# Visual Communication



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Front Cover: Emil Otto Hoppé, p. 18.

**Back Cover:** (top) Harald Lechenperg, p. 73. (bottom) Bernd Lohse, p. 89.

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## **Visual Communication**

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#### **Introduction: Editor's Note**

#### **Jay Ruby**

It is a rare and often startling experience to see ourselves as others do, an experience that is always challenging and often causes us to examine ourselves and our society. The perspective Western Europeans have about America fascinated us even before de Tocqueville arrived on our shores. Europeans have long regarded the United States as a sociocultural experiment—a new society, or a laboratory where they can watch others trying to construct a new society. As Pachter suggests, "The history of foreign observation of the United States is . . . the history not only of our society, and of international reaction to it, but of the dilemma of modernism itself" (1976:xii).

The growth of our cities, the settling of the West, Native Americans, the lack of tradition as an inhibitor of change, our attempts to be a melting pot, the transformation of former slaves and other minorities into citizens are recurring themes in reports by Europeans. These observers are behaving like ethnographers, transforming us into objects of study whose mores need to be described and explained. At times their conclusions appear to us to fluctuate between romantic naiveté, in which we are perceived as living in a Golden Utopia representing the future, and a hypercriticism based on our seeming unwillingness or inability to perpetuate our European heritage. Whether or not their remarks are accurate, their points of view provide us with an almost ancestral reflection on our society.

Our knowledge of European views of America is by and large confined to the printed word. Travel literature from the eighteenth century to the present has been translated, anthologized, critiqued, and sometimes incorporated into Americans' formal education. Unfortunately, a comparable amount of time and energy has not been devoted to gaining an understanding of the visual images Europeans have created of us. The material is vast—beginning with the first expeditions to the New World—and is to be found in virtually every visual medium. Hugh Honour's seminal work, *European Visions of America* (1975), aptly demonstrates the rewards of making a study and presentation of these materials.

Jay Ruby is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Temple University and Co-Editor of Studies in Visual Communication.

The incredibly rich and complex output of European photographers, filmmakers, and television producers has not only been neglected by American scholars and critics, but the works themselves have been virtually unseen in this country. Most people know Robert Frank's *The Americans* (1957)—and its impact on the ways in which we see ourselves as well as its influence on an entire generation of American and European photographers. Few of us—even those professionally interested in photography—can name other European photographers who have contributed to Europe's understanding of America through photographs. Photographs are fundamentally different from pictorial representations of the U.S.A. prior to 1850.

The European visual image of America was created largely by artists who never went there. . . . Similarly, the literary image of America was partly the creation of writers who never crossed the Atlantic. . . . This vision, conjured up from fact and fantasy, taking its form from Europe and only its coloring from America, accounts for several misconceptions which still survive. Yet it has its own artistic validity as the expression of European dreams of a terrestrial paradise or of a Golden Age, an exotic world where everything is strange and bright, the setting for tales of adventure and for an ideal society. [Honour 1975:14]

Photographers cannot imagine America. They have to come here to create their visions, to confront their personal expectations and fantasies with the actuality in front of their eyes. They come to us as the witnesses of their own vision.

In this issue of *Studies in Visual Communication* we explore America as seen by a pictorialist, E. O. Hoppé, a German-born photographer who spent most of his professional life making portraits in London (see Jay's essay, this issue). Twice Hoppé journeyed to the United States—in 1919 and again in 1926. On both occasions he ventured out of his studio to photograph our cities and countryside for a travel book appropriately titled *Romantic America* (see Gidley, this issue).

In the 1930s, when German photography was flourishing (see Becker's essay, this issue), Bernd Lohse and Harald Lechenperg, along with many other photojournalists, came to the United States looking not so much for the picturesque or the romantic landscape, but to capture the life and pulse of modern America. With their "miniature" cameras, as 35-mm cameras were called then, they captured another vision of America and in the process changed the way American journalism would tell its stories.

Their work provides us with a chance to see three ways in which America was "constructed" through the eyes of three European photographers. The reflections are worth contemplating.

During the 1985 International Conference on Visual Communication, the photographs of Emil O. Hoppé, Bernd Lohse, and Harald Lechenperg will be exhibited at the Arthur Ross Gallery, University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. The exhibit, "Images of the U.S.A.: 1920–1940—Three European Photographers," was curated by Jay Ruby. It was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the support of the Arthur Ross Gallery and the Office of the President of the University of Pennsylvania. The exhibit, the conference, and the journal are activities of The Annenberg School of Communications.

The editor wishes to thank Lee Ann Draud for producing the Lechenperg prints used in this issue and the exhibition, and Janis Essner-Ruby for editing the Lechenperg and Lohse interviews.

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## EMIL HOPPÉ, PICTORIALIST I. Emil Otto Hoppé, 1878–1972

**Bill Jay** 

#### Introduction

Emil Otto Hoppé was the undisputed leader of pictorial portraiture in Europe between 1910 and 1925. Rarely in the history of photography has a photographer been so famous in his own lifetime among the general public. In the early years of his career, the American comedian Raymond Hitchcock, then the rage of London, improvised an additional verse to his popular song "I'm All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go" to the effect that he could not even go to Hoppé's studio because the photographer was sitting in the stalls in front of him. During the run of the play The Green Flag, a large portrait of the leading lady that Hoppé had made a few days previously was placed in a prominent position and served as an excuse to introduce his name during the play. Inspired by the talk given by Hoppé at the Royal Photographic Society, E. T. Hopkins wrote for Punch a fifty-two line poem based on the photographer's remarks. This poem is worth quoting in full as it suggests the reasons for Hoppé's fame and the ways his work differed stylistically from his predecessors'.

Bill Jay was born in England in 1940. He studied with Beaumont Newhall and Van Deren Coke and received his M.F.A. from the University of New Mexico. At Arizona State University, where he is a Professor of Art History, he instigated a program in the History of Photography.

I remember, I remember,
How of old our portraits lied,
Making April of September
And the sitter satisfied;
How each little blemish faded,
Yielding to artistic stress
And the stubborn chin was shaded
Nicely into nothingness.

Never then the crow imprinted Ugly footmarks near the eye; Wrinkles, which the mirror hinted Lenses passed politely by. Any nose a thought tip-tilted Caught the flawlessness of Greece, And our freckles fairly wilted At a camera's caprice.

Negativing every passion
Thus our faces surely sank
In the photographic fashion,
To a pure and spotless blank.
Till at last they won perfection
Drained of mere expression's dregs,
Oval, even, past correction
New created—just like eggs.

I remember! Ah, the sorrow When a cherished custom dies! That was in the past; To-morrow Proofs shall not idealize; Photographs shall bluntly copy, Though the egotist make moan, (Perish all the tribe of Hoppé) Just the features that we own.

Of course, much of this fame was due not only to the fact that Hoppé had a pure, aggressive style, but also that he specialized in portraits of the famous. It is difficult to think of a prominent name in politics, art, literature, and the theater who did not sit before his camera in his equally famous studio, Sir John Millais's former home in South Kensington. He was the Cecil Beaton of his day. In fact, Sir Cecil publicly acknowledged his own debt to Hoppé in these generous words, which are from the introduction to Hoppé's autobiography:

If as a school boy in the holidays, someone had told me as I sat poring over the reproductions of E. O. Hoppé's photographs in various magazines, that one day I should be asked to write an introduction to the Master's works, I could not have believed that life held such rewards. Now, I pen these few sentences with the same feeling of awe that I approached Millais House in South Kensington, when I went there fifteen years ago, in vain, to see if there was a display of chef d'oeuvres, outside that Holy of Holies where the pictures were taken. . . .

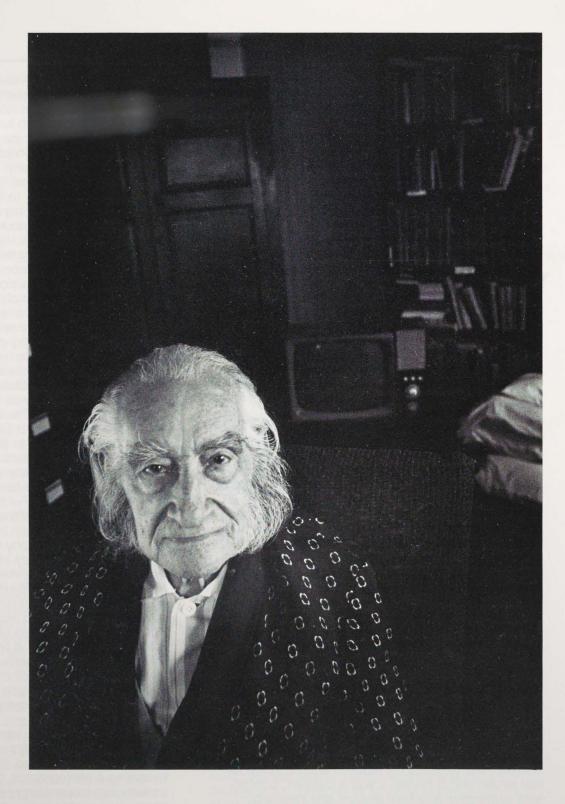


Figure 1 Emil Otto Hoppé was probably the most famous portraitist in the world in the 1920s. Then he was forgotten. By chance I found him still alive in a nursing home in the English countryside. He was ninety-four years old. What an experience, to talk to a man who was a close friend of A. L. Coburn, G. B. Shaw, Diaghilev, and practically anyone who was anyone in the early decades of the century. Hoppé died soon after.—B. J.

I used to pray that each week would produce a new group of Hoppé's in the magazines, and when these reproductions were placed in a sort of magic lantern that I possessed, and enlarged to gargantuan proportions on the wall, the effect was almost overwhelming....[Hoppé 1945:5–6]

It seems incredible that someone could have inspired such awe among photographers and such popular adulation among the public and have been forgotten so quickly and completely. E. O. Hoppé lived to be ninety-four, long enough to read, in the Gernsheims' *History of Photography*, the news that he had died in 1967 (1969:594)! Not many get to read their own obituaries.

I was fortunate in meeting Hoppé on several occasions during the last months of his life. Even at his advanced age, his mind and memory were extremely acute. At each visit he gave me notes, scraps of reminiscences, jottings of ideas he had prepared before my arrival. In our last meeting, he gave me access to all his scrapbooks, personal writings, and manuscripts. A fraction of this information is contained in this article.<sup>1</sup>

In one of his notes to me, Hoppé divided his photographic life into three periods:

 1910–25. Pure portraiture. Members of the upper strata of society.

2. 1925–35. Human documents. Types of the lower strata of society whose faces tell their life history.

 1945–71. Devoted to the publishing of books (over 30) and to journalism. Also some experimental photography.

It was during the first period that Hoppé became a household name, and it is this aspect of his work, "pure portraiture," that I have dealt with in this introduction to his life and work.

#### **Early Life and Career**

Emil Otto Hoppé was born in Munich on April 14, 1878, the only son of a prominent banker, proud of his French Huguenot heritage. Soon after his birth, the Hoppé family moved to Vienna where Emil received a fine education, completed in Paris and Munich,<sup>2</sup> and acquired his Austrian accent, which he had for the rest of his life. It was a cultured, comfortable upbringing, free from discord and insecurity, which both shaped his own personality and enabled him to mix with kings and commoners,<sup>3</sup> and allowed him to be tolerated, and seemingly accepted, by both.

In 1895, at the age of seventeen, his student days were over, and the question of his future career arose. His father wanted him to follow his footsteps into a bank. Even though he "had no leaning towards that at all . . . in order to pacify my father I agreed. . . ." He duly served his apprenticeship in banks in Munich and Berlin for ten years. In later years, Hoppé would write, "I owe much of my success as a photographer to the discipline of banking. Nor was I unhappy in a bank. The hours were reasonable, and my hobby of photography gave pleasant

relaxation" (Hoppé 1945:10).

In 1903, Hoppé was given his first camera. In the following four years he won a series of awards in open photographic exhibitions and competitions, which inevitably brought disenchantment with the secure and unexciting life of a banker and a growing interest in taking to the camera professionally. Midway through this period of change in attitude, a seemingly unrelated incident was to have a profound effect on Hoppé's career. His father had arranged for him to spend two years in the Shanghai Banking Corporation, an experience that would undoubtedly "broaden my outlook." The first leg of the journey to China was from Vienna to Southhampton, where he would board a steamer to Shanghai. But his travels were interrupted in England. In London he met one of his school friends from Vienna. Hoppé not only joined this friend's office at the London Stock Exchange, but also married his sister. For the next two years, life seemed good-a new wife who shared his love of the arts and a secure job with excellent prospects. Unfortunately, photography was much too tempting to relegate to a mere hobby. His work was becoming more appreciated, but it was not yet distinctive. In 1907, The Daily Mail offered a first prize of £100 in an open photographic contest. This was a handsome sum for those days, and Hoppé resolved that if he won the contest he would abandon banking for professional portraiture. A few weeks later he was awarded the prize and with £100 capital opened his business in October 1907 in a small flat at 10 Margravine Gardens, Baron's Court, near Hammersmith, a street composed entirely of artists' studios.

There was, of course, intense family opposition to his new profession; his friends were unsympathetic. As one of them remarked, "You are mad to think of becoming a photographer. Only just married and now contemplate jeopardising security for a wild goose chase. You ought to show a little more sense of responsibility" (ibid.).

About this time, Hoppé fell suddenly and inexplicably ill. He later felt that this illness might have been due to psychological causes, "a rooted prejudice in the sub-conscious against the prospect of a lifetime of routine" (ibid.). Fortunately, his doctor was not only

a man of understanding, but also an enthusiastic amateur photographer. With his encouragement and his own young wife's support, Hoppé recovered quickly and began his second career as a maker of portraits. His avowed intent was to break loose from the artificiality that was typical of the average studio portrait of the period and to "produce work in which character rather than flattery [was] the dominant note" (ibid.:15).

In this case, idealism also proved to be good business. His portraits, strongly individualistic in comparison to the contrived staginess of the usual commercial work of the day, became known and admired by a growing circle of sitters. Two years later, in 1909, business was good enough to risk moving his studio to Baker Street, a much more central position than Hammersmith, in the southwest suburbs.

It was during his Baker Street period that Hoppé's name attracted the label "the photographer of men." His portraits of women were considered too frank. One of his first sitters was Frank Brangwyn, whose Hoppé portrait was seen and admired by Mr. Ingrams, proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*. Ingrams sent twenty-three other famous men to Hoppé's studio and published the results as a special supplement of the magazine.

Hoppé's portraits were so distinctive because of a combination of three factors—careful "research" before each sitting, an unusual studio layout, and his camera design.

In striving for success in portraiture, Hoppé believed that

the cultivation of a sincere and cultured personality is of paramount importance . . . they [the sitters] will respond readily to a photographer who can talk in an interesting and informed way about a variety of topics; and response, though it may be brief as a cloud passing over the sun in summer, is that note of vital humanity which, when captured on a photographer's negative, makes all the difference between a likeness that is wooden and without merit and a work of art. [ibid.:12]

Hoppé only photographed by appointment, in order to have enough time to research his subjects' backgrounds, personalities, and hobbies as themes for conversations in the studio. On being summoned to photograph King George V, Hoppé found that his subject was a keen philatelist and, primed for a talk on stamps, was able to take a relaxed picture of the king discussing his hobby. It did not take much research to learn that Caruso sang! But Hoppé was delighted when his sitter agreed to be photographed singing *La Traviata* while the photographer's wife accompanied him on the piano in the studio. Hoppé believed that the photographer "whose mind is cloistered like a darkroom" could not be successful in portraiture. He made it a point to read the leading

daily newspapers and the best weeklies. In addition he was a keen student of psychology all his life, since the photographer "can never stop learning about human nature" (ibid.).

Hoppé's studios in Margravine Gardens and Baker Street were unconventional for the time. He was convinced that the artificial environment of the conventional portrait studio invariably led to stilted, hackneyed pictures. He dispensed with painted backdrops, fluted papier-mâché columns and balustrades, and designed his own studio to soothe a sitter rather than encourage restraint and tension. His studio resembled an informal drawing room, with pastel draperies replacing artificial backgrounds.

The photographer's camera was no less conventional. He commissioned a London manufacturer, "whose principles were horrified by my ideas," to build him an 8- × 10-inch reflex camera. This camera had several advantages over the conventional type. Hoppé could watch the image on the focusing screen up to the actual moment of exposure; the plate was in position all the time, obviating the need to divert attention from the sitter at the most crucial moments in order to insert the plate-holder; and a dark cloth was unnecessary—"Diving one's head under yards of black material, getting entangled in it while trying to keep up a muffled conversation, then emerging wild and dishevelled to face a startled, uncomfortably amused, or slightly contemptuous sitter, is not, in my opinion, the best way to establish relations between subject and photographer" (ibid.:13).

The large format was considerd a necessity since enlargements were rarely made. Hoppé preferred to contact print his glass plates onto platinum paper or occasionally carbon. He loved platinum paper because of its "cold austerity" and carbon, particularly when applied to wood instead of paper, because of its "richness of tone and quality." He did not favor the gum-bichromate process, so popular at this time among artist-photographers. He felt that it suggested artificiality and manipulation, and too often the results were "horrors of misapplied energy . . . perpetuated by the ignorant" (ibid.:14).

The two years Hoppé spent in Baker Street were successful and rewarding. His portraits of men were becoming imbued with his own style—a harsh, clear, spartan, and uncontrived approach that was gaining admirers among the upper strata of society. In his credo, Hoppé wrote: "I never wanted to be just a photographer. I wanted to become the photographer of the most interesting people" (ibid.:16). He wanted his studio to be in the most convenient area of London for the rich, influential, and famous.

Cromwell Place seemed ideal. It was, and to some extent still is, a smart, wealthy neighborhood in South Kensington—a society suburb a few minutes' walk from the Victoria and Albert Museum, Knightsbridge,

and Hyde Park. Sir Cecil Beaton lived a few streets away from Hoppé's studio, which was in the magnificent former home of John Everett Millais, one of the young founders of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.

It was his wife's idea to rent Millais House on a thirty-seven year lease. Capital was raised with a mortgage company, and the Hoppés moved into the four-story, twenty-seven-room mansion. The number of rooms seems more than a photographer would need, yet very quickly every inch of space was utilized. The domestic rooms in the basement became workrooms; the housekeeper's room became the enlarging room; the kitchen became a finishing room; two pantries became printing and developing rooms: the silver room became the room for storing chemicals. Two of the largest rooms became studios, one for artificial-light work and the other for natural-light work. The second floor was devoted to offices and plate storage. Hoppé and his wife lived in a large, comfortable flat on the third and fourth floors, completely self-contained, with its own front door.

The gamble of setting up a studio in a historic house, without a showcase or even a sign on the door to indicate the occupant's business,s45paid off handsomely with a piece of good fortune that occurred in the first year. Sergei Diaghilev had brought his ballet company to London, and the complete cast was photographed by Hoppé. He had for all intents and purposes the exclusive right to photograph all Diaghilev's ballets and the artistes taking part in them. The results were exhibited at the Fine Art Society, Bond Street, which published sets of the studies in photogravure. The photographs were also the subject of Hoppé's first book, Studies from the Russian Ballet (1912), a portfolio of fifteen prints. In the following years, Hoppé's portraits included George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Henry James, Alice Meynell, Marinetti, Fedor Chaliapin, Jacob Epstein, Clemenceau, Sir Edward Elgar, John Galsworthy, Eugene Goossens, Augustus John, Maeterlinck, Max Reinhardt, John Singer Sargent, most of the crowned heads of Europe, and Benito Mussolini, Kemal Ataturk, and Adolf Hitler, to name only a few of the famous and infamous of his sitters.

By now, Hoppé was also photographing women but with the same direct attention to character, rather than subtle flattery, that had characterized his male portraits. All this changed in 1922, with the publication of his *Book of Fair Women*. Hoppé was no longer dubbed "photographer of men" but "connoisseur of women's beauty." The reaction was extreme. Hoppé's mail was full of indignant demands that he explain why the writer's wife, mistress, favorite actress was not included. He was even offered a substantial amount of money to publish another volume containing the portrait "of a lady whose reputation flew like a

tattered banner over Mayfair" (Hoppé 1945:96). Randolph Hearst "commanded" Hoppé by telegram to come to the United States to judge a beauty contest. Since Hearst had mentioned an extravagant fee, Hoppé obliged. A leading New York daily announced his arrival with, "Great Britain's challenge to America." Rivalry was intense, excitement ran high. The results were syndicated to 384 newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific and resulted in a book that created an equal stir in Britain, where it was reviewed in practically every newspaper in the country. Not all were as bigoted and unbelievable as this example from the London correspondent of the *Daily Despatch*:

The Book of Fair Women, which Mr. E. O. Hoppé has just produced, raises an interesting problem to those of us who are more familiar with what the Americans call the Nordic type of beauty. It seems . . . that Mr. Hoppé is asking a little too much of us when he asks admiration for Indian, Hawaiian, and Chinese beauties. There may be Venuses among the Hottentots, but it must either be a very educated palette that appreciates them or people capable of blinding themselves to the natural distaste for colour. Mr. Hoppé's book raises the question: is it possible for a coloured woman to be beautiful?<sup>4</sup>

A studio in a London landmark, the notoriety of his sitters, and the furor over his book of beauty: these factors accelerated Hoppé's widespread fame.

Another aspect of Hoppe's portraiture that emerged in 1922 and, like his expansion into the realm of female beauty, was marked by a publication, was revealed by *Taken from Life*, by John Davys Beresford. It contained seven rich photogravures from photographs by Hoppé. In his introduction Beresford stated: "The chief credit for this book must be given to Mr. Hoppé. It was he who invented it, accepting me later as collaborator . . . and now that the book is finished, I feel more strongly than ever that the photographs are the truly descriptive matter and my letterpress no more than reference which may serve to check the readers' inferences."

Taken from Life consisted of interviews by Beresford with seven members of the lower strata of British society, each person's biography accompanied by a Hoppé portrait. In this sense the book may be compared with John Thomson's and Adolphe Smith's Street Life in London. But there the comparison ends. Beresford pointed out that any social message was incidental: "I had nothing more in my mind than the presentation of certain little pieces of human history. . . . " He apologized for any intrusion of a criticism of the society that produced such poverty as he described by stating that "these references can be easily overlooked; and those who don't hold with that sort of thing may skip the relevant chapters." Even Hoppé's photographs of the subjects, artistically and tastefully arranged in the studio, isolated the poor and deprived from their social milieu.

The activity of Millais House did not center on Hoppé's portraiture alone. His studio provided a fine setting for exhibitions, and he generously gave space to many young artists whose work was exhibited there for the first time. He staged sets and designs by Herman Rosse and Robert Edmund Jones, exhibited Polish batik and graphic art, presented a series of musical evenings attended by representatives of many embassies (and visited by Queen Mary), and displayed the arts and crafts of Rumania (visited by Queen Marie). Perhaps the most memorable exhibition was the theater designs of Gordon Graig—although most of the stage and society visitors were as eager to see and meet Ellen Terry and her son as they were to see his work. For many years a marionette theater was installed in Millais House and was exhibited at the International Theatre Exhibition held at the South Kensington Museum in 1922. Hoppé designed the sets for a marionette play at this exhibition and also organized the American section.

His experiments with the marionette theater led to a deeper involvement with the theater proper. Millais House eventually became the headquarters of a club called The Plough, the object of which was to produce plays that were new and original in concept and had not been staged previously in England. Members of the committee included Ernest Thesiger, Augustus John, Jacob Epstein, George Sheringham, John Galsworthy, Lady Diana Duff-Cooper, and Lady Lavery. In the four years of The Plough's operation, ten plays were produced. Meanwhile, Hoppé had gone to America in order to open a New York studio. He was in New York when he received a cable asking him to return to produce the club's first motion picture film. His lecture engagement could not be canceled, and when he eventually returned to London The

Plough had virtually expired.

In addition to these nonphotographic activities, Hoppé was already acting as art editor of *Colour*, as well as being New York correspondent for several London journals. Hoppé was equally active in the area of established photography. He was a founding member of the London Salon of Photography, the exhibitions of The Linked Ring, a famous and influential

group of pictorialist art photographers.

In 1908 he arranged an exhibition in London of the German Pictorial School, which included prints by Hofmeister, Rudolph Duhrkoop, Erfuth, and several photograhers trained by Frank Eugene at Professor Emmerick's school in Munich. He was invited by the German Photographic Association to take his own one-man show to Munich in January 1909; he returned to London with a one-man show by Duhrkoop.

Early in his career, Hoppé submitted about a dozen prints to an exhibition organized by The Linked Ring and was delighted when they were all accepted and "hung on the line." This, he said, "proved to be one

of the important milestones of my career" (Hoppé 1945:121). In 1909, an international exhibition was held at Dresden, which contained probably the largest exhibition of photography to that date. The accredited British representatives were E. O. Hoppé and Sir Benjamin Stone. Hoppé was in charge of the pictorial section while Stone looked after the records branch.

Hoppé was also given many one-man shows, the best of which were at the Goupil Galleries, London. One of these, in 1922, was accompanied by a catalog with foreword by John Galsworthy: "One could go on indefinitely praising the selective psychology shown by these portraits. And it is by power of selecting type, and the exact moment in which to fix expression, that a photographer reaches the heights. To be a really great photographer he must first be a great psychologist. . . ." Hoppé was also busy writing articles to the British amateur photographic press. His opinions on the role of photography seem commonplace today, but in the 1920s they were controversial. He was violently opposed to excessive manipulation of the image, particularly if the aim was to make the print resemble a painting, because he believed that photography should be true to its own characteristics. He had a horror of afterwork. In fact, the only compromise Hoppé made to the taste of the times was his own special soft-focus effect (which Cecil Beaton admired so much). The soft-focus lens was used on the enlarger, not on the camera. The iris diaphragm was slowly opened and closed during the printing exposure, which "spreads" the highlights into the shadow areas so that "the final effect is a roundness which I have not found it possible to obtain by any other method" (ibid.:23).

Hoppé had joined the Royal Photographic Society in 1906 and was elected a Fellow one year later (the year he turned professional). He quickly found that the society was too conventional to suit his own personality ("if you have seen one exhibition you have seen them all"), and if he became one of its more open critics, he was pleased that through its meetings he met many photographers who were to become his close friends. He was given a one-man show at the society's headquarters in 1910 (April-May) and was elected a member of its council in 1914, the year Furley Lewis became president, of whom he wrote:

In my opinion, he was the foremost art photographer of the time. He was extremely handsome, charming and dressed the part of a typical Chelsea bohemian. It was impossible to mistake him for anything but an artist since he looked the part entirely. He loved music and would play his favourite composer, Grieg, on the piano with great skill. On a visit to Ireland, he married a simple Irish girl and, in vain, tried to teach her an appreciation of music. Furley drifted into photography from his work as a

process engraver. He became enamoured with Russian pictorial art while visiting that country and began to make massive bromoils on his return to England.

