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**Amateur photography and pictorial aesthetics: Influences of
organization and industry on cultural production**

Griffin, Michael Scott, Ph.D.

University of Pennsylvania, 1987

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AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHY AND PICTORIAL AESTHETICS:
INFLUENCES OF ORGANIZATION AND INDUSTRY ON CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Michael S. Griffin

A DISSERTATION

in

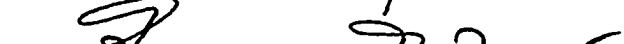
COMMUNICATIONS

Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
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1987



Supervisor of Dissertation



Graduate Group Chairperson

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Michael S. Griffin

1987

To Dona, my constant colleague

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ABSTRACT

Amateur Photography and Pictorial Aesthetics: Influences of Organization and Industry on Cultural Production

Michael S. Griffin

This research explores the sociology and social history of dominant pictorial forms in amateur photography. An attempt is made to illuminate the organizational structure and institutional interconnections prevalent in the amateur photography world, and to explore relationships between cultural activities and the social and economic forms of organization which shape and support them. Through the analysis of historical documents and records concerning amateur photography and the photographic industry, through extensive interviewing of industry representatives and amateur association officers, and through long term participant-observation in camera clubs and at amateur exhibitions and salons, the research reveals an historical interlocking between the corporate photographic industry (especially Eastman Kodak) and networks of amateur associations and camera clubs organized under the umbrella of the Photographic Society of America.

The interlocking of amateur organizations with the photo industry has been accompanied by a convergence of aesthetic concerns and stylistic conventions.

"Pictorialist" photography, a romantic style encompassing a limited set of pleasant subjects photographed according to long practiced formulas for framing, composition, focus and tone, came to be propagated by thousands of serious amateur groups and the photographic industry alike. This stable and predictable cultural practice is shown to be related in many ways to stable institutionalized relationships between camera club amateurs, professional photographers, and the photo industry. A great deal of time and money has been invested by the Photographic Society of America and Eastman Kodak on convergent instructional and technical programs which promote pictorial photography as a hobby and teach pictorialist tenets as normative evaluative criteria. Industry marketing has matched the development of new products to established preferences for pictorialist form. Together, photographic manufacturers and amateur associations have worked to shape mainstream notions of what constitutes "good" photography.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	xi
List of Illustrations	xii
PART I. Amateur Photography and Communication Research	1
1. Introduction: Codes of Amateur Photography as a Research Problem in Communications	2
The Medium of Photography	9
The Neglected Activity of Amateurs	15
The Setting	21
2. Doing the Research: History and Ethnographic Method in the Study of Cultural Production	25
Historical Research	34
Historiographical Issues	38
The Analysis of Photographic Style	45
Participant-Observation	53
Interviewing	63
3. The Concept of the Amateur	70
Amateur Photography and the Home Mode: Contrasting Systems of Picture Making	76
Part II. Amateurs and the History of Photography	82
4. The Roots of Amateurism in the Nineteenth Century	85
Amateur Activity Before the Dry Plate	93
Wet Collodion and the "Dry" Period	96
5. Dry Plates and the Birth of the Modern Amateur	105
Amateur Organizations, Pictorialism and the Changing Industrial Context	115
The Establishment of Amateur Pictorialism, 1890-1910	122

Part III. The Aesthetics of Pictorialism	130
6. The Origins of the Pictorial Attitude	133
Pictorial Concerns Nurtured in the Societies	141
Pictorialism Becomes Central to Amateur	
Photographic Activity	144
Amateur Stratification	159
Summary	163
7. Pictorial Codes Become Institutionalized	172
Pictorial Photography Persists	175
Art and Craft	184
Amateur Pictorial Philosophy	188
Group Membership and Shared Conventions	193
Part IV. Twentieth Century Camera Club Photography	200
8. Industry Concentration and Amateur Organization: Societies, Journals, and Institutional Interconnection	201
Increasing Scale and Concentration in Industry	207
Monopolizing Technology	211
A New Role for Amateurs	215
National Organizations and the Swelling of Amateur Ranks	219
The Photographic Society of America and the Camera Club World	226
9. PSA and the Golden Era of Salon Photography	235
Salonmania	241
The PSA World Institutionalized	246
Salon Regulation	251
Photography and the 1939 World's Fair	254
More Amateurs, More Clubs, More Salons, Bigger Business	257
The End of an Era	261

Part V. Camera Clubs: Philadelphia and Minneapolis	271
10. The Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia: A Case Study	272
First Contact	273
Historical Background	278
Club Meetings	285
MCC Peaks With the Rest of the Amateur World	291
Change in the 50's: Color	298
The Modern Day Camera Club	303
Club Activities	306
Travel Photography	313
The Industry Instructs Camera Club Members	320
MCC Competitions and Judging	337
Competition Conversation	348
Aesthetic Values	352
Summary	359
Part VI. The Pictorialist Code: Organizational Continuity and Industry Support	370
11. The Code	372
Subject Matter	374
Coding Pictorial Genres	386
Style	411
Composition	413
Balance/Rule of Thirds	422
Rhythm	433
Tone and Color	440
Technical Expertise	443
Realism	444
Illustrations	446
Illustrations: Marine Photographs	447
Illustrations: Railroad Photography	461
Landscapes and Snowscapes	476
Tree-framed Landscapes	477
Snowy Stream Landscapes	481
Nature (Swans)	492
Portraits	495
Nude Portraits	500
Genre	501
Mood Shots	506
Still Lifes	507
Pattern Shots	508

12. Organizational Interlocking and Continuity In Modern Amateur Photography	513
Historical Interconnections	517
Industry Illustrations in the Photo Journals	532
Books and Magazines	544
PSA and Organizational Continuity Amid Changing Mass Markets	551
 13. Overlapping Worlds and Codes	 565
Technical Standards	569
Standard Practices and Training	573
Contemporary Interlocking: Industry (Kodak) Influence in the Amateur World	580
Some Technical and Market Implications	594
 14. Conclusion	 602
 Factors Involved In Industry-Amateur Consensus: Discussion	 607
 Appendix	 622
Appendix B	625
Appendix C	627
 Bibliography	 630

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
10-1 Miniature Camera Club Programs	p. 308
11-1 Distribution of Pictorial Genres in the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1931-1951	p. 398
11-2 Distribution of Pictorial Genres in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Annual Competitions, 1930-1950	p. 401
11-3 Distribution of Pictorial Genres in THE CAMERA "Annual Camera Club Shows," 1946, 1947	p. 402
11-4 Distribution of Pictorial Genres in THE CAMERA "Print of the Year Contests" 1949-1952	p. 403
11-5 Mean Percentage Distributions of Pictorial Genres, THE CAMERA'S Annual Contests, 1946, 1947, and 1949-1952	p. 403
11-6 Comparison of Portrait Distribution Across Journals	p. 404
11-7 Distribution of Pictorial Genres Among Competition Winning Color Slides, the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, May 1979 to October 1982	p. 407
11-8 Distribution of Pictorial Genres, Medal Winning Photographs, the 48th Wilmington International Exhibition of Photography	p. 409
11-9 Comparison of Selected Pictorial Genres Tables 11-1, 11-2, 11-5, and 11-7	p. 410

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. "Two Ways of Life," 1857, Oscar Rejlander	137
2. "Fading Away," 1858, Henry Peach Robinson	138
3. "Carolling," 1887, Henry Peach Robinson	147
4. "Gathering Water Lillies," 1886, Peter Henry Emerson	148
5. "The Onion Field," 1890, George Davison	152
6. "Recessional," 1895, Horsley Hinton	153
7. "Quietude," 1897, Frank P. Streeper	154
8. "Woods Interior," 1898, Edward Steichen	155
9. "Untitled," c. 1898, Charles L. Mitchell	156
10. "Systemitizing a Hobby," Harry C. Slemmon, PHOTO-ERA, May 1930	205
11. "Travel with PSA," 1970's PSA brochure	317
12. "Kodak Photographic Seminar" brochure	329
13. "A Franconian Shepherd," J.W. Nicholson AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Sept. 1908	378
14. "Following the Shepherd," John F. Jones, PHOTO-ERA, September 1910	379
15. "The Sunset Glow," William S. Davis, THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES, November 1915	380
16. "The Drinking Pool," Alexander Keighley, THE CAMERA, February 1928	381
17. "Pastorale Arabe," Joseph Petrocelli, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1934	382
18. "Shepherd's Call," Glenn Dixon, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January 1945	383

19. "Hillside Haven," Arthur Rayment Eade, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948	384
20. "Ranunculus," Gottlieb Hampfler, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August 1940	421
21. Diagram of the "Rule-of-Thirds" Grid	423
22. Reproduction of F. Bush's diagram for "dynamic symmetry" from "Anent Pictorialism and Dynamic Symmetry," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY July 1934	425
23. "Shadow From Garden," F. Y. Sato, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1934	426
24. "Desert Playground," Charles E. Kerlee, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1934	427
25. "Fading Light," R. Owen Shrader, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July 1934	429
26. "Heading In," John W. Doscher, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1944	430
27. Illustration from "Composition," Eastman Kodak Customer Service Pamphlet	431
28. "The Blue Comet," Edward Murphy, THE JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Eastman Kodak Company	432
29. "Reflex," Charles Heller, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1939	435
30. "The Crooked Mile," Adolf Fassbender, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1935	437
31. "Winter-Road," Gustav Anderson, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, February 1941	438
32. "A Nation's Strength," John W. Doscher, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1946	439
33. "La Worze," Clement Skladanek, Cover of PHOTO-ERA Magazine, October 1928	448

34. "A Maine Ghost of Yesterday," W. R. MacAskill, Cover of THE CAMERA, October 1929	450
35. "The Italian Schooner," C. Cecil Davis, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September 1934	451
36. "Twilight On Chicago River," D. H. Brookens, THE CAMERA, April 1939	452
37. "Evening: The Barque Pamir," Hugh W. Frith, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1948	453
38. "Full Speed Ahead," Freda Colangelo, Cover of the Catalogue for the 48th Wilmington International Exhibition of Photography, 1981	454
39. "Racing a Squall," John R. Hogan, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948	456
40. "Columbian Idyll," Eleanor Parke Custis, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943	458
41. "Adventure Bound," Velma S. Tueller, Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, June 1981	459
42. "Untitled," Janet Tait, THE JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Eastman Kodak Company	460
43. "Steam in the Sky," F. F. Sornberger, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1939	463
44. Page 49 from Print Criticism Department, THE CAMERA, January 1935	465
45. Ad for Graflex, Inc., AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April 1946	466
46. "The Hand of Man," Alfred Stieglitz, CAMERA WORK, October 1911	467
47. "The Power of Steam," William H. Rau, PHOTO-ERA Magazine, June 1916	468
48. "The Morning Train," F. F. Sornberger, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July 1916	469

49. "Industry," Paul W. MacFarlane, THE CAMERA, February 1928	470
50. "Bahnhof," Michael Bognar, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April 1935	471
51. "Bahnhof," Erno Vadas, THE CAMERA, August 1936	472
52. "Storming Along," T. M. Roberts, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1944	473
53. "Heavy Grade," William H. McCrum, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1946	474
54. "Iron Horse," Jim Single Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, 1980	475
55. (No title available.) Cover of PHOTO-ERA Magazine, June 1930	477
56. "Winter's Archway," Gustav Anderson, Cover of THE CAMERA, January 1936	478
57. "White Trees," Edward H. Lehman, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January 1945	479
58. "West Topsham," Joseph A. DiChello, Jr. Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, June 1979	480
59. "Winter Landscape," Clarence White, CAMERA WORK, July 1903	481
60. "Ice-Bound Brook," Alexander Murray, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1915	482
61. "Winter's Hold is Broken," F. H. Thompson, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1908	483
62. "A Snow Scene," Gordon L. Kent, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1915	484
63. "When Shadows Grow Long," G. H. Seelig, PHOTO-ERA Magazine, April 1921	485
64. "Snowscape," John Muller, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December 1934	486

65.	(No title available.) Frank R. Fraprie, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January 1940	487
66.	"Sunlit Brook," Theodore B. Johannis, Jr. Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January 1941	488
67.	"Sunlit Glen," George F. Slade, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943	489
68.	"Fresh Snow," Frank R. Fraprie, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948	490
69.	"Golden Pools," Harriet Richards, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, November 1980	491
70.	(No title available.) Cover of PHOTO-ERA Magazine, April 1930	493
71.	"Sunday," Harvey A. Falk, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, October 1941	494
72.	"Belle of the Nineties," Thomas J. Newett, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1949	496
73.	"Patricia," John C. Sinclair, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1951	497
74.	"The Arab," Sydney S. Jaffe, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1946	498
75.	"Wirehair," A. M. Ornsteen, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1944	499
76.	"The Goddess of the Flame," Harve B. Wobbe, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1938	500
77.	"Fishermen of Ventimiglia," Joseph Petrocelli, Cover of THE CAMERA, October 1925	502
78.	"Dutch Treat," Joseph W. Hazell, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July 1938	503
79.	"The Shower," Mana Fischerova, Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July 1938	504

80. "Thirsty," Max Perchick, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, July 1981	505
81. "April Shower," B. R. Perkins, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1946	506
82. "Symbols of Romance," William F. Small, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948	507
83. "Photo Mural Section," Severo Antonelli, Cover of THE CAMERA, July 1936	508
84. "The Shape," Tom Stringer, Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, February 1982	509
85. "Ice Serpent," Adolf Fassbender, Weston Exposure Meters ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January 1934	527
86. "The Boatman at Fraunkirchen," Frank R. Fraprie, Weston Exposure Meters ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April 1934	528
87. "Warmth of the Winter Sun," Frank R. Fraprie, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December 1949	530
88. Ansco ad, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1950	531
89. Eastman Kodak ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, November 1946	533
90. Ansco ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1947	534
91. Ansco ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August 1947	535
92. "One Rainy Afternoon," Harry Garfield, Eastman Kodak ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August 1947	536
93. Ansco ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1948	537
94. "Ansel Adams' America ... in Kodak Color," Eastman Kodak ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1948	539
95. Eastman Kodak ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September 1946	540

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 96. "Aspen Season," Joseph K. Lange, Cover of
the PSA JOURNAL, April 1978 | 541 |
| 97. Eastman Kodak ad, THE CAMERA and AMERICAN
PHOTOGRAPHY, 1952 | 543 |
| 98. "Queen Mary," in F. G. Small, MINIATURE CAMERA
TECHNIQUE, 1940 | 546 |
| 99. "Longing," Sandor Szekely, Cover of AMERICAN
PHOTOGRAPHY, November 1939 | 547 |
| 100. "The Queen Arrives," John H. Applegate,
"Print of the Year," PSA JOURNAL, September 1952 | 548 |

Part I

AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHY AND COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION: CODES OF AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHY AS A RESEARCH PROBLEM IN COMMUNICATIONS

What kind of photographic practice is promoted by amateur photography organizations? Where did conventions for amateur work come from? What kinds of social patterning and/or economic interests are implicated in the practice of certain pictorial codes? What can the study of amateur photography tell us about factors shaping cultural production?

In the monograph which follows I have attempted to explore the specific role played by amateur societies and camera clubs in the evolution of general notions of photographic practice and competence. This involves:

- the specification of pictorial codes for amateur work over time
- descriptions of those social contexts of amateur photographic production within which pictorial aesthetics are assimilated, promoted and reproduced
- an exploration of the historical influences, and organizational and industrial interdependencies, which have contributed to the shaping and maintenance of this system of production
- and a discussion of the role played by amateurs and amateur organizations in the historical development

of notions of photographic form--their place in the larger scheme of photographic history and the nature of their involvement in the establishment of cultural patterns of visual media practice.

The study proceeds from a concern with the relation between cultural practices and social and economic organization. It hinges on the notion that the study of communication necessarily involves the study of the social processes of cultural production; that, indeed, the study of culture(s), as lived social practices, can be seen as coincident with the study of communication and that communication processes constitute the dynamic by which culture, social organization and economic structure are linked. Questions of the transference, assimilation and sharing of cultural and symbolic forms (the study of symbolic and media socialization) become, in this view, questions "of the relation between cultural practices and other practices in definite social formations" (Hall, 1980a:27).

In this work I have attempted to move away from a text-centered analysis. I am not interested in describing the formal properties of picture surfaces or specifying elements of visual style in order to make aesthetic evaluations or construct an aesthetic argument. I am

interested in exploring the way particular stylistic codes coincide with what Raymond Williams has called "the forms of society" which determine patterns of socialization and shape the learning of formal conventions (Williams 1974).

However, unlike much research on the content and effects of visual media, I have not chosen to ignore the specific visual form of the pictorial material altogether. As Rosenblum comments in *PHOTOGRAPHERS AT WORK: A SOCIOLOGY OF PHOTOGRAPHIC STYLES*,

"Why do things look the way they do?" Ordinarily, sociologists do not ask this sort of question.

... If we want to know more about why things look the way they do, it seems reasonable to suggest that the discipline of sociology can be used to focus our attention on the social conditions that determine the production and distribution of things. Sociology can help us understand how social processes contribute to the distinctive characteristics of a given class of objects (1978b:1).

In short, there is really no satisfactory American sociological study of art styles which has, as an integral component, the analysis of features of works of art. Although such a task is not easy, it is clear that we must pay attention to the content and structure of art products if we are to understand how social and cultural processes shape material culture (1978b:5).

Concentrating on symbolic socialization in the "visual mode" (Gross, 1974), this study represents a long-term exploration of the assimilation and reproduction of pictorial codes among amateur camera club photographers.

The world of camera clubs and amateur photographic societies

provides a setting for the observation of day-to-day patterns of picture making and picture evaluation. Amateur meetings furnish a socially organized context in which the production, evaluation and exhibition of photographs is openly discussed on a regular basis. And the continuous tradition of amateur societies and amateur work, with numerous extant documents, journals and collections of photographs, allows for the study of this social world of cultural production in historical context.

In many ways serious amateur photography constitutes what Becker has called an "art world",

... (a) network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for (Becker 1982:x).

I have attempted to explore the nature of this "world" by examining the social organization of amateur photographic activity, by examining the interorganizational connections which characterize the relationship of the amateur world to other spheres of photographic production and to the photography industry, and by examining the historical evolution of amateur activity, amateur organizations and amateur/industry interrelationships.

Approaching these problems from the standpoint of social communications research, that is, focusing on the

process by which patterns or hierarchies of "significant symbols" are shared or distributed among a social membership (G.H. Mead, 1934), leads one to view culture as "the signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored" (Williams, 1982:13). Such an approach draws heavily from American symbolic interactionism although, as I will argue in Chapter Two, it is both more structural and more historical than a great deal of symbolic interactionist work. In formulating this research I have tried to avoid the reductionist potentials of both idealist and materialist conceptions of culture by exploring the complex interactional and organizational processes by which cultural forms and social relations are linked in mediating practices. This focus on mediation involves a close examination of the learning or assimilation of patterned media conventions as well as an attempt to account for the social and industrial organization of that process.

I have striven to address issues of media socialization and cultural form by investigating the links between a specific pattern of aesthetic conventions and the social and industrial system, the "forms of society", which have fostered and shaped the production of that pattern.

Although most directly indebted to the tradition of Chicago School sociology and symbolic interactionism the approach also borrows from a variety of work in the sociology of culture--Frankfurt School cultural theory, French structuralism and semiotics, and studies in "the production of culture"--all converging (to some degree) in the writings of Raymond Williams and the subsequent work of the "Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies" at Birmingham.

In his essay "The Sociology of Culture" Williams discusses the need to integrate a traditional Marxist emphasis upon modes of production and distribution ("the characteristic social relations, including economic relations, within which particular forms of cultural activity are in practice carried out") with the study of the "sociology of consciousness" (a study of cultural and aesthetic forms he associates with Lukacs, Goldmann and the Frankfurt School). He writes,

Specific methods of analysis will vary, in different areas of cultural activity. But one new method is now emerging, which can be felt as original in a number of fields. For if we have learned to see the relation of any cultural work to what we have learned to call a 'sign-system' (and this has been the important contribution of cultural semiotics), we can also come to see that a sign-system is itself a specific structure of social relationships: 'internally', in that the signs depend on, were formed in, relationships:

'externally', in that the system depends on, is formed in, the institutions which activate it (and which are then at once cultural and social and economic institutions); integrally, in that a 'sign-system', properly understood, is at once a specific cultural technology and a specific form of practical consciousness: those apparently diverse elements which are in fact unified in the material social process. Current work on the photograph, on the film, on the book, on painting and its reproduction, and on the 'framed flow' of television, to take only the most immediate examples, is a sociology of culture in this new dimension, from which no aspect of a process is excluded and in which the active and formative relationships of a process, right through to its still active 'products', are specifically and structurally connected: at once a 'sociology' and an 'aesthetics' (Williams 1977:140-1).

The need to explore aesthetic codes as mutually constituted with social and industrial practices is not motivated by the desire to pinpoint origins or establish a reductionist chain of determinacy. As Williams has argued in numerous writings since THE LONG REVOLUTION (1961), cultural forms cannot be seen simply as residual products of economic, social, political and ideological practices. Rather, they must be studied as part of a complex social whole in which the cultural, the economic and the ideological interact with effect on each other. "Signifying systems" become a nexus for the observation of the social organization of culture (Williams, 1982:209).

Thus, the social organization of photographic activity (with all of the economic and industrial influences that

entails), the patterns of aesthetic form which arise or become established out of that activity, and the ideological concomitants embedded in the process, all become inseparable parts of the significance of photographic work. The meaning attributed to photographic work emerges from social relations and the structure of those social relations is an integral part of meaning. The significance of amateur aesthetics has little to do with the content of individual photographs but much to do with the patterns of representation and form which emerge from the social patterns of amateur activity and organization.

The Medium of Photography

Because of the prevalence and accessibility of the medium, photographic production occurs in a broad array of settings, serving a wide range of functions. Simultaneous "worlds" of photography operate with relative autonomy. Sociologists and communications researchers studying photography have revealed distinctive spheres of activity in which work routines, photographic styles and evaluative standards differ sharply (Becker 1982; Chalfen 1980; Christopherson 1974a and 1974b; Musello 1980; Phillips 1982; Rosenblum 1978; Schwartz 1983).

Since photography is a medium which does not necessarily require years of technical training, and entry into photographic activity (particularly noncommercial production) occurs at a wide range of ages, socialization within some sphere of photographic activity is pervasive. Exposure to photographs is at least as ubiquitous as exposure to television or the popular press, while the taking of photographs outstrips most other forms of media production (perhaps even competing with an activity as common as letter writing). As Christopherson writes,

In the slightly over one hundred years since the first permanent photograph was produced, photographic images have become pervasive. Making photographs, looking at photographs, and the photographic process has touched virtually every area of our private and public lives, and with the help of George Eastman and his ubiquitous "Kodak," photography has become a great popular pastime. In terms of numbers of participants, it is possibly the greatest folk-art of all time. It would be difficult to find a person who has never made a photograph, and impossible to find a civilized person who has never looked at one (Christopherson, 1974a:127).

Still, levels of formal training vary widely. While most people simply absorb the relatively tacit conventions of family snapshooting, others consciously work to conform to certain ideal standards, standards often modeled after industrial or professional practices. In this respect, the continuing involvement and recruitment of adults into organized amateur photography presents a noteworthy example

of large-scale visual media socialization and training.

Separate from the "home-mode" world of family snapshot and travel photography (Chalfen, 1975a, 1981; Musello, 1979, 1980), and isolated in some respects from other worlds of photographic production (like the worlds of fine art photography, newspaper photojournalism and advertising photography explored by Rosenblum in *PHOTOGRAPHERS AT WORK*) serious amateur photography represents a consciously formalized arena of production within which practitioners attempt to perfect the conventions of a well-defined aesthetic. Camera club members simultaneously occupy the roles of creator, viewer and critic. Amateur codes for aesthetic evaluation have enjoyed historical longevity, providing predictable, stable sets of evaluative criteria. As my research progressed I found a relatively cohesive and self-contained world of visual production at the local club level, and an international network with widespread interlocking connections at the macro level. Within this sphere of activity I was able to systematically observe and record the social practices of cultural production and reproduction, focusing my attention on an exploration of relationships between social organization and amateur pictorial aesthetics.

On the most general theoretical level, then, this study is concerned with the relationship between society and culture, a problem which has long preoccupied anthropologists, sociologists and communication scholars, from Kroeber (1923, 1948), Radcliffe-Brown (1965), Firth (1951), Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), and Kroeber and Parsons (1958), to Williams (1958, 1977, 1980, 1982), Bourdieu (1965, 1977, 1980), Becker (1982), Hall (1980b, 1982) and Wolff (1981, 1983).

The former group of anthropologists and sociologists was most concerned with clarifying the concepts of culture and society for purposes of theoretically linking the "superordinate" stream of values, ideas and symbolic systems to a relational system of interaction in the social whole. They were interested in culture as a holistic set of cultural practices and patterns, mutually integrated within a whole social order. For this reason their treatment of the concept of culture tends to be overly abstract in its attempts to simultaneously distinguish the concept of "culture" from that of "society" while describing a general scheme of culture/society interpenetration.

The latter group of sociologists and communications scholars have conceptualized culture more specifically as a

"signifying system" and focus their attention on "cultural production" activities within western industrialized societies. They have moved away from earlier anthropological concerns to identify the over-arching cultural patterns characterizing each society (Benedict, 1934) and are instead interested in the heterogeneity of cultural "worlds" and signifying systems.

In the case of Becker's "art worlds" this involves the description of separate institutional and socially organized worlds of production and appreciation which foster various cultural forms. In the case of Bourdieu, Williams, Hall or Wolff it involves distinguishing disparate processes of cultural production and assimilation within the social whole, processes stratified by class and shaped by the history of relations of power and dominance. Among these various sociologists of culture proposals for research are concrete, calling for sociologies of specific production and consumption activities in the arts and communications media. By focusing their attention on the mediating processes which link social relations to cultural form, they have made research on cultural practices a distinct subfield of sociology and communications.

My research stems most directly from this tradition of cultural sociology. It is an attempt to elucidate the internal processes of a specific social world of cultural production and to situate that system of cultural practices within the larger social order of stratified and asymmetrical relationships. In addition, I hope to contribute to the growing body of naturalistic fieldwork concerned with the "production of culture"; studies which have begun to examine, firsthand, the social networks and organizational worlds which produce, shape, constrain and legitimize the output of cultural forms. As Crane (1972) and Peterson (1976) proposed in conceptualizing such an endeavor, the sociology of culture is greatly served by the analysis of "networks in which symbols (be they in the arts, science, politics or religion) are created, manufactured, marketed and consumed" (Peterson and Berger, 1975).

The Neglected Activity of Amateurs

Like the worlds of popular music, painting, book publishing, community theater, film and TV production, photojournalism, or advertising, the world of amateur photography comprises a network of institutionally linked groups which are interrelated with commercial or industrial interests. Amateur photography is unusual, however, in the sense that it is an arena of activity which has largely been ignored despite the great numbers of people involved and the central role of amateur groups in the history of photographic practice. Amateurs were traditionally at the forefront in pioneering new photographic processes and amateur societies have always been deeply involved in the establishment of photographic standards and ideals. Yet the impact of amateur practice on technical developments, on popular notions of picture-making, and on the institutionalization of aesthetic forms, has failed to receive adequate attention.

Histories of photography have carefully chronicled developments in photographic technology and have been much concerned with the establishment of a photographic art history. But these concerns have predominated at the expense of other photographic literatures. The social history of photography, especially as it pertains to

activity after 1900, is surprisingly thin. The tendency to sift through the photographic record, attending only to those photographers thought to exhibit unusual "artistic" merit, has left a broad terrain of photographic activity unexamined. (See Schwartz, 1983, for a thorough discussion of the social boundaries between photography considered as art and photography deemed less worthy of attention.)

It is interesting to note the way that so much photographic literature has tended to skirt the mainstream, largely neglecting popular picture-making, commercial and industrial photography, the history of the photographic industry, and the history of amateur societies and camera clubs--despite their central role in the development of technology, the establishment of markets and the shaping of pictorial aesthetics. Insofar as documentary and early photo-reportage have been included in the construction of an art history of the medium, these idioms have received greater attention. But it is only in the histories of nineteenth century photography (primarily histories written before the second world war) that one finds any substantial attention being given to the activities of photographic societies, amateur clubs, and the relationship between social organizations and photographic developments.

Gernsheim and Gernsheim's *THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY: FROM THE EARLIEST USE OF THE CAMERA OBSCURA IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY UP TO 1914*, (1955) is a broader, more catholic photographic history than most, and pays frequent, if fragmentary, attention to the role played by amateurs and photographic societies between 1840 and the turn of the century. Taft's *PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE AMERICAN SCENE: A SOCIAL HISTORY, 1839-1889*, (1938) contains the most complete accounts of early amateur activity in the United States, recounting amateur leadership in technical and aesthetic innovation and noting the influence of the amateur societies on standards and practice. But both works limit themselves to a concern with the early history of photography and their accounts, for all practical purposes, come to a close with the widespread adoption of dry-plate technology and the introduction of the first roll films around 1890. Welling's chronology *PHOTOGRAPHY IN AMERICA: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1839-1900*, (1978) also contains a generous sprinkling of reports on nineteenth century amateur work, especially the many amateur photographers/inventors who played a predominant role in the development of Victorian photography. But it too concludes its account with a discussion of the coming of roll-film, the snapshot market and the one dollar Brownie camera in 1900.

Writings on twentieth century photography have tended to be more exclusively "art" oriented, taking Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession as a starting point for modern photographic activity and treating the elite practice of a few artists and "documentarians" as the area most worthy of attention.¹ It is only in the last ten to fifteen years that serious scholars have taken up the study of amateur snapshot or family photography (summarized by Chalfen, 1981), that the social role of photographs in community life has been considered (Ruby, 1981; Shedden, 1983), that the history of corporate sponsored commercial photography has been closely examined (Nye, 1985) and that the first thorough monograph on the emergence of the photographic industry between 1880 and 1920 has been published (Jenkins 1975b).

While fine art photography, documentary photography, photojournalism, and recently, snapshot photography have been the subject of numerous works, the social role of commercial photography, the interconnections and influence of the modern photographic industry, the nature and function of popular photo publications, and the contribution of serious amateur activity, are all areas which have yet to receive adequate attention.²

In general, photographic scholarship has tended to be concerned with individual photographers (whether artists, documentarians or photojournalists) and the aesthetic issues associated with them. Examinations of organizations, networks, industries or genres of any kind have been rare. As Slater writes in his article on "marketing mass photography",

For what is at stake here is obviously rather more than the 'reading' of discursive texts (photos). What is at stake are the determinations and structures of use of a medium: mass photography is a range of material practices--practices set within developing social relations. Mass photography is integrated into the very fabric of the most intimate social relations (in particular, the family, leisure, personal remembrance and private vanity); is inscribed in institutions (from the photopress and camera clubs to high-street photographers and schools); and is bound up with the material conditions of consumption (relating to class, income, sex, advertising and retailing, the ownership of the means of distributing images). It is also the result of a complex history of competing strategies and rationalities (e.g. the business imperatives and consequent marketing aims of the photographic industry; the same concerns of complementary leisure industries; the defensive manoeuvres of professional photographers). Mass photography is not simply an encounter in discourse (1983:246).

Trachtenberg makes a related observation.

In general, histories have provided either compilations or, on the model of conventional art history, connoisseurship. There has been little notable effort to address the medium itself, to examine its evolving character, its social and cultural properties, its complex relations with other media, and the great variety of roles it performs. Partly, although

historians especially should know better, the cause of such neglect lies in the assumption that photography is unitary, a single method of making pictures, a unique visual language. On the whole, histories have passed over critical differences--of mode, of style, and even of communicative "language"--that have developed among the many quite sundry practices of photography. And insofar as a "practice" is governed by the social structure within which it occurs, photographic history has also ignored (by and large) the significant social history of the medium (1980:vii).

There has been a growing awareness in recent years of the need to study media production of all kinds within the impinging contexts of commercial interests, social structure, professional and organizational routines and constraints. But there are still relatively few comprehensive studies of media activity which attempt to account for the full range of social and institutional factors shaping codes and practices.

The Setting

In sum, I have attempted to account for the persistence of certain codes for picture production, exhibition and evaluation by identifying the larger socioeconomic and organizational contexts from which these codes have emerged and through which they are maintained. The setting for this research is the organized world of amateur, camera club photography and its institutional network of connections and interdependencies. The Photographic Society of America (with its complex set of divisions, committees, societies and clubs) provides a nexus point for research and observation, but the history of aesthetic influences, the role of industrial concentration, and the interconnections between amateur practice and other spheres of photographic work, all must be attended to in order to adequately describe the nature of amateur photography and its relation to cultural codes for pictorial form.

The long-term stability of the organizational structure characterizing amateur activity, and the influence of industrial interests upon it, have made it an intriguing arena for the study of patterns of picture making and evaluation. The photographs I have analyzed are products of an organized social system. The cohesiveness of the system

has made it possible to trace (through observation, interview and document analysis) connections between codes of pictorial form/content and the organized process of picture-making activity, exhibition, evaluation and social interaction apparent in the amateur world. In this country there is also evidence that amateur organizations have enjoyed a close relationship with the photography industry and, in certain cases at least, been significantly influenced by industrial concerns.

Such an approach necessitates some understanding of the development of conventions over time and the history of the pertinent groups and organizations related to that development. In this research the discovery of a very stable pictorial aesthetic over many decades was accompanied by the discovery of industry-supported photographic organizations. The role of amateurs as "tastemakers" (Lynes, 1954), the nature of associational and organizational formations in cultural production (Becker, 1982; Williams 1982), the implications of amateur practices for educational and cultural "reproduction" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), the involvement of industry through marketing (Slater, 1983) and organizational interlocking, all converge to constitute the social world of cultural production which must be explored.

ENDNOTES

1. In this regard see, Newhall 1982, THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY (the most widely used basic text on the history of photography); Jeffrey 1981, PHOTOGRAPHY: A CONCISE HISTORY; or Naomi Rosenblum 1984, A WORLD HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY. Even Michel Braive's THE PHOTOGRAPH: A SOCIAL HISTORY, 1966, pays only scant attention to commercial and mass media uses of photography and includes no account whatsoever of amateur photography.
2. Several works can be cited in this regard: Hardt and Ohrn (1981) and Eskildsen (1981) on the worker-photography movements in Weimar Germany; Slater (1983) on snapshot photography vs. serious amateur photography in the "marketing of mass photography"; Sekula (1983) on the Shedd Studio archive of photographs from the mining town of Glace Bay, Cape Breton; Nye (1985) on the corporate photography department at General Electric 1890-1930 and the rise of corporate commercial photography; and Ruby (1985) on Philadelphia avocational photography around the turn of the century.

Most considerations of amateur work concern themselves with questions of photography as "art". When does amateur work qualify as legitimate art and why?

(See Panzer (1982) PHILADELPHIA NATURALISTIC PHOTOGRAPHERS--1865--1906; Bunnel (1980) A PHOTOGRAPHIC VISION: PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY, 1889-1923; or Peterson (1983) PICTORIALISM IN AMERICA: THE MINNEAPOLIS SALON OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1932-1946). What was the background of amateur activity against which the practice of photography as "art" emerged? (See Doty, (1973) PHOTO-SECESSION: PHOTOGRAPHY AS A FINE ART; Homer, (1984) PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY IN PHILADELPHIA: THE PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY'S SALONS--1898--1901; Newhall (1982) THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY or Newhall (1980) PHOTOGRAPHY: ESSAYS AND IMAGES).

For the most part, commercial, industrial and amateur spheres of image production are treated only tangentially. As Slater writes in reference to commercial, snapshot and serious amateur forms of photography, "A thorough sociology of mass photography is still needed" (1983:245). "There has been no attempt at an adequate analysis which encompasses the whole complex of relations of economic forces, ideology and power within which is constructed this specific form of photographic practice and practitioner" (1983:246).

Chapter Two

DOING THE RESEARCH: HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC METHOD IN THE STUDY OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Specifying and exploring a social world of cultural practices requires a synthetic description emerging from a combination of approaches and research methods. This involves:

- the systematic observation of actual social settings, work routines, organizational procedures and regular activities which give rise to a given set of conventionalized practices,
- recognition of the forms cultural products variously take, as well as the traditions of work and aesthetic philosophies associated with different forms,
- an understanding of the types of audiences or consumers which make use of various products or for whom products are intended and/or distributed, as well as the ways in which various products are actually interpreted and used by audiences,
- an awareness of the structure of the commercial, industrial or organizational system which provides and channels the resources for any set of cultural practices; and an awareness concerning the interests that are best served by a particular pattern of cultural production, consumption and evaluation.

In addition, it is necessary to recognize the interrelationships which exist between different spheres of cultural activity or between organizations of cultural activity and the social and economic systems of which they are a part. In other words, it is necessary to illuminate the relationships between particular forms of communication and the institutions and systemic practices of the larger social order.

This can involve learning more about the relationships between institutions, between organizations, between organizations and industry, industries and markets, or industries and producers. It can involve gaining a greater sense of the range of social distinctions which are made between various worlds of cultural production and consumption: distinctions between professional and amateur activity (Kaplan, 1960, 1975; Parker, 1974; Stebbins, 1979), between art and folk production (Glassie, 1972; Christopherson, 1974b; Schwartz, 1986), between "high" and "low" culture (Lynes, 1949; Gans, 1974), between "cosmopolitan vs. local" orientations (Merton, 1949; Aibel, 1983), distinctions based on class, sex, age, education, and ethnicity--distinctions which shape the social perceptions of various types of cultural production as they relate to one another.

In every case, it is crucial to have some historical understanding of how and why specific patterns of cultural activity have persisted while others have not, as well as how the history of cultural practices relates to the history of social structure, the history of organizations and industries, and the history of relations between cultural "worlds". Culture is, by definition, intergenerational and historical. When studying any segment of the cultural tradition, an historical perspective is integral. Critical theorists, cultural studies researchers, and many critics of the synchronic biases of sociological functionalism have stressed that the same is true of the study of social and economic relations. This is particularly pertinent to the kind of visual communication research presented here, that is, a study concerned with the sociology of visual production and the socialization of audiences--the social shaping of creation, reception and valuation. Such a study loses all significance when not framed within a specific social-historical context.

Clearly, any endeavor to account for the multiplicity of a social world of symbolic production demands a variety of methods and techniques and a variety of research traditions. As Denzin has argued in THE RESEARCH ACT: A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS (1978),

complex issues in social interaction can rarely, if ever, be explored through the use of any single method. Rather, a flexible application of multiple methods needs to be used in order to achieve an acceptable level of "triangulation". This is especially true in naturalistic field research where data-gathering contexts are relatively open and uncontrolled.

In this study I have employed perspectives and approaches associated with ethnographic fieldwork, social history, organizational sociology, the sociology of art, and the analysis of content and structure in visual communication. Since the research is exploratory and descriptive in nature I do not attempt to isolate factors in order to gauge their relative influence, nor is the goal to test hypotheses concerning the relation of distinctly defined independent and dependent variables. Rather, the research method is designed to take into account as much of the whole interplay of relevant social factors, as much of the pertinent impinging social context as possible. The goal is to engage in the kind of in-depth examination of symbolic forms and social relations Geertz calls "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) for the purpose of exploring a social "world" of cultural production (Becker, 1982).

Such work differs from mainstream mass communication research in its exploratory and descriptive task, and thus in its unique emphasis on naturalistic methods. It emphasizes fieldwork, interviewing, and document analysis rather than survey research and statistical inference. It has its roots in anthropology -- specifically the Malinowskian revolution in which participant-observation gained ground as an established system of ethnographic methods (Kuper, 1973).

The research project relies on a four-prong set of methods for data collection.

1) Archival and document research. I have done extensive archival research, examining photographic prints and published reproductions to trace the history of amateur pictorial work, and scouring collections of photographic journals, salon catalogues, books and industrial pamphlets, and organizational reports and minutes for data on past amateur activities and organizations and the history of amateur/industry interrelationships. The kinds of documents I have gained access to and surveyed include: amateur society records covering rules, procedures, finances and general practices; camera club programs, minutes and membership lists covering several decades; judging and evaluation guidelines for pictorial work as well as lists

and descriptions of successful of "winning" photographs; exhibition and salon catalogs and descriptions; the photographic archives of organizations like the Photographic Society of America; runs of amateur photographic journals since the nineteenth century and photography annuals since the early twentieth century; biographical accounts of amateur photographers; directories of photographic organizations, officers, and corporate support; industrial and technical histories related to amateur inventors and practitioners; a small and sketchy literature on the history of photographic marketing; and industry "how to" and promotional literature since the early twentieth century.

2) The analysis of photographs. I have analyzed the style and content of amateur photographs using methods borrowed from art history and semiotics. Keeping detailed notes of exhibited photographs and stockpiling examples of amateur journals and prints I have attempted to identify patterns in the content and aesthetic form of amateur photographic products. An analysis of the photographic products allows me to compare amateur statements and aesthetic notions with my own observations of the pictures actually made. It also allows for comparisons of style, preference for subject matter, and technical standards with other realms of photographic production.

3) Participant-observation. Participant-observation has been used to build an extensive body of field notes on amateur photographic activities--meetings, exhibitions, judging, photographic outings, and discussions of taste, technical standards and criteria for evaluation. Long-term observation and involvement has provided a great deal of information about the organizational contexts and procedures which frame camera club photography. The method of participant-observation was employed to make initial entrance into the amateur photography world and it was through the process of participant-observation that access to other avenues of research (e.g. historical and semiotic) was accomplished.

4) Interviewing. Interviews with camera club photographers, were used to elicit notions about photographic competence and appropriate photographic content/form from the amateurs themselves. Interview data is triangulated against my own observations of amateur activities and preferences, and against the statements made by judges in photographic competitions and salons. Interviewing was also used to gather data from organizational officers officers regarding the intended purposes and activities of amateur societies and organizations -- to obtain information about membership and participation, about organizational structure, and about

the historical roles of amateur associations. Interviews with photo industry representatives probed for information concerning industry perceptions of the amateur world, industry interrelationships with amateur organizations, and industry marketing strategies with regard to amateurs. The interviewing has variously taken the forms of: in-person interviews, phone interviews, or written correspondence. Interview data has also been collected from former industry officials.

The purpose of combining all four strategies is to:

- 1) identify the nature of amateur photographic production,
- 2) account for the continual interactions between different organizations (and between amateur organizations and industry) which impinge on that production, 3) to specify the forms which emerge from amateur cultural practice and
- 4) to provide a social historical context for the development of that nexus of relationships which make up the amateur world. The conception is analogous to Gerbner's comprehensive proposal for research on "institutional pressures on mass communicators" (1969).

In one respect the research is a response to the many calls during the seventies for a new wave of research on communication organizations -- collapsing the distinctions

made by Hirsch (1977) between "occupational," "organizational", and "interorganizational and institutional" research to pursue a more holistic description of an entire social world of production.

It adds to each of these conceptions an historical dimension, with all of the questions about evolving structures and relations that an historical perspective provides. And it adds an analysis of style in the communication artifacts produced, linking style and content to "institutional pressures" (Gerbner, 1969; Rosenblum, 1978).

Historical Research

In STREET CORNER SOCIETY Whyte describes his study of Cornerville as a "social history", but with "a new angle".

Instead of working from the past up to the present, I was seeking to get a thorough knowledge of present conditions and then work from present to past (1943, 1955: 300).

Decades later, reflecting upon the many research projects of his career in LEARNING FROM THE FIELD (1984), Whyte devotes a chapter to "Using History in Social Research" in which he emphasizes his growing realization of the crucial importance of historical research for the study of any social system.

Citing his work on Peruvian mountain villages in the middle 1960's, he states,

...only history could account for the contrast between those two villages.

I now believe that any study of an organization or a community must be built on a firm historical base. Historical data should be integrated into our analysis of current structural and social process data (1984: 161).

I also have proceeded in this research to "get a thorough knowledge of present conditions and then work from present to past." Beginning with the history of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, whose archives of minutes and documents were opened to me, I came to realize that an understanding of contemporary patterns of amateur organizational activity necessitated a knowledge of the

history of camera club networks. Examining the nature of amateur interrelationships with commercial and industrial interests also revealed a long-term, well entrenched interassociation which suggested the need for historical examination. But only after discovering the social world of amateur photography, exploring its composition and boundaries, and identifying the style of the photographic work was it possible to sift through historical materials purposively.

Photographic journals, club records, and extant collections of photographic prints provided a rich store of documents concerning twentieth century amateur activity, amateur aesthetics, and the evolution of amateur organizations. Through the examination of documents in a small historical archive at the Photographic Society of America headquarters in Philadelphia, the examination of documents in the Mertle Collection archive of photographic history (which I discovered at the corporate headquarters of the 3M Company and persuaded 3M to donate to the University of Minnesota), and through an exhaustive survey of collections of amateur journals like AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA, I was able to piece together a more general history of American amateur photography and photographic industry development in which to situate the history and activities of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia.

My growing historical awareness led me to work towards synthesizing the empirical methods of fieldwork and organizational sociology characteristic of "production of culture" studies in this country with the historical and social-structural concerns of British "cultural studies". I hoped to address some of the issues of industrial determination and social control integral to "cultural studies" through the careful, empirical examination of ongoing social interaction characteristic of American sociology of culture. Williams writes,

So we have to say that when we talk of 'the base', we are talking of a process and not a state. And we cannot ascribe to that process certain fixed properties for subsequent translation to the variable processes of the superstructure. Most people who have wanted to make the ordinary proposition more reasonable have concentrated on refining the notion of superstructure. But I would say that each term of the proposition has to be revalued in a particualr direction. We have to revalue 'determination' towards the setting of limits and the exertion of pressure, and away from a predicted, prefigured and controlled content. We have to revalue 'superstructure' towards a related range of cultural practices, and away from a reflected, reproduced or specifically dependent content. And, crucially, we have to revalue 'the base' away from the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction, and towards the specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships, containing fundamental contradictions and variations and therefore always in a state of dynamic process (1973: 5-6).

By combining ethnographic and historical research I was able to observe first-hand the "specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships" as they

collectively engaged in cultural production (Becker, 1982) and then work backward to a better understanding of how those social and economic relationships came to be formed and maintained. By simultaneously studying the history of amateur aesthetics (examining photographs from every decade between 1880 and 1980), I have attempted to identify links between the history of amateur social organization and the history of amateur aesthetic practice.

Extensive historical research focused my ethnographic data in a particular way. It allowed me to see the activities of organized amateur photography as a centrally important institutional arrangement in the history of photography. It revealed the last sixty years of camera club activity as the product of a specific nexus of economic and sociological developments, helping to reveal the evolution of amateur organization as it related to the evolution of the modern photography industry.

The nature of this tradition is not apparent from current sociological observation alone. As Tuchman has written, "overly dependent on evidence generated about contemporary culture," sociologists of organizations "tend to obscure the historicity of cultural products" (1983:332). It is only by historically locating thorough ethnographic data that we can create reliable explanations for cultural pattern.

Historiographical Issues

Historiographical concerns revolve around the use of document analysis to map institutional developments. Although interview data with surviving founders of organizations like the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia and the Photographic Society of America is incorporated in the description and analysis of amateur organizational developments, the historical component of the four-prong design relies overwhelmingly on the analysis of documents; not documents narrowly defined (traditionally referring to written testimony and evidence) but including a broad range of materials some lexical (club programs, minutes, salon catalogues, photo journal articles, newsnotes and pictorialist rankings) and some not (surviving photographs, reproductions, ribbons, medals, stickers). As Bloch wrote in THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT,

It is therefore advisable to define the indisputable peculiarities of historical observation in terms which are both less ambiguous and more comprehensive.

Its primary characteristic is the fact that knowledge of all human activities in the past, as well as of the greater part of those in the present, is, as Francois Simiand aptly phrased it, a knowledge of their tracks. Whether it is the bones immured in the Syrian fortifications, a word whose form or use reveals a custom, a narrative written by the witness of some scene, ancient or modern, what do we really mean by document, if it is not a "track," as it were--the mark, perceptible to the senses, which some phenomenon, in itself inaccessible, has left behind? (1953:55)

...it is not true that the historian can see what goes on in his laboratory only through the eyes of another person. To be sure he never arrives until after the experiment has been concluded. But, under favorable circumstances, the experiment leaves behind certain residues which he can see with his own eyes. (1953:54)

In the case of amateur photography the experiment, in fact, has not yet been concluded. The observer has arrived as the experiment continues. Today's researcher can observe, firsthand, behavior and artifacts which are an extension of this historical trajectory, and can use observations of present-day institutional arrangements for comparative purposes. Amateur photographs from the past confront the researcher with pictorial conventions of form and subject matter mindful of salons and club competitions today. I was able to examine these photographs both with an awareness of many of the stylistic traditions preceding and following the period of production, and with a first-hand experience of present-day amateur organizations, their settings for exhibition and interaction, their rhetoric, philosophies and evaluative standards. In a sense the very existence of the present day clubs provides a set of perceptible "tracks" for the study of an institutional history of amateur photography; "tracks" which complement the photographic encodings of historically institutionalized cultural conventions. The clubs themselves, in Bloch's terms, are perceptible "documents."

My movement in this study towards an increasingly greater emphasis on historical research resulted directly from my observations of present-day club activities. The predominance of older people in the clubs, and the seemingly anachronistic flavor of amateur routines, suggested from the start that the camera club world offered an opportunity to witness the continuing photographic traditions of an earlier time. Subsequent historical research indicated that codes for amateur work, the structure of amateur organizations, and routines of amateur activity with regard to photographic judging, exhibitions, and even social outings, had remained remarkably consistent for several generations. As Williams noted in referring to the history of broadcasting,

the history of broadcasting institutions shows very clearly that the institutions and social policies which get established in a formative, innovative stage - often ad hoc and piecemeal in a confused and seemingly marginal area - have extraordinary persistence into later periods, if only because they accumulate techniques, experience, capital or what come to seem prescriptive rights. (Williams, 1974:147)

This kind of institutional inertia, discussed by writers like Williams (1974) and Barnouw (1968, 1970, 1982) with reference to the history of broadcasting, seems to mark the history of industrially sponsored amateur photography as well. A concern for tracing institutional evolution influences the historical approach I have pursued.

My attempt to examine the history of amateur photography as a social phenomena and my lack of interest in the history of individual, "noteworthy" photographers results in an approach quite different from traditional histories of photography. It also alters the applicability of traditional historiographical tenets. "External criticism" of research documents (Murphey, 1973) (that is, a concern for establishing the authenticity of the "documents" themselves) is often a central problem for traditional art history, since establishing authorship, along with establishing the existence of specific influences and life experiences vis-a-vis individual artists, is of crucial importance. "External criticism" becomes less of a concern when the relevant documents are published photographs, articles and advertisements, when they are public organizational records, or when they are records of the institution being examined. Chronological distance can also be a factor. The authenticity of more recent documents can usually be established with a greater degree of confidence than that of more ancient ones. For example, when using library collections of the journal AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (1898-1953) as a source of data on amateur activities in the twentieth century there is little reason to doubt the authenticity of the journals as documents. When dealing with

any published records from a modern historical period the issue of "external criticism" is less often problematic. Similarly, when documents from the Photographic Society of America's own archives are used as evidence of that society's historical development, there is little likelihood of the records lacking authenticity.

The process of "internal criticism" (Murphey, 1973), on the other hand, (the interpretation and evaluation of statements in the documents for the purpose of judging their trustworthiness) is a constant concern in this research, not just for the interpretation of statements made in photo journal articles or camera club reports, but for the interpretation of content and style in the photographic documents themselves. Many of the issues involved in content analysis (discussed more completely in the following section) apply equally to the analysis of contemporary or historical documents. One may find it useful to draw distinctions between the "internal criticism" of statements made in historical documents and the "content analysis" of contemporary, or first-hand, documentary evidence. But in practice the validity and reliability of both types of data must be gauged in similar ways.

In the case of statements made in photo journals (concerning pictorial aesthetics, for instance, or the

nature of salon judging) no single report is given particular significance. Instead, the consistent repetition of certain evaluative criteria, certain standards and philosophies, or even the repetitive treatment of certain subjects (frequent articles on "Pictorial Composition," consistently similar reviews of the latest exhibitions, salons and competitions, or regular installments on "practical" problems like the use of paper negatives, the bromoil process, or the miniature camera) reaffirm high degrees of confidence for informal coding categories. Tabulating the frequencies of particular terms, concepts or subjects, then relying on descriptive statistics to express the attitudes or preoccupations of amateur club members and photo journal authors, seems to have no advantage over a more synthetic-descriptive approach. In fact, given the tremendous amount of literature surveyed, the creation of exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories for the purpose of highly reliable coding would have been impractical. A smaller sample of the literature, on the other hand, would have yielded incomplete patterns of amateur writing and activity.

"Internal criticism" becomes slightly less relevant when the "documents," (for instance, amateur photographs) are not observations of the phenomena in question but are

themselves the end products of the processes under investigation. Still, since an attempt was made to view the consistent content and style of these products as an index of the social processes underlying their creation, questions concerning the reliability of coding the photographs must be addressed. To provide triangulation for my synthetic-descriptive analysis of photographic conventions I

- 1) chose a systematic sample in which I coded the appearance of an exhaustive set of subject categories (see the following section on the analysis of photographs) and
- 2) I compared my observations with the descriptions and tabulations of photo journal editors in their reports on photo competition entries.

Since the origins and relevance of the documents used for this study are relatively clear and unambiguous (camera club minutes preserved by the club in their original form; PSA exhibition prints preserved in the PSA Permanent Print Collection; photographs reproduced in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, THE CAMERA, PHOTO-ERA, or THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY with full attribution, information on the photographer's club affiliation, and explanations of the selection process) concerns about document validity become less problematic. Still, the interpretation of these documents remains a process whose validity must be addressed through constant attention to the nature of data and a constant attempt to

provide multiple levels of evidence.

The Analysis of Photographic Style

In the introduction to her article "Style as Social Process", Barbara Rosenblum criticizes organizational approaches to the study of cultural production for neglecting to account for style. Citing the Peterson and Berger study (1975) linking stylistic homogeneity in popular music to market concentration, she writes,

But because their measures of homogeneity are indirect (for instance, the chart position of a recording) and have nothing to do with the music itself, the plausibility of their assertions about music styles is difficult to assess. The investigation of the frequency, structural articulation and location of flattened thirds or perfect fourths (respectively, features of American blues and of Eastern European folk songs) is necessary in order to make assertions about music styles. We must pay attention to the content and structure of art products if we are to understand how social processes shape material culture (Kroeber, 1948; Wolff, 1975).

There are many difficulties associated with such an endeavor. It requires that the sociologist become thoroughly conversant in the lexicon of the medium studied and also become somewhat of an expert in stylistic analysis. Although this is not easy, it is essential if we are to build a systematic approach to the sociological study of style and to avoid empirical pitfalls that are potentially detrimental to theorizing. (1978a: 422).

The right kind of training in communication research, where attention is given to the unique properties of various media as well as to the sociological study of human communication processes, should ideally prepare one to do

just such sociological examinations of style. My familiarity with various strains of semiological analysis, along with a good deal of work in art history and the history of film and photography, allowed me to make informed analyses of the amateur photographs themselves as part of the research endeavor.

On my first visit to a camera club competition I was immediately struck by the consistent Pictorialist style of the photographs. I was able to identify specific compositional techniques which have characterized Pictorialist style at least since the 1880's (Bunnell, 1980; Peterson, 1983). I could see consistent and predictable preferences for subject matter. An awareness of many stylistic traditions and movements in photographic history aided my recognition of aesthetic patterns and my analysis of conventionalized practices. As Rosenblum notes, the sociology of style demands that "the sociologist become thoroughly conversant in the lexicon of the medium ... and also become somewhat of an expert in stylistic analysis" (1978a:422). Like naturalistic fieldwork in general, the analysis of style, or the classification of pictorial form and content demand experience and a high level of training. Concerns for the validity of recognition and data creation take precedence over concerns for efficiency and

reliability. Standardized and easily replicable methods of content analysis usually tell us very little about significant features of visual structure or style. Similarly, responses to standardized survey questionnaires are of dubious benefit when studying people's interactions with visual media or their use of pictures.

For research like the project described here, the same level of experience, knowledge, and scholarly training necessary for competent theory formulation and data interpretation is required for the most basic data collection. In a sense, this is what is really meant by the term "qualitative research"; not that it is inherently subjective, interpretive, or even idiosyncratic but that it demands the recognition of significance (within a theoretical framework) at the grass-roots level of observation, interviewing, data collection and coding. The same level of sensitivity demanded of ethnographic fieldwork in general, the sensitivity to content, form and context demanded of the anthropologist studying ceremony, ritual, mythology and cultural artifacts, is needed by the visual communication scholar who hopes to make sense of the image worlds around us.

The ability to trace systems of pictorial convention provides clues for tracing the social processes which accompany those conventions. In this sense, Rosenblum's study of three different photographic production worlds (newspaper photography, advertising photography and fine art photography) has much in common with the present research. Referring to the social shaping of pictorial conventions she writes,

I treat convention as an intervening variable, sandwiched between the organization of production and the characteristics of the final outcome. Like Becker (1974) and Burns (1972), I assume that there are shared meanings and standardized ways of doing things. Like Kroeber (1948:137), I assume that standardized ways of doing things produce a given style. But unlike them, I believe that shared agreements are not independent of more basic features and structures of social life. Rather, shared agreements arise from basic social structural arrangements, on the one hand, and shape them, on the other hand. In other words, I am seeking a basis for convention which takes the simultaneous reciprocal influence of social structure and institutionalized understandings into account. Consequently, I treat convention as a function of social organization. ...Put another way, one should understand the social arrangements in which pictures are made in order to understand why they look as they do (1978a: 423).

Rosenblum's concern to ground "unlocated" conventions of picture making in the systems of social and economic organization in which those conventions are created and maintained parallels the major concern of this study. She

has attempted to link formal analyses of the picture products with the social, organizational and industrial constraints which serve to shape and channel picture making activities. Her hope is to show that "style" is not exclusively a product of "culture" (of an autonomous set of shared understandings of conventions transmitted from generation to generation) but that there is an association between type of photographic style and type of social organization. In addition, she believes that this necessarily involves both the observation of activities and the examination of products.

To understand how conventions are shaped by economic, technical, political and social constraints, I will focus on what photographers actually do in each setting and delineate the basic social processes that shape their control over making pictures. Since convention is, in one sense, a product of human labor, it is essential to explore the nature of picture making by looking at what photographers can and cannot do in each setting. Thus, by comparing how photographers make pictures in each of three settings, I show that stylistic differences between news, advertising and fine arts photographs may be partially attributed to the organizational differences between those three settings.

To show how conventions and understandings feedback to shape structural and organizational arrangements, I will look at institutional features of journalism, advertising and fine arts. This study analyzes styles in photography by looking at both organizational and institutional influences simultaneously. This approach, then, attempts to modify theories which tend to overemphasize the cultural autonomy of style, its independence from social structure and the "out-thereness" of socially unlocated shared meanings (1978a:423).

The manner in which Rosenblum chooses to situate the study of aesthetics within the study of social function is mindful of Mukarovsky's writings on the significance and place of the aesthetic function "among other functions,"

that we must think about its role in the overall organization of the world (1977: 31).

Mukarovsky comments,

We have thus seen that the aesthetic, the aesthetic attitude, and the aesthetic function pervade life continuously and that there is no place in the context of life where the aesthetic function cannot penetrate. Consequently the aesthetic is not merely froth, merely a decoration of life, but an important component of all of life's activities (1977: 25-6).

However, Rosenblum's conception of style tends to violate what Mukarovsky considers the proper autonomy of the aesthetic. While he recognizes the complex and unresolved relationship of the study of aesthetics to the study of sociology, he is not as ready to "dissolve" the former into the latter (1977: 28-9). Questions of the autonomy of the aesthetic (Mukarovsky, 1977) relate to questions of the autonomy of culture more generally (Althusser, 1971; Garnham, 1979; Hall, 1980, 1982; Williams 1980, 1982).

The present study continues to address this problem, examining the relationship between an aesthetic tradition in photography and the social system in which that tradition plays a role. Like Rosenblum, I have attempted to examine

the social organization which sustains the aesthetic tradition, "dissolving", to some extent, the aesthetic into the sociological. Still, the artifacts produced are a crucial focus for analysis. As historical "deposits of social relationships" (Baxandall, 1972:1), or as "fossils of economic life" (Baxandall, 1972:2), the pictures provide a representation of continuity and change in the social processes and conventions of picture making. An analysis of the photographs exhibited by amateurs constitutes a tangible index of aesthetic philosophies and the organization of production and valuation.

I have coded the photographs entered in Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia competitions during my three-year period of observation. I have also coded samples of the photographs exhibited in amateur journals between 1920 and 1950. Comparisons of amateur activities culled from the amateur journals accompany comparisons of the content and style of the photographic products. The analysis of amateur photographic products can be viewed as another triangulation against written reports, verbal response and interview data. (Not surprisingly, photographic products are not always congruent with what amateurs claim to be the concerns and purposes of their activity.) But in this case as well, the analysis of artifacts can only be heuristically

differentiated from the processes of observation and interviewing. The comparison of picture form to the behavior and rhetoric which accompanies the exhibition and use of the pictures is an integral part of the whole social scene. Data concerning both pictorial aesthetics and amateur writings and discussion was, whenever possible, charted simultaneously, as amateurs responded to pictures and articulated their philosophies during exhibitions and competitions. To discuss the formal analysis of the picture products as if it constituted a separate operation from historical research and the participant-observation process would be misleading. The observation of organizational contexts and activities, the recording of discussions and informal responses, the examination of the cultural products involved in those interactions, and the analysis of documents, minutes and other historical records can more accurately be described as inseparable aspects of a single research endeavor.

Participant-Observation

As discussed by McCall and Simmons (1969), Schatzman and Strauss (1973), Denzin (1978), Spradley (1979), and Lofland (1976, 1984) participant-observation is not a single method but a combination of methods and techniques involving: the direct and systematic observation of pertinent social settings and participants, structured and/or focused interviewing of participants and informants, archival study, and actual participation. Such observation, characterized by detailed field notes and/or reflexive diaries, and often combined with interviewing, audio or visual "recording", and the analysis of documents and records, is now often referred to more generically as "naturalistic research" or "interpretive fieldwork" (Bantz, 1983).

The tradition of participant-observation in American sociology and communications research was pioneered mainly by urban anthropologists and sociologists involved in the study of communities and subcultures. In his methodological appendix to the second edition of STREET CORNER SOCIETY (1955), Whyte recounts his halting progress towards building a method of participant-observation. Following the lead of the Lynds' Middletown study (1929) and W.L. Warner and his

associates' work in Yankee City (1941, 1963), Whyte was struggling to develop methods for field studies of communities and organizations. Under the tutelage of Arensberg he developed an approach reminiscent of Geertz's conception of "thick description" (albeit without Geertz's semiotic emphasis).¹ Like Geertz he saw the process of ethnographic exploration (Whyte called it "participant-observation") as a long-term process of interpreting social and cultural patterns.

Whyte, along with Warner and Lunt in Yankee City and John Dollard in Southertown, is representative of attempts during the 1930's to adapt the ethnographic methodology of anthropological fieldwork to the general study of sociology, communities and organizations. These are some of the earliest American sociologists to self-consciously develop a method of inquiry referred to as "participant-observation".

Since that time the approach has become most firmly established among urban ethnographers like Agar and Spradley, symbolic interactionists like Becker, Goffman, and Strauss, and a new generation of communications researchers focusing on the sociology of mass media production or the "production of culture".

My participant observation of amateur photographic activity is closely related to several naturalistic studies done on the "production of culture" (Peterson, 1976). Long term observational studies of the social contexts of cultural practice include: Elliot's participant observation study of the making of a television documentary series in Britain (Elliot, 1972), Levine's study of the Chicago art world (Levine, 1972), McCall's study of the St. Louis art world (McCall, 1977), Christopherson's study of the social world of San Francisco fine art photographers (Christopherson, 1974a, 1974b), Tuchman's observational studies of routine news practices (Tuchman, 1973, 1978), Fishman's participant-observation study of newspaper work (Fishman, 1980), Powell's fieldwork in two commercial publishing houses (Powell, 1978), Bystryn's observational work and organizational analysis of art galleries as gate-keepers (Bystryn, 1978), Stebbins' work on amateur theater, archaeology and baseball (Stebbins, 1979), Rosenblum's examination of occupational worlds in photography (Rosenblum, 1978a, 1978b), Ettema's observational case study of the development of pilot programs for a new series at Children's Television Workshop (Ettema, 1982), and Schwartz's study of fine art and amateur photography in Philadelphia (Schwartz, 1983, 1986).

The general conception and approach of naturalistic cultural production studies is summarized in Becker's ART WORLDS, a "Chicago School" synthesis of symbolic interactionism and the sociology of work which focuses on the ways in which social organization shapes symbolic production, distribution, interpretation and valuation. Becker's concern with elucidating the social organization of cultural practices and fleshing out the social nature of "art worlds" encourages the kind of direct observation and ethnographic methodology employed by so many of his students in their research on cultural production.

My participant-observation in the amateur camera club world lasted, without interruption, from March of 1979 through July of 1982 (three years and four months). During that entire period my wife, Dona Schwartz, and I participated as members of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, regularly attending meetings, exhibitions, outings and dinners. Through our membership in the Miniature Camera Club we also became involved in the activities of the Photographic Society of America (the umbrella organization which coordinates camera club and amateur photographic activity nationwide). We attended regional exhibitions and salons, interclub photo

competitions, and amateur seminars, and received the PSA Journal, which covers the activities of Photographic Society of America affiliated camera clubs and societies internationally.

We attended meetings of other camera clubs as well, in order to compare procedures and activities, and we sometimes visited amateur photographers at their homes, engaging in informal discussions of photography, observing their private displays of photographic work, receiving tours of their basement darkroom facilities or their photographic and non-photographic collections.

At our initial visit to the club, Dona and I introduced ourselves as graduate students from the Annenberg School of Communications who were interested in studying amateur photography. Explaining that we were photographers ourselves, we asked the club's permission to become regular members, both because we were interested in participating and because we wanted to learn more about amateur photography in general. We never attempted to disguise our purpose in any way, stating openly from the start that we were fellow hobbyists, and graduate students in communications, who wanted to write something about the phenomenon of amateur activity.

Since "family memberships" (composed of husband and wife) account for a majority of the photographers who belong to the club, Dona and I were accepted fairly quickly as a normal sociable couple, interested in engaging in friendly conversation and social interaction as well as photographic competition. Our age did mark us as unusual, since we were not only the youngest couple in the club, but one of only three couples under forty-five to fifty. But the age difference proved to be more of an advantage than a disadvantage. It helped to level any status differential which might have arisen from our position as "researchers". And we were able to easily assume the role of relative neophytes, in need of instruction and assistance. We were able to ask a lot of questions without drawing an inordinate amount of attention to ourselves.

At first, we were viewed with friendly caution by most of the other club members. People were cordial but cool, regularly slipping inquiries about our "paper" into conversations. But by the second year we seemed to have been roundly accepted, apparently having reassured people by our genuine participation in discussions and photographic competitions. By the end of our first year as club members we had cultivated several friendships, facilitating our

greater integration into the group. We were also appointed official club historians, positions for which we volunteered, not only with the idea of gaining access to club archives and historical records, but with the idea that we could give something back to the club by providing them with a written history. We worked for several months to produce a "History of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia" which was printed in booklet form for distribution to club members.

The fact that we continued to return to club meetings and events for more than a year seemed to convince the members of our seriousness and our benign intentions. Of course, some members never warmed to us as much as others. But, in general, we came to be accepted as legitimate co-amateurs, although it was always recognized that we were engaged in some kind of academic work which club members didn't fully understand.

During our three year and four month stay both Dona and I collected data for our respective research projects. We both kept detailed field notes, often taking notes during meetings or competition judging, and always recording observations immediately after attending events. We initiated conversations during the meetings, especially

during coffee and dessert breaks, to probe for information. We joined club members on outings in order to observe them at their craft. Eventually we conducted a number of focused interviews with individuals at their homes.

Although we both used the Miniature Camera Club (MCC) as a data-gathering site, our research projects were distinctly different and we each integrated our participant-observation data from the MCC within very different constellations of other field research, interviewing and document analysis. Dona was primarily interested in the comparison of amateur photography activities with fine art photography. Her research in the MCC and in other amateur settings was combined with similar observation and interviewing within the world of Philadelphia fine art photography. Her goal was to identify and describe two distinct but interrelated systems of symbolic communication in order to shed light on the social processes by which certain activities receive legitimization as "art" while others fulfill different roles, sometimes helping to define art by contrast. She focused on the social and institutional boundaries distinguishing separate image-making spheres.

My research has examined the relationship between the establishment of amateur photographic codes, the establishment of amateur organizations and networks, and the growth of the photographic industry and its influence. Thus, I have combined participant-observation data from the MCC with records of the evolution of amateur photographic organizations, interview responses from industry representatives and data on amateur/industry interconnections. My concentration on the role of organization and industry in amateur photography, rather than on distinctions between amateur and fine art codes of photographic activity, indicates the separate paths taken by these distinct projects despite their original utilization of a common data collection site.

It should be noted, however, that working as a research team allowed for the kind of long-term, in-depth participant-observation which may have been impossible working alone. The camera club setting would undoubtedly have been less accessible to one of us working alone. The presence of the two of us allowed for a relatively quick integration into the social activities of the couples at the club. It also allowed for a more natural mingling in conversations, the quicker cultivation of multiple

relationships and multiple sources of information. And, not least importantly, it allowed us to check our findings against one another, commenting on each other's notes, validating or dissenting from specific impressions or conclusions. Thus, working as a team provided another level of triangulation in the data collection and analysis.

Clearly, just as some forms of participant-observation would demand a particular type of individual working alone (perhaps a young male engaging in participant-observation research among male youth gangs) others are more effectively carried out by a "couple", or some other form of research team, working together. One of the advantages of qualitative fieldwork is the flexibility it allows in matching theory and method to the subject matter and research setting. It gives the researcher a repertoire of strategies (including quantitative methods) which can be applied in the most appropriate and effective situations.

As Whyte repeatedly emphasizes in his book LEARNING FROM THE FIELD (1984), the strength of the participant-observation approach lies in the flexibility and the integration of methods such an approach allows. But it is important to keep in mind that, "Methodology represents the principal ways the sociologist acts on his environment" (Denzin, 1978). Thus, the choices made from a repertoire of

alternatives define not only how the research will be framed but the nature of the researcher/subject interaction and the nature of interpretive results. The researcher is always a participant in the research setting.

Interviewing

The "production-of-culture" perspective, as broadly defined by Peterson (1976) and others, does not necessarily entail participant-observation research and, in fact, most often consists of organizational studies which do not involve long-term ethnographic observation. Studies like those done by Hirsch (1972) on processing fads and fashion in which he proposes an "industry-system" perspective to "trace the flow of new products and ideas as they are filtered at each level of organization" (1972:657); by Peterson and Berger (1975) in which they relate periods of industry concentration and competition to the homogeneity of music production; and by Turow on client relationship and children's book publishing (1977) represent important examinations of production contexts that rely more on interviewing, surveys and/or the examination of records. They follow in the tradition of occupational and organizational analyses of media whose roots are usually traced back to White's case study of the "Gatekeeper" (1950) and Breed's "Social Control in the Newsroom" (1955).

Some studies in this tradition have concerned themselves primarily with the examination of individuals in organizations--Who they are? What are their roles within the organization? What are their occupational perceptions, intentions and influences? In these cases there has been a predominant reliance on interview data (Cantor, 1971). As Hirsch points out in his summary of organizational models for mass media research, studies focusing on the "individual creator/worker and his or her occupational experience" have traditionally been the most common in communications research on media organizations (1977: 15-6). Thus, the use of interview data, along with the examination of an organization's records and products, has constituted the most common approach to organizational study.

When organizational structures, routines and practices, rather than individuals and careers, become the focus there is a greater tendency to combine the interview method with first-hand examination of organizational activities (Tuchman 1973, 1977, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Coser, Kadushin and Powell, 1981; Ettema, 1982; Gurevitch and Blumler, 1982; Schwartz, 1983). As Whyte points out, information on group structure is often impossible to obtain through interview methods alone (1984: 23-27, 83-96).

When the focus shifts to interorganizational or institutional concerns, documentary records and historical research take on greater importance (Lynes, 1949; Denisoff, 1975; Peterson and Berger, 1975; Peterson and Dimaggio, 1975; Shedd, 1983; Nye, 1985). In my attempt to encompass organizational contexts, technologies and markets, interorganizational relations and institutional concerns in describing a "system of cultural production" (Dimaggio and Hirsch, 1976) I have combined all of the above strategies.

My interview data consist of semi-structured and focused interviews with amateur photographers, photography retailers, Photographic Society of America officials, photo industry representatives, and former Eastman Kodak marketing and education consultants. When face-to-face interviews were not possible I solicited written responses to questions.

I attempted to distribute a questionnaire to 24 Eastman Kodak employees responsible for writing and editing Kodak "how to" literature and conducting educational "seminars" for amateur groups. However, after only three written responses I was notified by Eastman Corporate Communications that employees were being instructed to discontinue correspondence with me. I was told that my questions had already been answered sufficiently by Kodak Vice President

(and PSA President) Frank Pallo, with whom I had exchanged several letters, and that any further inquiries should be directed strictly to the Corporate Communications Department. This, along with the replies I had already received, became part of my data on corporate response. Later attempts to re-open channels of access to Kodak employees (mainly through the intercession of Mr. James G. Sucy, Manager of Eastman Kodak's Education Markets Services) proved futile.

My object was not to set up structured or standardized interviews but simply to contact as many amateur organization officers and industry representatives as possible with the purpose of probing for information regarding organizational activities, industry perceptions of amateur photography and industry strategies towards marketing vis-a-vis amateurs and amateur organizations. Data from industry interviews proved to be severely limited due to the general reluctance of industry employees to discuss any aspects of "marketing". Representatives of photographic manufacturers generally prefaced their responses by saying something like, "Of course, information on our marketing strategies is confidential." Although they would then sometimes go on to provide pertinent information anyway, I was never able to secure a clear or complete

account of industry perceptions or strategies. I was forced, therefore, to rely more heavily on examinations of industry literature, both advertising and "educational", on historical records of industry involvement in amateur organizations and industry representation at club and society meetings, and on my own observations of industry attempts to provide amateurs with "instructional services" and weekend "seminars".

As my research progressed I found that methodological distinctions in data collection --interviewing vs. observation vs. document analysis-- seemed increasingly less important as correspondences in findings emerged and the world of amateur photography began to take shape. As Warner and Lunt recognized in their pioneering work in Yankee City, distinctions between methods of data collection in fieldwork are often little more than heuristic categorizations.

Interviewing and observing are two parts of the one process of investigation. Although they are too closely interrelated to be readily isolated for description, we have nevertheless attempted to give them separate discussion. The basis for differentiation is as follows. The activity of the investigator has been classed as observation when the emphasis fell on the observer's seeing behavior of an individual; as interviewing, when emphasis fell on listening to what was said. If the researcher is largely outside the interactive behavior being studied, his estimates are those of an observer; if, however, he is skillfully relating himself to an informant or informants, the behavior has been called interviewing even though in the course of his listening he has made certain observations in regard to the overt physical behavior of the informant (Warner and Lunt, 1941: 46).

My concern was to generate descriptive data from the direct investigation of activity in context. Interview data, as well as historical research, was needed to better understand the context. But the entire endeavor was holistic and synthetic in nature, with data from various methods and sources converging and cross-referencing. As Hymes has stressed, an "Ethnography of Communication" cannot be constructed by seeking to correlate separate sets of data generated from separate approaches or disciplines. Rather, "fresh kinds of data" must be produced by the direct investigation of ongoing communication patterns in the social context of symbolic communities (Hymes, 1964: 2-3).

ENDNOTES

1. It should be noted that while Whyte's work lacked a conscious semiotic emphasis in the sense in which such inquiry is conceptualized today, and that he focused on specific organizations, communities or sub-cultures rather than questions of general cultural patterning, he did approach many aspects of his research in ways which anticipate Geertz's concern with symbolic behavior and symbolic systems. See, for example his reflections on patterned performances in baseball, or in the bowling clubs, as symbolic of more general patterns of social status in the community (Whyte, 1955: 318-20).

Chapter Three

THE CONCEPT OF THE AMATEUR

The term "amateur photographer" is a loosely defined one, most often a catch-all phrase used to refer to any and all camera owners who do not make a living as photographers. Types of photographers to whom this term has been applied include:

- the average person who owns a camera for taking occasional snapshots, the most common family photographer
- people who have invested in 35mm cameras for taking home and vacation pictures, often because they want to produce 35mm slides for home exhibition or they believe that the modern SLR's will provide a better quality snapshot
- people who travel regularly, often as a hobby, and carry cameras with them to make various kinds of photographic records of their trips
- art historians, geologists, geographers, naturalists, biologists, mountaineering or outdoor enthusiasts, and others who use photography as an offshoot of their work, to illustrate lectures, presentations, books, and guides or to serve as a form of record-keeping

- casual or part-time wedding photographers, college and yearbook photographers, people who make slide presentations for non-profit organizations and community services, or others for whom photography is a utilitarian but strictly casual or supplemental activity
- artists, and aspiring artists, who use photography in their art work
- photography students at various levels
- people who view their picture-taking as a hobby, usually making use of 35mm cameras because they want manual control over aperture and shutter speed, working independently on their photographic endeavors, subscribing to mass circulation photo magazines like POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY or MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY, displaying their photographs to family and friends and sometimes hanging them in their home or at their business, entering publicly advertised photo contests, and in some cases even maintaining a darkroom in their home
- camera collectors, people who are mainly interested in photographic paraphernalia, who build cameras and camera equipment, go to swap meets, and subscribe to magazines like PHOTOGRAPHICA--a journal for the collector of photographic artifacts

- a growing group of people who use antique cameras, or facsimiles of antique cameras, to make old-fashioned looking portraits of costumed subjects at community fairs, ice cream socials, charity benefits, etc.

and finally,

- people for whom photography is an avocation, those who spend a significant amount of time involved in photo activities, who often belong to camera clubs and photographic societies, attend meetings, exhibitions, seminars and conferences, and make photographs for club competitions and salon exhibitions.

Such categories are by no means completely distinct, nor entirely descriptive. One can find many photographers whose activity falls within the realm of more than one of these descriptions, or overlaps both professional and amateur categorizations. There is a much less orderly mixing of these characteristics in the actual day-to-day activities of real-life photographers. Still, they do represent a range of photo activities all of which have at various times been attributed to that amorphous creature "the amateur photographer". Industry categorizations of sales data, such as those found in the Wolfman Reports,

regularly lump all of these types of photographer together in a single marketing figure (although marketing executives and retail managers make quite precise distinctions when interviewed). Public perceptions of what constitutes "amateur work" are understandably vague and inclusive, yet even scholars writing on photography regularly fail to make distinctions (see, for example, Freund 1980:201-213; Newhall 1982:129).

Part of the reason there is not a more precise conceptualization of the "amateur photographer" is that we lack a more specific notion of what constitutes "amateur" activity in general. In his recent sociological study *AMATEURS: ON THE MARGIN BETWEEN WORK AND LEISURE* Robert A. Stebbins complains,

...from a research standpoint, the idea of amateur is now used with an annoying imprecision in both everyday life and sociological thought (1979:21).

Mapping the world of "amateur photography" reveals, in fact, numerous distinct photo activities, separate social contexts in which the activity of photography takes on very different forms and functions. These separate "worlds" of photographic activity sometimes overlap in membership or interrelate in practice yet they often are defined in contrast to one another. As anthropologists, sociologists

and communication scholars attempt to examine various kinds of visual production (to see what they can tell us about our culture, our social structure, and our communication patterns) it is important that they recognize these contrasts and distinctions and specify more precisely the systems of photographic production they find.

In his attempt to define the activities of "amateurs"--as opposed to "dabblers", casual hobbyists, or "consumers of popular leisure"--Stebbins points out the importance of a sociological conception of amateurism. Through an examination of amateur theater, amateur archaeology and amateur baseball he posits a definition of "amateurism" which sets it apart from the activity of hobbyists, leisure consumers and non-practicing critics. He distinguishes amateurs by their role in a "professional-amateur-public" social system.

Amateurs of today, in all fields, to the extent they can be said to be guided by professional standards and share the same spirit of satisfaction, are the marginal men of leisure. They are neither dabblers who approach the activity with little commitment or seriousness, nor professionals who make a living off that activity and spend a major portion of their working hours doing so--for whom it is an occupation. Amateurs, as this chapter has tried to demonstrate, fall between, possessing a constellation of qualities unique to themselves (Stebbins, 1979:40).

It is their marginality that steers us from simplistic definitions, which are adequate for defining other types of leisure users, to more complex definitions that rest on their social and attitudinal organization (Stebbins, 1979:44).

It is within the set of functionally interdependent relationships which Stebbins calls "the professional-amateur-public system" that the more specific role of the "amateur" can be identified. According to Stebbins an amateur doesn't have a "hobby" but an "avocation", oriented by standards of excellence set and communicated by professionals, serving publics as professionals do, and maintaining a level of skill necessary to preserve membership in amateur social groups. Stebbins goes so far as to argue that "amateur" can only be used to describe those engaging in activities "that constitute, for some, a professional work role. That is, there must be a professional counterpart to the status of amateur" (1979:28).

While I might be inclined to stop short of so limited a definition, it is clear that in photography, as in other pursuits, the term amateur has been applied to too many people with too little in common. A loose use of the term has tended to mask important differences between what some kinds of photographers do and what others do, between

different kinds of photographs and different kinds of photographic activity. An examination of the social organization of photographic pursuits readily illuminates these differences.

Amateur Photography and the Home-Mode:
Contrasting Systems of Picture Making

Those amateur photographers who seriously strive to improve their skill as pictorialists -- for the purpose of winning contests or ribbons, to improve their standing within amateur clubs, to secure salon acceptances, publish in amateur photography journals, or simply for the self-satisfaction it brings -- differ strikingly from the more casual photographers and "consumers of popular culture" we readily refer to as amateurs. Their photography takes place in different social contexts, with different purposes in mind. It involves different notions of appropriate pictorial form and a different sense of the functions performed by photographs.

Thus, a more careful specification of amateur photography helps in turn to clarify other types of photographic activity. Casual snapshot photographers, for instance, are engaged in a specific kind of photo activity

which has almost none of the characteristics Stebbins associates with amateurism. At the root of this contrast are the separate social systems within which amateur and snapshot photography occur. Camera clubs function as part of an organized network which shares many of the amateur characteristics Stebbins describes. The snapshot photographers function primarily in a "home-mode" context, as that term has been used by Chalfen (1975a, 1975b, 1981) and Musello (1979, 1980) in their studies of home movies and family photography.

"Home-mode" refers to the photographic activity of family members for purposes of record-keeping, souvenir gathering, leisure activity, the marking of social and ritual occasions and the exhibition of family images in the home. Home-mode photography is characterized by socially shared conventions and rules, a predictable pattern of repeated activities involving the use of cameras and photographs for domestic purposes. These snapshot activities produce an equally predictable pattern of pictorial features--a "code" for family photography. Musello writes,

Home-mode picture taking is clearly structured at every step by notions about the camera's "proper" use. These customs and conventions in turn shape and delimit the scope and nature of the resulting photo collection (1979:116).

This snapshot "code", while not precisely articulated, constitutes a general predisposition toward the appropriate use and appearance of family photographs. Occasions at which family photographs are taken, the way people are grouped and then framed in the picture taking, the use of family albums for storage and exhibition, the tendency for people to use snapshots as markers of life-cycle transitions and to prompt recollections and discussions of familiar faces and past events are all features of home-mode photography which have been recognized and noted in recent years (Musello 1979, 1980; Becker-Ohrn 1975;, Hirsch 1978; Chalfen 1981).

The conventions for appropriate snapshot taking and use are dependent upon the notion of photographs as factual records, as reliable representations of individuals, families and events. Sekula has examined the notion of the photograph as a direct and truthful recording in his discussion of the "realist folk myth" (Sekula 1975). Musello's careful study of family albums and their use reveals that this "realist folk myth" operates alongside distinct notions of proper photographic behavior and photographic form, conventions arising from the organization of family use and from cultural codes of snapshot form which

regulate what will be photographed and how it should look (Musello 1980). Appropriate photographic "records" provide for the imaginary re-creation, in thought and conversation, of past events and landmark occasions pertinent to the collective experience of the family. (In a separate paper I have discussed the way this relates to a longstanding Western tradition of using pictures for discursive oratory, [Griffin, 1985b]).

