

Symposium Mannheim 2003





The delegates at the Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, Anna Reiss-Saal, Mannheim.
From left to right: Zoltán Fejér, Roy Flukinger, Claude W. Sui, Hans Christian Adam,
Anna Auer, Nikolaus Schad, A. D. Coleman, Margit Krpata, Ulla Fischer-Westhauser
and Leif Wigh (Photo: Jean Christen, Mannheim)

European Society for the History of Photography

Edited by Anna Auer and Alistair Crawford

Helmut Gernsheim Reconsidered

The proceedings of the Mannheim Symposium

Forum Internationale Photographie (FIP)
Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen

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Cover: Entrance of the Museum of Anthropology and
Natural History (Reiss-Engelhorn Museen), Mannheim,
(Photo: Jean Christen, Mannheim)

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President of the ESHPh, Vienna, and Dr. Claude W. Sui,
Curator of Forum Internationale Photographie (FIP)
in Mannheim at the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen and
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie (DGPh), Cologne

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Preface

In March 2003, on the occasion of a meeting in Vienna, Claude W. Sui told me about a plan to inaugurate the new founded *Forum Internationale Photographie (FIP)* in Mannheim with an exhibition from the estate of Helmut Gernsheim, which the FIP had received from Irene Gernsheim in 2002. During our discussion we had the idea to combine the exhibition with a symposium in October. Another reason for me to participate at the Symposium was that Helmut Gernsheim had been an Honorary Member of our Society for many years. It is well-known, that the Gernsheim Collection is located at the University of Texas in Austin since 1963.

At the end of the Symposium it was clear that we had taken the right decision because it was a great success; certainly also because the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie (DGPh)* selected Mannheim to award the Dr. Erich Salomon-Prize which was an occasion for the ESHPh to collaborate with the DGPh for the first time. Therefore, you will also find in these proceedings the eulogy by Horst Faas about the fascinating life story of the American Picture Editor, John Godfrey Morris.

I would like to add some personal remembrance of Helmut Gernsheim. The first contact happened in 1971. My associate in the gallery and myself had sent him an invitation to visit our exhibition of the work of Herbert Bayer. Surprisingly, we received an immediate answer: "My congratulations on your courageous undertaking, my best wishes for a success! May it stimulate photographers and may it open the eyes to philistine people!" A rich correspondence then developed between us and, after that occasion, when ever we needed suggestions he always helped us.

I will also never forget our first visit to his house in Lugano in September 1971. Being in a hurry, and with the train station situated out of the city, Gernsheim took us in his car. He had just started to tell us how he had detected the first photograph of the world, the famous picture by Nicéphore Niépce from 1826, the view from the window of his house in Chalon-sur-Saône, as the train was entering the station. The station master gave the signal for departure but still we ended up leaning out of the window in order to hear from Gernsheim how he made it possible to produce a usable copy of this picture in 1952. You all know the rest of the story.

Some years later we invited Helmut Gernsheim to give a talk at the first Photo Symposium ever held in a German speaking country which I organised at the Austrian Laenderbank in Vienna in 1976. On the basis of the scientific photographic work of Gernsheim, we gave to that Symposium the title: *1826–1976. 150 Years of Culture and Art History of Photography*. In his lecture, *The First 100 Years of Photography*, he dealt especially with the work of Julia Margaret Cameron, as yet not well-known in Austria. At that time, with Helmut Gernsheim, we also had discussions with the

Preface

Austrian Laenderbank and the Federal Training and Research Institute of Graphic Arts (Graphische) in Vienna about the analyses and records of the Historical Collections of Photography. He agreed to pass some months in Vienna every year to undertake this work. Unfortunately, this project failed for bureaucratic reasons. Only now, in the year 2000, have the Historical Collections, of more than 60,000 photographic images and a cross-section of equipment, been given to the Albertina as a permanent loan which will enable such work to take place and make them available for the public on a data base.

Leaving the Austrian Laenderbank in July 1987 (now the Bank Austria Creditanstalt), I had already initiated the project of *Exodus from Austria. Emigration of Austrian photographers 1920–1940*. Again it was Gernsheim who gave me the first sources and information about Austrian photographers who had been forced to emigrate. For many years, he accompanied my work by making suggestions and giving me help. But, I was not the only following his advice as can be noted from the introduction that Alistair Crawford wrote for *Photoresearcher* No.6 in 1997: “Finally, and appropriately, I would like to thank the author of the first book I ever read which told me that there was a subject called the history of photography which, up until then, had been denied to me in my education. In those far off liberated Sixties, at the cutting edge of *avant garde* art, when cameras were still banned in the Glasgow School of Art, I had the unwitting distinction, I believe, of being the very first student ever to hang a framed photograph in the degree show. It was many years later that I hit upon a ‘History of Photography’”. No doubt, you too have a story of our great man.

July 2004

Anna Auer
(President of the ESHPh)

Horst Faas

The Dr. Erich Salomon-Prize 2003 of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie, Köln (German Society for Photography)

The award went to John Godfrey Morris, Paris

The prize consisted of the citation together with a Leica M7 with a Summicron-M 1:2/35 mm ASPH with a special engraving. The ceremony took place on 12th October 2003 at 11 a.m. in the Anna-Reiss-Saal of the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen in Mannheim, Germany. It was awarded during the occasion of a symposium of the Forum Internationale Photographie, together with the European Society for the History of Photography which was dedicated to Helmut Gernsheim.

The laudatory speech was given by Horst Faas, editor of photography at the Associated Press for Europe in London.

I am a journalist, not a reporter, nor a photographer.

I am an editor for illustrations

John G. Morris

The beginning of a career as a journalist

John G. Morris, born in Maple Shade, New Jersey on 7th December 1916 was raised in Chicago. At the age of 15, for the first time, he considered selecting journalism as his career. During this time at the schools and university *Harpers Magazine*, *Time*, *Fortune* and, from 1936 on, *Life*, had been the most acknowledged magazines in the USA. In 1937 Morris and two of his friends decided to create a completely new college journal at the University of Chicago: They used *Time* as the example for the part with the news and *Life* for the photographs. In September 1937 the first edition of their magazine *Pulse*, was ready; this was John Morris's first step into journalism.

The initiation of his career at *Life*

At the age 21, just graduated from the university and with a recommendation of the President of the University of Chicago directed to his school friend from Yale, Henry Luce, in his hands, Morris was standing in the atrium of the Time-Life-building in New

York in March 1938. He was asking for an audience with Henry Robinson Luce, the most powerful editor of magazines in the USA at that time. He reached the personal division – and thanks to the recommendation, he got an appointment. At that time with television still in the beginning, *Life* was for every American family the window to the world and *Life* photographers had become famous personalities.

Many photographers, journalists and editors of *Life Magazine*, founded in 1936, came from Europe, emigrating or fleeing, particularly from Germany to evade the threatening dangers of Hitler. Many had helped to advance the *Berliner Illustrirte*, and the *Münchener Illustrierte*. At the time, Morris reached *Life*, they gathered there waiting for jobs as reporters. Their names were to enter the history of photo-journalism such as : Robert Capa, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Ralph Crane, Andreas Feininger, Fritz Goro, Philippe Halsman and other photographers. Some of them had come to *Life* from different journals of the USA, as Frank Scherschel from Milwaukee, Ed Clark from Nashville and George Strock from Los Angeles. Margaret Bourke-White was one of the lady stars of *Life*. Younger *Life* photographers have been fortunate to have already completed their apprenticeship in time to initiate their years of mastery with the new *Life Magazine*: Eliot Elisofon came from the Lower Eastside of Manhattan and Ralph Morse came from the Bronx. W. Eugene Smith moved from Wichita to New York to join the group. From now on, Morris's journalistic career remained associated with the personality and work of W. Eugene Smith which we will discuss later.

Initially, Morris helped his famous colleagues any time he could. In the meantime he was promoted to assistant of the photo-editor Wilson Hicks. He had to make researches for the weekly editorial conference where suggestions of themes were discussed. From time to time he wrote the so-called 'shooting-scripts' for the photographers. *Life* had developed the concept of outlining a photo-report before the photographs were taken and to lay out a certain number of pages for the project. Naturally, this limited the ideas and the concepts of the photographers.

Morris in California – The Second World War starts

John G. Morris writes in his memories that he never will forget his twenty-fifth birthday on 7th December 1941. It was the day of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. He was in Los Angeles as he heard it on the radio. For six months he had been stationed at the external office of *Life* to guide the information reports from the West Coast of the USA. Despite the fact that in California not too much was known or had been seen about the war, for Morris, however, his war years now began.



*From below to above: John G. Morris, Horst Faas and David Duncan Douglas¹.
(Photo: Kathrin Schwab, Mannheim)*

Later on, Morris tried to make it clear to the editors-in-chief of *Life* in New York that his team regarded the forced and rough internment of the thousand Japanese-Americans as needless and that, moreover, it was an open infringement of the civil rights of a citizen of the United States. But, at that time, nobody protected their rights.

Rockets in London – D-Day

18 months later, in October 1943, Morris arrived in London to take over the office of *Life* situated in Soho. Now the war became for Morris a reality, more than a simple *Life* story. Morris and his photographic team prepared themselves for the expected invasion of France. The German rocket attacks offered dramatic images of the European war to be sent to New York. Again, Morris was in the middle of star photographers whom he called the 'D-Day-Team'. Robert Capa participated, as can be seen on snap shots showing Morris and his team in 1944. The other known names around Morris in 1944 were George Rodger who later participated when Magnum was founded, as well as Frank Scherschel and Ralph Morse.

The team was prepared eight months and on 6th June 1944, D-Day began. For Morris it was the most difficult and exciting week during his entire professional life. Only the newspapers in the USA were faster than *Life*, who received photographs from the wire photo-agents of *Associated Press* (AP), *ACME of United Press* (UP-Acme) and from the *International News Service* (INS). Transmitted by radio waves they were usually of bad quality. Instead *Life* insisted in receiving original enlargements or film rolls from the photographers directly sent to New York. Morris plan was to reach the official courier who left with his motorcycle every Thursday morning precisely at 9 o'clock from Grosvenor Square, London, to get to the mailing-plane which left the south of London for Prestwick in Scotland, from where a transatlantic flight to Washington departed. From there, on Saturday, a courier reached New York. Before the mailing procedure, Morris had to visit a government censor who had to approve every single image and negative before it could be mailed.

The Allied Forces had accredited for the invasion six photographers of *Life* and twelve from the three agencies. Four photographers only had been allowed to land with the American Forces on D-Day, two were from *Life*, Bob Landry and Robert Capa. All had to follow a pool agreement.

One evening a short call from Capa came in: 'Film on the way'. At 9 o'clock a small package arrived containing four rolls of film for small cameras and six other rolls of 6 x 6 film. A notice scribbled by Capa indicated that all activities would be on the small films, that it had been very hard and that he was returning to France. But a few minutes triumph turned into a nightmare. What then happened is still today the most horrifying story of photojournalism: A man from the photolab came running to John's office stuttering: 'They are all ruined. Capa's films are all severely damaged!' The young man, identified by Morris as Dennis Banks, had closed the cabinet that was used for drying films and without ventilation, the emulsion had melted. All gone – except one film with eleven images that today are still generally regarded as the best

taken on the invasion and on war-photography. Robert Capa's images will ever remind us of D-Day. Later on, Capa remained perfectly composed about the accident. Since, due to the heat, the negatives resulted somewhat blurred, in 1946 he gave them, in his memoirs, the title *Slightly out of Focus*.

Robert Capa, who had joined in the foundation of Magnum in 1947, was in Hanoi, contracted by *Life*, to report about the 'dirty war in Indochina' – a war almost lost at that time. Morris had a premonition and called Capa from Tokyo to tell him that he had not to accept this assignment and should come back. This would not be his war. But, Capa went to the front-line and died due to an explosion of a mine on 24th May 1954. He was the first American photographer who lost his life in Vietnam.

On the front line in France – The Liberation of Paris

John Morris, who was not a photographer, always searched for the company of photographers. He persuaded the military to send him to the front as an 'Acting Pool Co-ordinator' for the press-photographers. Soon he arrived in Normandy. He took with him a camera, with the result that many of his pictures have since been published.

From that time on, he could meet with Robert Capa who was staying comfortably in a small hotel with a bar close to St. Malo. From there both could observe the siege of the harbour of St. Malo where a German post did not want to surrender. Another time Morris was in the company of Ernest Hemingway and Robert Capa in a small hotel in Mont St. Michel from where they could observe the last German resistance during 'D-Day-time'. While in the evenings they could enjoy the French cuisine and wines of the hotel.

On 28th August 1944 Paris was liberated and the six photographers of John Morris 'D-Day-time team' were present. Morris, in London, coordinated their photo-reports and sent them to New York. After that Paris attracted him. With a new permit he soon took a flight that landed in a field in Normandy. With a military car he continued his voyage to Paris. It was 'love at first sight'. In 1947 Morris became the head of Magnum, the photo-agency.

Henri Cartier-Bresson

New in Paris he soon was in contact with Robert Capa and again it was him who got John Morris success and new acquaintances. As *Life* was searching for photo-documents of occupied France and the Resistance, Capa brought together Morris and

Henri Cartier-Bresson. Having gone to the underground himself, Cartier-Bresson was acquainted with the situation and additionally spoke very good English. Thanks to him, Morris met photographers such as Doisneau and Brassai, in later years celebrated men, without foreseeing that Henri Cartier-Bresson himself would be world famous and important.

In 1954 Henri Cartier-Bresson published a successful photo-essay about Russia. *Life* dedicated 36 pages to it in two issues. In his article on Cartier-Bresson's 95th birthday, John Morris emphasised that Cartier-Bresson had saved Magnum from a great crisis. Capa made Morris 'International Executive Editor' at Magnum but shortly after that Robert Capa died in Indochina and Werner Bischof died in Peru, almost on the same day. Magnum nearly went bankrupt. In the meantime Cartier-Bresson had obtained a visa for Moscow and so was able to write and photograph the already mentioned report about the Soviet Union for *Life*. Thus the fees obtained gave Magnum the desperately needed working capital.

The *Ladies Home Journal*

In June 1946 John Morris left *Life Magazine* to take the job of picture editor at *Ladies Home Journal*. The tempo and the subjects covered of this highly reputed woman's magazine were very different to *Life's* method of working. Certainly Morris missed the hectic atmosphere of the illustrated magazine which mainly concentrated on world news at that time. Now he favoured documentary photography, such as that of the Farm-Security-Administration Project (FSA) of the time before the War under President Roosevelt. Morris edited a monthly serial titled: 'How America lives'. It was a kind of continuation of the classic photography of Dorothea Lange, whom he could not get for the *Ladies Home Journal* because she was seriously ill. From 1951 until her death in 1965 she was beholden to John Morris as a good friend and as a critic of his work.

Monthly reports of this serial described and compared the life of peasant families in different countries. It was a study of twelve families in twelve countries with three different religions and eleven languages. This enormous venture was titled 'People are People – the World Over'. John Morris mainly asked Magnum-photographers, and for the first report he again worked together with his old friend Robert Capa. The series ran over twelve months.

Among the readers of the *Ladies Home Journal* was Edward Steichen, the great old man of photography. During World War One, Steichen had acted as a military observer in France. In the Second World War he headed a group of US marine photo-

graphers who documented the war from air and sea. But soon he became fed up with the war. Two years after the battles had ended he worked on the project *The Family of Man* for the Museum of Modern Art in New York, perhaps the greatest photo-exhibition ever, showing 503 pictures from 68 countries. Steichen let John Morris know that he liked the serial in the *Ladies Home Journal* and that it suited his *Family of Man* project. Morris rightly was proud that his idea of documenting peasant families became part of Edward Steichen's great *The Family of Man* exhibition. Morris was in touch with Steichen until his death.

Magnum

John Morris gave a good description of the photo-agency Magnum: 'A magnum is a weighty bottle full of sparkling champagne. Magnum in Latin means something great as well.' There is nothing which better describes this agency, founded by Robert Capa together with colleagues from five countries in 1947.

At the beginning of the Magnum agency and as picture editor for the *Ladies Home Journal*, John Morris was one of the most important purchasers for the American market. Morris's serial about the families of twelve countries was such a success that soon new series followed – 'World of Youth', 'World of Children' and 'World of Women'. Magnum was able to sell those series to other countries independently so the agency made successful business.

In the year Magnum was founded Robert Capa pulled off another coup together with the author John Steinbeck. He was able to take an extended reporting journey through Stalin's Soviet Union. John Morris's journal paid Capa 20,000 dollars for his pictures but Steinbeck only got 3,000.

Maybe John Morris took more care of Magnum than its members, but it slipped from one crises to the other despite its excellent reputation. Capa wanted a final solution of this problem and in the end persuaded Morris to leave the safe harbour of the *Ladies Home Journal* and begin as the International Executive Editor at Magnum, even in those days they already had such complex titles.

Young photographers who became members of Magnum at that time still like to remember John Morris. Marc Riboud was one of them who sent me his remembrances which I don't want to keep from you:

'The first thing I did when I joined Magnum was to climb the Eiffel Tower. Not a scoop. I photographed a painter, whistling while painting just under the top. John received my one single film I had shot. He picked one frame, apparently the right one, and sold it to *Life*. It became my very first publication in *Life* titled: 'Blissful on the

Eiffel'. Full page on the last page called 'Miscellaneous'. I remained indeed a photographer in the 'miscellaneous' section.