Perhaps the closest of his photographer friends was Alvin Langdon Coburn, although Hoppé had met him while he was still working in the Stock Exchange, prior to becoming a photographer himself. Hoppé claimed it was Coburn's encouragement that helped him to make the rash decision to become a professional portraitist. This was in the days before Coburn's marriage, when he was living with his mother in Bloomsbury. He and his mother spent each Christmas with the Hoppé family in their sixteenth-century farmhouse home—Coburn playing the part of Father Christmas for Hoppé's small children.

Horsley Hinton was a very different character:

He looked like a lieutenant in the army, very straight and strict. But we got on well together and he was very helpful to me, by defending my point of view against the home-baked and old-fashioned photography beloved at the Royal Photographic Society. Our only disagreement was over his method of combination printing. To my mind this was a pictorial representation of subjects that did not exist. But I must admit that he had good taste. His pictures did not display an offense against tone values, which characterised the excessively handworked pictures of so many photographers of the period.

Hoppé was never a close friend of Frederick Evans, although they had a mutual respect for each other and for the medium of photography. They believed a medium is debased by attempting to control it in ways that destroy its inherent characteristics. Evans's fiery temper prevented him from making many close friends, but he was almost universally admired for his superb craftsmanship.

#### **End of an Era**

Between 1911 and 1929, Hoppé reached the peak of his career as a portrait photographer in a period that made his name internationally known. By the late 1920s, Hoppé realized that he had reached a turning point. Looking back he reviewed twenty years of professional life: the famous people he had photographed, the honors he had been awarded, his rich and full experiences. He was the most famous portrait photographer in Europe. "Then it suddenly dawned on me that youth was no longer on my side. I was nearing the half-century mark" (Hoppé 1945:183). "Repressed wanderlust" proved too much of a temptation. Moreover, his son and daughter had grown up and left the family to find lives of their own. His understanding wife, as in 1907, encouraged him to make

the decision, pointing out that traveling meant he could take his camera to people in their own environments rather than expect them to visit his studio. The publishers of *Orbis Terrarum*<sup>5</sup> invited Hoppé to become one of their contributors. His job was to spend a year in each country featured in the series.

Hoppé accepted the assignment, thus beginning the second period of his life in photography, as a traveling photojournalist. From 1930 until his retirement in 1945, he switched to the field of journalism with a camera and made extensive trips across Europe, the American Southwest, Australia and New Zealand, India and Borneo, Sumatra and the Far East, to name a few, publishing over thirty books of his words and pictures. Up to the age of ninety-two, Hoppé was busily exploring the close-up world with his camera, producing abstract images in his garden and home. These periods of his life deserve further study. But in this brief introduction to the work of E. O. Hoppé I have concentrated on the years that made him the most celebrated portrait photographer in Europe.

#### **Notes**

- 1 Although Hoppé's memory was acute when it came to personalities and events, it was vague on the matter of dates. I have attempted to verify his own dates from various other sources.
- 2 Several sources of information state that Hoppé also lived in Heidelberg during his early life, but when and why are not known.
- 3 In later years, Hoppé would not only photograph most of the crowned heads of Europe, but also live for months with a band of wandering Rumanian gypsies, photograph the most beautiful women in America, live with the Navaho Indians, and so on.
- 4 Scarborough Post, October 26, 1922.
- **5** A series of books, each devoted to a single country. Each volume cost 30s, sold over 100,000 copies, and was illustrated by more than 300 photogravure reproductions of photographs. Hoppé's first volume in the series was *Picturesque Great Britain*, followed by books on Czechoslovakia, the United States, Australasia, and Insulinde (Dutch East Indies).

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### II. Hoppé's Romantic America

**Mick Gidley** 

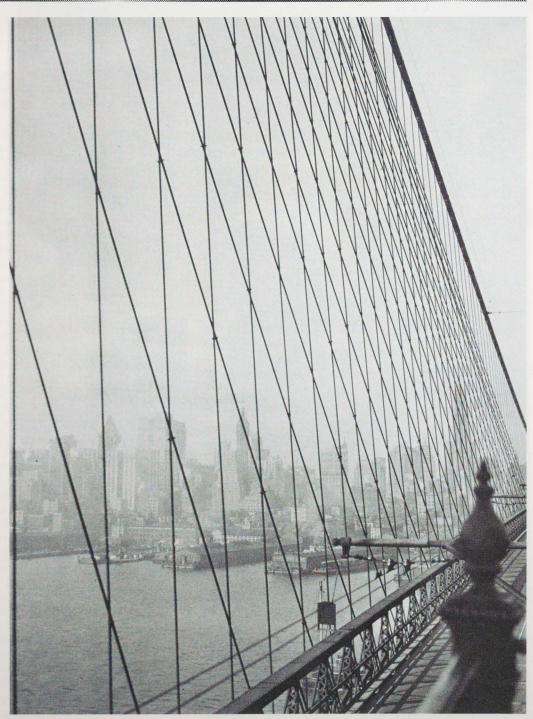
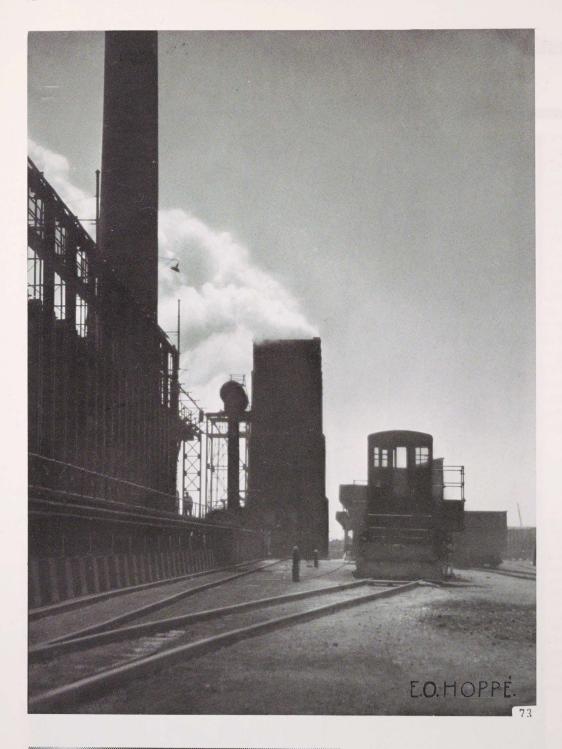


Figure 1 New York City. Brooklyn Bridge (ca. 1919). Romantic America, pl. 4.



**Figure 2** Detroit. Ford Works (ca. 1926). (Richard Hoppé Collection.)

Figure 3 Philadelphia. Exhibition Entrance (1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17243-X.)



Mick Gidley is the Director of a new Centre for American and Commonwealth Arts and Studies (AmCAS) at the University of Exeter, England. His publications include Kopet: A Documentary Narrative of Chief Joseph's Last Years (1981) and American Photography (British Association for American Studies, 1983); With One Sky Above Us: Life on an Indian Reservation at the Turn of the Century (1979), including contemporary photographs by Indian Agency physician Dr. Edward H. Latham, has just appeared in paperback from the University of Washington Press.

#### In Search of an Author

Emil Otto Hoppé (1878–1972) was an artist. In many of his publications he spoke of himself as an artist, sometimes with a capital A, and he clearly brought to his camera work the kind of self-consciousness that we habitually associate with art. In his autobiography, for example, he claimed both that he was the first to photograph Manhattan through the steel network of the Brooklyn Bridge (see Figure 1) and that there was a profound compositional affinity between that photograph and his own earlier Nuit Imminente (ca. 1906), a much-exhibited study of a tree branch against the evening sky (Hoppé 1945:100, 126). While Hoppé's assertion about the Brooklyn Bridge was mistaken (Karl Struss had already done it), it is true that throughout his life he cultivated friendships with other artists, especially writers, and regularly exhibited his work in contexts that emphasized their artistic nature. As early as 1909 Hoppé was in charge of the British pictorial section at the huge Dresden photographic exhibition. His role was parallel to that of Alfred Stieglitz, the doyen of the Photo Secession movement, in putting together the Buffalo exhibition of 1910 and was clearly separate from that of the great Victorian figure, Sir Benjamin Stone, who held sway over the British records branch of the Dresden exhibition (Hoppé 1945:121–122). Given all this, it seems that it should be possible to identify the characteristics of Hoppé's style, if only for a particular period, in this case the years leading up to the production of Romantic America (1927), the work constituting our focus here. Certainly, Hoppé himself evidenced a strong analytical sense in such writings as "Pictorial Photography Assessed without Prejudice." He asserted there that "when the choice of the theme is not accidental but selective, then . . . its ultimate rendering in pictorial form, and its relation to actuality, [are] dependent upon the personality and the creative power of the artist" (Hoppé 1955:138)

However, while Hoppé was able to dissect pictorial photography with confidence, dividing it into five distinct categories of endeavor, his own work resists such stylistic analysis and classification. This is partly because Hoppé was also a professional, even commercial, photographer. "I never ignored the finances of my work," he recalled in 1946. Remembering his early years as a bank employee, he said, "Maybe I have subconsciously never forgotten the lessons of my early commercial training. . . . I see no reason to think a man a better artist because he ignores the material things of life. . . . He may be good despite of it; he can never be good because of it.1

Hoppé's autobiographical writings are full of business advice to young photographers, full of anecdotes about his own commercial successes—from portraits taken in his subjects' own homes to having

exhibitions in such money-centered venues as department stores. Hoppé's record books of his negatives, now held at the Mansell Collection in London, indicate that he worked on commission, undertaking many different kinds of jobs within the space of a few days. Sometimes he was, in effect, working on two commissions at the same time. While gathering images for Romantic America, he also continued his lucrative portrait sittings in New York; he took the likeness of the then very popular author Joseph Hergesheimer, was also commissioned to make views of Hergesheimer's family and the family home-Dower House—in Westchester County, Pennsylvania, and one such view became Plate 22 in Romantic America. There is a similar overlap in the case of some of his studies of the Ford plant in Detroit (see Figure 2); these were taken on commission for Ford and appeared between the covers of his pictorial study as Plates 258-264. In California he seems to have worked at a photographic feature article entitled "Pictorial California," at a series of studies of raisin production for the Sun Maid Company, and at the accumulation of further pictures for his American book, occasionally using the same images for all three.2 Also in California, he could not resist making a few studies of scantily dressed "Santa Monica Bathing Beauties," but these were intended for more private circulation than the pages of Romantic America. In other words, we lack an author in a fully authoritative sense; Hoppé's was the same seeing eye behind the viewfinder, but what he selected to see was not always, in his own words, "dependent upon . . . the creative power of the artist" alone.



**Figure 4** New Orleans. Windows and Shutters (1919 or 1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17502-4.)

#### **A Hundred Thousand Exposures**

The sheer volume of Hoppé's work inhibits the kind of analysis that would be comparable to an analysis of the work of his friends and contemporaries Alvin Langdon Coburn or Edward Steichen. Hoppé called his autobiography Hundred Thousand Exposures, and that figure represents no exaggeration. This is not simply a matter of Hoppé's longevity (see the Chronology in this issue). In the two-year span between July 1926 and October 1928, which includes the second half of the period of his most intense picture gathering for Romantic America, his negative book shows that he produced 717 sequences of images, many of these sequences containing as many as fifty individual exposures. In fact, a numeral in the book almost never represents a single image. One reviewer asserted that Hoppé selected the 304 images for Romantic America from "over 4000" taken for it.3 Thus the thirty pictures of Arizona in the book were chosen from several hundred made, and he took many photos of great cities like San Francisco, Philadelphia (Figure 3), New Orleans (Figure 4), and even Richmond, Virginia. Of New York City he made literally hundreds of images, including sites both famous and commonplace (see Figures 5 and 6). As in other cases of definable but massive collections of images—the Farm Security Administration project, for example—we are faced with the lack of an adequate taxonomy; indeed, as I have remarked elsewhere, eventually "serious research will have to be devoted to finding ways of categorizing images into groups limited enough to analyse" (Gidley 1983:10). In the meantime, we are all too easily led into creating typical or representative, even quintessential, FSA or Hoppé images based exclusively on the actual ones that struck us most.

Both the pictures in the exhibition and those discussed in this essay are, I would have to admit, no exception; though we have come to a focus of sorts by concentrating primarily on Hoppé's American cityscapes, the commentary here represents provisional findings, an interim document. It was impossible to ignore Hoppé's own accounts of his American experiences and endeavors, though they proved of little substantial help. The basic problem is that in addition to Hoppé as Artist, Hoppé as Commercial Photographer, the autobiographical writings reveal another Hoppé. This Hoppé was more concerned, for instance, to stress his own virtues as a judge of female beauty<sup>4</sup> or more concerned to play up his own fame among the famous than to lay bare the ideological or artistic assumptions that informed his photographic practice. While living and working at Millais House in London, he mounted art exhibitions, including one of contemporary American stage design, and founded the Plough Theatre Company, an amateur group that included Augustus John among its leading lights. In

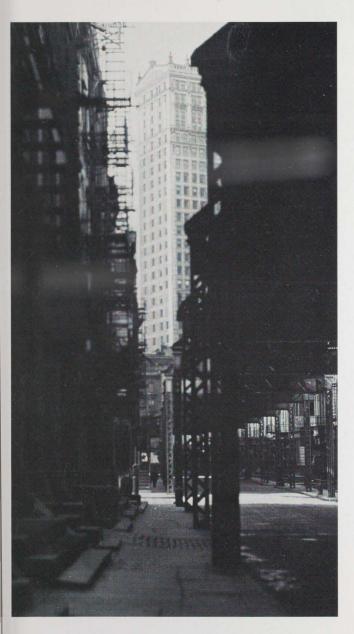


**Figure 5** New York City. Broadway from the Times Building (ca. 1921). Romantic America, pl. 14. (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-196.)

**Figure 6** New York City. The Elevated Railway (ca. 1921). (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-121.)

the United States, mainly through the friendship of Dr. Christian Brinton, an influential art critic and polymath of the period, Hoppé cultivated friendships with numerous American socialites and artists. Robert Frost, Willa Cather, Theodore Dreiser, and Carl Sandburg were a few of the writers who sat for him. Lillian Gish, Tom Mix, Paul Robeson, and Jack Dempsey came to his studio, and so did Albert Einstein, artists Robert Henri and Max Weber, and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Perhaps most insidious of all the roles Hoppé's camera gifts enabled him to adopt was that of traveler. A traveler able, as Mark Twain put it, to "pity the untravelled with a compassion that had hardly a trace of contempt in it." His Round the World with a Camera (1934), which is much more about the world than it is about his camera, even presents him as constantly traveling; it implicitly collides several distinctly different journeys into one transglobal trip. Travel—"the emotional stir of . . . far land and strange peoples . . . queer trails . . . and remote romances" (Hoppé 1934:18)—became a drug. Hoppé, who



prided himself on being a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, photographed to travel as much as he traveled to photograph. His negative books demonstrate that he always did more portraiture than he later cared to admit in print, but it was, nevertheless, the American experience that marked the transition between a predominant interest in portraiture and a virtual obsession with topography.<sup>5</sup>

Pirie MacDonald, an American self-styled "Photographer-of-Men," a man who took the likenesses of over 70,000 men of note, was at the height of his career in the early twenties. He saw something special in Hoppe's first work in the New World: "Whether it be from our climate or people or whatever . . . , your American pictures hit me better than the others," he confided. "They seem to have another spirit and this fact alone makes you a fit subject for congratulation because many of us dwindle as time goes on—and you are growing." I hazard that Hoppe's American photographs did have "another spirit," and it is in pursuit of that elusive entity that this essay is written.

#### In Search of America

The arrangement of pictures in Romantic America reproduced in photogravure, with captions in four languages—is physically that of a huge geographical circle. The book opens with nineteen images of New York City, where most visitors first entered the United States, and proceeds southward through New Jersey and Pennsylvania toward Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. From Virginia we move into the Deep South—South Carolina and Georgia—before dallying in the vacation lands of Florida and journeying onward to Mississippi and Louisiana, especially New Orleans. Then out across Texas to New Mexico for a long foray into native American pueblos and Spanish-settled cities along the Rio Grande. Arizona, especially the Grand Canyon and Monument Valley in Navaho country, is explored in all its grandeur as a prelude to arrival in San Diego, southern California. Then northward through Los Angeles and San Francisco, to Oregon, and to Washington State. Next we face east—Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, with all their national parks and monuments—before eventually reaching the Mississippi at St. Louis. Then Chicago. Then Detroit, especially the Ford works. An irresistible stopover at Niagara delays our voyage down the Hudson before we set out on a circuit of New England: Connecticut, Massachusetts (notably Boston), and an autumn morning in New Hampshire. And we complete the circle with four images of Washington, D.C. (see Figures 7 to 13).

In 1926 Hoppé himself, in preparing the book, seems to have traversed a similar grand circlethough he also took time out to go by sea to the West Indies and Panama—and he later claimed that the journey took eleven months (Hoppé 1945:189). In truth, of course, the book constitutes an implied ideal journey through the varied land and cityscapes of the continent: a conceptualization based on many ventures into the United States, from 1919 onward. These ventures included a special visit to Hollywood (see Figures 13 and 14) and the Indian country of the Southwest (where Hoppé said he was the first "European"-or, at least, "Englishman"-to see the renowned natural phenomenon featured in Plates 212-214, the stone Rainbow Bridge [Hoppé 1945:189; 1927:xxxvi; 1934:229]). In 1920 and 1921 he spent almost half of each year running a portrait studio in New York from which he also traveled out to such cities as Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Atlantic City (see Figures 15 and 16). The pictures that were included in Romantic America were not, then, the result of an intense, brief encounter, but the product of a mature relationship.

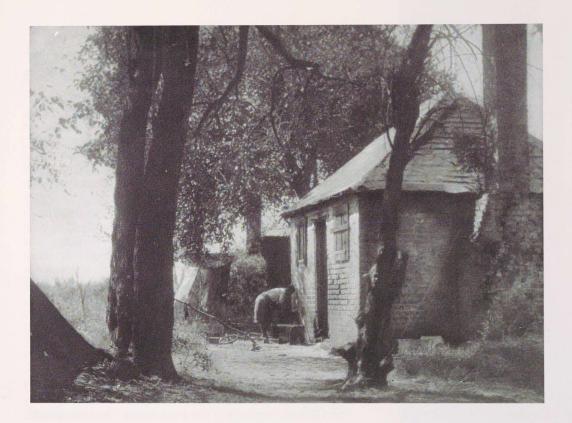


Figure 7 Savannah, Georgia. Old Slave Hut at the Hermitage (ca. 1925). Romantic America, pl. 59. (Vintage woodburytype print, Richard Hoppé Collection.)

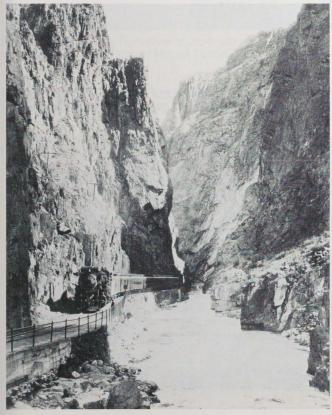
Figure 8 California. Santa Barbara Coast (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 155. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17469-T.)

Indeed, it could be said that Hoppé was already prepared for the constraints of his contract for the book when he took it on. It was part of the Orbis Terrarum series. Hoppé had recently completed work on the British volume, and he was in the process of accepting commissions for those on Czechoslovakia, Australasia, and the Dutch East Indies. In each the emphasis was to fall on architecture, landscape, topography. Hoppé himself recorded that, at about that time, he was asked to make landscape studies for a weekly journal, "the only stipulation being that no human figures should appear in the composition." "This commission very much appealed to me," he commented, "since . . . I was not convinced that the introduction of human interest always helps composition" (Hoppé 1945:164). In fact, from 1919 on he had been making studies of the Bowery area in New York that concentrated on scenes of silent desolation—seemingly abandoned barrels in an empty courtyard, clothes lines, mute shop fronts—in which human beings were curiously absent (see Figure 17). In some of those Bowery images, it even seems that humans are presented as fleeing out of the frame, as if in shame (see Figure 18). The dismal decay of the Bowery was not featured at all in Romantic America, and we should seek a reason. At this point it is sufficient to note that, in general, people are not the subject matter of the book.



**Figure 9** Portland. A New Bridge (ca. 1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17403-4.)





**Figure 10** Colorado. Royal Gorge, Grand Canyon of the Arkansas (ca. 1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17413-39.)

Figure 11 Chicago. Stockyards (1926). Romantic America, pl. 254. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17459-L.)





**Figure 12** Niagara. American Falls (1926). Romantic America, pl. 269. (Vintage woodburytype print, Richard Hoppé Collection.)

**Figure 13** California. Hollywood at Night (ca. 1925). Romantic America, pl. 148.



**Figure 14** California. A Scene in Filmopolis (Universal City (ca. 1925). Romantic America, pl. 151. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17465-X.)





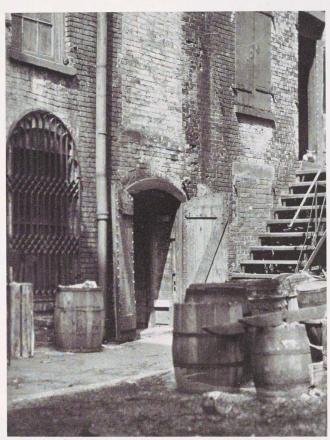
**Figure 15** Pittsburgh. Romance of Steel (ca. 1921). (Vintage woodburytype print, Richard Hoppé Collection.)

**Figure 16** Atlantic City (ca. 1922). Romantic America, pl. 21. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17579-F.)



#### **Human Documents**

This is all the more curious because during the early twenties, Hoppé began seriously to collect images of a vast variety of human groups, his interest having been stimulated by the ethnic diversity of New York. Typical entries in his negative book are "Coloured Woman," "Jewish Girl Types," "Negro Type," "Type of haired man" (whatever that signifies), and "American Types." Many negatives and some prints in such categories survive in the Mansell and Richard Hoppé Collections of Hoppé's work (see Figures 19 and 20). Romantic America contains images of two native Americans, a black fruit vendor, a cowboy figure, a Spanish guitarist, and an elderly black man actually entitled "Uncle Remus"-figures selected, one suspects, less for their typicality than for their exoticism (see Figure 21). They are not really examples, I think, of Hoppé's parallel preoccupation with what he called "human documents" or "types of the lower strata of society whose faces tell their life history."7 It is worth noting that it was on these human documents, from both New York and London (twenty-eight pictures from a total of 221), that John Galsworthy, then at the height of his fame as the creator of The Forsyte Saga, chose to dwell in his foreword to Hoppé's exhibition at the Goupil Gallery, London, in January 1922:



**Figure 17** New York City. Barrels in the Bowery (ca. 1919). (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-157.)



**Figure 18** New York City. In the Bowery (ca. 1921). (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-216.) Although labeled as titled and grouped with the Bowery images in kind, this is elsewhere more accurately identified as 24th Street at 3rd Avenue.

The photograph is a rare exponent of national or group psychology. . . . Mr. Hoppé, always concerned with the underlying, succeeds . . . in revealing to us the peculiar difference that lies between the simple citizens of an old, and of a new country. He has elicited, by assembling his Londoners, the fixity of philosophy and class characteristics, the closed-door look, which we have in England beyond, I think, all other western countries. The faces are brimful of character, but it is a character functioning within strictly confined opportunity. These are people with an outlook limited from birth. Pass from them to the New York East-side types, and one is conscious of a lifted lid, of a range unfixed.<sup>8</sup>

One might well think that such photographs would cry out for inclusion in a book intended to evoke the essence of a nation. Clearly, the exclusion of such images from *Romantic America* indicates a radical split, on Hoppé's part; between people and place. He was after something else.

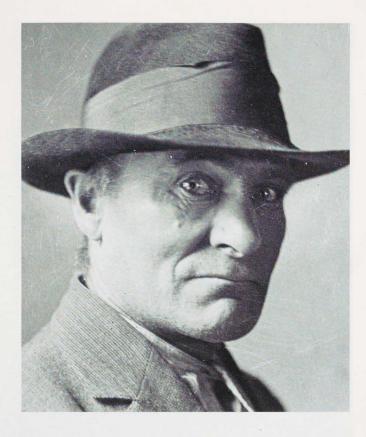
"From the moment when the late Joseph Pennell showed me his remarkable lithographs of New York, I was attracted to the pictorial possibilities of American cities," Hoppé recalled. "Most of the pictures one had seen depicted the pulsating stream of life flowing through them, but I felt more strongly than anything else their static qualities, their loneliness and grandeur" (Hoppé 1945:187). These were the characteristics stressed by the photographs chosen to promote *Romantic America* in publicity brochures: an awesome view of the Grand Canyon, the Brooklyn Bridge image mentioned at the beginning of this essay, and the span of the Delaware Bridge in Philadelphia (see Figure 22).9

It is true that the *Orbis Terrarum* volume Hoppé did on Britain was also relatively unpeopled, but its emphasis was different. As Charles F. G. Masterman noted in his introduction to the book, urbanization was making sharp inroads into all aspects of the British scene, but Hoppé, he said, "has seized the period before the change which is coming . . . selecting indeed many historic places familiar throughout the



**Figure 19** New York Type. Female, Holiday Mood (ca. 1921). (Modern print from the Richard Hoppé Collection.)

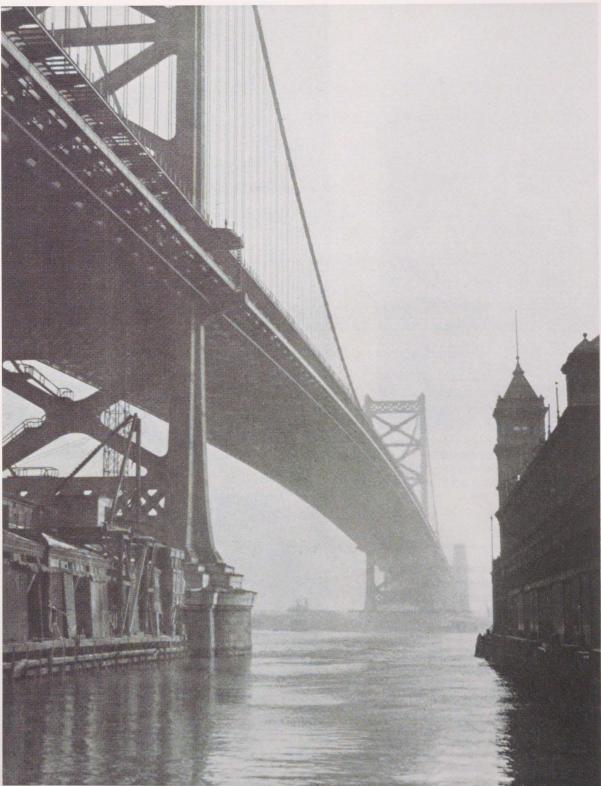
world, but also landscapes and seascapes and old houses and churches of which he could have found many similar examples." "Here," he concluded, "is the England . . . which our ancestors have seen and rejoiced in for so many passing generations" (Hoppé 1926:vi). This volume, in other words, stressed the commonplace, the old, the familiar, the traditional, the comfortable aspects of Britain. Even its industrial scenes have the look of long-abandoned archaeological sites. Its title was aptly chosen: *Picturesque Great Britain*. 10



**Figure 20** New York Type. Male with Trilby (ca. 1921). (Modern print from the Richard Hoppé Collection.)



Figure 21 Santa Barbara. In the Paseo (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 157. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17469-T.) Hoppé seems to have been thoroughly beguiled by his experience of the Santa Barbara Fiesta, perhaps exaggerating its Hispanicism (see Hoppé 1934:237–241).



