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Administration: Mr. Roy Green, ESHPh, Acorn House, 79-94 Cherry Orchard Road, Croydon, Surrey, England CR0 6BA.
Telephone: (0)81 681 8339 Fax: (0)81 681 1880
COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPHS: INTENTIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

by Margaret Harker Farrand

From earliest days photographers thought of ways by which they could extend the limitations of their medium. The remarkable ability of photography to encapsulate the scene in front of the camera in minute detail on a sheet of light sensitive paper or a glass plate was sufficient for many artists to fulfil their image-making quest. For others it was too restrictive, with limitations on extent of view, spatial relationships, sequential time and movement, as well as the uniformity of emphasis on form and detail throughout the image. Additionally, lengthy time exposures limited the kind of photographs which could be taken by available light indoors before the 1860s.

Those practitioners who were not prepared to accept photography at its face value employed different methods of overcoming their difficulties principally by bringing together photographs, in whole or part, from two or more negatives into one unified image. These composite photographs could be achieved by either one or other of two techniques: combination printing and photo-montage. Unfortunately the latter term is often mistakenly applied to both methods which is incorrect as the one does not subsume the other.

Early composite images

Before examining intentions and achievements in composite photography it is worth looking at the forerunner from which both methods could be said to be derived. As early as 1843 David Octavius Hill, Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy of Art, turned to photography to aid him in the execution of a mammoth commemorative painting he was planning to celebrate the First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held at Tainfield, Edinburgh, on 23rd May, 1843. He and his partner, Robert Adamson, photographed individuals and small groups who had attended this historic occasion as 'aides-memoires' for the execution of his painting, which took several years to complete (1843-1866). Hill's literal transcription from the features in the photographs to the canvas did not produce a masterpiece. Infinitely more successful were the individual camera portraits taken by Hill and Adamson, many of which are still recognised as amongst the classics of photographic art.1

In the late 1840s a variant to overcome limitations was practised by J. D. Llewellyn who was particularly interested in natural history and the habitat of mammals. He took several convincing photographs of animals in the wild (deer, badgers, rabbits and pheasants) which were greatly admired.2 The lengthy exposure times required in woodland and other enclosed places prohibited the photography of live wild creatures. Llewellyn cleverly used stuffed animals in lieu. Even today people are deceived by these remarkably credible photographs.

In the early 1850s photographers of the natural scene were dissatisfied with the rendition of landscapes and seascapes. The materials available at the time were not panchromatic in their spectral sensitivity so that prolonged exposure had to be given to record greens adequately, yellows and reds photographed as black, and blues (to which the light sensitive materials were very responsive) tended to become overexposed, i.e. reproduced as white. This condition led to images with blank skies associated with an otherwise well-formed and interesting landscape.

Gustave Le Gray, the Parisian photographer, who had studied art in the studio of Delaroche, created a sensation in 1856 when he exhibited Brug Upon the Water at the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society of London.3 This pleasing rendition of a cloudy sky with the seacape enhanced the pictorial effect. It had been made possible by the weather conditions associated with the reflective capacity of the water, and there being no land in the foreground of the picture. However, Le Gray found that these circumstances seldom appertained and he went on to produce a number of experiments based on making negatives suitable for the representation of the sea, and others at shorter exposure times which accurately recorded the luminosities in the sky. He then combined the two negatives together at the printing stage to achieve a unified whole.4

This method of composite picture making became very popular with photographers. Roger Fenton, who had been concerned about this particular
J.D. Llewellyn: Deer in Woodland, c. 1847.

Gustave Le Gray: The Great Wave, Sete, France; 1856-59.
problem, took a number of photographs in which he tried to obtain good rendition of sky and foreground on one negative. These show inadequate rendition of the foreground in order to obtain a good rendition of the sky so it was not surprising to find at least one photograph in The Royal Photographic Society’s Collection (an interior with view through windows) which is a print made from two negatives.

The technique of combining a foreground negative with a sky negative continued for many years into the mid-twentieth century and was practised by architectural photographers as well as landscapists. More unusual was the positioning of a tiger from a separate negative into the forefront of a photograph of a tiger hunt in India by William Hooper.

Rejlander and Peach Robinson

The principal exponents of the composite photograph in the nineteenth century were Henry Peach Robinson and Oscar G. Rejlander. Both were essentially picture ‘makers’ rather than ‘takers’. Working within the prevailing artistic convention of their day they conceived their photographs as visualisations of popular themes in which the narrative element was strong. Their picture constructions were well in advance of the relatively primitive technology of photography which then existed, which imposed impossible restrictions on the execution of such works by the necessity of lengthy exposure times and lack of artificial means of lighting interiors.

