LES POIRES,

Vendues pour payer les 6,000 fr. d'amende du journal le Charivari.

Sur la demande d'un grand nombre d'abonnés des départements, nous avons déposé plainte dans les journaux les uns après les autres; et notre défense, dans l'affaire où la Caricature fut condamnée, aux mains de justice et 2,000 fr. d'amende.

Si, pour reconnaître le monarque dans une caricature, vous n'êtes pas en train de vous tromper dans l'affaire, vous pourrez être accusé d'homicide volontaire.

Ce croquis ressemble à Louis-Philippe, vous condamnerons donc.

Alors il faudra condamner celui-ci, qui ressemble au premier.

Puis condamner cet autre, qui ressemble au second.

Et puis, si vous êtes consommateurs, vous mangeriez absolument cette poire, qui ressemble aux croquis précédents.

Ainsi, pour une poire, pour une braise, et pour toutes les trames grotesques dans lesquelles le basard et la malhonnêteté placé cette triste semblance, vous pourrez infliger à l'auteur cinq ans de prison et cinq mille francs d'amende.

Avez-vous, Messieurs, que c'est là une exagération libre de la presse?
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Contents
Volume 7  Number 4  Fall 1981

2 Caricature, Newspapers, and Politics—Paris in the 1830s
Judith Wechsler

30 Analysis of Historical Photographs: A Method and a Case Study
James Borchert

64 Clothing Store Windows: Communication through Style
Bertha Means

72 The Eyes of the Proletariat: The Worker-Photography Movement in Weimar Germany
Hanno Hardt and Karen B. Ohrn

Reviews and Discussion

84 Display as Structure and Revelation: On Seeing the Shiva Exhibition/Michael W. Meister

89 Golding and Elliott Making the News/Vincent Mosco

91 Briefly Noted

Cumulative Index

93 For Studies in Visual Communication, Volumes 6 and 7
Caricature, Newspapers, and Politics—Paris in the 1830s
Judith Wechsler

Interpersonal relationships in big cities are distinguished by a marked preponderance of the activity of the eye over the activity of the ear.

Paris in the mid-nineteenth century is a prototype of the modern city. In the course of a century, the city underwent four revolutions (1789, 1830, 1848, and 1870), a fourfold increase in population (from half a million to two million), and complete redesign, from a medieval city to a modern one. Under these pressures, together with radical technical changes in communication and transportation, cultural emphasis shifted toward those forms that could respond with alacrity to topical urban themes—journalism, popular theater, caricature. This encounter with the ephemeral data of city life as prime material for arts and letters is the beginning of social self-consciousness, which is one of the components of modernity.

In the portrayal of "modern life" the caricaturists and writers focused on Parisian "types" and described their urban characters from without, as they would be seen by a stranger. There is a characteristic Parisian preoccupation with visible bodily clues to class, profession, character, and circumstance. Through caricature, popular writing, and theater, Parisian types and their distinguishing traits were codified; in the way they made sense of the city to itself, these arts were the antecedents of more formal models of the urban population in sociology, demography, and criminology.

People are changed by the city and they are the city and the city changes. As people moved from the provinces to the city, and city neighborhoods lost their autonomous character, traditional roles were lost, traditional obligations were unenforced, and traditional behavior seemed inexpedient or naive. New informal codes of behavior emerged, for orientation, for emulation and simulation, to recognize others and to hold one's own. The illustrated newspapers were a vehicle for identifying, deciphering, and communicating the signals and norms of urban exchange.

Social caricature in the newspapers found its public in the streets and cafés; it was consumed casually, as Baudelaire pointed out, along with the news and the morning coffee. To be successful with its public, it had to develop a pungent and rapid communicative vocabulary, exploiting the graphic limitations of its means of reproduction.

The journalistic draftsman, often working directly on the lithographic stone, was a performer, in daily dialogue with the public who were also his subject matter. Daumier's drawing has a communicative bravura and economy that is comparable to the discipline of mime, with its succinct evocation of character and situation. Both caricature and mime drew artistic advantage from their marginal status. (Another generation had to pass before studio painting and "official" theater could allow themselves to profit from the advances in realism that had been won in these popular arts.) Both caricature and mime use vernacular codes directly reflective of daily life. Both are directed to the eye—they show what the urban spectator sees, through highly articulate, and at times subversive, silence.

Caricature draws on and develops a twofold tradition: that of physiognomics, the classification of people into character types according to outward bodily signs, such as the shape of the eyes, forehead, mouth, and so on; and that of pathognomics, the interpretation of changing emotions by facial or bodily expression. In nineteenth-century Paris, in a context of urban pressure, dislocation, and mass communication, this visual lore of physiognomy, bearing, and gesture gained currency, immediacy, and artistic power.

In 1830, when the leftist caricature newspapers La Silhouette and La Caricature were first being published, France underwent its second Revolution. The government of Charles X was weakened when the liberal opposition won the majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies in the June-July elections. Shortly after that, Charles X prohibited publication of any journal or pamphlet of less than twenty-five pages without official authorization.¹ The journalists, led by Thiers, a moderate Republican, issued in the newspaper La Nationale a manifesto calling on France to resist. The caricaturists in La Silhouette and La Caricature contributed to the cause with vitriolic portrayals of the king and his government. A caricature of Charles X as a Jesuit led to the suppression of an issue of La Caricature, and the impact of the image was only increased by the court case that followed. On July 28 there was rioting in the street. In three days of fighting, les trois glorieuses, the monarchy was overthrown.

A coalition of Republicans and anti-Bourbon monarchists proposed the Duke of Orleans, Louis-Philippe, as "lieutenant-general," with the Marquis de Lafayette, the old hero of the great Revolution, as president of the Republic. But to those who held power, landowners, financiers, and politicians, Lafayette was too radical. A compromise was found in Louis-Philippe, who was declared king in 1830: he had fought under the flag of the Revolution at Jenappes, he was not of the Royal

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Bourbon line, and he seemed agreeable to a constitutional monarchy.

In the Charter of 1830, a declaration of rights of the Republic, Catholicism (which had regained political influence under Charles X) was no longer to be "the religion of the state." The power of suspending or revoking laws was removed from the king to the elected Assembly, and censorship was abolished "forever." Political journals, however, still had to deposit substantial amounts of money (loi de cautionnement) against convictions for offense to the king or government.

But soon the limitations of Louis-Philippe's constitutionalism became evident. Behind the habits of bourgeois propriety he had acquired in exile, Louis-Philippe was ready to exploit his position. His government served the interests of the wealthy bourgeoisie with open lack of scruple. The result was turmoil and dissatisfaction in the early years of Louis-Philippe's reign. And as it became clearer that the 1830 Revolution had been hopelessly betrayed, an informal opposition of Parisian gens d'esprit developed, whose critique of bourgeois moeurs and culture was inseparable from their political disappointment.

The truth is that remarkable relentlessness and cohesion were displayed in the operation, and however dogged the reply of the authorities, it is a matter of great surprise today, when we look through these archives of buffoonery, that such a furious war could have been kept up for so long.

—Charles Baudelaire on Philipon's campaign against censorship and the regime of Louis-Philippe.

Political caricature had become programmatic in the first caricature journal, La Silhouette, founded in 1829 (and folded in 1831), which brought together many of the caricaturists and journalists who set the tone for the next thirty years. Illustrators and caricaturists, Republican by conviction, who had been issuing individual prints and series of prints on Parisian customs, manners, and habits, came together to launch an attack on the monarchy. This generation of caricaturists came of age around 1830; their parents had lived through the great Revolution of 1789. For the most part, they were born into artisan families from outside Paris; they had experienced political, social, and geographic displacement.

By the 1830s caricature had become a way of carrying out a political discourse particularly adapted to the technical and social emergence of mass daily illustrated newspapers. Caricature was a visual commentary on its time whose vehicle was the human figure; it was a vernacular art, drawing on the expressive conventions of painting, but unhampered by academic precept.

Censorship, which started creeping back from 1831 and became official in 1835, feared political images more than words.

The pressure of prosecution on the caricature press provoked the caricaturists to ingenious use of their visual training, forcing the traditional visual repertoire to yield up indirect political and social meaning.

Charles Philipon was the founder and director of the two most important caricature newspapers, La Caricature and Le Charivari, and for thirty years the leader of the journalistic and caricatural campaign on behalf of betrayed Republican principles. He was the son of a wallpaper manufacturer in Lyon, acquainted with printing technology and popular imagery. He spent a year in Paris in the studio of Antoine Jean Gros, apparently in preparation to work as a designer in his father's business; he returned briefly to Lyon in 1823, but came back to Paris and found work among the publishers of popular prints, trade cards, children's picture stories, and rebuses.

In the 1820s, Romantic artists had started exploring the new techniques of lithography. The most notable example was Delacroix's illustrations for Goethe's Faust, which were published as a series of lithographic prints in 1828. The young Philipon experimented with decorative lithography and with lithographed caricatures for La Silhouette, where Daumier was also to make his first appearance. Philipon also drew many individual prints and series on fashions and social manners and habits (see Figure 1). His career as the impresario of the graphic publication world began as an enterprise intended to help his brother-in-law, Gabriel Aubert, out of financial difficulties. In 1829 they set up a print publishing business, the Maison Aubert, in the new and elegant Galerie Véro-Dodat. Philipon had a sense of the market and realized that, even when the stock was meager, it was worth having a good shop window that could draw the spectators to see the daily production of lithographs. Here Philipon first began to assemble a repertory of prints, illustrations and caricatures, lithographs and woodcuts, including books, pamphlets, and prints, individually and in series, in a range of popular formats.
Baudelaire described something of the character of this pictorial domain:

For sketches of manners, for the portrayal of bourgeois life and the fashion scene, the quickest and the cheapest technical means will evidently be the best. The more beauty the artist puts into it, the more valuable will the work be; but there is in the trivial things in life, in the daily exchange of external things, a speed of movement that imposes upon the artist an equal speed of execution. As soon as lithography was invented it was quickly seen to be very suitable for this enormous task, so frivolous in appearance. We possess veritable national records in this class; the works of Gavarni and Daumier have been accurately described as complements to La comédie humaine.

Philipon's first collaborators had been his colleagues on La Silhouette, most of whom joined the weekly journal La Caricature, which began publication in 1830 with Balzac as editor in charge of text and Grandville as its most distinguished illustrator (see Figure 2). Daumier joined a few months later, at about the time when Philipon shifted from social comment to political satire and polemic. In 1832, Philipon, foreseeing increased difficulties because of censorship fines, established a sister publication and eventual successor, Le Charivari (charivari meaning a loud clatter of pots and pans at the windows of unpopular people). One large sheet folded into four pages, this paper included a full-page lithograph by Daumier, Gavarni, or others, and smaller engraved caricature vignettes interspersed throughout the text. Published daily, it gave caricature a larger audience than ever before. From the start it covered social as well as political subjects, Philipon set the editorial policy and tone.

Philipon was not a caricaturist of the first order himself, but he was a generous discoverer and sure-footed guide and animator of the talents of others. In his little study on Daumier, Henry James spoke of Philipon as having "a suggestive share in any enterprise in which he had a hand." Daumier is reported as saying that without Philipon's prodding he "would never have done anything." Philipon had the instinct of the publicist: a sharp awareness of the realities and the potential of his milieu. In his obituary for Philipon, Nadar spoke of his great sense of the public.

Balzac and Philipon, the man of letters and the imagier, friends and collaborators, each took city life as his source material and as his field of struggle. Although their political stances were widely different, their common enterprise was the understanding and portrayal, through visual clues, of a new urban society. In a short article written in the form of a manual for caricaturists, Le Dedans jugé par le dehors (The Inside Judged by the Outside), Philipon left an explicit document of the contact between the caricaturists’ art and the literary tradition of moeurs. This is strikingly close in tone and focus to Balzac's Théorie de la démarche (A Theory of Bearing). But Balzac's piece is cast in the form of a guide to behavior, whereas Philipon’s little treatise, intended for the novice caricaturist, is a witty, vernacular take-off of Le Brun’s classic guide to the expression of the passions and emotions, gesture and painting, the textbook that had been most familiar to every art student since the seventeenth century (Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière, 1698). Most of Philipon’s examples were taken from the life of the street and the boulevard—vignettes as seen by a passerby, a nonparticipant. One section deals with how people greet one another when they meet, and what can be inferred by eye about their relationship: "Two men who despise one another greet each other with great deference, very affectionately, for they fear one another"; in another example: "the husband greets the lover with a protective air; the lover smiles as he returns his greeting; two rival lovers greet one another with pinched lips; the creditor greets with embarrassment, the debtor with lightness."
Philipon's description of "detestable" behavior is very close to Theophrastus's "Tedious Man" in La Bruyère's translation. According to Philipon:

Among detestable gestures, in the first line is that of unbuttoning and rebuttong the interlocutor's waistcoat, of taking the auditor by the front of his coat and shaking him from time to time, of stopping him every three paces, letting him go and stopping him again, until he is falling over with impatience and lassitude."

An observer who wrote like this must, indeed, have been good company for Daumier.

Champfleury, writer, critic, and historian of caricature, observed of Philipon that he personified in himself — I was about to say that he created — political caricature, one of the liveliest forces of argument, which pierces when it touches, against which no shield can protect; it is all the more redoubtable under its apparent harmlessness, like the barbs of an arrow.... Its incisive art of memory, which argues and preaches to the eye, equips it with a force which governments could not be slow to understand and to repress. The man of unique talent who took up this terrible weapon and used it dazzlingly was a man of virtue and conviction.

**Censorship**

From 1831 onward the explicitness of caricature was hampered by intensifying prosecution. *Ad hoc* censorship was building up: repeated fines were levied by the government of Louis-Philippe on Philipon and his caricaturists, bringing *La Caricature* to the brink of closure as a result of increasing debts.

However, censorship of explicit caricature merely encouraged more subtle means, and from 1830 to 1835 political caricature continued to flourish. There was an escalation of devices for the submersion of words into silence: puns, emblems, allegories, and typifications. Philipon developed a vernacular code as a form of guerilla warfare against Louis-Philippe and his censors. He invented the most famous and effective single political emblem, the *poire*, or pear, as a representation of Louis-Philippe. It was simple to draw the analogy between the king's body and the image of the pear: the monarch was puffy and paunchy, so he was shown as a pear head on a pear body. But the pertinence—or impertinence—of this image came from its linguistic hint: in slang, *poire* means "fathead." The pear became the standard pun, a visual constant, with an extraordinary capacity for specificity and variety. First, the pear in all its varieties and combinations was established as an emblem for the king himself; then, by extension, it began to be used for his courtiers and ministers and, in general, for the rapacious money-grubbing speculators who profited under his Gargantuan regime.

Baudelaire noted: "The symbol had been found, thanks to an obliging analogy. From then on, the symbol was enough. With this kind of plastic slang, artists could express and convey to the populace anything they like, and it was, therefore, around this tyrannical and cursed pear that the large mob of yelling patrons collected." The pear openly teased the censors and provoked them to more convoluted regulations, which in turn the caricaturists bypassed with increasing inventiveness.

The pear, which appeared frequently in caricature, in popular literature, and imagery, became a cause célèbre between the caricaturists and the government. The *loi de cautionnement* made it easy for the government to fine newspapers: it depended on the daring and budget of the paper to test the limits. After several attempted prosecutions, *Le Charivari* was accused of "offense to the person of the king" because of a caricature showing him as a pear. On November 14, 1831, Philipon, appearing for the defense, claimed his right, under the Charter, to criticize the government openly; he described how he had decided to dedicate *Le Charivari* to political polemic because of the government's reaction to an early cartoon showing Louis-Philippe blowing soap-bubbles, each of which was a promise made at the setting up of the July monarchy.

Pencil in hand, Philipon showed the court the contradictions that followed from condemning the pear motif as an offense to the king's person. He drew four heads (Figure 3): the first was a representation of Louis-Philippe, in the second, he slightly reduced the distinctiveness of the features; the third emphasized further the shape of a head, pointed at the top, rounded at the bottom; and the fourth was a pear. To be consistent, Philipon claimed, the court would have to prosecute any drawing of a pear-shaped object in any context. Philipon did not pretend that his pear caricature was not political; he defended the paper's right to use a symbol of the king as a visual means, recognizable to everyone, of making critical statements about the regime. Philipon described how the government's harassment of the press "held back his pen and his tongue" so that he "tried by signs, by sketches, to make the regime understand that it is deceiving itself and going wrong." *La Caricature* printed the judgment that went against Philipon in the typographical form of a pear (Figure 4).

Over the next four years, the pear appeared frequently in popular imagery and literature. In an article published in *La Caricature* in 1832, *L'Enravissement de la poire* (The Invasion of the Pear), a journalist observed that the image of the pear was so pervasive that the mayor of Auxerre, a town 170 kilometers from Paris, added to the post-no-bills sign "nor any pears." Bouquet illustrated this point in a lithograph for *La Caricature* showing a group of children drawing Louis-Philippe pear heads on a wall.
One of the first Physiologies published was Peytel's *Physiologie de la poire* in 1832, a parody of a naturalist's taxonomic description, listing the varieties of pears including the *Roi-Louis*:

One of those pears of destiny which ripen around the end of July or the beginning of August. The *Roi-Louis* was imported into France in the year of grace 1830. Since then it has been a large, broad fruit, puffy and ill-formed. Abroad, it had already produced abundant seeds, and although it was not certain that the stock would do well on French soil, the variety was purchased here at high cost, 500,000 Parisis. 15

In one caricature, a pear is shown being raised as a central monument in the Place de la Concorde with the inscription: "The monument expiatoire [expiatory] is raised in the site of the Revolution, exactly in the place where Louis XVI was guillotined." Daumier showed Louis-Philippe as a pear perilously crossing a tightrope. Grandville and Forest depicted a reception where all of the figures in Louis-Philippe's court are pears (Figure 5). Bouquet's *Les Favoris de la poire* (The Favorites, or Side Whiskers, of the Pear) shows two censors with scissors snuggling up to a huge pear. In *Le Charivari* (Figure 4), a double-page spread of an open half of the huge fleshy fruit shows in its dark womb Louis-Philippe's ministers huddled around a pot marked "budget" from which they feed.

The censors in despair finally adopted Philipon's doctrine of consistency and forbade the caricaturists to draw any pear-like objects. This in itself became a subject for satire, as the caricaturists teased the censors with animals and objects that approximated pear-shapedness. The censors' preoccupation with pears led them to overlook other disguised political references and the journalists and caricaturists teased the censors on this point. A writer for *La Caricature* noted: "It's fortunate that the censors didn't see in the hunter with his cap, an allusion to the censorship firing at sparrows and didn't recognize some great personage of the court in the fox, emblem of cunning." 16 It is quite likely that such retrospective gibes were often made even when the original drawing had in fact had no particular political implication.
In *Censeurs* (Figure 6), Grandville depicted the censors as bug-headed with crossed bulging eyes, pawing over pages; Grandville’s caption read: “Ah, this is too much, we, the censors, rendered in caricature, we owe a lesson to these artists. Cut!” The accompanying text explained:

Few qualities are necessary for the censor! It’s enough if he doesn’t have the vaguest idea, in order to be able to judge the ideas of others; that is the sole condition of impartiality required of him…. You may be astonished by the indulgence they have shown toward this picture of themselves, but rest assured, it is more stupidity than magnanimity. The artist has so flattered their portraits, that these gentlemen, no doubt, don’t recognize themselves.\(^\text{17}\)

In *Liberte de la presse* (Figure 7), Daumier showed a strong and noble printer, a man of the people, standing firm in defense of his press, contrasted with the figures of monarchy, church, and a group of politicians who hover and lurk in the background. This was published as one of thirty-six extraordinary prints issued monthly by Philipon’s *Association Lithographique Mensuelle*, in order to raise revenues to pay the fines.\(^\text{18}\)
Earlier political caricatures, such as Goya’s *Caprichos*, and the work of Hogarth, Gilray, and Rowlandson, had been issued as self-contained series or individual prints. With the use of lithography in the newspapers and the mechanization of the popular press, caricature could be integrated with journalism and reach a much wider audience on a daily basis.\(^{19}\) Over the next twenty years there was a continual growth of illustrated newspapers and journals.\(^{20}\) The newspaper channeled back images, often daily, into the texture of city life from which they were drawn. The caricaturists became a current conscience for the urban population.

Nineteenth-century French caricature had a traditional predilection for formal exaggerations, mutations, transformations, sets of variations and, as we have seen, puns, emblems, and analogies; among the precedents were Louis Boilly’s *Grimaces* of 1823–1828 (Figure 8).\(^{21}\) The generation of caricaturists led by Philipon, who faced the new opportunities of daily lithography and the new constraints of censorship, inherited a well-stocked formal armory. Explicit caricatures appeared of Louis-Philippe in allegorical situations that reveal his attitudes and policies, such as Daumier’s depiction of him as a clown posed before a stage, pointing derisively to a gagged and blindfolded personification of France (Figure 9); or standing by the bed of a dead Republican exclaiming: “It is safe to release this one.” In one of the most virulent caricatures of Louis-Philippe, Daumier depicted him as Gargantua sitting on a commodious throne, being fed bribes by small courtiers and defecating medals and money; this referred to Louis-Philippe’s distribution of insignia of the Legion of Honor, ennobling bureaucrats and shopkeepers loyal to Napoleon’s military glory. This caricature, published in 1832, led to a six-month imprisonment for Daumier.

Another distinct branch of political caricature was the *portraits-charges* (see Figure 10), exaggerated portraits of recognizable political figures such as Louis-Philippe and his ministers (Dargou, Dupin, Persil, and others). Daumier was the most practiced, skillful, and imaginative caricaturist of this genre both in drawing and in sculpture.

There were also group *portraits-charges*, in *Le Ventre législatif* (The Legislative Paunch), published by the Association Lithographique Mensuelle (Figure 11). Daumier represented each member of the Legislative Body, varying the predominant characteristics of each deputy: fat, big-paunched, heavy-jowled, thick-lipped, small-eyed, each in a state of stupor, indifference, or arrogance, while the deputy Dr. Prunelle presides over them with Machiavellian alertness.

Analogies between animals and humans were another form of political caricature. Daumier, for example, represented Dupin, the attorney-general, exaggerating his simian skull.\(^{22}\) But the animal analogy was more often used in caricatures of type than of public individuals, and

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**Figure 7** Daumier, “Freedom of the Press, Don’t meddle with it,” 1834. D. 133.
Figure 8  Boilly, *Grimaces*, 1823.
Figure 10  Daumier, "D'Argout," Censor of the July Monarchy and Minister of Commerce, Public Works, Fine Arts, and the Interior. D'Argout's emblems were the scissor and his large nose, which got into everything. 1832. D. 48.

Figure 9  Daumier, "Lower the curtain, the farce is over," 1834. D. 86.
Figure 11  Daumier, “The Legislative Body (or paunch): Aspect of the ministerial branch in the prostituted chamber of 1834,” 1834. D. 131.

Figure 12  Grandville, “Cast Shadows,” 1830.
mostly to convey moral categories. This type of caricature was practiced primarily by Grandville, a master of transformation (Figure 12). In his Ombres portées (Projected Shadows) of 1830, the shadows cast by parading politicians and clerks betray their sinister animal equivalents, owls, serpents, and lizards; he also depicted politicians as strutting roosters.

In August 1835, official and comprehensive censorship laws were declared in an attempt to silence the caricaturists' continual barrage against the king and his government. In July there had been an assassination attempt on the king. The loi de cautionnement was increased from 30,000 to 100,000 francs. Administrative authorities were encouraged to interfere with the press in day-to-day activities. There were new press offenses: one could not attack the king directly or indirectly in any of the following forms—any criticism of the king, any censure or blame of the king for any act of government, any attack against the character or form of the government established by the Charter, any act of disloyalty, any use of the name "Republican," any desire or wish that the constitutional monarchy might be destroyed, and, on the "rightist" side, any wish that the legitimist Bourbon might be restored. Such offenses could be classed as treason. Furthermore, any reporting of libel or slander trials, even the names of witnesses in such trials, was forbidden.

The major innovation of the new law was prior censorship: no drawings, engravings, lithographs, or prints of whatever nature (even decorative vignettes) were permitted to be publicly exhibited or placed on sale without the prior authorization of the Minister of the Interior or by authorization of a Prefect in the provinces. If any were objected to, they could be confiscated and the publishers would be tried, not by justices but by "correction tribunals" presided over by the king's magistrates. Fines and terms of imprisonment were doubled or even quadrupled. Theaters and plays were also subjected to prior authorizations and regulation. All street performers who were known for subversive skits had to submit their songs and acts to government officials in advance of their performances.

All in all, the laws of 1835 effectively brought the explicit pictorial treatment of political subjects to a halt. La Caricature folded on August 27, 1835. And although the Charter proclaimed that "Frenchmen have the right to circulate their opinions in published form," it added that: "when opinions are converted into actions by the circulation of drawings, it is a question of speaking to the eyes. That is something more than the expression of an opinion; it is an incitement to action not covered by Article 3."