**Figure 22** Philadelphia. Span of the Delaware Bridge (1926). Romantic America, pl. 30. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17243-D.) In 1927 this bridge had the longest single span of any in the world.

#### The Spirit of America

In the case of Britain Hoppé could rely on a familiarity between people and place that was understood, even taken for granted, but in his views of the United States, especially of American cities, he was after something else. That something was not mere newness, even futurity, of the sort which saw the great Flatiron Building of 1902 with its front "lifted to the future" while "on the past, its back [was] turned" (Edgar Saltus in Corn 1973:60). Hoppé's friend Joseph Pennell did a series of etchings for a book by John van Dyke with the fetching title *The New New York* (1909), but Hoppé himself was not drawn by such assertions of modernity—at least, not for their own sake.

Here is the remainder of his description of the impact upon himself of American cities:

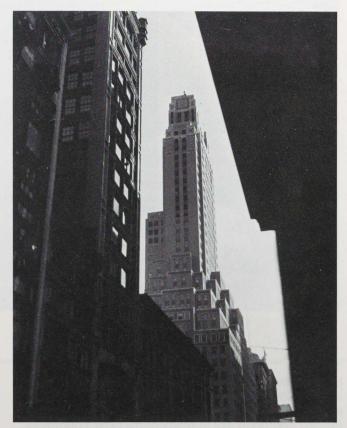
Despite modernistic architecture, their effect on me was one of monumental primitiveness, vividly calling to my mind the communal dwellings of ancient Taos, in New Mexico, but enlarged to a gigantic scale. When I looked at these palaces of commerce I felt that in their hard angles and uncompromising verticals dwelt the spirit of a new romance. [Hoppé 1945:187]

The juxtaposition of Indian pueblo and modern skyscraper is suggestive (see Figures 23 and 24) and, as may be witnessed in his 1930 Australian exhibition, was deliberately pointed out by Hoppé himself. 11 And it was more than a matter of the skyscraper being seen as a truly native architecture answering the architecture of the continent's own native inhabitants. The review of Romantic America cited above (see note 3) described the arrangement of the book as a kind of historical progression rather than as a geographical, physical circle: "The reader is taken back to the earliest known civilization on the continent north of the Rio Grande, and from there by various stages to scenes representative of all that is modern in our present day mode of living." If Hoppe's own comments on the congruence of ancient and modern forms are to be given any credence, the book's movement was not linear, but circular, spiritually circular, and, throughout, the spirit which infused it was that of "romance.

Hoppé, however, did not make these American cities mysterious and conventionally romantic by seeing them through haze of one sort or another. This is interesting, especially when we remember Hoppé's credentials as a noted pictorialist, someone admired by such unreconstructed pictorialists as Gertrude Käsebier. Henry James, one of Hoppé's portrait subjects and a severe critic of New York, had conceded that the city was "in certain lights almost charming," that is, "when an element of mystery and wonder had entered into the impression" (quoted in Corn 1973:61). At the turn of the century Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Steichen had provided that mys-

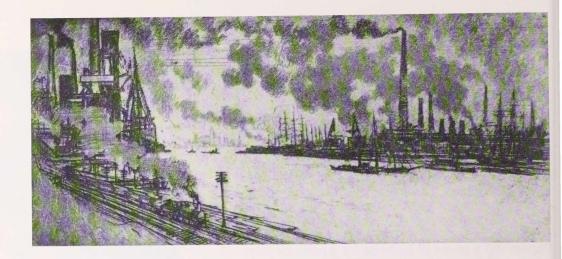


**Figure 23** New Mexico. Taos Pueblo (ca. 1920). (From a print reproduced in Round the World with a Camera [Hoppé 1934].)

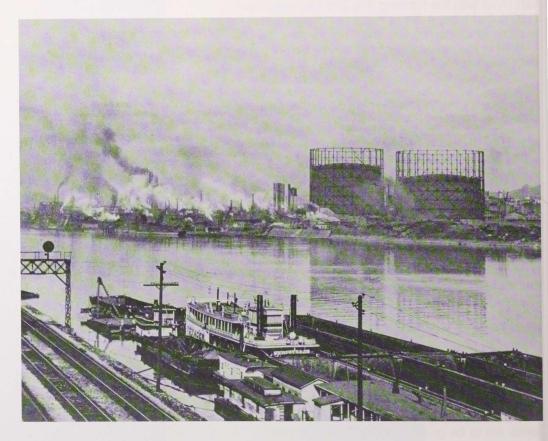


**Figure 24** New York. City of Dreadful Heights (ca. 1921). (Vintage print from the Richard Hoppé Collection.) It is as if the pueblo had been stretched upward with gigantic force.

Figure 25 Joseph Pennell. Oil-Standard Oil Works, Staten Island, New York (ca. 1908). (From a reproduction in Singer 1909:25.)



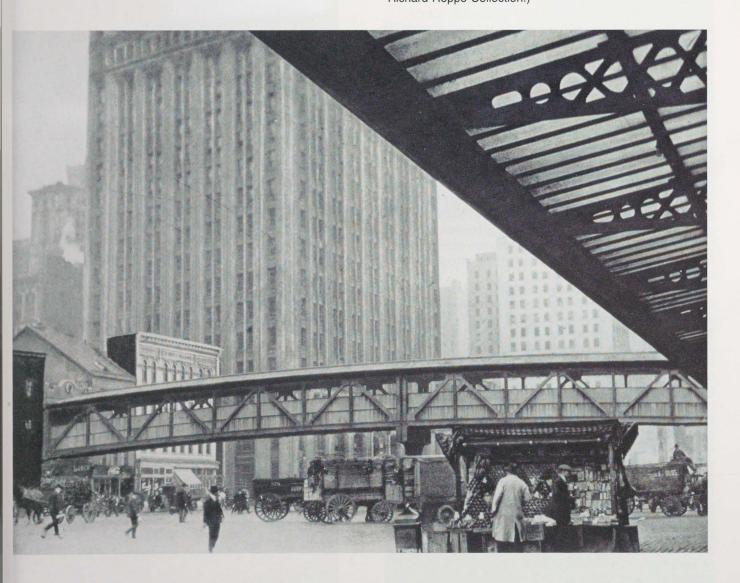
**Figure 26** Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh (ca. 1921). Romantic America, pl. 28.



tery and wonder by depicting the city softened by snow, blurred by dusk, veiled in mist, or reflected by an uneven sheen of wet pavements. Even Joseph Pennell had done this in many of his New York vistas, so that his most likely influence on Hoppé was not in his city pictures, but in his views of American industries. Hoppé depicted American industries not in all their own particularities but under such catch-all generic labels as "Steel and Smoke" (see Figures 25 and 26). In his city views, on the other hand, Hoppé usually did depict the "hard angles" and "uncompromising verticals" that we often associate with abstrac-

tion. The major exception to this were his evocative nighttime photographs, where floods of electric light redeem a darkness punctuated by the pulsations of smaller lights, casting an air of transitory ineffability over the whole scene (see Figure 13).

**Figure 27** New York City. In the West Street District (ca. 1921). Romantic America, pl. 19. (Vintage print in the Richard Hoppé Collection.)



#### **Cities of Abstraction**

Speaking of artistic views and versions of New York, Peter Conrad (1984:110) quipped, "The city of realism is congested. Abstracted New York is empty." Hoppé, ever restless, exhibited tendencies toward both realism and abstraction, perhaps attaining neither. Let us look at some of the tendencies toward abstraction.

The caption to New York City. In the West Street District (see Figure 27) reads, "Dockland on the North River and a centre for the Transatlantic Lines and fer-

ries," but the photograph itself says nothing about the business—certainly not the busyness—of docks and mass transportation. What human presence there is—the unemphasized fruit stall and the scattered, seemingly aimless figures, all in the bottom strip of the picture—is reduced to insignificance by the great triangular divisions of the total image. The photograph, in essence, becomes a study in shades of grey and black of triangles on a flat, two-dimensional plane, so much so that the biggest building in sight loses what in actuality must have been considerable three-dimensional mass, is flattened, so to speak, by

the lines of the dominant triangles in the design.

In other images a deliberate two-dimensionality was achieved differently. A view of Fifth Avenue not included in Romantic America (see Figure 28) subtly suggests that the avenue actually runs upward into the sky like the church spire that appears to be in the same plane beside it. In one picture, of Manhattan's West 30th Street, Hoppé's sheer technical virtuosity produced an analogous result (see Figure 29). The fact that there is so much depth and breadth of focus, with hardly any sense of perspective in the verticals of the buildings, means that the total view, holding within it the height of some thirteen stories, is all equally sharp. Despite the illusion of three dimensionality conferred upon them by a light layer of snow, the horizontal lines of the picture accentuate, rather than detract from, the patterning effect of the overall grid of lines. Aerial views, such as Hoppé's depiction of what was then the most concentrated oil field in the world (see Figure 30), almost necessarily flatten, in this case to present a complex irregular design of oil derricks miniaturized.

In an almost surreal photograph of smoke and chimneys (see Figure 31), a wooden trestle and its stanchions form frames within the frame, turning the background activity into two separate scenes. Similar internal framing devices were employed in New York City. View over Central Park (see Figure 32), in a shot of the Woolworth building that transforms it into a veritable "cathedral of commerce" (see Figure 33), and, most strikingly, in the view of a Mississippi steamboat at St. Louis (see Figure 34), where the huge black girder across the top of the image creates a marked tension with the bridge itself, receding in perspective across the river. Hoppe's image of New York City seen between the cables of the Brooklyn Bridge (Figure 1) is, perhaps, the most obvious of all; it is interesting that Peter Conrad, who also cited Hoppé, devoted a whole chapter to the notion of the city seen through the Brooklyn Bridge. As it does in Hoppé's image, the bridge, he claimed, "analyzes the city, proposing itself to the artist as a mediator between his subjective retreat and the throng of clamoring objects which is downtown Manhattan" (Conrad 1984:223).

Hoppé himself, of course, realized the vital significance of the frame. "The search for the most effective angle is the prime task of the photographer," he said, "and his success will largely be judged by his success in that search" (see note 1 above). Sometimes he narrowed the frame so much that contextualization was limited, forcing attention to details that, thus presented, take on the force of abstract forms. It is interesting that in *Impressions of New Orleans* (1926) Arnold Genthe—the photographer A. D. Coleman proposed as the most appropriate American counterpart for Hoppé (Hall-Duncan 1982:6–7)—saw the Vieux

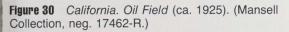


Figure 28 New York City. Fifth Avenue (ca. 1921). (Vintage print in the Richard Hoppé Collection.)





**Figure 29** New York City. West 30th Street (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 12. (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-261.)





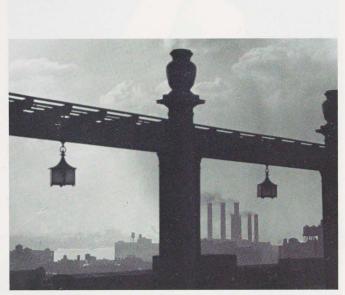
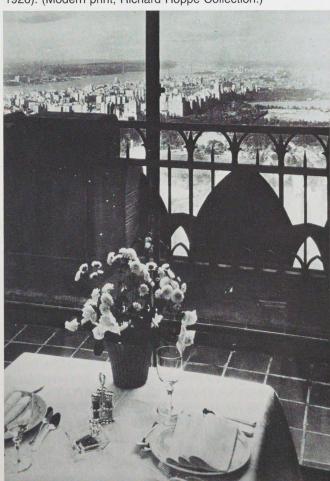


Figure 31 Untitled (ca. 1921). (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-222.)

**Figure 32** New York City. View over Central Park (ca. 1926). (Modern print, Richard Hoppé Collection.)



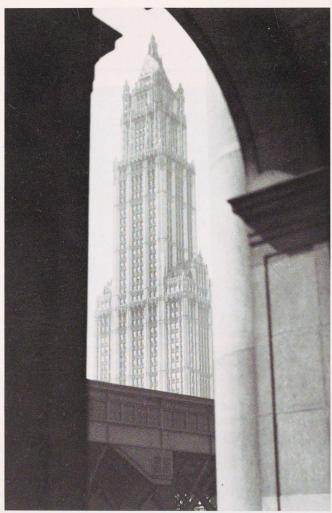
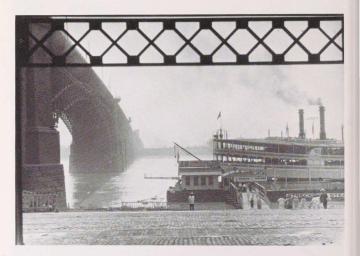


Figure 33 New York City. Woolworth Building (ca. 1921). (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-138.)





Carré as essentially old, veiled, private, full of slightly out-of-focus traceries of iron and dark entrances that opened onto darker courtyards. Hoppé, by contrast, viewed it frontally, usually in strong sunlight, and caught the hardness of wrought iron. A good example of the use of limited frame is his depiction of windows and shutters there (see Figure 4), a picture that seems to foreshadow Berenice Abbott's versions of such aspects of New York in the following decade. <sup>13</sup>

Hoppé's study of a new bridge in Portland works on the same principle (see Figure 9). The frame is such that what holds our attention has nothing to do with the purpose of the structure before our eyes; indeed, were it not for the caption, its function might go unrecognized. The significance of the image seems to reside wholly in the arrangement of dark girders of varying thicknesses and angles, one to another: a

complex pattern of black and white. A related pattern of curve echoing and inflecting curve was created by the juxtaposition of palm frond and Japanese-style roofshape in one of Hoppé's Hollywood vistas (see Figure 35). Hoppé himself sometimes overtly hinted at this aspect of his work by his choice of titles: New York City. Squares and Angles for a New York view (see Figure 36) or Chicago. Rhythm in Stone (Romantic America, pl. 248) or Detroit. Confederates of Commerce for one of power plant chimneys severe enough to have come from the camera of Charles Sheeler, who did in fact produce virtually the same image the following year (see Figure 37). 14

Figure 34 St. Louis. Ancient Boats and a Modern Bridge on the Missouri [sic] (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 243.

Figure 35 California. Hollywood from the Japanese Gardens (ca. 1925). Romantic America, pl. 147.



**Figure 36** New York City. Squares and Angles (ca. 1919). (Vintage print, Richard Hoppé Collection.) Hoppé identified this as a view from his 57th Street studio window (Hoppé 1945:127).

Hoppé's tendency toward abstraction was most clearly expressed, perhaps, in his many depictions of the New York elevated railway, only a tiny proportion of which found their way into Romantic America. While he certainly represented the proximity of the El structures to the tenements they stood among, such scenes were ones of stillness and emptiness rather than of congestion (see Figure 6). He was clearly intrigued by the contrasts of light and dark that the El created and the unique structural forms that had been wrought by American engineers in the El's creation. One of his studies, from directly underneath (see Figure 38), powerfully presages the point of view that Walker Evans would adopt a couple of years later in his famous Brooklyn Bridge (1929): in both images the vantage point tends to transform a structure that was actually horizontal into a near-vertical one. 15

This comparison may be instructive. Evans was totally in control of his image; there may well have been fortuitous elements in its creation, but the achieved image has an authoritative stamp, a stamp of inevitability upon it. In this particular view by Hoppé the same claim could almost be made for him. Usually his images are compromised by the intrusion of random variables—figures so much in motion as to cause a blurred silhouette, reflections of uneven sharpness, and, of course, cars and bodies that mar possible symmetries in the total design (see Figures 6 and 39). In another sense though, such random elements, usually associated with the human presence, are also signs of realism.

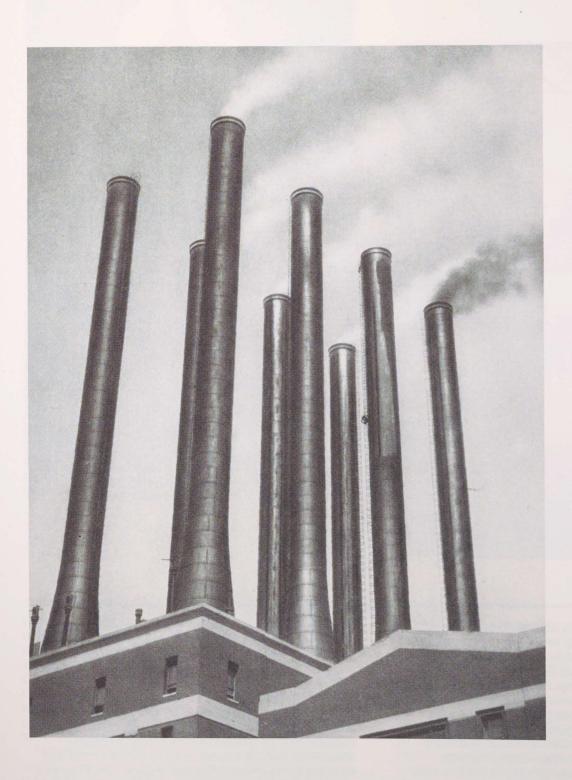


Figure 37 Detroit. Confederates of Commerce (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 262.

Figure 38 New York City. Second Avenue (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 7. (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-267.)

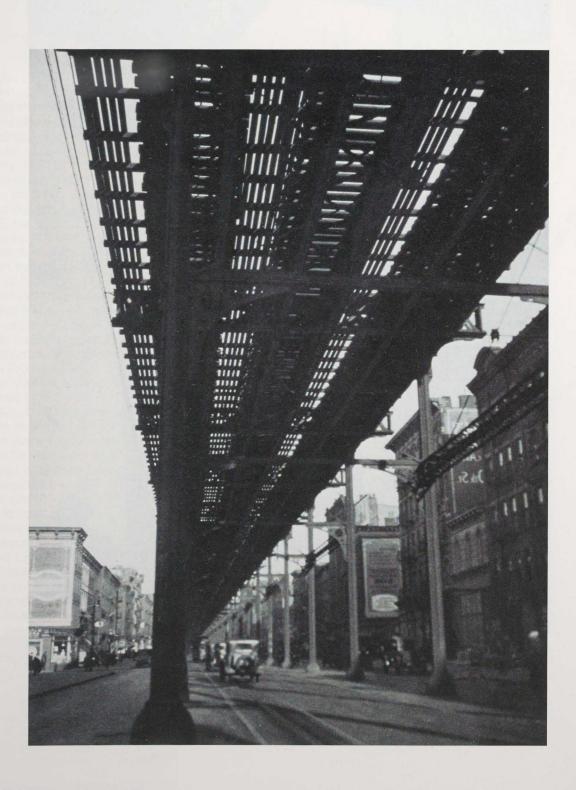
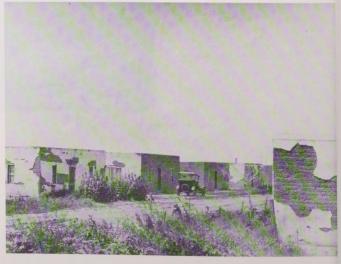




Figure 39 New York City. Under the El in Rain (ca. 1921). (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-13.)

**Figure 40** Colorado. Mexican Colony in Sugar Beet Area (ca. 1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17413-Q.)



#### **Cities of Realism**

lan Jeffrey, in what probably constitutes the most perceptive critical essay on Hoppé to date, saw the qualifications to abstraction and modernism in his work as looming large enough to render his vision "archaic." "This is 'the modern' construed by a survivor," he concluded, "by an energetic Victorian who sees romance everywhere" (Jeffrey 1978:8). If Hoppé's abstraction was marred by elements of realism, his reaching after realism was also muted. He captured such time-bound sights as election posters for the midterm elections of 1926, but such views were not allowed to enter his Romantic America, and we have already seen that the dereliction of the Bowery was also excluded—even when surmounted and dwarfed by the massive symmetry of the Municipal Building. This was not wholly or even primarily a question of subject matter. It is true that Hoppé excluded the peeling adobe shacks of migrant Mexican farm laborers (see Figure 40), but he included the humble homes of Atlanta's black quarter. The difference was essentially one of style. In Figure 40 the image itself was untidy, while the other was composed; similarly, of two views of snow scenes in Middletown, Connecticut (see Figures 41 and 42), it was the one with the horse-drawn sleigh and all its lines of perspective contained within the frame (by a lovely snow-filled meadow) that was chosen for Romantic America. "The picture," as Jeffrey put it, "was to be inclusive, taking in the extent and depth of the world, as landscape painting had done" (Jeffrey 1978:8). The two images selected aspired to such inclusive order.

An examination of the files of negatives in the Mansell Collection certainly bears out this contention. A notable example is formed by the two surviving views of the Civic Center in Baltimore (see Figures 43 and 44). In the first, which was not included in *Romantic America*, a car blunts the end of the outjutting steps or balcony; if the second image is looked at closely, it can be seen that it has been tidied further by the removal of discordant telephone poles and wires. (Hoppé, despite his several assertions that he did not like to manipulate, exercised a similar discretion in many other instances.)

In many of the most interesting of Hoppé's American images there was no need for retouching of this sort. There is in them a delicate tension between the tendencies toward abstraction and realism that we have already observed. Such pictures are poised on the balance.



**Figure 41** Connecticut. Midwinter at Middletown (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 283. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17571-B.)



**Figure 42** Connecticut. Middletown in Winter (ca. 1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17571-C.)

Hoppé's view of Chicago. Washington Street from Wabash Avenue (see Figure 45), for instance, is both an image of movement and of pattern. The lamppost and grey shadow on the left match the wall of dark shadow on the right; a telegraph pole (itself lined up precisely with the edge of Burnham & Root's graceful Reliance Building behind) lies equidistant between them; and the rectangle of light in the right half offers release, space, to the spire, allowing it to pierce the sky almost to the top of the frame, as if aspiring upward. One of the New York vistas, New York City. 57th Street (see Figure 46), works along very similar lines. The masses (and precise forms) of dark balance—and, along the edge of the awning, exactly mesh with—the masses and forms of grey. And, at the same time, the rich and their chauffeurs carry on their exclusive lives.

Hoppé depicted La Salle Street, Chicago, as full of bustle, commuters dashing this way and that, shoppers hauling heavy bags, two levels of trains or streetcars, and three cronies in the bottom right corner chatting (see Figure 47). Interestingly enough, several of the people feature strongly in the more abstract elements of the image. For instance, in 1926 many men wore light, straw boaters, and Hoppé managed to make something of the halos of sunlight they caught: as our eyes flit from one hat to another, the hats are linked together as an unemphatic principle of order. Another such principle is formed by the line of lamps that itself accentuates the row of pillars supporting the elevated tracks of the loop.

#### The Spirit of a New Romance

Hoppé succeeded in making his rendition of the entrance hall to Grand Central Station, New York, work in a number of different modes simultaneously (see Figure 48). It presents and represents the age of urban transit—the sense of travelers moving along predetermined individual axes, alien one from another with supreme economy. Like the travelers in his La Salle Street image, their individual positions seem inexplicably random, yet we sense an underlying pattern. Hoppé himself emphasized the abstract qualities of his Grand Central image: "I think it suggests movement, atmosphere and space" (Hoppé 1945:128). Yet most viewers, I suspect, would tend to read it symbolically. Its huge windows belong, surely, to the iconography of an earlier realism, and we see them, and the light rays they permit to beam upon walls and floor, as akin to those of magnificent cathedrals. If, as we witnessed, the Woolworth Building was transformed by Hoppé into the exterior of a cathedral of commerce, Grand Central Station becomes its interior, and its commuting citizens the communicants of what



Figure 43 Baltimore. The Civic Center (ca. 1926). (Mansell Collection, neg. 17563-C.)

Hoppé aptly envisioned as a new "spirit." That spirit—"the spirit," as he put it, "of a new romance"—was as likely to light upon the pinnacles of skyscrapers as that of past ages upon the pinnacles of the Grand Canyon. The lambda and undefined (and it was always undefined by Hoppé), its beneficence just as surely infused the girders of the El as that of the old one formed the Rainbow Bridge. To Hoppé, Romance, both ancient and modern, was everywhere—if you had the camera eye to see it.