Amateur photography contrasts sharply with home-mode photography in both pictorial form and in the contexts of activity which engender that form. The family functions served by home-mode patterns, and the concomitant conceptions of what a photograph should be, have almost nothing in common with the social functions served by camera club amateurism and its concomitant photographic philosophies. Given the divergent purposes of each type of photography it is not surprising to find that the products of amateur work seldom look like snapshots at all. In fact, within the organizational context of the camera club world one finds a conscientious and persistent desire to completely strip photographic activity of any vestiges of home-mode functions, thereby encouraging the making of photographs which are often distinguished precisely by their dissimilarity to snapshots.

The term "amateur" then, as applied in photography, is more descriptively precise and useful when employed to describe those who pursue photography as an avocation for the "love of it", rather than employed aimlessly to refer to any and all non-professional photographers. Amateurs in photography are part of a clearly defined tradition of pictorialist work which was firmly established in the late nineteenth century and has remained recognizable through numerous permutations and changes of context. Since the nineteenth century writers have often attempted to counter over-generalized uses of the term and clarify the nature of amateurism. In 1899, Alfred Stieglitz wrote,

Let me here call attention to one of the most universally popular mistakes that have to do with photography--that of classing supposedly excellent work as professional, and using the term amateur to convey the idea of immature productions and to excuse atrociously poor photographs. As a matter of fact nearly all the greatest work is being, and has always been done, by those who are following photography for the love of it, and not merely for financial reasons. As the name implies, an amateur is one who works for love; and viewed in this light the incorrectness of the popular classification is readily apparent (SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE, Nov. 1899:528).

The study of "real amateurs" (as Robert Taft calls them in his PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE AMERICAN SCENE), as distinct from snapshot photographers, part-time wedding photographers or the mass market of 35mm SLR dabblers, reveals an alternative

history of photographic practice, a history separate from the modern art history constructed from the genesis of the Photo-Secession.

The study of "real amateurs" forces the researcher to consider the role of socially organized practices in the production of cultural forms. It necessitates the study of interlinking formal associations and their influence on the nature of photographic activities. It necessarily involves consideration of the role played by industry, particularly as it pertains to the differential marketing of mass snapshot photography vs. "advanced amateur" photography and the implications the forces of marketing and promotion have had for each. It tells us much that has not been written about the forces shaping conventional photography and photographic form.

Part II

AMATEURS AND THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY

In order to fully understand the nature of current amateur activity it is necessary to chart the evolution of amateur photography from its beginnings in the nineteenth century. In contrast to a medium like television, whose development, introduction, and use was controlled by powerful and already entrenched corporate interests (Barnouw, 1982), photography was introduced and promoted primarily by loosely affiliated amateur inventors and practitioners. W. S. Harwood, in an article entitled "Amateur Photography of To-day" published in 1896, credits amateurs almost exclusively for the progress of photography in his century.

...the very manner of the work done, the absence of the trade idea, the very essence of amateurism which was in the investigations--all this was in clear substantiation of the assertion made that the present advanced state of photography is the result of the investigation of the amateur, the scientific as well as the artistic amateur, rather than the result of the plodding tradesman (1896: 251).

While many of the earliest discoveries and advancements were made by amateur scientists and tinkerers working in relative isolation, amateur associations and their journals soon came to be the central arenas for the diffusion of technical information and the discussion of aesthetic issues.

The history of organized amateur photography pre-dates the widespread rise of home-mode photography by nearly fifty years.¹ By the early 1860's clubs and societies had been established in all of the major cities of Great Britain, in New York and Philadelphia, in Boulogne, Marseille, Jena, Vienna, and even in the colonial outposts of Odessa, Bombay and Bengal (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1955: 131, 146, 378-80). Throughout the nineteenth century amateur societies played a leading role in the development of photography. They served as conduits for the diffusion of technical information, as forums for aesthetic debate, as meeting places for the leading photographic experimenters and inventors of the day. By the 1880's there were dozens of clubs in the U.S. alone, and their members included many of the leading figures in photographic science and art.

These were people who experimented with and practised a relatively uncommon skill, a skill requiring a knowledge of chemistry and optics. They were attracted to new technology and enjoyed lifestyles which allowed them to indulge such fascinations. As in Stebbins' descriptions of amateurism they worked to emulate certain professional, scientific, or artistic standards. They also explored the frontiers of photographic practice and were often responsible for innovation and the perfection of new techniques. A survey

of nineteenth century photographic literature supports Harwood's contention that nineteenth century amateurs were consistently at the forefront of photographic trends, whether artistic or technical. Until the last decade of the century, when large-scale photographic manufacturers began to dominate technical and industrial development, amateur societies led the way in scientific and technical advancement. During the 1880's and 1890's the role played by amateurs began to shift. Independent inventors and tinkerers gave way to a tidal wave of new amateurs and new organizations of pictorial competitors. The corporatization of the photographic industry and the universalization of amateur photography provided a radically new context for organized amateur practice.

ENDNOTES

1. The first photographic club (the Calotype Club) was established in London in 1847, the first photographic society (The Societe Heliographique) in France in 1851, the Leeds Photographic Society was founded in 1852, the Photographic Society of London (subsequently the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain) and the Liverpool Photographic Society were founded in 1853, the Societe Francaise de Photographie in Paris in 1854, the American Photographic Society in New York in 1858.

Chapter Four

THE ROOTS OF AMATEURISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

While amateur practitioners of the nineteenth century were vastly different in many ways from their twentieth century counterparts they set the stage for the continued prominence of amateurs vis-a-vis the photographic industry and they established a set of pictorial standards and aesthetic notions which, over time, came to constitute a kind of normative code for amateur work. One important difference between amateurs before and after the turn-of-the-century has to do with the autonomy and initiative which characterized their activity. Victorian amateurs were more daring experimenters, committing themselves to a relatively new technology and often contributing independently to the development of a nascent industry. Twentieth century amateurs, on the other hand, entered an already established tradition of work, and interacted with a photographic industry marked by large scale corporatization.

In an essay published in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE in 1887 well-known writer and photographer Alexander Black characterizes the unique contribution of nineteenth century amateurs to photographic history.

Let me say behind a respectful parenthesis that most of the improvements in modern photography have been discovered or instituted by amateurs. Working only for pleasure and attainment, the amateur thinks nothing of a risk. He indulges in most unorthodox measures, violating recognized rules of procedure, and with bewildering impunity. Then, the amateur blunders. To blunder is to discover, though it is infinitely more pleasurable to have the other fellow do the discovering. With his client waiting without to learn the result of the sitting, the professional cannot afford to discover at this price (Black 1887: 724).

Photography journals and technical histories contain numerous comments like this about the role played by amateurs in new technical and scientific developments. In the context of an emerging corporate photographic industry between 1870 and 1920 such developments were inevitably patented, purchased or otherwise absorbed by industrial interests. But it was very often amateur photographers who were responsible for initial discoveries and developments.

A salient example is Dr. Richard L. Maddox, a physician and amateur photographer who was responsible in 1871 for originating the use of dry gelatine-bromide emulsions -- a technology which, after perfection by other amateurs, resulted in the first widely marketed gelatine dry plates. It was the availability of gelatine dry plates (and not the introduction of Eastman's Kodak roll-film system) which prompted the late nineteenth century surge of serious amateur activity. And it was the proving of dry plate photography by circles of skilled amateurs which prompted

professionals to gradually accept the new process, establishing the dry plate as the most commonly used photographic technology.

Black comments on the role played by amateurs in the establishment of dry-plate photography.

There were, indeed, "wet-plate amateurs," and there are to-day some who follow the example of many professionals in adhering to the older method. But amateur photography now practically means dry-plate photography. It was the amateur who welcomed the dry-plate at a time when the professional was yielding it only a cautious tolerance (Black 1887: 722).

Like other amateur photographers and inventors of the time Maddox never turned the fruits of his avocation into a livelihood.¹ While many amateur photographers attempted to capitalize on their discoveries by obtaining patents and initiating small scale manufacturing operations (operations which often constituted nothing more than individual production), only a few were ever able to move beyond small scale production for a specialized local market. Most were eventually co-opted by already established business concerns who began, in the 1870's, to actively buy up patents and modify or pirate processes in attempts to enhance their competitiveness (Jenkins, 1975b). Maddox, despite the technical importance of his work,

derived no pecuniary returns from his invention and passed his last years in anything but easy circumstances (Eder, 1945:424).

In his comprehensive technical history of photography, Eder, himself an important nineteenth century amateur photographer and photographic scientist (inventor of gelatine silver chloride paper, chloro-bromide gelatine paper and erythrosine dye for orthochromatic dry plates), makes mention of the central role amateurs played in the invention and introduction of new photographic processes and technologies (1945:425-27). Gernsheim and Gernsheim also devote some attention to the early technical innovations developed by amateurs, particularly the work of British amateurs Richard Kennet, Charles Bennett, Colonel Stuart-Wortley and Captain William de W. Abney (President of the London Camera Club) who improved and perfected Maddox's dry plate process (1955:264-66,285). Accounts of amateur contributions to the early history of photographic technology in the United States can be found in Taft, PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE AMERICAN SCENE: A SOCIAL HISTORY, 1839-1889, and in Welling, PHOTOGRAPHY IN AMERICA: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1839-1900. And Newhall, in discussing the founding of the Photographic Society of London (later to become the Royal Photographic Society), notes,

Its first president, Sir Charles Eastlake, was himself an amateur, and although the membership was divided between those who practiced photography as an avocation and as a profession, the amateurs were more often heard (1982:73).

But, for the most part, historians of photography have overlooked the central role of amateurs and amateur clubs. To get a proper perspective on the importance of these groups of avocational photographers one needs to pour through nineteenth century photographic journals and magazines, as well as popular periodicals of the day, where many reports on photography give special attention to the contribution of amateurs.²

In his discussion of the introduction of the daguerreotype process to North America in 1839 Taft writes that while information concerning the method was not detailed,

...the account was sufficient to start America's first amateurs to work.

And who were these "first amateurs"?--for, of course, all were amateurs then. The names of a few have been recorded; doubtless there were some whose names are lost in obscurity (Taft 1938:15).

His comment that "all were amateurs then" is indicative of the peculiar role of amateur practitioners in the early history of photography. It also suggests the extent to which amateur roles changed as the historical context of photographic manufacturing, marketing and practice changed.

During the first thirty years of photography amateurs led the way in nearly every facet of technical and artistic innovation while professionals were content to exploit

well-tested methods and processes in order to churn out portraits, cartes-de-visite and stereographic views. The early photographic societies were scientific organizations bringing together the leading experts in photography, all of whom (as Taft says), experimented with the new technology without remuneration. They were inventors, scientists and amateur photographers at the same time, a breed of comfortable bourgeois "gentleman" for whom avocation was a lifestyle.

The nature of emerging industrial markets at this time allowed such "tinkerers" and devotees to have a direct impact on the nascent photographic industry. In the United States David H. Houston, a farmer and amateur photographer, began a career inventing cameras with his patent on the original Kodak roll-holding camera apparatus (Hammer, 1940); the Reverend Hannibal Goodwin, an episcopal clergyman at Newark and an amateur photographer, applied for the first patent on celluloid roll film in 1887 (Eder, 1945:486); George Eastman, another amateur enthusiast, eventually developed and marketed these technologies in concert, making photography the first mass participation picture-making activity in history (Jenkins, 1975a).

In Philadelphia, perhaps the most important early center of amateur activity, Robert Hare, Paul Beck Goddard,

Martin Boye and John W. Draper from the University of Pennsylvania, and Joseph Saxton, Robert Cornelius, Frederick Langenheim, and Warren Thompson pioneered the daguerreotype process, daguerreotype portraiture, and the use of bromine as an accelerator for plate exposure -- the "Philadelphia secret" (Welling, 1978:17-19); Edward L. Wilson started the first important photography journal, the PHILADEPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER; Coleman Sellers, Fairman Rogers, Constant Guillou, S. Fisher Corlies, Dickerson Sargent, Frederick Graff, and F. T. Fassit made up the largest contingent of the inter-city Amateur Photographic Exchange Club organized in 1861 to exchange stereoscopic prints among the leading amateurs on the East Coast; and Frederic Ives was the famous amateur inventor who worked on the first swelled-gelatine photoengraving processes in the 1870's and announced numerous developments in color photography and color reproduction at the Franklin Institute during the 1880's and 1890's).

Drawing from John C. Browne's HISTORY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, published by the Society itself in 1884, Fehr and Homer write,

A large number of Philadelphians were taking photographs as a hobby by 1860. In that year Constant Guillou, one such worker, took steps to promote a photographic society for those "interested in making pictures by the action of light and chemicals." He

called a meeting at his home for those amateurs who wished to form such a group, though two years passed before the Photographic Society of Philadelphia was officially founded in November 1862. Guillou served as the first president of the organization, whose avowed purpose was to "increase and diffuse the knowledge of those natural laws which relate to the action of light, particularly to promote improvement in the art of photography." Still active today, the PSP is the oldest photographic organization in the United States.

Philadelphia was a logical place for the Society to begin, as the city had long been recognized as a center of scientific achievement. In the early days of the PSP, Philadelphia photographers' scientific interests were as important as their artistic concerns. Indeed, certain members proposed in 1870 that the PSP become part of the Franklin Institute's photography section; however, most members wanted the Society to retain its own identity, and the merger did not take place.

In the early years of the PSP's existence, the monthly meetings were concerned with lectures by members or outside photographers on processes, materials, new printing procedures, and equipment. A knowledge of chemistry was required because each photographer had to prepare his own plates; consequently, long discussions on various processes were held in the early meetings.

...It is apparent that many of the early developments of photographic technique were associated with the Philadelphia group, pointing to its highly developed scientific character (1984:28-9).

Amateur societies like PSP were also the places where photography's aesthetic role was first considered and debated. As the nineteenth century progressed, amateur societies and clubs evolved from technicist cliques to arenas for debating the art and science of photographic practice. Technical concerns remained important but aesthetic issues received ever greater attention. The PSP sponsored competitions among its members for the best

portraits and landscapes and society exhibitions quickly became a regular and important part of club activities (Fehr and Homer, 1984).

By the end of the century some amateurs were complaining that men of science and invention (the "tinkerers") no longer commanded the attention or respect they deserved. But in aesthetic matters the amateur societies and camera clubs had established themselves as the unchallenged "judgement seats of photography" (Phillips, 1982). As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, the period from 1890 to 1910 saw the full flowering of aesthetic leadership and debate, and established the dual tracks of pictorial photography which have marked the twentieth century.

Amateur Activity Before the Dry Plate

The first people to introduce the new Daguerreotype process to North America in 1839 were gentlemen scientists, artists and teachers like Samuel F. B. Morse, then a professor of literature and the arts at the University of the City of New York. This vanguard of "scientific gentleman," as the New York Morning Herald called them, set up networks for supplying chemicals and materials and began

attracting attention with their Daguerreotype work in the first year (Taft, 1938:20). Small groups of professional gentlemen (amateurs dabbling at the new photographic processes) also played a leading role in the adoption and use of the Talbotype (or calotype), the wet collodion process, and the first gelatine dry plates. For a number of years small circles of artists and amateurs were the only ones using Talbot's process at all. One of the very earliest, perhaps the first, photographic clubs was the Calotype Club formed in London in 1847.

These keen amateurs, who met once or twice a month at each other's house to compare results and exchange ideas and prints, were PETER WICKENS FRY (founder); ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S., Keeper at the Museum of Practical Geology and the leading authority on photography at the time; ROGER FENTON, barrister; FREDERICK SCOTT ARCHER, sculptor; DR. HUGH W. DIAMOND, Superintendent at the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum; SIR WILLIAM J. NEWTON, R.A., miniature painter; PETER LE NEVE FOSTER, barrister, and Secretary of the Society of Arts; FREDERICK W. BERGER; HUGH OWEN; JOSEPH CUNDALL, art historian and publisher; CHARLES VIGNOLES, F.R.S. civil engineer; EDWARD KATER, F.R.S. (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1955:131).

Professional photographers never did adopt the calotype in great numbers, preferring the daguerreotype for its faster speed and greater clarity. But many early amateurs took up the practise of printing from negatives on paper, producing images of fine tonal gradation which today are more greatly admired than the harder and colder daguerreotypes of the same era.

In France, where Blanquart-Evrard introduced an improved modification of Talbot's process and Le Gray developed a more convenient waxed-paper version, the calotype became immensely popular with amateurs and led, as it had in London, to the formation of one of the first photographic societies, the Societe Heliographique. Like the members of the Calotype Club, Societe Heliographique photographers were men of wide-ranging occupations in the sciences and the arts--from opticians to writers and painters (Eugene Delacroix was a member). The Photographic Society of London, later to become the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain, was founded in January of 1853 by amateur photographers primarily engaged in making calotypes.

Thus the Photographic society was born, the doyen of the thousands of photographic societies which exist today all over the world, and though preceded by the short-lived Societe Heliographique, the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain can look back on an unbroken record which makes it the oldest existing photographic society in the world (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1955:137).

In the United States the American Photographic Society, with Dr. John W. Draper as its first president, was founded in 1858. Members of this amateur organization contributed regularly to the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, one of the first three photographic journals in America and a major forum for the diffusion and discussion of information and ideas about photography.

From the very beginning amateurs were a central force in the history and development of each new photographic process. Their numbers and importance grew, plateaued and sometimes diminished along with specific technical and industrial cycles. Their place on the spectrum of photographic activity changed as each new wave of beginners and hobbyists purchased cameras.

Wet Collodion and the "Dry" Period

After the introduction of the faster-speed wet collodion process in the 1850's (accompanied by the relaxation of patent restrictions on both the daguerreotype and talbotype processes in England and a rising interest in stereographs) amateur photographic societies experienced a rapid growth. In the decade following the establishment of the first handful of clubs and societies in the early 1850's photographic societies were formed in all the larger cities of Europe and North America and by 1861 there were at least 24 photographic societies in Great Britain alone (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1955:164). Also formed in 1861 was The American Photographic Exchange Club, an inter-society network of successful American amateurs who regularly circulated their prints among the membership (Welling, 1978:152).

The Exchange Club counted in its membership: Oliver Wendell Holmes of Boston (father of the famous jurist, noted amateur photographer, inventor, and originator of the name "stereograph"), Coleman Sellers of Philadelphia (a grandson of Charles Wilson Peale, and a distinguished engineer, noted amateur photographer and inventor of the original kinematoscope--known as the most energetic amateur and the most prolific correspondent of the photographic journals in his day), H. T. Anthony (co-founder of the E. and H. T. Anthony firm), and most of the prominent amateurs across the United States (Taft, 1938: 213-222).

By 1862 the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, the oldest existing photographic society organized by amateurs in North America, had been formed (Beach, 1889:297); and in 1864 the Philadelphia Society established its own publication, the PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER--the most influential early photographic journal. The Society is credited by several writers with being the first American club to "actively promote artistic photography" (Rosenblum, 1984: 322).

The decade between 1855 and 1865, following Archer's introduction of the wet collodion process, is the first period of significant amateur expansion. Taft attributes the growth in amateur numbers during this time to both the

introduction of the collodion process and the popular interest in stereography.

Photographic societies were formed during this period in all the larger cities of the country--the societies including in their membership not only amateurs, but professionals as well.

The amateurs in these societies took their labors quite seriously--regular meetings were held, usually monthly, their difficulties discussed at length, suggestions made for improvement, and tests and experiments planned. In fact, it can be said that for many years these organizations were largely responsible for any growth in the art. Professionals, by themselves, had made feeble attempts to organize, but they were not generally successful until 1869, when the National Photographic Association was formed--the first of the national organizations (Taft, 1938: 204-5).

The rise in amateur activity paralleled the rise in scientific, industrial and military uses of photography, including the growing use of photographs by architects and engineers, the use of photographs in medicine for the recording of diseases, the use of photography by astronomers and meteorologists, and the use of photography in microscopy. Much of this experimentation was occurring within the amateur societies themselves, where scientists like John Draper (and later his son Henry Draper) were pioneering the use of photography in areas such as astronomy (Eder, 1945: 269-70; Taft, 1938: 71, 199-200).

The scientific discussions appearing in the photographic journals of this time directly reflected the

transactions of the societies. Not only were most of the contributors to the journals members of amateur societies but minutes, papers and addresses from society meetings were regularly published. By 1864 journals like Scientific American were recommending photography as a hobby for people of all kinds (v. 10 p. 167).

Yet, it was soon after this that the growth in amateur ranks slowed abruptly. During the 1860's and 70's many clubs and societies were discontinued. What Gernsheim and Gernsheim have called a "dry" period in amateur activity commenced (1955: 255-6) as the novelty of the photography "fad" wore off and the wet collodion processes proved too laborious and messy (Taft, 1938:208-9). The field was left to the hardier and more technically oriented enthusiasts who continued to search for new improvements and modifications.

Gernsheim and Gernsheim refer to the period between 1864 and 1880 as the "dry period" not only because it saw amateur numbers decline but because during this time amateur clubs and societies became forums dominated by highly technical (or "dry") discussions of innumerable new processes and modifications. One amateur after another proposed new methods for improving light sensitivity or the ease of preparing and using plates. Gernsheim and Gernsheim write,

The period is characterized by a great restlessness among photographers. It was a period of rapid development, new applications of photography were constantly explored, new techniques had to be mastered, new difficulties to be overcome. At the same time, the quality of collodion, the fading of photographic prints, the pirating of photographs of famous people, and many other problems caused concern at the meetings of the photographic societies. These meetings were largely occupied with chemical and scientific matters to the almost complete exclusion of the aesthetic side (1955: 255).

Reading the journals of the day, whether the BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY or THE PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER, necessitates plowing through longwinded and highly technical discussions of various photographic processes and their modifications. No wonder that many new amateurs, especially those who had been misled by initial, overly enthusiastic claims for the simplicity and results of the new processes, became discouraged and lost interest.

Another twist to the Gernsheims' use of the term "dry period" refers to the fact that most of the "dry" discourse in the societies concerned the attempt to develop a more convenient, dry-plate alternative to the burdensome task of setting up a darkroom tent on location in order to prepare and then develop wet collodion plates. Everyone was in search of a satisfactory "dry plate process", a process through which plates could be prepared in advance, carried to locations for exposure, and then lugged back home for developing.

Although experimentation with dry collodion processes had begun in the mid 1850's, and amateurs had begun using various albumen or tannin dry plates as early as 1863 (*PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER*, v. 1, pp. 50, 76 and 89), the first, crude gelatine-bromide process wasn't introduced by Maddox until 1871 and it wasn't until almost 1880 that the large-scale manufacture of good quality gelatine dry plates was underway.³

By the late 1880's large-scale dry plate manufacturing concerns had been established in Europe and the U.S. In the U.S. the production of dry plates soon reached approximately 84 million plates annually (Beach, 1889:290). Apparently eager to congratulate British leadership in this area, the Gernsheims write,

As the evolution of the gelatine dry plate is unfolded step by step in the pages of THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, we realize that its introduction was due entirely to British ingenuity (1955: 267).

In spite of the bias inherent in making this conclusion on the basis of records of THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, it was true that the commercial manufacture of dry plates in the 1880's was dominated by the British. However, my reading of THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY (along with other journals) during this period leads me to

another observation--that the introduction of the dry plate was due almost entirely to the ingenuity of photographic society amateurs, in Britain and elsewhere.

It is clear that during the 1870's American amateurs were constantly experimenting with new dry-plate processes. The PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER reports that on an excursion in the summer of 1879 members of The Photographic Society of Philadelphia were all using dry emulsion plates to secure the landscapes for which Philadelphia photographers had become famous (1879: v. 16, p. 216). There was nothing peculiarly British which prompted these developments, but the widespread experimentation which eventually produced better and better methods of dry plate preparation was integrally related to the nature of amateur work and amateur society interaction.

ENDNOTES

1. A short biography of Maddox's life appears in the BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1902, pp. 425, 427.
2. See, for instance, A. Black, "The Amateur Photographer," in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE 34, Sept. 1887, pp. 722-29; F. C. Beach, "Modern Amateur Photography," in HARPER'S MONTHLY, Jan. 1889, pp. 288-297; and W. S. Harwood, "Amateur Photography of Today," in THE COSMOPOLITAN, Vol. 20, Jan. 1896, pp. 250-58.
3. Many of the individuals responsible for the improvement and development of dry plate gelatine-bromide formulas were amateur society photographers. Richard Kennett, a London amateur who had experimented with gelatine emulsion for several years introduced an improved version of Maddox's discovery to the Photographic Society of London in 1874. Charles Bennett, another amateur photographer, discovered that the gelatine emulsions could be improved through ripening by heat. By this method he began to make dry plates in 1877 which rivaled wet collodion plates in light sensitivity. In March of 1878, at the South London Photographic Society he exhibited photographs taken with very short exposures using the new plates.

Succeeding Bennet, in 1879, Captain W. de W. Abney and Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Wortley, both amateurs in scientific photography, obtained greater sensitiveness in a very short time by employing a higher degree of heat, even raising it to the boiling point. Following close upon these discoveries, sensitive plates bearing Bennett's name were prepared and sold exclusively, but it was not until about 1880 that their merits and advantages began to be fully appreciated (Beach, 1889:288-9).

Chapter Five

DRY PLATES AND THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN AMATEUR

The successful development of the gelatine dry plate freed photographers from the burden of lugging portable darkroom tents, chemicals, trays and glass plates. For the first time photographers could work on location and in natural-light with relative ease. Gone were the cumbersome paraphernalia, the limited mobility, and the laborious preparations of wet-plate photography. With dry plates photographers no longer hesitated to journey out into the world for their subject matter and the gelatine-bromide emulsions of the 1880's permitted daylight exposures of less than one second. It was the beginning of what many writers have called "instantaneous" or "naturalistic" photography (Panzer, 1982).

Professionals were very slow to adopt dry plate technology, partly because they felt that wet plates still provided a finer quality print, partly because mobility was not as important in their studio-centered work, and partly out of a stubborn desire to maintain distinctions between professional work and the photography of amateurs. But while professionals shunned the dry-plate, waves of new amateurs embraced it, prompting a rise in amateur numbers "which in the nineties grew to undreamt of proportions" (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1955: 268).

Every sector of the photographic world, from amateur artists to photographic manufacturers, felt the effects of this amateur explosion. It changed the nature and role of photographic clubs and societies. It provided the impetus for the evolution of truly large-scale manufacturing in the photography industry. It influenced the formation of artistic standards and helped to fuel the movement for photography as a fine art. And it led to a growing disdain among already established photographers for the new "mass amateurs", prompting the elaboration of invidious distinctions and amateur elites. These distinctions have been incorporated into historical accounts of the period.

The year 1880 constitutes a turning-point in the evolution of photography without parallel in its entire history. Gelatine emulsion effected revolutionary changes in every sphere of photography. Fast plates (and soon rollfilms) in conjunction with hand and pocket cameras opened the door to thousands of amateurs who had hitherto been deterred from learning to make pictures....

Gone were the days of messing about in darkrooms, and with them vanished the spirit and the enthusiasm of the early pioneers, who felt impelled to make pictures, however difficult the task; gone was the spirit of discovery, of experimentation, the fascination of watching the picture slowly appear as if by magic in the developing bath. The ardent amateur gave way to the new machine man, content to follow manufacturers' instructions implicitly, and relying on camera and D.& P. firms to make the pictures for him. Advertising slogans such as 'No previous knowledge of photography is required. Anybody can make presentable pictures right from the start without even soiling the fingers', did much for the popularization--and subsequent decadence--of photography (Gernsheim and Gernsheim, 1955: 310).

The growth of amateur photography before 1880 was gradual and halting. After 1880 it mushroomed. In the late 1870's there were less than twenty amateur photographic societies and camera clubs in Britain and the United States combined. By 1885, according to the BRITISH JOURNAL PHOTOGRAPHIC ALMANACK, there were 40 in Britain and 20 in the United States. By 1895, the PHOTOGRAPHIC ALMANACK lists 250 societies in Britain and 109 in the United States. THE INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL OF ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN for 1894 lists 112 amateur societies in the United States and a 1896 report by W. S. Harwood in THE COSMOPOLITAN states, "there are over a hundred and fifty of these camera-club organizations in the United States alone" (vol. 20:253-4).

Who were the members of these clubs? Harwood describes them as upper-middle and upper class men, and women.

The class of men now interested in amateur photography in the United States -- and this holds true of Europe as well as of America -- is an indication of what the amateur photography of to-day stands for. . . .The men who have taken up photography in America to-day, and who are classed under the general title of amateurs, are leaders in their various cities and states -- bankers, lawyers, physicians, literary men, business men, newspaper men, ministers, college professors --men of maturity who have come to find a fine fascination in the field of the camera. With them are associated in the study of the camera a large number of women who occupy advanced places in the home life as well as the public life of these modern days.

Quite naturally the amateur photographers who reside largely in cities come together for advice, consultation, collaboration. This has resulted in the organization of a large number of camera clubs all over the United States as well as in foreign countries, for the foreign amateurs have been as active, perhaps, as those on this side of the ocean. These clubs, are quite uniform in character, both men and women being members, and acting under the usual constitutions of similar organizations (THE COSMOPOLITAN, Jan. 1896, pp. 252-52).

Reports and newsnotes in many of the turn-of-the-century photographic journals confirm Harwood's social profile of camera club members and indicate that growth in the number of clubs and societies continued to accelerate after 1896.

The number of professional photographers roughly doubled during this same period, a modest increase when compared to the tremendous amateur growth. There was a growing photographic fraternity in the late 1860's, created partly by the banding together of photographers all across the country in opposition to the Cutting patent on the bromide process (Welling, 1978: 195-8). National Conventions at Cleveland in 1870 and Philadelphia in 1871 attracted great attention. But after that professional affiliations remained dormant until the formation of the Photographic Association of America in 1880 (Welling, 1978:244). And after 1880 the growth of amateur photography outstripped the growth of professional activity by even greater margins.

A jump in photographic manufacturing accompanied this amateur expansion. According to U.S. Department of Commerce Census Data (1947) industrial production in the United States grew from 1889 to 1909 at an average annual rate of 4.7 percent. Over the same period production of photographic materials and equipment grew at an average annual rate of 11 percent and Eastman Kodak Company's domestic sales alone rose at an average annual rate of 17.5 percent (Jenkins, 1975b: 177).

By the 1890's, then, four major developments were well underway:

- 1) a greatly expanded national network of amateur societies and clubs whose members far outnumbered the membership of the professional Photographic Association of America,
- 2) a greatly expanded photographic industry with numerous entries vying for the newest technologies, fighting over patent rights and competing for markets.
- 3) a well-established movement in the amateur societies of both Britain and America to promote pictorial photography as legitimate art,
- 4) an ever-growing "mass" of new amateur photographers, distinguishable from earlier amateurs by their more casual commitment to photography as a hobby, their preoccupation with photographic "gadgets" designed to minimize training

and effort, and their relative lack of concern with technical or artistic issues.¹

The Gernsheim's refer to this latter group in their lamentation over the popularization and "decadence" of photography. Of course, camera club photographers were not the ones abandoning the darkroom for the D. & P. (development and printing) firms. While new classes of snapshot photographers were providing a rapidly expanding market for simple, inexpensive hand cameras, flexible roll-film, and development and printing services, the serious amateurs continued to provide a major market for more elaborate cameras, high quality dry plates, darkroom equipment, chemicals (now often prepackaged) and new varieties of printing paper. But for the first time amateurs, both casual and serious, constituted an enormous mass market--many times larger than the entire professional market. And even serious amateurs were shifting away from their traditional emphasis on scientific process to a greater emphasis on pictorial result. In 1900, J.K. Tulloch writes of his "thirty years as an amateur",

Thiry years of experience have litterd up my den with cameras of all kinds and sizes. It has filled my shelf with countless books on the subject; it has crowded every available corner with tripods, rolling presses, burnishers, and I know not what all besides; it has left me with chemicals enough to stock a laboratory; and all this to no purpose now. I have learned wisdom,

and I have paid the price. My working plant now is simple enough. ... I think, with horror, of the terrible loads I used to shoulder; with horror of the vast accumulations of prints, apparatus, and material I had to find room for. Never again shall they hang around my neck, like the old man of the sea. They were my willing slaves and companions in many a long summer-day's outing, and I have a kindly feeling towards them; but it is all over between us, for all that. They will not be parted with; they will have house room; carefully tied up and put snugly away (BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 47, April 20, 1900, p. 245).

After the 1880's the increasingly large-scale photographic industry was dependent on amateurs, of one type or another, for its survival and expansion.

The change in practice of photography from the dominance of the professional to that of the amateur revolutionized both the photographic industry and the social role of photography. The market and organizational revolution which occurred in the photographic industry between 1880 and 1895 was, in contrast to much of American business, less a response to the growth of the national urban market than it was an outgrowth of a series of interrelated changes in technology and marketing which culminated in a changed conception of who was to practice photography (Jenkins, 1975a: 1-2).

The change from professional to amateur predominance not only transformed the photographic industry from one characterized by decentralized, handicraft modes of production in 1879 to one characterized by centralized, mechanized modes of production in 1899, but, more important signaled the emergence of a mass market in photography (Jenkins, 1975a: 18).

Neglected between conventional accounts of George Eastman's creation of a mass market for snapshot photography and art historical accounts of renowned pictorialists like Oscar Rejlander, Henry Peach Robinson, Peter H. Emerson, and

Alfred Stieglitz, is the history of the accompanying establishment of a modern tradition of amateur camera club activity and conventionalized pictorial photography.

The important role of amateurs in the history of photography does not begin with Eastman's introduction of the Kodak (an event characterized by numerous writers as the genesis of amateur participation). It begins, really, with the establishment of the first photographic societies forty years earlier. And the explosion of amateur activity between 1880 and 1900 owes more to the perfection of dry plates than it does to the coming of roll film. As Welling notes, "Amateur photography was booming by 1888," before the Kodak had been marketed (1978:322). The introduction of the Kodak was significant primarily for what it signalled about developments in photographic manufacturing. It represented a mass produced "Model T" camera for the new mass amateur. It was a response to an already expanding amateur market and an impetus to further growth.

A thorough description of the "booming" amateur activity at this time can be found in an 1889 HARPER'S MONTHLY article by F. C. Beach:

As a result of the rapid growth in the practice of amateur photography, numerous clubs have been organized in various parts of the country, which serve the useful purpose of bringing amateurs together, that they may compare their experience and obtain by such discussions considerable practical information. Special facilities

for work are also generally provided, such as convenient dark rooms, printing and enlarging apparatus, and in some cases skylights, for the practice of portraiture. Where an amateur is compelled by force of circumstances to do his work in a small, close, unhealthy closet used as a dark room, the roomy facilities of the club are especially attractive. Aside from the technical knowledge derived from an association of this kind, is the study of art as displayed in the composition of photographic pictures when these are shown in the form of lantern slides upon the screen. For this reason it is now the practice of many clubs to entertain their members and friends at frequent intervals with lantern exhibitions, which, as may well be imagined, generally prove very interesting and attractive. In order to give them variety a special system of exchange of lantern slides is carried on between a limited number of clubs, by which the pictures of one club are shown before six others. From the six hundred lantern slides thus collected and shown in one season two hundred of the best are selected and sent to England in exchange for a like number contributed by various foreign clubs. In this way the work of home and foreign clubs is very pleasantly and profitably compared. It is customary also for clubs to give an annual exhibition of their work, lasting from two days to one week, and it is usually at such exhibitions that the progress in the art becomes more marked. Diplomas or medals are usually awarded by a competent board of judges.

Three societies--the Society of Amateur Photographers of New York, the Boston Camera Club, and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia--have recently united, under special rules and regulations, in giving annual exhibitions of their combined work, in rotation in their respective cities, with a view of bringing together once a year extensive exhibits of photographs.

The first exhibition of this character was held in New York in the spring of 1887, and by reason of the variety and the excellent standard of work exhibited, attracted considerable attention. The second exhibition was held in Boston in May, 1888, and the third will occur in the spring of this year in Philadelphia.

One of the most progressive and flourishing societies is the Amateur Society of this city, numbering nearly three hundred members, which was organized nearly five

years ago. Conveniently located near Broadway, at 122 West Thirty-sixth Street, it occupies two floors, one being neatly fitted up as a meeting and club room, having specimen photographs hung on the walls, also equipped with a photographic library and current publications, while the upper floor is divided up into several work-rooms, among which is a pleasant studio neatly furnished and provided with expensive portrait camera; also there is a commodious dark room fitted up with all the modern conveniences. More than a hundred lockers are provided for the use of members for the storage of their apparatus and plates. Instruction and information are given by a professional photographer steadily employed by the society. Here the amateurs gather during the winter evenings and practise different branches of the art, according to their taste, using the expensive apparatus of the society, relate their experiences, develop exposed plates, and enjoy many social chats. Meetings and lantern exhibitions are usually held each month, except during the summer, when very enjoyable field excursions take their place.

Physicians, lawyers, artists, army and navy officers, merchants, architects, publishers, brokers, chemists, school-teachers, and several ladies are among its members, showing a diversity seldom found in the practice of any other art (Beach, 1889:296-7).

This fully elaborated world of nineteenth century bourgeois photographic activity, complete with the uneasy combination of technicist and romantic/aesthetic preoccupations noted by Sekula (1981), was quite different from the earlier activities of independent and daring scientists and artists. Informal social interaction was emerging as a more prominent aspect of amateur practice. By 1896, when Harwood describes the growing camera club world, he writes,

One of the most important features of these clubs is the social one. Not only do the members meet together for criticism, and advice, and sympathy, but they meet for cordial, social relationship as well. Meetings are held fortnightly, usually, when the members join in an interchange of experiences and in the enjoyment incident to good comradeship. Usually at these meetings there is a lantern-slide exhibit of the work of the members of the club or of some other club; or, perhaps, there will be a paper on some topic selected from the long range of subjects suitable for consideration before a body of photographic experts (1896:306-07).

Sekula's metaphoric description of nineteenth century photography as "the vocation of pious accountants" hits the mark on class, even if its reductionism seems unfair (Sekula, 1981:23). As these organizations progressed into the twentieth century their status as middle-class social clubs became increasingly pronounced.

Amateur Organizations, Pictorialism and the Changing Industrial Context

Histories of turn-of-the-century photography have preoccupied themselves with the split between "mass amateurs" and "art photographers" (Doty, 1978; Bunnel, 1980; Newhall 1982; Rosenblum, 1984). But contrary to the impression given by most photographic histories, the movement of elite groups of "art" photographers away from mainstream amateur activity was not the only development of importance in this period. Neither was it the most

important event for the subsequent institutionalization of normative photographic codes. Snapshot and family photography, commercial and industrial photography, newspaper photography and social documentary work, as well as art photography and amateur pictorial photography, were all emerging as clearly defined areas or types of picture making. The establishment of widespread amateur and industrial organizations during this period had far reaching implications for twentieth century photographic production.

Developments particularly relevant to the present research include:

- 1) the emergence of a photographic industry marked by large-scale mass production and corporate organization,
- 2) the institutionalization of pictorialist photography through an expanded, and more popularly based, network of clubs, societies and photographic organizations,
- 3) a growing mass market of photographic dabblers, family photographers and snapshooters, against which serious amateurs distinguished their own work, and
- 4) lastly, the fine art movement in photography associated with elite amateur circles like the Linked Ring in Britain and the Photo-Secession in America and defined largely in distinction to more conventionalized camera club photography.

The first three developments were closely tied to one another. The fourth existed largely as a reaction to the other three. The formation of a large-scale corporate industry with national and even international mass markets, and the concomitant formation of a far-reaching network of amateur organizations, were mutually facilitating occurrences. Referring to this period the Gernsheims' write,

For the first time in its history, everything about photography was mass produced, from the apparatus, plates, films, and paper, to the pictures themselves. Once manufactureres had discovered a goldmine in the millions of amateurs the world over, they exploited credulity by skilful advertising and salesmanship of superfluous gadgets which they claimed would give better results (1955: 311).

Extant collections of photographic journals from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contain both detailed accounts of amateur activity and numerous examples of industry advertising and influence. All of the journals consistently include articles concerning technical processes and equipment (including announcements of new products, patents and industry specifications). They also contain articles reporting on amateur society or camera club activities, reviews of current salons and exhibitions, print critiques, "hints" and prescriptions on various aspects of technique, composition, and appropriate pictorial form, and

numerous essays, comments and editorials concerning the many-sided debate over photography as art. Each journal usually contains about ten pages of advertisements at the front and approximately twenty five pages at the end. Ads are not scattered within the text. There are sometimes ads for competitions, contests or services but the great majority are for apparatus and supplies--cameras, lenses, plates, filmstock, books, manuals, safe-light lamps, developing tanks and other darkroom paraphernalia.

As one moves into the late 1890's and the early 1900's one finds a diminishing predominance of purely technical articles and a much greater proportion of articles concerning photographic aesthetics, print criticism and salon reviews. THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES and THE AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHER of the early 1880's, for instance, (both edited by J. Trailli Taylor, former editor of the British Journal of Photography) contain, almost exclusively, articles detailing various technical processes or reporting on new technical developments. In the 1894 INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL OF ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN, by comparison, technical and scientific articles on lenses, papers, developers, bromide printing processes, etc., still predominate, but there are also several articles on photographic education, a "Plea for the Advancement of Art in Photography", "A Plea for the Hand

Camera", comments on proper pictorial composition, articles on the formation of amateur associations, an article about visiting an esteemed pictorial photographer in China, and even poetry on the theme of amateur photography.

Of particular interest in the 1894 annual is the increased number of clubs and societies listed. There is also an article on the formation of an American League of Amateur Photographers (a national organization intended to promote amateur photography and encourage the creation of new clubs and societies). The Annual contains many articles aimed at a new audience of neophytes ("To the Beginner", "To Young Amateurs", "Hints for Amateurs" and "Photography for Boys"). It also contains several articles in which established amateurs express their resentment towards the "hordes" of new "snap-shot photographers".

In "Amateur Photography Without a Schoolmaster" Joseph Beach calls for amateur societies to take some action to police the crowds of ill-trained amateurs "messing it up" for serious workers. He describes an "outing" at New York harbor in which scores of "new" amateurs obstructed the attempts of "more careful" photographers to photograph the gathering of war vessels.

On the occasion mentioned, several scores of amateurs were rushing about, cameras in hand, or on tripods, focusing or snapping at everything and anything, without regard to any photographic formula for the production of a good negative.

...To some of our careful and painstaking amateurs, these fiends were a perfect torment. One venerable gentleman amateur--well known to all readers of THE INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL--complained that some of his best "sights" had been ruined by the crowding up, at a critical moment, of one of these amateur pirates, whose four by five hand camera, was insolently thrust in front of the gentleman's larger instrument, just as the bulb of the latter had been pressed for the taking of a very carefully focussed view of the Spanish Caravels.

The gentleman quietly capped his camera, pushed in his slide, marked it "ruined," and taking out another holder calmly proceeded to "try again," after having arranged for an offensive and defensive alliance with two other careful amateurs; the three so entrenched themselves as to keep the rough element at a distance.

In view of this experience, is it not time Mr. Editor for amateur societies to take action on this subject, and have two excursion boats; one for those who shoot off their cameras at everybody, and everything, and another boat for those real amateurs who take a pride in making pictures for the pleasure a good negative will always afford them and their friends?

In this connection would it not be in order to suggest, that amateur photography has reached a time in its existence, when its societies or clubs may refuse to consider any person a proper candidate for membership who is not of gentlemanly instincts; and who does not recognize the distinction between making negatives of some intrinsic value, or producing indifferent snap "shots" that have no real value even by the thousand.

It is not enough that a man, or woman either, should own a camera, however expensive (with the ability to pull a trigger solely).

Besides this they should have sufficient appreciation of the honor of belonging to a first-class club or society, to strive to add to its renown by making negatives that will stand the criticism of members, and thus learn that there is something else in amateur photography besides shooting off a camera on all possible occasions, and finding out how many plates can be spoiled in any given hour of a day's outing (J.P. Beach, THE INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL OF ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN, 1894, p. 8-9).

In the 1890's, tensions between different classes of photographers became an important force influencing the evolution of photographic practice. Journals throughout this period contain numerous articles revealing the growing tensions between serious and mass amateurs, between "old" and "new" amateurs, and between professionals and amateurs (putting cameras in the hands of hundreds of thousands of amateurs was cutting deeply into the professional trade). These tensions proved influential for the emergence of new elites and the drive for new emphases in photographic art. With technical processes simplified, and more than 300,000 amateurs shooting pictures in the U.S. by 1894 (Fuller, 1894), serious practitioners sought more stringent standards of artistic production. Against both professional and casual amateur activity, amateur organizations attempted to establish more rigorous aesthetic standards and norms. Amateur societies led the way in defining what a pictorial approach to photography should be. Then, not content to practice amateur club pictorialism, splinter groups like the Photo-Secession attempted to shed their ties to the camera clubs and enter the networks and markets of the fine art world.

The Establishment of Amateur Pictorialism,
1890-1910

The influx of thousands of new amateurs at the close of the nineteenth century and the accompanying expansion of amateur clubs, societies and organizations, produced great unrest among amateur writers and spokesmen. Between 1890 and 1910, manifestoes, critiques, rebuttals and arguments dominated society meetings and filled the pages of photography journals. What were the proper goals of photographic practice? What should its standards be? The democratization of photography presented a challenge to previous notions about practice, decorum, aesthetics and appropriate subject matter. A deepening tension grew between an amateur establishment intent on promoting photography as a serious art form and the waves of newcomers who seemed to threaten that legitimization.

As photographic processes and apparatus were improved and simplified --through the introduction of faster speed emulsions, dry plates and roll film, improved compound shutters (like the Goerz sector shutter), new anastigmatic lenses (like the Zeiss Protar and Tessar or the Goerz Dagor), and smaller, lighter, less complicated cameras (the Levy, Blair and Schmid cameras in the 1880's, the Graflex by 1900)--discussions began to shift away from an overriding

preoccupation with technique and process. Technical issues continued to be regularly discussed and the introduction of new products or techniques still occupied substantial space in every journal, but the period saw a greater emphasis than before on aesthetic concerns. A review of photographic books and journals from the early 1880's reveals a literature almost solely concerned with the technical processes of photographic science. A review of the books and journals 15-20 years later reveals a world of photography still interested in technical process but now embroiled in a "High Victorian debate" (Trachtenberg, 1980:x) over the status of photography as "art".

From this period of expansion, transition, and frequent controversy emerged a new, well-defined segmentation within the photographic world. After the mass production of gelatine dry plates had changed the photographic activity of "real amateurs", and then the introduction of flexible roll-film and the push-button camera had opened the way for hundreds of thousands of newcomers, a tension arose within amateur photography (echoing the tension between art and photography itself) (Benjamin, 1931; Sekula, 1981). A series of social movements were initiated to restore or maintain distinctions between artistic photographers and "lay" photographers. Just as committed amateurs had begun

to make a case for photography as art, hordes of neophyte snapshooters muddied the waters.

The "button-pushers" tended to discredit arguments for the artistic potential of the medium. Already faced with scores of skeptical critics, amateur "art" photographers now faced enemies on both sides. They responded to this situation by attempting to insulate themselves from the mass of camera bugs and create distinct elites. By clearly distancing themselves from "non-sophisticates," Photo-Secessionists were better able to forge connections with the world of fine art.

The period from 1890 to 1920, then, was marked by the attempts of select groups of amateur society members to establish photography as a fine art. The photographic art salons and exhibitions held between 1892 and 1910, --by the Linked Ring in London (1892 and following), by amateurs in Washington, D.C. (1896), by amateurs in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1898 and following), by the Photo-Secessionists in New York (1902 and following) and at the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy (1910),-- were part of an attempt to distinguish the work of serious, "artistic" amateurs from the hack work of professionals and from the photographic incompetence or uncultivated tastes of the mass amateur. Their desire was to place fine photographic prints alongside painting and sculpture (see Chapter Six).

The "secession" of these photographers from the mainstream amateur organizations was precipitated by disagreements over the practical control and conduct of the salons. Accounts in the journals indicate that the debate over salon standards became public after the Philadelphia Salon of 1898, sponsored by the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and held at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. This was the first time that a photographic exhibit was co-sponsored by a fine arts institution and many amateurs were disgruntled by the "aesthetic" concerns of the judges and what they perceived to be the narrow criteria for selection. In the face of this dissatisfaction, the 1901 Philadelphia Salon broadened their selection to allow greater participation. This resulted in a rejection of the Salon by the pictorial art photographers who associated themselves with Stieglitz. Their refusal to participate also led the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts to end their involvement.

In 1902 Stieglitz arranged an independent exhibition by "The Photo-Secessionists" at the National Arts Club and the movement by photographic elites to abandon the camera clubs and "hitch up with the art world" was well underway. Confronted by what he interpreted as an antagonism towards true pictorial photography in the Photographic Society of

Philadelphia, Stieglitz came to the conclusion,

...that the high standards and desires that he held for photography as a means of expression could no longer gain support through the camera clubs (Doty, 1978:26).

The bulk of amateurs, on the other hand, viewed Stieglitz and the Photo-Secessionists as elitist, "exclusive and autocratic" (Doty, 1978:33). Members of Stieglitz's own new York Camera Club felt slighted by his elitist approach and in 1902 he was asked to resign as editor of the club's journal CAMERA NOTES. By early 1908 the rift had escalated to a point where Stieglitz was asked to resign from the club. About forty members left the club with him after a NEW YORK TIMES front page headline read "Camera Club Ousts Alfred Stieglitz" (Doty, 1978:49).

Issues of THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, and PHOTO-ERA: THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, between 1905 and 1910, indicate that mainstream amateurs eventually embraced (at least on a superficial level) the notion of artistic pictorialism, although their enthusiasm was often tempered by a continuing commitment to "technical competence". Photography is certainly an art, they concurred, but the strengths of advanced photographic technology should not be discarded in order to produce a nonphotographic looking picture. The medium's unique properties of optical veracity--sharply defined

reproductions of arrangements in nature, the precise rendering of light values and gradations of tone, the perception of beauty in nature through selection and photographic control--should not be abandoned for foggy, obscure landscapes, retouched skies, or other artificial manipulations.

Curiosities of labor are not art; nothing is that employs false means to an end. Art is the employment of true means, in their true scope of service, to a result known beforehand. The first principle of a lens is the focus; the first principle of making a picture with a lens is to get the picture sharp. A picture made out of focus with a lens is no more art than the mouthings of dumb man are oratory, a child's scrawl literature, or a house that will not stand architecture (Griffith, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1908, p. 314).

As the notion of "photographic art" became more broadly accepted the secessionist movement began to lose steam. By 1909, W. I. Lincoln Adams, editor of THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES, "remarked that the Secessionists and other pictorial photographers, 'appear to be doing nothing new'" (Doty, 1978:51). And Charles Caffin, a long-time advocate of the Photo-Secession, agreed with Griffith (above) that the fundamentally photographic qualities of the medium--the precision of the essentially scientific process-- was being neglected in the work of the "ambitious 'pictorialist'" (CAMERA WORK, No. 28, October, 1909, p. 33).

By 1909 the Linked Ring in Britain had effectively dissolved and the 1910 pictorialist exhibition at the Albright Gallery in Buffalo marks the last major exhibition for the Photo-Secession in America. The schism between amateur pictorialists and pictorial artists faded as art photographers found growing acceptance in the art world, and the camera club world steadily attracted new generations of recruits.

ENDNOTES

1. George Eastman, originally a bank clerk and amateur club photographer, entered the manufacturing competition in late 1880 with a small dry plate operation which focused on high quality plates for serious amateurs and professionals.

Later, his introduction of flexible roll-film in the Kodak ("You push the button, we do the rest") system contributed to the growth of mass amateur photography.

2. Many other statements in the journals reflect similar sentiments. The same year E. E. Cohen writes,

The rapid rush of the fashionable craze, and the facility with which the rudimentary principles of its technique can be acquired, have created quite an army of photographers who run rampant over the globe, photographing objects of all sorts, sizes and shapes, under almost every condition, without ever pausing to

ask themselves, is this or that artistic? And all this arises from the fact, that very few indeed, if any, of these carriers of cameras, 'ere he bought his apparatus ever stopped to ask himself what art meant. They spy a view, it seems to please, the camera is focused, the shot taken! There is no pause, why should there be? For Art may err but nature cannot miss, says the poet, and they listen to the dictum.

To them, composition, light, shade, form and texture are so many catch phrases, only heard on the lips of the dilettante, and therefore represent absolutely nothing--whereas the fleeting image they have secured is all and everything, for they want pictures, keepsakes, signs and signals that they have wandered far and wide; only an artist could think of selecting his views beforehand, time is too short and precious. (E. E. Cohen, INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL OF ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN, vol. 6, 1894, p. 18).

Part Three
THE AESTHETICS OF PICTORIALISM

What does a photograph look like? What should a photograph look like? Although seemingly simple, upon reflection these are vexing questions and ones which underlie all thinking about photography since its inception early in the nineteenth century.

(Peter C. Bunnell, *Introduction to A PHOTOGRAPHIC VISION: Pictorial Photography, 1889-1923.*)

Why pictures look the way they do, and why people have come to think they should look a certain way, are central concerns underlying this study. The study of visual communication across cultures and sub-cultures reveals the futility of attempts to identify universal forms or patterns of taste. It points up the inadequacy of analyses which do not situate visual forms within contexts of socio-cultural practice (Fischer, 1961; Gregory, 1966, 1970; Segall, Campbell, Herskovitz, 1966; Gombrich, 1972; Worth and Adair, 1972; Deregowski, 1973; Ruby, 1976). Pictorial conventions, perceptual predispositions, and interpretive strategies vary from group to group and must be understood within specific contexts of visual socialization, visual production and media use (Worth and Gross, 1974; Worth, [Gross, ed.] 1981; Chalfen, 1974, 1975a, 1975b; Messaris and Gross, 1977; Musello, 1980; Ruby, 1981; Worth and Ruby, 1981; Custen, 1982; Schwartz, 1983; Aibel, 1984; Sutton-Smith, Eadie and Griffin, 1983; Griffin, 1985; Gross, 1985).

Codes of pictorial form, then, exist as part of particular social systems. Within each socio-cultural context accepted codes are taught, reinforced and supported. Alternatives to those codes, by definition, are not supported or reinforced in the same manner. They either remain unknown and undeveloped, or find support outside the mainstream and are correspondingly marginalized. Often, marginalized codes form counter-traditions, traditions which may contrast with, assault, influence, or be subsumed by, mainstream cultural patterns. This study indicates that the emergence, survival or influence of such cultural patterns may crucially depend on the social organizations and economic interrelationships which underpin them.

A generic Pictorialist code (in contrast to the more specific Pictorialist aesthetics of movements like the Photo-Secession or the f64 Group) has persisted in amateur and commercial photography throughout this century. The roots of this code can be traced directly to early Pictorialist art movements, but a "standard version," embedded in the notions and practices of much amateur and professional photography, has become the model of "good" photography promoted by the photographic industry and commonly subscribed to in popular taste.

The purpose of this section is to explicate some of the patterns of form and content which have characterized pictorial photography -- to clarify the origins of Pictorialism, give the reader a sense of what Pictorialist photography looks like, and illustrate the stylistic continuity of Pictorialist work. In later chapters social worlds of ongoing pictorial practice are examined, and institutional and organizational interconnections influencing photographic taste are explored. Finally, an attempt is made to account for the compatibility of pictorial photography and industrial and organizational practices.

Chapter Six

THE SEARCH FOR PHOTOGRAPHY'S AESTHETIC

The earliest examples of what has come to be called pictorial photography are attributed to Oscar Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson (Bunnell, 1980:1; Doty, 1978:11; Newhall, 1982:73-78,141; Peterson 1984:7; Pollack, 1969:172-183) although, as the Gernsheims (1955) and Rosenblum (1984) make clear, many early photographers and painters attempted to create painting-like pictures by means of photography. Already in THE PENCIL OF NATURE (1844) Fox Talbot suggests a pictorial approach to the making of photographs when he writes,

A painter's eye will often be arrested where ordinary people see nothing remarkable. A casual gleam of sunshine, or a shadow thrown across his path, a time-withered oak, or a moss-covered stone, may awaken a train of thoughts and feelings, and picturesque imaginings.

The attempt to recreate the "picturesque" is at the heart of the pictorial approach. Robinson, in the earliest treatise on pictorial photography, THE PICTORIAL EFFECT (1869), clearly draws from nineteenth century Romantic notions of the "picturesque" and sometimes uses the term to explain the concept of "pictorial effect."

By its nature photography can make no pretensions to represent the sublime, but beauty can be represented by its means and picturesqueness has never had so perfect an interpreter.

Robinson continues,

It is not open to the photographer to produce his effects by departing from the facts of nature, as has been the practice with the painter for ages; but he may use all legitimate means of presenting the story he has to tell in the most agreeable manner, and it is his imperative duty to avoid the mean, the base and the ugly: and to aim to elevate his subject, to avoid awkward forms, and to correct the unpicturesque (Robinson, 1869:51).

In fact, Robinson was accused of extravagant manipulations in order to form "exquisite rural scenes in which the natural does not exclude the picturesque" (de la Sizeranne, quoted in Doty, 1978:11). In his article "In Search of the Picturesque" he makes clear that his purpose was to find the "picture" within nature.

It is not difficult to see a view but it is not so easy to see a picture in it. It is this power of seeing a picture that makes the artist (quoted in Harker, 1979:27).

Amateur art photographers like Robinson seem to have looked to painting as much as nature for models of successful "pictures." By imitating painting they not only hoped to associate photography with the fine arts, and thus enhance its status, but they hoped to find models of the kind of unified compositions which separated a "picture" from a "view." Thus, the genesis of Pictorialism can be found in the first early attempts to imitate the conventions and themes of painting. Pictorial photographers worked to

isolate the "picturesque" in nature, or even constructed painting-like tableaux, in order to produce photographic pictures which looked liked "art".

William Lake Price was particularly active in this regard, producing academy style artistic scenes (often literary illustrations), and writing and lecturing on photography's relationship to art. The Gernsheims credit Lake Price with introducing the "salon type" of photograph (that is, pictorial photography) in 1855 as a novelty. His many publications established him as the leading spokesman in that decade for photography as a painterly art form (1955:177).

Lists of early "high art" photographers are fairly consistent from history to history. In addition to Lake Price, Rejlander and Robinson, historians generally include David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Gustave Le Gray, Adolphe Braun, Roger Fenton, Julia Margaret Cameron, and Lady Clementina Hawarden. The original motivation for these photographers, many of whom had been amateur or professional artists before taking up photography, was to utilize the new medium for artistic creation, to use the camera to create pictures which satisfied the formal standards and thematic concerns of the tradition of painting. In the beginning this often manifested itself in the direct imitation of allegorical and genre subjects.

Perhaps the most famous early example of such "picture making" is Rejlander's composite panorama "Two Ways of Life" (1857) [Fig. 1] for which he combined more than thirty separate negatives of figures, groups and pieces of background to create a Renaissance-style allegory of work vs. idleness (good vs. evil). Rejlander's attempt to copy the allegorical scenes of old masters is explicit and the compositional similarity of the "Two Ways of Life" to Raphael's "The School of Athens," is obviously intentional. He sought to demonstrate photography's compatibility with the traditional functions of high art.

Influenced by Rejlander, Robinson took up the creation of painterly photo compositions at about the same time. One of his most famous, "Fading Away" (1858) [Fig. 2] -- like Rejlander's "Two Ways of Life" constructed from multiple negatives -- creates a dramatic and sentimental scene of a family gathered around their dying daughter. This picture is, in many ways, different from the symbolic allegory "Two Ways of Life." Still, like Rejlander's work, it copies its theme and composition from earlier traditions of painting, exhibiting characteristics of Romantic Neo-Classicism (e.g. Girodet's "The Burial of Atala," 1808) as well as Pre-Raphaelite painting in an attempt to legitimize itself as a form of "high art."

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Many amateur "gentlemen" and "lady" photographers of the early Victorian period were involved in the exploration of photography for "artistic" purposes. Hill and Adamson created calotype portraits as studies for Hill's paintings; Julia Margaret Cameron regularly used Rembrandt lighting to enhance the mystical appearance and allegorical nature of her portraits and literary scenes; Adolphe Braun, Gustave Le Gray, and Roger Fenton (one of the founders of the Photographic Society of London) created landscapes, still lifes and portraits after the leading painters of their century, and Lady Hawarden produced intimate domestic poses like "Photographic Study" (ca. 1863), "The Toilet" (1864), and "Young Girl with Mirror Reflection" (1860's) which closely resemble Ingres' contemporary portraits, especially his painting of "La Comtesse d'Haussonville" (1845).

The precise nature of the cross-fertilization between art and photography in the nineteenth century has been the subject of much attention and debate (Ivins, 1953; Coke, 1964; Nohlin, 1971; Scharf, 1974; Varnedoe, 1980; Galassi, 1981; Snyder, 1982). But the self-conscious attempts of serious genteel amateurs to establish photography as an artistic medium are explicit. Lake Price, Robinson and Cameron all made classically composed literary illustrations, Robinson creating a print from a composite negative for

Tennyson's "The Lady of Shallot" and Cameron making a series of photographs for Tennyson's sequence of Arthurian poems, IDYLLS OF THE KING. The notion of "pictorial" photography, of photography as art, developed within this nineteenth century amateur world. The work of professional daguerreotypists or stereograph photographers was altogether different. Rosenblum writes of Cameron,

Cameron's attitude toward photography was that of a typical upper-class "amateur" of the time. She refused to consider herself a professional although the high cost of practicing the medium led her to accept payment on occasion for portraits and to market photographic prints through P. and D. Colnaghi, London printsellers.

Her work was shown at annual exhibitions of the Photographic Society of London and in Edinburgh, Dublin, London, Paris, and Berlin; at the latter it was acclaimed by Hermann Wilhelm Vogel and awarded a gold medal in 1866 (1984:80).

As early as the 1850's and 60's, amateur associations had become the accepted arenas for the promotion and exhibition of pictorial work, and ribbons or medals the sought after rewards.

Pictorial Concerns Nurtured in the Societies

The wet collodion period brought an increasing commercialization of photographic work, and large portrait studios and stereograph merchants came to increasingly dominate the photographic world. The diversification of successful commercial practice began to overshadow the early attempts to establish photography's role as an art form. Early pictorial pioneers like Fenton and Le Gray, discouraged with the growing exclusion of photography from art exhibitions and its assignment to scientific or "machinery" sections (as happened in the 1862 International Exhibition) withdrew from photographic activity. The battle continued, however, in the societies. Just as photographic clubs and societies gradually superseded loose networks of independent amateur inventors and became the central arenas of technical development and diffusion, so they also became primary forums for aesthetic debate and the chief guardians of the notion that photography was a legitimate medium for the creation of art. In a "profile" of Roger Fenton, Naomi Rosenblum writes,

In some ways, Fenton's activities are of as great interest as his images. While he made fine landscapes and still lifes, and some compelling views of the Crimean conflict, his campaigns to promote photography are indicative of the concern displayed by many young camera artists about the rapid commercialization of the field. In organizing photographic societies, they were

attempting to control and maintain standards that would prevent the medium from being used as a purely mechanical picture-maker. This elitism was only partially successful, as first collodion, then the dry plate, and finally the snapshot camera pushed photographic practice in the opposite direction, making the battle for standards a recurring feature in the history of the medium (Rosenblum, 1984:190).

For over a hundred years the photographic journals and the photographic societies have been concerned with the maintenance of standards and the promotion of a specialized code. In 1861, when agents of Queen Victoria excluded photography from an exhibition of the fine arts, it was the British photographic societies that protested and launched a campaign against the popular notion that photography was mechanical, requiring no special skills and subject to no specially refined standards (Welling, 1978:155). In the U.S., Coleman Sellers responded to the controversy by writing one of the first of many hundreds of essays to appear in the photographic journals on the status of photography as an art form.

The exclusion of photography from the ranks of the fine arts seems to me very unjust. That art or employment which confers the greatest amount of good on the greatest amount of people, and at the same time calls for the exercise of the highest mental attainments on the part of the artist or operator, is the one entitled to the greatest respect in its class (AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Vol. 4, Sept. 15, 1861, p. 181).

By the 1880's the clubs and societies were firmly established as the primary institutional arbiters of aesthetic propriety. When thousands of new amateurs were lured by the ease of the dry plate into photographic activity, the societies were there to bestow competence upon the neophyte, to discern worthwhile "art" from haphazard shooting, to bemoan the decadent influence of the hordes of mass amateurs. Arguments over photographic aesthetics, like those between H. P. Robinson and P. H. Emerson concerning the proper "subjective rendering of nature", constantly fueled new shakeups within the photographic hierarchies, with new groups challenging or seceding from traditional organizations. But it was always the reconstituted world of amateur organizations which subsequently legitimized the new trends and reinstitutionalized pictorial standards.

Pictorialism Becomes Central to Amateur Photographic Activity

The most fervent and most written about period of Pictorialist debate and amateur stirrings occurred between 1890 and World War I. This era is noted in the photographic histories as the age of "Pictorialism." Often, the misleading impression is given that pictorialist photography was born, and then died, during this twenty-five year span. It is more accurate to say that tenets of pictorial work came to the fore during this period, were debated and challenged, and then became embedded in the amateur and commercial photography of the twentieth century.

As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, amateur clubs and societies had developed between 1850 and 1890 as meeting grounds for enthusiasts involved in the science and art of photographic processes. The idea of employing photography for purposes of making "artistic" pictures was represented in the societies and journals from the beginning. In the United States the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY and THE PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER lobbied for artistic photography as early as the 1860's with photographers like Alexander Hesler, Marcus Root and Henry Hunt Snelling taking the lead in urging photographers to give greater consideration to aesthetic issues. By 1869 Robinson had published his

influential book PICTORIAL EFFECT IN PHOTOGRAPHY, BEING HINTS ON COMPOSITION AND CHIAROSCURO FOR PHOTOGRAPHERS. Still, even in London and Vienna, where many of the theoretical arguments concerning painting vs. photography had originated, the notion of "high art" photography was an idea energetically espoused by only a few, the majority being most interested in technical questions -- in mechanical, optical and chemical advancements. Aesthetic discussions occasionally appeared in the photographic journals, but much more prevalent were articles on technical processes and modifications.

For most, achieving the status of fine art was not of central concern, although achieving a high degree of technical competence was frequently discussed in terms of perfecting the "art" of photography. Around 1890, however, the promotion of photography as art became a cause celebre, and debates over the forms photography should most appropriately take became increasingly common.

During the nineteenth century, amateur clubs and societies were places where technical and artistic concerns constantly came together in a shifting and uneasy alliance. Robinson's early push for "picturesque" or "pictorial" photography jostled with the adoption and perfection of wet collodion processes in the British societies. The 1870's and 80's saw artistic concerns take a back seat as

photographers strove to develop and experiment with various new processes and methods for dry plate photography. In the late 1880s a growing concern with aesthetic issues accompanied the challenge brought to photographic practice by the ease and accessibility of new technologies. Emerson's call for "naturalistic" art photography in 1889 in many ways marks the beginnings of the Pictorialist era; a period in which the practice of pictorial photography came to dominate amateur production, and debates concerning pictorial aesthetics came to dominate amateur writing and discussion.

Included here are examples of pictorial photography as it evolved in the nineteenth century. The earlier photographs by Rejlander [fig. 1] and Robinson [figs. 2, 3] show their conscious effort to mimic painting. Emerson's "Gathering Water Lilies" (1886) [fig. 4] exemplifies the "naturalistic" approach to pictorial photography -- the notion that photographs should not be staged or self-consciously contrived, but present aesthetically pleasing images of the natural world in forms congruent with the processes of human observation (selective focus, the use of long focal-length soft lenses, an avoidance of enlarging, retouching or other artificial manipulation, a striving for elaborated and subtle gradations of tone).

Emerson is interesting not only because of his seemingly meteoric impact on amateur discussions in the late 1880's but because his theories represent a juggling of science and art reflective of many amateur concerns. Sensitive to the positivist concerns of nineteenth century science (he was a physician) and particularly influenced by Von Helmholtz's research on human vision, Emerson engaged scientific and artistic amateurs alike in a debate over the status of photographic picture making.

Emerson's notion of "naturalistic photography" was not entirely new. It represented a strain of thought which had been represented in amateur meetings before. At the first meeting of the Photographic Society of London in early 1853 Sir William Newton had offered that, "the whole subject might be a little out of focus, thereby giving greater breadth of effect and consequently more suggestive of the true character of Nature" (THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL 1, March 3, 1853, p. 6). But Emerson was the first to amplify these notions into a full fledged theory of photography, launching an influential movement for "naturalistic" work within the clubs and societies.

"Impressionistic photography," spawned by Emerson's theories, led by amateurs George Davison and A. Horsley Hinton, and subsequently rejected by Emerson himself, became an integral part of art photography in the 1890's.

Emerson's NATURALISTIC PHOTOGRAPHY (1889) took its place alongside Robinson's PICTORIAL EFFECT IN PHOTOGRAPHY (1869) and PICTURE MAKING BY PHOTOGRAPHY (1884) as the most influential credos in the development of nineteenth century Pictorialism. Robinson and Emerson both became important figureheads in the movement for photography as a fine art, and symbols of competing aesthetic notions about the rendering of the picturesque. But the specifics of their competing positions are not as important as the general environment in which aesthetic debate was fostered. The amateur clubs emerged during this period as the central arenas of artistic discussion and endeavor. Common assumptions about photography's proper goals and the general attention given to photography's status as an art medium outweighed differences in aesthetic philosophy -- differences which, in time, became absorbed together into the general practice of Pictorialist photography.

Certain styles and themes were already well established by 1890. Influenced by nineteenth century movements in painting (especially the Barbizon School and Impressionism) the work of turn-of-the-century pictorial photographers is dominated by landscapes and idealized genre scenes. Nature is celebrated in soft, idyllic landscapes. Romantic visions of peasant life conform perfectly to earlier genre

paintings. Idealized scenes of intimate family life transfer the genre treatment to the middle class. Soft, suggestive treatments of the female figure abound, whether nudes, portraits of ladies in elegant attire, romantic idealizations of motherhood, or glimpses of domestic activity in the home or garden. While controversies over "fuzzygraphs" and retouching created splits in the amateur ranks, the work of traditionalists and secessionists alike continued to exhibit many of the same motifs, the same preoccupation with evocative landscapes and sentimental scenes.

Figures 5 - 9 provide examples of salon photographs from the 1890's, beginning with Davison's controversial "The Onion Field" (also called "An Old Farmstead") the impressionistic entry whose exclusion from the Royal Photographic Society Exhibition in 1891 prompted a split in the leadership of the RPS and led to the secession of the Linked Ring Brotherhood (See Harker, 1979).

"The Search for Photography's Aesthetic" (Hacker, 1979) reaches a period marked by both innovation and consolidation after 1890. The Photo-Secession in the United States catapulted a faction of the secessionists into the modernist art movement. But the earlier secessions in Vienna, Paris, Hamburg and London, as well as the bulk of secessionist activity in the U. S., simply produced a more exploratory strain of photographic work which was eventually reabsorbed by mainstream Pictorialism.

In a sense, "the search for photography's aesthetic" was over by 1910, a year often cited with respect to the death of Pictorialism. After 1910 the controversies of the secessionist era waned. Pictorialism, however, did not die. It simply became increasingly institutionalized. It no longer represented the cutting edge of new work and experimentation. It no longer had an important impact on the modern art world. It had, instead, become the established aesthetic of serious amateur work and the recommended standard of photography journals, industry pamphlets and commercial handbooks. Historical accounts of turn-of-the-century Pictorialism concentrate on an exclusive and honorific elite--those legitimized as artists by traditional historians of photography. But looked at another way this literature reveals just as much about the

continuities of pictorialist practice and the entrenchment of mainstream photographic standards.

While records indicate that in every case secessions from the major societies involved the clash of strong personalities and the internal politics of control and leadership, the 1890's saw a widespread movement in the amateur clubs for the practice of photography as an "expressive" pictorial art. Partly in response to the traditional technicism of the societies and journals, and partly in response to the growing masses of unskilled snapshot takers, there was a concerted effort to establish aesthetic standards. Some histories refer to this period as "the aesthetic movement" (Harker, 1979). Often described in terms of personal strivings for "individual creative expression" or "pictorial expression," debates in the photographic journals indicate that a crucial issue was the establishment of agreed upon codes for the recognition of aesthetic distinction, and thus standards and rules for control and the setting of priorities in the societies.

The secession of The Linked Ring from the Royal Photographic Society in 1891-2, for instance, was precipitated by personal rivalries among Society members -- the arrogance of H. P. Robinson and George Davison in insisting on the suspension of the rules so that Davison's

impressionistic, avant-garde picture "The Onion Field" (1890) [fig. 5] might be hung in the annual exhibition, and the stubbornness of society officers Alexander Mackie and H. A. Lawrence who hoped to consolidate their own power over Society affairs. But it was also a more long-brewing response to the undemocratic and uncompromising leadership of the Photographic Society which for decades had focused attention on photographic technology and techniques and effectively marginalized the movement for photographic art (Harker, 1979:64). The battle was largely over who would make decisions about the relative importance of art vs. science in Society activities, and what the aesthetic standards of serious pictorial work would be.

Amateur Stratification

Three types of amateurs can be discerned amid these developments: 1) mass market snapshooters, 2) serious, middle and upper middle class camera club amateurs, and 3) educationally and/or socially elite amateur artists.

Most of the emphasis on more selective standards seems to have come from the latter group. Joseph Pennell's frequently reprinted essay "Is Photography Among the Fine Arts?" (1897) exhibits much of the exclusivity and snobbery

with which those of the upper classes treated ordinary middle class salon exhibitors.

And now, what is the training of the photographer who is noisiest in his assertion that he is an artist?

...I look down the list of exhibitors at the Photographic Salon, where the gospel of art is most strenuously preached; I see among them the names of parsons, of Government clerks, of solicitors, of a beef-extract maker, of a banker, and some titles--in fact, the amateur rampant. It is the time left over from his serious work in life that this photographer gives to his "art." Photography is his amusement, his relaxation. He labours in his pulpit or at his desk all the week, and then, when the half-holiday comes, he seizes his little black box, skips nimbly to the top of a 'bus, hurries from his hampstead heights to the Embankment, plants his machine in a convenient corner, and, with the pressing of a button or the loosing of a cap, creates for you a nocturne which shall rank with the life-work of the master (THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, 72, Dec., 1897, p. 828).

The accountants, bank clerks, lawyers, ministers, engineers and other professionals who constituted the bulk of serious amateur practitioners did display a fervent interest in photographic processes. Their aesthetic tastes ineluctably reflected a preoccupation with technical precision. For them the mastery of photography's technical processes was central to the activity of serious workers. It was what separated competent amateurs and professionals from the snapshooters who simply took advantage of "the fatal facility" offered by mass market technologies. The acknowledged difference between the "somewhat more aesthetic"

predisposition of British photographers and the "somewhat more technical" bent of Americans is doubtless related in part to the greater predominance of middle class professionals in the American context.

Still, by the 1890's many amateurs were persuaded that an overemphasis on technical processes had impeded photography's potential as an expressive art. It was not only for reasons of social invidiousness that increasing numbers joined the "aesthetic" camp. There were the crass masses of snapshooters to contend with.

During the 1890's, serious amateurs as well as professionals deplored the "fatal facility" that made possible millions upon millions of camera images of little artistic merit. In seeking to distinguish their own work from this mass of utilitarian photographs, Pictorialists articulated a dual role for the medium in which images would provide an unnuanced record on the one hand, and, on the other, provoke thought and feeling. Aesthetic photographers were convinced that in the past "the mechanical nature" of photography had "asserted itself so far beyond the artistic, that the latter might...be described as latent,"⁴ and they sought to redress this perceived imbalance by selecting subjects traditional to the graphic arts, by emphasizing individualistic treatment and by insisting on the artistic presentation of camera images (Rosenblum, 1984:297).

Thus the most fervent rebuttals to Pennell came, not from traditional amateur craftsmen, but from New School spokesmen like Alfred Maskell, who in his "The Claims of Photography to Recognition as Art" (BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, August 28, 1891, pp. 550-2) directly challenges Pennell's

assumptions. He argues that individual creativity is not precluded by the processes of photography and later states,

Photographic art has not attained its apogee. It is still growing and its aspirations seem to me to point unmistakably in the direction of the alteration and modification of the mechanical work of the camera by the feeling and craft of the artist ("Some Landmarks in the History of Pictorial Photography," BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, March 30, 1894, p. 195).

The growth of large scale manufacturing and marketing in the photo industry and the great ease with which mediocre photographs subsequently proliferated, along with the fashionable debates concerning art vs. science, pushed distinctions between different forms of amateur work into ever greater relief. The threat posed by the new mass market was met by insisting on the competent use of photographic processes for distinctive work; photographs which would not only exhibit technical competence but give evidence of "personal artistic feeling and execution" (Hinton, 1899:12). This period of aesthetic concern produced institutionalized parameters for pictorial style. It also produced a vocabulary and a framework for aesthetic debate which influenced photographic discourse far into the future.

Summary

As treated in the art history of photography -- that is, as a crucial stage in photography's progress towards its rightful legitimization in the art world -- the period between 1890 and the First World War is often represented by stories of "valiant pioneers" such as Robinson, Emerson and Stieglitz who persistently fought for elite standards, a greater latitude of experimentation, and a closer alliance with the fine art world (Doty, 1978; Lawton and Knox, 1978; Jeffrey, 1981; Newhall, 1982; Homer, 1984). It is characterized as a period of "great Victorian debates" and a time of splits over divergent aesthetic notions and practices (Lawton and Knox, 1978; Bunnell, 1980; Trachtenberg, 1980; Homer, 1984). But Harker notes in her monograph on the Linked Ring that the differences between photo-secessionists and other Pictorialists are often exaggerated. "There are over-riding considerations of style which makes identification of Pictorial photography possible." She writes,

The Secession Movement in Photography, essentially concerned with aesthetics, could be described as the quest for truth through the perception of beauty, fired by imagination and conveyed in photographs. Pictorialists, although taking several different routes, could all identify themselves with this quest (Harker, 1979:68).

The identification of Pictorialism solely with Secessionists and the period of photo-secession (1890-1910) is a mistake. Histories of photography have tended to ignore the larger tradition of pictorial work which persisted and grew long after the demise of the Secession movements. The Photo-Secession did represent a reaction against sharply focused, technically perfect portrayals of picturesque or "beautiful" subjects (Aronson, 1984). The "New School" (initially associated with the soft-focus work of British photographers Davision and Hinton) clearly emphasized expressive suggestiveness over technical precision; in fact, technical "purism" was considered by many to be an obstacle to personal expression. Personal impressions, light, tone, atmosphere, mood, mystery and allusion were elements most prized by the New School photographers and aspiring artists who made up the circles around Davison, Stieglitz and Day.

But Pictorialism was not born with the New School Movement or the Photo-Secession and it did not die with their decline. The New School simply represented the most innovative and artistically self-conscious offshoot of a serious amateur tradition, a tradition aimed at the expression of artistic sentiment through the control of composition and tone. The "Old" or "Rational School" was

never opposed to the notion, embedded in the Philadelphia Salons, of exhibiting work in which there was "evidence of individual artistic feeling and execution." They did object to what they perceived to be the overly narrow definitions of art championed by the Stieglitz group.

Charles L. Mitchell, an "Old School" pictorialist and long time member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, spearheaded the attack against New School control of the Philadelphia Salon between 1898 and 1901. He even referred to the circles of photographers around Stieglitz and Holland Day as "ultra-salonists," the "mop and pail brigade," "the Oscar Wilde School of Photography," and "the high priests of Fakes, affectation, eccentricity and egotism" (Keiley, 1902). But he genuinely shared a keen interest in artistic photography. He simply objected to the narrow parameters for artistic legitimacy being imposed by Stieglitz's friends on the Philadelphia Salon committees.

By 1901 Mitchell had won the support of a majority of Philadelphia Photographic Society members and led a widespread backlash against the Stieglitz group which put control of the Philadelphia Salon back in the hands of the pictorial traditionalists. Yet, when the New School photographers withdrew in anger from the 1901 Salon, many Old School advocates and traditional journals expressed worry and regret (Aronson, 1984:25).

The turn-of-the-century "aesthetic movement" in photography is best noted for the emergence of those avant-garde circles who carried photography into the history of modern art. But the period was also marked by a less well documented and more general development of aesthetic concerns among the rank and file of amateur camera clubs and photographic societies. The desire to make "pictures" (whether by gum or bromoil, or by the more purist approach to composing beauty from nature untouched) became the central driving force in amateur activity. And talented photographers opposed to Secessionist control organized their own networks of salons in which photographs were hung that did not vary perceptibly in style from the work of Stieglitz, Steichen, Coburn, Kasebier or White.

The Salon Club of America was one such group. Initiated by Louis Fleckenstein, an amateur pictorialist from Faribault, Minnesota, and Carl Rau, an amateur from La Crosse, Wisconsin, the Salon Club was soon organized nationally by eleven Pictorialists who had recently distinguished themselves in juried salons at Philadelphia and Chicago. In addition to Fleckenstein and Rau, members included Curtis Bell and Zaida Ben-Yusuf of New York, Walter Zimmerman and Adolph Petzold of Philadelphia, Jeanne E. Bennet of Baltimore, C. H. Claudy and C. E. Fairman of

Washington, D.C., J. H. Field of Wisconsin and other accomplished Pictorialists from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Missouri.

Among this group, Ben-Yusuf was one of the best known artistic portraitists in New York. She had once revealed to Sadakichi Hartmann her ambition to become the "Mrs. Cameron of America" (Hartmann, 1899). Walter Zimmerman was a thoughtful and accomplished pictorial photographer whose work had been praised by Hartmann, and who persisted in his opposition to Photo-Secession monopoly right up to his stinging PHOTO-ERA criticism of selection procedures for the 1910 Buffalo Exhibit (see below). Curtis Bell, Adolph Petzold, J.H. Field and Louis Fleckenstein had all received critical acclaim as some of the best landscape and genre photographers on the American scene.

Under the leadership of Curtis Bell the Salon Club organized the first American Photographic Salon in New York in 1904. A series of subsequent salons, known as the American Salons were organized by Bell in Pittsburgh and other cities (Fraprie, 1943). Meant to be a very visible alternative to Photo-Secession salons, the Salon Club wrote in their prospectus,

...it is the First Photographic Salon to be given in the Metropolis and the first of national scope under the control of a committee from all sections of the United States, that consequently an exhibition of the highest order is expected. There will be no favors to any and no discrimination against any. All work, whether from the famous or the comparatively unknown artist, will be exhibited equally, and the jury will not know the names of contributors until after the selection has been made.

No one "school" or "fad" will command precedence. The standard of judging will be the artistic quality of each print submitted.

..."only those photographs which give distinct evidence of artistic feeling in subject and execution will be accepted"; "there will be no invited work, and all prints forwarded will be examined by the jury" (Hartmann, 1904).

Hartmann comments,

All this sounds like open revolt! ...And there may be an opposition! A duel between Messrs Alfred Stieglitz and Curtis Bell would prove indeed a great attraction. There are none upon whose swordsmanship I trust more surely than that of these two gentlemen. It will stir up the stagnant waters of pictorial photography--they surely need it--and make us all more happy at the end (Hartmann, 1904).

While the waters stirred for awhile, the Photo-Secession soon lost influence. Groups like the Salon Club of America, on the other hand, assumed increasing leadership among camera club amateurs nationwide. Members like Bell, Zimmerman and C. H. Clady continued to have influence over the evolution of Pictorialist ideals as Stieglitz's impact diminished. Clady became a long-time contributing editor to THE CAMERA: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL OF AMERICA. From the teens, into the forties, he articulated Pictorialist

ideas on the relationship between photography and art for THE CAMERA'S monthly readers (see Chap. 7). He became (like Frank R. Fraprie, Arthur Hammond, Paul L. Anderson, R. Child Bayley, John Wallace Gillies, George W. French, and William S. Davis) one of the institutionalized voices of Pictorialist philosophy in America. Steiglitz's influence shifted to the fine art world.