Rejlander’s major opus: The Two Ways of Life (‘Hope in Repentance’) is so well known that short examination afresh will suffice. His intention was to produce a large allegorical picture by means of photography instead of paint within the accepted picture construction restraints of the 1850s, saying “I cannot understand how a painting upon the same subject can, except in its colouring, be more real or truthful than a photograph, both being but representative.” The story-line is that of a father who conducts his two young sons to the threshold of adulthood, the son at his father’s left hand takes the pathway leading to the figures of Religion and Knowledge, Mercy and the group depicting industry; the other son, on his father’s right, rushes head-long towards Idleness, the rude Sirens, Murder and the Gambler. The figure of Repentance was positioned between the two ways of Good and Evil, her body nude but her face veiled. It is said that at least five separate printings of the composite photograph (made from 30-32 individual negatives) were made but it is thought that The Royal Photographic Society owns the only original now in existence. It is badly faded and exceedingly fragile.

Robinson became the undisputed master of the composite photograph from the classic Fading Away exhibited in 1858, which depicts the tragic theme of a girl in her late teens dying of consumption under the sorrowful gaze of her family, to the delightful cottage interior: Dawn and Sunset, of 1885, which is reminiscent of the Shakespearean philosophy of the Seven Ages of Man, featuring the old grandfather warming himself by the fire, and his daughter with her young baby in her arms on the other side of the fire-places. Robinson’s intention was to emphasise the romantic notion of a peaceful country idyll and the tranquility of pre-destined and ordered existence. Although Robinson’s interpretation was intended to be a mix of the real with the ideal (doubtless true as far as interior details, fireplace, basket, cot etc. were concerned) the lack of squalor, and the neatness and cleanliness of the figures as well as the interior,
inform us of the idealism which prompted Robinson when it is compared, for instance, with the painter Thomas Faed's painting of the same scene as evidenced by his *From Dawn to Sunset*. This is a socially revealing picture of a large family living in dreadful squalor in one room, which was probably nearer to the truth than Robinson's country cottage idyll.

Combination Printing however made considerable demands on the skill of photographers. Printing by contact was the order of the day so that perspective and scale had to be correctly organised at the negative making stage or the final result could be incongruous. Masking out unwanted areas from negatives required manual skill in execution and for the complex composite imagery of H.P. Robinson a good registration system was essential.

**Some notable photomontage exponents**

It was not surprising that photographers searched for other ways of associating images from different negatives together. A number of photographers used Photo-Montage to inform the public of people and events who for one reason or another could not be brought together at one time for a single photograph. Some pictures of members of the Royal Families taken in the latter part of the nineteenth century were created by this method. Individual photographs of the relevant individuals were carefully scaled to size, cut out and assembled in an organised group mounted on an appropriate background and retouched to remove 'give-away' contours and the whole assemblage photographed. Prints were mass-produced from the combined image negative. One particular crude example of the Queen of the Netherlands with a baby on her lap caused a scandal when it was offered for sale prematurely, that is before her child was born. It is not unusual to see an update of this technique applied today in newspaper photographs.

A version of photo-montage requiring considerable patience in execution was practised by two of the most reputable studios between 1880 and 1900, those of J.P. Mayall and Henry Barraud, son of Barraud the painter. These photographers were probably inspired by the mammoth paintings of William Powell Frith, for instance, *Derby Day*, which...
depicted the crowd at the racecourse. The fine paintings of *The Post Office* and that of *Paddington Railway Station* also come to mind. It is possible that Frith, like Hill, used photographs for reference when executing these paintings although he denied it.

Mayall and Barraud were convinced it was possible to produce the equivalent by photographic means, the intention being to make interesting portrayals of historic occasions or social events. As commercial ventures they were probably very successful as copies would have been sold to those who were able to recognise themselves in these pictures. The photo-montages by Barraud of the scenes at Lords cricket ground and the Surrey County Cricket Club at the Oval by Mayall must have been especially popular.8

Another astonishing composite picture was made of the fashionable parade in Rotten Row, in London's Hyde Park, on a Sunday by Barraud. It was a picture which must have attracted a lot of attention at the time of its production. When this photograph was acquired in the mid-1970s a similar version, but in the form of a painting, was offered at auction and a descriptive text was sold with it, naming many of the
individuals in the painting. This, unfortunately, did not accompany the photograph.

The organisation of such photographs is to be greatly admired. The assembly of the individual portraits must have been a major task alone. In the Lord's cricket ground picture the scale and perspective are recognisably photographic but in the Oval photograph scale and perspective were disregarded, creating a weird effect. People towards the back of the group appear to be larger than those in the front, reminiscent of a mediaeval painting. It was usual for the background scene to be painted and photographed for incorporation in the montage and in some cases painted figures were added. The apparent verisimilitude to an actual episode is unlikely to be true as many of the individual photographs used were probably taken months, if not years, in advance of the construction. After the assembly had been made and the retouching done, the photomontage was copied on to a large glass plate and carbon prints made from the negative.

