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How a work changes in response to the work itself: Researching Civil War Photography, A Case Study

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As a student, I always try to find ways to combine multiple passions and interests into one project. I have been able to combine my passion for history and television/film through this thesis. This paper will address the problem of how research changes in response to the work itself. I will outline the process that I went through from the inception of the project, through the obstacles, to the conclusion.

**Original Intent**

Initially the intent was to create a documentary about the video that was taken during the Vietnam War as compared to the photography and sketches that came out of the Civil War. The reason for choosing to compare these two wars was that the Civil War was the first war that used photography to record it extensively. The Civil War was also the first war that brought dead bodies “home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of the war. If he [Mathew Brady] has not brought bodies and laid them on our dooryard and along the streets, he has done something very like it” according to one *New York Times* reporter who wrote this on October 20, 1862 after going to see one of Brady’s exhibits.\(^1\) The Vietnam War did a very similar thing to what was done during the Civil War with bringing images of dead bodies to the people, only it brought these images directly to people through television rather than through photographs.

Rather than starting with the story and the research, I started with the format, a documentary video. The biggest hurdle faced was deciding what to

\(^1\) Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*
make the documentary about. I had a few ideas such as the public’s reaction to the images that came out of both wars or who took the photographs/video. Given that my goal was to make a movie, it is important to discuss if I would be able to show my movie outside of an educational purpose. After speaking to both my advisors and Professor and documentarian, Richard Breyer, about what the laws are, I decided that making a movie would not be possible since the Vietnam War material likely is copyrighted. All three were also unsure about what the law was for Civil War materials. I later found out that under the Sonny Bono law of 1978, I could have made a documentary about Civil War photography using whichever images fit my movie.

At the same time that I was meeting with my advisors and Professor Breyer, I met with Syracuse University Special Collections Librarian William LaMoy. Mr. LaMoy suggested that while copyright could be an issue, I might be able to get around it if I changed the topic to focusing on Civil War sketch artists. During our conversation, I decided to narrow my focus down to Civil War photography and sketch artists.

**Civil War Photographers and Sketch Artists**

Once the topic was narrowed down to a documentary about Civil War photography and sketch artists, I decided to focus on research rather than on the form. There were a few questions that I wanted to answer while tackling this topic. Who were the Civil War photographers and sketch artists? What processes did they use? What was the public reaction?

I started off my research by looking for information about Civil War
I was able to find information about a few sketch artists and photographers, but the most interesting information to me was about a man named Alfred Waud. Waud was one of the best sketch artists at the time because he was able to sketch very quickly what was going on around him. The biggest asset of the sketch artist is that he can do one thing that a photographer cannot; he can capture a battle while it is going on instead of the aftermath. The other interesting thing about Waud is that he was at the first battle of Bull Run with photographer Mathew Brady, who we will get to a bit later. This was an interesting piece of information to me because it showed how photographers and sketch artists (or the new form vs. the old form) who were competing with each other shortly after this time, sometimes worked side by side at the same battle producing different images.

While the information about Waud was extremely interesting, I also

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2 http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm041.html
3 Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War
4 A Civil War Sketch Artist http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm041.html
wanted to find out more about photography. I started by looking at general information from websites such as http://www.civilwarphotography.org/ and http://archives.gov/. All of the sources I looked at pointed me in the direction of Mathew Brady.

But who is Mathew Brady? Why is there so much information about him? In order to address these questions, rather than going through my research process chronologically, I will introduce some basic information about Mathew Brady, which specifically addressed these questions.

A photograph of Mathew Brady taken by one of his assistants.\(^5\)

**Matthew Brady**

While it is unclear exactly when Mathew Brady was born, some information about his career as a photographer and business owner is known.

\(^5\) Photo taken from: Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World
Brady learned about photography during the 1840s through some of the first photographers including Samuel Morse (inventor of the telegraph), whom Brady met through one of his art teachers. The first permanent photographic image was made in 1826 in France. This was quickly followed by the development of the daguerreotype, the early photographic process that created a mirror image of the subject onto a copper plate in 1839. Many, including Brady and Edward Anthony (another photographer and owner of a publishing company) began to study photography at this time. One source suggested Brady had previously been a jeweler; however, it was unclear if pure curiosity was the reason Brady switched careers or if there was another underlying factor. Brady opened his first photo gallery in 1844 (as many other photographers did during the 1840s and 1850s) in the heart of New York City, on Broadway. This is quite an achievement for someone only around 21 years old.

How did Brady have the money in order to open a studio in his early 20s? This was a question that I did not look into, but is an important one to keep in mind. Very little is known about either Brady’s childhood or his family.

Brady was a businessman more than he was a photographer. He hired several men during his career that took the actual photographs while Brady was in

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6 Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War; Zeller, Bob The Blue and Gray in Black and White; Phillips, Charles & Axelrod, Alan My Brother's Face Portraits of the Civil War in Photographs, Diaries and Letters; Horan, James Timothy O'Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Patti, Tony Mathew Brady A Few Facts
7 Zeller, Bob The Blue and Gray in Black and White; Zeller, Bob The Civil War in Depth
8 Charles & Axelrod, Alan My Brother's Face Portraits of the Civil War in Photographs, Diaries and Letters
9 http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma99/paul/tim/recovery.html
10 Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War
11 Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War
charge of managing the galleries in NYC and DC. Brady not only picked out the
equipment and hired the men, but he instructed the men on his style of
photography including the lighting and posing. For example, it was Brady’s style
to use soft diffuse light on a young woman. This allowed for her to portray a
sense of charm. By setting the style of his photographers, Brady was able to keep
a consistency, which allowed him to receive awards even during the first year his
studio was open.  

What did Brady think of photography? While his diaries were not
available to this author, Dorothy Meserve Kunhardt (author of *Mathew Brady and
His World*) claims that Brady did not see his work as an art form but rather as
practical. While people quickly realized Brady’s talents and went to his studio for
their portrait, Brady had a different path in mind.  

One of Brady’s great achievements during his pre-war career was his
many photographs of famous people including past Presidents, military officers,
performers, and others considered important at the time. Brady felt that if he
could take pictures of the rich and famous that he would protect his future.  

Brady’s most famous picture is referred to as the ‘Cooper Union
Photograph’. This photograph was one that Brady and his staff took of Abraham
Lincoln in 1860 before the election. Lincoln was on his way to deliver a speech
at the Cooper Union building, when he made a stop at Brady’s Broadway studio

\[\text{\footnotesize\ref{12}}\text{ Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\ref{13}}\text{ Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\ref{14}}\text{ Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World; Horan, James Mathew Brady Historian With a Camera}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\ref{15}}\text{ Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War; Holzer, Harold The Photograph that Made President Lincoln}\]
and got his picture taken. The way Mathew Brady took his picture was different than every previous photographer had done. Brady made Lincoln look likeable rather than awkward. Lincoln later claimed that Brady and Cooper Union were major reasons that he became President. It is unclear exactly who on Brady’s staff took this picture.\footnote{Holzer, Harold \textit{The Photograph that Made President Lincoln}}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{lincoln.png}
\caption{\textit{Cooper Union Photograph}, the photo that Lincoln claims won him the election.\footnote{Photograph taken from: Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World}}
\end{figure}

It is also important to keep in mind that many sources give Brady credit for most of the photographs taken by his photographers both in the studio and during the Civil War. If Brady did take the majority of the photographs, then how do you explain him doing this with failing eyesight? His eyesight was rather poor by 1861, so as a result Brady had to let other photographers take the photographs, while he handled the business side of both of his studios (NYC and D.C.) in the
years during the war.\textsuperscript{18}

During the Civil War, Brady was constantly buying new equipment and trying to find new ways to fulfill his curiosities with war photography. As a result Brady quickly became bankrupt. This was partly due to the fact that he bought the newest technology.\textsuperscript{19} He also went into bankruptcy because he always owed money to the Anthonys. The Anthony family owned a photo publishing company that, for a fee, created Cartes de visites (small prints that were used like trading cards) from Brady’s negatives.\textsuperscript{20}

By the mid 1870s, Brady had to close his studios and file for bankruptcy.\textsuperscript{21} While Mathew Brady outlived most of his employees during the Civil War, he died a lonely, poor man, who had trouble selling his studio’s photographs because people were tired of seeing the images of dead bodies and of war.\textsuperscript{22}

**Other Photographers**

So if Brady was losing his sight, who were these other photographers? This question grabbed my attention for much of my research following the discovery that Brady had been incorrectly given credit.

