
THE LAST WORD SOCIETY

The following paper by Dr. Walter Rowe is the first of what we hope will be a continuing series of submissions from the now regular sessions of the "Last Word Society" at the annual meetings of the Academy. Although these papers do not fit the traditional criteria for publication in the Journal, the great response to their presentation at the meetings clearly indicates a widespread general interest in these offbeat subjects. This is not really surprising given the well-known somewhat pathological interest of forensic scientists in almost everything.

The Last Word Society sessions grew out of informal discussions among a small group of Academy members interested in historical cases. The Society has no charter, members, bylaws, or dues and, hopefully, never will. Its primary objective is enjoyment both for listeners and story tellers. Presentations have touched on subjects from art to opera and from found skeletons to disappearing islands. All have represented a fresh (and often scholarly) approach to old subjects or stories. We hope that readers of the Journal will enjoy these stories as much as have the audiences at our sessions.

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The Case of the Lying Photographs: The Civil War Photography of George N. Barnard

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ABSTRACT: Photographic analysis has from time to time played an important role in criminal investigations. In the 1960s, for example, snapshots taken by the accused in England's "moor murders" were instrumental in locating the grave of one of the victims. More recently, scholars have begun to use the methods of photographic analysis to authenticate historic photographs.

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William Frassanito, for example, has analyzed the extant photographs of the battlefields of Antietam and Gettysburg to determine where the photographs were taken (and hence what the photographs actually portray).

Among the photographic records of the War Between the States is an important collection of photographs taken by George N. Barnard, a former employee of Mathew Brady, documenting General William T. Sherman's invasion of Georgia in 1864. For years these photographs have been accepted as contemporaneous historical records. Careful analysis of Barnard's portfolio of photographs reveals that many of the photographs were made after the end of the Civil War, while those taken during the war were the product of a brief visit by Barnard to Atlanta in the fall of 1864, after the city's capture by Federal forces. Additional problems with the use of Barnard's photographs as historical documents arise from later historians' persistent misinterpretation of Barnard's captions.

KEYWORDS: forensic science, photography, George N. Barnard, Last Word Society

Forensic scientists are familiar with the use of photographs to record crime scenes or document the condition of items of evidence. Less commonly, a fortuitously taken photograph may provide relevant information about the circumstances of a crime. For example, the investigation of the infamous "moor murders" in England in the 1960s uncovered numerous snapshots made by the suspects of locations on the moors near the city of Manchester; when the sites of the photographs had been located the grave of one of the murder victims was discovered [1]. More recently, a low oblique aerial photograph taken by a freelance photographer fortuitously recorded the perpetrator of an armed robbery and rape as he was entering the store in which the crime occurred; computer image enhancement of the photograph provided investigators with the perpetrator's height, his shoe size, and even his waist measurements [2].

A large body of photographs exist documenting the War Between the States. Along with sketches by combat artists and retrospective paintings by participants, these photographs provide the most authoritative visual records of this central event in our history. Civil War scholars have begun to examine the mass of Civil War photographs critically to determine from internal evidence when and where the photographs were taken (and hence what they actually portray). This critical examination of Civil War photographs has uncovered serious problems with the use of these photographs as historical documents.

The first type of problem encountered is shown in Figs. 1 and 2. These two photographs purport to show dead soldiers on the battlefield of Gettysburg. One high school history text that I encountered as a teenager used these photographs to illustrate its chapter on the War Between the States. They are in fact fakes. This is clear from the fact that although the rock formations in the two pictures are the same, the bodies are in different positions. The presence of numerous firearms is also inconsistent with the practice of both the Union and Confederate armies of collecting all usable military equipment from battlefields [3]. William Frassanito has proven that the photographs were taken at Gettysburg, possibly at the time of the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery in November 1863 when a number of soldiers would have been available to pose [4].²

A second type of problem that arises in the study of Civil War photographs is shown in Figs. 3 and 4. Figure 3 is one of the most frequently reproduced Civil War photographs. It was taken by Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, or James Gibson (who worked as a team when photographing the Gettysburg battlefield on 5-6 July 1863 [4]). Figure 4 was taken with a second camera (an 8 by 4 in. format stereo camera). It shows the blanket the photographers used to drag the dead soldier almost 36.5 m (40 yds) from the original location of the body. They apparently wished to create a more dramatic scene by positioning the

²While preparing this paper, I discovered two previously unpublished photographs belonging to this series. They are Library of Congress photographs B8184-10003 and B8184-10075.



FIG. 1—Soldiers pretending to be casualties near Gettysburg. PA, photographer unknown (Library of Congress, 262-50635).

body behind the improvised stone breastwork [5]. The rifle propped against the stone behind the body was probably added also, since what appears to be the same rifle appears frequently in the Gardner-O'Sullivan-Gibson photographs of Gettysburg [4].

Figure 5 shows another frequently reproduced Gardner-O'Sullivan-Gibson photograph, which will serve to illustrate a third problem with Civil War photographs. In 1866 Gardner published this photograph in *Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the War*, in which he captioned it "A Harvest of Death" [6]. Accompanying this photograph were other Gettysburg photographs that Gardner misleadingly captioned to make the public believe that he had photographed all of the important areas of the battlefield. In particular, a number of photographs were miscaptioned as having been taken where the first fighting occurred at Gettysburg. Because of the presence of a rail fence in Fig. 5, later historians drew the erroneous conclusion that it was taken on the McPherson Farm, scene of the first engagements of the Battle of Gettysburg [7]. The dead then became Union soldiers who fell on the McPherson Farm [8]. Finally, the dead were identified as being soldiers of the Union's famed Iron Brigade, specifically soldiers of the 24th Michigan Infantry [9]. In fact, William Frassanito has proven that Fig. 5 was taken several miles away from the McPherson Farm on a portion of the battlefield where fighting occurred only on the second day of the battle [4]. The dead are almost certainly Confederate soldiers of the 53rd Georgia or 15th South Carolina Infantry Regiments.