Shortly afterwards Capa sent me to London with a one-year assignment, to see the girls and to learn English. 'I didn't see many girls, I didn't learn much English – but I shot many, many photographs which John edited and showed to all the American magazines. No one bought them. But the prints, although damaged by going around are my best vintage prints today. Then I left by car to India hoping to learn English there, but forgot to take colour film along. I stopped in Cappadocia in Turkey and John sold a 16-page black and white story to the *National Geographic*. A scoop for a colour magazine. John's most glorious success: He stayed 7 years as head of Magnum. A real scoop, so far unchallenged. Now at 87 he is still running after scoops. I bet you he will remain around much longer than all of us here. This will be the best scoop of his life. He should get a medal for it – but only our grandchildren will be there to photograph this scoop.'

But still there were new crises for Magnum and Morris: During McCarthy's campaign against former members and sympathizers of the communist party Capa had serious problems with his passport. Capa was stuck for a while – but then the problem was solved positively. But then the horrible month came, when Robert Capa in Indochina and Werner Bischof in Peru were killed nearly in the same week.

John Morris called together the members of Magnum in Paris and they elected David 'Chim' Seymour for president as successor of Capa. Seymour died in the Suez war. He was succeeded by Robert Capa's brother, Cornell Capa. From 1960 on, the Presidents of Magnum were elected on a rotating basis.

Independent Picture Service

In 1961, after seven years as International Executive Editor at Magnum, John Morris got the so called seven year itch: he simply wanted to realize new ideas. Cornell Capa's idea to offer Magnum pictures and reports to American newspapers was proposed at the right moment.

John Morris and his wife Dele opened a Picture Workshop in the same building as Magnum on 47th Street, New York. First they only offered Magnum reports, but later works of freelance photographers were added. In 1963 they borrowed 60,000 dollars from friends and founded the Independent Picture Service (IPS) dispatching a weekly catalogue with negative contacts. It became a perfect flop ...

At The Washington Post

It was high time for John Morris to try something new. In 1964 he had certainly counted on the *Washington Post* as a main buyer of Magnum pictures, and they had got to know that he and his agency were in trouble. They cast an anchor and offered him the job of an assistant graphics and photo editor. It was to be Morris's first job at a daily newspaper. The *Washington Post* was the first paper exclusively printing pictures of an atom bomb test in China in colour which was very rare in the daily newspapers. He sent a photographer to London to take colour pictures of the official funeral service of Winston Churchill and ordered him back the same day in order to publish the pictures in the first issue of the *Washington Post* the following day. The broadcasting of colour pictures was still not satisfactory in 1964. When the first spaceships started from Cape Kennedy and Houston, Morris accompanied his photographers. 'He had a ball,' until the day he had a noisy confrontation with his managing editor which resulted in his immediate dismissal because of insubordination – he really was fed up with the daily moanings about his picture suggestions.

Out of work – new projects in New York

That meant back to New York. At the age of 49 John Morris was now without a job, even in those days a problem. His second wife Marjorie 'Midge' Smith (Dele had died in 1964) and the five children of their former marriages were with him.

Again he started new projects, which he had planned in former years but could not carry out because he was too occupied. The first one was a national archive for photography. It was Dorothea Lange's idea and Edward Steichen had given his blessing to it. But there was no money because at the very same day as Dorothea Lange died the Ford Foundation renounced the project. Then project number two came: some years before *Time-Life-Books* had purchased all the rights of an historic archive which contained all the colour pictures of Adolph Hitler, made by Hugo Jäger. Jäger had been assistant to Hitler's personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann and was instructed only to use black and white films but he took pictures of Hitler in colour and hid the films until the end of the war. Twenty years later and safe from prosecution by Hoffmann's heirs, he sold his Hitler pictures – 2000 colour transparencies and 1000 black and white stereos from 1937 to 1940.

John Morris moved into an office in the new Time-Life-building on Rockefeller Plaza and began researching and editing. But the book on Hitler was never to be finished ...

At The New York Times

On the 3rd of March 1967, the day he attended the mourning for his former Life boss, Henry Luce, he was called by the *New York Times*. After a lunch at Sardis, John sat in the large office of Clifton Daniel, then editor-in-chief of the *Times*. Morris recalled that one of the first questions Daniel asked him was: 'What's your opinion about how we use photographs in the *Times*?', and he answered: 'I think it stinks'. 'So do I', Daniel was said to have replied.

On the 29th of May 1967 Morris for the first time sat at the photo desk of the *New York Times*, in an office on the third floor, which was the size of a football pitch and allowed everybody to watch anybody else working.

John Morris agreed with all the other editors that the pictures should correspond to the rich supply of their home and foreign correspondents. Every eight minutes the *Times* received pictures from AP and UP, but of course they were not exclusive. They were published in papers all over America. Additionally the *Times* needed more pictures from abroad as well as from political events from the American Federal States, which made her different to most of the US newspapers, for they preferred the daily 'ball games' and local news.

John Morris arranged direct picture and telephone lines to AP on Rockefeller Plaza and made no secret of his opinion about the content and quality of AP's picture service. Of course he kept having extra wishes – everything the *New York Times* demanded, she had to be given. As he had done before with *Life* and Magnum, Morris aimed to organize exclusive photographs for the *Times* and to employ the 13 *Times* photographers specifically for exclusive reportages. The underline, 'Special for *The New York Times*,' with the name of the photographer, turned up more and more in the *Times*.

Slowly but surely John Morris got his way – at the beginning above all in the secondary parts of the newspaper. Suddenly photographs over five columns came up and two or three pictures to illustrate a report. Then came out small but intensive photographic essays. John Morris had passed on his enthusiasm to those editors who produced the inner parts and supplements of the *Times* and soon it happened that his photographers first took the pictures which served as a basis for a story and not the other way round, just to illustrate an already finished report.

The changes on the pages of the *New York Times* were noticed: CBS Radio said in a press review: 'Look at the good grey *New York Times* today. She is not that grey anymore. That's because of the many pictures.'

As he had done during his years with *Life*, John Morris often accompanied his photographers and attended regional and national meetings of the press photo-

graphers' associations. That is why Morris was very close to Robert Kennedy when he was murdered in San Francisco in 1968. For the first and only time of his life he became a talking reporter. For three hours he dictated an eyewitness report to the *Times* rewrite desk in New York. This became his only 'by-line' in the *New York Times*.

The editorial office table of the photo department in New York became bigger and bigger. In 1969 John Morris surprised his colleagues with a five meters by two metal picture wall. Instead of using ordinary drawing pins on cork, magnets now fixed all the pictures which were selected during the day so that they could be seen by everyone in the editorial office. All day long pictures were changed and one sight was enough to see which photographs were available for the next and following issues. All pictures were black and white. That changed on the day when the *Times* published her 96 points sized headline 'Men Walk on Moon' – on the 21st of July 1969. For the first time the *New York Times* planned an extra supplement with colour photographs of the astronauts for their next Sunday number. During the special flight from Houston to New York the colour transparencies were designed for 16 pages. When Abe Rosenthal saw the first proofs of the special edition he flung his arms around Morris's neck and said, 'Wow, perhaps we should use colour every day'. The next day Rosenthal's staff memo read: 'You have fulfilled all expectations. Maybe it was a little step for mankind – but it's a great leap for the NYT.'

In 1971 the Overseas Press Club of America awarded a prize to the *New York Times* for 'excellent performance in foreign photo reports'.

The New York Times Picture Agency

Under the management of Abe Rosenthal, who urged more savings, John Morris spent too much money and even demanded more and also some extra staff for his photo desk. But Rosenthal insisted on dismissing staff in order to save money. One day Morris was informed that Rosenthal expected his notice. He left, but not completely.

Six years after starting at the *Times* John Morris was trusted with leading the *New York Times Picture Agency*, on the 17th of May 1973. His agency won first prize at the World Press Photo competition for the Press photograph of the Year. It was given for showing Chile's President Salvadore Allende on the 11th September 1973 defending his palace with a weapon in his hand. The picture was taken by one of Allende's attendants and was smuggled out of Chile by a *New York Times* correspondent. At the beginning, only pictures of *Times* photographers were offered by John Morris's agency but later works of free lance photographers were added.

But no matter how successful the *New York Times Picture Agency* was, it was not enough for the management. Again it was suggested that he give in his notice with full pay until the end of the year. That was it – no pension. Only when publisher Punch Sulzberger intervened, was he able to obtain a pension at last. At the age of 59 Morris again found himself outside the door. 'But', he wrote, 'work came in by itself.'

Photojournalism Forum – *Quest Magazine*

For some time he was good for turning the magazine of the American Press Photographers' Association into a discussion forum for photojournalism. 'If you want to emphasize a big mistake in American press photography', Gene Roberts of the *Philadelphia Enquirer* wrote to Morris, 'it's the fact that picture editors have very little rights to say if it comes to use, over layout and the cropping of photographs'.

In 1976 John Morris joined a group of talented journalists who founded an intellectual magazine named *Quest*. He organised dozens of picture orders. Among others *Quest* supported the South African photographer Peter Magubane of Soweto who had been suffering 586 days of solitary confinement in South African jails because of his fearless reports. Magubane was awarded the Dr. Erich Salomon-Prize and, in addition, the Robert Capa-Prize. But in 1978 the last issue of *Quest* came out because the sponsor had stopped providing the money.

The W. Eugene Smith Memorial Fund

On 16th October 1978 John Morris stood in front of his dead friend, W. Eugene Smith, in a mortuary in Tucson, Arizona. Two years before Gene Smith had asked him to administer his estate. Smith had gone through a hell of depression, alcohol and illnesses. But Morris also had watched him try to get rid of his problems in one way or another in the last years of his life.

In 1980 John Morris, Howard Chapnik of *Black Star* and three other friends of Smith founded the W. Eugene Smith Memorial Fund with the intention of supporting photographers who 'are working in the tradition of W. Eugene Smith', and who would need financial assistance beyond the commercial scene for realising their projects. Since then 10,000 to 20,000 dollars have been paid out every year. Among those photographers who have been supported are the names of Sebastiao Salgado, Gilles Peress and James Nachtwey. Morris is still the administrator of this foundation. Around 1980 the catalogue raisonné *W. Eugene Smith – Master of the Photo Essay*

by Bill Johnson was published, dedicated to John Morris's wife Midge. When Midge, his second wife, died, Morris had again lost his wife to a mortal disease.

Third Marriage – Paris

John married again, Tana Hoban, a photographer from Philadelphia, and he began a new life in Paris; an American in Paris so to speak. He describes his life in the French capital with a sentence borrowed from Irwin Shaw: 'I've never been an Parisian. I'm still an American – on a long lasting visit.'

Together with the *National Geographic Magazine*

Yet another time Morris changed his horse: Bill Garrett, at that time chief-editor of the *National Geographic Magazine* persuaded him to coordinate all editorial interests of the magazine for forty dollars an hour from his office on the Champs Elysée. Morris checked the European Press and contacted journals, artists, scientists and primarily photographers.

The first great story he gave to his employers happened at one end of the Champs Elysée: in memory of the first balloon flight in 1783, a balloon competition started from the Place de la Concorde. Naturally *National Geographic Magazine* had a photographer on board one of the balloons. In 1983, this competition had bad luck: raining and storms created accidents. One balloon came down at the borders with the DDR and two persons died. The *National Geographic Magazine* published 22 pages. Some of the best pictures came from amateurs who had sent in their photographs in response to an insertion 'Search for photographs' that had been put into the newspapers.

In 1989 John Morris proposed to the *National Geographic Magazine* a special edition on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the French revolution. As the issue appeared Morris celebrated the event together with the publisher and chief-editor at the nightclub Maxim. Less than one year later, on 16th April 1990, Bill Garrett, the chief-editor of the *National Geographic Magazine* was fired for insubordination. Morris did not think that the magazine was any longer the right place for him and swore not to enter the editor building again until Garrett got his job back. That never happened and Morris kept his word until he needed some material for his memoirs.

The Picture Agencies in Paris

From his new residence in Paris, John Morris became a sharp and critical observer of the photojournalism scene. Until a few years ago he called Paris the capital of photojournalism. Since the termination of the weekly edition of *Life* the independent image agencies from Paris took over worldwide image reporting for illustrated magazines. Some were similar to Magnum, however not many ever reached its age. The agencies promised to share with the photographers the income as well as the costs. It started with the agency Dalmas in 1958, then came Gamma in 1967, followed by Sygma, Sipa, Contact Press, VU and many others.

As usual, Morris became a friend of many young photographers, as with my AP colleague in Vietnam, Michael Laurent, who died as one of the last of many photographers in Vietnam. Morris already worked with the twin brothers David and Peter Turnley who at that time were not famous.

The crisis of Image Journalism?

After a meeting of the Jury at the foundation *World Press Photo*, John Morris said: 'Today, we have a new type of photojournalist, it is the World Citizen Photographer. He or she can work in Asia today, some days later in the Middle East and next week in Africa'. Morris does not think that photojournalism is in a crisis today. He believes that it is more a crisis of the business of journals and magazines. Moreover, he thinks that there is more a crisis of image elaboration and of their editing. As politicians always look at the last figures of public polls, publishers and chief-editors continuously observe the number of copies and the plus/minus lines for the book-keeper. Morris believes that the present image journalists work very well in showing us a persuasive and true mirror-image of the world.

John Godfrey Morris, throughout his long life, always tried to create and promote a communication between the photojournalist and the reader and consumer by offering skilful and attractive presentations. We are very grateful to John G. Morris that, at the age of eighty seven, he still believes in the great worth of photojournalism.

Note

- 1 David Duncan Douglas, born in Kansas City, USA in 1916 and now lives in France. He has been photographer for *Life* in Palestine, Greece, Korea and Indo-China. He is the author of numerous publications as *Goodbye Picasso*, London and New York, 1974.

The Two Historical Gernsheim Collections at the University of Texas

History is but the nail upon which the picture hangs.

Alexandre Duma's father

It is a measure of the brilliance and foresight of its creator that the initial Gernsheim Collection remains, nearly sixty years after its establishment, one of the foremost compilations of historical photographs in the world. Formed in less than two decades between the end of World War II and the beginning of the 1960s, the collection holds many important artefacts, masterpieces and bodies of work by most of the major photographers of the last two centuries. Reflecting the scholarship, industry, and obsession of its founder – Helmut Gernsheim – it was, as he rightfully boasted with its sale to the University of Texas at Austin in 1963, “the greatest privately-held collection of photographs in the world”. And, although that particular title has arguably gone on in recent decades to other excellent assemblages of camera images, Gernsheim's creation is still standing and always capable of contributing something to the present-day enterprises of publications, exhibitions, and education as well as the continuing enrichment of world culture in general.

Together with his first wife, Alison, Helmut Gernsheim put together a superb grouping of some 4,000 original images, 3,500 volumes, 200 albums, and 200 pieces of photographic apparatus. He did all this in about eighteen years, without the benefit of any network of photographic dealers or a worldwide web, and by association with only a handful of fellow historians, collectors, friends, and resource facilities. Even more strategically, however, he brought standards of taste and connoisseurship to the field, by clearly discriminating in the selection of what he collected and by showing that such factors as age, process, and identification, although important, were not enough to merit inclusion in an outstanding collection.

And what a collection it is. It includes hundreds of prints each by such named artists as Julia Margaret Cameron, Lewis Carroll, Francis Frith, Paul Martin, Christina Broom, as well as definitive and finely selected bodies of work by the likes of G.W. Wilson, Alvin Langdon Coburn, Hugo Erfurth, Albert Renger-Patzsch, and Fritz Henle. There are also key publications, such as Talbot's *Pencil of Nature*, Daguerre's first daguerreotype publication, and the complete set of Peter Henry Emerson's illustrated works. Also included are many unique albums and portfolios by individuals as disparate as D.O. Hill and Robert Adamson, Lewis Carroll, O.G. Rejlander, and the famous



*Albert Renger-Patzsch (l.) visiting Helmut Gernsheim in London, September 1959.
Collection Gernsheim, FIP, Mannheim*

Blount Family album. Building upon the scattered books and journal articles of the nineteenth and early half of the twentieth centuries Gernsheim conducted massive amounts of original research (there were no photo indices or web search engines at that time). He unearthed volumes and journals both commonplace and obscure, often purchasing originals to build up a vast and totally unique research library. The result of this organized and disciplined activity becomes highly evident when looking back over these early decades of his career. In the same eighteen year period in which he established his renowned collection he also wrote and published well over a dozen volumes and nearly 200 articles on all aspects of the history of photography. It is a track record that few historians or curators with any institutional support, let alone any independent collector, have ever equalled.

The story of how Gernsheim accomplished all this is, of course, the subject of more than one published interview or reminiscence. It has been the subject of many inquiries by researchers, reporters and scholars over the past number of years. It has even, judging by the fragmentary tales and questions I have heard from any number of associates and friends of Gernsheim, become in part the stuff of folklore and

legend, especially relating to the circumstances of a particular acquisition or how much he really paid for an item.

The information about this area of inquiry lies in yet another Gernsheim Collection here at the Ransom Center. It is not a very large holding. In fact it is contained only within some twenty six manuscript boxes and barely takes up more than ten feet of running shelf space. And yet it remains at the core of our understanding of Gernsheim and his formative work. For, if the huge bulk of the Gernsheim Collection is concerned with what he collected, these manuscript boxes which contain the tangible records of his correspondence, writing and research, tell us the equally important aspects – the whys, hows, and whats – that went into all these particularly fruitful and defining years of his life's work.