On September 16, the day after the censorship laws were officially announced, Le Charivari published a blank page surrounded by a funeral border. The missing drawing was described in words, an expedient which ridiculed the anomaly of the new laws, more fearful of images than of words. This provocative device was repeated over the next months. The guerilla warfare of Philipon and his troupe of caricaturists was mobilized with new imaginative devices.

On September 17, Le Charivari addressed its subscribers "concerning the evil designs [dessins] of the censor against the drawings [dessins]," explaining that the publication of drawings would be affected by the censor but that they would still do everything they could to assert themselves on political issues: they were concerned and committed as ever. They stated their position in verse: "You can gag me, oh hostile doctrine! But force me to change, never!—I defy you/No, Charivari will not change." This was followed by verses obviously set to the tune of the Marseillaise:

La censure en vain nous devore!
Elle enfante des traits nouveaux;
Sous les ciseaux, voyez éclorer
Croquis, pochades et tableaux.
Méprisons cette venin injure!
Laissons couler leur encre impure!
En avant, croquons!
Et que nos crayons,
Bravant ses ciseaux, ses grattoirs, ses torchons,
Embetent la censure!

(Censorship in vain devours us!/She brings forth new traits;/Under her scissors, we see sketches, scrabbles, scenes unfold;/We despise this futile insult!/Let their foul ink flow!/Onward, sketching!/And let our crayons/defying their scalps, erasers and wipers/continue to harass the censorship.)

Legitimist and Republican journalists informed their readers that cunning and hypocrisy would be needed, and that readers should become accustomed to looking for innuendos. Their defiant irrepressibility became a recurrent motif with political force in itself, and generated a wealth of alternative codes for making political points. The journalists established a new level of highly articulate subversive silence. Such inventiveness, involving the complicity of the audience in the same way as a rebus or a puzzle would, was a great part of the appeal of the caricatures of that period.

At the same time a deeper transformation was taking place: the caricaturists were beginning to shift their focus from public events, individual politicians, and specific laws and policies, to their sources and consequences in social conditions. In this shift, Daumier, in collaboration with Philipon, played the major role. This new strain of caricature was more resistant to censorship. The individual political portrait-charge and explicit political caricature were replaced by the representative or symbolic type, which stood for a recognizable category of protagonists, beneficiaries, or victims of the regime. The classification of people by types became part of the caricaturists' armory.
Emblematic Types

One version of this device was the "emblematic type," a fictional character with a proper name and set of characteristics with whom the public could gradually develop an involved acquaintance. Once created and established in the public’s imagination, such types were put through a variety of contemporary situations and stresses and given different professions. Sometimes these figures were explicitly political in their activities; sometimes only the accompanying text would spell out the political reference; sometimes they reflected the attitudes and cultural effects of the regime. The sources of these popular types were found in illustrations, literature, fables, theater, and popular songs. Inevitably, the depiction of such types tended to represent weaknesses and faults rather than merits and good qualities.27

Figure 13  Travies, “Out of the question, my dear! I’m on duty—Later, perhaps...”,” 1831.

Four principal emblematic types were evolved in caricature between 1830 and 1870; they reflected a political progression. They were Mayeux from 1830 to 1833 (at the same time as the poire); Robert Macaire from 1835 to 1838; Ratapoil from 1850 to 1852; and Joseph Prudhomme from 1852 to 1870.28 As types for caricature, Macaire, Ratapoil, and Prudhomme are Daumier’s, although both Macaire and Prudhomme were taken over from the theater.

Mayeux was the creation of Travies, who reportedly based the physical type on the grimacier Leclerc’s impersonation of a hunchback, partly pathetic, partly querulous (Figure 13).29 Travies’ inspiration was to adapt this image to a political type who, at the height of the patriotic fervor of July 1830, personified a whole ominous aspect of the 1830 Revolution: the figure of the small self-seeker who

Figure 14  Frederick Lemaître in his role as Macaire. After a photograph by Carjat.
had chosen the revolutionary side and who, as a member of the National Guard, was in a position to exercise petty tyranny and exploitation, not least over women. He remains a small shopkeeper, but he has naive ambitions to positions of influence under the new regime. His hunchback associates him with Punch or Polichinelle, traditionally a cynical outsider, the butt of mockery and himself a mocker. The Gazette de Paris, in a note on Mayeux in 1833, put him in the tradition of Thersites and Aesop, malformed outsiders and mockers of society. The force of the character comes from the fact that this outsider, without social ties or responsibility, is in a position of arbitrary (though petty) social power. As soon as he appeared in Travies' cartoons, he was generally seized upon as a current reference in political and social commentary as "the figure who summed up our agers, our enthusiasm, our credibilities, the type of 1830 and 1831." Mayeux's reign was short-lived. He was declared dead in 1833, of ennui and disappointment, a 'devouring and indeterminate malady which the doctors...have named 'ingrown revolution.'" The Gazette de Paris reported: "Mayeux disappears and Robert Macaire takes possession of the street...the hunchback dies at the hour when illusions are no longer possible; the rascal Robert Macaire...says to Mayeux: 'Ah, die, naive buffoon. Naiveité is dead.'"

Robert Macaire, the quintessential con man, was a satire on the July Monarchy and its financial oligarchy. Macaire had his origins in the theater, the creation of the actor Frédéric Lemaitre in his free interpretation of a bland melodrama of Benjamin Antier, Saint-Armand, and Paulyanthe, L'Auberge des adrets, first performed at the Théâtre Ambigu-Corique in 1823 (see Figure 14). The plot concerned a criminal who was shot and died a repentant sinner. Lemaitre introduced comic elements in his characterization so that by the early 1830s the play had become a satire. In the final scene Macaire and his sidekick Bertrand stand in front of the Bourse, the stock exchange, about to be admitted to the Panthéon des Voleurs, the Robbers' Hall of Fame. Daumier rendered this scene in caricature.

In 1834 a new comedy was written around Lemaitre's Macaire, Robert Macaire, ce cynique scapin du crime, clearly a satire on the July Monarchy. In the last performance of this play, when it was banned in 1835, Lemaitre/Macaire appeared made up as Louis-Philippe.

Daumier adopted Lemaitre's Macaire for caricature. On November 13, 1834, he first depicted Macaire and Louis-Philippe embracing while picking one another's pockets. In the background are Thiers and Persil, the Attorney-General. The hundred lithographs of Daumier's Macaire series, Caricaturana, were published in Le Charivari between 1836 and 1838 in collaboration with Philipon, who wrote the legends. Macaire, manipulative, corrupt, dissembling, represented politics on the citizenry level; as a financial and social operator, he was a political phenomenon (see Figure 15). He came to life in an age of feverish speculation, a supporter of the monarchy in his own financial interest. Le Charivari noted that while Macaire had been banned from the theater where he had his origins, "his type persists as the most complete personification of the period. Because of censorship we can't stigmatize the political Robert Macaire, so we look to the businessman Macaire."

Baudelaire noted:

Macaire was the clear starting point of the caricature of manners...The political pamphlet gave way to comedy...And so caricature took on a new character, and was no longer particularly political. It became the general satire of the citizenry. It impinged on the domain of the novel.

Macaire was depicted in various professional guises, but "money was the common denominator": banker, chairman of a stock company, shareholder, speculator, lawyer, industrialist, political candidate, editor of an industrial journal, proprietor (Figure 16). Also among his professions was medicine: he was represented as doctor, surgeon, dentist, oculist, hypnotist, magnetizer, pharmacist, and dispenser of quack medicine. His depiction as journalist and editor without scruples led one English
Caricature, Newspapers, and Politics

Figure 16  Daumier, Robert Macaire, Attorney: "Gentlemen the contract in question is manifoldly null and void, fraudulent and without force in law. (The President interrupting M. Macaire) But you are arguing against your own client. (Robert, aside) The Devil! It's true, I'm in trouble. (Aloud) This is no doubt what my colleagues will try to tell you.... But in fact, this contract is certainly sound, legal and completely binding, etc. etc. (He pleaded five hours without stopping to spit and lost his case)." Caricaturana, 1837. D. 399.

contemporary to speculate that Macaire was in part a parody of Emile de Girardin, who, after his days at La Silhouette, became a conservative and establishment figure. Balzac described his Baron de Nucingen, an exploitative hard-hearted banker who appeared in many of his novels, as "ce vieux Robert Macaire du Nucingen." And Marx directly linked Macaire to Louis-Philippe, observing: "The July Monarchy was no more than just a joint stock company, for the exploitation of French national wealth....Louis-Philippe was a director of this company, a Robert Macaire on the throne." There are no moral claims in Macaire's world. Gautier noted his "audacity and his desperate attack on the social order and against people." His bearing is a matter of manipulation, a dramatic device. Daumier expressed this attitude through his depiction of Macaire based on Lemaître; he wears an eye-patch, and a cravat hitched high to mask his mouth, obscuring his most revealing features.

With Macaire, Daumier first developed his particular syntax of bearing and gesture, the modification of conventional gestures by individually observed traits that amend and sometimes reverse our reading of the figure's intentions: we can tell from Macaire's pose what he is really up to. He took on the lawyer's outstretched accusatory arm, the landlord's proprietary stance. Macaire was also often presented in a gentleman's pose, but exaggerated to the point of charlatanry (Figure 17). The pose itself was conventional, at least since the Renaissance, and was adopted consistently in artistic representations from Poussin and Le Brun to David and nineteenth-century academic painting. In The Art of Painting and All Its Branches (1838), Gerard de Laresses described this pose aptly: "In an erect posture, the feet must make a right angle, to wit, the heel of the one with the inner ankle of the other." This is what is known in ballet as the fourth position. Daumier used this pose in depicting politicians, lawyers, the bourgeoisie, anyone with power or pretension. The popular Swiss physiognomer Johan Casper Lavater had described moral traits deducible from this pose:

Ridiculous affectation of superiority exercising its empire over a humble and timid character....Presumption of every kind supposes folly at bottom and one meets both in every disproportionate and gross physiognomy which affects an air of solemnity and authority....Theatrical affectation of man is destitute of sense and meaning and used to give oneself airs.

Figure 17  Daumier, "Bertrand, I'm in love with finance...if you want, we'll open a bank. Yes, a real bank! Capital 100 million, million shares, 100 milliard milliards. We'll sink the bank of France, we'll sink the bankers, we'll sink the mountebanks, we'll sink everybody!—yes, but what about the police?—Don't be a fool, Bertrand, no one arrests a millionaire." Caricaturana, 1836. D. 354.
Figure 18  Daumier, Ratapoil making Propaganda: "If you love your wife, your house, your field, your heifer and your calf, sign, you haven't a minute to lose." Current Events, 1851. D. 2117.

A contemporary writer of theatrical gesture, Henry Siddons, in his Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action of 1822 (based on J. J. Engel's Ideen zu einer Mimik, 1785-1786, which is reprinted in the Lavater L'Art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie, Paris 1806-1809), described the pose as indicative of pride and conceit, pretentiousness and arrogance.

Macaire, who personified the exploitative opportunities of the July Monarchy, disappeared with the downfall of Louis-Philippe in 1848. The new Republican government was helpless in the face of the economic crisis which followed the Revolution of 1848. Distrust and tension built up between the masses and the middle class. It became clear that economic conditions under the Republic were worse than under Louis-Philippe. Six "June days" of bitter street fighting between working class and bourgeoisie ensued. In December Louis-Napoleon was named President of the French Republic. The conflict and instability of this new appointment was expressed in Daumier’s lithograph of Hugo balancing Louis-Napoleon on a seesaw. In 1852 the new French constitution gave the president monarchical powers. Two weeks later Louis-Napoleon proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III. This “Second Empire” lasted until September 1870.

In the period between 1848 and 1852, the censorship laws were lifted, and Daumier and other caricaturists returned to political caricature. It was in 1850, when Daumier felt that the Republic was doomed, that he invented his new emblematic character, Ratapoil, who first appeared in individual lithographs in Le Charivari (see Figure 18). A hired bully and agent of the secret police, who had begun his rise to power in 1848, Ratapoil gathers votes for Louis-Napoleon by threats and bribes. Ratapoil was first conceived as a sculpture: Daumier’s only free-standing, full-length single figure, 17 inches high (Figure 19). In the lithographs of 1851, he took on his typical look: angular, skeletal, a battered hat resting on a broken nose. Ratapoil appeared in forty Daumier lithographs between 1850 and 1851. The writer and art critic...
Gustave Geffroy called him "the resumé of an epoch, the agitator who prepared the coup d’État." 49

Daumier’s sustained indictment of this figure was a cry of warning, part of a campaign against Louis-Napoleon’s claims to sovereignty. As Jules Michelet, the prominent anti-Bonapartist historian, remarked, Daumier did more for Republicanism with Ratapoil than all politicians put together. 50

By the time of the establishment of the Second Empire (1852), whether because of censorship or because the battle was now lost, Ratapoil was dropped from Daumier’s repertoire. He reappeared in a few lithographs in 1871, after the Franco-Prussian war, where he was depicted trying to rouse peasants to the cause of the deposed emperor. Ratapoil’s political successor in Daumier’s work was to be Henry Monnier’s type of the quintessential, apolitical bourgeois, Joseph Prudhomme.

Figure 20  Daumier, Henry Monnier in the role of Joseph Prudhomme, 1852.D.2347.

Professional Types
Along with typical and recurrent emblematic characters like Macaire and Ratapoil who have a name and continuity through all their guises, Le Charivari also developed broader strategies for expressing political attitudes in social satire (see Figures 20, 21). After the censorship laws of 1835, satirical representations of professions flourished. The first and most important of these series, Types français (1835), was a collaboration between Través and Daumier, at the time when they were also drawing Mayaux and Macaire respectively. The introductory text stated that the series reproduces the types of physiognomy, the bearing, and the costume particular to the different classes that form the ornament of society. This series along with Grandville’s Grotesques parisiens and Bourdet’s Béotsmes parisiens [Parisian follies] forms in Le Charivari a complete physiognomy of the Nation known as the most witty and gracious in the world.

This editorial provided a specific link between one of the occupational types and two named public figures, Le Charivari’s special enemies:

The La Bruyère who is responsible for tracing in our contemporary pictures a moral portrait of the little clerk, the brook-jumper [message-runner], has only forgotten to add that above all he is not afraid of getting his hands dirty. It is from the number of the brook-jumpers that two actual censors come, MM Jules de Wailley and Pierrot. 51

While each figure in Types français bears the attributes of his trade, there is something suspect about each of them. In contrast to the noble emblematic workers whom Daumier represented in Liberté de la presse, Mort pour la liberté, and Rue Transnonain, and the politically neutral earlier types of the “Cries of the City,” these ragpickers, letter-writers, bootblacks, and clerks are portrayed in a way that provides a bitter insight into their corrupting or degrading circumstances.

For example, Daumier’s L’Ecrivain public (The Public Scrivener) is shown as a poor and mean-looking old man huddled in a small hole-in-the-wall, his office, which, we are told, reeks of alcohol and tobacco (Figure 22). We also learn that he serves as the neighborhood confessor, and as confidant for the messenger, the water-carrier, the valet, and the lady’s maid. He might once have been an apprentice to a notary, or an ex-procurer of the monarchy, or an author of novels successful thirty years ago. All the same, no secret is safe with him, because he is the chief informer for the prefect of the police. The text warned:

all you to whom the new law concerning the liberty of the press applies, when you pass before this miserable shop of the public scrivener, doff your hat. 52
Daumier, "Sir, I will willingly pay a new franc...if you will do me the extreme favor of extricating me from this turnstile!" The World's Fair, 1855. D. 2693.

Daumier, The Public Scrivener: "The public scrivener is the confidant of the chambermaid, the poet, the cooks, the love interpreter of the soldiers and the consultant of the porters. His status is the last refuge of the missed education and for the invalids of literature." French Types, 1835. D. 262.
The implication may be: because this is where you too may end; or perhaps it is an expression of his power to compromise his neighbors.

Daumier's depictions of the banker bear a close resemblance to the pear-like figure of Louis-Philippe: "nothing but a container, a coffer exclusively fit for finances" (Figure 23). The accompanying text read:

This is the banker-lynx [lynx: an epithet for "greedy capitalist", robber and croupier of the stockmarket, a politic speculator, a deputy who gravitates to the centre. In his physique he is large and fat; morally he is even more gross. He is the prototype of egoism, presumption and pride. He loves luxury, and apes the aristocracy which he aspires to displace.

He keeps his carriage, livery, and Opera dancer, as the nobility do, but he lacks their tact, manners and taste. In his air, manner and language, he shows his usurious origins. He is attached to the established power. Patriotism, liberalism, national dignity, are utopian chimeras at which he smiles pityingly. Politically he has good sense: he is eligible, often he is elected, he always keeps silent in the House—that is, he does not speak; but he roars ah! and oh! and hi! according to the needs of the minister, whose feudal dependent he is.

Any country where the banker gains government power is liable to become the most cowardly, the most materialistic, the most debased in the world.
This character also bears close resemblance to Lavater's description of a type to be avoided:

Large bulky persons, with small eyes, round full hanging cheeks, puffed lips, and a chin resembling a purse or bag; who are continually occupied with their own corpulence, who on every occasion consult their own ease without regard to others, are, in reality, frivolous, insipid, powerless, vain, inconstant, imprudent, conceited voluptuous characters, difficult to guide, which desire much and enjoy little—and whoever enjoys little, gives little.54

The banker embodies exploitation, as did the similar characters of Gobseck and Nucingen in Balzac's Père Goriot. In Daumier's caricatures, lawyers stand for injustice and bankers for speculation, corruption, and greed. Caricatures of professional types continued throughout the nineteenth century. However, by the mid-1840s they became increasingly characterological, with only occasional political innuendo.

Caricatures of other nonprofessional urban types appeared regularly in Le Charivari, alternating with the Types français. Daumier's Flibustiers parisiens of 1835 depicted different kinds of thieves and petty criminals. The editorial explained that Daumier proposed to represent the different ways in which the inexperienced provincial was fleeced by crooks, as well as by the foolishness of the local citizens. The series had the double appeal of putting the public on guard and of offering a physiognomic guide to that category of the population of Paris.

A. Bourdet's Bêtotismes parisiens, published in Le Charivari on August 12, 1836, provided comment on politics, caricature, and the bourgeois censorship and economics. In one scene a politician is depicted requesting a lithographic portrait to distribute to his constituency, while the accompanying text explained: "Thanks to the excellent type of the Parisian bourgeois, the caricaturist/artist, sentenced to inaction by the September Laws, can still find work."

Throughout this period the caricaturists were elaborating their basic techniques of physiognomic expression beyond the scope of Le Brun and Lavater. After intensive collaborative political caricature between 1830 and 1835, the individual stylistic gifts of the caricaturists began to emerge with greater clarity. Their work developed in two directions: civilian satire in the caricature journals, and book illustration, less subject to day-to-day pressures and bordering on contemporary genre painting. Some genre themes of Impressionist painting—café scenes, street scenes, casual encounters—are directly anticipated in this material.

J. Traviés

After 1835, Traviés (1804-1859) attempted the transition to social caricature in his lithographs for Le Charivari.55 He depicted Parisian working-class types living on the squalid outskirts of the city, demeaned by their work or lack of work and usually broken down by drink (see Figure 24). His Tableau de Paris and Politesse française were as unappealing as Hogarth's Gin Lane had been in the previous century and, like Hogarth, he included in his panorama of demoralization a rogues' gallery of "reputable" citizens: the consumer, a rich fat man; the industrialist holding a purse and a ledger; the "honest" solicitor depicted as a robber. His style was literal and unrelenting. His proto-naturalism and pictorial social conscience were out of step with his time: a prefiguration of the novels of Zola (Figure 25).

A competent draftsman, he drew several series of satirical physiognomic studies in the manner of Boilly, including Les Contrastes (1829), which pairs off independence and servitude, ferocity and compassion, and Les Petits Grimaces (1830-1831). Traviés employed animal-human analogies in his Histoire naturelle of 1830, a parody of Buffon applied to contemporary reprehensible types. He also contributed illustrations to the Physiologies of the Maison Aubert, Les français peints par eux-mêmes and Texier's Tableau de Paris, as well as a few series on Parisian mœurs, Scènes de mœurs, les Plaisirs Parisiens, and Les Rues de Paris.

But nothing further developed along these lines: Traviés' work with its edge of brutality did not survive long in the milder world of social satire. Little is known about his remaining years. Champfleury, in his history of caricature, cites an 1859 article recounting Traviés' end: poor, alone, and forgotten.
Grandville

Grandville (Jean Isidore Gérard, 1803-1846) was born in Nancy, where his father was a miniaturist painter. Even in political days he had operated on a different axis from his colleagues—more fantastic, more abstract. He had turned mainly to book illustration by the late 1830s, occasionally contributing a print to one of the published albums of individual caricatures. There are approximately 3,000 prints, lithographs, and engravings in his oeuvre. Grandville's work in the 1830s extended the formal vocabulary of feature and expression. His morphological reduction from Apollo to a frog follows studies by Giacomo della Porta, Le Brun, and Lavater (Figure 26). Physiognomic variations in response to a common stimulus, such as snuff-taking or smoking, are also in the tradition of Boilly's Grimaces. In Formes différentes du visage (1836), he paired heads with their reduction to basic shapes: circular, square, triangular, and so on. Such analogies had also been made by Lavater (see Figure 27).

It was Grandville who provided the frontispiece for Peyel’s Physiologie de la poire in 1832, and he also drew vignettes for the 1845 edition of La Bruyère’s Les Caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle. For Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, he illustrated the stockholder, the man of letters, the pharmacist, the writer, and the surgical orderly. Social roles, customs, and habits are depicted in Chaque âge à ses plaisirs of 1827, Types modernes: les dedans de l’homme expliqué par le dehors of 1835, and piquant analogies between diners and items on the menu in Cartes vivantes du restaurateur of 1830.

As Grandville distanced himself from daily comment, he moved away from speaking silence to silent silence. He became obsessed with fantastic cosmology outside social reality. His cosmogothic romanticism anticipated the fantasy genre of science fiction. He returned to his earlier interest in physiognomy, bearing, and gesture, and became fascinated by the "physiognomy" of inanimate objects and in animating them. He drew morphogeneses and metamorphoses: animals turned into humans, inanimate objects to animate ones, geometrical forms to organic shapes. Above all, he developed animal-human analogies. Working within the long tradition of expressing moral issues through animal fables, from Aesop to La Fontaine whom he illustrated, Grandville greatly extended the traditional range of characterological traits associated with animals. Such analogies recur throughout his oeuvre. One of his first series, Les Metamorphoses du jour (1830), consisting of seventy-two lithographs, was reprinted in Le Charivari in 1832 with the title Metamorphoses du jour ou les hommes à fêtes de bêtes.
Grandville's most complete study of animal-human analogies appeared in *Scènes de la vie privée et publique des animaux: études des mœurs contemporaines* (its projected but unpublished title was *Les Animaux peints par eux-mêmes et dessinés par un autre*). This consisted of illustrations for a collection of short stories by Balzac, De Musset, Janin, Nodier, George Sand, Louis Viardot, and de la Bédollière, published in a hundred installments between 1840 and 1842. The preface made it clear that in this case the book was conceived as a satire on government and society.

The framework of the story is a revolt initiated by the animals (anticipating George Orwell's *Animal Farm*) in the Paris zoo, the Jardin des Plantes. The revolutionaries elect Grandville as an honorary animal and enlist him to illustrate the history of their republic. Each animal contributes a tale. As in his earlier journalistic work, there are references to politics and professions. This is how he described the theater critic:

> As it was a first night of a representation, I left the box at once with the air of one burdened with thought; and making my way to the green-room, joined a group of theatrical critics walking about with a supercilious pedantic air. One had the sting of a wasp, another the beak of a vulture, a third the cunning of a fox. Birds of prey were there, hungering for helpless victims. Lions were proudly showing their teeth.56

*Un Autre Monde* (Another World), of 1844, with 188 wood engravings, is the culmination of Grandville's work; it was subtitled *Transformations, visions, incarnations, ascensions, locomotions, explorations, peregrinations, excursions, stations, cosmogonies, fantasmagories, reveries, games, buffooneries, caprices, metamorphoses, zoomorphoses, lithomorphoses, metempsychoses, apotheoses and other matters*. This work was initially issued in thirty-six installments: the author's name was given as Taxile Delord, a pseudonym for Grandville. The story tells of three travelers who explore the modern world from three points of view: under the seas, from a balloon in the sky, and from the land. It is about the world turned upside down, with fish luring humans from the water with bait of jewelry, money, and liquor, and animals visiting a human zoo. There are also metaphors taken from carnivals and puppet theaters: the puppets act out the mechanical conformities of social life (variations on the *Vanity Fair* motif). In the chapter called "The Best Form of Government," people's heads are being hammered and tagged and the inscription reads: "Applying the discoveries of the phrenologists' society will eliminate crime and encourage virtue by physically altering the bumps on people's heads." Grandville also used inanimate objects as characters in this book, such as the chisel sculpting a human thumb of huge proportions (Figure 28).