The evidence of outright fakery, creative scene editing, and misleading titling in photographs of Gettysburg raises the question of whether photographic records of other Civil



FIG. 2—Soldiers pretending to be casualties near Gettysburg, PA, photographer unknown (*National Archives, 79-T-2469*).

War campaigns contain similar dubious material. In particular, it would be of interest to authenticate the photographs documenting General William T. Sherman's campaign in Georgia and the Carolinas. This campaign was one of the most important of the War Between the States and had a profound impact on the subsequent history of the United States, and indeed on the development of twentieth century military strategy [10]. Furthermore, it was the only Civil War campaign to be covered by a photographer, George N. Barnard, especially hired by the U.S. Army for that purpose [11]. Barnard's photographs were the basis for many of the sets of the motion picture *Gone With the Wind*, which did so much to form present popular views of the War Between the States.

George N. Barnard was one of the foremost Civil War photographers. Along with Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, James Gibson, and others he helped make Mathew Brady's photographic studios so renowned for their Civil War photographs. Ironically, Mathew Brady, whose name became synonymous with Civil War photography, probably took no photographs during the war: he was suffering from a serious eye disorder that rendered him virtually blind [11,12]. Brady only rarely ventured into the field with his cameras, which an assistant actually operated [11].

In 1862 Barnard photographed battlefields around Manassas, Virginia, and the rear areas of the Union Army of the Potomac advancing on Richmond up the Virginia Peninsula [11,13]. In 1864 he was under contract to the U.S. Army to photograph the defenses of Atlanta, GA. This assignment led to Barnard's publication in 1866 of his *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign*, which contained 61 contact-printed photographs of various scenes associated not only with Sherman's campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas, but also with General Ulysses S. Grant's Chattanooga Campaign that preceded them. Barnard ac-



FIG. 3—Dead Confederate soldier near Gettysburg, PA. photographer Gardner, O'Sullivan, or Gibson (Library of Congress, B811-251A).

accompanied his photographs with an explanatory pamphlet which gave a brief history of the closing campaigns of the War Between the States in Georgia and the Carolinas. This narrative closes with the comment:

The rapid movement of Sherman's army during the active campaign rendered it impossible to obtain at the time a complete series of photographs which should illustrate the principal events and most interesting localities. Since the close of the war the collection has been completed [14].

As will become apparent, subsequent historians have given too little attention to this statement.

Barnard's Plate 1

The first plate in Barnard's *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* (Fig. 6) shows General William T. Sherman and some of his subordinates. Significantly, this photograph shows only officers who participated in the March through the Carolinas. Other high ranking officers who commanded troops in the campaign against Atlanta but were sent back to Tennessee in late 1864 to defend that state against Confederate invasion are absent from the photograph. Where and when was it actually taken? The grouping of the officers makes sense if this photograph was taken between 23 May and 4 June 1865. Before 12 May, General Oliver O. Howard commanded the right wing of Sherman's army in the Carolinas and

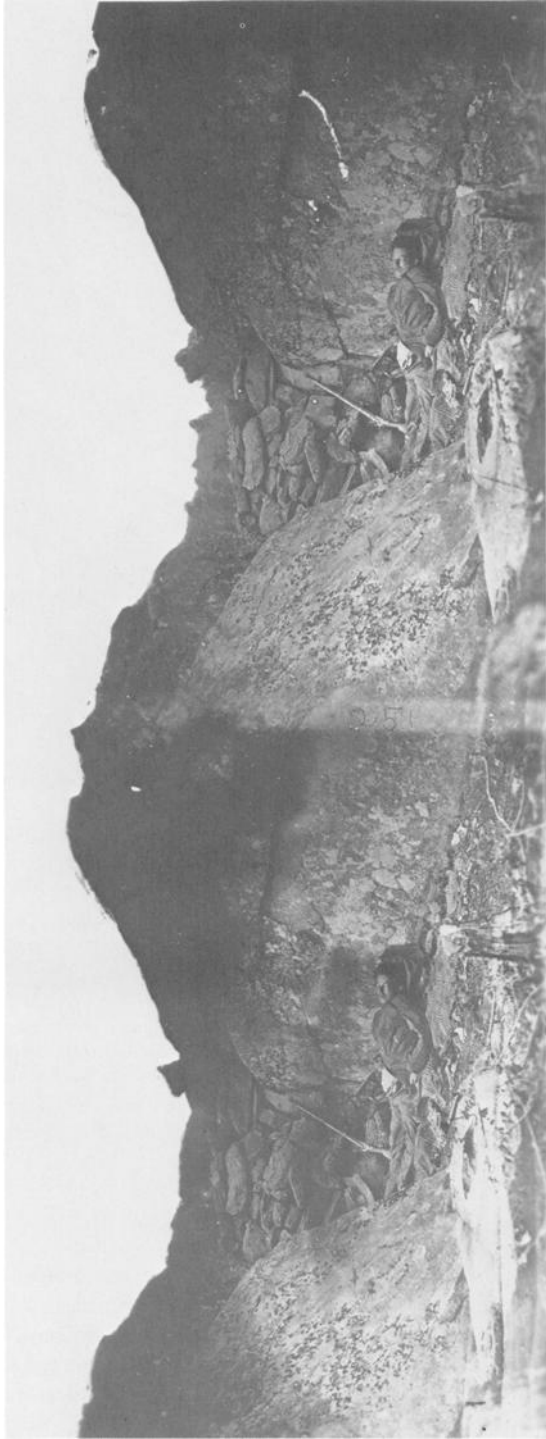


FIG. 4—Dead Confederate soldier near Gettysburg, PA, photographer Gardner, O'Sullivan, or Gibson.