This 'other' Gernsheim Collection, the personal archive, that also came as part of the terms of the purchase of his collection by the University of Texas in 1963, reveals the collector and scholar at work. Within these boxes are the 'large gray folders' which contain all the original research notes, correspondence and transcriptions relating to the chapters of what would become his famous history (for in those pre-xerox days Alison was often dispatched to some major London library to type out the pertinent textual portions from primary sources that were not in the Gernsheims' holdings). Other boxes contain all the original correspondence during these two critical decades: letters from, as well as carbon copies of his own letters to, friends, associates and, yes, even strangers – the essential building blocks which helped him find facts, individuals, and images to assist his work. Within these spare gray boxes are contained the typescripts and manuscripts, all archivally sleeved and cross-catalogued, which combine to add flesh, spirit, and life to the hard and lean effort that Gernsheim poured into his work.

Consider, merely as one lively example from so many possibilities, the eighty eight pieces of correspondence which were produced between the Gernsheims and Frances Menella Dodgson, the niece of Lewis Carroll, during the years 1948 through to 1954. At some time in early October of 1948, Miss Dodgson opened her first letter from Mr. Gernsheim, a two page missive which mentioned, among other things, his recent acquisition of a Carroll album, his assessment of Carroll as one who "has to be counted among the important amateur photographers in Britain in the last century", his inquiry about materials of her uncle's which she or other relatives might possess, and a closing paragraph concerning the fact that he was currently writing a book about Carroll as photographer. By the end of that month he had convinced her to copy out by hand all the entries in the original Carroll diaries (unpublished but still in her possession at the time) and send them to him. By the fifth of November that same year, he and Alison had accepted an invitation from Miss Dodgson and had journeyed

from London to Leamington Spa to visit her and see her entire original Carroll holdings. Before the end of the year he had borrowed her Carroll album, copied images out of it for his future book, returned it to her with an offer of twelve pounds sterling to purchase it, and sent her a plant for Christmas.

To review the correspondence of the next few years reveals much of the many hats: historian, collector, author, curator, and advocate, among others, that Gernsheim would wear during these critical years. He shared with Miss Dodgson the trials of researching and writing the Carroll book, showed his manuscript to her for review, paid her royalties for the use of the pictures, and sent her copies of the final publication, along with the note: "I am afraid that this book is as dry & pedantic as Lewis Carroll's life, and very much regret that I have been unable to mould (sic) it into something as readable & amusing as some critics have found." (the book on Julia Margaret Cameron) He spent equal time offering to purchase the Carroll albums and memorabilia she owned, told her of other collecting adventures, related his intention of founding a national museum of photography. "So I can say with good conscience that whatever you may allow me to buy will be entrusted to safe hands", and ultimately succeeded in acquiring many major pieces from her. He later related his adventures in organizing his Carroll holdings into a major exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art, New York and at the George Eastman House, Rochester in 1950. Nor is the correspondence devoid of the personality and character of the man. By turns the letters reflect the range of human emotions that ultimately made Helmut Gernsheim such a complex individual. In one missive he could be courtly, in another angry, in a third frustrated, and in yet another, jubilant. In particular it is the day-to-day that really touches the contemporary reader: discussions of home redecorating or the coal shortages and meat rationing of the early 1950s may be juxtaposed with energetic sentiments such as: "Sorry to fire so many questions so suddenly, but if I don't I forget!" And what researcher has not felt total sympathy with another deeply felt sentiment: "I sometimes wish the day had forty-eight hours, or else that I could do without sleep". By the time he and Miss Dodgson saw their correspondence wind down in 1954 both had gained much from their relationship, not to mention a significant, added benefit which he could also cite: "It seems that interest in Lewis Carroll is on the increase again."

When people ask me what Helmut Gernsheim was like, I am never quite certain where to start the description and how far to take it. Clearly the ups and downs of our particular relationship were not unique, but above all, I still find the fact that he is no longer among us today the most startling of all. If you knew Helmut and worked at all with him, then you must have some sense of what the historiography of this field is like. You come to learn how the great theories and incidental facts are put

together into a historical framework, not by geniuses or demigods but rather by human beings. It is the sheer humanity of our particular discipline that makes it so intriguing and complex, whether we are speaking of the artists and their imagery or of the individual curators and historians who apply structure and meaning to their work. That is what both of our Gernsheim Collections reveal. But our other Gernsheim Collection has one thing more. It contains in some vibrant and ever-nurturing manner a real sense of the passion of the man who did all this pioneering work and put all this together. I believe that beyond all the many hats he wore, historian, critic, writer, educator, campaigner, Helmut Gernsheim was first and always a collector. In everything that engaged his attention he found the disparate and diverse, applied his own levels of taste and industry, and set about providing it with a context that could always see the larger picture and the greater interests. And in so doing he provided all of us with a better sense of the excellent potentials for this magical medium of photography. The Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas has long accepted that same challenge: to provide access and support for this pursuit of excellence and the betterment of the human experience. We shall continue to follow this same path that Helmut Gernsheim continues to show us through the words he wrote, the photographs he collected, and the passions he shared with us all. It is there in both Gernsheim Collections and in the challenge they offer one and all: to come see, to share, and to grow.

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Helmut Gernsheim in Sweden

In April 1956 Helmut Gernsheim showed some 570 items from his collection at the Gothenburg Museum of Art. The exhibition, which was shown during the months of April and May, drew a large audience interested in photography in spite of very limited publicity in the press.

When the exhibition closed in Gothenburg, it was shipped to Amsterdam. But Helmut and Alison Gernsheim had not given up hope of Sweden for they wanted their collection to be shown in Stockholm too. So they later contacted various people in the Swedish capital and one person whom they managed to enthuse was the adventurous museum director Bo Lagercrantz. At the time he was a curator at Sweden's national museum of folklore and history, Nordiska Museet on Djurgården. After a period of febrile lobbying and discussion with the various photographic societies Bo Lagercrantz managed to convince his superiors about showing Gernsheim's collection at Nordiska Museet in the spring of 1957.

Lagercrantz persuaded the press to write a great deal about the forthcoming event. For example, they described Gernsheim's research into Nicéphore Niépce and how he produced the world's first photograph. The newspapers were given opportunities for special studies and Bo Lagercrantz himself contributed to the weekly magazines. All this publicity led to large numbers of visitors to the museum.

New to most people in Stockholm was the discovery that Oscar Gustave Rejlander, who had worked in Britain in the middle of the 19th century, had produced a grand allegory entitled "The Two Ways of Life" printed on albumen-silver paper from 39 different negatives. Rejlander was claimed to be of Swedish descent, the source being the man himself who had, on some occasion, stated that he was the son of an officer in the Swedish army. This is a claim that has not been proven.

During the course of the exhibition, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim had meetings with Bo Lagercrantz and other museum staff. It became evident that the Gernsheims wanted to sell their extensive collection. He wanted to sell both the collection and himself with his knowledge of the collection. During the negotiations it became evident that Gernsheim wanted to engage himself as curator of the collection and to be paid an annuity for life to him and to his wife Alison. The entire matter proved very difficult for Lagercrantz to deal with.

Discussions as to how the collection might be purchased for Sweden were protracted. In due course the matter reached the Swedish Parliament and disbelieving

members were told that they ought to vote for the nation to buy a collection of photographs. "Something that one should be given free of charge", according to one member of that august body!

During the Gernsheim exhibition the idea of a specific museum of photography was mooted. In a memorandum about the exhibition Lagercrantz also pointed out that: "The photographic collection at Nordiska Museet is one of the largest in Europe. For this reason it had seemed natural for the museum to host the Gernsheim exhibition during its visit to Stockholm".

Discussion regarding the establishment of a museum of photography continued. One of the commissioners at Stockholm's City Hall asked Alf Nordström who was an antiquary at Stockholm's City Museum as well as being photo-critic of the *Dagens Nyheter*, to provide a detailed set of proposals for various possible solutions. "A museum of photography is a stimulating idea", the commissioner claimed. The newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* also conducted an enquiry as to what a museum of photography should consist of.

Professor Helmer Bäckström, Sweden's leading expert on the history of photography both nationally and internationally also had some important things to say. Bäckström also divulged at the same time that he had, in his basement, several photographic treasures corresponding to those shown by the Gernsheims at Nordiska Museet. "Bäckström is, naturally, strongly in support of photography being awarded a museum of its own. Bäckström considers that the best policy would be for an existing museum to take on the task of representing the photographic art." The director of Nordiska Museet was a little more cautious than Bäckström and wrote that: "The term museum may invite misunderstandings in this context since that term does not envisage hanging up large quantities of pictures. For this reason it would be better to speak of a photographic archive." Even the director of Gothenburg's Museum of Art was interviewed: "It is tragic that these photographs should be hidden away in Gernsheim's apartment in London... [But a] special museum would need to be extremely large." And the chairman of Stockholm's Photographic Society concluded that "Thousands of pictures will perhaps have to be burned". In spite of the extensive publicity in the press and the radio, as well as approaches to politicians, nothing seemed to help and a photographic museum did not materialize in Sweden during the 1950s.

Gernsheim's collection continued its travels, escaping from Swedish hands in spite of the fact that the Stockholm exhibition was extended until the midsummer week of that year.

Bo Lagercrantz, Ulf Hård af Segerstad, who was the photo-critic on the national daily newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*, Kurt Bergengren and others discussed the



Alison and Helmut Gernsheim with King Gustav VI. of Sweden, 1st March 1957. Nordiska Museet. Collection Gernsheim, FIP, Mannheim (Photo: Svensk PressPhoto, Stockholm)

situation regarding a photographic museum. In the early 1960s, at a meeting held at Moderna Museet with others who were interested in the topic, they formed a society known as the *Friends of the Museum of Photography*. Lagercrantz corresponded with Helmut Gernsheim who continued to be enthusiastic about the project and who had, since the exhibition in Stockholm, published several volumes about the history of photography as well as biographies of Victorian photographers.

At one point Gernsheim let Lagercrantz know that he owned a duplicate collection; not quite as comprehensive as the original but nevertheless... This time matters worked out better and, in due course, the duplicate collection was acquired for Sweden. So the Swedish Embassy in London was asked to pay Gernsheim the money.

Sweden's leading collector of photographic items, Helmer Bäckström, noted this with rather mixed feelings. He had hoped that the Swedish government would acquire his own collection. This was something that he was not to experience because he died in 1964. But in the year following his death the government acquired Bäckström's collection of some 13,000 items and a second foundation stone was thereby added to the museum of photography. Both Gernsheim's and Bäckström's collections were entrusted to Moderna Museet in 1971, together with other collections, some of which had been acquired by the Friends of the museum. The entire collection was now known as Fotografiska Museet (Museum of Photography).

It is impossible to overvalue the contribution of Helmut Gernsheim as a scholar, collector and publicist in the field of photographic history. We Swedes are especially indebted to him since it was through his work and his collection that the Swedish government came to realize the specific value of the photograph as a work of art. Even though some of his early research has now been superseded, his pioneering activities are of incomparable value.

Helmut Gernsheim: Pioneer Collector and Historian of Photography. Early attempts at a theory of photography and their influence on Gernsheim

Helmut Gernsheim's role in establishing an aesthetic of photography can only be properly assessed by taking into account the state of research on the evolution of photography at the time. In what way did the achievements of his predecessors, such as Josef Maria Eder, Erich Stenger, Beaumont Newhall, and Lucia Moholy, influence Gernsheim's work, particularly his *opus magnum*, the *History of Photography*,¹ and his first publication, *New Photo Vision*? What territory was left for him to explore? In order to shed some light on the achievements of others on which Gernsheim was able to build, it will be helpful to discuss and compare some early examples of writing on photography with regard to their contribution to the aesthetic emancipation of photography as a fine art.

Josef Maria Eder's *Geschichte der Photographie* (History of Photography), which saw many editions between 1905 and 1932,² concentrated on the technical aspects of the medium. Eder was not just professor of photographic chemistry at the Technische Hochschule but also director of the Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt (Training and Research Institute of Graphic Arts), both in Vienna, and had done research on chemical and technical processes.³ His work had provided insights into the optics, mechanics, and chemistry of photography which would become the basis for applications and methods of reproduction on an industrial scale. This approach saw photography neither as an autonomous art form nor as documentation of social history and was only concerned with an encyclopedic account of technical developments addressed at a strictly professional audience.

Erich Stenger's *Photographie in Kultur und Technik*, published in 1938,⁴ shares Eder's concept of presenting the history of photography as the history of techniques. Stenger, too, was a chemist by training,⁵ and his main interest was the technical analysis of photography.⁶ His own account was, however, shorter and more superficial than that of Eder, being intended for a broader general public. Stenger's notes on the possible applications of certain techniques reflect his close connection with the photographic industry.⁷ In addition, Stenger illustrated the work of various photographers with a selection of the output of each. As indicated in the table of contents concerning "Applications of Photography," Stenger introduces the reader to a comprehensive spectrum of photography.

Beaumont Newhall, in his 1937 catalogue for the exhibition *Photography 1839–1937* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York,⁸ analyzed the principal stages in the evolution of photographic technique, but he also maintained that the aesthetics of photography were inseparable from technique.⁹ Newhall thus demonstrated, much more emphatically than either Eder or Stenger, that the technically oriented “craft” of photography may lead to an artistic vision and expression of photography. This was a first reference to photography as a serious art form.

In his catalogue, Newhall quoted a passage from László Moholy-Nagy’s volume of 1925, *Malerei, Photographie, Film*, published while he was still teaching at the Bauhaus in Weimar: “After the brilliant daguerreotype period, photography tried to imitate all the aims, manners and styles of painting. It lasted about one hundred years, until it reached the possibilities of exploiting its own means.”¹⁰ With his book, Moholy-Nagy had made a significant contribution to promoting the notion that photography be assessed on its own terms as an art form independent of painting. He insisted on a thorough liberation of photography from any connection with painting and asserted its own artistic validity: “For the contemporary photographer each task is primarily a matter of discovering a process that is appropriate in the circumstances and that is also in keeping with what the medium itself will permit. It is only when a reasonably exact photographic language has been evolved that those who are really gifted will be able to rise to the level of ‘art.’ ... No earlier or current example of painting is able to compete with photography’s unique capacity for impact. Why do we make these comparisons with what is ‘painterly’? What is the point of these imitations of Rembrandt or of Picasso?”¹¹

In the conclusion to his catalogue essay, in which he explains the difference between film and photography as well as various photographic techniques of earlier times, Newhall states that “the photograph not only documents a subject but records the vision of a person and a period.”¹² His understanding of photography as a new way of seeing, and not merely a technical reproduction of the external world, allows us to conclude that he had absorbed Moholy-Nagy’s argument “that photography is not primarily important as a picture-maker but as a means of extending human vision.”¹³

This expansion of the human capacity for vision with the help of photographic techniques is here understood as a creative process and not as an obstacle for creativity. In *The New Vision*, Moholy-Nagy wrote: “My photographic experiments ... helped to convince me that even the complete mechanization of technique may not constitute a menace to its essential creativeness.”¹⁴

Beaumont Newhall used the term “vision” to characterize what was special about this new way of seeing in photography. It must be remembered that the English



Helmut Gernsheim with his camera, London, 1946.
Collection Gernsheim, FIP, Mannheim (Photo: Felix H. Man)

translation of another volume by Moholy-Nagy, *Von Material zu Architektur* (1929), was published in 1930 as *The New Vision*.¹⁵ We do not know when Gernsheim became aware of this volume but the fact remains that, without yet having read Beaumont Newhall's catalogue of 1937, Gernsheim called his own first book *New Photo Vision*. It was this obvious intellectual affinity that prompted Newhall, in his letter of appreciation to Gernsheim, to state that the latter's "thesis [was] so in agreement with my own philosophy of photography."¹⁶

Both Newhall and Gernsheim ascribed to photography an autonomous aesthetic quality which they called "vision." In English, this term refers not only to optical perception, the capacity to see, but also, as in German, to an aspect of creativity. It evokes a connection with the aesthetic of Romanticism which demanded of the artist not be a slavish imitator of the outer world but to draw on the images in his imagination as well.¹⁷



*Honorary degree, Bradford University (UK), 1989.
Left to right: Helmut Gernsheim, Anthony C. R. Armstrong-Jones, unknown person, Horst P. Horst,
Arnold Newman, Andor Krasna-Krausz and Gisèle Freund. Collection Gernsheim, FIP, Mannheim*

In his book *Vision and Design*,¹⁸ the English art critic Roger Fry distinguished between ordinary (practical) and artistic (curiosity) vision: "The vision with which we regard such objects is quite distinct from the practical vision of our instinctive life. In the practical vision we have no more concern after we have read the label on the object; vision ceases the moment it has served its biological function. But the curiosity vision does contemplate the object disinterestedly; the object *ex hypothesis* has no more significance for actual life; it is a play or fancy object, and our vision dwells much more consciously and deliberately upon it."¹⁹ This contemplating or "aesthetic" vision, with which Gernsheim is also concerned, is crucial for the artist, for he expands it by adding an active, creative component: "The artist's main business in life, however, is carried on by means of [another] kind of vision, which I will call the creative vision."²⁰ Gernsheim and Newhall both felt that photography was ideally suited for exploring this creative potential.