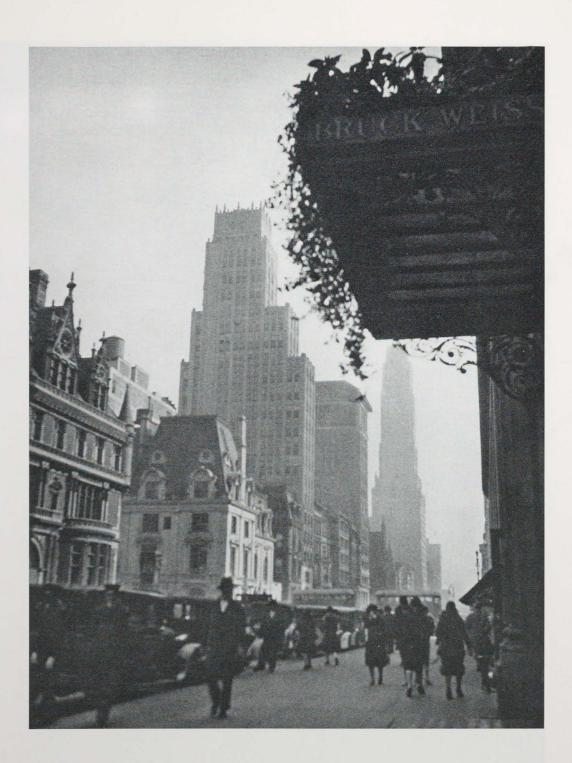


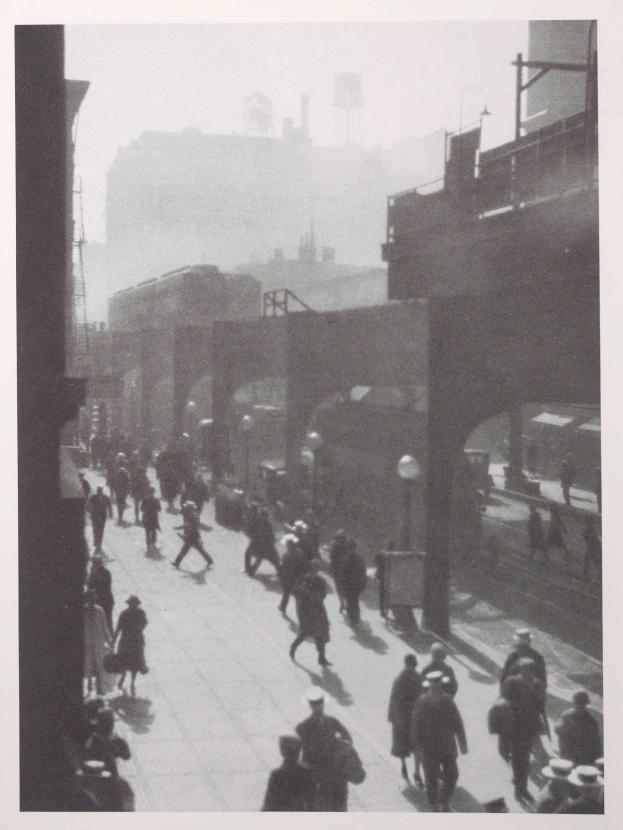
Figure 44 Baltimore. The Civic Center (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 300. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17563-D.)



Figure 45 Chicago. Washington Street from Wabash Avenue (ca. 1926). Romantic America, pl. 251.

Figure 46 New York City. 57th Street (ca. 1921). Romantic America, pl. 11. (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-209.)





**Figure 47** *Chicago. La Salle Street* (ca. 1926). *Romantic America*, pl. 253. (Mansell Collection, neg. 17459-0.)



**Figure 48** New York City. Grand Central Station (1919). Romantic America, pl. 18. (Mansell Collection, neg. 15423-169.)

#### **Acknowledgments**

The author would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of the following people. For provision of information and/or materials: George Anderson of the Mansell Collection, London; Alison Fowler of the Royal Photographic Society Library, Bath; Christine Kelly, Archivist, Royal Geographical Society, London; Terence Pepper of the National Portrait Gallery, London; and, especially, Richard Hoppé, and Jay Ruby, Co-editor of *Studies*. For encouragement, work on the production of illustrations, and for typing, he would also like to thank Frank Hoppé; John Saunders of the University of Exeter Photographic Unit; Philip Stokes of Trent Polytechnic; Vi Palfrey; and Sandra Skinner.

#### **Notes**

- 1 From the typescript foreword to autobiographical notes (the content and order of which are very similar to Hundred Thousand Exposures [1945], Hoppé's published autobiography) in the Richard Hoppé Collection. The same material appears in the uncorrected proofs of a paper, "Before the Lens: A Camera Odyssey," delivered at the Royal Society of Arts, London, on April 24, 1946; these proofs are in the Library of the Royal Photographic Society, Bath.
- 2 Hoppé, "Book 16:17414 to 18131 28/7/26–10/28," Mansell Collection, London. Much of the information in this essay that does not appear in Hoppé's writings or the critical commentary upon him was derived from these negative books. For images destined for the "Pictorial California" feature, see Figures 8 and 13.
- the "Pictorial California" feature, see Figures 8 and 13.

  3 Review of *Romantic America* by W. C. Faust, a newspaper clipping in the Richard Hoppé Collection.
- 4 See Hoppé 1945:90–99. The Richard Hoppé Collection contains numerous newspaper clippings on Hoppé's role in the twenties as a judge of women's beauty, several of them commenting on the disproportionate number of American faces among his selections.
- 5 It is interesting that Hoppé, in talking to Bill Jay, divided his career into three phases, with the first division in 1925, even though in his extreme old age he did not specifically recall his topographical work (see Jay's essay in this issue of *Studies*).
- 6 MacDonald to Hoppé, March 14, 1921, Richard Hoppé Collection. From this and other documents in Richard Hoppé's possession, it appears that MacDonald—who had been the American organizer of the Dresden exhibition—was helpful in establishing Hoppé on the New York photographic scene. For a brief biography of MacDonald, who seems to have viewed himself as Hoppé's American opposite number in portrait photography, see Beaton and Buckland 1975:115.
- 7 See Bill Jay's essay in this issue of Studies.
- 8 Galsworthy, foreword to a catalog of New Camera Work by E. O. Hoppé (London: William Marchant and Co., the Goupil Gallery, 1922) in the Richard Hoppé Collection.
- **9** Information from various brochures, in several languages, in the Richard Hoppé Collection.
- 10 It is noteworthy that, despite an ever-increasing rate of urbanization and suburbanization in Britain, Hoppé continued to represent Britain, even London, in the same manner through succeeding books. See especially London, with its "London Moods" section (Hoppé 1932); A Camera on Unknown London, which is full of particularly intimate photographs (Hoppé 1936); and Rural London in Pictures, which, as Lord Latham said in his foreword, satisfies "that zest for the country which persists in every Englishman no matter how much his daily round is circumscribed in industry and limited by the necessities of town" (Hoppé 1951:9). The fact that Hoppé also used the word "picturesque"—though I think in its looser sense of "pictorial"—in the subtitle to Romantic America: Picturesque United States (partly, perhaps, to link it commercially to the British volume) does not invalidate this point.

- 11 Pictures 40 and 42 in the Australian exhibition were titled, respectively, American Architecture, 20th Century and American Architecture, 10th Century; information from The First Exhibition in Australia of Camera Pictures by E. O. Hoppé (Sydney: David Jones [Department Store], 1930) a catalog in the Richard Hoppé Collection.
- 12 There are two letters from Käsebier to Hoppé in the Richard Hoppé Collection, dated March 15, 1921, and December 18, 1926, which clearly indicate mutual respect.
- 13 I am thinking of such Abbott images as Warehouse, Brooklyn, May 1936, reproduced, among other places, in Lyons 1966: pl. 3.
- 14 Sheeler's River Rouge Plant-Power House (1927) is reproduced in Sheeler 1968:148.
- 15 Evans's Brooklyn Bridge is reproduced, among other places, in Conrad 1984:237.
- **16** I happen to think that almost all art photography exhibits this tension to some degree (see Gidley 1983:37).
- 17 In the David Jones catalog (see note 11 above) pictures 43 and 45 were titled *Pinnacles (Bryce Canyon, Utah)* and *Pinnacles (New York City)*, respectively.

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Singer, Hans W.

1909

Some New American Etchings by Mr. Joseph Pennell. The Studio 47:22–26.

# Appendix: Reprinting Some Negatives of E. O. Hoppé

The negatives made available for reprinting are contained in individual envelopes, some of the usual translucent variety and some manila. So far as may be seen, there has been no damage caused by print through from glue lines on the seams. Several envelopes contain rough contact prints, and there are a few annotations, suggesting methods of printing.

The negatives themselves are on film, made somewhat awkward to handle by having been hand cut from larger pieces. The longer dimension is typically between four and five inches, and the shorter is figured proportionately. The film base is mechanically sound, if sometimes yellowed or a little corrugated. Bronzing, staining, and mechanical abrasion are widespread but not often severe in their results.

Hoppé's retouching proved to be a major constraint in the reprinting exercise. It had been done principally in red crayon, applied vigorously enough to indent the negatives, and was used to emphasize structural features, such as bridge girders, or to manipulate tone and texture. Once or twice, Hoppé had scratched quite roughly into the film surface.

Whereas, in the absence of reliable original photographs (rather than gravures), I had anticipated problems in determining what might be termed a tone of voice for the new prints, my need to select contrast and density to minimize the obtrusiveness of the retouching marks in itself limited my options; I found myself forced away from the temptation to try for modern solutions into a low-key mode more typical of the earlier part of the century, though it is true that this may have "darkened" Hoppé's own vision.

Considering that I had resolved initially not to seek an archaic rendering, because I believe that changes in materials and optics are likely to make such a strategy discordant, it was a matter for surprise and interest to find myself moving "naturally" in that direction. Furthermore, as I worked through the negatives, I realized that there was a third factor in the convergence: Hoppé's frequently adopted slight defocusing, or soft focus, required fine tuning of the print toward a period atmosphere if it was to be seen as a positive contribution, rather than an imperfection.

The question of afterwork on the reprints is a vexed one. Many of the imperfections of age are untreatable, and any attempt at restoration of defects would

inevitably bring me up against decisions around further disguise for Hoppé's handwork. I therefore resolved that the proper course of action for me was to let well enough alone and do no more than offer acceptable interpretations of the present state of the material, without artifice or concealment.

No doubt my evaluations of his negatives will prove different from Hoppé's own, insofar as his can be determined from surviving prints and images in gravure form. Equally, my own views will change to some extent, but given the sense of internal consistency fostered during the course of the work, I do not expect the shift to be substantial.

Philip Stokes

# III. Chronology—E. O. Hoppé

Porn in Munich on April 14

#### **Terence Pepper**

1878 1900	Born in Munich on April 14. Moves to London, where he works in the	1924
	Deutsche Bank and takes up photography as a hobby.	1925
1903	Joins Royal Photographic Society.	1926
1905	Marries Marion Bliersbach.	
1905-07	Regular prizewinner and exhibitor at photo-	
1907	graphic exhibitions.  Opens his first studio, at 10 Margravine	1927
1307	Gardens, near Barons Court.	1021
1909	With Sir Benjamin Stone, represents Britain	
	at International Exhibition of Photography at	
	Dresden.	
	Cofounder of London Salon of Photography.	
1910	First one-man exhibition, of 72 photographs,	
1911	at Royal Photographic Society, in April.  Moves to larger studio at 59 Baker Street.	
1311	Photographs leading members of the	1929
	Diaghilev Ballet.	.020
1913	One-man exhibition at Goupil Gallery, in	1930
	February. Moves to Millais House, 7 Crom-	
1011	well Place, South Kensington.	1931-
1914	New art magazine, <i>Colour</i> , launched; Hoppé is art editor and contributes reviews, de-	1939
	signs, and drawings.	1939
1916	British edition of <i>Vogue</i> published for the	
	first time; Hoppé contributes editorial and	1954
	society photographs to early issues.	
1917	Founder and committee member of "The	
1010 01	Plough" theater club.	
1919-21	Several visits to the USA; takes portrait sittings in his New York studio on 57th Street.	1968
1921	Photographs George V and Queen Mary.	1900
1922	Major one-man show, of 221 exhibits, at	1972
	Goupil Gallery (catalog introduction by John	
	Galsworthy), in January.	
	International Theatre Exhibition at Victoria	
	and Albert Museum, in June-July; Hoppé on organizing committee and contributes stage	
	and costume designs.	
1923	Visits Rumania, as guest of Queen Marie	
12-11	and Rumanian royal family, to collect mate-	
	rial for his first travel book, In Gipsy Camp	
	and Royal Palace.	

Travels to Italy; photographs Mussolini in Rome for The Graphic. Commissioned by J. Lyons & Co. to photograph the first "Nippy." Travels around Britain and Ireland. Returns to America; takes portraits in New York, visits Hollywood, and spends time with Indian tribes. Visits Cuba, Jamaica, and West Indies. Exhibition of "Rural England" photographs at Dover Gallery, London, to mark publication of Picturesque Great Britain, in May. Takes portrait sittings in Berlin and photographs for the Ufa Studio; undertakes topographical and industrial photography. Exhibition "Photographic Masterpieces" by E. O. Hoppé staged by Asahai Sumbun Company of Tokyo. Travels to India, Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand. Exhibition "79 Camera Pictures" held at David Jones's Department Store, Sydney. -39 Travels to Dutch East Indies, Bali, Indonesia, Africa, Bavaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Returns to London at outbreak of war. Concentrates on Dorien Leigh as a photographic agency. Exhibition "A Half Century of Photography" at Foyles Art Gallery opened by James Laver (exhibition later shown at Lenbachhaus, Munich, and then toured by British Council in India and the Far East). Small exhibition held by Kodak to mark

Hoppé's ninetieth birthday.

Dies on December 9, age ninety-four.

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Terence Pepper is a Research Assistant at the National Portrait Gallery in London.

## IV. Bibliography—E. O. Hoppé

#### **Terence Pepper**

1913 Studies from the Russian Ballet, by E. O. Hoppé and Bert. London: Fine Art Society. 15 mounted photogravure plates (13 by Hoppé) in portfolio.

1922 Book of Fair Women, by E. O. Hoppé, introduction by Richard King. London: Cape. 32 hand-tipped photogravure plates by Hoppé (limited edition of 560 numbered copies). (Also published in America by Knopf and in Munich by Bruckman as Die shöne Frauen, with text by Franz Blei; the Bruckman edition had four additional plates by Minya Diez-Duhrkoop of Hamburg.)
Taken from Life, by John Davys Beresford and

Taken from Life, by John Davys Beresford and E. O. Hoppé. London: Collins. 216 pp., including 7 photogravure plates by Hoppé.

1923 Gods of Modern Grub Street: Impressions of Contemporary Authors, by Arthur St. John Adcock. London: S. Low, Marston & Co. 327 pp., including 32 portraits by Hoppé.

1924 In Gipsy Camp and Royal Palace: Wanderings in Rumania. Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé, preface by the Queen of Rumania, decorations by Bold. London: Methuen. 240 pp., including 32 plates by Hoppé.

1926 Forty London Statues and Public Monuments, by Tancred Borenius, with special photographs by E. O. Hoppé. London: Methuen. London Types Taken from Life, by William Pett Ridge. London: Methuen. 200 pp., with 25 plates by Hoppé.

Picturesque Great Britain: The Architecture and Landscape. Illustrated by E. O. Hoppé, introduction by Charles F. G. Masterman. Berlin: Wasmuth, and London: Benn (1927). 26 pp., 304 plates (Orbis Terrarum Series).

1927 Romantic America: Picturesque United States.
Illustrated and with an introduction by E. O.
Hoppé. New York: Westerman (Orbis Terrarum Series). 38 pp., 304 plates. (Also published in Germany as Die vereinigten Staaten [Berlin: Wasmuth].)

1928 Glory That Was Grub Street: Impressions of Contemporary Authors, by Arthur St. John Adcock. London: S. Low, Marston & Co. 340 pp., including 32 portraits by Hoppé.

1929 Romantik der Kleinstadt (Cities Time Has Passed By). Munich: Bruckman. 176 plates by Hoppé.

Story of the Gipsies, by Konrad Bercovivi. London: Cape. 320 pp., including 8 plates by Hoppé.

1930 Deutsche Arbeitbilder von Wiederaufsteig Deutschlands. Introduction by Bruno H. Burgel. Berlin: Ullstein. 126 pp., including 92 plates by Hoppé. 1931 Deutschland: Landschaft und Baukunst. Introduction by Ricarda Huch. Berlin: Atlantis Verlag. Included 5 plates by Hoppé. Fifth Continent. Illustrated and with an introduction by E. O. Hoppé. London: Simpkin, Marshall Ltd. 26 pp., 160 plates.

1932 London. Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé.
 London: Medici Society (Picture Guides Series).
 146 pp., including 134 photogravure illustrations by Hoppé.

1934 Round the World with a Camera. Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé. London: Hutchinson. 256 pp., including 102 photographs.

1935 Image of London: A Hundred Photographs Mainly by E. O. Hoppé. London: Hamish-Hamilton.

1936 Camera on Unknown London: Sixty Photographs and Descriptive Notes on Curiosities of London to Be Seen Today, by E. O. Hoppé. London: Dent.

1937 London of George VI. Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé. London: Dent. 120 pp., including 66 photographs by Hoppé.

1940 Country Days, by A. G. Street (taken from his BBC broadcasts), with 8 photographs by Hoppé. London: Faber.

1945 Hundred Thousand Exposures: The Success of a Photographer. Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé, introduction by Cecil Beaton. London and New York: Focal Press. 229 pp., including 66 illustrations by Hoppé.

1946 World's People and How They Live. London: Odhams. Includes 4 chapters by Hoppé.

1951 Rural London in Pictures. Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé, foreword by Lord Latham, introduction by Ian Mackay. London: Odhams (Britain Illustrated Series). 128 pp., including 118 illustrations by Hoppé.

1956 Blaue Berge von Jamaica (Blue Waters of Jamaica). Written and illustrated by E. O. Hoppé. Berlin: Safari Verlag. 350 pp., 118 illustrations.

1972 Pirates, Buccaneers and Gentlemen Adventures. New Jersey: Barnes, and London: Yoseloff.

# Forming a Profession: Ethical Implications of Photojournalistic Practice on German Picture Magazines, 1926–1933

Karin E. Becker

The ethical standards that guide contemporary photo-journalists are a common source of debate, among both members of the profession and those who see their work—the audience. The techniques and technology photojournalists use and the process of selecting or editing this work to represent the subject well are fraught with ethical implications. The frequent discussions, on and off the job, in the professional journals and among newspaper and magazine readers, all are based on the premise that there are correct ways—professionally responsible and ethically acceptable—to picture current events in the mass media.

This article explores some of the historical roots of contemporary ethical debates about how photojournalists carry out their work. A major premise of this exploration is that ethical standards are established in accordance with evolving patterns of work. As decisions are made about what to photograph and how, an organizational structure arises to routinize those decisions, to make them less problematic. Ethical questions are woven through this process, implied by the larger set of questions that guide the editorial practices of the publication: What subjects should a news magazine or newspaper cover? How should photojournalists approach these subjects? To whom are photojournalists accountable for the fullness and accuracy of their visual reports? The historical and organizational environment in which these decisions are made influences not only the day-to-day work of the photographer but also the evolution of the profession itself, forming standards that photojournalists refer to as they embark on new subjects, for different publications, in different historical settings.

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#### **The German Roots**

Looking for roots of contemporary photojournalistic practice, sooner or later one comes to Weimar Germany, where, by 1926, an active and vibrant press photography was evolving out of a long tradition of magazine journalism. The German picture press as it existed from 1926 to 1933 provided models for the development of photojournalism as a profession in Western Europe and the United States. At least a few American publishers, including William Randolph Hearst and Henry Luce, had known of the German magazines and in several cases hired German photographers for specific assignments. And after the Nazis forced the emigration of many who had worked in Germany, the picture press in the United States benefited in a very direct way from the skills and ideas the émigrés brought with them. These opportunities existed at a formative period in the American press: at the genesis of Life and Look, the picture magazines that established the status of photojournalism in the United States.

The tools for this examination are three German magazines published between 1926 and 1933: two politically centrist popular weeklies, the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung (BIZ)* and the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse (MIP)*, and, as a political and organizational contrast, the biweekly *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung (A-I-Z)*, supported by the Communist Party.<sup>1</sup>

A systematic analysis of these three magazines has been carried out, noting the sources of the photographs by photographer and agency, the proportion of each issue devoted to photographs, patterns in the choice of topics covered, and the form the coverage took, with special emphasis on the editing style and content of photo series or essays. This analysis was supplemented by several interviews with persons who had worked on these publications.<sup>2</sup> Work patterns were inferred from the content of the magazines, looking particularly at changes in editing style, topics of coverage, and the frequency of the appearance of work by individual photographers. Changes in the political, economic, and social environment of Germany from 1926 to the spring of 1933, when the Nazis came to power, were also taken into account in interpreting the magazines' content.

The ethical dimensions of this work were drawn not from the magazines themselves but retrospectively, from the context of contemporary photojournalistic practice in the United States.<sup>3</sup> The issues photojournalists deal with in their day-to-day work, including their choice of subjects, what equipment to use, and how they present themselves and their work to their subjects, their editors, and their audience, are interlaced with ethical choices that are made easier by the routines they develop to guide them on the job. Central to this process is the sense of collegiality with other photojournalists performing parallel tasks.



**Figure 1** "Der Erste der von New York nach Paris flog," *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung,* Volume 36, Number 23 (1927), pp. 906–907. A photo series compiled from agency sources about Lindbergh's transatlantic flight.

This accountability to a professional group and its standards has a historical and political base, resting on an identity that distinguishes photographers from the people they photograph, from the editors who judge and publish their work, and from the audience that evaluates them according to what it sees in the press. This complex set of interrelationships among subjects, editors, and audience is mediated for the photojournalists by their sense of how other members of their profession whom they respect (or disdain) have managed the conflicts inherent in their work. The process of building standards for photojournalistic practice, including its ethical dimensions of accountability, is thus one of accretion, based on the precedents of personal experience and the experience of those the photojournalist recognizes as colleagues.

Tracing the observed patterns of contemporary work into the past, one finds easy parallels in Germany in the late 1920s. The 35-mm roll-film camera, now standard for photojournalists, was first used by photographers working for German magazines. The editor's role in selecting subjects and editing photographs, now built into the organizational structure of large American newspapers and news maga-

zines, had its origins in the photographer-editor relationship that evolved at the BIZ and MIP. The publication of series of photographs on a single subject originated at these magazines, became the central feature of picture magazines in the United States in the late 1930s, and survives as the most prestigious in-depth report an American photojournalist can achieve. Because each of these features of photojournalistic work is seen today to have ethical components, the gradual adoption of these practices in the German press merits a closer examination. Understanding how these aspects of work developed and became routinized for a group of early press photographers enables us to trace the ethical concerns that are woven through the work of contemporary photojournalists.

To accomplish this task, we begin with an examination of the organizational structure of the three German magazines considered here, including the development of the photographers' role vis à vis these magazines. The photographic context in which the magazines arose is then examined, to account for the popularity and applications of photography in the German press at the time. The competitive environment in which the magazines existed exerted certain

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Figure 2 Cover, Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung, Volume 38, Number 39 (1929), with a photograph by Martin Munkasci.

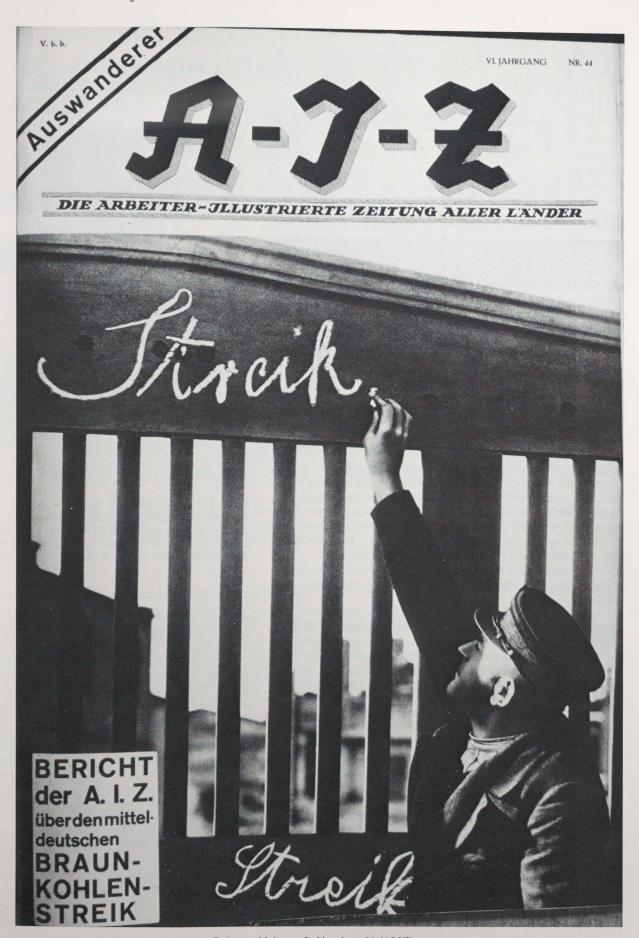


Figure 3 Cover, Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung, Volume 6, Number 44 (1927).

pressures on the photographers that influenced their patterns of work. These patterns are then compared across photographers working for magazines with different political orientations, for it is in this context that the implications of editorial position on ethical practice can be seen most clearly. Finally, the status of the photojournalists is examined, including their social rights and obligations. Depending on which magazine they worked for, the photographers either established a new status for themselves as individually respected members of an emerging profession or remained masked within the collective of the politicized working class.

#### The BIZ and MIP

The Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung was founded in 1890, published by the large and profitable House of Ullstein. It featured commentary, entertainment, and serialized novels, as well as numerous illustrations. In the early 1920s, the BIZ began to use more photographs—a trend also evident in other House of Ullstein publications including Die Dame, Die Woche, and Uhu. With Kurt Korff as publishing director, aided by Kurt Szafranski as artistic director, the BIZ gained the largest circulation of any Ullstein magazine. When its circulation peaked at 1.95 million in 1931, Korff and Szafranski had created a package of pictures, text, and illustration that not only had widespread national appeal but was imitated by picture magazines elsewhere.

The Münchner Illustrierte Presse was founded in 1923 by the Knorr and Hirth publishing house, in direct competition with the BIZ. It was a successful rival, first under Paul Feinhals and then, after 1926, under the editorship of a young Hungarian, Stefan Lorant. Although Munich-based and emphasizing regional topics, the magazine had a national circulation. In 1928, Lorant moved his offices to Berlin to be closer to the events that were of greatest national interest and to afford him better access to the writers and photographers who could document them. The two magazines, MIP and BIZ, hired many of the same photographers, used the same picture sources, and, judging from their content and design, were competing for the same readers—the German middle class and bourgeoisie.

Picture agencies were initially the magazines' most important source for photographs. Numerous picture agencies were operating in Germany during the 1920s, including Weltrundschau, Atlantic and Pacific, Mauritius, and Dephot. For significant international news events and breaking news stories, the agencies remained the major source of photographs for the



**Figure 4** "Bilderkritik," *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*, Volume 4, Number 7 (1930), p. 166. Offers criticism and suggestions for photographs submitted by readers. From Joachim Büthe et al., *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beitrage zur Arbeiterfotografie*, 1926–32 (Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 114).

weekly magazines. However, agencies proved less satisfactory in providing *series* of photographs on single topics.

