Proceedings of The National Conference
On Undergraduate Research (NCUR) 2016
University of North Carolina Asheville
Asheville, North Carolina
April 7-9, 2016

Socio-Political Climate and the Evolution of Techniques in War Photography: An Exploration of the Validity of Photographic Reproductions as Reliable Historic Documents

Dorothe Santistevan
Art History
The University of North Carolina at Asheville
One University Heights
Asheville, NC 28804 USA

Faculty Advisors: Dr. Cynthia Canejo, Dr. Eva Hericks-Bares

Abstract

Focusing on the American Civil War (1861-1865), World War II (1939-1945), and the Vietnam War (1955-1975), this paper will investigate the ways in which war photography has evolved not only in regards to technical advances, but also in response to the ever changing socio-political climate of the country. Since, in many cases, specific resources about selected photographs are sparse, any conclusions drawn heavily depend on analysis of the images within the context of the socio-political situation. By using primary source material (including access to quality photographic reproductions and historical documents and film) as well as scholarly research into the history of photography as it is situated in times of war, this study will draw conclusions through analysis of iconic photographs from each time period. The inherent reliability of photographs in conjunction with their function in times of war is a connection that is rarely drawn in scholarly research, although the two ideas are drawn separately. This paper joins the two ideas, pulling together the relationship between war, each artist's truth, the public's perception of their truth, and how that collective cultural interpretation can move people. Through staging of dead soldiers to create an emotionally heightened image, manipulating the German people into supporting a despotic leader, or negating support of the Vietnam War within the United States, these photographs of conflict have had the power to sway the public into believing and supporting a cause, thereby making photographic reproduction the most influential form of accessible visual culture.

Keywords: Authenticity, Photography, War

Introduction

The experience of war is at the very core of our human history, but the ability to document these events through the medium of photography only became practical in the 1850s. While early techniques of photography were not capable of capturing action, the development of better technologies meant that photography and war would become inextricably linked. The coverage of the American Civil War (1861-1865), primarily undertaken by Mathew Brady (1822-1896) and his New York studio of photographers, is one of the earliest examples of this connection.[1] These photographs were primarily taken post-battle; only advances in both film and camera equipment during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries allowed action shots to become an established part of the lexicon of war photography.

From the time of its inception, photography has served many purposes. In the early years, it was seen primarily as a medium to document the world and an attractive, albeit expensive, hobby for Victorian scientists.[2] In addition to documentary photographs, there were also trick photographs. Spirit photography is one example of the ways in which

photographs created their own world. They were made by a practice which involved using double exposures to create a ghostly image in the background of a photograph.[3]

In wartime, photographs have been used to gain the support of civilians or to rally protest against unjust wars. Focusing on selected images from the American Civil War (1861-1865), World War II (1939-1945), and the Vietnam War (1955-1975), this thesis will investigate the ways in which war photography has evolved. This development not only considers technical advances, but also responses to the ever changing socio-political climate of the country. Whether this means staging of dead soldiers to create an emotionally heightened image, or presenting a view of family that manipulates the German people into supporting a despotic leader, or creating a view of war that decreases support of the Vietnam War within the United States, photographs of the world in times of conflict have had the power to sway the public into believing and supporting a cause, thereby making photographic reproduction the most influential form of readily accessible visual culture.

A Brief Context and History of the Photograph

Photographs capture the essence of reality and, since the invention of photography, have held a mythical sense of being unshakably accurate.[4] From the time of its inception, photography has been perceived to be truthful because it incorporated a new technology whose purpose was to literally take in light through a lens and reproduce the marks made by that light on a piece of paper or glass (and later brass, tin, etc.). Although a camera cannot manipulate the world around us, it was once believed that photographs could reveal the aspects that could not be perceived by the human eye. Walter Benjamin, a Romantic German philosopher said, "In photography, process reproduction can bring out those aspects of the original that are unattainable to the naked eye yet accessible to the lens, which is adjustable and chooses its angle at will. And photographic reproduction, with the aid of certain processes… can capture images which escape natural vision."[5] The belief that photographs can reveal parts of the world previously unseen is still held in some ways to this day. The myth of the reliability of the photograph has had a profound hold on people, but its power over the viewer has diminished over time.

One of the earliest known photographs, *View From the Window at Les Gras* (1826), a heliograph by Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833), shows the roofline of the house outside his window.[6] This work was taken over a period of about eight hours, during which the sun had time to move from east to west, removing any trace of a shadow from the buildings in the remaining image.[7] The original plate of the heliograph is extremely difficult to read, but there are outlines that suggest the presence of buildings and rooflines. Any readable images that can be found today in no way represent the way it looks without modern manipulation.[8] The distinct black and white tones would have been a dull, even gray across the image. With increased contrast, however, it becomes clear that the heliograph shows a roofline. This photograph literally conveys what the camera "saw" outside the window. It is not, however, what I would consider to be a realistic representation of the world as seen from the window that day in Les Gras. In this way, the heliograph was a less reliable recording than the human eye would have been.

A later photograph by Louis Daguerre (1787-1851), *View of Boulevard du Temple* (1838-39) exhibits a city street, seemingly devoid of all but two figures.[9] This seems an unlikely scenario considering that the photograph was taken during the day on a popular Parisian boulevard. The photograph only contains two people because it was exposed over a matter of several minutes and, in that time, the other people on the street were moving too quickly to be captured by the long exposure setting required of the camera. After Daguerre showed him the photograph, Samuel Morse, the American inventor, wrote to his brother:

> No painting or engraving ever approached it...objects moving are not impressed. The Boulevard, so constantly filled with a moving throng of pedestrians and carriages was perfectly solitary, except an individual who was having his boots brushed. His feet were compelled, of course, to be stationary for some time… Consequently his boots and legs were well defined, but he is without body or head, because these were in motion.[10]

In a similar way to Niépce's heliograph, Daguerre's photograph shows some aspect of reality. The buildings and street are reproduced accurately and are better exposed than Niépce's *View From the Window*, but this is not an absolutely accurate rendition one of the busiest streets in nineteenth century Paris.

There are many instances of similar interactions with photographers walking the fine line between accurate and inaccurate depictions in their photography. Photographs have the potential to create more precise renditions than paintings ever could. Even so, the rawness of early photographs, although not entirely factual depictions, hinted at

some semblance of reality, and thus probably appealed to the viewers more so than the larger-than-life history painting genre. In the end, photographs themselves are interpretations of the world, which have the capability to deceive the viewer into thinking that the image they are seeing is an uncontestable reflection of reality.