FIG. 5—Dead Confederate soldiers near Gettysburg, PA, photographer Gardner, O'Sullivan, or Gibson (Library of Congress, B8171-245A).



FIG. 6—Sherman and his generals. Plate 1, Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign. (Seated left to right: Maj. Gen. John A. Logan, commanding Army of the Tennessee; Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman, commanding Military Division of the Mississippi; Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum, commanding Army of Georgia; Maj. Gen. Francis P. Blair, commanding XVII Corps, Army of the Tennessee. Standing Left to Right: Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, Commissioner, Freedmans Bureau; Maj. Gen. William B. Hazen, commanding XV Corps, Army of the Tennessee; Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis, commanding XIV Corps, Army of Georgia; Maj. Gen. Joseph A. Mower, commanding XX Corps, Army of Georgia) (Library of Congress, B8184-10069).

would have been seated next to Sherman in place of General John A. Logan, one of Howard's subordinates. On 12 May 1865, General Howard was relieved of the command of Sherman's right wing and appointed commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau [15]. He was replaced by General Logan on 23 May. On 4 June 1865, General Joseph A. Mower was relieved of command of the XX Army Corps of Sherman's left wing when these troops were demobilized [15]. The most likely occasion for this photograph is the Grand Review held in Washington, DC, 23–24 May 1865 [15]. Such a date might explain Sherman's savage demeanor, since on 22 May he had been required to appear before the Committee on the Conduct of the War to explain the overly lenient surrender terms that he had offered to the Confederate forces in North Carolina [16].

The symmetrical arrangement of Sherman's officers is spoiled by the position of General Francis P. Blair. A careful examination of Fig. 6 shows that General Blair's image has been carefully cut from another photograph and transferred to this one. Francis T. Miller in his *Photographic History of the Civil War* [8] published the same scene without the figure of General Blair.

Barnard's Plates 23 and 6

In May 1864 the Union armies began the final reduction of the eastern Confederacy. While Union forces advanced against the Confederate army in Virginia, General Sherman marched south from Chattanooga, TN, (Fig. 7) at the head of three field armies totaling nearly 100 000 men. His objective was the destruction of the opposing Confederate army under General Joseph E. Johnston. Attempting to accomplish this, Sherman forced the Confederates to prevent his advance against the city of Atlanta, a vital transportation and manufacturing center. By a series of flanking maneuvers the Union army forced the Confederates to abandon their prepared positions above Dalton and retreat to Resaca. Union threats against the Confederate railroad supply line caused a further Confederate retreat from Resaca after a series of engagements. This retreat continued until the Confederates were south of the Etowah River [17].

Figure 8 was entitled by Barnard "Defenses of the Etawah [*sic*] Bridge." Later historians [7,8] corrected Barnard's misspelling of the river's name, but elaborated upon his simple caption. The defenses became Confederate defenses [7] and then strong positions abandoned by a timorous Confederate high command [8]. Figure 9 is a present-day version of Barnard's scene. North is to the left in the photograph. Thus, the fortifications in Barnard's photograph were situated on the north side of the river, hardly a suitable location for Confederate trenches.

The retreating Confederate army destroyed the bridges across the Etowah River at this point on 20 May 1864. Both the railroad bridge and the nearby wagon bridge were burned by Wheeler's Confederate cavalry [18,19]. The Union army kept its railhead north of the Etowah River until early in June when the Confederates were flanked out of the Allatoona Hills south of the bridge site. The Union army's Construction Corps then rebuilt the railroad bridge and emplaced three pontoon bridges nearby for the passage of troops enroute to the front [20–22]. Captain Orlando Poe, General Sherman's chief engineer, laid out defenses for the bridge, which were then constructed by Colonel Aaron Brown's 3rd Iowa Regiment [20,23,24].

Careful study of Fig. 8 reveals a typical nineteenth-century railroad bridge; it is what is known as a Howe deck truss bridge [25]. Around the stone bridge piers are the remains of wooden trestles. Such trestles were used by the Union army to replace the bridges destroyed by the retreating Confederate army. Barnard photographed an example of this sort of trestle near Whiteside, TN (Fig. 10). The presence of the remnants of the trestles suggests that Barnard's photograph of the Etowah bridge was taken after the War Between the States, perhaps when the Western and Atlantic Railroad was rebuilt between April and October 1865 [26]. One argument against this conjecture is the fact that occasionally the Union army Con-