Grandville also brought the spectator theme into sharp focus. In "Venus at the Opera," Grandville presented the viewers as heads of eyes, the stare epitomized (Figure 29).
Grandville's imagery was not to find its true audience until the times of symbolism and surrealism. Baudelaire wrote:

Grandville...wanted his pencil to elucidate the law of association of ideas... There are certain superficial people whom Grandville amuses; for my part, he alarms me... When I step into the world of Grandville, some sort of disquiet takes hold of me, as though I were going into an apartment where the disorder was systematically organized... It is by the lunatic side of his talent that Grandville is significant.59

Whether or not his eccentricity was clinical, his end was tragic. His book illustrations brought him a moderate livelihood but, by 1847, after the deaths of several of his children, he was a broken man. His wife and eldest son destroyed many of his original drawings after his death. He provided his own epitaph: "Here lies Grandville; he gave life to everything and made everything move and speak. The one thing is, he didn't know how to make his own way."60
Gavarni

A third major caricaturist, Gavarni (Guillaume- Chevalier, 1804-1866), a Parisian from an artisan family, had been in practice since the late 1820s as an illustrator, costume designer, and elegant satirist of manners. In 1830 he was hired by De Girardin as chief illustrator for La Mode. His work was less prominent than that of Daumier, Grandville, or Travies in Philipon's newspapers between 1830 and 1835 when political caricature was in the ascendant. After 1835 he emerged as one of the principal social caricaturists of Philipon's stable; with Daumier, he is the best-known and the most technically accomplished of the caricaturists of the mid-nineteenth century, producing over 10,000 lithographs and wood engravings in his forty-year career. Like Daumier, Grandville, Monnier, Travies, and others, Gavarni contributed to the Physiologies of the Maison Aubert, Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, Musée parisien as well as Le Diable à Paris, and La Grande Ville.

The theme of most of Philipon's caricaturists at this time was the solid core of the bourgeoisie; the world of Gavarni, a Romantic, is the demimonde of erring wives, flirtatious shop girls (grisettes) and tarts (lorettes), students and artists. His flowing, chiaroscuro style lent itself to the theme of social mutability through the elegant costume of social theater (see Figure 30). What Romantics and Realists had in common, observable in relation to their enthusiasm for Deburau, was a commitment to "being of one's time," and a sense of opposition to the bourgeois and to the status quo in the official arts with their bourgeois clientele.

But Gavarni's wide popularity depended on his ability to show people as they liked to see themselves, on display at the foyers and boxes of the theaters, at their leisure, at balls and carnivals, rather than defined by their work (see Figures 31, 32). Gavarni was the illustrator of women par excellence. His satire lay in his choice and presentation of a situation rather than in physiognomic caricature. In the series Les Gens de Paris, published in Le Diable à Paris in 1845, class distinctions are conveyed by the decorum of the pose.

By means of bearing, situation, and costume, Gavarni distinguished between amateur and professional dissipation, from the shop girls of easy morals to kept women (see Figure 33). His women are languorous and laconic; there is little action or reaction. The contours are static, the facial expressions muted. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Gavarni's biographers, commented that his applied physiognomics was worthy of Gall and Lavater. According to the De Goncourt's he presented the modern body in its melancholy, fatigue, estrangement, informality, nonchalance, the looseness of it at ease and in movement...a full length portrait for which the nineteenth century posed as it was in the street, in one's room, without assuming a pose.

In 1837, when Daumier's series on Robert Macaire was coming to an end, Philipon suggested to Gavarni a series on "une Mme. Robert Macaire." Gavarni rejected the idea and in its place Philipon and Gavarni launched a series on Fourberies de femmes en matière de sentiment, a Balzaccian profusion of deceits, hypocrisies, ruses, outrages, and duplicities of all sorts. For instance, an enraged husband catching his wife in an illicit amorous scene is restrained by her with the words: "Would you harm the father of your children?" It was with this series that Gavarni introduced his own brand of social satire.

In 1848, when revolution was brewing and his "frivolous" social scenes were in disfavor with fervent Republicans, Gavarni moved to London where his work had already attracted a particularly appreciative audience: Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were said to be collectors of his prints. Once in London, rather than the elegant world and the court, he drew everything that struck him as picturesque: scenes of the professions, new industries, but also the Dickensian poor of the London streets, hardly less abject than in Hogarth's time. These prints were published in the Illustrated London News, L'Illustration in Paris, and in a set of prints entitled Gavarni in London. Gavarni complained that he was weary of making images to amuse the bourgeois. Soon he lost interest in his work and started to drink. He frequented only a few English friends with whom he could discuss mathematics, inventions, and his growing obsession with a new system of astronomy which would supersede and "dethrone the sun."
It is paradoxical that while in France, Gavarni only occasionally showed scenes of low life, but was taxed with social irresponsibility; and yet once in England, where the beau monde was eager to see itself in his mirror, he was drawn instead to picturesque expose.

Back in Paris in the early 1850s, Gavarni heartened and applied his new social concern. Among his best series of the 1850s was Masques et visages, verbal and visual vignettes on Parisian types and situations in which he developed a new emblematic figure, the ragged street philosopher, Thomas Vireloque, who has “a bitter eloquence of uncultivated wisdom,” and was born in one of the old working-class neighborhoods of Paris, like Gavarni himself. Vireloque is a bestial-looking character “with a skull like Socrates and a monkey’s mouth.” He wears the Phrygian bonnet, attribute of the chiffonnier or rag-picker, a popular type in the “Cries of the City.” The theme of the down-and-out street philosopher was taken up by Manet in the early 1860s in his Buvreur d’absinthe (Absinthe Drinker) and Le Vieux Musicien. The drunken and loquacious rag-picker is also the protagonist of Baudelaire’s poem, Le vin du chiffonnier.
Vireloque, the opposite of Gavarni's fashionable character, became his spokesman, free, able to speak his mind, sharpened by years on the street and with nothing to lose. Like Gavarni in later life, Vireloque was proudly misanthropic. Gavarni himself wrote that Vireloque had a "vigorous hatred of all wickedness, translated into a bitter sarcasm." 

Gavarni, a Romantic in subject matter and style, became increasingly embittered in his last years, sick of his audience and of his profession. In 1857, when his young son died, he entered a final period of profound depression that lasted until his death in 1866.

There is a pattern in the lives of all these caricaturists: and many of the emblematic figures they devised are woven into this pattern. Travies is the adversary of his creature, Mayeux: he saw himself as the defender of those whom Mayeux exploits. In contrast, Gavarni's Vireloque sardonically represents his author in late life.

Henry Monnier, the subject of another article, represents an extreme case of an author's identification with his principal character, Joseph Prudhomme; this identification with his antihero encapsulated his whole life story and, finally, illustrates his downfall. Except for Daumier, all the caricaturists discussed here lived their lives in increasingly tense and abrasive relations with society and ended in isolation and despair. Daumier, exceptionally, was supported in old age and adversity by the strength of his talent and conviction, and by the ties of family and friendship. The spectacular variety of Daumier's work, and its unprecedented completeness of information about character and social interaction, remain for another lengthier discussion.

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Figure 32 Gavarni, "Physiognomy of the Peanut Gallery: Toward the End of the Fifth Act." The People of Paris, from Le Diable à Paris, 1845-1846.

Figure 33 Gavarni, Men and Women of Letters: "a smell of cooking mingles with the myrtles, And trails the unkempt muse, even in her verses, In these—so sensitive—amorous games, How many tears fall in the rabbit stew, How love partakes of onions! Illusion, followed soon by sour regret! Ah, Poesy, where will you hide your crown, Tomorrow, when Expedience puts on sale The lover's portrait (and the rabbit-skin)?" People of Paris, from Le Diable à Paris, 1845-1846.
Notes


1 This was one of four ordinances of repression. The other three were: the dissolution of the Chamber recently elected; restriction of the franchise to the wealthiest 25 percent of the existing electorate; convocation of the electoral colleges to choose a new chamber. See Alfred Cobban, A History of Modern France, Vol. 2, 1799-1871, London 1961. Penguin edition 1973, p. 90.

2 In December 1831, the right of hereditary peers to sit in the assembly was suspended: the upper chamber was to consist instead of the nominees for the "bourgeois king." The propertied class, which still held the majority of seats, had successfully ousted the legitimist and clericalist regime and, on the other hand, prevented Republicans from acceding to power. The government of France was now "a bureaucracy and plutocracy." Louis-Philippe "stood between France and a Republic." (Cobban, op. cit., pp. 97-98.)


4 After Le Charivari was well established, Charles Philipon founded and edited other publications in which caricature and illustration played a major role: Musée Philipon; Journal pour rire which became Journal amusant, Petit journal pour rire, Modes parisiennes, Revue des peintres, which illustrated painting exhibited at the Salon, and Revue pittoresque, which illustrated popular contemporary novels. He also published Paris au daguerréotype in 1840.

Other newspapers with caricatures and illustrations were the short-lived Le Boulevard, 1848-1850, edited by the caricaturist and photographer Carjat, Le Monde illustré, L’Illustration, L’Univers illustré, and Le Journal illustré.

Caricature newspapers and publications continued to proliferate between 1850 and 1890 but they are beyond the purview of this article. (See Philippe Robert-Jones, "La Presse satirique entre 1860-1890." Etude de Presse, Vol. 8, 1956, pp. 5-113.)


8 Nadar, Le Journal amusant and Le Charivari, February 2, 1862.

9 "Le Dedans jugé par le dehors," excerpted in Audebrand, op. cit., pp. 239-246. There appears to be no official publication of this essay and it is not clear whether Philipon actually distributed it among his staff and friends. I have found no other mention of the essay.

10 Ibid., p. 242.

11 Ibid., pp. 244-246.


14 La Caricature, November 14, 1831.

15 Sébastien-Benôit Peytel, Physiologie de la poire, Paris 1832, Ch. IV.

16 Le Charivari, September 16, 1835.

17 Le Charivari, November 8, 1835.


19 Lithography, invented by Aloys Senefelder, a Bavarian playwright, in 1798, was as widely used as engraving in Paris by 1819. This more immediate graphic process—the artist could draw directly on the lithography stone rather than giving his drawing to a professional engraver—allowed for greater speed of execution and publication. Significant to the popularization of caricature was the increasing mechanization of the printing press, imported from England at the end of the 1820s, doubling the number of exemplars that could be produced hourly, and halving the cost. The newspaper industry expanded while reducing its costs. In 1833 there were twelve presses for producing newspapers on a large scale. The papers of Emile de Girardin, the nineteenth-century newspaper magnate, lowered their subscription rate in 1835 from 40 to 40 francs and circulation rose rapidly. (See Albert George, The Development of French Romanticism, Syracuse University Press 1955, pp. 19-20.) Thus, the technology for mass literature and illustration existed by 1830.

Before 1830, newspapers had been essentially limited to a wealthy upper-class readership. In 1824 papers had been available by subscription at 80 francs a year, the equivalent of one-tenth of a worker’s annual wages. A total of between 50,000 and 60,000 copies of French newspapers were sold daily in 1830. In the first three months of 1831 the readership rose to 77,500, and by the next month to 81,490. By 1832, the number of newspapers sold in France jumped by 50 percent. And the figures continued to increase. Between the July Revolution and 1833, six million copies of newspapers, broadsheets, and circulars were distributed by 1,500 hawkers (see Irene Collins, The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881, Oxford 1959, p. 80). The principal political dailies in Paris doubled circulation from 73,000 to 148,000 between 1836 and 1845. By 1858, 235,000 newspapers were sold daily in Paris (Bechtel, op. cit.).
But still newspapers reached a limited audience. In 1858 the Paris population measured approximately one and a half million. And only a small minority of the overall Parisian readership subscribed to the caricature newspapers. In 1846, while Le Siècle, a major liberal paper, sold 32,885 copies in daily sales and 21,500 outside the city, Le Charivari sold 2,740 copies daily in the city, and 1,705 subscriptions outside the city. (See Histoire générale de la presse française, II, Paris 1969, p. 146, published under the direction of C. Bellanper, J. Godechot, P. Oural, and F. Terrou.) Commercial literary success was measured on a lower scale than now. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the sale of 2,500 copies of a popular novel of Hugo or Paul de Kock was considered exceptionally high. (Theodore Zeidin, France 1848-1945, II, Oxford 1973, p. 368.)

The audience for caricature was also expanding. There was a correlative growth in the number of prolific contributors, including in their number Daumier, caricaturists, particularly Daumier.

In 1839, the availability of pirated cheap editions published in Belgium. Most of the clientele in these public reading rooms were bourgeois and young people—the reading rooms were primarily located in bourgeois neighborhoods. (See Claude Pichois, "Les Cabinets de lecture à Paris, durant la première moitié du XIXe siècle", Annales, 1959, pp. 521-534).

There is some evidence that the caricatures in Le Charivari reached a wider audience. An article on Le Charivari published in London in 1838 observed that in contrast to London, in Paris "even very poor families have prints of all kinds ... gay caricatures of Granville [sic], of Monnier—military pieces of Raffet, Charlet Vernet." Presumably these were clipped from the newspapers. Crowds are described gathered outside the window of the Maison Aubert where the day's caricatures were posted. Daumier and others depicted such scenes as well.

But the growing number of people with some literacy and education, between 1830 and 1832, the sale of Le Charivari reached its peak around 1844, when there were 215 of them. They subsequently dwindled as a result of the availability of pirated cheap editions published in Belgium. Most of the clientele in these public reading rooms were bourgeois and young people—the reading rooms were primarily located in bourgeois neighborhoods. (See Claude Pichois, "Les Cabinets de lecture à Paris, durant la première moitié du XIXe siècle", Annales, 1959, pp. 521-534).

There was a correlative growth in the number of prolific contributors, including in their number Daumier, caricaturists, particularly Daumier. However, illiteracy rates were still high. Despite the new education laws that had been passed in 1833, in 1866 35 percent of the population of France could not read (Zeidin, op. cit., II, pp. 542-543).

Caricature, as seen in the papers in the late 1830s, may have been a means of getting a visual report and editorial on the day's political and social activities (as photojournalism and television provide in the twentieth century).

For a general illustrated history of prints and their public see Ralph Stiles, The Indignant Eye: The Artist as Social Critic (Boston 1969), and Hyatt Mayor, Prints and People, New York 1971.

21 L. L. Boilly, Grirmaces, 92 lithographs 1823-1828, reissued by the Maison Aubert in 1837 as Groupes physionomiques connus sous le nom de grimmaces par Boilly. 200-300 exemplars of first edition, up to 1,000 on a few. Also issued in more limited editions in London.


23 The censorship laws were published in Le Charivari, August 27, 1835. See also Bechtel, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

24 The assassination attempt was made by a Corsican, Fieschi, assisted by two members of the Leftist Society for the Rights of Man.

25 Quoted in Oliver Larkin, Daumier, Man of His Time, Boston 1966, p. 29.


28 The dates indicate their primary period. See the entry on Mayeux, Le Grand Dictionnaire du XIXe siècle, Larousse, Paris 1874, and Felix Mauré, Les Mayeux Essai iconographique et bibliographique, 1830-1850, Paris n.d.


30 Jules Janin, Histoire de la littérature dramatique, I, p. 95, observed: "The prints, the songs on the passions, loves and angers of Mayeux one can't count. He gave his name to clothes, handkerchiefs, hats, stores, vaudeville. One sports hats à la Mayeux."

31 Champfleury, op. cit., pp. 206-210, reports that a number of journals were published using Mayeux; for example, Du nouveau... Attention, nom de d...! Mayeux, 1830-1832, a monthly journal. Aware of his popularity, Mayeux published his collective work as a monument to himself. Oeuvres de M. Mayeux, de son vivant chasseur de la garde nationale parisienne. Membre de sept académies, aspirant à l'ordre royal de la légion d'honneur, et l'un des braves des trois journées. Épisode de l'histoire de France, Paris 1832.

When he did not achieve the power he sought, he joined the cause of democracy, publishing Mayeux à la société des droits de l'homme (1833), where he uttered his famous adage: "A chaque crime, élevons un poteau, nom de D." (For every crime we shall raise a scaffold... cited in Champfleury, op. cit., p. 205.) He memoralized the cholera epidemic in verse and prose: La France, M. Mayeux et le choléra (1833). Mayeux returned briefly with the 1848 Revolution; he published six issues, Mayeux, journal politique, and a reactionary brochure, Voyage de M. Mayeux en Irlande, ses aventures curieuses dans le pays de M. Cabet. In 1851 he made a final appearance: Mayeux l'indépendant, homme politique, etc. appellant les hommes du jour par leur nom. Suivi d'une revue critique sur diverses positions de sa vie et quelques pages sur l'évenement du 2 décembre, Paris 1851.

32 Champfleury, op. cit., p. 205.

33 Ibid.


44 Politics had simmered down between 1836 and 1848; but in that year attacks on government corruption increased in the liberal papers, which called on the people of Paris to take up the struggle. In February 1848 Paris revolted and, with the aid of the National Guard, toppled the monarchy. A split had occurred between the supporters of Louis-Philippe, the Bourbon monarchists, and the Republicans. Louis-Philippe abdicated; the new Republican government, which emerged from the meeting of the National Assembly, proclaimed universal male suffrage. The voting population increased from a quarter of a million to nine million, and laid the foundation for the subsequent Bonapartist dictatorship. Cobban, op. cit., p. 319.
Workers were dismissed from factories and craftsmen were unemployed. There was little government assistance, credit or charity.

Ledru-Rollin, Minister of the Interior, who was responsible for the election of the Constituent Assembly, realized that if the vote was held, with universal suffrage, the illiterate peasants were likely to follow the lead of the clergy and the landowners.

Louis-Napoleon had the Orleans family banished from France and encouraged a plebiscite in support of the revival of the empire.


Jules Michelet (1798-1874), letter to Daumier, March 30, 1851. Published in *Daumier, raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, Paris 1945, p. 87.
Analysis of Historical Photographs: A Method and a Case Study
James Borchert

Documentary photography has vast and as yet unrealized potentialities for recording as well as for presenting data that should be of vital interest to social scientists and historians. Documentary photography is a new means with which the historian can capture important but fugitive items in the social scene.

— Roy Stryker and Paul Johnstone (1940)

While social scientists have been recording and analyzing still photographs (and film) for a number of years, historians have used visual records sparingly. Undoubtedly, a large part of the cause of historians' neglect is their strong tendency to rely on traditional written sources. Having developed skills in "textual analysis," historians have concentrated on these sources. In contrast, social scientists, who have often found it necessary to collect their own data, have been much more adventurous. The end result is that social scientists have increasingly developed more sophisticated research methods while historians are only now beginning to approach new sources of information.

Despite this condition, there has long been an interest in photographs as a means of recording "nonrecurring events" for both historical interest and analysis. Documentary photographers were among the first to see the value of photographers; the work of Roger Fenton on the Crimean War and that of American photographers on the Civil War reflected, along with a desire for financial gain, a concern for preserving "nonrecurring" events. As Alexander Gardner noted in the preface to his book of Civil War photographs, "verbal representations of such places, or scenes, may or may not have the merit of accuracy; but photographic presentments of them will be accepted by posterity with an undoubting faith" (Gardner 1959).

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Others saw the value of photographic records for the study of history. In 1888 George Francis addressed the American Antiquarian Society on "Photography as an Aid to Local History," urging "the prompt collection in a systematic way" of photographs as "the best possible picturing of our lands, buildings, and our ways of living" (Francis 1888:279, 275). Unlike Gardner, however, Francis demonstrated a sophisticated knowledge of the possible "error caused by bias or prejudice of the operator" (ibid:276). Nearly 30 years later an English publication, The Camera as Historian, went so far as to argue that photographic sources have "a value greatly outweighing" other historical records (Gower, Jast, and Topley 1916:1). Like Francis's work, this study sought mainly to provide guidelines for local historical societies wishing to carry out systematic visual surveys of material culture and landscape for current and future historical work. Their interest was more in recording and preserving than in the actual use and interpretation of such documents. These studies had a strong influence on the efforts of amateur and professional photographers who sought to record the visual landscape, while at the same time a new breed of documentary photographers, often motivated less by historical concerns than by aesthetic and social ones, focused on social problems.

Professional historians were slower in coming to an appreciation of the potential of photographs for their own work. While the "New History" of the Progressive era (1900-1917) viewed history as "every trace and vestige of everything man has done or thought" (thus helping to establish the intellectual basis for the need for and use of photographic records as primary sources), few if any historians used photos as evidence (Robinson 1965:1). During the 1920s, however, a number of historians became interested in using illustrations to convey information. The work of Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., and Dixon Fox (1927-1948) as editors of the "History of American Life" series and Ralph Henry Gabriel's (1926-1929) work as editor of the Pageant of America, like the illustrative work of economist Roy Stryker for American Economic Life (Tugwell, Monro, and Stryker 1925) and geographer J. Russell Smith for North America (Smith 1925), laid the foundation for the movement toward use of visual records that was to come to fruition in the 1930s and 1940s (Hurley 1972:11-16).

The Depression brought with it a renewed interest in the use of photographs, reflecting changes in the history profession as historians turned to new subjects (the "common man") and new approaches (reflecting in part the urgings of Robinson and other New Historians to view the social sciences as allies). The result of this ferment can be seen in the 1939 American Historical Association convention, which was devoted to the "Cultural Approach to History" (Ware 1940). Along with papers on demography, folklore, folk music, and linguistics, historians heard Roy Stryker (then head of the Historical Division
of the Farm Security Administration) and Paul Johnstone argue that “photography can easily reach the vast number of human beings whose lives ordinarily are unrecorded either in literary sources or in formal graphic sources” (Stryker and Johnstone 1940:327). While warning of the potential for bias in selection and calling for historians to advise photographers in their work, Stryker and Johnstone also noted that photographs offered a “new means with which the historian can capture important but fugitive items in the social scene” (ibid.:329, 330). Moreover, they went beyond earlier work to suggest the areas in which photographs could be utilized in historical research; these ranged from the most obvious—recording physical details of material culture—to “clues to social organization and institutional relationships” and interpretation of the “human and particularly the inarticulate elements” (ibid.:329, 330). They went on to contrast a “Michigan Iron Miner’s Home” with that of a black “Sharecropper Family” in Louisiana to suggest social organization and institutional relationships, while a Lewis Hine photograph of an “Italian Immigrant Mother and Child at Ellis Island” in 1905 “reflected the order, the security, the sense of status, and the personal relationship which characterized the peasant culture from which this immigrant had come” (ibid.:330).

While Stryker and Johnstone offered insights into the possible uses of photographs as primary documents for historical research, they did not elucidate methods for analyzing a large body of photographs or suggest how such information could be readily incorporated into a study. Although they did note that the “photograph cannot ordinarily stand by itself,” they left historians to work out their own forms and methods for analysis (ibid.:326).

Of course, historians have continued to use photographs, or drawings made from them, for illustrations. Moreover, in recent years certain subfields have employed photographs as research documents. This is especially true in the fields of historical archeology, art history, and material culture. Nevertheless, the photographs used in these studies are generally taken or generated by the particular study; such research does not involve analysis of historical photographs.

A number of recent studies have sought to use photographs as primary documents directly in their analysis. In a 1969 study, Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis, Harold Mayer and Richard Wade claimed that they were breaking historical ground by using “photography as evidence instead of as mere illustration” (Mayer and Wade 1969:1). Although they do include a brief essay on their sources, including a discussion of the limitations and biases, they neither apply nor develop methods for photoanalysis. Their study does, however, provide extensive visual sources that could be subjected to such an analysis. Similarly, a number of recent studies that set out to use “photographs as historical technique and source” carefully apply strict rules of historical evidence to photographs to ensure validity and accuracy; they are designed, however, to “re-create the past” by explaining visual images of it rather than interpreting or analyzing that past (Harney and Troper 1975:x). Other studies draw on information in photographs but attempt no systematic analysis (Daniels 1980:8-11, 55, 128, 136, 171), or they utilize photographs in interviewing to elicit more information (Daniel 1977) or extensively document individual photographs (Rundell 1977). Only one of these studies makes an effort to discuss the methods used, and it is largely a discussion of the application of rules of evidence with no consideration of how analysis proceeds (Rundell 1978).5

While historians have continued to use photographs as illustrations, then, they have not used them as sources in any systematic or comprehensive way; they have not elicited data from photographs to develop an interpretive or analytical account. This condition exists despite the growing number of calls by historians for the use of photographic records as primary sources (Morison 1967; Peters and Mergen 1977; McCord 1978; Thomason 1978; Schlereth 1980; Hurley 1981). It is possible, nevertheless, to do analyses of historical photographs, drawing on social science techniques and adapting them to fit the different circumstances that historical photographs present.

This article provides a detailed discussion of the methods, problems, and results of photoanalysis applied to 900 historical photographs as part of a larger social history/community study—Alley Life in Washington from 1850 to 1970 (Borchert 1980).6 The research focused on black folk migrants who lived in small dwellings facing on interior alleys (within city blocks) in the core of the nation’s capital. It attempted to determine the extent to which these migrants adjusted to their new environment. While photoanalysis was used to uncover patterns in material culture and behavior, the overall study sought “multiple confirmation” through a “multi-method approach” (Webb et al. 1966:5).