Photomontage for propaganda

Artists of the Dada movement in the early years of the twentieth century made use of photo montage techniques for their imagery, photographs being associated with painting. In the 'twenties and 'thirties considerable use of photo-montage was made by artists who were using the media to convey social and political messages. This activity deserves in-depth treatment but in a broad survey such as this it can only be touched upon. An early form of photomontage used for political propaganda was practised by Eugene Appert, Paris, with his photographs of the assassinations of prominent people by the Paris Commune in 1871. Individual portraits (probably taken in studios) were cut out and positioned to look like a 'line-up' in front of a firing squad (which had been taken in a different context). Moholy-Nagy, who experimented with different forms of imagery,
included photo-montage to associate ideas in a social context. The Russian Constructivists also made considerable use of it in pictorial presentations in support of the workers' movements and Marxist philosophy and practice. One of the most impressive uses of photomontage for political purposes was executed by John Heartfield (formerly Hertzfeld) in his fight against the Nazi tyranny in the thirties in Germany, some of the most memorable being of Hitler Swallowing Gold and Spouting Junk and one on the theme of "Trading Butter for Guns".

The ethics of such procedures are open to question. The photomontage method of picture construction is certainly open to abuse. Individual photographs which were taken under specific conditions in a relevant context when removed from that context and associated with another photograph(s) in a different context acquire a new meaning which can be either benign or derogatory. We are all too familiar with this problem today. We have only to open a tabloid newspaper to see at least one such composite image which has little, if any, bearing on truth.

In the 1940s and 1950s in Britain Angus McBean used composite imagery for theatrical productions. His surrealist "front of house" photographs were creatively daring and quite different from what had been done before and subsequently.

In the 1960s and 1970s Jerry Uelsmann, of the University of Florida at Gainesville, USA saw himself as the successor of H. P. Robinson and O. G. Rejlander who he regarded as "two of the most misunderstood photographers of the last century". Hopefully this mis-understanding as far as Robinson is concerned has been rectified in recent years. Uelsmann used the basic principles of combination printing but extended the system to a more complex and imaginative form, altering time and space elements to create new relationships. Although Uelsmann's photographs show aspects of the real world, with their severed or reversed connections and unreal alignments the totality of each image possesses haunting and dream-like qualities which are 'hall-marks' of his personally unique vision. Through photography Uelsmann visualises his deeply felt inner thoughts and experiences. In this sense his photographs are illustrations of the spiritual reality of his own perceptions of truth shared with his viewer in recognisable form.

"My images say far more than I could say in
Jerry Uelsmann: The Photographer's Eye. 1967. Combination print made from several negatives, at least one being a 'positive' image, i.e., tonally reversed.
words. I believe in photography as a way of exploring the possibilities of man. I am committed to photography and life...and the gods have been good to me. What can I say? Treat my images kindly, they are my children."

He is a warm-hearted man and a humorist filled with enthusiasm for photography, but he is also a complex character, searching for meanings and ways of expression. Jerry who calls himself a 'Post-Visualiser' (as opposed to Edward Weston's "Pre-Visualisation" concept and practice) has amassed a large library of straight photographs taken by him of a range of subjects to which he intuitively responds. He then draws on this 'image bank' in the darkroom, progressively and additively forming the visual equivalent of his inner experiences, as he plans the construction of his photographs from two or more negatives. Insome circumstances he makes positive transparencies from his negatives and prints from them to attain his objective.

"The contemporary artist in all other areas is no longer restricted to the traditional use of his materials... he is not bound to a fully conceived pre-visioned end. One of the major changes seen in modern art is the transition from what was basically an outer-directed art form in the 19th century to the inner-directed art of today. To date, photography has played a minor role in this liberation." 111

It is not too early, historically speaking, to attribute the development of composite photographic imagery evident during the past twenty years in this country as well as in America to the influence of Jerry Uelsmann's photography.

Conservation matters

Problems of preservation and conservation are unlikely to vary greatly from other forms of photographs. The major difference is the likelihood that the works of the nineteenth century photographers which are extant to-day were made from copy negatives of the original composite prints. In many cases, as previously mentioned, carbon prints were made from the copy negatives. Colloid printing (carbon/autotype) is the most permanent of photographic printing processes so that, provided storage has been adequate in the past, present-day good archival practice should ensure their continuing survival.

Twentieth century photo-montages in many cases were also copied for print making and reproduction but selected originals remain in archives. Deterioration in storage conditions is most likely due to inadequate fixation and washing of the bromide prints (both copies and originals).

Photographers from Uelsmann forward will be aware of the necessity of processing for archival permanence and of right conditions for storage. The most vulnerable of these two forms of photographic imagery are the original combination prints of the 1850s, especially the Two Ways of Life and the remaining original Robinson's composites, which are albumen prints.