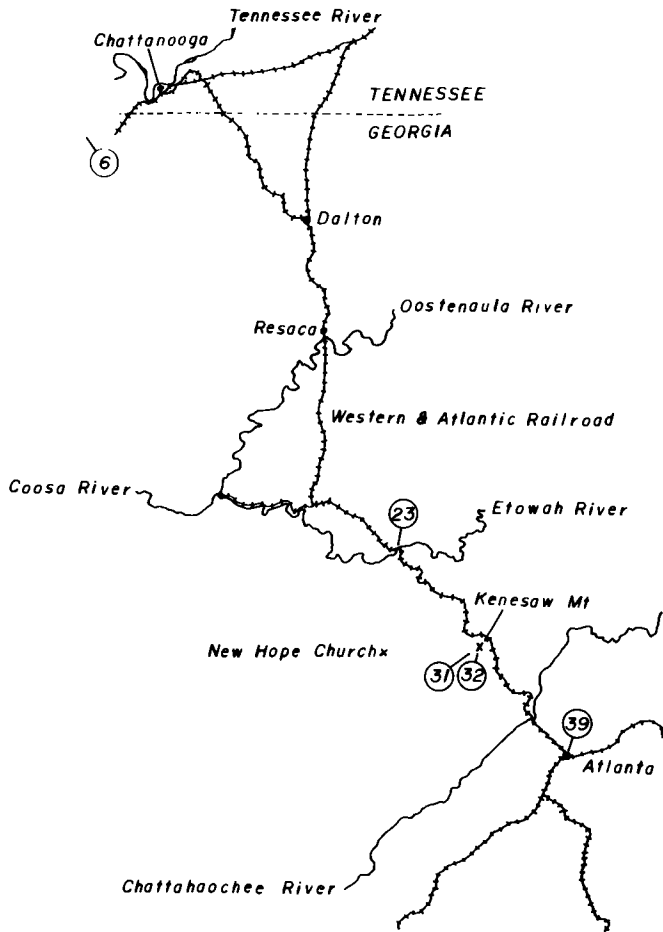


FIG. 7—Map of the area traversed during Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, Numbers indicate the sites of the photographic plates discussed in text.

struction Corps replaced their temporary trestles with permanent bridges of the type shown in Fig. 8 [27]. The railroad bridge was damaged by heavy rains in October 1864 [28]. A trestle bridge would have been much more susceptible to destruction by flood waters than a Howe deck truss bridge.

A more telling reason for believing that Barnard's photograph of the Etowah bridge was taken after the War Between the States is the lack of any visible military activity in the photograph. The trenches in the foreground are empty, and apparently so is the fort on the distant hill. From the completion of the Union army's railroad bridge in June until the destruction of the railroad from the Etowah River to Atlanta in November, the Etowah railroad bridge was defended by at least one infantry regiment and two sections of field artillery (four field guns) [20, 21, 29]. No trace of these garrison forces is visible in Barnard's photograph, even though the only entrenchments within a mile of the bridge are those shown in the photograph [30]. Either Barnard was fortunate to catch the bridge garrison violating General Sherman's reiterated orders to guard the bridge closely [31, 32] or he took his photograph after the war when the bridge no longer required a garrison. By way of contrast, Fig. 10 shows a number of Union soldiers as well as their permanent camp.

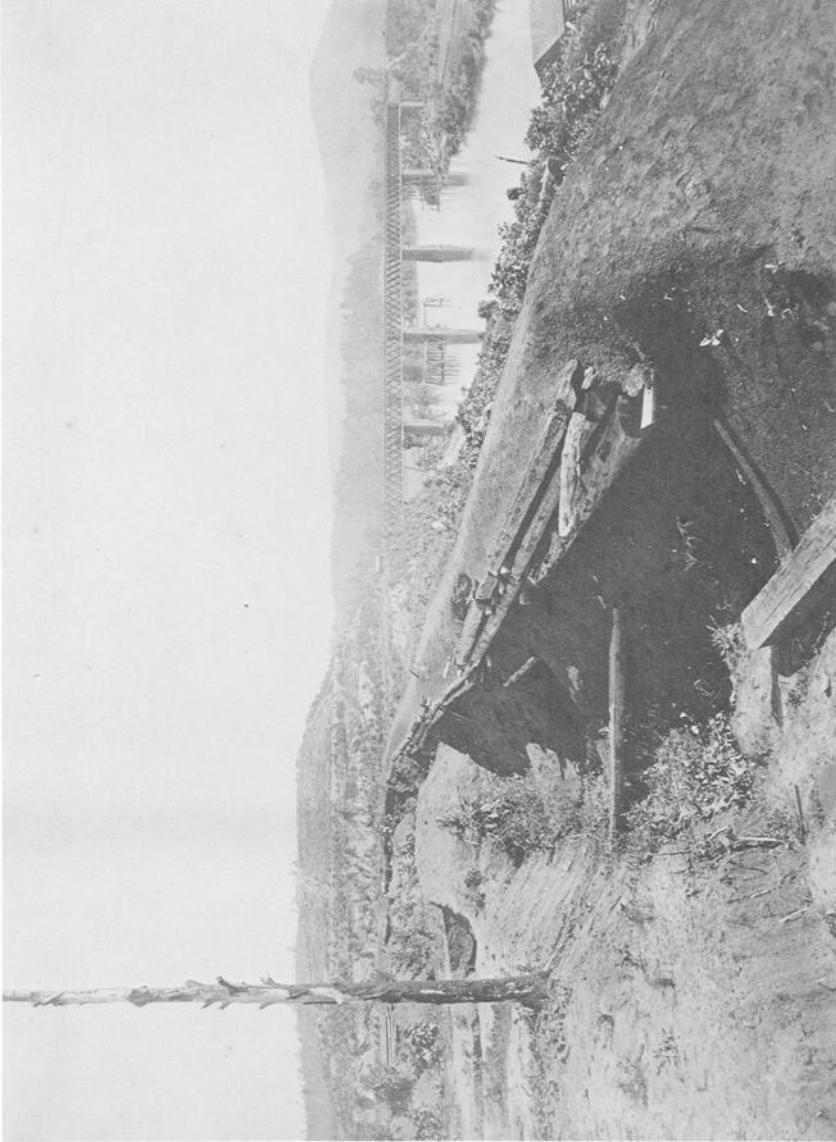


FIG. 8—Defenses of the Etuwah (sic) Bridge. Plate 23, Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign (Library of Congress, B8184-10107).