First, the methods of collection and a brief description of the photograph compilation that resulted are discussed. Next, the issues of representativeness of the compilation, its validity, and the potential bias resulting from photographer selection are taken up under two sections: Validity and Bias. In conclusion, analysis process and a brief report of the findings are presented, along with comments on the value of historical photoanalysis.
Collection Methods

The theoretical base for the collection procedure was developed from E. Richard Sorenson’s “Research Film” (1973:3-4; also 1976:247-255) and Jon Wagner’s collection strategy (1979:148-152), methods developed by researchers who were producing their own visual records rather than relying on existing ones. Because the historian is seldom able to “take pictures” and because those pictures that remain often lack much information about the content or context of the photograph, it is necessary to adapt these methods (Byers 1966). Most important of these adaptations is the requirement that the largest number of photographs about a given research topic be collected. Photographs from each photographer (or collection) are biased, often in ways that are difficult to determine fully. The more photographs one has to work with, the easier it is to begin to detect bias in an individual’s work (or that of an individual collection). Similarly, an entire photograph compilation (all photographs collected on a topic) can be biased; in the case of this study it is most obvious in the absence of any photographs from alley residents themselves (Worth and Adair 1972). However, the greater the size of a compilation, the more likely are the chances for a variety of approaches and emphases (resulting from different photographers’ motivations and concerns), and thus a richer “data base” in terms of the “intentionally” recorded images as well as the “unapprehended and unanticipated, incidental surrounding information” (Sorenson and Gajdusek 1963:113) the camera recorded without the photographer’s knowledge (Sorenson 1976:248; Wagner 1979:148-149).

Sources of Alley Photographs

As suggested earlier, no visual records came from the Washington alley population itself. This is largely the result of a currently dispersed population and the very limited resources alley residents had until gentrification altered the nature of the alley population in the late 1940s and 1950s. While the poverty of alley dwellers greatly reduced the likelihood that residents would record their life experiences either in written or visual form, it did ensure that others would. In large part because alley dwellers, like many marginal peoples, were considered a threat and a problem to the city, their activities attracted the interest of a wide range of individuals and organizations.

One of the earliest sources for visual records of alley life is the housing reform movement; numerous reformers took photographs to illustrate lectures and publications. With few exceptions, however, only the prints in publications remain, and these are of poor quality due to the print technology of the period8 (see Table 1). While the reform movement represents the major source for photographs in the earliest period (1900-1919) and becomes less important in later years, it is often difficult to separate “reformers” and government agents since they were often interchangeable in either period. Government sources, the most voluminous of those for the study of alley life (62 percent of the entire compilation), include the Alley Dwelling Authority Collection (A.D.A.), a national-local agency set up during the New Deal to rid the city of the alley menace (30 percent of all photographs); the Farm Security Administration Collection (F.S.A.), a national agency whose Historical Section visually recorded American society from 1935 to 1942 (15 percent); and the Redevelopment Land Agency Collection (R.L.A.), a local agency set up to implement the redevelopment of southwest Washington in the 1950s (12 percent).9 Newspaper archives (Washington Star, 1930-1955; Daily News, 1941-1957) contributed 6 percent of the total photograph compilation, while another 2 percent came from a variety of sources including an amateur photographer contest on housing conditions in 1947.10 Finally, I made several surveys of alley housing in 1970 and 1972 (17 percent).11

Clearly not every possible source of photographs on alley life was utilized; some were not accessible while others undoubtedly remain to be discovered. Nevertheless, the compilation includes 747 historical photographs with an additional 151 photographs in the 1970s for comparison.12

Methodology

While one can take only written notes on photographs in Archives as the basis for analysis, ordering only those prints to be used for publication (Rundell 1978:390), that approach was quickly abandoned for this study. Because it is difficult to know just what is important in the photograph compilation and because notes on photographs greatly limit re-analysis of photographs for new evidence, I decided to make copies of all archival photographs. When prints were available in archives (or other sources), I copied these photographs using a hand-held 35-mm SLR camera (or copy stand when possible). For very small photographs, I used extension tubes; for pictures that had important data requiring “enlarging,” I made close-up copies as well as recording the entire picture to avoid loss of context. (The close-ups were later enlarged to facilitate further analysis, but the enlargements were always accompanied by the entire picture so that the analysis did not remove them from...
the already limited visual context.) When only negatives were available in archives, I ordered copies made from them.

At the same time that I copied the prints, I also made complete notes on the photographs being copied as well as on their context. Information specific to each photograph was recorded by frame and roll to facilitate matching them up with prints. I then had the film processed commercially and had three proof sheets (contact prints of the negatives) made for each roll. The first set of contact sheets are stored (as the original "research film collection") with the negatives and the original notes for each print (Sorenson 1973). The other two sets of proof sheets were cut up into individual frames. Each print was mounted on a 5-by-8-inch card (an original and a duplicate) containing the source of the photograph, archival order number or page number (if from a publication), date, agency responsible for the photograph, photographer, location where the photograph was taken, and the caption (when this information was available) (Collier 1979: 167). In some cases I made notes on the cards of photographs that were taken in sequence so that a larger context could be established in the analysis. Finally, these cards were assembled by collection, individually numbered but in a running sequence for the entire compilation; this segment of the data collection is called the Card File.

The Card File represents an important tool in the initial stages of analysis. The data on the card were used to set up three indexes: an index of alley locations, an index of alley photographers, and a content index. The latter lists photographs by their compilation number for type (aerial, raised view, etc.); subject (alley view, alley house, backyard, interior, etc.); presence of adults and children; and a complete inventory of material culture. Because the 35-mm prints on the card are small and of varying quality, the index constructed from them is not as complete or accurate as it might be: for example, not all material culture is identifiable in these prints, nor are all interactions. Nevertheless, this index provides the first step in the analysis process because it permits the sorting of enlargements into different categories (nearly always multiple) for analysis of particular aspects of life.

As suggested above, the final photoanalysis was made on 8-by-10-inch enlargements of the prints in the compilation. To facilitate this, I made study enlargements of nearly 500 of the total 898 photographs; prints from archival sources bring the total of enlargements to about 600 and together make up the Print File.

To supplement the Card File I constructed a Catalog, which aggregates data on each collection from the number of prints to the subject of the photographs as well as recording all general information about the collection. Data from each collection were then aggregated to provide a clearer sense of the entire compilation. Finally, after completion of the analysis, copies of the Catalog, Card File, Index, and Print File were donated to an archive so that all materials could be used by other researchers.

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**Table 1**

**Distribution of Photographic Compilation by Photographer Organization and Time Period.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photographer Organization</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900-1919</td>
<td>1970-1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>116 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>559 (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amateur, other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author survey</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>119 (13%)</td>
<td>499 (56%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1920-1949

1950-1961

1970-1972

116 (13%)

51 (6%)

104 (14%)

151 (17%)

499 (56%)

898 (100%)
Description of the Compilation

Information from the Catalog and the indexes provides a general description of the photograph compilation. As is apparent from Table 2, more than a half lack the photographer’s name, and a quarter lack a location. In the case of missing information on the date, most photographs can be attributed to a general time period if not to a given year. While photographers’ names are most likely to be absent from the captions, it is possible occasionally to find the names of the employee(s) responsible for some photographic work, although it is impossible to know which photographs they took. Finally, while the most complete information exists on location, some caution is necessary. As Rundell found (1978: 394-396), captions are not always accurate, and this proved to be the case for at least some of the alley photographs. This misinformation was easiest to spot in cases of well-photographed alleys or those with well-known landmarks. For many photographs, however, insufficient information made it impossible to affirm the accuracy of the caption.

The vast majority of photographs (87 percent) are exterior views of either the alley, the houses, the backyard, or various combinations of these. Only 9 percent of the views are interiors, while aerial views, drawings based on photographs, portraits, and photographs of alley children at work outside the alley provide even fewer images for analysis.

Validity

The preceding discussion of the data available on the photographs and the disproportionate emphasis on exterior views suggests some limits on the compilation. It was necessary to submit the compilation to systematic analysis to determine more fully the extent to which it is representative of alley life. The entire set of photographs was evaluated to determine their distribution by time period, numerical distribution (concentration on large or small alleys), and spatial distribution (concentration on specific areas of the city).

Distribution by Time Period

Photographs in the compilation disproportionately represent the later time periods. Table 2 shows clearly that, although alley housing began in the 1850s and reached its peak just prior to the turn of the century, no known photograph was taken prior to 1900.18 Moreover, only 13 percent of the compilation comes from the period 1900-1919; the vast majority (56 percent) comes from the period 1920-1949, although few photographs were taken in the 1920s. Finally, 14 percent of the photographs comes from the transition period of the 1950s as the remaining dwellings were either torn down or renovated for the middle class; the collection from the 1970s demonstrates the end product of this process. Unfortunately, the larger study suffered from this chronological imbalance of sources. Since the research emphasis was concerned with the general patterns of life rather than change in alley life, this imbalance was less critical. Though tracing change is greatly inhibited by the skewed distribution, it is nonetheless possible to detect change over time in the material culture, use of alley space, and physical conditions of houses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Number of photos</th>
<th>Number with date</th>
<th>Number with name: photographer</th>
<th>Number with location</th>
<th>Subject of Photograph</th>
<th>Exterior</th>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Aerial</th>
<th>Draw</th>
<th>Portrait</th>
<th>Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-1919</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>9 (8%)</td>
<td>52 (44%)</td>
<td>82 (69%)</td>
<td>100 (84%)</td>
<td>4 (3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
<td>9 (8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1949</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>389 (78%)</td>
<td>170 (34%)</td>
<td>324 (65%)</td>
<td>417 (84%)</td>
<td>58 (12%)</td>
<td>14 (3%)</td>
<td>3 (—)</td>
<td>7 (1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1961</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>14 (11%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>119 (92%)</td>
<td>113 (88%)</td>
<td>16 (12%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1972</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151 (100%)</td>
<td>151 (100%)</td>
<td>151 (100%)</td>
<td>781 (87%)</td>
<td>78 (9%)</td>
<td>14 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (—)</td>
<td>13 (1%)</td>
<td>9 (1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>563 (63%)</td>
<td>373 (42%)</td>
<td>676 (75%)</td>
<td>781 (87%)</td>
<td>78 (9%)</td>
<td>14 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (—)</td>
<td>13 (1%)</td>
<td>9 (1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are photographs of 14 other alley blocks that are not included here because they fall outside the "Federal City" area or because they were not enumerated in the 1897 police census.

Commissioners of the District of Columbia, Annual Report—1897 (Washington, 1897), pp. 195-202. Data compared here are not directly comparable. The data base of 1897 predates any of the photographs, and the size of alley blocks and the alley population diminished as the twentieth century advanced. Ideally, each photograph should be compared to the distribution of alley blocks and population in the year in which it was taken; however, since this information is not available, the use of the 1897 data base is meant to be suggestive of the reliability and areas of possible bias in the photograph compilation.

Table 3
Alley Block Density and Alley Population Total Compared to Photograph Distribution in 1897

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alley Block Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 No. of blocks (1897)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 No. of blocks photographed with population size*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1 Difference in percent of distribution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alley Population Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Alley population (1897)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 No. of photographs of blocks with population size†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1 Difference in percent of distribution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerical Distribution
It is clear from Table 3 that the compilation overrepresents larger alley blocks; while nearly 70 percent of alley residents in 1897 lived in alleys smaller than 200 people, only 51 percent of the photographs were taken in alleys of that size. As the note for Table 3 indicates, however, these figures are not directly comparable since the alley population dropped off considerably as the twentieth century advanced. Nevertheless, this concentration on alleys that had the largest populations, those that were considered by observers of alley life to be the most disorganized and disorderly, rather than on the smaller alleys that contained a larger proportion of the alley population does represent a bias in the compilation (Ratigan 1941:118-119).
Table 4
Spatial Distribution of Alley Population and Photographs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of city</th>
<th>1897 alley blocks</th>
<th>Photographed alley</th>
<th>Photographs by alley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>135 (57%)</td>
<td>29 (41%)</td>
<td>198 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest</td>
<td>60 (25%)</td>
<td>25 (36%)</td>
<td>160 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>23 (10%)</td>
<td>9 (13%)</td>
<td>86 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>19 (8%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>77 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
Juxtaposition of Alleys to Monumental Buildings as a Motif

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photographic style</th>
<th>Number of photographs</th>
<th>Monumental building in photograph</th>
<th>Monumental building in caption</th>
<th>Monumental building in both</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Documentary*</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform†</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photojournalists‡</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency§</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spatial Distribution
Ironically, while the largest alleys (and the largest number of alleys—57 percent) were located in the Northwest section of the city (and secondarily in the Southwest section), the photograph compilation tends to overrepresent the other three quadrants of the city. Part of this bias reflects the specific mandates of agencies that made photographic records; the R.L.A. initially focused on redevelopment of the Southwest, while others (documentary photographers) concentrated on alleys located around Capitol Hill. It is not clear what impact this bias has on the compilation, except that the area of major alley housing is underrepresented (see Table 4).
The attraction that the Capitol Hill area held for documentary photographers does provide some interesting insight into both the skewed spatial distribution of photographs and bias in selection. While part of the attraction probably had to do with these photographers’ limited knowledge of the city and concern for their safety and convenience, it is also clear that one of the formulas for documentary photographers was to juxtapose the crowded and slum areas in the foreground with some part of monumental Washington in the background (see Table 5). The Capitol’s high visibility made it a popular target for these photographers (see Figure 1), while other massive buildings or city landmarks (see Figure 2) also served as subjects to contrast.

**Bias in Selection**

While skewed distributions of photographs by time period as well as numerical and spatial categories represent important limits in the compilation, it is equally as important to attempt to determine the extent and nature of bias that results from the photographers’ selection process. The decision-making process that determines what a photographer will record and will not record is perhaps the most difficult and tortuous to unravel. Rather than analyze each photographer, however, it is possible to consider them by genre or style. As Table 5 seems to suggest, photographers in a given field tend to share similar views as to what is important; their work reflects their socialization, training, and institutional affiliation. Barbara Rosenblum (1978:1-2) has found that work organization, among other influences, “affects style. Certain distinctive social processes dominate each setting where pictures are made and they affect what photographers can and cannot do, what kinds of images they can and cannot make, what kinds of visual data they can include in the pictures or leave out” (see also Becker 1974a:767-776; 1978:9). In addition, there is the real danger of intentional distortion; a recent study of historical photographs of North American Indians revealed that nineteenth-century photographers “posed the Indians in costumes not their own, and then retouched the negatives” (Scherer 1975b:67-79).

It is necessary, then, to attempt to reconstruct the background, orientation, professional world view, and institutional context out of which photographers of various “styles” worked, as well as to attempt to reconstruct the context of the actual photographing assignment, to determine the various selection processes operating. The work of documentary photographers (Lewis Hine and the F.S.A.) is treated more fully because there is a substantial body of information from which to work. The others—the reform movement, photojournalists, and government agency photographers—are often anonymous or nearly so; their visual record is the most available source for insight.

**Documentary Photographers**

Lewis Hine (1874-1940), who certainly ranks as the dean of American documentary photography, began photographing in conjunction with his teaching at the Ethical Culture School in New York City in 1903. Between 1906 and 1908, Hine went to Washington to provide illustrations for Weller’s (1909) study, *Neglected Neighborhoods* (Weller was the executive officer of Associated Charities, 1901-1908); fifteen of Hine’s alley photographs appeared in that volume. He photographed for a number of charity and reform groups before beginning a longtime “attachment” to Charities/Charities and the Commons/Survey. He also worked for the National Child Labor Committee, for which he made nine photographs...
recording alley children at work as newsies and vegetable vendors on Washington streets in April 1912 (Gutman 1967).

Hine worked with a 5-by-7-inch view camera and a "shaky tripod"; the process was, he noted, "slow as molasses" (Hine 1938). This condition meant that Hine had to negotiate for approval for many of his close-up or portrait photographs; later documentary photographers who used 35-mm cameras had greater flexibility in this regard. Writing in 1938, Hine recalled his concern for truthfulness: "all along, I had to be doubly sure that my photo-data was 100 percent pure, no retouching or fakery of any kind" (ibid.). He also noted that his goal had been "to show the things that had to be corrected... to show the things that had to be appreciated" (Marks 1939:157).

Weller may have accompanied Hine on a photographing tour of the Washington alleys and slums. Virtually all the Hine photographs from this tour are views looking down a long narrow alley lined on either side with houses (see Figure 3); some contrasted the alley with the Capitol in the background (see Figure 1). All were taken during the day; there are no interior shots; and for the most part those who appear in the background (residents?) seem unconcerned and "natural." There are none of Hine's famous "Madonna and Child" photographs here, and Purdy's Court (Figure 4) is one of the few where there is a clear interaction between photographer and "subject"
(posed and smiling), a photograph that seems to contra-
dict one of the themes of the book it illustrated. The nine
photographs made for the National Child Labor Com-
mittee are nearly all posed with important buildings in
the background.

While Hine never worked for the Historical Section of
the F.S.A., it is clear that his work greatly influenced
director Roy Stryker and the photographers who worked
for the agency from 1935 to 1942. Stryker, who came to
the F.S.A. after working as a lecturer in economics at
Columbia University, was not a photographer. Moreover,
while his section was probably intended to provide
publicity photographs for the F.S.A., Stryker saw the task
in broader terms and expanded the goal of the agency
to visually record America, although the emphasis was
always on rural areas.

Like Hine, Stryker was motivated by a complex set of
concerns: on the one hand he wanted to record Ameri-
can life as it was: "I wanted to do the story of a farmer
doing something" (Stryker 1964a:44). Like much of
Hine's work, Stryker's also was committed to photo-
graphs that show "respect for the human being" (Stryker
1964b:12) as well as to "a policy of total truthfulness"
(Hurley 1972:ix). Nevertheless, both Stryker and the
F.S.A. photographers destroyed negatives they felt were
no longer useful or were of poor quality (Stryker
1965:7-8; Rothstein 1979:8).

Because most F.S.A. photographers joined the section
with at least some experience and because Stryker was
not a photographer, there was little technical instruction
or guidance on composition save for that which came
from colleagues. Stryker was concerned with the
content of photographs and "operated the photograph
section more like a seminar in an educational institu-
tion" (Rothstein 1979:7). He assigned books for photog-
raphers to read before assignments and had long talks
with them prior to leaving. While in the field photo-
graphers made contact with F.S.A. employees or other
experts to guide their work. In addition, Stryker car-
rried on a rich correspondence with photographers in
the field, prasing completed work, giving detailed instruc-
tions for the kinds of photographs needed by the section,
urging more complete captions, and critiquing work in
terms of content (Stryker 1935-1943). Eventually he
developed shooting scripts to guide photographers in
the field, but these were never mandatory and photo-
graphers continued to work at their own discretion (ibid.;

While a substantial number of F.S.A. photographers
visited and visually recorded alley conditions in Washin-
gton, these photographs represent a tiny fraction of the
agency's work; no visit represented a major effort, and
there is no correspondence or shooting scripts asso-
ciated with these assignments. Similarly, the photo-
graphers remember little about these visits (Wolcott
1981; Mydans 1981). Unlike Hine, the F.S.A., photo-
graphers do not seem to have had any guides or expert
resource people to help them, nor were there any

books assigned prior to the photographing assignment
(Wolcott 1981).

While F.S.A. photographers used 35-mm cameras
instead of the more cumbersome large-format view
cameras of earlier documentary photographers, few
prints clearly reflect their use to "capture" alley residents
with candid shots (see Figure 5). There are a large
number of long views of alleys in which residents appear
relaxed and unconcerned by the presence of the
photographer. Most striking are the large numbers of
portraits, "posed" photographs, close-ups of alley
dwellers, and interior views; all required some kind of
approval from the subjects (see Figures 6, 7, 20, 23, 28,
30, 31, 32, 40, 41, and 44). Virtually all the photographs
were taken during the day, most probably during "work-
hours," thus limiting the range of activity available.

Like Hine's work, then, that of the F.S.A. photo-
graphers was limited by their lack of knowledge of alley
life and by the time constraints imposed by their
position. Equally as important is the problem of access.
Access to social situations varies with the role of the
person and the situation (Spradley 1980:47-48); like
field workers who are just beginning their study, photog-
graphers lacked access to the inner world of alley life.
If they could "negotiate" for portraits and access to
interiors of some homes, they were never close enough
to be trusted to see or record alley rites and ritual. As
Howard Becker has noted, "a photograph records...the
relation of the photographer to the people in the picture,
whether that be intimate, friendly, hostile, or voyeuristic....
Part of our concern is always to know how much time
the photographer spent: we trust the sample more if we
know it was a long time. A week is one thing, a year or
two or ten is something else" (Becker 1978:12). To these
limits to selection must be added the agency requirement
to show respect for "subjects" and a series of personal
conventions photographers took with them into the
alleys: what was appropriate to photograph given the
context and what they felt comfortable negotiating for
(Stryker 1965:12).
Reform Photographers

The turn-of-the-century Washington housing reform movement relied heavily on photographs and lantern slides to get their story across. In addition to bringing photographers like Jacob Riis and Hine to the city, a number of reformers like Weller took up cameras and used their photographs to illustrate their publications, especially those in Charities/Charities and the Commons/Survey.

For the most part these photographers concentrated on the worst housing conditions reformers could find; since their knowledge of alley conditions was substantially greater than that of the unguided F.S.A. photographers, they could document quite terrible circumstances. They also used posed pictures like those by Weller which show an alley dweller drinking whiskey out of a large jug and a row of empty gin bottles lined up on a fence for a photograph (Weller 1909:276, 289). Captions often had to carry the interpretive load for poorly conceived and printed photographs, and often interpreted pejoratively the behavior or morality of residents who appear in the pictures (see Figure 8). Finally, there are a number of “human interest” photographs of people the captions tell us are “dying of cancer” or are “stricken with paralysis.”

If the work of reform photographers provides a balance to that of documentary photographers in terms of their greater knowledge of alley life and their greater concentration on the worst conditions, it nevertheless falls far short of the ideal. Reform photographers took few interior shots and limited their outdoor work to the daylight hours. More importantly, if the documentary photographers were informed by too little theory and a concern not to degrade their subjects, reformers were too informed by inadequate theory and sought to impose it through careful selection, posed photographs, or suggestive captions (Borchert 1980:246-268).
Figure 7  A child whose home is an alley dwelling near the Capitol. July 1943. Esther Bubley. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)
Photojournalists

The photojournalists whose work is considered here worked for either the Washington Daily News (1941-1957) or the Star (1930-1955). Unlike the more diverse work experience and training of other photographers, photojournalists now (and presumably from 1930 to 1957) underwent an "apprentice" experience followed by continuous working relationships with other newspaper photographers, a condition that tends to make their work more uniform (Rosenblum 1978:19-25, 41-62).

In contrast to most F.S.A. photographers, newspaper journalists used large-format cameras, although their work was also done during daylight hours, and probably working hours as well. As Table 4 indicates, newspaper photographers were more likely than reform and government agency photographers to juxtapose monumental buildings or Washington landmarks in their work, although less frequently than documentary photographers. As one would suspect, photojournalists tended to go where "stories" were: 17 percent of the photographs feature important public officials inspecting alley conditions, while others focus on the "reconstruction" of alley houses that led to gentrification or human interest stories that picture bad housing conditions (see Figure 9). In addition there are a number of photographs that are less typical: alley views and the only examples of photographs that clearly depict juvenile delinquency (fighting and vandalism). While photojournalists spent as little time gathering visual records and were no better informed on alley life than the F.S.A., they were not used to negotiating to take pictures and were trained to take action shots of aberrant behavior; and they did not have a compunction against showing people in a bad light. This latter group of pictures, however, makes up only 7 percent of the small collection of prints from photojournalists.

Government Agency Photographers

While the photographs taken by employees of government agencies make up the largest collections of photographs considered here, very little is known about these photographers; less than 5 percent of the 369 photographs carry a photographer's name, and most of these come from other sources. By contrast, 94 percent of these photographs list the location, although the captions seldom go beyond simply naming the alley pictured.

As with photographers of other collections, official photographers only visited the alleys during daylight hours and apparently only on weekdays during normal working hours. Shadows in Figure 10 do reveal both late-afternoon shooting and the presence of the large-format cameras used by A.D.A. photographers. While the A.D.A. collection is made up of prints of fairly high quality (made from 8-by-10-inch negatives), suggesting professional photographers from the start, the R.L.A. collection began when an employee in graphics decided on his own to record agency properties apparently for
both historical reasons and to demonstrate the work of the agency through before-after photographs. Although he started with a Brownie camera, much of the later work is 35-mm and of better quality.

Unlike the other groups of photographers, save perhaps the reformers, government agency photographers had access to the alleys and individual houses through their agencies, which were concerned with either the renovation or removal of alley housing. Thus, whether alley residents liked it or not—and there is no visual evidence of the latter—agency photographers recorded conditions in the alley in more complete and systematic ways than with any other visual survey. While this involved photographing the physical destruction or renovation in some cases, much work was devoted to recording the physical alley and dwelling, and incidently the alley landscape before this took place. Ironically, while agency photographers had greater access and more time to visit the alleys consistently, there is a relatively small number of interior photographs (11 percent), and many of these were taken after residents moved out (see Figures 11 and 12). Finally, because their connection was with an agency concerned with the removal of bad housing conditions, these photographers focused primarily on the physical conditions (especially R.L.A.), and secondarily on the residents’ relationship to these physical conditions (especially A.D.A.).