László Moholy-Nagy had provided an important impetus for using photography as a creative medium. But it had been his wife, Lucia Moholy, who had first

encouraged him to take a serious interest in this medium.²¹ On the other hand, the work of Man Ray and some of the leading figures of the Russian avant-garde, such as El Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko,²² also strongly influenced Moholy-Nagy's theoretical thoughts on photography which he had laid down in *Malerei, Photographie, Film* (1925).²³ Some of the important ideas that Moholy-Nagy had articulated during his time at the Bauhaus influenced Beaumont Newhall and also Helmut Gernsheim, in their understanding of photography as an autonomous art, and made themselves felt in the reception of photography in America.

Lucia Moholy's volume *A Hundred Years of Photography 1839–1939*, published in 1939, also contributed significantly to the dissemination of this new understanding. Her tome provides a concise and vivid account of the history of photography up to that time without going into too much technical detail. For Moholy, photography was a phenomenon that reflected social and historical developments. In the beginning, this new art form had been perceived as somewhat magical, but it became so widely disseminated and commercialized during the course of its development that by 1939, it had already become an indispensable part of everyday life.²⁴ Moholy felt that the technical achievements of photography, in terms of reproduction, were just as important as the dimension of artistic expression.²⁵ Thus there is a close connection with Newhall's thesis that the aesthetic of photography is inextricably linked with the question of technique.

In the chapter on Julia Margaret Cameron, Lucia Moholy attempted a comparison of photography and painting, pointing out how the painting of the Pre-Raphaelites influenced the photography of their time and *vice versa*. At the same time, she emphasized that painting and photography are both autonomous media, each independent of the other,²⁶ making it clear that new technical achievements also sparked the evolution of the aesthetic of photography.

New Photo Vision

Helmut Gernsheim's first publication, *New Photo Vision*, appeared in 1942 and contained thirty-two black-and-white photographs, all of them his own. In their choice of motifs and their careful construction, all these images, whether studies of architecture or landscapes, reproductions of inanimate objects or portraits, reveal a direct relationship with the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. The pictures show a wide range of different tones of gray while avoiding harsh contrasts of light and shade. In his commentaries, which were based on notes he had made during his internment,²⁷ Gernsheim takes a firm stand against the prevailing Pictorialist tendencies in English

photography.²⁸ His notion of a new, photographic 'vision' was imbued with the objectivity associated with *Neue Sachlichkeit*, but he makes it clear that photography can never be objective because it is, by its very nature, already an abstraction from reality and a result of the photographer's subjective vision.²⁹ Instead of reproducing a pre-existing reality then, this vision is an expression of a reality that is newly created with the specific means of photography. "The photographic problem goes, therefore, much deeper than the mere depiction of something in the world of phenomena. When it is recognized, however, that photography is capable of more than the recording of external appearances ... it follows that photography becomes a means of expression."³⁰

As already noted, Gernsheim had, during his internment in Australia from 1940 through 1941, made a careful study of both Erich Stenger's and Lucia Moholy's histories of photography. Stenger's book, and even more so the studies by Moholy, demonstrably influenced Gernsheim's own seminal first publication, *New Photo Vision*. Although Gernsheim did not credit either Stenger or Moholy with regard to specific aspects of the content of his own volume (which makes it all the more difficult to distinguish between his own ideas and those derived from others), he did admit, in the acknowledgements, his general indebtedness to both.³¹

Lucia Moholy's key statement was that, aside from the technical capacity for realistic reproduction, photography had to be recognized as an autonomous art: "The tools generally used in the arts since centuries, such as pencil, chalk, brush, chisel, etc., carry out what the hand wants them to do. The hand again carries out the will of the mind. Whether, or not, the result will be a work of art, depends mainly on the mind, partly on the hand, and to a negligible degree only on the tool."³² Gernsheim employs almost exactly the same imagery and comes to the same conclusion: "The painter forms with the brush, the sculptor with the chisel, the photographer forms with light, the most modern form of all. Photography uses its own means: it has its own original laws of aesthetics. Photography can be an art."³³ And, an almost word for word agreement with Moholy, he continues: "Do not forget that the camera only carries out the will of the mind."³⁴

One observation of Moholy's that Gernsheim adopts is that of the reciprocal influence between painting and photography, even though both disciplines must be recognized as independent of each other. Moholy concludes her comments on Julia Margaret Cameron by noting: "This does not imply that painting and photography have been completely dependent on each other. It does not mean that painting and photography are two sides of the same thing. They are, on the contrary, independent, each of them evolving on the basis of their own laws. But they are subjected to similar forces from the world outside, and also to their mutual interaction."³⁵ And



Three Whiskered Beauties.

Left to right: Otto Steinert, Helmut Gernsheim and L. Fritz Gruber, photokina, Cologne, 29th September 1958. Collection Gernsheim, FIP, Mannheim (Photo: Charles E. Fraser)

Gernsheim, having insisted that photography should not imitate painting but follow its own laws, states that this "does not, however, imply that painting and photography are two manifestations of the same art. They are, on the contrary, independent, each of them evolving on the basis of their own laws, although they are subjected to similar forces from the world outside."³⁶

Gernsheim ends his book by insisting that modern photography is an art independent of painting: "Modern photography has become an art in itself and an aim in itself: to produce photographs. And photographs produced by only photographic means ... have no resemblance to paintings. They are based on entirely different laws and created by totally different tools. Photographers of acknowledged ability have found a style of their own and thereby proved that there can be no talk of mechanical art."³⁷

The responses to Gernsheim's first book were uneven. Some applauded the publication and the point of view adopted therein;³⁸ others remained critical, holding the view that British photography had a language of its own and could not be

appreciated from a German point of view.³⁹ In retrospect, we can identify these opposing points of view as characteristic of the reception of photography in the 1940s and 1950s. One commentator opened with the following verdict: "Here is a most provocative book. The author is an iconoclast, but sets up his own images to break, a tilter at windmills, most of which have received ample attention from previous Don Quixotes. Stripped of its verbiage, not by any means all the author's, the book is a plea for straight photography, but, in its present form, it is a rather indigestible mass. It is an omnium gatherum of opinions ranging from Fox Talbot to Lucia Moholy together with asides, challenges and suggestions by the author."⁴⁰ The observations of the reviewer in another journal, however, may be set against the negative character of the first: "This well illustrated work is intended for the photographer who desires to find the utmost artistic significance to his work. In the twentieth century, the author rightly desires to produce photographic achievements in a twentieth-century spirit, and he shows other people how to follow his example. In short, we have here a lucid description of what photographic art really is and what it can become to those who are alive to their art."⁴¹

The fact that Gernsheim's book was widely perceived as a provocation is explained by the very traditionalist view of photography then prevailing and prescribed by, among others, the Royal Photographic Society, an institution that Gernsheim openly attacked: "Photography in England is in a state of stagnation, and although the avowed object of the R.P.S. and the London Salon is to advance the art, most photographs which show any manifestation of originality are carefully eliminated from their walls."⁴²

Gernsheim's first book was of far-reaching importance for disseminating a modern view of photography. Here, he gave voice, more forcefully than in his great history of photography or in his later publications, to his personal conviction that photography was an autonomous art. He argued that photography could only hold its own as a fine art if it held fast to its own means instead of competing with painting. Thus Gernsheim contributed substantially to establishing photography as an autonomous artistic discipline.

Unlike Erich Stenger, Gernsheim sought to analyze the differences between the various artistic disciplines by contrasting the development of painting, for example Impressionism, with that of photography.⁴³ Far more strongly than Lucia Moholy, he argued for a renewal of photography and a departure from the outdated, romanticizing taste of the British public which adhered to a belated Pictorialism. He called attention to the modernization of photography that had been brought about by the likes of Alfred Stieglitz in America, Alfred Lichtwark and his circle in Germany, Hans Watzek and Heinrich Kühn in Vienna, Eugène Atget, Nadar, and Etienne Carjat in

Paris, and Paul Martin in London.⁴⁴ All of these he cited as comrades-in-arms in the struggle for his 'new photo vision', along with some of the Pictorialists who were also, he felt, trying to develop a modern way of photographic seeing.

Notes

- 1 Helmut Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914*, London 1955. German edition: *Geschichte der Photographie. Die ersten hundert Jahre*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Vienna 1983.
- 2 Josef Maria Eder, *Geschichte der Photographie*, 4th ed., Halle an der Saale 1932.
- 3 See Eder 1932 (see note 2), p. 1047. Some of the issues addressed by Eder in his research are reflected in the titles of the following publications: *Die Bestimmung der Salpetersäure* (1876); *Über die Reaktionen der Chromsäure und Chromate auf Gelatine, Gummi, Zucker und andere Substanzen organischen Ursprunges in ihren Beziehungen zur Chromophotographie* (1878); *Die chemischen Wirkungen des farbigen Lichtes* (1879). He also carried out research on sensitometry, actinometry, spectral analysis, and spectrography.
- 4 Erich Stenger, *Die Photographie in Kultur und Technik. Ihre Geschichte während hundert Jahren*, Leipzig 1938. The English edition *The History of Photography. Its Realtion to Civilization and Practice*, New York 1939, was translated by Edward Epstean, and it was thanks to this friend and colleague of Stenger that this translation was published in spite of the outbreak of war. On this point, see Bodo von Dewitz, "Viel Arbeit bleibt da noch zu tun!" Erich Stenger und seine Sammlung zur Kulturgeschichte der Photographie, *Kölner Museums-Bulletin*, 1, 1997, p. 23.
- 5 The title of Stenger's doctoral dissertation, submitted at Kiel University in 1903, was: *Über eine neue Synthese unsymmetrisch substituierter Pyrrole. Über Azetoxaminsäure*.
- 6 See Dewitz 1997 (see note 4), p. 15. Stenger started out as a chemist at the Phototechnisches Laboratorium of the Technische Hochschule in Berlin. After proving a successful research assistant there, he was appointed to a professorship in 1922, and from 1934 he headed the Laboratorium, now re-named Institut für angewandte Photochemie. He ended his professional career there in 1945.
- 7 See Stenger 1950 (see note 4), p. 230 (in a chapter on the first factories), and pp. 232–234 (in a chapter on the first commercial outlets for photography).
- 8 This catalogue was reprinted as *Photography. A Short Critical History*. New York 1938.
- 9 Beaumont Newhall, *Photography 1839–1937*, New York 1937, p. 75: "Photographic esthetics are so closely combined with technique that it is almost impossible to separate the two."
- 10 László Moholy-Nagy, *Malerei, Photographie, Film*, Munich 1925, p. 41, as cited in Beaumont Newhall 1937 (see note 9), p. 69. [Editor's note: This citation could not be verified.].
- 11 László Moholy-Nagy, cited in Wolfgang Kemp, ed., *Theorie der Fotografie*, vol. 2: 1912–1945, Munich 1999, p. 72.
- 12 Newhall 1937 (see note 9), p. 90.
- 13 Newhall 1937 (see note 9), p. 70.
- 14 László Moholy-Nagy, *The New Vision*, 4th rev. ed., 1928, and *Abstract of an Artist*, New York 1949, p. 49.
- 15 László Moholy-Nagy, *Von Material zu Architektur*, Munich 1929. English edition: *The New Vision. From Material to Architecture*, New York 1930.
- 16 Letter of 20 November 1944 from Beaumont Newhall to Helmut Gernsheim, in the Gernsheim Archive, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen / FIP, Mannheim. The letter bears the following file memorandum: "Hq, 5th Photog Gp, Rcn/APO 520, U.S. Army/Italy, 20 November 1944."
- 17 The German Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich encapsulated the spirit of Romantic subjectivism in his formula: "Der Maler soll nicht bloss malen, was er vor sich sieht, sondern auch, was er in sich sieht" (The painter should not only paint what he sees directly in front of him, but also what he sees within in himself.) Cited in Eckart Klessmann, *Die deutsche Romantik*, Cologne 1979, p. 8.
- 18 Roger Fry, *Vision and Design*, London 1920.
- 19 Fry 1920 (see note 18), p. 47.

- 20 Fry 1920 (see note 18), p. 49.
- 21 Krisztina Passuth, *Moholy-Nagy*, London 1985, p. 34: "His wife Lucia Moholy was an excellent photographer, and it was she who opened his eyes to a series of new technical and artistic possibilities."
- 22 Krisztina Passuth 1985 (see note 21), p. 35: "It is very probable (and both El Lissitzky and Man Ray affirm it) that Moholy-Nagy had seen Man Ray's photograms in Tristan Tzara's *Les champs délicieux* before embarking on making his cameraless photographs."
- 23 Moholy-Nagy 1925 (see note 10). English edition: *Painting, Photography, Film*, London 1969.
- 24 Lucia Moholy, *A Hundred Years of Photography, 1839–1939*, London and Aylesbury 1939, p. 168: "In millions and millions of homes, shops, offices, cars and trains, every morning men and women look at the pictures before they start reading the printed news."
- 25 Moholy 1939 (see note 24), p. 15: "Every art has its technique. So has photography." See also p. 16: "If, therefore, photography is referred to here as an art, it is done under the same restrictions. Photography is an art and a technique. Whether the one name is used for it or the other, neither is meant to be a challenge to those who advocate the one or the other."
- 26 Moholy 1939 (see note 24), p. 80: "She [Julia Margaret Cameron] adapted some of her photographs to the Pre-Raphaelite style, as e.g. in *The Angel of the Sepulchre*. These photographs have little in common with her portraits of the realistic type, but they are classical examples for the study of the mutual relations between painting and photography." See also p. 81: "This does not imply that painting and photography have been completely dependent on each other. It does not mean that painting and photography are two sides of the same thing. They are, on the contrary, independent, each of them evolving on the basis of their own laws. But they are subjected to similar forces from the world outside, and also to their mutual interaction."
- 27 These are now in the Gernsheim Archive, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim.
- 28 Helmut Gernsheim, *New Photo Vision*, London 1942, p. 23.
- 29 See Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 5: "The old saying, 'The camera does not lie' is wrong, of course. Photography is *not* objective ... every photograph is an abstract, a transformation of colour values into the grey-scale. Already here there are endless possibilities of subjective representation."
- 30 See Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 5.
- 31 In these acknowledgements, Gernsheim also mentions his debt to Dudley Johnston, who was an important source of information on Pictorialism. See Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 4. See also J. Dudley Johnston, "Pictorial Photography", *The Photographic Journal*, April 1939.
- 32 Moholy 1939 (see note 24), p. 15.
- 33 Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 5.
- 34 Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 5.
- 35 Moholy 1939 (see note 24), p. 81.
- 36 Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 8.
- 37 Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), p. 28.
- 38 Paul Hill and Thomas Cooper, eds, *Dialogue with Photography*, London and New York 1979, p. 178, for Gernsheim's observation on this critical response: "Critics of the national and weekly papers considered my credo on photography very timely, if not overdue."
- 39 See Gernsheim's comment, cited in Hill and Cooper 1979 (see note 38), p. 178: "A few photographic papers agreed that I had a case, others were critical of my challenge, saying that British photography has its own natural idiom and cannot be judged from a German point of view."
- 40 *British Journal of Photography*, LXXXIX/4306, 13 November 1942.
- 41 *The Library World*, January 1943.
- 42 Helmut Gernsheim, "The 'C. S.' [Combined Societies] in England", *Photographic Art*, XI/1&2, 1946, p. 38.
- 43 Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), pp. 22, 23.
- 44 See Gernsheim 1942 (see note 28), pp. 22–24.

Bringing Up Baby: Helmut Gernsheim, Beaumont Newhall, and the Childhood of Photo History

Now the child that we brought up before anybody else (for I don't count the technological historians) has grown up! ... Once, when we were together, one of us said "The first convention of the historians of photography will now come to order!" How I wish we could hold another such convention soon.

Beaumont Newhall, letter to Helmut Gernsheim, June 4, 1977¹

For all intents and purposes, for a period of forty years control of the history of photography in the English language rested in the hands of two men: Beaumont Newhall in the United States, and Helmut Gernsheim in Europe.²

Examine the footnotes and/or bibliography of any scholarly work on photography circa 1970, and there were precious few at that time, to see what sources they cite as standard reference works on the medium's history. With the occasional exception of Peter Pollack's *The Picture History of Photography*,³ which consists primarily of rewritten press releases and exhibition wall labels and contains little original scholarship, and such earlier (and even then much out of date) works as those by Erich Stenger,⁴ Josef Maria Eder,⁵ Lucia Moholy,⁶ and Robert Taft,⁷ the citations come from two main sources. At that juncture, Gernsheim and Newhall – as I will henceforth refer to these two scholars and their projects – did not just dominate the discipline; they virtually owned it.

This, in turn, reflects a larger lacuna, a paucity of critical and historical attention to photography up until 1970 that, given the medium's cultural and artistic impact, remains inexplicable, especially when newer media and newer art forms (film, television, recordings; modern dance, experimental cinema, jazz) had evoked critical discourse and energetic historianship within a decade or so of their genesis. Why photography had to wait so long for its critics and historians abides as a mystery.

How can we define the parameters of the period in which the Gernsheim-Newhall vision of photography's history held sway?

