

## *Kirkbride-Langenheim Collaboration: Early Use of Photography in Psychiatric Treatment in Philadelphia*

RECENT research into the Kirkbride Archives at the Pennsylvania Hospital has shed new light on the connection of the "moral treatment" of insanity with the new art of photography, both developing at the same time in mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia. The Kirkbride Archives, now part of the Clifford B. Farr Historical Library, contains numerous letters, hospital records, memorabilia from the early days of the hospital, and in addition thousands of photographic images, some as old as 1851. The bulk of the photographic collection consists of over 3500 magic lantern slides used as a means of education and amusement for the patients of the hospital from 1844 through the end of the nineteenth century. This material was not ignored by previous scholars, but they did not recognize the critical role it played in the development of photography.<sup>1</sup> This is not surprising, since the study of the history of photography has only in the last decade expanded in interest to the point where professorships in the subject have been funded at major universities. When the attention is focused on the photographic point of view, an entirely new and fascinating story emerges from the Kirkbride Archives. The use of

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Clifford B. Farr studied the Kirkbride records extensively, as did Dr. Earl D. Bond, Kirkbride's biographer, who wrote *Dr. Kirkbride and his Mental Hospital*, in 1947. Farr's work included a study of Dr. Kirkbride's correspondence during the Civil War, and the work of these men paved the way for further research and made the Kirkbride historical material well known among students of the history of psychiatry. Dr. Robert E. Jones, assistant to Dr. Farr in his work in the Historical Library at the Institute, continued this study, focusing on the Kirkbride correspondence with the founders of the American Psychiatric Association. In more recent years, a doctoral thesis based on hospital records from the Kirkbride era was completed by Ms. Nancy Tomes of the University of Pennsylvania, now with the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Clifford B. Farr, "Review of letters received by Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride, 1840-1883," *Bulletin of the Isaac Ray Medical Library*, II, No. 4 (1954), 161-171; "The Civil War Correspondence of Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIII, (1959), 74-85. Robert E. Jones, "Correspondence of the APA Founders," *The American Journal of Psychiatry* (June, 1963), 1121.

photographic materials at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, as the Institute was known in the last century, represented (1) a major advance in the expansion of the principles of moral treatment, then the major modality of treatment in psychiatric hospitals, (2) very early use of photography in psychiatry, and (3) the first documented practical use of photographic slides anywhere.

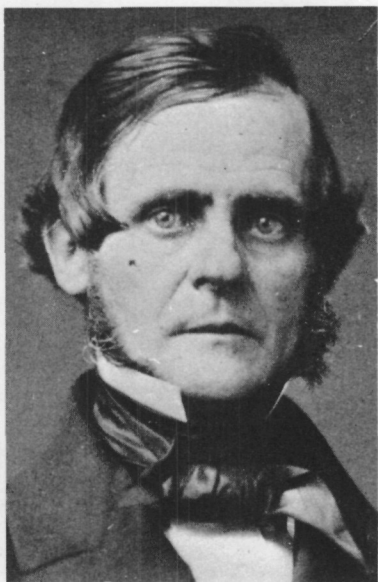
The first hospital to provide care for the mentally ill in America was Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1751 by Benjamin Franklin and others at its present Eighth Street and Pine Street location. Indeed, "the care and treatment of lunaticks . . . that they may be restored to reason and become useful members of the community" was one of the principle motives for the founding of the hospital. The treatment was far from enlightened by present standards, but the reference to the insane recovering at all was an advance over the thinking prevalent at the time. The early treatments included the use of douches, scalp shaving and blistering, and bleeding to the point of unconsciousness, and the budget in those days included blacksmith charges for handcuffs and leg locks. In the 1760s the hospital charged a fee of four pence to those who wished to observe the insane patients, so many doing so out of morbid curiosity that at times they created a security problem.<sup>2</sup>

But it was a transitional period. One should not think too unkindly of those early managers if their facilities were not what we would accept today. From the beginning the trend at Pennsylvania Hospital was toward improving the lot of the insane. The result of this concern for the abominable conditions then widespread was the "moral treatment".

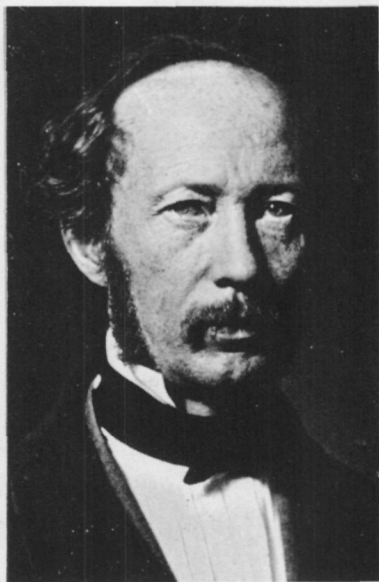
More of a philosophy than a specific treatment, the essence of moral treatment was defined by historian Norman Dain as follows:

Moral treatment de-emphasized traditional medical therapies and regarded the total environment of the hospital as therapeutic; stress was placed on the psychological and emotional state of the patients. The use of shock, terror, and harsh punishment and restraint was modified and eventually partly abandoned. Kindness, consideration, freedom of movement, attention to individual needs and feelings, supervised occupation and recreation, and a family or home atmosphere were all considered vital aspects of treatment and indispensable to the cure as well as the comfort of patients. The physician, whether or not he

<sup>2</sup>Edward A. Strecker, "Reminiscences from the Early Days of the Pennsylvania Hospital," reprinted in "Philadelphia and Psychiatry," Harold D. Palmer, ed., *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, XI, No. 5 (March, 1932), 972-979.



