~103.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Momentous “News” Items From the Northern Papers’, *Daily Picayune*, 24 May 1861, cited in Field ‘Camp Photographers’.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Barnabas H. Beachboard’ [sic], Unfiled Papers and Slips Belonging in Confederate Compiled Service Records, NARA M347, Roll 0020.

<sup>80</sup> Weekend excursion tickets for civilians were advertised. ‘Camp Moore: Persons Wishing to Visit’, *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 25 May 1861.

<sup>81</sup> See Casey *The Story of Camp Moore*, p.17.

<sup>82</sup> Andrew B. Booth, Commissioner of Louisiana Military Records, stated that the Bienville Rifles, for instance, ‘disbanded at Camp Moore declining to serve for the war’. Andrew B. Booth (1920) *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* New Orleans.

<sup>83</sup> Keegan claims that by May 1861 the Confederate Congress had authorised an army of 400,000 but about half had to be turned away for want of weapons. Keegan *The American Civil War*, p.42.

<sup>84</sup> See invoice from New Orleans saddlers Magee, Horter & George, 15 June 1861, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, compiled 1874-1899, documenting the period 1861–1865, NARA M346, Roll 0648.

<sup>85</sup> The company is not listed in Booth’s definitive *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*. Certainly, some of its constituent soldiers joined other companies. Thomas H. Biscoe, to cite one example, who enlisted with the Jefferson Davis Light Guards

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on 21 or 22 May, formally enrolled on 4 June 1861 for the duration of the war as Lt. Capt. in Co. K, 5<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Infantry.

<sup>86</sup> Ron Field notes that as the popularity of photography in camps grew, regulations were introduced to license (and tax) activity, which came into effect for the Union Army by October 1862. Field 'Camp Photographers'. Even without legislation, however, sutlers operating within the limits of military camps both Union and Confederate would have needed permission, tacit or otherwise, from the authorities.

<sup>87</sup> 'I.G., special to the Crescent'. 'A Letter From Camp Moore', *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 28 August 1861; 'City Intelligence: Our Volunteers at Tangipahoa', *New Orleans Bee* 31 May 1861.

<sup>88</sup> According to the research of Glen Cangelosi, these include Theodore Lilienthal, Washington Artillery; A. Constant, Orleans Guard; Warren Cohen, Crescent Regiment; William Guay, Louisiana State Militia; Bernard and Gustave Moses, 21st Louisiana Infantry; Samuel Moses, 11th Louisiana Infantry; Louis Prince, 2nd Louisiana Cavalry, and John Clark, purser in the Confederate army. Glen Cangelosi (undated) '19<sup>th</sup> Century New Orleans Photography: The Creation of Visual Immortality' <[www.washingtonartillery.com](http://www.washingtonartillery.com)> [accessed 29 April 2018].

<sup>89</sup> Cited in Field 'Camp Photographers'.

<sup>90</sup> For an account of the activities of these and other photographers, see Field 'Camp Photographers'.

<sup>91</sup> A small number of women disguised themselves as men in order to enrol as fighting soldiers. See DeAnne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook (2002) *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.

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<sup>92</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Regiment was among those known to have employed *vivandières*.

The *New Orleans Daily Crescent* purported to have a ‘Vivandière, special to the Crescent’ reporting from Camp Moore. ‘Letter from Camp Moore’, *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 13 June 1861.

<sup>93</sup> Letter from a soldier known only as ‘T.B.’, 22 September 1861, cited in Casey (*The Story of Camp Moore*, p.72).

<sup>94</sup> It is not clear, but Mary may have been (what was then described as) a ‘free person of colour’. For accounts of Mary, see ‘I.G., special to the Crescent’, ‘A Letter From Camp Moore’, *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 28 August 1861; and Casey (*The Story of Camp Moore*, p.73~74).

<sup>95</sup> Despite the name Marie, Persac was a male artist. The lithograph was sold at fifty cents to recruits and visitors. H. Parrott Bacot, Barbara SoRelle Bacot, Sally Kittredge Reeves, John Lawrence, John Magill eds (2000) *Marie Adrien Persac: Louisiana Artist* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, pp.32~33.