References

2. The Royal Photographic Society's Archives, Milson Street, Bath, England.
Hermann Krone - A Pioneer of Photography in Germany
by Peter Süptitz

Hermann Krone is eminent among the early photographers in Germany. He was privileged to be involved in the development of photography for more than 60 years beginning with the era of the daguerreotype and calotype to the use of silver halide/gelatin materials. He took an active part in the improvement of various photographic procedures and demonstrated as a pioneer the usefulness of photography in science and other fields of application.

Krone was one of the first photographers to teach scientific photography at a college for advanced technology. He was one of the first landscape photographers in Germany and he left a large number of historically and artistically valuable photographs, most of which have survived to the present day. In spite of his considerable achievements in the development of photography, Krone received little attention when the first texts on the history of photography were written. Only in the last decade has photographic historiography paid him more attention. This paper hopes to publicise his activities more widely, especially to English speaking countries.

His life

Hermann Krone was born on September 14th, 1827 in Breslau (Silesia) as son of a lithographer. His father has been taught this art of printing by Alois Senefelder himself in Munich. He would have preferred that his son followed a similar career, especially since he showed he had a talent for drawing.

Although his parents were not very wealthy they at first enabled him to attend a classical secondary school and finally agreed to Hermann’s wish to study philosophy and natural sciences at the University of Breslau commencing in 1843. In his first term one of his professors encouraged him to try the novel photographic techniques which had just recently become available in Breslau and offered him use of the chemicals of the university’s pharmacy. Krone set to work with enthusiasm, but his father criticised it all as a waste of time and insisted on a solid grounding in lithography. Herman took the trouble to fulfil all the demands on him. In photography his first success was with the techniques of Talbot and he recorded that he made his first calotype on July 15th, 1843. This date is known exactly as Krone kept a detailed record of all his trials and photographs. He also published in his later years some reviews and dates of his early work. The camera used was very simple. He assembled it from a cigar box, a biconvex lens and an old top hat. Also in the same year of 1843 he succeeded in making his first daguerreotypes, some of which have survived until now with an example shown in Fig. 1. In the course of his studies he was especially interested in astronomy and assisted in the observatory of the university. In August 1848 he was told to observe a meteorite swarm, but instead of following instructions to draw his observations he succeeded instead by taking a daguerreotype. Probably it is the first picture of such an event. The picture was presented to Alexander von Humboldt who was in Breslau at this time. Humboldt was much impressed by it and encouraged the young Krone. In order to pay for the costs of his hobby, Krone did lithographic work but soon saw a way to earn money by his photography. But first he felt it was essential for him to enrol for a course of training in the artistic styling of pictures. In 1849 he left Breslau and enrolled in the Academy of

Fig 1: Hermann Krone: ‘Father and Brother’, 1843; daguerreotype, 7.5 x 6cm; Technische Universität Dresden.
Fig 3: Studio Krone: 'Couple Krone'; about 1855; albumen paper, 43.1 x 34.4 cm; Agle Foto-Historama Köln.

Arts in Dresden, one of the most prominent art academies in Germany.

For 18 months he engaged in painting and graphics, but did not neglect his autodidactic studies in photography.

The earliest surviving self portrait of Krone dates from this time, see Fig. 2. In 1851 he set up on his own and opened the first studio in Leipzig for lithography and photography. His excellent portraits made his studio famous. Even the Saxonian king came to see him and Krone duly made daguerreotypes of him and his daughters. The enormous output of Krone and his success inevitably evoked the envy of his colleagues and they finally found a legal objection to his activities in that he did not possess the municipal citizenship of Leipzig. Krone was subsequently forced to leave Leipzig and returned to Dresden to start up in business again but only after he had acquired municipal citizenship. In 1852 he opened his Great Photographic Institute for Daguerreotypes and Photographic Pictures on Paper and Glass, a studio which he later renamed as the Photographic Institute for Art and Teaching. His portraits were admired for their technical and artistic perfection, the basis of which was the good quality of his plates and the exceptional care in finishing the pictures. Of course his pictures were correspondingly expensive, with the largest daguerreotype (2.5 feet square) having a price of 50 thalers, at that time a fortune.

Krone was also an expert in public relations and publicity. He sent his pictures to all the important exhibitions and was awarded a lot of prizes, among which was one from the 1851 World Exhibition in London.

Krone married in 1855, see Fig. 3, and Dresden finally became his home town. His Photographic Institute became well known in Saxonia and even beyond its borders. Krone used the best photographic equipment that was available at the time. He purchased one of the first portrait objectives from Petzval, which is shown in the famous picture of Krone's studio, see Fig. 4. In order to market his landscape pictures he founded a publishing house which helped him to overcome any financial difficulties. In this way he could afford to give lectures at the Royal Polytechnical College in Dresden for which he received no remuneration. Krone died in Dresden on September 27, 1916 at the age of almost ninety.