The first version of Newhall's history, a Museum of Modern Art exhibition catalogue titled *Photography 1839–1937*, was published in March of 1937,⁸ and

became the skeleton of his subsequent *History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*.⁹ MoMA issued that tome's first edition in 1949, and has kept it in print ever since.¹⁰

The first edition of Gernsheim's history, titled *The History of Photography: from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, appeared six years later, in 1955, delimited to the medium's evolution up until the outset of World War I.¹¹ One can find that project's arguments summarized and also brought up to the then present day in Gernsheim's *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends, 1839–1960*, first published in 1962,¹² followed in 1968 by *A Concise History of Photography*.¹³ (Gernsheim himself proposed this last volume as the work of his most directly analogous to Newhall's *History*.¹⁴) A year later, the second edition of Gernsheim's full-length *History* appeared.¹⁵

The production and publication of their most influential books in their most influential editions, thus, runs from 1937, when the first version of Newhall's history appears, until 1969, when Gernsheim issues the second edition of his own. Yet one can easily argue that the influence of their visions of the medium still persists, and that it certainly endured at close to full strength until the early 1980s. Let us proceed, therefore, on the premise that their primacy in the field stretched from 1940 to 1980.

Between the late 1960s and the mid-'80s a number of other single-volume histories of the medium did appear. One could mention those by Michel F. Braive,¹⁶ Michael Langford,¹⁷ Ian Jeffrey,¹⁸ and Jean-Luc Daval¹⁹ as examples. None of these succeeded in supplanting or even seriously challenging the Gernsheim and Newhall versions of the history, nor – because they involved little or no original research or uncovering of new primary material – could they claim even to supplement those tomes in a substantial way, though they did include discussion and/or illustration of photographic works whose creation or coming to light postdated those dominant texts. At best, as in the case of Jeffrey's effort or Gisèle Freund's study, *Photography and Society*,²⁰ they rethought the history as Gernsheim and Newhall had narratized it, putting a somewhat different, often more politicized or sociological spin on it.

The first major contender for an English-language alternative to the Newhall-Gernsheim paradigm, Naomi Rosenblum's *A World History of Photography*, originally appeared in 1984 (since updated several times, and widely translated). Immediately seized upon as a viable replacement for its predecessors, Rosenblum's survey expands the canon considerably. However, while Rosenblum's overview draws upon and distills extensive research by others, it offers no notable original scholarship of its own, and uncovers no previously unknown primary material.²¹



*Helmut Gernsheim, Christine and Beaumont Newhall, Santa Fé/New Mexico, 1978.
Collection Gernsheim, FIP, Mannheim*

If Gernsheim and Newhall gave us what anthropologists call an origin myth, Rosenblum gives us what I would define as a synthesis myth, attempting, with some success, to provide a more multicultural vision of the medium's first 150 years. Her hefty volume has since been joined by the multi-author *A New History of Photography* from the 1990s, which has also appeared in several languages.²² These two books have become not only widely used reference works but also frequently adopted classroom texts for courses in the history of photography, actually displacing the Gernsheim and Newhall books as standard teaching texts.

Yet they also demonstrate the problems inherent in such books. No historian can cover the world in a single book (even a weighty one), as Rosenblum tries to do, without turning encyclopaedic, stretching her- or himself too thin, and creating only a semblance of inclusiveness at best. And what an anthology like that by Frizot *et al* gains in polyvocality it necessarily loses in coherence and overview.²³

I would propose that we have reached the end of the era of synoptic, single-author, single-volume histories of photography.²⁴ Our awareness of the medium's reach into almost every culture on the globe, our knowledge of its infiltration into an almost inconceivably broad range of human activity, our access to the resulting flood

of imagery by an ever-growing list of picture-makers past and present, perhaps especially our sensitivity to the inevitable limitations and biases of every individual historian – all of these militate presently against the development of individual historians with an inclination to undertake another telling of the “whole story” of photography, and even to the construing of it as a “story” in the first place.

So it seems safe to predict anew for the foreseeable future that instead of more synoptic and encyclopaedic histories, the field will continue to move toward surveys of key forms and movements, cross-sections of significant time periods, overviews of national and regional involvement with the medium, examinations of particular technologies for image-making, critical biographies, *catalogues raisonnées*, and a bizarre assortment of microstudies. Several decades of such work may provide us with new paradigms out of which a kind of temporary unified field theory might emerge.²⁵

What did Gernsheim and Newhall mean to each other?

The connection between them began in 1944, when Gernsheim sent to Newhall a copy of his 1942 book *New Photo Vision*²⁶ – a monograph devoted to his own images, whose foreword and preface may qualify as the lengthiest credo any photographer has ever written and published to accompany a presentation of his own work. Gernsheim’s introductory text to this book of his pictures can be seen as equivalent to Newhall’s catalogue for that 1937 exhibition: the infrastructure from whose assumptions he would never escape.

Gernsheim had by then expatriated from Germany to England; Newhall was in the U.S. Army, stationed in Italy. As both men recount the event, Gernsheim’s letter initiated a correspondence that continued until Newhall’s death in 1993. The two met for the first time in London in December 1944, when Newhall planted the seed of photo-historianship in Gernsheim’s mind. (Both men told this story often, in interviews and in print, so it hardly needs repeating here.²⁷)

From the evidence of that 40-year correspondence and related material, along with their citations of, and references to, each other’s work in their writings and lectures and interviews, it appears that the relationship remained unflaggingly collegial, amicable, and supportive. The field of photo-historianship at the time was so underpopulated that they never came close to stepping on each other’s toes.

Can we define the inheritance left to us by these two dedicated, industrious pioneers?

What Gernsheim and Newhall provided in an unprecedented way constitutes an origin myth for photography: a coherent, engaging, persuasive linear narrative

explicating the where and how of the medium's birth, the course of its early years, its evolution and emergence into early maturity. Considered from another perspective, it represents a *bildungsroman* for the medium, with all of the youthful romance implied by that term. As writers, they proved themselves well-suited to that task. Both men had – in addition to the patience required for serious research and considerable investigative savvy and detective tendencies – literary skills untypical of the average scholar and academic. Both also wrote unpedantically for the literate general reader, not just for specialists in the field. (Newhall, in fact, actually consulted a Hollywood "script doctor" to help him shape his version; "*The History of Photography*," he once said, "was deliberately planned with the help of a storyteller."²⁸)

What they gave us, then, went well beyond what those whom Gernsheim and Newhall often dismissed as technological historians²⁹ had offered previously, accounts that emphasized the evolution of the photographer's toolkit without paying adequate attention to the resulting imagery or its effect on the world – the histories devoted to cameras and lenses and films and processes.³⁰ Gernsheim and Newhall made of photography's invention and subsequent elaboration a saga. In doing so, they not only moved the medium's historianship into a more broadly chronological approach that attended to the vernacular, applied, social, and artistic uses to which western culture put photography, but also turned their attention to at least a rudimentary concern with the morphological: the ways in which ideas and approaches grew from each other, changed and individuated, interacted with and opposed one another, flowered and withered.

They had begun, *de facto*, to define their discipline in the practice thereof. They had no real competitors; the field they had started tilling attracted few during that period, so no contrary historiographic strategies emerged to contest theirs until both had largely completed their major contributions. Effectively, they were conforming the historianship of photography (including the scrutiny of its prehistory, to which Gernsheim devoted particular attention) to what had become standard methodology in the historianship of art in general, but with a much greater emphasis on both cultural and institutional history than mainstream art historians of the period allowed themselves. If they did not bring to their separate investigations the political sensibility of a Walter Benjamin, or even of a Heinrich Schwarz,³¹ they certainly did not scant the medium's cultural impact, utilitarian functions, and social consequence in order to emphasize its more aestheticized usages.

No one to date has substantially impeached the scholarship of either Gernsheim or Newhall, nor has anyone offered a more persuasive origin myth than theirs. But our appetite for such meat-and-potatoes epics has to some extent turned into an interest in smaller bites, more thorough chewing and digesting thereof, increasingly

exotic flavors. The data they gathered, and of course the primary materials they salvaged and preserved and brought to our attention, we still value. Much of what they told us we still believe; in part because they rendered it convincingly, in part because the facts still appear to support it. Nonetheless, we revise. Not merely out of habit, but because they force us to do so.

Every scholarly discipline goes through periodic revisionist phases, of course, so the historianship of photography simply follows that pattern. Yet, because this field remains so new, we also face the ever-knotty problem of the young confronting their difficult parents. Gernsheim and Newhall have proven themselves problematic progenitors in various ways, primarily – by my lights – not because they told a convincing story but because they turned their taste patterns into value judgments and let those value judgments affect their construction of this history from which we all now must work.

Newhall and Gernsheim, though quite different in temperament and personality, shared many things, and their prejudices, particularly their emotional and intellectual attraction to ‘straight’ photography and their lack of interest in or active disdain for pictorialism and process experimentation, run along parallel lines, both spicing up and weakening their work in similar ways. In preparation for this essay I re-read a large chunk of Gernsheim’s output, and engaged for the first time with his book *New Photo Vision*.³² I found the similarities of their biases, and the straightforwardness with which they enunciated them, remarkable; I can’t imagine historians of other media in that era allowing themselves the same degree of license to opine and elide. But that is a subject requiring a further essay to elucidate.

Gernsheim and Newhall continued their work for approximately three more decades after the mid-1960s, seeding the field through diverse activities: writing, lecturing, and collecting in Gernsheim’s case; writing, curating, and teaching in Newhall’s. But their major work already lay behind them by the time of the 1970s photo boom. Though they remained influential in various ways till their deaths, the span of the history of photography, to which they shaped the field’s (and the audience’s) response, ends in the mid-1950s, let us say for the sake of this discussion with the work of Robert Frank. I have rarely seen any assessment by either writer of a post-1960 photographer cited as a significant contribution to the discourse.

We can consider that as it should be for historians, from whom we don’t expect cogent evaluations of recent work by current picturemakers. That is the job of critics. One of the tasks we face in our revisionist approach to both these figures is that of disentangling their self-assigned roles as historians from their tendency to function as critics and polemicists. Newhall (at least late in his life) understood the difference; in commenting in 1975 on the work of a colleague, Heinrich Schwarz, he noted, “An

art historian is a very special person and it is a very special discipline. It is not related to criticism.”³³ Yet, in his reply to that very first letter sent to him by Gernsheim, Newhall wrote, “It is a real pleasure to make the acquaintance of a fellow critic.”³⁴ Though they soon thereafter defined themselves as historians, they never fully set aside their preferences and partisanship. Perhaps that asks too much of those who blaze such a trail. We who follow after them must learn from their excesses as well as their accomplishments, correcting and even redrawing entirely the map they left us, never mistaking theirs – or our own entirely new ones – for the territory.

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Notes

- ¹ This comes from a typed letter from Newhall to Gernsheim in the collection of the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim, Germany. The last two sentences represent a handwritten postscript to that missive.
- ² In point of fact, I should probably describe them as two husband-and-wife teams, and name the spouses, Nancy Newhall and Alison Gernsheim, because – untypically for men of their generation in any profession – both Beaumont Newhall and Helmut Gernsheim considered their wives equal partners in their ventures, paying them frequent and extensive credit (Alison Gernsheim was listed as co-author of the second edition of the *Gernsheim History*).
- ³ Pollack, Peter, *The Picture History of Photography* (New York: Abrams, Inc., 1959).
- ⁴ Stenger, Dr. Erich, *The History of Photography: Its Relation to Civilization and Practice* (Easton, PA: Mack Printing Co., 1939). Translated by Edward Epstean.
- ⁵ Eder, Dr. Josef Maria, *History of Photography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945). Translated by Edward Epstean.
- ⁶ Moholy, Lucia, *A Hundred Years of Photography* (London: Pelican Books, 1939).
- ⁷ Taft, Robert, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York: Macmillan, 1938).
- ⁸ Newhall, Beaumont, *Photography 1839-1937* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1937).
- ⁹ MoMA reissued the catalogue, relatively unchanged in form, a year later, under the title *Photography: A Short Critical History* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1938).
- ¹⁰ *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949). This first edition was followed by a second in 1964 and a third in 1982. The final edition appearing in Newhall’s lifetime – and the one still in print today – does not significantly revise or expand on its predecessor, or add any substantial new scholarship thereto.
- ¹¹ Gernsheim, Helmut and Alison, *The History of Photography: from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1955). Despite its restricted time span, it ran 600 pages, roughly thrice the size of Newhall’s tome. For Gernsheim’s account of the making of that first edition, see Hill, Paul and Cooper,

- Thomas, *Dialogue with Photography*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 195–197.
- ¹² Gernsheim, Helmut, *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends, 1839–1960* (London: Faber and Faber/Boston: Boston Book & Art Shop, 1962).
- ¹³ Gernsheim, Helmut and Alison, *A Concise History of Photography* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1968).
- ¹⁴ Hill and Cooper, op.cit., p. 197.
- ¹⁵ The second edition of Gernsheim's *History* appeared in 1969, just after Alison's death: Gernsheim, Helmut and Alison, *The History of Photography, 1685–1914: from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969). In 1982 Gernsheim began issuing a much-revised and expanded version of his project in multiple volumes: Gernsheim, Helmut, *The Origins of Photography* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1982) and *The Rise of Photography 1850–1880: The Age of Collodion* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1989). A third volume, in progress, was unpublished at the time of his death.
- ¹⁶ Braive, Michel F., *The Photograph: A Social History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).
- ¹⁷ Langford, Michael, *The Story of Photography* (New York: Focal Press, 1980).
- ¹⁸ Jeffrey, Ian, *Photography A Concise History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981).
- ¹⁹ Daval, Jean-Luc, *Photography: History of an Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1982).
- ²⁰ Freund, Gisèle, *Photographie et société* (Paris, editions du Seuil, 1974); published in English as *Photography and Society* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1980).
- ²¹ Rosenblum, Naomi, *A World History of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984).
- ²² Michel Frizot, Pierre Albert, Colin Harding, eds., *A New History of Photography* (Cologne: Könemann, 1998).
- ²³ I am of course leaving out numerous other subsequent attempts at creating histories of photography with claims to comprehensiveness. I should at least mention John Szarkowski's *Photography Until Now* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1989), since it represents MoMA's experiment in creating its own successor to the Newhall project. As I wrote in my review of Szarkowski's book and exhibition, "The Museum of Modern Art published what was really the first North American attempt at a comprehensive single-volume history of photography. Let us hope that it has now published the last." See Coleman, A. D., "Letter from: New York, No. 12," in Coleman, A. D., *Critical Focus: Photography in the International Image Community* (Munich: Nazraeli Press, 1995).
- ²⁴ This doesn't mean we won't see more of them. But I'm unconvinced that they serve any useful purpose nowadays in furthering our knowledge of the medium. See, in this regard, Davenport, Alma, *The History of Photography: An Overview* (London, Boston: Focal Press, 1991; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).
- ²⁵ From the text of an unpublished keynote address delivered by this author to the international symposium "The Histories of Photography: Evaluating the first 150 years of the medium's historiography; anticipating the histories to come," co-sponsored by the European Society for the History of Photography (ESHPh) and the Erna and Victor Hasselblad Foundation's Center for Photography, Göteborg, Sweden, Friday, September 29, 1989.
- ²⁶ Gernsheim, Helmut, *New Photo Vision* (London: The Fountain Press, 1942).
- ²⁷ See, for example, Newhall, Beaumont, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1993), pp. 85–88, and also Hill and Cooper, op. cit., pp. 179–80.
- ²⁸ Hill and Cooper, op. cit., pp. 407–08.
- ²⁹ For example, Newhall's 1977 comment in the epigram to this essay. Gernsheim, in Hill and Cooper (op. cit., p. 195), asserts that the earlier historians "[Josef Maria] Eder and [Erich]

Stenger had overstressed the technical and chemical aspects of photography, completely overlooking its great contribution to the aesthetics of nineteenth century picture making by the novel way of image-recording."

³⁰ Such researches have great value, needless to say, and continue to this day, but address only a small part of the larger situation of photography.

³¹ Both men would of course have known the work of Schwarz; I have found no evidence that, at least before the 1980s, they had familiarized themselves with Benjamin's now germinal "*Short History of Photography*".

³² Op. cit.

³³ Hill and Cooper, op. cit., p. 387.

³⁴ Typed letter dated 20 November 1944, from a copy in the collection of the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim, Germany.

Antonín Dufek

Rudolf Skopec in Relation to Helmut Gernsheim

During his time at the *Bayerische Staatsanstalt für Lichtbildwesen* in Munich – if I recall the title of the former *Lehr-und Versuchsanstalt für Photographie* correctly – Helmut Gernsheim got to know, among other people, Rudolf Skopec. This probably occurred in the years 1933–34.

Rudolf Skopec was born in 1913, some 90 years ago. It is said that he maintained friendly relations with some of his schoolmates from Munich even after the communist coup and that Helmut Gernsheim praised his collection when he visited Prague. Was Gernsheim the person who inspired Skopec to study the history of photography



Portrait of Rudolf Skopec (1913–1975)

and to collect? I think that at this point it is relevant to mention that Skopec first published on the history of photography in March 1932. This is the first entry in his bibliography (*Z dějin fotografie. Katalog výstavy fotografií ve Velkém Mezířici*, 1932), which consists of about 400 items (Otakar Jiránek, *Život a dílo prof. Rudolfa Skopec*. Diplomová práce FAMU, katedra foto, Prague 1980).