While looking into Mathew Brady, one name that was repeatedly mentioned was Alexander Gardner. Who was Gardner? Why is he important and why does no one know much about him?

\begin{footnotes}
18 Horan, James *Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer*; Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., *Philip Mathew Brady and His World*
19 Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., *Philip Mathew Brady and His World*; R.G Dun & Co. *Dun & Bradstreet M.B. Brady Daguerreotypist*
20 Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., *Philip Mathew Brady and His World*; Horan, James *Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer*
21 R.G Dun & Co. *Dun & Bradstreet M.B. Brady Daguerreotypist*; Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*
22 Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*
\end{footnotes}
Alexander Gardner

The most important thing, in terms of my research, that I found out is that Gardner’s daughters burned his diaries in the 1940s or 1950s, which was a common practice at the time. After historian William Stapp eventually told me this, I realized that finding out some of the specific information about Gardner’s personality would be hard without primary sources. Prior to finding out this information, I had found a lot of information about Gardner, mainly from secondary sources.

Alexander Gardner born in 1821, was originally from Scotland and was only a few years older than Brady. Gardner’s first profession was as a jewler. He was also very politically active and started a newspaper to express his socialist views called the Glasgow Sentinel. This newspaper addressed both national and international issues and came out every Saturday. The Glasgow Sentinel was considered a bestseller with a circulation of 6,500 in less than three months.

In 1850, Alexander Gardner and his brother came to the United States. They settled in Monona, Iowa, where he purchased land and helped set up Clydesdale Joint Stock Agricultural & Commercial Company. Gardner did not stay in Iowa very long before returning to Glasgow to get new members to join his socialist ideology.

In 1851 Gardner returned to the United States where he saw one of Brady’s exhibits. This piqued his interest in photography. This is really interesting, since Gardner actually taught Brady a lot. Gardner did not officially

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23 William Stapp, a historian, provided me with this information on February 25, 2009
24 Spartacus Educational www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPgardner.htm
25 Spartacus Educational www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPgardner.htm
immigrate to the United States until 1856. He brought his family with him this time and moved to New York instead of Iowa because Clydesdale County was disease stricken. Soon thereafter, Gardner began working with Brady. In 1858, Brady made Gardner manager of his DC studio.\textsuperscript{26}

Gardner’s specialty was imperial photographs; these were large prints (17X20 inches) that were popular. Before the Civil War many of these imperial photographs, like the majority of the photographs taken pre 1861, were portraits. Brady could sell them for $50-$750, depending on how much retouching was done.\textsuperscript{27} Gardner also positively influenced Brady in other ways, such as suggesting that Brady enter into a contract with Anthony and Co. (a photo publishing house and studio) where they would publish the Cartes de Visites for Brady using his negatives.\textsuperscript{28}

Gardner was only a part of Brady’s studio for the first year or so of the Civil War. During this year, he followed the Army of the Potomac and took photographs of the soldiers. General McClellan gave him the rank of honorary captain.\textsuperscript{29}

In 1862, he then split away from Brady to form his own studio. Many historians agree that Gardner left Brady due to Brady’s money issues.\textsuperscript{30} There is also a theory that Gardner and other photographers left the studio because they

\textsuperscript{26} Spartacus Educational \url{www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPgardner.htm}; Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War
\textsuperscript{27} Spartacus Educational \url{www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPgardner.htm}
\textsuperscript{28} Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer
\textsuperscript{29} Spartacus Educational \url{www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPgardner.htm}; Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer
\textsuperscript{30} These historians include William Stapp and Anne Peterson, both of whom I e-mailed about what actually cause Gardner to split from Brady.
were angry about not receiving credit for their work.\textsuperscript{31} This is thought to be false or to be a minor reason in Gardner’s case since he was given credit in Brady’s book \textit{Incidents of the War}. Gardner also published a book, \textit{The Photographic History of the Civil War}, in which he gave each of his photographers credit for the photos that they took.\textsuperscript{32}

How was Gardner able to start his own studio? Gardner used the contacts that Brady had and he took some of Brady’s men with him. He actually became Lincoln’s main photographer during the second half of the Civil War. Gardner knew how to run a studio since he had managed Brady’s D.C. studio.\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{abraham_lincoln.jpg}
\caption{Abraham Lincoln}
\end{figure}

\begin{table}
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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline

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\end{tabular}
\caption{Comparison of Photography Styles}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{31} Lewinski, Jorge \textit{The Camera at War}; Horan, James \textit{Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer}

\textsuperscript{32} Anne Peterson and William Stapp both agree. Bob Zeller also mentions this in his books and articles that I read.

\textsuperscript{33} Lewinski, Jorge \textit{The Camera at War}
President Lincoln in 1863 believed to be taken by Gardner on the day of the Gettysburg address.\textsuperscript{34}

What is really interesting is that while Brady went bankrupt and had to close his studio within a few years after the Civil War ended, Gardner went on to be the official photographer of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867. He died in 1882 in Washington.\textsuperscript{35}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{scouts_and_guides_for_the_army_of_the_potomac_taken_by_alexander_gardner.jpg}
\end{center}

\textit{Scouts and Guides for the Army of the Potomac} taken by Alexander Gardner.\textsuperscript{36}

\section*{Timothy O'Sullivan}

Like Gardner, Timothy O’Sullivan, the third man I mentioned who caught my attention, went on to be very successful after the Civil War. In fact, many know O’Sullivan better for his work surveying the West than they do for his photography during the Civil War.

Who is Timothy O’Sullivan? Why is he important? Timothy O’Sullivan met Mathew Brady when he was a boy. He went to work for Brady’s studio in

\textsuperscript{34} Photo taken from: Horan, James Mathew Brady Historian with a Camera
\textsuperscript{35} Spartacus Educational www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPgardner.htm
\textsuperscript{36} http://archives.gov/research/civil-war/photos/images/civil-war-017.jpg
NYC first. He then became Gardner’s apprentice in D.C.  

![Image](image.jpg)

Thought to be one of the only pictures taken of Timothy O’Sullivan in the field.  

This means that O’Sullivan had strong connections with both Gardner and Brady, which is important to note. Like Gardner, O’Sullivan only worked for Brady for a short period during the Civil War. After about two years of the war, O’Sullivan left Brady to join Gardner. Unfortunately there are no records to explain exactly why O’Sullivan would choose to go with Gardner over Brady given his close ties with each.  

While it is unclear if O’Sullivan started following the Army of the Potomac after Gardner split from Brady or after O’Sullivan joined Gardner, it is known that O’Sullivan followed the army under six generals. Like Gardner,  

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38 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer  
39 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer
O’Sullivan was also given the honor of honorary captain by General McClellan.\textsuperscript{40}

Although he left Brady, Brady was still credited for some of O’Sullivan’s work. There must not have been hard feelings though because O’Sullivan took photos of Brady several times after he joined Gardner including at Gettysburg.\textsuperscript{41}

Some of O’Sullivan’s masterpieces during the Civil War include *Harvest of Death, Council of War* and *Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter*.\textsuperscript{42} These photographs, however, were just the beginning for this young man. He went on to be known for a different type of photography: surveying the west.\textsuperscript{43}

*Harvest of Death* likely taken by Timothy O’Sullivan, but may have been taken by a fellow photographer named Gibson.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{40} Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; 
\url{http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma99/paul/tim/recovery.html}

\textsuperscript{41} Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer

\textsuperscript{42} Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Spartacus Educational \url{www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPosullivan.htm}

\textsuperscript{43} Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Spartacus Educational \url{www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPosullivan.htm}; \url{http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma99/paul/tim/recovery.html}

\textsuperscript{44} \url{http://www.civilwarphotography.org/3d-10.html}
Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter taken by Timothy O’Sullivan and Alexander Gardner. They moved the bodies around for a better composition.  

A picture of Salt Lake City taken by Timothy O’Sullivan on one of his surveying trips out West.  

In 1867, the year after Gardner and O’Sullivan stopped working together, O’Sullivan joined a team that surveyed the Western United States. Following the 1867 trip, he took two other trips. During one them, he returned to the West, while the other took him to Panama. The destinations of the three trips included

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm051.html

46 Photo taken from: Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan Americas Forgotten Photographer
Utah, Colorado and Panama. The photographs that he took were then used to
guide Americans as they settled in the west and also helped with mapping the
west. Without O’Sullivan’s work, the establishment of national parks may have
been delayed.

After three trips to the West and Panama, O’Sullivan decided to suspend
his travels. After his friend Lewis E. Walker died, O’Sullivan was up for Walker’s
previous job of being the chief photographer for the US Department of Treasury.
In 1880, O’Sullivan sought out recommendations from his past colleagues
including Mathew Brady.

Shortly after being appointed to this post, Timothy O’Sullivan, retired due
to poor health and in January 1882 he died.

Focus on Photography

After looking at the little bit of information gained about the sketch artists
during the Civil War compared to the information found out about Civil War
photography, I decided photography was more interesting and a richer topic for
my project. I became very interested in this triangle among Brady, Gardner and
O’Sullivan. I felt both photography and sketch artists were topics too big to tackle
in the amount of time I had, so I chose to focus on a single topic.