Krone as a photographer

Krone was determined to use and apply photography in nearly all the fields of human endeavour. To this end he found that the wet collodion process introduced (in Germany) in 1852 met most of his requirements. Krone reported "I did not hesitate to get information from the best experts for a good payment and I introduced the novelty to Dresden on August 27, 1853".

Krone loved nature and was an enthusiastic hiker, so was well acquainted with the beauties of the town and surroundings of Dresden. Using the new wet collodion process he realised the possibility of taking photographs outdoors away from the studio was much easier. For portraiture he still preferred

Fig 2: Hermann Krone: "Self-portrait"; 1850; daguerreotype, 7.5 x 6cm; Technische Universität Dresden.
deguerreotypy due to the delicacy in the details and the excellent reproduction of tones, but in 1858 he went over completely to wet collodion techniques.

Krone became the first documentary photographer of Dresden. It is only by his photographs that today we know the appearance of the town in the 1850's: see Fig. 5. He paid special attention to the rock formations near Dresden, the so-called Saxonian Switzerland. This region had recently become known by the work of the romanticists among the artists of Dresden. In their graphic representations and paintings they had shown the wonderful region to the amazed public. Now Krone determined to capture the scenic marvels by photography, see Fig. 6.

As early as 1853 he organised his first photographic expedition. The large format camera and all necessary chemicals were loaded on a rack-wagon, since all the photographic process from plate preparation up to the development and fixation had to be done at the location. Krone set up his darkroom by his tripod using an umbrella and a dark awning. Later, he used a portable photographic outfit, see Fig. 7, and for extended trips a horse-drawn vehicle with a compartment fitted out for the various activities. His first photographic landscape expedition was very successful and the first 36 pictures he published met with enthusiastic public response. The students of the Academy of Arts in Dresden were so excited by the first photographs of the Saxonian Switzerland that they carved on a rock at
the Bastel the inscription "Hermann Krone hic primus luce pinxit MDCCCLIII" (here Hermann Krone first painted with light 1853, see Fig. 8.) Today the inscription is badly weatherbeaten but still recognisable.

The documentation of towns and landscapes became a specialty of Krone. He took photographs in Breslau, in the Giant Mountains and the Harz Mountains, in Bohemia particularly Prague, in Switzerland particularly Zürich and in many other regions. These pictures are nowadays of great value, particularly as many of the subjects no longer exist. As ordered he took photographs of all the 142 towns of Saxonia and an album containing all the pictures was presented to the Saxonian royal couple on the occasion of their golden wedding in 1872.

All through his life Krone tried to demonstrate the application and usefulness of photography in science, culture and the humanities. He took photographs of biological and archaeological subjects, see Fig. 9, he documented famous museum pieces, he demonstrated the usefulness of photography for criminology and above all he showed with his photographs the appearance of the people of his time. Krone became the most renowned photographer in Dresden. Members of the royal family and the stars of the opera and theatre allowed him to take their photographs, see Fig. 10. From his college days Krone had an especial interest in astronomy
and took photographs of all astronomical events visible to him. In 1851 he recorded a partial solar eclipse by daguerreotypy using a 4 inch diameter portrait objective. In 1874 Krone participated as photographer and astronomer in an expedition to New Zealand, see Fig. 11, where he photographed a solar transit by the planet Venus using plates coated with a dry collodion process he invented himself. Using exposure times of less than 1/100s he obtained 115 photographs which were suitable for astronomical measurements.

Krone as scientist and college teacher

Throughout his years of study Krone tested all new information about photographic procedures. At this time he was well acquainted with processes based on papers, he knew the bleaching process of Bayard after the technique of Verignon, he used the bichromate paper of Mungo Ponton and was using the cyanotype process of Herschel and Hunt. Starting with this knowledge he considered the mechanisms of the photographic process.

At an early date he looked at the possibilities of combining the multiple copies potential of Talbot's kalotype with the richness of detail of the daguerreotype. Soon after the discovery of gun-cotton in 1846 he had the idea of using a coating on glass of collodion produced by a solution of gun-cotton in an ether-alcohol mixture as the vehicle for the light sensitive material. He produced gun-cotton by various procedures and with varying degrees of purity and tried to use them for photographic purposes but without success. A few years later the problem was solved by Gustav le Gray in France and Frederick Scott Archer in England. Krone enthusiastically adopted the new procedures of the wet collodion process. Nevertheless he was not fully satisfied for he had in mind dry plates which could be prepared in advance.