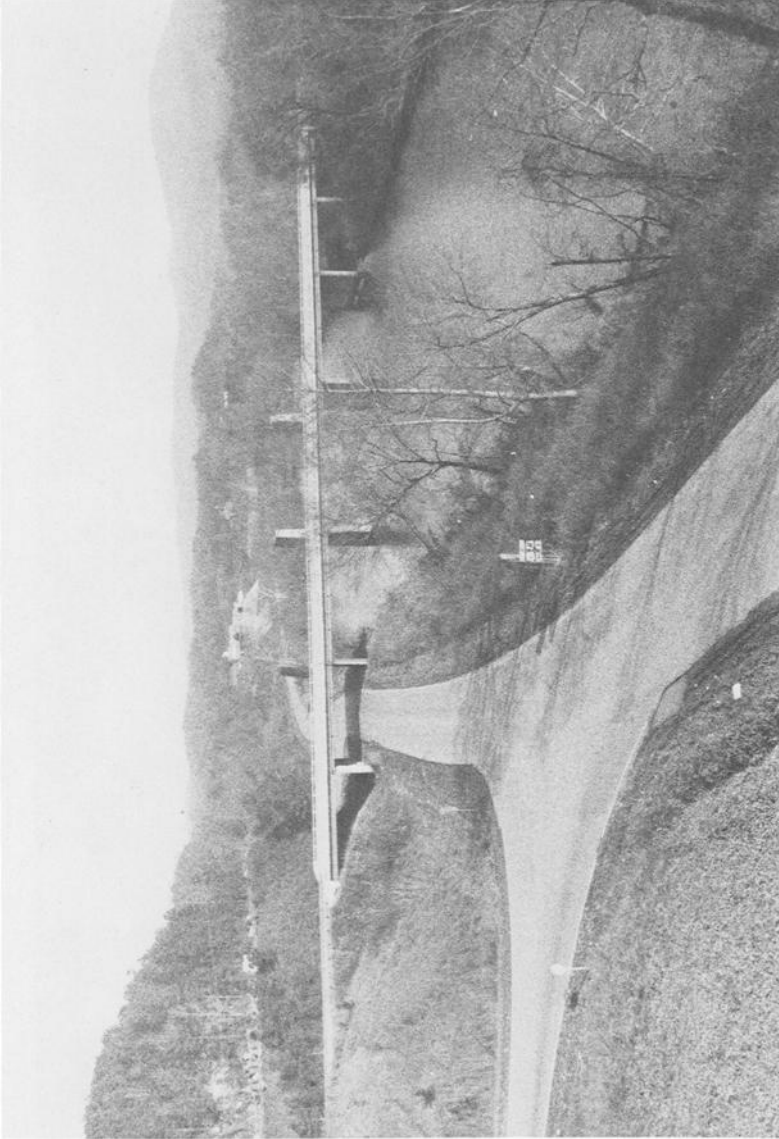


FIG. 9—Modern view of the remains of the Etowah railroad bridge. Because of the presence of Louisville and Nashville Railroad, camera position is closer to bridge and higher than that in Fig. 8. Bridge piers behind modern highway bridge are the only remains of the Civil War era bridge.