1.



2.



3.

## Figure 1

1. Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride. Ambrotype by unknown photographer, ca. 1855. (Courtesy Pennsylvania Hospital Archives.)

## Figure 2

2. William Langenheim. Daguerrotype, photographer unknown, likely a self-portrait, ca. 1845. (Courtesy Mr. William Langenheim.)

## Figure 3

3. Frederick Langenheim. Daguerreotype, photographer unknown, likely a self-portrait, ca. 1845. (Courtesy of Mr. William Langenheim.)

served also as asylum superintendent, would live on the premises and see each patient daily<sup>3</sup>

Pioneering efforts in this direction included the work in the 1780s of Vincenzo Chiarugi who articulated as one of the regulations of the Hospital Benifacio in Florence, Italy, "it is a supreme moral duty and medical obligation to respect the insane individual as a person." Around the same time, members of the Society of Friends met in York, England, where they established a "Retreat" under the supervision of Dr. William Tuke to "mitigate the misery and restore those who are lost to civil and religious society." Treatment there was characterized by "kindness and understanding in a friendly atmosphere free from any mechanical restraint." Of course, the name most remembered in the early struggles for the rights of the insane is that of Phillipe Pinel. Pinel took his action at a time of great societal upheaval—the Reign of Terror associated with the French Revolution—and considerable personal courage attended his acts, and it is probably fitting that he above all is remembered as the one who "struck off the chains" of the insane, in his case at the Bicetre in Paris in 1793.<sup>4</sup> Pinel stressed the interaction between the doctor and the patient as a key to the successful treatment of the insane, even as he set up the structured environment in which the patient could be encouraged to participate in various activities thought to be beneficial.<sup>5</sup>

Benjamin Rush, the "Father of American Psychiatry", whose portrait is the official symbol of the American Psychiatric Association, actually preceded Pinel by some years in improving the conditions for the insane at Pennsylvania Hospital. J.P.B. DeWarville, a French visitor in 1788, reported in his travel memoirs that he was "charmed with the cleanliness in the halls of the sick as well as in the particular chambers. . . . These unhappy persons are treated with the greatest tenderness . . . what a difference between this treatment and the atrocious regulations to which we condemn such wretches in France."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Norman Dain, *Disordered Minds, the First Century of Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia, 1766-1866* (Williamsburg, Va., 1971), 33.

<sup>4</sup>George Mora, "Historical and Theoretical Trends in Psychiatry," in Freedman, Kaplan, and Sadock, *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry/II* (Baltimore, 1975), 42-44.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.* 44.

<sup>6</sup>J.P.B. DeWarville, *Travels in the U.S.A. in 1788*, quoted in Clifford B. Farr, "The Bicentennial of the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia," *The Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement*, XXV, Part 2 (1951), 197-201.

From these comments, Dr. Farr concluded, on the occasion of the bicentennial of Pennsylvania Hospital in 1951, that "many of the reforms introduced by Pinel and Tuke in France and England in the next decade were already in effect in Philadelphia".<sup>7</sup> Rush, who has received historical criticism for some of his medical ideas, insisted that the mentally ill be treated with kindness, that "mental illness be freed from moral stigma and be treated with medicine rather than moralizing."<sup>8</sup> He should be remembered for these farsighted and enlightened ideas today, rather than for his concept of fever or his reliance on bleeding, a widely utilized treatment for virtually anything in the eighteenth century.

Following Rush's death in 1813, there was a lull in the advancement of moral treatment at Pennsylvania Hospital. The period was marked by overcrowded conditions, a chronic and still significant problem in the treatment of serious mental illness. However, other events were taking place in Philadelphia, particularly the founding of the Friends Asylum "for the relief of those deprived of their reason".<sup>9</sup> Based on the model of Tuke's York Retreat, the Friends Hospital remains the oldest facility solely for the treatment of insanity in Philadelphia. Friends Hospital is of particular interest to us now because in 1832 a member of the Board of the hospital, Joseph Jenks, wrote that radical changes were being contemplated, among which was to be the hiring of a resident physician. The resident physician was Jenk's nephew, a recent graduate of the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride.<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Kirkbride was born in Bucks County in 1809, the same year as Abraham Lincoln. His great-great-grandfather, Joseph, was born in the Kirk of St. Bride in Cumberland, England. A member of the newly founded Society of Friends, he was driven by religious persecution and his own adventuring spirit to travel to the frontier territory across the ocean, where he settled in Bucks County in 1682, the year William Penn came to Philadelphia. Joseph's son, Mahlon, was one of the

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>8</sup>Francis J. Braceland, "A Bicentennial Address: Benjamin Rush and those who came after him," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, CXXXIII, No. 11 (1976), 1252.