In 1855 he succeeded in this but the speed of the plates was low and of high contrast so that the midtones of the subject were lost. After he heard about the procedure of Taupenot where the silver iodide/collodion layer was covered with albumen he adopted this method. By his skill and experience he knew how to produce reliable dry plates which he used especially for landscape photography. According to his own account, until 1873 he remained the only expert in Germany who used collodion dry plates. His plates were stable and reliable to such an extent that they proved to be suitable photographic materials for the expedition to New Zealand. At this
Einführung der phot. Visits in Dresden, 1859.

Die ersten Cabinets in Dresden 1867.

Fig. 10: Hermann Krone: Table 30 of Krone's Historical Teaching Museum of Photography: 1859.
time gelatin films had been known since the published paper by Maddox in 1871, but they were unreliable and low in speed. The situation improved as Charles Bennet introduced ripening in 1878. From this date Krone changed completely to silver halide gelatin plates and vehemently promoted this procedure in 1879 at the German Photographers Meeting. In later years he was proud of his role in introducing the plates to Germany.

Since his college years Krone wished to transmit his knowledge. At the age of 20 he had given a lecture before his college teachers and the interested public on the problems of photography. The lecture produced a stir in Breslau. He gave similar lectures in Dresden at the Academy of Arts. In 1852 he had proposed the creation of a professorial chair in photography at the Royal Polytechnical College in Dresden. The Saxonian government refused this, principally on financial grounds, even after 1865, the year in which a similar chair was established in Berlin. Krone kept up the pressure and finally in 1870 the administration responded by allowing Krone to deliver a course of lectures on photography. For the following nine years he gave lectures without any remuneration, and only then did he receive the small sum of 300 marks per year for the chemicals which he used in his demonstrations. It was only in his old age that he was given honours for his achievements in teaching photography. In 1895 he was appointed professor and in 1913 doctor honoris causa. Only after his retirement was his wish fulfilled. Supported by the Saxonian photographic industry an institute for scientific photography was founded, which continues to the present day.

**Krone’s heritage**

Better than anyone else Krone experienced and actively developed the history of photography. He tested almost all photographic procedures and some of them he improved in detail. In his lifetime he saw the early photographic processes fall into oblivion. In order to preserve vital knowledge about the early processes he resolved to record all the processes he tested and to document the capabilities of each from his extensive range of photographs. His long life enabled him to achieve both ambitions.

In 1913 he entrusted to Professor Luther, the director of the Institute for Scientific Photography,
his manuscript entitled "Photographische Urmethoden" ("Preliminary Photographic Methods"). The first world war and then the low level of interest in the history of photography prevented the printing of this work for several decades. Only in 1985 was it finally published by VEB Fotokinoverlag Leipzig with a postscript by Irene Schmidt.

The illustrative photographs he collected in a so-called Historical Teaching Museum of Photography. The basic collection is in the form of more than 100 daguerreotypes arranged in tableaux, Fig. 12 shows one example, and 141 large boards with more than 1100 paper prints, see Figs. 5 and 10. Together with another 900 negatives, diapositives and stereograms he left everything to the Dresden University of Technology. This collection has survived in spite of the ensuing great damage to the photographic institute. Krone left another part of his photographic collection to the University of his home town of Breslau (now Wroclaw), where most of it is still preserved. A third part of Krone’s photographic heritage is now in the Aga Fotohistorama Museum in Cologne.
The Formative Years.
By Sue Atkinson.

Text of an illustrated talk given at the National Portrait Gallery for The Royal Photographic Society Historical Group/ESHPH Seminar on The Changing Role of Photography in Fashion and Advertising.

In calling this paper the 'Formative Years' I refer to a period in British photo-history and to a group of photographers hitherto comparatively neglected. But the 1920s and 1930s were decades during which took place the greatest changes in photographic imagery relevant to its use in advertising. During these years we can trace the evolution of styles of imagery from a time of almost complete ignorance of the potential of photography for advertisement illustration, during the dominant phase of Pictorialism in British photography, to a period during which photography, in various Realist, Humanist and experimental guises was hailed by the advertising world as an ideal medium for conveying the relevant mood and tempo of the era.

To present some background to this major 'Formative' phase it is relevant to look back to the pre-First World War years, to the earliest applications of photography to the advertiser's message. The earliest advertising photographs have been described as "...the direct production of the Victorian portrait photographer with his stylifying paraphernalia of head-clamps, backsheets, palms and garden seats, and his rigid Victorian conservatism..." (Stapely and Sharpe, Photography in the Modern Advertisement, 1937). Indeed the portrait was the obvious choice for drawing attention to a press announcement. Photographic portraiture was tremendously popular and served to lend authority to the most common form of advertisement of the period, the testimonial. However, knowing no better, the portrait prints supplied to the blockmaker by the photographer were identical with those supplied for the family album. The soft, grey tones were far from suited to reproduction by the coarse half-tone blocks of the period which meant that substantial retouching had to be carried out in order to achieve a passable result. In short "...the retoucher ruled, strengthening highlights, darkening shadows, emphasising or deleting detail". (Ibid)