<sup>96</sup> John Achilles Harris, a soldier at Camp Moore, wrote about comrades who ‘run after bad women, [and] get bad diseases’. Cited in Casey (*The Story of Camp Moore*, p.102).

<sup>97</sup> N. Wayne Cosby hypothesises that it may have been a speciality offered for an extra charge. Email correspondence with the author, 2 February 2018. In the 1860 census Elizabeth Beachbard is recorded as being able to write, so it is possible that the inscriptions were added by her.

<sup>98</sup> For details of the career of Amasa Going, see Roberts Carl Moneyhon *Portraits of Conflict*, p.10.

<sup>99</sup> Provision of arms as props for photographs was not uncommon, especially for recruits who had not yet been issued with weapons. Ron Field ‘Camp Photographers’.

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<sup>100</sup> The ambrotype of Amasa Going is now in the private collection of Mr J. Dale West, Texas, who obtained the item from the husband of a descendent of Pvt Going; that depicting Edward Lilley belongs to Mr Glen Cangelosi, Louisiana.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Short History of Camp Moore’ <<http://www.campmoorela.com/History.html>> [accessed 29 April 2018].

<sup>102</sup> Perhaps this portrait depicting him in civilian clothing was made while he was awaiting his uniform, or perhaps the date was mis-transcribed by the illustrator.

<sup>103</sup> I am most grateful to N. Wayne Cosby for drawing my attention to the existence of this *carte de visite* and encouraging me to investigate it.

<sup>104</sup> For a biography of Taylor and details of the *carte de visite*, see the finding aid ‘Taylor (Miles and Family) Papers (Mss. 1378, 1448, 1636) Inventory’, Special Collections, Louisiana State University Libraries.

<sup>105</sup> Clarke was still operating from 101 Canal Street in July 1861 according to the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, which stated that ‘our friend Clarke, the photographer, of Canal street [sic]’ was selling pictures of the late Col. Dreux. ‘The Late Lieutenant-Colonel Dreux’, *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 12 July 1861. The first mention of Sheldon appears in a brief advertorial of 1864, ‘We Noticed, a Few Days Ago, a Beautiful Picture’, *Daily Picayune* 1 December 1864. Advertisements also appeared in the same paper at least nine times in December 1864. By this time, John H. Clarke had left to fight for the Confederacy and is recorded as serving as a purser in Texas in 1864. He later fought for the Mexican Foreign Legion before he re-established his business in New Orleans at 101 Canal Street in 1868. See Palmquist and Kailbourn *Directory of Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide*, pp.165~166. Presumably Sheldon took over his premises and refurbished them before

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reopening in his own name. For details of Sheldon's operations, see Palmquist and Kailbourn, *ibid.*, p.545.

<sup>106</sup> 'Photographing: Sheldon's Southern Excelsior Photograph Gallery' *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 16 January 1866.

<sup>107</sup> Email correspondence between the author and Cathy Wright, Curator, American Civil War Museum, 19 March 2018.

<sup>108</sup> 'Louisiana Intelligence', *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, 18 November 1861.

<sup>109</sup> Exact figures are hard to determine due to lack of records. See 'Camp Moore Confederate Cemetery' <[www.campmoorela.com/Cemetery.html](http://www.campmoorela.com/Cemetery.html)> [accessed 29 April 2018].

<sup>110</sup> According to N. Wayne Cosby, Elizabeth Beachbard was one of the earliest burials. The land for the cemetery was donated by a former Confederate soldier. Email correspondence with the author, 2 February 2018.

<sup>111</sup> Barnabas enrolled as a substitute for a J.M Stockly in September 1862 at Mobile, Alabama, as a Private in Co. E, 18<sup>th</sup> Alabama Infantry. He suffered a litany of ailments, including epilepsy, 'menengitus' [sic] and a fractured thigh, and was eventually invalided out in 1864. The court case between Beachbard & Co. vs Harris *et al.* was revived in New Orleans in 1865 and 1866, suggesting that Barnabas had emerged to attempt to recover his money. After this, however, there are no more references to either the company or the man. The fate of his young daughter Elizabeth, who would have been about eight years old in 1865, is not known.

