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Introduction

Around May of 1888, photographers Jean Charles Kroehle and George Huebner left Lima going east, crossing the Andes mountains and entering the Amazon Rainforest, in an epic journey that, since then, has been worthy of admiration. During this trip, lasting almost three years, including a long stay in the city of Iquitos, the pair took a series of photographs of the landscapes and peoples of the Amazon, building a collection of images that have become essential to the visual construction of the Amazon, both for Peruvian intellectual and political elites and North American and European scientific centers. From then until today, their views have circulated around to different audiences, consumed by diverse audiences, through different formats such as postcards, photogravures in the press, photographic publications, and in various places such as museums, scientific repositories, and public exhibitions. One of the main mediums where these images were included was in the photographic album *República Peruana 1900*, an official document prepared to be exhibited in the national pavilion during the Universal Exhibition of Paris, held in 1900, on the occasion of the advent of the Twentieth Century.

Unlike other countries with a romantic pictorial tradition, where painting served as a support for the projection of landscape images and national conceptions of territory, in

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Peru there were no known nineteenth-century artistic productions with these referents. In our case, photography—and the technical applications that allowed its printing and expanded its consumption, lithography and gravure—was the tool through which, from the last third of the 19th Century, some artists and technicians built the first visual records of the interior of the country, as part of *territorialization* efforts; that is, the symbolic and material appropriation of the landscape from the perspective of urban elites (La Serna 2013).

In this sense, the album *República Peruana 1900* was presented as the first effort to build an "official" image of the country, visually integrating the different ecological systems, the various types of inhabitants of the territory, the extraordinary archaeological richness, the industrial investments and scientific advances, in a context of post-war regeneration discourses of the nation, as well as material progress. This bolstered the need to achieve, through the use of modern and technological tools—such as the *camera obscura*—an effective control of space and the transformation of a majority indigenous population into citizens of a modern and civilized nation¹.

Photographic pilgrimages of an Alsatian in Peru

Jean Jacques Kroehle [best known as Charles, Carlos and Karl Kroehle or Kröhle] was an Alsatian photographer and adventurer. He was born in Strasburg on November 7, 1862, son of Jean Kroehle and Maria Zimmermann². After the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, the territory of Alsace happened to become a *Reichsland*, where the Kroehle family took, legally, the German nationality. Later, already established in Paris, Charles Kroehle claimed his "reincorporation" to French nationality³.

Although he and his Amazonian photographic work have been the subject of numerous investigations in recent years, his life story is still unknown to us⁴. According

¹ The State initiative for the visual articulation of the nation and its territoriality had as a direct antecedent Paz Soldán's *Atlas*, published in 1865, during the boom of *guano* exploitation (Chaumeil & Delgado 2013).

² See: Gobé (2015), La Serna & Chaumeil (2016).

³ After the Franco-Prussian War of 1871, the regions of Alsace and Lorraine were annexed to the German Empire and the "frontier" populations had the option of choosing between emigrating to France or remaining in the territory, automatically acquiring German citizenship. This was the case of Charles Kroehle who, in May 1885, asked the *Ministère de la Justice* for his "reincorporation" to France. See : Archives Nationales (France), BB/11/1838, Folder N° 2430 x 85 «Demande de réintégration de Jean Jacques Kroehle», May 19, 1885 (Information provided by Pascal Riviale).

⁴ For example, among the recent works dedicated to the work of Kroehle are those of Kohl (2015) Gobé (2015), Chaumeil (2014), Flores (2011), La Serna (2011) and Schoepf (2000), as well as the exhibitions «George Huebner (1862-1935). Un photographe à Manaus», organized at the Ethnography Museum in Geneva, between 2000 and 2001; «D'un regard l'Autre. Photographies XIXe siècle», organized at the Musée de quai Branly, in Paris, between 2006 and 2007, whose publication includes a Kroehle & Huebner cliché as a cover photograph; «The Amazon according to Charles Kroehle. Photos and postcards of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, organized at the Centro Cultural Garcilaso de la Vega,

to the obituary published in the Lima press by the Austrian David Pretzner, Kroehle learned the trade of photography with an uncle, “one of the most eminent artists in Paris.”⁵ In his request for "reincorporation" sent to the Ministry of Justice, Kroehle pointed his arrival in France around November 1884, establishing his address at No. 22 La Chapelle Street, in Paris, where he worked as “laboring in photography.”

Soon after, he decided to start his South American adventure. He crossed the Amazon River, starting from its mouth in Brazil, settling in the Peruvian port of Iquitos and other towns and *caucherías* in the Amazon region (Pretzner 1900). During this early stay in the jungle, some time between 1886 and 1888, he dedicated himself to photographic activities and, probably, to the trade or the extraction of rubber. It is possible that at this time he took his first photographic shots of the landscapes and peoples of the *interior* of the country.⁶

In early 1888, he met German Georg Huebner who, by this date, had arrived in Lima after a three-year stay in Iquitos and the *Selva Central* (Pozuzo and Chuchurras valleys), working in the rubber business.⁷ Their shared interest in *camera obscura* and the natural resources of the rainforest would lead them in a photographic adventure that would last until 1891. In a text published by Huebner in the German press, he expresses the commercial impetus behind their voyage, and the possibility of garnering the attention of a number of actors, politicians, businessmen and academics interested in the Peruvian Amazonian territories:

My objective was to make a set of photographs of regions that were partially unknown, of the indigenous groups that lived on the other side of the Andes, and so I hoped to gain consideration from all the people who were interested in the interior of Peru⁸.

In this way, in May of 1888, the photographers began their trip to the *interior* of Peru. They leave from Lima in the *Ferrocarril Central*, taking different views of their passage through Chicla and La Oroya, between the mountains of Lima and Junín, to

in Lima, in 2010; and "En el país de la Amazonas", in the in the Centro Cultural Británico, also in Lima, in 2017, where some clichés appear, postcards based on his photographs and some contemporary artistic appropriations of his work.