Photographic series became the heart of the *BIZ* and *MIP* during the late 1920s. Gradually, one- to three-page spreads of photographs on single topics occupied greater portions of both magazines, with at least three and often five or six series in each issue. It would have been difficult and time-consuming to construct these series out of diverse agency photographs, although the editors often tried. A more efficient means was to receive an entire "take" on a subject from one photographer and select from these the three to eight photographs that typically comprised a published series or essay.

Many of the photographers whose work appears in the *BIZ* and *MIP* were employed by agencies. However, rather than working through the agency, they often brought their work directly to the editor, or the editor would give them an assignment. Thus, a structural pattern developed as photo series came to occupy a central role in the *BIZ* and *MIP*: editors selected the work of specific photographers over others, until certain photographers came to be closely linked to one magazine. Martin Munkacsi, for example, re-



**Figure 5** "Hinter den Kulissen der Lausanner Konferenz," *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Volume 11, Number 30 (1932), pp. 794–795. A photo essay by Erich Salomon about the diplomatic negotiations at Lausanne. The text includes a description from Salomon's daybook of waiting for eight days to get access "behind the scenes."

ceived a high guarantee from Ullstein in exchange for exclusive rights to his photographs. He came to be one of Korff's favorite photographers. Alfred Eisenstaedt, working for Atlantic and Pacific, was by 1930 frequently published in the *BIZ* and *MIP*. Felix Man remained with the Dephot agency, but it was not unusual for Lorant to publish two or even three of his photo series in one issue of the *MIP*.

These magazines had no subscription sales. Each issue went on the newsstands, with a photograph on the cover to attract attention. Twenty-five to forty percent of its pages were devoted to advertising. Single photographs, often portraits, were dotted throughout the text, which remained a combination of comment on current events and short or serialized fiction pieces. Yet it was the ten to twenty percent of each magazine that was devoted to series of photographs which established its character and popularity. The editors said they put much care and effort into securing and displaying the photographs, and their records show that they paid the photographers more hand-somely than other contributors to the magazine.

With this formula and a popular price, the *BIZ* and *MIP* maintained large circulations. Neither claimed a particular political position; they were more concerned about narrowly skirting a style of coverage that could be considered racy or scandalous, while maintaining a balance between frivolous topics and those that were more weighty.

There were numerous alternative choices to this popular and centrist position among the approximately twenty picture magazines published in Germany during the late 1920s. *Die Dame* catered to the upper-class woman with its tasteful blend of fashion and the arts. The National Socialists established *Der Illustrierte Beobachter* in 1926.

#### The A-I-Z

The principal Communist-oriented magazine in Germany was *Die Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (A-I-Z), established in 1925 by Willi Münzenberg. It was a profusely illustrated photographic biweekly magazine with a clear political position. Through its organizational structure and content, one can see evidence of





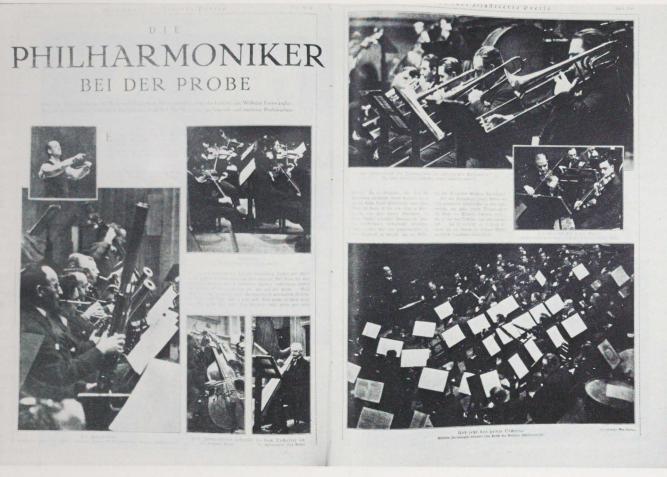
**Figure 6** "Leben eines Jungproletariers," *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf,* Volume 1, Number 12 (1927), pp. 7–8. A photo essay about a young proletarian's life at home and work. From Joachim Büthe, *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beitrage zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926–32* (Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, pp. 182–183).

relationships among editors, photographers, subjects, and readers that suggest the evolution of ethical standards different from those of the other picture magazines.

Münzenberg founded the A-I-Z as an outgrowth of the Workers' International Relief (WIR), an organization to aid the people of Soviet Russia suffering from the 1921 drought. The A-I-Z replaced and consolidated Münzenberg's earlier publications for the WIR in 1925 and continued as an international effort to bring together writers and artists of the Left who wished to help workers build a politically unified movement. The A-I-Z's circulation has been placed at approximately 300,000 in 1929 (Eskildsen 1981). Since the newsstands were controlled by the large media cartels, the A-I-Z was distributed primarily by a system of street hawkers. Operating with a small staff under several different editors, the magazine was a package of photographs, photomontages, articles on workers' movements around the world, and games and puzzles intended for readers of all ages. With material also in Esperanto, the magazine was aimed at an international audience.

The A-I-Z's sources for photographs were varied. Many came from agencies; these were often file photographs, such as portraits, that were cut and morticed over each other for a dynamic display. Still others represented the efforts of worker-photography clubs in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and, increasingly, Germany.

The picture agencies, Münzenberg argued, represented a bourgeois perspective on society. Their photographers were not capable of documenting the cultural life and events of the workers for whom the A-I-Z was intended. It was necessary for workers to begin to document themselves—the conditions of their lives and work, what they found beautiful or offensive—in order to confront the bourgeois point of view presented in the photographs of the other mass media. This ideology of photography created an accountability of the A-I-Z photographers to their audience markedly different from that of the BIZ and MIP photographers: in the A-I-Z, readers were to see their own lives pictured in ways that would also lead them to criticize the absence of such images from the dominant mass media.



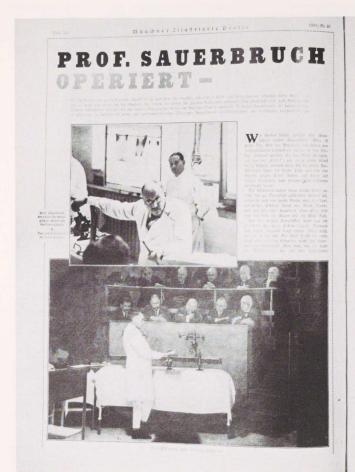
**Figure 7** "Die Philharmoniker bei der Probe," *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Volume 9, Number 51 (1930), pp. 1780–1781. A photo essay by Felix Man about the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in rehearsal.

To encourage workers to become active in photographing themselves, in 1926 the *A-I-Z* sponsored worker-photography clubs, formed through advertisements and competitions. A new magazine, *Der Arbeiter Fotograf*, presented discussions of the relationship between art and work, suggestions for homemade and less expensive equipment, tips on ways to improve photographic composition and technique, and examples of photographs by workers, together with accounts of how the photographs were made. The link between the *A-I-Z* and *Der Arbeiter Fotograf* was clear: occasionally the same photographs appeared in both magazines, and the assumption was that the photographers who read *Der Arbeiter Fotograf* would have their work published in the *A-I-Z*.

Even at the height of the worker-photography movement, when *Der Arbeiter Fotograf*'s circulation was 7,000, the *A-I-Z* did not receive enough photographs from workers to fill its pages, and it had to continue to rely on agency sources. The absence of credit lines in the *A-I-Z* makes it difficult to trace the concrete results of the worker-photographers' efforts. They worked collectively, rather than as individuals, and appear to have accepted collective credit, often

with only the name of their city appearing under the published photograph. Also, maintaining the photographers' anonymity was a precaution taken probably to protect them from the repression exerted on the Left in Germany at that time (Rinka 1967:30). There was little opportunity for a privileged relationship to develop between specific photographers and *A-I-Z*'s editors, given the structure of the organization and the orientation of the photographers to a party press. They were not making a living as photographers.

Nor was there much opportunity for influence between the *A-I-Z* and other picture magazines. Editors regularly looked at each other's magazines, and the work of the well-known master of the political montage, John Heartfield, which appeared in each issue of the *A-I-Z*, was admired. But the editors did not borrow photographs, ideas, or staff from each other. With the onset of Nazi control and widespread arrests in 1933, the editors and major photographers of the *BIZ* and *MIP* moved west, to England and many eventually to the United States. The *A-I-Z* editors moved to Prague, where the magazine continued until 1936 but was rarely seen in the West.





**Figure 8** "Prof. Sauerbruch Operiert," *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Volume 9, Number 10 (1930), pp. 332–333. A photo essay by Erich Salomon about the well-known surgeon, formerly of Munich, at work in his Berlin clinic.

The quality and influence of the magazines produced is not a primary issue here. Rather, the goal is to examine how different organizational structures and patterns of work create and support the peculiar network of relationships binding editors, photographers, the subjects of the photographs, and their audience. It is within these networks that lines of accountability and ethical standards arise. A comparison of the A-I-Z, BIZ, and MIP affords an opportunity to examine how these different news organizations developed different guidelines for photojournalistic practice within their historical situation.

#### The Growth of the Weimar Picture Press

The widespread popularity of photography in Germany between the wars is the most obvious explanation for the proliferation of picture magazines during this period. The renowned international "Film und Foto" exhibition that opened in Stuttgart in 1929 was an impressive indication of the diverse paths photography had taken during the Weimar years

(Steinorth 1979). Here were shown Laszlo Moholy-Nagy's experiments with light-sensitive materials, which expressed his belief that the significant content of photography was the action of light. Others used photography to explore more closely the formal, structural properties of objects. Karl Blossfeldt's stark yet delicate examinations of plant forms and Germaine Krull's industrial themes were two examples of photographic attempts to reveal the functional simplicity and pattern found in everyday objects. The inclusion of work from the Group f.64 in the United States and of contemporary Soviet photography and film showed the eclectic spirit of German art photography during this period. Advertising was included, for photography had also infused this field, in a real blurring of boundaries between art and commerce. For example, the work of Albert Renger-Patzsch, perhaps the best known of the German "new realist" photographers, regularly appeared in magazine advertisements for Kaffee Haag, with his credit line.

The invention of the roll-film camera and the small 35-mm Leica had made many more subjects accessible to photographers without their having to use obtrusive lights. Making photographs was also a

possibility for a growing segment of the population. The small, inexpensive Kodak and Agfa cameras invited the average person to participate in photographic documentation. Frequent ads in the magazines suggested that these new amateurs photograph their travels, holiday celebrations, and family life. Camera clubs arose, including the worker-photography clubs with their overtly political goals.

This widespread enthusiasm for photography is consistent with Neue Sachlichkeit ("new objectivity"), a movement that originated among painters as a reaction against the excesses of Expressionism. As it influenced many facets of German art and culture, Neue Sachlichkeit was interpreted in a variety of ways. Today Neue Sachlichkeit has emerged as an explanation to tie together efforts at precise and unflinching description, assertions of rationality, searches for pattern, and the desire for order found in many German works of the late 1920s.

Elements of each of these concerns are evident in the photography of Weimar and in the orientation of its new picture press. For the journalist, Neue Sachlichkeit meant a renewed commitment to go to the heart of a subject, to look for the essence of its "thingness." It stood for attempts to reveal a subject's source or base and its boundaries, what distinguished it from and connected it to its environment. Neue Sachlichkeit was thus also critical, in the sense of examining a subject's root through a process of comparing and discarding inessential explanations.

In the picture magazines, this was expressed as an obligation to go "behind the scenes." Dr. Erich Salomon's photographs of diplomats in head-to-head discussion around tables of wine are the obvious and best-known examples. Photographers for the BIZ and MIP were assigned to go into major institutions, to photograph the work that went on during a symphony rehearsal, in the stacks of a library, on the floor of the stock exchange, in the dormitories and dining halls of the military academies, in the training camp of an Olympic athlete. The BIZ had a series on leading German artists and scientists that presented not formal portraits but candid photographs of the men at work in their studios, homes, and classrooms. In the A-I-Z and Der Arbeiter Fotograf, living conditions were revealed by photographing a day in the life of working-class youth. The experiences of poor people going through an arrest and trial were shown in photographs taken inside the courtroom and surrounding hallways

This kind of photographic description required series of pictures. A single photograph could not show the processes of life or work; photographs taken from different angles and distances revealed different facets of the subject. A fuller, more complete understanding of the subject is implied by this kind of coverage, a style that had not been used in the press before. Emphasis was established by varying the size of the photographs, with the largest one giving a visual summary of what was considered most important about the subject. Compositional elements within the photographs became important means of guiding the viewers' eyes through the series. Similarities in tone or in shape were used to create continuities or to heighten a contrast between different aspects of the subject. The form that the series took in the magazine was a result of the editors' work and represented a new development in the character of photojournalism.

This awareness of new possibilities within the medium of photography was a topic of discussion and debate for the magazines themselves. Articles discussed how the world is revealed through photographs. Some photographic series were accompanied by text explaining the special perspective the camera had provided on the subject. In other words, the subject of the series was presented not as self-evident but as mediated by the camera. Throughout the magazines, readers were reminded in various ways that they were seeing a selective view of the world.

One of the more subtle ways this was accomplished was by presenting the photographs as "authored." In the BIZ and MIP, the picture sourcewhether an agency, a specific photographer, or both—was routinely printed under each photograph. The A-I-Z abbreviated or omitted credit lines, keeping each photographer's identity anonymous, precisely because photographers were understood to interpret their subjects. The ideology of the A-I-Z, that the photographs represented the perspective of the photographer's class, further underscores the notion of the photograph as an interpretation or point of view. And, at the other end of the political spectrum, it was not unusual to see a photographer's credit under an advertising photograph.

These patterns together suggest that the diffusion of photography throughout the culture of Weimar Germany was based on ideas about the medium as, on the one hand, appropriate to a wide range of forms of expression and documentation, and, on the other, accessible to large segments of the population. This combination is particularly propitious for the rise of photography within the popular press. The popularity of photography during a period of critical reflection and inquiry, as represented by Neue Sachlichkeit, further shaped ideas about the medium itself, the kinds of records it could provide, and the accountability of the photographers and editors who created the pic-

ture press.

#### **Competition and Candor**

Germany's new picture magazines existed within a highly competitive atmosphere. Lorant's move from Munich to Berlin and the editors' attempts to bypass agencies in favor of developing privileged relationships with good photographers are evidence of editorial rivalry over getting the best photographs for magazines. Efforts to secure exclusive coverage of a subject were also consistent with ideas about photographs as news. A photographer's work was of greatest interest to an editor if the subject was recent or timely and if no one else was publishing photographs of it. Thus, the BIZ sent Munkacsi on the first transatlantic zeppelin flight and then prominently displayed photographs and drawings of the event for several weeks. Walter Bosshard's trip through China also resulted in exclusive coverage for the BIZ. When a photographer was the first to cover a subject, for example with the first photographs of government in action or the first look behind the scenes of a monastic order, this was noted in the text.

As these photographic "firsts" began to appear in the *BIZ* and *MIP* as a series or photo essay, new ideas about what constituted complete coverage also emerged. A single photograph was insufficient for revealing the workings of government or the daily routine of monastic life. A fuller picture was created in a variety of ways, through the series. Sometimes a photographer presented a composite view by making photographs of many of the participants in an event—showing each of the monks at their work, for example, or portraying the stratification of the social order by photographing the families living on each successive floor of an apartment building. In other cases, a series might consist of showing the steps required to perform a task.

Most common in the *BIZ* and *MIP*, however, were series that included photographs made from a variety of angles of view. The three to eight photographs in a series typically included an overview, often from above to show a sense of location, a middle-distance or close-up shot of one or more participants, and often a closer detail of an individual or object that was part of the environment of the event.

While today this notion of visual variety may seem obvious, it was not the earliest way of presenting multiple photographs on a single page. Rows of photographs, all approximately the same size and taken from the same angle and distance from the subject, had appeared in newspapers and magazines prior to 1920. In contrast, the picture editing style that emerged in the *BIZ* and *MIP* relied on visual elements within the images to lead from one to another throughout the page. This visual flow was easier to establish if an editor had a range of photographs containing a variety of compositional forms to use in



**Figures 9 and 10** "Lausanner Pensions-Mädchen," *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Volume 11, Number 31 (1932), pp. 835–837. A photo essay by Alfred Eisenstaedt about a "finishing" school for young women near Geneva.

laying out the series. The various angles the photographers learned to use also gave readers a sense that they were receiving a more fully rounded view and thus a better understanding of the subject.

An additional and equally significant aspect of this style of photographic coverage was that the subjects appear to be unaware of the presence of the camera. Certainly the adaptability of small 35-mm cameras to low-light situations made it easier for photographers to make candid photographs. Yet the availability of this technology alone does not account for the ways people in the photographs appear to be going about their work as if the photographer were not present. Photographers were adopting the idea that candid photographs were preferable, that the better photographs were those that were unposed, creating the illusion of the photographer's invisibility.

This selection and encouragement of candid photography, often noted as an important development in the photojournalism of Germany in the 1920s (Gidal 1973), also implies a different relationship of the photographer to the subject portrayed in the photograph. Either the photographer had to take photographs when people were in fact unaware that they were the



subject, or the photographer had to be able to convince the subjects to continue their activities while forgetting (or acting as if they were forgetting) the photographer's presence.

The workers' photographs in the *A-l-Z*, in contrast, are less candid. The subjects are often looking into the camera, agreeing to be photographed. Yet the poses are rarely stiff or formal, which suggests that the photographers may have presented themselves as members of the group or as colleagues, gaining their subjects' cooperation as peers (Hardt and Ohrn 1981). This was certainly the goal of the *A-l-Z*'s editors and was the reason they avoided, if possible, photographs from agencies or professionals when they were seeking to present the experience of the working class. The photographers were not expected to make photographs that hid their participation or interaction with their subjects.

Occasionally the *A-l-Z* photographer's camera became an active witness to events, offering an explicit corrective to an article in the bourgeois press. The *MIP*'s coverage of a prosperous factory, functioning near capacity, was republished in the *A-l-Z*, with photographs of the same factory standing idle and empty. Photographs of healthy prisoners at Dachau,

representing the official view, were published in the *A-I-Z*, with a photograph and text describing what the camp was "really" like. The *A-I-Z* editors and photographers used the belief that photographs could constitute evidence or proof to create and support their political perspective and to underscore their contrast with magazines like the *BIZ* and *MIP*.

The topics covered in the photo essays of the MIP and BIZ approximate what a contemporary photojournalist would consider "feature" photography: the daily routine of a well-known entertainer or scientist, the lives of students in a military academy, sailors enjoying their shore leave. Political events were portrayed to emphasize the processes of diplomatic discussion or the tasks of elected officials; political unrest was downplayed. Elections were covered in ways that conform to contemporary ideas of journalistic balance: each candidate was presented as part of a well-rounded coverage of the campaign process. The A-I-Z, in contrast, presented the Communist candidate on the cover of the magazine and explicitly questioned the surface differences among the other candidates. Political activities of workers received overt emphasis.







Figure 11 "Volk im Kampf," a photo essay on the Spanish Revolution in Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung. From Heinz Willman, Geschichte der Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung, 1921–38 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1975, pp. 308–309).

Figure 12 "Geht es wieder aufwärts," Münchner Illustrierte Presse, Volume 11, Number 46 (1932), pp. 1282–1283. A photo essay by Neudin predicting the end of the economic crisis, with evidence of rising employment, improved sales, and increased production.

**Figure 13** "Bildfälschung im Dienste der 'Wirtschaftsankurbelung,' " *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*, Volume 11, Number 50 (1932), pp. 1164–1165. Corrects the record presented in the *MIP*, using more recent photographs.

These news magazines thus stood in different relationships to the society on which they reported. Parallel topics received different inflections, according to the political aims of the magazine. The photographic coverage was a primary means of creating these inflections and thus the ideological position of the publication.

The implications of this for the photographers' work was significant. Getting exclusive coverage was a requisite, but this was established in different ways. Using the role of participant or member for the worker-photographers meant building cooperative relationships with people they attempted to view as peers. For agency photographers or for freelance professionals, the right to take photographs was a function of their position working for a popular magazine like the *BIZ* or *MIP*. They used their professional role, rather than their class identity, to gain access to situations where, once admitted, they could photograph unobtrusively. Their coverage of events reflected without evaluating many of the issues German society faced during this crucial period. The working-



**Figure 14** "Politik auf der Strasse," *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Volume 10, Number 24 (1931), p. 787. A series of photographs from the Neofot agency about mass street demonstrations.

class photographers, on the other hand, worked as members and participants of an economic class portraying experiences they understood because they had shared them, apart from their roles as photojournalists.

#### The Photojournalist as Professional

To be a "journalist" within the magazine industry carried a high social status in Weimar Germany. Lengthy essays, offering interpretation and analysis of complex social phenomena, had long been a hallmark of the German magazines, and their authors were well-educated individuals who often wrote in a variety of modes. Their pieces were widely discussed, especially among the intelligentsia, and established the best among them as influential opinion leaders in German society.

Within the evolving profession of photojournalism as seen in the *BIZ* and *MIP*, this appears to have been a primary model. Photographers' bylines, including their academic titles, were published with the photographs.

Their work was interspersed with written essays in the magazines' pages. Gradually their photo series came to be referred to as "photoreportage" or "photo essays," to be viewed as the visual equivalents of written essays that offered interpretation and analysis of the subject—this despite the fact that most photo essays lacked the political commitment found in the work of many German writers.

This role of the journalist as a critical intellectual was clearly not a model for the *A-I-Z* photographer. It was irrelevant or even opposed to their photojournalism. Their credibility rested not on their status as journalistic commentators but on their roles as workers. They did not strive for individual recognition, but tried to present a collective picture of working-class experience that would be familiar and moving to their working-class readers.

Their different standards of accountability to their readers was the basis for the photographers' contrasting orientations to the practice of photojournalism. Among the *BIZ* and *MIP* photographers, there was a growing loyalty to photojournalism as a profession. Some traveled widely on assignment for various publications. Erich Salomon, as one example, be-



Figure 15 "Gewerkschafts-Demonstration," Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung, Volume 6, Number 32 (1927), pp. 8-9. A center spread showing trade union demonstrations in different countries.

came well known on both sides of the Atlantic for his photo series of diplomatic meetings. Other photographers moved with their editors, to work for new or better magazines. When Lorant emigrated to England in 1938, he hired Felix Man and Kurt Hutton from the MIP to work on the Weekly Illustrated in London. When Kurt Korff was hired by Henry Luce as a consultant on the prepublication staff of Life, he recommended several photojournalists for staff positions, including Munkacsi and Eisenstaedt, whose work he knew from the Ullstein magazines.

The worker-photographers, on the other hand, remained tied to their class interests as workers; to be recognized as professional photojournalists would have meant disassociating themselves from that class identity. When the editorial offices of the A-I-Z were forced to leave Germany for Prague in 1933, the photographers remained anonymous to their readers and to the expanding profession.

Thus, it was the practices and ideas of the middleclass professionals that had an opportunity to influence photojournalistic work outside of Germany. Within the growing ranks of professional photojournalists working in the United States, a small number of

these émigrés met with success and established reputations on the new picture magazines or as members of picture agencies.

#### **Contemporary Concerns**

The patterns of work that arose in the context of German photojournalism of the mid-1920s established lines of accountability that imply many of the ethical concerns of contemporary photojournalists. Because of the technology and the techniques the BIZ and MIP photographers used, they were capable of working unobtrusively. In the context of a competitive market, photographs that were exclusive or privileged reports from "behind the scenes" were valued by their editors. And the relationships the photojournalists established in those settings, masking their own presence as photographers, allowed them to take photographs that appeared as candid representations of "things as they are." The editors' growing emphasis on series of photographs further required that the photographers learn not only new ways of shooting but also how to establish relationships that allowed

them closer and more extended access to their subjects. Each of these practices had the potential for creating a closer bond between the photographers and their subjects.

Contemporary photojournalists share these practices with their predecessors in Germany. They share, too, the possibility of getting closely involved with their subjects and frequently find themselves walking a thin line between advocating for the people they photograph and maintaining an allegiance to their positions as journalists. The work patterns that place them in this dilemma, to the extent they are shared, serve also to identify them with the profession. The guidelines for making photographs that conform to journalistic standards thus bind them together into a professional group with an identity that distinguishes them from the individuals and groups they photograph.

When photojournalists locate themselves as members of a profession, they learn to mask or deny other characteristics while carrying out their work. Class background and personal history are considered irrelevant, except when they allow one access behind the scenes to get a better story. Erich Salomon gained access to meetings of international diplomats by donning black tie and tails and introducing himself to the doorman in a language the man would not understand. Today the practice of matching a photographer to a particular story—for example, assigning a woman photographer to cover a conference for working women or a black to cover the funeral of a young black man shot by a Hispanic policeman—is also done instrumentally. The photojournalist who receives such an assignment can make better pictures, it is believed, because he or she is a professional first, rather than being primarily accountable to the subjects for how they are pictured.

Many differences do exist between the picture magazines of Weimar Germany and contemporary photojournalistic practice. The notion of the photograph as an objective report, and the requirement that the photojournalist avoid sullying the objective stance by getting too involved with a subject, remain complex cultural issues. Ways of establishing journalistic balance are also subject to variation across time and culture, and are further complicated by the varying editorial policies of particular newspapers and magazines. The competitive environment of photojournalism within the United States has become solidified through the building of professional organizations and systems of regional and national contests. Each of these factors, as well as others, has ethical dimensions that influence photojournalists' accountability to their audience, their subjects, 'their editors, and themselves.

We can be certain that the guidelines for ethically professional behavior undergo continual change. In addition to changes that have occurred in the photojournalism industry itself over the past sixty years, each day photojournalists confront situations slightly different from the day before, requiring continual adjustment of the ethical rationales for the work they do. Yet the sense that a set of rules and practices does exist to guide these day-to-day decisions—including the ethical ramifications of those decisions—continues to shape the arena in which the professional photojournalist works.