<sup>9</sup>Albert C. Buckley, "Friends Hospital," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, XI, (March, 1932), 979.

<sup>10</sup>Earl D. Bond, *Dr. Kirkbride and his Mental Hospital* (Philadelphia, 1947), 24.

earliest contributors to Pennsylvania Hospital in 1754, and his descendants were involved with activists in the American Revolution, including Thomas Paine.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Kirkbride carried his religious heritage easily. Francis Braceland described him as "A gentle Quaker, who had the greatest respect for patients' rights, one of the gentlest of men."<sup>12</sup> Thus he was well suited to carry out the tenets of the moral treatment. In the words of educator Horace Mann, "The whole scheme of moral treatment is embraced in a single idea—humanity—the law of love—that sympathy which appropriates another's consciousness of pain and makes it a personal relief from suffering whenever another's sufferings are relieved."<sup>13</sup>

After his tour of duty at Friends Hospital, Kirkbride served as resident physician at Pennsylvania Hospital. There followed a period of private practice in Philadelphia during which he maintained close and warm associations with the staff and managers of the hospital. With his interest and experience (his M.D. thesis was in neurology, since psychiatry did not then exist as a separate discipline), he was a good choice for the position of superintendent when the hospital planned a new division for the treatment of the insane to be built in West Philadelphia. Thus, in 1840 he became the first Physician-in-Chief of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, now known as the Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a position he held with honor and distinction until his death in 1883. During his career, he became a nationally prominent expert in the institutional care of the insane, and he was one of the well-known "Thirteen Founders" of the "Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane," today called the American Psychiatric Association. Meetings about the founding of the Association, now the oldest national medical society in America, took place in Dr. Kirkbride's parlor in his dwelling on the grounds of the hospital (the Busti Mansion).<sup>14</sup> Kirkbride was the first secretary of the Association and its president from 1862-1870, the first of six superintendents of the hospital to hold that honor.<sup>15</sup>

Moral treatment for the insane resembles most closely what we now

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* 4-6.

<sup>12</sup>Braceland, 1254.

<sup>13</sup>Mora, 48.

<sup>14</sup>Bond, 85.

<sup>15</sup>Walter E. Barton, "The Development of the American Psychiatric Association,"

speak of as "activities therapy". There was only the most general attention paid to psychological concerns, beyond the general rule that attendants should treat patients in the most humane way possible. Perusal of Dr. Kirkbride's summary of the activities of the hospital in its early years in his Annual Reports to the managers of Pennsylvania Hospital gives an idea of the treatment:

It is important that every means (of Employment and amusement) that is likely to be useful, even to a small number, should be collected about the premises—thereby forming that variety which is required to satisfy those, with many of whom the mind is in that child-like state, that they are pleased only with novelties, and return with renewed zest to the cast-off toys of a former day.<sup>16</sup>

These parties, concerts, and different varieties of exhibitions that compose a portion of our means of amusement, are not given merely for effect, nor for their temporary influence on the patients. It has been ascertained in other institutions, as well as in this, that there is a moral effect, more important and lasting. There are few patients who do not appreciate the privilege of mingling socially with the officers and the more intelligent and accomplished of our inmates; they enjoy the refreshments which are produced by considerable trouble and labour, and see that expense is incurred for their gratification. In this way I have frequently seen a salutary influence exerted, by generating the proper kind of feeling for the institution and of respect and confidence for those intrusted with its management.<sup>17</sup>

The course of lectures [has been] carried out to the full extent contemplated and to the very great gratification and advantage of the patients. No experiment in the way of combining profitable instruction, mental employment, and amusement has upon the whole, resulted in such entirely good results.<sup>18</sup>

Fearful of the deleterious effects of boredom in an institutional setting which might lead patients with little inclination to stay alert "into careless, if not vicious habits," Kirkbride sought to create activities to keep the patients mentally and physically active.<sup>19</sup> He attached such overriding importance to the "proper mental and physical employment of the insane" that "review of the whole subject would be nearly

*Biographical Directory of the Fellows and Members of the American Psychiatric Association*, (New York, 1973), xi. The other five and their terms of duty were John B. Chapin, 1888-89; Owen Coop, 1920-21; Earl D. Bond, 1929-30; Edward A. Strecker, 1943-44; and Kenneth E. Appel, 1953-54.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas Story Kirkbride, *Reports of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane* (Philadelphia, 1841), 31.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.* (1844), 28.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.* (1846), 20.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.* (1854), 20.

equivalent to giving a complete essay on the moral treatment of insanity."<sup>20</sup> The hospital scheduled some kind of program for every evening such as lectures on science, musical programs, and magic lantern views. The magic lantern shows occupied a therapeutic role in moral treatment, providing part of the activities which in the 1840s replaced chains and shackles.