⁵ Pretzner, David. "Karl Kroehle.", *El Comercio*, December 11, 1900, p. 3.

⁶ An album is known with views of the city of Lima and *haciendas* and indigenous peoples of the mountain of Chanchamayo, with clichés dated between 1888-1889 that, probably, are of his authorship. Some of them were reproduced, without references of authorship, in the magazine *El Perú Ilustrado* (La Serna & Chaumeil 2016). In the same way, the clichés corresponding to the Napo River, later signed by Kroehle and Kroehle & Huebner, apparently, were made in these years.

⁷ Huebner arrived in Iquitos in 1886 and, after a stay in the German colony of Pozuzo, settled down for a year and a half in the area of Chuchurras, where he met Guillermo Frantzen, a Tyrolean owner dedicated to the rubber business. From here he left for Lima towards 1888. In: Huebner, G. "Iquitos und die Kautschuksammler am Amazonenstrom", *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder-und Völkerkunde*. Vol. 64, No. 7, 1893, pp. 101-105, 122-127 (taken from Valentin 2009: 97).

⁸ Huebner, George. "Meine reise von Lima nach Iquitos", *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*, XV, 1893 (my translation).

later descend through Huanchón (Pasco) towards the jungle valleys of Huancabamba and Palcazú. They continued their journey through the Pachitea and Ucayali, until arriving in Iquitos on November 22 of 1888 (Huebner 1893).

The decision to enter the Amazon through the *mountains* of Pasco was motivated by desire of «descend slowly» from the head of the river Ucayali and take pictures. In addition, there was a colony of German immigrants settled in different valleys of the region, especially present in Pozuzo, with whom the artists probably had a pre-existing relationship (Huebner 1893). Carrying a large amount of packages with their photographic equipment during the descent into the jungle from the heights of Huanchón, they hired the services of a muleteer named Hidalgo. They also shared part of the trip with rubber tapper Guillermo Frantzen, who was heading to the port of Iquitos. The traveler Carlos Fry Piérola wrote down in his travel diary the meeting with "Carlos Kröhle and Jorge Hübner" in Sungaruyacu, in the Pachitea basin, on August 18, 1888. While Fry was traveling accompanied by a delegation of well-known rubber tapper and explorer Carlos Fitzcarrald, headed to the Palcazú river, the German photographers began their descent towards the Amazon:

The photographers took views of this place, because their procedures in dry plates and without the sensitive colodium that requires camera obscura were appropriate for the place (...) At ten o'clock, Mr. Fiscarrald (sic) was back and proceeded to the crowded lunch, today, after so many days of solitude; the photographers Hidalgo and Frazen [sic] said goodbye to each other, to continue their journey, which will be very fast through to river's rise (Fry 1889: 51).

They remained for about half a year in the city of Iquitos, capital of the rubber business in Peru, while they established a photography house called *Fotografía del Amazonas* which was short-lived, probably because of the scarce market: the local population was composed of small merchants, adventurers, and rubber tappers. It was still a few years before the prosperity of the rubber trade would give birth to great fortunes and the heyday of Iquitos.

In June 1889, they headed towards Yurimaguas. They continued the trip, with short stays in the towns of Lamas, Moyobamba, Rioja, Tarapoto—where they made public exhibitions with a "magic lantern"—and Chachapoyas, going up to the mountains through Cajamarca, where they sold photographic reproductions (Valentin 2009). From here they went to the city of Trujillo. In May 1891, Huebner sailed to Panama from the port of Pacasmayo, towards Europe, while Kroehle returned to Lima. They would never meet again.

Huebner returned to the Amazon towards 1894, carrying out a series of expeditions along the upper Orinoco and Rio Branco, in Brazil. Towards 1897 he settled permanently in Manaus, the booming rubber city of Brazil, where he established the

Fotografía Alemana, becoming one of the most prominent local photographers of the first half of the 20th Century⁹.

The information available to reconstruct the life of Carlos Kroehle during the decade he spent in Lima, after the Amazon adventure with Huebner, remains scant. On his return to Lima, Kroehle opened a photo studio on Quilca Street No. 53 (Plazuela de la Salud No. 53, currently, Plazuela Helguera)¹⁰ from where, before taking salon photographs, he distributed his Amazonian clichés to various state institutions, travelers, and national and foreign collectors passing through the city¹¹.

The Kroehle house was the *rendes-vous* of all photographic art lovers, of all the distinguished foreigners who came to these beaches; commissioning him copies of the rarest views of the fluvial regions, of the Inca ruins and monuments, in which his collections abounded (Pretzner 1900: 3).

Thus, for example, in his passage through Lima between 1891 and 1892, William E. Safford, commissioned by the Ethnology and Anthropology Section of the Chicago World's Fair (1893), collected a group of photographs of Kroehle that served to classify the Peruvian Amazon "types" in the exhibition (La Serna & Chaumeil 2016). In the same way, the North American geographer and photographer Frank G. Carpenter detailed his meeting with Kroehle, around 1897, thanks to which he was able to acquire a group of images of Amazonian peoples that he later incorporated into his work on the countries of South America (Carpenter 1900).

Later, German traveler and scientist Therese Von Bayern wrote about her encounter with Kroehle in Lima, around 1898. In addition to the descriptions that the photographer offered her about his Amazonian journey, she was able to acquire a set of photographs and ethnological Ashaninka pieces (costumes, spears and arrows). Von Bayern's book (1908) includes 12 individual and group photo-etchings of native people, based on these clichés [«From a photograph of Kröhle-Lima»]. On his meeting with the Alsatian photographer and the use of his materials in his work, the author pointed out that:

All the photographs of Indians were taken by Kroehle in an expedition that this German photographer made to the east of Peru, taken in the same residences of the Indians, personally giving me the details of his trip when they were delivered to me in Lima (Von Bayern 1908)¹².

⁹ Huebner would return a few years later to Iquitos, as a traveling photographer, on a trip that was especially highlighted by the local press. See: Anonymous. "German Photography", *The Independent* (Iquitos), April 23, 1898.