How Civil War Photography is done in the field

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47 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Spartacus
Educational www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPosullivan.htm;
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma99/paul/tim/recovery.html
48 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; William Stapp
(sent me an original copy of the letter)
49 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Spartacus
Educational www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAPosullivan.htm;
One of the biggest questions I had when starting this project was about how the photographs were taken in the field. Many of my answers came from Practical Photography, on Glass and Paper, a Manual by Charles A. Long as well as an instructional video created by Rob Gibson, owner of Gibson’s Photographic Studio, about the techniques of 1860s. This helped me get some of the answers to my questions about the photographic process during the 1860s and the exact chemicals used such as iodide of potassium, nitrate of silver, gallic acid, pyrogallic acid, acetic acid, proto-sulphate of iron, and hypo-sulphite of soda. After putting the chemicals onto a glass negative, the negative was quickly brought outside the darkroom wagon and put into the camera. The photographer exposed the negative for 15-30 seconds. He quickly went back into the wagon and developed the photograph. This was a very cumbersome process and many valuable images may have been lost as a result. Quick shutter speeds did not exist in the 1860s, making it hard to create action photographs.  

Between this book and the Gibson video, I found that my curiosities about the process of taking a picture in the field during the Civil War were somewhat satisfied, but rather now I was interested in learning more about the specific photographers and how they used these processes on the field. How were the photographs transported? Did the equipment cause limitations? Nothing can better illustrate the limitations the equipment caused than the battle of Bull Run. This was the first battle in which Mathew Brady and likely one of his assistants took photographs. Brady, partly as a result of taking the Cooper Union photograph, had high up connections including with President Lincoln.

50 Long, Charles A. Practical Photography, on Glass and Paper, a Manual
Lincoln himself told Brady who to get in touch with in order to get permission to have all access to the battle. It is important to keep in mind that many thought that this war would only last a few months, rather than four years. Brady had this same assumption when he decided to go photograph the battle of Bull Run. During Bull Run, Brady took a camera that got damaged and he was almost captured. 51

Even though Brady almost got trampled, he still wanted to continue photographing the war and said: "I can only describe the destiny that overruled me by saying, like Euphorion, I felt I had to go. A spirit in me said 'go' and I went." For Brady, it was a "strange, almost spiritual determination."52

**How and where the public saw the photographs**

While I was looking into Civil War photography, I was also really interested in finding out how the public saw these images. How did the public get these images?

The answer to this question is three fold. The public could see images at exhibits, through buying and trading Cartes de visites, and through sketch artists’ interpretations of the photographs in weekly magazines.53

Studios would have exhibitions, mainly in cities, open to the public. These exhibitions occurred both before and during the Civil War so that the public could see the images.

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51 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War
52 Horan, James Timothy O’Sullivan America’s Forgotten Photographer; Lewinski, Jorge The Camera at War
53 Witness to the Civil War First-Hand Accounts from Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper; Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World; Charles & Axelrod, Alan My Brother’s Face Portraits of the Civil War in Photographs, Diaries and Letters
In the US, Brady was well known before the war for his pictures of famous people for which he had an exhibition. Many also saw Antietam photographs during one of Brady’s exhibitions. While these are all examples of Brady sharing his work with the public, other photographers did this as well. As John Hannavy wrote in the *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, “the photographs themselves would not be viewed by the public until they were displayed in galleries”.

A second way that the public saw photographs is through Cartes de visites. Oliver Wendell Holmes said that they were “the social currency, the sentimental ‘greenbacks’ of civilization.” People would buy photos of their favorite generals and would trade them and would buy photos of their soldier off at war. Many photographers, including Brady and Gardner, had E. and H.T. Anthony and Co. as their publisher. The Anthonys would create Cartes de visites from the negatives that photographers would give them. The Cartes de visites would then be sold and a portion of the profit would go to the studio that took the negative.

The third way that the public saw the images taken by Gardner, O’Sullivan and others was through *Harper’s Weekly* (circulation in 1860 around 200,000) and *Leslie’s Illustrated* (circulation in 1862 around 200,000). While the technology to actually publish the photos in the newspaper was not developed

54 Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*  
55 Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*  
56 http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Harper's_Weekly  
57 *Witness to the Civil War First-Hand Accounts from Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*
until more than a decade after the Civil War ended, these photographs got into these magazines through a special process.58

In fact, this actually brings us back to the sketch artists. The artist was given the photograph and then sketched it into a wooden block creating ‘etchings’. The etchings were then used in order to get the image into the newspaper. There was an issue with having the sketch artists carve these images into wood: they could take liberties and change what they want. While some artists might make minimal changes, others would change substantial portions of the photograph thus portraying falsehoods to the public. 59

It is true that while the photos were seen at galleries, through trading Cartes de visites and in the etchings in magazines, many of the Civil War photographs were also seen after the war, which is how we know about them today. Directly after the war, few wanted to look at the images after seeing the pictures of dead bodies for four years. In fact, Brady had a hard time selling his negatives because no one cared to even think about the war after its end in 1865. 60

**George Eastman House**

While I used a variety of sources, I feel that it is important to mention my frequent trips to Rochester to the George Eastman House. By going to the Eastman House, I was able to gain access to a library specific to photography as

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58 Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*
59 Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War*
60 Lewinski, Jorge *The Camera at War; Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve & Kunhardt Jr., Philip Mathew Brady and His World; Horan, James Mathew Brady Historian With a Camera*
well as to the photographs themselves.

In the library I was able to look at primary sources including a catalogue of the photographs taken by Brady’s studio and newspaper articles from the 1860s. Many of the books that I found in this library were vital to my research.

The more interesting part of my visit to the Eastman House was my visit to the Gannett Foundation Photographic Study Center. It was here that I got to hold different types of photographs in my hand ranging from daguerreotypes to portraits to stereographs (3-D images meant to be viewed through a stereo viewer).

It is one thing to read about the photographs, but it was a completely different experience getting to see how detailed the photographs were. It was especially interesting to see that some of the photographs were hand colored. I think having the opportunity to see the images at the Eastman House helped my research by letting me see the photographs that men like Gardner and O’Sullivan took in one of the forms that the public would have seen them.

**How did I choose to share this information?**

Once I felt I had enough information, it was time to figure out what genre I would choose to write in. I had two potential options: a documentary or a drama.

**Documentary**

It is important to first discuss who my audience would be and why I did consider writing a documentary. A documentary could be shown in schools (high school or college), but could also be shown to adults already interested in the Civil War or photography. The purpose of making a documentary about this
subject would be to educate people about who really took the photographs during the Civil War, and coincidently this also coincides with the 200th anniversary of Lincoln’s birth celebrated in 2009.

If I were to share this research in documentary form, there are certain things I needed to decide: whose perspective this should be told from, where it would be seen, if it should be photographs or reenactment or a combination, what the budget would be, who the audience would be, and what particular story I want to tell. If I were to choose this form I would need to decide whether I would tell the story in a format similar to that of Ken Burns in his documentary series about the Civil War or if I would use a format similar to the film *The Civil War Photographers* (1989). The difference between these two brilliant films is that Ken Burns’ is a more general overview in which the story is told through voiceover and quotes mainly showing the photographs from the time whereas *The Civil War Photographers* (1989) is told anonymously with reenactment as if the photographers were telling the story. In other words, Ken Burns used photographs to tell the audience about the Civil War in general whereas *The Civil War Photographers* (1989) took the approach of using quotes specifically from photographers.

Ideally if I were to write a documentary, I would use the second method of using the quotes from the photographers. Unfortunately, as historian William Stapp told me, Gardner’s daughters burned his diaries in the 1940s or 1950s, Brady’s nephew did not care much about his uncle’s belongings and if O’Sullivan actually did have diaries that he saved, they were also destroyed or lost. The same
is true with letters. As a result, it would be nearly impossible to create a
documentary using quotes from photographers given the resources available. This
is partly the reason that I chose not to create this type of documentary.

I chose not to pursue the documentary form, but if I had, I felt that the
story of these three men, if told in documentary form, would best be told in their
own words.

When thinking of an idea for a movie, screenwriters use a technique called
a pitch. A pitch is three to four sentences used to describe what would happen in
their story from the beginning to middle to end; it’s a brief synopsis of the
storyline. I have also used this technique.

My story begins in 1860 with Mathew Brady taking President Lincoln’s
photograph and Lincoln winning the election. The story continues as war between
the North and the South ignites and Mathew Brady and his men begin to
photograph the war starting with Bull Run. Gardner and O’Sullivan then split off
from Brady and the story ends with Gardner’s studio having the Gettysburg
photos published in *Harper’s Weekly* as a full spread.

In order to show how this documentary would take shape, I used a
screenwriting technique called a scene outline. This scene outline, while partial,
includes the location and a brief description of what happens in each scene.