Noting the abundance of publications on Steiglitz, and the relative dearth of comparable material treating the amateur tradition, Finkel has remarked,

Alfred Steiglitz remains a cult figure for modernists in art and photography eighty years after the first issue of *CAMERA WORK* (1984:88).

Steiglitz can be credited with the founding of the Photo-Secession, though he did not create the conditions that made its founding possible. In the 1880s and 1890s, there was an amateur movement in Europe and America to raise the standards of photography. At first, exhibitions included any and all submissions--there could be thousands--and hardly a competent photographer left without a prize. This brand of exhibition gave way, in the late 1890s, to shows of fewer prints selected by a jury before hanging. Salons, as they were called after similar efforts in Europe, ...

When the dryplate negative was first marketed in the early 1880s, amateurism permeated American life. But from the beginnings of photography, and especially during its nascent period, scientists, artists, tradespeople, and dilettantes defined the contours of the medium's potential. European societies ... were models for American versions.

Amateurism persisted long before the Photo-Secession arrived on the scene. In fact, the organizational triangle of club, journal, and exhibition, which Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession so carefully abided by, was a form derived from traditions in amateurism. When Stieglitz is seen in this broader historical light, his heroic stature diminishes and his accomplishments seem more understandable. With such perspective, the turn-of-the-century photographic community can be seen independently of its own publicity hype (1984:89).

This perspective also helps us to see the continuity of the amateur photographic community beyond the era of Photo-Secession. Reminiscing in the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY in 1943, Frank R. Fraprie writes,

I came into intimate contact with Stieglitz and his Photo Secession and also with the opposite school, mainly championed by F. Dundas Todd of the PHOTO BEACON of Chicago. I came to the somewhat erratic conclusion that to be successful pictorially in the exhibitions of the day, that you had to depart from all canons of established art and make pictures which should be as queer as possible in subject and execution (1943:185).

Exhibitions in those days were few and far between. Stieglitz and his crew of Photo Secessionists tried to monopolize the judging of what few shows were held in the United States, and I didn't believe that Stieglitz' personal reaction to my work would be too friendly. So, the very first first print I ever sent to an open photographic exhibition was this 4 by 5 platinum print mounted merely on an 8 by 10 sheet of white drawing paper and addressed with the necessary fee to the exhibition of The Royal Photographic Society, to be held in September of that year (1943:186).

Fraprie's print impressed P. H. Emerson, who was then sitting on the Royal Society's selection committee, and was awarded the pictorial medal for 1903.

This man, who went out of his way to sidestep the secessionists altogether and tender his print to the grandad of traditional photographic societies, became one of the most influential leaders of amateur pictorialism in the twentieth century. He served as editor of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for almost fifty years, building it into the leading photographic journal in North America before retiring in 1950. He also consistently ranked as one of the leading salon exhibitors in the world between 1926 and 1943.

Pictorialists like Fraprie, and not Stieglitz, did the most to shape pictorial aesthetics after 1910. The diligent preservation of Pictorialism had little to do with movements in the art world. Rather it was championed by groups of serious avocational salonists dedicated to the competent mastery of conventional pictorial processes and techniques. Although it has surged and waned in popularity, and often been derided by modernists (and "post-modernists"), the amateur pictorial tradition remains the oldest, most continuous and most widely shared photographic code in the history of the medium.

Chapter Seven

PICTORIAL CODES BECOME INSTITUTIONALIZED

As discussed in Chapter Seven, if one views the period 1900 to World War I from the perspective of twentieth century amateur Pictorialism one sees, not just a secessionist avant-garde catapulting away to enter the twentieth century art world, but the roots of a stable network of industrious practitioners reproducing shared values through a shared aesthetic code. Secessionists wanted to separate their "artistic" work from the more diverse activities of the clubs and societies. They conducted "closed exhibitions" -- salons held by invitation, open only to members and special "advanced" pictorialists. They strove to have their work hung in galleries, legitimated by museums, and sold in the art markets. Their primary aim was to have photography treated once and for all as a fully accepted fine art. A principal strategy was to sever their association with conventional amateur organizations and with open salons, and to build connections instead with the elites of the institutionalized art world (Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1975; Becker, 1980). As Schwartz (1983) has written,

This schism propelled the development of art photography in the U.S., separate from camera club photography. Since the turn of the century the institutional structure of the art world of photography has been built and a communicational system established in contradistinction to all other forms of photographic activity and, particularly, to camera club photography. From the invention of a new technology and a new symbolic medium of communication an art form emerged (1983:50).

It was during the 1890's and early 1900's that photographers striving towards "art" began a conscious attempt to distinguish their activities and their photographs from other pictorial work. They employed soft-focus lenses, specially textured papers, gum printing, and the glycerine process, along with burning, dodging and handwork on negatives and prints in order to emulate the textures, the treatment of light and atmosphere, and the romantic settings typical of painting. Then, as these techniques were picked up by amateurs everywhere, Secessionists began to reject such painterly techniques, refraining from overt manipulation and promoting the exploitation of the natural photographic properties of the medium. As the first decade of the new century progressed, Secessionists increasingly favored "straight" or "pure" photography for the creation of aesthetic compositions of light and tone. In certain respects, this constituted an ironic return to Old School philosophies regarding the

appropriate exploitation of precise photographic tools; recombining positivist concerns of optical veracity with notions of artistic form.

Despite the resentment felt by rank and file club amateurs at what they perceived to be hyper-exclusive, dictatorial, and often inconsistent standards, and despite the sharp attacks made by secessionists on the "conventional concept" of Pictorial photography practiced by most amateurs and professionals, the idea that photographic art deserved a status equal to the traditional arts gradually gained widespread acceptance throughout the clubs and societies. By 1906, Joseph Keiley, reviewing the Photo-Secession exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, proclaims,

Today in America the real battle for the recognition of pictorial photography is over. The chief purpose for which the Photo-Secession was established has been accomplished--the serious recognition of photography as an additional medium of pictorial expression (CAMERA WORK, No. 16, Oct. 1906, p. 51).

Indeed, the photographic journals at this time seem to accept, as a given, photography's potential for artistic expression --although there is still much disagreement over the specific constitution of artistic work, and the relative value of artistic expression vs. technical skill. There are articles bemoaning the paucity of truly artistic pictures at

the same time that there are regular reminders of the need to achieve and display technical competence. A wide gulf remained between the many amateur pictorialists eager to display their competence and affirm photography's artistic potential, and the few Secessionists determined to enter the art world themselves. The latter group left pictorialist photography in the hands of the former.

Pictorial Photography Persists

Between 1908 and 1915 the Secessionist movements in Britain and the United States fragmented and dissolved while more traditional or mainstream amateur groups reasserted their influence on the course of pictorialist work. In Britain a split in the Linked Ring produced two rival factions, the "Perfectionists" and the "Latitudinarians" (Harker, 1979:121-24). The "Perfectionists," led by Davison, tried to carry on the tradition of elite standards and closed exhibitions by forming the London Secession, an organization which held an exhibition of "only the most original, interesting and progressive work available" in 1911 at London's Newman Art Gallery. They invited Steiglitz, Steichen, Brigman, Eugene, Kasebier, Kuehn and Clarence White from America to exhibit

(Harker, 1979:123). The "Latitudinarians," led by F. J. Mortimer, then editor of AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER and PHOTOGRAPHIC NEWS and from 1912 to 1944 the editor of PHOTOGRAMS OF THE YEAR, represented the return to large open exhibitions and less discriminatory selection procedures. It was the Latitudinarians who, in 1908, had organized a "Photographic Salon des Refuses" for the dozens of regular pictorial salon contributors who had been excluded from the Ring's 1908 Photographic Salon.

Resentment caused by the total dominance of the 1908 Salon by an elite inner circle allowed the more traditional Latitudinarians to gain the upper hand in arrangements for the Salon of 1909. They succeeded in reopening the exhibit that year to a broader range of British pictorialists. But the "inner circle" saw this as a lowering of standards. Disgruntled, American Photo-Secessionists began to sever their links with the Ring and soon thereafter the London Secessionists won a vote for dissolution. The Latitudinarians then formed the London Salon Club and established the annual London Salon.

While members of the London Secession went their separate ways, the London Salon Club continued as a kind of successor to the Linked Ring. Like modern amateur clubs the

London Salon Club held regular exhibitions as well as "Salon Evenings" with lantern slide lectures in the Pall Mall Galleries. Unlike the London Secession they supported greater accessibility. The London Salon was established as "an open exhibition of pictorial photography, 'with a more sympathetic hearing for new men and original work than the RPS offered'" (Harker, 1979:123-4). It was this Salon which survived and continued , remaining in existence to the present day.

In the U. S., Stieglitz increasingly withdrew from the world of amateur photography and became preoccupied with making Gallery 291 the center of an avant-garde art world and Steichen and de Meyer moved into fashion and commercial photography. Clarence White, Gertrude Kasebier, and Alfred Langdon Coburn tried to maintain their connections with amateur Pictorialism. In 1916, White, Kasebier, and Coburn joined with other disaffected members of the Photo-Secession and founded the Pictorial Photographers of America in New York. Like the London Salon Club they held regular meetings and exhibitions, and by 1921 were conducting a monthly print competition. Their activities were reported alongside those of other camera clubs and pictorialist societies in the club news sections of the amateur journals.

White, through his leadership in the PPA and because of the establishment of his photographic school in New York, became a leading figure in the world of amateur Pictorialism. An accountant who took up amateur photography as a member of the Newark (Ohio) Camera Club, White has been referred to as "the archetypal Pictorialist photographer of the United States" (Rosenblum, 1984:337). His relationship with Stieglitz was probably as close as anyone's during the early years of the Photo-Secession, but it steadily deteriorated as White continued to produce straightforward pictorialist work which Stieglitz considered conventional and repetitive (Homer, 1977). From 1914, when he founded the Clarence White School of Photography, until his death while accompanying a student expedition to Mexico in 1925, White exerted a leading influence on pictorial art photography in America. His many students included Margaret Bourke-White, Anton Bruehl, Edward Dickson, Laura Gilpin, Dorothea Lange, Paul Outerbridge, Ralph Steiner, and Doris Ulmann.

In the exhibitions and catalogs of the Pictorial Photographers of America the work of White and his students appeared regularly alongside that of members like Alfred Langdon Coburn, Arnold Genthe, Gertrude Kasebier, and Edward Weston. White's concern with light, atmosphere, and tone --

with "beauty, design or tonal scheme deliberately set forth, with the subject as motive or material merely" (Tennant, 1921) -- represents the essence of the "high" Pictorialist style. It was this style which was most praised and promoted in the amateur journals. Clarence White's version of New School Pictorialism, more than any other, was imitated, transformed, vulgarized, and held up as a model for serious salon Pictorialists in the twenties and thirties. Close associates of White, like Paul L. Anderson, continued for several decades to write commentaries in the amateur journals espousing the ideal of this "high" Pictorialism (THE CAMERA regular installments 1933-35, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Jan. 1933, April 1935, May 1938, Dec. 1942; CAMERA CRAFT June 1938, THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY 1939, 1941, 1943).

In 1937, in an address "On Photography as a Fine Art," given before the Newark Camera Club of Newark, New Jersey, Anderson said,

We who are, or claim to be, or want to be, pictorialists, must concern ourselves first of all with beauty. ...The only excuse for our artistic being, for our photographic existence, is that we express to a greater or less extent the beauty of life. Not necessarily -- indeed, preferably not -- the mere outward beauty of the world, but if we can, the deeper mystery and beauty of spiritual things (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, May 1938, p. 308).

Yet, he concedes that most pictorialist work falls short of the thoughtful, suggestive or ennobling expression which is

the ideal, and is instead characterized by pictures which simply exhibit an "inherent loveliness," a more superficial focus on beauty which he contends is still deserving of merit. In a 1941 article for THE AMERICAN ANNUAL he admits,

If one examines the work of the Photo-Secessionists, it will be seen that one of the tacit fundamental tenets of that guild was that a photograph should express an idea. ...It is true that this purpose was not always adhered to with strict fidelity, and that many photographs produced by this group were motivated simply by the beauty of the subject; but in the main this was the ideal. But ideas are comparatively rare among human beings, and there were not enough to supply all the new accretions of photographers, so there came into being the conviction that any natural object, beautifully photographed, constituted a picture. This development, I think, was largely due to the influence of the late Clarence White. Not that he ever intentionally taught this doctrine, or even consciously formulated it in his own mind; but his pupils, although able to see and appreciate, and to some extent imitate the beauty of his composition and his exquisite sense of tonal relationships, nevertheless lacked a sufficiency of ideas to motivate the large number of photographs which they produced. So they concentrated on seeing and recording abstract beauty (THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1941, pp. 27-28).

The Pictorial Photographers of America took their place alongside other prominent clubs of the twenties (The Camera Club of New York, The Photographic Society of Philadelphia, The Philadelphia Photographic Guild, The Boston Camera Club, The Boston Y.M.C. Union Camera Club, The Newark Camera Club, The Photographic Section of the Pittsburgh Academy of Science and Art, The Buffalo Camera Club, The Cleveland Photographic Society, The Portland (Maine) Camera Club, The

Camera Pictorialists of Los Angeles, and the growing Kodak Park Camera Club) in maintaining a prestigious network of salons, exchanges, judges and lecturers. Like some of the other more elite clubs, they also nurtured connections with the European societies, keeping abreast of European, and especially British developments.

There was an implicit assumption in much of the American camera club world that Pictorialist work in Britain was more aesthetically oriented, and that Americans needed to look to the British for examples of photography's true potential as art. It was common for those urging higher standards of "art" in photography to point to the British as an example. This attitude seems to have been at least partly justified, due to the large number of experienced, and highly skilled amateur Pictorialists working in Britain, and their somewhat more frequent penchant for traditional painterly subjects rendered through gum, oil or bromoil processes. The attitude seems to gain additional strength, however, from a long-held cultural inferiority complex.

The Pictorial Photographers of America often exhibited works on loan from European clubs, and became affiliated with THE CLUB PHOTOGRAPHER magazine of Great Britain, contributing articles and illustrations for one issue each year.

When historians associate the death of Pictorialism with the waning influence of the Photo-Secession they are not considering the persistence of amateur Pictorialist activity or the persistence of mainstream Pictorialist codes. Rosenblum's statement that "as style Pictorialism became outmoded around 1912" (1984:297) mistakes a lack of Secessionist verve for a lack of Pictorialist style. It reveals the stock assumption that "real" Pictorialist art was only a product of the Secession movement.

The truth is pictorial photography was practiced more widely than ever after World War I. The difference was that instead of it being a new movement, associated with pioneering ideas about photographic art, it was an established tradition, marked by convention and imitation. In reference to the long term influence of the Photo-Secession on pictorial photography, former Linked Ring member J. Dudley Johnston wrote,

The adherents to tradition, who include the vast majority of practising photographers, continued on their way, undisturbed by all the commotion...As no other voice has been raised recently to point the way to the future of our art, we must presumably go on accepting the pictures of the established exhibition workers (*AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER*, May 8, 1946, P. 311).

Harker, in her book on THE LINKED RING (1979), is one of the only historians of the secessionist movement to

recognize the significant influence of Pictorialism (albeit in her eyes a disappointing influence) beyond the Secession's demise.

The majority of amateurs still worked within the framework of the old pictorialism, especially where the cult of the amateur was esteemed. ...The blame for the perpetuation of out-moded and derivative ideas in amateur photography must be attributed to the societies and clubs whose advanced workers passed on to beginners the formulae for success which had become cliches, in particular the judges who went the rounds accepting the old and rejecting new forms of photographic imagery. The influence they exerted was far too great (1979:135).

Although colored by her presupposition of the superiority of new forms, this paragraph correctly observes the powerful impact of amateur organizations in the twentieth century: the perpetuation of traditional pictorial aesthetics, the entrenchment of the pictorialist code.

The bulk of pictorial exhibitors in the century's first two decades continued to practice a style of photography solely concerned with the beauty of romantic settings and the elegance of compositional form. "My natural inclination," Frank Fraprie wrote, "was to look for beautiful landscapes and render them beautifully" (1943:186). This is the pictorial strain which became the ideal of salons in the twenties and thirties, and the strain which, sometimes rigidly oversimplified in its populist forms, came to characterize most amateur and professional activity.

Art and Craft

The Pictorialist philosophy which survived the Photo-Secession was fraught with divergent concepts of art and skill. Roy Griffith's "All is Not Art That's Light Struck," in the June 1908 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, reflects this tension by fabricating a long conversation between a young "enthusiastic photographer" and his father about the nature of pictorial photography and art. In the course of their discussion they touch on many of the issues rehashed time and again in the journals: the status of photography as an art medium, distinctions between technical skill and art, art's relationship to pictorial conventions, salon motifs and salon judging. The author criticizes formulaic, ribbon-chasing, camera club photography and New School impressionism alike. He promotes an approach to pictorial photography that has much in common with both the tenets of straight photography and amateur standards today: plates shouldn't be fogged, lenses shouldn't be thrown out of focus, pictures should display technical competence.

Art is the employment of true means, in their true scope of service, to a result known beforehand.
(Griffith, 1908:314).

The relationship of "art" to "technique" continued to be a major issue underlying the discourse of amateur photography. For more than ninety years amateur journals

have continuously debated the status and parameters of photographic art, and especially the relationship of art to technical knowledge and proficiency. Throughout this time photography's artistic status has remained a potent issue -- and an unresolved one. The terms of the debate were first established during the late nineteenth century and, as represented in the amateur journals and photo magazines today, have changed little over time. There is a constant tension between the promotion of a "higher" photographic art, and the attraction of precision mechanics, optics, and chemistry for sure-fire reproductive techniques. It is a battle fought over and over again in each generation, with each new photographic journal editor, in each new column or guest essay. By the twenties it is a conventionalized form for journal essays. Some examples from THE CAMERA: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL OF AMERICA:

- "Good Photography and Artistic Photography," THE CAMERA, April, 1924
- "The Personal Element," THE CAMERA, June, 1925
- "What Percentage Artist Are You?" THE CAMERA, July, 1925
- "Quo Vadis Photographically?" THE CAMERA, February, 1928
- "Standards," THE CAMERA, February, 1929
- "Where Do You Get Your Standards?" THE CAMERA, May, 1929
- "Art...," THE CAMERA, October, 1930
- "By What Standards?" THE CAMERA, July, 1936
- "An Artist Speaks His Mind," THE CAMERA, October, 1936

In an almost identical vein articles like "Art in Photography," (PHOTO-ERA, June, 1930), "Pictorialism and the Camera," (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, May, 1934) or

"On Creativeness in Art," (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Dec., 1935), were commonplace in all of the serious photo journals and magazines. In the series of essays "Why I Am a Pictorial Photographer" carried in PHOTO-ERA from 1927 until its merger with AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in 1932, well known salon exhibitors routinely drew on the art/technique dichotomy to explain their work. The rivalry between those who considered impressionistic and painterly renditions superior, and those intent on exploiting the photographic qualities of precise, sharply defined form and detail, became an institutionalized part of amateur rhetoric.

Max Thorek, the leading salon exhibitor of his day and noted for his work with the soft-toned paper negative process, wrote,

Pictorial photography calls for such a number of subtle adjustments in light and shade and technicalities in order to produce a really artistic rendition that it can never be reduced to a stereotyped process; but as one becomes more critical, each new subject suggests differences in treatment and technique ("Why I Am a Pictorial Photographer, No. 4," PHOTO-ERA, Vol. LXI, No. 2, August, 1928, p. 64).

But by the next month's "Why I Am a Pictorial Photographer" another well known salonist, Dr. K. Koike, contradicts Thorek,

About technique, I still cling to the straight prints; but I have no intention of trying any particular process until I find it absolutely necessary. I know some special process is helpful to express atmosphere; but the composition is the first thing in pictorial

photography. No borrowed fur can change a brutal wolf into a gentle sheep ("Why I Am a Pictorial Photographer, No. 5," PHOTO-ERA, Vol. LXI, No. 3, September, 1928, p. 123).

All of the essays in this series allude in one way or another to the unsettled relationship between technical concerns and art. William L. Woodburn ("Why I Am a Pictorial Photographer," No. 3) writes,

It has been aptly said that "the salon has lifted photography from the realm of chemical curiosity and placed it among the graphic arts".

A knowledge of chemistry is, of course, essential to good work in photography; but I have found it unwise and unnecessary to lose myself in a maze of formulae and figures to obtain satisfactory results. It is essential, of course, that every pictorial worker should build up his technique through familiarity with the chemical which he uses, but only as means to improvement of his work technically as well as pictorially ("Why I Am a Pictorial Photographer," No. 3, PHOTO-ERA, Vol. LXI, No. 1, July, 1928, p. 3).

Throughout the forties and fifties the theme continually appears and reappears in photographic books, journals, and annuals. From "Art and Photography," in the Sept. 1940 AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, to "Esthetics in Photography," in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY for 1946, to "Art and the Camera," in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL for 1950, one quickly gets the impression that a journal without at least one piece on the relationship of art to photographic processes (if not with the word "art" in the title then at least under the guise of some euphemism like "Pictorial Appeal") is a genuine oddity.

John Erith, famous British portraitist and Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, begins his 1951 book ERITH ON PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY with what was, by then, a cliche.

The pictorial family has for long been divided into two main factions. On the one side are gathered the 'artist-photographers' who advocate semi - photographic methods and pseudo - photographic processes; on the other, 'craftsmen-photographers', who believe that pictorialists, like workers in other fields, should keep within the range of their medium.

The safest course open to a writer on pictorialism is to address one side or the other, according to his sympathies, and to ignore the opposition altogether; in which case, the rival group is less likely to be goaded into counter-attack, and will probably prefer to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. This approach has been adopted by the majority of writers in recent years, but seems to me to be shirking the issue (1951:11).

Predictably, Erith goes on to contend that true pictorialists are "expert craftsmen-technicians" who have also cultivated their artistic sensibilities.

Amateur Pictorial Philosophy

The logic of pictorial photography -- what world famous salonist Adolph Fassbender called "nothing more or less than the making of beautiful pictures" (1952) -- has dominated amateur practice throughout the century. The logic encompasses the supporting notion that pictorialist work demands "artistic expression" made evident through precise technical execution. Such competence is demonstrated within a system of shared understandings. Appropriate conventions

and standards are not individually defined but are instituted by the amateur network through a constant process of club competitions and juried salons. Thus while differences of opinion about emphasis, especially the primacy of "expression" or "technique", fill the pages of photographic literature, the basic assumptions and terms of the discussion remain unaltered. The philosophy is reaffirmed, in only slightly differing forms, year after year in the amateur journals. Its various characteristics include:

- 1) repetitive pleas for a "higher" photographic art, based on "expressiveness," "suggestiveness," a sensitivity to classic, universal themes,
- 2) a continuing call for an aesthetics tied to thorough technical knowledge and the technically skillful representation of beauty in nature,
- 3) clearly understood forms and rules for accomplishing such pictorial art, demystification of the process and demystification of evaluative standards,

The role of the salon system in establishing predictable forms and rules cannot be underestimated. As camera club members became more and more preoccupied with placing their pictures in club competitions and salons they attended more and more strictly to learning the forms which would bring success. Winning prints were imitated in terms of subject and style. Certain motifs, and compositional

forms gained favor because of their preponderance in the journals and exhibitions. Whatever seemed to increase the chances of making a print attractive to juries was adopted by camera club pictorialists. Usually this was done under the premise that particular features were "naturally" superior.

It seems sufficiently evident that we all compare what we call beauty, in whatever form we find it, with something else of the same class, which does not reach the standard in our mind by which we judge. From whence comes that standard?

It comes from something inside, not outside. It is true that a sense of proportion, balance, symmetry, can be cultivated, but originally it had to exist without cultivation. It must, then, have come into existence from the observation of nature, the surroundings with which human beings were provided.

...Beauty, then, is a combination of racial thought, education to believe that what is difficult to obtain or secure or be is beautiful and that innate tendency of the human mind to prefer the curve to the angle, which undoubtedly comes because nature is all for curves and seldom for angles (Claudy, THE CAMERA, May, 1929, p. 271-72).

Famous West Coast Pictorialist and teacher William Mortenson succinctly describes a similar philosophy. Referring to "a more systematic and universally accepted standard" for the judging of photographs, he writes,

It must be postulated on universal pictorial values. It must, on the other hand, recognize and understand the qualities and limitations of the medium. It must, finally, be expressed in a small number of easily applied criteria (CAMERA CRAFT, December, 1936, p. 570).

And Haden Hankins, writing on "Pictorial Appeal," says,

The fact that we will receive certain pictures as things of beauty, and reject others of equal technical competency as abominations shows that the capacity to appreciate pictures is something fundamental in our natures, and the best term we can give to that something is esthetic emotion (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1940, p. 418).

The concern for "time-honored principles of pictorial form" were expressed in exhortations to "copy the masters," and advice on learning "to see pictorially", learning to recognize the universal forms in nature.

The man of true artistic temperament always does go straight to nature, holds up the mirror to reflect her image in it, and does not hinder the mirror from performing the function as a mirror. He appreciates that these said canons of art are simply the general principles deduced by the close and analytical examination of the great minds who have built up art.

Of course, we do not mean to say that the mere observance of the rules and principles of art will make anyone an artist. Indeed it would have a contrary tendency, and a picture in which this show of absolute conformity is palpably manifest is most unpleasant. But by study of what genius has done, the man of perception will learn the broad principles of art, and get acquainted with the means by which great minds communicate their ideas and be enabled to select in nature what is in conformity with these principles, for, after all, they are the principles upon which nature works which give us delight in her manifestation of the beautiful (THE CAMERA, April, 1924, p. 228).

Still and all, pictorial art is yet to me the interpretation of nature, a mood seen through a temperament, a means of arousing feeling and emotion (C. H. Claudy, THE CAMERA, July, 1936, p. 1).

...look for beautiful landscapes and render them beautifully (F. Fraprie, AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943, p. 186).

The sheer repetition of lectures on artistic photography and instructions on how to go about becoming a pictorial artist is astounding. Articles like "The Essence of Pictorialism," or "What Makes a Picture," or "Pictorial Appeal" or "Whither Goes Art?" can be accumulated by the dozens. They are accompanied by hundreds of instructional articles like "Pictures Are Made, Not Taken," "Principles of Composition," "Composition in a Nutshell," "Lightng for Pictorial Effect," "Seeing Pictorially," or "Technical Hints for the Beginning Pictorialist." The general thrust of these journal articles, and of the passages I have quoted, is summarized nicely in a popular photographic book published in several editions between 1920 and 1950, Arthur Hammond's **PICTORIAL COMPOSITION IN PHOTOGRAPHY**. The long time Associate Editor of **AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY**, writes,

The would-be pictorialist must try to cultivate the ability to see pictorially. He must learn to see objects in nature, such as trees, roads, mountains, and so on, not as definite objects, but as shapes, lines and masses that have balance and rhythm and that fill the picture space in a satisfying and agreeable manner, for the object of the picture maker is to express--not actual facts--but the emotions which these facts may arouse in him. In order to be able to do this, he must understand the laws of composition and also those that affect the distribution of light and shade. His eye must be trained to detect textures and values, that is, the varying effect of light on objects of different material and the gradual change in color or tone of an object, according as it is nearer to or farther away from the eye. All this is a matter of study and experience, and is but the natural development of an instinctive sense of what is beautiful in line, form and tone (Hammond, 1946:5-6).

Group Membership and Shared Conventions

Other salient aspects of amateur pictorial philosophy include:

- 1) the social and communal nature of exhibition, judging, and critique -- the notion that standards cannot be idiosyncratic, but arise from the cooperative efforts and critique of the Pictorialist community,
- 2) the optimistic worldview (and the lack of social or political consciousness) inherent in the pictorialist approach -- a predisposition towards lighthearted, even trivial pictures and an almost complete rejection of somber, shocking, or depressing imagery, and
- 3) the compatibility of amateur standards and norms with industrial prescriptions and professional practice.

As outlined in earlier chapters, the social organization of amateur photography enjoyed a long tradition. By the 1920's the group structure was firmly institutionalized and those attempting to blaze an individual path by ignoring the customs, conventions, or fashion of the camera club world were not accorded great respect, if they were taken seriously at all. This "social" approach to evaluation, to the setting of standards, and to the conferring of merit, is apparent in all of the articles on club activities, salon organization and salon judging.

Successful salon prints were chosen by committees of judges rather than a single judge. Intraclub print

competitions were often determined by a vote of the attending members. Print critique sessions involved everyone in the club and technical demonstrations were designed to share knowledge and expertise. Standards for salon display were established and agreements were made to limit the number of entries any one individual could make to an "approved" salon. The journals played a vital role in diffusing and policing amateur standards. The relationship between amateur organizations and the journals became a symbiotic one (see Chap. 8).

There was a tendency in the journals from the start of the century to begin recounting the history of the earliest clubs (e.g. a history of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia appears in the 1908 AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY). This tendency becomes, by the twenties, a regular stream of camera club profiles and club "news and notes". These profiles and announcements make the cooperative nature of the amateur societies apparent. In one such article, "Democracy in Art," in the April, 1921 issue of PHOTO-ERA, Henry Saunderson describes the activities of the Camera Club of the Boston Y. M. C. Union.

Many people think of the artist as a man detached from his fellow-men --for, being a genius, he is not quite normal.

...There is an organisation in Boston which disproves this idea at every point. Its ideals are highly artistic; its production is exceptional; and yet its whole method and spirit are democratic. This is the Camera Club of the Boston Y. M. C. Union which was organised in 1907. Look in at a meeting and you will see a crowd of men which fills the assembly-room to overflowing--men, eager and alert, who are doing notable work along artistic lines.

THE MEN

The membership is made up exclusively of men who have an active interest in the highest form of photographic art. But here are laboring men and scientific men; men who are poor and those who are rich; men in the professions, such as medicine and University teaching, with men also who earn their bread by their trades. These differences of occupation do not divide the sympathies of the membership, but tend rather toward broader sympathy and understanding. ...Across all the varieties of interest and experience, there is the strong bond of an ideal which they hold in common--the ideal of artistic production.

Through its whole history, there has been a unity of spirit which is notable. Consequently, the new members are assimilated by that spirit. Every man who comes into membership feels that he has been caught as by a contagion. He is in a congenial crowd. He is a good fellow among good fellows. Real devotion to the ideal of the club and a serious interest in the work done are the essentials in this assimilation.

THE SPIRIT

The ideal of art thus brings together exceptional groups of men. Their methods are not less interesting. The first principle is that knowledge is cooperative, not individual. ... This camera-club is an admirable illustration of the conscious cooperation of men for artistic ends (PHOTO-ERA, April, 1921, pp. 167-68).

Members of the club described by Saunderson included long-time exhibitor and author Herbert B. Turner; AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY editor and world-class exhibitor Frank Fraprie; author, award winning salonist, and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S associate editor Arthur Hammond; several successful businessmen, an MIT chemist, a professional portraitist, a violinist with the Boston Symphony, a professional singer, a professional ice skater, as well as members of the legal, medical, and other professions.

The social underpinning of camera clubs was never entirely invisible. When creative amateurs were nominated for membership in a local organization, their compatibility with the group was frequently discussed after their prints were reviewed. The quality of the work, however, had invariably initiated the proposal, and new comrades were always welcome additions to a club. "Once the first, faint spark of interest in photography as a hobby has been struck, one will find that it may best be fanned by the stimulation of contact with other kindred spirits. For this reason, membership in a camera club is essential." The speaker, Dr. Max Thorek, a world-renowned salon exhibitor from Chicago, also felt that camera clubs were the single most significant factor in raising the standards of photography, because of the friendly rivalry they stimulated. The pictorial movement in the 1930's was fully promulgated only through the explosive rise of camera club activities (Peterson, 1983:12).

The pursuit of "beauty" in these photographic clubs reproduced a picturesque style of imagery dominated by landscape, nature, genre, portrait, still-life and studio work. (Genre scenes increasingly came to be dominated by travel shots from foreign lands.) A natural optimism about

the beauty of life and the world adhered in this work.

Pictures of the seamier side of life, of social or environmental problems, or of a documentary or political nature, never appear in the books, journals, or annuals.

Creative amateur work throughout the country was almost without exception apolitical and asocial. World War II was visually and emotionally ill-suited to pictorialism, and it never became subject matter for those photographers who molded artistic pictures with the camera. Pictorial photography offered an escape from everyday affairs into a celebratory and well-defined world of pleasant images (Peterson, 1983:38).

It was the craft that was most important, the ability to craft aesthetically pleasing images in a manner consistent with Pictorialist tenets. This striving for art through the mastering of technical skills and the reproduction of a well defined set of technical forms united amateurs with professional portraitists, commercial landscape photographers, and many types of commercial and corporate photographers. The amateur clubs combined a traditional concern for pictorial art with a professional stance towards mastering the latest equipment, processes and techniques. Thus, the amateur journals are filled with a combination of essays on art and reports on hypos, exposure latitude, or the latest enlargers. And the attitude is apparent throughout the amateur literature that attaining technical proficiency through practice will result in a high level of pictorial achievement as well.

Amateurs were given every encouragement in their pursuit of creative imagery. Pictorialism in the 1930's and 1940's was a populist movement, with an abiding optimism. Magazine articles in the photographic press frequently concluded on a positive note: "With perseverance you have every chance of success." While it was understood that most serious camera enthusiasts --those who processed their own negatives and enlarged their own prints--could not match the consistent style of a nationally prominent pictorialist like Dr. Max Thorek, creative amateurs were nonetheless assured that patient and diligent study and work would guarantee the acceptance of some of their prints into pictorial exhibitions (Peterson, 1983:10).

Amateurs were given clear and understandable codes for developing successful pictorial photographs. The goals they were presented seemed reasonable and attainable, despite the constant pleas for more "artistic" pictures.

Pictorialism was to make things comprehensible to the average mind. Only the truly great artists, thought Paul L. Anderson, should deal with the more somber emotions. Photographers were to realize their purposes only through positive thinking and a mood of exhilaration (Peterson, 1983:10).

As Fraprie, perhaps the leading exponent of this popular approach, wrote,

...success in art is ...the seizure of those things which are within the experience of all men, the humblest as well as the greatest, and portraying them so as to carry a message of pleasure, of joy, of helpfulness, perhaps of admonition or discipline, to every human heart ("The Editor's Point of View," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August 1944, P. 7).

Fraprie thought the Belgian, Leonard Misonne, to be one of the greatest Pictorialists of all time because,

Misonne pictured nature in a way which rendered it acceptable and loved by every beholder. His fields were homes of joyous life and labor. His trees were trees of imagination and fairly tales. His country homes were the abode of happiness. There was never an unpleasant or a sordid detail or an unhappy note in any of his pictures. They were uplifting. They were noble. They were beautiful. They were imaginative. Whether they were photographs or paintings or something between, they were works of artistic merit (quoted in PSA JOURNAL, January 1982, p. 32).

The Pictorialist code represented an approach to photographic art and craft eminently amenable to the bourgeoisie. It was a popular code, providing conventions of picture making which could easily be assimilated and shared across America's distended middle class. Unlike the fine art world, where innovation is most prized, where conventions are purposefully vague or mysterious, and where understanding and appreciation require membership in a specialized elite (Schwartz, 1983), the technical models of amateur Pictorialism provide a clear path of assimilation for any enthusiastic hobbyist. And since the amateur aesthetic is not confined to the camera club world but readily overlaps with commercial and popular pictorial tastes and practices, the organized social world of amateur photography has exerted a great stabilizing influence on conventions of pictorial communication generally.

Part IV

TWENTIETH CENTURY CAMERA CLUB PHOTOGRAPHY

Chapter Eight

INDUSTRY CONCENTRATION AND AMATEUR ORGANIZATION: SOCIETIES, JOURNALS AND INSTITUTIONAL INTERCONNECTION

In addition to information on photographic aesthetics the numerous photographic journals and annuals published between the 1880's and the 1950's provide a tremendous body of data concerning amateur organizations. The journals followed the network of amateur societies and clubs closely, knowing that this network constituted a core audience of photographic practitioners (both amateur and professional) -- the primary consumers of photographic literature.

The four most important journals published between the early 1900's and 1950 (in terms of circulation, longevity, stature, and influence) were:

THE CAMERA (1897-1953),
PHOTO-ERA (1898-1932, merged with AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY),
CAMERA CRAFT (1900-1942, merged with AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY)
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (1907-1953),

1) THE CAMERA was the descendant of the original PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER (est. 1864)¹. It was a prominent journal throughout the first half of the twentieth century, providing a forum for the exhibition of pictorial photographs and the writings of noted pictorialist critics and photographers including Sidney Allan/Sadakichi Hartmann, C. H. Claudy, William S. Davis, Nicholas Haz, Paul L. Anderson, and even Edward Steichen. Each issue tended to

have articles on pictorialist aesthetics as well as technical articles. Regular departments included: a "print criticism" department, "current events" with news and notes from clubs and organizations throughout the amateur world, a "salon calendar", a department on "diminutive" or "miniature" camera technique and practice, and a "questions and answers" section. Published and edited by Frank V. Chambers, THE CAMERA was published in Philadelphia and reflected the influence of the long established photographic clubs and societies there.

2) PHOTO-ERA was established in 1898 and combined with THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY [est. 1879] in 1900; It was very similar in style and format to THE CAMERA but somewhat less aesthetic and more practical in orientation. William S. Davis and technical specialists C. B. Neblette and Herbert C. McKay wrote for PHOTO-ERA before moving on to THE CAMERA and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY. First published in Boston and edited by Wilfred French, then published in New Hampshire and edited by A. H. Beardsley, it was absorbed by AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in 1932.

3) CAMERA CRAFT [est. 1900] was the West Coast counterpart to the journals published in Philadelphia and Boston. It contained a similar mix of aesthetic and technical articles with regular sections for "club notes", questions and

answers, and a salon calendar. Published in San Francisco, CAMERA CRAFT often featured pictures and articles from famous West Coast pictorialists William Mortensen, Edward Weston, and Ansel Adams. CAMERA CRAFT merged with AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in April of 1942.

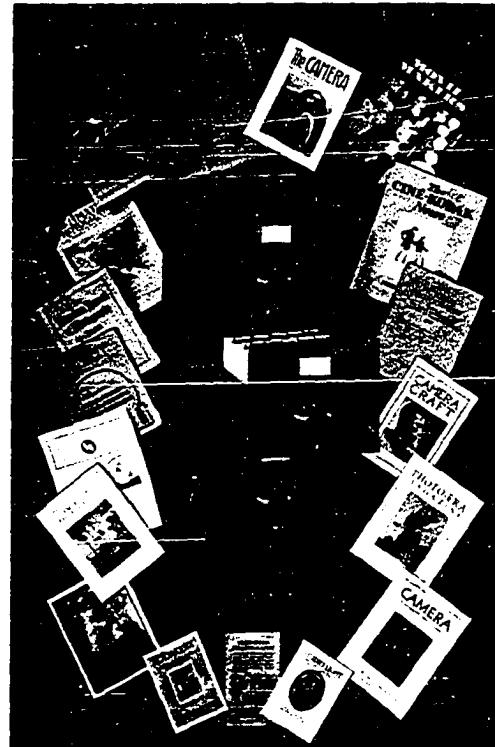
4) AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, which successively incorporated sixteen other photographic journals during its establishment and tenure,² was arguably the most influential journal of all. Edited by Frank R. Fraprie for nearly fifty years, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY absorbed or outlasted every other journal except for THE CAMERA. Again, the journal was a mix of aesthetic and technical articles and similar departments to THE CAMERA or CAMERA CRAFT ("Club Notes and News," "Forthcoming Exhibitions," "Practical Hints," "Print Criticism," "The Miniature Camera," etc.) but Fraprie played a more prominent role than most other editors, frequently writing editorial essays and in the later years of the journal beginning each issue with "The Editor's Point of View." Many prominent figures in amateur pictorialism, like John W. Gillies, wrote for AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY early in the century, but the editors, Fraprie, Arthur Hammond, and Franklin I. Jordan dominated the journal after 1930. The journal was based in Boston with all the editors belonging to the Boston Camera Club.

These journals contain hundreds of articles detailing the most commonly used processes and equipment, articulating amateur pictorial standards, and providing regular news of clubs and societies, the results of salons and photographic competitions, trends and attitudes concerning photographic science and art, and debates about photography's future. Considering the glut of available publications it is not surprising to also find articles suggesting various systems for filing your photographic literature. The reading and collecting of journals was often recommended, and the idea of creating photographic "libraries" promoted (Fig. 10).

In "Hints for Amateurs" (1894) Manley Miles writes,

Camera clubs and photographic periodicals must be looked upon as indispensable agencies for the increase and diffusion of knowledge relating to the principles and practice of photography, and amateurs who wish to keep abreast of the progress of the times should not fail to avail themselves of these incentives and guides to improvement in the practical details of the art (Miles, THE INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL OF ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN 1894, p. 60).

Such advice appeared regularly in essays offering hints for the amateur or the beginner. Pieces like A. H. Beardsley's "Why the Amateur Should Read Photographic Publications," in the July 1916 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, were numerous. A photograph by Illinois farmer Frank Sadorus, (circa 1910), suggests that THE CAMERA, PHOTO-ERA, CAMERA CRAFT, and THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES--along



AN EFFECTIVE STORAGE OUTFIT

HARRY C. SLEMIN, A.R.P.S.

FIGURE 10. An Example for Amateurs, from "Systematising a Hobby," Harry C. Slemin, PHOTO-ERA, May 1930, pp. 252-3.

with numerous industry books and pamphlets had widespread circulation even in the rural Midwest.

Traditionally, the journals had been aimed at an amateur-professional mix. Reading through their technical information and pictorial prescriptions makes it difficult to believe that anyone less than a seriously committed hobbyist would find them interesting or enjoyable. But as the industry became increasingly involved in general marketing and the production of "educational" literature after 1900, many photographic journals oriented themselves to a broader audience. Ads for darkroom safelights or high grade papers appear next to ads for Kodak "push button" Brownies. Ads for new high performance lenses and autochrome plates appear alongside ads for rolls of flexible film and manuals for beginners.

Large scale manufacturers needed large scale markets. Examining journals from the 1890's to the 1920's one sees the focus shift from journals intended solely for knowledgeable, serious amateurs and professionals to magazines aimed at a broad range of practitioners stretching from the professional to the beginning snapshot photographer. Still, the bulk of the material appearing in the journals continued to be directed at experienced amateurs, and particularly at members of the camera club world.

Increasing Scale and Concentration in Industry

Between 1880 and 1925 the photography industry became,

...a vast and complex business in which vertically integrated corporations played the commanding role in a mass consumer market and the supply merchants and professional photographers retired to a secondary position (Jenkins, 1975b: 2-3).

Initially, individual proprietors employed handicraft techniques to produce photographs and photographic supplies for a small domestic market, but by 1925 a few large-scale, integrated corporations were employing mass production techniques to dominate the supply of apparatus and materials for an international, predominantly mass-amateur market (Jenkins, 1975b: 340).

In this new corporate environment camera clubs remained centers of technical and aesthetic discussion and growth. But the context around them steadily changed. A mass market for snapshot photography was being created.⁴ Greater attention was being given to advertising. Mass media advertising became the primary vehicle through which the industry attempted to make contact with and influence the new burgeoning mass market, and not surprisingly, photo companies were pioneering the use of photographic reproductions in advertising layouts. While marketing techniques from the late nineteenth century continued to be employed -- with legions of sales representatives making regular visits to dealers, drug stores and department stores, to give demonstrations and provide on-site advertising materials (Jenkins, 1975b:238) -- companies like

Eastman Kodak increasingly bought space in popular national circulation magazines (Jenkins, 1975b:116), and photo firms of various kinds secured greater numbers of ads in the amateur journals.

As the largest of the photographic firms, Eastman Kodak Company provides the most salient example of industry attempts to secure a monopoly on new technical developments, combine traditional market segments, and overlap advertising. Regularly buying ten or more pages of journal advertising in sequence, Eastman would advertise everything from film tanks, chemicals, dry-mounting paper and graduated beakers to mass market Brownies and vest-pocket cameras. Inevitably one page was reserved for the announcement of a new Kodak contest or competition. In a PHOTO-ERA interview following the crash of 1929, George Eastman expressed great satisfaction in his company's fifty year stress on advertising. Commenting on the company's history of spending even more on advertising during times of economic hardship he said,

"I am not at all sure there is a depression facing us: but to be on the safe side, the Eastman Kodak Company is taking the same attitude that it did in 1908 and 1914. and just as advertising has played such a vital part in the expansion of the business of the Eastman Kodak company, so we believe it to be a most powerful force in the building of our great American industries, in the wide diffusion and maintenance of our national prosperity" (PHOTO-ERA, May 1930, p. 282).

Not content to saturate the photo journals and retail outlets Eastman Kodak also began to publish its own extensive literature on photographic processes and photographic techniques. As early as 1895 Eastman Kodak began to promote snapshot photography in Britain through its publications THE KODAK RECORDER and "THE KODAK NEWS: A Monthly Journal for all those Interested in the Science and Art of Photography." From March 1914 through June 1932 they published KODAKERY: A MAGAZINE FOR AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHERS in the U. S. KODAKERY was available by subscription through photographic dealers. Coe and Gates (1977) write,

Like its English predecessors, KODAKERY dispensed advice and product news and illustrated the work of amateur photographers. A year's free subscription was given with each new camera sale; by 1920 there were over 5,000 paying subscribers, in addition to the many thousands of new customers (p. 35).

These little magazines did not represent the first attempt by a photographic firm to create their own line of photographic literature. Between 1880 and 1920 several supply houses published their own journals, "to push the supplies sold by their publishers" (WILSON'S PHOTOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE February, 1913, adv. 14).³ However, KODAKERY did represent the first attempt by a dominating player in the photography industry to offer, in regular installments, a fully elaborated aesthetic as a model for photographic

practice. In 1914 Eastman also began to publish an annually revised book entitled HOW TO MAKE GOOD PICTURES. In it amateur rules-of-thumb about exposure, composition, and pleasing subject matter were unquestioningly promoted. This book has continually been revised and reprinted right up to the present day (the 1920, 1938, and 1982 editions which I obtained exhibit remarkable similarities.)

Because of their interest in many of the same technical and darkroom products used by professionals, serious amateurs continued to be an important commercial force in Europe and the United States. Amid Kodak's flood of popular advertising, featuring the "Kodak Girl" -- the young woman photographer as a symbol of the ease of modern snapshot photography (if "she" can do it, anyone can) -- the journals and magazines exhibit a steady stream of advertising aimed at the more sophisticated amateur. Commercial advertising and promotion permeated the "purist" enclaves of the amateur art photographer and pictorial photography came under the increasing influence of industry marketing. Changes in certain features of pictorialist work after 1925 seem consistently linked to the widespread marketing of new photo products.

Accounts in the photographic journals indicate that, after 1900, photographic production in the amateur societies

became less experimental and more formulaic. The pictorial work accepted by salons and exhibited in the journals appears increasingly homogenous. Photographic publications are more preoccupied with guidelines and prescriptions for "successful" pictorial work.

Between those few who were determined to take photography into the world of fine arts, and those many wanting only to push the button and let Eastman do the rest, organized amateurs sought to establish more predictable and better articulated standards for photographic excellence. A stable pictorial code provided the means to clearly distinguish competent work from the "accidents" of snapshooters, and offered a comprehensible standard against which to contrast the more impenetrable work of those calling themselves artists.

Monopolizing Technology

At the same time that Eastman Kodak Company was institutionalizing the role of publicity and photographic "education" programs, it was also institutionalizing technical and scientific research within the Eastman Kodak Industrial Research Laboratory, and centralizing photographic manufacture around its headquarters in Rochester. Early in the twentieth century the merger and

consolidation of firms in the plate camera business, and the acquisition by Eastman Kodak of Folmer and Schwing Manufacturing Company (producers of the Graflex, the largest selling American series of single-lens reflex cameras) quickly made Rochester, N.Y., the center of camera production in North America. Not only was Eastman Kodak Company becoming a giant and dominating employment and manufacturing throughout the entire city of Rochester ("Rochester, N.Y., The Kodak City" began appearing at the bottom of Kodak ads in the twenties) but other smaller firms in Rochester came under Eastman Kodak's sphere of influence, contributing to Kodak's vertical integration by serving as preferred suppliers, contributing to horizontal integration through the expansion of distribution networks, or even serving as nurtured competitors, to ward off anti-trust litigation.

Defender Photo Supply Co. of Rochester was a prime example of this interdependence. In 1909 George Eastman bought sixty percent of Defender's stock and between 1909 and 1913, "unbeknown to the trade," Defender film was produced at Kodak Park (Jenkins, 1975b:338). Even after Eastman was forced by the threat of anti-trust suits to divest of his Defender shares in 1913, Kodak continued to encourage and nurture the company. In the twenties Kodak

was still manufacturing dry plates with the Defender label, Defender Company serving as the marketing agent for them. This continued until Defender began to market sheet film co-manufactured with DuPont in 1927, and the company was eventually acquired by Dupont in 1945.

Jenkins (1975b) notes that a significant by-product of the concentration of photo manufacture in Rochester was that it brought many of the most highly skilled camera draftsmen and designers together in one location. The advantages of centralized experimentation, design and production were evident in the technical innovations which flowed from Eastman's camera factories after 1915 (Jenkins, 1975b:218-20). (The manufacture of lenses also became concentrated in Rochester with optical companies such as Bausch and Lomb, Ilex, and Wollensak centering their operations there.) In sum, technical innovation was successfully removed from the hands of individual inventors and amateurs and institutionalized in corporate research and development departments.

The notion of a centralized research laboratory was a logical extension of the already concentrated oligopoly in place by 1910. By early 1913 Eastman had gathered together scientific and technical personnel from England and all across the United States and organized their endeavors

within the institution of the Kodak Research Laboratories. A staff of twenty, under the direction of British photographic scientist C. E. Kenneth Mees, began operations in that year with \$30,000 worth of scientific and production apparatus and a \$53,757 budget. By 1920 the staff had grown to 88 and the annual budget to \$338,680 (Mees, 1961:43-58; Jenkins, 1975b:305-18).

For Eastman, the establishment of the laboratory represented,

a long-range commitment to fundamental scientific research, with the hope that new fundamental understandings might provide the company with new products and processes; and a new kind of insurance against losing its prominent position in the industry (Jenkins, 1975b:307).

Eastman's prophecy of 1894 had been positively realized.

The manifest destiny of the Eastman Kodak Company is to be the largest manufacturer of photographic materials in the world or else go to pot (Eastman correspondence to Strong, Dec. 20, 1894. quoted in Jenkins, 1975a, p. 1).

Thus, between 1880 and 1920 the role of individuals in research and development quickly faded and systematic and controlled industrial research predominated. As Jenkins documents so thoroughly in his history of the industry's early years, the forces of horizontal integration (the buying up of competing companies for patents, the institutionalization of production technologies for economies of scale) and the

accompanying forces of vertical integration (the control of raw material production--especially chemicals, paper and glass, the control of research and development, and the creation of new, industry-controlled systems for distributing photographic products to the new mass market) served to remove amateurs from the front line of technical developments and innovations. Amateurs became a more passive force in the development of photography; by 1920 they were significant primarily as a market segment for a powerfully concentrated industry.

A New Role for Amateurs

The foundation for twentieth century amateur photography was laid in these years. All of the basic elements which characterize the amateur activity of the 1930's, or even the 1980's, took shape between 1890 and 1920. A powerfully integrated photography industry was established. A mass market for casual, snapshot photography was born. Amateur societies settled into the conservative promotion of traditional pictorial aesthetics which has characterized them ever since, providing a ready-made background against which photographic artists could react in every decade. By 1920 the photo industry had also adopted

amateur pictorialism as its own standard for "good photography," launching a pattern of industrial promotion still with us today. Jenkins' decision to end his history of the American photographic industry in 1925 seems not to have been an arbitrary one. The fundamental structure of the American industry as we know it today was in place by that time.

The structure and philosophy of amateur activity has also changed little since the twenties. However, the specific emphases of pictorialist work have shifted with the introduction and promotion of new technologies. The introduction of 35mm "miniature" cameras in the late twenties and early thirties prompted new variations on amateur pictorialism. The "miniature" craze also helped to fuel the greatest camera club expansion in history.

Thousands of new clubs came to represent more diversified groups of amateur practitioners, including photographers interested in photojournalism, in kodachrome and kodacolor processes, and in amateur cinematography. While a central concern with pictorial photography continued to dominate during the thirties and forties, the traditional amateur pictorialist/tinkerer/inventor/advocate -- the lover of all things photographic, whether fine prints, new gadgets or myriad hand staining chemical processes -- was fading

from view. The new 35mm amateur was less craft oriented, less interested in the exploitation of different processes for the honing of fine prints, and more interested in compact precision mechanical instruments like the Leica. Traditionalists persisted, especially in leadership roles in the societies and at the journals. But as the amateur world expanded through the 30's and 40's, more "candid" photography (made possible by the small, fast cameras and filmstocks), pictures relying on the capture of the "odd moment," or those produced through the use of a plethora of new "gadgets" (albeit always with pictorial subjects and composition in mind), began to appear in the salons and the journals. Location shooting, candid behavior, and stopped action shots began to encroach on the traditional studio and landscape work. Technical competence became more bound up with equipment and gadgets and less tied to a knowledge of chemistry and darkroom manipulation.

In this respect, the period between 1925 and 1935 represents the beginning of a new era in amateur photography, an era in which amateur activity was no longer characterized by the independent leadership of gentlemen artists and scientists, but by an alliance of amateur organizations and the photographic industry.

An obituary in the Dec. 1931 issue of THE CAMERA symbolizes the fading of the amateur scientist/artist. John Bartlett represented many who combined a love for photographic invention, chemistry and art, and promoted the marriage of photographic science and art at every opportunity. He epitomized the late Victorian and Edwardian amateur. The obituary reads,

John Bartlett, for many years a member of the staff of THE CAMERA, passed away on October 23, 1931, after a lingering illness at the home of his sister in Philadelphia, Pa. He had reached his 84th milestone at the time of passing, and over the many years of a long and useful life, acquired a wide acquaintanceship in all ranks of life. In his earlier days, Mr. Bartlett was connected with WILSON'S PHOTOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE during its publication in Philadelphia and, when the editorial and publishing offices were moved, in 1898, to New York City, he assumed the editorship of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, also a Philadelphia photographic magazine which was established back in the 80's. Two years later, Mr. Bartlett joined the editorial staff of THE CAMERA as Associate Editor, a position which he held for twenty-six years, up to the time of his resignation in December, 1926. He was a writer of rare ability, was possessed of a very fine knowledge of art and its principles, coupled with deep appreciation of pictorial photography and the fundamentals of general photography in its many applications. Spending much time in actual photographic work, he was an enthusiastic experimenter and the basic invention of flash powder has been accredited to Mr. Bartlett, two well-known brands "Luxo" and "Blitzlicht" having been compounded according to his formulas.

He was an early member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and devoted much of his time to the forwarding of the work with them, finally being honored with a Life Membership in the organization a number of years ago. He was a bachelor, devoting his life to his mother and his sister Mary, the latter surviving him. (THE CAMERA, vol. 43, no. 6, Dec. 1931, p. 454.)

National Organizations and the Swelling of Amateur Ranks

The history of serious amateur photography is marked by three major periods of expansion. The first expansion, following the relaxation of patent restrictions in the 1850's, was small by modern-day standards yet represented a major jump from the scattered independent craftsmen of the daguerreotype period. The second, occurring primarily between 1885 and 1905, represented a truly revolutionary increase in amateur work, resulting in the transformation of the role played by photography in industry, commerce and everyday life. The third, marked by the adoption of 35mm photography, was the greatest expansion of organized amateur activity ever. The subsequent period between 1930 and the mid 1950's has been called the "golden era" of camera club photography. The prominence of camera clubs and societies reached its peak in the twenty-five years following the introduction of the "miniature camera."

The time before and after World War II was a period in which a national network of amateur organizations linked camera club activity in nearly every town and city. The apparent influence of such organized amateur activity has steadily declined since the 50's, although hundreds of thousands of photographers continue to participate in a network of roughly 8,000 clubs in the U.S. (1984-85 WOLFMAN REPORT ON THE PHOTOGRAPHIC INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES).

The idea of a national society to foster amateur pictorial photography was first actively proposed by Louis F. Bucher and members of the Newark Camera Club right after World War I. But it was not until 1933 that the idea was fully realized.

In 1919, with the financial assistance of Eastman Kodak Company, the Associated Camera Clubs of America (ACCA) was formed (Wright, PSA Journal, Sept. 1952, p. 554). The establishment of this association constituted a loose attempt to create an American version of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain. The Newark Camera Club and especially their president Louis F. Bucher, a member of the Royal Photographic Society, played leading roles in the organization and housing of the Association in its first years. The Association started with a charter membership of twenty two clubs. They were:

Boston Y. M. C. U. Camera Club,
California Camera Club of San Francisco,
Chicago Camera Club
Cleveland Photographic Society
Columbia Photographic Society, Philadelphia
Dartmouth Camera Club of Hanover, N.H.
Elysian Camera Club of Hoboken, N.J.
Grand Rapids Camera Club of Grand Rapids, Mich.
Kansas City Camera Club
Newark Camera Club
New Britain Camera Club, New Britain, Conn.
New Haven Camera Club of New Haven, Conn.
Orange Camera Club of East Orange, N.J.
Oregon Camera Club, Portland, Ore.
Overseas Camera Club of Detroit, Mich.

Photographic Society of Philadelphia
Portland Camera Club, Portland, Maine
Southern California Camera Club, Los Angeles
St. Louis Camera Club
The Camera Club of Waterbury, Conn.
The Photographic Club of Baltimore
Yonkers Camera Club of Yonkers, N.Y.

Although the founders had ambitious plans for the organization it never had the impact or enjoyed the prestige of the Royal Photographic Society. It remained only a network of affiliated clubs, without individual memberships. Its first activities included organizing a Print Interchange and a Lantern Slide Interchange among member clubs, and it was agreed that guest privileges would be extended by all to any member of an affiliated club. But its primary function was a promotional one, to encourage interaction of camera club amateurs nationwide in the hope of stimulating amateur expansion.

Realizing that the activities of such a National organization would wisely include encouragement of new club formation, Mr. Bucher prepared the text of a booklet in 1920. Entitled "The Camera Club -- Its Organization and Management." He thereupon arranged with the Eastman Kodak Company to finance its publication. That it proved extremely valuable for the purpose is indicated by the fact that several succeeding editions were gotten out, many hundreds were distributed on application to groups interested in starting a club and now, the present edition which has been revised by R. L. Van Oosting, California, is being distributed on application to the Secretary of the Photographic Society of America.

The early years of the Associated Camera Clubs of America as an organization was not marked by any spectacular achievements. However, slowly but surely, the movement gained momentum and became truly representative of amateur photography in organized club form throughout the United States and Canada. The 50-mark in club affiliations was reached in 1933, largely through the efforts of Mr. R. L. Van Oosting, who served as Secretary of the A. C. C. of A. for the years 1932 and 1933 and is now Vice-President of the P. S. A. (Chatto, THE CAMERA, Jan. 1935, p. 26-7).

One of the reasons the ACCA's impact was limited was that the twenties were a time of great growth in the snapshot market but little growth in salon photography. The journals of the twenties reaffirm and further institutionalize traditional, soft-focus Pictorialism while representing little that is new or changing. Eastman Kodak, on the other hand, was successfully building a widespread mass market and had established the drugstore as their prime outlet (Fyfe, 1948).⁵

It was not until the early thirties that the influx of expensive German made Leica and Contax 35mm cameras into the U. S. encouraged a new wave of amateur expansion, even surpassing that of the 1890's. By 1936, for the first time in the recorded history of photographic trade, the United States imported more cameras than they exported (McGeorge, 1938:36; Komroff, 1938:471).

The increase in miniature camera imports corresponded closely with a new expansion of camera club amateurs.

During the early 1930's numerous new clubs and societies were formed, many of them employing the name "Miniature Camera Club" to denote the predominance of 35mm practitioners in their ranks. The number of amateur clubs and societies in the U.S. jumped from less than one hundred in the 1920's to "at least 6000" in 1951 (Camera, 1951; Baum, 1954). The bulk of that expansion occurred between 1930 and 1940 when club membership swelled, the number of photographic publications doubled and redoubled and the industry took renewed interest in the salon amateurs. In the 1940 AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Matthews writes,

A tremendous increase in amateur photography occurred in recent years. Hundreds of new camera clubs were formed and estimates placed the total number of clubs at well over 5,000 in 1938. Many new books on amateur photography appeared and several publications of special interest to the amateur were initiated (Matthews, 1940:7).

In the "Survey of Camera Club Activities" published in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in November of 1940, Lloyd E. Varden writes,

Well established camera clubs are found in every major city of the United States and in numerous small towns. In size these clubs range from well into the thousands (20,000 claimed by KYW Camera Club, 12,000 by Railroad Camera club, 2,064 by Kodak Camera club) to lowly memberships of 3 or 4. In all there are over 5,000 clubs, with the largest size group (by a wide margin) falling in the 25 to 50 members bracket (Varden, 1940:816).

Despite the general economic depression photography had become a "wild-fire hobby" in the thirties (LITERARY DIGEST, April 11, 1936:20). Writing in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY in October of 1938, Manuel Komroff describes the surprising explosion of amateur participation.

The photography industry is the only one I know that has successfully defied depression. It has even prospered during our bad time. One of the large photographic dealers in the New York financial district told me that his business took a sudden jump the very week following the crash. People came in with old cameras and antique equipment and traded them in for modern expensive machines.

'How do you explain it?' I asked.

...I found that old-timers who had been taking pictures years ago with large cumbersome boxes and the black cloth had picked up fresh interest because of the small handy precision cameras that have been designed since the end of the war. The convenience and flexibility of these new miniature cameras, and the remarkable results obtainable with them, have no doubt attracted many. The lenses are faster and the film more sensitive; thus the boundaries of photography have been greatly extended.

The operating income of the Eastman Company has grown steadily from more than \$12,000,000 in 1932 to more than \$34,000,000 in 1937. Of course the amateurs, with their little black boxes, are responsible for only a fraction of this business--only 15 or 18 per cent, I believe. ...But even then the amateurs are spending a good many millions on their hobby each year. And Eastman is not the only photographic company in America.

Add to these the companies specializing in photographic papers, chemicals, amateur moving-picture equipment, developing and printing laboratories, -- to say nothing of photo magazines, books, gadgets, lighting equipment, and all the other things so dear to the amateur's heart, -- and you have an American industry that is doing a full \$100,000,000 business a year, at a time when the whole nation is in the doldrums.

Because so many nervous fingers are eager to press the button, manufactureres here and abroad have been unable to meet the actual demands. In the past eight years American dealers handling the Leica camera, which is an expensive instrument selling at from \$150 to \$400, have increased from 400 to 1200 in number. A 600-page manual describing the use of this camera has already gone through six editions, with a total sold of more than 50,000 copies.

A whole new literature has arisen. New publishers have sprung up overnight. new companies have been incorporated to manufacture cameras imitating popular models and make accessories that are ever in demand.

...A new fast lens designed for one of the popular miniature cameras was two years late in delivery. During this time the advance orders for this accessory, costing \$180, accumulated until several thousand were on file. The initial shipment to the United States was only several hundred, and dealers fought with each other to get stock. Don't forget that while this was going on the whole nation was sunk deep in depression!

Germany has no complaint. The Leitz works have doubled the size of their factory and doubled the number of their workers. Their main business, the microscope division, now takes second place. The Zeiss works have expanded enormously...

Photo clubs have sprung up everywhere as though overnight. A special camera-club service has been organized by Eastman Kodak, and fifteen pamphlets are published and sent out gratis dealing with camera-club organization, management, and activities. Five years ago the clubs in the United States numbered about 250, while today the total exceeds 1500.

(ATLANTIC MONTHLY, 162:[Oct. 1938]: 470-3).

Renewed attempts to establish a national society accompanied this rush of participation. In 1932-33, the Associated Camera Clubs of America (ACCA) was re-organized as the Photographic Society of America (PSA), with individual members included. The establishment of PSA marks

the beginning of the modern era of American camera club activity. Several earlier attempts to establish a truly active national society had failed, mainly due to a lack of widespread interest and participation (Chatto, THE CAMERA, Jan. 1935; Woodburn, PSA JOURNAL, October, 1958). But PSA benefitted greatly from the unprecedented expansion in amateur photography immediately following its formation.

The Photographic Society of America
And the Camera Club World

Between 1930 and 1932, with amateur ranks growing and amateur networks expanding into every corner of the continent, Sigismund Blumann, Editor of the West Coast journal CAMERA CRAFT, again raised the issue of a national society. Then in September of 1932, Dr. Max Thorek, F.R.P.S., a member of the Fort Dearborn Camera Club in Chicago and the leading salon exhibitor in the world at the time, visited the Newark Camera Club for a dinner in his honor. On this occasion Thorek met with Louis F. Bucher of the Newark Camera Club (Founder and Honorary President of the Associated Camera Clubs of America), photographic writer William L. Woodburn of the Newark Camera Club (then President of the ACCA), William A. Alcock of Brooklyn, N.Y. (a Director of the ACCA and, like Thorek, a Fellow of the

Royal Photographic Society), and Ira Wright Martin of New York (President of the Pictorial Photographers of America) to again discuss the idea of establishing a national society.

Following this meeting Louis Bucher chaired a temporary organizing committee which eventually gave way to a one hundred member General Committee. This Organization Committee met at the Fort Dearborn Camera Club in Chicago in September of 1933, and in October of 1933 the Board of Directors of the Associated Camera Clubs of America voted on a resolution to transfer the records and funds of the ACCA to the newly organized Photographic Society of America.

The resolution to draft a new constitution and transform the ACCA into the Photographic Society of America was passed by the ACCA Directors and adopted by all 51 member clubs by December. These clubs became the charter member clubs of PSA, effective Jan. 1, 1934. Louis F. Bucher was named Honorary President of the new Society. Max Thorek became PSA's first President. Woodburn and Alcock were named to the Board of Directors. (Other noted pictorialists involved in the establishment of PSA are listed in Appendix A.)

Although a formal constitution and by-laws was not adopted until March of 1935, the Society began to sign

members, collect dues and fully operate during the fall of 1933. Committees were formed on Club Benefits and Privileges; on Salons, Interchanges and Exhibitions; on International Societies; and on Publicity. A Bulletin was planned, later to become the PSA JOURNAL. The first issue of the Bulletin appeared in April of 1934.

Financial support for the establishment of PSA was provided by Eastman Kodak Co., Agfa Ansco Corp., Baush and Lomb Optical Co., Bell & Howell, Willoughby's of New York (the largest photo supply house in the country) and Carl Zeiss, Inc.. There was also support from photographic journals and publishers. Frank V. Chambers of Philadelphia, publisher and editor of THE CAMERA, was an important financial contributor, as was Camera Craft Publishing Co. of San Francisco, publishers of CAMERA CRAFT -- whose editor, Sigismund Bluman, had long lobbied for such a society. Photo Art Publications of San Francisco is also mentioned, along with American Photographic Publishing Co. of Boston, the publishers of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, whose entire senior editorial staff served on the organizing committee for PSA.

The Certificate of Organization for PSA read:

The objects of the Society shall be: Promotion of the art and science of photography in all its various branches through individual memberships, associated camera clubs and other photographic organizations, research and dissemination of photographic knowledge and promotion of photographic salons and exhibitions.

And a statement appearing in the Dec. 1934 issue of the PSA BULLETIN claims,

The Photographic Society of America is an organization of individuals, clubs, manufacturers, dealers and publishers, united for the purpose of promoting photography as an art, a science, a business, and a hobby. Representing no school or -ism, having no hidebound prejudices or fanatical ambitions, it is a common meeting ground for technician, pictorialist, scientist, realist, romanticist, craftsman, business man, and all others who are truly interested in photography. Existing since 1919, when it was organized as the 'Associated Camera Clubs of America,' it now has sixty-one affiliated clubs representing about twenty-five hundred members. Since the name was changed to that of the Photographic Society of America about one year ago, about three hundred men and women have signified their interest and sympathy, either by enrolling as members or registering their names with the Society in order that they may be kept informed of its progress.

From the start PSA served to link photographic organizations of various kinds. Its first active committees were the Print Interchange Committee, and a new twist - the Miniature Camera Print Interchange Committee. The first annual meeting of the Society was held in Pittsburgh on April 8, 1934. PSA Secretary Byron Chatto writes of this meeting,

The session was in conjunction with the 21st Pittsburgh Salon and coincided with the annual visit made by the Cleveland Photographic Society and Portage Camera Club of Akron (by special train) to the Salon, their numbers augmented by many others representing Dayton Photographic Society, Camera Club of Cincinnati, Canton Photographic Society, Kodak Camera Club of Rochester, Erie Camera club, Newark Camera Club, Fort Dearborn Camera Club, and Westinghouse Camera Club.

Sessions of the P. S. A. were held in the morning, at a luncheon, and at 5 P.M. ninety-eight of the visiting and local officers and members met at dinner with Dr. Max Thorek, F.R.P.S., President of the Photographic Society of America, Ralph Hartmann, President of the Cleveland Photographic Society, and Charles K. Archer, President of the Pittsburgh Salon, leading the discussion.

Chatto also reports,

Under discussion are plans for an International Exhibit to be assembled by invitation and shown at various art centers of the country where there are no local Salons and at other points in co-operation with Salons. An Educational Committee, which will serve all member clubs, and individual members, has been appointed.

The Photographic Society of America does not expect to rival the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain in a few short years. Traditions cannot be created overnight; appreciation and understanding comes only after years of service. The Society does not aspire to the absorption of the functions of any established organization, in this country or elsewhere--theirs is a policy of co-operation. The professional clubs and associations are commercial in character and their fields will not be encroached upon by this Society; neither will it compete with any Salon movement but will assist in every possible way in keeping with the National movement. It will not compete with the photographic publications, preferring meanwhile to enlist their support and their cooperation (Chatto, THE CAMERA, Jan. 1935, p. 28) [Emphasis added].

With these goals there was little danger of PSA rivaling the Royal Photographic Society. The Royal Society was a more autonomous organization and membership was more honorific. Like PSA, RPS was designed to foster scientific and artistic advancement (within the prescribed parameters of competent pictorial and scientific photography) but

advancements were more often generated by society members themselves. THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL, the Royal Society's official organ, performed the traditional role of reporting on research and new developments in the field, but articles were usually technical papers or aesthetic essays detailing the work of RPS members themselves. Instead of journalistic reports on the developments introduced by photographic firms, each month's PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL contained, "complete illustrated reports of the papers read at the Society's Meetings" (notice of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain).

PSA's purposes from the beginning were more directed towards linking together various other photographic organizations. The PSA Bulletin was designed more as an elaborate newsletter than anything else. Its main purpose was to keep members informed of organizational developments. Even after it was upgraded to the PSA JOURNAL in March of 1935, it did not compete with existing camera journals so much as provide an intra-organizational bulletin.

AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA remained the two most important and influential photography journals, with CAMERA CRAFT particularly prominent in the West. All three journals continued to publish essays on pictorial aesthetics alongside reports on technological developments, new

products, new publications, exhibitions, contests, salons, camera club activities, and the latest PSA activities. The mix and tenor of their articles was similar in most respects to the journals of two or three decades earlier. But much more space was necessarily devoted to news of the hundreds of new clubs, to the announcement of dozens of salons every month, and to the reporting of salon results and the ranking of salon exhibitors. The journals cooperated closely with amateur organizations, greatly contributing to the creation of national networks.

There was an attempt from the beginning to make PSA a broad-based service organization for camera club amateurs. While the promotion of pictorial photography was the society's stated *raison d'etre*, there seemed to be a conscious attempt to avoid any impression of snobbery or exclusivity. There was no thought to repeat the divisive experiences of the Photo-Secession. PSA was to be an integrational organization, not an elite membership. The salons were seen, not as forums for the invidious sorting out of "truly artistic pictures," but as platforms for the exhibition of craftsmanship by all. The populist bent towards open salons and amateur participation prevailed, especially as the miniature camera craze fueled amateur expansion, and ties to the photographic industry were strengthened.

ENDNOTES

1. The PHILADELPHIA PHOTOGRAPHER changed its name to WILSON'S PHOTOGRAPHIC in 1889, merged with THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL OF AMERICA, and then THE CAMERA in 1914.
2. Journals incorporated by AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY included:
ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN [est. 1870],
THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES [est. 1871],
THE AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHER [est. 1879],
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY [est. 1879],
THE PHOTO BEACON [est. 1888],
AMERICAN AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER [est. 1889],
CAMERA NOTES [est. 1897],
PHOTO CRAFT [est. 1897],
PHOTO-ERA [est. 1898],
CAMERA AND DARKROOM [est. 1898],
THE PHOTO-MINIATURE [est. 1899],
CAMERA CRAFT [est. 1900],
PHOTOGRAPHIC TOPICS [est. 1902],
POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY [est. 1912],
THE AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER'S WEEKLY [est. 1912],
PHOTO TECHNIQUE [est. 1939].
3. One of the most prominent of such journals was ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN, published by E. & H.T. Anthony and Co., photographic suppliers. (WILSON'S PHOTOGRAPHIC, although published by Edward L. Wilson Co., Inc. of New York and aimed at professionals, boasted of its independence.)
4. The introduction of the Kodak Brownie camera in 1900 -- a small, inexpensive, mass produced camera designed by Eastman's primary camera designer, Frank Brownell-- resulted in over 100,000 sales in the first year alone and by 1910 there were scores of simple pocket and folding-pocket

cameras on the market for hundreds of thousands of new mass amateurs. The No. 2 Brownie, introduced in 1901, became the most popular of all roll-film cameras and continued in production until the late 1950's (Coe and Gates, 1977:23-24).

5. By 1944 Kodak had contracted for retail outlets with over 6,000 independent drugstores, 2,000 chain drugstores, and 5,000 miscellaneous gift shops, cigar stores, newsstands, department stores and stationary and book shops. G. S. Fyfe's A STUDY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC INDUSTRY AND ITS DISTRIBUTION (1948), an unpublished Master's Thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, provides a summary of industry trends between 1930 and 1948.

Chapter Nine

PSA AND THE GOLDEN ERA OF SALON PHOTOGRAPHY

In its attempt to encompass the full range of amateur photographic interest PSA naturally addressed both sides of the amateur duality -- Pictorialism and the salon exhibitions, on the one hand, and scientific and technical aspects of photography, on the other. In the beginning they focused primarily on the international exhibitions and the print exhibition interchanges. They arranged travelling exhibits of foreign pictorialists, and an attempt was made to standardize the vast patchwork of salon competitions.

Concerning the origins of the Society, A. Aubrey Bodine, a Charter Member and Fellow of PSA, writes,

All of the workers were pictorialists. We felt that the time had arrived to set up and help establish some logical approach in the field of exhibition. Actually there was chaos. Seldom did two salons work alike. This was the actual reason for the formation of PSA (PSA JOURNAL, Oct. 1958, p. 24).

In the first ten years of the Society a great deal of effort was spent promoting consistent standards in the many salons.

But photographic scientists and engineers were also eager to become involved in the new national society. They expressed the desire to institute a scientific section, and with expanding amateur participation and persistent industry product innovation, the society moved quickly to provide the organizational network with access to technical information.

In September of 1935, scientists and technicians (centered in Rochester, of course) organized the Rochester Scientific Section of the Society under the auspices of the newly formed PSA Technical Committee. Correspondence with John W. McFarlane, FPSA, a long time Eastman Kodak employee, revealed that he was one of the key founders of PSA's Technical Committee and played a leading role in making this a central part of PSA's activities. Kodak photographic scientist Rowland S. Potter, a charter member of PSA, served as the Scientific Section's first chairman, and Rochester's C. B. Neblette, the leading technical author and historian of photo technology in America, served as secretary. (Both men later served as Directors of PSA during the forties.)

The Rochester Scientific Section quickly became the Society's major resource for information on photographic science and technology. This fostered a convergence of industry and PSA technical concerns.

By 1938 PSA's club membership had already jumped from the original 51 to 373. Individual memberships lagged by comparison. As part of a strategy to further increase individual memberships PSA officers decided to institute additional PSA services. At its annual convention in Rochester in 1938, the Society adopted a set of revised by-laws providing for the formation of separate, special interest divisions within PSA.

The first was the Technical Division, an expansion of the Technical Committee, which established local sections in Binghamton, N.Y. (headquarters for Ansco Corporation) and Cleveland, in addition to the scientific section at Rochester.

The TD provided technical articles for the PSA Journal, together with abstracts of scientific papers. Starting in 1950, it published "Photographic Science and Technique," a quarterly supplement to the Journal containing material of special interest to its member. Replete with tables, charts, graphs and formulas, this supplement emphasized the differences between the professional aims of the Technical Division members and the non-professional interests of the rest of the Society. Ultimately these differences were acknowledged with the formation of a new, independent organization named the Society of Photographic Scientists and Engineers (SPSE), and the former Technical Division was restructured as the present Techniques Division. Its aim is to serve all divisions of the Society, providing programs and Journal articles on techniques of their fields together with a question-answering service staffed by experts in all the specialized areas (PSA JOURNAL, July 1973, p.28).

The early prominence of the Technical Division was symptomatic of PSA's close relationship with the photo industry from its beginning. Not only did John W. Macfarlane of Eastman Kodak help to organize the scientific sections in 1935, but Dr. E. P. Wightman of Eastman Kodak was a member of the original committee appointed to draft by-laws and a constitution for the new society (1933-35) and served as one of the Directors of PSA from 1937 through 1939. Both were inducted as Fellows of PSA in 1940.

Glenn E. Matthews, for many years the Technical Editor for Kodak's Research Labs, was a charter member of PSA, served as a PSA Director from 1943 through 1946, and was later honored as a Fellow and a Honorary Member of PSA.

Dr. John I. Crabtree, another research scientist at Eastman Kodak Laboratories and a co-author of technical articles with Matthews, was also active in the early development of PSA and was honored as a Fellow along with MacFarlane and Wightman in 1940. Crabtree, Neblette, and Dr. C. E. Kenneth Mees, Vice President for Research at Eastman Kodak and Founding Director of the Eastman Kodak Research Laboratories, are among those who have received PSA's Progress Medal, a prestigious award for outstanding contributions to progress in photography originally bestowed by the Oval Table Society but perpetuated after 1948 by PSA. Mees also received the award of Honorary Fellow of the Photographic Society of America --the highest award given by PSA, awarded to only thirty people in the Society's history, (among them Frank R. Fraprie, Franklin Jordan, Adolf Fassbender, Charles Heller, Edward Weston, Edward Steichen, and Alfred Steiglitz).

As Technical Editor for Kodak's Research Labs and a high ranking member of the PSA hierarchy, Glenn Matthews contributed regular reports on new technological developments to the photographic journals, and wrote

technical histories and technical progress summaries for THE AMERICAN ANNUAL and even the Encyclopedia Americana. In a 1958 article for the PSA JOURNAL he discussed the contributions made by PSA in the previous 25 years. He emphasized the importance of organized contact between photographers, amateur and professional, and the important role of PSA and the PSA JOURNAL in providing educational services and diffusing technical information to members.

The Society's Journal has always been my strongest interest. As a body corporate we are all joined together by the Journal in a common interest.

...It seems to me in retrospect that much has been accomplished by our Society during this quarter century.

...Color, motion pictures, photojournalism, stereo, and photo-techniques have each found their place in our expanding structure.

As new tools and techniques become available tomorrow, PSA will stand ready to study and use them (Matthews quoted in the PSA JOURNAL, Oct. 1958, p. 23).

The Technical Division continued to be an integral part of PSA services. But the overriding interest of rank and file PSA members in the pragmatics of pictorial exhibition soon led PSA to rename the division the "Techniques" Division. Under the auspices of the Techniques Division PSA set up a great range of technical and informational services, including question answering services, instructional print and slide sets, and courses in photography --all designed to assist the average PSA member achieve salon success.

The focus on salon competition soon led to the establishment of a Pictorial Division at the heart of the PSA organization. But the Techniques Division continued to play a central role in the service of pictorial work. Frank Fraprie clearly reflected the prevailing sentiment when he introduced AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S Twentieth Annual Competition by writing,

AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in its competition and in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY will always hold up for approval a high technical standard, especially correct exposure, as of more importance than any other factor in the making of a satisfactory photograph (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August 1940, p. 548).

Later, the PSA JOURNAL wrote,

Formation of the Pictorial Division set the pattern for most of the divisions that were to follow. Interest in such a specialized group had been building, and a pictorial committee was formed with John P. Mudd [of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia] as chairman and John S. Rowan as corresponding secretary. The aims of such a division were drawn up, discussed and refined. Then at the 1939 PSA Convention Dr. E. P. Wightman made a motion "which was received with enthusiasm and unanimously adopted," to organize a Pictorial Division within the Society. Mr. Mudd became first chairman of the Pictorial division and Mr. Rowan went on to become PSA President (1942-45) (PSA JOURNAL, July 1973, p. 28).

By 1939, the character of the Society had taken shape and participation was growing rapidly.

In 1952 the Pictorial Division comprised twenty-three different departments -- covering American and International Exhibits, Camera Club Judging Services, Salon Practices,

Print Analysis, Instruction Print Sets, Recorded Lectures, and Who's Who in Pictorial Photography. An Historical Division and a Nature Division were established by 1940, and in 1940-41 the impact of new color technologies made itself felt with the initiation of a Kodachrome Slide Interchange Committee and a Color Division.

In 1944 a special Camera Club Division was established, with Cecil B. Atwater as chairman, to tend to the organizational needs of the Society's hundreds of member clubs. The Camera Club Division eventually took the form of a standing committee, as it continued to publish guides and manuals for camera club operation, as well as provide lectures, judging, and program services for affiliated clubs, club councils, and associations.

Salonmania

By the early forties the PSA Pictorial Division was administering portfolio exchanges involving thousands of amateur pictorialists.¹ Participants sent along comments and critiques on each print. Since the main goal of club amateurs was to create successful pictorialist prints, and to have them hung in club exhibitions and accepted at competitive salons, they availed themselves of any hints, criticisms, or technical advice which might give them an

edge. But the ferocity of the competition increased each year as new clubs were formed, new salons instituted and ever greater numbers of photographers participated. By early 1941, a little more than a year after the establishment of the Pictorial Division, 500 clubs and 1200 individuals were members of the Society. During 1940 PSA membership had more than doubled.

The Miniature Camera was partly responsible for the upsurge. Between 1926-27 and 1930-31, before the new Leicas had greatly impacted the market, the number of recognized salons in North America hovered between 42 and 47. Between 1930-31 and 1934-35, with the pictorialist code ensconced in the journals and miniature cameras beginning to flood the market, camera club expansion began to accelerate and the number of salons recognized by the AMERICAN ANNUAL rose to 83. In the April 1934 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Arthur Hammond wrote an article entitled "Sending Pictures to Salons," in which he observed that the rapid increase in salon participation, along with an increase in letters to the journal seeking information, made it apparent that AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY would have to devote more attention to salon standards, announcements and information. In securing information on standards and procedures for his first article he went to B. H. Chatto, Secretary of the newly formed PSA.

In the 1938-39 season the number of recognized international salons had reached 92 and the number of different photographers winning acceptances and having their pictures hung reached nearly 5,000. The frenzied activity between 1930 and 1941 led journal writers to label the phenomenon "salonmania." Shortages of photographic materials led to a decline in salon activity during the war, but a resurgence in the postwar period saw the figures rise to their previous high by 1948-49, and surpass it in 1950. As Peterson observed in his catalogue of Max Thorek's photographs for the Dr. Max Thorek Memorial Foundation:

The photographic salon, always a camera-club-sponsored event, was the focus of amateur activity during this period. Almost every major city in the United States had an annual salon, and some of them, such as the Pittsburgh Salon of Photographic Art (in which Thorek was honored as an Associate Member), achieved an international reputation. Amateurs were passionate about submitting their work to salon juries all over the globe, for their standing as pictorialists was determined by the quantity of prints accepted for exhibition. "Amateurs have taken the salon as their goal, and after the first taste of success, after the first print was accepted and hung, they have become addicts" [David R. Craig, *Forward to CREATIVE CAMERA ART* by Max Thorek, 1937, p. 5] (Peterson, 1984:10).