The concept of authenticity in art is complex, as authenticity can only exist in relation to something else. Scholar Denis Dutton discusses the term "authenticity," and identifies two types of authenticity in art: nominal authenticity, "the correct identification of the origins, authorship, or provenance of an object" and expressive authenticity, which has, "to do with an object's character as a true expression of an individual's or a society's values and beliefs."[11] In this thesis, the greater concern is with expressive authenticity, as the works deal with historic events. When a photograph is manipulated or staged so as to appear genuine, it is simultaneously an authentic image and an image capturing an inauthentic scene.

There is a tertiary definition of authentic that pertains to the cultural understanding of photography at the time of its conception. The camera is a piece of technology that strictly lends itself to documenting from life. The camera has no bias, it includes in the image only what is put in front of the lens. Because of the technical aspects of photography versus painting, there was an amount of faith put in the precision of images produced by a camera that would not have necessarily have been placed on paintings. The concept of photographs as a documentary object would permeate throughout the larger society and in some ways is still part of the modern collective understanding of photography.

In Peter Mason's research on ethnographic painting, he describes the painter Albert Bierstadt, who took photographs and artifacts to create paintings the fused elements from real American Indian life as well as imagined scenes to create paintings that appeared to be sources of documentary information.[12] According to Mason, "the 'truth' of the parts led viewers to believe in the 'truth' of the whole."[13] In the case of many photographs discussed in this thesis, factual elements will be combined with a constructed reality based in the spirit of the truth, rather than the purely factual sense. In this way, they will be a symbolic representation of historical events, in some ways becoming a more telling depiction than strictly documentary photographs.

Staging in Civil War Photographs

Before the invention of the camera, history paintings were the only visual documentations of war; even so, they usually embodied an idea backed by political leanings rather than being an unbiased depiction of an event. The presence of propagandistic forces in paintings is something that is also at play in photography, although the fundamental authenticity of the photograph gives a weight to images that can convince a viewer that what they are seeing is true. Seeing a photograph of a dead body is far more startling than viewing a painting of one; an illustration of a dead body is no more than seeing the artist's interpretation of a corpse made by paints that have no connection to the subject. Knowing that the deceased persons were real, and that the artist was in fact there with them intensifies the visual impact and strengthens the belief in the photograph's inherent validity. This turns the representation from a biased evaluation of events in a painting to an aggressive confrontation of the viewer's mortality through the photograph.

Though many photographers covered the events of the Civil War, none is more historically relevant than Mathew Brady, probably due to his status before the War. He began working with portraiture in the early 1840s in New York City, making miniatures as well as daguerreotypes. By 1844 he had opened his own daguerreotype studio and was receiving awards for his images, as a celebrity photographer, and his gallery was filled from head to floor with portraits he had taken or directed.[14] His interest in portraiture and the individual played a major role in the photographs taken by his studio during the Civil War. There were few images of large groups of unidentified men, as had been seen in Fenton's coverage of the Crimean War.

After Fenton's success during the Crimean War, Brady could not pass up the opportunity to make history by comprehensively documenting war for the first time in the United States. He saw himself as a "pictorial historian," and perhaps his ego drew him to document the Civil War, despite the risk.[15] Being a photographer in the Civil War meant following around a battalion and, consequently, sometimes being caught up in battles. Oliver Wendell Holmes remarked in his 1859 essay, "The very things which an artist would leave out, or render imperfectly, the photograph takes infinite care with, and so makes its illusions perfect. What is the picture of a drum without the marks on its head where the beatings of the sticks has darkened the parchment?"[16] This illusion was seen as both a blessing and a curse, particularly in the pictures of the dead in Civil War battles. *The New York Times* reviewed Brady's exhibition of *The Dead at Antietam*, saying, "Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our door-yards and along the streets, he has done something very like it."[17] By equating the impact and physicality of the dead bodies in the photographs to actual corpses, the reviewer testified that recognition of the photograph as a perfectly life-like, and accurate, representation of the world.

At the time, Brady's Civil War photographs were extremely shocking due to the way they portrayed dead bodies. Ironically, death was a surprisingly common subject in nineteenth century photography. Post-mortem photography was in regular practice by this time in both Europe and the United States, and oftentimes it was the only picture ever taken of a person.[18] The portraits of the dead were different from photographs of dead bodies on the battlefield because they were part of contemporary grieving ritual, which had come to include a post-mortem portrait. In any case, the dead were ideal subjects for early photography because they did not move.

During the nineteenth century, family members typically died at home where they would be bathed, clothed and mourned. A post-mortem photograph became common, especially for a dead child or for a person who had never had a portait taken. Photographs helped commemorate the dead in a way that made them appear alive. Due to the familiarity with death during Victorian-era United States, the dead on the battlefields of Bull Run or Antietam could or would be tolerated. However, this was a type of dead body many people had never contended with before: a body ravaged by war. This body had not been bathed and dressed by family members before burial, but had been left where it fell, was ransacked for supplies, and, in some cases, dragged around and posed for portraits. The mixed reviews and reactions Brady received when he exhibited his series of photographs can be traced to the differences between the established mourning rituals and post-mortem photography.

During the Civil War, exposure times for photographs were not much better in the field than they were in the studio. While Brady had made the move to the faster process of wet-plate photography, there was still a need for a period of motionlessness to get a crisp image.[19] For this reason, there are very few images of active battle scenes from the Civil War. While the photographers followed battalions and were present for battles, the scenes were typically not documented until the action had subsided. There is one notable instance of a photographer being caught up in the battle; Brady was lost in the battle of Bull Run and did not reappear for three days, when he showed up in Washington, D.C. hungry and exhausted, but unharmed.[20] Most often, after a battle was over, or when a truce day had been called by both the Union and the Confederation, photographers—primarily those from Mathew Brady's New York studio—would survey the ravaged landscape for the most picturesque view.[21]

Even though these works were typically read as genuine, they were frequently staged. Alexander Gardner (1821-1882), one of the Brady Studio's top photographers, is infamous for his photograph, *Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter* (1863), because later analysis showed that he adjusted the scene to emphasize the emotional aspects.[22] It is even rumored that he carried the body to that location because he found the spot to be ideal for a poignant portrait.[23] We know now that, at the very least, he rotated the dead soldier so he faced the camera and replaced the gun with one that he (Gardner) carried with him.

In a similar image by Gardner, *A Sharpshooter's Last Sleep* (1863), a soldier lays on the ground, facing away from the viewer, with his gun and hat on the ground near his head.[24] The soldiers in these two images by Gardner are eerily similar, causing scholars to suspect that they are in fact the same soldier photographed in two different locations. Gardner might have taken multiple photographs in an attempt to exploit the situation to have the greatest emotional effect on the viewer, which would explain the fact that the photograph *Home* has received more recognition than *Sharpshooter*.