It seems that Skopec started to collect photographs in the year 1939 at the latest. This year marked the hundredth anniversary of photography and was commemorated by a large exhibition of Czech photography. At 26 years old, Rudolf Skopec was one of the most active members of the scientific committee of the exhibition and co-author of the catalogue, which contained over 1,000 exhibits. He was one of the first collectors and historians of photography and, as such, did not make any particular distinction between art and craft.

Skopec learned photography in his father's studio in Velké Mezířici and before he went to Munich he spent the years 1929–32 in Brno, attending a school for photographers. There he was impressed by Jan Lauschmann, one of the most influential amateur photographers of the 1920s, a chemist and the author of many articles not only on the practical side but also on the history of photography. On his return from Munich, Skopec settled in Prague. From 1936 onwards he was an editor of *Fotograf*, a photographic trade magazine. He felt compelled to write and, in 1939, he contributed *A Concise History of Photography* to it. Two years later, he published his first and most scientific, and incidentally a very modern, even post-modern, work: *Ohlas vynálezu a rozvoje fotografie v českém tisku a soupis české literatury o fotografii a filmu vydané od roku 1863 do 1. 2. 1941*. Prague 1941. (The Reception to the Invention and Development of Photography in Czech Print and a list of Czech Literature on Photography and Film published between 1863 and 1 February 1941.)

Many further titles later, seven years after Alison and Helmut Gernsheim's *The History of Photography*, and 40 years from the present day, he published *Dějiny fotografie v obrazech od nejstarsích dob k dnesku* in 1963, and one year later published as *Photographie im Wandel der Zeiten*, Prague 1964.

With 1,151 pictures, it was the best illustrated history of photography for several decades to come. Most of the pictures came from Skopec's own collection. In his house on the outskirts of Prague, he collected simply everything connected with photography. This link was his sole criterion. When the photography collection of the Moravian Gallery in Brno was founded in 1962, he became Head of the Consulting Committee. However, our collection concentrated upon artistic photography. He always wanted a museum of photography collecting everything, as he did. This really was the specific focus of his collection. If a novel or a poem mentioned photography, it was in his collection. Technique, caricatures, songs, everything touching photography, qualified



Rudolf Skopec, Iris diaphragm, 1936

for his collection. Today, our state has no such collection and I feel that there are things that are not accepted either in technical museums or in those dedicated to art.

Of his photographic work, *Diaphragm* (1936) is the most admired. It is significant that a photographic device became a subject for him. Skopec spent his life teaching, writing and collecting. In 1961, he published an article on Helmut Gernsheim. (Rudolf Skopec, 'Helmut Gernsheim', *Ceskoslovenská fotografie*, No.12, 1961, p. 189).

Rudolf Skopec died in 1975, at the age of 62. Before his death, he was a guest at George Eastman House and obviously donated some items from his collection to the museum and was given some in return. He became a member of a scientific committee of George Eastman House.

In contrast to the Gernsheim collection, Skopec's unique collection, filling several rooms and the loft of his house, started to trickle away and only a small amount of work deriving from Skopec was purchased by museums in Prague. However, from 1962 until his death, Skopec purchased many prints for the Moravian Gallery.

The Borderfields of Photography. Initial Steps of Science and Computer Art in the Sixties

The Precursors of Science Art

It is generally known that great creative potential exists on the borderfields. When influences from different perspectives are superimposed, the chances of something new coming out of this collaboration are increased.

This experience has been repeatedly confirmed in the field of photography, especially in artistic practice. I will give an account of one such case, and especially of the possibilities and opportunities for creative expression that have been produced by the intersection of photography with the natural and applied sciences.

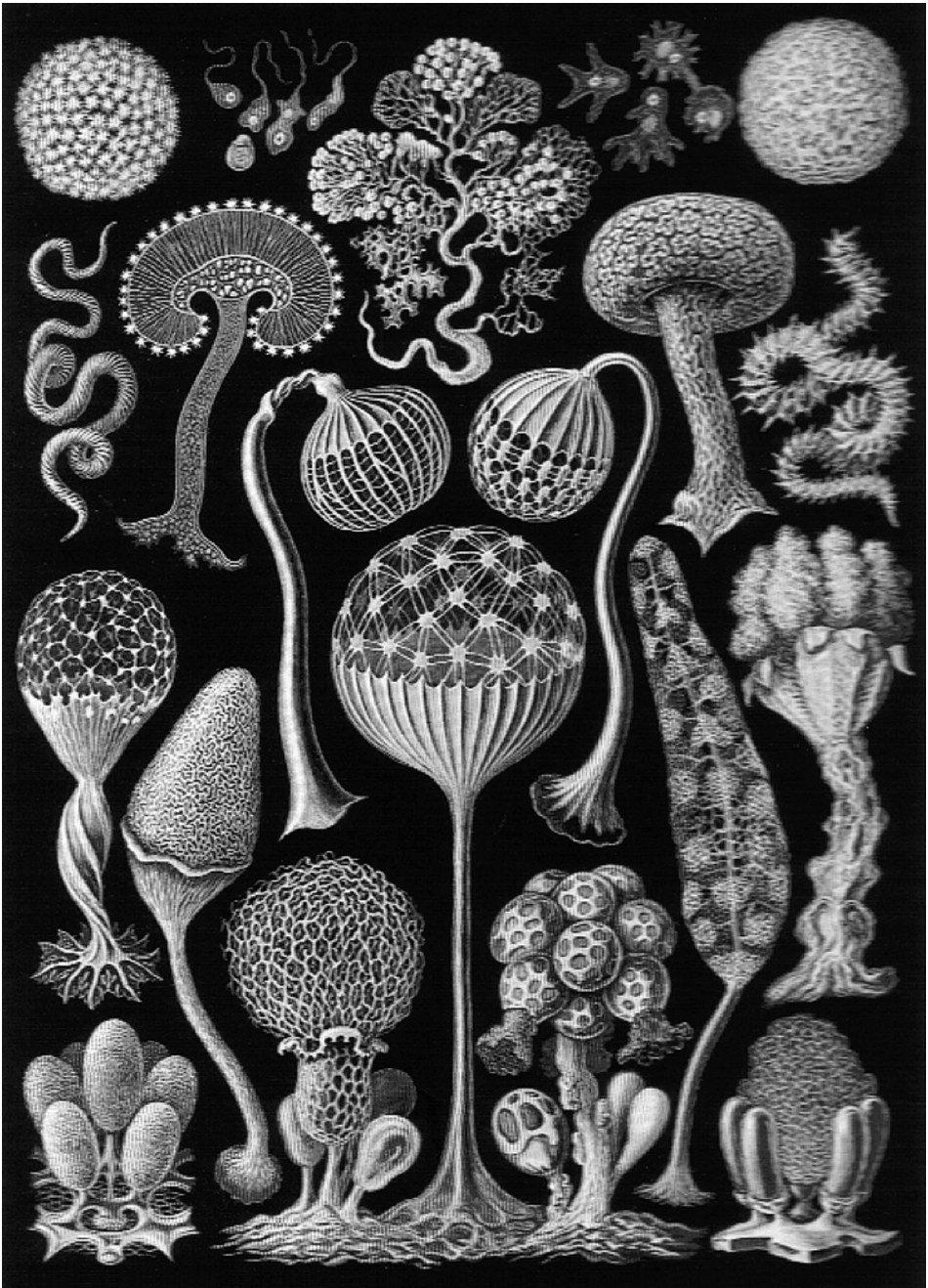
An especially prolific time was between 1960 and 1970. This was mainly due to the many new methods for visualizing scientific objects, structures and processes that were being developed.

Scientific photography brought considerable enhancement of our visual experience, and many things that were made available in this manner were made noteworthy for their aesthetic aspects.

Such things altered our perspective. The art historian Juliane Roth identified this as 'Productive Aesthetic Behavior' in her book, *Abstract Picture of Nature* (1960). The observer no longer interprets such photographs only from a perspective of science but rather from one of art.

There is a particular concept for such pictures in German, namely, 'art forms of nature'. The term was coined by the German biologist Ernst Haeckel, who published around 3,000 illustrations of marine microorganisms in a 1863 monograph. Haeckel used the microscope to visualize skeletal and shell formations and because, at that time, there were no cameras capable of rendering microscopic images, he made drawings of what he had seen.

The concept, 'art forms of nature' was provocative and incited intense discussion in art and philosophy on whether nature could create something akin to art. In any case, the organic forms that Haeckel had made accessible to the eye had a strong influence on art and established the newly emerging Art Nouveau.



Ernst Haeckel, *Plants*, 1899

Innovations of the Sixties

In the years after the second world war, remarkable advances were made in many areas of scientific photography. As testament to this are the many illustrated books, in which material from various methods of scientific photography were developed: X-ray diagnostic, electron microscopy, X-ray-diffraction spectrometry, telescopic and radar. It was the aesthetic components of the expanding visual world that awoke the interest of the laity.

In the meantime, photographers were becoming aware of new methods of image developing, and were no longer satisfied to pick up their photos from the laboratory, rather they began to use the materials of scientific photography to produce pictures themselves. Some were also not content with the available equipment, but modified the apparatus in order to suit their requirements.

Manfred P. Kage came from chemistry. His career began as a scientific photographer of microscopic images.

Microscopy is the oldest form of composition whose range of function has been recognized as Science Art. There are, of course, various further procedures of scientific photography that in a similar manner, are used to produce art, and many of them go back to experiments in the 1960's. The following paragraphs give a short overview.

One of the earliest purveyors of this direction was the photographer Peter Keetman, who already in the 1950's, constructed his own arrangements for the documentation of pendulum swinging paths.

The fundamental works of 'Generative Photography' originated in the 1960s. This characterized a photographic movement that produced works that were removed from images of the environment and independently designed. The pictures originated with the help of technical organization of mechanical or optic foundations, often on the basis of programs in which the workings of computer graphics are anticipated. The following pictures are examples of these earliest years.

And so we come to electronics as an aid to artwork, which should have an especially lasting influence on the systems of computer graphics. One of the precursors was the so-called 'Oscillons' of the American, Ben F. Laposki – beginning in 1952 these were pictures composed on the screen of a cathode ray oscilloscope and then photographed.



Herbert W. Franke and Helmut Volland, Typewriter, 1956, Cathode-Ray-Oscilloscope-Image

The First Digital Pictures

As figures composed from mathematical elements and calculated from a system appeared on a display screen, the expression 'computer graphic' was suggested. The breakthrough for this method occurred in the sixties with the advent of the computer and especially computer-graphic systems. One could put out the pictures with printers and plotters, but the decisive advance came with the electronic picture screen, or monitor, as an output device. In the first years of its use, monitor photography was the definitive method for documentation.

The wondrous newly available visual worlds of mathematics inspired many mathematicians and artists to generate new pictures with the help of computer graphic methods, that were mathematically described as formulae but are now interesting for aesthetic rather than mathematical reasons. The Mathematical Science Art takes on an exceptional position as its results, in contrast to other impression forms of Science Art, do not go back to real objects, but instead spring from the structural fantasies of humans.

The first digitally generated pictures of mathematical relations that were stimulating the interest of the general public were views of fractals. The underlying ideas were developed by the Polish-born mathematician Benoit Mandelbrot in 1965, and it is noteworthy that his famous work was first recognized in professional circles as it succeeded in producing high quality images upon the German mathematician, Heinz-Otto Peitgen, during a sabbatical in Salt Lake City.

A further alliance between the camera and the computer developed through the method of digital picture processing. Picture processing practically fulfills that which used to require subsequent editing and enhancing in the laboratory, from contrast enhancement to pseudo-relief and the editing possibilities have been considerably extended through digital alteration. In many scientific areas, especially in medical photography, the ability to alter computations and apply artificial color for analytical and diagnostic reasons is highly valuable.

The method of digital transformation of pictures was taken up by many computer graphics professionals doing artistic work, and is today a generally applied method of image deconstruction.

The Newest Development

In the seventies, color printers came into use for printing computer-generated images, and thus photographic documentation was somewhat displaced from practice. With the recent advent of digital cameras, a new connection between photography and computer technology was revealed. The alternative of a light-sensitive chip to photographic film has had the notable consequence that an electronically stored image is at the disposal of the user, and can be processed via the methods of Picture Processing in whatever ways the user wishes. The ultimate documentation can then be transferred to photographic paper in the usual manner. Indeed, computer controlled color printing has improved so much in recent years that one can generate flawless pictures that meet the highest standards of quality.

In summary, we can conclude that the new production methods, developed in the sixties through the collaboration of science and photography, have brought about a notable enhancement of artistic-photographic forms of expression. They were more than a passing fashion, and have consequences for the present – not only in photographic art but also in the fields of education, design, television, computer games and much more.

Michael Köhler

Welcome to Fotorama

As it is a unique structure, it is fairly difficult to define what Fotorama actually is. One might call it a *kunsthalle* for contemporary camera arts, because it shows changing exhibitions all the year round. Or call it a research centre for photography, because it offers a wide variety of useful information on the history, theory and aesthetics of the medium. Or call it a photo-anthology, because it publishes portfolios by, and essays on photographers and camera artists, both historical and contemporary. Or call it an internet *portal* for photography, because it is located in the cyberstream.

All of these definitions are correct to a degree; that they describe certain characteristics of *Fotorama*, but do not represent the full range of its aspects and activities. To pinpoint the most important of these requires more words than a short definition allows for. So please follow me now on a guided tour of *Fotorama*.



Fotorama enterzone

The where and the why

Offering exhibitions, as well as a broad range of information on the camera arts worldwide, *Fotorama* operates as an educational, non-profit venture with editorial offices based in Munich, Germany.

Established in the spring of 2002, *Fotorama* is maintained by the *Projektbüro Köhler+Partner* for the purpose of assisting the transfer of information on photography from the Gutenberg galaxy to the digital realm.

As a structure *Fotorama* at present exists in cyberspace only. There are two versions of that virtual *Fotorama*, one on line on the world wide web, the other off line on cd-rom. The online version (at www.fotorama.ws) is expanded and updated on a monthly basis, while the *Fotorama* cd is published twice a year. Both are done in html, and up to now have identical content.

The virtual *Fotorama* explores novel ways of presenting photography. While the exhibitions emulate (and equal) a printed monograph in design and content. The framework of *Fotorama* simulates the architectural look and structure of a real museum in a way that makes browsing resemble a walk through a building complex.

Browsing *Fotorama*

With a total of 175 mb of content, as of May 2004, *Fotorama*, now in its third year, is a fairly extensive structure already. Viewing it does not require any plug-ins to your browser. To be able to see all of its content, however, the javascript function of the browser used should be activated. All content of *Fotorama* is designed for viewing with the 4+ version browsers by Netscape and Microsoft on 15 inch monitors at 800 x 600 pixel resolution. Other configurations may not reproduce all features as intended.

The architecture

The virtual *Fotorama* is a bi-lingual English/German network of five related and extensively interlinked units. These are:

1. *Fotorama* itself (www.fotorama.ws), a *photo-kunsthalle* with different exhibitions in several rooms changing every month, and a study centre with an extensive reference library of both visual and textual information.
2. The *Ikon-Galerie* (www.ikon-galerie.de) is the base of a photo-gallery with several real world showcases in different parts of Germany.

3. The *Ikon-Magazin* (www.ikon-magazin.de), a German language photo-journal (with English digest) published semi-annually featuring news, portfolios, book reviews, site seeings, etc.
4. The *Fotobrowser* (www.fotobrowser.de), a web guide to pages worldwide dealing with camera art comprising around 5,000 hotlinks at present.
5. The *Fotomuseum* (www.fotomuseum.ws) for the history of photography.

The Fotomuseum

For members of ESHPh the most interesting component of *Fotorama* will undoubtedly be its *Fotomuseum*. As its name suggests *Fotomuseum* offers information on the history of photography. But its main emphasis is not on the technical aspect of that history, but on photography as a visual art. And since the *Fotomuseum* is an integral part of the institution, *Fotorama*, devoted to contemporary photography, we had to decide on a cut-off date to prevent too much informational overlap between the two sites.

So the question was when does the contemporary become historical? After how many years? A quarter century? Half a century. Fifty years seemed too much for us, so we opted for a twenty-five year period which has the additional advantage that most art historians agree now that the passage from the 1970s to the 1980s also marks the beginning of what is called post-modern art. Which is to say, that the period covered by the *Fotomuseum* stretches from the beginnings of the medium to the end of *modern*, or better still, *modernist* photography.

As far as we can see, our *Fotomuseum* is the first attempt to offer that kind of information in a coherent way on the internet. So far, histories of photography as a visual art are available in print only; the most famous of these still being *A Concise History of Photography* by Helmut & Alison Gernsheim and *The History of Photography* by Beaumont Newhall. Both volumes guided my understanding of that history, when I first acquainted myself with them many years ago. Now they serve me a second time by providing valuable hints for structuring this site.

Most information related to the history of photography already available on the net was placed there not by book publishers, but by public institutions collecting and exhibiting photographs, such as archives, libraries, museums, galleries, etc. Thus it seemed more fitting to design the *Fotomuseum* as a virtual museum rather than a virtual book.

The *Fotomuseum* is still in its initial phase of construction; but is already full of surprises. When we began to research its projected content via yahoo.com's photo-

graphy links, we expected rather disappointing returns. Now, several months of surfing the net later, we know better: web catalogues, like that of Yahoo give you a totally misleading picture. Happily there is more, much more information on the history of photography already present on the net than one would expect from relying on the existing web catalogues as guides.