Apart from the photographer's ignorance of the requirements of producing imagery suitable for reproduction, advertising itself was in its formative years. Comparatively few of those calling themselves 'advertising agents' of the pre-war years actually took any responsibility for producing advertisements as such; they were merely buyers and sellers of press space to those wishing to advertise. Thus the ideas behind adverts often tended to be rather personal to the advertiser and illustrations used merely for the sake of attracting attention. Lack of appreciation of advertising psychology often lead advertisers into the trap of advertising the problem, rather than the cure, as in the Coolene anti-perspirant advert which features a portrait of an elegant Victorian lady with her arm raised and saying 'Pine!

By the second decade of the century a number of advertising agencies began to take on greater responsibility for filling the spaces they bought for their clients. This required that they enjoy their own, in-house, commercial artists, trained to produce the most appropriate types of imagery for the purpose required. The line-drawing was by far the most frequently-used form of illustration, being infinitely adaptable to the advertiser's ideas and far easier to reproduce. The photographer was thus largely an outsider to this world (Fig 1, overlaid). But realising the potential for use of the medium, if suitably applied, a few photographers began to produce articles for the advertising press suggesting photographic applications. These were largely based on pictures of pretty women, attractive children and authoritative males.

Some studios also began to offer 'stock' portrait pictures. Whilst in many ways this encouraged the use of photography - not least for use by commercial artists as studies for their handwork - in others it had a detrimental effect, by perpetuating the stereotype of photographs used. However, in some cases, where high quality papers and inks permitted the use of fine-grade printing blocks, some quite exceptional photographs were produced as in the Huntley and Palmers breakfast biscuit advertisement. Whether this is a photograph taken 'from stock' or not is open
to debate. But the awkward positioning of the hand holding the tin of biscuits undoubtedly demonstrates a degree of retouching - either the addition of the tin or the whole arm which supports it.

Apart from photographers' lack of knowledge of advertising technique, for many the predominant moral and aesthetic values of Pictorial photography prevented them from having any desire to become involved in the world of photography for commerce and industry. Occasionally advertisers so well-disposed to the use of artistic illustration in their advertisements, such as Pears, would require the photographer to cross-over this barrier and produce a photograph of great aesthetic appeal. Unlike the majority of newspaper and magazine advertising outlets, publications such as Bystander and Tatler, with their high quality advertising pages, carried such designs well. In fact it was largely due to the superior quality of magazine reproduction that photography began to be widely used in advertising in the USA far earlier than in Britain.

When the stylish society portrait photographer and member of the Linked Ring Adolphe de Meyer left Britain for the USA in 1914, the editor of Vogue and Vanity Fair, Conde Nast was quick to seize upon his talents. As staff photographer to Vogue, de Meyer's romantic Pictorial style was ideally-suited not only to emphasise the high-quality reproduction of the magazine's gravure printing, but to appeal to its selective readership. De Meyer had an elegant sense of design, an ability to handle soft-focus lenses with appropriate selectivity and a subtlety in handling light "...Utilising ladies in tiaras and silver lame as his subject matter he produced Whistlerian impressions of sunlight on water, of dappled light through trees...." (Edward Steichen)

His use of lighting is in fact said to have influenced the American film industry at that time. It is little surprising his work appealed to the major New York agency of the period J Walter Thompson, for whom his best-remembered images were to advertise Elizabeth Arden products.

De Meyer's still-life - as seen in Vogue - demonstrates all the qualities of photographic imagery which most of the British media could not handle. Indeed, apart from the purely Pictorial, or the heavily retouched purely technical illustration for technical manuals, comparatively little still-life work was attempted, particularly for advertising. It was to be another artistic British portrait photographer, Emilie Otto Hoppe - who was to produce the first such images with any degree of success. Hoppe also worked in America during the First World War years at the time when the first American advertising studies were being set-up. In America, advertising, as an industry, was far more advanced than in Britain, and the nature of circulation of magazines made them particularly suitable outlets for advertising. Hoppe's work of the early 1920s for Ciro Pearls (Fig. 2) demonstrates an important development in photographic advertising imagery and represents a short-lived period of interest in what he, like the American exponents, called 'Pictorial advertising': "In my opinion the attention is arrested, and the desire excited rather by an interesting and unconventional treatment than by mere faithfulness of reproduction" (Advertiser's Weekly 27:10.22 p.498).