Most of the existing photographs from the Civil War originate from the Mathew Brady Studio, likely as a result of his political connections.[25] Because of his celebrity, Brady had been chosen to photograph Abraham Lincoln during his presidential campaign, and Lincoln partially credited Brady with winning him the presidency.[26] Lincoln later repaid Brady with his personal authorization to follow the Union armies and document the war.[27] General McDowell had reservations about letting Brady and company follow his battalion, but ultimately let them join their group and photograph their day-to-day life. Brady and his photographers exposed some 7,000 negatives during their stay with the battalion, which included images of life in the camps as well as landscapes of bridges, fortifications, hospitals, cities, and many portraits of the soldiers.[28]

By this time, Brady was almost completely blind and took few of his own photographs. Instead, much of his time was spent in Washington, orchestrating the numerous photographers that worked under him. He had a group of skilled artists working for him, including Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan (1840-1882). Both artists had been taught to create the kind of photographs Brady preferred. Even though these men produced some of the most iconic photographs of the Civil War, they did not received recognition for their photographs at first. Brady was credited and praised for any and all artworks stemming from his studio.[29]

One of the most easily recognized photographs from the American Civil War is Timothy O'Sullivan's *A Harvest of Death* (July, 1863), a piece originally attributed to Brady.[30] The photograph was shot fairly low to the ground with a shallow depth of field and is focused on a deceased soldier on the field of Gettysburg, likely a Union soldier.[31] The haze of early morning makes for an intensely blurred background, as the mist gets denser. The camera seems to have been angled or placed on uneven footing when the photograph was taken, because the ground appears to tilt slightly to the left. It is possible that the slope of the photograph was meant to amplify the emotional effect of the image by

making everything feel a little askew to the viewer. The ground within the frame—and likely the ground outside the confines of the photograph— remains littered with the dead following the battle. More than a dozen bodies can be counted, creating a manageable portion of the horrific nature of war for the public to digest.

There are at least two living people in this photograph, both faded into silhouettes in the background. A man on a horse faces to the right near the center of the photograph, surveying the damage the battle has done. Another man, possibly with another horse, stands to his right. They are surrounded by piled up corpses, indistinguishable from one another in the misty morning. The grass and earth of the foreground are crisp in detail, but the blown out sky is stripped of any defining features.

The primary subject of the image, the foremost soldier, lies supine with his head turned toward the camera, his mouth agape. His right arm stretches out above his head toward a nearby fallen soldier. The dead man's body rests in a group of four other soldiers in the immediate foreground. Of the front grouping of deceased soldiers, only one face can be seen. The face is contorted in such a way that his face appears to be all mouth, his other features distorted by death. He and any other dead soldiers seen are wearing only socks on their feet, their boots having been recycled to be used by other soldiers.[32] The silhouette-like mountainous horizon line has the slightest hints of foliage.

Despite the nature of the photograph, the scenery is eerily striking. The field might be quite beautiful were it not the recent scene of a grisly battle. This juxtaposition of the striking scenery and the post-battle landscape epitomizes the way in which photographs were taken during the Civil War. Hunting for the picturesque was one of the primary goals of the photographers, who often went to extreme lengths to find as evocative a scene. Regarding the image, Gardner writes in his book, *Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War*, "Such a picture conveys a useful moral: It shows the blank horror and reality of war, in opposition to its pageantry. Here are the dreadful details! Let them aid in preventing such another calamity falling upon the nation."[33] The intention of all the photographs taken by the Brady Studio in the years of the Civil War had one purpose: to expose the ills of war to the unknowing world so that this horror might be prevented in the future.[34]

While photographs of the civil war were backed by the proposition to end wars by exposing them, they were still carried by the idea that they were purely documentary, even though the photographers were using visual manipulation to suggest meaning. This type of visual propaganda was not successful in its intention, but it does begin to support the type of system wherein photographs of war can be used in the same ways history paintings were, but on a larger scale, reaching many more people.

World War II and Manipulation

The photographs taken during the Crimean War by Roger Fenton established the base lexicon for a style that all wars documented afterward would draw upon and evolve from. Since technical restrictions made landscapes the best way to record the events of war during the 1850s, that style remained an important factor in the staging of photographs during the Civil War in the following decade. Gardner, Brady, and O'Sullivan amended the visual rhetoric with the inclusion of individualized portraits, both of the live soldiers and the deceased. Images of the dead were hardly a novelty at this time, but the photographs of dead soldiers disrupted the few understood rules about photographing conflict. The ways that dead soldiers were used by Brady and company to create emotionally charged images were an early visual propaganda against wars of all kinds.

Propaganda is neither good nor bad, according to scholars Steven Luckert and Susan Bachran, it is simply, "the dissemination of information, whether truthful, partially truthful, or blatantly false, that aims to shape public opinion and behavior."[35] Propaganda during World War II took many forms on both sides of the conflict, including painted posters, video and film, radio, and newspapers.[36] Photograph-based propaganda served to foster a more intimate connection between Hitler and the German people. In the later chapters of the war, propaganda began to focus more tightly on German family values while primarily accenting children to elicit a sympathetic advocacy. Unlike Gardner and O'Sullivan's use of dead bodies to demystify the realities of combat, Hitler's propaganda was used to intentionally mystify the conflict, thereby providing the illusion of safety to the masses while he privately decimated large parts of the population.

Widely used in World War I, visual propaganda was frequently incorporated by the United States to rally support for their soldiers, and demonizing the enemy rather than belittling them.[37] By creating pro-American imagery, the people making the art were able to harness the majority of the country to back their participation in World War I. Adolf Hitler praised the propaganda put out by the United States and Britain during World War I in *Mein Kampf*.[38] He was inspired to imitate the guidelines he felt they followed in his own propaganda.[39]

Under the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), Germany was in a state of flux. The Treaty of Versailles, signed after their defeat in World War I, created for the German people a feeling of "international disgrace" that "embodied domestic disorder"[40] The Great Inflation of 1923 destabilized the value of currency after the government attempted to quell a worker's strike by printing wagon loads of money to finance passive resistance.[41] Hitler attempted to seize control while Germany was under these uncertain political times by working with the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), of which he was the leader.