During this time the focus of many photo journal articles shifted from philosophical debates about "photography as art" to more pragmatic discussions of salon judging and acceptance. Articles on composition or "pictorial appeal" became more concretely prescriptive -- conscious of the amateur's desire to improve his or her

salon submissions. Articles like "Judging the Salons" (THE CAMERA, March 1935), "Trial By Jury," (CAMERA CRAFT, Dec. 1936), "How Should a Picture Be Judged?" (AMERICAN ANNUAL, 1939) "What is a Salon Print?" (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, May 1941), "Super-Photographs and the Salons," (THE CAMERA, June 1942), "What Makes a Salon Print?" (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June 1943), or "Why Some Prints Don't Hang in Salons," (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July 1944), became regular installments.

In their advice to aspiring pictorialists THE CAMERA and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY repeatedly suggested that amateurs join camera clubs. Alongside their columns on the Miniature Camera, Print Analysis, Pictorial Hints, Nature and Wildlife, Salon Reports and Club Notes and News, were articles like "The Miniature Camera Club" (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March 1934), "Starting a Camera Club" (THE CAMERA, Jan. 1936), "Camera Club Growing Pains," (CAMERA CRAFT, May 1939), and "Why Join a Camera Club?" (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Jan. 1940).

While the journals encouraged club membership and salon participation, PSA, Eastman Kodak, and Agfa Ansco all provided advice and information on organizing and managing camera clubs. The 25 cent booklet "The Camera Club--Its Organization and Management," first published with Kodak financing by the ACCA and now published under the same

arrangement with PSA, went into its third edition by 1936. THE CAMERA, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, and CAMERA CRAFT, claiming that "The camera club is the backbone of progress in photography" (CAMERA CRAFT, May 1939, p. 220), all advised contacting the Photographic Society of America for information and assistance. They also announced that additional information was available from Eastman Kodak Company or Agfa Ansco Corporation. In an article on "Organizing a Camera Club" printed in the March 1945 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, regular columnist Vincent McGarrett tells his readers,

The Eastman Kodak Company, for example, has a club service, and a note to Rochester about it will bring full information. (This service will also offer organization and program help).

And the editors of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY write,

There are at least three excellent sources of information on the subject of organizing and running a camera club. There is first the Photographic Society of America, 1815 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania. A request for assistance in starting a camera club should be addressed to Camera Club Division, and such a request will result in the receipt of much helpful information.

...The Camera Club Division has been organized to help those who need help in organizing a new club, or in the successful running of a club that has already been organized.

In addition to the PSA, both Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, N.Y., and Ansco of Binghamton, N.Y. offer camera club service. Camera Club Photographic Service, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N.Y., and Ansco, Camera Club Department, Binghamton, N.Y., have prepared a series of bulletins dealing with all phases of

organizing and running a successful camera club, and when the club has been organized, you can get from them a number of illustrated lectures prepared by noted experts on various branches of photography (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Dec. 1949, p. 792).

The PSA World Institutionalized

By the end of the thirties amateur camera club photography had become a nationally organized, industry supported phenomenon encompassing thousands of clubs and hundreds of thousands of photographers. The preceding years of amateur expansion (accompanied by an increasing use of photography for industrial, scientific, and military purposes) fostered a great optimism about the future importance of the medium. New amateurs were pouring into clubs and societies and the amateur organizations were playing an ever greater instructional role. Most clubs conducted instructional sessions for new members. Many opened photography courses to the general public. The Boston Camera Club generated about 25% of their operating revenue from fees for educational courses (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Dec. 1949, p. 765). Larger urban clubs often owned or leased clubrooms (or even whole buildings), operated their own darkrooms, and maintained their own club libraries -- well stocked with photographic journals, and their own kitchenettes for snack time. Less affluent memberships were sometimes headquartered in Y. M. C. A. s, community centers, churchs or schools.

Club meetings tended to revolve around three common activities: 1) technical lectures and demonstrations, 2) talks on photography as pictorial art, and 3) print critique or analysis sessions.

Technical lectures and demonstrations were always a staple of club meetings, but in the thirties they increasingly included presentations by industry representatives, local professionals and photographic retailers (some of whom were also members of the club). With industry representatives regularly appearing at club gatherings to demonstrate new products and techniques, camera club amateurs kept abreast of the newest developments in photographic technology and were generally familiar with the newest cameras, flashes, meters, filters, filmstocks, papers and processes. Presentations introducing new papers and processes designed for finer grain prints were common, and the general emphasis on technical precision led to a gradual shift away from soft-focus work.

Successful salonists were in great demand as speakers and often travelled the camera club circuit. The most popular guests were "celebrity" pictorialists who would usually exhibit and discuss their own work as well as comment on club prints hung for the occasion. Elements of composition, tone quality, and lighting were the most frequently discussed topics, although speakers often gave

demonstrations of their favorite processes -- paper negatives, the bromoil process, perhaps gum bichromate. Sometimes speakers would set up a still life, or use a model, and give the audience a lecture/demonstration on lighting or point of view. Club programs were commonly planned so that technical demonstrations and pictorial lectures alternated during the year.

Print critiques and competitions were a popular and continual activity of the clubs. It was through repeated competition and analysis (in the clubs, in the salons, in commercially sponsored competitions held by newspapers, department stores, photographic dealers and manufacturers) that pictorial conventions were learned, honed and naturalized. Clubs traditionally set aside periods for print analysis and criticism. Club members would offer their prints up for communal comment and instruction and many a lowly printmaker is commended in club minutes from the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia for having persevered through the experience for the betterment of the club. Gradually more and more clubs began to single out the better prints for honorable mention. This eventually evolved into formalized intraclub competitions, with stickers or ribbons being awarded to those prints judged the best. As these club competitions proved effective training grounds for salon competition, they became more common.

Aside from guest speakers, demonstrations, and print competitions, clubs often held question and answer sessions for the membership. Less experienced members could ask questions of more experienced ones, members experimenting in a new area could ask advice from members with special expertise in that area. They also frequently arranged studio nights (either in the club rooms or in the commerical studio of a member or associate) where members practiced their lighting techniques with a model, or picture-taking "outings" (to the country, to the zoo, to the seashore).

In the spirit of the nineteenth century they held "gadget nights" when several members would bring in their own inventions or equipment modifications to show and explain to the group.

Gadgeteering is one of the principle joys of photography. It is true, we have been crusading in the cause of photography for the picture's sake, but let's give the gadgeteer a break. I have a bunch of gadgets that I use constantly--and I like 'em. There is a sunshade made like the old fashioned aluminum, collapsing drinking cup--a workable, self-loading tank, a half dozen tripod substitutes--and loads of such things as embossers, view guides, etc. Now, here is the "break." You gadgeteers write about your favorite gadgets and we will use one or two of these each month (Herbert C. McKay, F.R.P.S., "Diminutive Camera Technique and Practice" column, THE CAMERA, Aug. 1936, p. 133).

During the thirties and forties the photo journals were not only recommending that every amateur join a camera club but that every camera club organize frequent print

criticisms and club competitions. The increasing competitiveness of salons was attributed to increasing club activity and club competition. In cities with several clubs, joint meetings and exhibitions were often planned and clubs would swap distinguished members for print judging. As regional councils grew interclub competitions became more common.

Now no one who is really interested in photography doubts that camera clubs have great value to the amateur photographer. The present high degree of technical quality that is apparent in contemporary salons is an indirect tribute to the work of certain of our more energetic camera clubs. It is a fact that any club which has a few good workers seems to have a generally higher level of quality in the work of all of its members. Camera clubs should provide a gathering place in which instruction can be received, work can be shown and constructively criticized, and general stimulation can be obtained ("The Management of a Camera Club, Part I," Standish and Standish, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Aug. 1945, p. 34).

None who has taken part in a print competition will deny its importance. It is important to each member because it makes him feel that he is part of the whole organization, and it enables him to admire the artistic efforts of others and try to emulate them in his own work. It is important to the officers because it is a club activity broad in its appeal and provocative in its nature. Best of all, it is important to photography itself because only by consistently creating do we fully develop the practice of photography--known as photographic art ("The Management of a Camera Club, Part II," Standish and Standish, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Sept. 1945, p. 30).

Salon Regulation

Growing organizational connections under the PSA umbrella produced an increasing consistency in camera club activities. It also provided a base from which to regularize salon and exhibition standards. In the 1930's salons were conducted in an uneven fashion. The reputations of many excellent exhibitions were tarnished by shabbily run ones.

There are even stories of some salons that were set up solely to add to the personal print collections of unscrupulous individuals who announced exhibitions with high-sounding names, received the entries, and then were heard from no more (PSA JOURNAL, July 1973, p. 29).

As early as the summer of 1936, the newly formed PSA was organizing its own national salon, the "One Hundred Print Salon of the Photographic Society of America." By instituting their own salon they began to have an influence over the standards and criteria of the hundreds of other salons and annual exhibitions being established by clubs and societies all over North America. After the salon had been judged and assembled in the fall of 1936 the photographs embarked on a year long tour of clubs and exhibition halls, including a stay at the Chicago Art Institute Gallery during the PSA convention in Chicago (Oct. 1937). The 100 Print Salon was repeated in subsequent years and was booked heavily for club exhibits.

Max Thorek and the other judges for the first PSA salon used a standardized 0-10 method of grading, a system which they hoped would be incorporated into judging practices generally. There were also problems with a lack of standard requirements regarding mount sizes for entries, an issue that PSA tackled first, gaining a victory of sorts when agreements were reached to reduce the wide variation of mount sizes required from salon to salon to a more standardized system of three or four acceptable formats. The number of prints any one photographer could submit also varied from salon to salon, often rewarding quantity of production over quality of work. In the September, 1936 issue of the PSA JOURNAL, David R. Craig introduced the "Four Print Exhibition Plan," a plan designed to encourage salonists to limit their entries to four prints per exhibition.

Further, each participant in the plan was to enter at least ten salons each year. At the end of the period, a committee was to review the salon catalogs and publish the standings of the various registered exhibitors by showing the percentages of prints accepted, provided the exhibitors had been successful in at least ten salons.

This plan gained support among well known exhibitors and was the forerunner of the Pictorial Division's Award of Merit program, which later developed into the Star Rating System, and of the "Who's Who" listings (PSA JOURNAL, July, 1973, p. 30).

In 1940, at a meeting at the Engineers Club of Philadelphia (now the home of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia) members of PSA's Pictorial Division drew up a set of recommended practices for the guidance of salon committees. Those at the meeting included John P. Mudd, Pictorial Division Chairman (and past president of both the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia), John S. Rowan, corresponding secretary, Charles Heller (then President of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia), Robert A. Barrows (past President of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and future President of the Photographic Society of America), and Richard T. Dooner (well known commercial pictorialist and member of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia). Together with about a half dozen other members of PSA these men drafted a set of standardized recommended practices for the conduct of pictorial salons. Most of the guidelines had to do with the mechanics of accepting entries and running the salon -- entry blank deadlines, acceptable mount sizes, the manner of mounting, notification of results, returning of prints, the amount and color of light used for judging prints, exhibiting the prints, postage procedures, etc.

Salons conforming to the recommended practices were allowed to state so on their entry blanks and, in effect, became the PSA sanctioned salons. They were listed in the

PSA JOURNAL as salons run according to recommended practices and PSA members were encouraged to "patronize them particularly." In instituting standard practices PSA was careful to deny any attempt to dictate judging.

While the Pictorial Division desires to standardize the mechanics of salons, it is to be distinctly understood that no attempt will be made to standardize the judging, artistic standards, etc. (PSA JOURNAL, April, 1941).

A survey of journal articles on pictorial art, the journal's print analysis columns, and data on camera club activities suggests that judging was already quite standardized.

Photography and the 1939 World's Fair

The New York World's Fair of 1939 stands out as a tangible benchmark for amateur camera club Pictorialism. By the spring of 1939 when the Fair opened the expansion of camera clubs and salons had accelerated to an unprecedented level. The Fair represented an optimistic view of American progress not unlike the optimism and progress which characterized the amateur photographic world. The Fair's exhibits were focused around "the world of tomorrow," and emphasized interrelationships between man and technology. Amateur photographers were drawn to this extravagant display in great numbers (to take pictures and to sightsee); and sponsors of the Fair called out to those infatuated with photography, setting up extensive photographic exhibits and

asking amateur organizations to supply pictorialist prints.

During the months preceding the Fair there are numerous notices in the photographic literature (as well as announcements in the camera club minutes of clubs like the Miniature of Philadelphia and the Minneapolis Camera Club) concerning Eastman Kodak's call for pictorial contributions. The following is reproduced from President John P. Mudd's monthly letter to the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, dated April 2, 1939.

World's Fair Print Exhibition

The Photographic Society of America by request of the Eastman Kodak Company have invited member clubs of the Philadelphia Council of Camera Clubs to participate in three of a series of 48 print exhibits to be shown at intervals during the period of the Fair. The Council will therefore receive for selection prints from various clubs. It is urgently requested that you aid in maintaining our club's high pictorial standing by submitting your best prints. Enclosed is an application blank which should be delivered with your prints to Mr. Charles Heller at the next meeting on April 13th or the following meeting on April 27th. There will be no entry fee.

In the following month there are several accounts of group trips being made by club members to New York for the Fair. Club members were invited by the Illuminating Engineers Club to join them for a day at the Fair May 19th; and Klein and Goodman, one of the largest photographic stores in Philadelphia (whose owners Benjamin Klein and Louis Goodman were both Miniature Club members) sponsored a special train trip for camera club amateurs on May 28th.

Hundreds of amateur club prints adorned the Eastman Kodak building at the World's Fair. In addition the Pictorial Photographers of America held a separate club salon. PSA set up its own special Fair Salon and afterward the "PSA Print Show from the World's Fair Invitational" crisscrossed the nation and was exhibited by hundreds of clubs and institutions.

In addition to having their photographs exhibited in the Fair, throngs of amateur pictorialists took pictures of the Fair, and World Fair photographs (particularly of the Trylon and Perisphere, the futuristic architectural centerpieces of the Fair) appeared in amateur journals, photographic Annuals and pictorial salons during the months following. Christian Peterson, in his catalogue of prints exhibited at The Minneapolis Salon of Photography between 1932 and 1946, reproduces three Trylon/Perisphere photographs which were submitted to the Salon in 1939. One, untitled, is by longtime pictorialist and founding member of The Pictorial Photographers of America, D. J. Ruzicka; another, "Semi-Lunar," was submitted by AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Associate Editor Arthur Hammond; a third, "Dynamic Symbol, New York World's Fair," by Adolf Fassbender, "received the highest award and prize for pictures taken at the New York World's Fair" (Peterson, 1983:32). All three prints are virtuosic examples of pictorial salon photography, displays

of controlled composition, delicate tone gradation, and optimistic "beautiful" photography.

Falling as it does during the peak of pictorialist salon activity, images of the 1939 World's Fair become potent symbols of this pictorial tradition.

More Amateurs, More Clubs, More Salons, Bigger Business

The activity of a specific camera club will be discussed in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that the practice of pictorial photography became an avocation for hundreds of thousands of amateurs between 1930 and 1950. This included a growing core of serious and elite clubs, profiled in the photographic journals and listed in the photographic annuals. And it included an even greater number of less prestigious clubs: company clubs, church clubs, school and community center clubs, or clubs which simply failed to distinguish themselves on the salon circuit. The foreword of the 1939 Minneapolis Salon of Photography catalogue included the following proclamation.

Pictorial Photography is the most popular hobby of the active business and professional men of America (Peterson, 1983:32).

Highly organized and very active clubs were listed (with their mailing address) every year in the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, where 108 clubs were listed in 1934 and 670 clubs in 1940. As noted previously, AMERICAN

PHOTOGRAPHY conducted a survey in 1940 canvassing 1,300 of an estimated 5,000 clubs. In 1947 the ANNUAL listed the addresses of 755 clubs in the U. S., but the increasing difficulty of keeping track of thousands of new clubs and maintaining current addresses soon led to the cessation of such lists (THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1949).

With the rise in clubs the photo specialty shop, as opposed to the corner drugstore, became more important. The expansion of serious amateurs expanded the number of people interested in patronizing a "full-service" store where the latest in cameras and other equipment could be perused and discussed. Often, new clubs sought the support of such stores. As will be seen in the next chapter, the Miniature Camera club of Philadelphia received support of various kinds from several photo dealers in Philadelphia.

The number of amateur salons increased, and so did the number of informal exhibitions and commercially sponsored contests. Pictorial style moved almost completely away from soft, diffuse images to sharply focused, harder edged images, while choice of subject matter and compositional preferences remained relatively unchanged. In a 1945 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, active PSA pictorialist Jack Wright noted the surprisingly little difference between photographs reproduced in a 1906 copy of "Photograms of the Year" and exhibitions of pictorial work in 1944.

Looking over the shelves of a second-hand bookstore, I came across a copy of "Photograms of the Year 1906." Analysis of the volume threw considerable light on the photographic styles of that day. Landscapes and seascapes were exceedingly popular. Of the 150 pictures reproduced in the book, no less than 60 fall into this category. In those days the hazy and unsharp was favored. Landscapes, portraits, and many other pictures were bathed in diffusion which was presumed to add mystery and beauty. There were few pictures with the sharp focus so much esteemed by many photographers today. Even so, many of the landscapes in the book could go direct from its pages to the walls of a present-day salon.

...Besides the 60 landscapes, there were 26 head-and-shoulder portraits, more or less like our own, and 11 full-length portraits. There were 22 pictures of children, 13 photographs of groups, 7 interiors, 5 nudes, 4 genre, one animal picture, one flower picture and no still life, unless you can regard the flower picture as being of that class.

In order to get a line on present styles in photography we made a survey of the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY of 1944 and the 100-print traveling salon of the Photographic Society of America.

Interesting data on subject matter, camera sizes, and types of papers used are found in the AMERICAN ANNUAL. Landscapes, as always, seem to be the most popular subject, with 29 prints. Genre is next, with 13. There are 10 portraits, 8 pictures of children, 6 of animals, 5 of still life, 3 architectural pictures, and 2 nudes.

Turning to the Photographic Society of America 100-print show, (which, incidentally, includes 106 pictures) we find the following data. There are 50 landscapes and seascapes, 17 portraits, 14 genre, 8 animal pictures, 7 of children, 7 of still life, one industrial and 2 nudes (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December, 1945, p. 12).

Aside from a distinct change in fashionable notions about soft focus vs. sharp focus (a development undoubtedly influenced by the photo industry's attempts to introduce higher precision lenses with greater speed and better

resolving power, faster filmstocks with higher resolution, and precision miniature cameras requiring significant enlargements from small negatives), and the fact that "In 1906 they did not worry as much as we do about trimmings" (that is, they didn't crop as closely), Wright finds a remarkable similarity in pictorial work from one era to the next. The continuity in pictorialist style throughout the twentieth century is explored in much greater detail in Chapter Eleven "The Code." But it is interesting to note that the definition of "Pictorial Composition" which appears in Bernard Edward Jones' 1911 CASSELL'S CYCLOPEDIA OF PHOTOGRAPHY (reprinted by Arno Press in 1974) closely resembles many of the photo journal prescriptions for good composition published in the thirties and forties. The CYCLOPEDIA defines "Pictorial Composition" as "a natural feeling for what is harmonious, tasteful, and pleasing."

The entry continues,

A picture should contain one principal object, or group of objects, which should not be placed too far from the middle of the space. Everything else should be complementary and subordinate to this.

... The eye should be led or attracted to the principal object--there should be nothing that forms a kind of barrier. There should be no strong patches of light, or anything else that irresistibly attracts the eye, at the edges of the picture. Neither should lines lead out of the picture or to the unimportant parts of it.

... The horizon line should not bisect the picture, neither should the space be divided into halves diagonally. One mass may advantageously be repeated by another similar but subordinate. Upright lines may be

contrasted with, and broken by, horizontal ones; and a line leading in one direction may be balanced by one running in the opposite direction. Balance, however, should not be too symmetrical and formal. An arrangement of masses that forms a rough triangle with the apex towards the top of the picture is generally effective; as is also one in which the main lines radiate from the principal object (1911:137).

As Chapter Eleven demonstrates, essays and picture analyses from twenty and thirty years later perpetuate the same notions of "principality," "dynamic symmetry," placement of the main subject off center, the use of triangular arrangements, and division of the space into thirds rather than halves. As Chapter Eleven also shows, the subjects of these compositional frameworks also show little variation.

The End of an Era

In many ways the life of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY editor Frank Fraprie best symbolizes the evolution of amateur photography during the first half of the century. He first became involved in the amateur world in 1898 and began work as a journal editor and writer a few years later. His opposition to the elitism of the Photo-Secessionists earned him an image as a proponent of popular amateur participation in the pictorialist endeavor. He participated in the creation of the Photographic Society of America and became increasingly influential as amateur numbers increased,

camera clubs were organized nationally, and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY gained an increasingly large share of the readership.² He enhanced his influence by editing THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, initiating yearly salon exhibition rankings and starting a "Who's Who in Pictorial Photography. After 1953, when AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA both ceased publication, there was no real independent amateur journal left. Only the PSA JOURNAL, the organ of the Photographic Society of America, remained as an alternative to mass market commercial photo magazines or publications directed at specific professionals.

By coincidence, Fraprie's death in 1951 marks the end of the amateur era which he symbolized. The evolution of Fraprie's philosophies and pictorial work parallel the prevailing trends of amateur photography in the first half of the century. He passed judgement over a world of black-and-white printmaking from a seat as both a renowned salon exhibitor and the dean of photo-journal editors. Upon his retirement as Editor of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (in December of 1949) he received a flood of admiring letters from photo industry executives, commercial photographers, and amateur pictorialists alike. He always stood for that popular amateur combination of technical interests and artistic concerns.

...his endeavor has been to make the policy of the magazine a recognition of the basic principle that photography as a means of expression possesses the essential qualities of truth, which leads to technical perfection, and of imagination , which leads to artistic excellence (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Oct. 1949, P. 607).

Few others -- perhaps C. H. Claudy, Arthur Hammond, William Mortenson, Max Thorek or Adolph Fassbender -- rivaled Fraprie in stature and influence during this period of clubs, salons, and nationwide organization.

But following the expansion and "salonmania" of the thirties and forties Fraprie began to express concerns over the narrowing course of amateur photography. Commenting on AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S Annual Competition in 1945, he wrote,

The American Photographic exhibitions have, during these years of war, pursued their pictorial path in a closed field and have fallen into deep ruts and grooves of custom which have hampered their pictorial advance.

He deplored the trend towards "overenlargement," the move towards larger and larger prints for greater "impact" -- from 8 by 10, to 11 by 14, to 14 by 17, to 16 by 20 -- until the "exquisite, smaller fine print was all but extinct." And he saw the increasing standardization and monotony of the salons as an inhibition on the amateur imagination.

An evil thing has happened to print making. The Photographic Society of America, in a praiseworthy effort to standardize lighting conditions for judging prints, proposed a uniform light box. As originally conceived this provided for a rather low degree of illumination, but through misconceptions on the part of builders of the box, most of these which were used were lit by lamps of too high power, placed too close to the

prints. Too intense illumination and the resulting glare and dazzle killed delicate prints and caused the production by many exhibitors of pictures, far too dark in tone, which produced the desired effect in excessive illumination, but could not be seen to proper advantage in any ordinary light. So our salons have been afflicted with an over-supply of extremely dark prints which were of no utility except to pass judgement in the too-brilliant light of the light box.

...Another evil which has beset our pictorial photography of recent years has been its inability to discover new ideas or methods. ...The race for positions in ranking lists has led pictorialists to a close scrutiny of the successful efforts of others and if not to imitation and copying, to an effort to capitalize and surpass the inventions and productions of others. If kittens and dogs please judges one year, during the next we have ten times as many.

...We are perhaps seeing too many jurors whose main qualification is the fact that they have been very successful as exhibitors within a limited period and who are consequently predisposed to regard the type of pictures which they have so successfully made as the only ones worthy of selection for succeeding shows. The criteria of salon success in the past few years have apparently been large size, fine technique, novelty of subject, and superficial attractiveness. Prints which do not shriek their message and which appeal to the imagination rather than to the eye, do not seem to be highly regarded. Our pictorialists who feel that the only criterion of pictorial success is the production of a print which will be accepted by the unanimous vote on the first viewing of a jury of three prominent pictorialists with no art education except that acquired in a darkroom and the criticism nights of a camera club, lose the joy of producing a print which perpetuates their own inmost moods of high appreciation and pure imagination, and willingly forego the appreciation and approbation of artists and connoisseurs of fine taste (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Vol. 39, No. 9, September, 1945, p. 8).

In the face of an increasingly standardized and ubiquitous PSA system of competitions and judging, photo journals like AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY no longer occupied the

same central position as the most important arbiters of photographic taste. Standards of pictorial excellence had traditionally been prescribed, discussed and debated by prominent photographic writers like Fraprie himself, amateur critics committed to the pictorialist ideals of photography as art. But as salon committees of PSA exhibitors became the photographic judges that really mattered -- in terms of awards, rankings and status in the amateur world -- the elder statesmen and pictorial theorists of an earlier era saw their leadership roles begin to wane. During World War II all but two of the photo journals folded or were absorbed, leaving only AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA in the post war period. And even for these pillars of amateur tradition the forties became a time of shifting emphases -- larger formats, increased displays of color, advertising integrated throughout, larger numbers of articles focusing specifically on how to achieve success in the salons, a larger number of articles catering to beginners -- as they attempted to expand to a more commercial base.

AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S absorption of PHOTO TECHNIQUE in January 1942 marked a move in this direction. At the end of 1941, when announcing the impending merger in a one page essay "We Welcome PHOTO TECHNIQUE Readers," Fraprie showed hints of regret at the development. He seems nostalgic for

bygone days as he witnesses a new cycle in amateur activity.

The present editor made his first photograph in 1886 and developed it himself in an air-tight closet by means of a smelly kerosene lamp and a solution of ferrous oxalate, at a time when professional photographers were still depending mostly on the wet plate process. He made his debut in photographic journalism as a contributor to PHOTO-ERA in its first issue in 1898.

He has seen the number of photographic magazines decline from about thirty at that time to a handful, increase again in recent years, and now begin to diminish rapidly toward another handful.
(AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December, 1941, p. 878).

In the post war period traditional amateur pictorialism was threatened, in the eyes of long time pictorialists like Fraprie, from two sides; from increased standarization, technicism, and the monotonous reproduction of formulas for salon success, on the one hand, and from the influences of "modernism" which were pervading mainstream culture, on the other. A month prior to his retirement Fraprie expressed concern about the threat to traditional pictorialist values represented by trends towards commercial and "modern" forms. As he stepped down as editor of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Fraprie expressed the hope that the new "younger" editors would continue to conserve "the best traditions of the past," that "AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY shall continue to serve serious photographers without catering to lesser appetites, that it shall represent the finest in photography, not the mass."

For many centuries the general acceptance of art was that its purpose was to please, to perpetuate happy memories and noble thoughts, to lift and elevate mankind. Pictures were intended to be beautiful, and the artist was trained in the art of pleasing by his work. Of recent years, however, we have been taught that art must not give rise to pleasant emotions. That it must cease to utilize the subjects and the methods which have been learned by generations of experience and been taken to the heart of mankind for centuries. The modernist painter has turned to abstractions, to unrealities, to phantasmagoria, which have no truth and no glory and no inspiration. Propagandists in photography have already risen, and the doctrine has been widely preached that we must abandon beauty and happiness and humanity in photographic representation, and confine ourselves to the commonplace and the trifling.

...There is still, however, beauty in the world, and lovers of beauty have not wholly disappeared from photography or any other art. If we find that the quality of the photograph we see today does not in all respects reach the peak of prewar years, we have the consolation of feeling that pessimism and depression are giving way to the hopes of a brighter future and optimism, and that photography is resisting malicious and deleterious propaganda. There are still ardent souls who see beauty and wish to perpetuate it, and we hope that our readers will find among the pictures reproduced herewith some hope for a resurgence of high pictorial achievement ("Our 29th Annual Competition," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September, 1949, p. 540).

Fraprie's successor, John C. Bridges attempted to reassure readers about the continuing course of the journal by promising to continue "the great heritage which has come to us in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY." He wrote,

First and foremost, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY will remain the publication of the serious amateur, the man or woman who regards photography as a medium of self expression.

...Secondly, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY will continue to lay emphasis upon the pictorial aspects of the art.

...Thirdly, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY will continue to serve as a medium for the dissemination of information of a technical nature (November, 1949:673).

But he justifies Fraprie's fears when he also writes of competing with new mass circulation magazines and incorporating a more modernistic approach.

Effective with the start of Volume 44 in January, 1950, the additional improvements will be made which will make AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY the equal in appearance of any photographic publication on the market. A new body face type, new headline types, new design throughout...more color, more photographs, more usable and enjoyable articles. ... Throughout there will be a blending of the new with the old...modernism tempered with conservative traditions! (November, 1949:673).

Less than four years later AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA had both folded, leaving the technically and organizationally oriented PSA JOURNAL (the "newsletter" of PSA's organizational and salon activites) as the masthead of amateur pictorial photography in America.

ENDNOTES

1. Interview with Charles Heller, June 1982. I was fortunate to interview Charles Heller, Honorary Fellow of the Photographic Society of America, and the only founding member of MCC still living, for several hours at his home in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, in June of 1982. He provided a tremendous amount of valuable first-hand information concerning the early years of the Miniature Camera Club and the early years of PSA, including biographical information on club members and historical information on photographic organizations. Mr. Heller helped to found the Miniature Camera Club in 1933 and then served as Miniature Club Treasurer, Program Chairman, and President, before becoming Treasurer of the Photographic Society of America in 1945. At the time of this writing Mr. Heller still held the office of PSA Treasurer, a tenure of over forty years. The information provided by Mr. Heller was an indispensable supplement to club minutes and accounts from camera journal articles concerning the first two decades of MCC's operation.
2. Throughout the thirties THE CAMERA seems to have matched AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in importance (even if its editor was not a prominent salon exhibitor). However, in January 1942,

AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY merged with PHOTO TECHNIQUE, giving it a slightly more technical bent and bringing together "in one body of readers the largest group of advanced photographic workers ever assembled" (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Dec. 1941, p. 878). Soon after, in April of 1942, it also absorbed CAMERA CRAFT. THE CAMERA's influence did not keep pace with this expansion during the forties, although it survived as the only other major photo journal in the post war period.

Following the war the PSA JOURNAL gradually became a more important publication for camera club photographers, and when both of the traditional journals, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA, ceased publication in the early 1950's the PSA JOURNAL remained as the only national publication aimed specifically at the amateur camera club world.

Part V

CAMERA CLUBS: PHILADELPHIA AND MINNEAPOLIS

Chapter Ten

THE MINIATURE CAMERA CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA: A CASE STUDY

Drawing from:

- 1) minutes, newsletters, and other archival documents of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia,
- 2) archives of the Photographic Society of America,
- 3) reports of camera club activities published in THE CAMERA: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL OF AMERICA (Philadelphia) and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (Boston),
- 4) and from interviews with long time Miniature Camera Club Members and PSA officers,

I have constructed an account of the organization and activities of a prominent camera club between 1933 and 1982.

Much of this work was done in the role of club historian during a three year period of participant-observation. For two years I enjoyed an unfettered access to all extant minutes, programs and records of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia. I also received warm and generous cooperation from numerous club members who contributed documents and recollections. This has provided me with a fortuitously thorough case study against which to check organizational and industrial data at a macro level. What follows, then, is a description of the history and activities of a distinguished, yet characteristic, association of amateur photographers.

First Contact

Dona Schwartz and I began attending Miniature Camera Club meetings at the Engineers Club of Philadelphia in February of 1979. During the spring of that year we visited regularly, keeping extensive notes on: meetings, procedures, categories of photographic work, the types of photographs being exhibited, the nature of photographic critiques, club competitions, club outings and activities, who the members were, and how often they attended. We also began formal and informal interviews with Miniature Club members (and one former member), and we visited other clubs in the Philadelphia area. Our participant-observation in the Philadelphia club network lasted slightly more than three years, from March 1979 through June 1982. Later, during a period from 1983-1985, I supplemented the Philadelphia data with data on camera clubs in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. This comparative data includes minutes and programs for the Minneapolis Camera Club covering roughly the same years as those for the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, and interviews with officials of the Twin Cities Council of Camera Clubs.

We were initially surprised by the large number of amateur photographers affiliated with camera clubs, and by the extent of the amateur club network. We soon learned

that there were more than thirty clubs in the Delaware Valley Council of Camera Clubs (DVCCC), a regional organization representing the greater Philadelphia area from Atlantic City, N.J. to Reading, Pa. (The DVCCC succeeded an earlier Philadelphia Council of Camera Clubs.) There are also clubs in the Philadelphia area not affiliated with the DVCCC, including "company clubs" (clubs for the corporate employees of a specific firm). Amateurs in both Philadelphia and Minneapolis-St. Paul expressed the opinion that company clubs were, for the most part, less likely to interact with other clubs in regional councils.

The Philadelphia area clubs with which I had contact (either by visiting club meetings or visiting and questioning club members) were: the Cheltenham Camera Club, the Delaware County Camera Club, the Germantown-Mt. Airy Camera Club, the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Lens Guild, and The Photographic Society of Philadelphia. Active membership in these clubs averaged between 60 and 110, with membership varying somewhat from year to year.

I discovered that the scale of amateur activity in the Philadelphia area was not atypical. In a much smaller population area like Minneapolis-St. Paul, the Twin Cities Council of Camera Clubs has 17 member clubs with more than 800 dues-paying members (an average of about 50 members per club). As in many areas, these numbers are down somewhat

from previous times. Still, according to the PSA Directory nearly every large metropolitan area or urban region has some sort of regional council comprising numerous clubs.¹

By May of 1979 Dona and I decided to join the Miniature Camera Club as participant-observers for the 1979-80 season. We chose MCC because it was a very active club and seemed characteristic of clubs we had visited or learned about. It was well integrated into the hierarchy of amateur organizational levels -- with members participating and serving as officers in the Delaware Valley Council and the Photographic Society of America. MCC members were also prominent in interclub activities -- appearing on the programs of many other clubs in the Philadelphia area, as competition judges, as program speakers, as exhibitors. Equally important, our initial visits proved the members to be friendly and open to newcomers, and the center city Philadelphia location of the club was logically convenient for regular, long-term observation.

Our first contact with camera clubs opened up a hitherto unknown world to us. After four months of preliminary observation and interviewing we decided that we had discovered a significant arena of photographic socialization and production, a world deserving of more systematic study. We officially joined the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia and for the next three years we

observed and participated in meetings, photo competitions, critique sessions, and social hours. We went to camera club dinners and joined in club sponsored photographic outings. With other camera club members we attended Eastman Kodak weekend seminars, DVCCC inter-club photo competitions, and travelled to other cities for international salons. We visited club members at their homes, toured their darkrooms, studied the pictures displayed on their walls, and gained a better sense of the role photography played in their lives.

We soon learned that these were not casual or marginally competent "camera bugs." Their commitment of time and energy to their avocation was considerable. The sheer volume of their production was impressive and their technical competence noteworthy.

As I learned more about networks of clubs all across the country and became aware of an industry role in education and service, I became more interested in the history of this camera club phenomenon and began to inquire about the club's origins. In 1980 Dona and I were appointed official club historians and were given access to the club's archive of minutes, programs, membership lists and newsletters. Later, I gained access to journals and records at the Photographic Society of America headquarters in Philadelphia. I combined this information with material

available in collections of photographic journals at the the University of Pennsylvania Libraries, the Free Library of Philadelphia, the University of Minnesota Libraries, the Minneapolis Public Library, and the "Mertle Collection: Documents from the History of Photography and the Reproduction Technique" at 3M Company corporate headquarters in St. Paul, Minnesota.² I also gained access to documents, minutes and other information concerning Minneapolis camera clubs from the collection of Christian Peterson, Assistant Curator of Photography, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. And I interviewed long term camera club members and PSA officers about the origin and continuation of their organizations.

Because of its prominence in the amateur world during the thirties and forties, the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia provided an entree to much valuable information concerning that period. Once I had traced the history of MCC through several decades, an understanding of the amateur world became much more accessible.

Historical Background

The Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia was founded on March 2, 1933, nine months before the Associated Camera Clubs of America (ACCA) reincorporated itself as the Photographic Society of America (PSA). The formation of the club was part of that widespread expansion of amateur activity which marked the early thirties. As its name implies, the club was formed for and by those interested in the modern, precision-built 35mm cameras rapidly gaining popularity at the time. The charter members tended to be seasoned pictorialists with a keen interest in the newest technical developments. They also conformed to descriptions of amateur photographers as upper middle class professional and business people. The largest number of Miniature members were managers and engineers in technical firms, but there was also a liberal sprinkling of doctors, dentists, attorneys, chemists, metallurgists, commercial photographers and other professionals.

The information concerning early Miniature Camera Club members which follows is taken from a lengthy interview with Charles Heller, the only living charter member of Miniature Camera Club and the longest continually active PSA officer in the Society's history. A complete list of founding and charter members appears in Appendix B.

Leslie Woods, the club's first president, was a Vice President in charge of engineering for Philco. He was a member of the Oval Table Society of New York, a notoriously elite society of those who had distinguished themselves greatly in some area of photographic endeavor.³ Later, he was elected to the board of directors for the Photographic Society of America.

Attorney H. Crowell Pepper, a founding member of the Miniature Camera Club and the club's first secretary, served as the first "Miniature Camera" editor for AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, covering the technical aspects of the new "miniature" format with an encyclopedic thoroughness and reporting regularly on new cameras, new filmstocks, new chemistry, and the formation of more and more new "miniature" clubs and associations. Later, his articles on miniature camera photography appeared alongside the writings of William Mortenson, William S. Davis, Paul L. Anderson, Edward Weston and Ansel Adams in the pages of CAMERA CRAFT.

Founding member Claude E. Anderson, was Technical Editor for THE CAMERA and also a member of the Oval Table Society.

Founder John Mudd, later a President of MCC and a Director of the Photographic Society of America, was Vice President for employment and labor relations at Midvale Steel Co. and also a prominent member of the Photographic

Society of Philadelphia.

Charter members Elias Goldensky and Richard Dooner were well known professional portrait photographers who had pursued parallel careers in the amateur societies and salons since the first decade of the century. Their work was regularly published in the pictorialist photo journals.

William Ritasse was a professional industrial photographer as well as a successful international salon exhibitor. After doing a series of cloud pictures for salon exhibition, he proceeded to assemble a library of cloud photographs which he sandwiched with various cityscapes or industrial photos to enhance the pictorial quality of his professional work.

According to Heller, several of the first members -- R. E. Bogardus, Richard G. Burton, Edmund J. Duffy, Louis Goodman, Benjamin Klein, Joseph Mertz, Harold Pough, and Joseph Steinmetz -- owned or managed retail photography stores or worked for photographic companies. Klein and Goodman were partners and owned "the largest photo store in town." Burton was a manager of photo sales at Williams, Brown & Earle -- the primary Leica dealer in Philadelphia. Duffy was manager of Houdt Photographic Studios. Mertz was manager of one of the two Philadelphia Eastman Kodak stores. Steinmetz was a Leica distribution representative for E. Leitz. Pough was an owner of McCallum Stores Photography,

and Bogardus was also "in the photo business." Ernest Meisner had a picture frame business. ("He made the most beautiful cherry wood frames".) Other members included:

- a retired electrical engineer who owned a photo repair shop,
- the president of an advertising agency,
- two men who worked in lens manufacturing, one of whom eventually went to work for Eastman Kodak,
- an officer in the National Association of Steel Manufacturers who won awards for his metallurgical research,
- an executive at General Electric,
- an executive at Philadelphia Electric,
- a dentist.

Thus, MCC members were upper middle class professional men frequently engaged in technical occupations and often involved in photographically related businesses. Their backgrounds are consistent with the biographical profiles of salon exhibitors and club officers found in the photographic journals. The easy and natural alliance of amateur organizations with the photographic industry seems to have been greatly facilitated by an actual interlocking of personnel. My first contact with the camera club network in Minnesota was with the President of the Twin Cities Council of Camera Clubs, whom I soon discovered was the owner of his own chain of photofinishing stores. Similarly, employees of Eastman Kodak and other photographic firms have held important offices and provided valuable service to the Photographic Society of America.

In the 1970s and 80s Miniature Club members have continued to come from predominantly white collar, professional backgrounds.⁴ Executives from technical corporations and utilities continue to be disproportionately represented. Managers and employees of the photographic industry (manufacturing, distribution and retailing) continue to play leading roles in club affairs. Large numbers of doctors and dentists have always participated in the club. According to Harold Vermes, PSA's Executive Secretary from 1979 through 1981, photography is the number one hobby of physicians and dentists in the U.S. (February 1981 interview).

Many amateurs joined clubs like the MCC because of their interest in technical matters, yet the club's primary focus has always remained the production of pictorial photographs. Intrigued with cameras, gadgetry, chemicals, darkroom technique and photographic accessories, club members were always interested in the many technical demonstrations presented at the club, but the primary goal remained turning out prints which would score points at the salons. For most, photographic processes were a means to an end, although part of the enjoyment lay in experimentation with the processes. These were people enamored with technology, but (with rare exceptions) they were not like the inventors and tinkerers of early amateur days. Club

minutes show that they tended to be admirers of corporate organization and the corporate mastery of technology, and were eager to experiment with industrial innovations. But they did not take technical innovation into their own hands. As Charles Heller reminisced, technical knowledge was greatly respected in the club but tinkering with cameras or chemicals was not what gave a person special status. It was placing a print in the Pittsburgh Salon, one of the most preeminent international salons and "the big salon for Philadelphia photographers."

The impetus for the formation of a miniature camera club came from Williams, Brown and Earle, Co., the largest Leica dealership in the Philadelphia area. Representatives of Williams, Brown and Earle, including Richard G. Burton, photo sales manager for the company and a charter member of MCC, offered to financially support the establishment of a new club which they wanted to call the "Leica Club." This was a common part of E. Leitz's marketing strategy at the time (a time when Leica cameras were sweeping the amateur world) and "Leica Clubs" were founded in many other cities (e.g the Washington Leica Club).

Many prospective members were uncomfortable with the idea of affiliating themselves with a specific company and taking its product's name. According to Heller much of their hesitation stemmed from fears of how affiliation with

Williams, Brown and Earle, and E. Leitz, Co. might affect dealings with other photographic companies and dealerships, especially a firm as dominant in the market as Eastman Kodak. But representatives of Williams, Brown and Earle insisted on the name. "Twelve or fifteen" of those present at the organizational meeting walked out and reassembled at a nearby restaurant to talk about starting their own club. They contacted the other photography stores in the city, (Klein and Goodman, McCallum Stores, Seaboard Camera Stores, Inc. and Eastman Kodak Stores) and "sure they wanted to put Williams, Brown and Earle out of business," so they assured the amateurs that they would provide support for a club.

The Leica club never got off the ground but the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia did. During the 30s the club's growth paralleled that of the most successful amateur organizations nationwide. From 51 charter members in 1933 the club grew to over 200 members by 1940. As early as February 1936 THE CAMERA noted,

About a dozen new members were added to the roster (of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia), putting the club further ahead in their position as the largest miniature camera club in the U.S., if not in the world. In April of 1936 THE CAMERA reported that average attendance at Miniature club meetings was 75 to 150. Attendance was rising so rapidly that the club decided it would have to enforce an admittance-by-membership-card-only policy. Guest

cards were issued but no guest was allowed to attend more than twice a year.

As membership climbed the club planned more elaborate end-of-the-year banquets, sometimes including a band and a stage show. The annual dinner in June 1936 included a seven act floor show, with an emcee, singers and dancers, a banjoist, acrobats, and a magician. Dr. H. W. Zieler of E. Leitz, Inc. spoke on miniature camera photography, and a drawing was held for thirty equipment items donated by Philadelphia photo-supply dealers. Apparently the floor show was provided as much for photographic subject matter as for entertainment. THE CAMERA reports,

-- the ubiquitous miniam fans cut loose with Photoflood and Photoflash, even unto step ladder viewpoints; all resulting, no doubt, in many photographic mementoes of the events (July 1936, p. 70).

Club Meetings

From the beginning the camera club was host to many prominent names in pictorial photography. Its location in Philadelphia (one of the hotbeds of the pictorialist tradition), along with the large number of already well known photographers in the club and its connections to the Oval Table Society in New York, probably enhanced the club's ability to attract a regular stream of well known guests.

In the first few years of Miniature Club meetings, talks by distinguished pictorialists were held about once a month. Speakers included various Fellows of the Royal Photographic Society, most of whom were award-winning American salonists. They invariably spoke on topics like "Pictorial Photography," "Pictorial Considerations in Photography," "Pictorial Art," "The Essentials of Portraiture," "Dynamic Composition in Pictorial Photography," "Composition, Technique, Tone," "Harmony and Composition," "Exhibition Prints for Salons," or "Pictorial Work vs. The Trends towards Modernism."

Occasionally a commercial studio photographer would speak on techniques of portraiture, or advertising photography.

Alternating with talks on pictorial art was a roughly equal number of technical lectures and demonstrations by people like Lloyd A. Jones, chief Physicist for Kodak Research Laboratories, and H.P. Rockwell of Weston Electrical Instrument Corp. Some of the topics included:

"Practical Hints to Workers in Fine Grain Emulsions," "Types and Uses of Photographic Papers," "The Use of the Photo-Electric Cell in Exposure Meters," "The Objective: Photographic Lenses," "Dye Sensitizing of Photo Emulsions," "Retouching Negatives," "Demonstration of the Kalart Synchronizer," "Photography as Applied to Astronomy," or "Special Techniques for Miniature Camera Photography."

The names of those appearing to speak at club meetings takes on added significance when one has studied the

photo journals of that era, for nearly all the names appear regularly in the bylines, photo credits or news reports of those magazines. Some, like Jack Allen and Robert Barrows, were renowned salonists from the crosstown Photographic Society of Philadelphia. Most were in demand across the country as speakers for club meetings and banquets. They were the celebrities of the camera club world. Below is a small sample.

Dr. Max Thorek, President of the Photographic Society of America and rated the top salon exhibitor in the world, appeared twice at MCC during the early years.

Adolph Fassbender, an equally renowned salon exhibitor, also appeared twice. (In camera club meetings I observed between 1979 and 1982 Fassbender was discussed several times and was roundly endorsed by MCC members as a model of the best pictorialist work.)

Dr. D. J. Ruzicka, long prominent in the journals and in the salons, was one of the founders group -- along with Clarence White, Gertrude Kasebier, Antoinette B. Hervey, Dr. A. D. Chaffee, and Dr. John Wallace Gillies -- of the Pictorial Photographers of America. He spoke to the club on "Pictorial Work in Europe."

Axel Bahnsen, whose photographs and prescriptions regularly appeared in several journals, spoke at a joint meeting of the Miniature Camera Club and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia held at the Franklin Institute.

Nicholas Haz, perhaps one of the best known authors and lecturers on art and pictorial photography in the country at that time, appeared to lecture on the "Principles of Pictorial Photography." Haz made a comfortable living teaching techniques of pictorial photography in his New York school and on the camera club circuit while authoring numerous books and photo journal articles.

Louis Fleckenstein visited the club to critique their prints in 1934. He had helped to found the Salon Club of America in 1903 as an alternative to the Photo-Secession and was considered a father of twentieth century salon pictorialism.

Industry representatives who visited Miniature Club meetings between 1933 and 1939 included spokesman and scientists working for:

Agfa Ansco Corp.,
Bausch and Lomb Optical,
Defender Photo Supply Co.,
Dufay Color, Inc.,
Redpath Labs of DuPont Film Manufacturing Co. (3 times),
Eastman Kodak Co. (6 times),
E. Leitz Co. - maker of Leica 35mm cameras (5 times),
General Electric Co.,
Gevaert Co. (twice),
Graflex Camera Corp.,
Kalart Co.,
Photo Crafts Laboratory,
Photo Marketing Corp.,
Raygram Corp.,
RCA Victor Co.,
Weston Electrical Instrument Corp. (3 times),
Westinghouse Lamp Co.,
Carl Zeiss, Inc. - maker of Contax 35mm cameras.

Photographic firms were eager to send speakers to the clubs, and accounts of camera club meetings everywhere show a regular schedule of industry demonstrations. Many of the visits were arranged by club members acquainted with someone at the company, or associated with the company in some way themselves. Some were arranged through photo dealers, or photo dealer employees, belonging to the club. (Klein and Goodman Photo, Seaboard Camera Stores, MacCallum Stores, and the two Eastman Kodak Stores in Philadelphia all had representatives who were active in the Miniature Camera Club.) It was usually not necessary to approach a company cold to ask for a speaker.

Frequently members affiliated with the photo stores would bring equipment or products to the club meetings for demonstrations. Benjamin Klein and Louis Goodman brought home movie "talkies" to a February 1934 meeting, members from one of the Eastman Kodak Stores brought Kodachrome color film to show the club as soon as it was released.

Members holding prominent editorial positions with journals like THE CAMERA also helped to arrange for print exhibits and guests. Claude E. Anderson, one of the most active officers in the club, had served as both Commercial Editor and Technical editor for THE CAMERA and exploited innumerable contacts among dealers and company representatives to arrange club programs. At his invitation, Karl Barleben, F.R.P.S., who represented E. Leitz Co. and wrote a monthly column for THE CAMERA entitled, "Diminutive Camera Technique and Practice," visited the club to speak on the use of Miniature Camera. Alfred DeLardi, F.R.P.S., who contributed the monthly "Pictorial Salon Calendar" to THE CAMERA, held special studio sessions for the club, then became a member himself.

The early years set a pattern for the club which continued with great consistency. Meetings alternated between pictorial speakers, print critiques, and technical demonstratons --with outings, dinners and programs of various kinds interspersed. Sometimes the members would all

pile into a studio to photograph models--both animate and inanimate. The following is an excerpt from the minutes of December 21, 1933.

Fifteen minutes recess was granted before film wasting time.

Upon re-convening in the beautiful modern studio of Mr. Dooner the model was posed, lights flashed on and with the cry of Camera! the Hollywood Fiesta began. Yards and yards of film were run off as the master of ceremonies shifted the lights. The clicking of shutters sounded like a typewriter in full swing. Many exposures were made of the backs of fellow members and many new words and phrases were learned by the Secretary for future Minutes. Tiring of back views of members someone had a bright idea and insisted upon wasting more film upon the club's officers. Maybe the Greeks have a word for it but the Americans have not. Well a good time was had by all and the club looks forward to the second January meeting for results.

As club membership grew committees were formed: a Technical Committee to report on technological advancements and new products; a House Committee to provide for meeting rooms, darkroom facilities, and exhibition space; a Program Committee to plan for speakers and programs; a Publicity Committee to send regular news of the club to the photographic journals and to arrange notices for special open meetings, lectures, or exhibitions; a Membership Committee for recruitment; an Education Committee to plan instructional programs and photography classes for new members; and a Salon Committee to prepare for the raison d'etre of the entire enterprise.

Prints were regularly hung in the club rooms and vigorous critiques were a normal part of the agenda. Sometimes club members would critique the prints themselves but often they would invite well known people from outside the club to analyze their work. One installment of the minutes recounts a night when three highly respected old time pictorialists, Richard T. Dooner, Elias Goldensky, and William Ritasse formed a judging triumvirate, which provoked a most lively night of criticism and debate.

A question and answer session was also a regular part of the meetings. This session was used for clarifying questions about various technical problems--everything from "How do you harden film so it will not frill during warm weather?" to "How do you get paraphenelene stains out of trousers and off hands?" There always seemed to be someone present with an answer for every question.

MCC Peaks With the Rest of the Amateur World

From the first, Miniature Club members distinguished themselves on the salon circuit. Fred P. Peel was listed as the third leading salon exhibitor in the nation in the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY for 1934. THE AMERICAN ANNUAL for 1936 lists Fred Peel, John Mudd and Alfred Delardi among the top thirty salon exhibitors in the world. Dooner and Peel were both been named honorary members of The

Pittsburgh Salon. DeLardi's photographs were appearing regularly in THE CAMERA. Salon fever led to plans for sponsoring their own exhibition.

The First Philadelphia National Salon of the Miniature Camera was held at the Philadelphia Art Alliance in 1935. The salon was repeated in 1936 at the Ayer Galleries on West Washington Square, and became a regular annual event. In 1941 the salon graduated from a national to an international exhibition and dropped the "miniature" distinction. The Philadelphia International Salon of Photography, administered each year by the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, continued until 1968 when it was allowed to lapse.

In 1937 the club also sponsored the first National Salon of Pictorial Photography for Women, an event which was repeated in 1938 and 1939.

The prominence of MCC members on the salon circuit, along with their proximity to PSA headquarters in Philadelphia, kept the club at the center of amateur activity and organization. In Chapter Nine the important role played by Miniature members John P. Mudd, Charles Heller, and Richard Dooner in helping to establish PSA Pictorial Division Standards was discussed. John Mudd continued as Chairman of the Pictorial Division during the forties. Robert Barrows, who had been President of the

Photographic Society of Philadelphia, joined the Miniature Camera Club as well before becoming President of PSA for a time. MCC members John Hogan, Gottlieb Hampfler, Hans Kaden and Dorothea Kaden assumed important roles nationally through salon participation and PSA involvement. In October of 1943 Charles Heller and Hans Kaden received the silver medal for distinguished service to photography from the Photographic Society of America. In 1945 Charles Heller became PSA Treasurer "For Life."

By 1939, the intensity of activity within the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia epitomized the exuberant and expanding amateur world.⁵ Max Thorek was back to speak at the annual dinner. Adolph Fassbender was back to speak at the joint MCC-Franklin Institute meeting. Club members' prints were being shown in the PSA exhibit at the New York World's Fair, and MCC had a "record showing" in the Pittsburgh International Salon with seventeen members having prints hung. There was an Eastman Kodak show at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia which included prints by four MCC members. And the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY for 1939 lists seventeen members of the Miniature Camera club in its Who's Who in Pictorial Photography. MCC member John R. Hogan is rated the third leading salon exhibitor in the world for 1939-40.

During the war amateurs were forced to scale down some of their activities. MCC meetings were occasionally interrupted by blackouts, picture taking was often curtailed by shortages of photographic materials, military transportation needs made it impossible to charter a bus for club outings, and gas rationing made automobile transport problematic. The international exchange of salon prints was severely restricted. In March of 1943 the Miniature Camera Club lost its meeting rooms in the Architects Building to the War Department and were forced to relocate in more modest surroundings. Stouffer's restaurant, where club members had traditionally met for dinner before meetings, notified MCC it could no longer reserve a special table for the club due to the increase in military clients.

But the club tolerated all these inconveniences apparently without complaint. In fact, the members involved themselves in many volunteer efforts to assist the government's war effort. While AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA printed appeals across their covers urging readers to buy war bonds, camera club members in Philadelphia responded enthusiastically to government requests for photographs of overseas locations, provided photographic prints of "American life" for government "education campaigns" abroad, and volunteered their time to make portraits for servicemen.

The following notice was issued to members by the Secretary of the Miniature Camera Club in June of 1942.

URGENT

WHERE HAVE YOU FILMED?

In order to facilitate the operation of our armed forces, the government is engaged in locating photographs and transparencies of areas outside the United States. It is desirable and necessary to broaden the base of this activity by building up an index of photographs and transparencies in the hands of persons who have traveled OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES and who have photographed in the course of their travel.

If you have photographed OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES, you are requested to write the Secretary for a questionnaire, as a patriotic duty. Questions that will naturally come to your mind are made clear in the form itself. Report all photographs and transparencies, whatever their size. Quality is unimportant; subject matter is paramount. It is particularly requested that you act promptly.

Similar notices appeared in the photographic journals.

In 1942 a group of "Volunteer Photographers" in the Philadelphia area was formed to act as a photographic pool for the "Council of Defense." In 1943 the government canvassed the camera clubs for "pictures of Americans at work and at play" to be sent to China, India and Russia for "educational purposes" (MCC minutes April 7, 1943). Members volunteered time to U.S.O. Centers, making portraits of servicemen for them to send back to their families and friends, and, at their own expense, made and sent prints for exhibitions hung at U.S. military camps.

Amid all the turmoil and inconvenience of the war years membership in the Miniature Camera Club actually continued to grow. Apparently this was true of other clubs as well for, in the fall of 1942, the Miniature Camera Club and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia joined together to sponsor a photographic course for their many new members. According to MCC minutes the course was designed "to make pictorialists out of snapshooters." Forty seven new members signed up for the first offering of the course and in May of 1943 an exhibition of student prints was held.

Despite a fall off in foreign participation North America salon activity continued unabated through the war years and members of the Miniature Camera Club played leading roles. In 1942 four MCC members were chosen as judges for the PSA International Salon, and in that year the AMERICAN ANNUAL rated MCC member Hans Kaden as the world's number one salon exhibitor. The 1943 AMERICAN ANNUAL lists three MCC members (Hans Kaden, Dr. A.M. Ornsteen, and John Hogan) among the top twenty in the world, and six MCC members in the top 100. Eighteen members are included in the 1943 Who's Who in Pictorial Photography. For the 1944-45 season, member John Hogan, a specialist in marine photography, is listed as the most successful salon pictorialist in the world and members Hans Kaden and John Benus are listed among the world's top ten exhibitors.

After the war Miniature members continued to rank at the top of the salon listings. Benus is rated 3rd and Hogan 5th for the 1945-46 season, and for 1946-47 Hogan is rated 2nd behind Frank R. Fraprie. A cumulative rating for the five year period 1942-1947 (published in the 1948 AMERICAN ANNUAL) lists Hogan as the the world's overall leading exhibitor during that time. THE AMERICAN ANNUAL gives another MCC member, Gottlieb Hampfler, the world's highest rating for "pictorial achievement" in 1948-49.

By the 1940s the Miniature Camera Club was well established as the largest and most prominent camera club in the Philadelphia area, with over 200 active members. The growth and prominence of new clubs like MCC challenged the traditional leadership of clubs like the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. In the modern era of "miniature" cameras, color slides, travel photography, and commercially influenced work, the Photographic Society of Philadelphia came to represent a more esoteric commitment to traditional pictorialism. A club like MCC, on the other hand, represented a commitment to the latest technology, a receptiveness to the commercial developments and promotions of the photographic industry, and full acceptance of the PSA salon circuit as the test of pictorialist merit. No where is this better exemplified than in the Miniature Camera Club's rapid transition to color slides.

Change in the 50s: Color

The prints which took John Mudd, Hans Kaden, John Hogan Dr. John Benus, Dr. A. M. Ornsteen, and Gottlieb Hampfler to the top of the salon world (landscapes, photos of sailing yachts and marine subjects, close-up photography of flowers) represent impeccably competent reproductions of the traditional pictorialist code. Changes in technology had made their presence felt in the turn from soft focus to sharply focused enlargements of miniature negatives, and in the use of macro lenses and extenders for sharply focused close-up images; but the basic aspects of pictorial style -- choices of subject matter, the concern for tone, placement of principal figures and patterns of composition -- survive almost completely intact from earlier decades (see Chapter Twelve). By the fifties the emphasis of pictorial activity shifts more noticeably and the Miniature Camera Club, well integrated at the center of the PSA world, shifts along with it. The primary reason for this change again seems to be the introduction of new technologies. Most important of all, perhaps, was the introduction of the Agfachrome and Kodachrome processes and the increasing popularity of color transparencies.

The development of the new color processes were being discussed in the camera clubs as early as 1934-35. At the

MCC meeting of April 18, 1935 (three days after Eastman Kodak first introduced the Kodachrome process for motion picture film) a discussion of Kodachrome was conducted by the members and representatives from Eastman Kodak projected a reel of Kodachrome film for the group. In 1937 Kodachrome film was introduced for 35mm still cameras, and by April of 1939, some members brought color slides to project for the club. That summer there were discussions, noted in the Miniature club minutes, of including a Kodachrome show in the following year's program.

But professional and amateur print makers were slow to take color transparencies seriously. At the 1939 World's Fair, although Eastman Kodak included Kodachrome slides in its extensive exhibit, the amateur exhibitions showed exclusively black and white prints. PSA created a Color Division in 1941, but it remained a marginal department for a number of years.

It was not until after the war that color slides became an increasingly prominent part of camera club picture making. In 1948, MCC's International Salon was still limited to monochrome prints. In 1949, the 14th Salon was revised to include color slides. Then, starting in the fifties, camera club photography became dominated by color slide work. By 1957 the Philadelphia International Salon

had become an exhibition of color slides only. Black and white printmaking never disappeared altogether in the camera clubs but during the late fifties and sixties printmakers became a distinct minority, usually forming a small circle of what are considered especially committed photographers in each club.⁶

One can follow this trend within the Miniature Camera Club. Color slides became so predominant by the mid-50s that people who were once strictly monochrome print makers were entering slide competitions. The early fifties saw a rapid transition to color slides accompanied by a drastic reduction in printmaking activity. In the 1951-54 seasons the club scheduled programs on:

- "Art and the Kodachrome Medium,"
- "Color Slide Show: Our Colorful West,"
- "New Horizons in Color Photography" (Pavelle Color Labs),
- "How to Improve Your Color Slides,"
- "New Ansco Color Transparencies" (Ansco),
- "Lamps and Filters for Use in Indoor Color Photography"
(Sylvania Co.),
- "Color Slide Show of Travel in the Europe, the Balkans,
and the Holy Land,"
- "Kodak Color Films and Their Use in Slide and Stereo
Photography" (Eastman Kodak Co.),
- "Color Composition and Color Harmony" (Antonelli, Inc.),
- "Color and Stereo Portraiture,"
- "The Effects of Color Relationship on Planned Pictures,"
- "A Discussion of Projection Techniques and Equipment,"
- "Painting and Photographic Parallels, A History Presented
in Color Slides,"
- "Better Transparencies Through Creative Color Thinking"
(Ansco),
- "Filters for Color Photography" (Eastman Kodak Co.),

In 1953 the club began to hold "pre-session color slide viewings" before most of the club meetings. By 1957, when the 21st Annual Philadelphia International Salon was reduced to color slides only, the following notice appeared in the club newsletter, *The MicaClarion*:

President O'Day wishes to emphasize that the Philadelphia International will be held this year as outlined above, but only color slides will be judged and exhibited.

During recent years many photographic clubs have omitted prints from their annual exhibitions, but such has not been either the policy of the desire of the Miniature Camera Club. Even though circumstances have compelled us to omit prints this year, we confidently expect to exhibit them in subsequent Internationals.

Color prints were added to the 1959 Salon but monochrome prints never made a comeback. In a nine year period from 1948 to 1957 the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia's "Philadelphia International Salon" moved from accepting monochrome prints only to accepting color slides only. By the sixties, competitions and salons are overwhelmingly dominated by projected color photographs.

Although pictorialist tenets were adapted to the new color work, the introduction of color photography impacted amateur production in a number of ways. Travel and nature photographs became more prominent categories in competitions and salons as the number of photographers working in color increased. Judgements of technical competence in color photography centered more on perfect exposure and consequent

color rendition. Color composition did not entail the same evaluations of tone gradation. Since most of the work involved transparencies, the process of working on a print to achieve perfect tone quality was eliminated. Concern for "tone" in color slides involved the selection of filmstock and control of exposure for color saturation. Aesthetic decisions by the photographer were more limited to concerns for the arrangement of subject matter and the placement of color masses, decisions made at the time of shooting.

The notion of "immediate impact" became an even more important ingredient of pictorial success as the striving for subtle tone gradations in black and white gave way to a preference for bright and "punchy" color saturation. By the time I was participating in club competitions and PSA salons in 1979-80, it had become a rule-of-thumb that bright, well saturated reds would catch the judge's eye and prove appealing. Slides with red were considered good bets for salon competitions, and slides which included areas of bright, intense red color were said to exhibit a "PSA red." In general, the pictorialist preoccupation with subtleties of light and tone shifted to a desire for brightly lit, "beautiful colors." Interest in the play of light and shadow is still valued but tends to be exploited only in a narrow range of subjects (snowscapes, for instance).

The Modern Day Camera Club

Since 1957 the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia has effectively become a color slide club, with small groups of monochrome and color printmakers. During my stay at MCC it was sometimes not possible to conduct a print competition for lack of participants. Printmakers were very conscious of the need to enter prints every month in order to sustain viable club competitions. Slide competitions, on the other hand, were always flush with entries, despite intermittent participation by many. Other clubs I observed in the Philadelphia area conformed to a similar pattern.

Today, club meetings revolve around a projection screen where slides are viewed. There is still a salon circuit where amateur photographers gain their recognition, but it is a network primarily of color slide exhibitors, controlled and organized completely within the parameters of the Photographic Society of America. The PSA salon system is dominated by the Color Slide and Nature Divisions. Participation in the Pictorial Print Division is meager by comparison. "Photo-Travel," a division created by PSA in 1969 in response to the tremendous surge in travel slide photography, provides a competitive forum for travelogues which in the last ten to fifteen years have increasingly taken the form of multi-projector slide tape "shows."

The success of an amateur exhibitor's print in the twenties, thirties and forties was measured by the number of salon acceptance stickers affixed to the back of travelling exhibition prints. These labels provided a conspicuous display of a photograph's success from one exhibition to another. In PSA's permanent print collection the backs of prints by past Miniature Camera Club exhibitors like John Hogan, Hans Kaden and Gottlieb Hampfler are covered with such labels of merit. Pictorialists' overall success was measured by their salon reputation, their exposure in the major amateur journals, the inclusion of their work in the AMERICAN ANNUALS OF PHOTOGRAPHY, and their rating in the AMERICAN ANNUAL'S "Who's Who in Pictorial Photography."

Today, the success and reputation of Miniature Camera Club Members is largely gauged according to PSA "star ratings"; photographers earn stars by accumulating large numbers of salon acceptances on the PSA salon circuit. Ranks of "one-star" through "five-star" constitute a kind of pictorialist hierarchy, with 640 salon acceptances needed for the "five-star" rating in color slides. "Galaxy Awards" are bestowed upon those elite exhibitors who surpass five stars and continue to compile winning acceptances. A diamond star is awarded after surpassing five stars in the Nature Division, followed by the awarding of the title "Photographer-Naturalist."

I asked club members if they also entered salons which weren't affiliated with PSA. They said they didn't know of any, and if there were, they would be suspicious of them. One member explained it to me by saying "PSA is sort of the Good Housekeeping Seal for salons." It quickly became apparent that amateur camera club photography in the United States remains an activity conducted almost exclusively within the PSA system.

Miniature Camera Club members are still very involved in the Photographic Society of America, serving in various capacities as well as excelling in salon competition. Several MCC members are listed in PSA's Who's Who -- for Color Slides, for Nature Photography, and for Photo-Travel. One member is also listed in the Color Prints Division and one in Monochrome Prints. One member of MCC is on the editorial staff of the PSA JOURNAL, and another is Chairman of PSA's Permanent Collection Committee. Several other club members serve on various division committees for PSA.

In the last thirty years The Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia has continued to play a prominent role within the PSA and Delaware Valley Council networks. Its members enjoy an active schedule of speaking, judging, and presenting slide shows at dozens of other clubs. It has been an organization which promotes the practice of pictorial photography both within and without the club.

Club Activities

The Miniature Camera Club now holds meetings on the first three Thursdays of each month, from September through May. In January 1982, the club listed 97 dues-paying members: 58 men and 39 women. Meetings are held in the rooms of the Engineer's Club (a professional's social club) commencing at 8 p.m. A small group meets earlier for drinks at the Engineer's Club bar, followed by dinner in the Club's dining rooms. After each meeting refreshments are served by one of the turn-taking women members.

Competition nights roughly alternate with programs or presentations by club members and invited guests. Consistent with current amateur trends club programs usually involve the showing of slides. The most important meetings (gauged by attendance and the visible interest of the members) are the photo competition nights, the in-house salon judgings which regularly exercise the members' pictorial skills. Normally eight Competition Nights are held each season, in addition to the annual Hartig Memorial Landscape Contest and the annual Oscar May Memorial Photo-Story Competition. Any member may enter his or her work in these competitions, so long as they mark their entries properly and place them in the appropriate exhibition categories (Pictorial Slides, Nature Slides, Pictorial Color Prints, Pictorial Black and White Prints, Travelogue/Essay).

Aside from the regularly scheduled competition nights programs generally take one of three formats: an instructional program detailing a specific photographic technique (at which the presenter her/himself excels); a set of slides illustrating the presenter's own work (usually concerning a genre of photography in which the presenter specializes); or a travelogue, an edited sequence of slides culled from the careful pictorial record of a vacation trip and accompanied by a spoken or tape recorded narration. Occasionally a manufacturer's slide-tape show (on equipment, filmstocks, accessories or techniques) is presented. During each of the three years I attended Miniature Camera Club meetings there were:

3 or 4 instructional slide presentations by amateurs using their own work as illustration,
3 or 4 slide shows by successful amateurs highlighting their own work,
3 or 4 slide-tape travelogues, usually by MCC members,
and
1 or 2 industry slide programs.

With the transformation to slides during the fifties and sixties, "photo essays," travelogues, and slide/tape shows were quickly established as mainstay components of club activities. In the three years I spent in MCC there were several instructional programs on "slide showmanship" designed to give club members tips on putting together better slide show presentations. Slide shows were also a regular part of club meetings, with special travelogue and

photo essay competition nights. Color slide travelogues (usually with synchronized tape recordings) were the regular feature of entertainment at club banquets.

In addition to meetings and banquets at the Engineer's Club, the Miniature Camera Club schedules several "outings" each season to camera-worthy sites in the Delaware Valley area. As with regular club meetings these outings combine photographic "business" with social pleasure. Following a day's picture-taking expedition to special locales for animal, nature, flower or genre photography (the Zoo, the DuPont Family's Longwood Gardens, the New Jersey Pine Barrens, historic settings for genre pictures like Pennsylvania's Hopewell Village, and other "picturesque" spots) members always gather for dinner at a nearby restaurant. Such outings have been a regular part of amateur club activities since the nineteenth century, with reports in the amateur journals of group picture taking expeditions as early as the 1870s.

On the surface, the Miniature Camera Club of today seems quite different from the club of the thirties. But while color slides have largely supplanted black and white prints, the structure of club activities and standards of photographic aesthetics have remained very consistent. Meetings are still a mixture of competition nights, critique nights, programs and demonstrations. Guests now are less

likely to give a talk on "pictorial art," and more likely to give a slide show, although the conventions of traditional pictorialist photography continue to be invoked. The pragmatics of achieving "good composition" and salon-winning photographs now overshadow explicit discussions of the underlying philosophy of photography as art.

An analysis of MCC programs from 1951-1981 reveals that a consistent mix of pictorial competitions, "how to" demonstrations, nature programs, travelogues, and programs on portraiture or table top photography has persisted throughout this period. Lighting demonstrations and "studio nights" reappear on the program nearly every year. However, whereas the studio nights of the thirties seem to have almost always involved the posing of professional models (invariably female), the studio programs of the fifties, sixties and seventies most often seem to favor demonstrations of "table top photography," demonstrations of artificial lighting for macro nature photography, or lighting for conventional portraiture.⁷ Presentations on portraiture and presentations on various aspects of nature photography were a regularly reoccurring feature of club meetings during this period, with many programs devoted exclusively to "child photography."

Many specific examples of the club's consistent routine could be listed. And the routine at MCC seems to be nearly identical to many other clubs in the area. A fall "Critique Night" has become an institutionalized event since 1966, with Mr. David Harrar, the owner of a chain of nine photo retail stores in the Philadelphia area and a member of the Cheltenham Camera Club for over thirty years, regularly serving as the critic. Mr. Harrar is also a frequent competition judge for clubs throughout the Philadelphia area. I observed him judge competitions at both the Germantown-Mt. Airy Club and the Miniature Camera Club. For his service to Philadelphia clubs he has been awarded a Fellowship in The Delaware Valley Council of Camera Clubs (FDVC).

William W. Hawkins, a renowned PSA nature photographer from southern New Jersey, visited the club as a guest speaker on nature and wild flower photography as early as November of 1960 and reappears in the programs frequently throughout the following two decades. During my period of observation Mr. Hawkins spoke at Miniature club meetings twice: on March 29, 1979 he presented a program entitled "So You Really Want to Photograph Nature Close-up," and on October 15, 1981 he returned with a program called "Close Encounters with Nature". During this same period he spoke

at two other clubs with which I had contact -- at an October 5, 1979 meeting of the Germantown-Mt. Airy Camera Club and at a May 12, 1980 meeting of the Delaware County (Pa.) Camera Club.⁸

Comparing earlier program schedules with the programs I attended between 1979 and 1982 reconfirms the conformity of presentations and activities over the years. A survey of club schedules quickly reveals many reoccurring events, from programs like "Practical Pointers on Photographing Children" or "Glass and Table Top Photography" which are repeated in different forms over the years, to the ubiquitous travelogues which even make use of reoccurring titles -- "Our Colorful West" appears as a slide travelogue more than once, and "Morocco-Land of Contrasts" and "Japan-Land of Contrasts" both appear in different years. In order to provide a more systematic representation of this uniformity I have chosen to compare three two-year periods each ten years apart (see Table 1). Choosing the two years at the turn of each decade provides evenly spaced comparisons of wide intervals, and includes part of my period of participant observation. Using two year groupings helps to counter the potential misrepresentation caused by a single anomalous year.

TABLE 10-1
Miniature Camera Club Programs

1959-60, 1969-70, 1979-80,
 1960-61 1970-71 1980-81

	1959-60 9	1969-70 10	1979-80 9
Contests and Competition Nights:			
Travelogue Presentations:	4 1	4 4	4 4
Technical Demonstrations and Instructional Presentations ("How to" programs):	7 7	6 4	7 6
Nature Photography programs:	1 3	2 2	2 3
Studio Programs (studio lighting, portraiture, table top photography):	4 4	1 1	2 1
Industry Presentations:	2 1	1 1	1 1
Recorded PSA Programs:	0 0	2 2	1 0

Other types of programs appear less frequently but with some of the same regularity over the years. They include:

- presentations by older and distinguished club members of their "photographic lives" -- usually an exhibition of some of their work accompanied by comments and reminiscences (in the Miniature Camera Club one such presentation was entitled "From Whence I Came"),
- gadget nights or equipment auction nights,
- "show and tell" nights in which members bring five or six slides each and discuss the trips or stories associated with them,
- meetings devoted to the selection of photographs for inter-club competitions,
- meetings devoted to judging the work of other clubs, the photographs submitted to a Delaware Valley Ccuncil Competition or a PSA International Competition, whenever the MCC was designated as a judging committee (in January of 1982 a committee of MCC members judged the PSA Class A International Slide Competition for Individuals),
- the viewing of special circulating photo exhibits, usually distributed by PSA (for instance, a regular exhibit made available by PSA entitled "Tops in PSA Slides").

Travel Photography

As color slides became the preferred mode of photographic work in the fifties and sixties an increasingly greater emphasis was given to travel and travel photography in the club. Throughout most of the fifties the emphasis of club programs remained primarily on how to create individual salon winning color slides. Between 1951 and 1957 there are many presentations designed to instruct members on the making of successful "color" salon photographs, such as:

"The Salon Picture and How It Gets That Way," "Composition, Tone and Color Values," "Basic Color Harmony," "New Horizons in Color Photography," "Elements of Good Color Pictures," "Better Transparencies Through Creative Color Thinking," "Color Slide Cropping," "A Demonstration of Color Portraiture," or "So You Think You Can Judge Color Slide Competitions?" But during this same period a new emphasis on constructing color slide travel "shows" begins to become apparent. The Christmas dinner meetings of 1952 and 1953 highlight color slide shows by member Ellen Steele Rumpf of her travels in "Europe, the Balkans, and the Holy Land." For March 15, 1956 the program schedule reads, "Fred Kahoun, prominent salon exhibitor, will offer suggestions for planning a successful photographic vacation next summer." By the late fifties, the many industry presentations on technical aspects of color photography (e.g. "Lamps and Filters for Use in Indoor Color Photography," "Kodak Color Films and Their Use in Slide and Stereo Photography," "Demonstration of the Flexichrome Process") are joined by programs devoted specifically to travel photography ("Better Color Travel Slides With Anscochrome," "Alaskan Camera Trails" [Kodak]).

In the early sixties the club regularly scheduled three or four travel slide shows a year, usually programs put together by MCC members, and industry attention to travel

photography had clearly increased. Eastman Kodak's "Better Vacation Pictures," and "How To Plan Your Travel Show," both appear in the club's program schedule during 1964. A couple of years later, Kodak's recorded program "How To Take Better Travel Pictures" appears. By 1969 travelogue presentations and competitions had become a staple of club activities. Individual members travelled extensively, usually with a color slide program in mind. And the club began to plan Miniature Camera Club group tours of European countries as major photographic "outings." In 1969 a contingent of the club travelled to Italy, in 1970 to Spain, in 1971 to Yugoslavia, and in 1972 to France. During my stay in the club, members often reminisced fondly about these club trips and made vague suggestions about organizing such outings once again.

During the same period "multi-media travel shows" sponsored by Kodak began to appear on each season's club schedule. For several years during the seventies the MCC conducted an annual dinner in conjunction with the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. At each year's dinner Kodak offered the club a donation to help cover overhead for the event and provided a "multi-media" slide show as entertainment. These "multi-media" shows included: "Mexico-Multivision 1973," "Caribbean-Picture Treasures,"

"South Pacific-Picture Paradise," and "Scandinavia-Land of Pictures."

The emergence of travel photography as a major subset of amateur color slide work was typical of camera club photography across the nation. As mentioned earlier in this chapter it was at approximately the same time (1969) that the Photographic Society of America instituted a Photo-Travel Division, a division designed to organize travelogue competitions and awards, provide tapes and recorded programs for clubs, circulate slide sets for students, establish "travel-slide sequence study groups," and form a network of "travel aids." "Travel aids" are PSA members in regions around North America and the world who volunteer their time to guide photographic visitors coming to their area. They provide advance information concerning the most picturesque locations in their vicinity, the best times of day to take certain pictures, and what kinds of equipment, filmstocks, and other necessary supplies the photo traveller should plan to bring. They also lead photographic tours arranged through PSA.

According to a short "history of PSA" published in the July 1973 PSA JOURNAL, the Photo-Travel Division "gained membership rapidly and has contributed to the overall growth of the Society during the past few years" (p. 29).

Travel with PSA



As a photographer — you know that half the fun of traveling is getting good pictures that you enjoy showing to others. But, are the pictures you take truly representative of the countries and places you visit — or, are they standard 'shots' — 'ho-hum' copies of the pictures made by so many other tourists visiting these same places?

To improve your travel pictures — to get off the beaten path and get new insights into the country you're visiting . . . contact PSA TRAVEL AIDS — PSA members who live in the area you are planning to see and who give some of their time to help visiting PSAers in their country. PSA's *Travel Aid Directory* gives the names and addresses of those members who volunteer to serve as Travel Aids to help you enjoy your trip.

For real photographic pleasure — sign up and enjoy a PSA TOUR! Sponsored by PSA and planned FOR photographers. Each tour is guided and directed by a PSA Member, knowledgeable and experienced in the areas to be visited. He knows where, when and how to get the best pictures — he can help you enjoy your trip more, plus improving your prints, slides or movies! *Travel with PSA — it's the best way!*

psa
PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA —
2005 WALNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19103
MC ~ 120 REV. 1/77



PRINTED IN USA

FIGURE 11. "Travel with PSA," 1970s PSA brochure

Several MCC members told me in interviews that they participated in PSA "Through the Lens Tours" and took advantage of PSA Travel Aids. Many also sign up for group tours organized by travel agencies and commercial photo-travel organizations. Some club members were abroad so much of the time that they rarely attended meetings and were teased by the rest of the membership when they made an appearance. Reports on the travels of club members often appeared in the club's newsletter and particularly peripatetic members were often chided about "visiting Philadelphia sometime."

While I was in the club many MCC members took frequent photographic trips to every part of the world. Asia was particularly popular during these years. From the winter of 1979 through the spring of 1982 "full length" travelogues (sometimes more than an hour in length) were presented by club members on: Peru, Iceland, India, China, the American West, China again, India again, Nepal-Sikkim-Bhutan, Afghanistan-Iran, the Seychelles Islands of the Indian Ocean, China again, Morocco, and Ecuador. Many other "mini-travelogues" (20 slides, 5 mins.) and travelogues for competitions ("up to 20 minutes in length") were also regularly scheduled throughout these three camera club seasons. The last Travelogue Competition Night I witnessed (March 25, 1982) included programs entitled:

Burgundy - The Splendid Duchy,
Burma,
Enjoying the Southwest,
A Spanish Omelet,
The Seychelles.

MCC members also presented their travel slide shows to other camera clubs and to a wide variety of organizations and community groups. Club members were very generous about volunteering their time to entertain people in hospitals and retirement homes. During the winter of 1982 a Himalayan travelogue which had been presented at MCC's 1980 Christmas banquet was still being shown frequently in the Philadelphia area. During a short space of time the show was repeated for the Crosslands Retirement Community in Pennsylvania, the American Association of University Women's Evening International Relations Group, the Christmas Program of the Germantown-Mt. Airy Camera Club, the New Century Guild, and the University of Pennsylvania's Faculty Tea Club. During the same period another club member presented his "Welcome To Alaska" travelogue to the Jenkintown Rotary, The Chestnut Hill Senior Center, the Foulkeways Retirement Community, the Glenside Chapter of the American Association of Retired Persons, and the Hickman Home in West Chester, Pa.

MCC members seemed to see their travel slide shows as fulfilling very much the same function as a magazine like NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, providing informative entertainment

that is colorful and striking to look at. As in pictorial slide competitions, "immediate visual impact" remains the primary concern. No picture is ever left on the screen for more than a few seconds as the projectors dissolve from one colorful, picturesque image to the next. At various times club members mentioned NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC as a model for pictorialist travel photography.

The Industry Instructs Camera Club Members

For many years the Miniature Camera Club organized an "Instruction Course" for new members. At specially scheduled sessions, usually held prior to regular club meetings, prominent club members would provide lessons on developing, printing, toning, lighting, flash equipment, color processes, composition, cropping, picture analysis, or some other facet of photographic expertise which a veteran pictorialist was willing to share. These "courses" were discontinued after 1958, although many of the same kinds of presentations were integrated into regular club meetings.

Visits from industry representatives, so common in the early years of the club, are less so in the sixties and seventies. But industry produced instructional programs, along with PSA produced instructional exhibits and recordings, remain a significant part of club schedules.

These presentations no longer focus on introducing some new photographic product and demonstrating its use. Instead, they strive to teach amateurs to be "better photographers" by promoting certain techniques, "dazzling" the audience with color slide examples of the beautiful photography these techniques make possible. Sometimes the connections between the instructional presentation and the company's marketing is indirect and subtle, sometimes it is readily apparent. But in either case it seems clear that the marketing strategies of large firms like Eastman Kodak toward camera club amateurs and serious hobbyists shifted decidedly in the post WWII era, offering certain types of photographic instruction in the hope of encouraging greater use of the company's products.

Many club presentations in the fifties and sixties, like "Picture It In Color" by Frank S. Pallo (today a Kodak Executive Vice President and President of PSA), were designed to guide amateur photographers in the use of new color films and papers for pictorial work. In the sixties, PSA "Pictorial Instruction Exhibits" toured the club promoting the conventions of the pictorialist aesthetic. In the late sixties and seventies Eastman Kodak programs designed to teach amateurs "How To Take Better Travel Pictures" and "How to Plan Your Travel Show" appeared frequently in the clubs.

The year I joined the Miniature Camera Club new high speed color filmstocks (Kodacolor 400, Ektachrome 200, Ektachrome 400) had recently been introduced by Eastman Kodak and a concerted campaign was underway to encourage amateurs to shoot in low light situations. The topic of low light photography appeared many times in club meetings, with frequent references to the advantages of photographing early in the morning and at dusk, "when the light was soft and moody". "Twilight Time," a program by PSA lecturers Denise and Charles Mueller, and "Better Pictures By Existing Light," a camera club program courtesy of Kodak, were presented at MCC meetings during my first year of membership. Both programs focused on the use of new high speed films to achieve pictorial effects in low levels of natural light. They suggested that it was precisely in soft light situations early and late in the day that "the best pictures were made".

One of the "twilight" photographs displayed by Charles Mueller appeared on the December 1979 cover of the PSA JOURNAL. Mueller also won a 1979 Charles A. Kinsley Memorial Trophy for exceptional photographic work, a series of awards for PSA members contributed by Eastman Kodak in honor of Kinsley, a Kodak official who distinguished himself as a leader in the world of amateur camera club photography.