There is considerable difference, then, between the philosophy and work of the four groups of photographers. While documentary photographers emphasized the strength of the human condition in difficult circumstances and also recorded the physical alley conditions, reformers focused closely on both physical and human pathologies; photojournalists pursued alley stories from Congressional visits and renovations to crime and disorder; and government agency photographers recorded the physical conditions of alleys on the verge of demolition. While this clearly meets Jon Wagner’s advice to use several photographers as a strategy for “avoiding error” (Wagner 1979: 148-149), it is also quite clear that there is much we cannot learn from these collections of alley photographs largely because certain subjects fall outside the scope of these photographic agendas. Table 6 suggests the areas of alley life for which little or no visual information exists. While at least partial information is present in other kinds of sources about these aspects of life, and while a few photographs do touch on some of these areas, the vast majority do not.

Given the length and depth of this list, it might seem pointless to continue further analysis. Clearly the agendas of diverse groups of photographers who lack a long-term field study commitment to a subject result in a selection process (intentionally or not) that leaves out much that is important. Nevertheless, there are some areas where these agendas have recorded substantial visual evidence that is useful for understanding and interpreting alley life.

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**Final Analysis and Findings**

The final analysis process utilized the Content Index to sort photographs into categories for study. The categories chosen reflect the concerns of the larger study: (1) context, setting, and material culture; (2) behavioral landscape; (3) childhood; and (4) other. Within each category each photograph was “inventoried” for specific information, and in most cases a given photograph would be analyzed in several or more areas. It is important to note that these categories are not the only ones that could be used to analyze the compilation.

**Context, Setting, and Material Culture**

Photographs provide the best source for establishing the physical context and setting for a study site. While maps, and especially fire insurance atlases for urban areas, provide accurate, scaled information about setting and physical structures, these abstract data sources leave out much that is important in understanding an environment. Aerial views not only represent a check on the atlases but can also help establish the relationship of parts of a neighborhood to one another. Figures 13 and 14 suggest the physical isolation of the inward-facing alley houses from the outward-facing street houses. They also suggest the tone of the areas based on the kinds and use of buildings present.

Ground level views are also useful in these regards, as in the case of the photographs of the alley-street intersection: photographs can reveal variations in the isolation of interior alley communities (see Figures 15 and 16). Similarly, views of the interior alley (which are
No set of sequence photographs of sufficient detail and with supporting narrative evidence was available so that Edward Hall’s system for notation of proxemic behavior could be applied (Hall 1963: 1003-1026; 1974).

Table 6
Areas of Life Not Covered by Alley Photographs*

| 1 | Family: relations, activities, boarders, affection, punishment, form, extended kinship networks, separation and divorce. |
| 2 | Religion: churches, services, material culture, ministers, congregations, other activities. |
| 3 | Rites, rituals, and celebrations: courting, marriage, funerals and wakes, celebrations. |
| 4 | Social life: gambling, speakeasies, playing numbers, singing, dancing, musical instruments, lodges and other societies, collective activities. |
| 5 | Economic life: work outside the alley, manufacture and sale of alcohol, alley stores, survival strategies, collective behavior. |
| 6 | "Illegal" behavior: numbers, gambling, prostitution, illegal liquor, violent crime, fighting, violence, juvenile delinquency. |
| 7 | Health care: midwifery, folk remedies, pregnancy, childbirth, disease and disability. |
| 8 | Other: traditional handicrafts, alley resident-nonresident relations, black-white relations, mobility (moving), activities inside dwellings, literacy and reading materials, activities in the alley—early morning, late afternoon, evening, night, teenagers. |
Figure 14  Across the street from the imposing Senate Office Building, hidden behind the fronts of good housing, are the unsanitary and dilapidated dwellings comprising Schotts Alley. They are plainly visible in this aerial photograph on the interior of the square. December 1, 1941. Alley Dwelling Authority. (Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)
Figure 15  Willow Tree Alley SW. 1912-1913? Roy E. Haynes. (Roy E. Haynes to John Ihlder. John Ihlder Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.)

Figure 16  Bell's Court NW. No date. John Ihlder. (John Ihlder Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.)

Figure 17  Alley dwellings between Pierce Street, L Street, First Street, and North Capitol Street, NW. November 1935. Carl Mydans. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)

Figure 18  Willow Tree Alley SW. 1912-1913? Roy E. Haynes. (Roy E. Haynes to John Ihlder. John Ihlder Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.)
Figure 19  Alley dwellings, 1928. John Ihl ter.  
(John Ihl ter Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Presidential Library, Hyde  
Park, N.Y.)

Figure 20  Negro tenement houses on Fenton Place in the  
Northeast section near the Capitol Building. September  
1941. Marion Post Wolcott. (Farm Security Administration  
Collection, Library of Congress)
the most numerous in the compilation), more than any other source, make it possible to establish the environmental context of alley life; the extent of isolation from the surrounding streets and houses is clear in Figures 17, 18, and 19 as well as in many others. While these views alone do not establish the separate, independent development of alley communities, they certainly do establish the presence of a physical environment that could encourage this development. Finally, photographs make it possible to compare similar physical environments and their uses; see the minor street in Figure 20.

Save for the limited information available in building and repair permits and that which can be learned by studying the few persisting alley houses in the city, photographs provide the only source to determine construction methods (determined from demolition photographs like Figure 22), exterior building conditions over the years, and the extent of maintenance. It is also possible, with information from other sources, to develop a chronological typology of house type (see Figure 21) and to trace in the later years their transformation into warehouses and garages or their metamorphosis into expensive residences of white-collar workers (see Figure 24).

Figure 22 Willow Tree Alley SW. 1912-1913? Roy E. Haynes. (Roy E. Haynes to John Ihl der. John Ihl der Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y)

Figure 24 Marks Court SE, “restored.” July 1972. James Borchert. (Columbia Historical Society)

Figure 25 Backyard and privy near the Government Printing Office. The pump on the right supplies water for the house behind the privy. September 1935. Carl Mydans. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)
Figure 23  Alexandria Court between K and L streets NW. A woman and her two children have lived in four small rooms eight and one-half years and pay $12.50 a month for rent. Water and a privy are in the yard. Rents have gone up for nearby homes but not hers. September 1941. Marion Post Wolcott. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)

Figure 26  Outside water supply, the only source winter and summer for many houses in slum areas. In some places drainage is so poor that the surplus backs up in huge puddles. July 1935. Carl Mydans. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)
Figure 27  Down in the slums. This was a combination bedroom-dining room-kitchen in one of the old houses demolished by the National Capitol Housing Authority on the site of the Carrollsburg Dwellings. Note the oil lamps and the stove. No date. Alley Dwelling Authority. (Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)

Figure 28  Woman and baby in a slum area.
October 1937. Arthur Rothstein. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)

Although limited in number, photographs represent the best and largest source of information on the more private areas of the backyard and house interior, although some participant-observer accounts do provide supportive evidence. A substantial number of photographs document the presence and condition of two backyard institutions: the water hydrant and the outhouse (see Figures 25 and 26). Photographs also represent the only existing evidence on the orderliness of the backyards and the extent to which they were used for either recreation or storage. The latter was especially important because the backyard was the site of storage for scavenged items collected (often by children) in the surrounding area. The presence of such items in photographs helps support the descriptive information on alley life that suggests this was a common activity to provide funds in times of need.

Unfortunately there are few interior photographs, and many of these were taken after residents vacated prior to demolition. Nevertheless, photographs are valuable for uncovering interior conditions (both decoration and maintenance) of the building itself as well as the use of interior space and decoration made by residents themselves. While alley dwellers faced considerable overcrowding and persistent landlord refusal to make repairs, they nevertheless found ingenious ways to respond to these conditions despite limited resources (see Figures...
11, 12, 27, 28, 29). Although photographic evidence is far from conclusive on this issue, it does provide valuable insight that supports descriptive findings from social surveys and participant-observer studies of alley life. Finally, photographs help establish the extent of orderliness and cleanliness that residents sought to maintain, as well as to suggest activities and focal points within the house (i.e., the kitchen as the center of family life where food was prepared and laundry, both personal and for income, was washed and ironed).

Behavioral Landscape

One of the critical issues of the larger study concerned the extent to which the urban environment adversely affected folk migrants, restricting their ability to maintain order and control. If alley dwellers were able to use and remake their environment to fit their own needs, then the impact of urbanization was considerably less than many previous studies had concluded.

Photographs here represent an almost uniquely unobtrusive means to evaluate the behavioral landscape. While descriptive accounts can be helpful in providing supportive evidence, photographs are virtually alone in their ability to record unintentionally (as well as intentionally) information on how people use and adapt their environment to their own needs, or fail to do so. Moreover, it is clear that this issue largely if not entirely escaped the concern of alley photographers and observers of alley life except to the extent that they found this behavior pathological. Weller warned that “alley houses lacked privacy, lack provisions for making family life distinct and sacred. Instead there is a discord, disorder and a constant seething ‘mixup’ of the population” (Weller 1909:69; Borchert 1980:246-266).
Figure 30  Family and their home in an alley dwelling. July 1941. Ed Rosskam. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)
What Weller and other observers misinterpreted was the presence of extended kinship networks within the alley that provided the first level of organization; a second, more amorphous level of activity involved the alley neighborhood in an informal organization that provided social services, recreation, social control, and turf maintenance. Both extended kinship network and informal alley community required high levels of face-to-face contact. To facilitate this, alley dwellers literally remade their environments. One key aspect of this transformation had to do with the use of the alley itself; residents converted the alley into a multipurpose commons and community center (for example, see Figure 3 of Logan Alley in 1908 and Figure 33 of the same alley in 1935, or Figure 2 of Schotts Court in 1941 and Figure 34 taken at almost the same point in the same alley in 1949). They also turned their homes inside out by projecting part of the house into the alley and opening the rest to the alley. Photographs provide ample evidence of household furniture (for example, see Figures 19, 30, 31, and 32) in the alley itself along with other kinds of furniture and articles that could be used for sitting and lounging. The use of these articles as well as the general use of the alley for neighboring was extensive throughout the daytime hours that photographers recorded alley landscapes (see Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 17, 18, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, and 45). Partial descriptive evidence from other sources suggests that this activity intensified when men, women, and children returned from work or school in the late afternoon and early evening, and this neighboring persisted well into the night. (Some photographs suggest that this activity also continued into the winter months; see Figure 45.) Moreover, while builders had installed small doors and windows in the facades, alley dwellers figuratively "knocked out" these tentative openings. It was not unusual to find heads sticking out of doors and windows into the alley, or heads pushed into first-story doors and windows (see Figures 3, 8, 33, 34, 35, and 37). Neighbors apparently moved back and forth from house to alley to neighbor's house, unimpeded by either physical or social barriers. In addition, the open alley house served as a symbol of the interdependence of the residents and made visual surveillance, social control, and maintenance of defensible space much easier (Borchert 1980:102-117). While this analysis was verified by fragmentary descriptive evidence, a comparison of the use of space and house facade of blue-collar alleys with that of white-collar alleys of the 1970s made clear the significance of each environment for its residents (Borchert 1979). 25

A note of caution should be added to this assessment. Since the researcher analyzing historical photographs cannot test conclusions by interviewing residents or constructing a sociogram of alley interactions, findings on the extent of interaction must be tentative. Other sources can strengthen these conclusions; in this case descriptive studies and theoretical information provide support for these findings.
Figure 33  Logan Court NW September 26, 1935. Alley Dwelling Authority. (Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)

Figure 34  Schotts Alley NE, showing row of houses in foreground. March 29, 1949. Alley Dwelling Authority—National Capitol Housing Authority. (Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)

Figure 35  Bell's Court NW. No date. John Ihlder. (John Ihlder Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.)
Analysis of Historical Photographs

Childhood

Photographs also provide some insights into the child-rearing process and the material culture of alley children—information notably absent from most other sources. "Portraits" suggest the type and quality of clothing, while less formal photographs indicate the nature of informal play, material culture of play, child labor, child care, and family setting (see Figures 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 23, 27, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 39, 40, and 43).

Figure 36  Slums and Social Security Building from B and ½ Street SW (Wonder’s Court SW). March 1951. National Capitol Housing Authority. (Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)

Figure 37  No caption. No date. Office of the Files of the Director John F. Nolen, Jr. (1933-1958). (Records of the National Capitol Planning Commission, National Archives, Record Group 328)
Figure 39 Two Negro boys shooting marbles in front of their homes. November 1942. Gordon Parks. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)

Figure 38 Interior No. 3. Baseball game in alley at rear of old London Court houses (group of five). Note the rubbish. No date. Alley Dwelling Authority. (Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)

Figure 40 Negroes in front of their alley dwelling near the Capitol. July 1943. Esther Bubley. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)
Figure 41  Traveling evangelist and his equipment. July 1941. Ed Rosskam. (Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress)
Other Aspects of Alley Life

As Table 6 suggests, many aspects of alley life and culture eluded the photographer’s camera, although occasional glimpses illustrate environment and behavior that are described in other sources. Alley houses shared the alley with other land uses including stables, blacksmith shops, and those of other artisans as well as occasional stores such as the one in Figure 45. Only a few photographs illustrate one of the most important institutions in alley life: religion. Printed sources are much more complete about decorations with religious motifs and other material culture of religion as well as the persistence of religious music among all residents; photographs only suggest the variety of religious experiences (see Figures 41 and 42). Finally, photographs do reveal considerable data and information on an important chore and form of employment of alley women: doing laundry (see Figures 5, 23, 28, 43, and 44), while the presence of carts throughout the compilation suggests the extent of both “carting” and the practice of scavenging (see Figure 36).
Conclusions

Historical photographs have a great deal to offer students of everyday life and groups at the bottom of complex societies. For developing and providing settings and contexts, photographs are a crucial source. They also represent virtually the only method to determine the material culture and behavior of groups that no longer live in the same circumstances and where historical archeology is not feasible. Most important, they are virtually alone in their ability to record the use of space and behavioral landscapes of residents. Nevertheless, there are many areas of life that are critical means to determine the bias of and to understand and control for what is included. Beyond contexts, photographs are a crucial source. They also represent virtually the only method to determine the use of space and behavioral landscapes of residents. Nevertheless, there are many areas of life that are likely to be left out of photographic records.

Like any kind of raw data, photographs do not speak to the researcher except in the most general way, the presentation of the message or point of view of the photographer. This message or viewpoint represents a critical means to determine the bias of and to understand and control for what is likely to be left out, as well as to control for distortions in what is included. Beyond this, however, the researcher must approach photographs with the same questions as for any other data source. Because questions vary from researcher to researcher, photographs can be "reanalyzed" for new insights and information as well as for replication.

Although it is clear that historical photographs offer great potential as a source about some aspects of life, the researcher must take great care to determine the representativeness and areas of bias that result from the recording and collection processes. Most important, the researcher should not rely solely on photographs any more than on any single type of source (Webb et al. 1966).

Notes

Original photo captions have been edited for this article.

1 For examples of the analytical use of photographs by social scientists see Bateson and Mead 1947; Gesell 1934; Collier 1957; Mead and Byers 1968.
2 This condition and tendency has made some subjects very difficult if not impossible for historians to study. Social histories of working-class people (or others who left little or no written record) have been until recently almost impossible to do. Allan Spear (1967:x) noted that "historical materials are ill-suited for a systematic treatment of... the ghetto."
3 Francis (1888) felt that "it is impossible that the immense worth and use of systematic and comprehensive photographic records of our country and our time can much longer fail to be recognized."
4 For example, Thomas Annan (1977) photographed the slums of Glasgow in the 1860s and 1870s, while John Thomson visually recorded similar conditions in 1870s London (Thomson and Smith 1877) and Jacob Riis (1971) covered New York City slums in the late 1880s and 1890s. See also Szasz and Bogardus 1974; Thomas 1977; Holt 1971; Krim 1973; Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1970; and Newhall 1964.
5 This discussion does not consider historical analyses that focus on myth and symbol such as the work of Michael Lesy (1973; 1976; 1980), and Alan Trachtenberg (1979). It also does not consider studies of different photographic genres such as the daguerreotype (Rudisill 1971) or the stereograph (Earle 1979), although these latter works are important for background information on photoanalysis.
6 This article represents an expansion and reworking of the essay "Photographs and the Study of the Past" (Borchert 1980:269-303), which discussed the methods of analysis used in the initial study of 600 photographs (Borchert 1976). The current work expands the analysis to 898 photographs. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Susan Danziger for her help on the rewriting of this analysis.
7 Other subjects, especially the more affluent, would not be as well represented in the same sources as those considered here. Visual records are available, however, and probably in greater numbers (Novotny 1975; Weinstein and Booth 1977; Vanderbilt 1955; Shaw 1973). A useful guide to "Dating Photographs" is Baragwanath (1977). While no family photo albums were available for this study, analyses of this source are promising (Hirsch 1981; Musello 1977, 1979, 1980; Noren 1973; Simpson 1976; Silber 1973; McLellan 1981; K. Ohrn 1975; S. Ohrn 1975; Davies 1977; Chalianor 1979).

Figure 45 Navy Place SE.
February 27, 1939. Alley Dwelling Authority.
(Library, Department of Housing and Community Development, Washington, D.C.)
This condition does not hold for other cities. See note 4 for some examples.

The Alley Dwelling Authority Collection (the agency was renamed the National Capitol Housing Authority) is now housed in the Library of the Department of Housing and Community Development of the D.C. Government, as are the Redevelopment Land Agency photographs. The Farm Security Administration Collection is housed in the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Street Survey Collection - District of Columbia contains minimal information, it is often quite difficult to know if a collection (largely taken at time of demolition in the 1950s) ; the 1970s and the National Capitol Planning Commission; Library of Congress:


The limited number of aerial views does not permit more sophisticated analyses suggested by Green (1955; 1956a; 1956b), Vogt (1974), Knowles (1966), and Norman and St. Joseph (1969). While blue-collar residents use the alley as a place, middle-class residents of the 1970s and 1980s use the alley only as a path. The latter residents have extended protective barriers such as plants and small porches with sharp iron railings into the alley; filled up the windows with shutters, shades, curtains, and air conditioners; and redirected their activity into their privatized house and the fenced-in backyard (see Figure 24).

This condition does not hold for other cities. See note 4 for some examples.
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Clothing Store Windows: Communication through Style

Bertha Means

Introduction

As defined by Worth and Gross (1974: 30), a communication event is the production and transmission of signs that are perceived and treated as messages from which meaning can be inferred. The term “sign” refers to some element of articulation that is used by the receiver in the interpretation of meaning. Fundamentally, the problem of understanding communication events is the problem of understanding the encoding and interpretation of meaning.

Human communication encompasses the implication and inference of meaning in many different modes. On any given day, the member of a modern culture infers meaning from, and responds to, a variety of communication sources from the surrounding environment. From the perspective of the anthropologist, these sources may be viewed as cultural artifacts, whose social meanings and uses reflect various characteristics of social structure. From the perspective of the communication researcher, they may be viewed as communication events—manifestations of encoding systems that can be analyzed to further our understanding of the communication process in various modes.

The study reported here is a 1976 analysis of women’s clothing store windows as cultural artifacts and as communication events—examples of communication through visual display. Store windows were selected as the subject for study primarily because of their banality and their utilitarian nature. In a consumer society such as ours, the individual consumer may be judged according to his/her selection and use of goods, whether clothing or other items, based on what those goods seem to imply about the individual’s socioeconomic status, “taste,” values, lifestyle, or even political orientation. Thus, considerations of image, in conjunction with more direct constraints (e.g., functional needs and financial limitations), make choices concerning the purchase and use of various goods important decisions for the consumer. Recognition of this apparently underlies the use of “positioning” strategies by manufacturers and retailers.

All this suggests that the primary function of clothing store window displays is not aesthetic, nor simply a matter of showing the products that the stores have to offer. Rather, it suggests that such displays communicate specific social orientations through their style. In their case, as in the arts, “styles are significations; they impose meaning on visual experience” (Malraux 1970: 268). Thus, style is not thought of as the result of the creator’s personal whimsy; it is based on conventions so common and so strong that they become communication codes.

It is the conceptualization of a class of mundane cultural products (e.g., the women’s clothing store window class) as a culturally conventionalized communication system that enables us to apply systematic methods of analysis to that class of products for the purpose of elucidating social structure and communication process. There exists a rich tradition of relevant methodology rooted in the disciplines of linguistics and anthropology, but thus far the application of these methods has been limited to a fairly narrow range of code systems (e.g., verbal language, kinship systems, myths)—most often within “exotic” cultures far from home. The research reported here was an attempt to extend the general analytical framework inherent in this tradition to a quite different subject of research—a form of commercial visual display within our own culture.

The Linguistic-Anthropological Model

If understanding communications events is fundamentally a matter of understanding the implication and inference of meaning, understanding the implication/inference process is in large part a matter of determining how people make distinctions—how they decide that certain things are alike or not alike. The systematic investigation of communicative distinctions can be traced to the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure’s formulation of “distinctive features” analysis, a concept that was subsequently extended and popularized in the theory of structural linguistics promulgated by Roman Jakobsen (Saussure 1966; Jakobsen and Halle 1956). According to this tradition, the distinctive features paradigm refers to the method of phonological analysis whereby the linguist identifies features of articulation by which native speakers of a language distinguish one phoneme from another.

The applicability of the distinctive features concept to the elucidation of social structure and the organization of social meaning was first recognized by anthropologists Claude Lévi-Strauss and Ward H. Goodenough, although their respective extrapolations of the linguistic model were substantially different. Goodenough (1967) developed componental analysis, a procedure designed to reveal salient semantic categories within a given culture by pinpointing the “definitive attributes” that define kinship terms within the culture’s language. Lévi-Strauss (1967) identified a variety of cultural “systems,” such as kinship relations, food, myth, political ideology, art, and so on, each of which might be subjected to a contrastive analysis loosely comparable to Saussure’s distinctive features approach. Unlike Goodenough, he insisted that the proper focus of analysis was relations among constituent elements within the system (rather than terms), and suggested that the structures of linguistic and other cultural systems might be pro-

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jections of universal semantic structures of the human unconscious.  

The Saussurian legacy is also evident in certain academic areas concerned with patterns of visual perception and interpretation within Western societies today. Psychologist E. J. Gibson (1969), for example, has utilized Jakobsen’s formulation of the distinctive features concept and attempted to discover a hierarchy of visual features according to which we learn to discriminate and identify objects visually. Her research does not deal directly with issues of social meaning, however. In contrast, the semioticians, who acknowledge Lévi-Strauss as a fore bearer, treat virtually every class of human activity or artifact as a code system (for example, the garment, food, furniture, and architecture systems described by Barthes, 1968), and are interested only in those differences among constituent elements and their relationships within a given system that have social significance. Yet, for the most part, semiotics has remained a fairly abstract field of scholarship that has not sought to identify or confirm socially significant differences at the emic level, among ordinary “native speakers” of the code.

The store window research was an exploratory study designed to determine whether American store window displays of women’s clothing might in fact be fruitfully examined as a code system that communicates social distinctions through style to “native speakers” of the general culture. The research approach is based on the definition of style as a set of constancies of distinctive features; in the case of store windows, these would be visual features of window construction and display that have sign value for the native speaker—that is, in other words, inferred to be sufficiently meaningful within that culture to serve as criteria for categorization. If clothing store windows do function as a code system with practical social implications, native informants should evince a tendency to discriminate among windows according to the windows’ perceived social orientations as communicated by distinctive visual features. Moreover, one would expect similarities of inference, categorization, and ascriptions of sign value across informants.

The general paradigm for this research included two components which might be described loosely as etic and emic. In the former phase, I developed an etic typology of store-window styles, based on my own prior observations and visual analyses of the subject, and obtained photographs of windows that to me exemplified the various categories of the typology. In the latter phase, I compared that typology with the distinctions made by other (more “naive”) native speakers of the culture, who lacked my explicit knowledge of the store behind each window. The methods of research are detailed below.

**Description of Research Procedures**

The sample of 9 Philadelphia store windows was selected on the basis of two primary criteria—socioeconomic orientation (relative price range) and what might be called (perhaps for lack of better terms) the “mainstream”/“nonmainstream” distinction.

**Store Window Sample—Etic Typology**

As Table 1 shows, 6 of the 9 stores (Lewis, the Blum Store, Bonwit Teller, Marianne, W. T. Grant, and F. W. Woolworth) were classified as “mainstream.” Because of the relatively traditional/“conservative” quality of
merchandise and display design (see illustrations), the information that these windows provided seemed primarily to reflect demographic targeting (i.e., socio-economic or, less prevalently, age orientation), rather than some culturally salient characteristics of customer personality, lifestyle, or philosophy. (Of course, such characteristics are commonly related to demographic variables, but this relationship is not necessarily predictive; young and old, affluent and nonaffluent may choose to dress more or less “mainstream,” for example. The point is that “nonmainstream” style in general appears to carry more information of a nondemographic nature about its consumers because of its deviation from the older, or more prevalent, mainstream norm.)