Take the *Galleries* section of our *Fotomuseum*, for instance. Existing web catalogues list next to nothing under headings like *daguerreotype*, *calotype* or *albumen print* and force you to consult their search engines which, in turn, confront you with a random selection of 100 to 1,000 + links which you then have to sort for relevance. This is rewarding, surely, if you have the time to do so. Otherwise it is simply frustrating. For to boil down the returns of search engines, until one arrives at link collections that are as usable as we offer them in our *Galleries* will take a few hours for each entry.

But then, surprise! surprise! If you do follow the hotlinks in our *Galleries* section you will be able to access as much and equally informed information on, for example, the *heliograph*, than can be found in either Gernsheim's, or Newhall's histories. This level of competence I had not expected from the net, when we began work on the *Fotomuseum*.

Yet the biggest surprise of all turned out to be the amount of images already placed on the net. If you check our listing of *daguerreotype* links, for example, you will be able to view more reproductions of daguerreotypes than you would be able to, if you went to the biggest library in one of the capitals of the western world closest to you. And that I find truly staggering. Even though I do not want to suggest that you forget buying Gernsheim's or Newhall's histories, the net offers you more than these books. At present this would be premature, of course.

But as we develop more and more sections of our *Fotomuseum*, we will be coming closer to the point where we can say, 'Leave your Gernsheim, or Newhall, or whatever, on the shelf, and study the history of photography on the net ... by using the *Fotorama* as your springboard'.

What will you find, if you go to the *Fotomuseum* website? Well, its core consists of the *Galleries* already mentioned. They are designed as *period* rooms which trace the history of photography step by step from its invention to its digital extensions of today (see www.fotomuseum.ws/galleries). Next to the *Galleries* you will find two spaces called *Camera Obscura* and *Camera Lucida* in which changing exhibitions are staged with the first space devoted to 19th century themes and artists, and the second to those of the 20th century. And finally one should not miss a visit to the museum's *Archive*; for it contains a wealth of background information useful for a better understanding of the medium's technical and aesthetical aspects, such as a

dictionary of technical terms, a timeline, an anthology of theories of photography and a lexicon of photographers.

The first edition of that lexicon contains more than one thousand entries, and the second will have twice as many with at least three (and up to ten) hotlinks for each photographer listed. Such numbers can be taken as typical of the content prepared for depositing in the *Fotomuseum*. For our aim is to make it as professional, profound and rich as possible so that it can rival similar compilations in book form and constitute a reliable core library for the study of photography, just a mouse click away from any location on this globe.

To reach that goal requires a massive amount of work and time, of course. And since we at *Fotorama* are just a handful of enthusiasts, progress can only be rather slow. So any outside help is more than welcome.

Should you then think *Fotomuseum* deserves the support of the international photo-community and want to add material still missing on it, we will be happy to accept your contribution and install it in its proper place. More than that, we will also be happy to swap information packages (in digital form) with you, so we both will be able to save valuable time for research and programming more content for our respective sites.

Real world activities

From its home in cyberspace *Fotorama* launches diverse activities in the real world as well.

First of all, there is a cd-rom available which, in addition to the *Fotorama* homepage, contains a number of video files that are too large to view over the internet comfortably. This cd-rom may be loaned by institutions exhibiting photography to be installed on one of the computers for public access.

Soon cd-roms containing special features of *Fotorama* will be available for sale to the public. The first of these will be an edition of the *Fotorama's* 'Lexicon of Photographers' featuring information about 1,500 masters of the medium from around the world.

Then original photoworks by those contemporary artists who have exhibitions in *Fotorama* will be offered for sale as limited editions. The print editions will be small, but still rather moderately priced.

Finally, fully produced and crated solo as well as group shows can be hired from *Fotorama* for presentation by other institutions. At present about fifteen such shows are available (see list at www.fotorama.ws/showcase).

The newsletter

To keep interested parties informed about new additions to *Fotorama* and its sub-sites, we send out a regular e mail newsletter at least once a month. Subscription to the newsletter is free: just send us an informal note asking to be put on the newsletter's mailing list, and you will receive it until you cancel your subscription.

The Human Portrait – the discovering of individuality

In 2002, the Austrian National Library presented the exhibition *Im Blickpunkt* (On View) giving a first insight into the quality and multi-layered topics of the Austrian National Library's photography collection. It gave a short glimpse of the photography collection's genesis of more than 150 years. Around 1850 the collection was initiated as a private collection by the Habsburg family and has been continued since 1947 as the *Bildarchiv und Portraitsammlung* (Picture Archive and Portrait Collection).

How the photography collection evolved

The son of the Grand Duke of Toscana the Archduke Franz (later Kaiser Franz I of Austria) moved from Florence to Vienna at the age of 16, taking many books and copper-engravings with him. Soon, in 1785, he enlarged his collection of prints by including many portraits of important personalities of the European regent families and dynasties.

Shortly after his arrival in Vienna, being visually extraordinarily talented and a versatile bibliophile, the Archduke Franz personally made an archive of his collection describing precisely the persons in the portraits and listing them according to their ranks and professions. Before his death in 1835, he stated in his will that his collection should not be taken apart and should not be sold. Later, photographs and the works of related techniques were included in this collection, adding them to the graphic works, according to individual themes. However, a separate photography collection, as was developed at different European royal and princely houses around the 1850s, was not initiated in Vienna.

One daguerreotype presents the very popular young Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. He is sitting on the right side behind the desk, which, for this purpose, was placed on a veranda. The portrait is restrained, since the Archduke has turned his head halfway, so that his face is barely recognizable. If we did not know the person, we would suppose that it depicted an officer of the marines, who had uncovered his head because of the burning southern sun. The picture was taken in the Villa Lazarovich, close to Trieste in 1852.

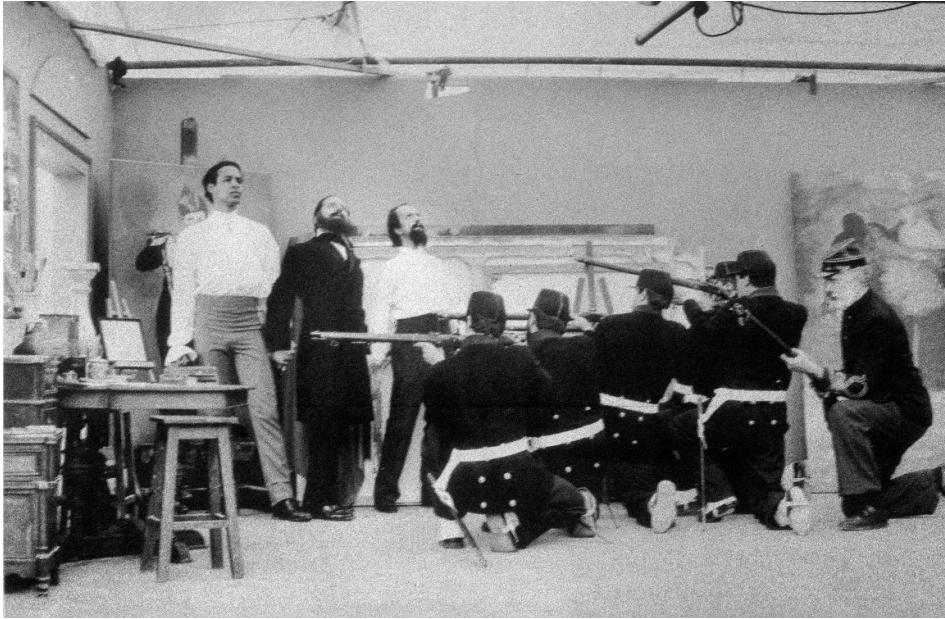
Fifteen years later, the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, the very liberal younger brother of Emperor Franz Joseph I was dead, shot by soldiers of Querétaro des Juárez García, on June 1867. He had been crowned Emperor of Mexico in 1864 but before



Edouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico*, 1868/69, oil on canvas, by courtesy of the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim (Photo: Margita Wickenhäuser)

it was necessary for him to go there, he wrote: "My own individuality does not correspond to the views of my elder brother; at many occasions he made me that feel in an explicit, pitiless and hurting manner ... He is the Emperor, he possesses the power, I always respect due to my strong sense of laws. Under this condition, my intelligence and my religious sensibility left me no choice but to step aside, to withdraw without feelings of mortification or opposition."¹ In Edouard Manet's well known painting 'The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian', the face of the Emperor is shown in its entire disintegration. Colours mixed with each other appear diffuse leaving the contours of the head blurred. This masterpiece was painted by Manet who used several documentary photographs, also using those from the French photographer Francois Aubert.

In 1862, André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri (1818–1899) published his famous book *L'Art de la Photographie*. His essay concerning the practice and aesthetics of portrait



From the experimental film, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico*, realized by the Production Laboratory of the Program for Art and Film, published in the *J. Paul Getty Trust Bulletin*, p. 1, volume 7, number 3, fall 1992²

photography reads surprisingly modern and shows that during those times, portrait photography encountered the same problems as it does today.

Nadar, in his autobiography from 1900 recalls Disdéri and writes: "His extraordinary richness comes with just reasons from his ingenious idea of the carte-de-visite. His business experiences lead him to do the right thing in the right moment. He created a fashion that spread over the entire world. Moreover, he made photography popular by inverting the usual economic conditions, because he offered much more for much less money."³

A very small, rather inconspicuous carte-de-visite image of the married couple, Metternich, made by Disdéri in 1860, served at that time for an oil-painting which is very well known today. It is possible that the photograph had been taken on the occasion of the installation of Prince Richard Metternich (the son of the famous Clemens Lothar Wenzel Metternich) as the Austrian Ambassador in Paris and that a larger edition was probably made. Pauline Metternich, his wife in those days, started her praised and well mentioned 'Grand Salon', where the cream of French high society, politicians, scientists and artists met. One may assume, that Edgar Degas also visited some of these soirées. No matter how, Degas, in 1861, made his famous oil-



Karl Klietsch, Pauline Metternich,
Monotype (date unknown)

painting, 'Princess Pauline Metternich', without doubt, by making use of the small carte-de-visite image. It represents a half-portrait of the sitting princess. The hair-dressing and the clothes are identical to those on the photograph. Degas turns the observers attention directly to the face and to the expressive eyes of the princess; the pattern of the wall-paper gives the entire portrait a soft touch. But not every artist was willing to make such an idealistic picture of the princess.

Karl Klietsch (1841–1926) originated from Bohemia. He had a great talent as a designer. Very early he became famous in publications from Czechia and Hungary. He signed his original graphic work as Karel Klič (meaning key). In 1879, Klietsch perfected in Vienna his technique of photogravure. In 1883, he emigrated to England, from where photogravure advanced around the world.

After his transfer from Prague to Vienna in 1869, he had worked as a caricaturist for the comic paper *Floh* and for *Humoristische Blätter*. He also made a caricature of Pauline Metternich, and because, for charity purposes, she was known to push to the extremes, he depicted her with a pistol in her hand. By attentively looking at the picture, however, the dangerous barrel of the pistol seems to transform into a shawm, and the pistol's handle into a scroll of a violin. Klietsch unproportionally elongated the face of the princess, the two forelocks, however produce a certain charm.



Ludwig Angerer, The Highest Royal Family, Vienna 1859, Albumen Print

From the beginning, photography provided a rich source for caricaturists. The rather complicated technical devices inspired Honoré Daumier as well as the famous portrait photographer Nadar, who had initiated his career in Paris as a designer and caricaturist, to produce ingenious satirical images.

Despite not being very interested in this invention, in contrast to the British and French Court, the Austrian Court of Habsburger conferred the title of the Court on 73 photographers including even three women, between 1860 and 1900. The first to receive this privilege was Ludwig Angerer (1827–1879) at the end of 1860. He had studied pharmacy and came from Malaczka, close to Bratislava (today Slovakia). In 1867, together with his brother Viktor, he opened the L. und. V. Angerer Kunst- und Fotohandlung in Vienna, which soon became a flourishing enterprise. Although he made several single pictures of the members of the imperial family, only one group-portrait of the close family exists. The title is 'The Highest Family of the Empire'. This picture was made in 1859 and is, for different reasons, extraordinary. It represents the only family portrait where the Empress Elisabeth is seen together with the Emperor Franz Joseph I, including both their children. This group portrait provides an



Ludwig Angerer, Empress Elisabeth, Vienna
1863/64, Collodion Print



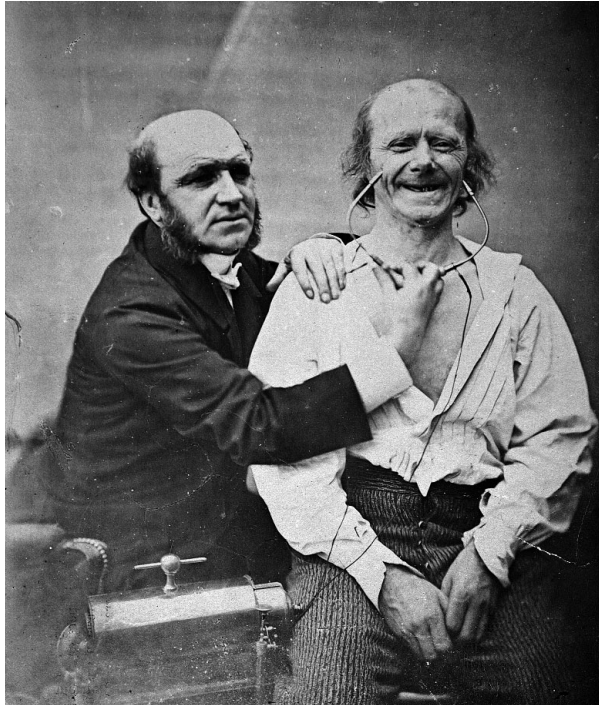
Carl Pietzner, Empress Elisabeth,
Vienna 1897, Albumen Print

astonishing insight into the interrelations between them. It depicts a young, self-confident Emperor in a dominating pose, wearing a military uniform (first from the left). His younger brother, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian (second from the left) stays turned halfway, casting down his eyes and turning his back to the Emperor. His left hand touches the fan, held in the hand of his wife Charlotte.

The ambitious Charlotte, later Empress of Mexico (in the middle above), is focusing the camera. The poses of the two sitting women (in front) are also revealing. The Empress Elisabeth (with the Crown Prince Rudolf sitting on her lap) has turned her face to her mother-in-law, but she is gazing into space. In contrast, Sophie, the mother of the Emperor, looks directly at the photographer, having placed her hand on the dress of the little Gisela. History tells us that the education of the children was primarily in the hands of Sophie at that time.

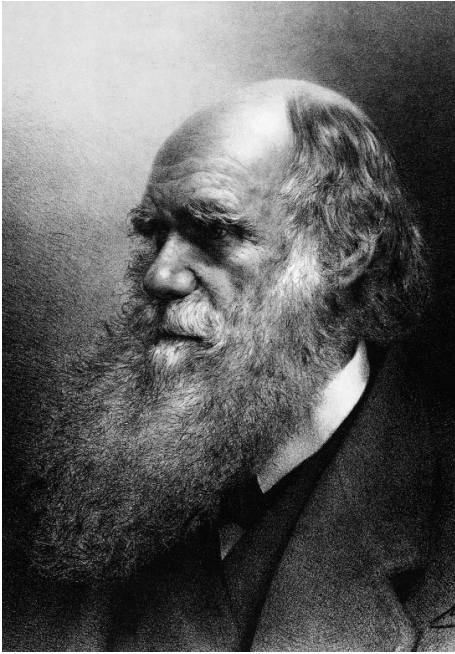
Between 1861 and 1864, the Empress Elisabeth had put together a 'Gallery of Personalities,' purchasing 30 portfolios, thus joining the enthusiasm of collecting of the other European imperial houses. Apart from collecting important portraits of close family members, she also included personalities from public life. In 1862, after a long

*A. B. Guillaume Duchenne de
Boulogne, self-portrait with
patient, Paris 1852–56,
Albumen Print*

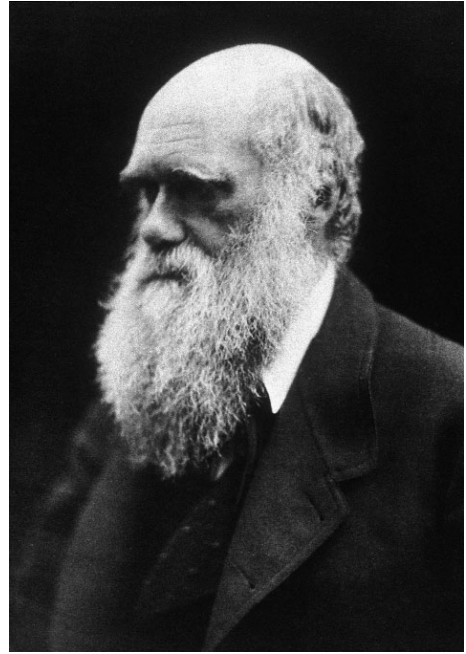


journey abroad, the Empress Elisabeth returned to Vienna. In 1863/64 Ludwig Angerer made a portrait of her, where she was wearing an Arabian burnous. It is a particularly interesting and extraordinary portrait, since it depicts the private side of Elisabeth and her predilection for oriental dresses. Her gazing at the observer, full of pride and self-confidence, must have been shocking in those days because she is wearing an oriental dress. The portrait reveals her strong individuality. Fifty years later, Carl Pietzner (1853–1927), on exactly this picture, paints the burnous out and substitutes it with a coat and a fur collar, thus creating a new portrait of the Empress Elisabeth that strikes us as unfamiliar. Detached from the time of its creation, this picture suggests a portrait of a woman of today. A contemporary photographer with his digital and professional image processing could not have done it better, so surprisingly modern appears this “fiction of a truth portrait” from 1897.