George Mora argued that "moral treatment as a therapeutic philosophy was never defined by Tuke's adherents or opponents; as a matter of fact, it was completely forgotten until recently, when it was revived by some psychiatric historians."<sup>21</sup> This hypothesis must be questioned. Elements of moral treatment were widely discussed in publications including the *Journal of Insanity* and the annual reports of some of the members of the Association of Superintendents.

John Minson Galt, II, superintendent of Williamsburg's Eastern Lunatic Asylum, the nation's first mental hospital, founded in 1773, followed Rush's lead in advocating bibliotherapy as an important aspect of treatment. He did so in his annual reports, in talks before the association, and in a booklet of essays he published in 1853, including one entitled "On Reading, Recreation and Amusements for the Insane." In his annual report for 1843, Galt specifically mentions his hospital's library as "a valuable and regular additional agent in the moral treatment."<sup>22</sup>

Kirkbride frequently used the term "moral treatment" in his reports, and from 1851-1876 he formulated a series of propositions with Isaac Ray, in 1841 superintendent of the State Hospital for the Insane at Augusta, Maine, later of the Butler Hospital in Providence, Rhode Island, and the "pioneer of forensic psychiatry".<sup>23</sup> The list includes many of the principles of the moral treatment, including "Insanity is a disease—to which everyone is liable; . . . It is curable . . . it is humanity . . . for every state to make ample and good provision for all its insane; Abundant means for occupation and amusement should be provided;" etc.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.* (1847), 33.

<sup>21</sup>Mora, 48.

<sup>22</sup>John Minson Galt, II, *Eastern Lunatic Asylum, Annual Report, 1843*, 26. quoted in Philip J. Weimerskirch, "Pioneers of Bibliotherapy in America," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, LIII, No. 4. (1965), 516.

<sup>23</sup>Braceland, 1254.

<sup>24</sup>Bond, 107-108.



Those who belittle the sort of modalities employed in the "moral treatment" as being superficial, insufficient or insignificant are looking at the subject with a point of view influenced by the advancements in psychodynamic theory and psychopharmacology of the twentieth century. According to Dr. Heinz Lehmann, of McGill University,

Moral treatment, applied widely to hospitalized psychotics in the United States during the middle nineteenth century, resembled in many aspects today's milieu therapy and other social therapies and was probably an effective therapeutic approach to schizophrenic patients at that time. With the advent of huge mental hospitals, in which a personal approach was impossible, moral treatment and its therapeutic gains were lost. A therapeutic vacuum persisted for half a century until the development, in the middle 1930s, of . . . convulsive therapy.<sup>25</sup>

(Dr. Kirkbride is said to have stated as a principle: "No mental hospital should be so large that its superintendent cannot know each patient personally.")

Moral treatment was practiced as a philosophy requiring that each interaction with a patient be handled in a humane way, as with any patient suffering from a physical ailment. It was also represented by the personal concern of the physician, and by the programs developed to occupy the minds and bodies of the patients. It is in these programs that the magic lantern became a tool of moral treatment, and early Philadelphia photographers became the unlikely purveyors of psychotherapeutic instruments, the lantern slides shown to the patients of Dr. Kirkbride's hospital.

Kirkbride introduced the magic lantern into the hospital routine as part of the lectures he provided for the benefit of his patients. He was concerned that the patients always have the opportunity to engage in some sort of constructive action, and he was worried about certain times of the day when this was difficult to arrange. The enemy was boredom. "The monotony of hospital life . . . is very likely, without care, to exist in every institution, and is one of the most common complaints made by patients of active habits and vigorous minds."<sup>26</sup> Especially difficult were the evening hours. "Without some decided effort . . . the period from sunset to bedtime . . . is apt to become especially tiresome, and

<sup>25</sup>Heinz E. Lehmann, "Schizophrenia: Introduction, and History," in Freedman, Kaplan, and Sadock, *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry / II* (Baltimore, 1975), 851-852.

<sup>26</sup>Kirkbride, (1849), 23.

the wards, then, to present their most listless and discouraging appearance.”<sup>27</sup> To deal with this particular problem, Kirkbride initiated, in 1844, a program of special activities in these evening hours. He began

by having the patients of certain wards regularly collected in the parlors, on those evenings not devoted to other subjects, and having the supervisors . . . spend an hour in reading from works likely to interest their auditors . . . We have frequently used, during the evenings, a very fine magic lanthorn [i.e., lantern]. The great variety of subjects which may be presented with a full assortment of well executed slides, makes it very a satisfactory mode of combining instruction with amusement.<sup>28</sup>

These programs became formalized as the “Evening Entertainments,” and although the program often included outside lectures, magic shows and musical programs, the exhibitions of magic lantern slides became the most consistently satisfactory part of the program. In 1862, describing the 17th annual series of Evening Entertainments, Kirkbride wrote;

We now have over one thousand pictures for our lanterns . . . enabling us to give something new at every evening of our long and unintermitted course of nine months . . . No intelligent observer . . . can well doubt the importance of these entertainments . . . and no diminution of their number or any lowering of their quality can ever be permitted, while a proper appreciation of the high mission of a hospital for the insane is felt by those entrusted with its management.<sup>29</sup>

Kirkbride, a scientist and a member of the Franklin Institute, clearly enjoyed the use of the magic lantern for its own sake in his hospital’s program, but there can be no doubt, considering his strong words, that the Evening Entertainments in general, and particularly the lantern slides, provided a very significant part of the treatment offered at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane in the mid-nineteenth century. Not the least important factor was the cost. “During the last season [1864], we had the means of giving our whole course of one hundred and twenty-five exhibitions at each building without a repetition. The comparatively small amount of money required to effect all this . . .