¹⁰ His address has also been jotted down as Matajudíos No. 13 (Riviale & Galinon 2013: 180, nota 1).

¹¹ Studio photographs and views of Lima, Callao and Chorrillos reproduced by the artist in the 1890s have been identified, stamped: «Kroehle Fotógrafo», «Carlos Kroehle / Fotógrafo / Plazuela de la Salud 53» and «South American Photo Co.», and others with the signatures «Ch. Kroehle», «C.K.», recorded on the images.

On the professional activity of Kroehle in the city of Lima, we have two news items that give an account of his work as a photographer in events organized by Club Lima, in the vicinity of Magdalena del Mar, where this association had its premises and carried out its competitions and other social activities¹³. In the obituary published by David Pretzner (1900), it is pointed out that part of his occupation consisted in teaching the photographic arts to young Lima women from wealthy families. It is probable that this function was carried out in one of the private girls' schools established in the Peruvian capital by the end of the 19th Century.¹⁴

Various sources give an account of the closeness that the photographer maintained with the German and German-speaking community in the capital, a community composed of merchants, professionals and scientists. Some of them are especially significant in the history of photography and visual imaginaries about Peru, including Eduardo Polack, Guillermo Stolte, Carlos Tinning, and Max Uhle. The relations of Kroehle and the "Germans of Lima" were highlighted not without condemnation by the French immigrant Théodore Ber who, after his meeting with Kroehle around 1892, highlighted his economic deficiencies, even pointing out that his subsistence depended on the sale of the reproductions to various persons interested in Amazonian curiosities:

Since his arrival in Lima he has been forced to live daily of the sale of the reproductions of his clichés, which has made him known among the Germans who surround him and treat him like a compatriot, born in Strasbourg¹⁵.

¹² There are different photographic collections made by travelers, merchants and diplomats during their visit to Peru that include the Amazon clichés of Kroehle & Huebner. Among these, we have the albums of the archaeologist Max Uhle (today at the bottom of the Ibero-American Institute of Berlin), the legacy of the explorer M.A. Viellerobe and the album of Jean Stroemsdoerfer, consul of Germany and Switzerland in Lima, between 1887 and 1901 (Percy Reinoso Collection, Paris) and an album about Peru, of anonymous authorship, elaborated around 1892, compiled in the photographic archive of the Ethnology Museum in Hamburg.

¹³ Club Lima was an amateur shooting practice association, which began its activities in March 1896. See: Anonymous. "Club Lima", *El Comercio*, May 4, 1896, morning edition, p. 2; Anonymous. "Club Lima". *El Comercio*, May 25, 1896, morning edition, p. 2. Among the members of the club was Eduardo Polack who, starting in 1901, would begin editing his postcards with views of Peru, including various clichés of Carlos Kroehle and Kroehle & Huebner.

¹⁴ Kroehle does not appear in the registration records of taxpayers drawn up by the Municipalidad de Lima in the 1890s. It is likely that he devoted himself to photographic activity "behind closed doors", as there are known salon pictures stamped with his name. This explains why he had to offer his photographs of Lima news through commercial presses in the city. The failure to open a studio to the general public may be due to the lack of significant capital to start a company without official consideration of "photographer of 3°" or "photographer of 4°." Perhaps, it is due more to the licentious life that Kroehle led in Lima, which did not allow him to formalize a business. See: *Libro de las patentes matriculas de patentes de la provincia de Lima (1892, 1893); Adición a la matrícula de patentes (1894)*. Historical Archive of the Municipalidad de Lima.

¹⁵ Riviale & Galinon (2013: 179). According to Pascal Riviale, it is at the insistence of Ber, who was eager to take him away from the German community, that Kroehle agrees to register with the French consulate on May 2, 1893.

To this effect, in a letter that Maria Kroehle, sister of the photographer, sends to the management of the Ethnography Museum of Berlin, offering for sale a set of clichés and ethnographic materials gathered in Lima by the photographer, she makes explicit the conditions of misery under which Kroehle died (Schoepf 2005). Apparently, he paid with his life the audacity of facing the forest and its denizens: diseases, attacks of the "savages" and scarcity.

Kroehle died in Lima, in the *Maison de Santé*, on December 7, 1900¹⁶. He was 38 years old. Shortly after, the photographer Carlos Lara presented himself as his successor before the public of Lima, presumably acquiring his equipment and part of his photographic collections (Majluf & Wuffarden 2001). It is likely that, in addition to Lara, his negatives passed into the hands of other photographers and local publishers.

The story of his death as a result of a wound opened by an arrow that never healed has repeatedly appeared in texts that include some information about his biography, a fact that made him a kind of legend¹⁷. Early, Théodore Ber pointed this out when he met him in 1892, noting the dangerous wound on the side of his chest, as a result of an attack with arrows that he suffered during his journey (Riviale et Galinon 2014)¹⁸.

A news item from in the North American press, commenting on the presence of W.E. Safford in Peru, reported Kroehle's injury, eight years before his death:

The most interesting little known aboriginal groups are those found in Peru, of which the special commissioner (...), the Navy ensign W.E. Safford just returned with a wonderful collection of costumes and curiosities of all kinds. However, he has also obtained many photographs of native people, not with little difficulty, the photographer was so severely wounded by the side by a warrior that he threw his spear at the camera, that he had to remove a part of one of his ribs and probably dies¹⁹.

It was an epic story which the photographer himself might have co-authored. In a known photograph of the Pierre Marc Richard Collection, Kroehle appears at half length, bare-chested, biting a *mapacho* and pointing to the open wound²⁰.

¹⁶ Archives of the French Consulate in Lima (Information provided by Pascal Riviale). See: La Serna & Chaumeil (2016).

¹⁷ Similar story to the fateful expedition of the prefect of Cusco, Baltasar La Torre, to the jungle of Madre de Dios, in 1873, which ended with his death and which made him a referent for the national "sacrifices" of the Peruvian conquest of the *interior*. A photograph of Luis Alviña, enlarged and framed, probably for public display, where members of the commission appear and said: "Massacred by the Huachipaires in the Carbón River. Note. - All but the photographer died." JP Chaumeil Collection.