After a march on Berlin in November 1923 and a failed coup d'état, Hitler was arrested and remained in jail until his early release in December 1924.[42] While imprisoned, Hitler reflected on the future of the Nazi Party and dictated what would eventually become the manuscript for *Mein Kampf* (My Fight), 1925. In the book, Hitler outlines his *Weltanschauung* (worldview), or ideology, for the continuation of Germany and the NSDAP. The pillars of his *Weltanschauung* were anti-Semitism and living space in the east. He believed their race-value would only be secured if the German race was purified, and if they conquered more territory around Germany.[43] These same kinds of ideas are present in the 1920 Nazi Party twenty-five point program, which included many notes of racial purity.[44]

After his release from prison, Hitler began his political campaign to seize control of Germany. The propaganda of the campaign focused on Hitler himself rather than the party because of his oratory charisma. One poster, made in 1932, highlighted the idea of Hitler being the savior of the nuclear German family.[45] Another was simply a photograph of Hitler's head with his surname beneath.[46] The stability that was promised by Hitler and the NSDAP was irresistible to the German people struggling under the Weimar Republic. The need for stability in government and home life was capitalized on in later propaganda as well as the early posters.

In 1933, Hitler was elected chancellor of Germany, and he quickly managed to gain control of all forms of media in one way or another. Within the first 100 days in office, the Decree for the Protection of the People and the State, which suspended the rights of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and other means to suppress publications.[47] In March of 1933, the Dachau concentration camp was opened, and was filled by July with persons detained without indictment or trial. Germany had effectively become a single-party state, where any outstanding parties were either banned or were bullied into dissolution.

Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Minister of Propaganda, managed to gain control over news outlets by distributing directives to both regional and local papers.[48] These directives contained guidelines dictating what could and could not be reported, threatening those who failed to comply with internment at a concentration camp. Similar steps were taken when Goebbels took over radio broadcasts through a new set of regulations and a purging of non-compliant staff. Finally, the Nazi regime acquired the privatized industry of film when they obtained Ufa (*Universum Film*) in 1937.[49] By 1942, they had effectively nationalized the German film industry by using a giant holding company called Ufi.[50]

Once the state had seized control over the education system and the mass media, Nazi propaganda primarily existed to perpetuate two types of myths: those of *Der Führer*, the Leader, and those of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the national German community.[51] Because of the economic and political turmoil of the Weimar Republic, stability not only in government, but in community, was an attractive idea. It would mean reconciliation between the economic classes within Germany while, "excluding 'foreigners' from the racially defined state (*Volk*)."[52] This is the reason the idea was so appealing to the younger generation, in particular. Nazis had an interest in attracting young Germans, and considered itself to be, "the party of youth." [53]

In one such propaganda poster a group of young children stand surrounding a group of girls pushing strollers.[56] Some of the girls push around baby dolls, but one has a real baby in the confines of her basket. It is a lovely day, and all the girls are dressed in summery dresses with bows in their hair. A small group of boys stands a bit farther back, smiling, their hands in their pockets, watching the girls play mommy. The background is lush grass although the children stand together on a patch of pavement. They appear to be in a park, with fences separating the grass from the pavement. They are playing together in a community area. With the exception of one little girl staring directly at the viewer, all the children are smiling, and appear to be invested and engaged in their game. Overlayed across the charming black and white image of perfect German children in a confrontational red headline, which says *Dafür kämpfen wir/ für das Brot Unserer Kinder* (That is What We Are Fighting For/ the Bread for Our Children).

This miniature version of the idealized German family and community is referenced also by the headline—"That is What We Are Fighting For/ the Bread for Our Children." In order to become good Germans when they grow up, they must be dedicated to the nuclear family and the duties inherent to that lifestyle. The only way to guarantee their future is to follow Hitler, who will show the way to an idealized racial state. The reference here to bread is one found in many pieces of propaganda, particularly in the election posters for Hitler. *Brotzeit* (Bread time) is a German snack or meal centered around bread. In many of the early election posters for Hitler, promises to provide *brot* (bread) were made.[57] By appealing to the things most important to the Germans who had lived in uncertainty before and during the

Weimar Republic—bread and the nuclear family—he was able to solidity core values that would continue throughout his regime.

There are many references in this image that reinforce Hitler's German values. With minor exception, the children have light hair and light skin. They are enjoying their day in a place that symbolized community and togetherness: the neighborhood park. They are a condensed idealization of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. By representing a concept that the entire nation was striving to achieve, both for themselves and for their children, it was easy for the NSDAP to present a persuasive argument to join their party.

German gender roles are enforced in this image as well. The girls, some of which are toting real children around, are being motherly and decidedly family oriented. The young boys stand off to the side, not actively participating in the metaphorical family, but still admiring it all the same.

The concept of the nuclear family shows up again and again. The use of children in photographic propaganda in later posters magnified the emotional attachment to the Nazi Party because of the association with family and the future. For the same reasons that Civil War photographs were more affecting than large scale paintings of battle scenes, photographic propaganda was more effective way to disseminate information through emotional tactics.

On a poster advertising for the Hitler Youth, we see a blonde boy from the shoulders up looking out and up, possibly toward the future.[58] The boy's figure has been colored in such a way that he is in contrast to the black and white background. Behind him, the face of Hitler looks to the right, his features almost glowing. The child's expression mirrors that of Hitler: they gaze in the same direction together. The poster has two lines of words: one main line at the top, and a subheading at the bottom. The main headline says *Jugend dient dem Führer* (Youth Serve the Führer), and the subheading *Alle Zehnjährigen in die HJ* (All Ten-Year-Olds in the Hitler Youth).

The parallels between the boy and Hitler are striking. They both gaze in the same direction with the same hopeful look in their eyes to symbolize of the direct connection between Hitler and the Hitler Youth. The enormity of Hitler's head makes him an almost godlike figure, turning the boy into a worshipper of his ideology. On Hitler's deified head, it can be seen that his eyes have been lightened from their true dark brown color. His hair has not been lightened, probably because that was too recognizable of a feature. However, for Hitler the ideal German race had light skin, light hair, and light eyes, this is a curious way that he was showing himself to represent those values to the world.

In this poster, the same values of the ideal German future are present as in the previous propaganda poster. If Hitler is the epitome of German manhood, then the young boy is looking toward his future as a German man. In turn, the adults seeing the poster would have seen their own children growing into upstanding German adults. In these posters we can see the beginnings of an alignment of values that Hitler would be instilling into the German youth as well as their parents, and the swelling national pride that accompanies it.

The propaganda of World War II is not unlike that of the Civil War, although they were implemented in extremely different manners. Through the use of visual manipulation, ideas were spread through a wide population as a result of the reproducibility of the photograph. While the photographs of the Civil War were not reproduced and distributed as World War II propaganda posters were, their goals were the same. The myth of the infallibility of the photograph is applicable here, as it informs the reception of these images. Their inherent reliability caused their viewers to believe in them, despite the manipulation of both the images themselves, and the situations they documented.