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.* (1861), 19.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.* (1844), 28.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.* (1862), 24—25.

shows that as much is really within the means of almost any institution."<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, other institutions did follow the lead of the hospital. A large collection of slides was built up at Pennsylvania's first state mental hospital, located in Harrisburg. The exhibitions at "Kirkbrides's" were actually run by his assistant physicians. Dr. J. Edwards Lee was the first, and the one who did the most in organizing the programs in the 1840's. He was followed by Dr. John Curwen who later left to become the first superintendent of the Harrisburg hospital. Dr. Edward A. Smith followed Curwen, and by the year 1857, the lecture program with the lantern slide illustrations was so popular that at the "request of the class," Smith published his introductory lecture.<sup>31</sup>

Over the years many improvements were made in the lecture programs and the slide presentations. By 1847-48, there was a presentation of some sort three nights weekly for seven months. In 1855 the more powerful Oxygen-Hydrogen light source improved the size and brightness of the images projected. In 1856 the new hospital building was started, dividing the hospital into two departments, with the sexes separated. The new building, the Department for Males, was later to be known as "49th street". The older building, The Department for Females, or "44th street" no longer exists. Today's Kirkbride building is all that remains of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, and is actually the Department for Males, completed in 1860. After the new construction, both buildings were fitted out with new and "modern" lecture rooms, with gas lights, and the program was shown at each building on alternate nights. A most significant improvement in the program, the one that made the lantern slide exhibitions so important and significant in the history of photography, was the adoption of the photographic lantern slide. Prior to 1848, all the slides were hand painted. Each was an individual work of art, and expensive to produce. The invention of the photographic slide in 1848 made slides that were at once cheaper and more accurate in representation. These new, improved slides, landmarks in the history of photography, may have been shown to the patients at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane as early as 1851, and by the 1860's virtually all the slides were

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.* (1864), 17.

<sup>31</sup>Edward A. Smith, *Our Lecture Room: A Lecture*, Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, (1857).

photographic.<sup>32</sup>

The content of the programs varied with the available slides. In the late 1840s, lectures with illustrations were given in areas of science (optics, astronomy and natural science), and classical history. Two lectures were given on the seemingly uninteresting topic of "Heating and ventilation of large buildings." This is understandable in light of the fact that Kirkbride was known for his views that proper environmental control in the large hospitals made the patients more comfortable, which he considered an important part of "Moral Treatment".

By the mid 1850s, the introduction of the photographic slides made images from around the world available, and the travelogue became the mainstay of the lecture programs. Patients were treated for the first time certainly, for most, to views of the capitals of Europe, the major cities of America, and scenic wonders such as Niagara Falls. There were also courses on American history, religion, and temperance. Alcohol was then, as now, responsible for a large number of the admissions to the hospital, and many patients could have identified with the characters of the six slide series "Career of the Drunkard".

Of particular interest in the history of photography, was the inclusion in 1857 of six lectures with a specific photographic theme, with a talk on "photography" itself and an "Exhibition of F. Langenheim's Christmas present, consisting of twelve Photographic slides."<sup>33</sup>

In his history of the use of the magic lantern as "Moral Treatment" at his hospital written in 1863, Dr. Kirkbride stated that photographic slides were shown "here" in 1849.<sup>34</sup> Although it is not clear whether "here" means at the hospital or in Philadelphia, there are paper and glass slide photographs in the hospital collections dated 1851. To appreciate the speed in the dissemination and application of the new technology, we must now consider the history of photography in Philadelphia.

Photography was invented, for all practical purposes, by L. J. M. Daguerre, who announced his invention and made it available freely to

<sup>32</sup>Kirkbride, (1863), 16-20.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, (1858), 22-32.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, (1863), 16-20.