#### **Notes**

- 1 The research reported here is based on a larger study being conducted in collaboration with Hanno Hardt, University of Iowa, on the rise of photojournalism in Weimar Germany and its influence on British and American press photography prior to World War II. The research has been supported by an Old Gold Summer Fellowship from the University of Iowa in 1979, a Murray Fellowship from the University of Iowa in 1982, a grant from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst in 1982, a Developmental Assignment from the University of Iowa in 1983–1984, and a Travel Grant from the American Council of Learned Societies in 1983.
- 2 Especially helpful were Stefan Lorant, editor of the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse* from 1928 to 1933, and Anton Betz, former publisher with Knorr and Hirth, which produced the *MIP* during this period. Lorant was interviewed in August 1980 and May 1983 at his home in Lenox, Massachusetts. The Betz interview was conducted in July 1982 in Dusseldorf.
- 3 I have conducted fieldwork on the work practices of photojournalists at several daily newspapers noted for their photojournalism staffs, including the *Courier-Journal* and *Times* in Louisville, the *Miami Herald*, and the *San Jose Mercury-News*. I participated in the Missouri Workshop, a week-long photojournalism practicum staffed by professional photographers and editors in 1980. In my capacity as a teacher of photojournalism, I have also participated in regional meetings of the National Press Photographers' Association and have observed the judging of photography contests sponsored by this professional organization.

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### HARALD LECHENPERG, PHOTOJOURNALIST

**Jay Ruby** 



**Figure 1** Lechenperg at the start of his trip from India to Europe in a Model A Ford, 1930.

Harald Lechenperg was born in 1904 in Vienna, where he studied ethnology. In 1927 he borrowed a glass-plate camera and typewriter and went to the Sahara—beginning a life of travel supported through writing and picture taking. For the next twenty years he worked as a text-and-photo journalist in Africa, Arabia, and North America (Figure 1). His photo stories were published in leading picture magazines such as *Die Woche, Leipziger Illustrierte, Miroir du Monde* (Paris), *London Illustrated News*, and *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*. According to Tim Gidal, a colleague of Lechenperg's and a historian of the early days of photojournalism, Lechenperg was one of the first photojournalists to employ the "candid camera" style of reportage:

With unusual photographic technique he has caught the facial expression and gestures when these subjects were unaware that a European observer with a camera was anywhere near. [Gidal 1972]

At the age of 33, Lechenperg became the editor in chief of *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, Germany's largest magazine. Between 1937 and the end of World War II, he raised the circulation to 1.7 million weekly and made a major contribution to the modernization of the magazine's style and presentation (ibid.). In 1949 he became editor in chief of *Quick* and *Weltbild*, two other German picture newspapers. Since World War II Lechenperg has devoted his energies to the production of more than twenty documentary films, broadcast on ARD and ZDF, two of Germany's television systems.

In August 1984 I interviewed Harald Lechenperg in his 350-year-old home, Sonngrubhof, near Kitzbuhel, Austria, about his 1935 trip to the United States. I asked Lechenperg to recall his journey of almost half a century earlier and to help select and caption a few of his many photographs. During World War II some original negatives, manuscripts, and prints from that journey were destroyed in a fire. Fortunately, the majority of the work remains intact. What follows is an edited version of our conversation, with some additional remarks Lechenperg wrote after our talk.

NOTE: Captions enclosed by quotation marks were written by Lechenperg.

#### **Recollections of an American Voyage**

"From 1927 to 1934 I had spent about 30 months traveling through Asian and African countries. I then looked for a chance to 'go west.' At the beginning of 1935, my employer, Ullstein Verlag, Berlin (the most important publishing house in Germany and one of the largest in Europe), asked me to write a book on American sports. This journey would, of course, be combined with my usual work as one of the first photojournalists.

"I did not go directly to the U.S. because I knew people were shocked or overwhelmed by the New York skyline, and I didn't want that to be my first impression. Rather, I decided to enter your country like the Pilgrim fathers or the first pioneers—to see the continent as the early settlers had seen it.

"One did not fly then, so I took a boat from Liverpool to Halifax and St. John. My ship stopped for an evening at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and there, by chance, I had my introduction to a typically American sport, a kind of very wild ice hockey between two leading teams. Ice hockey was then quite unknown in Europe, although today it is everybody's sport. I was surprised how tough these sportsmen were and how ruthless. We in Europe (especially in my native Austria) looked at sports as a game; in the New World it was more or less always a fight. For example, European soccer is playing with the ball; in American football, the object is not the ball, but the man who carries the ball. Within an hour I found the title for my book: Mann gegen Mann-Man against Man.

"I then went to Montreal and crossed the border into Vermont. Entering the United States through the New England states, traveling for eleven months, I

had a lot to learn.

**BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT, 1935** 'A Man With a Lucky Timetable' Comes to See the New Deal. Young Austrian Journalist Has Seen Wars Happen in Afghanistan, in Arabia and in Abyssinia and Now Arrives in America Just as the NRA Cracks Up.

... Mr. Lechenperg's visit to America will include, he hopes, a visit to the ruler that the world is most interested in today-President Roosevelt. He wants to see everything from boondoggling to the TVA, and he started his inspection of this country not by way of the Statue of Liberty and the skyscrapers of Manhattan but over the Canadian border into Vermont and New Hampshire by automobile. Baron Rosenberg, whom he met in India and whose mother was born in Vermont, is his mentor during his American travels. Under his guidance he took a leisurely way down through the mountains and valleys of the New England hinterland, stopping at farmhouses and small hotels, spending several days in a CCC camp in Vermont.

Time for Study

"I could have come much faster," he said. "I could have been taken around a CCC camp in one afternoon under care of the officers. But I like to see what the life is doing to the men; see not so much what they are doing but how they do it. The same with the country villages. Not one in a hundred European visitors sees this part of America. I was pleased and surprised at what I found. Many families have fine old houses—150 or 200 years old—and beautiful things in them. They read intelligent magazines and newspapers. They are not peasant types at all. They have a tradition of culture that is very fine. I like also to sense the historical background of this country and much of it is in New England." Later he will see its development

He is going to travel by motor down the eastern seaboard, across the Southern States to New Orleans, follow the Mississippi Valley to the Lakes, thence southwestward to California and up the Pacific Coast. He would like to see Alaska and Mexico, but doubts if he can. In America as elsewhere, he feels that the best understanding of the building up of a nation and a culture can be obtained by following the main lines of communication—where we have been traveling and leaving our traces since the earliest days of pioneering. He says that America is the focus of world attention just now and his book will attempt to hold the spectroscope and the magnifying glass on us so that Europe may see.

"During my short stay in New England, I saw twohundred-year-old farms and splendid libraries, and I met very well-educated people. From Burlington I went to Boston and from there to New York. I arrived in New York about midnight, so I missed the skyline.

"Only my work on the sports manuscript had a definite schedule—sporting events. Besides that, I was trying very hard to find stories for my photo-workmostly for BIZ. There I was in New York and I was helpless. East of the Atlantic I had been 'Herr,' 'Herr Doktor,' 'Sahib,' or 'Bwana.' Now, I was 'just another guy.' Day and night I walked for hours through New York. I didn't find anything new worth reporting or unknown to European readers because all the beautiful sights had already been photographed and painted.

> LETTER—THE NEW YORK TIMES "All the News That's Fit to Print" Telephone: LAckawana 4-1000 Times Square, New York June 10, 1935

To whom it may concern:

Mr. Harald Lechenperg, the bearer, is a European journalist of international reputation connected with some of the largest publications on the continent of Europe. He is in America, seeing the United States at first hand, with an idea of studying the American people, their government, their business life, their sports and their social activities. His dependability and reliability are vouched for by

American journalists in Europe, well known to me, and by officials of Austria, of which country he is a citizen.

I am sure he will not abuse any opportunities given him in furtherance of his study of American life.

Very truly, (Signature) Charles M. Graves

EDITOR, SUNDAY PICTURE SECTION, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

"While I was still in Canada I got an idea that went well with my romantic little mind, a thought from boyhood, from my reading of James Fenimore Cooper and Zane Grey—Indians. 'Well,' I said, 'I'll do a story about Indians.' For the next two months the first and only Indian I saw was an Indian chief about 30 feet high standing in front of a gas station helping to sell Big Chief Indian Oil. And then no Indians at all, only a little boy wearing a hat and feathers selling newspapers in Times Square. For the time being I gave up my idea for a story about Indians.

"I continued looking around trying to find an interesting lead story. One day, while walking in the Bowery, I found, just beyond these million-dollar skyscrapers, the poorest people I'd seen, living in shacks while others lived the high style and good life (Figures 2 and 3). Bums of New York. They were just dropouts, you see, but not bad people after all, these drunks sleeping in doorways (Figure 4). I made acquaintance, even a friendship, with one of the fellows, a quite intelligent man (Figure 5). He was a tall fellow I had spotted while he went from garbage basket to garbage basket collecting newspapers. I asked him, 'Why are you doing this?' 'Well,' he said, 'to sleep with.' He explained that he'd go to some park and put the newspapers all around himself and he slept wonderfully. From this moment on we were quite friendly. I invited him to a restaurant where the meal was one dollar, or one and a half dollars, and whiskey was five cents. In return, he invited me to one of those bums' restaurants where you could eat for 25 cents (Figure 6). I took hundreds of pictures of my 'friends,' including one who lived in a broken-down old car he shared with a nice cat. The restaurant was my first story about the United States, 'The Mystery Behind the Skyscrapers' (Figure 7). My intention was not to be critical about what I saw; I just wanted to show something that had not been shown before: the back side of New York—the Bowery—just behind a billiondollar center of business—an unknown and interesting description of the darker side of the city. The article was published in BIZ.

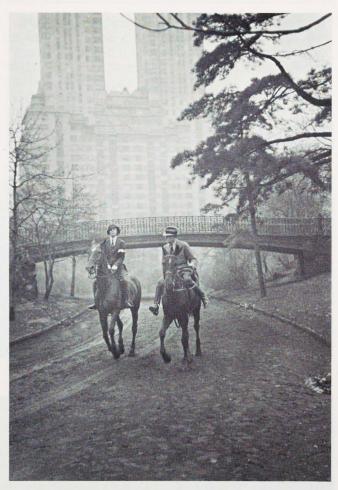


Figure 2 "Central Park, New York,"



Figure 3 "Polo on Governor's Island against the famous skyline."



**Figure 4** "Drunk and Homeless on the Bowery."



**Figure 5** "A New York 'bum,' my friend and guide through the darker side of a splendid city."

"BIZ paid extremely well; I used to get 1500 gold marks for a double page. To give you an idea of the value of 1500 gold marks, the smallest Mercedes car cost about 5500, three-and-a-half times more than I earned for these pages. It means that I was well paid.

"When this story was finished I went to Washington. I had received an invitation from the people at National Geographic magazine who had seen some of my work. In Washington I did two stories for them. I had spent three summers in the tropics and now I thought I would enjoy a really nice summer, but Washington, D.C., in June was like Hell. It was hot without the palm trees and the roaring tigers. I had time to spare and was roaming through the Senate building, where congressmen have their offices. I enjoyed being there because it was air-conditioned. I took pictures—portraits—of all the important politicians of the time and got written statements about their views of the current situation. These written and signed statements were burned in Berlin, but I still have the pictures, among them the famous Huey Long. He was quite a strange fellow, but I got along with him. Another is a former Vice President of the United States who claimed himself to be an Indian, or his father was an Indian, showing this Calumet to me. I've got about ten portraits of the more important senators and political figures.



**Figure 6** "A restaurant patronized by N.Y. bums. Here you can eat for 25 cents. I have been most candidly invited by these men."



Figure 7 "Typical downtown N.Y. in 1935—expensive buildings and poor quarters side by side."

"One day I came upon a door marked 'Senator Soand-So, Indian Committee.' I thought, 'This is Big Chief Oil Man. Maybe I'll ask where I can find some Indians.' The senator wasn't in, but his secretary was. I told her, 'I've been in the United States almost three months and I haven't seen an Indian.' She turned around and said, 'Why, I'm Indian myself.' 'What, are you?' 'Yes.' She showed me a picture of her mother, a squaw with a tent. A real Indian, then. So I had come back to my original idea, a story about Indians. Armed with some letters of introduction I went to Oklahoma. That was a very strange situation. The poor Indians had been driven from one land to the other. Finally they were given a very wide piece of prairie nobody thought anything about until oil was found there. The land could not be taken away from them, and several of the Indians who had been very poor made quite a lot of money. Their only interests became cars and whiskey, a situation created by the sudden riches of these formerly very poor people. I did another story about oil and Indians who did quite well. The families lived in nice cottages and didn't go in for cars and booze. One man became a doctor; another, a farmer, became quite successful breeding horses. The shadow over all this landscape was the oil. The oil that destroyed even Oklahoma City with the crowding of the town and the derricks.

"Now I had the story about the misery beyond the wealth of Wall Street, and the Osage Indian story. I went to Chicago to cover some sports events with the hope of finishing the book. My most exciting days, or better, nights, were in Chicago while riding in the squad cars of the Chicago police; fingerprinting; seeing the 'lineups' the next day, the 'mug' galleries, pictures of prisons, and a showcase for John Dillinger. Surprising was the help I got as a foreign

journalist (Figures 8, 9, and 10).

"We Austrians used to make fun of the Prussians" love for uniforms. To my surprise, I found that the Americans loved uniforms as well—not just the special, military kind. I took endless pictures of parades—Elks, Moose, Shriners, Daughters of the American Revolution, and so on: uniforms, flags, and bands in many variations. This became the picture story 'America in Uniform.'

[Editor's Note: During his visit Lechenperg did picture stories on a Civilian Conservation Corps Camp-a New Deal work project; the tennis championships at Forest Hills; the John Powers modeling agency (something unheard of in Europe at that time); the New York Public Library; MIT's research on the first computers; and the United States Army maneuvers.]

"Some things, like the story about the army, are the same all over. But things like the city bums or the Indians were new stories so far as pictures are concerned. I took endless pictures about New York, day and night, many only for myself. 'New York, Day and Night' is what I have seen in the streets of New York. I never published the pictures. I made them just for myself. [Editor's Note: Figures 11 through 18 were selected from these unpublished photographs of 'New

York, Day and Night.']

"Then I found myself near the deadline for my book. I could make it in time only by living like a hermit. I took a room at the Waldorf Astoria for a special rate for journalists of \$8.00 a day and started to write. It was quite a strange way of life because I was under pressure to finish this book. I didn't know anybody in New York. For three weeks I did not speak to anyone except the many porters in the hall, to ask for my room key or order some food at a restaurant at three in the afternoon or three, four, or five in the morning—a strange, almost ghostly experience. I didn't see the chambermaids because they were there when I was out, and I was out at strange times because I was tired of writing this book. At one o'clock in the morning I'd go for strolls along Broadway—much alive at this time—or I'd finish at three o'clock in the afternoon and go to sleep. It was a life in which day and night were mixed because the deadline was very near and I had to finish the bookit was under contract.

"The end of my year in the United States was not so different. I boarded the Italian liner Rex—flagship between New York and Geneva. Italy had just started the Ethiopian war; would other nations join in? People were afraid. The luxury first class of Rex was meant to accommodate 500 passengers, but had only 26 guests, among them, a couple of celebrities like boxing champion Primo Carnera and some royalty. There were enough conversations, but the background was

an empty ship."



Figure 8 "I had the opportunity to ride at night-time with police squad cars. The detective had a Thompson submachine gun—a weapon also used by Chicago mobsters."



**Figure 9** "Present at the lineup; plainclothes policemen, victims, and curious spectators."



**Figure 10** "Lineup at Chicago police headquarters—the police officer (left) telling what is known about the suspected criminals."



Figure 11 "Gambling Boys, Brooklyn."



Figure 12 "Germantown, a waiter at the entrance of an imitation 'Brauhaus.'"



Figure 13 "Sunday in Manhattan."



Figure 14 "New York Subway."

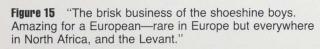


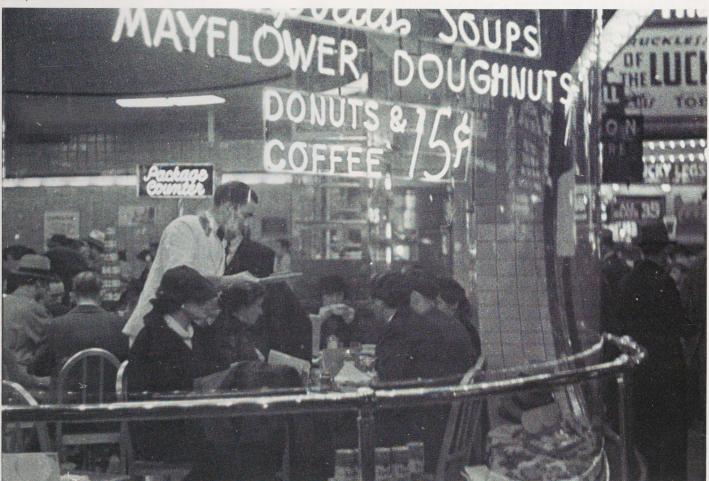




Figure 16 "Greenwich Village, a painter and model."



**Figures 17 and 18** (opposite and below) "A City that never sleeps, upper Manhattan at 3 A.M. Amazing for the European tourist—the great number of 'Allnite' stores, bars, and restaurants."



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# BERND LOHSE, PHOTOJOURNALIST I. Biographical Sketch\*

Bernd Lohse was born in Dresden in 1911. When he was a schoolboy of fourteen, his first professional essay, "Über das Photographieren von Denkmälern" ("On Photographing Monuments"), was published in Der Satrap. At the University of Frankfurt Lohse first prepared himself to be a teacher, but after winning a prize for a photograph, he switched to journalism at the University of Berlin.

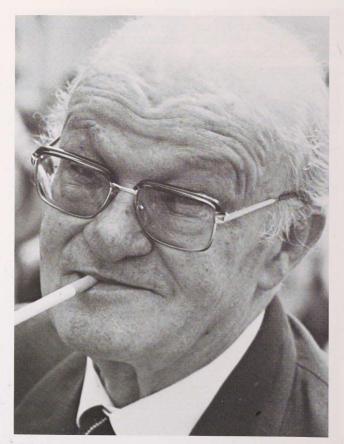
A temporary job in the photo archive of Scherl, held during a school holiday in 1932, started Lohse on a lifelong professional journey. He became editor of Scherl's picture-series department and then, in 1934, a free-lance photojournalist. Until World War II Lohse traveled through Europe, North America, and the Middle East, producing photo stories for Neue Illustrierte. Deutsche Verlag, Berliner Illustrirte, Erika, Signal, and

other picture magazines.

In 1945 he was appointed editor in chief of Heute. During the next decade Lohse resumed his career as a photojournalist, producing many photo stories and books on Australia and Canada in the course of his travels. In 1956 Lohse was appointed editor in chief of the Umschau-Verlag, in Frankfurt, where he remained until 1966 when he assumed the editorship of two Agfa-Gevaert magazines, Photoblätter and Bildjournalist. The same year, Lohse was appointed a member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie and has served as president of the society's history section since 1973.

Although he formally retired in 1975, Bernd Lohse has maintained an active life, continuing to write

about photography.



Bernd Lohse.

<sup>\*</sup>The details for this biographical sketch were taken from an anonymous article in Camera 10 (October 1976): 20.

## II. An Interview with Bernd Lohse

## **Jay Ruby**

In August 1984 I interviewed Bernd Lohse about his early career in his home in Burghausen, Germany. What follows is an edited version of our conversation.

"A friend of mine and I, when we were about twelve years old, decided to buy a camera. We could only afford a small pressed-paper box, which cost two-and-a-half marks. We didn't have much money individually, so we put down one mark twenty-five each and used it together. It had glass plates in small cassettes—not light-tight. So we could only use about a quarter of the surface of the small plate to make portraits of our teachers.

"That was the beginning. Soon after, an uncle gave me a beautiful old-fashioned mahogany-and-redleather bellows camera. From then on, I was on my own photographically. I found it quite natural to take pictures. I couldn't say for what reason. It just interested me. It must be that I'm a visual person.

"When I was a high school boy, I was fascinated with my own city, Dresden—a wonderful place full of art treasures and famous architecture. I remember how I wandered the streets taking pictures at this and that corner—not many because I couldn't afford plates. I was just looking at the buildings and the streets and the perspectives as if I were taking pictures. I wrote an article about taking pictures of local scenes, particularly historical architecture. On an impulse, I sent it to a photographic journal. It was at that time, I would say, culturally and stylistically the best in Germany, a house organ of *Satrap*, the paper and chemical division of Voigtländer.

"The editor wrote back to me: 'Your article is quite nice and we have just received an article by the famous art historian Wölfflin, of Basel, Switzerland. We might put your article together with his, but only if you can send us the pictures.' I didn't have the pictures. I had only looked at the architecture and dreamed up what I would do if I took them. I had written about it, but I hadn't taken the pictures. So I wrote something about the roof of our house having been burned down and with it the negatives. I'm quite sure he smiled when he read that. He published the article

"That was the way I started. It was printed in the first issue of 1926, and I became fourteen in October 1925. You can imagine how that encouraged me. Mostly, I took pictures of our teachers, particularly on excursions when they ate their sandwiches and made grimaces and so on. These were peddled in the classes by some subagents, for fifteen pfennig a print—the start of my business.

"Naturally, at that time I read what photographic magazines I could lay my hands on. It occupied most of my mind apart from school and studying. In our country, when you were nearing the end of your schooling, you had to write a paper, 'What do I want to be one day?' I wrote: 'I would like to be a world traveler, but with inflation and depression, I'm absolutely sure that won't ever be possible. Maybe I could translate stories famous world travelers have written. That would, at least, be sort of the same thing even if it's done in a different way. But I'm told that jobs like that are very rare and not well paid. So I'm resigned to the thought that I'll have to be a teacher like my father and my grandfather.' That's what I did. I studied languages and history for two years in Frankfurt to be a high school teacher.

"During one university holiday in '31 (those were the depression days, I must say) I joined a work camp group where fifty percent of us were students and fifty percent jobless young people. We cultivated fields in a remote part of Swabia. I thought, 'Well, this is your chance. Do a story about this!' I took my camera along and intended to do a real grown-up picture story the way I had seen in *Berliner Illustrirte*, *München Illustrierte*, and *Frankfurter Illustrierte*.

"I thought to myself: 'The first thing you have to have is a good idea, that is, a good subject. This work group—fifty percent jobless young people, fifty percent students—sounds good. If you can sell it to the illustrated paper in Frankfurt, where you study anyway, a connection may develop and this might become something.' So I took pictures, took pictures, took pictures. The chief organizer of the group helped me. They all cooperated. I was certain I had the right picture story the way I had seen them done by, for example, Munkacsi.

"About the middle of my term at the camp, there suddenly appeared a small motor car and out jumped two persons, two short fellows. They introduced themselves as Mr. George Gidal and Mr. Tim Gidal, from the *Munich Illustrated Press*. They wanted to do a story. Our organizer said, 'Oh, yes, we'll help you. Here's Bernd, he can help too. He has good ideas about these things. Now, you do this together.' We did, and to make a long story short, we are still close friends—the one surviving of the two, Tim Gidal, who lives in Jerusalem, and I. Now my story was not worth much, I thought, because they had hurried back to Munich and put theirs into the paper before my term at the work camp ended.

"Halfheartedly, I made contact prints of my negatives. They were small ones because I had a roll-film camera. I took them to the *Frankfurter Illustrierte*, where I tried to see the editor in chief. He declined to receive me and sent me to his secretary. She looked at my pictures and said, 'Last week I saw that in *München Illustrierte*, and anyway . . .' To this day I have the opinion that she was also jealous and

thought, 'Here's a young man who wants to gain access to our paper; he might be competition, so send him away.' That's what she did. I was very downhearted, but I couldn't do anything about it.

"Shortly afterward a letter came from Zeiss Ikon, a very big manufacturer of cameras in Dresden, my hometown, inviting all amateurs to send pictures to their worldwide photo contest. I had already talked to some people there several times. We had mutual acquaintances. I looked through the pictures I had taken at the work camp and decided on one. I didn't have the money to have an enlargement made, so I sent a small copy. The whole story was told to me afterward by the publicity manager, who was also the

manager of the contest.

"He had called together a jury of world-renowned experts. They had spent a few hours looking at the pictures laid out on long tables. They decided on first prize, second prize, down to 250th prize, and went to lunch. When they had gone, the manager looked through the whole thing again and discovered one small picture which wasn't an enlargement like all the others, but a very, very small picture in one corner. He took a magnifying glass, looked at it, and saw that it was a good picture. He called them all together again when they came back from lunch and said, 'Gentlemen, I think we have made a mistake. Look at this picture. I'll give you the magnifying glass. This deserves first prize.' That's the way it happened. I got first prize, and all the others went one prize down. The prize was 500 marks, which at that time was equal to about two months of a good salary.

"The moment I heard I had the money, I sat down and wrote to my father, 'There is a new course at Berlin University called journalism. I want to give up studying to be a teacher and study that.' My father wrote back, 'You do what you want, but you won't get a penny from me.' And I wrote back, 'I have my own

money.

"During the first semester in Berlin the subject of the highest course (Oberseminar) in the division of journalism was picture-journalism. Professor Dovifat, who started the scientific treatment of journalism in Germany, and the journalism course at the University of Berlin, thought that photojournalism was timely, which it certainly was. It was very unusual to accept a student in his first semester to join the Oberseminar. He did because I talked to him and he was convinced I already had practical experience. The paper I wrote for that course was considered the most interesting. I called it, 'Ist das Objektiv objektiv?' ('Is the Objective Objective?'), meaning, is the lens objective? In German, the word Objektiv means 'lens' and also means 'objective.' Professor Dovifat told me my paper was one of the best in the course, and he suggested that it should be the theme of my doctoral dissertation. So it was decided.

"At the end of that half-year course, we had university holidays, which in those days was two or three months. I decided to do something practical. I went to Scherl, the second-largest publishing house in Germany, after Ullstein. (They published a very famous picture-paper, *Die Woche.*) I went there to do some unpaid practical work, and was sent to the picture department. They had the biggest picture library in Germany, with millions of pictures. More interesting than its size was the brilliant way in which the archive was organized. On the one hand, it was arranged to serve the dozen or so house publications. On the other, it acted as a picture agency selling to all parts of the world. I was right in the middle of what I wanted to learn!

"At first I had to join five or six other students or jobless young persons whose task was to sort the pictures into the right categories. They had a special system to code the pictures by content and purpose which we had to learn. It was pretty mechanical. After about a fortnight or so, I talked to a man sitting in a side office, Dr. Vaas. He was obviously a very cultured gentleman. His job was to go to the picture archive and take out pictures that he thought would make a good story. What I call 'archive series.'