¹⁸ Others have written about the wound by arrow attack during the Amazonian trip, besides Ber: Von Bayern (1908) Domville-Fife (1924) and Carpenter (1930).

¹⁹ Anonymous [probably, René Bache]. "From Southern Savages. Queer costumes and curiosities collected in Peru. Fierce tribes visited by a commissioner of the Department of state. Strange Attireaud (sic) customs that are to be illustrated at the Fair (...)", *The New York Sun*, June 5, 1892.

²⁰ A copy of this cliché was auctioned in Paris by the house of Baussant Lefebvre in June 2011 (La Serna & Chaumeil 2016).

Amazon photography, press and public opinion

The photographic expedition of Kroehle & Huebner brings us face to face with a pioneering work in the history of photography in Peru. Even though, at the time, the existence of some records made by explorers and ethnographers is known, some of which made the first *typological* photographs of Amazonian natives, this collection goes beyond the work of its predecessors. Of interest are their collection of visual material before taking notes, making descriptions of the peoples observed, the direct contact they had with the indigenous populations settled on the banks of the rivers—inevitable in capturing photographic images—, the type of public that had access to the consumption of this visual material, and the prolonged exposure that the images attained in the national and international scene, becoming mandatory references when visualizing the indigenous and the Peruvian Amazonian territory, until the mid-Twentieth Century²¹.

Once the trip was over, both photographers carried copies of the clichés of their Amazonian enterprise. It is estimated that the collection consisted of more than 200 vistas, with landscapes of the cities and mountain and rainforest populations (Schoepf 2005). For educational purposes, we can divide this collection of images into three series: The first, which has the most abundant material, begins with their passage through the mountains in the state of Pasco, the short stays in the area of Chuchurras (Cuenca del Palcazú, among Yánesha and Asháninka indigenous groups), Ucayali (among Kakataibos and Yines natives), and ends with their arrival in Iquitos, taken between May and November 1888. The second, during their half-year stay in the port of Iquitos, where they opened a photography studio for the local public, between November 1888 and June 1889 (highlighting the city's infrastructure and the local *mestizo* population). The third, integrated by the clichés taken during his trip through the northern jungle to the coast of the state of La Libertad, includes passage through the settlements of Tarapoto, Lamas, Rioja, and the mountain towns of Chachapoyas and Cajamarca, between June 1889 and May 1891. It is likely that Kroehle retained a large part of the negatives from the trip. There is even the possibility that George Huebner had little expertise in the handling of the camera and in the reproduction of the negatives, so he hired Kroehle to learn from him during the expedition²². Shortly after

²¹ The first photographs taken of the territory and Peruvian Amazonian populations date from the late 1860s. These are the images produced by the Amazonas Hydrographic Commission, a Peruvian state institution created with the purpose of developing explorations of the main tributaries of the Amazon River -Ucayali, Tambo, Pachitea and Palcazu- that allowed to prove its navigability. The auxiliary personnel that comprised it included a specialist in photography, Alberto La Rose, who participated in the commission's first expedition to Ucayali in 1868 and remained a member until the end of January 1869. La Serna (2012).

²² Schoepf (2005). The revision of the Amazon clichés of the series Charles Kroehle and George Huebner that have been integrated into the funds of the Ethnographic Museum of Hamburg (which, probably, have reached this museum through the latter) gives us a series of elements to consider the secondary role of Huebner in the production of this corpus of images. In different cases, the signature «Kroehle & Huebner» shows a remarkable handling of the credits, overcoming the signatures «Ch. Kroehle », «J.C.

his return to Lima, the Alsatian sent a view of the city of Iquitos, lithographed and published in June 1891, to *El Perú Ilustrado* magazine, signed "Kroehle and Crempien."²³

Upon his return to Germany, Georg Huebner used the photographs to approach the academic world. Between 1892 and 1893 he presented his materials in various events at the *Geographic Society of Dresden*, retelling his experiences in the Amazon, discussing the life of the indigenous populations, and the rubber business. During these years he published three illustrated articles in the leading German journals *Globus* and *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*, where some clichés are lithographically reproduced, and later integrated into collections of the museums in that country²⁴.

Charles Kroehle did not have these networks in the European academy, which meant a different path: he would bring his photographic material to the Peruvian public and traveler-scientists passing through the city of Lima, in an effort to link his work with institutions interested in the Amazonian projects of the time: national and foreign explorers, periodical publications, scientific expeditions and State commissions. In this regard, David Pretzner commented on the documentary value of his photographic collection of Amazonian Indians:

Worth seeing are the groups of Cashive Indians and other untamed savages; either in their bacchanalian parties, or in their daily occupations. One can not look without horror at the abject face of these people with their prominent cheekbones and palpable carnivorous signs. On the other hand, it is extremely flattering, the collection of views of those tribes of semi or entirely civilized Indians, devoted to their domestic chores: preparing the tasty chicha or celebrating some religious ceremony (Pretzner, 1900: 3).

Towards the end of May 1893, Théodore Ber traveled from Lima to Paris and Kroehle entrusted him with two photographic albums to be delivered to the French Ministry of Public Education. In the letter sent to the minister, it is stated that in the albums he presents the complete collection of vistas that he had taken during his trip to the "remaining wild" regions of the Amazon. It also emphasizes the need to ensure

Kroehle», «C. Kroehle» and «J. Kroehle». In some, even Kroehle's signature has been erased, marked on one side of the photograph to place, at the other end, the joint signature.

²³ "Peru – Calle Belén en Iquitos" [lithography]. *El Perú Ilustrado*, June 13, 1891. Later, on April 2, 1892, the magazine published another lithographed cliché: "Indio del Ucayali, 50 years of age and one meter tall (photo.) From the expeditionary Mr. Kroehle)." It is curious to recognize that, since these two early references, Kroehle gloss over the Huebner's participation in the photographic expedition. It is likely that Crempien was his partner or collaborator in the first months of his stay in Lima, after his Amazon tour.