1) MONTAGE OF PORTRAITS TAKEN BY BRADY – TITLES APPEAR
2) INT. BRADY’S BROADWAY STUDIO
   Pan around the studio to show many of the photographs that he has taken
3) INT. BRADY’S BROADWAY STUDIO
   Reenactment of Brady taking Lincoln’s photograph
4) ZOOM IN ON BRADY’S COOPER UNION PHOTO
   Quote from Brady about taking Lincoln’s photo
5) MONTAGE OF PHOTOS FROM BULL RUN
After looking at this outline of the first six scenes of a documentary, it is realistic to say I could write a screenplay about Civil War photography with the information that I have, but I had a hard time coming up with scene using quotes from the photographers themselves due to lack of primary sources. It would be easier and most probable to do if I took an approach similar to that of *The Civil War Photographers* (1989) and choose a broader topic, potentially about the physical process of creating a print from start to finish. I subsequently wrote a pitch for this version of my documentary.

This second version begins in 1860 with Lincoln winning the election. The story continues as war between the north and the south ignites and Mathew Brady and his men begin to photograph the war. As they take photographs, a narrator describes the process by which the slides are prepped, how exposing the glass plate made the negative, and how the photograph was developed in the darkroom wagon. The story ends with the photographs being seen and distributed to the public.

1) Lincoln wins the election of 1860
2) MONTAGE OF SOUTHERN STATES SECEDING
3) MONTAGE OF PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE CIVIL WAR
   Voice over about the importance of Civil War Photographers including Brady, O’Sullivan and Gardner
4) EXT. FIELD
   Reenactment of a photographer in the field exposing a negative.
5) MONTAGE OF PHOTOGRAPHS
6) EXT FIELD
A photographer is preparing a negative in his darkroom while VO explains what he is doing

7) MONTAGE OF UNION AND CONFEDERATES PREPARING FOR BATTLE
   Men training for battle, grabbing guns and firing at one another.

8) EXT FIELD
   A photographer exposes a negative as a VO explains what he is doing

9) INT DARKROOM WAGON
   A photographer develops an image as a VO explains what he is doing

As one can see, the partial second outline is much better and would likely make for a better and more historically accurate documentary. However, I do not have some of the quotes that would make the above outline (and its continuation if I were to complete it) the best documentary that I could make about the topic.

Drama

Now that I have discussed the two potential ideas I have for how I would write a documentary about Civil War photography and the photographers, I would like to take some time to discuss the format I decided would best express this story. The audience for the drama would be similar to that of the documentary: adults interested in photography, the Civil War, and historical fiction. The movie would likely be a short film and potentially be intended for the web, since the web allows for more niche audiences.

The purpose for making this movie is the same as for the documentary, but the purpose for choosing a drama is that I feel there is a lot to explore such as the emotions of Brady, Gardner and O’Sullivan as well as their relationship and attitudes toward each other before the war, during the war, and after the war. I feel that a drama is a better medium to address the triangle and all of the complexities. Again, I have written a pitch.
My drama will begin in 1860 with Brady taking Lincoln’s picture and Lincoln winning the election. The story continues as Brady and his men go off to shoot the war, only Gardner and O’Sullivan are actually taking the pictures as Brady runs the business and begins to go into debt. After not being paid, Gardner decides to leave, followed shortly thereafter by O’Sullivan. The two work together through the rest of the war. In the end, Gardner and O’Sullivan are successful, while Brady ends up in debt and unable to sell his second set of negatives, which is his last hope to get out of debt.

As I did for the documentary, I put together a scene outline for the intended storyline of this drama.

1. MONTAGE OF PORTRAITS TAKEN BY BRADY – TITLES APPEAR
2. EXT. BROADWAY - 1860
   Mr. Lincoln and his campaign advisors are walking down the street
3. INT. BRADY’S BROADWAY STUDIO
   Pan around the studio to see all of the props. Stop on the door.
4. EXT. BRADY’S STUDIO
   Lincoln and his advisors are walking towards Brady’s studio and one of them suggests that they go inside.
5. INT. BRADY’S STUDIO
   Brady and his staff spend time moving things around to make the perfect picture of Lincoln while Lincoln’s staff watches.
6. INT. COOPER UNION
   Lincoln giving his speech in front of a large audience
7. MONTAGE
   Positive reactions to the “Cooper Union Photo” by citizens. Showing people buying and looking at the Cartes de visites of Lincoln.
8. TRANSITIONAL SCENE (S)
   Potentially protests against Lincoln (fact check) or showing meeting of Southern states threatening secession?
9. MONTAGE
   People voting on Election Day 1860 and Lincoln winning.
10. INT. (LOCATION?)
    First Southern States seceding. V.O. of Brady’s famous quote of why he went to photograph the war.
11. Location? Brady making arrangements for Bull Run? Maybe showing his talking to head of Secret Service?
12. EXT. BATTLE OF BULL RUN
   The battle is going on as Brady (insert companions’ names) watch
13. EXT. BATTLE OF BULL RUN
   The Confederates almost capture Brady. In the process of this, the
   camera equipment gets ruined.
14. INT. BRADY’S STUDIO
   Brady assigns his men to the field (need more info)
15. EXT. FIELD
   Photographers hauling their equipment with darkroom wagons being
   pulled behind them.
16. EXT. FIELD
   O’Sullivan taking photographs
17. EXT. FIELD
   Gardner following the Potomac with General McClellan and taking
   photos.
18. MONTAGE
   Photos from the first few months of the war with a quote as VO from
   Oliver Wendell Holmes
19. EXT. FIELD
   Gardner in the field preparing negatives with narration explaining
   what he is doing
20. EXT. FIELD
   Cut from subject to O’Sullivan exposing the negative with VO
   explaining what is going on.
21. INT. WAGON
   Gardner inside the wagon using it as a dark room
22. MONTAGE
   The public buying the Cartes de visites, album cards, and bigger
   photos. Seeing them trading cards.
23. INT OR EXT OF BRADY’S STUDIO
   Brady exhibition with many people visiting it.
24. NEED A SCENE SHOWING THAT BRADY IS STARTING TO
    DOWNFALL FINANCIALLY
25. EXT. FIELD - Potomac
   General McClellan promotes Gardner to rank of honorary captain
26. EXT. FIELD
   O’Sullivan taking scenic photographs as well as portraits at an army
   camp.
27. INT. CIVILIAN HOME
   Woman opening a letter including a photo of her son – VO Quote from
   an actual letter.
28. EXT. FIELD
   Gardner’s frustration building as he is out in the field. Maybe talking
   to a supervisor? Need to show Gardner is connected to the
   government in this scene
29. INT. BRADY’S D.C. STUDIO
Brady is talking to one of the Anthony brothers who is telling him that he owes them a ton of money, but Brady asks E. & H.T. Anthony and Co. to keep printing his photos.

30. EXT. ANTIETAM
   Garner, O’Sullivan and Brady are all at the battle. Gardner asks for his money, as does O’Sullivan. Fact check that O’Sullivan was there

31. EXT. ANTIETAM
   Gardner is talking to all of the higher ups

32. EXT. ANTIETAM – MONTAGE
   Gardner taking photos for the few days after the battle.

33. Location?
   Gardner and Brady talking. Ends with Gardner grabbing the Antietam negative and walking out.

34. Location? – Montage?
   Gardner talking with various generals and other high military officials making deals for his own studio, ending on Gardner’s studio being set up.

35. INT. BRADY STUDIO
   Brady shows his frustration about Gardner leaving.

36. EXT. FIELD
   O’Sullivan is working and talking to some of the generals about his frustrations and about possibly joining Gardner.

37. LOCATION?
   O’Sullivan leaves Brady and joins Gardner

38. MONTAGE
   Showing work from all three up to this point in the war.

39. Location?
   Show Brady dealing with Harper’s/Leslie’s

40. Location?
   Show Gardner dealing with Harper’s/Leslie’s

41. INT. HARPERS WEEKLY
   Show sketch artists carving the images of the photographs into a wooden block with VO explaining the process of getting the images into the magazines.

42. EXT BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
   Show the battle as well as Brady, O’Sullivan, and Gardner arriving on the scene

43. EXT. BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
   Gardner takes photos of Lincoln

44. EXT. GETTYSBURG
   O’Sullivan and Gardner taking photos with other photographers near by

45. HARPER’S WEEKLY
   Show the issue being full of Gardner’s studio’s photos and not Brady’s

46. MONTAGE
Photos from the rest of the war until 1865. VO about Brady still getting credit for some of O’Sullivan’s work. Ends with graphic saying “a few years later…”

47. UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD 1867
Gardner taking photographs of the railroad and surrounding area

48. WESTERN FRONTIER 1867
O’Sullivan on the King expedition taking photos of Western landscapes

49. EXT. BRADY’S STUDIO late 1860s, early 1870s
Signs on the outside say it’s closed. Brady is carrying boxes out.

50. INT. BRADY’S OFFICE
Brady is sitting down writing a letter.

51. INT. GOVERNMENTAL BUILDING
O’Sullivan is sitting at a desk across from a man. He hands him a letter, a recommendation letter from Brady for his position as Official photographer for the Department of Treasury.