Dawn and dusk pictures are the most prevalent reproductions in Kodak ads appearing in the PSA JOURNAL during this time. The back covers of nearly every PSA JOURNAL during 1978 and 1979 contain full page color ads for one of the new filmstocks. Typical ad copy reads:

NEW KODAK EKTACHROME 400 FILM

[Three dusk or nighttime photographs]

IMAGINE WHAT YOU CAN DO WITH IT

Kodak introduces a color slide film for shooting from dawn to dusk -- and beyond. At ASA 400, you can get hand-held shots where there's barely enough light to focus.

...And, if all that isn't enough, you can also push Ektachrome 400 film to ASA 800 with special processing.

Eastman Kodak also promoted low light photography through the company's educational programs and services, and through their instructional literature and photographic books. On October 21, 1979 I joined 26 other Miniature Camera Club members at a "Kodak Teach-In" organized in conjunction with the Delaware Valley Council of Camera Clubs. More than 325 camera club amateurs from clubs in the DVCCC attended this all-day seminar held at a newly built Jewish Community Center in suburban Philadelphia. The day was filled with multi-projector slide presentations on various aspects of pictorial picture making. All of the

standard guidelines and concerns regularly discussed in club meetings were covered by the Kodak representatives:

- good composition; use of the rule of thirds for optimal placement of one primary subject, (the rule of thirds was diagrammed for the audience),
- getting accurate exposure, "one of the prime ingredients in producing high-quality photographs."
- controlling depth of field for selective focus, and staying in focus while "getting in close",
- using the "right" color film for best results -- promoting the use of a "variety" of films, especially incorporating the new higher speed films,
- using different lenses, filters, and lens attachments for variety; long lenses and zooms for selective focus and blurring the background, star and cross filters when focusing on light,
- the importance of close-ups "for greater impact"; "Join the close-up league and explore a whole new world of fascinating and unusual picture opportunities."
- an emphasis on portraiture and photographing people, the value of long lenses for getting close-ups of people "without disturbing the subject,"
- an emphasis on nature photography, especially close-up photography of birds, flowers and insects,
- tips for planning and producing a slide show.

The longest segment of the day, however, was on shooting in existing light with Kodak's new color films.

The segment was introduced in the program as follows:

Today's fast lenses and fast films make it possible to take existing-light pictures with short exposure times. In this visually exciting section, you'll see how these product innovations and push processing can extend your picture-taking range and make your photographic images appear more natural.

Pitches were made for the "breakthrough" represented by the new Ektachrome 400 and Kodacolor 400 films. And the audience of mostly middle aged camera club photographers were treated to lengthy slide shows demonstrating the beauty of dawn, dusk and twilight photography. According to the Kodak lecturers, "the pros go out 20 minutes after sun set to shoot a building, and they are up before dawn to capture the soft light and mist of the early morning forest." With the light source low in the sky rather than overhead the presentations emphasized the use of side and back lighting, and the idea of shooting into a light source and filling with a flash.

"I'm 'pushing' Ektachrome 400," punned one of the Kodak representatives, and indeed, proceeding to show a lengthy program of lower light color slide work, he emphasized the use of Ektachrome 400 for everything in existing light photography, including "pushing" the film to ASA 800 for twilight work. He compared the more "professional" approach of high speed color films and diffuse light to outdated "amateur" notions of "shooting in bright sunshine with the sun over your shoulder." He claimed the harsher contrasts of bright sunlight were inferior to the "expressive" photography of early morning or evening light.

During my stay in the club I witnessed the influence of industry exhortations for low light photography on amateur

picture making. Many PSA JOURNAL covers between 1978 and 1982 feature dusk and twilight photographs, and the frequency of low light photographs in club exhibitions seemed to steadily increase. While I have no comparable sample of camera club color work from earlier years against which to gauge the increase, there was a consensus among the members I questioned that early morning, late afternoon, and twilight photography was much more common than it had been a few years earlier. And several people noted that dawn and dusk photographs seemed to go over very well with judges.

Some of the MCC members' comments included:

"Of course, with the new, fast color films there is a lot more attention being given to twilight photography. And Kodak wants people to start carrying 400 film in their camera bags. Yes, I would say that you do see a lot more of those kinds of photographs here in the club. A good moody twilight shot will usually impress a judge."

* * *

"I don't like Ektachrome 200. I use 400 for wildlife and nature work with my 500mm lens, so I can shoot at f8 and get sharper focus, especially if it is real early or late in the day."

* * *

"I use Ektachrome 400 for night scenes, at twilight, when the lights are just coming on. That way I don't need a tripod. I tend to do a lot more of that kind of photography when I don't have to bother with a tripod."

At the Kodak Photographic Seminar the entire day's program was spent discussing color slide photography. Reference to black and white photography was limited to two passing remarks (when discussing filters one lecturer made the comment that photographers may have polarizing filters "left over" from black and white photography). Nor was there any discussion of film developing or printmaking. The presentation was almost entirely directed at the use of color films and photographic accessories (especially filters and lens attachments).

Throughout the "teach-in" lecturers recommended various Kodak guides, pamphlets, and "how to" books for future reference. EXISTING LIGHT, and KODAK FILMS, were suggested during the presentations on low light color photography, along with the HERE'S HOW BOOKS OF PHOTOGRAPHY from Kodak. "ADVENTURES IN COLOR SLIDE PHOTOGRAPHY, available from Kodak for \$9.95, covers much of the material dealt with here today," announced one of the Kodak representatives.

The two men conducting this Kodak Seminar were similar to other Kodak representatives and lecturers I interviewed or corresponded with. One, Don Chamberlain, a photographic specialist with Kodak's Consumer Markets Division, was a member of the Kodak Camera Club in Rochester and an award winning salon exhibitor. His work for Kodak involved answering dealer and customer inquiries, producing slide

programs like the one he presented at this seminar, and staffing photographic booths at various events. The other, Gary Welky, a "program specialist" for Kodak's Consumer Markets Division, was chairman of the color slide division of the Kodak Camera Club in Rochester. He had a degree from the Rochester Institute of Technology and worked in "product development" at Kodak. He also had previously worked as a wedding and portrait photographer. Part of his work for Kodak was to create and present programs like the seminar we attended.

As will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen, an overwhelming majority of Kodak's Consumer Markets and Photo Information representatives -- and nearly all the authors of Kodak's informational and "how to" literature -- are heavily involved with camera clubs and the Photographic Society of America. "Kodak Photographic Seminars," like the "Teach-In" I attended, are a major part of the work done by these representatives. In most cases the people conducting the seminars have experience themselves as salon exhibitors and judges. As the Kodak brochure reproduced below points out, the number of slide and movie programs, books, pamphlets and presentations Kodak provides for "serious photographers" is impressive. And much of this "support material" is aimed at the serious amateur, "designed to help amateur photographers get the most out of their adjustable cameras."

Most of the MCC members I accompanied to the seminar were impressed with the professionalism of the multi-image presentations and the quality of the photographs displayed, but many of them expressed disappointment that the level of the program was "too elementary." They felt that there was little or nothing in the seminar that they weren't already familiar with. It was difficult to determine whether this reaction was shared by others in the audience or whether Miniature Camera Club members were dissatisfied because of their more advanced status. Clearly, MCC does have a large number of very highly rated pictorial exhibitors and it is possible that less experienced amateurs found the seminar more rewarding.

In addition to a regular schedule of Eastman Kodak instructional programs or seminars, I learned through interviews with club members that other photographic manufacturers and camera shops also sponsored photography seminars, workshops and "schools". Nikon conducts a weekend photographic "school," sometimes at Valley Forge, which at least three of the MCC members had attended. For years Leica has run seminars for advanced 35mm amateurs, usually recruiting students through the local Leica dealerships. The most recent Leica seminar club members knew about was a weekend workshop held in the Poconos resort area of Pennsylvania. Printmakers in the club told of attending

Beseler demonstrations and workshops on the use of Beseler enlargers. They were also familiar with Unicolor Inc.'s weekend "school" for training amateurs in the techniques of Unicolor printing.

The Photo Cine Shop in center city Philadelphia also sponsored events and workshops over the years. George Knechtsberger, who had been a Leica distributor in Europe, arrived in Philadelphia in 1947 and established the Photo Cine Shop in 1952. He found many of his best customers to be members of the Miniature Camera Club and soon became an active member of the club himself. Several current club members were first introduced to MCC by Knechtsberger after doing business at his store. Miniature Camera Club members have traditionally been given a special discount on all purchases at the Photo Cine Shop.

In an interview, the then president of MCC recounted how he had first visited the club as the guest of Mr. Knechtsberger, and how it had been his contact with people at the Photo Cine Shop which first got him involved in amateur photography. Around the same time I left the club Mr. Knechtsberger was preparing to retire and transfer ownership of the shop. The club newsletter gave a lot of attention to this development. Some of those in the club were concerned about the future status of the shop they patronized. Many seemed pleased about the prospect of the

Knechtsbergers returning as more active club members.

Miniature Camera Club certainly owes a lot to member George Knechtsberger and the Photo-Cine Shop which he owned and operated for thirty years. George modestly thinks that he and Photo-Cine owe something to MCC. A year ago or so he decided that the time to retire was approaching, and commenced looking for a worthy buyer for the shop. Not content with merely selling out to one of the big photographic chains that dominate the market, George thinks himself rather fortunate in having Paul Jones, a former Leica representative in this area and his wife Toni, also a Leica "graduate" succeed him in ownership and management at Photo-Cine. The Joneses are experiencing the usual flow of MCC'ers at their counters, and George hopes that the friendly reciprocal feeling existing between the club and Photo-Cine will continue without missing a beat. So, if you haven't yet checked in with Photo-Cine's new management, please do so when you are in the vicinity of 129 S. 18th Street.

When things get a bit more settled, he and Gretchen expect to be at club meetings more frequently. The Knechtsberger presence in competitions will make the going in class A just a little bit tougher.

(Miniature Camera Club MICACLARION, May 1982, p. 2.)

Most MCC members, when questioned, said that they have learned the most about photography from their participation in the camera club, from the sharing of information and expertise among members in ongoing club activities. When asked to elaborate, however, they invariably mentioned the special seminars, conferences, PSA salons, and industry presentations which were an external part of club activities. Members often talked of "the Reading [Pennsylvania] weekends" which were annual expeditions for many of them. They often recommended the Reading seminars

to Dona and I as a place where we could "really have fun and see a lot of good photography." The Berks County Camera Club and the Welaurel Camera Club in Reading, Pa. were especially active in organizing and sponsoring special photographic seminars and conferences. In conjunction with the "PSA Freedom Chapter" located in Reading these clubs would sponsor several all-day seminars each year. The Reading clubs also joined together with PSA to put on a weekend conference of industry and amateur presentations each year. This "Reading Weekend" typically drew hundreds of amateurs from a large surrounding region. A contingent of MCC members attended every year for three days of "enjoyable socializing" and photographic instruction.

Some MCC members also travelled north to attend the yearly Photo Conference of the New England Camera Club Council, the largest regional camera club council in the country. Like the Reading Conference this three day affair combined photographic entertainment with presentations by Eastman Kodak, E. Leitz, Nikon, Unicolor, officers of the Photographic Society of America, and various amateurs who had distinguished themselves in the PSA world. The NECCC Conference always included a "Camera College" in which industry presentations alternated with lectures by PSA dignitaries. Similar programs were organized for Delaware Valley Council of Camera Clubs "All Day Courses" and for the

annual PSA Conventions, which some MCC members always attended.⁹

Three years of observation and data collection makes clear that camera clubs in the PSA network are not isolated or autonomous arenas of photographic dabbling for personal pleasure. They are places where people learn to competently reproduce the pictorial styles of photography promoted by photographic manufacturers and the Photographic Society of America. They strive to emulate the professional imagery displayed in Eastman Kodak's instructional literature. They strive to please salon and camera club competition judges. Earning the respect and approval of fellow amateurs seems to be a major goal of camera club photographers.

The socialization of amateur photographers in this environment is ineluctably narrow, the goal is to learn "just what it takes to win." Many club members told me that they subscribe only to the PSA JOURNAL, that they find the photography of other popular photo magazines "weird," "meaningless," "trashy," "too diffuse," or simply "irrelevant" to their pictorialist concerns. In the PSA JOURNAL they see camera club pictures which have won acceptances on the PSA salon circuit, and they can keep up with coming exhibitions, exhibition ratings, and other organizational news.

This narrow socialization was evident in the way MCC members would predictably reproduce successful picture making strategies. Around the time I entered the club an issue of the PSA JOURNAL showed a prize winning still life on its cover. It was a picture of flowers underwater, their blossoms covered with glimmering air bubbles. Soon after, one of the club's leading salon exhibitors won a club competition with a very similar still life of flowers under water, covered with bubbles. Within a few weeks two people were entering bubble and flowers pictures in club competitions. I later learned that the second photographer had spent time at the first photographer's home learning the technique. Within a few months several ribbons had been won using this novel technique.

During the same time, a relatively new club member began to gain recognition for his macro-nature photography of moths, insects and flowers. He had mastered the techniques of close-up nature photography -- those high resolution, brilliantly colored macro-images of butterflies, moths, spiders, larvae, frogs, mushrooms, plants, and wildflowers isolated against a dark or out-of-focus background, which scored well in the salons, were reproduced on the covers of PSA JOURNALS, and were promoted in numerous amateur and industry presentations on "Nature Close-Up." ¹⁰

In our initial visits Dona and I had noticed that this photographer seemed slightly alienated from the club's core of veteran exhibitors. He was younger than most of the others, tended to sit back away from the older members, and would often make sarcastic remarks, being particularly intolerant of long winded speeches and idiosyncratic judging. But during the following two years, as he won increasing renown as a PSA exhibitor, winning many salon acceptances and quickly compiling two stars in nature photography, he became more and more well integrated into the club membership. He began to spend a lot of time engaging in conversations with older club members and he was included in the inner circles of the club leadership. He conducted "how to" presentations for the club and became one of the "stars" the club relied on in interclub competitions to uphold the club's winning reputation. By the time we left the club he had been appointed chairman of the club's nature slide division and had been elected to the club's honors committee.

MCC Competitions and Judging

In the competitions and presentations of the Miniature Camera Club traditional pictorialist standards have continually been invoked. The stated objective is to create photographic images which look "beautiful," with single centers of interest, harmonious composition, and immediate impact. Members strive to make photographs which conform to traditional rules of composition, favoring "dynamic symmetry," the rule of thirds, the use of leading lines. Disturbing subject matter is considered inappropriate and undesirable. Photographic activity for these amateurs centers around the communication of competence within the parameters of PSA guidelines.

Competition judges tend to be drawn from within the PSA network -- from neighboring camera clubs, PSA regional councils, or the PSA administration. Getting PSA judges assures a common understanding about the criteria for evaluation: a pleasing, nonthreatening, noncontroversial subject; technical competence in focus, exposure, lighting, color rendition; a display of controlled composition -- emphasizing a single dominant subject against a noncompeting background with leading lines, a dynamic balance, strong cohesion and impact.

Sometimes local professionals become integrated into this network. Such people are highly valued as judges because they combine the authority of professional status with a reaffirmation of PSA pictorial aesthetics. Little tolerance is shown for judges who naively attempt to evaluate pictures according to some alternative criteria.

Several times Miniature Camera Club members told Dona and I the story of the "artist" who was invited to judge a pictorial slide composition. Not understanding the group's shared evaluative criteria he relied on somewhat idiosyncratic judgements, to the dismay of the club's members. The story involves a slide which club members immediately recognized as an incompetently overexposed picture by one of the clubs' inexperienced members -- it was a picture of a bright, sunbleached beach by a member of the club who regularly entered the Class B competitions reserved for novices. When the slide appeared on the screen the artist/judge praised it as a sensitive rendering of "the heat on the beach" and awarded it first place in the night's competition. Club members now laugh heartily at this story whenever it is recounted, although, apparently it was not considered a laughing matter at the time. According to club members they have avoided inviting any "artists" to judge competitions ever since.

A similar episode occurred on October 22, 1981 while I was a member of the club. Because many of the members are interested in nature photography (several club members also hold memberships in naturalist organizations like the Audubon Society) a naturalist had been invited to judge that night's competition. The judge was unconventional by MCC standards, not only in his judging and the way he discussed the photographs, but in his style of conducting the competition. Rather than go through all of the pictures, gradually eliminating those with faults and explaining briefly why they were flawed (as was usually done), he called out "winners" on impact the first time through the entries. "Oh, that's a good one right there!" or "Yes, that's the best one." This produced shocked giggles, displeasure, and even anger among the club members. About halfway through the judging one of the club's most successful and prolific nature salon winners got up and stalked out in disgust.

People who rarely did well in club competitions were the beneficiaries of this judge's unconventional approach, while perennial winners were blanked. This did not sit well with most of the members and there was much discussion of the incident afterward. It even prompted a retelling of the "artist story." Club members seemed to appreciate a certain predictability in the process and outcome of judging. They

expected certain members -- those who were most respected and thought to be the best photographers based on past success in competitions and salons -- to place the highest in club competitions. When their expectations were fulfilled and photographs by the club's elite members were chosen for awards, it was taken as evidence of the competence of the judge, of his or her knowledge of standards and the rules of salon selection. When there were surprises, and those not expected to win did, it was thought to prove the incompetence or erratic nature of the judge.

Still, social hierarchy notwithstanding, winning photographs nearly always exhibited certain formal characteristics, characteristics of composition and subject matter which conformed to the evaluative criteria which had been espoused in the amateur journals for decades. These evaluative criteria were explicitly related by many club members to a style of formal rendering they called "PSA style." Elements of this style usually involved the "impact" created by strong centers of interest and close cropping, sometimes the arrangement of a particularly "harmonious" composition, sometimes the rendering of richly saturated colors in the transparency. As noted previously, attention to color often involved explicit statements on the part of club members about using a "PSA red."

One of the best times to listen for the articulation of evaluative criteria was when club members were deciding together which pictures to send out for inter-club competitions. On one such night the handful of printmakers in the club were gathered together at the front of the room looking at prints on a light box. They were motivated by one thing, to collectively score the most points and win the competition. Towards that end they were looking for photographs which conformed most closely to the "PSA style."

"Its too busy, it will confuse them.
Simplicity, simplicity is what we want."

"Right, simple, but with an impact! Its only up there for a few seconds and it has to have punch, make an impression on them."

"If they have to look at it for a long time to figure it out, it's no good."

Looking at a print by one of the older, and less conventional, printmakers in the club, they tried to be delicate in their comments. It was a very cleverly done collage of multiple prints, the first print of its type I had seen in any of the competitions.

"I like it personally, but I don't know what they will say."

"Well, I don't know if we can really gamble on that one -- it will either do well or get zilched entirely -- there's a good chance it will draw a blank -- if we get zilched on that one it could put us out of the running."

"No we can't take that big a chance, we can't gamble on that one."

"Yeah, we've got to stick to the straight stuff everybody likes, the real PSA type stuff."

"Yeah, the PSA stuff is what will win."

Eliminating another set of photographs by the same photographer -- a series of pictures of a horse and carriage taken from oblique angles -- the printmakers say,
"It's disturbing, they're tilted."

"It looks like everything is going to slide out of the frame."

Referring to his own, more conventional photograph (an architectural scenic of a gothic cathedral) one of the club's leading print exhibitors remarked,
"Now that one, for what its worth, has a very good track record. It's never been turned down at a salon."

Culling through a number of portraits to select those for their club entry, the men were concerned with having a balance of PSA categories represented, and they wanted to make sure to avoid the unusual or disturbing.

"Let's look at all the portraits at once and pick the best ones. That will save time. After all we can't really include more than one or two portraits."

"Well, in this one he looks like something is bothering him. He looks disturbed, so that one should be out." (All agree.)

(They pick one of a little girl sitting in a fancy dress.)

"That one is best because the color is good and she has such an appealing expression -- an impish look -- the judges will like that."

(A picture of a young boy opening a spraying soda pop can is also chosen.)

"That stop action is better than the more static shot. It has punch. It will grab the judges' attention immediately."

A portrait of a model posed as a smiling, bearded, old "sea captain" (which had appeared several times in club competitions before) was also placed in a final group for consideration.

"That kind of portrait would seem to be ideal."

"That one is sure to score high."

The prints they chose to submit fell into a few traditional categories. They were all "big glossies," smaller prints were eliminated. Bright, highly saturated color was a major attribute of the color prints selected. There were portraits, landscapes, a shot of a steam locomotive, and color close-ups of wildflowers. All the soft-focus prints were referred to as "mood shots."

Three months earlier, one of these same printmakers spoke to the club on becoming a star PSA exhibitor. He read a definition of good composition from an Eastman Kodak brochure. (He had written to Kodak Customer Services requesting support material pertinent for a presentation to his camera club and they sent him back several packets of information with tips on good pictorial form and tips on how

to give a good presentation.) Following the Kodak guidelines his seven main points were:

- 1) Always have a strong center of interest, don't clutter the picture or compete for the viewer's attention with too much detail, if there are two or three subjects they should be tied together in one mass,
- 2) Use the rule of thirds for dynamic balance in composing the picture, not rigidly but loosely -- it makes it more interesting,
- 3) Know the angles; select a point of view showing the subject to its best advantage,
- 4) move in close, make the center of interest dominate the frame for greater impact, eliminate unnecessary details,
- 5) Use leading lines to draw the viewer's attention into the picture and "for interest and unity," preferably leading from left to right, "the way we read."
- "Framing with tree branches or other structures can contribute to leading the viewer's eye."
- "S-curves lead the eye well."
- 6) Keep the background simple. There should be nothing about the background that will compete for attention with the center of interest.
- 7) Add interest and cohesion to the composition by framing with tree branches or structures; use figures to show scale; try to get an unusual point of view by moving in closer, choosing a different angle, a different lens, or a different time of day.

Completely explicit in this club member's presentation were evaluative criteria I had seen applied more implicitly in competition after competition. These "rules" were invoked and referred to many more times in subsequent months.

A few weeks later David Harrar, the retail photo shop owner who was a frequent judge in the Philadelphia camera

clubs, visited MCC to act as the critic for that season's "critique night." I was told that the club invites Mr. Harrar almost every year, "because he is such a good judge." Harrar repeated many of the same normative pictorialist rules in his lengthy discussion of club members' slides and prints. Since it was a critique night rather than a competition he was more explicit about articulating expectations. (Competition judges usually expedite matters by paring the entries with a simple "in" or "out," only occasionally making brief comments.) Harrar emphasized that pictorial compositions should be dominated by "simple, straightforward centers of interest." He said that "technical excellence" should always be a primary concern.

"Things have to be sharp and exposed properly before anything else."

The three crucial areas of judging, according to Harrar, are "Technique," "Composition," and "Subject Matter." (One of the established MCC exhibitors described it another time as "interest, composition and technique, not necessarily in that order.") Harrar sees the appeal of subject matter as "subjective," a quality which varies from judge to judge.

"So you have to make sure your technique -- focus, exposure, printing -- and your composition is optimal."

These criteria, he believes are "objective," and thus the the areas over which a photographer can and should exert optimal control.

An interesting experimental situation occurred when a March snowstorm prevented the scheduled judge from arriving for a club competition and Dona was invited to do the honors. She found the task difficult because of the need to differentiate among very similar submissions. She started out hesitantly, taking much more time than was regularly done. "How could I choose between them?" she later told me, "they were all so much alike." My notes record some of her later response:

"And then I had to rank them and explain my reasons. I found myself slipping into the mold of other judges. I started talking about 'center of interest,' the 'impact of subject matter,' I even resorted to using the common judging cliche -- 'this one just doesn't stand up to the rest.'"

Indeed, I was somewhat surprised to hear my research colleague sounding like almost any other PSA judge. Her photographic background and training had little in common with the world of camera club photography, and her taste in photographs did not correspond very well with the pictorial style of camera club work. Yet, our many months of observation had trained us in the concepts and rhetoric of camera club pictorialism, the only rhetoric appropriate to the club context.

Dona's selection as judge for the evening was fortuitous for it prompted long discussions over coffee and cake afterwards about the process of judging. "Sometimes you just like something and what can you say?" said one

member, "the key is usually impact, an immediate, strong visual appeal." Added another member:

"If there are a hundred prints hung on the wall there are always about five that 'hit you,' that have impact, and everyone else walking by will react the same way. Those are the ones that win. You can't really describe why. when I see it."

While all those engaged in the conversation agreed that "subject matter, composition and technique" were the three essential factors in good picture making, they felt that "you can't always tell those things apart, it's not that easy." "Impact" is the big factor they all agreed. Two members responded that when they judge they "just say what we've heard all the other judges say." Another said that he tries not to, but usually does. Their advice was to "be rough," and to pick "what you like."

The membership seemed most happy with judges and critics who were experienced in the camera club world. Club members were impatient with those not as well socialized to camera club practices. Out of more than thirty club competitions which I attended those which provoked the most dissatisfaction among the membership were the competition judged by the naturalist, and a competition judged by a photojournalist from one of the Philadelphia newspapers. Both competitions prompted a retelling of the artist-and-the-hot-beach story.

Club members were very pleased by the critiques of someone like Mr. Harrar, a long time veteran of camera club judging. There was a great deal of head nodding in agreement with his tenets and his advice. Many comments were made during refreshments after the meeting about what an "excellent judge" he is. One club member remarked, "Harrar is a real PSA'er." Harrar had made it clear that "good photography" for him had nothing to do with what people considered "photographic art." He expressed a particular dislike for abstract photographs. Picturesque subject matter, realistically and beautifully rendered, with harmonious composition and eye-catching color won the day.

Competition Conversation

During one of the final club competitions I attended in the spring of 1982 members were particularly abuzz with comments about the judging. Members attempted to predict the judge's decisions as he steadily eliminated picture after picture, invoking the usual criteria. The conventional regularity of this judge's selections provided a good representative sample of camera club preferences and criteria. Like Mr. Harrar's critique sessions, this competition provided explicit articulations of the pictorialist code described and illustrated in Chapter Twelve. As is typically the case, the judge was

particularly concerned that the photographer lead his eye to an unmistakeable "center of interest," that there be no ambiguity about what it is the viewer should be devoting attention to and no distracting detail. Commenting on a photograph of a honeybee perched on the edge of a flower he said, "I can't tell which is the subject, the bee or the flower. Out." Other comments during the slide judging included:

"I can't tell what the subject is -- things are so evenly weighted that there is no center of interest. It needs a more dynamic balance and a central focus. Out."

* * *

"A nice pattern but there's no center of interest. Out."

* * *

"A good concept but no center of interest -- doesn't come off. Good subject matter, but what am I supposed to be looking at, focusing on? My eye doesn't rest. Out."

This judge also made it clear that unusual or unpleasant material was at a competitive disadvantage.

"I'm not quite sure whether I should view this as a pattern shot or a pictorial. It's both interesting and disturbing. Out!"

The members seated around me began to whisper comments, their interest apparently aroused by their ability to anticipate the judge's decisions. During the judging of black and white prints a "small" print (less than 16 x 20) came up and I heard a member to my left say, "A small print like that will never make it." It didn't. Two people to

the front of me predicted a picture's demise. "It's too busy at the bottom." The judge said, "Too distracting, out!"

There were lots of photos in this competition from Asia and other overseas locations -- sampans, temples, foreign cities. The two people in front of me began to play "guess who's it is." They seemed quite adept at this game. Two similar portraits of an Asian woman and child were shown. One of the two people asked, "Why would someone submit two pictures of the same thing?" The other responded, "Because that way the judge will be sure to pick one of them." He did, choosing one as the better of the two and awarding it a ribbon. Because the kinds of photographs submitted falls into a limited range of pictorial subject matter, it is common to have several photographs of the same type in each competition. And it is common for the judges to consciously or unconsciously select those that stand out as the best of a represented genre.

This judge conformed to that pattern, picking winners from among long-accepted, conventional genres of pictorial work. After a close-up photograph of flowers took 2nd place in color prints I heard the same two people remark, "People criticized us for submitting a lot of flowers under water but he keeps bringing prints of flowers and winning." Two landscapes of pink-orange rock arches were advanced in the color slide competition and the two club members near

me were visibly upset. "Same old thing. I don't know how many times we've seen Monument Valley arches." When a third appears on the screen, one of the same people whispers, "My god!" The other says, "I'll have to bring in all my Monument Valley arches. I must have fifty of them."

Three types of pictures consistently survived each round of cuts as others were thrown out: wildlife color slides (especially of birds), portraits of people, and Monument Valley arches. Traditional portrait shots fared best of all in the competition, as they often did. After two rounds of elimination the judge still hadn't rejected any of the portraits. Every window reflection, abstract pattern, and manipulated derivation was thrown out in the first round. The leading portrait exhibitor in the club wasn't happy with what she considered to be the overly lenient judging of portraits. She uttered reserved "Oh no's" more than once as pictures which she felt suffered from poor lighting were advanced. She was particularly disturbed by a picture of an Indian "holy man" which was awarded first prize over two of her own portraits. Commenting on the winning slide she whispered, "The lighting is bad. The eyes aren't even in sharp focus." Such attention to purely technical details was common.

This competition seemed very typical to me although I had never noticed so much audience commentary before. The

concerns expressed by both the judge and the audience were consistent with the pictorialist standards I had already heard invoked so many times by club members, judges, and industry representatives alike.

Aesthetic Values

During the cake and coffee hour after meetings I often talked at length with club members about their photography: where they had exhibited their work, salons or contests they entered, evaluative standards, the photo magazines they subscribed to, where they liked to photograph. At various times club members expressed resentment about definitions of "art" and the invidious comparisons created between artistic and camera club activity. For them the art world seemed to make artistic evaluations arbitrarily, without consistent or even understandable aesthetic criteria. Some members told stories of "photographic art shows" at a local community art center where,

"all the best MCC photographers had taken prints -- people with hundreds of salon selections in their collections, some of the best photographers in the country -- and all of their work was tossed out."

"I entered prints which have won medals, that are very good, and they've been thrown out."

"Most of the pictures that get hung are just snapshots, they're not pictorial at all."

Club members often associated this preference for the "weird snapshot" with commercial photo magazines like MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY and POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY. Many members expressed the feeling that the photographs presented in these magazines were not distinguishable from snapshot photography -- "pictures of a mailbox or old cars or something" -- or that they were "gadgety," "too manipulative," "designed to be shocking or sensational," "lacking in any natural beauty." Several members were less discrete in their descriptions of these magazines, calling the pictures they published "simply lousy."

"I don't take any of those magazines any more because all they print are junky pictures."

Five years earlier an appearance by long time POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY editor Norman Rothschild had provoked a real controversy in the club. His speech had been arranged in conjunction with other Delaware Valley Council clubs and the event was held at the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. When the day of the carefully planned event came turnout was low and the response of those who attended the speech was not positive. Rothschild had chided PSA for the formulaic sentimentality of salon judging and evidently several club members had felt insulted. In response to the controversy the President of MCC wrote an "open letter" to club members which appeared in the club's newsletter. The

letter makes some remarkably candid observations about the nature of pictorial activity and its relationship to artistic photography.

Regarding Mr. Rothschild's poking fun at PSA judges: apparently this offended some of our membership. In my opinion, this type of good-natured kidding is healthy; it reminds us not to take ourselves too seriously and become overly impressed by our own importance. I have exhibited in the Salons, judged the Salons, and given lectures to various clubs and conventions. In 1963, I was one of the top 20 color print exhibitors in the world. To those outside of PSA circles this means nothing. One should keep this success in perspective: I do not think of my work as fine art; I take it for what it is - a hobby, a rewarding pastime - nothing else. PSA judges tend to accept pictures that are considered by experts in other areas of the arts as "cute", overly sentimental, and trite. I enjoy this type of photography and, therefore, these are the types of pictures I make. I know the rules of the Salon game, I enjoy playing the game, so I abide by the rules. This does not make me an artist; merely a success at the game.

Regarding Mr. Rothschild's approach to photography: Some members did not like all the derivations, and way-out effects. I agree. I think Rothschild's photography is "gadgety". However, it is impossible to be a complete photographer (or musician, artist, philosopher, etc.) unless we are exposed to all phases of our craft and weed out what we like and don't like. In my experience, most great photographers develop their own "style" by picking up bits and pieces of other "styles" and molding them into their own. In a word we are eclectics. Rothschild's was merely one style that we can draw on as we choose.

In summation, I should like to say that I think the show was a success in that it exposed us to what the rest of the photographic world (outside of pictorial photography) is doing.

(MICACLARION, Vol. 21, No. 7, May 1976, p. 2.)

MCC members often said they thought that the PSA JOURNAL was the best magazine to subscribe to because "it's the only one promoting pictorial work." Some liked PETERSON'S PHOTOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE because "it is good for keeping up on new equipment," but this preference was usually qualified by stating that the photos PETERSON'S publishes were no better than POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY or MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY. One member once expressed a preference for AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHER but an argument ensued with others present discounting the magazine as "purely for the commercial photographer."

For most club members magazines other than the PSA JOURNAL represented photographic arenas sharply separate from theirs. They interacted little with the fine art world and were highly suspicious of it. Most of the famous names in the art history of photography were unfamiliar to them. Aside from famous salonists like Max Thorek, Adolph Fassbender and William Mortenson, those photographers they recognized and knew about were pictorial portraitists like Yousuf Karsh who had enjoyed significant commercial success. Ansel Adams was far and away the most often mentioned name. (Adams had been an active member of PSA since the 1930s.) Edward Weston and Edward Steichen were also fairly well known. (Weston had also been well integrated into the amateur salon world in the twenties and thirties.) Two

members once discussed having watched a PBS documentary about Steichen and they marvelled at his move from artistic photography to commercial success. The commercial success and general popularity of all three of these photographers seems to have some relationship to their recognition by MCC photographers.

According to an article by Onas Scandrette in the July 1978 PSA JOURNAL, the "photographic isolationism" of MCC members is typical of PSA members in general. The article, entitled "Are PSA members photographic isolationists? Or is Ansel Adams good at P.R.?" includes a poll of 211 PSA members on their familiarity with a list of forty-five photographers taken from the catalogue LOOKING AT PHOTOGRAPHS: 100 PICTURES FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART. 462 questionnaires were mailed to a random sample of PSA members and 211 of them were returned. The self selection of the process probably skews the results towards higher recognition levels; arguably those not recognizing most of the names on the list would be less likely to complete and return the questionnaire.

In any case Ansel Adams had the greatest name recognition with 84.4 per cent of the sample claiming to "know his works." 92.7 per cent of those who said they knew of his work said they liked it. The only other photographers to score higher than 50 per cent recognition

were Margaret Bourke-White, Edward Weston, Edward Steichen, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and Alfred Stieglitz, six out of forty-five. More than a third of the sample knew five or fewer of the 45 photographers. 9.5 per cent claimed to recognize Robert Frank, 7.6 per cent Lee Friedlander, 6.2 per cent Ralph Meatyard and Russell Lee, 5.7 per cent August Sander, 1.9 per cent Ken Josephson. Numerous write-in votes for prominent PSA exhibitors were also included on the returned forms.

The poll corroborates my own observations that photographers not part of the pictorial tradition are given very little attention by camera club amateurs. "Contemporary photographers who are less traditional in their photographic style tend to be less well known" (Scandrette, 1978:17). The strict adherence to a pictorial approach does isolate camera club amateurs from many other forms of photographic work. Scandrette recommends forming a Division of Contemporary Photography in PSA to "acquaint members with contemporary trends" and assist in "photographic education." No movement has ever been made, however, to initiate such a division.

On one occasion Dona and I met two older printmakers from the club at a University of Pennsylvania symposium entitled "Formal Issues in Recent Photographs." One of them was the printmaker whose work had been rejected as "too

"unusual" by the rest of club when they were deciding on a group of entries for interclub competition. The other was a member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia who had visited MCC meetings as a guest of the first. We were surprised to find them at such an event, and in our conversation over lunch found that they had, in fact, not attended "scholarly" conferences before. They thought the title of this event sounded "interesting." But they had misinterpreted the intention of the conference. They ended up most disappointed, feeling that the lectures and discussion by the participating art photographers and photo art historians were "confusing and meaningless."

They were particularly perturbed because they had come expecting to hear about "formal issues" and felt that nothing at all had been said about "form", that there had been no discussions of concrete formal features or criteria. The camera club amateurs also found it disturbing that there was no clearly expressed intention in the work of the art photographers or in their presentations. Accustomed to a clearly defined set of goals for their work the amateurs were impatient with the artists' reluctance to answer "the WHY of it." Equally accustomed to a sharing of information and experiences among camera club members they were baffled by the artists' insistence on cryptic responses. One of

them complained,

"I don't understand why they aren't willing to share information, why they aren't willing to discuss what they're trying to do."

They were disappointed overall and didn't understand how this symposium could help anyone to become a better photographer. They concluded that Delaware Valley Council of Camera Clubs seminars and Kodak all-day "Teach-Ins," -- "even the ones designed for beginners" -- "had more meat than this conference."

Summary

The Miniature Camera Club I observed and participated in for three years was composed of dedicated and capable amateur photographers who gathered for sociable interaction and friendly competition. The purpose of the club is fairly accurately stated in the annual club program.

...to promote the art and science of photography ... We, at Miniature, offer the prospective member an opportunity to join with others of similar interests, to pursue a fascinating hobby and find stimulation with friendly and competent amateurs.

The club's activities are highly routinized and effectively perpetuate predictable pictorial conventions. The PSA camera club world of which MCC is a part represents the continuation of that relatively closed system of salon reproduction and tautological judging which Fraprie

criticized in the forties. The clearly and narrowly defined codes of this "world" -- arising from a standard consensus throughout the PSA network concerning appropriate club activities, the conduct of competitions and salons, the nature of evaluative criteria, point systems for judging, and rating systems for photographers -- provide structure and continuity for club members. Historically, the continuity and stability of MCC's organizational structure and club activities is paralleled by a consistency in pictorial work. Prints made by older members continue to be valued through the years as specimens of superior pictorial photography. When the work of a club member from an earlier era is exhibited, or an older member gives a presentation of his life's work, one often overhears comments about how great it would be to have a collection of pictures like that to draw from for competitions.

It is not innovation, or a unique personal style which is valued in this club context, but rather the repeated display of technical and aesthetic competence within the parameters of a shared and clearly understood aesthetic code (see Chapter Eleven on "The Code".) Members learn the code through repeated exposure to club photo competitions, lectures and presentations. The camera club activities I observed and participated in amounted to an ongoing photographic training program. Some aspects of this

training were in the form of explicit instructional presentations, but formal instruction seemed less important than the ongoing socialization process inherent in club activities -- competitions and judging, the regular viewing and discussion of photographic work, and the sharing of photographic knowledge and techniques through presentations, outings and social conversations.

My long term observation of these amateurs led me to a heightened awareness of the predictable routines and consistent photographic conventions which characterize camera club pictorialism. But it also led me to develop a genuine respect for the accomplished craftsmanship of these earnest and productive photographers. Because MCC members adhere to clearly defined and closely shared aesthetic codes their pictures exhibit a high degree of conformity. Their goal is not to invent new forms but to display a technical mastery of established pictorialist conventions. Rather than striving to develop an identifiable personal style they attempt to execute stunning examples of already accepted pictorialist categories.

Unlike unskilled snapshooters they are consciously aware of the processes of the photographic medium and have an informed appreciation of photographic control and manipulation. Unlike most people in our society they are sensitive to the role of form in visual media. They

represent a competent group of photographic spectators with clearly defined aesthetic criteria. They operate in a world of socially shared conventions which gives them a common basis for evaluation and criticism.

ENDNOTES

1. As of 1980 the New England Camera Club Council (NECCC) had 118 member clubs and was regularly drawing a yearly attendance of 1500 to its 3-day summer conference.
2. As a result of my discovery and use of the Mertle Collection at 3M Company I was able to negotiate the donation of the archive to Special Collections, the University of Minnesota Libraries, where it now resides.
3. Other members of the Oval Table Society included Pirie MacDonald, Hon. F.R.P.S., Adolph Fassbender, F.R.P.S. - one of the most celebrated salon pictorialists in the amateur world, Ira W. Martin - President of the Pictorial Photographers of America, Alfred Delardi F.R.P.S. - a renowned salon exhibitor and contributing editor at THE CAMERA who was often involved in Miniature Camera Club activities, and C. E. Anderson, an Associate Editor at THE CAMERA and a member of the Miniature Camera Club, to name a few.

4. The annual WOLFMAN REPORT on the photographic industry confirms that the majority of "photo-hobbyists" in 1979 were men in white collar professional/managerial/sales occupations. 70% had attended college (WOLFMAN REPORT, 1980).

5. Through Christian Peterson at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts I gained access to a collection of Minneapolis Club minutes comparable to the minutes I had obtained for MCC of Philadelphia. (The years covered by the minutes were almost identical, the form and detail of the minutes were very similar.) The contents of the minutes were also very similar -- even to the point of reporting on the same visitors.

Not unlike the first meeting at the Williams, Brown, and Earle camera store which led to the founding of the Miniature Camera Club, the Minneapolis Camera Club had its first meeting in the Eastman Kodak Store, March 7, 1931. The club had really begun earlier, as an informal gathering of customers of the retail store operated by the Eastman Kodak Company. Like the early members of the Miniature Club they were, for the most part, upper middle class businessmen and professionals with an interest in both pictorial art and photographic technology. The minutes from the first meeting state,

The Minneapolis Camera Club came into being through the combined efforts of James G. Bennet, Ralph W. Burnet and Dr. E. L. Gardner.

These men felt that there was need for an organization where those who were interested in photography as a hobby could meet and discuss composition, chemistry and the technique of photography.

Also like the Miniature Club, the members included photographic businessmen and/or dealers. Al Leigh, longtime secretary of the Minneapolis Club, whose minutes provided me with information on the club's early years, was a photo equipment retailer.

The similarity of Minneapolis Camera Club activities in the thirties and forties to those of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia is, indeed, striking. As with Miniature Club meetings there were frequent guests, including representatives from photo retailers in Minneapolis. The Eastman Kodak Store in Minneapolis played an active role in Minneapolis Camera club programs and presentations, just as the Eastman Kodak Stores in Philadelphia provided the Miniature Camera Club with speakers and presentations. Meetings seem to have revolved around the same topics. Similar club outings were held.

Throughout the minutes of the Minneapolis Club one finds many of the same illustrated lectures from Eastman Kodak, the same "eyes of science" program by Bausch and Lomb, the same program on photographic papers by Agfa Ansco, the same print critique nights, the same studio nights spent posing, lighting and shooting a professional model, the same

Kodachrome movies, the same GE flashbulb demonstrations, the same lectures on composition and "Principles of Pictorial Art," the same dinners and summer outings.

At a Minneapolis Camera Club meeting of May 12, 1932 Mr. Harry Elton of Eastman Kodak presented a talk on films and emulsions. On March 5, 1935 there was a lecture on fine grain development. On March 26th, 1935, the paper negative process was discussed. At that meeting Dr. A. T. Henrici of the club also announced that he had two prints hung at the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia Salon.

Like the MCC of Philadelphia the Minneapolis Club also instituted a salon soon after its formation. Members were able to convince the Minneapolis Institute of Arts to host an annual photographic exhibit and, starting in 1932, the Minneapolis Salon was held for fifteen consecutive years. In 1936, the salon's keynote speaker was none other than Max Thorek, who appeared at the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia the same year.

Like MCC members many of the Minneapolis Club members also distinguished themselves as salon exhibitors. Despite the smaller size of the club, as many as eleven members sometimes appeared in the AMERICAN ANNUAL'S Who's Who of Pictorial Photography during the late thirties and early forties. Many of their photographs have been reproduced in

the catalogue of the Minneapolis Salon of Photography, 1932-1946, an exhibition curated by Christian Peterson at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1983.

Club competitions seemed to have been a central activity for memberships everywhere. And awarding special prizes to the highest cumulative yearly scores was common. Judges stressed technical and compositional guidelines, and often had connections with commercial studios or photographic businesses.

Information on other Minnesota clubs (the St. Paul Camera Club, the Minneapolis Photographic Society, the YMCA Club, the University Club, the Gopher Club, the Pictorialists) from the unpublished paper "Twin Cities Camera Clubs" by Maxwell Moon, indicates a uniformity of organizational influence and amateur activities similar to the clubs in Philadelphia. Networks of camera clubs everywhere linked up with the PSA, with local photographic businesses, and with the international photo industry, forming a cultural arena of routinized photographic activity and pictorial practices.

6. It is interesting to note that despite their marginalization select groups of printmakers remain, in all of the clubs I observed, respected leaders. Printmakers represent traditional know-how and craftsmanship and the

slide makers recognize their greater commitment of time and effort. At least partly for this reason, printmakers' opinions are held in high regard and printmakers seem to play a disproportionately large leadership role.

7. The fact that at this time the club was not as exclusively male may partially explain the absence of studio nights with nude models. After 1950 the number of female members increased and the wives of male members began to participate more regularly, even taking turns preparing desserts and coffee for the social hours following the meeting. The more balanced distribution of sexes at club meetings and outings may have made the club more hesitant to arrange photo sessions with nude models. The one time when my research partner entered a nude in a print competition some uneasiness on the part of club members was apparent.

8. The Delaware County (Pa.) Camera Club, Germantown-Mt. Airy Camera Club, and the Cheltenham Camera Club of Philadelphia are nearly identical to MCC in their activities and photo production. Program schedules for these clubs for the same 1979-82 period in which I was a member of MCC are very similar to Miniature's slate of programs, even including many of the same competition judges, the same speakers, and the same presentations. My observations at the annual Delaware Valley Council of Camera Clubs interclub

competitions suggest that the thirty-odd clubs which make up the DVCCC share a similar PSA orientation. The bulk of each club's membership are color slide photographers. Printmakers constitute a minority in all of the clubs. The photographs submitted each year to the interclub competition show no significant differences in patterns of style or subject matter from club to club, and the same criteria of evaluation are invoked as those I observed in the MCC.

9. A sampling of flyers from the Southwest Michigan Council of Camera Clubs, the Metropolitan Camera Club Council of New York, the Twin Cities Area Camera Club Council of Minnesota, the New Jersey Federation of Camera Clubs, the Southern California Council of Camera Clubs, the Greater Washington Council of Camera Clubs, the Chicago Area Camera Club Association, the Columbia Council of Camera Clubs in Portland, Oregon, and the Florida Camera Club Council indicate that nearly identical industry/amateur programs are presented across the United States.

10. Eastman Kodak's "Here's How" series includes: "How To Photograph Wild Flowers," "Creative Close-Ups of Garden Flowers," "Photography of Insects," "Photographing Wild Birds," "Photographing Wildflowers," and "Nature-Trail Photography," -- all of which emphasize close-up pictorial work like that found in nature magazines, GEO, or some

issues of NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC.

A Reading PSA Freedom Chapter photo workshop entitled "Advanced Nature Photography" by Willian Kress of Kodak's Research Lab and the Kodak Camera Club focused on "the techniques used for close-up nature photography and macrophotography" through a discussion of "frog, flower, and insect photography."

Part VI

THE PICTORIALIST CODE:
ORGANIZATIONAL CONTINUITY AND INDUSTRY SUPPORT

Pictorialist photography emerged through the efforts of Victorian amateurs to legitimize camera work as art. It gained attention and prominence through the intense commitment of the Photo-Secessionists to fine art and the serious expression of ideas. But it survived almost solely as a set of tacit rules concerning appropriate subject matter, proper composition, and the display of technical competence, particularly with regard to the control of exposure, focus, and the reproduction of tone.

The philosophy of early pictorialists, like Paul L. Anderson, that "the aim of the pictorialist is to convey an idea in terms of beauty," was simplified by the great numbers of amateur enthusiasts producing work for the salons with "the conviction that any natural object, beautifully photographed, constituted a picture" (Anderson, "Modern Trends in Pictorial Photography" AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1941, PP. 27-8). To the disappointment of disciples of the Photo-secession "ideas" never became a major concern for the bulk of amateur pictorialists. Instead, common standards for preferred subjects and form were forged. Amateurs sought to define success or failure

in terms understandable and recognizable by the entire membership, terms which came to constitute a ruleful set of criteria for aesthetic evaluation.

Photographic writers and competition judges were increasingly called upon to make the tacit rules for such "beautiful photography" explicit. These "rules" provided a framework of aesthetic preference and technical competence against which the work of both untrained amateurs and highly trained professional technicians could be exposed as incompetent, frivolous, or lacking intentional self-expression and artistic sensibility ("that taste and sense for composition and for tone, which is essential in producing a photograph of artistic value--in other words, a picture" (Stieglitz, 1892:136)).

The following two chapters outline and illustrate the principal features of the pictorial code and explore the organized maintenance of pictorialist aesthetics through amateur networks and industry support.

Chapter Eleven

THE CODE

In his introduction to the museum catalog PICTORIALISM IN AMERICA: THE MINNEAPOLIS SALON OF PHOTOGRAPHY 1932-1946, Peterson writes,

Indeed, pictorial photography in all of its phases was dominated by a constant preoccupation with beautiful imagery. This self-conscious attitude toward securing strong visual appeal perhaps reached its logical conclusion in the 1930's and 1940's. The expression of a concrete idea was not necessarily absent from work done over these decades, but serious meaning was generally subordinated to pure pulchritude. One of the most highly respected workers of the period, Adolph Fassbender, defined pictorial photography as "nothing more or less than the making of beautiful pictures." The interpretation of pictorialism that was most often repeated was undoubtedly that of the turn-of-the-century editor of PHOTOGRAMS OF THE YEAR, H. Snowden Ward. He believed that a successful picture was "a thing beautifully photographed rather than a beautiful thing photographed" (Peterson, 1983:9).

While those appealing for a higher standard of art and beauty in photography routinely denied that there were any formulas for such work, the bulk of writers and photographers continued to prescribe pictorial form and reliably reproduce shared and predictable codes. The photographic journals regularly ran "print critique" sections in which standards of composition and tone were both positively and negatively illustrated. Articles and books on pictorial composition and technique were numerous and popular, especially between 1920 and 1950.

In the camera club/salon system which had become established by the 1930's, standards of technical excellence and rules for good composition were explicitly defined and predictably applied. The interpretation of an artistic "picture" was, despite the protestations of some photo journal essayists, generally reduced to a set of clearly recognizable characteristics by which the intentional and competent mastery of pictorialist style could be reliably gauged. "Intentionality" (Worth and Gross, 1974) and the "communication of competence" (Gross, 1973) became the most essential concepts in amateur evaluations of skill and value. Photographs produced by accident, or without the maker's full cognizance of the process of their making, are not valued in this system, even if they happen to exhibit desirable qualities.

The "rules" reflect characteristics of photographic form which are consistently recycled in pictorial work and have come to constitute what Harker has called the "over-riding considerations of style which makes identification of Pictorial photography possible" (1979:68) [see Chap. 7]. From the large body of print critiques and prescriptive essays found in the amateur literature, the conventions of pictorialist style can be distilled.

Subject Matter

While H. Snowden Ward's famous maxim that a successful picture is "a thing beautifully photographed rather than a beautiful thing photographed" correctly reflects the predominant amateur concern for demonstrating photographic control, amateur pictorialists nevertheless have routinely confined themselves to a limited range of "beautiful" subjects. My observations of pictorial work, whether reproduced in old photo journals or exhibited in modern day camera clubs, suggests that amateur work is better characterized as "certain kinds of 'beautiful' things, 'beautifully' photographed."¹

This preoccupation with "the beautiful" makes amateur work light-hearted, romantic, optimistic, and by some standards "trivial." Preferences for subject matter relate back to Victorian notions of the picturesque. Many of the most common twentieth century subjects survived from Robinson and Emerson's time: "character" portraits, domestic portraits (often of women and children), soft-focus nudes, genre scenes, romantic landscapes and seascapes, pastorals (often of shepherds herding cattle or sheep against a romantic landscape), marine subjects (especially sailboats or ships in harbor), winding roads or streams framed by trees, still-lifes (especially of fruit, flowers, vases and tableware), architectural treatments and quaint buildings.

The twentieth century saw a marked increase in portraiture (something more often associated with professional work in the nineteenth century) as the development of easy to use photo-flood and photo-flash technology enabled serious amateurs to set up studio facilities in their homes and clubrooms. With faster speed lenses and filmstocks in the 1920's and 30's there was also an increase in child portraiture, animal pictures (especially close-ups of pets and zoo animals), nature "portraits" (especially artificially lit macrophotography of birds, flowers, moths and insects), and genre photographs of "picturesque" people at work or play (fishermen, sailors, weavers, musicians, dancers, ice skaters, children).

Nicholas Haz, F.R.P.S., F.P.S.A., a commercial pictorialist, salon exhibitor, and self-proclaimed "Consultant in Picture-making," made a lucrative career of promoting and teaching pictorialist tenets by giving lectures and demonstrations to camera clubs, writing books on photographic technique, writing "pictorial analysis" columns for THE CAMERA, and teaching courses in his New York studio. In his most widely known book, IMAGE MANAGEMENT: (COMPOSITION FOR PHOTOGRAPHERS), Haz gives incisive descriptions of pictorialist vs. non-pictorialist subject matter.

SUBJECT MATTER FOR PICTORIALISTS

"Isn't life beautiful", is the spirit of the subject matter of the pictorialist. He photographs things and people which lyric and romantic painters would paint. Curiously, his repertoire is not very long. Youth (with special emphasis on babies), pet animals, lyric and romantic land and seascapes; story-telling pictures of pleasant or humorous happenings; pretty flowers, good fruit (often apples and grapes); trees, bric-a-brac, with a weakness for plates on edge; toys, good-looking human beings, celebrities, stars, dancers and musicians -- are his best beloved subjects. Homey, holy, or just interesting interiors and exteriors of buildings; street scenes of city and country, especially from abroad; likenesses of well-washed, benevolent, happy old folk, and of odd, exotic characters (often self-impersonated); a few semi-abstract photographograms; also rhythm and texture-and-texture pictures round out his selection. He likes to make pictures that can be hung in homes, and which can be lived with (1946:36).

NON-PICTORIALIST SUBJECT MATTER

Death, disease, destruction; crime, dirt, extreme poverty; hopeless youth and old age; the beggar's staff, the crutch, and the surgeon's bandage--are all undesirable subjects for pictorialists. Nor do war, pestilence, new ruins, blood and sweat; disliked animals (as rats), or hated creatures (as vultures, reptiles, worms and vermin) appeal to them. Utilitarian objects, prosaic machinery, and modern conveyances are not much favored -- with some exceptions, such as glass-ware, pottery, and even stone jugs.

All of the above make fine subject matter for nature, news, police, industrial and advertising photographers; also for scientists, travelers, and especially for the so-called documentarists, who specialize in photography of the most abhorrent, disgusting, and scandalous conditions they can find in order to shame society, or the governments of this globe into improving them. This is a most laudable aim, and of great use to the cause of civilization, but it is utterly uninviting to pictorialist, who try to escape these conditions into a lyric and romantic, even though imaginary world. Because of this desire of escape, pictorialists do not much care for "ain't-it-a-shame" pictures, and have scant respect for the "I-hereby-report" work of the average business photographer (Haz., 1946:38).

Despite frequent claims that the subject is not so important as the manner of its rendering, subject matter inevitably falls into a small, predictable set of categories which conforms to the attitude of pleasant optimism Peterson (1983) describes. Political or social criticism (or exploration) is absent. The social documentary style is nowhere to be found, even in the thirties when it began to play a prominent role in magazine photojournalism.²

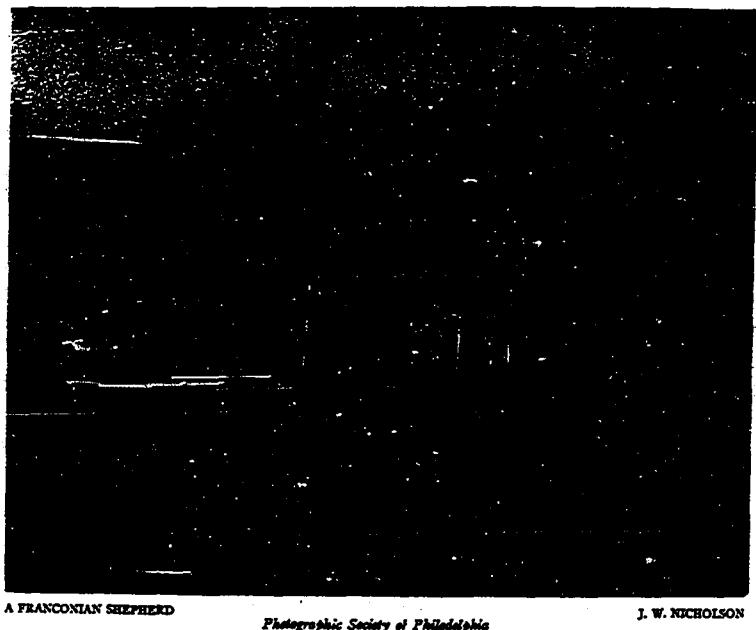
The predictability of subject matter is evident in the photographic journals, annuals and books. As early as 1908 Roy Griffith derided the monotony of pictorialist themes in a tongue-in-cheek AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY article, "All is not Art that's Light-struck,"

"I have been thinking father, that I must make a greater effort at the subjective--at the ideal. I must produce something uplifting, lest I turn into a mere mechanic. So I have practically come to the conclusion that I must make some effort in the higher field of Art."

"Perhaps, " (his father) suggested kindly, "you had thought of a picture of a meadow; some rolling pasture land with trees and sheep; particularly sheep."

"The idea had occurred to me," his son admitted. (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1908, p. 309.)

Yet, despite the recognition by some journal writers like Griffith that success in the amateur salons depended largely on the skillful reproduction of predictable and often cliche conventions, these conventions (including pastoral renderings) continued as the preferred forms of Pictorialism throughout the middle of the century (See Figs. 13-19).



A FRANCONIAN SHEPHERD

Photographic Society of Philadelphia

J. W. NICHOLSON

FIGURE 13. "A Franconian Shepherd," J.W. Nicholson,
Photographic Society of Philadelphia,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September, 1908, p. 507



THE ROAD TO THE BARN
FOLLOWING THE SHEPHERD
JOHN F. JONES



FIGURE 14. "Following the Shepherd," John F. Jones,
PHOTO-ERA, September, 1910, p. 126



"IN SUNSET GLOW"

Wm. S. Davis

Third Honorable Mention in THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES Print Competition

FIGURE 15. "The Sunset Glow," William S. Davis,
THE PHOTOGRAPHIC TIMES, November, 1915, p. 465



"THE DRINKING POOL"

ALEX. KEIGHLEY, HON. F.R.P.S.

*From the exhibit of the Royal Photographic Society at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.,
and at The Camera Club, New York City.*

FIGURE 16. "The Drinking Pool," Alexander Keighley,
THE CAMERA, February, 1928, p. 83

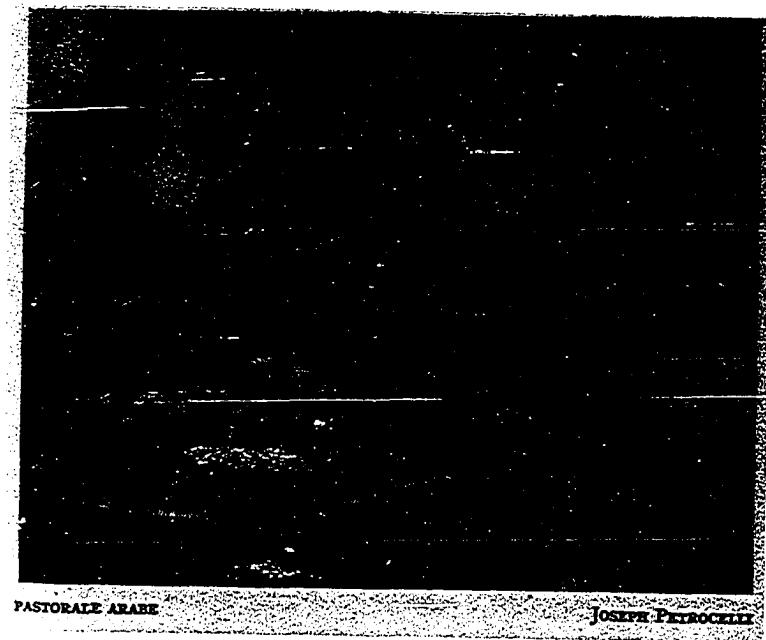


FIGURE 17. "Pastorale Arabe," Joseph Petrocelli,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1934, p. 99



THE SHEPHERD'S CALL

Glenn Dixon

FIGURE 18. "Shepherd's Call," Glenn Dixon,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January, 1945, p.27



HILLSIDE HAVEN

ARTHUR RAYMENT EADE

FIGURE 19. "Hillside Haven," Arthur Rayment Eade,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948, p. 85

By the early thirties, when my history of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia begins, these photographic conventions were regularized in amateur practice. Looking at photographic journals between 1928 and 1934 reveals a pattern of photographic work marked by its consistency and repetitiveness. The journals and salons of the amateur world systematically promoted and reinforced common notions of appropriate subject matter and common features of photographic composition and technique. The monthly issues of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for 1934, (Vol. XXVIII), include:

- studio lit portraits of men, women, children, and pets,
- nudes,
- table-top still lifes, close-up "portraits" of flowers,
- landscapes of trees and roads, trees and streams,
- mountains reflected in water,
- boats on the water, ships in harbor,
- figures, sheep, goats or cattle on rural winding roadways,
- winding snowy streams, winding snowy roads or paths,
- snowscapes with trees,
- seascapes and cloudscapes,
- figures in shadow-patterned architectural settings,
- architectural patterns,
- nature close-ups of birds,

genres of amateur work which had become entrenched categories of pictorialist work, and continued to constitute the range of amateur production for decades. Of the hundreds of photographs reproduced in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY during 1934, not more than a handful fall outside these categories.

Coding Pictorial Genres

On the following pages I have attempted to provide the reader with a sense of the nature and consistency of amateur pictorialist conventions. After examining more than a thousand issues of seven different amateur journals and carefully comparing many thousands of amateur photographs, it has become inescapably apparent to me that pictorialist work is characterized by a relatively limited and predictable range of subjects. It has also become apparent that these subjects are consistently rendered in a predictable fashion, according to recognizable conventions of framing, composition, lighting, and resolution. It is impossible for me to reproduce the long-term comparative analysis which has produced this recognition. However, I have attempted to exemplify patterns of pictorialist conventions in two ways.

First, I have charted the frequency with which different types of subject matter appear in groups of award winning amateur photographs. This was accomplished by coding a systematic sample of prize winning salon photographs from issues of THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY during the peak period of camera club and salon expansion, roughly 1930 to the early 1950's. I chose AMERICAN ANNUALS in odd-numbered years at four year intervals, including the issues for 1931, 1935, 1939, 1943,

1947, 1951 (See Table 11-1). The total sample includes 503 photographs.

As a check against this sample I also coded the award winning photographs from Annual Competitions held by AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY over the same period (during the height of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S influence) this time choosing even-numbered years from 1930 through 1950. There was an average of 13 prizewinning photographs selected each year; the total sample includes 139 pictures (See Table 12-2).

I have also compared these findings with other available reports on competition entries and with my own observations in the Miniature Camera Club.

Second, in addition to creating a record of the frequency with which certain genres appear in competitions, I have reproduced sample illustrations to give the reader a sense of what some of the specific genres look like. In each case I have selected several examples of a single classification, and taken those examples from a variety of journals covering a range of dates. In this way the persistence across time of a certain category of picture making is illustrated for the reader. I have attempted to minimize the problem of purposeful selection by taking examples from several different publications, demonstrating the continual reappearance of similar photographs across several photo journals. The systematic coding of photo

journal reproductions serves to underpin and validate the selected illustrations. Later in the chapter I have also reproduced additional samples of pictorial work to illustrate compositional conventions and pictorialist technique.

Although I have attempted to systematically chart the frequencies with which various genres of pictorial photography appeared in major annual competitions, it should be kept in mind that any classifications of pictorialist work are ineluctably dependent upon the informed judgement of the researcher, on her/his sensitivity to variations in form and style. Descriptive statistics help to organize my focused observation and analysis, perhaps providing a check on unwarranted impressions, but they do not constitute an objective measurement of the range of pictorialist subject matter. Coding is inevitably problematic and requires constant reflexivity on the part of researchers, especially when it involves the recognition of a complex combinations of features -- as in the classification of genres or style.

The process through which the following analysis emerged involved steeping myself, first in the exhibitions, competitions and critique sessions of MCC and other camera clubs, and then in hundreds of issues of various amateur photo journals and annuals. In this process my interest was not to discover new analytical categories of subject matter

or style, nor to demonstrate my ability to perceive subtle variations in the work of certain individuals or groups. Rather, I hoped to thoroughly familiarize myself with the categories used by amateur pictorialists to describe and evaluate their photographs, learning to recognize those photographic characteristics which most consistently affected categorization and evaluation in the amateur system. Coding frames were constructed in an inductive manner as patterns emerged from the data.

Thus, the categories into which I have coded the samples are congruent with the categories used by club members and photo journal editors to describe or summarize salon and competition entries (see Chapter Nine, p. 257). Many appear as chapter sub-headings in books on pictorial photography.³ They include:

LANDSCAPES - The oldest continuing form of pictorial photography. The category LANDSCAPE refers to pictures of scenic terrains in which human figures, animals, buildings, or other man-made structures may appear but do not dominate the picture frame. The category LANDSCAPE tends to be subdivided in many discussions into subordinate categories of "seascape," and "snowscape." (Explicit discussions of "what constitutes a landscape" were held in the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia every year in conjunction with the annual Hartig Memorial Landscape Competition.)

PORTRAITS - Perhaps because, like landscapes, they constitute a class of picture making descended straight from painting, PORTRAITS have traditionally constituted a prevalent form for pictorial and art photography (in addition to being a staple of commercial photographic business). In amateur work PORTRAITS comprise formal posed photographs of men, women, children, and pets. Like commercial portraits they are usually characterized by the use of artificial lighting and are often made with models in

studio settings. Outdoor or environmental portraits are rare by comparison. In some journal reports pictures of children, and pictures of animals, are placed in separate subcategories. But in my coding I included portraits of children and pets in the PORTRAIT category.

GENRE PICTURES - Also a form descended directly from painting, GENRE photographs picture people engaging in some ostensibly normal activity or occupation of everyday life. However, the GENRE category has virtually no relationship to candid forms of photography. GENRE PICTURES usually consist of idealized scenes of stereotypically humble or "quaint" people -- fishermen mending their nets, village women carrying water, peasants praying, a farmer plowing with a team of horses. Agricultural and rural village scenes are common, as are scenes from fishing villages. Photographs of "children's activities," sometimes described as a separate category, are included here in the GENRE category. Pictures of religious ceremonies and processions are also referred to as GENRE in the clubs and journals. Consistent with the amateur passion for harmonious pictorial design, GENRE PHOTOGRAPHS tend to be highly stylized and romanticized, often appearing as if they had been staged or posed. They are distinguished from landscapes by the prominence given to human figures: "...when the figures are the important part of the picture and the landscape is subordinated to them, the picture comes into the class of genre rather than landscape" (Hammond, 1946, p.42).

MARINE PICTURES - Boats, ships, harbors, wharves, and the sea are "romantic" subjects which amateurs have exploited in large numbers, particularly since the twenties and thirties. This category primarily includes photographs of sailing ships and sailing yachts at sea, although pictures of ocean freighters and liners, especially in harbor, are also common, as are photographs of tugboats, fishing boats, trawlers and other boats.

NATURE AND WILDLIFE - As a subject category NATURE AND WILDLIFE is relatively self-explanatory although the limited forms in which nature subjects appear in pictorial work circumscribe the category more than one might expect. Landscapes of natural environments or habitats are sometimes included in Nature competitions and exhibitions; but for purposes of these descriptive categorizations I have not assigned any photographs to more than one category. Here NATURE pictures refer specifically to photographs which closely frame a single bird, animal, insect, or flower, (or a small and cohesive cluster of birds, animals, insects, or flowers). Close-up photographs of birds, flowers or moths

seem to epitomize this class of pictures. A photograph of a standing egret, or a single deer, framed tightly to create a kind of portrait of the animal is also classified as NATURE by camera club members and salon judges.

STILL LIFES - Again a direct descendant from painting these types of pictures are commonly referred to as "Table Top Photography." While the traditional shot of a bowl of fruit is sometimes seen, pictorialist photographers prefer objects which are highly reflective, providing opportunities to "show off" their skill with artificial light sources. Vases, glassware, and various types of dishes are often seen arranged on tables for these types of pictures. In color work colored lights are often used to tint vases and glassware or give them an unusual glow. In the thirties dolls and figurines were also popular, often as part of staged scenes in which statuettes would play roles.

NUDES - NUDES have diminished in popularity in the post WWII era, at least partly, I believe, due to the growing predominance of color. Amateurs seem resistant to the idea of projecting NUDES on a screen, in color. Portrayed in soft focus black-and-white prints NUDES were regularly included in pictorialist salons and frequently reproduced in photo journal illustrations. The models used were nearly always women, and they were most often posed in allegorical or staged scenes. Sometimes they were posed as "dancers," or allegorical "priestesses," or simply shot in the traditional full figure pose or body cant of a model -- accompanied by titles like "The Model." Abstracted sections of a human figure (quite common in fine art photography) are seldom seen in amateur photography. During my observations in the Miniature Camera Club only one NUDE was ever exhibited; it was submitted to a black-and-white print competition by my co-researcher in an attempt to test the boundaries of pictorial subject matter. The judge critiqued the picture with obvious discomfort, then eliminated it saying, "It just doesn't seem to fit with the rest of the entries." Between 1920 and 1950, however, NUDES were a frequent subject for pictorial photography.

STAGED SCENES (sometimes called "costume pictures") - This category includes photographs which have been staged with models in costume. Sometimes these are obviously theatrical and sometimes they are simply models "made up" to look like some exotic or picturesque character. Sometimes they look like attempts to reproduce allegorical paintings. In either case they do not fit the portrait category or the genre category and must be placed in a classification of their own.

PATTERN - Because of pictorialist concerns with visual design amateurs often use the camera or the cropping easel to abstract a pattern of lines or shapes from some pictorial subject matter. Such "pattern shots" (as they are commonly called) range from the diagonal lines of a stairway filling the frame to rippled reflections in water, rows of cafe tables with umbrellas, the furrowed rows of a farm field, or the abstracted design of automobile grills (see below). An important characteristic of pictorialist pattern shots, however, is that the referent source of the pattern remains apparent. These are not swatches of textured wall or peeling paint extracted from any recognizable context (in the manner of fine art photographers like Aaron Siskind). The pleasure that pictorialists seem to find in this type of photograph involves the recognition and illustration of pattern in discernible pictorialist settings.

ARCHITECTURAL - Photographs of monuments, cathedrals, temples, castles, archways, bridges, and other noteworthy buildings. Some early pictorialists (like Frederick H. Evans) made careers of architectural treatments. When the focus is on an abstract pattern (the steps of a stairway) rather than a recognizable facade or structure they are more likely to be classified as PATTERN SHOTS.

CITYSCAPES/CITYSCENES - Photographs of city skylines, or avenues closed in by city buildings, make up a small but consistently reappearing segment of salon pictures. Many are evening shots which isolate patterns of city lights. Any picture whose subject is primarily city buildings or city lights has been placed in this category.

INDUSTRIALS - Industrial structures or machines occasionally become the subjects of pictorial photographs. Railroad locomotives seem to be the most common subject of this type. Architectural treatments of factories or oil storage tanks sometimes appear.

TRAVEL SCENICS - Photographs taken of far away places, highlighting foreign landmarks, exotic dress or customs. These pictures, although they may include architectural or genre subjects, are considered significant primarily as depictions of far away places and events.

MOOD/STORY SHOTS - Certain kinds of pictures are referred to by amateurs as MOOD SHOTS or "pictures that tell a story." These usually involve the portrayal of one or more human figures in a romantic or "moody" setting suggesting a contemplative state. Often the setting is foggy, misty or twilight.

"ACTION" SHOTS - After the introduction of 35mm miniature cameras, amateurs sometimes experimented with using faster shutter speeds to stop action. The action still involved a "picturesque" subject -- a horse jumping, a skier against snow and sky, a cat jumping down from a ledge with a flower pot, a dancer pictured in mid-leap atop a grassy knoll. Today, one sometimes sees sports action pictures submitted to competitions -- a little leaguer sliding into home, a hot air balloonist taking off, a cheerleader jumping at a football game. Still, despite the technological motivations to do this type of photography, it is the least frequent of all categories. Only 3 out of 503 photographs in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL sample (0.6 per cent) are of this type.

(Examples of many of these genres appear in the illustrations which follow in this chapter.)

The problem of defining categories and classifying photographs was accompanied by the problem of isolating suitable samples. Using the photographs chosen by photo journal editors for their covers seemed to be one way to cull out a sample. But upon inspection it became apparent that journal covers were chosen for a variety of reasons not necessarily related to the types of pictorial work being produced by amateurs. For instance, covers were often chosen to reflect seasonal themes -- with photographs of fireworks often adorning July issues and Christmas related pictures often appearing on the December cover. The skewing of subject matter which such considerations introduced into any systematic grouping of journal covers discouraged me from relying upon covers as a sample.

Instead, I decided on a sample from THE AMERICAN ANNUALS OF PHOTOGRAPHY, published during the period of

"salonmania" (see Chapter Nine) when popular notions of "good photography" were established and entrenched in thousands of new camera clubs. The 65 to 100 full page reproductions published each year are selected by the editors of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (usually Arthur Hammond, Franklin I. Jordan, Marjorie R. Fraprie and Frank Fraprie) from as many as seven or eight thousand pictorial photographs. They come from various sources.

A number of them were chosen by observation from the walls of various salons during the year. The choice in most cases was confirmed by the records published elsewhere in this issue, showing the pictures which have received the most salon acceptances in recent months. A few of them are prints explicitly submitted for consideration by the ANNUAL, and the remainder were selected from prints sent in to the Twenty-third Annual Competition of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY.

The prints are usually as numerous and of the same general quality as those submitted to most of the American salons. Invitations are sent to the complete list of exhibitors in the salons of the previous year and also to a few others, with the intention of reflecting the current practice in exhibitions. ("Our Illustrations," Frank R. Fraprie, THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1944, p. 171.)

The photographs honored by their inclusion each year represented those kinds of photographs accepted and encouraged by international salons and the major American amateur photo journal. According to the judges and editors no quotas for certain types of pictures were used in selecting the winners, they simply strove to pick the "best" representations of salon pictorialism in each year.

Again, therefore, we have surveyed the field of photography throughout the world with a vision attuned to the artistic achievement of the past, to the rules of sound and tried composition, to the beauty of nature, and to the higher possibilities of photography. ("Our Pictures," Frank R. Fraprie, THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1936, p. 271.)

The editors were aware of their role as arbiters of photographic success, but they were explicit about the standards they invoked and sincere in their belief that their choices represented standards of pictorial art which were widely shared. Their judgements seem consistent with the standards and prescriptions of other amateur writers and pictorialists, and the winning samples seem representative of the larger body of photographic submissions.

We present in this issue a selection of about one hundred reproductions of pictures taken by photographers throughout the world. They result from a study of over seven thousand prints which came to the editor's attention. It is impossible to believe that all of them will interest all readers, or that it is the most perfect selection which could have been made; but each of these pictures does tell a definite story of photographic and artistic and human interest, and we believe that they fairly adequately represent the various trends of photographic thought which actuate photographers in different countries and continents. ("Our Illustrations," Frank R. Fraprie, THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1938, P. 255.)

In selecting the pictures which are reproduced each year in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY the editors must keep in mind many factors. As a general basis for guidance in this selection it is our intention to consider to a large extent pictorial or artistic quality, for it is our belief, curious and antiquated as it may be, that any photograph, no matter how devoted its maker may be to the utmost accuracy of representation, can tell its message better if in its planning and production a knowledge of some of the time-honored and usually accepted generalities of

arrangement, commonly designated as composition, be taken into consideration. Therefore, it is intended that the pictures we reproduce shall show reason in the arrangement of their component parts, though this structure may be as conventional as a landscape by Constable or as chaotic as an abstraction by Picasso. We intend that all of these pictures shall display good technique from the standpoint of the black-and-white artist.

To us the subject matter of the picture is of importance. It should be interesting, be pleasing, tell a story of hopefulness, of pleasant living, of trust for the future rather than of the ugliness, misery and despair of today. ...the mission of THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY is not to reform the world, but to help the photographer in his work. So we do not intend to use photography for the purpose of social propaganda, but as a record of aspects of life which appeal to hope rather than to despair. The subject matter of our pictures is important to us for the pleasure it will give to our readers and not for the social pricks which it might inflict upon them.

There must be a background of sound pictures which conform to the conventional, which tell an oft-repeated story in an unoriginal fashion, which express the beliefs and concepts and aspirations of the average man, which are so consistently models of good handicraft that they express in themselves all that the maker desired to say, which do not step out of the paths of rectitude and of pleasantness and of peace, and which the critic can only accept and admire and present, and of which he can say nothing which is important.
("Our Illustrations," Frank R. Fraprie, THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1947, p. 161.)

On the following pages samples of amateur pictorial work are coded for relative frequency of subject matter. The categories included in each table are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Table 11-1 charts the frequency of pictorial genres in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1931-1951. Table 11-2 provides a check against THE AMERICAN

ANNUAL sample by comparing the range of subjects found in winning photographs from AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S Annual Competitions, 1930-1950. Table 11-3 provides a comparison to a "Print of the Year Contest" in THE CAMERA, 1952.

In each case editorial comments indicate that the range of picture types represented among the winning prints is not an artifact of predetermined judging quotas but reflects, at least in rough fashion, the range of pictorial work submitted. Judges and editors seem very conscious of the repetitiveness of subject matter and occasionally take opportunities to deplore the unimaginative recycling of pictorial genres and praise new treatments of pictorial subject matter. Introducing the illustrations in the 1943 ANNUAL, Franklin I. Jordan writes,

Our illustrations, as usual, are intended to present a cross section of the best that has been done in pictorial photography for the past twelve months.

Subjectively, there is little change to note between the work of this year and that of several preceding years. The same line of subjects has been treated in much the same manner. The results are quite as beautiful as ever, but there is a noticeable absence of new ideas ("Our Illustrations," THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943, p. 202).

And, describing one of the photographs in the same ANNUAL, "Boats of Burden," Jordan comments,

Mr. L. A. Crumley has made a handsome picture, and interestingly different, of the threadbare theme of reflections of boats in water. This seems to be a subject that no one, at some stage of his career, can resist. There is hardly a salon that does not exhibit one or more of them (p. 204).

TABLE 11-1
Distribution of Pictorial Genres in
THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1931-1951

	(#)	%	1931	1935	1939	YEAR 1943	1947	1951	(total)	
									mean	[sd]
Portraits	(#)	(18)	(26)	(20)	(22)	(20)	(29)	(23)	(121)	24% [4.4]
	%	19	27	20	29	29	29	23		
Landscapes	(#)	(24)	(22)	(17)	(15)	(15)	(15)	(11)	(104)	21% [3.3]
	%	25	23	17	20	22	22	17		
Genre	(#)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(5)	(8)	(11)	(11)	(51)	10% [3.6]
	%	8	9	10	7	12	12	17		
Marine	(#)	(10)	(8)	(9)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(11)	(43)	9% [2.2]
	%	10	8	9	5	7	7	11		
Still Lifes	(#)	(3)	(6)	(8)	(11)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(36)	7% [3.7]
	%	3	6	8	14	6	6	6		
Nudes	(#)	(5)	(8)	(7)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(28)	5% [1.8]
	%	5	8	7	4	3	3	4		
Staged Scenes	(#)	(3)	(2)	(6)	(4)	(2)	(1)	(1.5)	(18)	3.5% [1.7]
	%	3	2	6	5	3	1	1.5		
Pattern	(#)	(4)	(5)	(7)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1.5)	(19)	3.5% [2.4]
	%	4	5	7	1	1.5	1.5	1.5		
Architectural	(#)	(4)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(4.5)	(16)	3% [1.4]
	%	4	1	3	2.5	4.5	4.5	4.5		
Nature	(#)	(5)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(1.5)	(16)	3% [1.5]
	%	5	2	4	4	1.5	1.5	1.5		
Cityscapes	(#)	(5)	(0)	(1)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(15)	3% [2.2]
	%	5	0	1	5	3	3	5		
Industrial (Railroad)	(#)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(1.5)	(14)	3% [1.6]
	%	4	4	3	0	3	1	1.5		
Travel Scenics	(#)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(10)	2% [1.4]
	%	2	1	4	0	1.5	1.5	2		
Mood/Story	(#)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(9)	2% [1.21]
	%	1	0	2	3	3	2	3		
Totals		96	94	101	76	68	65	(500)*		

* Table 11-1 does not include three ACTION SHOTS which were 0.6 per cent of the sample and make the total number of pictures coded 503.

As Table 11-1 indicates, there has been a significant consistency in pictorialist subject matter, a consistency which is all the more remarkable when considered against the background of social and technological change which occurred during this period. Small standard deviations indicate the regular frequency with which pictures in each category appear (no year straying far from the mean average of percentages for the sample). But perhaps more significant is simply the exhaustive capacity of this relatively small number of categories and the continued presence of each type of picture over the years. Each of these fifteen categories continue to be represented throughout the sample in proportions which do not vary greatly. In fact, with the possible exception of the NUDE and the STAGED (costumed) SCENES, these categories continue to be represented in serious amateur work right through to the 1980's.

As in many descriptions of salon and competition entries found in the photographic journals, Landscapes and Portraits constitute close to half of all the photographs exhibited. Portraits, Landscapes, Genre, and Marine pictures together constitute approximately two-thirds of all the pictorial

work represented. Despite the need for at least fifteen different categories to exhaustively classify all the specific genres of amateur Pictorialism, the bulk of amateur work can be assigned to only a few.

Categories can be collapsed in various ways for descriptive purposes. Portraits, Still Lifes, Nudes, and Staged Scenes largely involve studio settings with artificial lighting. Such studio work makes up 40% of the sample. Picturesque natural light settings (usually outdoors) -- Landscapes, Genre, Marine, Nature, Travel, Architecture, Railroad locomotives, Cityscapes, Mood Shots -- constitute 50% of the sample. Abstracted patterns and frozen action provide the remaining 4% of the sample.

The pattern of subject distribution charted above is consistent with the pictures chosen as prize winners in the Annual Competitions of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY. Table 11-2 contains an aggregate summary of subject distribution in those competitions, coded for even-numbered years 1930-1950.

TABLE 11-2
 Distribution of Pictorial Genres in
 AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Annual Competitions, 1930-1950
 [With Comparison to Table 11-1]

	<u>(Number)</u>	<u>*Per Cent</u>	[Mean of Per Cents from Table 12-1]
Portraits	(33)	24	24
Landscapes	(33)	24	21
Genre	(16)	12	10
Marine	(10)	7	9
Still Lifes	(10)	7	7
Nudes	(5)	3.6	5
Staged Scenes	(5)	3.6	3.5
Pattern	(6)	4	3.5
Nature	(8)	6	3
Architectural	(3)	2	3
Cityscapes	(3)	2	3
Travel	(5)	3.6	2
Action Shots	(2)	1.4	0.6
Totals	(139)	100	

*Percentages are rounded off except when they fall approximately halfway between integers under 5.

The distribution of subject matter in a competition held by THE CAMERA (Table 11-3), and my own coding of a sample of photographs entered in Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia competitions (Table 11-4) further substantiates the persistence and consistency of pictorial genres.

THE CAMERA conducted regular monthly print competitions for most of the thirties and forties but did not hold annual contests like those of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY. However, in 1946 and 1947 they

published an "Annual Camera Club Show" in which they chose a group of winning prints from camera club submissions. And from 1949 through 1952, just before the demise of the journal, they did conduct "Print of the Year Contests." Distributions of subject categories in the Annual Camera Club Shows for 1946 and 1947 appear in Table 11-3. Those for the Print of the Year Contests, 1949-1952, are listed in Table 11-4. Mean percentage distributions for all six annual contests held by THE CAMERA (1946, 1947, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952) are presented in Table 11-5.