²⁴ According to Daniel Schoepf (2005), Huebner was keen to validate his experience within German scientific spaces. That is why he reviewed each of the photographs that accompanied his articles, including data that made specific references to each image, information that was ignored by the editors of the journals, which naturalized the representations and limited themselves to offering indigenous typologies, as demanded by the public at the time.

recognition of his authorship over the photos. It could be that Kroehle wanted to make his "ethnographic" work visible, as well as to get some kind of economic subsidy for it. In response, the minister decided to send the albums to the Trocadero Museum (later they would go to the Quai Branly Museum, where they are currently kept). Kroehle's desire to receive a financial support for this shipment was never fulfilled (Riviale & Galinon 2013: 180).

Towards 1898, Kroehle was integrated as a photographer to some important publishing initiatives. First, he participated in the elaboration of the *Álbum de Lima y sus alrededores* (c.1899) printed by financial company *La Acumulativa*. The catalog contains around one hundred photographed images, as well as advertisements of businesses and companies in Lima, with views of Callao, the beach towns of Chorrillos, Barranco and Miraflores and the route of the Central Railroad (Ferrocarril Central). While the text that precedes the album does not include the participation of Kroehle, his signature appears repeatedly on many photoetched sections.

The album was printed in the workshops of Benito Gil and the engravings were made by the Carlos Southwell house. According to some news items, twelve thousand prints were expected, to be distributed among subscribers of *La Acumulativa*, the rest of the copies meant for sale:

Apart from the collection of monuments, public buildings, malls and walks, the Lima album contains another collection, no less numerous, of factories and commercial establishments whose advertisements fill its blank pages²⁵.

Some of these photographs of the city of Lima and its *hinterland* were reproduced in the illustrated press: *Lima Ilustrado* and *Monitor Popular*, both publications close to the Pierolista government²⁶. Also, since 1898, Kroehle's photographs were used by the General Post Office, which ordered the printing of postcards with "views of Peru," which were prepared by Guillermo Stolte's press and distributed starting in December of that year²⁷. These same images, mostly without reference to Kroehle's authorship, were also marketed in albumin prints for foreign travelers, diplomats and scientists passing through the capital.

²⁵ Anonymous. "Álbum Lima", *El Comercio*, July 23, 1899. About the preparation and distribution of this photographic album made by *La Acumulativa*, see also: Anonymous. "Álbum de Lima", *El Comercio*. February 6, 1900.

²⁶ Some of these clichés were covers of *Lima Ilustrado*: "Lima – Parque de la Exposición: Entrada al Parque Colón- Antigua Avenida del Palacio – La Laguna Principal. El Pabellón Presidencial - kiosko de las Palmeras - Lago de los Patos." *Lima Ilustrado*, Year 2, No. 17, February 22, 1900; "Chorrillos – Calle Lima – Estatua de D. Ramón Castilla." *Lima Ilustrado*, Year 2, No. 18, March 1, 1900; "Lima- Hospital 2 de Mayo." *Lima Ilustrado*, Year 2, No. 28, May 15, 1900.

²⁷ Supreme Resolution on September 9, 1898 authorized the preparation of one hundred thousand copies of these cards with vistas of the *interior* of the Republic. Also, a few years after his death, the photographs of Kroehle, both with Lima motifs and the interior of the country, were turned into postcards and integrated into collections by different Lima and foreign publishers.

Likewise, the commercialization of his photographs of the *interior* allowed Kroehle to approach the Lima political class that, at the end of the 19th century, aspired to the "nationalization" of the Amazonian territories and populations. For example, on November 16, 1892, explorer and military man Samuel Palacios organized an exhibition at the *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* on his geographical and statistical studies of the Amazon region. Days before, the Lima press commented that a room of the society had been prepared for the amplified projection of photographs, especially selected by Samuel Palacios. There were around one hundred photographic views, all reproductions of the Kroehle & Huebner series²⁸

That same year, the antiquities committee, formed by the council of the *Municipalidad de Lima* for the 1892 National Exhibition, informed the mayor of the recent acquisition of two photographic views of the "fortress" of Kuelap²⁸. These belonged to Kroehle & Huebner's series, taken during their ascent to Chachapoyas, in early 1891 ["Front view of the entrance (No. 147)" and "Rear view of the Kuelap fortress (No. 148)"]. About the photographic exhibition the Lima press reviewed:

Then, there is a device that contains photographic views of different ruins of Ollantaitambo, Cuzco, Pachacamac, etc. (...) But the best piece in this genre is one of the facsimile of stone of an ancient fortress. This single piece of some relative value is one of the best in the municipal collection²⁹.

Kroehle's political connections show a closeness to the *perolismo*, a complex relationship that has not yet been duly clarified. In March 1895, Kroehle's ads appeared in the Lima press as a correspondent for the *South American Photo Art. Co.*, offering the public images of the revolution that brought President Andrés A. Cáceres out of power.³⁰ Proximity to some members of the Democratic Party, in the government since then, would have facilitated his incorporation as a photographer in some editorial initiatives, such as the *Album Lima and its surroundings*, previously mentioned and, later, as part of the most important initiative of visual advertising developed by the Peruvian State in the nineteenth century, the development of a photo album with images

²⁸ Anonymous. "Sociedad Geográfica", *El Comercio*, November 11, 1892, second ed., p. 2. ²⁸ See: Muñiz, Manuel. *Oficio de M.M. al alcalde de Lima*. December 29, 1892. Fondo Obras Públicas, Historical Archive of the *Municipalidad de Lima*.

²⁹ Anonymous. "Exhibición Nacional de 1892", *El Comercio*, December 10, 1892, second ed., pp. 1-4. The legacy of Leonardo Villar, president of the archeology and anthropology commission of the 1892 Exhibition, includes a series of photographs with Amazonian motifs acquired from Kroehle during his stay in Lima.