52. INT. BRADY’S ROOM 1880
Sitting in a corner, miserable. Reading a letter saying that no one will buy his second set of photos. *Maybe make this scene when Brady is actually trying to sell his sets of negatives and show him actually being turned down.*

**Scene Outline and Script Problems**

While this outline is missing quite a few scenes that would be needed for this drama to be written, it is also important to realize that I took some liberties in some of the scenes described. Also, there are holes in my research due to lack of primary sources, but I still attempted to write a feature length screenplay from this outline.

There are some issues with the script that I completed. One of the problems is related to the fact that I think like a video editor. When I write a script, I call shots rather than describing actions, which is something that is unacceptable to do in a screenplay. In other words, in my screen direction I include things like “Long shot of a group of men walking down the street” or “pan around the studio showing all of the props, equipments, and prints”. In
following the standard script format, one does not tell the director that a long shot or a pan is necessary.

The biggest problem is that I do not know enough about each of my three main characters. Because I do not have their diaries and other primary documents, it was hard to get a good idea of what each of their personalities were so I was unable to build character. While I knew Brady was a bad businessman, I did not know what exactly people who worked for him thought of him. I knew Gardner was a teacher, but that is not enough of a personality trait on which to base his entire character. I had the same problem with building the character of Timothy O’Sullivan. It is known that he was younger than the other two and a bit of a thrill seeker, but again I would need to know more about his personality to really develop his character.

**The Ethics of Taking Liberties**

While I knew that I likely did not have a full idea of my characters before I tried to write this screenplay, I was hoping, as I think my advisors were, that I would be able to pull this screenplay off by taking a few liberties when I felt it was necessary. The problem is that there is an ethical component to using artistic license when trying to write a historical film.

In a historical fiction piece written as a movie like *Glory* or *The Patriot*, people think what you are communicating to them is the truth. In other words, if one walks into a theater knowing that he is going to watch a movie about a historical event, the average person expects the majority of what they are watching to be a historically accurate telling of the event unless otherwise noted.
As mentioned above, my goal was to tell a true enough account of the Brady, Gardner, and O’Sullivan triangle. I say true enough because the truth is always based on filtered accounts from all parties involved.

I ran into ethical problems with taking liberties from the beginning of writing the screenplay. I had a source, The Photograph that Made Lincoln President, which was specifically consulted for scene four of the screenplay. This scene was about Brady taking Lincoln’s photograph in his Broadway studio. While this source did give quite a bit of information about Lincoln being on Broadway and how his advisors convinced him to go get Brady to take his picture as well as about the actual experience of Brady taking Lincoln’s photograph, few emotions are portrayed. Even if emotions were portrayed, the accuracy would be questionable. With that in mind, I took liberties by setting the tone in this scene as well as many others. In all honesty, I have no idea what Brady and Lincoln said in their interaction. It is also unclear who specifically was there to witness this great event that led to Lincoln becoming President.

Now one might start to question why I really care if I set the tone of the scenes to be something different than what they were. If I only took liberties on the tone in just these four scenes, maybe I would have developed this script further, but I was faced with several ethical questions.

What is appropriate to fabricate?

In order to answer this question, I needed to go back to the idea of the truth. As I previously mentioned, in every historical account it is important to note

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61 Holzer, Harold The Photograph that Made Lincoln President
that the story present is not the absolute truth since it is based on different people’s perspectives. My goal was to tell a true enough story. In order to do this, I felt fabricating dialogue was reasonable to do to an extent. By this I mean that, no one knows exactly what was said, and I would have tried to use the sources I had to figure out the main ideas of what was said. From there, fabricating the dialogue would have been rational. Fabricating other elements of the script, such as tone or scenes that may not have actually happened, seemed to be a bit of a stretch of my ethical responsibilities as a storyteller.

**Being a Historian: Grappling with Ethics**

At what point am I lying to my audience? If I did completely fabricate something, I think that fact would need to be clear to the audience. This is especially important because this project is intended to be historically accurate.

How do I achieve my goal of writing a historical drama when I am missing the information to build character? This was one of the hardest questions to grapple with since many historians had told me I would be unable to find some of the primary sources I needed. This question was one that the more I thought about it; the more I realized that I would be unable to write a dramatically sound and effective screenplay.

How do I communicate my story to the audience when there are still parts of the history behind these three men and their methods of making photographs that I, the screenwriter, am unsure about? This includes questions such as how they got the negatives back to D.C. and NYC and whether or not credit was a big factor in Gardner’s splitting off from Brady or if money was the only reason? I
realized that if could not obtain enough information to satisfy my curiosities, that I would be unable to tell my story about the Brady, Gardner, and O’Sullivan triangle in dramatic form.

**Conclusions**

At this point you have read about my struggles with not only being a documentarian, but also as a historian. I have been self-reflective in this paper. I have not only looked at the research, but I have also looked into my inner self in order to tackle some of the issues that I face, most specifically the ethics question.

What would you do in this situation? Having read this paper would you have made the same decisions? I will say that I have learned quite a bit from writing this.

Though I learned much from this process, a few things I learned surprised me. I knew that writing a historical drama was difficult, but I guess until I tried it, I never realized how many roadblocks a documentarian could hit in her research. I also was surprised about how much my topic evolved from beginning to end. While I still stayed within the general topic of the Civil War and the media, this paper that resulted from my research was not what I had expected.

With these surprises though, I do have to say that my biggest lesson learned, which can be applied to any research project, is that just because you do not accomplish you goal does not mean that you failed. As long as you learned something new about your topic, you have succeeded.

With that said, I would like to leave you with one final thought. With the technology that these photographers (Brady, O’Sullivan, Gardner and others) had,
it is almost breathtaking to see how beautiful the photographs are. While trying to put myself in the shoes of these men, I cannot fathom how they dealt with harsh weather, angry officers, slow shutter speeds among other things. When comparing this with today and the digital world that we live in, it is almost impossible to understand how the Civil War photographers took such magnificent photographs. Their work has made such an impact on how we see the Civil War and how war photography is done today. Without the work of these photographers, how would photography, and to take this one step further to television and film, be different today? Would the technology we have be the same?
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**Appendix A**

This script was written and was meant to be the body of the capstone project. Instead I have gone through and made numerous notes about how to correct the many errors in this screenplay. It is also important to note that it is normal for a screenplay to get ongoing feedback.

Below is the key to the notes I made:

*(CAPS)* - Means that the character’s name selected in red should be in capitol letters. Every time a character is mentioned in the scene description it should be done in caps.

*(CS)* - Means that I was calling shots. The language that results in calling shots is highlighted. This is not proper to do in a script.
All other issues are noted in (text) format. This includes questions that I have thought of while reviewing my work as well as comments that have been made to me.

Before reading the script please know that a good scene should have conflict, reveal character, and advance the plot. Knowing this will help understand some of the comments which I made.

MONTAGE

FADE IN:

Portraits taken by Brady starting with Daguerreotypes. See appendix (This is no appendix, besides this one. The locations where you see this mentioned are where, had this been the final product, I planned to add another component later) for a potential sequence.

TITLE SEQUENCE

Fade in titles over photographers working in Brady's studio. They are setting up and taking portraits. As a negative is exposed, fade to white and have the title
"Civil War Photographers: What really happened" fade in.

EXT. BROADWAY

Long shot (Not supposed to call shots [CS[] of a group of men walking down the street. There is a tall man in the middle, which the rest are surrounding. He is recognizable as Abe Lincoln because his of his hat.

EXT. BROADWAY

Lincoln and his campaign advisers and McCormick (Young Men's Central Republican Union) (3-4 men in addition to Lincoln) are walking down the street.

    MCCORMICK
    Mr. Lincoln, this is Mathew Brady's studio.

    LINCOLN
    Mathew Brady?

    ADVISER #2
    Yes, Mr. Lincoln, we should go inside.

Lincoln pauses for a moment

    LINCOLN
    Yes, I think we shall.

One of Lincoln's men turns and opens the door. Lincoln enters through the door taking off his hat.

INT. BRADY'S BROADWAY STUDIO
Pan around (CS) the studio showing all is filled with the props, equipment, and prints. A specific emphasis is on the portraits hanging on the wall giving the studio a museum feel.

VO
"The floors are carpeted with superior velvet tapestry, highly colored and of a large and appropriate pattern. The walls are covered with... gold paper. The ceiling frescoed, and in the center is suspended a six-light gilt and enameled chandelier, with prismatic drops that throw their enlivening colors in abundant profusion"
Humphrey's Journal of the Daguerreotype June 15, 1853 (Should all be description rather than in Voice Over form)

(describes Brady's old studio. Can I still use this VO here if I somehow indicate that he had moved or something?)