The Vietnam War and Anti-War Sentiment

Photography functions in specific ways for each war documented. Photographs taken during the Civil War documented the evidence, for the first time, of the brutality of ground wars in order to expose their barbaric nature. Photograph-based Nazi propaganda was used during World War II to promote German values while diverting attention away from the atrocities committed. Both of these eras used manipulation techniques to inform their photographs, and in turn influence their viewers. During the Vietnam War, however, when protest became a critical part of the era, photographs acted as fuel for the anti-war movement and helped create general dissention among the American population. The assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 and the rise of the civil rights movement and student protests across the country, meant that the United States was in the throes of change in the 1960s. The foundation of the American government was shaken, and the fractured country was revealed through the horrific images of Vietnam. Instead of the hopeful picture of unharmed heroic troops meant to rally support for Americans fighting Nazis in World War II, Vietnam produced pictures of civilians bombed with Napalm and assassinations held in the streets. The themes of these images stand in stark contrast to the visual rhetoric of war photography that we had experienced up until this point.

During the Vietnam War, censorship of the media was not as heavily enforced as it had been in previous wars. Unlike World War II and the Korean War, photographs of the fighting in Vietnam were not screened before they were published.[59] Documentation of active fighting is another aspect that sets this war apart from its predecessors. Despite animosity between the military and the media, the Pentagon recognized the real necessity of having the press on the battlefield, and made every effort to make sure they were present.[60] Never before had the government sought out journalistic aid to expose any aspect of a war.

The strong anti-war sentiment among the American youth in the Vietnam era was reflected in the ways that the Vietnam War was reported and photographed. The United States, reeling from the assassination of President Kennedy in the early months of the war, became a nation with a lower sense of nationalism than in the previous four decades. In addition to the tragedy of the president's death, student protests were was on the rise. Following the radicalization of the civil rights movement as seen with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) followed in their footsteps. These students, children of the baby boom, were the most well-educated young adults the country had ever seen. University attendance jumped up from 15 to 44 percent of young high school graduates age 18 to 22 between 1940 and 1965.[61] Their social circumstances helped make the students more receptive to societal criticisms because of the prevalence of material goods. With no pressure to "make it" they were free to reflect critically on the materiality of their lives. JFK's appeal to the new generation to, "make a difference" in their world reinforced the desire to complete the American revolution.[62]

After the Freedom Summer of 1964, these same students came back to university with a new perspective, and began to rebel against the educational institution. At the same moment the educational protests seemed to be slowing down, the military escalation in Vietnam occurred, fueling student activism for more than half a decade.[63] Vietnam protests were often about spreading the truth of the war, and educating the public about the atrocities in Vietnam in order to garner support for their cause.[64] Their cry for a more earnest world was answered tenfold with the photographs of the war.

The Associated Press (AP) had the most photographers in Vietnam of any news outlet over the course of the fifteen-year conflict and was respected as an industry giant in the coverage of war. The photographs that are widely accepted as the defining photographs of the Vietnam War all came from AP photographers and journalists. Four Pulitzer Prizes in Photography were given to AP photographers for their pictures of the Vietnam conflict; Horst Faas (1933-2012), Eddie Adams (1933-2004), Nick Ut (1951-present), and Slava "Sal" Veder (1926-present) were the recipients for their coverage of the war.[65] Eddie Adams achieved fame for his series on an assassination of a suspected Viet Cong in the streets of Saigon. Nick Ut gained notoriety with his photograph of a naked girl running from a village that had been bombed with napalm. Sal Veder's most famous photograph is one of the few from the Vietnam era that carries a purely American theme; the photograph shows an American prisoner of war returning home in 1973.

The photographs these men took were used to bring the war to a close. As Susan Sontag notes in her book, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, "Photographs of mutilated bodies certainly can be used…to vivify the condemnation of war, and may bring home, for a spell, a portion of its reality to those who have no experience of war at all."[66] These photographs not only humanized a war happening half a world away for the American people, but they gave, and continue to give, a personal account of the events that took place. A journalist's or photographer's duty is to document everything, including less-than-admirable events perpetuated by their home country. Stories of war are told through photographs, and they are often used to increase either support or opposition depending on how they are used. In the United States, it is up to the government to censor or release photographs in times of war, ultimately deciding what photographs will and will not be shown to the general population through the media. During Vietnam, though, this was not the case. Since there was minimal media censorship, the photographs that were taken were printed in magazines, newspapers, and shown on television.

One series of images by Eddie Adams, *Saigon Execution* (1968) contains one of the most shocking images from Vietnam, taken during the Tet Offensive, the public execution of Viet Cong suspect Nguyễn Văn Lém by General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan on the streets of Saigon.[67] The image when seen in context on a contact sheet is part of a larger narrative. The story that the contact sheet narrates is of a man being brought out of a building, executed point blank, and falling to the street where he remains for the remainder of the photographs. The most important image of the series, and the one that was used by the anti-war movement, was that of the moment of execution.[68]

In this photo, a group of men takes up the foreground of the photograph in the streets of Saigon. Building facades recede back from the right side of the image. On the right, a soldier takes steps away from the viewer, moving down the street. Just right of center, a Vietnamese man in a plaid shirt (Văn Lém) stands with his hands behind his back, wincing. At the left of the prisoner, a uniformed man—General Loan—stands in profile holding a small gun a few inches from the man's temple, his finger squeezing the trigger. The General's sleeves are rolled up past his elbow, revealing a slender but muscular forearm. His face is stern. Behind Loan, a soldier grimaces in anticipation of the

firing of the gun. Exposed teeth shine white in the light of the sun. The stark composition of the photograph reinforces the horrific aspects of the already emotionally charged image.

Adams did not anticipate the anti-war impact his photograph would have on the world. According to an interview, the day he took that picture was just another day in Vietnam, and he did not foresee that photograph would have on the war, and on the General.[69] In the eulogy for General Loan, Adams said "Still photographs are the most powerful weapon in the world. People believe them, but photographs do lie, even without manipulation. They are only half-truths."[70] Photographs exist without context, confined by their own borders. Without accompanying commentary or captions, the only information an audience receives is from the fraction of a second it took to take that photo.

Although photographers in times of war want only to document the events transpiring around them, they cannot put aside their own biases. That personal bias is translated into their photographs when choices are made in regards to the photographic composition: the angles, the exposures, the framing the focus, etc. For each of these wars, limited materials impacted the priority given to one event or another. During the Civil War, when photographs were taken on wet plates, photographers could only carry a certain amount of supplies, and had to bring portable darkrooms with them, limiting the work that could be accomplished per day. Photographs during World War II and Vietnam were taken on film. This means they had to make choices about which scenes were worth using a frame in their limited film supply. Nick Ut chose to use his film on the accidental napalming of Trang Bang, Vietnam. His personal bias in choosing this moment to photograph is one facet of the reasons that we have the image today.