<sup>112</sup> Murphy, 'Her Own Boss', pp.157~158.

<sup>113</sup> Keegan goes so far as to identify (with perhaps a note of approval) a distinctive character in present day Southern women, who are 'admired for their femininity' in contrast to their more egalitarian counterparts in the North. Keegan *The American*

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*Civil War*, p.306. The myth of the ‘Southern Belle’ has been interrogated by feminist scholars. See Giselle Roberts (2002) ‘The Confederate Belle: The Belle Ideal, Patriotic Womanhood, and Wartime Reality in Louisiana and Mississippi, 1861-1865’, *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 43 No.2, pp. 189-214.

<sup>114</sup> See Palmquist and Kailbourn *Directory of Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide*, pp.507~508; Denny (2009) ‘Royals, Royalties and Remuneration’, pp.806~807.

<sup>115</sup> Matilda Moore is listed by ‘ambrotypes’ and ‘photographs’ at 421 Canal Street in *Trow’s New York City Directory* for 1862 and 1863 respectively. An extant *carte de visite* with the backstamp ‘Mrs. Moore’ depicts William Thorp of the 16<sup>th</sup> New Hampshire Infantry, dated 27 November 1862. My thanks to Ronald S. Coddington for sharing this item in his collection.

<sup>116</sup> Palmquist and Kailbourn *Directory of Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide*, p.260. I am grateful to Ron Coddington, editor of *Military Images* journal, for drawing my attention to the Lincoln memorial *carte de visite* by Fleming.

<sup>117</sup> Mary A. Smith is listed as ‘col.’ [coloured] and ‘photographer’, resident at 285 Hudson Avenue, in J. Lain ed., *The Brooklyn City Directory for the Year Ending May 1<sup>st</sup> 1865* [probably compiled in 1864] (Brooklyn: J. Lain & Co.).

## Illustrations



Figure 1

Grave of Elizabeth Beachbard, Tangipahoa town cemetery, Louisiana  
Source: the author



Figure 2 [holding image, hi-res to be supplied]

*Camp Moore (Tangipahoa, Lna.)*, 1861  
Marie Adrien Persac  
Lithograph  
Source: The Historic New Orleans Collection





Figure 3 [holding image, hi-res to be supplied]

*Edward Lilley, Camp Moore, July 5<sup>th</sup> 1861*

Elizabeth Beachbard, attributed

Ambrotype in case

Source: Collection of Glen Cangelosi





Figure 4

*A.V. Going [Amasa Vernon 'Mace' Going] / Camp Moore 18 August 1861 / Independent Rangers*  
Elizabeth Beachbard, attributed  
Sixth plate ambrotype in case  
Source: Collection of J. Dale West



Figure 5

*Camp Moore La Aug 18 1861 / A. J. Kimball*

Charcoal drawing by unidentified artist after an ambrotype attributed to Elizabeth Beachbard

Source: Camp Moore Museum

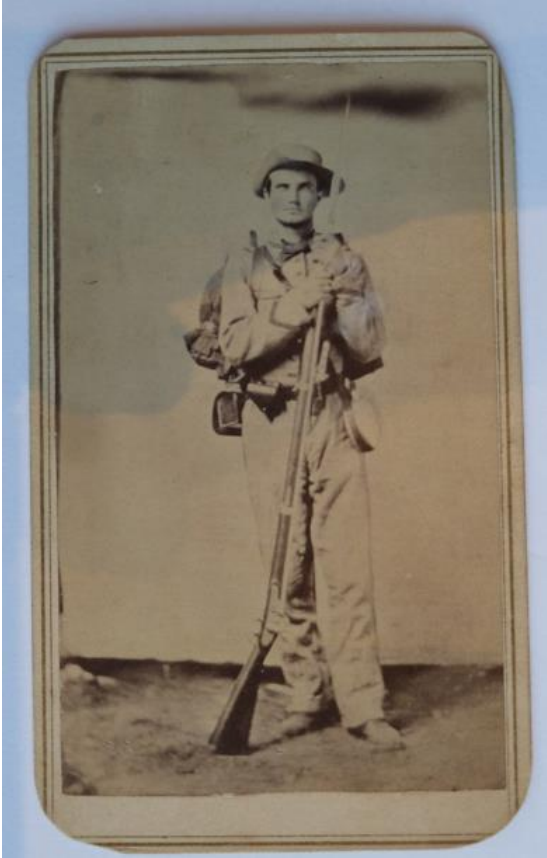


Figure 6 [holding image, hi-res to be supplied]