INT. BRADY'S BROADWAY STUDIO - OPERATING ROOM

Stop the pan (CS) on Brady and his men moving props around. Lincoln is sitting down as Brady's assistants work around him. The 17X21 inch camera is in the corner. (Need to give a better description of what this looked like, but did not have the information)

BRADY
Mr. Lincoln please stand over there.

LINCOLN
Stand?
Brady shook his head yes, while Lincoln looks perplexed. His long gangly arms and his adam’s apple stand out greatly against the background as Brady's men continue to work. Brady then turns to Lincoln and says:

BRADY
Mr. Lincoln, please open your coat

Lincoln looks around for a moment. Adviser #1 nods yes. Lincoln unbuttons his coat. Brady then goes over to his right arm and starts to play with the right sleeve. He continues to do this, but walks away. He then walks up to one of his assistants and Brady whispers something to him. The assistant then nods and walks over to Lincoln and starts adjusting his right sleeve as Brady walks to the camera. Brady is squinting while looking at Lincoln. The assistant looks at Brady. Brady nods no. Other assistants are moving around the room setting things up. One assistant is carefully placing books at Lincoln’s side while another is moving around a pillar making sure it is positioned just right. At different times, the assistants look at Brady who nods yes or no. Several assistants then grab a neck immobilizer and set it up on a tripod that they need to prop up to make it tall enough. Once the neck immobilizer is in place, Lincoln is handed a hair brush and mirror and he fixes himself up. Brady then stands by the camera squinting at Lincoln again. Brady shakes his head and walks over to Lincoln (Would be better if had dialogue. Should find out if there was conflict and use that as the way to portray Brady taking Lincoln’s photograph)

BRADY - VO DURING ABOVE
"I had great trouble in making a natural picture."

BRADY (TO LINCOLN) - QUOTE REPHRASED
Mr. Lincoln, please arrange your collar.
Lincoln pulls up the collar. He then looks up.

LINCOLN
"Ah, I see you want to shorten my neck"

BRADY
"That's just it"

They both laugh for a moment. Brady and his assistant then stand by the camera and expose the negative.

INT COOPER UNION (Always need time of day and year)

LINCOLN
(Need to describe him giving the speech and the crowd. I need to try to find this information)
"Mr. President and fellow citizens of New York: -

The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation."

MONTAGE

Citizens (Should be all CAPS) looking at the photo that Mathew Brady took of Lincoln in the newspaper. People trading cartes de visites. Men going to the polles and casting their votes. A slow zoom out (should be caps but CS) on the "Cooper Union Photograph". Fade to panning across (should be caps but CS) of a newspaper headline reading that Lincoln
won the election. (Would be better if I broke this into individual scenes. Need to find out more)

LINCOLN (Maybe better if Citizens read this?) – VO (FOR MONTAGE)
"In his speech last autumn, at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in "The New-York Times," Senator Douglas said:
"Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."
I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: "What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?"
What is the frame of government under which we live?
The answer must be: "The Constitution of the United States."
That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, (and under which the present government first went into operation,) and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789."

INT. SOUTH CAROLINA STATE LEGISLATURE - SECESSION MEETING

Several South Carolinians (CAPS) are sitting down listening to C. G. Memminger (should have some sort of description of Memminger) reading the "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the
Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union". Cut to several close up of men. Various men nodding in agreement as Memminger reads the document.

C. G. MEMMINGER
"The people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, on the 26th day of April, A.D., 1852, declared that the frequent violations of the Constitution of the United States, by the Federal Government, and its encroachments upon the reserved rights of the States, fully justified this State in then withdrawing from the Federal Union; but in deference to the opinions and wishes of the other slaveholding States, she forbore at that time to exercise this right. Since that time, these encroachments have continued to increase, and further forbearance ceases to be a virtue. And now the State of South Carolina having resumed her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act." (I need to figure out a way to set this up because it comes out of no where. Not sure how I would do this.)

MONTAGE (WITH MEMMINGER CONTINUING AS VO)

As the Memminger V.O. continues (need to show that we have gone from the beginning of the speech to the end), montage of Robert E. Lee's letter or resignation from the Union army, other legislators voting to succeed in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, etc., and men getting dressed in blue and grey uniforms. (Need
to describe this better. I should be more specific about what would be seen

C. G. MEMMINGER (VO)
We, therefore, the People of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America, is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State; with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.
Adopted December 24, 1860

INT. WHITE HOUSE (Need to set this up so that it is understood what is happening in this scene)

Brady is sitting down with Lincoln. Lincoln is signing a sheet of paper. The paper says "Pass Brady" and is signed "A. Lincoln". Brady stands up.

BRADY
Thank you Mr. Lincoln. I appreciate your permission and financial backing.

LINCOLN
You’re welcome.

INT. BRADY'S STUDIO (LIBERTIES TAKEN—KNOW HE HAD AN ACCOUNTANT WHO DEALT WITH STUFF LIKE THIS)
Brady is sitting down with his accountant (CAPS).

ACCOUNTANT
Mr. Brady, are you sure this is a good idea?

BRADY
I must follow my instincts and capture this war.

ACCOUNTANT
But you are doing so well at commercial portraits.

BRADY
I must go.

EXT. BATTLE OF BULL RUN

Men (CAPS) IN UNIFORM are fighting on the battle field. Gun shows are being fired. The blue shoots then the gray. The shooting continues as the camera shows people observing the battle. Zooming in (CS) on Brady, McCormick, Hause, Waud and an assistant photographer getting out of a wagon. (I need to describe the people observing the battle, what the wagon looks like, etc)

BRADY - VO DURING ABOVE
“I did have trouble; many objections were raised. However, I went to the first battle of Bull Run with two wagons from Washington. My personal companions were Dick McCormick, then a newspaper writer, Ned Hause and Al Waud, the sketch artist. We stayed all night at Centreville; we got as far as Blackburn’s Ford; we made pictures and expected to be in
Richmond the next day, but it was not so, and so our apparatus was a good deal damaged on the way back to Washington; yet we reached the city.”

EXT. BATTLE OF BULL RUN

Brady and his assistant are taking photographs. The shooting continues. Suddenly, **men in blue and gray** (CAPS) start running everywhere. Brady tries to grab his gear and is almost trampled. The camera is damaged and Brady has to take a moment to regain his balance as he squints to try to figure out where to go.

**VO FROM BRADY CONTEMPORARY**

“[Brady’s party] got so far as the smoke of Bull’s Run, and was aiming the never-failing tube at friends and foes alike, when with the rest of our Grand Army they were completely routed and took to their heels, leaving their photographic accoutrements on the ground, which the rebels, no doubt, pounced upon as trophies of victory. Perhaps they considered the camera an infernal machine. The soldiers live to fight another day, our special friends to make again their photographs”

MONTAGE OF PHOTOS FROM BULL RUN

Brady is showing his pictures back to **people in Washington** (who are these people?). People are impressed by them. Montage includes other photographers deciding to photograph the war. (How does this translate visually?)

**PHOTOGRAPHER #1**

Loot at what Brady did.
PHOTOGRAPHER #1
How beautiful. We must go photograph this war ourselves.

INT. BRADY'S HOUSE

Brady and his wife (CAPS) are sitting down talking.

MRS. BRADY (describe her)
Mathew, are you sure about this.

BRADY
Yes.

Brady begins to pack up some of his clothes with a VO.

VO
"My wife and my most conservative friends had looked unfavorably upon this departure from commercial business and I can only describe the destiny that overruled me by saying, like Euphorion, I felt I had to go. A spirit in me said 'go' and I went"

INT. BRADY'S STUDIO Date and year

15 men are gathered around Brady who is squinting as he talks to them all. Surrounding them are high up men including secret service. (How does this translate visually? How will the audience know who these men are? I need to look up about uniforms and different rankings and use that as a possible solution)

BRADY
Men, can you help me?

They look around and shake their heads
GARDNER
Yes, Mr. Brady

O'Sullivan looks at Gardner

O'SULLIVAN
Yes, Mr. Brady

Other men begin to speak up in unison

MEN
Yes, Mr. Brady

The men start to get their gear together.

INT. CONFEDERATE MEETING (This scene needs action. I need to find out more about their meetings in order to improve this scene)

Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee are talking.

ROBERT E. LEE
Thank you Mr. President. I will serve you proudly as my new rank as General.

Jefferson Davis nods and pats him on the shoulder.

EXT. FIELD - MONTAGE

Wagons being pulled. Photographers exposing negatives in the field. Photographers carrying their large cameras up to 20X24 inches. In some shots the photographers are inside the wagon, while in others they are carrying the equipment.