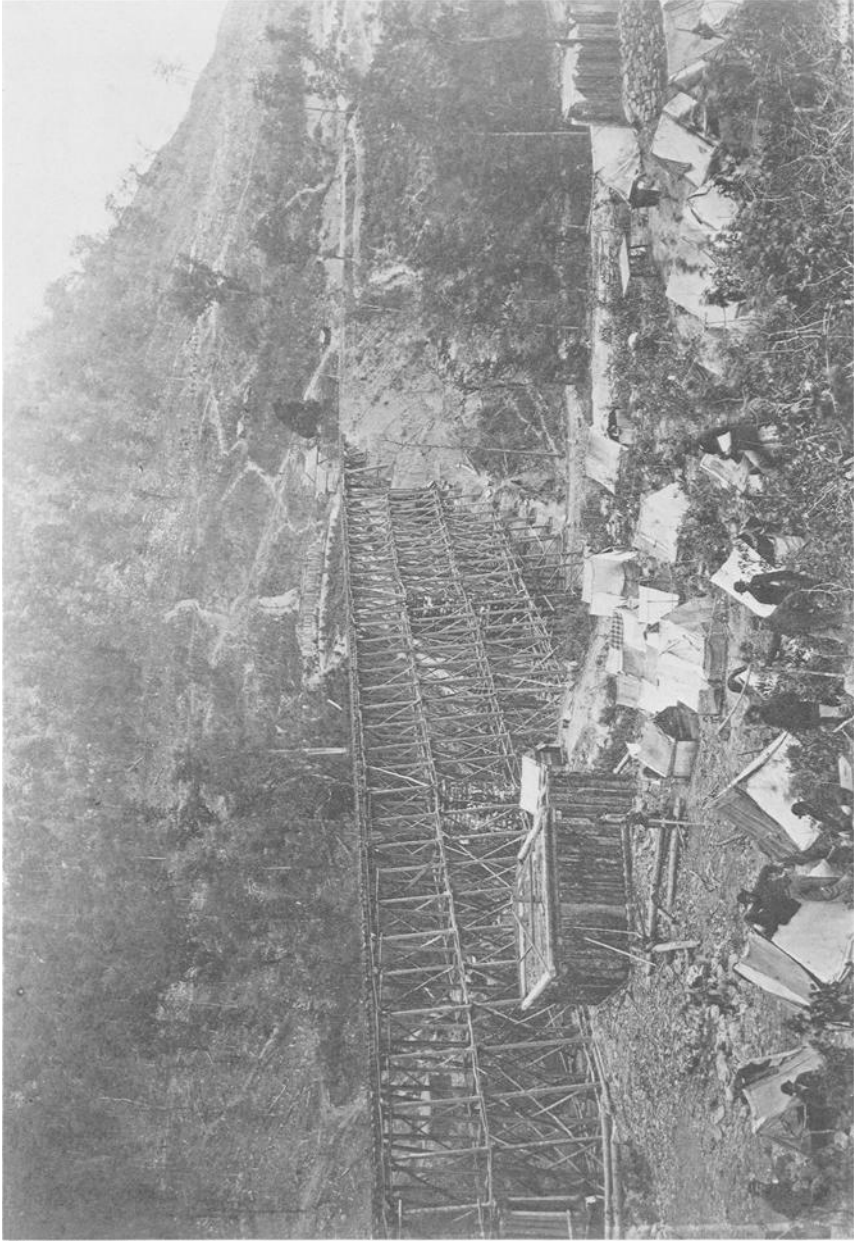


FIG. 10—Pass in the Raccoon Range. Whiteside No. 1. Plate 6. Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign (Library of Congress. B8184-10011).

Barnard's Plates 31 and 32

To outflank the Confederates south of the Etowah railroad bridge, General Sherman sent his forces sweeping across the Etowah River far to the west. In late May and early June Union and Confederate forces fought a series of intense engagements around New Hope Church. While the Etowah bridge was being replaced the Union army maneuvered the Confederates back toward the Western and Atlantic Railroad until the Southern forces found themselves entrenched on a line that stretched along the crest of Kenesaw Mountain and southward to the Kolb Farm. Heavy rain now severely limited the Union armies' ability to outflank the Confederate defenses. To break the tactical impasse, General Sherman ordered assaults against the Confederate entrenchments at the foot of Kenesaw Mountain and on a low knoll several miles to the south. Launched on 27 June 1864, these infantry attacks failed with heavy casualties [17].

Figure 11 is George Barnard's photograph of Union entrenchments in front of Kenesaw Mountain. The three heights that make up Kenesaw Mountain, Big Kenesaw, Little Kenesaw, and Pigeon Hill (also known as Kenesaw Spur), appear in the background. In the middle distance are a cluster of farm buildings and a road bordered by rail fences. Running almost directly away from the camera is the line of Union trenches; in the foreground are three gun pits for field guns, with embrasures of interlaced twigs and tree limbs. Figure 12 is a modern photograph taken from approximately the same location as Barnard's. The original camera location is now in a stand of second-growth timber. Interestingly enough, the buildings in the middle distance occupy the same lot as those in Barnard's photograph. The road shown is the Burnt Hickory Road, which skirts the southern slopes of Kenesaw Mountain. At this point a line of trenches, traces of which may be found in the nearby thickets, crosses the Burnt Hickory Road on an approximate north-south line. On 27 June 1864, these trenches were occupied by portions of the Union Army of the Tennessee which had been assigned to attack Kenesaw Mountain; the Union assault waves formed about 91 m (100 yds) in front of these lines and advanced astride the Burnt Hickory Road against Pigeon Hill [33].

Barnard's photograph of the Union lines before Kenesaw Mountain contains internal evidence that it was made after the War Between the States. The gun pits in the foreground are eroded and somewhat delapidated. The fences bordering the Burnt Hickory Road would have been thrown down by the Union lines of battle or their skirmishers during the attack on Kenesaw Mountain. Fences were also routinely used as sources of firewood by both Union and Confederate armies [34]. The line of woods behind the farm buildings shows a number of dead trees (those with light-colored trunks), probably killed by artillery and small arm projectiles which struck them during the fighting. It would have taken about a year for trees to die from the embedded projectiles [4]. The condition of the farm buildings in the middle distance in Barnard's photograph is also strong evidence that this photograph was not taken immediately after the Battle of Kenesaw Mountain. The York House, which stood just out of Barnard's photograph on the right, was razed by Confederate artillery firing from Kenesaw Mountain when it was used as cover for Union sharpshooters [35]. The cabin and its out-buildings would almost certainly also have been destroyed at the same time for the same reason.

Figure 13 is a view from Kenesaw Mountain taken from Barnard's portfolio. The log walls running across the picture are the log revetments of an artillery position, three embrasures of which are shown. In the right center midway to the horizon are the farm buildings that appear in Fig. 11. The Union trenches were in the line of woods that runs across the picture behind the buildings. Figure 14 is a modern view taken from the same camera position as Barnard's photograph. Trees now obscure the woods and fields west of Kenesaw Mountain.

Since Fig. 13 contains the same buildings visible in Fig. 11, both must be postwar photographs. Figure 13 also shows a number of dead trees, which resulted from the intense artillery and small arms fire that swept this position. As was indicated earlier, these trees



FIG. 11—The front of Kenesaw Mountain, GA. Plate 31. Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign (Library of Congress, BR184-10402).



FIG. 12—Modern view of Kennesaw Mountain. Because of the presence of thickets and underbrush camera position is closer to road than that in Fig. 11.