Counterculture trends that had arisen in the politically and socially volatile sixties presented a much clearer and more forceful alternative to mainstream ideology and lifestyle in 1976 than they do now. The range of counterculture alternative philosophies and forms was considerable at the time, but two of the most visible themes were the “back-to-basics” movement and an interest in Far Eastern dress more or less prevalently, was evident by the utilitarian jeans, flannel shirts, and workboots shown in the Free People’s Store, and the latter was obvious in the Indian clothing in Ajanta’s display.

The concept of counterculture style is less potent today than previously in part because certain stylistic elements of the counterculture were eventually co-opted by the mainstream. The third store in the nonmainstream category (the 3606 Shop) showed some evidence of having adopted some of the forms, but not necessarily the spirit, of counterculture fashion. In its product selection, the 3606 Shop combined denims and workshirts with loose, lightweight cotton and gauze imports from India, in addition to more mainstream items such as polyester blouses and knit dresses for street wear.

On the basis of a gross dichotomy of pricing patterns, the typology also classifies 3 of the 6 mainstream stores—Lewis, Blum’s, and Bonwit’s—and 2 of the 3 nonmainstream stores—3606 and Ajanta—as oriented toward a higher socioeconomic stratum than the others. Like the mainstream/nonmainstream categories, however, these two SES groupings encompass internal variation: Lewis has the highest baseline prices of any store, whereas 3606 and Ajanta offered a few “bargain” items compared with the other upscale stores; at the lower extreme, Grant’s and Woolworth’s were the most consistent in offering exceptionally low prices.

There were other contrasts among the 9 stores. In terms of size and variety of merchandise, Blum’s, Bonwit’s, Grant’s, and Woolworth’s might be categorized as “department stores” (or, more commonly, “five-and-tens” in the case of Grant’s and Wool-worth’s), while the others would be termed “shops.” Distinguishing by age orientation, the three nonmainstream stores and Marianne’s appear especially youth-oriented, and Lewis, at the other extreme, has a matronly aspect. Still, it was expected that socio-economic and mainstream/nonmainstream (or “lifestyle”) orientation would be the most salient criteria for discrimination among most native informants. In addition, the store-window sample allowed for the possible establishment of one or the other of these two criteria as dominant: two reasonable solutions to the problem of classifying the three mainstream stores would be (1) the formation of an exclusively nonmainstream group comprising 3606, Ajanta, and Free People’s only, or (2) characterizing the three nonmainstream stores as higher or lower stratum and merging each type with mainstream stores of the same stratum.

Informant Interviews
In order to examine the processes of discrimination and inference among other native observers of American store windows, open-ended interviews were conducted with 14 young women concerning their responses to photographs of the 9 store windows in the etic typology. All had been born and raised in the United States and were currently attending college in the Philadelphia area. All lived in campus housing, and were obtained as informants as a result of canvassing and inquiries within their residences. Ethnicity, race, SES, and geographic or residential background were uncontrolled in this exploratory study. Still, all 14 were white Euro-Americans and most likely securely middle-class (based on the schools they attended and their living accommodations). Most were from the Northeast; one woman was from the
Southeast. The laissez-faire approach to demographic variables was based, of course, on the premise that the code system in question is sufficiently available to the general population to enable demographically dissimilar members of the population to employ similar strategies of general interpretation. (Although the results of this study seemed consistent with that premise, possible variations in interpretation related to demography would be an interesting subject for further research.)

Each interview was conducted individually at the informant’s residence. Since the focus of the study was the communication content of the windows themselves, the informants were given a photograph of each window with the area surrounding the window frame masked by black construction paper.

The interview format actually included several questions, ranging from the solicitation of first reactions to each photograph to very directed questions concerning price discriminations. This discussion, however, will address only the following two questions:

1. Stylistic distinctions: “Tell me which stores go together or are like each other, and give each group a label.”

2. Distinctive features: “How do you know that those stores go together or are like each other?” (or, in the case of single-store categories: “How do you know that that store is different from the others?”)

Each interview was tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim. Criteria for discrimination and distinctive features were then extracted from the transcripts. Analytical procedures primarily focused on the individual emic category (whether a group or a one-store “isolate”) as the unit of analysis. For any category designated by an informant, every criterion for discrimination cited (in the informant’s labeling of the category) and every distinctive feature mentioned in support of the categorization were noted. Reports below of the most common criteria for discrimination refer to the types of characteri-
izations that were used in the largest number of window classifications by all informants, while the most common distinctive features are the types of specific visual features most frequently mentioned to support a certain type of emic category. (The larger framework for the distinctive features analysis was partly based on the findings concerning emic classification tendencies, and will be explained below, following a discussion of those findings.)

Summary of Major Findings

Question 1: “Tell me which stores go together...”

As is evident from Table 2, the most common informant categories by far were separate groupings of (1) Lewis, Blum’s, and Bonwit’s, the three upper-stratum mainstream stores, together (used by 10 informants); (2) 3606, Ajanta, and Free People’s, the three nonmainstream stores of both strata, inclusive (7 informants); and (3) Marianne’s, Grant’s, and Woolworth’s, the 3 lower-stratum mainstream stores, combined (6 informants).

Informants sometimes made more detailed discriminations than my etic typology had anticipated; for example, an informant might characterize all three lower-stratum mainstream stores as relatively inexpensive, but segregate Grant’s as slightly less so than the other two. Or one might label Ajanta and 3606 the “casual clothes” set, but isolate Free People’s as more “outdoorsy.” Yet, out of a total of 50 emic store groups and isolates, only 7 categories mixed mainstream with nonmainstream stores or mainstream upper-stratum with mainstream lower-stratum (6 and 3 instances, respectively). Such mixtures usually included Marianne’s, the “youngest” of the mainstream stores, and 3606, the most tentative of the nonmainstream.

Informant classification schemes can only be very briefly summarized here. However, the results of the emic categorization and labeling tasks very strongly indicate that a store’s socioeconomic orientation was the primary criterion used to classify the mainstream stores but not nonmainstream stores. Every exclusive lower-stratum mainstream category (i.e., one-store isolate or combination of lower-stratum mainstream stores excluding other types) involved considerations of “inexpensive” or relatively “moderate” price orientation; with the exception of one Lewis isolate, every exclusive upper-stratum mainstream category was labeled as relatively high in price, class, or quality. In contrast, only 3 of the 14 exclusive nonmainstream categories involved SES considerations. Instead, these stores were most likely (in half of all 14 exclusive categories) to be distinguished with respect to their specialized appeal for groups with distinctive tastes or lifestyles: the “hip,” “casual,” “outdoorsy,” “sporty,” “earthy,” “exotic,” “artsy-fartsy,” “people who dress to fit their moods,” etc. Also fairly frequently mentioned in defining such categories were the stores’ “boutique” aspect and youth orientation (5 and 4 references, respectively).

Question 2: “How do you know that...?”

In response to the patterns of informant classification, the distinctive features analysis focused individually on the visual features used to distinguish (1) exclusive upper-stratum mainstream categories; (2) exclusive lower-stratum mainstream categories; and (3) exclusive nonmainstream categories. This analytical framework is rather general since it admits features that were used to define one- and two-store as well as three-store categories. Yet, in any case, it indicates the kinds of features...
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that informants deemed most salient and meaningful in each of these three general stylistic types in contrast to the other two.

Regardless of the type of classification, most features cited had to do with some aspect of display "structure" rather than merchandise "content." Most important of the structural features in exclusive classifications of higher-stratum mainstream, lower-stratum mainstream, or non-mainstream windows was the use of space within the window—the extent of crowding or clutter. ("Clutter" seemed to imply the crowding of incongruous items together.) There were, however, some important differences among these three groups in terms of feature definition, as illustrated below.

Simplicity or lack of crowding was the primary (most frequently cited) cue for distinguishing upscale mainstream windows. Decorative elements were the second most cited indicators of upscale mainstream style (e.g., the pictures in Bonwit's, the swan in Blum's, and Lewis's gilt door molding, statuette, "antique table," "fine porcelain,"
and "dried flowers"). The merchandise itself ranked third (mentioned 8 times, versus 53 display form features). Generally, the clothing was merely said to "look" expensive, although formality of design (Lewis) and suitability for evening wear (Blum's and Bonwit's) were specifically inferred to suggest costliness. Other features used to distinguish upper-stratum mainstream style included soft lighting, obstruction of store interiors; "chic" or "quality" mannequins, and the use of French ("melange") in the Bonwit window.

Not surprisingly, crowding or clutter was the single most frequently reported indication of lower price range in exclusive classifications of the lower-stratum mainstream type. The clothing itself—commonly said to resemble cheap or ill-made copies of more expensive clothes—ranked second, but still accounted for only 7 features out of a total of 51. Other distinctive features included: large window size, lack of partitioning from store interiors; general display ("parallel line-up," "clothes on and off mannequins, or "scattered all over the floor"); stiff, cheap, or old-fashioned mannequins; lack of or "cheap-looking" decorations; "barnlike" store interiors; and bright inside lighting.

Although content features were outnumbered by structural features in the exclusive nonmainstream classifications, as in classifications of every other type, merchandise was more often cited than any other single aspect of nonmainstream window style. And, in fact, half the features of nonmainstream style (20 out of 36) pertained to content rather than structure. The clothing in these windows was generally described as unusual, or designed for a select group of consumers—characterized as casual, youthful, or simply interested in the unique. In particular, the rugged, all-purpose clothing and "camping" gear in the Free People's Store suggested "earthiness" and fashion independence. Ajanta's clothing (typified by the embroidered vest) also implied independent consumers, but consumers who actually sought the unusual instead of forsaking fashion for utility. The "exotic" and "flowy" designs of Ajanta's apparel, in combination with the waterpipe and "bronce vases," were said to give the store an air of mysticism.

Another interesting difference between mainstream and nonmainstream features lay in the interpretation of the second most common type feature of the unconventional categories—crowding and clutter. In this context, crowding and clutter were not related to lower price at all, but simply mentioned as a common feature between stores, criticized, or even termed "interesting" or "casual," as if intentionally designed to set an informal tone for the store.

Discussion

These research results suggest that women's clothing store windows in our own culture are communication events involving a visual code system. Despite variations, informants displayed substantial similarities in categorization and criteria for discrimination; a relatively low incidence of grouping across certain etic lines (i.e., combining mainstream and nonmainstream stores, or mainstream stores of different strata); commonalities in feature interpretation and use; and general accuracy of socioeconomic inferences. In short, it seems that store windows communicate (and, indeed, probably contribute to) cultural stereotypes of socioeconomic strata and lifestyle-value segments remarkably well.

For the native American consumer, store-window style evidently is more social than aesthetic; almost every category in informants' typologies was based primarily on inferred socioeconomic, lifestyle, or age-group orientations. SES apparently counts the most, except when it comes to nonmainstream windows. But informant tendencies to separate mainstream windows on the basis of lifestyle considerations instead imply that socially significant deviation from cultural norms in taste, values, and activities (as in the case of counterculture style) is more salient.

Generally speaking, the informants indicated that clothing-store windows communicate more through display structure than through their actual merchandise content. The most potent structural feature appears to be the use of space—crowding or noncrowding—as a mainstream price convention.

Yet responses to the nonmainstream windows indicate an unusually important role for the merchandise itself in that particular context. There appear to be two basic reasons for this. First, the "content" of these windows simply carries greater lifestyle information than does the
mainstream content, because it represents a socially significant (i.e., intentional) departure from "normal" fashion. Second, there is probably greater dependence on content because nonmainstream displays break the traditional conventions of display structure that normally provide important clues of price.5

The research reported here is admittedly rudimentary. More sophisticated and larger-scale versions of this general research approach might be used to examine finer stylistic distinctions (e.g., within each of the three major emic categories described here), determine the relative contributions of different types of features more exactly by varying them systematically, and look for possible differences in discrimination across informant groups.

In addition, the approach might be applied to a wide variety of other cultural artifacts. The findings reported here indicate that both commercial products and modes of presentation may be viewed as rather potent communicators of major sociological distinctions—reflecting, and most likely helping to define, those distinctions daily. By attending to such mundane and utilitarian artifacts we can hope to learn much more about both cultural groups and systems of communication—according to what such groups deem important to know, and how they know it.

Acknowledgments
I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Sol Worth and Larry Gross, my M.A. thesis advisers at the Annenberg School, and Chris Musello (photographer) in accomplishing this research.

Notes
1 See Hymes (1970) for a more detailed comparison of these two anthropological approaches.
2 See Mead (1953) for a fuller discussion of the use of the "native speaker" concept in anthropology.
3 The bases for my etc classifications, including merchandise and display-form features as well as price comparisons, are discussed at some length in my M.A. thesis, in which this research was originally reported ("Stylistic Conventions of Women's Clothing Store Windows," Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1977).
4 The sample included 7 women with academic majors related to fashion or commercial presentation (marketing, fashion illustration, advertising, and design), and 7 with unrelated majors. The two groups proved to be so similar in their responses, however, that they will not be discussed separately here.
5 As reported in my thesis, more explicit questioning about price inferences indicated that the reluctance to group nonmainstream store windows by stratum orientation may have been partly related to difficulties in inferring stratum orientation from those windows. When respondents attempted to organize all 9 stores strictly on the basis of price, 12 percent of all relative placements of nonmainstream stores were unquestionably incorrect—versus only 2 percent of all mainstream placements.

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The Eyes of the Proletariat: The Worker-Photography Movement in Weimar Germany

Hanno Hardt and Karin B. Ohrn

You must all come before my camera:
Honourable gentlemen with close-cropped hair,
Veterans of student duels,
You must all come before my camera:
Ladies in automobiles,
I want to take aim at your high breasts,
You must all come before my camera:
I capture you with my flashlight,
All you champagne-drinking parasites,
And I want the rest before my camera too:
The hospital with its suffering and distress,
The screams of women in childbirth,
And then the final picture in my camera:
Flags of victory all over the world,
And human beings holding one another’s hand.

(Max Drodt, Come before My Camera, ca. 1930)

Weimar Germany was born in a climate of politics, art, literature and science that introduced new forms of expression as artists and writers responded to the excitement and turmoil of the young republic. Their creative efforts were an expression, too, of a political engagement shared by many. As George Grosz recalls: “If the times are uneasy, if the foundation of society is under attack, then the artist cannot merely stand aside; especially not the talented artist with his finer sense of history. Therefore he becomes, whether he wants to or not, political” (Von Eckardt and Gilman 1975:76).

Popular magazines became an important vehicle for artistic and intellectual expression, in particular for new combinations of words and pictures dealing with contemporary events. The stimulus of political journalism, as exemplified by Carl von Ossietzky and his Weltbühne, thus found commercial application in newspapers and magazines appealing to mass audiences. And, as photographs began to appear regularly on magazine covers and with greater frequency inside, they took precedence for the first time over text as the primary journalistic medium.

Old magazines from well-established publishing houses such as Ullstein’s Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung (founded in 1890) were gradually redesigned to take advantage of this trend toward journalistic photography. New independent magazines, such as the Münchner Illustrierte Presse and the Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung (founded in 1923 and 1926), overcame their provincialism in part by using photography to establish a cosmopolitan content and appeal. Nor was there any question that photographs could be directed toward political goals, for picture magazines covered the range of the political spectrum: from the National Socialist’s Der Illustrierte Beobachter (1926) to the Communist party’s principal organ, Die Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung (1921). By 1926, there were over 30 picture magazines being published in Germany.

This appetite for photographs created new problems for magazines. The task of getting a volume of pictures of visually interesting subjects, then displaying it effectively, demanded new creative talents. Those with interest and ability quickly gained the power to shape the character of publications, in particular to express their political convictions through the coverage of events in their magazines.

Many of Germany’s leading journalists during the prewar period were opposed to Hitler, and the picture editors of the three largest magazines were among them: Kurt Korff, editor of the Berliner Illustrierte; Paul Feinholz, who in 1930 moved from the Münchner Illustrierte to the Kölnische Illustrierte; and Stefan Lorant, who became editor of the Münchner Illustrierte Presse in 1928, and carried the magazine’s cosmopolitan policy into its use of photographs. In various ways these men insured that the photographic content of their magazines avoided any allegiance with the National Socialist party. Lorant, for example, refused to publish any photographs of Adolf Hitler, and used humorously juxtaposed photographs to comment on liberal politicians who appeared naive about the Nazi threat. Each of these magazines published photo essays on different aspects of the lives of common people, but carefully omitted the glorification of Aryan traits that dominated the Nazi portrayal of the German people in Der Illustrierte Beobachter.

The photographers and newly formed picture agencies supplying work to these magazines appear to have supported these editors’ views. Many photographers had forbidden the agencies to submit their work to Der Illustrierte Beobachter (Gidal 1973:26), and in 1933, most of the prominent ones—including many non-Jews—left Germany rather than submit to Nazi control of the press.

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Figure 1 Cover of Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung, Volume 6, Number 44 (1927).
From the perspective of the radical left, however, the new German photojournalism was offering a weak and limited critique of the forces that were reshaping German society. The Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung (AIZ) was founded specifically to correct and extend the liberal critique of Nazism offered by the bourgeois press. In order to carry out this goal, it was necessary to establish an organizational network independent of those that fed into Germany’s emerging picture press. Unlike its bourgeois counterparts, the network that provided work for the AIZ was based on a view of both the medium and the practice of photography as explicitly political in content and consequences. Over the next decade, the AIZ became the most concrete vehicle in a leftist photography movement that treated each act involved in making, presenting, and looking at photographs as inherently political. The perspective that emerged from the resulting photographs deserves examination, not only because of the time and place in which this movement arose, or for its significance in the rise of the picture press, but also because of the beliefs about photography that shaped the practice and appearance of the work itself.

Rise of the Picture Press

When Willi Münzenberg needed a forum for the Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (Workers’ International Relief, or IAH), he established Sowjet-Russland im Bild (1921), whose title was changed after 12 issues to Sichel und Hammer. In 1924, it became the Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung. The AIZ remained the principal organ of the IAH, which Münzenberg used as an umbrella organization to bring together a broad spectrum of leftists and liberals in support of humanitarian causes. His eclectic interests, engaging manner, and broad vision helped him build a broad but loosely structured coalition.

Many of the writers, artists, and intellectuals Münzenberg attracted to IAH were willing to lend support to other causes and provided much of the material used in the growing number of publications the Communist party was distributing. In addition to the AIZ, with a circulation approaching 500,000, these included the humor magazine Der Eulenspiegel and the daily newspapers Berlin am Morgen and Welt am Abend, for a combined circulation of over 400,000 (Gruber 1966:288). Münzenberg rejected the narrow definition of a party press: these publications were all intended to stimulate a general feeling of solidarity among workers, not only in Germany, but around the world. The AIZ, as a picture magazine, was seen as having powerful potential in this regard.
The magazine was assembled by a small staff. Even during its most successful period, from 1927 to 1933, there were only five staff members. Lilly Becher, the editor, had begun her journalistic career with the Ullstein publishing house, then worked from 1921 to 1926 on the editorial staffs of several Communist publications. She became editor in chief of the AIZ in 1927. Her chief assistant was Hermann Leupold, formerly a toolmaker, who was responsible for the layout of the magazine. In addition, there was a picture editor who also acted as archivist, an artist responsible for drawings, and a stenographer. According to Becher, different names were often used to give the impression that a large staff contributed to the making of each issue. She also acknowledged that the staff kept close contacts with the Communist party and the revolutionary part of the working class (Willmann 1975:7).

The AIZ's broad range of content—from sports, puzzles, and columns for children to topics of international labor and politics—was liberally illustrated with photographs. While subscribing to the condescending notion of the viewer as easily seduced by photographs, Münzenberg also recognized the competition the AIZ offered to other illustrated magazines:

The picture has an effect particularly on children and young people, on those with simple thoughts and feelings, on not yet organized, indifferent masses of workers, farm laborers, tenant farmers and other classes.... Even considering just the distribution, it is easier to sell an illustrated magazine to an indifferent worker than a theoretical brochure. It must be possible to successfully counteract Verdummung through bourgeois illustrated magazines which are circulated in the millions in Germany with an illustrated workers' magazine. [Münzenberg 1925:57]

Thus he saw the AIZ as part of a counter movement to the bourgeois media awakening people from the stupefying effect of the established press and the photography that dominated it.

The media's increased use of photographs in both advertising and journalism was linked to the authority of photographs as documents. At a time when a concern for realism had inspired a new movement in German art and expression, photographs had great appeal. The insistent belief in photography's power to document "things as they are" gave the medium a natural place within "Neue Sachlichkeit," and was a major reason for its expanded role in the mass media. Münzenberg saw the AIZ as an opportunity to apply this belief in the authenticity of the photographic record to conditions of proletarian life.
The AIZ was able to take advantage of other conditions that were paving the way for photographs’ widespread entry into the press: the low cost and accessibility of photographic equipment, relative ease of reproduction, and the growing number of people interested in making photographs for a living. And since the broad scope of the AIZ’s coverage overlapped with other picture magazines, those photographs might have been considered appropriate for the AIZ’s pages. However, some professional photographers objected to the ways their photographs were “made less credible or falsified through political slogans in captions” in the AIZ (Gidal 1973:26).

More important than the question of the availability of photographs was the identity and perspective of the photographers who made them. Münzenberg had been attempting to remove the distinction journalism has traditionally drawn between producer and consumer by encouraging readers to contribute to the magazine. This practice was more than an attempt to get material to print: Münzenberg was consciously confronting the premise of objectivity that dominated professional journalism. When the journalist is a member of the audience that is being addressed, self-interest can become one with the interest of that audience. This perception of photographers constitutes a further departure from the premise of objectivity by Münzenberg, for it acknowledges that photographs are not determined by technology or chemistry, but are shaped by the interests of the people who make them.

From the perspective of the AIZ, the camera was a means of expressing a partisan, ideologically charged point of view. Lilly Becher suggests that the worker-photographer movement was consciously guided by the small team of AIZ editors who recognized their own revolutionary task and who instilled in their contributors a strong sense of class consciousness that led to the kind of social reportage that drew widespread attention and offered “something qualitatively new” (Willmann 1975:8). Thus, amateur photographers began to document the living and working conditions of their own environments. By photographing the day-to-day routines of their coworkers, friends, and families, they were also gathering evidence of the oppression of the working class under the capitalist system.

The workers who engaged in this photographic documentation were doing more than producing illustrations for a magazine; photography was a vehicle for their active participation in the class struggle. In pointing to differences between social criticism among bourgeois and worker photographers, it has been suggested that the work of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, for example, was aimed at showing isolated events and always remained a bourgeois interpretation of the working class. Worker-photographers, on the other hand, recognized social criticism as the basis for their involvement, and it served as a guide toward a new vision of their class (Beier 1977:85). Their individual and coordinated efforts served a broad educative function by confronting the effects of those images that dominated the mass media. The act of creating such photographs was to affect the worker-photographers themselves, mobilizing them as active and insistent voices for their class and for the German left. To be a worker-photographer thus meant to admit the subjectivity of one’s approach, to overcome the bourgeois influence upon the activities of viewing and taking pictures, and to use the camera quite consciously as a weapon.

AIZ and Worker-Photographers

The AIZ relied heavily on photographs by amateurs and remained the major outlet for the worker-photographers. At first, photographers were identified by name in the magazine, but later, to protect their safety and to signify the unity of their photographic efforts, their work was often labeled only “Arbeiterfotograf” (Rinka 1967:30). In 1926 the AIZ organized a photography contest, and soon afterward a national organization of worker-photographers was formed, the Vereinigung der Arbeiter-Fotografen Deutsch­land (VdAFD). In August 1926 the first issue of Der Arbeiter-Fotograf was published, a magazine specifically for worker-photographers. The AIZ, VdAFD, and Der Arbeiter-Fotograf served as the major means for building workers’ interest in photography into a movement, encouraging a variety of public outlets and stimulating organized activities on the local, national, and even international levels.

The first national conference of the VdAFD in Erfurt (April 17, 1927) was attended by representatives of 25 groups in Germany and five representatives from foreign countries (U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, and Belgium) (Beiler 1967:48). Two years later, at the second national conference in Dresden, 24 organizations with 1,480 members were represented (Danner 1967:21). The German worker-photographers cooperated closely with their Soviet counterparts. In 1930, this resulted in Unionfoto G.m.b.H. (later called Union-Bild), a picture service combining German and Soviet interests that included Russ-Foto, the largest picture agency in the U.S.S.R., the secretariat of the Allrussian Workers’ Photography Clubs, and several Soviet publishing houses. Workers’ photography groups were also formed in several European countries and the United States (Danner 1967:22), and photography courses were offered at the Marxist workers’ schools in Berlin and Leipzig.

As new groups were formed (16 between October and December 1927), exhibitions were organized and pictures were contributed to newspapers and magazines published by labor unions, the Communist party, and the Social Democratic party. Within these clubs or collectives, the photographers discussed their work, carried out joint projects, and maintained public bulletin boards of their recent photographic activities. Many clubs extensively
documented a single "typical" worker's family. They also carefully coordinated their coverage of political demonstrations to ensure that the film (if not the photographer) would stay out of police hands. Many groups were highly productive: one of the largest, in Leipzig, reported sending about 150 photo series to various publications over a 2-year period (Der Arbeiter-Fotograf 1928:11, 15).