all, via a grant from the King of France, in 1839.<sup>35</sup> Thus photography began at about the same time as the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. The first photograph to be made in Philadelphia is said to be a view of the Philadelphia High School in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It is a daguerreotype, made by Joseph Saxton from a window in the U. S. Mint, where he worked.<sup>36</sup> Others experimented with the new process and soon commercial establishments opened. The most significant name in early Philadelphia photography was Langenheim. William and Frederick Langenheim were brothers, born in Brunswick, Germany, in 1807 and 1809 respectively. William came to America in 1834, joined the Army of Texas and fought with Sam Houston against the Mexicans. He was captured, and so escaped the battle of the Alamo. After the Texas wars, he served with the U. S. Army against the Seminole Indians in Florida. In 1840 he came to Philadelphia to join his brother as a reporter on a German language newspaper. The brothers had a interest in optics, and two of their sisters eventually married friends or relatives of the great German family of Voigtlander, one of the most prestigious names in optics at the time. The Langenheims were immediately taken with the daguerreian process, and they opened their first studio in the Merchants Exchange in 1842, beginning a long and fruitful career that took them through at least 12 addresses in Philadelphia and New York.<sup>37</sup> In 1845, the Langenheims made the first photographs of Niagara Falls. To publicize their work, they sent copies of these historic daguerreotypes to Queen Victoria, President Polk, and other heads of state, as well as Daguerre himself, just 6 years after the invention of the process in France.<sup>38</sup> The Langenheims were also instrumental in introducing into the United States the stereoscopic photograph, or stereo view. In the late 1850's they formed the American Stereoscopic Company, publishing a variety of photographs. They continued their work in the photo publishing business until, William died in 1874 and Frederick in 1879.<sup>39</sup>

The Langenheims, always the entrepreneurs, though not the most

<sup>35</sup>Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography, 1685-1914* (New York, 1969), 65-70.

<sup>36</sup>Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1964, First edition, 1939), 20.

<sup>37</sup>Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America* (Greenwich, 1961), 49-54; McElmays City Directories for Philadelphia; Doggett's City Directories for New York City.

<sup>38</sup>Taft, 95.

<sup>39</sup>William Culp Darrah, *Stereo Views* (Gettysburg, 1964), 32.

successful businessmen, were looking for ways of reaching larger audiences with each photograph. As early as 1846, they experimented with projections devices. They imported a projector from Vienna and actually showed public exhibitions of projected photos in their Merchants Exchange offices.<sup>40</sup> This was a first and is directly related to later magic lantern exhibitions as well as the phenomenon of the motion picture theatre. However, their device was inefficient. The daguerreotype, the variety of photograph made by the Langenheims at this time, is made on a sheet of metal, usually copper, plated with silver, the image being made on the polished metallic silver surface. Being opaque, such photographs could not be used in the magic lantern with light passed through a transparent image. The Langenheim's device resembled an "opaque projector" of today, using mirrors and reflected light. The images obtained in this way were too dim for the exhibitions to be successful, but the Langenheims, having made this attempt, were ready to act when a transparent base for photographs became a reality in 1848.

Experiments had been conducted in the United States and Europe in using glass as a transparent base for photographic images. The man who solved the problem in a practically sound way for the first time was Niepce St. Victor, another Frenchman. His process for using egg whites, or albumen as a binder between the sensitive silver salts and glass substrate was a boon to photographers and chicken farmers alike. The Langenheims were quick to see the value of a transparent image and patented the process in the United States, calling their images "Hyalotypes".<sup>41</sup> The most significant application of this new process was the use of transparent positives in the magic lantern, adding the entire range of photographic images to the hand painted ones previously available. The Langenheims showed their slides at the Franklin Institute in 1849, and won a prize medal with them at the Crystal Palace Exposition in London, England in 1851.<sup>42</sup> In his obituary of Fredrick Langenheim in his annual report for 1879, Kirkbride wrote:

Langenheim's pictures first attracted attention at the World's Fair in London in 1851, where they obtained highly commendatory notice. It was about this time that the writer of this report was specially engaged in discovering means of

<sup>40</sup>Kirkbride, (1863), 19.

<sup>41</sup>Taft, 117.

<sup>42</sup>Louis Walton Sipley, "Photographs on Glass," *Pennsylvania Arts and Sciences Magazine*, IV, No. 1 (1939), 27.

increasing the facilities possessed by the hospital for entertaining the patients during the evenings of winter, and with the aid of Mr. Langenheim he was not long in demonstrating that photography was destined to contribute a most important part in anything that was likely to be done in that direction.<sup>43</sup>

Kirkbride's statement plus the existence, in the Kirkbride Archives, of a signed and dated photograph by Langenheim of the annual meeting of the Association of Superintendents at the Hospital in West Philadelphia on May 20, 1851, indicates that Langenheim's photographic slides were probably shown, at least experimentally, at the hospital in 1851. This represents the earliest known use of photographic slides by anyone in the world other than the photographers themselves. By 1849, slide photography was born, and the first documented use of photographic slides (by other than the Langenheims in their demonstrations) was as a part of the "Moral Treatment" at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane as early as 1851.

The collaboration between Kirkbride, the pioneer of American Psychiatry, and the Langenheims, pioneers of American photography, had great benefits for both parties. For Kirkbride, the advantages of photographic slides over the old painted variety were manifold. He also benefited from the documentation of his hospital by some of the world's best photographers, and as historians, we still share that benefit. Fredrick Langenheim also helped Joseph Kirkbride, Thomas' son, to learn to become an excellent amateur photographer, no small feat in 1865. In return, the Langenheims were able to try out their images on patients as an interested, if somewhat captive, audience. Further, they were supported by Kirkbride, both financially and as an adviser.