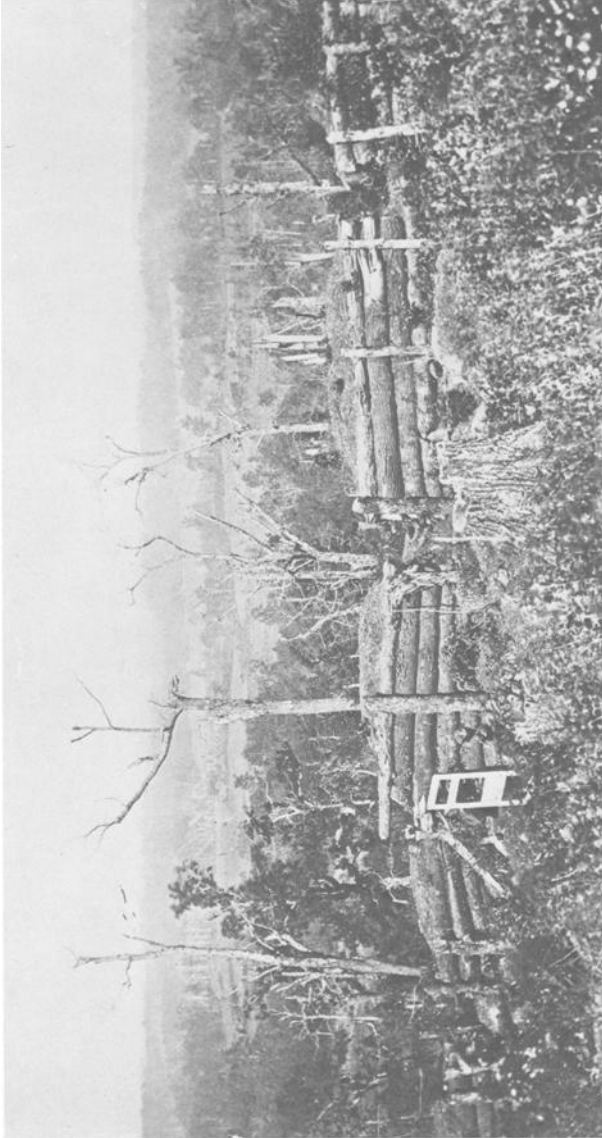


FIG. 13.—View of Kennesaw Mountain, GA. Plate 32. Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign (Library of Congress, B816-81075H).



FIG. 14—A modern day version of Fig. 13.

would probably have taken about a year to die [4]. This figure also illustrates the constraints on Barnard and other Civil War photographers. The camera location is only about 91 m (100 yds) from the Burnt Hickory Road. If a site was remote from a road it could not be photographed. The wet plate process used during the War Between the States required that the glass plate bearing a sticky layer of collodion be sensitized with silver salts, then exposed, and developed before the collodion layer dried [4]. The photographers's darkroom wagon had to be within easy reach of the photographer.

Barnard's photographs of Kenesaw Mountain and its vicinity are important for what they show and also for what they do not show. No photographs by Barnard (or by any other Civil War photographer) have been discovered that show the scene of Sherman's other attack on 27 June. While three Union brigades assaulted Pigeon Hill, five Union brigades assaulted a low knoll now called Cheatham Hill (after the Confederate general whose infantry division defended it). Two brigade commanders (including a member of the famous McCook family³) were killed and the Union troops went to ground within 23 m (75 ft) of the Confederate trenches. The pinned-down Union soldiers dug in and started a mine gallery beneath the Confederate lines, intending to blow them up with explosive charges. The scene of this dramatic action was well away from any main roads, and so it might be considered inaccessible to Barnard and his photographic wagon. However, some of the areas photographed by Gardner and his colleagues at Gettysburg were scarcely more accessible. Another explanation for Barnard's meager coverage of Kenesaw Mountain is suggested by Fig. 13. The artillery emplacements in the foreground mask the Confederate infantry line,

³Col. Daniel McCook was mortally wounded only a few feet from the Confederate trenches. Of his brothers and cousins, 16 served in the Union army and three were killed in action.

which was some feet in front of the artillery, and the slope up which the Union troops charged. The fact that Barnard did not move his camera further down the slope to photograph the actual scene of the Union attack suggests that he probably knew very little about the details of the fighting at Kenesaw Mountain. If he took the photograph after the war, he would not have had available a knowledgeable guide to any of the battlefields in Georgia. Evidently, Gardner and his colleagues were hampered at Gettysburg by the same problem [4].

Barnard's Plate 39

After the Battle of Kenesaw Mountain the rains ceased and the roads dried. With its mobility restored the Union army began to outflank the Confederate lines. The Confederate army withdrew successively to the Chattahoochee River and then into the defenses of Atlanta. The Confederate government replaced its army commander, General Johnston, with one of his corps commanders, the more aggressive John B. Hood. General Hood attacked the Union army outside Atlanta three times in late July. The attacks resulted in devastating Confederate casualties and the debilitated Confederate army retired into its entrenchments, where Sherman's army besieged it through the month of August. At the end of August the Union army outflanked the Confederate defenses to cut the last railroad line into Atlanta; the Confederate army abandoned the city to avoid encirclement and capture. On 2 Sept. 1864, Union troops marched into the fallen city [17].

The last photograph I want to consider is Fig. 15. This is one of Barnard's photographs of the defenses of Atlanta. It was of course these defenses that Barnard was hired to photograph [11]. Many histories have reproduced this photograph because it supposedly exemplifies the strength of the Confederate defenses that confronted Sherman's soldiers as they closed in on Atlanta. However, Barnard was employed to photograph the *Union* defenses of Atlanta. Following the fall of Atlanta, General Sherman ordered a shortened



FIG. 15—Rebel work in front of Atlanta, GA, No. 1 Plate 39, Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign.

defense perimeter constructed so that the city could be held by a small garrison [36]. Captain Orlando Poe, Sherman's chief engineer, laid out the new line incorporating part of the inner Confederate defense line [37]. The inner Confederate defense line was the first defensive line constructed for the city; however, when the Confederate army fell back on the city, General Johnston, the Confederate army commander, decided that the inner line was in want of strengthening and directed a more extensive outer line of entrenchments to be built [38]. It was this outer line to which the Union forces laid siege. The entrenchments in Barnard's photograph were in rear of the Confederate main line of resistance [37]; as such, they were not directly engaged by the Union forces. Furthermore, what is visible in the photograph is a combination of Confederate and Union military engineering. All that can be safely said is that the entrenchments reflect the prevailing defensive tactical doctrines of the Union army in 1864.