"Dr. Vaas and I got to talking. He said, 'You seem to be more interested than those other people who are sorting pictures out there. Would you be my assistant?' I quite gladly accepted. I helped him and soon wrote stories to go with the pictures, which originally was his job. He was a very generous man, not a bit jealous. Quite the contrary, he saw that I had a natural talent for these things; he said, 'Do all the stories you can, I'll help you.' After a few weeks he was called away to take over some other job. He told his superiors, 'Take this young man for my job. He'll do it better than I did.' I decided not to return to university. I have to repeat it, that was during the summer of '32, right in the middle of the Depression—very hard times. I said to myself, 'They promised to give me 100 marks a month. That isn't the right pay for a job like this, but for me, a jobless and moneyless student, it's quite a bit.' I stayed there for a year and a half and developed the job into quite a business. After awhile I got a certain percentage, and that made me quite rich in my eyes.

"The picture story had by that time become an established thing. It had been developed from about '28, '29 on, by Munkacsi, Felix Man, Gidal, Salomon, and people like that. While working at Scherl I became acquainted with Heinz Lowenherz. He wanted to start an agency in Holland to serve various European countries with picture stories—only picture stories—no news pictures, no single pictures. The agency would be based upon the new way of working with photographs. We worked together very closely because they more or less built up their agency on the picture stories they got from the House

of Scherl, but really from me. After a while, when I got fed up with being an employee in the last corner of the building of a very large publishing company, I said to myself, 'You can take pictures yourself and do stories. You are a natural story man. Quit this job and do it on your own.'

"The agency in Amsterdam promised close cooperation. I told them where I would go. They told me what I might do. In the main, I was on my own. I depended on what I found and what my ideas and impressions were as I went along. This developed, naturally, into more extensive travel and better-paid stories. I didn't regret my decision because first I took a five-week trip to Albania, an unknown country then as it is today. I discovered Albania, did a few picture stories, and then did several things in Germany and Switzerland.

"In Germany I was on my own. I developed relationships with this and that editor. I came to know them. I learned that people at the publishing houses were not hard to please. They didn't request the best of everything. They were content with a few nice pictures and a few lines to go with them. At that time it was something if you had a landscape and a few street scenes and this and that, they were happy. I mainly worked with Berliner Illustrirte because they paid very well. If you worked for Berliner Illustrirte, you couldn't very well have the same sort of relationship with München Illustrierte. They were close competitors. But you were free to do anything with the rest of the publishing field. That made for some nice money, particularly for a modest person like me. The money I got paid for those stories were great sums in

"I had been used to living in small rooms and dining at the eating places in the universities where five of us sat down around a table and paid for two meals. The meat that came on two plates was divided into five portions. Everybody had his share. As long as somebody was still hungry, we went back to the counter for as much potatoes and sauce as we liked. That was the style of living at that time.

"In time I became a well-known and well-paid reporter. The course of my travels extended ever longer. In '36 I spent four-and-a-half months in England and Ireland. The great breakthrough was in '37, when I went to the United States. I seem to remember that while I may have gotten a little advance pay from Berliner Illustrirte, I was able to pay for the trip myself. It worked like this: I had a special editor with whom I worked. There were five or seven editors at Berliner Illustrirte. You had to develop a definite relationship with one of them, which I did. I went to this person and said, 'Next summer I want to go to the United States. Would you be interested in a trip like that, or is somebody over there right now for you?" The editor answered, 'Nobody, there's nobody now. We get the stuff Munkacsi does, but we also need

somebody who sees with the eyes of a person like you. We will look at your stuff when you come back.' I asked, 'How many pages? I want to be there for about half a year and I have some ideas, but most of them will develop when I'm on my way.' He might have guaranteed me, let's say, six or eight pages, I wouldn't remember now. When we talked about a page, that meant four hundred marks. He may have said, 'When you come to us with all the stuff that you've taken and have sorted it into a few stories, we'll look at the stories and we'll guarantee you eight pages. Go to the cashier and you'll get 3,200 marks.' I had something to start with. Some funds would accumulate, even when I was on a trip, from the sale of my earlier stuff through the Amsterdam agency Mundi in all countries except Germany, where I did it myself.

"I went to the United States and it worked well. It turned out that I liked the U.S. I found numerous story ideas, mostly things that I could combine afterward. For instance, 'The Automobile as a Domestic Animal,' or 'Strange Customs in America,' or 'The Negro Question in America.' These were all stories that had to be collected piece by piece by piece while I went along.

"At one point, I got a letter from my Amsterdam agency. 'Our younger brother, Mark, who has been traveling all over Europe, will establish an agency in the U.S.A. He'll come to New York by ship. Will you be there to help him a bit?' I prepared a hotel room for him and together we found an assistant for \$15 a week. I remember distinctly. It was November of '37. He wanted me to stay in New York, but after a long hesitation, I decided to go back to Germany. That was one of the biggest decisions in my life."

## III. "How Do You Like America?"

#### **Bernd Lohse**

"How do you like America?" "What do you think of our California?" Questions of this sort accompanied me all the way when I, a 25-year-old photojournalist from Germany, came to the U.S. in 1937.

"What is more important?" was the question I kept asking myself during the almost six months I spent in the U.S. The character of the country—the living conditions of its people, the way Americans behaved in their everyday surroundings or on special occasions like festivals—this was what I had come for, what I wanted to record in pictures.

What was so extraordinary about my trip? In the first place, I was able to spend half a year in a foreign country, coming from Germany with its strict travel and currency restrictions during the Depression years. And, secondly, I, a young fellow and a beginner in the tricky field of free-lance photojournalism, had the money to do so.

This situation needs some explanation. When I was a student of languages and journalism at Berlin University, I had been forced, in 1932, to take up work. The reason—the sum of 500 marks, which I received as the first prize in a Zeiss photo contest and which at first had seemed immense, had come to an end

In a time of gigantic unemployment I was lucky enough to find the ideal position: story editor of the then biggest picture archive and agency in Berlin, the Scherl publishing house. Thus, I was able not only to make a living using my old interest in photography and journalism but also to learn the tricks of the trade, from behind the scenes, so to speak. What wonder that after a while I burned to go and photograph stories myself!

So, after a year and a half of desk work, I gave up this very good job. Naturally, I had made the acquaintance of some editors of illustrated magazines and, what proved to be even more important, the Lowenherz brothers. They were businessmen from Coburg, Germany, who had emigrated to Holland to open a photo agency, Mundi, in Amsterdam.

I was lucky again. The first story I photographed—"Healing Humps without Surgery," about an unorthodox medical doctor in Dresden, the father of a friend from school times—was published. Not only as a two-page spread in *Berliner Illustrirte* (the ultimate you could hope for at that time), but also several times abroad through the services of Mundi. By doing several other stories inside Germany, I managed to keep myself in bread and butter and meet my travel and laboratory expenses. No less important was a sum in Dutch guilders that kept accumulating in Amsterdam, slowly but steadily.

During that time one thought kept coming up: how could I travel abroad? I had had this rather uncommon ambition since I was a young boy. My private hero then was Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer. When I was sixteen or seventeen, I had written in a school paper that my highest aim in life was to become a world traveler.

When I started working as a photojournalist, the Nazis had come to power and had forbidden the banks to sell foreign currency for private travel purposes. But if you earned your own money abroad, you could use it outside Germany provided you could show that it was for useful professional purposes. This I could prove by a letter from *Berliner Illustrirte*. (By the way, it was signed by the then editor in chief, a former photojournalist, Harald Lechenperg.)

So much for the external conditions. But what was the personal motivation for my strong urge to become a specialist of picture stories from abroad? It was not particularly political, although I felt just as uneasy as the editors with whom I worked about the increasing isolation of Germany in the world. The main reason was my old boyhood craving for foreign adventure. In addition, I found it easy to persuade myself that it was my special duty in life to keep a few windows open-which others were intent on closing-by showing my fellow countrymen in picture stories what was going on in the outside world. In particular, by showing the daily life of "people like you and me" in other parts of the world: their peculiarities, their customs, the traits they had in common with us, as well as the differences.

I do not think I have to go into that any further. First, because these were just underlying feelings, not thoughts that kept me awake at night. And secondly, the results can be seen in the reproductions of my stories.

In 1935 I undertook a short trip to Albania. I went to Italy, mostly Sardinia, and, more important and more profitable, a tour of four-and-a-half summer and fall months through England in 1936. As a result of the latter journey I proved two things to myself: I had chosen the right sort of work, and I had a penchant for Anglo-Saxon (and Celtic!) ways. Good sales in Germany and abroad encouraged me to plan for what I hoped would be the next big step, the breakthrough: to travel all over the U.S.A. in 1937 for something like half a year.

Today, one shudders at the thought of what a trip of that duration, crisscrossing all over the United States, would cost. Well, those were still Depression years, and life was astonishingly cheap. The dollar was not 4.20 marks, as in "normal" times, but just 2.50 marks. I traveled by Greyhound and stayed at cheap hotels. (I seem to remember that at Kenmore Hall on New York's Twenty-third Street, which was a decent enough sleeping place, I paid \$1.25 per night.) But the main reason why I could afford such an undertaking all on my own—as a beginner!—lay in two facts: the brothers Lowenherz, my foreign agents, provided me with a generous letter of credit (Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam), which showed probably quite a bit more than the account I had with them; and Berliner Illustrirte asked to see all my resulting stories first-on that promise they gave me an advance. I do not remember whether they guaranteed to publish three or, say, five pages (which would have meant a 1,200- or 2,000-mark advance). But at any rate it was enough to cover the expenses at home, rent, lab costs, etc.

What were my impressions, then, when after a five-day voyage the S.S. *Bremen* neared the shore of America? I remember perfectly well the almost shuddering excitement and awe which befell me when, together with the other passengers, I clung to the rail on the upper deck of the ship and saw the sky-scraper silhouette of Manhattan slowly emerge from a slight morning mist. The adventure I had dreamt of so

long was becoming a reality!

What were my feelings when I left the States? It would be a platitude to say that my foremost thoughts had to do with a sense of adventure. If I remember rightly, after almost half a century, I was primarily concerned with practical considerations. How could I subdivide the more than 7,000 negatives I had produced into as many stories as possible? Would it be better to have fewer stories—but each of them striking at first sight? Which one would I offer Berliner

Illustrirte to make them eager for more?

Looking back today, I am quite sure that there was an underlying feeling of deep satisfaction. First of all, I knew I brought back in my negatives what I had gone out to find—the everyday aspects, the real life of the common man in an extraordinarily important country, and a few of its peculiarities, for example, typical pageantry like rodeos or beauty contests. Once outside New York I was impressed with the easy-going ways of the people, their friendliness and helpfulness—and the ever-recurring question: "Look here, Mister, will you put my picture in the paper?"

Enough of all that. The photo stories are here to tell

the rest.

## IV. Chronology and Bibliography

#### **Bernd Lohse**

NOTE: It is impossible, owing to the quantity, to list articles (except one, see 1926 entry), picture stories, book introductions, laudations, brochures, and similar publications which form the main body of my published lifework.

- 1911 Born in Dresden on October 5 to a family of schoolteachers.
- 1917–30 Elementary and high school in Dresden.1922 First box camera bought; soon after, view camera given as a gift.
- First published article (written at age 13).

  Über das Photographieren von Denkmälern
  ("How to Photograph Monuments"), in Satrap, a photographic magazine.
- 1930–32 Studies at University of Frankfurt: History, English, French.
- Won first prize in Zeiss Ikon Photo contest: 500 marks.
- 1932 Switched to University of Berlin to study a newly established subject, journalism (with Professor Dovifat). Term paper, "Ist das Objektiv objektiv?," accepted for doctoral thesis.
- 1932–34 During summer vacation, 1932, worked at Scherl, a photo agency; was invited to stay on as story editor.
- Left Scherl to take up free-lance photojournalism. Worked closely with Mundi, a photo agency in Amsterdam, operated by the Lowenherz brothers. (The agency exists to this day as Three Lions, in New York.) First stories published in Germany, one by *Ber-liner Illustrirte:* "Healing Humps without Surgery."
- 1935 First photographic trip abroad: Yugoslavia and Albania. Various stories inside Germany.
- ltaly in spring, Sardinia in particular.
  Summer and fall: four-and-a-half months in England, Scotland, and Ireland.
- 1937 U.S.A. and Canada, for almost six months.1938 Belgium, the Netherlands, and France.
- Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Turkey. After outbreak of World War II closer cooperation with *Berliner Illustrirte*.
- 1940 Various stories for *Berliner Illustrirte* and on
- 1941 Cálled up for military service (combat photographer).
- 1942–44 Military service on various fronts.
- 1945–46 Taken POW on the Italian front; employed as interpreter with Allied Military Government in Bolzano, Italy. After discharge employed by American Military Government in Traunstein, Upper Bavaria (administration of postal and railroad services).
- 1946–50 Spring 1946 called to Munich to work on Heute, a picture magazine brought out by the American Military Government, first as a translator, soon after as German editor (un-

- der an American editor in chief). On the side, from October 1947, editor of first postwar photo magazine in West Germany, Foto-Spiegel. Full-time editor, when this was transformed (April 1949) into large-size Photo-Magazin. Resigned in September 1950 in order to travel again, under contract to Neue Illustrierte, Cologne. First trip: Turkey. Cofounder of German Amateur Photographers' Association
- Photographers' Association.

  1950

  Cameras from Germany. A 158-page booklet presenting the first postwar survey. Bierl Publishers, Munich.
- 1951 Europa-Camera. Picture book about postwar photography in Europe, edited with Kurt Zentner. Verlagshaus Frankfurter Societaets-Druckerei, Frankfurt.
- Extensive reportage work in Japan. Second trip: Spain. Cofounder of DGPh (German Photographic Society).
- World tour: Indonesia, Australia, Samoa, Fiji, Canada, U.S.A.
- 1953 U.S. trip by official invitation. Canceled Neue Illustrierte contract in order to write books
- 1953–55 Australien und Südsee Heute. Book published by Umschau Verlag, Frankfurt. Book Club edition, 1957. English edition: Australia and the South Seas Today, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh and London, 1959. Numerous picture stories published.
- picture stories published.

  Kanada—Land von Morgen? (Canada—Tomorrow's Country?) Book. Umschau Verlag, Frankfurt. Book Club edition, 1957.
- 1955–64 (Employed by Umschau Verlag, Frankfurt, as their book editor.) Compilation of several dozen picture books, mostly on art history, landscape, cities, photography. E.g., 1958: Kleinodien (English edition: Art Treasures of Germany, Batsford, London); and 1958–1965: nine-volume Monumente des Abendlandes (English edition: Buildings of Europe and European Sculpture, Batsford, London), a series that was brought out in different languages in several countries. Numerous book introductions and
- contributions.

  1965–75 Editor of magazines *Bildjournalist* and *Photoblätter* (English version: *Iris*) at Leverkusen (firm of Agfa-Gevaert). In 1966 moved from Frankfurt to Leverkusen.
- 1975–84 After retirement: chairman of photohistorical section of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie until 1978. Articles and book reviews for several photography magazines; book introductions, lectures, etc., 1982: sale of photographic library (5,200 books) to the Art Library of the City of Cologne. 1983: move from Leverkusen to Burghausen, Upper Bavaria.
- 1977 Hugo Erfurth—Der Fotograf der goldenen zwanziger Jahre. Heering Verlag, Seebruck. A 208-page book about a noted German photographer (1874–1948).

# V. Selections from the Work of Bernd Lohse (Photo Essay)



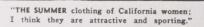
THIS AMAZING LOS ANGELES AS SEEN BY A NOTED EUROPEAN PHOTOGRAPHER (Los Angeles Times, April 3, 1938)

A EUROPEAN SEES US (Focus, New York, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1938)



I INSTANTLY LIKED ...

"THE DEEP ravines, the maze-like abysses of downtown New York, where I felt rather lost.





A MERICA is a land of pretty backs, optimism and wide roads to Bernd Lohse, foreign observer and former manager of the picture service department of the Scherl Publishing Co., of Berlin, For the last four years Mr. Lohse has been photographing such scenes as he and major publications of Europe believe to be interpretive of great groups of peoples, Six months ago he came to this country, cramming, as he came, all the information he could obtain about the social, economic and political aspects of the United States, From east and west his pictures have been gathered for publication here, in England, and on the continent. They have been featured in the Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung, one of the most widely distributed illustrated magazines in Europe. These four pages represent his interpretation of our peculiar, revealing characteristics.

"THE WIDE ROADS that run for thousands of miles through the country. And I like American buses."



"THE CAY PATTERNS of underwear worn by American men. They are cut for economy and comfort."





"THE INCENIOUS up-in-the-air so of the parking problems in Chil



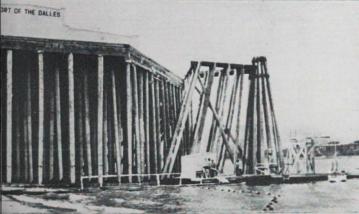
"THE WAY that the American me puts everything into slot mac



eir hair. And also, I must say it!-I like their backs."



"THE PRACTICAL way the bus lines collect fares."



THE OPTIMISM of the people of Dalles, Oregon, who got their docks ready before the lease of water from Bonneville Dam provided the water to float any boats up to them."



"THE VIEW from the tower of one of Manhattan's lofty skyscrapers from which I could see miles distant."



HE MANNER in which the City of New York cools its children on the hot and blistering ys of mid-summer. I felt like stripping and getting under the shower bath with them."



"THE INFORMALITY of a Los Angeles shop front and the wish of the owner to be called by his first name."

#### A European Sees Us (continued)





"AT THE APPROPRIATION by a Chinese restaurant owner of a German word, so oddly misplaced in New York's Chinatown."



"AT THE figures seen in the shining helmet of a Legionnaire."



"AT BOYS' CORDS with padlocks on them in a department store."

## DIDN'T AGREE

"WITH THE HABIT of strewing papers and rubbish over the public beaches without regard for beauty or the sensibilities of others."



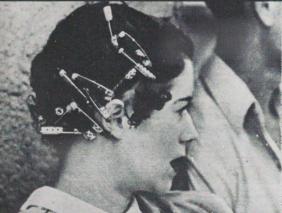


"WITH THE WAY the American people allow their roads to be 'decorated,' all but obscuring what is good and disfiguring the indifferent."



"WITH THE CARELESSNESS of the American who puts his feet on seats of public conveyances, looking only for his own convenient comfort."

# SOMETIMES WONDERED ...



"TO WHAT TROUBLE most American women will go to look as beautiful as possible. And they make no secret of the process!"



"HOW THEY GOT the scallops, the smelts, the golden salmon, the abalone, the ling and the rock cod to join the union!"



"TO FIND the much talked-about skyline of Manhattan Island to be the awe-inspiring, astonishing thing it really was from my shipboard view."



"TO FIND the roof-top of a New York skyscraper landscaped to include a flowering garden and an artificial running stream above the streets."

# I FELT SORRY ...



"FOR CITY dwellers who eat breakfast as they read the news."



"FOR CLERKS who seek sunlight in city graveyards at noon."

# IT WAS A STRANGE SIGHT.



"TO SEE thousands of dignified men march in a Shriners' parade."



"TO SEE this rather broad-minded sidewalk exhibit of sculpture."

# I DIDN'T EXPECT ...

"TO FIND such a beautiful and romantic sight as the little soda-sipper dressed in pretty costume for the fiesta at Santa Barbara, California."



Enlargements from "A European Sees Us"













Even the Indian girls,

sportfest, participate in

wearing pants.

America's big fashion of

Here's the way you can present yourself for a

the little cowboy town in Oregon-maybe to a surprised public.

Women spectators at a

road race in the west.

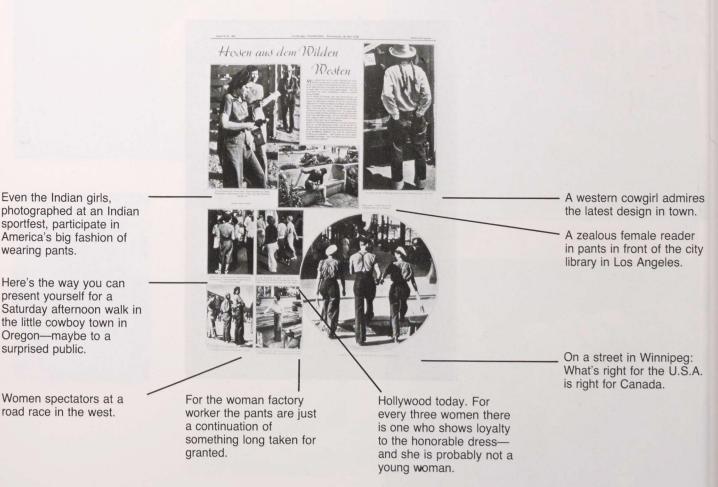
#### PANTS FROM THE WILD WEST

(Hamburger Fremdenblatt, May 28, 1938)

One remembers the many attempts of the last decade, when European designers tried to make pants fashionable for women for the sake of greater choice. But aside from the beach and at best at home, they've had little luck. And now in this time of the new "femininity" their chances to achieve this goal are extremely slight.

Not so in America, and especially there where equality of the sexes has a tradition since the days of the pioneers. The woman had to be as much "at home" in the saddle as the man. The picture that one sees, not only on the farms and ranches but in the streets of the towns, is composed of people in cowboy boots, overall pants, and "ten-gallon hats." And this is the only appropriate clothing. Since the women don't wear their hair long anymore, it is hard to tell sometimes whether the rough-looking cowboy walking in front of you in the street is a man or a woman.

However, this is not so in Hollywood and in all the other places where the fashion of the Star-Metropolis is followed. There pantsuits have long been incorporated into the women's clothing style. For every three girls on Hollywood Boulevard, at the most one of them is still in a dress. But to be confused with a boy, no, that could hardly happen to a Hollywood girl.



NOTE: The text and captions of the photo stories originally published in German and Dutch have been translated for this issue of Studies in Visual Communication.

# Hosen aus dem Wilden



Westen

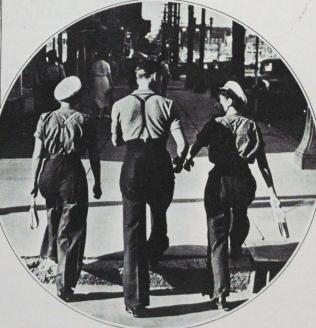












Attracting Attention at Any Price



Der Broadway in Neuvork mit dem wimmelnden Durcheinander von Reklameinschriften und Leuchtgerüsten

# Aüffallen üm jeden Preis!

Amerikanische "Publicity" an Straßen und Plätzen

Aufnahmen: Paula Wehr



Eine Tankstelle in Nashville, Tenn.

Damit man sie ja nicht übersieht, ist sie als Gletschergebilde geformt.

Es ist schon richtig: europäischen Geschmack kennen die Amerikaner kaum — dafür haben sie ihren eigenen und uns meist ganz unverständlichen. Wo könnte es z. B. In Europa vorkommen, daß eine Kirchengemeinschaft in riesenhohen Mauerplakaten, wie man sie sonst nur für Whiskysorten oder Rasierremen benützt, und unter Zitterung eines frommen Bibelspruches zum Besuch ihrer Kirche auf dem Dachgarten einfädt, oder daß andere Kirchen ihre Gemeindemitglieder durch Anschläge am Kirchentor zum Bingospiel ermuntern, weil dieses Spiel — so schließt man — den Amerikaner doch etwas mehr anzieht als lediglich geistliche Reden? Business ist Bussiness — Geschäft ist Geschäft", denkt dort selbst der Reverend. Und was den Kirchen recht ist, das ist natürlich den Eiscremeverkäufern, den Tankstellenbesitzern und sonstigen Ladeninhabern erst recht billig. Wenn ihre Reklamen meist auch recht geschmacklos sind, so wirken sie daßtr um so mehr. Dieses Treiben wird noch durch den Umstand unterstützt, daß dem Amerikaner das europäische "Vorurteil" eines einheitlichen Stadtbildes unbekannt ist und auch keinerlei behördliche Vorschriften in dieser Richtung bestehen. Hauptsache ist stets: "Auffallen um jeden Preis!" Mit welch seltsamen Einfällen man sich dabel zu überbieten sucht, zeigen unsere Bilder.



Eine "Mund-Reklame" gegenübet Greyhound-Bus-Station in Neuc

Illuftrierter Beobachter

1941 / Folge 24





Aufforderung zum Besuch der Kirche im Dachgarten. Darunter steht der Spruch: "Glaube an den Herrn Jesus Christ, und du wirst gerrettet werden!" Eine für unsere Begriffe etwas selfsame Art von Kirchenseklame

en USA., besonders aber alifornien, ist die Zahl Orte Legion, die das Klima der Welt für sich beanspruchen.

echts: Blick vom Auto auf die Landstraße. ie zahllosen "Billboards", d. h eklametalein, und die vielen eichen der Tankstellen geben en amerikanischen Landstra-ben ihr Gepräge.

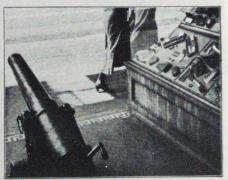




Links: Die "Flasche am Wegrand". Eine der vielen, mög-lichst auffallend aus-gestatieten Tankstel-len an einer ameri-kanischenLandstraße.



Rechts:
Eine gefährlich
aussehende
Geschäftsreklame.
Ein harmlosse Eisenwarengeschäft läßt
eine Kanone für seine
Werkzeuge und Taschemmesser werben.





Rechts; Tankstellen als Monumentalwerkel Bezeichnend für die USA, sind die Zwecke ihrer neuen Monumentalarchitektur. Hier zum Beispiel dient sie einzig allein zur besonderen Kenntlichmachung der Tankstellen.

#### ATTRACTING ATTENTION AT ANY PRICE

American "publicity" on streets and squares (*Illuştrierter Beobachter*, 1941)

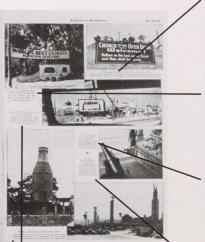
It is indeed true that the Americans hardly know European taste—they have their own, which we don't understand at all. Where in Europe, for example, would you find a congregation inviting visitors to their church with gigantic bill-board signs on the roof quoting a devout Bible saying, the way whiskey or shaving cream is advertised? Or another church which rouses its members to bingo games with notices on the church gate, because this game—one would conclude—attracts the American somewhat more than just spiritual speech? Even the minister there thinks "business is business." And what is OK for the church is naturally just as reasonable for ice cream vendors, gas station owners, and the proprietors of other establishments. If their advertisements are mostly quite tasteless, they are all the more effective for it. These activities are supported by the fact that the European idea of a uniform town character is unknown to the American, and also that there are no official regulations for this purpose. The main thing is always "attract attention at any price." Our pictures show with what strange ideas people seek to vie with one another.

Broadway in New York with its crowded confusion of ad jingles and lights.