We do not know the beginning of the relationship between these men. The 1851 date is the earliest known date for any contact between them. By 1856, photographic slides were replacing the hand painted ones in the hospital collection. Kirkbride lauded the advantages of the new slides in the 1860 report to the managers of Pennsylvania Hospital,

Great change has been effected in the character of exhibitions given during the evenings . . . by substituting for the imported painted pictures . . . the admirable photographs, either colored or uncolored, now made by Langenheim of this city. The reduced price at which the latter are furnished, no less than their accuracy and superiority in other respects, will probably, at

<sup>43</sup>Kirkbride, (1879), 20.

no distant day, cause them to take the place almost entirely of the ordinary painted ones.<sup>44</sup>

In this review of the evening entertainments in 1863, Kirkbride gave as clear a description of the benefits of photography in general as any published at the time.

Those who have looked [at transparent photographic pictures] readily recognize their many advantages, prominent among them being their cheapness and accuracy. They give us every object in a landscape, every leaf and twig, every blade of grass, and every pebble, no less than the minutest details of the most highly ornamented architecture, every line existing in the costliest engraving and every lineament of a face coming within the range of the camera, and with a degree of perfection that no artist could hope to effect on the small sized pictures required for this purpose.<sup>45</sup>

Of course, using the camera, the finest paintings and sculptures could be easily copied and Kirkbride commissioned the Langenheims specifically to do such work for the hospital slide collection.<sup>46</sup>

Although most of the use of photography at the hospital involved the lantern slides, it should be noted that the Langenheims also provided the hospital with a number of stereo views, both on glass and paper. These were first acknowledged by Kirkbride in his report for 1854, the year the Langenheims first marketed such views. It was in connection with stereo views that Kirkbride publically supported the Langenheims financially. In the early 1850's, the brothers had lost money on a speculative venture involving a new photographic process which was not accepted in America, thought in use in England for a decade. To raise money for a new series of views, they sold subscriptions. With money thus raised, they traveled by rail from Philadelphia to Niagara Falls, photographing the scenery along the way. Upon their return in 1855, the Langenheims offered sets of views to their subscribers. In an advertisement in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, in December, 1855, the subscribers were notified to pick up their views. A subsequent advertisement was a testimonial, signed by the satisfied patrons. Among the names on the list were those of Dr. Kirkbride and Samuel Sloan, the

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, (1860), 25.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, (1863), 19.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, (1857), 22.



hospital's architect.<sup>47</sup>

The Langenheims not only provided photographs to the hospital, they photographed it as well. The earliest medical documentary photograph in the Archives is a paper print by the Langenheims of the meeting of the Association of Superintendents held in Philadelphia in 1851. They photographed the next such meeting in Philadelphia as well. On numerous occasions they and their employee, A. Watson, visited the hospital grounds and the collection includes slides and stereo views of the original buildings in 1851, the new buildings under construction in 1857, the staff at work and posing, and even pictures of the two goats, donated to the hospital by Frederick Langenheim in 1863.<sup>48</sup>

The Kirkbride Archives contain five letters from Frederick Langenheim to Dr. Kirkbride, which give some insight into their relationships. Langenheim apparently relied on Kirkbride for advice as well as financial support. In a letter dated April 30, 1855, Langenheim reports that he is about to have some advertisements printed for an exhibit in his studio, but he waits, saying, "I prefer to wait till I have the pleasure of seeing you and consulting you on the subject."<sup>49</sup> Langenheim associated as well with Kirkbride's son, Joseph. On September 12, 1865, he writes, "I will profit by your invitation and be at the depot at 11 o'clock to inspect Joseph's photographic negative productions."<sup>50</sup> Joseph Kirkbride graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1872. He never practiced because of illness, but he did travel extensively. Albums of his travel photographs are in the collection of the Library of Congress.<sup>51</sup> The relationship between the Langenheims and Kirkbride was not without humor. In 1857, while the new hospital (today's "Kirkbride" building) was being built, Frederick Langenheim documented the work, including a tall chimney surrounded with scaffolding. Fredrick Langenheim wrote, on November 26, 1857, "Dear sir, although the scaffolding the moment I

<sup>47</sup>Julius F. Sachse, "Philadelphia Contributions to Photography," *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, CXXXV, 271.

<sup>48</sup>Kirkbride, (1863), 35.

<sup>49</sup>Frederick Langenheim, *Letter to Thomas Story Kirkbride* — April 30, 1855, original in Kirkbride Archives, Institute of Pennsylvania Hospital.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, September 12, 1865.

<sup>51</sup>Elizabeth B. Kirkbride, *Biography of Joseph John Kirkbride*, original manuscript in Kirkbride Archives, Institute of Pennsylvania Hospital.



Figure 4

4. Panorama of Niagara Falls. Daguerreotypes sent by the Langenheims to European heads of state and Daguerre to promote their work, ca. 1845. (Courtesy Mr. William Langenheim.)