An interesting feature of Fig. 15 is shown in enlargement in Fig. 16. Figure 15 is a montage in which the ground features and the sky have been printed from different negatives. This was an esthetic modification that arose from the peculiarities of the photographic materials used in the mid-nineteenth century. When properly exposed for ground features, photographs had the sky overexposed and all its detail obliterated [39]. Barnard enhanced many of his photographs by adding dramatic cloudscapes from other photographs [13]. I have examined the copy of Barnard's *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* in the Library of Congress, and a reproduction of the copy in the possession of the New York Historical Society [14]. The versions of Plate 39 in these two copies differ slightly, indicating that Barnard created a montage for each copy of his book. Also, a photograph in the Library of Congress (B8171-3643), which contains part of the same scene, shows that Barnard cropped the entire top from the tall tree just to the left of the white house.

Conclusion

When the 61 plates in Barnard's *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* are examined critically, only 15 can be shown to be definitely taken during the War Between the States. Many of the remainder contain internal evidence that suggests that they are probably postwar; a few contain no internal evidence one way or the other. The photographs suggest a brief excursion on Barnard's part to Atlanta during the fall of 1864, followed by a more extensive trip through Georgia and the Carolinas during 1865.

Although Barnard occasionally used montages, he was not guilty of the more serious sin of creating fake battlefield scenes. At most he was guilty of enhancing his photograph's esthetic appeal and perhaps of a little puffery to increase the commercial value of his work.⁴ Barnard cannot be held wholly responsible for the carelessness of subsequent historians who have misused his photographs.

We may smile indulgently at the crude tricks employed by Civil War photographers and at the credulity of their audience. However, lying photographs are still being created and are still being accepted as genuine [40].

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my father for his help in obtaining the modern photographs used in this paper. I would also like to thank Mr. Rick Johnson for his help in preparing the slides used in the presentation of this paper.

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⁴Ironically, Barnard's book was a financial failure, perhaps owing to its high price of \$100 a copy [13].

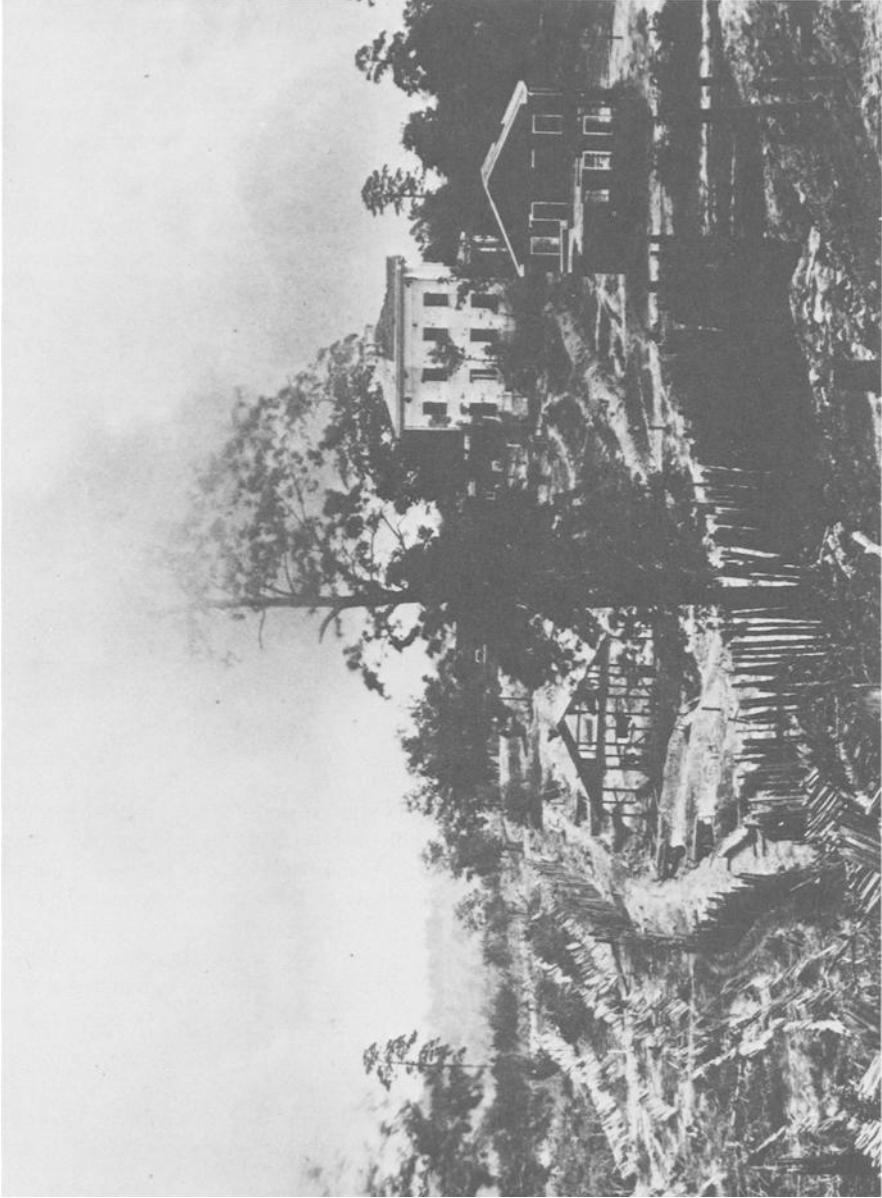


FIG. 16—Enlargement of a portion of Fig. 15.

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