A gas station in Nashville, Tennessee. So one is sure to see it, it is built to look like a glacial formation. An "oral advertisement" across from the Greyhound station in New York.

Anffallen um jeden Prei

Gas stations as monumental works. Typical of the United States are the purposes of its new monumental architecture. Here, for example, monuments serve solely for the recognition of particular gas stations.



View from the car on the highway. The countless billboards and the many signs for gas stations give the American highways their stamp.

Invitation for a church visit on the roof. Below it says, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." For us, a somewhat strange sort of church advertisement.

In the U.S.A., but especially in California, the number of places that claim for themselves the best climate in the world is legion.

The "bottle on the wayside"—one of the many gas stations on American highways, set up to stand out as much as possible.

An apparently dangerous advertisement. This harmless hardware store has a cannon to advertise its tools and pocket knives.

nslation

# TO YOUR MOVIE THEATER SEAT BY CAR (Zeit im Bild, Prague, 1938)

os Angeles there is a movie theater that admits 400 cars, unusual in Europe. The cars park facing the screen. It is given the movie them on the largest movie screen in the world, and a small speaker at each car delivers the right volume. At one time a gigantic loudspeaker was used for the whole lot, but that was changed on the entire neighborhood went into an uproar. California weather is naturally favorable to this sort of arrangent. It is certainly not only on account of the completely different weather that such an installation would not find or here in Europe. That is why we are presenting these pictures, which demonstrate a small facet of the many erences that separate us from the Americans.



The approach to the peculiar movie theater in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles drive-in takes in more than 400 cars. Here is a view of the spectators.

A "convenient" cinema in Los Angeles (USA)

A picture of the screen during a film showing from one of the front "rows" of the theater.

At the entrance to the drive-in. An employee at the entrance runs back and forth between the cashier in her little house and the driving visitors.

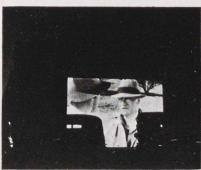


Bild links: Die Anfahrt in das seltsame Autokino von Los Angeles. Bild unten: Über 400 Autos nimmt das Autokino in Los Angeles auf. Wir zeigen einen Blick in den Zuschauerraum.



# Mit dem Auto ins Parkett

EIN MOGLICHST BEQUEMES KINO IN LOS ANGELES (USA.)



Eine Aufnahme der Filmleinwand während der Vorstellung aus einer der ersten "Reihen" des Kinos.

Unten: An der Einfahrt zum Autokino. Ein Angestellter am Eingang vermittelt den Verkehr zwischen der Kassierin in ihrem kleinen Häuschen und den heranfahrenden Besuchern.

In Los Angeles gibt es ein für europäische Verhältnisse außerordentliches Kino, das 400 Autos aufnimmt. Die Wagen parken nach der Leinwand zugewendet: vor ihnen auf der größten Kinoleinwand der Welt erscheint der Film, und ein kleiner Lautsprecher vor jedem Auto bringt den Ton in der genau richtigen Lautsfärke heran. Früher betrieb man einen Riesenlautsprecher für die ganze Anlage, der aber abgeschafft wurde, weil die ganze Nachbarschaft in Aufruhr geriet. Das kalifornische Wetter begünstigt natürlich eine solche Anlage. Es ist außer Frage, daß bei uns nicht nur wegen des völlig verschiedenen Wetters eine solche Anlage des völlig verschiedenen Wetters eine solche Anlage heinen Anklang finden würde. Gerade deswegen bringen wir die Bilder, die in kurzem Ausschnitt eine der vielen Verschiedentlichkeiten zeigen, die uns von Amerika trennen.

(Aufnahmen Bernd Lohse)



# THEY CALL THEMSELVES AFRO-AMERICANS

A visit by our special reporter Bernd Lohse to a large Negro university in the southern United States (Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung, 1938)

For over 120 years the number of blacks immigrating to the U.S. has been practically nil. Up through the last decade, however, the black population of the U.S. has increased almost tenfold and today comprises about 12 million. According to the latest statistics, however, there has been a relatively heavy movement of the black population from southern and rural regions to the urban areas of the north. The result of this is that urbanized Negro families often produce fewer offspring than is the case with whites.

A statue erected by whites for blacks. A symbol of the amiable black plantation workers of the southern states.

Going to church in snowwhite clothing. The university celebrates the day on which several black students have passed their exams. A contradiction in monuments: How Negroes see themselves. A statue that Negroes have built for Booker T. Washington, who himself was not a pure-blooded Negro but a mulatto, as the greatest Negro educator and the founder of Tuskegee, a Negro college.



The great-grandchildren of slaves. A bit of flirting in the university park. All university disciplines are taught at the large Negro college of Tuskegee. Lawyers, doctors, and chemists are trained. The Negro, who is by temperament very passive, aside from certain ecstatic outbursts, likes to take up one of these intellectual careers, which would lift him up to a higher level. But hundreds of these Negro academicians are forced to work as porters, waiters, or cooks, as their fathers did, after finishing their studies.

Fun and seriousness in uniform: a drum major of the university band in his colorful uniform. Customs such as these, which have been adopted from American colleges, strongly cater to the native desire to show off and the natural disposition to vanity.



One drop of black blood and a man is counted among the Negroes in the U.S.A. This picture, taken during a sports festival at the Negro university, clearly shows the different types of racial mixture.

Sundays at Tuskegee: relatives visit "their students" at the grand college.

A student from Tuskegee in the military student instruction common in the U.S.A., which can also open up a career as a reserve officer. Blacks have long served in the army. In World War I, 750 black Americans died.

Many students from
Tuskegee earn their work/
study money in a candy
factory. Not only sciences
but also all potential
trades are taught in theory
and in practice at this
peculiar [sic] college.

Segregation in a streetcar. The front half is for whites, the back for Afro-Americans. In the southern U.S. the "color line" is still very strictly observed in transportation, waiting rooms, on playgrounds, in schools, and in hotels. Anyone with the smallest trace of black blood is called "nigger" or "darky," expressions which blacks find insulting. They don't even like to be referred to as "Negroes" but prefer the expression "Afro-American."

They Call Themselves Afro-Americans (continued)



ibenaufig in Ventuillern Bie der Schwarze den Schwarzen fiebt.
Grundfill den Keier dem etreben florte I. Beiltington, der felbig fein gemet Kriefe lindern ein Mulate mar, als dem größten Argerendongen



in Standbild, bas Beifie für ben Schwarzen errichtet haben; Gin Cambot tur ben gurmuteten imwarzen Plantogenarbeiter ber

Seit über 120 Johren ist die die Gemanke ima Commanke ima Gemanke in der Gemanke in der Gemanke in das ichte gelten des Gemanke in das ichte Gelten des Gemanke in der Gema



In blütenweißen Afeidern jum Gottesbienst. Die Universität feiert den Ing, an dem verichtebeneichwarze Prüflinge ihr Egamen

# Sie selbst nennen sich Afro-Amerikand

Ein Besuch unseres Sonderberichterstatters Bernd Lohse in einer großen Negeruniversität im Süden der Vereinigten Staaten



Die Urentel von Stlaven.

Rleiner Flirt im Universitätspart ...

In der großen Negerbochschule von Tusteger werden alle Difajplinier Univerfilit gelchte. Eie bildet Phonoteen, Neger. De miter, Reger. der in seinem Temperament, abgesehen vom gewissen stellestund Kandrücken, sehr vonsien in ergerit gern einen diese intellektund Berufe, der in den der in höheres Nivoun hehen soll. Aber Hunderte beiten Negertaddemisten sind geswingen, nach Beendigung ihrer Grumseber Größentiger. Kellen der Köcke zu werden, wie es ihre Kater war werden die eine Kater der Kocken der Weiter der Kocken der Kocken der Verlegen der der Kocken der Verlegen der V

1938 Nt. 2

#### Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung







41



In einer Sißigteiten Jabrit verdient fich mancher der Schüler von Instegee als Bert-findent sein Geld. Auf dieser eigenartigen Hochfaule werden nicht nur Bissenschaften bendern ach alle mäglichen hand-werfe theoretisch und praftisch gelehrt.



Raffentrennung in ber Strafenbahn:



Tragedy in Negritude

# while

Tom voeren een nieuwe,



"WIJ" brengt voor zijn lezers een interessante reportage over Amerikaanse negers, die in hun strijd tegen eeuwen achterstand en vooroordeel naar een nieuw middel gegrepen hebben. Thans proberen zij "blank" te worden, zich althans het uiterlijk van den blanke te geven, vergetend, dat zij de tegenstellingen daardoor nog groter maken.

wanhopige strijd tegen zíchzelf. Maar bij de start waren zíj reeds eeuwen

## achter. Nu proberen zíj gelíjk op te

De Verenigde Staten van Amerika bestaan uit twee delen, die naast elkander leven en toch streng van elkander geschelden zijn. De ene heitt is blank, de andere helft is zwart. Aan de ene kant van de "division line" (de verdelingslijn) wonen blanken, aan de andere negers. Tussen de witten en de donkeren bestaat siechts de gemeenschap der dienstbaarheid. Dan houdt verder eike aanraking op. In de trams, in de theaters, in de badhuizen, overal is de scheding tussen zwarten en blanken streng doorgevoerd. De negers zijn katholiek, de blanken voor het grootste deel protestant, Zij hebben denzelfden God. maar zij aanbidden Hem in

gescheiden kerken. De negers wonen negerwijken en negersteden. Sommi hen studeren aan de neger-univer. Zij hebben hun eigen neger-karnten voeren hun eigen neger-hainten groot deel van de vakbeweging lan negers toe. Aidus losgelaten van de derssolidarteit vervuit een deel neger-bevokking de rol van loond en dat verhoogt ook al niet de syn die de blanke arbeiders voor de zwi voelen.

De uitwerking van de "division lin negers is verschillend.

Er zijn een groot aantal negers e

ALHAMBRAR

BEN SMALL'S KO

Wan Told





loor verandering

n hun uiterlijk

Long, Pretty HAIR makes ye

Van deze "aanpassers" onder de negers toont "Wij" u op deze bladzijden een aanta foto's

De neger en zijn vrouw maken zich mooi Zij trachten blank te worden. Op duizender verschillende manieren worden zij dooi handige zakenlieden er toe verleid middelen te kopen "om een blanke, melkwitte huid" "blond haar" en een "Europees uiterlijk" te krijgen. De neger en zijn vrouw door wanhopite poginien, om het bekort aan zelfrespect dat zij pinjlik gevoelen, tev doven met uiterlijke middeltjes. Zij strijden een wanhopige, tradsche atrijd omdat zij de natuur ontduiken willen en omdat elk zie ees op henzelf bevoelten is. Zij zijn slachtoffers van een streven, dat niet naar morgen, maar naar gisteren wijst.

Er is nog een andere, zeer grote groep negers in Amerika, die hun zelfrespeet hebben teruggevonden in de erkenning dat zij anders zijn dan de blanken, maar daarom niet minder in waarde. Van hen is bijvoorbeeld de grote en zeer bekende neger zanger Paul Robeson een der meest vooraanstaande figuren.

Deze negers hebben zich zeit die fiere truts geschonken van ieder ras dat zijn eigenwaarde heeft ontdekt in de erkenning dat ook andere rassen recht hebben op een plaats onder de zon. In de bladen van deze negers kan men zeer grechtvaardigde critiek iezen op de blanke beschaving, die een gehel wereid laat doodbloeden in een wangehele wereid laat doodbloeden in een wanten de machtig is de de speecht verziel de de jezen godsdietent in practiik te berenze.



# TRAGEDY IN NEGRITUDE (Wiz, 1938)

The children of Uncle Tom fight a new, desperate battle against themselves. But at the start, they were already centuries behind. Now they are trying to become equal through change of appearance.

Wiz brings its readers an interesting piece of reportage on American Negroes, who, in their battle against centuries of backwardness and prejudice, have seized a new means of survival. Now they try to become "white," at least in appearance, forgetting that thereby they increase the opposition even further.

TOPOGETIES

WERNELD LEVEL

NOW DESCRIPTION

NOW DESCRIPTION

TO BE A SECURITY

TO BE A

(Top center) In many shop, windows seductive announcements can be seen, to which especially the young Negro women from Harlem are vulnerable. Above: some advertisements for hairdos which show a remarkable similarity to those of the white "sisters."

An unpleasant moment on the road to beauty! The curl is removed from the hair before a new wave is laid in.

(Insert) Sticky and greasy, the modern hairdos of young Negro women shine in the sunlight. Nevertheless, they are tremendously proud of the result of many months of hard labor.

The Negro mother starts "beautifying" her children early on. First the hair is made into stiff tails to counteract the natural curl. If this is not sufficient, creams and pomades will do the trick later on.

Mothers go as far às to submit their children to the bleaching and makeup process, convinced that this will enhance their marriage value.

Where cream does not help anymore, powder is used. A young Negro woman beautifies herself before going to church.

America has large Negro papers. They contain prominent advertisements for "natural" bleachers.

(Left) "Beautifying" is not always a pleasure. To force the hair to grow straight, it is worked with heavy cream and hot pliers. A painful treatment to which the Negro women eagerly submit themselves.

Text:

The United States of America consists of two parts who live next to each other but are nevertheless strictly separated—white and black. Between them exists only the community of servitude. Each has its own place. Some Negroes study at Negro universities. They have their own Negro newspapers, even their own Negro politics. Many labor unions do not admit Negroes. Thus, lacking a labor solidarity, their role is often to lower wages, which does not enhance the

sympathy of white workers for the black.

The effects of the "division line" on the Negroes vary. A large number of them—due to their treatment by the whites-feel so inferior that they lack any desire to rise above their low mental and material level of existence. They are content with their demeaning jobs and neighborhoods, ridicule their own race, and have no idea of how pathetic their role really is. Others are dissatisfied with their situation, but since they lack the understanding that a person can gain respect only when he demonstrates self-respect, they seek refuge in adapting to the white world. These are the most pitiful examples of the Negro race. They strive toward an ideal that can never be attained: the equality in outward appearance with the white race. The photographs shown here are of these "assimilators."

The Negro and his wife beautify themselves. They try to become white—"a smooth white skin, blond hair, European appearance." In their desperate attempts to numb their painful lack of self-respect, they fight a desperate, tragic battle because their wish is to escape nature and because each victory is gained at

their own expense.

Another large group of Negroes in America regained their self-respect in the recognition that they are different from whites but not inferior to them. E.g., the singer Paul Robeson. In their journals one can read a justified critique of white civilization which allows for a whole world to bleed to death in a desperate arms race and which is unable to practice the noble principles of its own religion.

This group of Negroes produces scholars, famous artists, and sportsmen, who by their mind and body teach their people and the whites of America that the "division line" is a bad thing that will disappear as soon as, on both sides, tolerance and humaneness, but above all self-respect and esteem for others, will have triumphed.

#### A MILLIONAIRE'S TOY

Henry Ford's museum-village, Green Field Village, near Detroit (Rundblick, 1938)

Ford had the old laboratory rebuilt as a surprise for his friend and former boss, T. A. Edison. As a highlight of its dedication, Ford repeated the revolutionary and now-classic experiment which brought about the invention of the light bulb. It is well known that this experiment had already been performed by a German, Goebel.



(Left) Edison's old laboratory restored with all original pieces, even the glass funnel.

(Below) Ford also had the watch shop where he worked as a young man for just \$2.50 a week restored. He still loves to use the familiar tools.

It is a good thing Henry Ford is one of the richest men in the world. Otherwise his chosen hobby would have bled him to death financially. Imagine this: All over America Mr. Ford's agents are buying old buildings of historical importance to the American landscape and restoring them to their original state. They also search for furnishings of the time in order to equip these houses in the right style. For this task they rummage through thousands of attics and more inaccessible places. Even many European objects of cultural value have made the trip over the big pond. In Dearborn, near Detroit, not far from the largest Ford plant, all of it is being put together. Masters of the old arts and crafts are employed—those who still know how to use now-antique tools like the druggist's mortar and the shoe-maker's ball. And here, within the organism of a village, they practice their skills. But the biggest feat was to restore Menlo Park, the workplace of Thomas Edison (for whom Henry Ford worked for a while), to its smallest details. The place was completely and genuinely reconstructed, exactly as it looked during the time when the fantastic inventions were made. If original pieces no longer existed or could not be excavated from the dirt piles, they did as well as they could. For example, the bricks which were needed for one of the buildings were ordered from the original brick factory to come as close to the original state as possible. Only one of the old windows had survived, so they built into each of the new windows a piece of wood from the only original one. Even the ground on which the old laboratory stood was brought by wagonloads to the new site. We are assured of seeing only the authentic dirt.

# Spielzeug eines Milliardärs

Henry Fords Museumsdorf Green Field Village bei Detroit

Im Kreis: Als Uberraschung für seinen Freund und fruheren Chef Th. A. Edison ließ Ford in Dearfiel Laboraturies Laboraturies Laboraturies is auf den letzten Slein wieder aufbauen; und als Höheten der Aufbauen; und als Höheten Hölte Edison des klassische und umwaltzende Experiment, die Effindung die Effindung die Effindung der Glühbirne, die bekanntlich

Links: Edisons altes Laboratorium wieder aufgebaut — original bis zum letzten Glastrichter.

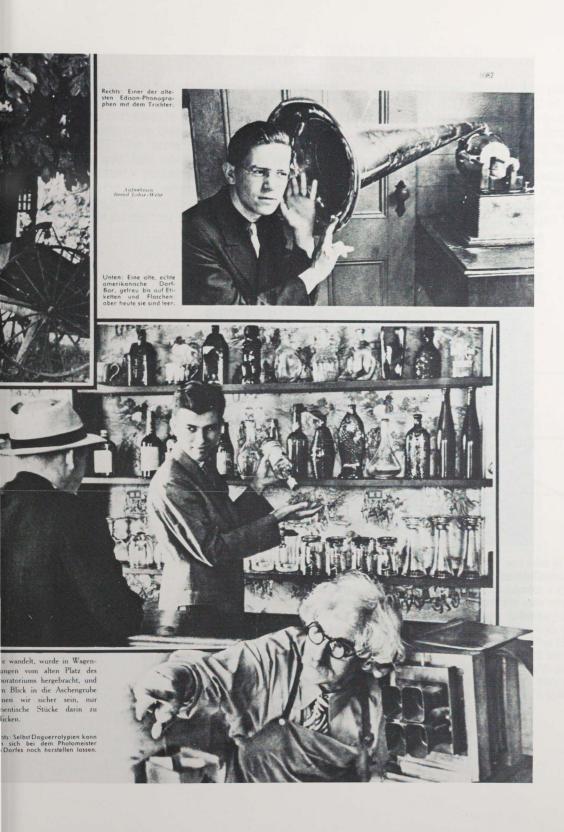
Unten: Ford hat in seinem Dorf auch den Uhrmacherladen aufbauen lassen, in dem er selbst einst als junger Maan für ganze \$ 2.50 die Woche arbeitete. Heute noch liebt er es, gelegenlich die vertrauten Werkzeuge zu benutzen.

Es ist nur gut, daß Henry Ford einer der reichsten Männer der Erde ist. Denn sonst hätte er sich als Steckenpferd eine Sache herausgesucht, an der er sich mit Sicherheit finanziell verbluten müßte. Man stelle sich vor: In ganz Amerika kaufen die Agenten des Herrn Ford altertümliche Gebäude auf, die von kulturhistorischer Bedeutung für die amerikanische Landschaft sind, von tausend Dachböden und noch unzugänglicheren Verstecken suchen sie passendes und zeitgerechtes Gerät zusammen, das dann zur Ausstattung der Gebäude dient, auch aus Europa haben zahlreiche derartige Kulturdenkmäler die Reise über den großen Teich antreten müssen, und dies alles wird auf einem weiten Plan unweit des größten Fordwerkes in Dearborn bei Detroit naturgerecht wieder aufgebaut. Dazu werden Leute verpflichtet, die die alten Handwerke und Künste noch von eigener Betätigung her beherrschen und die hier, im Rahmen eines dörflichen Organismus, wieder an der Schusterkugel oder mit



#### A Millionaire's Toy (continued)





A Millionaire's Toy (continued)

As the above picture shows, today's Americans have to be shown the romanticism of an old village forge—an irony that Mr. Ford is the one to do it.

(Right) One of the oldest Edison phonographs with a horn.



- (Below) In the general store one can see everything that was needed then.

One of the oldest Ford automobiles next to the 25,000,000th, a beautiful white V-8 limousine.

(Below) A typical old rural American bar, genuine down to the price tag and bottles, but today they are empty.

> Old-fashioned headclamps are still in daily use at the photographer's studio.

Even daguerrotypes can still be produced by the village photographer.

#### BEAUTY CONTEST IN HOLLYWOOD

(Wiz, Vol. 32, 1937)

America is the land of beauty contests and records. Both often go together. The girl who prides herself on a sweet little face and a record small-size foot will undoubtedly find a place on the front pages of all American newspapers. Each year the contestants must be more beautiful and the contests bigger than the previous year. And, if possible, more foolish and more glamorous. The girl selected in 1936 because of her beautiful eyebrows doesn't stand a chance in 1937. The "taste" of the public, if it deserves that name, has changed radically by then.

Each state and each city has its beauty tournaments. Especially in summer when it is warm and a bathing suit flatters the beautiful girls of America. And especially in Hollywood. No wonder the film paradise attracts thousands of nice girls who hope to become a Greta Garbo or a Marlene Dietrich. And what is better than showing yourself in public to those who claim to be the judges? Long live the lucky one who wins the contest; she stands a good chance also to win the contest for existence. For she'll probably get an opportunity in film and then her ideals will have been fulfilled.

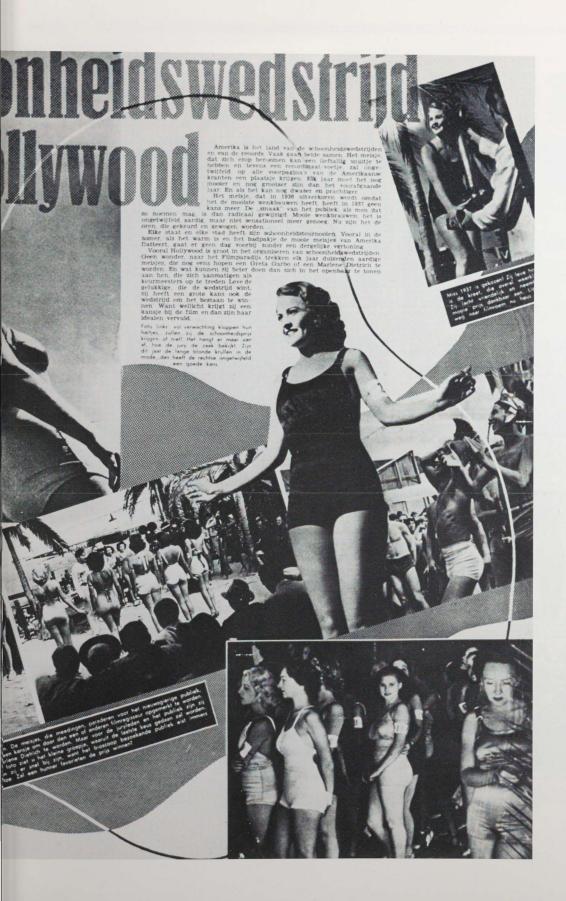


(Upper right) Miss 1937 has been selected! "Long shall she live," is the cry heard everywhere. She gives a friendly smile and gratefully accepts the beautiful prize. Will this really open the road to film fame?

The photo on the left demonstrates the interest the Yankees take in beauty contests. The girls who participate parade in front of the curious audience, which expresses its approval or disapproval by clapping or whistling. The things one endures for a slight chance to attract the attention of a film director! In the center photo one sees the girls whose dream it is to become a Greta Garbo or a Marlene Dietrich. But for the members of the jury and the audience, they are merely numbers with cute faces, perfect figures, and beautiful legs. In the photo to the right, you see the small group from which the final choice will be made. The film operators are already busy. Later, when the queen has been announced, they have to be quick, for the cinema audience demands sensation. The masters of creation watch with great interest. Will one of their favorites win the prize? Their hearts pound in expectation. Are they going to receive the beauty prize? It all depends on what the jury is looking for. If this year's fashion is long blond curls, then the one on the right undoubtedly stands a good chance.

Beauty Contest in Hollywood (continued)





# THIS BEAUTY BUSINESS IS SERIOUS (Weekly Illustrated, London, October 2, 1937)



Stern faces. Set jaws. Close discussion among the judges.

# THIS BEAUTY BUSINESS is SERIOUS!

CALIFORNIA has always been rich in beautiful women. Spanish blood. I and the
relationary common spanish blood. I and the
relationary charm and fishiness, blended with
American gardy and life. From the Far Bast,
not so far away, comes a mixture of Oriental
glamont. As of the common spanish of the comgramont of the common spanish of the comgramont of the common spanish of the comgramont of the common spanish of the comwomen to them, important, but all profits of the
women of the common spanish of the comyear and a public of the American
a public the servent and stage awaits the successful contestant. Institute in one does unmarried.



JUDGES FOUND IT HARD. Earnest concentration of judges, on left above, is due to the problem they are faced withrejecting all of some hundreds of girls like these and choosing a single "Miss California." A career is the prize to be won anu
the  $(to \ us)$  slightly ridiculous business of beauty-judging is gone through with the greatest seriousness.



STILL A CHANCE. Under the artificial palms, competitors wait



ALSO RANS. After a first inspection a few hundreds are rejected. Some



INTERESTED WATCHERS. "Neptune's bodyguard," drawn up under the bridge across which competitors must pass, look up encouragingly.



SHE WINS. A sort of small Cleopatra's Needle is the award carried off by 21-yearold Miss Randall. She has won the title of "Miss California," comes, oddly enough, from North Carolina.

#### **Information for Authors**

**Style.** Issues of the current volume should be consulted, along with *A Manual of Style* published by the University of Chicago Press. We encourage the use of major subheadings and, where appropriate,

second-level subheadings.

**Manuscript Preparation.** Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced (including abstract, quotations, notes and references cited) one side only on  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$  noncorrasable bond, with ample margins for editorial markings (at least one inch on all sides). Do not break words at the ends of lines. Retype any page on which complicated corrections have been made. The original and two copies must be submitted. Author should keep a copy.

**Footnotes.** Footnotes appear as "Notes" at the end of articles. Authors are advised to include footnote material in the text wherever possible. Notes are to be numbered consecutively throughout the paper and are to be typed on a separate sheet (double-spaced).

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tables are to appear.

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