Nick Ut's 1972 Pulitzer Prize winning untitled photograph, nicknamed the *Napalm Girl*, is arguably the most iconic anti-war photograph from the Vietnam era.[71] It features an ominous and foreboding dark cloud rising up from the distant horizon line near Trang Bang, Vietnam. From the center of the black cloud, a highway stretches out toward the camera.

On either side of the highway, fields and brush remain, waiting to be enveloped by the approaching clouds that resulted from a napalm bombing. The dark cloud is so thick that there are no distinguishable background elements to be seen. On the well-used and repaired highway, a group of South Vietnamese soldiers stroll slowly, as if there were nothing wrong. Seven soldiers in total walk down the road, two of whom are gazing casually behind them at the destruction of the town that was home to the children running beside them. The soldier closest to the camera is unidentifiable as the members of the group further back, his helmet hanging low over his brow. He is reaching into a small container held by his left hand, and unknowingly leading the group.

In front of the group of soldiers is a group of screaming children.[72] They are family members and residents of the village from which they are fleeing. The two children on the right are holding hands and running, but are not in any noticeable pain. A girl in a white shirt is leading a little boy in pajamas toward safety, almost dragging him. In the back of the pack of children, a little boy looks back warily as he runs. On the far left of the image, the boy closest to the camera, his feet already out of the bottom of the frame, is crying and screaming. Right of him, a young girl runs naked, holding her arms away from her body to keep from touching any more of the napalm already on her body. Her face conveys such agony, and her naked body is so vulnerable that she becomes the point the eye always returns to the photograph.

The soldiers' casualness is a stark contrast to the absolute terror that emanates from the children. They are moving together, but their worlds do not meet. While the soldiers do not seem inclined to help the children, the children are not seeking aid from them. The dissociation of the American soldiers in this image is harrowing. It is possible that this image was taken at just such a moment when they were not aware of the horrifying events taking place behind them. But it is more likely that the soldiers were just so used to events such as this one that they became numb to the suffering of others, even that of children.

In 1966, journalist Peter Arnett wrote about Vietnam, "Reporters and photographers regularly venture to places where the action is, to record in words and on film the color, the flavor, the terror, the triumphs and the heartbreaks of a confused and confusing conflict."[73] It is the job of those photographers to do their best to encapsulate a war, and bring meaning to conflict, or prompt viewers to do so. According to scholars Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, the photograph of the accidental Napalm bombing erupted in U.S. media during the, "period when the public was recognizing that their government was waging war without purpose, without legitimacy, without end."[74] Nick Ut's iconic photograph symbolized the senseless brutality of Vietnam, and helped unite a fragmented United States to come together to oppose the Vietnam War.

Despite the belief that photographs had progressed and become more documentary, as the need for staging faded away photographs began to live out of context. By the 60s and 70s, it only took a fraction of a second to capture an image on film. They are only one moment taken out of the larger context of the situation. For example, with Ut's *Napalm Girl*, what the photograph conveys is the suffering of the Vietnamese civilians during the Vietnam War, as exemplified in one girl being drenched in napalm. What wasn't shown is that after he took the photograph, Ut helped the girl, took her to the hospital, and they are close friends to this day.[75] Because of the way the image was latched

onto by the mass media, the photo continued to live out of context as it was used for the anti-war movement. Once the image was out of Ut's hands, it became a propagandistic force for the protestors.

This was true for Adams' execution series as well. The event photographed was not out of the ordinary for the time and place, but it was for the viewers of the photograph. Public executions, while a normal event to the point where Adams thought it was a regular day on the job, were so unusual to the American viewers that that became all the photograph signified.[76] For me, the photograph is not about the overarching tragedy of unwilling participants in the Vietnam war, although that is something I have found to be a more common theme in later images of conflict. The image of General Loan was about one man doing his job, and one action in an entire career. These photographs, while aspiring to be unbiased documentation, end up living out of the context in which they were created. Much like Gardner's photographs, these images were intended to shed light on the violence perpetrated during combat. They were used as a tool by the protestors to draw sentiment to their cause, thereby making them an instrument of propaganda. Despite associations with propaganda being an intentionally negative tool used by despotic leaders, as occurred during World War II, it is also created, sometimes inadvertently, by the appropriation of photographs of war taken out of context, as can be seen in the Civil War and the Vietnam War.

Conclusion

In times of war, photographs can work in one of two ways: to unveil and bring clarity, or to deliberately obscure facts and shroud in deception, and it is not always clear which is occurring. Although photographs of the Civil War were at least partially staged, their aim was to demystify war, and initiate a national conversation about its effects. Demystification of the tragedy of war was also the aim of photojournalists of the Vietnam era. Each image was intended to be purely documentary, but ended up becoming less factual when removed from its context while being used to reinforce an existing anti-war ideology within the United States, thereby altering the cultural perception of the photographs. Alternatively, the photographic propaganda artists of the Nazi party used the basic principle of photographic authenticity to purposefully mystify the motivations propelling the NSDAP.

From the time the medium was invented, photographers have shared an obligation to document war. In more recent years, including the Vietnam era, conflict was photographed so that there would be documentation of the events that transpired. As the horrors witnessed were too much for one person to bear, by photographing them, they were turned into a collective burden for the world to carry.[77] According to scholar Michael Griffin, "[war] photographs are encapsulating symbols, images that operate at the level of myth rather than description."[78]

When O'Sullivan and Gardner posed dead soldiers for poignant portraits, there were elements of reality; the manipulation in Gardner's *Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter* does not negate its historical significance. The "sharpshooter" did die in battle, and just because he was relocated and staged does not make his death any less genuine. It did not make it less real for the Americans seeing the piece for the first time in 1863 nor today in 2016. Images like *Home* are a mythologized vision of a real event, but that idealization does not invalidate its connection to history. Thus I concur with historian, David Campbell, who suggests that in some ways, the idealized historic photograph may in fact be more accurate than one that was even partially constructed.[79]

Even the otherwise realistic images from Vietnam contain elements of both realism and war mythology. Photographs taken by journalists in Vietnam represent a fraction of a second, which means it can capture only one moment that exists as part of a larger narrative. This particular characteristic of being a slice in time is what gives the still photograph its inherent power. The "privileged moment," which according to Susan Sontag creates, "a slim object that one can keep and look at again," makes the photograph more spectacular, and more memorable than the continuous cycle of images on television.[80]

Despite obvious variation in style and technical capabilities, the mythology of the photographs taken during the Civil War, World War II, and Vietnam render them more similar than they are different. For each time period, war photography was about the same objective: bringing a perceived reality of war to a specific audience. Gardner's photographs of the Civil War were about documenting the harsh reality of war because they were finally able to do so in what they considered to be a realistic way, thinking they would be able to prevent future wars if people could witness their devastating effects. Even the grandest, most dramatic history painting could not compare to the relative accuracy of the simplest photograph.