TABLE 11-3
Distribution of Pictorial Genres in THE CAMERA
"Annual Camera Club Shows," 1946, 1947

	1946		1947	
	(#)	%	(#)	%
Portraits	(13)	21	(38)	21
Landscapes	(11)	17	(42)	23
Genre	(14)	22	(24)	13
Marine	(7)	11	(25)	14
Still Lifes	(6)	10	(6)	3
Staged Scenes	(4)	6	(4)	2
Nudes	(0)	0	(0)	0
Pattern	(1)	2	(10)	5
Architectural	(0)	0	(11)	6
Nature	(2)	3	(5)	3
City Scenes	(2)	3	(12)	7
Industrials	(3)	5	(6)	3
Total	(63)		(183)	

TABLE 11-4
Distribution of Pictorial Genres in
THE CAMERA "Print of the Year Contests" 1949-1952

	1949		1950		1951		1952	
	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%
Portraits	(50)	21	(12)	23	(12)	24	(7)	25
Landscapes	(50)	21	(9)	17	(8)	16	(4)	14
Genre	(27)	11	(6)	12	(4)	8	(0)	0
Marine	(21)	9	(4)	8	(3)	6	(3)	11
Still Lifes	(23)	10	(2)	4	(8)	16	(4)	14
Staged Scenes	(0)	0	(2)	4	(0)	0	(0)	0
Nudes	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0
Pattern	(23)	10	(4)	8	(4)	8	(4)	14
Architectural	(6)	3	(4)	8	(3)	6	(2)	7
Cityscape	(14)	6	(0)	0	(3)	6	(2)	7
Nature	(15)	6	(3)	6	(3)	6	(2)	7
Industrials	(7)	3	(1)	2	(0)	0	(0)	0
Travel	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	2	(0)	0
Mood Shot	(2)	1	(2)	4	(0)	0	(0)	0
Night Photos (Fireworks)	(0)	0	(1)	2	(1)	2	(0)	0
Zoo animals (non-portrait)	(0)	0	(2)	4	(0)	0	(0)	0
Total	(238)	100	(52)	100	(50)	100	(28)	100

TABLE 11-5
Mean Percentage Distributions of Pictorial Genres
THE CAMERA'S Annual Contests, 1946, 1947, and 1949-52

	Mean Per Cent
Portraits	23
Landscapes	18
Genre	11
Marine	10
Still Lifes	9
Pattern	8
Architectural	5
City Scenes	5
Nature	5
Industrial	2
Staged Scenes	2
Other	2
total	100

Again the distributions do not significantly diverge from those found in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY. The similarities are especially striking when one considers that even within such a small sample the same range of subject categories are represented and are exhaustive. The percentage distribution of portraits in the sample remains remarkably identical to the other samples.

TABLE 11-6
Comparison of Portrait Distribution Across Journals

	<u>Portraits</u>
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Annual Competitions, 1930-50	24%
THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1931-51	24%
THE CAMERA, Annual Contests 1946-52	23%

Portraits (24%) and Landscapes (16%) in THE CAMERA'S 1951 "Print of the Year Contest" total 40% of the sample. Portraits (23%) and Landscapes (17%) in THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY for 1951 also constitute 40% of that year's sample.

The choice of subject matter by amateur pictorialists has not followed a completely static pattern over the years. Trends have come and gone, forms have evolved in conjunction with the adoption of new technologies. Since the fifties pastorals have become more rare, and portraiture is not

quite as predominant as it once was. Nudes and allegorical scenes have almost disappeared, while nature and travel photography have become increasingly prevalent. As discussed previously this is at least partly a result of the growing dominance of color and higher speed filmstocks. The soft-focus black-and-white art print has been supplanted by sharply focused, brightly colored transparencies. Projected color slides lend themselves to "shows" of striking colors and scenery and the adoption of color slide photography in the clubs has been accompanied by a greater preoccupation with close-up photography of flowers and birds and sharp increases in travel scenics. On the other hand I know of no instance in which a color nude was projected in a club meeting and I suspect that it is generally not done.

Still, basic attitudes about subject matter have remained relatively unchanged; camera club amateurs still subscribe to the notion that pictorial photography should be pleasing and beautiful. Pictures that diverge from light hearted, cheerful portrayals are considered inappropriate. Much of the same subject matter still dominates camera club competitions and pictorial salons. If anything the range of subjects has narrowed, with some categories fading into extinction without new forms to take their place. A smaller coding scheme -- including portraits (children and animals), landscapes, nature, travel, genre, still lifes, and pattern

shots -- would suffice to categorize nearly all the pictorial color slide work done since the fifties. (Architectural photographs and romanticized industrials -- old locomotives, old automobiles -- still appear occasionally, but are more common in the printmaking competitions where a slightly more traditional range of subject matter, and pictorial intent, continues.)

As early as 1948, in an AMERICAN ANNUAL article entitled "Hints on Success In Color," PSA official Jack Wright wrote,

Certain subjects seem to lend themselves particularly well to color photography and these we are likely to find heavily represented in our collections. Flowers and sunsets are always eye-catching, and we are likely to have many of these. Likewise the opportunity to photograph our children in color is too strong to be resisted, and many such pictures are likely to be found in our slide file (THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948, p. 46).

He went on to recommend techniques for color landscapes, color portraits, children, animals, flowers, still lifes, and "moody" shots in fog, rain, and snow.

Below, Table 11-7 charts the incidence of pictorialist genres in Pictorial Color Slide competitions of the Miniature Camera Club during my observations. The sample consists of 185 published winners in the club's newsletter, the MicaClarion.

TABLE 11-7

Distribution of Pictorial Genres Among Competition Winning Color Slides, the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, May 1979 to October 1982

	(Number)	Per Cent
Portraits	(33)	18
Landscapes	(46)	25
Genre	(18)	10
Marine	(2)	1
Still Life	(13)	7
Pattern	(7)	4
Architectural	(5)	3
Industrial	(1)	0.5
Cityscapes	* (3)	1.6
Nature	* (25)	14
Travel Scenics (Travel Genre)	(32)	17
Total	(185)	100

* These figures represent the proportion of Nature and Travel photographs in the pictorial color slide class only. They do not include the additional photographs entered in the "Nature" division, nor those exhibited in "Photo-Travel" competitions.

The eleven categories in Table 11-7 unambiguously exhaust the successful competition entries I witnessed in the Pictorial Color Slide Division of the Miniature Camera Club. Two somewhat misleading figures in the table are those for nature and travel photographs. While the percentage of these types of photographs appearing in the Pictorial Division is significant (especially relative to the much lower incidence of these genres in the pre-1950

era) these figures hardly reflect the real predominance of nature and travel photography in present day amateur work. Travelogues now constitute a separate Division of camera club exhibition, and Nature competitions are held each competition night, following the Pictorial Class A and Class B competitions. If an aggregate of all competitions were summed, nature and travel pictures would undoubtedly be the most numerous genres, outstripping even portraits and landscapes.

During the more than three years that I observed Miniature Camera Club competitions, keeping notes on winners and judging, no photograph falling outside these eleven genres was ever awarded a ribbon. The likelihood of such an event occurring is minimized by the fact that photographs not conforming to these pictorial parameters are rarely, if ever, submitted. In one of my attempts to test the boundaries of acceptable subject matter and appropriate style in the camera club I entered a photograph showing a scenic part of the American Southwest (red sand, red mesas in the background, a wild rushing river) with junk cars half buried in the riverbank adorning the foreground. The comment of the judge, and the later comments of several club members over coffee, were very similar: it was a great "environment shot," they said, but "really didn't fit" with the rest of the pictorial slides in the competition. "You

should send it to a photojournalism competition," one member suggested.

Similar to Miniature Camera Club competitions the winning photographs I viewed in the 48th Wilmington International Exhibition, 1981, all fit into the same standard pictorial categories with much the same frequency. I have categorized the thirty two medal winners in this old and prestigious salon in Table 11-8. They represent the winning photographs from all three classes of the salon: black-and-white prints, color prints, and color slides. Portraits and Landscapes again make up 41% of the sample.

TABLE 11-8
Distribution of Pictorial Genres
Medal Winning Photographs
The 48th Wilmington International Exhibition of Photography

	1981 (#)	%
Portraits	(7)	22
Landscapes	(6)	19
Genre	(4)	13
Marine	(2)	6
Still Life	(3)	9
Nature	(2)	6
Travel (Genre)	(2)	6
Cityscape	(1)	3
Pattern	(1)	3
Architectural	(1)	3
Industrial	(1)	3
Nude	(1)	3
Action shot	(1)	3
total	(32)	100

Considering the passage of decades and the important role of technological change in photography, the continued circumscription of amateur work by virtually the same subject categories is truly striking. Even small samples like that from the Wilmington Exhibition conform closely with the long term trends. Notions of appropriate pictorial subject matter from the 1930-1950 period continue to shape the range of photographic production exhibited in the amateur world today. Table 11-9 compares the distribution of subject matter displayed in the traditional photographic journals with the distribution of Miniature Camera Club competition winners.

TABLE 11-9
Comparison of Selected Pictorial Genres,
Tables 11-1, 11-2, 11-5, and 11-7
1930-51 and 1979-82

	AMERICAN ANNUAL (11-1) 1931-51	AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (11-2) 1930-50	THE CAMERA (11-5) 1946-52	MCC of Philadelphia (11-7) 1979-82
Landscapes	21%	24%	23%	25%
Portraits	24%	24%	18%	18%
Genre	10%	12%	11%	10%
Still Lifes	7%	7%	9%	7%
Pattern Shots	4%	4%	8%	4%
Architectural	3%	2%	5%	3%

Style

The continuity and exclusiveness of subject matter is significant, but similarities in picture making are as much a function of style as subject. It has been difficult to discuss subject categories without making reference to the formal conventions by which these subjects are predictably rendered. Many subjects seem to remain popular primarily because they lend themselves so well to preferred pictorialist composition. Streams and country roads, for instance, provide bucolic and picturesque settings with diagonal or s-curve breaks through the space. Such compositions contain a natural fulcrum for a pleasing, stable balance as well as leading lines to draw the viewer's eye into the illusory depth of the picture. Both snow and water provide tempting reflectors, allowing for glittering highlights as well as more pronounced interplays between light and shadow. S-curves in snow are frequently exploited, with snowy streams, snowy roads, and tracks through snow winding their way through hundreds of photo journal pictures (see Figures 60-70.) "Pleasant" subjects are thought to go hand in hand with pleasing composition, tone, or color. "Unpleasant" subjects serve to distract from the important focus on pictorial design and "beauty."

Adapting certain themes from romantic painting to the changing photo technologies of the twentieth century, amateurs have produced and reproduced a stable set of pictorial categories. The range of subject matter -- from beautiful landscapes, to portraits of cherubic children, to photographs of sailing yachts, flowers, or travel scenics -- is concordant with the lives of those bourgeois people who have inhabited the camera clubs and photo societies of the industrialized world.

Below, some of the most commonly emphasized elements of pictorialist style are described. Then, illustrations of typical subjects presented in the normative style are provided. The large number of illustrations included should give the reader a sense of stylistic patterns as well as providing examples of the subject categories which have been charted above.

Composition

Articles on composition in the photo journals often lead with a disclaimer that there are really no rules or formulas for good composition. After making such statements, however, writers invariably proceed to offer "some helpful hints" and end up listing conventionalized principles of good pictorial form. While some writers are careful to emphasize that simply following these principles will not guarantee success, all agree that ignoring them will guarantee failure. In effect, most writers contend that pictorial composition is the defining requisite of artistic picture making.

An artistic picture is nothing more than an assortment of lines, tones and masses arranged according to the principles of pictorial composition. Such an arrangement, by arousing pleasant thoughts and feelings connected with past experience in the life of the individual and the race, results in a single dominant effect on us. This dominant impression is the picture's whole reason for existence (Miller, "An Outline of Pictorial Photography," THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1932, p. 200).

All the qualities of "suggestiveness" and "mood" which pictorialist writers associate with photographic art are a product, in their view, of the arrangement of lines, graphic masses and tone in composition. Thus they speak not only of the "principles" or "laws" of composition, but of the "mechanics of suggestion."

With the aid of composition we can convey impressions, and these impressions will be more clearly and more convincingly conveyed if we make use of the mechanics of suggestion--the recognized formulas known as the principles of pictorial composition (Hammond, PICTORIAL COMPOSITION IN PHOTOGRAPHY, 1946:11).

Specific discussions of composition tend to revolve around notions of "balance" and "harmony." "Rhythm" and "dynamic symmetry" are terms frequently used to characterize preferred forms of balance which avoid static rigidity.

The principle of composition mentioned first in most discourses of the subject is balance, and it is the most important of all pictorial principles. Nothing can be a harmonious whole unless the integral parts balance each other harmoniously (Custis, "Composition in a Nutshell," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1945, p. 15).

According to hundreds of books and articles detailing the qualities of pictorialist art, the ideal pictorial print is composed of "masses of tone," selected and arranged in order to create a "pleasing formal or informal balance." This is accomplished by breaking the space of the frame into agreeable proportions according to certain preferred compositional schemes.

In any case, simplicity and harmony rather than contrast, tension, or complexity is desired in pictorialist design. The viewer's eye should "enter" the picture space along leading lines, rest upon the "center of interest," then loop around the picture according to a "harmonious circular rhythm." The center of interest must grab the

viewer's attention; the background must be simple in order to avoid competition with the "principality;" there must be a "suppression of detail" within the picture frame in order to give the center of interest greater impact. According to the pictorialist ideal the center of interest should be positioned in the frame in such a way as to prevent discord, sustain a balance, and dominate the visual field. In all cases the eye should quickly come to rest at the focal point of a balanced and cohesive arrangement.

The foreground must always be unobtrusive, and should contain little detail. There should be nothing in it to make the eye pause on its way toward the principal object. The usual way to lead the eye into the picture is by nice arrangement of oblique or curved lines; these having energy and action, grip the eye at once. Such are roads and paths, shadows, ripples and reflections on water, or lines formed by an arrangement of people or foliage. A series of objects may serve the purpose, like stepping-stones across a stream; the eye may thus be led from a stone at the edge of the picture to a plow and thence to the principal object of the barn.

The same may be said of the background, except that it can have more detail and lead the eye out of the picture. The most important feature about both is that they must be unobtrusive (Miller, "An Outline of Pictorial Photography," THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1932, p. 204-5).

The "mood" or "suggestiveness" of a picture, according to pictorialist writers, depends on these kinds of relationships between shapes, the arrangement of masses, and the "language of lines".

The late H. Snowden Ward once said that "a picture should convey a mood, rather than impart local information," and a clever and competent artist can

often make a picture that will be so characteristic of one particular mood of nature that others will be able to recognize it. The artist does this by emphasis, by elimination, and by suggestion; and a knowledge of composition will tell him what to emphasize, what to eliminate and how to suggest.

Composition, then, is the exercise of the power of selection (Hammond, PICTORIAL COMPOSITION IN PHOTOGRAPHY, 1946, p. 11).

Pictorialist writers like Hammond make a practice of defining composition broadly, as "the mechanics of suggestion" or "the power of selection," before proceeding to offer very specific and consistently similar prescriptions. Triangular arrangements, for instance, are often recommended, being considered more interesting and less staid than the straight lines of a rectangle.

One of the most prevalent designs found in many of the old masterpieces and pictures of today is the triangle. The value of the triangle is in its suggestion of firm structure and stability, and in the fact that its three points enclose an area large enough to contain the main interest of the scene. It is a favorite for portraits, usually being suggested by the face, the line of the arm or highlight of the hand, and some other highlight or shadow. In landscapes it is formed by a white cloud, dark tree and shadow on the ground, or by the lines of a valley or of a stream with a building and sky (Miller, "An Outline of Pictorial Photography," THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1932, p. 201).

But the "rhythm" of curves and the "dynamic symmetry" of the "rule-of-thirds" are most lauded of all. Miller continues,

More graceful and satisfying than the stiff lines of the triangle or rectangle are the gentle curves of the circle and ellipse. These two designs have the value of leading the eye easily around a given area, and in this respect they are like the triangle in guiding the eye in its complete circuit of the picture ("An Outline of Pictorial Photography," 1932, p. 201).

Below, I have extracted four major concepts around which "principles of pictorial composition" are regularly outlined. Much of the specific wording in these sample descriptions is quoted from an article by C. L. Bowman in the September 1928 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY.

1) "Principality," "Unity," or "Simplicity" - the idea that a picture must "have a principal object, or lacking this, some point on which the spectator unconsciously centers his interest ... a point of central interest to draw the composition together as a harmonious whole." "The composition is weakened by the spectator's attention being divided rather than concentrated."

Of all the principles of composition, perhaps the requirements of simplicity are, for the photographer, the hardest to meet. The camera sees so much and a picture needs so little! (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July, 1934, p. 416).

2) "Subordination" or "Suppression of Detail" - "The various minor parts of the picture must be so arranged that the center of interest will stand out in greatest prominence, all other portions being subordinate." "The eye must not be distracted from the principal object by counter attractions in other parts of the picture. An illustration of one manner of handling subordinate subjects is contained in the above paragraph where it is suggested that the foliage in the background be thrown out of focus in order to prevent disturbing detail behind the horses."

3) "Balance" - "When a picture is well balanced, the important units are distributed so as to give a pleasing impression of equality without symmetry." With the exception of certain kinds of portraiture and architectural photography, amateurs are instructed to avoid placing the subject directly in the center of the frame or creating a purely symmetrical design. Instead, "dynamic symmetry" is promoted. It refers to a balance created by placing the principality off-center and counterweighting it with other elements at appropriate distances. Different systems for achieving dynamic symmetry are outlined in different writings, but nearly all derive from ancient rules of proportion revived in the Renaissance as the "golden section" and popularly simplified in the twentieth century as the "rule of thirds."

4) "Harmony" - All the elements of a picture should fit together in "a pleasing and cohesive whole." Conflict, and disturbing details, should be eliminated. Subject and form must be "harmonious."

A completed picture must present a harmonious whole. If there is any intrusion of details which stand out to destroy the original idea, then the picture as a whole is not harmonious. For example, imagine a scene containing a hot dusty road flanked by tall shade trees, with a quaint farmhouse in the heat haze of the middle distance. To add to the interest of the picture suppose we wish to introduce some life into the scene; human life, animal life, or whatever is appropriate. That word appropriate in this case is pretty well synonymous with harmonious. We might introduce a young lady in a heavy winter fur coat walking along the road and kicking up dust at a great rate with her dressy shoes, or we might have a hay wagon winding lazily along the dusty road toward the farm house. Obviously one is appropriate and one is not. One is harmonious and one is not. One fits in, and adds to, the general atmosphere of the scene, and one destroys it.

("Composition For the Beginner," C. L. Bowman, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September, 1928, pp. 486-88.)

These concepts, along with other principles of pictorial composition, are discussed and illustrated in the following sections.

Simplicity and Impact

"Simplicity", "principality," and "impact" are words used repeatedly to describe successful pictorialist compositions. A good pictorial composition focuses only on an essential arrangement of lines and forms with one main center of interest, eliminating unnecessary clutter from the background and from the edges of the picture frame. Elegant

design and immediate impact are stressed over elaboration of context and descriptive detail.

"Don't photograph an entire landscape if you're only interested in a tree," Anton Bruehl once advised a beginning photographer. Then he went on to add, "and don't photograph the tree if it's only the limb that ought to be in the picture. Even the apple on the twig on the end of the limb might make a better photograph than the entire limb itself."

There, in a nutshell is the secret of good photography--elimination! It doesn't matter whether the photograph is of bridges or babies. It doesn't matter whether you are a fledgling camera toter or a high paid professional. Your job is to produce a print which will catch and hold attention, and that's one thing you just cannot do if your picture carries deadwood. Everything included in the final borders of the photograph should contribute to the central theme or idea that gives the picture its reason for existing. Point out a mediocre photograph and you will see a photograph with divided interest (Sameth, "Pictures Are Made, Not Taken," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April, 1941, p. 266).

Settling on a single center of interest and suppressing any competing detail is the recommended path to simplicity in literally hundreds of photo journal articles and industry pamphlets. Again, Miller's "Outline of Pictorial Photography" in the 1932 AMERICAN ANNUAL provides a very typical example.

First in importance in attaining good pictorialism is the principle of simplicity.

In photography it is the quality that makes the picture live and last; we can look at the print time and again with a feeling of satisfaction. Antagonistic to it, however, is the appetite of the lens for recording every detail indiscriminately. In gaining simplicity all detail, tones and masses must be eliminated or subdued except those necessary for the dominant effect.

Simplicity of subject is important in attaining the dominant effect. A subject with a few bold lines is much more satisfying than one with a wealth of detail and line. A general psychological law is that the less the attention has to consider the stronger will be the impression. A picture showing a valley with many houses may have a much weaker effect than an old barn with elms towering over it and a road winding up to it. A barn is a familiar subject, it has no complex detail, and its lines are definite and few.

According to the law of principality the picture must contain but one main object of interest.
("An Outline of Pictorial Photography," pp. 202-03.)

The idea (expressed above by Miller as a "psychological law") that greater simplicity will intensify the impression a picture gives has been very influential in an amateur world where catching the judge's eye and having an immediate impact is crucial to salon success. The "impact" which camera club members strive to achieve in their photographs is inextricably bound up with the idea that good pictures should have one principal center of interest and a simple compositional unity.

"Ranunculus" by former Miniature Camera Club member Gottlieb Hampfler (Fig. 20), represents the kind of close-up nature photograph often held up in the clubs and journals as a model of principality, simplicity, and the suppression of detail. Such macro shots of flowers, most often artificially lit against a solid or out-of-focus background, constitute a significant and consistent genre of amateur work (as discussed in previous descriptions of Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia activities).



RANUNCULUS
GOTTLIEB HAMPFLER
P - P - P - Twentieth Annual Competition

FIGURE 20. "Ranunculus," Gottlieb Hampfler,
Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia
Prize Winning Print, Twentieth Annual Competition,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August, 1940, p. 557

Balance/Rule of Thirds

Balance is almost a euphemism for composition itself in pictorialist writings since there is no separating the conscious arrangement of objects, lines, and masses of tone from the construction of balance in the frame. Thus, articles with titles like "Composition and Balance" are common, and articles entitled "rhythmic balance" or "dynamic symmetry" tend to be general discussions of compositional form. The consensus among photo journal writers is that balance should not be "overly-exact" or "static" but more informal and fluid. Rarely should the main subject be placed at the center of the picture frame, they say, except in the case of formal portraits. Rather, they recommend that principal subjects be placed "near the center" -- above, below, or to the side in order to create a more "dynamic" balance. The "rule of thirds" is the most often recommended strategy for achieving this "dynamic symmetry."

The "rule of thirds" states that if you imagine the picture frame divided into thirds, both vertically and horizontally, then principal subjects are best placed at, or near, one of the points where the lines intersect.

Without going very deeply into this question of pictorial balance, it may be said that, as a general rule, if we divide our picture space into thirds both vertically and horizontally by ruling lines across it, any of the four places where the lines cross would be a good location for the principal object of interest (Arthur Hammond, "Art in Photography," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, May, 1948, p. 314).

According to common wisdom such placement lends itself to an informal, "dynamic balance," rather than a static, purely symmetrical balance, while still positioning the subject at a point of natural focus for the viewer. The rule is a rough simplification of proportional schemes like "the golden section" -- a mathematical system of proportion handed down with various refinements from Pythagorus to Leonardo to Corbusier -- in which a whole is divided into unequal sections, the smaller section being in proportion to the greater as the greater is to the whole.

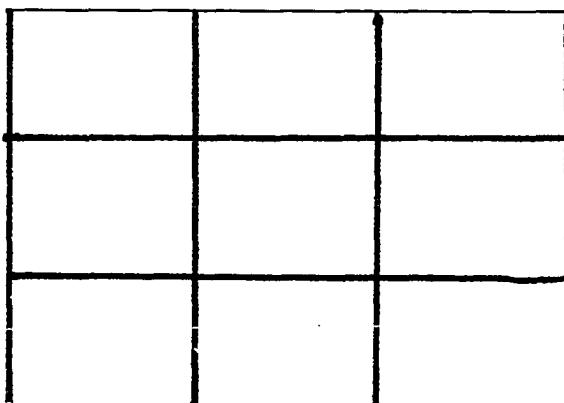


FIGURE 21. Diagram of the imaginary
"The Rule of Thirds" grid

The "rule of thirds" is invoked, not only with regard to placement of the primary subject, but with regard to the general arrangement of space in the frame. Horizon lines, according to the code, should be placed so that they divide the picture in a one-third to two-thirds ratio rather than

divide the frame in half. Dominant graphic masses should occupy the lower or upper two thirds of the format vertically, or the left or right two thirds horizontally, or both. In this way, it is thought, subjects can dominate the frame at central points of attention without being statically anchored at the center point of the frame.

In numerous photo journal articles similar geometric schemes are put forth for the creation of area proportions designed to produce a "dynamic symmetry," and in each case the prescription for such dynamic composition is a more or less elaborate version of the "rule of thirds." Some variant of the rule appears in almost every article and book on pictorial composition in photography. It is reproduced in industry literature at least as early as the twenties. The intention and purpose of the rule is made clear in an article entitled "Anent Pictorialism and Dynamic Symmetry" by Frederick Bush (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July, 1934).

Bush begins by stating that the most important principles of composition are "balance," "unity," "simplicity," and "harmony." To gauge "balance," "unity" and "harmony" he suggests the age-old practice of turning a picture upside-down, to see if the abstracted aggregation of lines and masses maintain a harmonious balance. As a further practice he recommends creating a grid within the frame for the placement of subjects. Implicitly drawing on

classical rules of proportion, Bush creates a diagram for the rule of thirds. He offers it as an aid in arranging compositions with "that definite feeling of just-rightness" (p. 417).

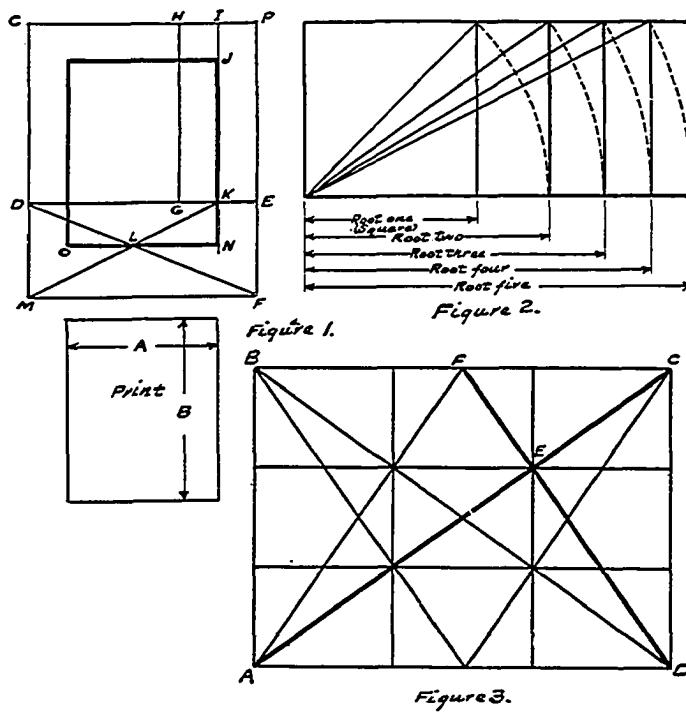


FIGURE 22. Reproduction of Bush's diagram of "The Rule of Thirds" from "Anent Pictorialism and Dynamic Symmetry," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July, 1934, p. 417.

The rule of thirds manifests itself in many different forms. Below, on the cover of a 1934 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, a rule of thirds grid is explicitly suggested by the trellis on which the bird sits (Fig. 23). A quick measurement shows that the bird is placed at an intersection point on an imaginary rule of thirds grid.



FIGURE 23. "Shadow From Garden," F. Y. Sato,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1934

"Desert Playground" (Fig. 24) is a typical example of the attempt to isolate a principal subject against a non-competing ground of little detail. Here again the principal figure is placed off center near an intersection point on the rule of thirds grid.

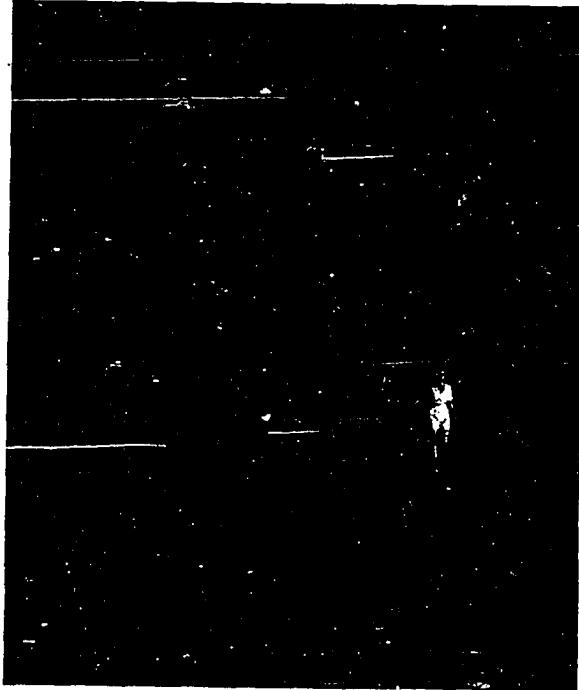


FIGURE 24. "Desert Playground," Charles E. Kerlee,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1934

Marine photography provides innumerable examples of rule of thirds placement. Ships and boat are regularly placed against a background of sky and water in concordance with rule of thirds proportions. Such a picture, "Fading Light" by R. Owen Schrader (Fig. 25) accompanies Bush's article on "Dynamic Symmetry."

The photograph places boats at two different rule of thirds intersection points, introducing a sense of "dynamic balance." The use of a less prominent secondary object to "balance" the principal subject in the frame is quite common. Usually this is done along a diagonal through the picture frame, the main object of interest being placed near a lower intersection point on the rule of thirds grid and dominating the lower two thirds of the space while the secondary object provides a counterbalance in the upper third of the picture. However, "over-exactness" in planning the design of the picture is discouraged in articles and books on composition. "Informal balance" is preferred. "Heading In" by renowned PSA salonist John W. Doscher (Fig 26) is a good example of this compositional strategy.

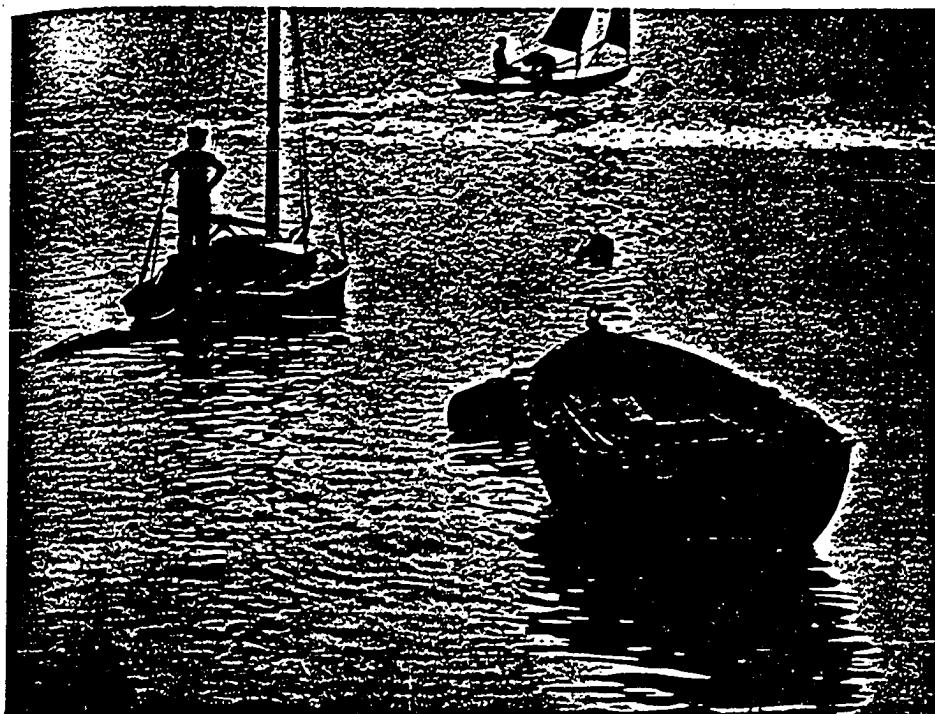
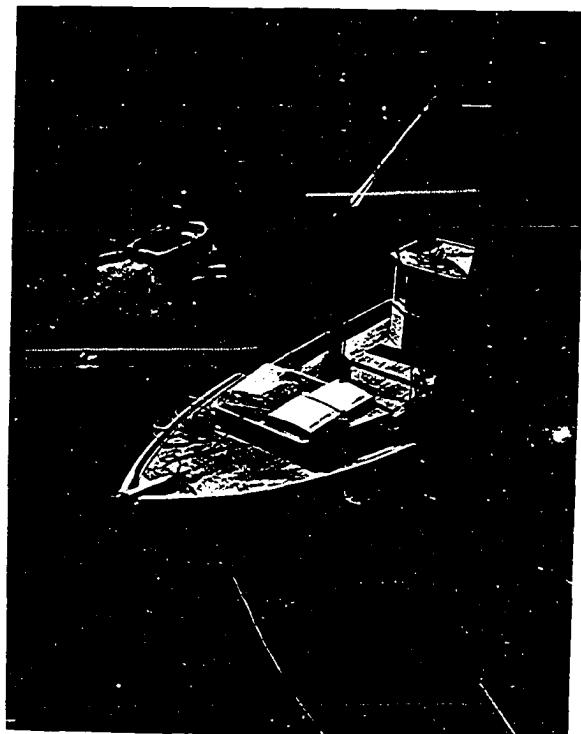
SILVER
PRINT
R. OWEN SHRADER

FIGURE 25. "Fading Light," R. Owen Shrader,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July, 1934



HEADING IN

John W. Doscher

FIGURE 26. "Heading In," John W. Doscher,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1944

Rhythm

Related to notions of "dynamic symmetry" (as discussed in the section on "rule of thirds" above) "rhythmic composition" refers to the compositional preference for informal balance through curvilinear design. It is a concept predicated on the desire to encourage a flowing movement of the eye around and through the picture space. The use of the term "rhythm" comes from the idea that the eye "sweeps" back and forth through the frame, or travels "around" the frame in a "looping" motion, as it follows the lines or spaces linking the "center of interest" with secondary "highlights" in the picture (Granger, 1943).

A picture with a "rhythmic composition" is contrasted with those structured according to a more static, straight-line geometrical design. In Miller's discussion of dynamic symmetry, from which I quoted earlier, he writes,

Curves are full of ease and grace; they are a relief from the rigidity of the straight line. Simple curves, arcs of a circle, when sprinkled throughout a picture, provide a satisfying sense of rhythm and variety ("An Outline of Pictorial Photography," 1932, p. 201).

And Granger, in a 1943 article on pictorial composition for the AMERICAN ANNUAL, explains,

If a picture has rhythm, the eye will usually enter it near the bottom, at one edge or the other, and will travel with an even flow in an elliptical motion to the center of interest, pause there, and then continue throughout the remaining picture space back to the starting point--and then, if the picture is good, repeat the process ("Rhythmic Pictorial Composition," AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943, p. 195).

By the thirties and forties "rhythm" had become a regular part of the vocabulary of composition and was closely associated with other features of the pictorialist code -- a strong center of interest, simplicity and unity, dynamic symmetry and the rule of thirds.

Regardless of how complicated the subject matter may be, the center of interest must stand out, and all accessories must lead back to it before the observer loses interest in the real subject of the picture.

In scanning a picture, one will find that if there is more than one center of interest, there will be no rhythm. If the center of interest is too near the middle, the eye-travel is likely to be humdrum and uninteresting. But if the center of interest is off center, or the sweep from left to right or up and down is unequal, the rhythm will be interesting (Granger, "Rhythmic Pictorial Composition," AMERICAN ANNUAL 1943, pp. 195-6).

In "Reflex" (Fig. 29) longtime Miniature Camera Club Member and PSA officer Charles Heller organizes the composition of the frame around the looping curve of the mirror. In accordance with pictorialist notions of "rhythmic composition" the central curving line encloses the center of interest (the boy's reflected smiling face) and inevitably leads the viewer's eye back to the main subject. At the same time the line divides the frame, setting up an informal balance between the lower third and the upper two thirds of the picture. (A similar picture of a young boy in a circular window opening appears in a recent Kodak pamphlet entitled "Composition.")

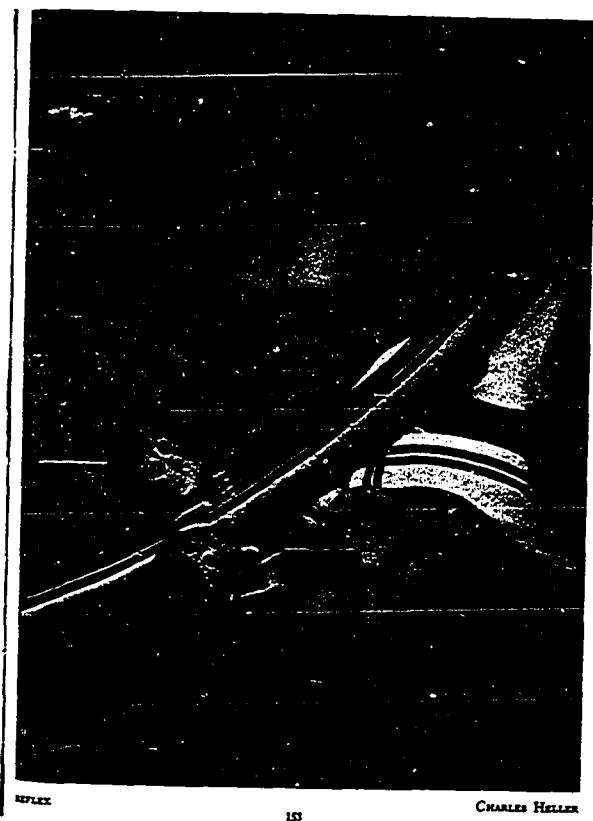


Figure 29. "Reflex," Charles Heller,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1939, P. 153
(This photograph also appears on the cover
of THE CAMERA for January, 1940)

"Rhythm," as a reoccurring theme in pictorialist writings, dovetails with other major features of the pictorial code. The composite effect of many of these features produces what salonist Stanley Rayfield called "Dynamic Simplicity" (1943), an "extreme economy of line and a minimum amount of extraneous detail" -- "the skillful handling of masses and the sweep of dominant compositional lines" -- plus "human interest" and "dramatic impact." His primary example of such "dynamic simplicity" is a photograph called "Promenade" in which two people are shown strolling along an s-curved walkway near the water. The sweep of the s-curve dividing the water and walkway dominates the frame and produces a simple and "rhythmic" composition with the figures placed at one of the intersection points in a rule-of-thirds grid.

The s-curve (or Hogarth curve) is an often prescribed scheme for pictorial effect in many kinds of photographic literature. In the amateur world it is an explicitly discussed staple of successful salon pictures. Figures 30-32 show typical examples of rhythmic s-curve compositions as they are regularly used in landscapes and rural and pastoral scenes. In the illustration section at the end of this chapter a series of "snowy streams" exhibit the consistency with which this compositional scheme has been applied to certain pictorial subjects.



Figure 30. "The Crooked Mile," Adolf Fassbender,
The Pittsburgh Salon, 1935
Reproduced in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1935, p. 351



Figure 31. "Winter-Road," Gustav Anderson,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for February, 1941

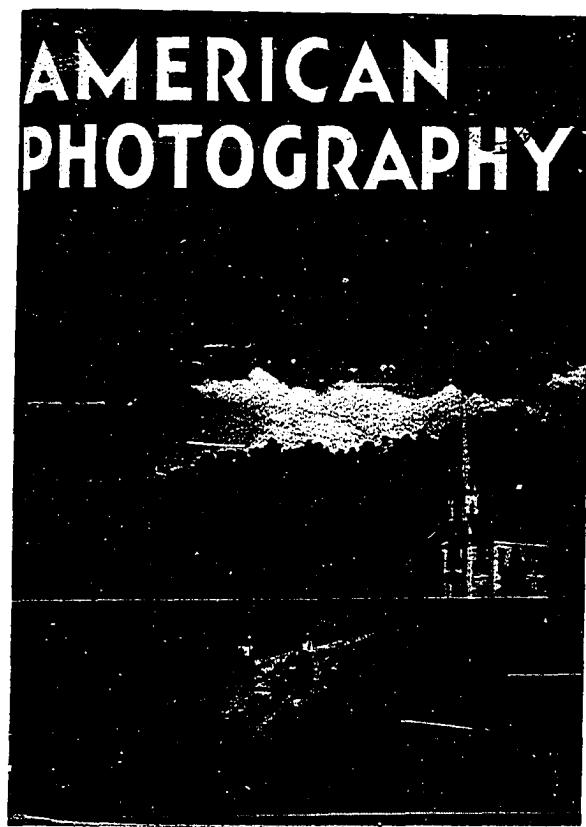


Figure 32. "A Nation's Strength," John W. Doscher,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1946

Tone and Color

Values -- that is, the gradations of tone in a picture that represent light and shade -- were considered an essential element of expressiveness, balance and unity in pictorial photography. The most highly skilled Pictorialists were fervently concerned with gradations of tone. They were concerned with the way gradations of tone related to the rendering of light in a scene, and they were sensitive to the ways in which gradations of tone contributed to the harmony of the composition. Traditional fine print makers believed that composition depended not simply on the arrangement of forms, but on the control of gradations and masses of tone.

In the 30's, 40's and 50's -- as the influences of 35mm miniature camera work led to a predominance of big enlargements from small negatives -- an increasing number of articles by traditionalists appeared in the journals and annuals decrying the abandonment of tonal quality. C. H. Claudy continually lobbied against the trend toward smaller cameras, larger prints, and compromised tone quality in the pages of THE CAMERA, promoting earlier versions of pictorialist art and earlier emphases on fine printmaking. Towards the end of his career, in the March 1941 issue of THE CAMERA, he published an essay entitled "Is the Old Man Slippin'?" in which he protests the influence of high speed

miniature cameras. According to Claudy, the increasing predominance of miniature camera work had led to a preoccupation with capturing the odd moment or the unusual juxtaposition and a decreased emphasis on carefully controlled tonal renderings.

...I never tried to substitute the curious, the odd, the different, the unusual, the meretricious, or the untruthful for the ideal...

I don't know if Friend editor will publish this. I don't know if it should be published. But SOME ONE must raise his voice or art will be lost to photography --and that would be a pity. SOME ONE must say that the modern idea of the enlarged candid camera shot of a horse between another horse's legs, is more veterinarial than artistic! SOME ONE must e'en rise on his nethermost extremeties and declaim against the modern laziness which substitutes oddity for beauty, curious standpoints for reality, impossibilities for nature, and hopes it will get by as ART (Claudy, THE CAMERA, March, 1941, pp. 44-5).

Thus did the rise of 35mm photography during the thirties revive the debates between "art" and "technicism". New technologies won out, and the concern for tone quality in prints (while always paid lip service) became increasingly less prominent in pictorial evaluation after World War Two. The subsequent growth of color photography relegated this debate to the few remaining printmakers in the clubs. But traditionalists continued to protest the developments in the amateur journals and in books on pictorial art. Looking back in 1958 at advancements made by

The Photographic Society of America during its first twenty five years, Arthur Hammond writes,

However, in one respect, there has been no improvement. In that branch of photography in which I have always been specially interested--usually described as pictorial photography--there is some deterioration. This is due mainly to the very general lack of appreciation of tonal values. The old-timers, such as Clarence White, Holland Day, Alvin Coburn, Edward Weston, Ansel Adams and many others realized that the outstanding virtue of photography--the quality that made it worthy of being considered a fine art--is its ability to reproduce delicate and subtle gradations of tone. In many pictures today we find solid, black silhouettes instead of rich, luminous shadows. In portraiture, too, there is a deplorable tendency to emulate the terrible "TV lighting" which makes people look as if they were in dire need of a dose of aromatic spirits of ammonia. They did these things better in 1910 (PSA JOURNAL, October, 1958, p. 24).

In the fifties and sixties, as most camera clubs became increasingly dominated by color work, previous concerns for subtle gradations of black and white tone were replaced by concerns for the salient impact of color. As mentioned elsewhere, the selective use of highly saturated colors (like "PSA Red") has become a formula for success in amateur competition. Areas of bright color -- rather than masses of black, white, or gray -- were considered when contemplating composition. The notion of a picture's entire tonal range being integrally related to pictorial design remained an important issue only among small subgroups of black and white printmakers.

Technical Expertise

Underpinning all considerations of subject and composition in the amateur world is the expectation of technical competence. In a world where aesthetic form is emphasized over meaning technical skill is given great weight. Skillful control of focus, depth of field, lighting, exposure, tonal scale, and print quality, are the sine qua non of amateur picture making. In the amateur world creative thought without a show of technical competence is not valued. Because of the importance attached to technique and the "communication of competence," photographers must convince the group of their technical skill before an assumption of intentionality will be made.

Thus, the visible demonstration of technical knowledge and competence is part of the execution of the pictorial code. Traditionally, a knowledge of chemistry, optics and photographic mechanics, was expected of every serious amateur. Today, a knowledge of specialized technical matters still commands respect. There is a great interest in the use of filters, macro lenses and extenders, special strobe systems, and specialized formulas for lighting like "the Calhoun system." Focus, exposure, and color saturation, along with the effective use of appropriate lenses and filters, are the first things attended to in club competitions and critiques.⁴ Once technical competence has

been established, attention shifts to composition and impact. While the relative emphasis placed on virtuousity of technique has often been a point of some contention, the fundamental necessity of technical competence has never really been questioned in the amateur world.

Realism

"Realism" is also an important quality associated with pictorial photography. When pictorialists discuss realism, however, they are not concerned with documentary detail; after all, they eschew detail and favor simplicity. In their descriptions of "realism" pictorialist writers refer to the vivid and "realistic" portrayal of idealized and simplified scenes. Miller (1932) explains this distinction:

Another quality the picture must have is realism. By this is meant the bringing out of all the details that make the picture seem as though it were the actual scene. Realism does not mean the mere portrayal of every detail, as in a "record." This is not even true to the original scene, for unless we have some immediate interest in the detail we ordinarily view a scene as a sum total effect created by the details. The details that make a scene most realistic are the ones that are most strongly associated in our minds with the scene.

For instance, when we think of surf we at once think of its mighty strength and powerful activity. Hence, in a surf scene these characteristics must be brought out, and this is done by catching the waves, not when they are merely pounding on rocks or beach, but at a moment when, having gathered into a mountain of power, they boom onto the rocks with tremendous impact and shattering of spray. Such a picture brings the realism of the original scene to us at once; we hear the boom and swish, feel and smell the salt air (Miller, "An Outline of Pictorial Photography," 1932, p. 206).

C. H. Claudy, in THE CAMERA, says something very similar:

...put a breeze upon your walls, pin a storm of flying spume and spray to a piece of paper, and touch the heart with loneliness and the beauty and the resistless, restless and mysterious power of the sea ("Where the Wind's Like a Whetted Knife," THE CAMERA, October, 1929, p. 193).

The pictorialist focus on realism is related to the amateur preference for photographs with "immediate impact" -- photographs which avoid ambiguity in subject matter and avoid the "abstract." Longtime PSA officer Jack Wright, in a 1948 article describing his experiences as a salon juror, describes this preference as a desire for "clarity."

This matter of clarity is highly important. In every case a picture which contained objects or actions, the nature of which was not clear to the judges, was rejected. In looking at a picture, few things are more aggravating than not to be able to tell what "goes on" ("Salons as Seen by a New Juror," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December, 1943, P. 36).

In Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia competitions ambiguous subject matter and decontextualized abstractions were inevitably eliminated early in the judging process. The desire for clear cut and readily recognizable principal subjects was explicitly expressed by judges. Statements like, "It's not clear what I should be looking at," or "It's not clear what the picture is about," frequently accompanied the rejection of a photograph.

Illustrations

The conventions of technique, composition and choice of subject matter outlined above constitute an elaborate but predictable code of pictorial form and content. A limited range of appropriate subject matter has been recycled for decades, each generation gauging their abilities by the successful reproduction (or continual modification and perfection) of established genres. Because of the premium placed on the display of technical competence a consistent set of standards has been essential. Comparability has been facilitated by the relative uniformity of subject categories. Success has been judged in accordance with a photographer's demonstrated command of shared pictorialist conventions. Miller writes,

The making of an artistic picture, like all the arts, is based largely upon definite mechanical laws and principles. By applying these under the guidance of instinct the photographer can create his picture as scientifically as the engineer creates his bridge. Knowledge of these laws and principles is the magic button to success. Not only this. It yields that infinite pleasure we derive from the power to create ("An Outline of Pictorial Photography," p. 200).

The convergence of amateur work around a shared set of pictorialist conventions has encouraged regularity in terms of both subject matter and treatment. In the following section common examples of conventional pictorial work are illustrated.

Illustrations: Marine Photographs

Human figures, ships and boats, wharves, lighthouses, windmills, barns, cottages, churches, castles, and other "picturesque" structures provide a "principality," a center of interest on which "the eye rests" and where one looks for major impact. The choice of single, prominent objects allows for the suppression of detail, and the simplicity, harmony, beauty, and impact promoted in amateur circles. Ships or boats on water had the advantage of isolating the subject against a patterned, non-competing ground of reflective repetition. Through framing and cropping photographers could easily place marine subjects in positions of dynamic balance. Masts and sails also enhanced compositional lines in the frame. And pictures having to do with the sea (especially those of sailing or fishing vessels) were thought to be "romantic" and "suggestive."⁵ For these reasons "marine photography," like landscapes and rural or exotic genre scenes, constituted a major outdoor pictorialist subject category.

On the cover of PHOTO-ERA for October 1928, Clement Skladanek has framed a romantic sailing schooner to create a "dynamic symmetry" in the frame (Fig. 33). The schooner dominates the frame as a principal center of interest, is positioned precisely in accordance with the rule of thirds, and is dynamically counterbalanced by the smaller boat

against a noncompeting background of sky and water.

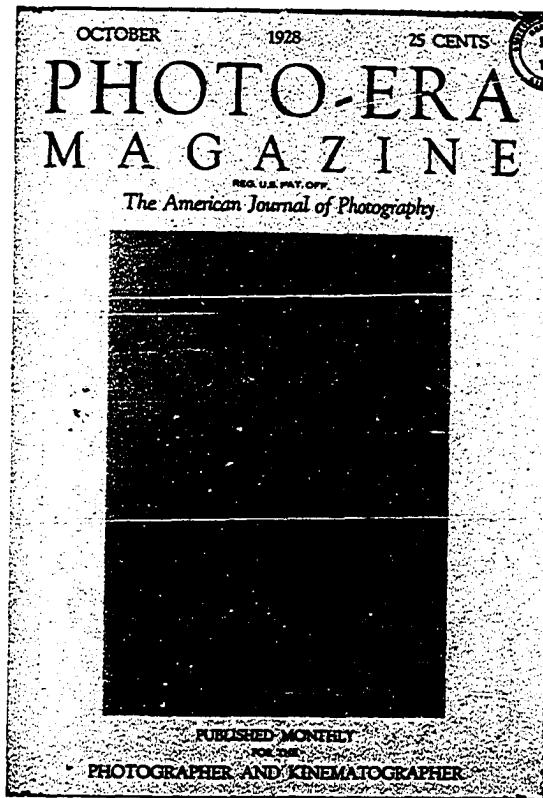


Figure 33. "La Worze," Clement Skladanek,
Fourth Seattle International Exhibition
Cover of PHOTO-ERA Magazine, October, 1928

Dynamic symmetry, manifested in variations of the rule of thirds, is a relative constant in marine pictorials, where ships and boats are invariably placed off center and very close (if not directly on) a rule of thirds intersection point. Pictures which romanticize a bygone era of sailing vessels -- and follow pictorialist guidelines concerning noncompeting backgrounds, placement of the horizon line away from the center of the picture frame, and placement of the principal subject according to the rule of thirds -- form a regular segment of pictorial work in the middle part of the century. Figures 34 through 38 show five more examples of sailing ships from different photo journals and exhibitions between 1921 and 1981.

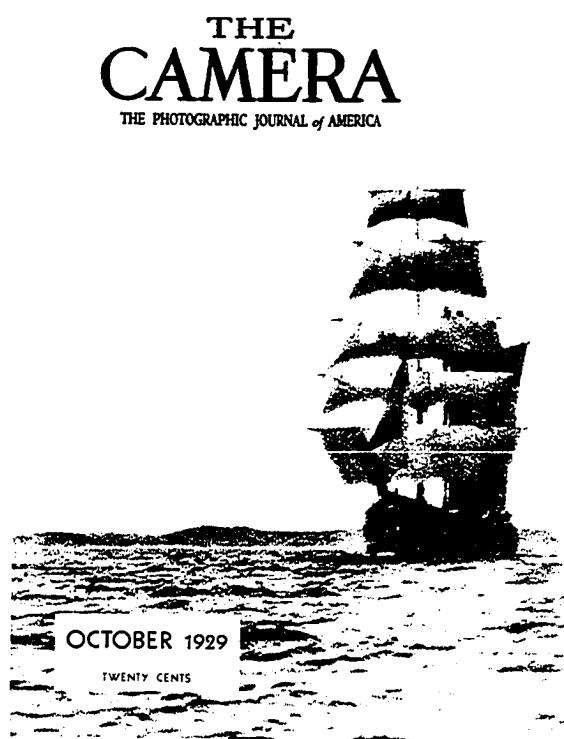


Figure 34. "A Maine Ghost of Yesterday," W. R. MacAskill,
Cover of THE CAMERA, Octover, 1929

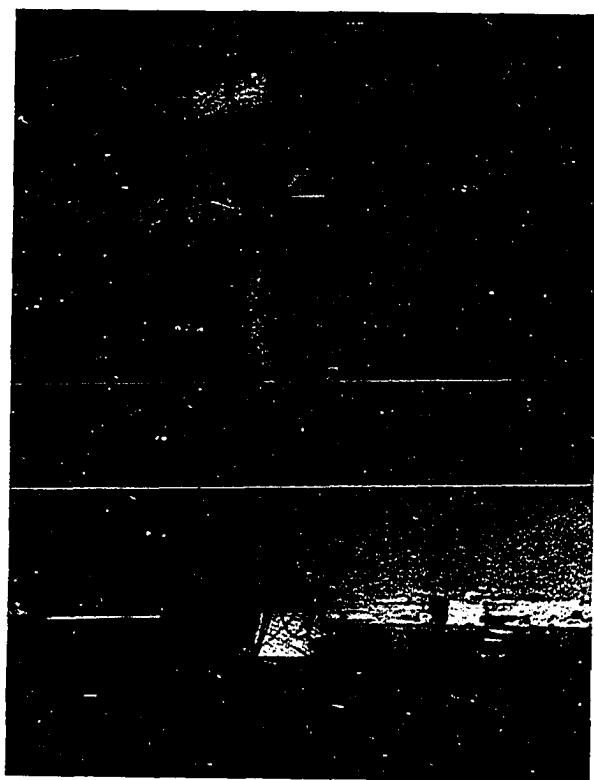
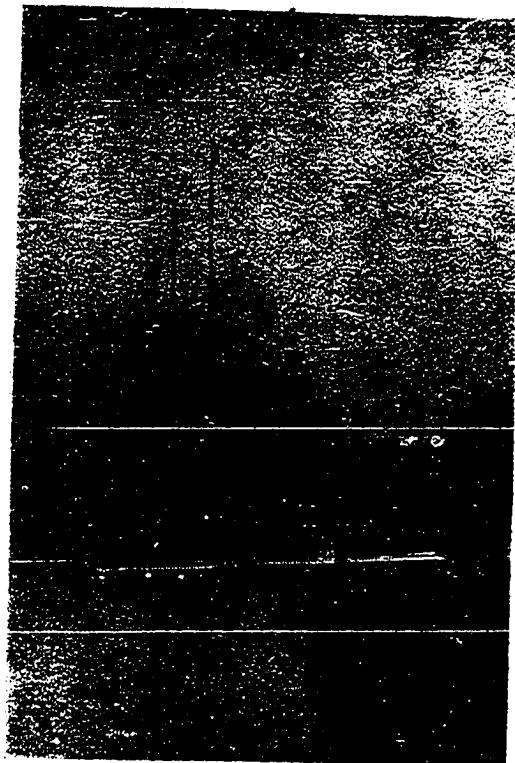


Figure 35. "The Italian Schooner," C. Cecil Davis,
Prizewinner, Fourteenth Annual Competition
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September, 1934



TWILIGHT ON CHICAGO RIVER
D. H. BROOKINS
Third Prize—Monthly Competition

Figure 36. "Twilight On Chicago River," D. H. Brookins,
Third Prize, Monthly Competition, THE CAMERA, April, 1939

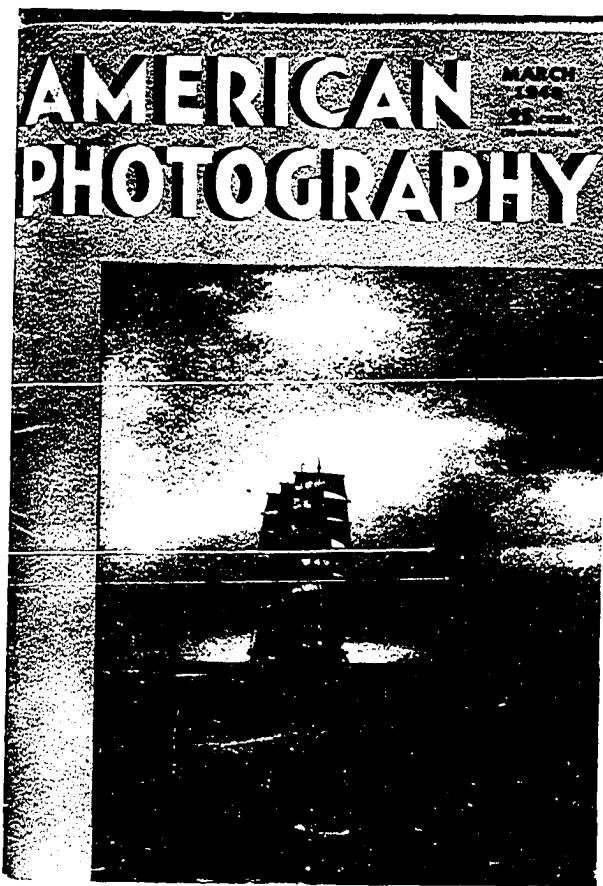
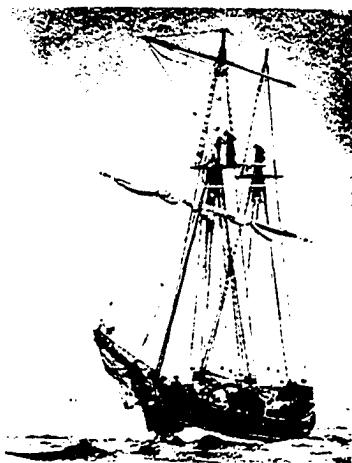


Figure 37. "Evening: The Barque Pamir," Hugh W. Frith,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1948

**48th Wilmington International
Exhibition of
Photography 1981**



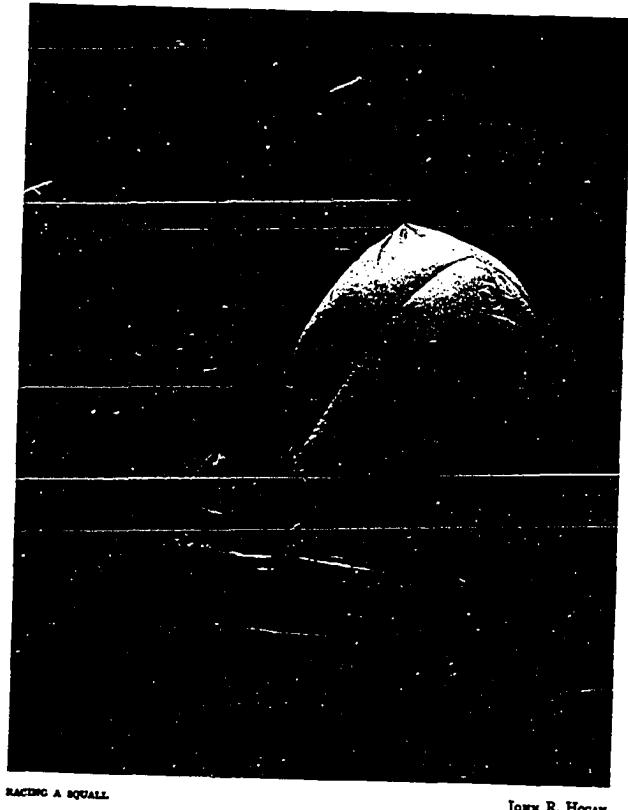
Delaware Camera Club
GOLD MEDAL
Best Monochrome Print—Travel

"FULL SPEED AHEAD"
Freda Colangelo
Riverside, CA

Figure 38. "Full Speed Ahead," Freda Colangelo,
Cover of the Catalogue for the 48th Wilmington International
Exhibition of Photography, 1981

One of the ways an individual salon photographer built his or her reputation was to become a specialist in a particular genre of pictorialist work. John Hogan, a longtime distinguished member of PSA and the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, built his reputation as a world-class salonist by establishing himself as the world's leading exhibitor of marine photographs. His position as a major marine pictorialist was not a result of his unique or innovative work in the genre. Rather, Hogan gained attention because of the success his well executed versions of long accepted seascape and sailing compositions enjoyed in the salons. Since 1965, PSA has annually presented a "Marine Print Award in Memory of John R. Hogan" to someone similarly competent at producing conventional marine pictures.

On the following page is an example of one of Hogan's many sailing and yachting photographs (Fig. 39).



RACING A SQUALL

JOHN R. HOGAN

FIGURE 39. "Racing a Squall," John R. Hogan,
Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948, p. 112

Conventions of pictorial form established in one strain of amateur work (sailing ships, for instance) were often applied to other pictorial subjects as well. As travel photography became a more prominent segment of pictorialist work in the forties and fifties the rule of thirds placement of objects against a background of water came to be applied to Venetian gondolas, Chinese sampans, and South American dugouts. Again, the repetition of forms is striking, as indicated by the photographs in figures 40 and 41 by noted salonists exhibiting almost forty years apart.

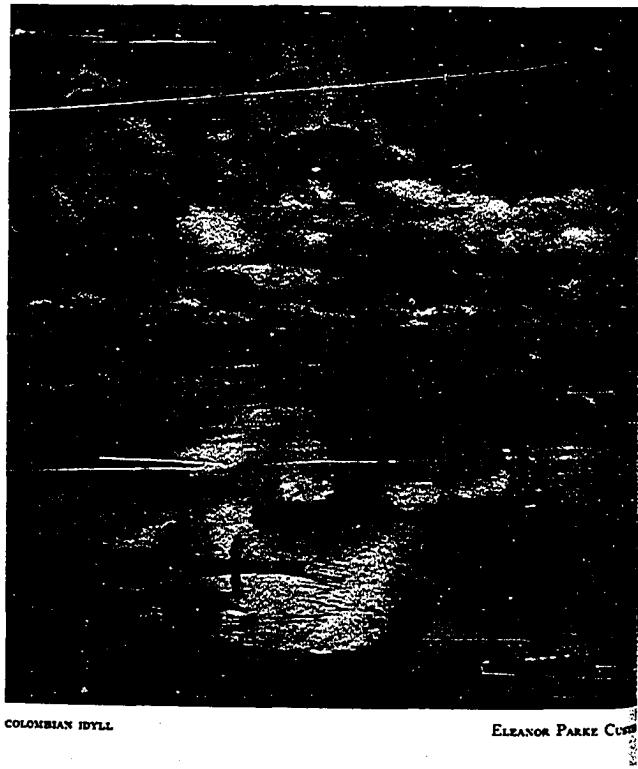


Figure 40. "Columbian Idyll," Eleanor Parke Custis,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943

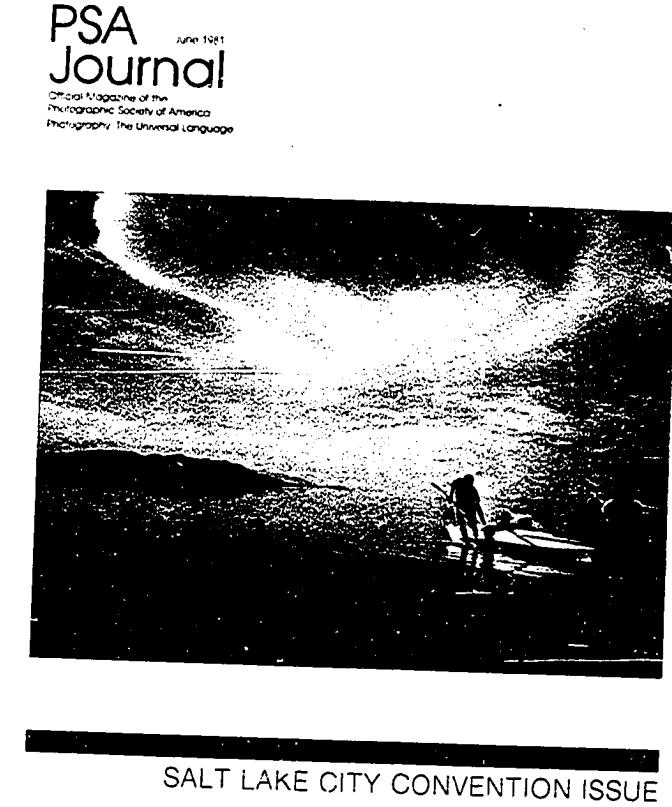


Figure 41. "Adventure Bound," Velma S. Tueller, APSA
Cover of the PSA JOURNAL for June 1981

Illustrations: Railroad Photography

Steam locomotives, much like ships, provide salient principal figures against a ground of leading, converging, or curved lines formed by the accompanying tracks. Thus, from Steiglitz's 1903 "Hand of Man" to the camera club photographs and industry publications of the 1980's the steam locomotive, like the sailing vessel, persists as a recurring subject. For some, photographing trains became a full-time hobby in and of itself. And some professionals made their living creating romanticized icons of industrial power and "beauty" for the major railway companies. Edward D. Wilson, writing in the June 1930 issue of PHOTO-ERA, argued that the "industrial subjects" of "modern" pictorial photography (unlike the "pastoral scenes" rendered by "more traditional pictorialists") found "beauty" in the "ugliness" of "mechanical perfection."

Is not a steam locomotive a thing of most stupendous beauty? It is the very materialisation of power, incomprehensible power. As it rushes demon-like, belching smoke and steam, it is hideous; but is not everyone fascinated by it? It is its perfect hideousness which brings about this fascination ("Beauty in Ugliness," PHOTO-ERA, June, 1930, p. 303).

The frequent appearance of articles on "railroad photography" in various photo journals attests to the popularity and approval with which this subject matter was embraced in the amateur world.

Describing a locomotive photograph entitled "Steam in the Sky" (Fig. 39), a winner in the AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Annual Competition for 1938, Frank Fraprie observes the persistence of railroad photography in amateur pictorialism.

"Steam in the Sky," by F. F. Sornberger.
In the good old days of photography before the World War, whenever a young man in the Middle West got a camera for a birthday or Christmas present, he hurried down to the railroad station and waited until the 4:15 came in from the East or the North, as the case might be, and shot his first plate on the locomotive puffing out great clouds of smoke and slowing down for a stop with brakes set and steam pouring out of the exhaust pipes. The picture looked as if the train were going full speed, but it was not, because plates and shutters would not have produced anything under such conditions in those days. After this young man had made a negative from his plate in the closet under the stairs by the light of a smoky red kerosene lantern, he printed it on Solio, toned it with gold and lead and sent it to me to criticize in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY. The monthly crop averaged twelve to twenty trains, and I got an aversion to railroad pictures which lasted a long time. Dr. Sornberger must have been one of those boys, because he is still using a reflex camera made in Newark which went off the market many years ago, and he is still photographing railroad trains. With modern films and shutters he does not have to go down to the depot and wait for the train to stop. He gets right out in the open country and takes it full speed on a cold January day, and that gives him plenty of smoke and steam. His shutter will stop the motion as the train rolls along, and he made a good picture. The lines are nice, the values are nice, and the steam drifts so far back in the train that we feel quite sure that it is going pretty fast. There is evidently still romance, even in the overworked subjects. He says he took the picture with the idea of depicting the enormous power and impossible spectacle of a giant locomotive in action. Made with a 5 by 7 Reflex camera, equipped with a Zeiss Tessar. The exposure at 10 A.M. in January was 1/75 second in bright sunlight at f:11 with a G orange filter. The Plenachrome film was developed in hydroquinone, enlarged on Brovira medium with a little darkening of the sky and margins (AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1939, p. 267.)



FIGURE 43. "STEAM IN THE SKY," F. F. Sornberger,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1939, p. 158

As with all genres of pictorial work railroad photography represents a consistent subject which takes a predictable form. Every so often, as in the Print Criticism entry for "Blue Bonnet West Bound" from the January 1935 issue of THE CAMERA (Fig. 44), or the Graflex ad copy from an April 1946 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (Fig. 45), the preferred form is explicitly described.

The commentary accompanying "Blue Bonnet West Bound" (Fig. 44), succinctly summarizes many of the features thought to characterize a "good train photograph." These include:

- 1) a focus on the locomotive and train as pictorial "principality" without competing subjects or details,
- 2) a diagonal or three-quarters perspective of the locomotive as it approaches the camera, thus leading the eye back along the tracks into the frame and revealing the length of the train,
- 3) the choice of a moment when smoke or steam is prominent in the frame and contributes to the perspectival line of the train.

The text in Figure 44 reads:

"The Blue Bonnet West Bound," by Erwin Marty. A very good train photograph, both as to choice of viewpoint and technical execution. The lines of the rails in perspective lead the eye into the picture and up to the on-coming train, the motion of which is suggested by the cloud of steam and smoke trailing out behind the locomotive. The general setting of open country is harmonious and free from distracting details, while the soft tonality of the print is natural and agreeable. Made in Missouri on a cloudy day in April at 3:30 P. M. with a Zeiss Ikon Oric camera and Tessar lens. Exposure 1/200 second at f:4.5 on Eastman Super-sensitive Panchromatic film. Enlargement on P. M. C. Bromide.



FIGURE 44. Page 49 from Print Criticism Department,
THE CAMERA, January, 1935

Railroad photography was often appropriated for advertising by the major photographic firms. In the Graflex ad in Figure 45 a "railroad photographer" prescribes the normative style for steam locomotive pictures.

"In photographing steam engines," he says, "smoke--as an index of action--is an absolute requisite! Action shots of moving trains," he adds, "should be taken from a three-quarters angle, head on--always try to show the full length of the train."



FIGURE 45. Ad for Graflex, Inc.
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April, 1946, p. 47
From the book HIGHBALL: A PAGEANT OF TRAINS by Lucius Beebe

Figures 46 through 54 offer a sample of the amateur fascination with pictorial renderings of steam locomotives, from Stieglitz's pictures in the New York City rail yards to the work of present day Miniature Camera Club members.



Alfred Stieglitz: *The Hand of Man*

FIGURE 46. "The Hand of Man" (1902), Alfred Stieglitz,
CAMERA WORK, October, 1911, 36:57



How I Photograph Railroad-Scenery

WILLIAM H. RAU

THE photographing of a line of rail-way such as the Pennsylvania Railroad, or the Lehigh Valley Railroad, requires some knowledge of the scenery along the line, and a complete outfit of lenses, plates and photographic paraphernalia, and would include the making of pictures of scenery, bridges, terminals, groups, details — in fact, any subjects that might be suggested by a Division Superintendent, to whom the work is very often assigned.

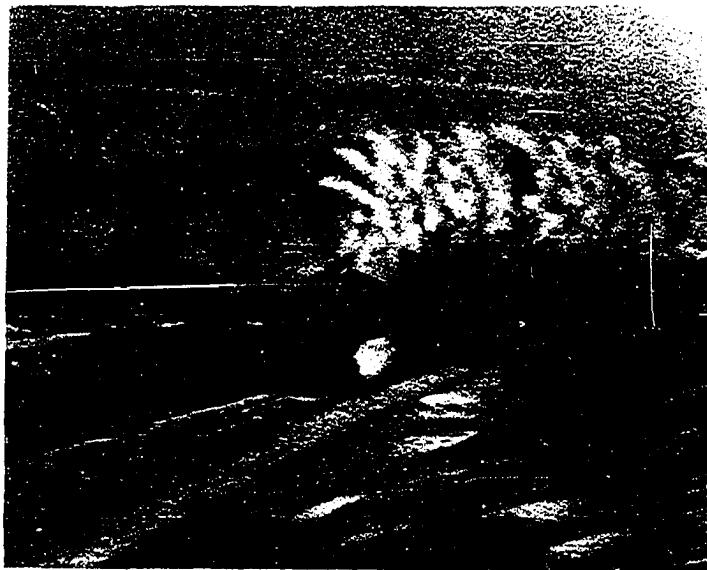
The Pennsylvania Railroad Company is, probably, one of the first which realized the value of photographs of the scenery along its line to advertise it, and placed the matter in charge of the Advertising-Agent in the General Passenger Department.

When the operator is not familiar with the scenery, it is well for him to go slowly over the division that he is to photograph, and select points of view, noting the time of day when he considers the conditions most satisfactory, and in this way, leave just where to stop on the next trip over to make his pictures. This, in a general way, is satisfactory, although at times the conditions of light vary to such an extent that another trip must be made. I found it necessary, at some places, to stay at the point of view from which the specific picture was to be taken and wait weather-conditions rather than to go away and come back.

In order to do the work most rapidly and satisfactorily, a private car is necessary, if more than a few days are to be spent on the road, and in

261

FIGURE 47. "The Power of Steam," William H. Rau,
PHOTO-ERA, June, 1916, p. 1



THE MORNING TRAIN

Cleveland Exhibition, 1916

DR. F. F. SORNBERGER

FIGURE 48. "The Morning Train," Dr. F. F. Sornberger,
Cleveland Exhibition, 1916
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July 1916, p. 366



"INDUSTRY"

PAUL W. MACFARLANE

FIGURE 49. "Industry," Paul W. MacFarlane,
THE CAMERA, February, 1928, p.96

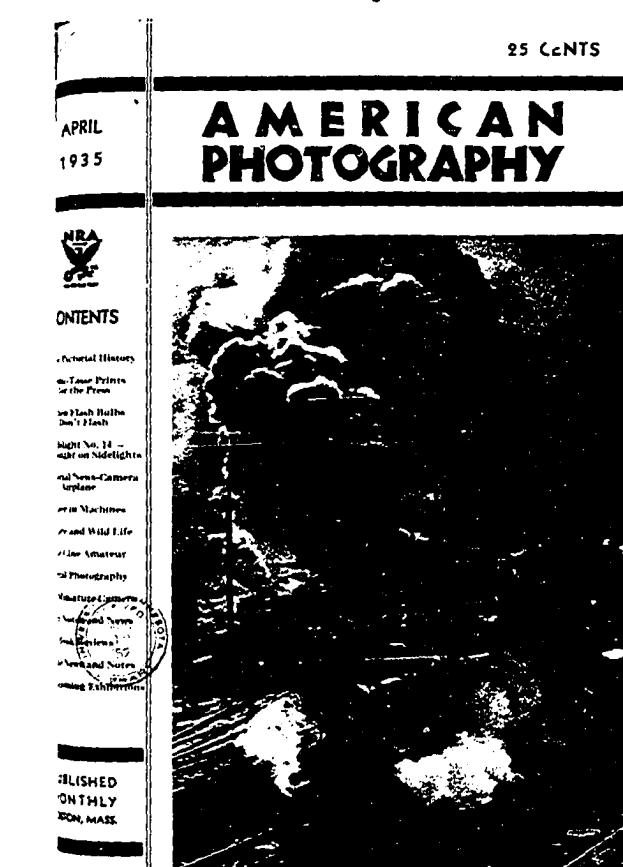


FIGURE 50. "Bahnhof," Michael Bognar,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for April, 1935

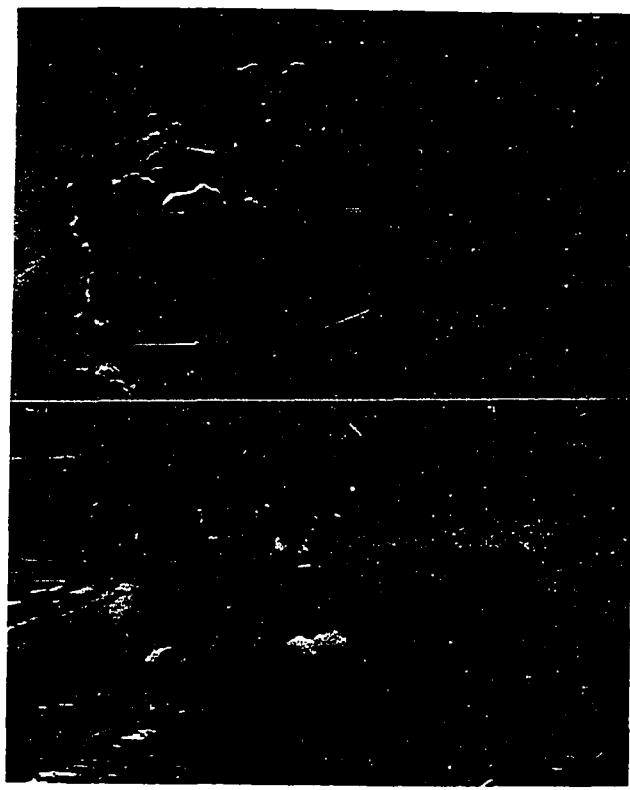


FIGURE 51. "Bahnhof," Erno Vadas,
Third International Salon of Photographic Art at Milwaukee
THE CAMERA, August, 1936, p.91

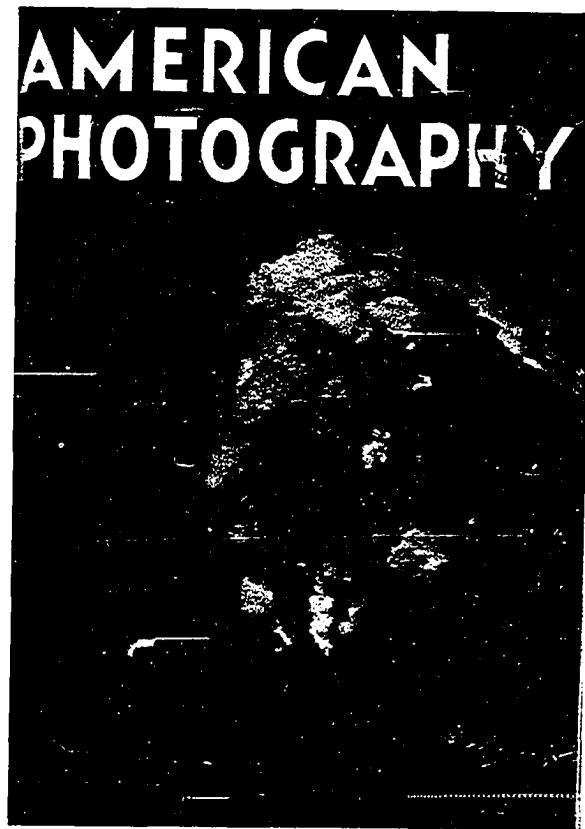


FIGURE 52. "Storming Along," T. M. Roberts,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for June, 1944



HEAVY GRADE

William H. McCrum

FIGURE 53. "Heavy Grade," William H. McCrum,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1946, p. 27



Figure 5. Photograph by Jim Single, member Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia.

**FIGURE 54. "Iron Horse," Salon winning photograph, c. 1980,
by Jim Single, Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia**

Landscapes and Snowscapes

As discussed earlier in this chapter, landscapes have traditionally been the most common of all pictorial photographs. Only portraiture, having become much more prominent with the introduction of better quality, easier to use photo-floods and photo-flashes in the twenties and thirties, competes with landscapes in sheer numbers. In many issues of THE CAMERA or AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY landscapes and portraits account for more than half of all the photos reproduced.

Tree-framed rural byways represent one of the most frequent sub-categories of landscape found in pictorial publications. They have remained a staple of pictorial exhibitions since the late nineteenth century (see Figures 6 through 9 in Chapter Six). Figures 55 through 58 show the appearance of such pictures on the covers of four different photo journals in four different decades.

Tree-framed Landscapes



FIGURE 55. Cover of PHOTO-ERA Magazine for June, 1930
(No title available)



FIGURE 56. "Winter's Archway," Gustav Anderson,
Cover of THE CAMERA for January, 1936

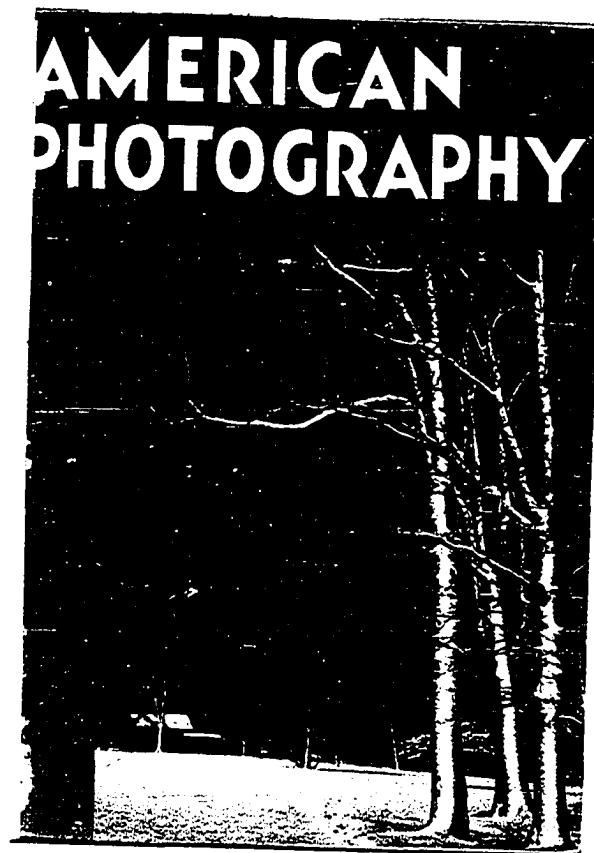


FIGURE 57. "White Trees," by Edward H. Lehman,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for January, 1945

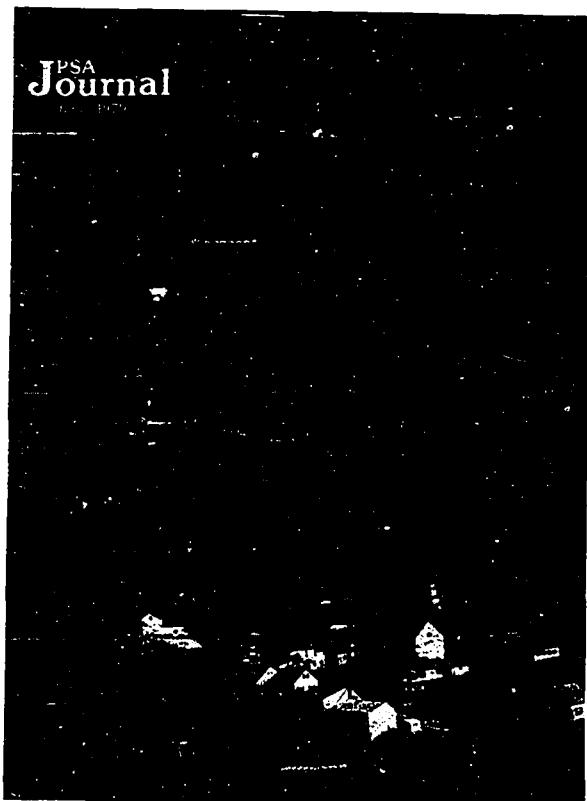


FIGURE 58. "West Topsham," Joseph A. DiChello, Jr.
Cover of the PSA JOURNAL for June, 1979



ICE-BOUNDED BROOK
ALEXANDER MURRAY
Essoilex Medal, January Competition.