³⁰ Towards March of 1895, Carlos Kroehle leaves Lima and goes to Cieneguilla, where a group of revolutionaries had their headquarters. In this town he photographed the leaders of the insurrection. Once the coup was consolidated and the government of Cáceres deposed, the photograph of the rebel leaders was sold in the commercial house J. Newman, as announced in the press in the following days: "Piérola, Pauli, Durand, Oré, Collazos, in Cieneguilla by Carlos Kroehle for The South American Photo Art Co. / For sale only where J. Newton, Lima and Callao (...)" [advertisement]. *El Comercio*, March 25, 1895.

of the different states of the interior of the country, which was to be presented in Paris, during the Universal Exhibition of 1900.

The República peruana 1900 album

The Universal Exposition of Paris of 1900 aroused great expectations among Peruvian intellectuals, businessmen and politicians. This was the opportunity to show, in the eyes of the civilized world, the great advances the country had reached, in the last decade, in terms of technological innovation, economic expansion and social progress. The exhibition also offered the possibility of showing the immense resources the territory offered to investors and immigrants interested in participating in national progress.

The institution responsible for organizing the presentation of the Peruvian pavilion in this event was the Ministry of Development. Thus, a special commission was created to manage the effective arrangements to achieve a successful presentation, stand out the importance that this event had for the country. Private businessmen and departmental authorities were called to prepare the most representative samples, in their different areas and locations, in order to highlight Peru in this international event³¹.

At the time, photographic images had become an outstanding object in this type of "universal" public exhibition events [Tenorio (1998), Zimmerman (2001); Musée du quai Branly (2011)]. In our case, both the Peruvian State, through the different offices of the Ministry of Development, as well as various private entrepreneurs received the task of producing various visual materials that were selected and sent to the commission responsible for presenting them in the Peruvian pavilion³².

Towards January of 1899, the Advancement Bureau (*Dirección de Fomento*, an office in the Peruvian Ministry of Development) decided to create an album of the diverse regions, resources and industries of Peru, that had to incorporate a "complete

³¹ Lima newspaper *El Comercio* reported around 300 individual exhibitors presented "installations or samples" in this contest. Of them, around 30% reached one of the prizes awarded by the organizers. See: Anonymous. "Exponentes peruanos premiados en París", *El Comercio*, August 22, 1900, second ed., p. 2.

³² Informe del comisionado con la lista completa de expositores peruanos premiados

The particular exhibitors who shown photographic materials and printed engravings with "views of Peru" were Carlos Tinning, merchant of photographic articles, who presented an album, probably with views of the railway and the Central region of the country (prepared by Studio Castillo); Federico Elguera, politician pierolista, agent of the financial company *La Acumulativa*, who present the *Album de Lima y sus alrededores*, collection of views made by Kroehle and edited by Casa Southwell, and Guillermo Stolte, entrepreneur and publisher, who exhibited collections of his graphic magazine *Lima Ilustrado*. On the other hand, the government offices presented several collections, with photographs that highlighted the infrastructure works (ports, railways and public buildings). See: "Lista de Expositores Peruanos en la Exposición Universal de París 1900" (Archives Nationales, F/12/4258, Information provided by Pascal Riviale); Sanz, Toribio. "Informe del comisionado con la lista completa de expositores peruanos premiados. París, 25 de agosto de 1900", *El Nacional*, September 20, 1900, p. 2; Anonymous. "Resumen de los premios", *El Comercio*, September, 26, 1900, p. 2.

collection of sights from the Central Road of Peru, from Callao to Iquitos,” to be sent to the Peruvian pavilion³³. The bureau hired Eugenio Cummins to carry out this task³⁴. The contractor, in turn, took the services of photographer Guillermo Lobatón who, between April and May of 1899, toured Arequipa, Tacna and Moquegua, going to Cuzco in August, where he photographed various architectural and archaeological scenes (La Serna & Chaumeil 2016). According to Pretzner, at the end of 1898, Kroehle made his "final excursion", crossing the north coast (from Trujillo to Zorritos and Cajamarca) and the mining region of the department of Pasco in order to "capture the views of the endless number of mines that exist in those places and send them to the Paris Exhibition, where, in fact, they produced the most favorable impression of the country's mineral wealth.” (Pretzner 1900) Kroehle, in addition, offered the Amazonian photographs taken with George Huebner, between 1888 and 1891. Later, all these images were delivered to Fernando Garreaud, who would be responsible for editing and binding the *República Peruana 1900* album.³⁵

The album consists of about 490 photographs printed on albumin paper. Of the 44 Amazonian photographs included, 41 are reviewed in the series "Camino al Pichis", although some of these images correspond to other jungle regions —Chachapoyas, Tarapoto, Moyobamba, Lamas and Puerto Jaén in the Marañón— and three others are from the city of Iquitos —the prefecture and barracks, Belén Street, and view of the port — all belonging to the Kroehle & Huebner collection³⁶. Also, some of the photographs of the *Via del Pichis* included in this album were previously published by Federico Remy (1898) and reproduced in the journals *Monitor Popular* and *Lima Ilustrado*.³⁷

The images included in the *República Peruana 1900* album appear with the seal of the Casa Garreaud, in some cases, with the mark superimposed over the signature of the

³³ Garland, Alejandro. "El Perú en la Exhibición de 1900", *El Comercio*, June 2, 1899. There are two unpublished copies of this collection. The first, in the National Library of Peru and the other, in the Instituto Raúl Porras Barrenechea (National University of San Marcos). The copies, nevertheless, present little differences in the content of the images.

³⁴ Capelo, Joaquín. Circular del Director de Fomento, J. Capelo, al Subprefecto de Puno. Lima, March 29, 1899. Historical Archive of Puno.