Propaganda produced by Goebbels in World War II disseminated a particular spin on the war to as many Germans as possible while blocking exterior reporting. The level of realism photography brought to the posters I believe attracted a sympathetic audience, which would have increased the impact of the posters. Again, the myth of the inherent reliability of the photographs taken during the Vietnam War made them potent ammunition in the protests to

end the war, even if those protests removed them from their circumstances. Like all photographs, they only told part of the story, and could be manipulated into being whatever their distributors needed them to be.

The notions of authenticity in photography spring from its mythology. Despite all that we know about the myriad of ways photographs can be manipulated, there is a believability to them. This aspect of the mythology of the reality of the photograph stems from the initial notions of the new technology revealing hidden aspects of the world around us. The camera is intrinsically documentary, and that is what we want to believe about its products. As technology advanced to the point where it took just a fraction of a second to capture an image, photographs gained the ability to be more documentary by relying less on staging to compensate for prolonged exposure times. Because of the quick shutter speeds and the rise of photojournalism, they began to live out of their larger context, ultimately making them less visually informative.

Perhaps because of the mythology they inspire, iconic war photographs live on in our collective consciousness. The idealization of many of the images makes them perhaps the most reliable historic document we have, not because of the events they documented, but because of the truths they reveal about cultures through their manipulation. Because of their cultural attachment, the images are far more revealing of collective thought than they are of the realities of any war Through them we can see evolving historical shifts in political leanings, in perceptions about death, and war, and life.

Endnotes

1. Jorge Lewinski, The Camera at War: A History of War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 43.
2. Jennifer Tucker, Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 4. Not everyone could afford the chemicals, materials, camera equipment, etc., so photography as a hobby was reserved for a more elite group, a group that was also wealthy enough that they had the time to spend on photography. Learning its intricacies, spending time perfecting the art.
3. Mary Warner Marien, Photography: A Cultural History, 3rd Ed. 2011 (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Prentice Hall, 2011), 113. The process of this form of art was invented and pioneered by William Mumler; the practice is another in a long line of connections between photography and the dead. Figure 1. https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/6b/fa/2a/6bfa2a97238e9d4a0beefd496696e76e.jpg
4. Susan Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 81.
5. Ronald R. Thomas, "Making Darkness Visible: Capturing the Criminal and Observing the Law in Victorian Photography and Detective Fiction." In Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination, edited by Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 134.
6. Figure 2. http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/exhibitions/permanent/windows/southeast/joseph_nicephore_niepce.html
7. Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 5th Ed. 2012 ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 15.
8. University of Texas at Austin. "First photograph, View from the Window at Le Gras, Joseph Nicéphore Niépce, ca. 1826." Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. Accessed November 28, 2015. Figure 3 http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/exhibitions/permanent/windows/southeast/joseph_nicephore_niepce.html
9. Figure 4. https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/becoming-modern/early-photography/a/daguerre-paris-boulevard
10. Newhall, History of Photography, 16.
11. Denis Dutton, "Authenticity in Art," denisdutton.com, Last modified 2003m Accessed March 23, 2016, http://denisdutton.com/authenticity.htm.
12. Peter Mason, "Ethnographic Realism and the Exotic Portrait," In Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic, 42-63, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, 48. Some of the real elements in the paintings of Bierstadt included articles of clothing and other artifacts.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 106.
15. Lewinski, The Camera at War, 43.
16. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," The Atlantic, June 1859.
17. "Brady's Photographs Pictures of the Dead at Antietam," The New York Times (New York), October 20, 1862, 5.

18. Figure 5. http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/283105
19. Newhall, History of Photography, 87. At this point in time, exposures on the battlefield took between three and twenty seconds.
20. Newhall, History of Photography, 89.
21. Marien, Photography: A Cultural History, 106.
22. Figure 6. http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/235037/alexander-gardner-home-of-a-rebel-sharpshooter-gettysburg-scottish-negative-july-1863-print-1866/
23. Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others, 54-55.
24. Figure 7 https://npsgnmp.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/00915v-confederate-dead-near-devils-den.jpg
25. Lewinski, The Camera at War, 42. There were an enormous amount of photographers present during the Civil War, but Brady and his studio were given special treatment, being allowed to follow the primary battalion.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., 43.
28. Ibid., 44.
29. Newhall, History of Photography, 91. This misattribution of authorship ultimately led to Gardner and O'Sullivan abandoning the Brady Studio to create their own studio where they would receive credit for their work.
30. Figure 8. http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/58082/timothy-h-o'sullivan-print-by-alexander-gardner-a-harvest-of-death-american-negative-july-4-1863-print-1866/
31. The J. Paul Getty Trust, "A Harvest of Death (Getty Museum)," The J. Paul Getty Museum. Accessed March 21, 2015. http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/58082/timothy-h-o'sullivan-print-by-alexander-gardner-a-harvest-of-death-american-negative-july-4-1863-print-1866/
32. Gardner, Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War, plate 36.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Steven Luckert and Susan Bachran, State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda, (Washington, D.C.: USHMM, 2009), 2.
36. Luckert and Bachran, State of Deception, 31, 21, 13, 10, 70.
37. Luckert and Bachran, State of Deception,14.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Donald D. Wall, Nazi Germany & World War II, (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 1997), 23.
41. Ibid., 26.
42. Wall, Nazi Germany & World War II, 29 and Luckert and Bachran, 36. The year before (1922), Benito Mussolini had staged a coup d'état by means of a march on Rome. This propelled the Fascist leader to the forefront of political power in Italy. Hitler and the Nazis were not as successful in their attempt to reproduce the march.
43. Wall, Nazi Germany & World War II, 36.
44. Luckert and Bachran, State of Deception, 28.
45. Figure 9. https://www.ushmm.org/propaganda/archive/poster-women-save-family/
46. Figure 10. https://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-kits/traveling-exhibitions/state-of-deception/hitler-election-poster-1932
47. Ibid., 64.
48. Ibid., 69.
49. Ibid., 72.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 75.
52. Ibid., 79.
53. Ibid.
54. Figure 11. https://www.ushmm.org/propaganda/archive/poster-childrens-bread/
55. Figure 12. http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/CoreArt/prop/resn/ns_farmer.jpg
56. Figure 13. https://www.ushmm.org/propaganda/archive/poster-hitler-youth/
57. Richard Pyle, "Vietnam War Photos That Made a Difference." Last modified September 12, 2013. Accessed April 17, 2015. http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/vietnam-war-photos-that-made-a-difference/?_r=0.
58. Ibid.
59. William Chafe, The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 307.