Thomas Taylor at Camp Moore, c.15 June 1861

Carte de visite, c.1864 to 1866

Source: Taylor (Miles and Family) Papers, Louisiana State University Libraries Special Collections



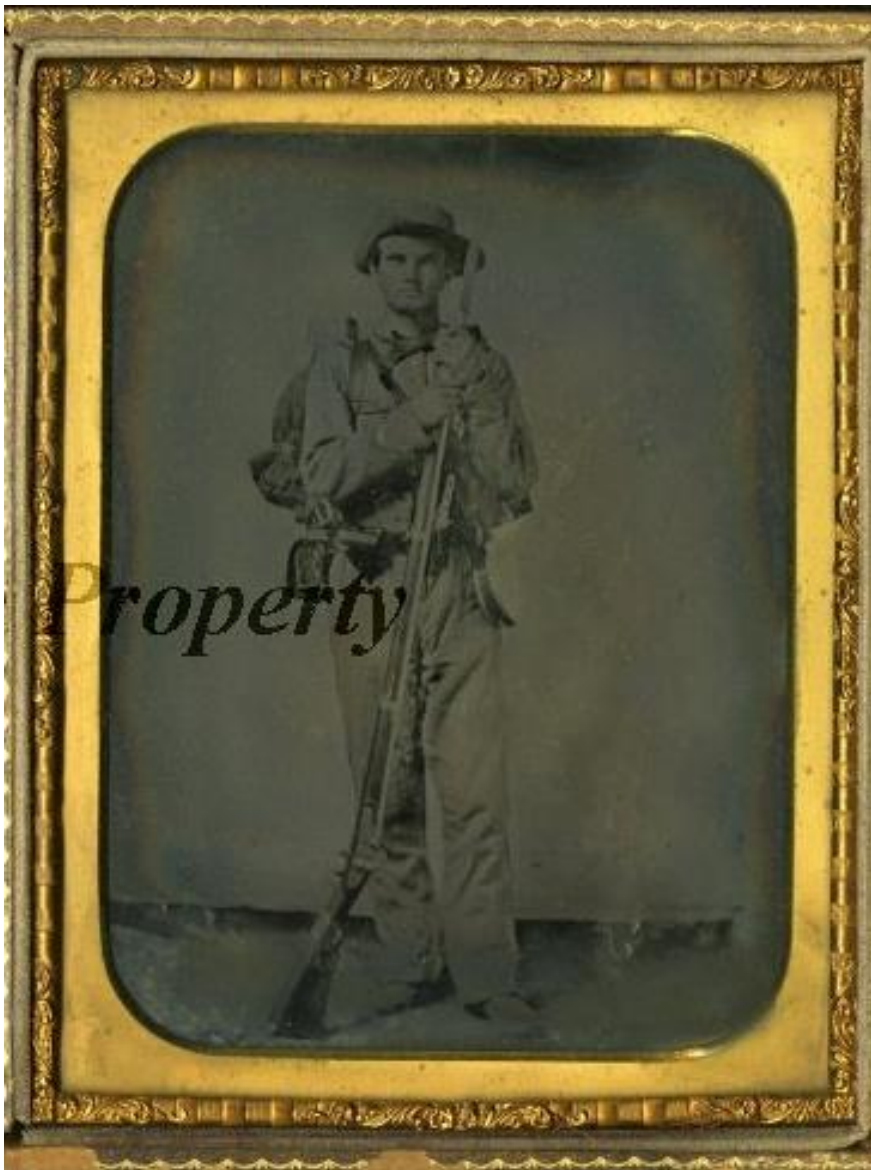


Figure 7 [holding image, hi-res to be supplied]

Thomas Taylor at Camp Moore, c.15 June 1861

Elizabeth Beachbard, attributed

Half plate ambrotype with applied colour, in case

Source: American Civil War Museum