The French doctor, Armand Benjamin Guillaume Duchenne de Boulogne (1806–1875), is regarded as the inventor of the electro-diagnostic and therapy. In 1862, in Paris, he had published his observations about the contractions of human mimic muscles (with 72 pasted albumen prints). The picture shows Duchenne with his preferred model, an old former shoemaker, who had a wrinkled and lean face. The



*Karl Klietsch, Charles Darwin, Lithograph
(date unknown)*

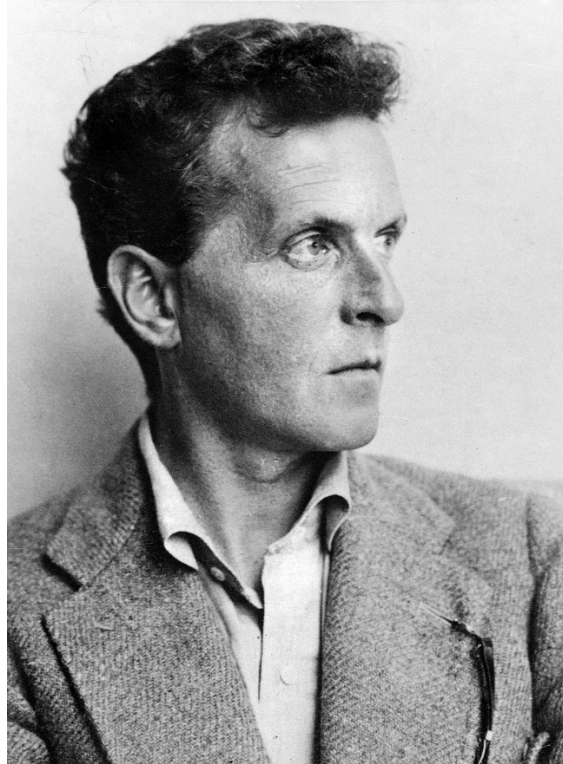


*J. M. Cameron, Charles Darwin, 1868,
Albumen Print*

electrical instrument is placed on the left side in front and is connected by a wire to the electrode on the muscles of the face. (Today, the apparatus can be seen at the Musée d'histoire de médecine in Paris). It is well known that Duchenne took the advice about photography from Adrian Tournachon, a former student of medicine and brother of Nadar, between 1852 and 1856. "Duchenne experiments consisted of applying electrodes (with a weak electric current) to various muscles, causing them to contract, thus showing the un-mysterious mechanisms whereby the typology of expressions could be reduced to a physiology of contractions."⁴ His obtained images were dedicated primarily to medical research. Today, however, these portraits surprise us because of their modern and conceptional structure

Karl Klietsch made a beautiful lithograph in a large format (date unknown) of the naturalist Charles Robert Darwin (1809–1882). The image shows the impressive head of the scientist, sporting a remarkable beard. A small line on the right side of his remarkable jacket reminds us that a very similar fold at the same place can be detected on a portrait made of Darwin by Julia Margaret Cameron in 1868. By comparing these two pictures, the question arises: did Klietsch use Cameron's photograph for composing the lithograph? On the lithograph Darwin looks much older, but the position

Moritz Nähr, Ludwig Wittgenstein,
Vienna, 1930, Gelatine-Silver-
Bromide-Print



of the head and the arrangement of the light are identical. Only Darwin's nose looks more voluminous (Klietsch was a caricaturist!). Since Klietsch was already living in England in 1886, he may have seen the work of this great artist.

On May 22, 1897, the Viennese Secession was founded. The medium of photography was also included because of Moritz Nähr (1859–1945) who was a painter and a photographer for reproductions of paintings and graphics. As a friend of Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele, he prepared the proofs for the catalogue of the Viennese Secession. Many of his portraits, however, remain rather conventional, corresponding to the taste of the time. Completely different is the portrait he made of the Austrian philosopher and linguist, Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951). Here he follows the photographic language of the 'Neue Sachlichkeit'. The portrait originates from around 1930 and presents the 40 year old philosopher in profile with an open shirt and without a tie. From the age of 23, Ludwig Wittgenstein refused to wear a tie. The philosopher has his head turned toward the right side and seems not to take any notice of the presence of the photographer. In 1918, Wittgenstein had finished in Vienna his *Tractatus logico-philosophicus* where he states that language can delineate the inexpressible clearly. His frequently cited sentence: "What can be

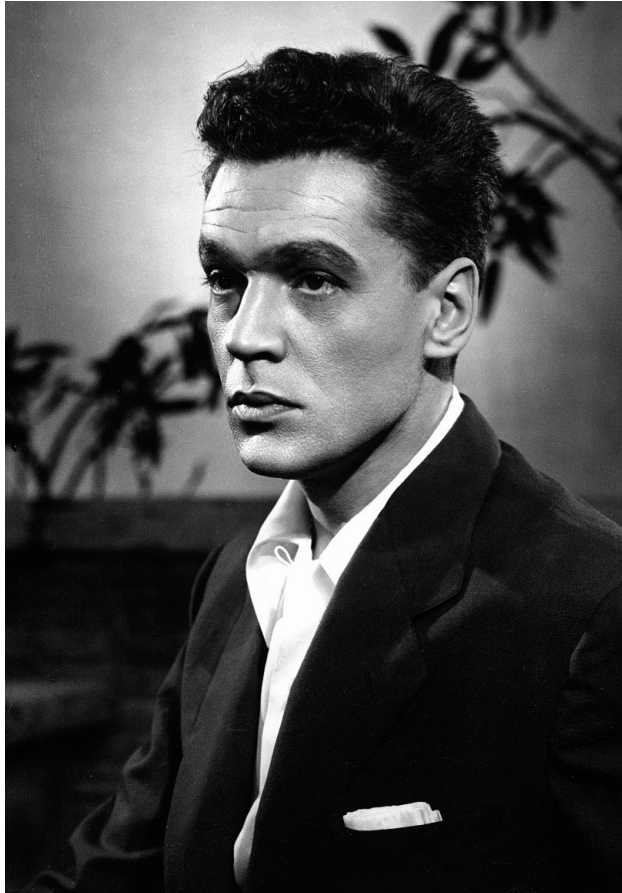
expressed can be expressed clearly; what cannot be said should be kept in silence”, became a familiar quotation. Ludwig Wittgenstein searched for relaxation by watching movies; it is not known if photography played an important role in his life as films did.⁵

The portrait, like a mask of the British actor Paul Scofield made by Angus McBean (1904–1984), is a rehearsal picture and has been taken at the end of the 1940s. The *punctum*, according to Roland Barthes, seems to me to be the painted plant that on the background springs up like a snake. The surrealistic image was always the characteristic feature of Angus McBean’s art. The ‘fantastical’ within his imagery influenced very much British theatre photography of the 1950s. In his pictures, the faces of actors often congeal to become living masks. McBean started to make photographs at a young age and also liked to make masks. In 1936, he was ordered to take a photograph of a young, still unknown actress. Half a year later, thanks to his portrait, Vivien Leigh was cast as Scarlett O’Hara in the movie *Gone with the Wind*.

Louis Ducos de Hauron (1837–1920) is considered as the inventor of the three-colour photography process. On November 23, 1868 he took out a patent on his method of colour synthesis. Unfortunately, at that time, the appropriate sensitising substances for the yellow and red colours were missing. With the invention by the Brothers Lumière of autochrome plates it was believed that this goal had now been achieved because with this technique it was possible to reproduce very fine and detailed tonalities of colour. But the autochrome process had great disadvantages: being unique, they could not be reproduced, and they were very expensive; finally, they could only be presented with a strong background light source.

Heinrich Kühn (1866–1944), one of the leading pictorial photographer’s of the turn of the 19th century, worked with the autochrome process from 1907–1913. In 1998, the portrait archive of the Austrian National Library acquired 217 autochrome plates in excellent condition from the estate of Heinrich Kühn. Eighteen of these original plates are signed by Kühn, dating from the years 1907, 1908 and 1913. One autochrome plate represents the self-portrait of Kühn, possibly made in 1907. It shows the forty year old Kühn in his apartment in Innsbruck. He is wearing a very bright suit that barely contrasts with the bright decoration in the ‘Jugendstil’ furniture. The only contrasting colours are a flower-pot of red geraniums on the white oval small table. There is also a metal ball and a small glass-vase, which mirrors the light reflections. His thin and pale face gave the impression of sickness and exhaustion (Kühn had asthma all his life). This portrait of Kühn confronts the observer with an unexpected, new facet of this personality. The artist presents himself surprisingly in the sense of the Viennese aestheticism: light-minded, filthy and somewhat decadent. The concept of the entire image corresponds to the pictorialism of the turn of the

*Angus McBean, Paul Scofield,
London, 1950, Gelatine-Silver-
Print*



19th century; although, the image interpretation, due to the autochrome technique, already points to the coming of 'straight photography'.

A review through the literature reveals that all pioneers and inventors in photography were always searching for a colour system. It is a fact that colour photography was adopted by 'applied photography' from the 1930s onwards, as can be seen in fashion, advertising, industry, but also in portrait photography, without, however, completely displacing black and white photography, although certain changes may now come about with the advent of digital photography.

There is a great variety of self-images of photographers. In most instances there is a questioning look in the mirror which leads to taking possession of the image. This is a very interesting phenomenon, particularly when a photographer presents himself in a self-portrait. In many cases the photograph is finally seen as an incorporeal shadow. In 1889, one entire century earlier, Louis Ducos de Hauron had alienated his



*Heinrich Kühn, self-portrait,
Innsbruck 1907, Autochrome*

face using optical tricks in such a way that his nose dominated the picture by being made bigger. Similarly, László Moholy-Nagy passed on to us his portrait from 1926 as a photogram. This hidden sense of humour also pervades the entire work of André Kertész. In an admirable self-portrait of 1976, Kertész placed his head, covered with a hat, unexpectedly between plaster heads, following the invitation: search for me and find me.

Conclusion

Portrait photography offers a fascinating insight into the human psyche, but it always remains ambivalent in its essence. Franz Kafka and Marcel Proust regarded photography as an act of illusion that is hiding the truth rather than manifesting it. In 1862, Disdéri attributed to photography a fictitious truth by writing: "Indeed, it is not a matter of making portraits that exactly reproduce the forms and the proportions of

the presented person, but of the grasping and interpretation of their natural ideal sites.”⁶ Similarly, the photographer in the novel *Orlando. Oder die Liebe zur Photographie* (Orlando or the love for photography), says: “Of course, I always take the picture I wanted to make, but I also agreed to make the image the person had about himself. I was enough talented to transform the fools in wise men and the mediocre into the interesting men.”⁷ A possible explanation of this problem is found in the book *Die Wahrheit der Photographie* (The truth in photography) by Wilfried Wiegand. He writes, “Photography is a Freudian art. Every picture has, even it is clumsy done, something of a dream or nightmare quality, that the painter only exceptionally achieves, when he intentionally is in accordance with photography.”⁸ Alberto Manguel describes in his book *Bilder lesen* how much Plato mocked the sophists who closed their minds to reality to such an extent that they negated the existence of an mirror-image; he ask himself if images do have their own existence. The French philosopher, Jacques Larcan believes that our identity is composed by mirror-images, which surround us, “The self-image we acquire consists of numerous, accidental and split outside impressions like a cubistic painting.”⁹ This concept, to my mind, embarrasses particularly the contemporary portrait in all its various forms.

Notes

This lecture in English was based on the essay, Anna Auer, *Das Gesicht des anderen* published in the book *Im Blickpunkt, Die Fotosammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Haymon Verlag Innsbruck, 2002. The exhibition of the same name took place at the Austrian National Library between November 20, 2002 and January 25, 2003.

- 1 Brigitte Hamann, *Rudolf. Kronprinz und Rebell*, München 1991, p. 236.
- 2 The Program for Art on Film, a joint venture of the J. Paul Getty Trust and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, established its Production Laboratory in 1986. In 14 experimental films, the Production Laboratory of the Program for Art on Film brought together teams of filmmakers and art historians to explore innovative ways of representing still art in moving-image media.
Director Ken McMullen and the art historian Michael Wilson evoked the interplay of the historical event and creative genius in the making of the painter Eduard Manet’s ‘The Execution of Maximilian’. See The J. Paul Getty Trust Bulletin, Los Angeles, 1992.
- 3 Wilfried Wiegand, *Die Wahrheit der Photographie. Klassische Bekenntnisse zur neuen Kunst*, Frankfurt 1981, p. 31.
- 4 Michel Frizot, *Neue Geschichte der Fotografie*, Köln 1998, p. 260.
- 5 William Johnson, *Österreichische Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte. Gesellschaft und Ideen im Donauraum 1848–1938*, Wien-Köln-Graz, 1972, p. 220.
- 6 see 2, p. 107.
- 7 Paul Theroux, *Orlando. Oder die Liebe zur Fotografie*, Frankfurt 1982, p. 287.
- 8 see 2, p. 10.
- 9 Alberto Manguel, *Bilder lesen*, Berlin 2001, p. 176–200.

Contributors

Anna Auer initiated in 1976 in Vienna the photography collection *Fotografis* together with the Austrian Laenderbank (now the Bank Austria – Creditanstalt) and was its curator from 1976–1986. In 1992 she received a grant from the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, which led to the exhibition *Exodus from Austria – Emigration of Austrian photographers 1920–1940* held at the Kunsthalle in Vienna. An author of numerous publications on the history of photography, in 2002 Anna Auer became President of the European Society for the History of Photography.

A. D. Coleman is a photography critic and lecturer and has published numerous books. Since the spring of 2003 he has been historian-in-residence and director of special programs at the Museum of Heliography, which opened in New York in the fall of 2003. Coleman's essays have been translated into twenty languages and published in twenty-eight countries. In 2004 he became a member of the International Advisory Board of the ESHPh.

Antonín Dufek has been curator of photography at the Moravská Galerie in Brno from 1968. He has curated over one hundred exhibitions, published numerous books and catalogues, most recent include *Jaromir Funke* (2003) and *Ivo Precek* (2004). He has taught the history of photography in Brno since 1990. Membership includes: AICA, ESHPh (since 2001) and DGPh.

Horst Faas, born Berlin 1933, began photography 1951, employed by Keystone Photo Agency then, in 1956, Associated Press in Bonn. As a photographer he covered events throughout Europe, Africa, Middle East and Asia, including wars in the Congo (1960–62), Algeria (1962), Indochina, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh (1970), Israel (1973), Vietnam (1962–1973). In 1976 he moved to London as AP's senior photo editor until his retirement in 2004. Won Pulitzer-Prize 1965 for "daring and courageous combat photography" and again in 1972, jointly with Michel Laurant, for pictures of the execution of prisoners in Bangladesh. Also won the Robert Capa Award of the Overseas Press Club.

Roy Flukinger has served since 1996 as senior curator of photography and film at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin. He has written and published extensively and curated nearly one hundred exhibitions of photography. He has been a member of ESHPh for many years.

John Godfrey Morris was born in Maple Shade, New Jersey, USA in 1916 and now lives in Paris. He has served as photo editor for *Life*, *The Ladies Home Journal*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* and has greatly influenced the editorial qualities of those publications. John Morris has also contributed for many years to *Magnum Photo Agency* in New York and Paris and as Europe correspondent for the *National Geographic Magazine*. He is currently on the board of directors of the *W. Eugene Smith Memorial Fund*. For his contributions to photography he received a special award from the University of Chicago.

Herbert W. Franke is both physicist and artist. Since the early 1950s he has carried out pioneering work in the area of computer generated imagery and has established visual connections between computer languages and pure mathematics. As a scientist and teacher he is continually working on the theory of media. He has written numerous science fiction novels which have been translated into 15 languages.

Michael Köhler studied philology in Munich and at Yale University. He is a publisher and curator of exhibitions such as *Das Aktfoto* held at Stadtmuseum Munich in 1985. In the spring of 2002 he founded *Fotorama* which is maintained by *Projektbüro Köhler+Partner* for the purpose of assisting the transfer of information on photography from the Gutenberg galaxy to the digital realm. The virtual *Fotorama* site explores novel ways of presenting photography. He is a member of ESHPh.

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Leif Wigh is curator of the photography collection at Moderna Museet, Stockholm and has been responsible for numerous exhibitions and catalogues since 1973. Leif Wigh has done important research on Swedish photography and has prepared the retrospective of *Anna Riwkin* for the re-opening of Moderna Museet in the spring of 2004. He is a member of ESHPh for many years.

Photographic Credits

Austrian National Library, Department of Portraits and Photographs, Vienna: 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80

Forum Internationale Photographie, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim: 24, 31, 35, 36, 39, 45

Moravská Galerie, Brno: 53, 55

Jean Christen, Mannheim: Cover, Frontispiece

Herbert W. Franke, Munich: 58, 60

Michael Köhler, Munich: 63

Kathrin Schwab, Mannheim: 11

Margita Wickenhäuser, Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim: 70

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