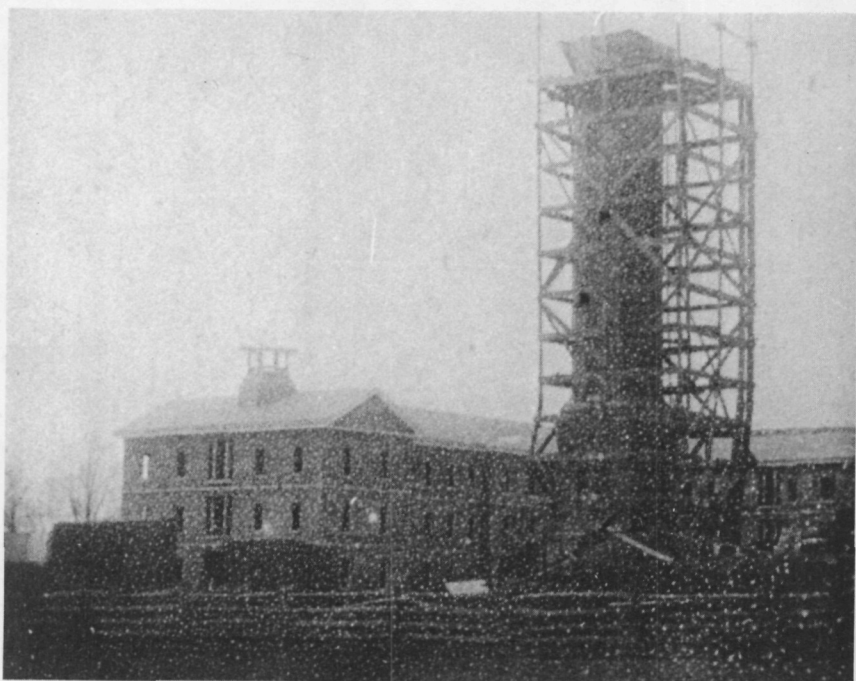


Figure 5

5. "The Leaning Scaffolding," Glass stereo view by Fredrick Langenheim, November 26, 1857. (Courtesy Pennsylvania Hospital.)

approached it with my apparatus got very much frightened and tried to run away, I succeeded in getting a fair impression of it in which attitude it resembles the celebrated leaning tower of Pisa."<sup>52</sup>

What can be said of the significance of this collaboration? Clearly Kirkbride's own words document the importance of the magic lantern in his overall practice of moral treatment, the dominant treatment of the time. The work of the Langenheims at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane represents even greater significance in the history of photography. There is no earlier documented use of the photographic slide in any of the standard texts than the 1851 date claimed for Dr. Kirkbride. Indeed, his use of a photograph in a therapy program in that year may represent the earliest use of photography in psychiatry.

Recently, the work of Dr. Hugh W. Diamond, prominent English photographer and psychiatrist has come to the attention of photo-historians. Diamond was superintendent of the Female Department of the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum from 1848 through 1858. In 1852 he photographed various of his patients. These photos were used in therapy, and formed the basis for the illustrations in a later work on the *Physiognomy of the Insane*. Sander L. Gillman, of Cornell University, has described Diamond's work as "the first systematic use of photography in the history of psychiatry."<sup>53</sup> Dr. Kirkbride's work with photographic slides clearly represents such use of photography. The earliest documented use of photography in the field of psychiatry took place, as far as we know today, in 1851 at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.

In 1874, Marcus Aurelius Root, renowned Philadelphia photographer and author of the first book on the history of photography, wrote that "Dr. Kirkbride was the first man to introduce and use photographic slides in the magic lantern, in a public institution, for amusement and instruction."<sup>54</sup>

Acknowledgment of Dr. Kirkbride's role was given by the noted Philadelphian engineer Coleman Sellers who nominated him for honorary membership in the Philadelphia Photographic Society. In the

<sup>52</sup>Langenheim, November 26, 1857.

<sup>53</sup>Sander L. Gilman, ed., *The Face of Madness: Hugh W. Diamond and the Origin of Psychiatric Photography*, Brunner/ Mazel, New York, (1976), 5-8.

<sup>54</sup>Marcus Aurelius Root, "The Magic Lantern, its History and uses for Educational and other Purposes," *The Magic Lantern*, I, No. 2, (1874), 11.

British Journal of Photography in 1865, Sellers wrote "Photography has proved to him of the greatest use in his system of treatment. Few individuals have done so much as Dr. Kirkbride to encourage the progress of the art, and to him alone is due all the credit of having taken advantage of it in order to assist in the restoration of minds affected with mental disease."<sup>55</sup>

Dr. Kirkbride was well aware of the importance of his work in this area when he wrote, in 1863, "it is interesting to note that everything under the name of stereopticon, etc., that is now shown to the intelligent audiences which fill some of the largest lecture rooms in our cities, and which has been so generally commended, was familiar to the patients of this hospital some years before these public exhibitions were commenced."<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Coleman Sellers, "Photography at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, Philadelphia," *The British Journal of Photography*, (June 16, 1865), 317-18.

<sup>56</sup>Kirkbride, (1863), 20.