FIGURE 60. "Ice-Bound Brook," Alexander Murray,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1915, p. 137



WINTER'S HOLD IS BROKEN

Portland Camera Club

F. H. THOMPSON

FIGURE 61. "Winter's Hold is Broken," F.H. Thompson,
Portland Camera Club
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1908, p. 313



A SNOW SCENE

GORDON L. KENT

FIGURE 62. "A Snow Scene," Gordon L. Kent
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1915, p. 163



WHEN SHADOWS GROW LONG

B. Y. M. C. U. Camera Club

G. H. SEELIG

FIGURE 63. "When Shadows Grow Long," G.H. Seelig,
B.Y.M.C.U. Camera Club
PHOTO-ERA, April, 1921, p. 169



FIGURE 64. "Snowscape," John Muller,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December, 1934, p. 741

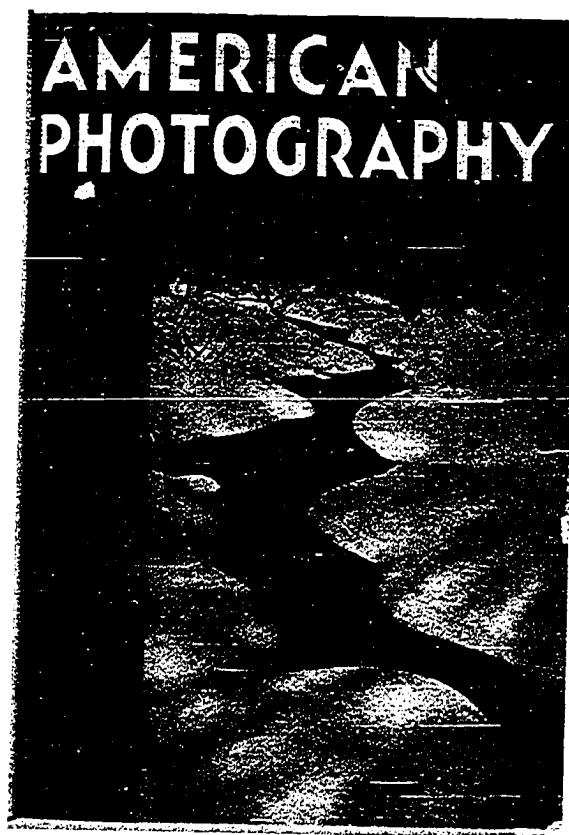


FIGURE 65. No title available, Frank R. Fraprie
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January, 1940

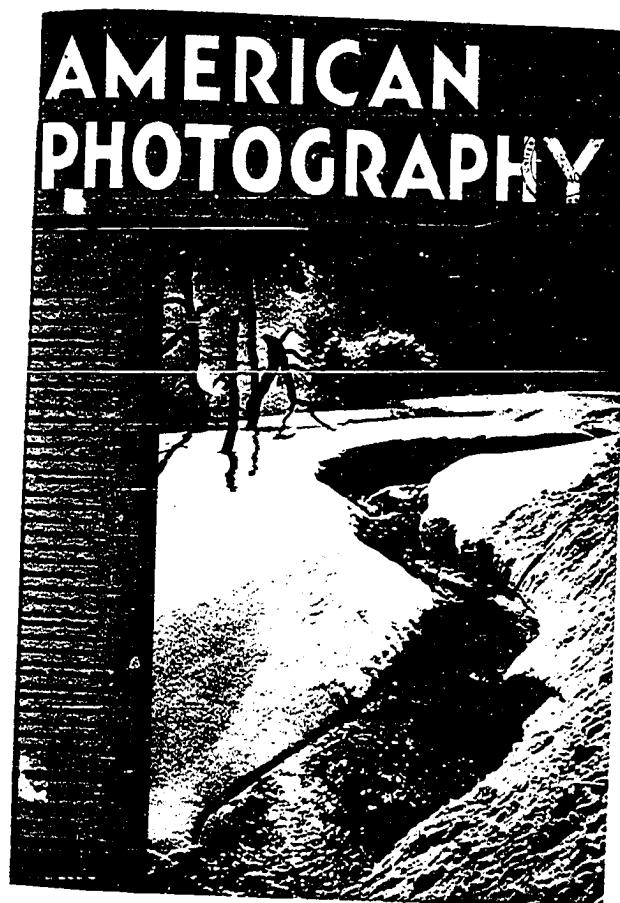


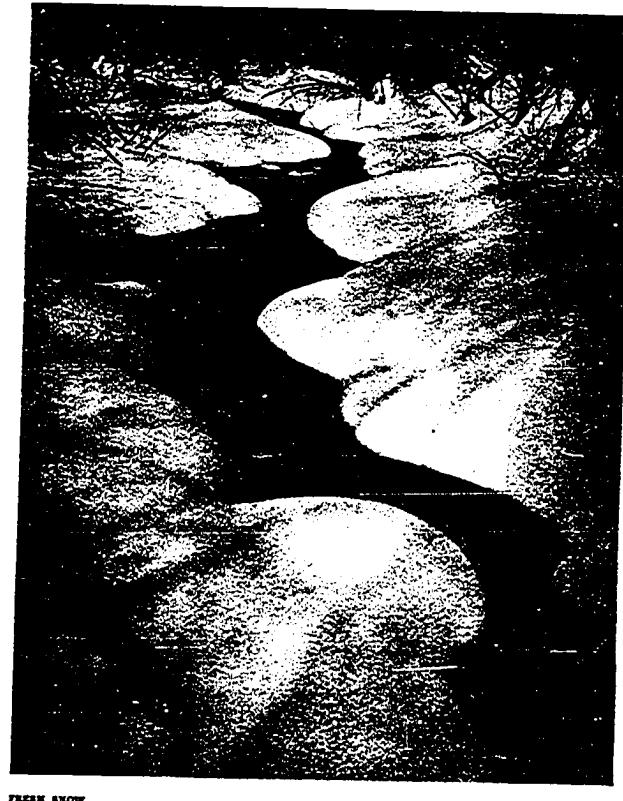
FIGURE 66. "Sunlit Brook," Theodore B. Johannis, Jr.,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January, 1941



SUNLIT GLEN

GEORGE F. SLADE

FIGURE 67. "Sunlit Glen," George F. Slade,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943, p. 148



FRESH SNOW

FIGURE 68. "Fresh Snow," Frank R. Fraprie,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948, p. 15



FIGURE 69. "Golden Pools," Harriet Richards,
Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, November, 1980

Nature (Swans)

Swans, geese, ducks, and other waterfowl, usually pictured swimming in the lower right hand corner of a picture -- with water filling most of the frame and the edges of the pond marked by trees or tree branches -- provide another common example of pictorial material treated according to well tried rules of composition and design. Swimming birds appear often in amateur pictorial work. Arthur Hammond's influential book PICTORIAL COMPOSITION IN PHOTOGRAPHY (1920, 1932, 1939, 1946) uses a photograph of a swan almost identical to the two cover shots shown in figures 70 and 71 to illustrate the proper placement of a focal subject according to the rules of "dynamic symmetry." Swans also appear in many of the published annual competitions and issues of the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY; and photographs of swimming birds appeared regularly in the camera club competitions and exhibitions I observed. Figure 71 combines the typical use of a floating swan with the common s-curve of a snowy stream.



FIGURE 70. Cover of PHOTO-ERA Magazine for April, 1930
(No title available)

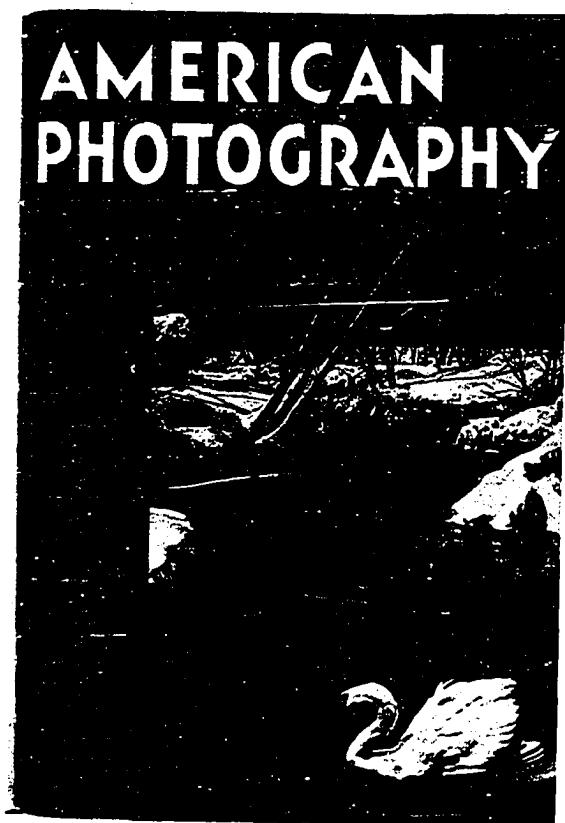


FIGURE 71. "Sunday," Harvey A. Falk,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY for October, 1941

Portraits

Portraits, like landscapes, constitute roughly a quarter of all pictorialist work. In fact, the dominance of conventional portrait and landscape forms throughout the history of amateur pictorialism accounts for a great deal of the predictability of amateur work. The forms pictorial portraits take vary little. Nearly all portraits frame the upper body, shoulders, and head of the sitter somewhere between full face and a three-quarter angle. Occasionally a closer shot of just the head and neck is employed. Portraits are most often done in a studio setting (whether professional or makeshift) with carefully controlled directional lighting. (Diffuse or flat lighting is almost never seen.)

Subjects, again, are chosen for their "picturesque" qualities. Thus, one sees many "pretty young women" with hats and fancy dresses, many children with well scrubbed glowing faces, and men and women dressed in costume to play favored roles. The old fisherman or sea captain are popular variations, as are portraits of ostensibly exotic figures -- men in turbans, women in veils, figures in various types of foreign native costume. (Oriental costumes of the Middle East seem particularly common.)

Portraits of pets are also common, with dogs, cats, and other animals "posed" before the camera. In contrast to

humans, pets are usually shown full body, although dogs (and less often cats) are sometimes framed in close-up head shots. Head and neck portraits of Irish setters for instance, appear on the covers of both AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA in the thirties and forties.



BELLE OF THE NINETIES

THOMAS J. NEWETT

FIGURE 72. "Belle of the Nineties," Thomas J. Newett,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1949, p. 113



PATRICIA

JOHN C. SINCLAIR

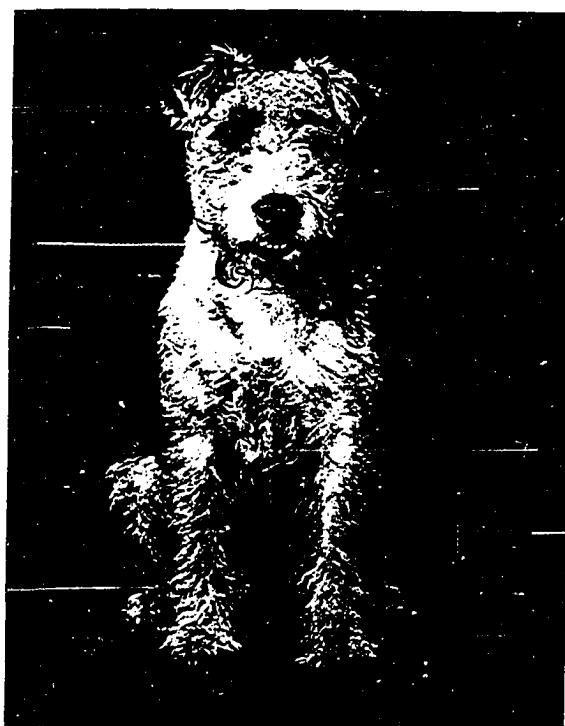
FIGURE 73. "Patricia," John C. Sinclair,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1951, P. 98



THE ARAB

SYDNEY S. JAFFE

FIGURE 74. "The Arab," Sydney S. Jaffe,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1946



WIREHAIR

A. M. ORNSTEEN

FIGURE 75. "Wirehair," A. M. Ornsteen,
Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1944, p. 115

Nude Portraits

Nudes also tend to be staged in studio settings, although occasionally models are posed outdoors -- "as part of nature" -- in forest settings, among rock outcroppings, or atop sand dunes. It was very typical in the pre-World War Two era to see nude models posed in allegorical set-ups.



THE GODDESS OF THE FLAME

HARVE B. WOBBE

133

FIGURE 76. "The Goddess of the Flame," Harve B. Wobbe,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1938, p. 133

Genre

After landscapes and portraits, genre scenes are the most common pictures to appear in amateur exhibitions and photo journals. A significant portion of genre pictures display scenes from rustic locales or foreign lands -- scenes of rural village life, of farmers, fishermen, or children. The numbers of genre photographs displaying foreign subjects increased as travel abroad increased after World War Two.

"Fishermen of Ventimiglia" (Fig. 77) by Joseph Petrocelli, a renowned salonist of the teens and twenties, is a classic example from the cover of THE CAMERA for October, 1925. The fishermen and their net create a preferred pictorial design -- a sweeping curve in the lower third of the frame.

Figure 78 shows another typical example of pictorial genre work -- a picture of a scene from simple country life featuring a figure in native dress.

Figures 79 and 80 present urban versions of children at play, also a common motif in the genre category. Children are a frequent subject in pictorial work, commonly appearing in formal portraits and in genre scenes of everyday life. Children as subjects seem to facilitate the pictorialist emphasis on pleasant, optimistic, and picturesque imagery.

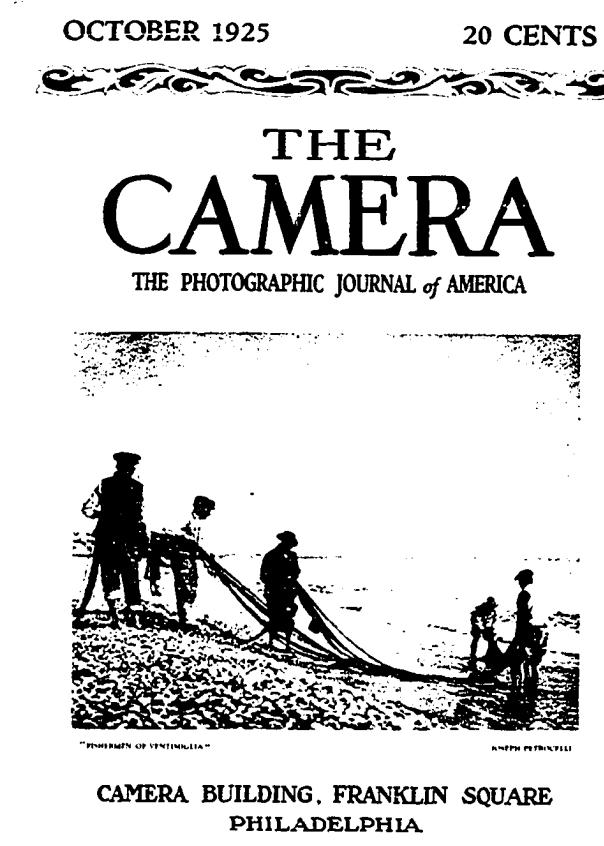


FIGURE 77. "Fishermen of Ventimiglia," Joseph Petrocelli,
Cover of THE CAMERA, October, 1925



FIGURE 78. "Dutch Treat," Joseph W. Hazell,
Honorable Mention - Seventeenth Annual Competition
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July, 1938, p. 493

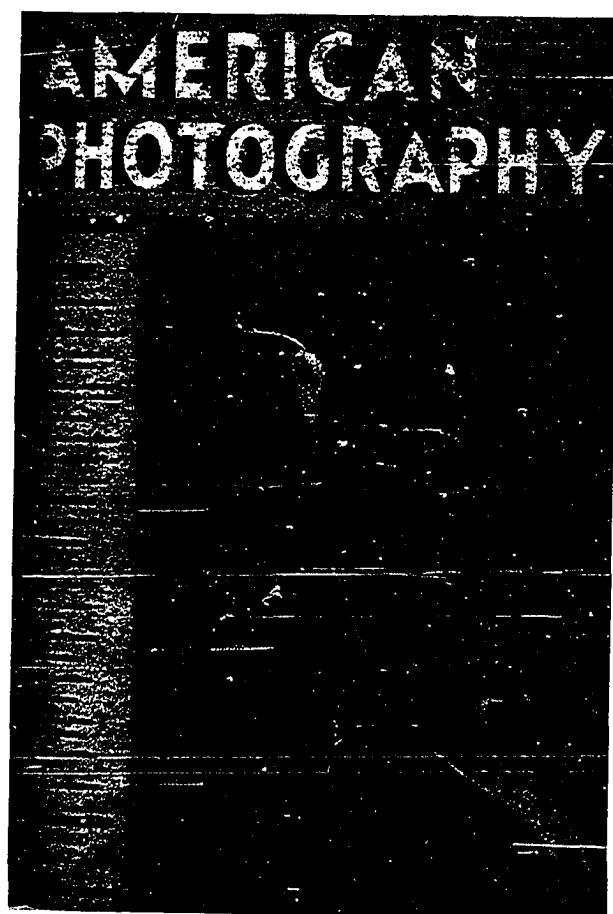


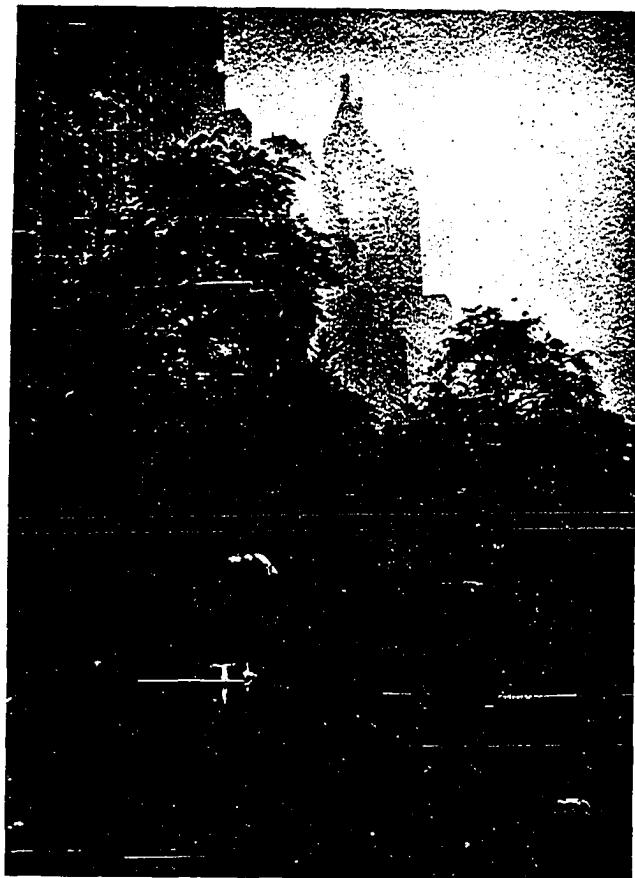
FIGURE 79. "The Shower," Mana Fischerova,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, July, 1938



FIGURE 80. "Thirsty," Max Perchick,
Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia
Cover of the PSA JOURNAL, July, 1981

Mood Shots

Similar to genre scenes are the conventionalized photographs amateurs refer to as "mood shots" or "story pictures." They tend to be atmospheric and sentimental, with figures strolling through rain, mist, or fog. "April Shower" (Fig. 81) is a typical example. (Note the s-curve dividing the space and the figure placed according to the rule of thirds).



APRIL SHOWER

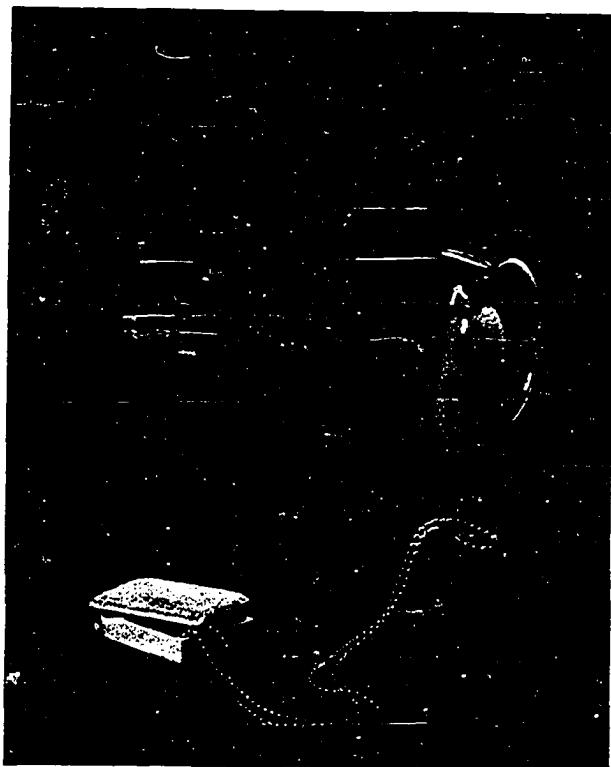
136

B. R. PERKINS

FIGURE 81. "April Shower," B. R. Perkins,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1946, p. 136

Still Lifes

Still lifes are most often "table top" photographs (of plates, glassware, vases) with simple backgrounds designed to focus all attention on the lighted objects. A significant number of still lifes, however, attempt to provide more elaborate settings or backdrops for the arrangement of objects. "Symbols of Romance" (Fig. 82) typifies many still life set ups.



SYMBOLS OF ROMANCE

WILLIAM F. SMALL

FIGURE 82. "Symbols of Romance," William F. Small,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1948, p. 111

"Pattern" Shots

The isolation of a pattern, elegant and cohesive in terms of some formally decorative abstract design, has been a common pictorial category at least since the thirties. Designs as specific as those of automobile grills are recycled repeatedly as pictorialists attempt to emulate successful work from the past.

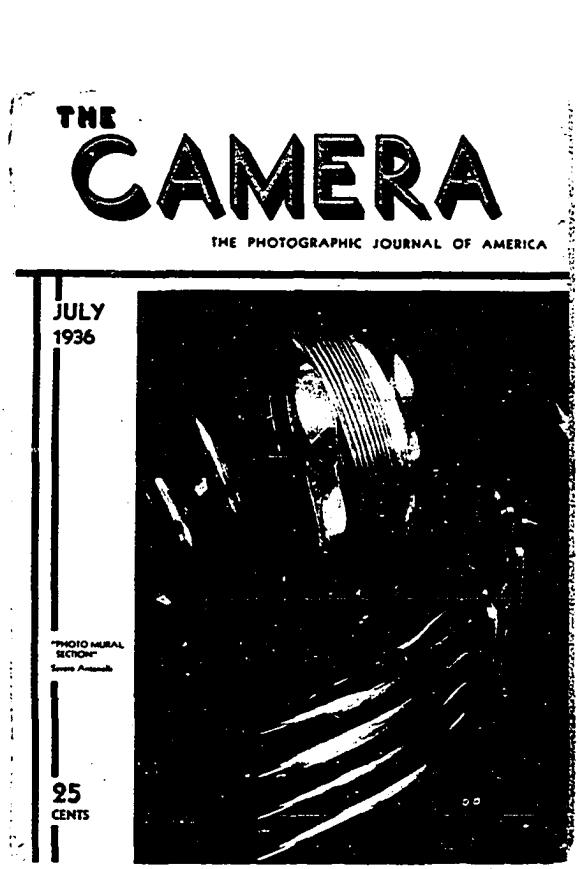


FIGURE 83. "Photo Mural Section," Severo Antonelli,
Cover of THE CAMERA for July, 1936

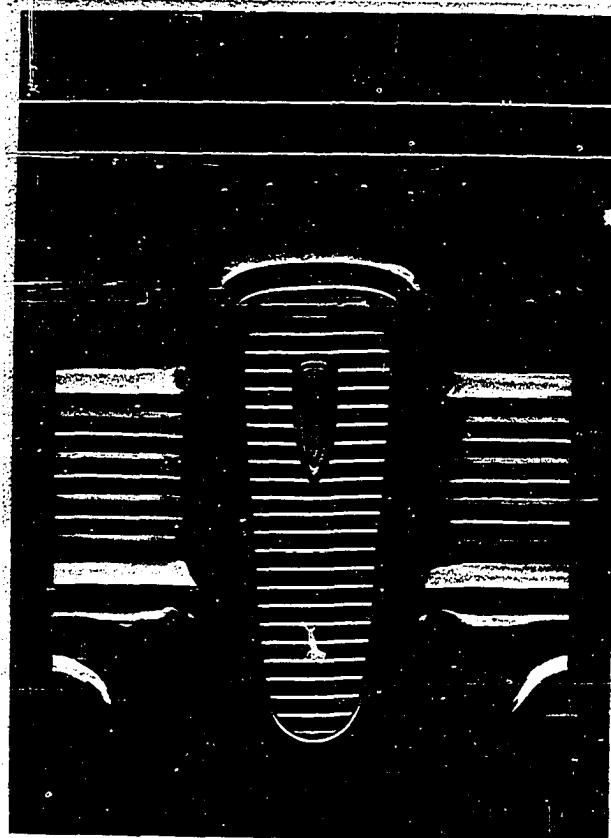


FIGURE 84. "The Shape," Tom Stringer, Dallas Camera Club,
Cover of the PSA JOURNAL for February, 1982

Amateurs everywhere attempted to duplicate the success of salon winning photographs, perfecting their technique through the trial and error process of criticism and competition -- in the camera clubs, in the photographic journals, and in various salons and competitions.

Eventually both Eastman Kodak and the Photographic Society of America set up critique departments where amateurs or professionals could receive feedback on the style and technique of their photographic work.

The illustrations in this chapter have been chosen to provide examples of:

- 1) subjects which appear with regularity in the journals, competitions, and salons,
- 2) common pictorial compositions advanced by photo journal writers and salon judges, and
- 3) the technical preferences promoted in the clubs and in the industry's customer service programs and literature.

Together with the earlier coding of competition winning pictorial subjects, the illustrations provide a map of pictorialist conventions, of the amateur aesthetic code.

The sample categories are very nearly exhaustive in their description of amateur work.

ENDNOTES

1. Fraprie wrote, "my natural inclination was to look for beautiful landscapes and render them beautifully" ("Pictorialism Through the Years," THE AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1943, p. 186).
2. The Family of Man exhibit organized by Steichen at the Museum of Modern Art in 1955 came closest to providing any common ground between notions of documentary photography and the Pictorialist aesthetic. Its optimistic use of photography as a medium which could cross cultural boundaries, picturing people from all parts of the world in "universal" human activities, was consistent with amateur attempts to render life beautifully. Amateurs often spoke of photography as "the universal language" (this phrase appeared for a number of years on the cover of the PSA JOURNAL) and pointed to romantic, picturesque photographs of foreign lands and people to demonstrate photography's diplomatic power.
3. For instance, T. C. Tilney's THE PRINCIPLES OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTORIALISM (1930) includes chapters on: Portraiture, Genre Pictures, The Nude, Still Life, and Figures as Accessories in Landscape, in addition to chapters on technique, composition, and tone. In ERITH ON PICTORIAL PHOTOGRAPHY (1951) by John Erith, FRPS, he also lists "favorite picturesque subjects" (p. 109) which correspond

very closely to this list.

4. The tacit technical skill of experienced amateur pictorialists was widely recognized during the twenties, thirties and forties by many scientists and professional photographers. Large numbers of photographic scientists joined clubs like the Kodak Club in Rochester. Professionals frequently attended club meetings and joined in submitting prints to competitions and salons. Articles like "A Scientist's Tribute to the Pictorialist," by Roland F. Beers (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, October 1935) publicized the admiration of scientific men for the practised competence of salon amateurs.

5. Of marine pictorial work C. H. Claudy wrote,

But if you love it -- if you too, love a "tall ship and a star to steer her by" -- then the undoubted fact that of all outdoor pictorial photography the sea presents the hardest problems to the photographic pictorialist will make no difference to you whatsoever. You'll go picturing the sea every chance you get, in season and out, and difficulties will only whet your appetite to make more and better photographs which put a breeze upon your walls, pin a storm of flying spume and spray to a piece of paper, and touch the heart with the loneliness and the beauty and the restless, restless and mysterious power of the sea.

... the sea is nature's greatest arouser of emotion, of all natural phenomena.

(C. H. Claudy, "Where the Wind's like a Whetted Knife," THE CAMERA, October, 1929, pp. 193-94.)

Chapter Twelve

ORGANIZATIONAL INTERLOCKING AND CONTINUITY IN MODERN AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHY

It must be assumed that, whatever the other characteristics of an association, it is always found at the point of tangency of several institutions or of subsystems within an institution.

(Chapple and Coon, PRINCIPLES OF ANTHROPOLOGY, 1942:418).

Amateur photography associations have, from the beginning, been closely intertwined with other photographic organizations and with the photographic industry. The Photographic Society of America has evolved at a point of intersection between many different commercial, industrial and social organizations. In addition to the thousands of amateur clubs under PSA's umbrella the Photographic Society has been closely interconnected with other amateur societies (the Oval Table Society of New York, the Pictorial Photographers of America), with professional organizations (the Professional Photographers of America, the Society of Photographic Scientists and Engineers), and with multinational photographic firms (Eastman Kodak, E. Leitz, Zeiss-Contax).

Kodak helped to finance the Associated Camera Clubs of America and the Photographic Society of America from the start. E. Leitz has sponsored Leica clubs through Leica franchised camera stores in cities across North America for

almost sixty years (many such clubs -- The Leica Club of Washington D.C., the Arizona Leica Club, the Miami Valley Leica Society -- are still active).

Following is a list of some of the organizations and commercial enterprises which overlap or interconnect with the Photographic Society of America. It represents a wide ranging informal network at the heart of photographic manufacturing and practice. The network includes:

- 1) numerous photographic manufacturers -- but especially the largest member of the photo industry, Eastman Kodak Company;
- 2) the National Association of Photographic Manufacturers (NAPM) - manufacturers of photographic equipment, supplies, films and chemicals joined to develop cooperative programs for industry, government, and educational institutions. Compiles data on exports and imports of all types of photographic products. Also the Photographic Manufacturers and Distributors Association (PMDA) which sponsors awards, educational programs and standardization committees.
- 3) the Professional Photographers of America (PPA) [formerly (1958) the Photographers' Association of America] - a professional society of portrait, commercial and industrial photographers. PPA also sponsors the Winona School of Professional Photography and the Photographic Art and Science Foundation, and encompasses the American Society of Photographers -- an association of "Masters of Photography, Fellows and Photographic Craftsmen dedicated to fostering the ideals of professional photography as a science and as a fine art."
- 4) the Photo Marketing Association International (PMA) - an association of 7000 photographic retailers. David Harrar, owner of Larmon Photo, Inc., a chain of Pennsylvania camera stores, and Trustee-at-large of the Photo Marketing Association has played a leading role in Philadelphia area camera club activities for many years (see Chapter Ten). Jack Webb, President of Webb-Taylor Inc., photo retailers of Philadelphia and Territorial Vice-President of PMA, also has connections with the Philadelphia camera club network;

- 5) the Society of Photographic Scientists and Engineers (SPSE) - the major American technical society for photographic applications, originally established as part of the Technical Division of the Photographic Society of America (see Chapter Nine on the early history of PSA);
- 6) the Society of Photo-Technologists (SPT) - professional society of camera repair technicians.
- 7) the Photographic Industry Council (PIC) - described in the Encyclopedia of Associations as an organization of:

18 Societies and trade associations related to the photographic industry. Founded by the National Association of Photographic Manufacturers, Professional Photographers of America, Photo Marketing Association, Photographic Society of America, and Studio Suppliers Association to operate as a channel of communication and a clearinghouse for industry-wide projects (Encyclopedia of Associations, 17th Edition, 1983, Section 1 - Trade, Business and Commercial Organizations).

At the time of this research the Secretary-Treasurer of the Photographic Industry Council (to whom all correspondence is directed) was Frank S. Pallo, Executive Vice-President of Eastman Kodak Company and President of the Photographic Society of America;

- 8) the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) - an institute established to encourage uniform photographic standards and practices. ANSI comprises numerous committees whose members represent the National Association of Photographic Manufacturers, the Professional Photographers of America, the Society of Photographic Scientists and Engineers, the Society of Photo-Technologists, and the Photographic Society of America, among others.
- 9) government, military and NASA agencies and research centers, hundreds of which hold institutional memberships in PSA (primarily for the purpose of library subscriptions to the PSA JOURNAL) and some of which sponsor camera clubs -- for instance, the Goddard Space Flight Center Photo Club, Greenbelt, Maryland; the Mars Photo Club, Marshall Space Flight Center, Alabama; the NASA Ames Photography Club, NASA Ames Research Center, Moffett Field, California; the Naval Air Development Center Photographic Club, Warminster, Pennsylvania;

10) Corporate sponsored camera clubs with membership in PSA, including clubs sponsored by:

Agfa-Gaevert	Lockheed
Bell Telephone Companies	Monsanto
Boeing	NCR
Burroughs	Nationwide Mutual Ins.
Chase Manhattan Bank	Oldsmobile
City Bank	Raytheon
Eastern Airlines	RCA
Eli Lilly	Schlitz Beer
Equitable Life Insurance	Shell Oil
Ford	Sperry Univac
General Dynamics	Squibb
Gillette	Texaco Oil
Honeywell	3M
Hughes	Union Carbide
IBM	Upjohn
Johnson Wax	Wang
Eastman Kodak	Western Electric
Kraft	Xerox

(For a more complete listing of corporate sponsored clubs in PSA see Appendix C);

11) schools and colleges - many with institutional memberships in PSA and many with affiliated camera clubs;

12) other organizations of amateur and professional photographers -- the Associated Photographers International, Friends of Photography, the Pictorial Photographers of America, the New Pictorialist Society;

13) photographic publishers, journals and magazines, from the PSA JOURNAL to NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC (including industrial and trade magazines which regularly buy photographic work from camera club amateurs);

14) mass publication magazines, newspapers, and community organizations which sponsor photography contests and publish amateur photographs;

15) naturalist organizations like the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club -- along with dozens of "Conservationist," "Naturalist," "Nature" and "Wildlife" photo clubs nationwide;

16) commercial tour organizations and travel magazines which cater to the intense interest in travel and the high demand for planned photo excursions among serious amateurs;

17) senior citizen groups, community centers, local art centers, nature centers, hospitals, convalescent and nursing homes, and school groups, who provide a regular audience for amateur photographic programs -- photographic exhibitions, lecture-demonstrations, travelogues, nature slide programs, and other slide shows.

Historical Interconnections

An understanding of the organizational grid which underlies photographic work at both the professional and amateur level is a necessary part of understanding the continuity of conventional forms of photographic practice. It is a question of photography as activity and rhetoric, a symbolic currency whose form is shaped by economic and organizational contingencies as well as historical-cultural traditions. Links between the structure of organizations and photographic practices and codes are not easily made apparent. They are submerged in long term, ongoing processes. Viewed historically the connections become more clearly discernible.

In 1919, when the Associated Camera Clubs of America was formed, Eastman Kodak Company agreed to cover the expenses of organizing such an association. This began a long and very close relationship between Eastman Kodak and various amateur organizations. Kodak simultaneously sponsored many amateur contests, rewarding "appropriate" photographic work with cash prizes and then using the

winning photographs in their own promotional and instructional publications.¹ Kodak had obvious reasons for wanting to promote an increase in amateur activity and the nascent amateur associations needed financial and organizational support. As the years went by Kodak supplied camera clubs with industry literature, samples of new equipment, and free demonstrations and lectures. When ACCA became PSA in 1932 Kodak again contributed funds as an industrial member, helped them to finance their booklet "The Camera Club--Its Organization and Management," and distributed the booklet in all of their stores.

Other members of the photographic industry also contributed to, and benefited from association with the amateur groups, although none enjoyed so long and so close a relationship as Eastman Kodak. As previously mentioned, E. Leitz initiated and financially supported many Leica clubs across the nation. These clubs were usually organized through Leica dealerships, some of which were Kodak stores. Leitz representatives also played influential roles within the amateur world (Karl Barleben of the E. Leitz Co., for instance, wrote a column for many years in THE CAMERA on "Diminutive Camera Technique and Practice"). Zeiss Corp., after introducing the Contax as a major competitor to the Leica in 1932, also made energetic efforts to build associations with the organized amateur world. Leitz and

Zeiss cameras, because of their tremendous popularity with serious amateurs and their general non-overlap with Kodak products were sold alongside Kodak cameras in Eastman Kodak stores.²

The photographic industry had become corporatized between 1890 and 1925. Between 1925 and 1950 these technologically innovative corporations attempted to sell a nation on the everyday practice of photography. What were the outlets for their marketing? Radio, the primary mass medium at the time, was not terribly conducive to selling pictures. Television was not yet a factor. Magazines were the major advertising vehicle, with the most successful photographic advertising in those magazines read by people already predisposed towards photography. The camera journals between 1910 and 1940 were stocked with 20 to 40 pages of advertisements. Close to half of the advertising pages were purchased by Eastman Kodak. The other major outlet for reaching prospective buyers was the camera club network, which industry representatives flooded, particularly in the decade right after the miniature camera explosion.

When 35mm miniature cameras were first being introduced (1925-35) the amateur journals were full of articles on the "importance of the miniature camera" -- not just for the amateur pictorialist, but for the scientist and engineer,

the press photographer, explorer, traveler, legal investigator, and advertising illustrator. The interests of amateurs and the application of pictorialist concepts penetrated across different arenas of photographic activity. In their attempts to expand photographic markets generally the industry worked to expand the interest in pictorial photography and the precision equipment and materials associated with it.³

In the clubs industry people mingled not just with those advanced amateurs most likely to experiment with new products, but also with commercial photographers (especially portrait studio photographers and industrial photographers) who found comraderie and similar interests among the pictorial amateurs. Industry representatives also found themselves addressing many retail photography managers and employees who joined the clubs for a combination of business and pleasure, as well as corporate managers who might just as readily consider purchasing some product for their company as for themselves. The clubs were great meeting grounds for artists, amateur pictorialists, commercial photographers, photographic scientists, photographic businessmen, photographic writers, and industry representatives. Many developments in the photographic world were first discussed, experimented with, or announced in the clubs and societies. Weston, Westinghouse and

General Electric, in their attempts to introduce use of electric photo-cell light meters and flash and photo flood units to photography in the thirties, frequently presented demonstrations at camera club meetings. This entry appeared in the Miniature Camera Club minutes for January 18, 1934:

The meeting being called to order, Mr. Woods (the MCC President) stated that Mr. J. H. Kurlander, of the Westinghouse Lamp Co. had consented to talk upon the Use of Photoflood and Photoflash Lamps in Photography. That much to his surprise and appreciation five men of the Technical and Sales staff of the company were present to tell the members something about lighting problems in photography. That Mr. Gjon Mili [later to become a famous art photographer for his experimental manipulations of artificial light] from the Test Engineering Department of the Company would cover the subject in detail and later Mr. Kurlander would talk upon synchronization of shutter and lamp.

Mr Mili being introduced introduced his subject by describing the progress made in the manufacture of efficient and long life lamps. He illustrated this with different types of lamps.

* * * *

....Mr. Kurlander's talk rounded out the subject and members secured much valuable information upon lights and reflectors.

Mr. Kurlander presented to Mr. Woods a number of lamps of each type and the President graciously donated them to the members. Those submitting prints were given the first opportunity to select lamps.

The photography journals were the other great meeting ground for photographic ideas and interests. Their link with the rise of photographic societies and clubs is explicit. Many early journals were specifically associated with particular societies. Frank Fraprie, FRPS, long-time

editor of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and the dean of American photo journal editors, started his photographic experience in 1898 in the clubs and salons of Boston. He was a lifetime member of the Boston Camera Club, as were his associate editors at AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Arthur Hammond and Franklin I. Jordan. Frank V. Chambers, FRPS, and long-time editor and publisher of THE CAMERA, was one of the founders of a club called the Photographic Guild of Philadelphia and also participated in the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia.

Like the societies and clubs, the journals were forums for the interaction of artistic, scientific, social and commercial interests. Like the clubs, they propagated the tenets of pictorialist aesthetics. And by publishing the work of amateur pictorialists from various regions and countries, as well as reporting on the activities of clubs and societies across North America, the journals provided a form of overarching connection for hundreds of thousands of camera club enthusiasts.

As pictorialist forms became the most widespread and commonly shared conceptions of "good" photography, -- in arenas where amateurs, artists, professionals, and manufacturers shared their enthusiasm and appreciation for the medium -- photographic manufacturers presented their own advertising in such a way as to support and further the

camera club visual style. By the teens and twenties Eastman Kodak consistently reflected the pictorialist code in their industrial literature and "how to" manuals. In the May 1916 issue of the amateur journal PHOTO-ERA the editors report,

The backbone of the national advertising of the Eastman Kodak Company is now based on photographs received through the annual competition, [PHOTO-ERA'S annual amateur pictorial competition] which has now become a permanent feature of the campaign. These pictures are not necessarily photographs made with Kodaks, but pictures showing Kodaks and Brownies in action, and suggesting the many and diverse delights of amateur photography. As usual the prizes are well worth while... (p. 257).

The same volume contains a piece called "Pictorializing" by famed salonist John Wallace Gillies, an article on "Pictorialism for the Beginner" which succinctly lay out the primary characteristic of the pictorialist code, an article entitled "The Pictorial Print, for Professionals and Amateurs" which prescribes the desired qualities of prints for salon exhibition, and numerous articles on composition and "pictorial subjects."

With representatives of the photographic industry often playing active roles in the same clubs they solicited, the sharing of photographic aesthetics was a natural development. Employees of Eastman Kodak filled the Kodak Camera Club in Rochester (placing it among the largest clubs in the world) and the club became a major source of camera club lecturers, "how to" authors, salon judges, and administrative leaders in the PSA network.

Similarly, Kodak supported the amateur journals -- financially as their biggest advertiser and ideologically as promoters of the same standards of quality in picture making. In the December 1930 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY the opening page contains a congratulatory letter from George Eastman to Frank Fraprie marking AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S 25th anniversary. Eastman writes,

I remember very well the prominent part that reputable photographic magazines, your own among them, played in the early days of amateur picture making. They were a real aid in spreading helpful information and in hastening the progress of the art (p. 605).

The cooperative overlapping of manufacturers, writers and publishers, and voluntary associations is evident in the minutes of camera club minutes, in the historical development of the Photographic Society of America, and in the reports and news notes found in the camera journals. It is also apparent in the advice and prescriptions of camera journal articles.

In C. G. Bittner's "Do You Speak Our Language?" from the October 1941 issue of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, he describes the rhetoric and technical jargon which binds "fellow enthusiasts" together, "a new vocabulary to be learned by the novice before he may take an honored place among the elite" (p. 706). "Half of the fun of any hobby is talking about it," he writes, "and photographers seek and always find fellow enthusiasts because they are bursting with a

desire to get and give information about their special interests. That is why clubs were born" (p. 706). Characterizing the importance of "specialized language" for social membership Bittner proclaims, "If you don't speak our language, you don't belong" (p. 706). And he describes how an aspiring photographer acquires the necessary jargon.

How does one become fluent in this fantastic lingo of the darkroom? There are three important sources of education:

(a) Manufacturers of equipment, paper, films, chemicals and accessories. Get on the mailing list of as many of these as possible. Watch for their booklets in the racks of your favorite dealer. Make a file of this literature for future use. Read diligently all advertising pertaining to photography. It's mighty entertaining.

(b) Magazines, trade journals and house organs. If you do not read every word of at least one of the splendid monthly photographic magazines published in the United States, you can't play in our yard. P.S. It is cheaper to subscribe by the year.

(c) Fans. You meet them everywhere. And are they easy to talk to? They are the most congenial, unselfish and helpful gang in all hobbydom. You will find them at their best in a camera club and they do their snappiest linguistic stuff in that environment. For the friends you will win, for the improvement in technique you will gain, and for the joy of "chewing the fat" there is nothing to equal membership in a good camera club (Bittner, p. 708).

In the thirties companies marketing new cameras, lenses, photographic papers, darkroom equipment and electrical apparatus (including newly developed light meters and photo floods and flashes) not only made frequent presentations to camera club groups but used successful amateur salon pictures in their advertising. Weston Electrical Instrument Corporation, a major manufacturer of

exposure meters, regularly sent representatives to hundreds of camera club meetings while running an ad campaign highlighting photographs by some of the best known photo society pictorialists. Figures 85 and 86 show two ads from 1934 issues of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY. The first features an s-curve composition of a frozen stream by the distinguished amateur salonist Adolf Fassbender (a man proclaimed by several Miniature Camera Club members almost fifty years later as "one of the greatest pictorial photographers of all time."

The second ad uses a rule-of-thirds composition of a boat on the water by amateur leader Frank R. Fraprie.

Ice Serpent by
ADOLF
FASSBENDER
A.R.P.S.
using his WESTON
Exposure Meter

Let Mr. Fassbender tell you how this picture was taken:
"The Ice Serpent was taken in the late afternoon when the sun was low, and the light fairly weak and yellow. Emerging from behind a small hill in Central Park I caught the first glimpse of this unforgettable sight and realized immediately that it would last but a few minutes—it meant quick and decisive action to catch it at the psychological moment when the sun touched the correct point. Although I have great experience in judging light it would have been exceedingly difficult to come to a quick decision, on account of the reflected glare of the sun on the ice. Correct exposure was absolutely vital to obtaining a good picture and fortunately I had my Weston Meter with me and so ran no risk of getting an over or under-exposed negative." Weston Electrical Instrument Corporation, 606 Frelinghuysen Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.

WESTON
Exposure Meters

When Corresponding With Advertisers Please Mention American Photography Adv. 19

FIGURE 85. "Ice Serpent," Adolf Fassbender,
Weston Exposure Meters ad,
Advertisement 19, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, January, 1934



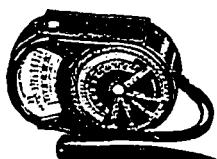
*The Boatman
at
Fraunkirchen
by*

FRANK R. FRAPRIE
F.R.P.S.

"I believe that the Weston Exposure Meter is a great advance in the field of photographic exposure and that an accurate reading of light conditions is important to every serious photographer. Such a meter is of a special value in my work in color photography where extremely accurate exposure is essential to success."

(Signed) Frank R. Fraprie

Compact, easy to use Weston Exposure Meters are on display at all leading photographic dealers. Ask for a demonstration today. Literature on request . . . Weston Electrical Instrument Corp., 600 Frelinghuysen Avenue, Newark, N.J.



WESTON UNIVERSAL MODEL
EXPOSURE METER
*an accurate, life-time meter;
compact and simple to use; gives
correct exposure settings for
every kind of camera.*

WESTON *Exposure Meters* 

When Corresponding With Advertisers Please Mention American Photography Adv. 19

FIGURE 86. "The Boatman at Fraunkirchen," Frank R. Fraprie
Weston Exposure Meters ad,
Advertisement 19, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April, 1934

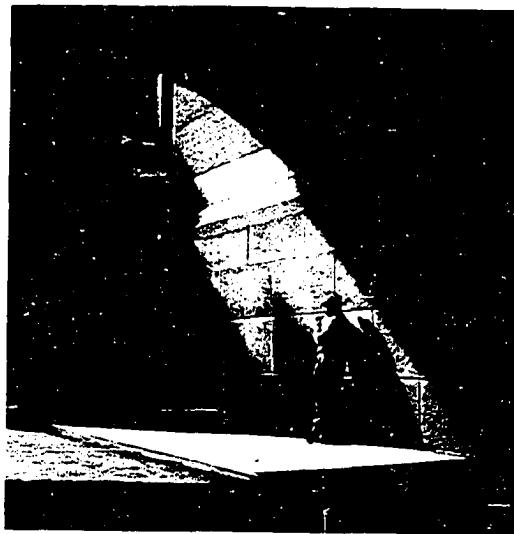
When manufacturers used professionally commissioned photographs rather than amateur submissions in their ads, they continued to promote the same notions of "good" pictorial subject and form. For a reader paging through any of the photographic journals there is a great consonance between the salon reproductions in the editorial sections and the photo reproductions appearing in the ads. And these photo journals were the mainstream American photographic magazines during the first half of this century; there were no competing publications.

The following pair of photographs shows one of the most widely reproduced salon photographs of the thirties and forties by Frank Fraprie (Fig. 87) and an Ansco ad (Fig. 88) featuring one of the many similar compositions of light, shade, and textured walls along a shadowy passageway which companies frequently chose to appear in their ads. These "shadowy passageway" photographs constitute a distinct category of pictorialist work, appearing often in the photo journals during the thirties and forties, and in club competitions and photo magazines in the eighties.



21. Frank R. Fraprie, *Warmth of the Winter Sun*, 1937.

FIGURE 87. "Warmth of the Winter Sun," Frank R. Fraprie,
Reproduced several times in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, and
included in "A Portfolio of Photographs by Frank R. Fraprie,"
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, December, 1949



This is the climax!

You've taken the picture—you've developed the negative.

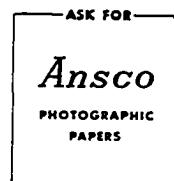
Now for the climax—the print!

No matter what kind of negative it is, there is an Ansco Paper which will get every last bit of pictorial effectiveness.

Ansco Crovita will give crisp blue-black contact prints. Ansco Opton will show your warm tones.

For strong, Ansco Brown will snap out black tones, while Ansco Cyrota, the fastest warm tone paper we've ever made, gives rich warm black images. Then for your finest portraits and enlargements, there's Ansco Image, indicating over 100% better toning than ordinary development, has amazing latitude, superb stability and keeping qualities.

With Ansco Papers, use Ansco Anti-Prepared Developer for warm tone images; Ansco Visual for cold tones. Ansco, Binghamton, N.Y. A Division of General Aniline & Film Corporation. "From Research to Results."



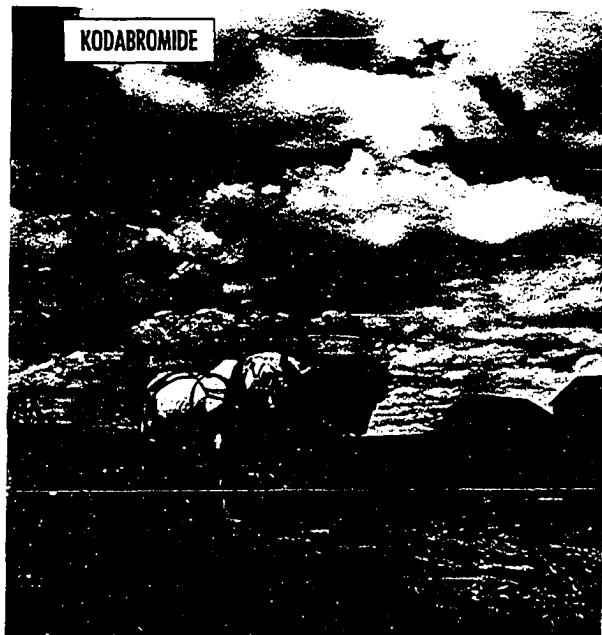
**FIGURE 88. Ansco ad
Advertisement 5,
AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY, 1950**

Industry Illustrations in the Photo Journals

Similarly, in ads by Dupont, Graflex, Defender, and Eastman Kodak, as well as Weston and Ansco, photographic reproductions consistently correspond to the form and content of pictorialist genres -- portraits of children, pets, and young women, picture postcard landscapes, myriad sailboats and ships, country scenes of horses plowing or children playing in the hay. Dupont, Ansco, and Eastman Kodak (the three largest firms) dominated this advertising. The Ansco and Kodak ads appearing in AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY or THE CAMERA during the period 1945-1953 (when the amount of advertising in the journals jumped sharply and was no longer limited to the front and back of each issue) reflect a range of pictures typical of a pictorialist salon exhibition.

Figure 89 reproduces a Kodak ad with a conventional rural genre photograph of a horse drawn hay mower. Notice that the horses and farmer are positioned in the frame according to the rule of thirds. The horizon line falls approximately one third from the bottom of the frame, conforming to the maxim that the horizon line should not cut the picture in half, but rather divide the frame into one-third/two-third proportions. Salient "dramatic" clouds like the ones which appear in this photograph were always recommended for pictorial landscapes, seascapes, or genre

scenes including a significant portion of sky in the frame. Often, "sandwiches" were created in the darkroom pairing the sky from one photograph with the figures and terrain of another. A "bald sky" was to be avoided at all costs.



Rich blacks in silhouettes, clean whites in highlights, delicate gradations in middle tones . . . that's what you see in this fine farm scene, that's what you get with KODABROMIDE. An all-purpose enlarging paper . . . now in five grades of contrast . . . long scale . . . wide latitude in exposure and development . . . a physically hardened emulsion . . . adding up to print perfection. Get KODABROMIDE at your KODAK dealer's. Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester 4, N.Y.



FIGURE 89. Eastman Kodak ad,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, November, 1946, p. 36

Figure 90 is typical of the salon type portraits reproduced in industry ads during the middle of the century.



If it's a "special" picture...

WHEN the negative's especially good . . . or the subject especially important . . .

. . . or just whenever you want the most beautiful print you can make, use the new Indiatone!

For the rich, new Indiatone is the smoothest paper Ansco has ever made. It will yield beautiful glowing olive-green tones, lustrous highlights, and luminous shadows on *direct* development. We suggest Ansco No. 135. It tones magnificently—gives you beau-

tiful reddish-sepia tones with Ansco Liquid Flemish Toner, Selenium Type. What's more, the improved Indiatone is a noticeably *faster* paper with incandescent light sources.

New Indiatone has the widest latitude of any Ansco enlarging paper, allowing development over a range of 45 seconds to 4 minutes!

Try the new Indiatone in any one of three surfaces: Matte White, Kashmir White and Kashmir Ivory. **Ansco, Binghamton, New York.**

ASK FOR

THE NEW

Ansco

INDIATONE PAPER

1

FIGURE 90. Ansco ad,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1947, p. 1

The Ansco ad in Figure 91 employs the form of a typical picturesque landscape with a lighthouse, windmill, old world cottage, barn, shed, or village church placed according to the rule of thirds.



Famous among photographers—

PORTLAND Head Light, pictured above, is one of the most famous photographic subjects on the picturesque coast of Maine.

As among critical photographers today, Ansco Cykora is one of the most famous enlarging papers. You like it, and you'll like it, for

the way it helps bring out the best in your negatives.

The distinctive quality of Cykora prints makes for more appealing portrait and exhibition enlargements.

Try Cykora. You'll like it. **Ansco**,
Binghamton, New York.

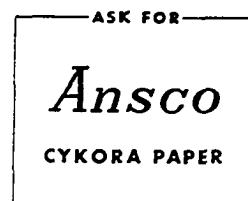
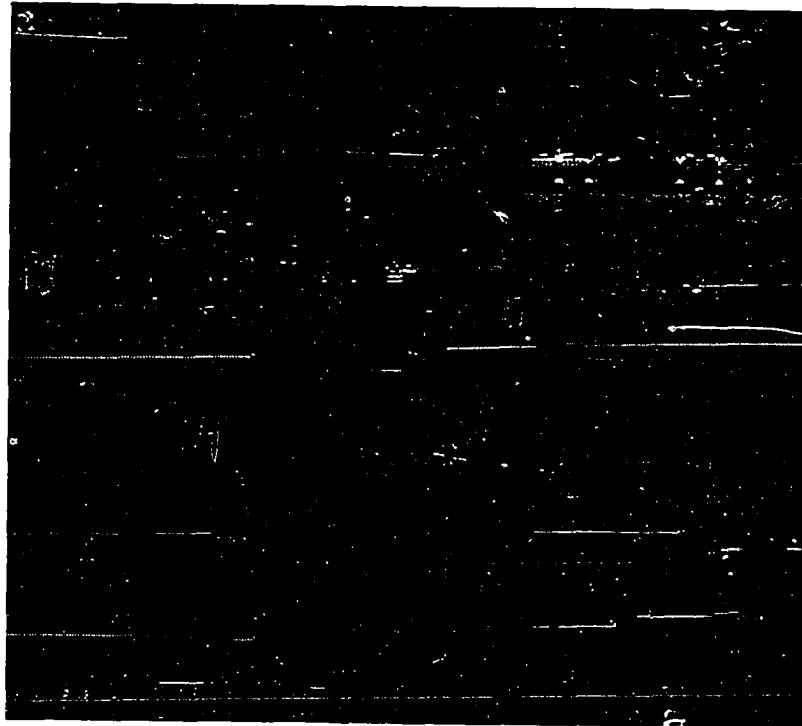


FIGURE 91. Ansco ad,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August, 1947, p. 1

The Kodak ad in Figure 92 presents a conventional "mood shot" taken by a member of the Manhattan Camera Club.



"One Rainy Afternoon"

BY HARRY GARFIELD . . . MANHATTAN CAMERA CLUB

KODAK PLUS-X FILM has adequate speed for most action . . . fine grain for small negatives . . . plenty of brilliance for the larger sizes. Rely on it for unusual situations . . . rainy-day shots, morning mist effects, high-key work.

Plus-X provides a wealth of tones . . . feathery grays, car blacks, ash whites. Subtle and exact . . . smooth for portraits . . . spirited for landscapes . . . no wonder it's a favorite with advanced amateurs . . . Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester 4, N. Y.

First step to a
finer picture . . .
the right
Kodak Film

Kodak Verichrome (rolls,
packs)—fast orthochromatic.
For general outdoor use, and
for Photoflash photography.

Kodak Super-XX (rolls,
packs, sheets)—fast "pan" film
for dimly outdoor pictures,
also Photoflood photography.

Kodak Super Panchromo-Press,
Sports Type (sheets)—Kodak's
latest, for the toughest
shots, on the fly, in poor light.

Kodak Super Ortho-M
(packs, sheets)—a fast
ortho material. Excellent
flash shots at near-by.

Kodak



FIGURE 92. "One Rainy Afternoon," Harry Garfield,
Manhattan Camera Club
Eastman Kodak ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August, 1947, p. 36

In Figure 93 Ansco uses a familiar marine photograph with the sail, as principal focus, positioned according to the rule of thirds.



Boats have personalities—so do films!

BEFORE you can get the most out of a strange boat, you have to learn its personality . . . its habits, characteristics and behavior.

And the same thing is true of a film.

The more familiar you are with a certain emulsion, the more you can squeeze out of it, whether you're shooting, developing or printing. The longer you shoot Ansco Supreme, for instance, the better your pictures will be.

As you learn about its remarkable speed you'll take pictures you wouldn't

even have attempted in the past. As you become accustomed to its unusual lack of grain, you'll learn to pull 2 or 3 enlargements out of different parts of the same negative.

When you load with Ansco Supreme, you'll find the gradation and latitude of this superb film will answer just about every demand you can make of a film. *And the longer you use it, the better your pictures will be!* Ansco, Binghamton, New York. A Division of General Aniline & Film Corporation.

ASK FOR

Ansco
SUPREME
FILM

337

FIGURE 93. Ansco ad,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, June, 1948, p. 337

Figure 94 provides an example of the continuing importance of the landscape tradition in both the amateur and commercial world. This ad begins a four page color spread of Ansel Adams' photographs of national parks in the Western U.S. Adams, a member of PSA, had by this time become a celebrity in the amateur world, in the art world, and in the commercial world where he was making a handsome living working for companies like Eastman Kodak. In the late forties his grandiose Western landscapes fit perfectly Kodak's desire to promote color photography; and they catered to the growing emphasis on travel photography which seemed to accompany amateur color pictorialism.

Many other photo ads featured picture postcard landscapes of mountains and the American West. An earlier ad (Fig. 95) boasts of the Kodak research which brought color to the mountains. Figure 96 shows the continuation of this color landscape work on the cover of a 1978 PSA JOURNAL. Joseph K. Lange, the photographer of "Aspen Season," is a past president of the Colorado Council of Camera Clubs and was a 1977 recipient of the Kodak/PSA Charles A. Kinsley Award for nature slides.



Ansel Adams' America... in Kodak Color

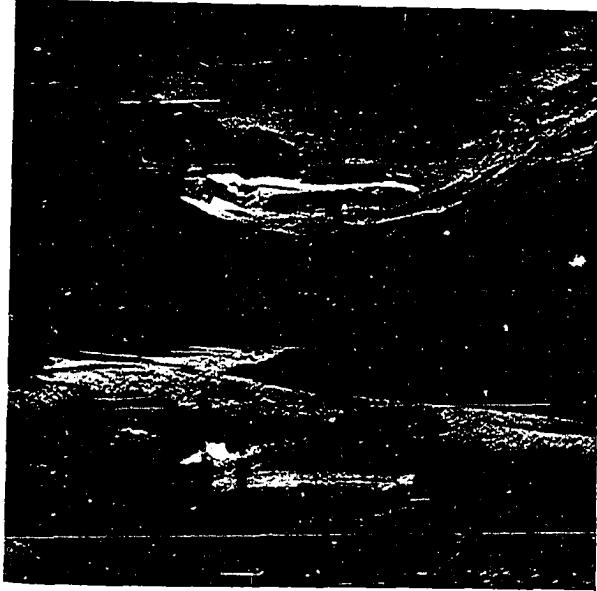


FOR YEARS Ansel Adams has been living in Yosemite, conducting a school of photography in San Francisco . . . and making magnificent pictures without end. He holds a Guggenheim Fellowship Award, with the mission of depicting the National Parks of America.

To his mastery of the photographic technique Adams adds a rare sensitivity to nature. He has a deep and instinctive understanding of the plains, river valleys, mountains, forests,

Kodak

FIGURE 94. "Ansel Adams' America ... in Kodak Color,"
Eastman Kodak ad,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1948, p. 169



Mountains are Colorful

... and Kodak Research has given you five ways
to keep such picture-making opportunities in color.

BEHIND THE RESULTS you get when you click a shutter on color film stands an important Kodak research program. Kodak has worked incessantly toward color photography in a variety of convenient forms.

Today the results of this program reach you in five distinct ways. There's one or more for every camera owner. Now is the time to explore their exciting possibilities.

- 1 Kodachrome "muls" for projection . . . made with a motion picture camera
- 2 Kodachrome prints (formerly Mutoscope Prints) . . . from motion picture Kodachrome transparencies
- 3 Kodachrome movies . . . with an 8mm. or 16mm. motion picture camera
- 4 Kodachrome Professional Prints (formerly Koreschein Prints) . . . from "muls" on Kodachrome motion picture film
- 5 Kodacolor snapshots on paper . . . with an ordinary roll-film camera

Kodak

FIGURE 95. Eastman Kodak ad,
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, September, 1946, p. 33

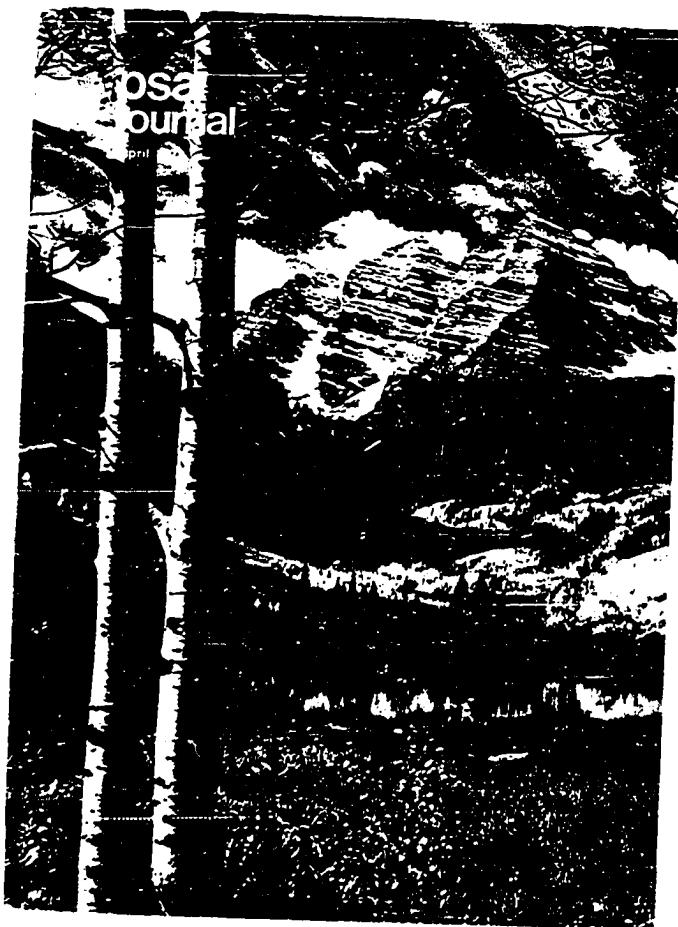


FIGURE 96. "Aspen Season," Joseph K. Lange,
Cover of the PSA JOURNAL for April, 1978

In early 1950's issues of both AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA Eastman Kodak began to run a series of multi-page ads featuring successful salon exhibitors and using their work as examples of the high quality printmaking possible with Kodak papers. This ad campaign continued to explicitly promote the amateur salon aesthetic as consonant with industry standards of quality photographic work. Figure 97 exhibits one of these ads, featuring Gottlieb Hampfler, a one time member of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia. It is yet another example of the corresponding interests and tastes which marked amateur/industry relationships.

GOTTLIEB
HAMPFER,
PPSA

Experts' Choices For Fine Prints

No. 1 of an informative series on how leading exhibitors choose papers to fit their salon aims

GOETTLIEB HAMPFER's "Pennsylvania Snowscape" has appeared in the Baltimore, Montreal, New York P.P.A., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, PSA, Rochester, and Wilmington International Salons. The scene demanded a rich, full-scale print of delicate gradation and luminous image quality. To meet these requirements, Mr. Hampfer chose the most popular of all salon papers—*Kodak Opal G*, a fine-grained lustre surface on cream white stock.

He speaks of it as "the finest of media for my pictorial work—with characteristics I can always depend upon."

An experienced exhibitor, Mr. Hampfer prizes *Kodak Opal Paper* not only for its beautiful gradation and tonal richness, but also for its moderate speed which aids local printing control, its latitude in exposure and development for warmer or cooler tones, its responsiveness to toning, and its reliability.

KODAK OPAL's superb quality and its thirteen combinations of stock tint and surface texture have won it top billing among exacting workers. To accommodate negatives of varying scale, the Kodak group of fine papers offers alternate choices. One tempting alternate is the new, high-speed, warm-black, variable-contrast *Kodak Medalist Paper*—available in three surfaces and four contrast grades. Each grade can be made to yield a softer or more contrasty print—simply by varying the ratio of exposure and development. *Medalist* is about six times as fast as *Opal*; its surfaces are F (glossy), G (fine-grained lustre), and J (smooth, high lustre). The small reproduction at right is from a print on *Medalist F*.

Purpose and preference both help determine the medium—and there are Kodak papers to meet every need. For "Full Sail" (to appear full-page later in this series), Bernard G. Silberstein chose *Kodak Illustrators' Special*—a fine reproduction paper. For huge prints, *Kodak Mural R* is a natural choice. For extra-fast production, *Kodak Resisto Rapid N*, which washes and dries in ten minutes. And for contact printing—each fine Kodak enlarging paper has a contact-paper counterpart.

*Know your Kodak papers, for knowledge spells success. For fine exhibition enlargements, gift prints, home decorations—choose from warm-black *Medalist* and *Platine*, brown-black *Opal*, *Ektelure G*, and *Illustrators' Special*, and neutral-black *Kodabromide*. For special applications, *Kodak Mural R*, *Resisto Rapid N*, *Opalure Print Film*, *Translite Paper*. For contact prints, *Kodak Atta*, *Velox*, *Resisto N*, and others. Your Kodak dealer has full details.*

Kodak

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, ROCHESTER 4, N. Y.

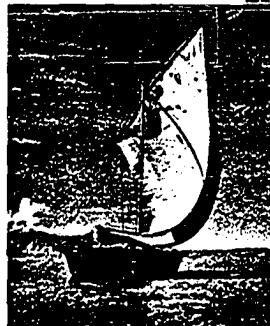


FIGURE 97. Eastman Kodak ad,
Appeared in THE CAMERA and AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY during 1952

Photographic Books

Such industry promotion was not limited to ads in the photographic journals and magazines. "How to" books and pamphlets, which had become increasingly common starting in the twenties, were fairly uniform in their adherence to the pictorialist code.

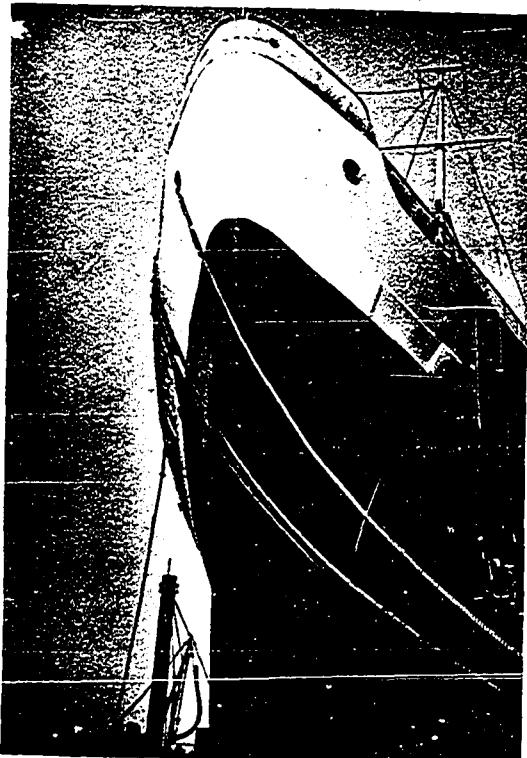
Each of the major photo journals was the product of a publishing firm which also published a series of photography books. American Photographic Publishing Company in Boston published AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in addition to hundreds of photography books and manuals on topics from PHOTOGRAPHIC EMULSIONS and RETOUCHING NEGATIVES to COMMERCIAL PHOTOGRAPHY, THE PRINCIPLES OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTORIALISM and Arthur Hammond's PICTORIAL COMPOSITION IN PHOTOGRAPHY. Frank V. Chambers Publishing in Philadelphia published a similar set of photographic books in addition to the journal THE CAMERA. And Camera Craft Publishing Company of San Francisco published a line of photo books (many featuring the writings of William Mortenson) which were regularly advertised in its journal CAMERA CRAFT.

Most of the other photo publications were affiliated, directly or indirectly, with photographic manufacturers. Eastman Kodak published its own sizeable library of books and manuals. Burleigh Books, Inc. of New York distributed

books published by Rolleiflex. E. Leitz, Inc. and Carl Zeiss, Corp. sponsored various manuals and photo books. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, today the publisher of the magazine POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY, published books in conjunction with photo industry representatives, many of whom were also prominent in PSA and on the salon circuit.

After 1930 a number of books appeared specifically on the use of the new "miniature" cameras. MINIATURE CAMERA TECHNIQUE by Fenwick G. Small was published by Ziff-Davis in 1940 in conjunction with Carl Zeiss, Inc., maker of Contax 35mm cameras. The book displays photographs from the Zeiss Ikon Loan Exhibitions as examples of excellent 35mm pictorial work. The exhibited photographs are representative of the dozen or so categories of photographic subject matter which dominate camera club Pictorialism. There is a standard studio portrait of a man, one of a child, and one of a pet kitten. There is also a typical portrait of a clown in full make-up. There is a landscape with a country church, a snowscape with an s-curve trail, and a genre landscape of a farmer plowing with a team of horses. There is a seascape, a marine picture of a power boat at sea, nature shots of a duck swimming and a gull in flight, macro photos of a flower, a small bird, and an insect in the wild. There is a tabletop still life, and a mood shot of a man "pausing in the fog."

Figure 98, from the same book, shows a common variation on the marine genre -- a photograph of a ship in harbor which accentuates the lines and the mammoth scale of a ship's hull. A few months earlier, in November of 1939, a very similar photograph appeared on the cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY (Fig. 99). And in 1952, an almost identical photograph was awarded "Print of the Year" in the PSA JOURNAL (Fig. 100).



QUEEN MARY, by LeRoy Roselli, illustrates excellent use of
an extreme perspective to accentuate the characteristic lines.

Taken with a Contax with f1.5 lens on Superior film;
the exposure was 1/50 second and lens opening was f/11.

FIGURE 98. "Queen Mary,"
in F. G. Small MINIATURE CAMERA TECHNIQUE, 1940, P. 31

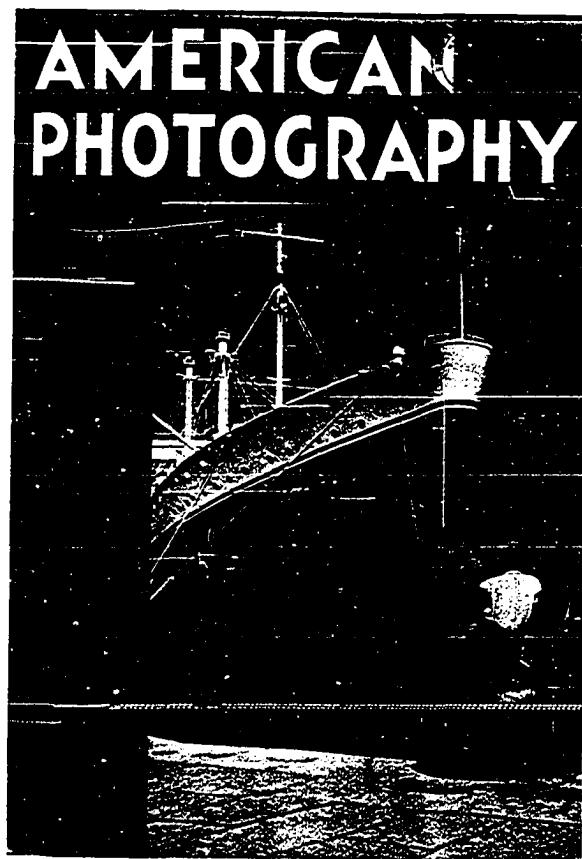


FIGURE 99. "Longing," Sandor Szekely,
Cover of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, November, 1939

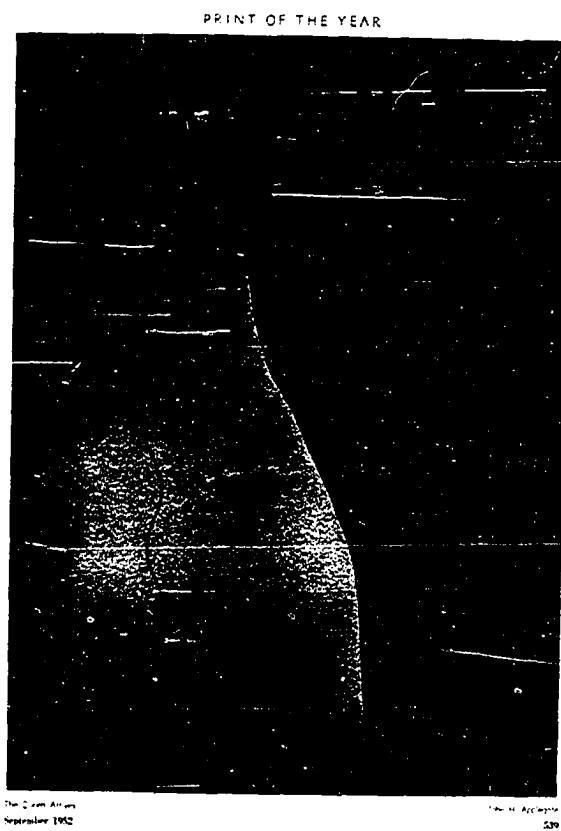


FIGURE 100. "The Queen Arrives," John H. Applegate,
"Print of the Year," PSA JOURNAL, September, 1952, p. 539

Publications like NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC and LIFE MAGAZINE also enjoyed a close relationship with both the photography industry and the organized amateur world. Amateur photo journals regularly reported on the activities of the National Geographic Society, and as early as 1916 PHOTO-ERA published a "superb photograph of the famous Chateau Pierrefonds, through the courtesy of NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE" (June 1916, p. 272).

PSA's Progress Medal Award, the highest lifetime achievement award given by the Society, was awarded in 1963 to Dr. Melville Bell Grosvenor, then President of the National Geographic Society and Editor of NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE. (He inherited his position from the previous president and editor, his father Gilbert H. Grosvenor.)⁴

According to Robert E. Gilka, Director of Photography for NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, "amateur photographers form a goodly part of our audience" (correspondence of May 1, 1984). He notes that amateurs "help encourage the continued publication of picture magazines like NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC" because they make up a significant audience for publications highlighting pictorial photography.

We know this, but we do not cater to photographers alone by any means. ... Yes, I suspect it is true some amateurs look on the National Geographic as a model for their own shooting (May 1, 1984).

In 1936, shortly after publishing their first issue, LIFE magazine hired Willard D. Morgan, long-time manager of American Leica operations for E. Leitz, Inc., to oversee the collecting of photographs from amateurs all over the world for use in the new magazine. This was duly announced in the camera club news of the photographic journals (e.g. CAMERA CRAFT, Dec. 1936, p. 609). The hiring of Morgan, who had been quite popular with amateur groups in his position with Leitz, provides an example of the way that the amateur world profoundly influenced notions of pictorial practice well beyond the salons and camera club competitions. It is significant I think that an influential mass market picture magazine considered the camera club world to be a valuable resource and that they hired someone best qualified to know the amateur world and amateur work -- a Leica manager.

Camera club amateurs were a core part of mainstream photographic activity during the first half of the twentieth century. Since the 1890's they have constituted a significant army of casual semi-professionals, selling their photographs on an occasional basis to newspapers, magazines, industrial and trade publications. Articles on amateurs selling photographs to the commercial press consistently appeared in the photo journals. Commercial and professional photography, as well as the photo industry, could not and did not ignore them.

PSA and Organizational Continuity Amid Changing Mass Markets

At the close of the Second World War the industrial shift from military to peacetime production, the influx of hundreds of thousands of veterans into consumer markets, the publicity photography had received for its military and industrial uses during the war, the renewed availability of photographic materials, and the mass marketing of new color films like Kodacolor and Ektachrome, all combined to fuel a boom in photographic sales. Casual family and travel photography enjoyed a sudden increase. More people took up photography as a hobby. Industrial and commercial uses of photography skyrocketed. By 1947 articles like "Camera Clicks for Industry" in BUSINESS WEEK (Feb. 23), "Photographic Companies in a New Era" in THE MAGAZINE OF WALL STREET (March 29), and "Amateur Photography Booms" in BUSINESS WEEK (June 28), were common. In 1948 Eastman Kodak introduced fully automatic processing of snapshots, installing continuous paper processor machines each of which could produce 2,400 finished snapshots per hour (KODAK MILESTONES, 1980, p. 17).

Betty Brearley, coordinator of Eastman Kodak's National High School Photographic Awards, stated in the spring of 1948, "There are over 5,000 high school camera clubs in existence and these clubs are growing in number each year" (Fyfe, 1948:81). In 1948 it was estimated that the number

of still cameras in use in the United States had grown to 34 million, 2,100,000 of which were 35mm and bantam type. "Advanced amateurs" were estimated to number about 2.5 million (Stuart and Mansfield, 1948).

This photographic boom, occurring for a variety of reasons across every market segment, was channeled and shaped by the existing structure of amateur organization and pictorial practice. The general rise in photographic activity swelled participation in the amateur organizations. The growing popularity of photography among adolescents manifested itself in the increasing formation of thousands of high school camera clubs (5000 in 1948, 6000 in 1951). Eastman Kodak company sponsored a National Contest each year just for these young amateurs and in the immediate post war era this big event involved tens of thousands of entries, the biggest salon in the world.

The popular marketing of Kodachrome, Anscochrome, and Ektachrome slide film filled the clubs and exhibitions with a new form of color pictorialist work. In the late forties and early fifties traditional international salons everywhere began to incorporate color slide categories, and soon exhibitions exclusively for color slides emerged. In the Rochester International Salon of Photography in 1953 more than 1000 contributors tendered more than 5000 pictures and color outnumbered black and white in both entries

received and photographs accepted. Color was having a major impact on amateur picture making but it was not decreasing camera club participation nor was it altering the importance of serious amateurs for photographic markets.

By the early 1950's the number of individual dues-paying members in PSA had surpassed 10,000 and officers and longtime members were celebrating this unprecedented milestone in numerous articles and reminiscences. PSA had acquired a permanent headquarters building, a former Wanamaker home at 20th and Walnut Street in Philadelphia (still the location of the present day PSA building) and with the retirement of Frank Fraprie and the demise of both AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and THE CAMERA, The Photographic Society of America predominated completely the organization and supervision of amateur activities. It was left to PSA to set standards and sanction competitions and salons, to compile and publish all salon records, and to confer standing upon practicing amateurs through the institution of exhibition rankings and awards -- the annual "Who's Who in Pictorial Photography."

The Who's Who idea had been initiated by Frank Fraprie prior to 1930. Every year he had published ratings from photographic exhibition results in the AMERICAN ANNUAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY. For about twenty years his "Who's Who in Pictorial Photography" was the standard by which stature as

a pictorialist was achieved. Separate PSA divisions had augmented Fraprie's lists by beginning to publish supplementary Who's Who rankings. In September 1944 the Color Division began to publish its "Who's Who in Color" for amateurs participating in the still relatively rare color slide shows. Minimum requirements for recognition were set covering the number of pictures which must be exhibited, the duration of exhibition, the number of entries allowed, etc.

In October of 1946 the Nature Division began publishing a "Who's Who in Nature Photography" to serve the "many photographers interested in nature" and "the naturalists who want to improve their photography" (PSA JOURNAL, Oct. 1946). The Chicago Nature Camera Club prepared the first summaries for these listings. But because of Fraprie's AMERICAN ANNUAL listings PSA refrained from compiling a competing list for pictorial monochrome exhibitions.

In his 1948-49 annual reports, the chairman of the PSA Camera Clubs Committee wrote that he planned establishment of an independent PSA recognition listing of international exhibitions. "PSA through Color Division sets the standard for color shows; we can do the same for print shows." Materialization of this plan became possible when it was learned that the editor of the "American Annual" was retiring (PSA JOURNAL, July 1973, p. 32).

It was voted that the PSA Pictorial Division should duplicate on a large scale what the Color Division and Nature Division were already doing in the listing of exhibition records. The first Who's Who listing of black-and-white

photography was compiled and published in the November 1950 issue of the PSA JOURNAL. As later divisions were established (Stereo, Photo-Journalism, Photo-Travel) the Who's Who series expanded as well, making PSA the overarching organization for serious amateur accounting and legitimization at a time when relative amateur numbers were reaching an all time high.

Between 1951 and 1955 various reports consistently estimated that there were about 6000 high school clubs and at least 6000 regular clubs, about 1000 of which maintained active club memberships in the Photographic Society of America. Adult camera club members numbered about 300,000 (CAMERA, May 1951:164). In a 1954 SATRUDAY EVENING POST article "The Growing Photography Craze," Arthur Baum writes,

Less than 10 per cent of the nation's photographers are ranked as highly skilled amateurs. The rest of us are likely to print a contrasty negative on hard paper instead of soft and think it is just fine. We are not always sure whether a lens is Tessar or coal tar, Ektar or flatcar.

It is our fault, however, if we fail to gain a little proficiency. There are at least 6000 camera clubs in the country where members are regularly exposed to practice and advice. ...The Photographic Society of America makes available approximately 450,000 pages of information to its members annually, not counting a syndicated weekly newspaper column by its president Norris Harkness (Baum, 1954:115).

(Baum's figures are courtesy of Eastman Kodak Company.)

6000 camera clubs, with about 300,000 camera club amateurs, were impressive figures for this time. In the

1980's, with a much larger adult population and sharply increased camera ownership and use, the numbers have only increased to about 8000 camera clubs and a little less than 400,000 camera club amateurs. Today the number of "highly skilled amateurs" among the nation's photographers has decreased further. The flood of highly automated photographic equipment has de-emphasized the importance of photographic skill and knowledge. The increase in snapshot amateurs (albeit photographers who often use expensive 35 mm equipment) has outstripped the increase in serious, committed hobbyists. Once again, advances in photographic technology have led to a decline in the photographic knowledge and skills of most photographers.

Amid these changes PSA continues to represent substantial numbers of advanced amateur workers. By 1978 the number of active individual memberships in PSA stood at 17,431 (compared to 16,500 members in the Professional Photographers of America). The number of PSA member clubs in 1978 was 1,265, although the PSA Journal estimated that individual PSA members were responsible for running "another thousand or so non-member clubs" (PSA Journal Survey, March 23, 1978). In a 1978 attempt to gauge their readership the PSA JOURNAL sponsored a Camera Club Bulletin contest. The PSA affiliated clubs, chapters, and councils who entered that contest had a combined membership of 65,753. The same

study showed a monthly circulation for the Journal of 74,784 (after "pass-along" statistics showed that 99% of the subscribers claimed their copies were read by one to four other people -- a statistic consistent with my own observations in the Philadelphia camera clubs).