MONTAGE

Men, women and children trading carte de visites.
VO
“the social currency, the sentimental ‘greenbacks’ of civilization.” - Oliver Wendell Holmes

EXT. FIELD
Gardner is in the field taking portraits of many of the soldiers.

SOLDIER
I'm going to send this home to my woman.

SOLDIER #2
“My uniform being made, in the pride of my heart I had my picture taken to be sent home” - Confederate Lieutenant McHenry Howard

INT. ANTHONY COMPANY

Brady and Edward Anthony (CAPS and need to describe him) are sitting at a desk. Brady hands Anthony a bunch of negatives. Anthony takes the negatives and Brady hands him a wad of cash.

ANTHONY
This covers you from our last batch of carte de visites.

Brady nods his head and checks his pocket for more cash.

EXT. FIELD

O'Sullivan (CAPS) is exposing pictures of a bridge. (I think this is the first time he is set apart and I need to describe O’Sullivan either here or earlier when Brady addresses his group of men. I would
describe him as a younger man, but would need to get some more details about him. Also what is the point of this scene if I have nothing said?)

EXT. FIELD

Gardner (CAPS) is exposing pictures of General McClellan (CAPS). Once he is done he runs over to the portable darkroom to expose them. (Need to describe General McClellan as well as what is Gardner is doing in the dark room.)

EXT. FIELD

O'Sullivan is trying to take photos of a group of men. A drunk officer (CAPS) walks over and steps into the shot.

O'SULLIVAN
Excuse me, Sir.

OFFICER (SLURRING WORDS AND SWAYING BACK AND FORTH)
What are you doing?

O'SULLIVAN
Taking these mens' portraits

OFFICER (SLURRING WORDS AND SWAYING BACK AND FORTH)
Under what authority?

Some men come over to the officer and pull him away from O'Sullivan.

EXT. POTOMAC - GENERAL MCCLELLAN'S TENT (No conflict and no set up to explain why Gardner is receiving this
honor. I need to make it clearer that McClellan and Gardner have become friends while Gardner has taken pictures of McClellan’s troops and the types of situations that Gardner has been a part of as a result)

General McClellan is talking to Gardner.

GENERAL MCCLELLAN
You are now an honorary captain, my friend.

Gardner smiles and they shake hands.

EXT. FIELD

Gardner is in his wagon holding a glass negative. He is putting chemicals on the plate.

VO (Instead of voice over Gardner could be explaining what he is doing to General McClellan)
Alexander Gardner had to prepare his plate before he could expose the negative. The plate had to be wet when this process was done.

EXT FIELD

O'Sullivan is exposing a wet plate.

VO (Instead of voice over, O’Sullivan could be explaining what he is doing to someone. Who?)
Next the photographer, in this case Timothy O'Sullivan had to expose the negative for 15-30 seconds in one swift move by removing the cap from the camera and letting the light hit
the negative.

EXT. FIELD

Gardner in the darkroom

VO (Instead of voice over Gardner could be explaining what he is doing to General McClellan)
The photographer then brings the negative into the darkroom, which for Gardner and others in the field was typically a converted ambulance wagon turned into a darkroom. The photographer then could get the negative back to his boss or the publisher in order for the photograph to be viewed by the public.

INT. ANTHONY COMPANY

Copies of negatives are being made. The back of the photographs say "E&HT Anthony from Photographic negative in Brady’s National Portrait gallery". Pan over (CS) to a sheet of paper that says Mathew Brady at the top. Pan down the paper to show that he owes the Anthonys money.

MONTAGE

People buying carte de visites, album cards or portraits and of photos taken in the field. People reading Harper's (use full name) and Leslie's (use full name) with photographs in them.

EXT. FIELD (TRYING TO BE HISTORICALLY ACCURATE BUT THE STORY BELOW HAPPENED LATER IN THE WAR FROM WHAT I READ
SO IS IT APPROPRIATE TO PUT IT OUT OF ORDER FOR THE SAKE OF THE DRAMA?)

O'Sullivan is taking photographs of a bridge and of engineers fixing the bridge. A gunshot is heard. Then another. The engineers start running everywhere, but O'Sullivan does not move an inch. Bullets are flying everywhere and one almost hits the camera. O'Sullivan continues to expose one final picture. He carefully puts the negative away and then runs off the bridge and hides behind a tree.

INT. BRADY'S STUDIO

Brady is sipping on Brandy (Old Renault) squinting at the contact prints.

EXT FIELD

Gardner has a bunch of soldiers (CAPS) lined up. He takes their pictures one at a time. An officer walks up and cuts the line.

OFFICER
Back to work boys.

INT. HOME OF CIVILIAN WOMAN

The woman is talking to her son as she hands him his bags.

WOMAN
"When you go to Washington if you get your photograph taken I wish you would get a dozen or more if they don’t cost too much. The Girls can hardly wait till they get here" – Oscar Ladley’s mother saying to her son
EXT. FIELD (DID THIS REALLY HAPPEN? CREATIVE LICENSE)

Oscar Ladley (CAPS) is writing a letter home. He seals the envelope after putting in a picture.

EXT. FIELD

O'Sullivan (CAPS) is taking pictures of the wounded. A medic keeps trying to move the man and the man keeps on grabbing his leg.

    O'SULLIVAN
    Please sir, just hold still for a moment longer

The man lets out a scream and keeps moving around.
(Need to give more scene direction here. I envisioned this as a drawn out scene, but need to visually translate that)

EXT. FIELD (Need to have more scenes with conflict similar to this one so that the conflict is built up)

Gardner (CAPS) is talking to General McClellan (CAPS)

    GENERAL MCCLELLAN
    Mr. Gardner, you are doing a great job. When can I get my next picture taken?

    GARDNER
    Thank you sir. I will take another picture for you soon. I just wish Brady would keep paying me. Pictures of you sell so quickly.
GENERAL MCCLELLAN
He is still not paying you?

Gardner shakes his head no.

EXT. BOAT

Brady is sailing on a boat sipping on Brandy. (Is he alone?)

EXT. POINT CITY, VA

Brady is walking around stopping and talking to photographers. The photographers are holding their equipment. They have just gotten back from the war and some have damaged equipment while others have torn clothing. (Need to put this into dialogue in order to have the audience know this piece of information)

BRADY
Excuse me sir.

The man turns and looks at him.

MAN
Yes, Mr. Brady.

BRADY
I am looking for men to join my cause. Will you be among the best?

MAN
Yes Mr. Brady
The two men get back on to the ship and head to NYC. (Need to explain how Brady knows that this man is a good photographer.)

EXT. ANTIETAM (What’s heard? Gunshots?)

Gardner, Brady (CAPS) and other photographers are arriving on scene. Gunshots are being fired. Soldiers are falling dead and getting wounded. People are fleeing the scene.

AFTERMATH ANTIETAM (What’s the dialogue here?)

Gardner (CAPS) is talking with several generals, while Brady (CAPS) is scouting out the location with some of the assistants and other photographers.

EXT. ANTIETAM (What’s heard? I was almost thinking this would be a silent scene to bring out the lifelessness of the bodies)

Gardner (CAPS) is taking photographs with his assistant helping him. The bodies are lifeless and frozen.

EXT. BRADY'S STUDIO

Brady (CAPS) has an ANTIETAM exhibit up of 100 photographs. People (CAPS) are looking at the photographs with disgust as they realize they are looking at dead bodies.

VO

"Let him who wished to know what war is look at this series of illustrations" - Oliver Wendell Holmes
MONTAGE OF ANTIETAM PHOTOS

Montage of photos with VO

VO
October 20 1862 New York Times: “Mr Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of the war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them on our dooryard and along the streets, he has done something very like it... It seems somewhat singular that the same sun that looked down on the faces of the slain, blistering them, blotting out from the bodies all the semblance to humanity, and hastening corruption, should have thus caught their features upon canvas, and given them perpetuity for ever. But is so.”

LOCATION?

Gardner and Brady (CAPS) are talking. Gardner (CAPS) grabs his Antietam photographs and stands up.

GARDNER
Sorry Mathew, but I’m done. I need to support my family.

BRADY
No Alexander, I will get you your money soon.

Gardner (CAPS) continues walking without turning around.
EXT FIELD (LIBERTIES) (Need to build up to this scene showing what they’ve been through together. This happens to quickly.)

Gardner and O'Sullivan are in the field.

GARDNER
I had to leave. I'm starting my own studio with James. It's not just a family business though. I want you to work for me.

O'SULLIVAN
I don't know Alexander. I've known Brady since I was a child, but you're my teacher.

INT. GARDNER'S D.C. STUDIO

Alexander Gardner and James Gardner (CAPS Where does James come from?) are setting up the studio. James is putting cameras in the operating room. Alexander is hanging up his Antietam photos.

MONTAGE

Gardner talking with several Generals, head of secret service, and other high up men. He is shaking their hands.