³⁵ At the same time, the editors del *Monitor Popular*, a pro-government journal, published a note requesting their readers to send photographic materials: "We ask our agents and subscribers in the province and anyone interested in the good of the country to serve [send] photographs or drawings that give some idea of the respective localities. The data that we request (...) we will add to what we have collected to complete the Graphic Album of Peru, which we are preparing, with the aim of once again calling the attention of our own people and of foreigners to the properties we possess and the facilities our homeland offers as a workplace." in: *Monitor Popular*, February 25, 1899.

³⁶ Around twenty of the Amazonian clichés belong to the Kroehle & Huebner collection.

³⁷ The *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* commissioned Remy, in 1896, to take photographs of the jungle regions of the Pichis and the Perené. There is also the possibility that some of these views of the *Via del Pichis* appertain to the photographs that Juan S. Villalta took, commissioned by Joaquín Capelo, then Special Commissioner of the Government in the Department of Loreto, around December 1899 (La Serna & Chaumeil 2016).

photographer Kroehle³⁸. In a 1900 press announcement, the Garreaud house offered the public "the most complete collection of views in Peru (...)," awarding itself, since then, authorship of the images included in the album, and "the great value of the work thus carried out responds to the magnificent collection of images he has personally captured." (La Serna & Chaumeil 2016) Unaware of their true authorship, these same photographs were incorporated into collections of postcards from Peru a few years later, edited by Eduardo Polack, Luis Sablich, Guillermo Stolte and Imprenta Gil, among others.

Conclusion

The photography of the late Nineteenth Century is part of the process of "National Reconstruction" that took place in the country after the defeat of the Pacific War. It expresses the elevation of regenerationist and positivist discourses within the Peruvian intellectualism and State policy. In this context, the Amazon region reached a special significance within political projects and the "dreams" of material progress. Positivism, as an ideological support for "order and progress," offered elites the possibility of imagining Peru as a modern nation, emulating the changes and transformations achieved by European countries and North America.

Throughout these approaches, the camera played a prominent role, as a technological and objective response to the need to know and develop effective mechanisms of control over territory, while allowing for the dissemination of the progress in projects in the spaces of the *interior* among urban publics. While modern Peru was dominating and taking ownership of the territory for the use of resources and the expansion of trade, there was growing concern about the fate of the indigenous Amazonian populations and the possibility of making those "indomitable and unfaithful Indians" fundamental pieces in the social and economic connection between the Amazon rainforest and the rest of the country. Thus the importance of photography as a fundamental tool in the task of classifying and visual ordering of a population and a territory that were slowly "opening the way to civilization; that is, to the moral and material life (...) [where] thousands of brothers who, later, will also be our fellow citizens, because their eyes will have been opened before the splendid light of faith and progress."³⁹

³⁸ The proximity of the Garreaud family to the President of the Republic, Nicolás de Piérola, is known (Majluf & Wuffarden 2001). Although various researchers have assumed Fernando Garreaud's authorship of the photographic works included in the album, his function was limited to the edition and binding of photographic materials for exhibition. Until the end of 1899, Garreaud had worked at the "Casa Courret & Cía." It was then that he established his own studio, the "French Photography," in La Merced Street No. 285, a business that, when it opened its doors in June 1900, was described by the Lima press as one of the most luxurious and attractive of the city (La Serna & Chaumeil, 2016).

³⁹ Anonymous, "Nuestros grabados." *El Perú Ilustrado*, March 24, 1888, p. 2.

The hectic life of the Alsatian photographer J. Charles Kroehle, his Amazonian adventure with Georg Huebner, his long stay in the city of Lima, dedicating himself to the commercialization of his Amazonian clichés, while looking for a way to integrate his visual production within spaces of greater exposure—whether national or foreign—also expresses the meeting of various Amazonian initiatives that converged in Peru in the late Nineteenth Century.

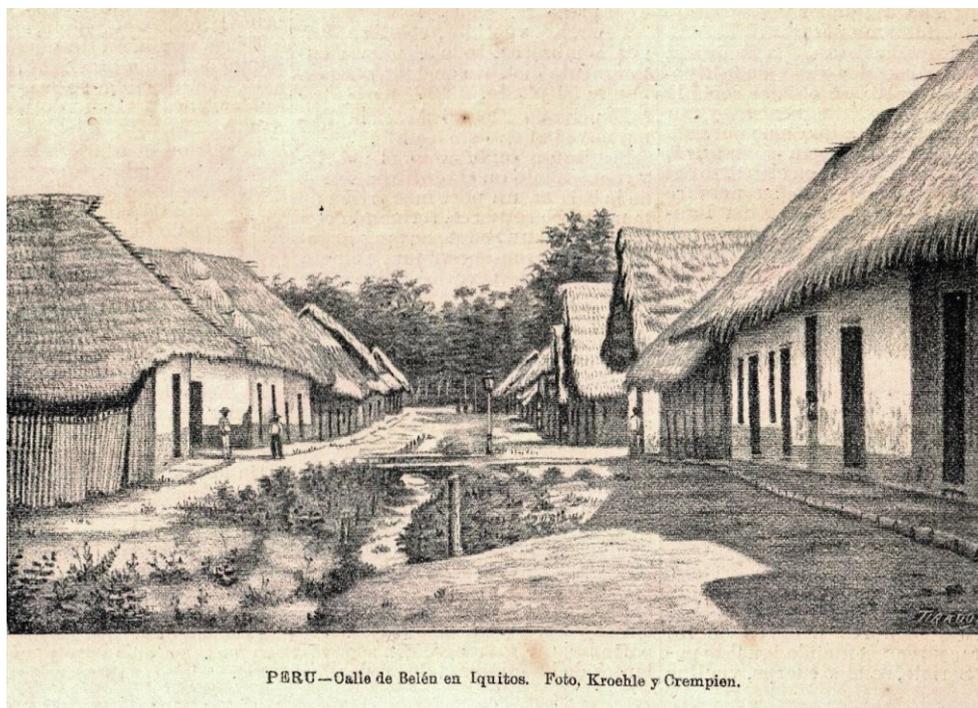
In particular, “ethnographic” photographs of Kroehle were compiled and incorporated into several collections and dissemination initiatives, developed by the Peruvian State, European and North American academic institutions, as well as publishers that projected their consumption, through different formats, to a global audience.