The total number of photographers either belonging to PSA, belonging to PSA member clubs, belonging to non-member clubs operated by PSA members, or otherwise participating in PSA sponsored salons, exhibitions, programs and events, is difficult to estimate. It certainly far surpasses The Wolfman Report's 1976 estimate of 100,000 commercial and industrial photographers of all types (portrait studio, wedding, commercial studio, corporate, in-plant photo depts., medical, government, military, scientific, press, and self-employed). Frank Pallo, President of the Photographic Society of America, Executive Secretary and Treasurer of the Photographic Industry Council, and a Vice President at Eastman Kodak Company estimated the total number of amateur photographers associated with PSA, either individually or through club memberships, at 366,000 (Pallo, personal correspondence, April 18, 1984). This is a formidable number of skilled and seriously active amateurs, despite the fact that it represents only modest growth since the 1950's.

Still, the scope and influence of organized amateur photography in the U.S. photographic market does not compare favorably with that enjoyed in the immediate post war era. In 1975 the Wolfman Report estimated that there were 3,100,000 photographic hobbyists in the U.S., 1,700,000 of whom were involved in darkroom work; by 1980 the Wolfman Report estimate was 4,000,000 photo-hobbyists, 2,200,000 of which did darkroom work; by 1984, the Wolfman estimates jumped to 4,500,000 photo hobbyists, 2,400,000 of which did darkroom work. The average value of equipment owned by these hobbyists was estimated at \$2,800.

Between 1963 and 1978, when first instamatic pocket cameras and then 35mm variable focus SLR's skyrocketed in popularity, photographic spending increased nationally about 700% (Wolfman, 1977). Single-camera families became multi-camera families, and by the 1980's 35mm cameras became early as commonplace as 110 and 126 cartridge-loading cameras for family snapshot photography. During the seventies millions of individual, unaffiliated photo hobbyists began to frequent the photo shops. By 1980, according to the Wolfman Report, Americans were spending over 7 billion dollars annually on cameras, lenses, film, photofinishing and assorted products and services. This amounted to an expenditure of about \$35.00 "for every man, woman and child in the United States" ("Modern Photography

News," 1980, p. 1). In that year American amateur photographers took over 10 billion pictures. In 1980 94.3% of all families owned a camera, compared to 2 out of 3 right after the postwar boom in inexpensive family camera kits (Baum, 1954, p.111). 2,800,000 cameras were sold in 1980 alone, of which about 2,400,000 were 35mm single lens reflex types. In 1971, by comparison, sales of single lens reflex cameras totaled only 458,000.

In the face of this enormous growth and the many new millions of 35mm camera hobbyists, the influence of a few hundred thousand photo society amateurs diminished. The 35mm SLR craze has produced a new pattern in which unaffiliated individuals dabble in photography on their own, read mass circulation photo magazines, and spend significant amounts on equipment, but do not seek information, practice, feedback or the company of other hobbyists in the context of a camera club. Even though it is estimated that there are now 8,000 camera clubs in the U.S. (a figure which is consistent with Pallo's estimate of 366,000 PSA amateurs) the slightly increased numbers of camera club amateurs simply hasn't kept pace with the explosion in camera users overall. In fact David Harrar, a Trustee of the Photo Marketing Association International and owner of Larmon Photo, Inc. in Abington, Pennsylvania, reported that photographic retailers no longer consider camera club

photographers to be a particularly significant market (Harrar Interview, April 17, 1982).

According to Harrar, a large reason for this is that camera club photographers are "too old." Retailers are after the younger market. "It's young people who have created the 35mm explosion. They want gadgets. They want new gadgets" (Harrar Interview, April 17, 1982). Paul Kuzniar, a former member of the Advertising Planning staff for Kodak's International Photographic Division and "How To" author of Kodak instructional literature, also told me in an interview that camera club groups, while once a major focus of marketing demonstrations and literature are no longer considered a very important market. He cited age and dwindling numbers (although raw numbers have actually increased) as reasons (Kuzniar Interview, May 28, 1983). Concern about the age profile of the organization was expressed to me by PSA officers as well. The need to attract younger members was a concern voiced by PSA's Executive Director (interview with Harold Vermes, September 23, 1981), the Editor of the PSA JOURNAL (interview with Al Woolley, October 14, 1981), the President of the Twin Cities Council of Camera Clubs (interview with Gene Schwope, March 5, 1986), and many other camera club officers and members.

Ironically, while the introduction of 35mm technology between 1925 and 1930 was a major impetus to unparalleled growth in amateur organizations, the introduction of moderately priced 35mm SLR cameras in the 1960's and 1970's has had a different effect, creating a surge in popular "mass" 35mm photographic activity which has overshadowed amateur camera club photography. The same retailers which courted the camera club market so eagerly in the thirties and forties now view them as an ancillary market, at best. Some privately owned camera shops, having enjoyed long lasting client relationships with members of local clubs, continue to serve as meeting places for camera club photographers -- providing club member discounts on new merchandise, serving as distribution points for information on the latest equipment and technical developments, functioning as arenas for technical chitchat and for the trading and exchange of equipment and accessories. But the majority of camera stores today, and particularly the large chain stores, make no special marketing overtures to amateur organizations.

This was reflected at the 1982 Photo Marketing Association International Convention in Las Vegas. None of the dozens of programs and presentations during the four days of the convention addressed the role of amateur organizations or camera clubs. Specific programs on

marketing focused almost exclusively on store display and retail salesmanship, on attracting and "selling" the mass market customer.⁵

It is a mistake, however, to simply take a marketing view and assume that because organized amateur photographers are no longer a dominant market share that they do not represent an important influence in photography. The PSA network has continued to parallel professional and commercial organizations (in photojournalism, advertising, corporate publicity, etc.,) as a stable, long-term and highly organized production system anchoring photographic work in this country. There are interorganizational connections and influences which have an inertia of their own and are not quickly altered due to changes in advertising or marketing strategies.

ENDNOTES

1. The eighteen winning photographs in the Kodak International \$100,000 Contest for 1929-30 include: a shot of sheep grazing in a pasture, a photograph of a steam locomotive, a tree-framed landscape with a small country church, a landscape broken by the s-curve of a walkway, three pictures of children -- one of them with a puppy, two portraits of young women, three genre photographs -- one of men working on a ship, one of a man oiling a steam locomotive, one of an old farmer working, a zoo photograph of a polar bear, a still life of a glass, and a close-up picture of blossoming lily pads. (Published in THE CAMERA, December, 1931, pp. 422-23.)
2. The Kodak Retina (introduced by Kodak A. G. in Stuttgart, Germany in 1934) was, like the Leica and Contax, a precision 35mm camera designed for serious amateur use. However, it was manufactured and marketed at a significantly lower price than either the Leica or Contax and aimed at a somewhat different clientele.
3. In 1940 the National Broadcasting Company asked Herbert Mckay, "The Miniature Camera" columnist for AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and a well known figure in the camera club world, to host a weekly radio series called "Adventures in Photography" -- complete with a weekly "information please" quiz and a nationwide picture contest.

4. The medal has most often been awarded to pioneering industry researchers -- like Dr. C. E. K. Mees, long-time director of Eastman Kodak Research Laboratories; Dr. Harold Edgerton, the developer of strobe lighting and high speed photography; Leopold Goldowsky, one of the inventors of the Kodachrome and Kodacolor processes for Eastman Kodak; C. B. Neblette, distinguished photographic researcher and technical author; Dr. Edwin H. Land, inventor of the polaroid process and founder of Polaroid Corporation; and Dr. Victor Hasselblad, creator of the Hasselblad camera and founder of the Hasselblad Corporation. Some of the "giants" of popular pictorialism (Edward Steichen, Edward Weston, Ansel Adams, and Adolf Fassbender) have also been recipients.

5. Some presentations at the PMA Convention concentrated on strategies for attracting customers into stores ("Advertising," "Analyzing Your Market," "In-store Seminars," "Can a Smaller Business Afford the High Cost of Advertising?"); many outlined strategies for maximizing sales once the customer has become interested in making a purchase ("Accessories for Profit," "Selling Cameras and Accessories," "Dealing with Discounting"). Since the profit margins on photo accessories tend to be much higher than those on basic camera equipment, great emphasis was put on strategies for selling additional accessories to customers making basic purchases.

Chapter Thirteen

OVERLAPPING WORLDS AND CODES

The pictorial notions promoted in the amateur organizations have continued to synch up with industry codes and commercial work. Today picture magazines like NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, LIFE, GEO, and the SIERRA CLUB MAGAZINE, as well as various travel magazines, continue to value photographs which conform to pictorialist conventions. Nature photographers of all types use pictorialist notions of framing, composition and impact in their work. Travel photography, picture postcards, and travel brochures employ a distinctly pictorial approach. Most commercial calendar photographs, as well as photographs made for public relations, corporate and trade magazines, home decoration, and many types of advertising, conform closely to amateur pictorialist notions of what a "good photograph" is supposed to look like. As early as the 1930s, but especially after World War II, comments on the widespread influence of pictorial ideals throughout photography often appear.

If we would but look around we would find that there has been a great expansion in the many uses of pictorial photography in the last few years. To mention but a few, one will find greeting cards, calendars, illustrations for text-books, advertisements in magazines and billboards, all of which are basically pictorial. Many painters now are using pictorial monochrome or color slides as a basis for their pictures. Even the average snapshot competitions are generally won by pictorial subject matter (Adolf Fassbender, "Pictorialism Today," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, February, 1952, p. 40).

This, of course, is the style still promoted by photography manufacturers in their instructional manuals, promotional brochures, and "how to" books (e.g. THE JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY (1979), MORE JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY (1983) and THE NEW JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY (1987) series published by Addison-Wesley and the Editors of Eastman Kodak; or HOW TO TAKE GOOD PICTURES (1982, 1987) THE HERE'S HOW BOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHY series (1977), and various pocket guides -- to TRAVEL PHOTOGRAPHY, to NATURE PHOTOGRAPHY, to GREAT PICTURE TAKING published by Eastman Kodak). It is also the style most often rewarded in all kinds of photo contests, whether they are held by newspapers, magazines, department stores, park and recreation departments, zoos and amusement parks, local communities, or the Eastman Kodak Company itself. Camera club amateurs, like the members of the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia, regularly send their photographs to photo contests and frequently win prizes. The same slides and prints they enter in club competitions can be submitted with a high degree of confidence to most photo contests. As one member commented during a coffee hour conversation,

"Yah, a lot of us enter contests...when the INQUIRER or the BULLETIN hold contests they publish winners in their Sunday magazines. Dave had some of his work in the magazine just recently. John Wanamaker [the Department Store] has held contests for years...the Abington Community Art Center Show, quite a few of us entered that last year...the City of Philadelphia has contests, they had a big one for the Bicentennial. We usually have stuff to send, it's fun, and a nice way to make a little extra money."

In a book called PHOTOGRAPHY CONTESTS: HOW TO ENTER, HOW TO WIN (1981), Lida Moser recommends pictorial, camera club formulas for subject matter, composition and "impact" to prospective photo contest entrants. Her descriptions of the way judging is conducted in a typical photo contest matches almost exactly the procedures followed in camera club competitions and PSA salons.

In a chapter of the book entitled "The Judges Talk," for instance, Moser quotes Alva L. Dorn, picture editor for the Kalamazoo, Michigan GAZETTE, author of a column called "Photo Hobbying," and host of the television show "Al Dorn's Photo Lesson," on the importance of photographic "impact."

Impact in a photograph will attract the attention of the contest judges. Often they view hundreds of entries in a contest or international salon in a single day, so it's obvious they do not have much time to dwell on any photo.... Many times an 'in' or 'out' decision is made after five seconds of viewing (Moser, 1981:50).

According to Moser, Mr. Dorn is a typical contest judge who has presided at many international salons and judged Scholastic/Kodak Scholarship Awards contests. He won a station wagon, the top prize in the 1960 U.S. CAMERA magazine international black-and-white contest, with a portrait of "smiling kittens," a traditional pictorial subject (Moser, 1980:73). Moser makes clear that preferences and standards in commercially sponsored contests tend to parallel the judging criteria of amateur salons.

She also suggests that these contests and salons influence the work published in mass circulation photographic magazines.

Charles Reynolds, picture editor of POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY, estimates that he has judged "hundreds" of contests sponsored by all kinds of groups: schools, colleges, professional organizations, equipment and film manufacturers, museums, cultural societies, in-house company groups, camera clubs, and journalistic associations. He is always delighted when he finds unexpectedly high quality, and is always on the lookout for something good for the magazine. When he finds something publishable, he considers this an extra bonus.

For example, Reynolds uses a photograph of a child (not the first prize) from the "Great American Face" contest as a cover for POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY. He also points out that the photograph of the Peruvian fluteplayer on the cover of the paperback edition of the well-known book THE FAMILY OF MAN had been a winning photograph in a POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY contest (this contest is no longer held).

Being a judge at contests, he says, "is a way of paying my dues. It is an extension of being a picture editor. I bring the same sensibilities to contest-judging that I bring to my picture-editing job."

Reynolds is always looking for new photographers, and being a judge is a way of finding material that might not otherwise reach him. ...He finds that his opinions very seldom differ from those of the other judges, and is "amazed at how unanimous the agreement usually is" (Moser, 1981:54).

Moser's characterization of POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY'S picture editor/photo judge exemplifies the transformation from an amateur society network overseen by leaders like Frank Fraprie, whose choices from AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY'S Annual Competitions supplied a great many of the magazine's illustrations, to a less organized mass of hobbyists and

aspiring professionals whose contest submissions sometimes find their way into contemporary photo magazines. But it also reveals the continued concurrence of commercial and amateur photography toward aesthetic evaluation. While distinctions between organized amateurs, general hobbyists, and other types of photographers have been blurred to some extent by changing photographic markets, there are still consistent and predictable pictorial codes which dominate notions of what constitutes "competent" and "beautiful" photography. These aesthetic notions and photographic routines have been practiced, supported and propagated in the societies, clubs, journals and photo contests, and have been subscribed to by photo manufacturers, commercial photographers, and magazine editors of many types. It seems fair to say that the pictorialist style has been the dominant photographic aesthetic in twentieth century American photography.

Technical Standards

Since amateur organizations and industrial interests came to share a common set of evaluative criteria for photographic technique and form, certain standard practices evolved which were convenient for both. The Technical Division of PSA overlapped in its work with industry technicians and scientists, many of whom belonged to the Division.

Paul Arnold, John I. Crabtree, Loyd A. Jones, Glenn E. Matthews, John W. McFarlane, John G. Mulder, Frank Pallo, Allen G. Stimson, Lloyd E. Varden, Dean Rowland White, and E. P. Wightman, among others, have played central roles representing both PSA and their respective photographic firms in promoting technical development and uniform standards. Many of them headed committees of the American Standards Association (ASA) and its successor the American National Standards Institute (ANSI).

Paul Arnold is a good example of a PSA amateur and industrial photo manager who played a leadership role in photographic standardization. A Fellow and Cornerstone Life Member of PSA, and the 1981 PSA Progress Medal Award Recipient, Arnold has been referred to as a "champion of photographic equipment standards" (PSA JOURNAL, November, 1981, p. 39). A member of PSA for over forty years, he also served as the editor of "Photographic Science and Techniques" when it was a quarterly supplement to the PSA JOURNAL from 1950-57 (PSA JOURNAL, November, 1982, p. 40). Arnold was employed by Agfa Ansco Company (later to become GAF Corporation) in Binghamton, N.Y. from the thirties through the seventies as a manager of film quality control and then manager of the packaging services for the Industrial Photo Division. He was an associate member of the Optical Society of America, a Fellow of the Society of

Motion Picture and Television Engineers, and a member of the American Society of Book Editors.

Arnold helped to spearhead the "voluntary standards movement" in the photography industry and chaired the Photo Standards Management Board of ANSI, receiving the Standards Medal, a gold medal awarded annually to "an individual who has shown leadership in the development and application of voluntary standards." PSA's Progress Medal, previously given by the Oval Table Society of New York for distinguished service to technical progress in photography, was awarded to Mr. Arnold with the following citation:

In Recognition of his distinguished lifelong career as...an expert in photographic materials and standards, For his contributions over thirty-three years to the development of domestic and international uniform standards in specifications for equipment and materials in the medium of photography;

For his contributions to the scientific literature through numerous published paper and books in the technical field of photography,

For his continued services, counsel and inspiring leadership in numerous domestic and international societies in the area of motion pictures and still photography, as documented by his long tenure as Chairman, American National Standards Institute, Photo Standards Management Board.

Dewitt Bishop, FPSA, and chairman of the 1981 Progress Medal Award Committee, writes,

Photography, now a mass hobby, has received much support from the education services of the Photographic Society of America -- especially through its Uniform Practices Committee and its organizational membership and participation in the American National Standards Institute. Paul Arnold played a part in all of these.

Today, thanks to design and measurement standards, internationally agreed upon in advance, the film we buy fits all cameras of its intended size, regardless of the company which manufactured either item. Thus a scene in Africa can be correctly exposed guided by a German exposure meter on Italian film, in a Japanese camera, carrying a T-Mounted French lens, held to a Swiss tripod, processed in England and projected through a projector manufactured in the United States (PSA JOURNAL, November, 1981, p. 39).

Many others also contributed significantly to PSA's support for photographic standardization. Loyd A. Jones, Fellow of PSA, and Chief Physicist for Kodak Research Labs, was the organizing chairman of the first American Standards Committee from 1939 to 1950. He received PSA's Progress Medal Award in 1950. John I. Crabtree received the Progress Medal in 1956 for pioneering American Standards for photographic processing chemicals, equipment and procedures. Allen Stimson, Hon. FPSA, an Editorial Vice President of PSA 1955-1959 and PSA Secretary 1968-1971, was awarded the Progress Medal in 1978.

Stimson, a long-time member of the Boston Camera Club, was an Eastman Kodak Engineer who is given a great deal of credit for automating light meters. According to Arnold,

Allen G. Stimson, PMA 1978, was the official PSA representative for many years on ASA committees and delegate to several international standards meetings, sometimes at his own travel expense. Allen, an acknowledged expert on exposure meters and photoelectric controls for cameras, ably and objectively represented the PSA viewpoint although he was employed successively by two giant U.S. manufacturers in the electrical and photographic industries (Acceptance speech, Paul Arnold, 1981 Progress Medal Award, October 10, 1981).

John G. Mulder, FPSA, was another Kodak executive who played a major role in PSA and the uniform standards and practices movement. He was President of the Photographic Society of America, 1949-51. Later he became a Vice President at Eastman Kodak. In 1977 he won PSA's Stuyvesant Peabody Award for Pictorial Photography. In 1983 he received the Progress Medal Award. Arnold describes Mulder as a "champion of photographic standardization" and says,

As a manufacturing executive at Kodak Park for many years, John contributed much to his company's participation in national and international standards. Dr. Mulder served as standards coordinator as I did for Agfa Ansco, selecting and coaching young men best suited to service on technical committees and weeding out the misfits.

Standard Practices and Training

The movement for uniform technical standards in the commercial/amateur photo world overlapped with concerns for standard practices as they related to photographic training and instruction. John W. McFarlane, one of the founders of PSA's Rochester Technical Section in the mid-thirties, worked for Eastman Kodak until his retirement in 1966. In the thirties, while he was an influential leader of PSA's Technical Section, Kodak assigned him specifically to the preparation of technical and "how to" literature for advanced amateurs. The materials he prepared for distribution to amateurs at the 1939 New York World's Fair

became the Kodak "Data Books" on Kodachrome, Black and White Films, Papers, and Filters. They were priced and put on the market after the Fair. Kodak's later "Here's How" series was an "offspring" of these Data Books (Correspondence with John W. McFarlane, May 6, 1984).

After the PSA Technical Division was reorganized as the Society of Photographic Scientists and Engineers (SPSE), -- the predominant technical society for photographic research and application in North America today -- they continued to maintain close contacts with PSA and served together with PSA and various industry representatives on committees of the Association for National Standards Institute (ANSI). Today Gerard E. Schoenherr, Fellow of PSA and a long-time executive at Eastman Kodak Company, is Chairman of PSA's Technical Standards Committee and thus serves as a member of the ANSI Member Body Council and the ANSI Consumer Task Force. Walter F. Horylev, Chairman of PSA's ANSI Subcommittee is on the Photographic Management Board of ANSI.

In response to a question concerning PSA's continuing role in support of photographic standards Kodak Executive Vice President Frank Pallo replied,

PSA plays a very important role in helping to maintain a variety of standards. Members of the Society's Technical Standards Committee lend their expertise to consumer task force groups to provide consumer input as it applies to quality and safety features of photographic products. They also work with other Society committees to establish necessary technical

standards. For example: there are hundreds of International Exhibitions [salons] conducted in as many different cities around the world on an annual basis. To insure that the work of the exhibitors is judged and displayed under the same color and brilliance of illumination in each location, appropriate lighting standards were established by the Technical Standards Committee. They are now the standards for the industry (Correspondence, April 18, 1984).

Technical Standards Committee Chairman Schoenherr responded,

The Photographic Society is represented on a number of ANSI sub-committees. In this role, we serve as a consumer interest, i.e., to represent the needs of the end user (Correspondence, July 18, 1984).

The "needs of the end user" are defined in terms of helping the consumer to reproduce accepted photographic codes, to make "good pictures."

The making of good pictures is the essence of the Camera Club and PSA movement (Schoenherr, July 18, 1984).

Thus, in conjunction with its attempt to promote standard practices PSA continues to supply picture making information and assistance in a wide range of areas. There is PSA's "College of Photographic Knowledge" conducted by Ira Current, Fellow of PSA and Associate Editor, Photographic Science and Technology and Techniques Division, the PSA JOURNAL. The "College" has operated as a service of the Techniques Division for many years, and provides any PSA member with answers to photographic questions.

The College has a long list of "professors" who are experts in virtually every aspect of photography. They can answer practically all of your questions and you will receive a personal reply. When considered of

interest to enough readers, the questions and answers are published in the PSA Journals (PSA Journal Membership Directory, 1981, p. 218).

The Techniques Division, "the training and experimenter's division" (PSA Directory, 1984-85) also provides,

training aids on basic and advanced photographic methods. The division offers "mini-courses" for the serious photographer and workshop groups for the encouragement of experimentation in printmaking, slides, photo chemistry and photo-electronics (PSA Services, 1984-85 PSA Membership Directory, p. 124).

Ira Current worked as a commercial photofinisher and at the Naval Photographic Science Laboratory during World War II before being employed for almost forty years in various technical and managerial positions at GAF Corporation (formerly Agfa Ansco). He has also taught photography at the Rochester Institute of Technology, written several books and book chapters for amateur photographers, and authored or co-authored commercial photographic textbooks, the most recent of which is *PHOTOGRAPHIC COLOR PRINTING: THEORY AND TECHNIQUE* (1987), Focal Press.

Current is another of the many PSA affiliated photographers and photographic writers who represent an ongoing crossover between the scientific, commercial and amateur worlds of photography. Influences on technical standards, on notions of appropriate photographic subjects, appropriate photographic activity, and preferred

photographic form have been generated, diffused and reaffirmed throughout these overlapping organizational networks. When 35mm "miniature" cameras were first being introduced (1925-35) the amateur journals were full of articles on the "importance of the miniature camera" -- not just for the amateur pictorialist, but for the scientist and engineer, the press photographer, documentarist, explorer, traveler, legal investigator, and advertising illustrator. The interests of amateurs, the interests of the industry, and the application of pictorialist concepts overrun all these areas.

Today, PSA continues to supply various programs, photographic courses and instructional services, critique and evaluation services, instructional slide sets, exhibition slide sets, recorded lecture programs, a lending library of photographic publications, a slide set library, a travel program library, travel information services, PSA camera tours and "travel aids" (designed to "provide maximum opportunities for pictorial photography"), camera club guides, camera club programs, exhibitions services, a judging service, and literally dozens of other services listed under respective PSA Divisions in the PSA JOURNAL.

"Exhibition Services" provides PSA members with a master list of all national and international exhibitions in addition to information about requirements and regulations.

This service also provides exhibitions and salons with information on the requirements and qualifications which must be met in order to meet PSA standards. They encourage every exhibition wishing to qualify for PSA recognition to join the PSA listings "regardless of whether the sponsoring organization is affiliated with PSA."

Club members at the Miniature Club in Philadelphia said they would never enter a salon unless it was PSA sanctioned. Effectively, all pictorial salon activity in North America and much of that in the rest of the world comes under PSA's influence and supervision.

It is more than technical calibrations, levels, and measures which have become standardized in the professional-amateur system. Organized amateurs, along with the photo industry, have shown a dogged consistency in aesthetic standards and practices, particularly during the last sixty years. Kodak representatives like Charles A. Kinsley, John Mulder, and Frank Pallo, among others, played major executive roles in the operation of PSA for long periods of time, helping to shape the organization's philosophy and goals. Pallo was Group Services Vice President for twelve years before becoming Executive Vice-President and then President of PSA. Kinsley was Executive Vice-President 1957-59 before becoming PSA Secretary from 1959 to 1968. Mulder was a 2nd Vice-President, then a 1st Vice-President, and then

President of PSA in the late forties and early fifties.

John McFarlane, who played such an important role in establishing PSA's Technical Section and Kodak's Data Guides, is still writing "How To" articles for Kodak ("How to Photograph Antique Cars" in THE FOURTH HERE'S HOW booklet, for instance) and automobiles are still being promoted as a popular pictorial genre (see Chapter Eleven).

The relatively small changes in the nature of amateur photographic activity, and the consistency of amateur notions of competent work, are all the more striking when one considers the relatively large changes in photographic technology and photographic mass markets over the same period. But the consistency of amateur picture making fits logically with the organizational system with which it is associated. The persistence and rigidity of the pictorial codes are a direct reflection of the institutional categories and organizational units within which they are recognized and rewarded. Local voluntary associations (the clubs) have become part of larger networks of photographic manufacturing and commercial activity, and national organizations like the Photographic Society of America have been crucial in helping to mediate the interrelationships between local amateur groups and professional and industrial spheres of interest.

In the role of a mediating organization serving "the advancement of good picture taking" PSA has effectively contributed to the shaping and constraining of picture making activity, helping to socialize vast numbers of photographers to industry supported standards and an industry supported normative pictorial style.

Contemporary Interlocking: Industry (Kodak) Influence
in the Amateur World

Today many high ranking officers of PSA continue to hold executive positions with corporations which market photographic supplies and equipment, especially Eastman Kodak. As mentioned earlier, Frank Pallo, President of the Photographic Society of America, is also a Vice-President at the Eastman Kodak Company and holds the offices of Executive Secretary and Treasurer of the Photographic Industry Council. Eastman Kodak is an Industrial Member of PSA. Kodak's "Here's How" books are written by Eastman Kodak research and marketing employees, most of whom are also high ranking members of PSA. Dr. Albert L. Sieg, FPSA, first Membership Vice President then Group Services Vice President for PSA, is also an executive with Eastman Kodak and an author of many Kodak instructional articles and booklets. Robert McGillicuddy of Eastman Kodak is Divisions Vice President for PSA. Donald M. Duryee at Kodak is Chairman of the PSA Standing Committee called "Around the World with

PSA." George S. Butt, a photographic writer and lecturer working for Kodak has served on several committees in PSA.

A great deal of information can be obtained through the services of either PSA or Kodak -- often the same material is available from both. Together, Eastman Kodak and the Photographic Society of America provide the greatest body of services found anywhere to train and assist photographers in the use of photographic products. Kodak's literature distribution center in Rochester handles massive volumes of mail (only a section of one of Kodak's many buildings, it has been assigned its own 5-digit zip code). The company invests a good deal of money providing complimentary information catalogs, booklets, brochures, and individually written responses to anyone requesting photographic information or assistance.

One Kodak publication, HOW TO RUN A LIVE CAMERA CLUB (a manual on how to start, organize and manage a camera club) is the progeny of the first booklet put out by PSA in 1933. Eastman Kodak shoulders the financial burden of publishing and distributing this booklet, ostensibly for the benefit of PSA. The book recommends both PSA officials and Eastman Kodak representatives as lecturers or competition judges. When scheduling industry speakers, readers are advised, meetings should be well publicized and opened to non-members to insure the largest possible audience. Questions

concerning programming and criteria for judging are referred interchangeably to PSA headquarters in Philadelphia or to Eastman Kodak in Rochester. As Pallo informed me, Eastman Kodak, when receiving requests for information from amateur photographers, also forwards PSA brochures with membership information and a list of PSA services. In parallel fashion, PSA and their affiliated camera clubs regularly refer members with technical questions to Eastman Kodak.

In response to my question, "Has PSA contributed expertise or assistance to Eastman Kodak in its effort to provide instruction and information to photographers?" Pallo responded,

As you indicated, the authors of many articles in the Kodak "Here's How" books are Fellows and Associates of PSA. However, those of us who have the honors earn them as individuals who met the requirements established by PSA. The fact that PSA recognizes the talents and skills of it's (sic) members in this way is certainly a great incentive to individuals to succeed and this, of course, is extremely helpful.

Before going any further perhaps I should qualify both PSA and Eastman Kodak Company as they relate to this question. What we are really talking about here is people. Just as PSA has an army of volunteers who handle all of its services and activities, Eastman Kodak Company employs many people to manufacture and market their products. Many of us employed by Kodak have taken a personal interest in PSA to the point of volunteering our services to the Society, and in this way, mutual benefits are derived (Correspondence, August 5, 1982).

Referring to "relationships between the world of amateur photography and the photographic industry" Pallo

initially explained that Kodak's market research activities, under his supervision, are confidential and that his "responses must, necessarily, be limited to generalities." "However," he continued, as to the support provided by the amateur market for the development of new products,

I think it's safe to say that the companies in the photographic industry that are aware of the capabilities of PSA members consider the Society as the spokesman for the serious amateur photography market. Therefore, if the companies wish to conduct product tests or research programs, they are aware of the expertise that PSA members can supply.

You may also be interested in knowing that PSA plays a direct role in the American federated national standards system by being a supporting member of the American National Standards Institute (ANSI). In this activity, our members are appointed to serve as consumer representatives on a wide variety of ANSI committees with responsibilities ranging from establishing film speeds, to determining illumination standards for judging and exhibiting color and black-and-white prints, to determining acceptable heat tolerances in slide and movie projector gates. As you can well imagine, this kind of help from amateur photographers is invaluable for supporting the development of new products (Correspondence, November 12, 1981).

With reference to industry support for the Photographic Society of America, Pallo replied,

"...manufacturers and distributors are invited to support PSA by purchasing an industrial membership, by donating awards, and by providing programs and demonstrations. They are encouraged to purchase ads in the PSA Journal, and in convention programs and exhibition catalogs. A recent addition to the Society's International convention is a Consumer Trade Show where the manufacturers are asked to show and promote their products in each convention city. Some of the things outlined in my reply to your first question apply here too. To the best of my knowledge, Kodak is the only photographic firm that supports the Society in all of these areas (Correspondence, November 12, 1981).

Enclosing a copy of Eastman Kodak's HOW TO RUN A LIVE CAMERA CLUB, Pallo notes that the booklet,

illustrates another way Kodak supports the Society (notice how often PSA is mentioned). Needless to say, I'm very pleased about my companies (sic) support of PSA!

(Interviews with PSA Executive Director Harold Vermes and PSA JOURNAL Editor Al Woolley corroborated the fact that Eastman Kodak continues to be PSA's largest supporter, financially and institutionally.)

In a later correspondence Pallo responded to a new set of questions concerning the roles played both by PSA and Eastman Kodak in photographic instruction and the promotion of pictorialist photography. He offered the following "personal observations" (which he did not wish to be interpreted as "official statements" from a representative of Eastman Kodak Company or of PSA.)

I feel that PSA has played an extremely important role in disseminating photographic information to educate amateur photographers. Now that you've had an opportunity to visit PSA headquarters and, hopefully, learned about the many services and activities offered by the Society, you undoubtedly have a much better idea of PSA's importance in this respect. Such services as Recorded Lectures Programs (RLP), for example, are available to member clubs, and this activity alone is extremely beneficial to many thousands of amateur photographers annually. Since many members of those clubs are not members of PSA, the RLP programs should exert a tremendous influence on nonaffiliated members. Other similar programs offered by divisions reach out in the same way.

Of course, there are the more obvious benefits like the monthly PSA Journal, the Annual PSA International Convention with its consumer products show, as well as regional conventions that have a great appeal for all amateur photographers. Rather than elaborate any further on this, it might be helpful for you to check through the yellow pages of the PSA Membership Directory. There you will find over a hundred different activities and services the Society makes available to educate amateur photographers.

...It is difficult to pinpoint any one specific instructional effort that Kodak has undertaken, and think of it as being "most successful." As you indicated, we publish many books, manuals, and other instructional materials; we conduct seminars, and assist youth organizations such as 4-H, Boys' Clubs, etc. with their photographic programs. We produce programs on photography for educational television. The Company offers a multitude of slide sets and movies on a free-loan basis to organizations of all kinds; we appear regularly on radio and television interviews, we present programs and conduct field trips in the national parks during the summer months, and are involved in many other similar efforts through other divisions of the Company. As if that weren't enough, we have a staff of some 40 people with the sole responsibility of responding to letters from amateur photographers who have questions about photography and our products.

Personally, I am very proud to be associated with a company that is so conscientious about providing this kind of help to those of us with an interest in photography.

As you may judge by the above reply, the Company's educational efforts are so extensive that I thought it best to simply enclose a selection of literature that outlines our many services and publications in more detail (Correspondence, August 5, 1982).

The literature enclosed by Mr. Pallo included a 1982 catalog of Kodak publications available to the public. Over 800 books, guides and pamphlets are listed.

In closing one of his generously detailed replies to my inquiries Mr. Pallo wrote,

I feel very strongly that amateur photographers associated with camera clubs and/or PSA have a much greater opportunity to enhance their knowledge and interest than non-affiliated amateurs. Those who join a club or PSA simply have many more opportunities to benefit by associating with people who have similar interests; by being able to attend programs presented by experts in their field, by being able to participate in picture-taking field trips, conventions, etc., and by being able to enter a variety of competitions to see how their work compares with others. Of course, the Society offers involvement on a world-wide basis, and that has great appeal for many people.

From my viewpoint, it is extremely important for companies like Kodak to support an organization like PSA. For one thing, PSA is no different from any other similar organization in that it needs financial support to succeed. Additionally, since PSA operates on purely a volunteer basis, the Society is always in need of people with administrative ability to help carry on their programs. Kodak provides support through regular advertising in the PSA Journal, by making prestigious awards available for the Annual PSA International Exhibition, by making equipment available for convention programs, by presenting programs at Regional International Conventions, and by purchasing space for exhibiting our products at the Annual PSA Consumer Products show. I would like to add that it would be nice if other companies would support the Society in a similar way. I am sure our company officers feel that Kodak's relationship with PSA is as beneficial to the company as the company is to PSA, and will continue to support this kind of activity (Frank Pallo correspondence, August 5, 1982).

Finally, in response to direct questions about PSA-Kodak cooperation in educational programs, Pallo reiterated,

Kodak is certainly very supportive of PSA as well as camera club groups. While the Company is primarily a

manufacturer of photographic products, it is extremely sensitive to the needs of amateur photographers and an obligation to provide educational assistance. By being personally aware of the kinds of photographic activities that interest people in organized groups like PSA and camera clubs, it is better able to provide educational assistance to suit their needs. The results of this effort are illustrated in the multitude of photographic books published by Kodak and in the educational materials made available to camera club groups (Correspondence, April 18, 1984).

It is in the production of Kodak's educational materials that the dual roles played by many successful salonists is most visible. The editors of Kodak's "Here's How" books, as well as the "Joy of Photography" series, are heavily drawn from Kodak employees who have worked as professional photographers and also have distinguished titles in PSA. Many of them have a long track record of activity in the Kodak Camera Club. Many are graduates of the Rochester Institute of Technology. Short biographical sketches on the authors of many Kodak publications reveal the consistency with which these people straddle the industrial, the professional, and the amateur worlds.

Replies to my written questions by several Fellows of PSA who work for Kodak's marketing and research departments give a sense of their dual commitment to Kodak and PSA, and the complete lack of any perceived conflict in that relationship. In response to questions about the photography industry's relationship to the camera club world Frank Pallo matter-of-factly praised various aspects of PSA

industry interconnection, exhibiting only a very slight defensiveness concerning the appropriateness of such interlocking. People from both Kodak and PSA tend to describe Kodak's support of PSA in unquestioningly positive terms, characterizing it as a kind of philanthropy or public service on Kodak's part. PSA Executive Director Harold Vermes stated, "I only wish other companies would support us the way Kodak does" (1981 Interview).

Most of the people occupying positions which straddle the amateur and commercial worlds have been active both as amateur photographers and photographic businessmen for a long time. Frank Pallo has been actively involved in the camera club world during his entire career at Kodak (as noted in Chapter Ten, he presented an Eastman Kodak sponsored lecture on color pictorialism to the Miniature Camera Club of Philadelphia in May of 1960). Dr. Albert Sieg, PSA Vice President and, like Pallo, a Vice President at Eastman Kodak, has also been involved in camera club photography for many years. A Fellow of PSA and the Kodak Camera Club Dr. Sieg,

has won more than 75 medals in international salons and has been an active exhibitor and winner in photographic exhibitions with more than 1500 acceptances to his credit. He is past president of the Kodak Camera Club, where he has been an instructor in the photo-education program. Dr. Sieg is also a popular lecturer on the PSA circuit and a frequent judge in photo salons (THE HERE'S HOW BOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Vol. II, 1977, p. 101).

I found no evidence of corporate representatives suddenly intruding into amateur networks purely for marketing or promotional purposes, nor did I discover cases of successful amateurs suddenly being offered employment by photographic firms. A great deal of marketing and promotion has certainly accompanied industry support for amateur networks; but industry representatives within the amateur world seem to be people who have been involved in amateur photography associations for many years. Their dual roles are treated by amateurs and industry representatives alike as a naturalized part of the amateur photography world.

Keith Boas, Senior Technical Editor at Eastman Kodak, has contributed articles like "Producing Successful Slide Shows" to Kodak's "Here's How" series and served as a chief editor on THE JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY series and other photography books for Kodak's Consumer Markets Publications. He was a commercial nature photographer in the Adirondack Mountains before joining Eastman Kodak. According to the biographical sketch accompanying his "Here's How" articles, "Hundreds of his photographs depicting the area have appeared in magazines, on postcards, and in advertising brochures. He has also won recognition as both a salon exhibitor and a salon judge" (THE HERE'S HOW BOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Vol. II, p. 152).

In his response to my questions, Boas, like many of the other Kodak writers I contacted, had seen a copy of one of Frank Pallo's letters to me and endorsed Pallo's comments.

Frank's appraisal of the PSA and its role in photography today is, to me, an honest response that I fully endorse. I can add little to Frank's comments.

My long interest in photography, both as a hobby and a vocation, has brought me close to several photographic clubs and societies, galleries and museums. The PSA is one of the organizations that has given me inspiration for my personal photography. It also has served as a barometer to me for weighing changing trends in photography, helping in my editorial work on publications such as MORE JOY OF PHOTOGRAPHY and some of the titles in the KODAK WORKSHOP SERIES. When I attend a major PSA convention, for example, I attempt to take in as many lectures as possible to pick up ideas, feelings and reactions to images and techniques (Correspondence, April 25, 1984).

Grant Haist, another long-time PSA Fellow and Kodak employee who has authored "How To" articles like "Photographing Children Naturally," points explicitly to connections between PSA's promotion of technical standards and the maintenance of "standards of taste or quality."

The PSA was formed by camera clubs and today still serves as a mother group. Its great contribution has been the teaching of technical excellence, which is learned by experience at the camera club level. Similar photographic education can also be gained in college and university courses, where available, but often such courses are dominated by artistic principles that permit freedom from excellence as a form of self-expression.

Organized amateur groups, especially the camera club, are very aware of the latest in photographic equipment and materials. They try the new and provide an initial market. The market, however is small, especially when compared to the non-demanding one of color prints. The

influence of camera club members is great, and far beyond the limited numbers belonging to a group. Thus, organized photographic groups do influence major markets but still less than advertising in the mass marketplace. Unfortunately advertising provides no educational value regarding standards of taste and quality.

I have given photographic presentations to every kind of group with a program chairman. All of these persons have cameras, and most never attended a camera club meeting. These persons benefit from seeing quality photographic images, especially of the same kind of subjects that they photograph. Photographic excellence can be emulated if it can be seen (Correspondence, May 19, 1984).

Haist has promoted "standards of taste and quality" through his writings for Kodak, his articles on nature photography and other pictorialist subjects for the PSA JOURNAL, and his many instructional programs for amateur groups. His straightforward answers to my questions, like those of Pallo and Boas, serve to verify the interrelationships suggested by my own observations and historical research.

Nearly every author of a Kodak book or pamphlet can be found in the PSA Membership Directory. George Butt, mentioned by Miniature Camera Club members as one of their favorite speakers, has been an active PSA member while serving as Coordinator of Program Services in the Photo Information Department at Kodak. Thus, he supervises the creation of many of the programs Kodak aims at PSA amateurs. His articles, "The Art of Seeing," and "Notes on Travel

"Photography" in Kodak's Here's How series were recommended to me by camera club members.

Robert S. Harris, author of "The Color of Motion" and "Pushing KODAK High Speed EKTACHROME Film" in the third and seventh "Here's How" books, is a Program Specialist in Kodak's Photo Information Department. He has been awarded the degree of Master of Photography by the Professional Photographers of America, "and in 1967 was listed by PSA as the world's top color-slide exhibitor" (THE HERE'S HOW BOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Vol. II, Eastman Kodak Company, 1977, p. 32).

Other biographical sketches of Kodak authors reveal the tendency for the people in these positions to combine technical, commercial and industrial work with amateur salon activity and camera club ties. Some additional examples quoted from Kodak's HERE'S HOW BOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHY (1977):

John Brandow, is a Supervising Photo Specialist in the Photo Information department at Kodak. His vast photographic background includes work in film testing and analytical sensitometry, as well as in salon photography. Hundreds of his photographs have been accepted in domestic and international photographic exhibitions. John is a well-known photographic judge and has taught many classes in photography. He has traveled extensively throughout the United States, presenting slide shows on many photographic subjects.

Barbara Jean, a Sales Manager in Kodak's Business Systems Markets Division, has written and edited many Kodak books and pamphlets for amateur photographers. She is a two-star exhibitor in the Photographic Society of America, a Fellow of the Kodak Camera Club, and a judge and instructor of photography. ...Barbara and her husband, Paul Kuzniar, form Kodak's only husband-and-wife team who create and present "how-to" slide shows for amateur photographers around the country.

John Paul Murphy is a Photographic Specialist in Kodak's Consumer Markets Division. Versatile in many fields of photography, John is past president of the Rochester International Salon of Photography, an international salon judge, a photographic lecturer, a salon exhibitor, and a former industrial and naval-aviation photographer.

Don Duryee is supervisor of Visual Aids Production in the Photographic Services area of Eastman Kodak Company. His professional background before joining Kodak in 1966 includes several years' experience as a news photographer and as a portrait photographer. Don is an active member of the Professional Photographers of America and the Photographic Society of America. In addition to being a top photo illustrator and salon exhibitor, he often serves as a judge and instructor.

John Fish [a Fellow of PSA] is director of Consumer Markets Publications at Eastman Kodak Company, where he is responsible for the production of books, pamphlets, manuals, folders, and guides on a variety of photographic subjects for amateur photographers. ...His pictures and articles have appeared in numerous photographic exhibitions, books, and magazines. Although he enjoys using a wide variety of photographic techniques, he has specialized in wildflower close-ups for many years and finds the subject especially rewarding.

Teacher, writer, and photographer, Allan Horvath holds a Ph.D. in geology from Ohio State University. During the 1940's he served as a military photographer in World War II and later as a civilian photographer in the wind-tunnel branch of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

With his nearly four decades of interest in photography, Allan has won dozens of awards in photo contests, with several hundred acceptances in international salons. A longtime member of the Photographic Society of America, he has written approximately 25 articles for the PSA JOURNAL. Currently he is teaching photography at Sinclair Community College in Dayton, Ohio.

Martin L. Taylor writes, edits, and often illustrates Kodak books and pamphlets for amateur photographers. He maintains a close connection with organized amateur photography through his periodical KODAK CAMERA CLUB NEWS and membership in the Photographic Society of America. For his creative efforts as editor of THE NINTH HERE'S HOW, he has received international recognition from the Society for Technical Communications.

...He has also taught photography and served as a judge for photographic competitions. Marty is an experienced travel photographer and a writer of magazine articles on outdoor hobbies.

Paul Kuzniar is a member of the Advertising Planning staff for Kodaks' International Photographic Division, where he helps coordinate worldwide Kodak advertising and sales promotion. Paul is active as both a competitor and a teacher in photography. He has earned many acceptances and awards in local and international competitions. Also, Paul teaches photographic courses at the Kodak Camera Club and the Rochester Institute of Technology. His photographic experience also includes judging photo contests and presenting slide shows around the world.

All of these Kodak authors illustrate their articles with their own photographs: articles on portraiture, pet photography, travel photography, nature-trail photography, photographing wildflowers, photographing wild birds, "mood" pictures, home studio photography, all the genres of photography which make up pictorial work.

Some Technical and Market Implications

From the beginning the photographic industry established a close relationship with organized amateur associations. For most of this century camera club photographers constituted an essential market for

photographic products. As a natural part of promoting that market, the industry itself promoted pictorialist styles of picture making, providing neophyte amateurs with technical information as well as guidelines concerning appropriate subject matter, compositional rules, the creation of appropriate backgrounds, more "effective" manipulation of lighting, focus and exposure, and the most advantageous use of new equipment and products. As the photographic industry and PSA have grown, they have collaborated in influencing amateur photography, shaping the nature of camera club activities, photographic competitions, exhibitions and contests, and the aesthetic code maintained by those activities.

This promotion penetrated into all industry literature and became the industry's code as well as a camera club code. Technical developments were introduced and promoted for their usefulness in achieving pictorialist effects. I can find no evidence that implicit preferences for pictorialist style have ever been questioned by industry representatives or publications. Highly skilled amateurs, interested in emulating the pictorial styles of studio portraiture, professional nature and travel photography, and corporate and industrial promotion photography, have provided support markets for technical products needed in professional, scientific and industrial work. In response

to the question "Have serious amateurs ever provided an expanded market for some technical product needed for science or industry?" Pallo replied,

Constantly! Some examples are: Macro and micro equipment used for scientific purposes. Video equipment originally for sophisticated professional broadcasting purposes now commonly used by amateurs (some cine clubs are now cine/video clubs). Kodak Ektaflex products introduced just 2 years ago to fill a need in the Graphics industry to make color prints easily and quickly are also widely used by amateurs in their home darkrooms (Correspondence, April 18, 1984).

My own direct observations of amateur activity between 1979 and 1982 indicate that during this time amateurs were fast adopting recently introduced high speed color filmstocks, particularly Ektachrome 400 and Kodachrome 400. As I described in Chapter Ten on the Miniature Camera Club the industry moved quickly to expand the market for high speed films beyond professional and industrial uses to serious amateur photography. They did so, not by fulfilling an amateur demand which already existed, but by promoting uncommon types of photography -- particularly dawn and twilight photography -- which would encourage experimentation with the new films.

Ektachrome 400 was introduced by Kodak in August of 1978. By September an article had been prepared for the October issue of the PSA JOURNAL praising and recommending the new filmstock for low light situations. By the following spring when I began attending camera club meetings

twilight photography was thoroughly in vogue at club competitions. At my first Kodak "all-day seminar" in the fall of 1979 "Twilight Photography" programs dominated. Kodak's program speaker stressed,

in the past, people were advised to take their outdoor pictures between 10 AM and 4 PM in order to avoid uneven or insufficient light.

But now,

everyone is finding out that more creative photography can be done at dawn or dusk, or in the twilight.

I spoke with this Kodak representative after the program and he explained to me that Kodak was engaged in a "concerted campaign" to introduce this new fast film to the amateur club market. While he was not aware of specific industrial uses for the new filmstocks (he said that "wasn't his area") he did know that various types of commercial photographers had long been clamoring for high speed, low light color films and that Eastman Kodak Company wanted "to expand the use of Ektachrome 400 beyond commercial photography to make it a more profitable product."

The slides displayed at the all-day seminar, whether they were part of the program on "Twilight Photography" or whether they were pictorial examples in other programs, contained large numbers of dawn and twilight shots. When I asked the Kodak representative later if this was a coincidence he answered, "No."

Pallo avoided any direct response to my questions about Ektachrome 400. However Harold Vermes, then Executive Director of PSA, told me in an interview that he thought Ektachrome 400 was a good case study in the use of amateur networks for marketing a new product, a good case study in the role played by PSA amateurs as a leadership group with regard to the adoption and support of new technologies. He suggested I find out more about Kodak's marketing campaign from Frank Pallo.

Vermes endorsed Canon cameras commercially and had done promotional work for them. At the end of my interview with him, just as I was about to turn off the recorder, he said,

I have always thought that with all the money spent on magazine advertising, and other advertising -- the advertising doesn't sell as many cameras as the people in the clubs. I know I personally have introduced hundreds of people to Canon. And when people are wondering what to buy they usually ask some other photographer. When clubs get together or go on outings one of the things people are interested in is what kind of equipment do others have, what film stock are they using -- what settings, how are they using the equipment (Vermes Interview, February, 1981).

Again, my own observation corroborates the predominance of technical conversation and exchange of information among amateur photographers. When accompanying the Miniature Camera Club on outings I witnessed continuous questions and discussions about what type of camera (or cameras) and other equipment someone was using. Club members were particularly intrigued by specialized equipment -- bellows and extension

tubes for close-up photography, special strobe or outdoor flash setups, unusual or rare cameras, or even novel camera bags, vests or belts inevitably prompted conversation, questions and demonstrations. MCC members, as well as members of other clubs, repeatedly commented that industry seminars, photo courses, and reading photographic books and magazines, all were useful and informative, but that "most of what I learn, I learn in the club."

If you really want to learn portraiture, or macro photography of wildflowers -- if you want to know how and when to use extenders, or how to use the Calhoun system to calculate outdoor daylight flash fills, just spend time with the right club members (Comments of a Miniature Camera Club member).

In fact, both Vermes and PSA JOURNAL Editor Al Woolley, credited camera club amateurs with the experimentation and development leading up to 25 and 30 mm short mount lenses with bellows for macro work. Both repeated the notion (its roots in the nineteenth century) that serious amateurs are more likely to experiment or try a new product than professionals are because the professional relies on the reliability of "set, time-tested methods and equipment" for her/his livelihood.

Woolley discussed the influence of amateur groups as lobbyists and "test markets" for products. According to Woolley, Eastman Kodak changed their mind about discontinuing Kodachrome film because of a lobbying effort

by amateur groups and the American Society of Magazine Photographers. He noted that many photographic products get test marketed in Cleveland, Detroit, and other cities with particularly high densities of amateurs and amateur clubs. And he recounted the demise of Dupont Company's photo paper making division (a business, according to Woolley, which had been almost exclusively aimed at the amateur market) when camera club amateurs turned in great numbers from darkroom work to slides during the fifties and sixties.¹

Woolley also discussed the role of industrially affiliated camera clubs, clubs at Kodak Park, Fuji Photo Film Research Lab, Bell and Howell, Boeing, Control Data, General Dynamics, General Electric, General Motors, Hewlett-Packard, Honeywell, IBM, RCA, 3M, Shell Oil, Xerox, and at NASA and various military research stations, for linking amateur photo activity to particular kinds of industrial and scientific applications. As Woolley said, "Amateurs and the industry need each other to survive" (Interview, October, 1981).

With this kind of organizational overlap and executive interlocking it is hardly surprising to find a convergence of aesthetic philosophy and practice across industrial, professional, and amateur groups. Mainstream, naturalized notions of "good photography," which many view as inherent features of universally preferred forms, seem, in fact, to

be historically specific conventions of photographic style tied to socially organized amateur associations and industry technology and marketing.

ENDNOTES

1. Dupont, long a rival of Eastman Kodak in the manufacture of filmstocks and photographic papers, targeted camera club amateurs as its primary market. The photo journals were filled during the thirties and forties with Dupont, Defender, and Kodak ads which touted the best papers for "salon success." Dupont acquired Defender right after the war to further strengthen its position as a manufacturer of high quality photo paper. But Dupont stopped manufacturing black-and-white films and papers and virtually terminated its photographic business with the decline of amateur darkroom work in the late fifties and early sixties.

Chapter Fourteen

CONCLUSION

In many ways amateur photography lends credibility to Stebbin's contention that amateur activity must be viewed within an "amateur-professional-public system" (Stebbins, 1979). In the late nineteenth century amateur camera enthusiasts attempted to make landscape photographs which resembled the landscapes of successful painters. Between 1880 and 1910 members of the amateur societies attempted to imitate the impressionistic features and soft textures of working painters in order to legitimate photography as an "artistic" medium. During the zenith of the camera clubs, between 1930 and 1955, the influences of modern industrial precision competed with the older influences of impressionism as amateurs continued to espouse the formal aesthetic criteria of earlier salon pictorialists and the technical standards of studio portraitists, professional nature and travel photographers, industrial precisionists, and commercial photographers.

In the photographic clubs and societies amateurs could share their strivings for competence with others, they were provided with a ready-made audience for their work (an audience schooled in the appropriate evaluative criteria) and they benefitted from criticism, discussions of

technique, and prescriptions for success. Amateur societies modeled their photography salons after fine art salons and camera club amateurs were often referred to as "salon photographers." They contributed to amateur photography journals designed to disseminate technical and aesthetic information and advice, organized classes for novices and new members, and provided an arena for the shaping of standards in the amateur world.

In this institutional framework Pictorialism became an established tradition. The pictorialist style came to refer to the unchanging commercial and amateur notion of "beautiful photography," a style emphasizing pure visual appeal, a constant preoccupation with "picturesque" imagery framed by means of certain clearly prescribed standards of composition and form. Explicit meaning was less important than the successful production of an "aesthetically pleasing" arrangement of forms. Documentary realism or any unpleasant imagery was precluded from this picture-making system. In 1952, commenting on the continued popularity of "pictorial photography" among the "vast number of persons who take up photography as a hobby," Adolf Fassbender succinctly summarized pictorialist aesthetic philosophy:

pictorial photography ... is nothing more or less than the making of beautiful pictures ("Pictorialism Today," AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, February, 1952, p. 36).

As amateur organizations became more entrenched, and memberships more numerous, the amateur aesthetic became increasingly rigid and prescribed. Every amateur journal, and scores of increasingly popular books and manuals, defined the accepted principles of design for their readers. Composition, in particular, was prescribed according to increasingly predictable formulas and "rules for success." By the early 1920's many of these formulas were repeated unquestioningly not only in the photography journals but in the industrial "how to" literature being published by companies like Eastman Kodak. This increasing organization and conformity also drove certain kinds of people out of the amateur world and provided "art photographers" with a predictable aesthetic against which to gauge innovation.

Looking at patterns of amateur photographic activity and aesthetics over time has illuminated the importance of Pictorialism as an aesthetic code, as a specific form of cultural production within the changing social and economic history of photographic activities. Pictorialism, as discussed in mainstream histories of photographic art, is described only as that late nineteenth century movement which strove to create "painterly" photographs and win for photography a legitimate place alongside the other fine arts. As fine art photographers turned away from this aesthetic in their striving to stay abreast of developments

in twentieth century modernism, the notion of Pictorialism fades from the art history of photography. It remains associated only with the period of its emergence around the turn of the century.

But Pictorialism did not die in 1910 as histories of photographic art might lead one to believe. On the contrary, during the twentieth century it became the dominant aesthetic code of most commercial and amateur photography. Among commercial and amateur photographers (by far the greatest number of serious, practicing photographers) it remained the standard by which "good pictures" were judged. As the photography industry grew, taking on an increasingly multinational and oligopolistic structure, it too adopted mainstream Pictorialism as a model of what "good photography" should look like.

Nowhere have the tenets of pictorialist aesthetics remained more consistently defended than in the amateur clubs and societies. These organizations became the great carriers of pictorialist culture. And when their interconnection with Eastman Kodak and other large photographic firms became more formal and concrete during the expansion of camera club and salon activity between 1925 and 1935, Pictorialism became the cultural code for a powerful alliance of business and organized leisure activity.

Today, the camera club world is, in many senses, an anachronism. According to industry representatives and photo dealers the three or four hundred thousand camera club photographers no longer constitute a particularly influential segment of a photo hobbyist market which The Wolfman Report estimated at over 4 million in 1980. The functions of leisure, social membership and sociability provided by the clubs have become more specifically age related as clubs have failed to recruit young members and have become more and more dominated by retirees and their spouses. Yet their photography remains, in many ways, almost indistinguishable from the work done in clubs during the thirties and forties. It continues to represent the epitome of what the industry promotes in its brochures and "how to" books, what people from portrait photographers to magazine photojournalists still associate with proper and competent practice. Camera club amateurs may no longer constitute a dominant photographic market but the cultural codes spawned by these socio-economic structures continue to pervade our photographic practice. The amateur world has become a kind of museum setting in which to observe the process by which mutually interdependent links between industrial structure and cultural production have been mediated in photography.

Factors Involved in Industry-Amateur Consensus:
Discussion

Why would the photography industry (for years the fourth largest industry in America) so readily adopt amateur Pictorialism as a model for the promotion of "good" photography? The data collected on industry/amateur interrelationships in this study, though extensive, do not provide a simple, precise answer to that question. The data suggest a constellation of factors tied to the organizational continuity of amateur photographic activity, industry marketing concerns, and industry/amateur interlocking.

These factors only become apparent in an historical context. As the hobby of middle to upper class gentlemen (and a few gentlewomen) around the turn of the century, pictorial photography was concerned almost solely with the picturesque settings of comfortable bourgeois life -- the beauty of the countryside, the architecture of cultural landmarks, the domestic repose of privileged women in soft white gowns. The world pictured in their photographs is a world without hardship and largely without the realities of common life. It is a romantic world of grazing sheep, winding brooks, castles, cathedrals, and sailing ships; a world of plenty evidenced in still life and objets d'art; a world populated by gentleman and gentlewomen posed in fine

clothes, children playing in idealized settings, and classic nudes in allegorical scenes. These were the subjects thought to have artistic value. They celebrated the "beauty" of life and interjected no discord. Such pictures were consistent with the materially pleasurable lives enjoyed by gentlemen amateurs, and their approach to photography as a recreational art. This approach to photography was faithfully perpetuated in the camera clubs and in salon activity which endured beyond the initial period of turn-of-the-century Pictorialism.

As the photography industry grew and concentrated between 1900 and 1925, the development of a mass amateur market became the primary concern of large scale firms. But professional and amateur salon Pictorialism continued to provide models for photographic success, and the photographic industry began to promote the pictorial approach in their own brochures and instructional literature. Serious amateurs also continued to constitute an important market, even for the large manufacturers like Eastman Kodak. They purchased a whole range of photographic products unknown to the home mode snapshooter. In addition to providing a major market for photographic papers, chemicals and darkroom equipment, camera club amateurs rivaled (and sometimes surpassed) professionals as a market for flash and strobe equipment, precision cameras, high

quality lenses and a variety of lens filters. The interests and buying habits of serious amateurs generally paralleled and buttressed those of professional photographers, creating a combined professional/amateur market essential to the photographic industry.

More specialized companies like E. Leitz and Carl Zeiss with their high priced 35mm cameras and lenses, or Weston Electrical Instrument Corp. which manufactured precision light meters, were particularly dependent upon expanding professional markets into the amateur sphere.

In Rochester (Kodak) and Binghamton, N.Y. (Ansco) many photographic research scientists and marketing managers were avid photographers themselves. In the 1920's the Kodak Camera Club of Rochester (an amateur club for Kodak employees) emerged as a conspicuous source of leaders and lecturers for the camera club network. While Eastman Kodak Company launched a series of publications on "making better pictures," books and pamphlets which displayed pictorialist subject matter and recommended pictorial principles of composition, members of their marketing and research divisions were excelling as amateur photographers on the salon circuit and using their own pictorialist work in lectures and demonstrations across the country. Beginning in the twenties Kodak also sponsored travelling exhibits of work from "The Master Pictorialists" of Europe and North

America.

American industry was quick to embrace happy, upbeat imagery for advertising and promotional purposes and in the 1920s and 1930s photographs were increasingly integrated into the cheerful and optimistic advertising layouts of major magazines. The sale of consumer goods was inevitably associated with pleasant and attractive imagery, the discord of sobering images being studiously avoided. The advertising campaigns and the promotional and instructional literature produced by companies like Eastman Kodak, Ansco, Dupont, Defender, Agfa-Gevaert, Grafex, Weston, General Electric, E. Leitz, and Carl Zeiss, among others, were largely an attempt to sell photographic products by selling people on photography. They were designed to promote photographic activity and to help photographers "make better pictures." Pleasant and "beautiful" photography fit well with attempts to promote photography as an enjoyable avocation or family pastime among the greatest possible number of people.

Pictorial subjects, by definition, avoided any social or political issues which might divide or offend people. By limiting photographic work to superficially pleasing and non-controversial subjects, pictures void of any ideological questioning or critique, the pictorialist approach provided the possibility of a widespread consensus about what beautiful photographs looked like. This consensus served

the camera club network as its' activities became increasingly standardized under the umbrella of PSA. It also served the industry which benefitted from a predictable demand for products. As Becker notes when discussing "art world" constraints on art,

... conventions specifying what a good photograph should look like embody not only an aesthetic more or less accepted among the people involved in the making of art photographs (Rosenblum, 1978), but also the constraints built into the standardized equipment and materials made by major manufacturers. Available lenses, camera bodies, shutter speeds, apertures, films, and printing paper all constitute a tiny fraction of the things that could be made, a selection that can be used together to produce acceptable prints; with ingenuity they can also be used to produce effects their purveyors did not have in mind. The obverse of the constraint is the standardization and dependability of mass-produced materials that photographers prize; a roll of Kodak Tri-X film purchased anywhere in the world will produce the same results as any other roll (1982:33).

In the camera clubs scenic views and quaint or cute pictures provided popular, non-deviseive subject matter while technical requirements and rules for framing and composition set standards for execution and established a dimension upon which clear and specific evaluations could be made and improvements recommended. With this model in place photographic businesses could offer a selection of products and techniques designed to help the photographer achieve better results in the production of beautiful and popular pictorialist imagery. As PSA and Kodak officer Gerard Schoenherr put it (see Chapter Thirteen) the purpose of

Kodak's support for the camera club and PSA movement was to promote "the making of good pictures."

Ansco advertised that just the right collection of developers and printing papers would produce the desired "rich warm tones" (as opposed to cold, "modern," sobering, or realist tones) one needed for "exhibition quality prints." These products were for "amateurs and professionals alike -- no matter what kind of pictorial work you're considering" (Ansco ad). Ansco, Kodak, Agfa Gevaert, Haloid, Dupont, and Defender all advertised developers and papers to "safeguard the delicate details in highlight and shadow," "preserve smooth, even gradation scales," and "bring out all the film qualities that help make a great picture" (Dupont/Defender). Such advertising proclamations were invariably accompanied by pictorial examples -- portraits of children, pictures of sailing ships, winding country roads, a snowy stream.

In 1938 a Defender ad for the the popular Velour Black printing paper featured a picture of a sailing yacht at sunset. The yacht is, of course, placed according to the rule of thirds principle of dynamic placement and the copy reads,

From the simple routine studio print to the huge Photo Mural; from the Photo Finisher's "special enlargement" to the Salon Bromoil; in portraiture and commercial work everywhere, Velour Black's speed, quality and simplicity lend a helping hand. The popularity of this pioneer "chloro-bromide" with Professional and Amateur,

and its manifold usages, are reflected in the wide variety of selected paper stock surfaces in which it is made -- twenty three in all (AMERICAN ANNUAL, 1938, Adv. 12).

Ten years later a similar Velour Black ad reads,

Whether it is a picture that reflects a city's magistry or the simplicity of a rural scene, you will want to print it on "Defender Velour Black" photographic projection paper. Here is a paper that is a favorite for salon effects (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Nov. 1948).

Ads for Agfa films and papers regularly featured prize winning amateur prints from prestigious salons. An ad with a prize winning portrait from the Brighton, England Pictorial Exhibition by famous amateur salonist Hillary G. Bailey states,

Agfa cut films have long been recognized as ideal materials for portraiture. And today they are preferred by professionals and amateurs alike for the widest range of miscellaneous indoor and outdoor photography (AMERICAN ANNUAL, 1938, Adv. 3).

An accompanying ad for Agfa papers features the prow of a sailing ship and says of its "warm-toned projection papers,"

Portrait Enlarging Paper, because of its warmth and speed as well as its ability to tone beautifully, is winning acclaim as an outstanding portrait medium. Indiatone -- although used most extensively for portraiture -- has proven itself ideal for most types of salon work (AMERICAN ANNUAL, 1938, Adv. 5).

In the same Annual Haloid papers advertises that with their printing products you can "contact beauty" (Adv. 27).

A few years later color ads boasted of "a range of color reproduction which captures the spirit of our country

were accompanied by the commissioned work of a famous pictorialist like Ansel Adams. The copy in a four page Kodak ad featuring National Park photography by Adams concludes,

Join him...join the multitude of other serious photographers -- amateurs and professionals -- who are working in Kodak color and finding it a highly rewarding experience (Kodak ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, March, 1948).

Dupont ads similarly call out to "photograph America... its shining mountains, its busy cities, and its rich, peaceful fields," and claims that Defender's papers, with their long tonal range, the clarity of their whites and the richness of their blacks, bring to life again the full beauty of the scene you saw when you snapped the shutter" (Dupont ad, AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, May, 1948).

In the next month's journal a Dupont ad calls out,

Re-create the warm, happy days of summer.

Good health and happiness, the hand in hand heritage of American Youth, always makes a good picture. Whether it is a beach scene or on a ranch it will be a better picture when you recapture the glowing vibrant warmth of your subject in "Defender Veltura" warm tone projection paper.

And Ansco touts the "warmth" and "richness" of its papers for "top-grade salon enlargements," papers which won't "steal" the "beauty" or "charm" from "your best pictures" (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, May, 1948).

As various Dupont, Ansco, and Kodak ads in the forties and fifties reflected, photography was seen as the optimal medium for picturing the good life of the American Dream.

In the optimisitc flush of post war patriotism, economic growth, and the baby boom, pictorialist sensitivities lent themselves well to photography which celebrated romantic images of America, youth, material comfort, and domestic wholesomeness. A Dupont Defender ad in the "Photograph America" campaign which ran for several years at this time showed a photograph of a young, smiling couple in a wooded scene and calls out, "Happy Moments Live Forever On Defender Film." And the ad copy continues,

Living is good in this land where youth can smile,
confident in a future of its own choice.

Picture opportunities too are abundant ...whether you choose to interpret the gay, carefree joy of youthful living, or the little episodes that make a vacation or even everyday happenings linger in your memory (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, August, 1948, p. 472).

The page facing this Dupont ad is an Ansco ad with two smiling, glowing faced little children rowing a boat together across a sunlit pond.

Similarly, precision cameras by Leitz, Zeiss, Ikon, Graflex, and Kodak; lenses by Bausch and Lomb, Goerz, Ilex, and Wollensak; exposure meters and electrical darkroom accessories by General Electric and Weston; flash or flood lamps by General Electric, Sylvania, Westinghouse; enlargers by Omega, Solar, and many others; were all being sold together with examples of romantic pictorialist scenes and the promise of "prize winning pictures." For years Graflex advertising revolved around the slogan "prize pictures."

A 1938 Graflex ad contains 23 portraits of famous amateur salonists and professional photographers (including amateur leaders and journal editors Max Thorek, Frank Fraprie, Franklin I. Jordan, Karl Barleben, Alfred DeLardi, Forman Hanna, and MCC member Fred Peel) and says,

Amateur and Professionals Alike Win Recognition
with Graflex and Speed Graphic

Graflex - Prize Winning Cameras
(AMERICAN ANNUAL, 1938, Adv. 33)

A Solar enlarger ad claims that it is "Preferred By More Professionals and Advanced Amateurs Than Any Other."

Preference for the SOLAR "57" is evident in prominent camera clubs, studios of outstanding professionals, industrial and educational institutions, and the darkrooms of leading amateurs (AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, April, 1948, p. 268).

The technical requirements of competitive amateur work overlapped significantly with those of commercial and industrial professionals, as amateur preferences for cheerful and picturesque subject matter coincided with the "upbeat" and promotional concerns of commercial advertising. The photography industry was able to capitalize on an amateur-professional market with integrated concerns and standards. And photographic firms worked to support and encourage a continuing convergence of amateur and professional standards. The promotion of a common aesthetic, of predictable patterns of taste, has been an

integral part of the maintenance of this industrial-professional-amateur confluence.

Pictorial style, firmly entrenched in a long tradition of organized amateur networks stretching across North America and Europe (and throughout the colonial empires) offered the photo industry a widely shared set of criteria by which to promote "good" photography and market the products associated with photographic "success." The normative aesthetics of pictorial photography were not invented or even initiated by photographic firms, but Pictorialism was the leading aesthetic movement during the rise of corporate oligopoly and the formation of the modern photographic industry. George Eastman, himself, was an amateur and member of a camera club before launching his dry plate manufacturing operation (Ackerman, 1930). George Davison, leader of the "New School" of pictorial impressionism in Britain during the 1890s was the head of Eastman Kodak operations in Britain. The bulk of camera club amateurs were businessmen, engineers, and professionals whose concern for technical standards and photographic tastes were compatible with industry interests.

Pictorialism became institutionalized as a normative style in conjunction with the rise of a corporate photographic industry because it conformed to middle class, professional tastes, and because it offered a non-

threatening, non-critical, non-controversial style of romantic, cheerful and reassuring imagery. Everything about pictorialist subject matter and style made it compatible with an unquestioning acceptance of the "good life" of middle class domesticity and consumerism.

As time went on the network of technically skilled amateurs which supported pictorial photography proved extremely receptive to technical developments introduced by industry and were able to adapt pictorialist style to a wide range of new photographic technologies. The introduction of smaller precision cameras and faster films and lenses in the twenties and thirties brought about a marked shift towards "straight" Pictorialism rather than soft-focus impressionism. Later the introduction of color transparencies channeled pictorialist applications into travel photography. In the seventies high speed color films prompted a wave of pictorialist twilight photography.

Pictorialism has represented a stable and predictable aesthetic style which lends itself to technicist proclivities (what Slater, 1983, refers to as "technological fetishism"). The photo industry has historically catered to amateur and professional desires to faithfully execute this style in its development and marketing of products. A stable aesthetic predisposition among large market segments allows the industry to predict with some certainty potential

demand for photographic products. Predictable taste publics provide predictable preferences for forms, techniques, equipment and materials. By reducing uncertainty in its markets an industry can more confidently develop, distribute and advertise new products which, while influencing and modifying styles of photographic work in certain respects, will be compatible with established preferences and easily absorbed into ongoing patterns of photographic practice.

As Hirsch points out in his article "Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems" (1972), culture industries, like industries and organizations of other kinds, regularly adopt strategies to deal with uncertain environments. For commercial enterprises this usually involves minimizing uncertainty in their markets, especially "demand uncertainty" caused by "shifts in consumer taste preferences and patronage," "legal and normative constraints on vertical integration" and "variability in the criteria employed by mass-media gatekeepers in selecting cultural items to awarded coverage" (p. 645). Culture industries, according to Hirsch, minimize uncertainty in the market through:

- 1) "the deployment of contact men to organizational boundaries" -- a strategy clearly employed by a company like Eastman Kodak with its hundreds of representatives participating in amateur associations and presenting programs to amateur and professional groups,

2) "overproduction and differential promotion of new items" -- a strategy clearly relevant to the diversification and scale of Kodak manufacturing, and

3) "the cooptation of gatekeepers" -- again a strategy pursued by Kodak in its interaction with photographic teachers, judges, journal and magazine editors, and PSA officials.

As "one of the leading companies behind what has been called the 'culture industry'" Kodak has served to "industrialize the production of aesthetic objects" (Chanan, 1978) producing a standardization of content and form.

Becker observes,

...what manufacturers make typically fails to meet the needs of people who are trying to create something new (or, for that matter, something old) in a medium. The more materials and equipment are adapted to doing one kind of thing well, the less adapted they are to doing some other things.

How much conventional materials constrain an artist depends in part on how monopolistic the market is. If only one or a few manufacturers dominate the market ...such monopolists may be relatively insensitive to what artistic minorities want or need. Take the manufacture of photographic materials. George Eastman, the founder of Eastman Kodak, had a gift for discovering potentially competitive processes and getting commercial control of them (Jenkins, 1975). This has had serious consequences for art photographers. Only a few companies make the paper on which photographers print, and they often discontinue materials artists use for reasons having to do with their own internal operations.

How much dependence on manufacturers and suppliers in an art world constrains an artist depends, too, on how similar the works in that world are. If artists agree on what sort of work is good and ought to be done, available materials will probably be limited to what is needed to do that kind of work. if the art world's repertoire is more varied, manufacturers will probably cater to that variety (1982: 73-4).

My research indicates that in these terms Eastman Kodak has served as an institutional "tastemaker" (Lynes, 1954) not only by means of its instructional and promotional programs and literature, but through its manufacturing and marketing choices. As Slater writes,

The economic imperatives of the photographic industry compel it to aim at a specific structure of photographic consumption -- that is, of media use -- which will maximize its profitability and stable growth (1983:248).

This is reminiscent of a statement made by Stuart Hall (building from Gramsci) that "ideology is a function of the discourse and of the processes of the society in which it is produced, rather than the intention of an agent" (1982:88). For as Becker notes, "art worlds," or "worlds of commercial, craft, and folk art," are always part of a "larger social organization" and "typically have intimate and extensive relations" with the spheres of activity with which they interact (1982:36). The pictorialist style has not achieved a hegemony over photographic form because it has been imposed upon communities of photographers by Eastman Kodak. Rather, it has symbolized a convergence of interests which has involved complex historical interactions between social groups. An understanding of the persistent influence of pictorialist style emerges only from an examination of these complex "social relations of cultural production" in the world of amateur photography (Williams, 1982).

APPENDIX A

FOUNDERS OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Below are listed the principal photographic society officers, salon administrators, photo journal editors, industry representatives and renowned pictorial photographers involved in the founding of PSA. Many were already Fellows or Associate Fellows of the Royal Photographic Society.

Society officers and salon administrators:

Charles K. Archer of Pittsburgh (President of the Pittsburgh Salon, member of the Organization Committee and a founding member of PSA Board of Directors),

Robert A. Barrows of Philadelphia (President of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, member of the Organization Committee, founding member of PSA Board of Directors and later PSA President),

Byron H. Chatto of Pittsburgh (affiliated with the Pittsburgh Salon, member of the committee to draft a constitution and by-laws, the first Secretary of PSA and the first Editor of the PSA Bulletin),

Clare J. Crary of Warren, Pa. and the Camera Club of New York (Vice-Chairman of the initial Organization Committee, chair of the Committee on Member Club Benefits and Privileges).

Harry W. Greene of Cincinnati (Pres. of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, founding member of the Board of Directors),

Harry P. Herron of Akron (salon exhibitor, founding member of the Portage Camera Club of Akron, founding member of the PSA Board of Directors),

R. L. Van Oosting of Lynnwood, Calif. (a previous officer of ACCA, Treasurer of the Organization Committee and the first Vice President of PSA),

Chester H. Wheeler of Rochester, N.Y. (member of the Organization Committee and the first Treasurer of PSA),

Photographic Journal Editors and Publishers

Frank V. Chambers of Philadelphia (Editor and Publisher of THE CAVERA: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNAL OF AMERICA and Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society),

A. H. Beardsley of Wolfeboro, New Hampshire (Editor and Publisher of PHOTO-ERA before its demise in 1932),

William S. Davis (noted pictorialist and photographic journal writer who wrote more than eighty articles for AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY in addition to dozens for THE CAMERA, CAMERA CRAFT, and THE AMERICAN ANNUALS),

Frank R. Fraprie of Boston (Editor of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, member of the Organization Committee and Chair of the PSA committee on International Societies),

Arthur Hammond of Boston (Assistant Editor of AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Associate Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, and well-known writer on pictorial photography, who also served on the Organization Committee and as a founding member of PSA's Board of directors),

Franklin I. Jordan (an Assistant Editor at AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY and Associate Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, member of the Organization Committee and the committee to draft a constitution and by-laws),

Industry Affiliated Pictorialists:

Alexander Leventon of Rochester, N.Y. (Eastman Kodak Company, concertmaster of the Eastman Theater Orchestra, Associate Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, and a prominent member of Kodak Camera Club of Rochester),

Glenn E. Matthews of Rochester, N.Y. (longtime Technical Editor for Eastman Kodak Research Laboratories),

Dr. E. P. Wightman of Rochester, N.Y. (Division Chief - Eastman Kodak Research Laboratories, Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, and a founder of the Kodak Camera Club of Rochester),

Other Renowned Pictorial Photographers:

Hillary G. Bailey, F.R.P.S., (she and Sophie Lauffer [below] were the first women appointed to the Board of Directors of PSA in 1936),

Anne W. Brigman, original member of the Photo-Secession and still active pictorialist,

Sophie L. Lauffer, F.R.P.S., student of Clarence White, longtime salon medalist,

and,

Charles Aylett, F.R.P.S.,
W. Hurley Ashby, A.R.P.S.,
A. Aubrey Bodine,
Nicholas Boris, F.R.P.S.,
Alfred A. DeLardi, F.R.P.S.,
Adolph Fassbender,
Louis Fleckenstein,
Frank Geisler, A.R.P.S.,
Forman Hanna, A.R.P.S.,
John Helders, F.R.P.S.,
U. Stephen Johnson, A.R.P.S.,
Arthur F. Kales, F.R.P.S.,
Dr. Kyo Koike
L. H. Longwell,
Oscar C. Reiter,
Fred P. Peel, F.R.P.S.,
William Ritasse,
Valentino Sarra,
Thomas O. Sheckell,
and William H. Zerbe

APPENDIX B

**Types of Pictures Awarded Prizes in
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Annual Competitions
1924-1950**

Picture Type	Year (number of winning photographs in each category)						
	1924	1926	1928	1930	1932	1934	1936
LANDSCAPES	6	5	2	5	4	3	2
PORTRAITS	2	4	2	2	3	1	4
GENRE SCENES	3	2	1	0	2	1	2
MARINE SUBJECTS	0	0	1	4	2	1	1
STILL LIFES	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
STAGED SCENES	0	1	2	1	0	1	0
NUDES	1	1	1	1	0	2	0
NATURE AND WILDLIFE	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
PATTERN STUDIES	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
ARCHITECTURAL	1	0	1	2	0	0	0
CITYSCAPES	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TRAVEL SCENICS (foreign, exotic)	0	0	1	0	2	1	0
"ACTION" SHOTS	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Totals:	15	15	14	15	15	12	12

APPENDIX 2 (con't)

**Types of Pictures Awarded Prizes in
AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY Annual Competitions
1924-1950**

Year
(number of winning photographs in each category)

	1938	1940	1942	1944	1946	1948	1950
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Picture Type

LANDSCAPES	5	3	1	3	2	4	1
PORTRAITS	2	5	3	4	4	2	3
GENRE SCENES	1	0	1	1	4	2	2
MARINE SUBJECTS	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
STILL LIFES	1	1	2	2	1	0	0
STAGED SCENES	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
NUDES	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
NATURE AND WILDLIFE	1	2	2	0	0	0	2
PATTERN STUDIES	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
ARCHITECTURAL	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
CITYSCAPES	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
TRAVEL SCENES	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
"ACTION" SHOTS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<hr/>							
Totals:	12	12	12	12	12	12	13

APPENDIX C

A Partial List of PSA Member Clubs
Sponsored by Corporate Firms

Agfa-Gaevert Camera Club of Antwerp, Belgium,
Armco Camera Club of Ashland, Kentucky
B F G Camera Club, % Employees Activities Dept.,
Akron, Ohio,
Beech Employees Club, Inc., Wichita, Kansas,
Bell Tele-Photo Club, Fresno, California,
Bel-Tel Camera Club, Springfield, Illinois,
Boeing Employees' Camera Club, The Boeing Company
Recreation Unit, Seattle, Washington,
Boston Gear Camera Club, Boston Gear Co., Quincy, Mass.,
Burroughs Wellcome Photography Club, Research Triangle
Park, North Carolina,
C & P Telephone Camera Club, Baltimore, Maryland,
C E C Instrumentation Camera Club, Basingstoke,
Hampshire England,
Carbide Camera Club, Oak Ridge, Tennessee,
Chase Manhattan Camera Club, New York, N. Y.,
City Bank Camera Society, % City Bank Club, New York,
N. Y.,
Cyanabrook Camera Club, % American Cyanamid Co., Bound
Brook, New Jersey,
Eastern Airlines Camera Club, Miami, Florida,
Edo Color Camera Club, % Dept. 3660, College Point, New
York,
Eli Lilly Camera Club, % Eli Lilly & Co., Indianapolis,
Indiana
Equitable Life Camera Club, New York, N. Y.,
Ford Camera Club, Dearborn Heights, Michigan,
Ford Foto Club, Genk, Belgium,
General Atomic Camera Club, San Diego, California,
General Dynamics Recreation Association of Camera
Clubs, % General Dynamics, Fort Worth, Texas,
Gillette Camera Club, % Gillette Co. Rec. Dept.,
Boston, Mass.,
Gradco Camera Club, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Honeywell Camera Club, Minneapolis, Minnesota,
Honeywell Photography Club, Phoenix, Arizona,
Hughes Fullerton Employees Association Camera Club,
Fullerton, California,
IBM Endicott Camera Club, Endicott, New York,
IBM Photo Club, Yorktown Heights, New York,
IBM Poughkeepsie Photography Club, Hyde Park, New York,
ICI Americas Camera Club, % ICI United States Inc.,
Wilmington, Delaware,

Johnson Wax J M B A Camera Club, Racine, Wisconsin,
Kodak Apparatus Division Camera Club, % Employee
Activities, Rochester, New York,
Kodak Camera Club, Kodak Park, Rochester, New York,
Kraft Camera Club, Kraft Court, Glenview, Illinois,
Lilco Camera Club, Garden City, New York,
Monsanto Photography Club, St. Louis, Missouri,
Nationwide Mutual Ins. Co. Camera Club, Columbus, Ohio,
NCR Camera Club, San Diego, California,
NCR Photo Club, Dayton, Ohio,
Niehs Camera Club, Research Triangle Park, North
Carolina,
Olds Camera Club, Lansing, Michigan,
Panama City Photo Club, % Romo Photo Mart, Panama City,
Florida
Raytheon Photo Club, % Raytheon Co., Portsmouth, Rhode
Island,
Raytheon REAA Camera Club, St. Lawrence, Massachusetts,
RCA/MSR Photo Club, % RCA, Moorestown, New Jersey,
Roche Camera Club, Hoffman La Roche Co., Nutley,
New Jersey,
Rossmoor Camera Club, Walnut Creek, California,
Rossmoor Camera Club, Silver Spring, Maryland,
Schlitz Audubon Center Photo Club, Wauwatosa,
Wisconsin,
Shell Camera Club, % Shell Oil, Wood River, Illinois,
Shooting Stars Camera Club, Lockheed Employee
Recreation Club, Burbank, California,
Sperry Univac Photo Club, Roseville, Minnesota
Sperry-New Holland Photo Club, New Holland,
Pennsylvania,
Sperry Univac Camera Club, Blue Bell, Pennsylvania,
Squibb Camera Club, New Brunswick, New Jersey,
Stearns-Roger Camera Club, Denver, Colorado,
Stop and Shoot Camera Club, Stop and Shoot Company,
Inc., Boston, Massachusetts,
SVNC Camera Club, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
Tarp Camera Club, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
Terc Camera Club, Eastman Employee Center, Kingsport,
Tennessee
Texaco Camera Club, Texaco Resources Center, Beacon,
New York,
Third Eye Photo Club, % Black and Veatch Engineers-
Architects, Kansas City, Missouri,
3 H Camera Club, Hammond, Indiana,
3M Camera Club, 3M Company 3M Center, St. Paul,
Minnesota,
Union Carbide Corporation Camera Club, Danbury,
Connecticut,

Upjohn Camera Club, Portage, Michigan,
Wang Laboratories Camera Club, Tewksbury,
Massachusetts,
Weoma Camera Club, Western Electric Co., Omaha,
Nebraska,
Western Electric Photo Club, Greensboro, North
Carolina,
Whippany Camera Club, Bell Telephone Laboratories,
Whippany, New Jersey,
Xerox Employees Photo Club, El Segundo, California,

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