The clubs also had access to Der Arbeiter-Fotograf, where they found information and analysis addressing many facets of their work. In articles about the art of photography they could read about and see examples of how others approached their work. A sensitivity to patterns of light and shade in everyday objects, for example, as seen in the photography of those working at the center of the Neue Sachlichkeit movement, was discussed. Examples of Soviet photography were frequently published, introducing German photographers to the perspectives of other socialists. Other articles focused on philosophical discussions of the relationship between art and labor, and the problem of integrating artistic expression with political struggle, stimulating workers to develop new concepts of the subjects they photographed.

Articles on technical subjects in Der Arbeiter-Fotograf introduced specific techniques, stressing inexpensive alternatives to photographic problems. Readers could learn how to make certain items, such as a flash unit, that might not otherwise be available to them. Each issue also included a feature titled "Bilderkritik," offering specific criticism of work that individual photographers had submitted to the publication. By 1929 Der Arbeiter-Fotograf reported a circulation of 7000 (Danner 1967:23) and was a major outlet for photographs by workers. Certainly its availability was contributing significantly to the style and approach its readers were developing.

The impact of these sources of inspiration and support can be seen primarily in the pages of the AIZ, which remains the most accessible source for examining the work of these photographers. The general subject matter of the AIZ's photographs continued to overlap considerably with the topics covered by other picture magazines. The daily life of common people, the institutions that shaped those lives, the prevalence of sport, and the turmoil of political struggle and change dominate the photography published in the German press during this period, and the AIZ was no exception. The worker-photographers could be expected to approach these prominent themes from a different perspective, however, given the social and political environments in which they were working.

German workers were not the only photographers supplying material to the AIZ. The worker-photographers' perspective, while well represented in the magazine, did not constitute the AIZ's only window on the world. Regular features included pages of photographs from a variety of sources as well as a "Bilderkritik" column. This column was designed to provide a critical perspective on the photographs published in the magazine, offering readers a chance to learn about the artistic principles that guided the work of their fellow photographers and to gain insight into the broader cultural context in which it was produced. The column also served to foster a sense of community among the photographers, encouraging them to participate actively in the production of the magazine and to engage with the ideas and issues raised by the work of others.

Figure 5 "Bilderkritik," in Der Arbeiter-Fotograf, Volume 4, Number 7 (1930), p. 166. (From Joachim Bütte et al., Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926-1932. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, p. 114.)
of picture services showing recent events from other parts of the globe ("Aus aller Welt," one such feature, carried photographs captioned in Esperanto to underscore the magazine's international appeal). Nor did the AIZ's frequent use of photomontage rely heavily on the output of the worker-photographers' movement. John Heartfield's work exerted the strongest influence on the magazine in this regard: by combining multiple images into a single pictorial representation, Heartfield linked specific events to their political and social consequences in montages that remain unequaled in their graphic emotional power. Although other editors, in particular Lorant, admired and published Heartfield's work, it was seen most frequently in the AIZ. Often a Heartfield montage appeared on the cover and in the center double spread of the magazine.

Montage techniques were also incorporated into the AIZ's display of series of photographs, and these series usually included photographs by workers. Backgrounds were often dropped out and multiple images morticed into and laid over each other on pages incorporating as many as ten or twelve single photographs. Policemen's guns were pointed into adjacent photographs of demonstrating workers; construction workers strode into photographs of the new factories they were building; photographs of women holding up their hungry children were laid over scenes of mass demonstrations. Not all the AIZ's pages were so heavily worked, and occasionally workers' photographs were presented more simply, as series of individual photographs with accompanying text. Photographic series by workers became more common as the magazine matured, and by 1932 each issue carried one or more of these picture stories. There were still no staff photographers, and workers provided a majority of the magazine's photographs.

It is clear that conditions existed for a widespread movement. A political philosophy explicitly defined the role photography and photographers should play in building proletarian solidarity. An organizational structure had been established, magazines existed to publish photographs by workers and to provide guidance to worker-photographers, and local groups provided personal contact with other worker-photographers and a base for coordinated action. Five years after its creation, Heinrich Mann could write in a letter to the AIZ that the AIZ succeeded in showing a proletarian world that did not exist for other illustrated magazines, and Siegfried Jacobsohn, founder of the Weltbühne, commented, "The Arbeiter-Illustrierte is the best picture magazine that has ever come to my attention in Germany. Why? All possible reasons are insignificant except for the one that counts in the intellectual arena: it has character, quite simply character" (Willmann 1975:34,36).

The photographs published in the AIZ and Der Arbeiter-Fotograf now provide the key to this "character" and form the primary basis for assessing the impact of orga-
The Eyes of the Proletariat

Figure 8  A picture story of a young proletarian, his life at home and at work. Der Arbeiter-Fotograf, Volume 1, Number 12 (1927), pp. 7-8. (From Joachim Büthe, Der Arbeiter-Fotograf-Dokumente und Beiträge zur Arbeiterfotografie, 1926-1932. Köln: Prometh Verlag GmbH, 1977, pp. 182-183.)

recognizing workers as photographers. Although the number of workers who made and published these photographs and the size of their audience cannot be estimated with any accuracy, from the content and form of their published photographs one can see to what extent the network of support resulted in a coherent and consistent political style of photography, a pattern of expression that distinguished worker-photographers from other press photographers of their time.

Worker-Photographer Style

Workers' photographs published in the AIZ and Der Arbeiter-Fotograf show that a style emerged within this group. Repetitions evident in the subject matter of the photographs and in the camera techniques used, particularly in framing and composition, suggest that worker-photographers developed a coordinated pattern of expression suited to the political aims of their movement; their work incorporated aspects of several different approaches to photography.

First, they worked as many amateurs do; their photography is similar to folk or family photography. The frequency of group photographs, usually arranged in a symmetrical composition, has a corollary in the many photographs of groups seen in family collections since the turn of the century (Chalfen 1975, Ohnm 1977). The effect of overt posing is seen, as people stare stiffly at the camera or smile with raised fists in apparent response to the photographer's request. The photographs tend to define the scene broadly; the loose framing and placement of the primary subject or group at its center conforms to the amateur's definition of subject and background. The common-sense assumption that showing "the whole scene" means framing the principal subject with even amounts of space top and bottom, left and right, is evident.

The way these formal stylistic features present the subjects of the worker-photographers differs from those photographs anchored in the "home mode" tradition, however. The wide view, symmetrically composed, is well suited to showing large crowds in the streets and rows of workers taking a break to pose for a photograph. It emphasizes repetition of the human form and the settings in which the subjects are found, thus suggesting a political and social interpretation by the photographer. In contrast to the "personification" of events in the bourgeois press (Hall 1973:183), the theme is not one of individuals, but of a mass—even "the masses"—of people engaged in a coordinated activity. The context of that activity, whether in the streets or in the work place, defines their role, while the size of the group suggests their power to define the setting as their own, one in which they, as a group, assert control.
The evident posing of photographs in which people are gazing at the camera expresses a theme central to the amateur family photograph collection—that of agreement between the subject and the photographer. Agreeing to stand and be photographed is an admission of the power of the photographer over the subject. When the quality of the photographer’s authority is coercive, the result may be extreme, as, for example, identification photographs in police files. However, when the photographer’s authority stems from his or her role as an accepted member of a group, the sense in which the individual or group agrees to be photographed, if not strictly egalitarian, is certainly cooperative. The resulting photograph, as in the case of many of the worker-photographer group shots, expresses the photographer/subject relationship as one of shared, positive understandings of the purpose for which the photograph is being made.

In other respects, the style of the worker-photographers more closely paralleled another approach, seen most clearly in photographs made as part of extended documentary projects. Working environments and working conditions were approached as integral parts of a person’s life and not as behind-the-scenes activities often ignored by the media. A worker photographing his wife, for example, did not employ the conventions used by the family photographer, but recorded her daily routine. The theme of “a day in the life of a worker” showed up frequently in the pages of the AIZ, indicating a more analytical vision than that of the characteristic amateur. Photographing the step-by-step process of a particular job was another common topic. The camera work in most cases was straightforward—camera angle rarely deviated from normal eye level, and the distance between photographer and subject tended to be held constant.

This recognition of the activities of the poor and working class was admittedly propagandistic, an intention common in documentary movements. As Dorothea Lange later said about her work for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) in the United States during the 1930s, “Everything is propaganda for what you believe in, actually, isn’t it?... The harder and more deeply you believe in anything, the more in a sense you’re a propagandist” (Lange 1968:181). The German worker-photographer would have agreed. A correspondence between the FSA photography in particular and the worker-photographer in Germany is freely acknowledged (Hiepe 1978:18-19). The importance of selecting and photographing previously undocumented groups and individuals was an explicit purpose of the FSA project, and several of the photographers, most notably Russell Lee, chose the analytical step-by-step approach to record their activities. Lewis Hine’s documentation for the Pittsburgh Survey...
and the National Child Labor Committee in the early twentieth century also parallels the approach used by the German photographers. Each of these projects departed from the common tendency to select better-known leaders of society and usually avoided artful camera technique. The political implications of this approach are clear: they show in a direct manner the living and working conditions of the lower ranks of society and at the same time draw attention to that society's dependence on the activities of the working class.

However, the overt political style of the German worker-photographers was further heightened by their identification with their subjects. Their firsthand experience with the people and activities they photographed gave them more intimate access to these subjects. The authority of their photographs thus conveyed the authenticity of a participant's perspective.

In other respects the worker-photographers were working as photojournalists, and their work shared components of a style that was becoming evident in the German picture magazines of the period. Although their photography was not always tied to an event considered newsworthy in the conventional sense, they were avid in their coverage of street demonstrations. They appear to have considered themselves watchdogs in the frequent confrontations between workers and the police: their photographs focus on police treatment of workers. When documenting the ongoing activities of workers, they often used the journalistic approach of selecting an angle, usually a particular worker or family, and tried to photograph as if through the eyes of their subject. By selecting a single individual as a protagonist, they could "tell a story" that represented the experiences of a broad segment of society, using an approach closely parallel to the photojournalists'. Particularly when making a series of photographs, they began to employ a variety of camera angles and distances from their subjects, looking for details, action, close-ups of faces, and overviews of the scene.

The "Bilderkritik" feature in Der Arbeiter-Fotograf encouraged this approach. Photographs submitted by workers were cropped to show a tighter focus on one figure, and new frames were drawn on overview photographs to demonstrate other parts of the scene deserving closer attention. By explicating these rules of composition, "Bilderkritik" was helping photographers shape their work to the photo essay form. Ways of improving their work in this regard were also a common topic of discussion within the worker-photographer groups.

A parallel kind of instruction was used in at least one group of American photographers. The head of Life magazine's Detroit bureau helped a group of factory workers develop an ability to locate stories and taught...
them the "formula for shooting photo essays, bringing about a significant increase in the coverage from Detroit appearing in Life in the early 1950s" (Dykhouse 1979). The photo essays by German worker-photographers that were published in the AIZ look very different from Life's photo essays, however. The protagonist of a story was often worked into a photomontage. A cutout photograph of this person might be displayed over other photographs of the work place. In a photo essay on child labor in a yo-yo factory, for example, the largest photograph on the page is of a single unidentified child (AIZ 1932:1.075). This technique did not individualize the worker, as seen in Life a decade later, but established the person as a symbol of the workers who shared his or her experience. Life editor Wilson Hicks stated that the good magazine photographer "is most interested in finding drama in everyday life, in singling out the commonplace, in delving into human problems; unlike the documentarian, he is not interested in doing so only for the purpose of social criticism or to plead a cause" (Hicks 1952:88). Clearly, the intentions of the German worker-photographers contrasted sharply with Hicks's ideal. Despite the photojournalistic conventions they used to document workers' lives, the worker-photographers' goal was to level a radical critique against capitalist repression, a goal achieved in part through the way their work was displayed in the AIZ.

The expressions of the worker-photographers can thus be seen as fusing aspects of three styles—that of the amateur family photographer, the documentarian, and the magazine photojournalist. It was the worker-photographers' identification with their subjects that linked components of these separate styles and at the same time distinguished their work from that of others during that period. Unlike the photographs appearing in other German picture magazines, their work grew out of an active participation in the events they photographed, and this perspective created reciprocal identification with their intended audience.

The perspective was underscored in the pages of Der Arbeiter-Fotograf: "We take pictures where proletarian life is the toughest, where the bourgeoisie is rotten to the core. . . . The picture is a weapon, technique is a weapon, art is a weapon. . . . We are the eyes of the proletariat. We teach our brothers to use their eyes" (Hoernle 1930:154). The class-conscious readers could thus see events as if through their own eyes, with the added political inflection intended to enhance their awareness of the oppression they experienced in common with the people in the photographs and the men and women who created them. Through its photography, the AIZ became "their" publication, truly a "medium of the masses," providing visual proof that the bourgeois press was misrepresenting the events they were experiencing firsthand.

The Consequences of the Movement

The destruction of the German worker-photography movement was one of the immediate effects of the Nazi takeover in 1933. The AIZ was moved to Prague. Der Arbeiter-Fotograf ceased publication altogether, and the worker-photography clubs disbanded. As an instrument of opposition to Nazi power and oppression, the movement must be judged a failure. Despite apparent threads of continuity, as seen for example in the lively tradition of political photomontage carried on in other European countries, worker-photographers in Germany had no means of sustaining their particular political critique.

Yet the mere existence of such a critique suggests the significance of the movement that produced this body of work. Examined in the context of beliefs about the role photography could play in politicizing the working class, the movement's success becomes apparent: through social and political involvement, large numbers of workers learned to communicate using a medium they previously had understood only as members of the mass media's audience. Through active participation in making photographs of their own environments, they overcame any barriers presented by lack of formal education or the cost of photographic equipment and production. By consciously assuming a political perspective, they learned that photography could be used to express a point of view and, by extension, that all photographs do so.

A heightened consciousness of the political content inherent in symbolic forms pervaded German art and expression during the years of the Weimar Republic. At the time the worker-photography movement was at its peak, Kurt Tucholsky wrote, "As there is nothing that is not political in this world, there cannot be any non-political photography" (Tucholsky 1930). Among those workers who had learned to use photography as a political weapon, there developed a pattern of work and a visual style that reveal a radical perspective and critique of prewar Germany available nowhere else.
The Eyes of the Proletariat

Notes
1 The AIZ was moved to Prague in 1933, and in 1936 the title was changed again, to Volks-Illustrierte. The magazine ceased publication in 1938.
2 Becher went into exile, first in France (1933-1935), then in the Soviet Union (1935-1945), where she continued her journalistic career. She returned to the German Democratic Republic and became editor of the Neue Berliner Illustrierte until 1951. Hermann Leupold became copublisher of the AIZ with F.C. Weiskopf when it moved to Prague. He emigrated to England in 1938. After his return to East Berlin he became director of the Berliner Verlag.
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Display as Structure and Revelation: 
On Seeing the Shiva Exhibition

Review Essay by Michael W. Meister
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Present in Philadelphia from March 29-June 7, 1981, the exhibition organized by Stella Kramrisch (curator of Indian Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art) to display objects illustrating the diverse manifestations of the Hindu deity Shiva illustrated as well the possibility for manifesting underlying cultural structures in the display of museum objects. Faced with fragments of a civilization bewildering to most Western viewers in its complexity, and rooted in a cultural context of which most Western viewers would be ignorant, Kramrisch chose to weave objects together, using display to provide context, in a way that touched on the deepest structures of that civilization. In doing so, she moved this exhibition steps beyond the pedagogic, historical, display—structures common for such major museum exhibitions. The public who came moved through a world subliminally felt, introduced to them, but not exhausted, by the objects selected and the labels that explained them. Produced as much by display as by the objects themselves, this subliminal world made of the exhibition, as seen in Philadelphia, a revelatory event.

Behind the exhibition lay a scholar’s lifetime of experience of India, ten years preparation for the show, a volume of religious interpretation published by Princeton University Press (Kramrisch 1981, affectionately known as the “Stella Purana” by those who worked with Kramrisch toward its production), and a wealth of supporting activities at the Philadelphia Museum of Art that made the exhibit, in the terms of its principal funding agency, the National Endowment for the Humanities, a “public event.” (These activities included “kits” of objects for school classes; a popular illustrated book by one of Kramrisch’s students, Ways to Shiva (Dye 1981); a series of films, a specially commissioned film originally entitled simply Shiva; a series of scholarly lectures; and vocal, instrumental, and dance performances in the museum, culminating in a Kathakali dance-drama in the main foyer, which sent the cries of demons echoing through all the galleries of the museum.)

The structure imposed by Kramrisch’s display took into account existing gallery space—a vast “special exhibition” area with high ceilings, which could be left open or divided up—but revised its normal use in significant ways (Figure 1). This is not to say that the viewer was intended to note the change, but rather that the curator and architect were bound by the perception they wished to create and not by museum convention. This exhibition space normally is entered through smaller galleries in front; exit is provided by a narrow long hall returning the viewer to the main foyer. Kramrisch chose to use the hallway as access, bringing the viewer into the largest gallery space first, then moving him or her back through smaller galleries to the foyer. By thus reversing the normal flow she could prepare entry to the major sculpture gallery, and could define a ritually appropriate clockwise ambulation.

The long hallway she had widened and broken into alcoves by a series of bays (Figure 1) created by rectangular “gateways,” which allowed segments where the miniature paintings displayed could be grouped into meaningful sets without obstructing the central procession path (Figure 2). Low-ceilinged, this hallway provided a backbone for the exhibition, up which the viewers could ascend. Each set of alcoves prepared them differently. First were painted images illustrating Shaivite icons of worship. The second hall-segment opened on the right into the bronze gallery (but was roped off from it), a bronze of dancing Shiva facing the hall, giving to the initiate a glimpse of the ritual objects stored within (and yet to come). Opposite the dancing Shiva were paintings of Shiva as great ascetic, and one of a king of Mandi as an “apotheosis” of Shiva.) The next alcoves introduced paintings to illustrate Shiva’s strange family: a wife who became also a great ascetic, sons who were not natural sons, lovemaking that can never be consummated—presented by colorful Sunday-supplement images of great domestic tranquility. Images of Shiva’s more terrifying and elemental aspects were shown (the female river-Ganga descending onto Shiva’s head as if to enwrap and engulf him; the great goddess Kali activating Shiva’s corpse; Shiva lustfully chasing Vishnu incarnate as Rohini; the wild Bhairava; and the great god Sadashiva). One showed the birth of Shiva’s son, Karttikeya, when Shiva’s seed spurts into the sacred fire. In the fifth alcove a large wooden headress, representing dance-dramas performed before a temple, was displayed (Figure 3). Finally, images of earthly and celestial devotees and meditation were collected (three from a series of five ascetics wandering in search of Shiva; paintings of meditative devices; personified melodies preparing the viewer’s mood; and near the entrance to the final alcove, a painting showing a priest worshipping four lingams—the abstract phallic emblem of Shiva—over which was traced a map of the “monk’s mental pilgrimage”), all suggesting yoga as the “royal road to reintegration.”

Up to this point the hallway had been painted light gray, punctuated by the inner surfaces of the rectangular openings that marked segment-divisions, painted a pale flame-color. As one stepped into the next shallow segment, the walls became charcoal-gray, framing two temple-hangings on either side. One moved thus from illustration to devotion as the light darkened. Straight ahead lay the last long segment of hallway, painted jet black. Along the left, straight wall were placed green
potted plants, as if the sacred plants in temple courtyards (Figure 4). At the end of this hall section, straight ahead as if presented in the sanctum of an actual temple, was a monumental granite image of Shiva. Kramrisch thus had brought the initiate through stages of illustration, preparation, and challenge into a temple’s precincts, the first stone image of Shiva presenting him as if for worship. Thus had Shiva also been made manifest for worship through his images and temples on earth.

Kramrisch, however, used space to move the viewer beyond the temple. To the right in this hall section two empty alcoves had been painted a light tan (Figure 1), making this right wall seem to bulge and dissolve; between was an actual opening, the ceiling of the hallway cut partially back (Figure 4). Through this the viewer could see into a vast nighttime garden, filled with spotlit sculpture and trees, its great space bulging up and over the end of the hall.

To either side of this entry Kramrisch had placed small images of Shiva’s impish host, one blowing a conch, the other beating a drum in welcome. Straight ahead, a large, low, square platform dominated (Figure 5). From this emerged the shafts of five lingams, one marking the center, the others the four corners. The deep night of this gallery was punctuated by stone images in harsh light but on stepped black pedestals, so that each image seemed isolated yet alive; this night created was artful and not human night, yet meant to seem eternal, for the linga-platform acted as the ritual presence of a cosmic center, the square altar of men’s most ancient rituals, the central lingam the axis separating heaven and earth in early Indian cosmogony. (Lingams marking the corners, unlike a temple platform, marked the four directions defining the created universe.) By means of this center, and the stone manifestations scattered through the night and grove created in this gallery, Kramrisch had brought the viewer into the actual presence of Shiva.

Around the linga-platform a semicircle of trees was placed, with images reflecting and giving historical reference to the phallic emblems in the center. Directly behind the platform Kramrisch had placed a small relief from the first century A.D. showing a one-faced lingam set up on a square brick platform under a tree, the paradigm for her linga altar. To the left was a small red-stone sculpture from the University Museum showing one of the earliest images known of Shiva manifest in human form in front of the aniconic lingam. To the right of the entry Kramrisch had placed a much later image from the Metropolitan Museum illustrating the myth of Shiva presenting himself as a flaming lingam of infinite extent, with Brahma and Vishnu, the other members of the canonical Hindu triad, attempting to measure its height and depth. On the face of the lingam Shiva emerges in human form, still within a vulva-like opening in the lingam. The aniconic encloses the iconic, and manifestation becomes a didactic device.

Having brought the viewer to confront this abstract ritual center, Kramrisch leads him out, through Shiva’s multifaceted, mythic manifestations. Turning further to the left from the linga-altar (the viewer encouraged, one wonders, to circumambulate the platform counterclockwise, as prescribed in some esoteric Shavite texts?), the now initiated viewer to whom Shiva’s cosmic center has been revealed moved through a “gate” marked by two images of Shiva’s androgynous form (male and female separate, yet conjoined) (Figure 6) to face three images of Shiva’s...
attendant mount (symbol of potency and continence, we are told), the bull Nandi (children quickly see these as “Shiva’s pets”). These face back through the biunity of bisexual and bivalent images (of Shiva as Harihara—half Vishnu—as well) toward the linga-center (a triad facing a pentad?; Figure 7). The viewer has been brought into Shiva’s earthbound but eternal manifestations (Figure 6): to the left a group of three images showing Shiva as teacher (as lord of musical instruments, as “Dakshinamurti” or southern “missionary,” and as yogin); in front two images of Shiva as “beggar”—i.e., seducer (of men, but in legend of the holy men’s wives, their attraction never fulfilled; one image, the nude human figure standing iconic, tense, Kramrisch describes as “Shiva, the beggar, as he really was,” the other seductively sensuous image, “Shiva as he seemed to the women”); on the right, filling the far extent of the gallery, a variety of images of Bhairava, Shiva in his fierce but earth-protecting aspect, sometimes emaciated and terrible, sometimes almost regal (Figure 8).

Only here, eccentrically, to the side of Bhairava, and moving along the wall behind the circle of trees surrounding the linga-altar (Figure 8), has Kramrisch introduced what in many exhibitions of Shaivite art would be central, the image of Shiva as lord of the dance. Through images of his dance here, through the eternal rhythm of creation and destruction, time starts again. The viewer moves into groups of images making Shiva’s earthly presence specific—as protector of the three worlds and as subduer of demons, sitting also in his Himalayan palace, foot holding down the shaking earth. A series of images then presents Shiva with Parvati, his wife, first ithyphallic, then domesticated; dramatically, as one rounds the perimeter of the sacred grove, one comes upon a great seventh-century Pallava (south Indian) image of Shiva and his family—Shiva domestically manifest as model for all families, yet for no family. As if to remind the viewer that Shiva’s domesticity is not one of conjugal but of spiritual harmony, Kramrisch places an image of Kama, the Indian cupid or god of passion, enemy of Shiva’s asceticism, as counterpoise.

Still within the glittering black space of Shiva’s grove, the vast exhibition space made intimate by trees, Kramrisch again marks the departure from the outer periphery of the sacred circle by a “gate”—here marked by two less impressive images of Shiva and his family. After the “manifest” royal image facing the viewer, these manifestly are only images, and mark the end of Shiva’s actual presence. Beyond are images of Shiva’s secondary level of extensions, as often presented on a temple’s outer walls: to the right, images of Skanda, Shiva’s warrior son; in front, a bastion of goddesses blocking a view of the bronze gallery ahead; behind, Shiva’s elephant-headed son, Ganesha; to the left, a vortex of “secondary” manifestations (river goddesses; door-guardians; a saint, Lakulisha, of the second century.
A.D., who was deified and made "equivalent" to Shiva by the sect he founded; and finally Durga, the great goddess herself.