INT. BRADY'S STUDIO (LIBERTIES)

Brady and O'Sullivan are talking.

BRADY
He left and took the Antietam photographs.
O'SULLIVAN
You owe us money. I don't blame him. Mathew, I have known you both for years, but if I don't get my payment soon, I may leave as well.

EXT. FIELD

O'Sullivan is in the field. He is exposing photos on the landscapes around him. He packs up his camera equipment.

INT. BRADY'S STUDIO

Brady and O'Sullivan are in a room. O'Sullivan hands his equipment back to Brady.

BRADY
Timothy, don't do this my boy.

O'SULLIVAN
I'm sorry Mathew, but I'm going to join Alexander and James in their quest.

O'Sullivan walks out.

MONTAGE OF PHOTOS FROM 1861 AND 62

See appendix for potential photos to go here.

HARPERS/LESLIE SCENE NEED MORE RESEARCH HERE - TALK ABOUT SKETCH ARTISTS HERE
INT. BRADY'S STUDIO

Brady (CAPS) is holding his newly published book. He is then looking at Gardner's Photographic Incidents of the War. Brady shakes his head because Gardner's photos are better. Brady then writes a letter (to whom?) claiming the photos as his own even though the audience can clearly see Gardner (CAPS) gave everyone individual credit. (This scene is confusing. I meant it as Brady is alone. Why would he be shaking his head? How is this adding to my story? How can this been shown visually?)

EXT. BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Shots are being fired. A man on the Union side falls then a man on the Confederate side. A Confederate flag is waving high as Brady and his men arrive on scene to see both O'Sullivan and Gardner already there exposing negatives.

EXT. BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Lincoln arrives on scene.

   LINCOLN
   Mr. Gardner, can you please take a photograph for me?

Gardner (CAPS), exclusively takes Lincoln's portrait with O'Sullivan's help.

EXT. BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Gardner, O'Sullivan, and Brady's men (CAPS) are all competing to take photographs of the aftermath. The
men cross paths a few times. Brady (CAPS) turns to O'Sullivan (CAPS).

BRADY
Timothy, will you take my photograph?

O'SULLIVAN
Sure Mathew.

O'Sullivan (CAPS) walks away from Brady (CAPS) and puts down his equipment. He then takes out a glass negative from his carefully wrapped bundle of them. He signals to Brady that he is ready and then exposes the negative. O'Sullivan then gives the negative to Brady.

BRADY
Thank you Timothy.

Brady (CAPS) then gives the negative to his assistant (CAPS) who then heads to the darkroom to develop the negative. (Need to make clear that the darkroom is the wagon mentioned before so that by now the audience knows that this is what the assistant is going to do)

MONTAGE (END OF THE WAR)

Montage of images from the rest of the war. Including those from Petersburg. See appendix for images.

EXT. WEST (Where exactly?) 1867

O'Sullivan (CAPS) is traveling on the King expedition out West. His gear is on multiple mules that his assistants (CAPS) are keeping track of. O'Sullivan (CAPS) stops and unpacks on of the mules. Kings realizes that O'Sullivan (CAPS) stops and the rest of the party does as well. O'Sullivan (CAPS) sets up his
shot and exposes it. He then takes the negative to the darkroom.

EXT. RAILROAD (Where exactly?) 1867

Gardner (CAPS) is taking photographs of the railroad. He has several photographers and assistants (CAPS) with him. He is in charge.

GARDNER (TO A PHOTOGRAPHER)
Go photograph that part of the track at the end over there.

EXT. BRADY'S STUDIO - 1867

Brady has a bunch of boxes full of negatives, carte de visites, and albums cards. There is a bunch of camera equipment being hauled off by two men. Zoom in (CS) to show a sign on the studio "Closed". In on of the boxes, there is a pile of bills. A man is examining all of the boxes.

MAN
Anything left to sell?

BRADY
No.

Brady hauls off the boxes with his shoulders slouching and a frown on his face.

INT. BRADY'S HOUSE 1880

Brady is at his desk. He is writing a letter. Show the copy of the letter. (The visual here would be a copy of the letter)
VO OF THE LETTER BY BRADY
I have just learned that Mr. Timothy H. O. Sullivan is an applicant for the situation of photographer of the Treasury department made vacant by the death of L. E. Weber. I have known Mr. Sullivan from boyhood and know that he is a through expert at his business and a very reliable man. It gives me a great pleasure to recommend him for the position. M. B. Brady

LOCATION?

Who does this?? O'Sullivan is offered a position of the chief photographer of the Department of Secretary.

Thesis Summary

The capstone that I wrote is my version of combining my passions for the television and film industries with my passion for history. At first I did not know how I wanted to do this, but after a lot of thought and a lot of discussion with my advisors, I produced this capstone about how a work changes in response to the research.
Producing this project was a very complicated process, which was two years in the making. This process started with the conception of the project and followed the project through the process of changing the format of the project, lack of information, writers block, and questions about ethics.

My original intent was to create a documentary comparing how photography was used in the Civil War versus how film and television were used as a medium in the Vietnam War. In other words how the images were made in both wars, how the public saw the images, and the public reaction. I felt that both these wars were important because they show how each medium was used for the first time so vastly in a war.

My project changed greatly over the two years, while I worked on it. It ended up being quite different and only focused on Civil War photography. The focus just on the Civil War came after my realization that it would take many many years and lots of money (to buy rights to the copyright) in order to complete a project about both Vietnam and the Civil War. After finding out a bit about each topic, I decided Civil War photography, was a less explored topic and one that interested me more. I knew that there were some documentaries about Civil War photography.

Rather than creating a documentary as the final project, I tried to write a screenplay about Civil War Photography. I found that during my visits to the Eastman House and from talking to a few historians including Will Stapp, that I was more interested in the photographers themselves rather than the public reaction.
As a result, I ended up focusing my research on three specific men: Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, and Timothy O’Sullivan. Each of these men made a big contribution to Civil War photography.

Mathew Brady who owned two studios is the most well known of the three. President Lincoln considered Brady responsible for getting him elected because of a photograph that Brady took of Lincoln. Brady was often given credit for the work of Gardner and O’Sullivan as well as many other photographers who worked for him. A horrible businessman, Brady did not always pay his photographers the way he should have. Lack of pay led to conflict with Gardner and O’Sullivan causing them to leave his studio.

Alexander Gardner had worked with Brady for several years before leaving Brady’s studio. Gardner was more knowledgeable in some aspects of the field than Brady. Before the Civil War, Gardner had managed Brady’s Washington D.C. studio, which is where Gardner started his own studio in 1862 after leaving Brady’s studio due to disagreements over money.

While Timothy O’Sullivan had great ties to both men, soon after Gardner left Brady’s studio, O’Sullivan joined Gardner. Knowing Brady since he was a boy, O’Sullivan had become Brady’s apprentice at a young age. He then went on to work with Gardner in D.C. where he continued to learn the business. O’Sullivan, however, is most famous for the photography he did after the Civil War; O’Sullivan took three trips surveying the West and Panama.

The three men are all very complex, and that was part of the problem faced when trying to write a screenplay about them. I also faced an issue with not
having access to any of their diaries, due to them being destroyed. I soon realized that having access to primary material is very important when writing a historically accurate screenplay because it would have allowed me access to some of the emotions and personality traits that one cannot learn from secondary sources.

Once I realized that I did not have these diaries, I hit a major roadblock. Not only did I have writers block when I tried to write the screenplay, but once I finally made an attempt to write the screenplay, it did not do the characters justice. I had to figure out what to do next.

As a result, my advisors and I decided the best thing to do was to write a paper analyzing the process by which I went through in order to complete my project. The paper explores the topics discussed above in more detail.

A major portion of the project was also looking at ethics. Not only was this something that I battled with while writing the screenplay and the analytical paper, but the discussion of ethics is also a big part of the project’s significance.

Ethics came into question when I decided my screenplay should be a historical drama. The problem was that without primary sources there were certain facts that ended up being fabricated. This brought into question whether or not what I wrote was true enough? I use the term true enough because nothing can be one hundred percent true since there is always bias and other factors that can alter the truth. I struggled with this question of my work being true enough and decided the screenplay was not. My discussion of ethics makes this project significant, however, since I concluded that both historians and filmmakers
(especially documentarians) struggle with these questions all of the time and it has to be the individual’s own judgment call. In my case, I felt the way I would have to write the screenplay in order to do Brady, Gardner and O’Sullivan justice would involve going against what I thought would be ethical.

This project is also significant because of what I learned from it. I not only learned about the obstacles that historians and documentarians face, but also about myself. I learned that historians and documentarians might spend five years on a project similar to what I did and may have to stop work on it because they hit a brick wall as I did. The biggest thing I learned was that as long as you learn something, the project is not a failure.