Finally, the preparation of the *República Peruana 1900* album marks the most outstanding effort carried out by the Peruvian State in order to consolidate its own visual narrative about the Amazon, in the face of an urgent need to integrate the territory and population of the interior within the national imaginaries constructed and projected from the modern and regenerationist perspective of the intellectual and political elites of Lima, which became consolidated under the control of the State in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Illustrations



Belen Street in Iquitos. Kroehle & Huebner photograph, between November 1888 and June 1889. Taken from the album *República Peruana 1900*.



The same lithographed view published in *El Perú Ilustrado* (June 13, 1891), awarded to Kroehle & Crempien.



"Indiens cachives antropophages Suncar-yacu flauve Pachitea" (sic). Photograph of Kroehle & Huebner, circa 1888. Taken from the album offered by Kroehle to the French Minister of Public Instruction. Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac collection.



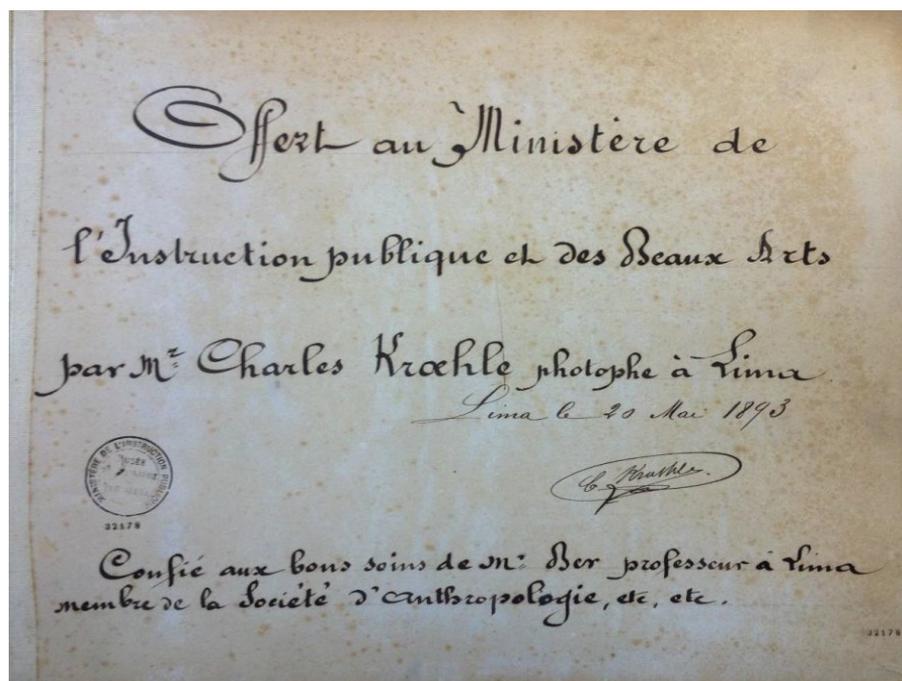
The same image, in the format of a colored postcard, edited by Eduardo Polack, at the beginning of 1900. JC La Serna Collection.



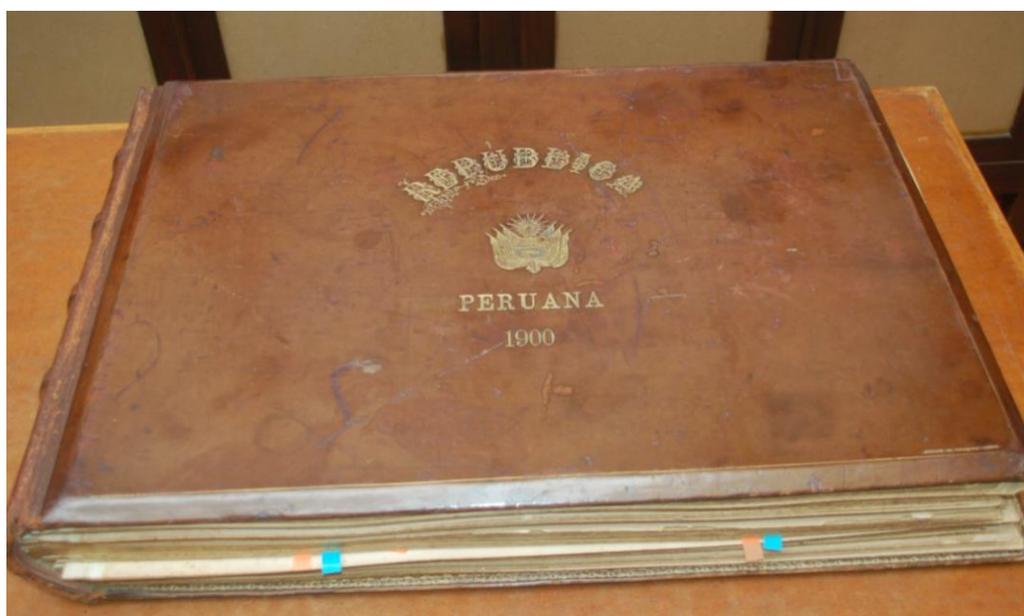
Back of an illustrated postcard, edited by Guillermo Stolte in the series "Recuerdos de Lima", dated in 1899. Includes engravings, back and front, based on photographs by Kroehle. In the image «Cathedral of Cajamarca», taken towards February of 1891. Percy Reinoso Collection (Paris).



"Chorrillos – Estación principal del Ferrocarril inglés". Photogravure from a cliché by Carlos Kroehle. Taken from *Álbum de Lima y sus alrededores* (c.1899).



Cover of the photo album made by Charles Kroehle and sent to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts through Théodore Ber. Signed by Kroehle in Lima on May 20, 1893. Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac collection.



Cover of the album *República Peruana 1900*, edited by Fernando Garreaud for its exhibition at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1900. Photograph courtesy of the *Instituto Porras Barrenechea*.

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