Two exits were provided from this sculpture grove. To the left (Figure 1), Kramrisch's architect had staged a series of baffles allowing the viewer to slip into a small theater where a slide-show could introduce him to the temples of India in which stone and metal images made Shiva manifest to the worshipper. Through other baffles the viewer could then move on into the smaller gallery in which bronzes had been displayed. Still in the sculpture gallery, the wall had been stepped back, with small cases (Figure 9), to frame a doorway into the display of bronzes, a bronze Shiva as lord of dance again set in the entrance (Figure 10). To either side of this entry, still in the black grove, images of Ganesha, Shiva's elephant-headed son and sign of good luck, bade the viewer farewell.

Shiva's abstract and imaged presence permeates and controls this sculpture "garden." Led from instruction and initiation through paintings and into the "temple" that ends the proccessional corridor, in this gallery the initiate has Shiva's cosmic and unchanging nature, and faceted and endless valences, made manifest. In leaving this still-swirling manifestation, the viewer could choose to move into the slide theater to be instructed in Shiva's presence on earth, manifest through images in temples, the ritual objects present in the gallery beyond. Alternatively, entering the bronze gallery through the Ganesha gate, the viewer faced a plexiglass-boxed image of Nataraja, master of dance (Figure 10), framed on a wall to block any view of Shiva's "garden" from the gallery itself. Here were implements of ritual and devotion. Walls were again gray, case-backings a pinkish cloth, suggesting both the color of metal and light (Kramrisch now says the color combination to her suggested twilight and dawn), and throughout this gallery, again low-ceilinged, elegant and conventional (Figure 11), Shiva's images as implements of temple worship danced.

On the sides of the gallery a variety of images presented regional diversity and iconographic complexities within the use of bronze. As a central spine, leading to the finest of the three Nataraja bronzes in the exhibit (placed at the gallery's three entrances), were images of Parvati, Shiva's wife, celestial attendant, then various images of Shavite saints—actual men who had marched through South India composing and singing hymns to Shiva (Figure 11). Bronze had developed in South India, to the heights of accomplishment demonstrated here, as a response to the ritual requirements of the great temple establishments these saints' devotion and the response of royalty produced.
The initiated viewer moved back into this world through this temple storeroom; only then was he led, next, and finally, to the inevitable modern exhibition store, its back to the ritual exhibition and designed so that it could easily be skirted, where T-shirts of Shiva and other objects could be purchased (or, more usefully and more successfully, *Ways to Shiva* and other of the exhibition’s publications).

By use of the space in these three galleries for this exhibition—for paintings, stone sculpture, and bronze objects—Kramrisch led the viewer to ascend the heights of an abstract theology, and through the images to return. No compromise was made in writing the explanatory labels, yet they were clear; yet only through perceiving the unity of display could the deeper structure unifying the separate images be perceived. This structure is subliminal; it has not been articulated; yet it leads the viewer as an initiate is led from querulous questions to revelation.

The problems of displaying this material, and the “message” underlying it, are unique; yet the solutions arrived at show the strength possible by which adequate museum display can provide a structure, not simply to reinforce instruction, but to establish a complex, personal, deeply ordered interaction between information and understanding. I am aware that few viewers to the exhibition could have articulated the structure I have suggested here (though many viewers surprised guards with their knowledge and preparation). However, such structures can be built into a display, not as “messages” to be decoded, but rather as pathways presented to guide the viewer toward his own perceptions.

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**Notes**

1 The exhibition was also scheduled to go to the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, August 1-September 27, 1981; Seattle Art Museum, November 25, 1981-January 31, 1982; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, March 23-May 30, 1982.
2 See Kramrisch (1981) for Kramrisch’s personal perceptions of deep structure in Shaivite myth.
3 For example, the Chinese Archaeological Exhibition, King Tut, or Before Cortez.
4 The architect selected, Richard C. Meyer, worked closely with Kramrisch in formulating the display, and has won an award for “Best Exhibitions of 1981” from *Print Magazine*.
5 Later retitled *Manifestations of Shiva*, this film, directed by Malcolm Leigh for the Asia Society, New York, has been broadcast on public television. Through structures built into this film the director also attempted to construct continuities, perceived subliminally, among widely diverse fragments of India’s traditions.
Reviews and Discussion


Reviewed by Vincent Mosco
Temple University

Cecily: What field of endeavor are you engaged in?
Felix: I write the news for CBS.
Cecily: Oh! Fascinating!
Gwendolyn: Where do you get your ideas from?
Felix: (He looks at her as though she’s a martian)
From the news.
Gwendolyn: Oh, yes, of course. Silly me… [p. 5]

Neil Simon wittily captures a prevalent view of news production: news is an independent thing, easily recognizable, but which only a few—professional journalists with a “nose for news”—are adept at gathering and reporting. Like the behavioral psychologist who views intelligence as whatever it is IQ tests measure, news is whatever it is a reporter delivers. To accuse a journalist of making news, Cronkite and other Personalities excepted, is as inaccurate as accusing the IQ analyst of making intelligence.

This view has of late been subjected to some well-deserved debunking, although, as the authors of this fine cross-cultural report on broadcast news-making point out, journalism is the last among knowledge-producing institutions to submit to de-mystification. Scrutinizing teachers and psychologists is itself something of an occupation today—witness the growth of professional education and mental health evaluation specialists. The same is not the case for journalism, despite mounting evidence of people’s growing dependency on the communications industry for information ranging from the basic (What should I cook for dinner?) to the complex (Who has the power to determine whether I can afford dinner?).

Recent research has begun to remedy this shortcoming. Epstein’s News from Nowhere, Gans’ Deciding What’s News, and Schudson’s Discovering the News concretely detail the sociological truism that newsmaking, like any collective human endeavor, is a social process. The news does not exist, but events do. From these events a particular group of people, constrained by various financial, political, social, and organizational forces, select a sample, filter, and report. Halberstam’s The Powers That Be notwithstanding, the process by which people shape events into news is leaving the realm of romantic mythology, of Great Men who build news dynasties and tough journalists who succeed because they understand the intuitive genius it takes to do a story.

Figure 10 Entry to bronze gallery, Shiva as Nataraja flanked by other “processional images.”

Figure 11 Central axis of bronze gallery: the goddess, Parvati, Shaivite saints, and the Los Angeles Nataraja.

Plan and photographs by Eric E. Mitchell (Figures 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11) and Richard C. Meyer (Figures 1, 2, 5, 7, 9). Courtesy of the Phila. Mus. of Art.
Golding and Elliott's *Making the News* contributes substantially to the debunking and to our thinking about what more need be done. The most significant advance in their research is its explicitly cross-cultural focus. The book grows out of the 1968 UNESCO General Conference resolution to support research on the role of "the media of mass communication in modern society." The International Institute of Communications (then the International Broadcast Institute) funded the research through the Centre for Mass Communication Research at the University of Leicester. *Making the News* reports on extensive participatory and documentary research conducted at broadcast news organizations in Nigeria (Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, West Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation, Radio-Television Kaduna), Ireland (Radio Telefís Eireann), and Sweden (Sveriges Radio). The authors' data provide much-needed empirical grounding for a debate that threatens to stagnate on the terms free flow/media imperialism. Hence their research is valuable not only because it speaks to the issue of how people create broadcast news but because it sets that issue concretely in a global context of newsmaking control.

Golding and Elliott use the material gathered from these three disparate societies to press the theme that, despite vast differences in levels of development, news philosophies, and political systems, broadcast news in Sweden, Ireland, and Nigeria sounds and looks the same. They link this to a structural view:

...broadcasting practice merely falls back on the historically bred routines and values of commercial journalism. For several reasons broadcasting is a relatively passive form of journalism, highly dependent on the news-producing groups in society, whose values and cultural definitions it inevitably reproduces and relays.... the resulting content of broadcast news portrays a very particular view of the world that we can label ideological. Lacking two crucial dimensions of descriptive structure, process and power, it is inherently incapable of providing a critical account of events in the world. This is not the result of a conspiracy within newsrooms or of the inadequacies, professional or political, of broadcast journalists. It is a necessary result of the structure of news gathering and production, and of the routines and conventions built into professional broadcasting practice. News is the end product of patterned routines whose management is the process of news production. [p. 18]

*Structure shapes content.* What this means for the production of broadcast news and what it implies for efforts to change that production are revealed in their evidence. Consider structure first. By structure the authors mean more than the direct pressure of the state and its regulatory arms. The *mediating* role of Radioamden in Sweden, the more explicit state inter-

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**vention** that the 1960 Broadcasting Act permits in Ireland, and the *accommodation* of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation to the military government's view of development journalism are certainly structural forces that distinctly affect news content. But more important in their view are internal constraints that govern news planning, gathering, selection, and presentation — factors that blur the apparent distinctions among these and other news organizations. Diaries and editorial conferences help reduce newsroom uncertainty by planning the kinds of stories to be covered over a period of time. Gathering is heavily influenced by international and regional news agencies as well as by governmental and other prominent institutions. Selection involves the filtering of these stories. Here the availability of film, particularly from a prominent production source, is a determining influence. This Nigerian example is illustrative:

Visnews had film (two weeks old) of student strikes in the Congo. No Congo news was apparent on the wires but there was a student demonstration in Dahomey. The two were integrated although the Congo strike was anti-government, the Dahomey demonstration pro-government. Nigerian journalists are as socially and politically aware as any others. The point is that production needs, and the exigencies of meeting programme requirements, override news value or social significance in selecting and compiling. To a large extent, these needs and exigencies can only be met by leaning heavily on the services of film agencies. [p. 110]

Finally, there is presentation. the application of news values or a set of "working rules comprising a corpus of occupational lore which implicitly and often expressly explains and guides newsroom practice" (p. 114). Visual attractiveness, "recency," elite involvement, and other not unfamiliar qualities make stories in Ireland strikingly similar to those in Nigeria. In sum, the pressures of political context, time, and lack of resources constrain broadcast journalists to fall back on traditional values that simplify and justify a consistent pattern of news production.

Golding and Elliott turn from these structural constraints to the resulting content. Again we read familiar themes, though here given an explicitly empirical, cross-cultural grounding. Emphasis is on the passing event, on personalities not organizations, on government as the sole source of power in societies, on a world that continues to revolve around the old colonial centers.

The authors' carefully described insights into the structure and content of broadcast news would benefit from a sharper theoretical focus. This is particularly evident in two areas: changes in the process of journalistic work and the political economy, increasingly global in reach, within which this work is carried out.
In the first area, the work process, Golding and Elliott conclude that broadcast journalism in all three systems is becoming a highly routinized activity:

Whether the broadcast journalist is a professional or not, his occupational values and ambitions are far from autonomous. The bureaucratic and work routines and exigencies that surround him severely compromise the free exercise of ideals or professional intent, and in turn such values come to incorporate and reflect such limitations. The triumph of routine over professional ideology results from the technical complexities and scale of broadcast journalism, which make it a segmented and passive craft, often removed from the newspaper practices in which its ideology was formed. [p. 192]

But is it merely the complexity and scale of broadcast journalism that make for segmented, passive, even degraded work? The research of Braverman (1974) and others (Zimbalist 1979) suggests that computer scientists, engineers, and other so-called professionals, including print journalists, are experiencing the same routinization. According to this labor process focus, routinization and de-skilling result more from the drive to reduce labor costs and extend managerial control over potential sources of workplace opposition than from complexity of work. Political economy extends beyond the labor process or the point of production. Time and resource shortages certainly lead to dependency on international and regional film services such as Eurovision and Visnews. But why are these the only available alternatives? What is it about the political economy of broadcast news production that makes Visnews dominant in Sweden, Nigeria, and Ireland? Wallerstein (1979) and Villamil (1979) have offered dependency models that would illuminate this question and overcome weaknesses in the policy recommendations that Golding and Elliott offer. These models would expand their focus of change beyond the need to reform the internal structure of broadcast news production by explicitly challenging the concentration of power in the hands of a few dominant broadcast news production sources.

These concerns are not meant to diminish the significance of their work. Indeed, it is the detailed empirical evidence that the authors present that makes concern about the labor process and the global political economy of broadcast journalism all the more pressing. Guided by a sharper theoretical focus, more work on making the news in different societies with different political and cultural traditions is necessary before it is too late to do anything about the issues Making the News raises.

References


Briefly Noted


This is a companion volume to The Visual Arts, both of which originated from formal sessions on the topic of art and anthropology convened during the Ninth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in 1973. The focus here is on music and dance, represented in twenty-four papers by researchers from Austria, India, Ireland, Japan, Nigeria, Romania, South Africa, the United States, U.S.S.R., Vietnam, and Yugoslavia. The contributions run the gamut from purely descriptive folkloric research to more general theoretical issues, but with the exception of a set of topics on musical perception they do not have any consistent themes or challenges. As in many other volumes in the World Anthropology series, the quality of the papers varies greatly. Some papers (Blacking, Hanna) repeat perspectives which their authors have developed in detail elsewhere, but a few are fresh and quite stimulating (Kealiinohomoku on continuity and change in Balinese and Hawaiian dance, Kubik's summary of research on pattern perception in African music) and others report data that are rarely discussed in English-language publications (Sikharulidze on Georgian poetic folklore, Comisel on the Romanian folklore calendar). While this collection is hardly an accurate barometer of world research in the performing arts, it nevertheless contains some captivating essays and descriptive materials valuable for cross-cultural research on performance.

In the past century and a half, roughly, since the appearance of photography in its various guises, the words about it have piled up almost as high as the images. Nearly everyone had—and many still have—something to say about this magical invention and what it means. What photography is and what it isn’t are questions still posed and never resolved. Is photography art? Is there art after photography? Are photographs “real”? What is reality in the age of photographs? No anthology can do justice to the varieties of photographic analysis and criticism, but the present volume is an impressive achievement. Goldberg has brought together pioneers and opponents, eyewitnesses and historians, artists and critics, to provide a rich and varied, if incomplete, introduction to the ways photography has been represented in print. She has done a thorough and admirable job. One can applaud the inclusion—or lament the exclusion—of particular favorites; on the whole the collection is comprehensive and valuable. It is ironic that, in a book of writings on photography, one often cannot see the images which the authors are discussing.


Sol Worth (1922-1977) was the founding editor of Studies. In this volume are collected eight of his most important papers from the period 1969-1977 which, along with his path-blazing Navajo Filmmakers Project (recounted in his book with John Adair, Through Navajo Eyes), constitute a major contribution to the field of Communication. The papers trace the development of Worth’s thinking and research, beginning with the question of how films communicate and expanding into problems and concerns that draw upon—and illuminate—the disciplines of anthropology, education, linguistics, psychology, and semiotics.


Magicians were among the creators of the cinema, and they were also among its earliest casualties. In this brief (but generously illustrated) book, written with his usual clarity and economy, Erik Barnouw illuminates a little-known and fascinating portion of motion picture history. For decades stage magicians had worked to perfect a variety of illusions using new scientific and technological inventions; many of these contributed directly to the invention of the cinema as “the next logical step.” Magicians were among the first to recognize the potential of film, and they literally carried the new marvel, within months, around the world. Many of the earliest film-makers were magicians; in particular they pioneered special effects and animation. But the cinema became a “powerful robot ousting its former master.” The transfer to the screen of the magician’s specialty—the sensational illusion—proved to be their undoing: “anyone with a camera and a splicer could produce the same miracles, and did.”

Barnouw details the role played by magicians in the development and diffusion of film technology, the inter-mixture of magic and movies in the early years (Houdini, for example, made five feature films between 1919 and 1923 in which “the extraordinary feats for which he was celebrated became climaxes in fictional melodrama”), and the eventual displacement of the former by the latter. “Today the magic performer has metamorphosed into an industry which proclaims—as he did—that its purpose is entertainment, wholesome and instructive in effect. It says it is not exercising power, not trying to manipulate.” But, as Barnouw and his readers know, the new magic is indeed powerful. And, as Barnouw pointedly concludes his account of how media magic replaced stage magic:

It may well be that a central element in the power [of media] is the astonishing fact that media images are no longer seen by the public as optical illusions offered by magicians, but as something real. The unawareness is equivalent to defenselessness. The new industrialized magic may be closer to “black magic” than to “natural magic.”
Cumulative Index for Studies in Visual Communication, Volumes 6 and 7


African Art in Motion: Icon and Act in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White (Robert Farris Thompson), reviewed by Robert Plant Armstrong, 6(2), pp. 77-82.


An Analysis of the Nazi Film “Hitlerjunge Quex,” Gregory Bateson, 6(3), pp. 20-55.

Anonymous Was a Woman (Mirra Bank), reviewed by Judith E. Stein, 6(2), pp. 84-87.

Armstrong, Robert Plant, review of African Art in Motion: Icon and Act in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White (Robert Farris Thompson), 6(2), pp. 77-82.

Arnheim, Rudolf, review of Picasso’s Guernica: The Labyrinth of Narrative and Vision (Frank D. Russell), 7(2), pp. 84-88.

Artful Scribbles: The Significance of Children’s Drawings (Howard Gardner), reviewed by Brent Wilson and Marjorie Wilson, 7(1), pp. 86-89.


The Art of Alfred Hitchcock: Fifty Years of His Motion Pictures (Donald Spoto), reviewed by Paul Messaris, 6(2), pp. 85-90.

Bank, Mirra, Anonymous Was a Woman (review essay by Judith E. Stein), 6(2), pp. 84-87.


Barsam, Richard, review of John Grierson: A Documentary Biography (Forsth Hardy), 7(3), pp. 91-96.


Borchert, James, Analysis of Historical Photographs: A Method and a Case Study, 7(4), pp. 30-63.


Bronstein, Léo, Kaballah and Art (reviewed by Laurin Raiken), 7(2), pp. 89-93.


Callen, Anthea, Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement (reviewed by Judith E. Stein), 6(2), pp. 84-87.

Campaign Book for Exhibitors, Nanook of the North, 6(2), pp. 61-76.

Caricature, Newspapers, and Politics—Paris in the 1830s, Judith Wechsler, 7(4), pp. 2-29.


Carrier, David and Mark Roskill, John Berger as Critic (review essay), 7(2), pp. 72-84.


Clothing Store Windows: Communication through Style, Bertha Means, 7(4), pp. 64-71.


Danzker, Jo-Anne Birnie, Robert Flaherty/Photographer, 6(2), pp. 5-32.


Decoding the Worlds of Television, Leona Jaglom and Howard Gardner, 7(1), pp. 33-47.

Display as Structure and Revelation: On Seeing the Shiva Exhibition review essay by Michael W. Meister, 7(4), pp. 84-89.

Documentary Photography, A Personal View (Bill Owens), reviewed by Ellan Young, 7(1), pp. 92-93.
Painters and Their Work
Adams), (reviewed by Howard S. Becker), 7(1), pp. 90-91.


Editor's Introduction to Photographs of the Piegan, Jay Ruby, 7(1), pp. 48-51.

Elliott, Phillip, Making the News, reviewed by Vincent Mosco, 7(4), pp. 89-91.


The Eyes of the Proletariat: The Worker-Photography Movement in Weimar Germany, Hanno Hardt and Karin B. Ohrm, 7(4), pp. 72-83.


Form and Meaning: Essays on the Renaissance and Modern Art (Robert Klein), reviewed by Peter Burke, 7(2), p. 88.

Freedman, Diane C., review of Introduction of Dance Literacy: Perception and Notation of Dance Patterns (Nadia Chilikovsky Nahumck), 6(1), pp. 84-87.


and Leona Jaglom, Decoding the Worlds of Television, 7(1), pp. 33-47.

Golding, Peter, Making the News, reviewed by Vincent Mosco, 7(4), pp. 89-91.


Greer, Germaine, The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work (review essay by Judith E. Stein), 6(2), pp. 84-87.


Hardy, Forsyth, John Grierson: A Documentary Biography (reviewed by Richard Barsam), 7(3), pp. 91-96.


Goldberg, Vicki, Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present (Briefly Noted), 7(4), p. 92.

Hollander, Anne, Seeing Through Clothes (reviewed by David Kunze), 7(2), pp. 94-96.


Intintoli, Michael, review of Mass-Mediated Culture (Michael R. Real), 6(1), pp. 90-93.


Introduction to Dance Literacy: Perception and Notation of Dance Patterns (Nadia Chilikovsky Nahumck), reviewed by Diane C. Freedman, 6(1), pp. 84-87.

Jaglom, Leona and Howard Gardner, Decoding the Worlds of Television, 7(1), pp. 33-47.

John Berger as Critic (review essay), Mark Roskill and David Carrier, 7(2), pp. 72-84.

John Grierson: A Documentary Biography (Forsyth Hardy), reviewed by Richard Barsam, 7(3), pp. 91-96.

Jonaitis, Aldona, review of The Far North: 2000 Years of American Eskimo and Indian Art (Henry B. Collins, Frederica de Laguna, Edmund Carpenter, and Peter Stone) and Looking at Indian Art of the Northwest Coast (Hilary Stewart), 6(2), pp. 90-92.

Kaballah and Art (Léo Bronstein), reviewed by Laurin Raiken, 7(2), pp. 89-93.


Klein, Robert, Form and Meaning: Essays on the Renaissance and Modern Art (reviewed by Peter Burke), 7(2), p. 88.

Picasso's Guernica: The Labyrinth of Narrative and Vision
(Frank D. Russell), reviewed by Rudolf Arnheim, 7(2), pp. 84-88.


Presidentes Municipales (photo essay), Richard Tichich, 6(3), pp. 76-83.

Psychological States and the Artist: The Problem of Michelangelo, Jane Kromm, 6(1), pp. 69-76.

Publish Your Own Book (Bill Owens), reviewed by Ellen Young, 7(1), pp. 92-93.


Raiken, Laurin, review of Kaballah and Art (Léo Bronstein), 7(2), pp. 89-93.

Real, Michael R., Mass-Mediated Culture (reviewed by Michael Intonti), 6(1), pp. 90-93.

Reed, Roland, Photographs of the Piegan (photo essay), 7(1), pp. 49-62.


Robert Flaherty/Photographer, Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, 6(2), pp. 5-32.

Rogers, Phyllis, My Favorite Foods Are Dr. Pepper, Collard Greens, and Pizza. I'm Sure I'll Be a Good Clown, 6(1), pp. 43-57.

Rosenblum, Barbara, Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles (reviewed by Dan Schiller), 6(1), pp. 87-90.


Roskill, Mark and David Carrier, John Berger as Critic (review essay), 7(2), pp. 72-84.

Rotha, Paul with the assistance of Basil Wright, Nanook and the North, 6(2), pp. 33-60.

Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs, Irene J. Winter, 7(2), pp. 2-38.

Ruby, Jay, Editor's Introduction to Photographs of the Piegan, 7(1), pp. 48-51.

Sacks, Sheldon, ed., On Metaphor (reviewed by Carla Sarrett), pp. 81-84.

Salvaggio, Jerry L., review of Semiotics of the Cinema (Jurij Lotman), 7(3), pp. 87-90.

Sarrett, Carla, review of On Metaphor (Sheldon Sacks, ed.), 6(1), pp. 81-84.


Schiller, Dan, review of Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles (Barbara Rosenblum), 6(1), pp. 87-90.


Seeing Through Clothes (Anne Hollander), reviewed by David Kunzle, 7(2), pp. 94-96.

Segel, Shari and Rhoda Metraux, Margaret Mead: Anthropologist of Our Time (arrangement of photo essay), 6(1), pp. 4-14.

Semiotics of the Cinema (Jurij Lotman), reviewed by Jerry L. Salvaggio, 7(3), pp. 87-90.


Shiff, Richard, Miscreation, 7(2), pp. 57-71.


Spoto, Donald, The Art of Alfred Hitchcock: Fifty Years of His Motion Pictures (reviewed by Paul Messaris), 6(2), pp. 89-90.

Stein, Judith E., review of Anonymous Was a Woman (Mirra Bank), The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work (Germaine Greer), and Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement (Anthea Callen), 6(2), pp. 84-87.

Stewart, Hilary, Looking at Indian Art of the Northwest Coast (review essay by Aldona Jonaitis), 6(2), pp. 90-92.


Thompson, Robert Farris, African Art in Motion: Icon and Act in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White (review essay by Robert Plant Armstrong), 6(2), pp. 77-82.


Tiv Song (Charles Keil), reviewed by Paul Bohannan, 7(3), pp. 83-86.

Wechsler, Judith, Caricature, Newspapers, and Politics—Paris in the 1830s, 7(4), pp. 2-29.

Wilson, Brent and Marjorie Wilson, review of Artful Scribbles: The Significance of Children’s Drawings (Howard Gardner), 7(1), pp. 86-89.

Winter, Irene J., Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs, 7(2), pp. 2-38.

Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement (Anthea Callen), reviewed by Judith E. Stein, 6(2), pp. 84-87.


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Wright, Basil and Paul Rotha, Nanook and the North, 6(2), pp. 33-60.

Young, Ellan, review of Documentary Photography, A Personal View (Bill Owens) and Publish Your Own Book (Bill Owens), 7(1), pp. 92-93.