60. Ibid., 308.
61. Ibid., 310.
62. Ibid.
63. Pyle, “Vietnam War Photos.”
64. Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others, 11-12.
65. Figure 14. http://41.media.tumblr.com/68a83152fb460b26c2a9cbbd501c4402/tumblr_mtce8uMkzx1qf0xcao1_1280.jpg
66. Figure 15. https://markmeynell.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/eddie-adams-saigon-execution-general-nguyen-ngoc-loan.jpg
67. First Kill, Directed by Coco Schrijber, Lemming Film, 2001.
68. Adams, Eddie. "Eulogy." Time. Last modified June 24, 2001. Accessed February 28, 2016. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,139659,00.html.
69. Pyle, “Vietnam War Photos.” Figure 16. http://www.apimages.com/Collection/Landing/Photographer-Nick-Ut-The-Napalm-Girl-/ebfc0a860aa946ba9e77eb786d46207e. These shoeless children are, from left to right, Phan Thanh Tam, Phan Thanh Phouc, Kim Phuc, Ho Van Bon, and Ho Thi Ting. Kim Phuc is the titled “Napalm Girl.”
70. Nick Ut, “Untitled” (1972), Associated Press, http://www.apimages.com/Collection/Landing/Photographer-Nick-Ut-The-Napalm-Girl-/ebfc0a860aa946ba9e77eb786d46207e. These shoeless children are, from left to right, Phan Thanh Tam, Phan Thanh Phouc, Kim Phuc, Ho Van Bon, and Ho Thi Ting. Kim Phuc is the titled “Napalm Girl.”
71. Alyssa Adams, Eddie Adams: Vietnam, Brooklyn: Umbrage Editions, 2008.
72. Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites., "Public Identity and Collective Memory in U.S. Iconic Photography: The Image of 'Accidental Napalm,'" Critical Studies in Media Communication 20, no. 1 (March 2003): 41.
73. Pyle, "Vietnam War Photos."
74. First Kill, Coco Schrijber. Eddie Adams relates this sentiment in an interview done for First Kill.
75. Gardner, Photographic Sketch Book, plate 36.
76. Michael, Griffin, "The Great War Photographs: Constructing Myth of History and Photojournalism," In Picturing the Past: Media, History and Photography, edited by Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, 122-57, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 129.
77. David Campbell, "Cultural Governance and Pictorial Resistance: Reflections on the Imaging of War," Review of International Studies 29 (2003): 67.
78. Susan Sontag, On Photography, New York: Dell Publishing, 1973, 17-18.

Bibliography

1. Adams, Alyssa. *Eddie Adams: Vietnam*. Brooklyn: Umbrage Editions, 2008.
2. Adler, Margot. "The Vietnam War, Through Eddie Adams' Lens." National Public Radio. Last modified May 5, 2015. Accessed January 31, 2016. http://www.npr.org/2009/03/24/102112403/the-vietnam-war-through-eddie-adams-lens.
3. Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1980.
4. Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning With Desire*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.
5. Campbell, David. "Cultural Governance and Pictorial Resistance: Reflections on the Imaging of War." *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003): 57-73.
5. Chafe, William. *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
6. Dutton, Denis. "Authenticity in Art." denisdutton.com. Last modified 2003. Accessed March 23, 2016. http://denisdutton.com/authenticity.htm.
7. Gernsheim, Helmut, and Alison Gernsheim. *Roger Fenton. Photographer of the Crimean War. His Photographs and His Letters From The Crimea*. Reprint of 1954 Ed. ed. New York: Arno Press, 1973.
8. Griffin, Michael. "The Great War Photographs: Constructing Myth of History and Photojournalism." In *Picturing the Past: Media, History and Photography*, edited by Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, 122-57. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

9. Hariman, Robert, and John Louis Lucaites. "Public Identity and Collective Memory in U.S. Iconic Photography: The Image of 'Accidental Napalm.'" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20, no. 1 (March 2003): 35-66.
10. Lewinski, Jorge. *The Camera at War A History of War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.
11. Lindsay, David. "Eastman Patents a Dry-Plate Process." PBS. Last modified 1999. Accessed February 28, 2016. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eastman/peopleevents/pande18.html.
12. Luckert, Steven, and Susan Bachran. *State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda*. Washington, D.C.: USHMM, 2009.
13. Marien, Mary Warner. *Photography: A Cultural History*. 3rd Ed. 2011 ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Prentice Hall, 2011.
14. Mason, Peter. "Ethnographic Realism and the Exotic Portrait." In *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*, 42-63. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
15. Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography*. 5th Ed. 2012 ed. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982.
16. Pyle, Richard. "Vietnam War Photos That Made a Difference." Last modified September 12, 2013. Accessed April 17, 2015. http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/vietnam-war-photos-that-made-a-difference/?_r=0.
17. *First Kill*. Directed by Coco Schrijber. Lemming Film, 2001.
18. Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Dell Publishing, 1973.
19. -- *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.
20. Thomas, Ronald R. "Making Darkness Visible: Capturing the Criminal and Observing the Law in Victorian Photography and Detective Fiction." In *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, edited by Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan, 134-68. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
21. Trachtenberg, Alan. "Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs." *Representations* 9, Special Issue: American Culture Between the Civil War and World War I (Winter 1985): 1-32.
22. Tucker, Jennifer. *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
23. Wall, Donald. D. *Nazi Germany & World War II*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 1997.

Primary Sources

1. Adams, Eddie. "Photography Interview with Eddie Adams." By Nan Richardson. PBS. Last modified October 2, 2000. Accessed February 28, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/speaktruthtopower/hr_eddie.htm.
2. Adams, Eddie. "Eulogy." Time. Last modified June 24, 2001. Accessed February 28, 2016. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,139659,00.html.
3. Eastlake, Lady Elizabeth. "Photography." *London Quarterly Review*, March 1857: 442-68.
4. Gardner, Alexander. *Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War*. Combined ed. 2 vols. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959. First published 1866 by Philp and Soloman's.
5. Holmes, Oliver Wendell. "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph." *The Atlantic*, June 1859.
6. The New York Times (New York). "Brady's Photographs Pictures of the Dead at Antietam." October 20, 1862, 5.
7. Riefenstahl, Leni, dir. *Triumph of the Will*. N.S.D.A.P., 1935.