Whilst Hoppe's work often combined the portrait approach with still-life elements to display the product yet he managed to include a narrative element. But his pure still-life featured an exceptional sense of composition combined with understanding of photographic technique in his delicate handling of focus. When he returned to Britain his advertising work was quite unique, three of his advertising designs being the only photographic posters exhibited in the exhibition of Advertising Art at Woblye in 1925. Whilst he maintained that there was no real reason for the pictorial style not to be adopted by British workers he sang out printers as the biggest stumbling block. His compositions of figures, such as the gramophone advertisement where the whole intention is to convey mood and atmosphere through careful selecting and posing of models, were undoubtedly remarkable pieces of advertising art, but they were totally devalued by poor quality reproduction. Thus his greatest notoriety in advertising came from the creation of one of the first
The attractive cover of the new booklet issued by Civo Pearls, Ltd. The design photographic icons. In keeping with the Kodak Girl, Cardinal Wolsey and the like, Hoppe’s most successful creation was the promotion of “Nippy” the Lyons girl.

As the influence of the Pictorial movement in Britain began to wane some of the more prominent members of the Professional Photographers’ Association began to recognise the huge potential market offered by advertising photography, not least through seeing how the medium had been taken up in America. Marcus Adams, leading child portraitist, advocated the production of pictures of real people with expressive potential as in American magazines rather than the static portrayals so common to most commercial photographs. One of the few photographers who succeeded in achieving the reputation of ‘advertising photographer’ of this period was indeed another professional who had worked in America — Kenneth Witherington. American advertising imagery - as seen in Saturday Evening Post and Ladies Home Journal - concerned the active. Although people formed an important constituent of their illustrations they were fulfilling the function of bringing the product to life — adding ‘human appeal’. Often illustrators worked directly from photographs, sometimes even over them in order to achieve a sense of scale, perspective and depth. In Witherington’s work he aimed to achieve these same effects.

But technical problems due to the increasing desire of advertisers to place photographic adverts in newspaper outlets in addition to magazines put considerable restraints on such work. Lighting had to be high in contrast, edges clean and backgrounds clear so that they could be ‘cut-out’ as was most frequently the case. But a successful cut-out photograph, if well-used, could often be more successful that a cut-out illustration, the clearly-defined shape of a photographed figure being more distinctive than a soft, flat illustration. In some cases the photograph was chosen for the association with new technologies. In a single 1926 issue of Good Housekeeping the use of the photograph to advertise a ‘Croydon Electric Cleaner’ contrasts well with the illustrated woman featured in an advertisement for the manual ‘Whirlwind’ cleaner.

Other attempts to use the photograph to bring life and realism into a promotion were similarly re-interpretations of the illustrated posters of the period. Often these were superior in the direct appeal to the housewife but not always as distinctive as the advertising messages. Due to photographers’ lack of involvement with developments in the commercial art world this was little surprising.

Whilst a few commercial studios employed photographers for their own work most art directors knew little photographic technique and how to direct photography while the independent photographers sought hard to produce images which could be applicable. George Butler, senior Art Director of the J Walter Thompson agency during the 1920s and 1930s, demonstrated the problems of this lack of communication between photographers and advertising agencies; “Looking back to the early twenties, I realise that, whereas drawings were very sophisticated, photography was pretty primitive. One problem was lack of commercial photographic studios. There were press photographers who’d snap anything dramatic, rough as it was, and there were portrait photographers who were quite good and polished in their way”. "I remember we needed a photograph of a rice pudding for Sun Maid Raisins,
and there was a very good portrait photographer called Howard Coster in Essex Street, Strand. He had large portraits of HG Wells and Bernard Shaw in his window.... And so I took my rice pudding over there one afternoon, but I insisted on an overhead view. He had a huge camera on a sort of pulpit stand which couldn’t be directed downwards. After about two hours of persuasion he brought in his tallest pair of steps and a half-pipe camera which he tied to the top of the steps in order to get my overhead view on the rice pudding.... That just illustrates how ill-equipped existing photographic studios were for any kind of modern use of photography.” (George Butler Remembers JWT.)

Possibly the greatest influences in disseminating ideas were the advertising and commercial art magazines of the period. Commercial Art was a positively dynamic magazine, not least because it dealt with topical issues in a very authoritative, practical vein. Published in Britain it was constantly featuring articles on advertising developments from abroad, particularly on the new Modernist influences on commercial art. During the 1920s it featured Hoppe’s advertising work, that of Witherington, Dudley Glanfield etc. and even dealt with the problems of using photographs in reproduction. Magazines and annuals, more than any other sources, serve to demonstrate changing patterns in aesthetic style and indeed Photograms of the Year is one which represents clearly the changes from the purely Pictorial to the more ‘straight’ approach of this area which were beginning to take place primarily in the USA.

Photograms of the mid-1920s remarks on the increasing importance of improvements in photography, particularly the improvements in emulsion speeds and sensitivities, large aperture lenses etc., but more significant is the recognition of an increasing move towards ‘straight’ photography, represented not least in the influential work of a group of West-Coast USA Japanese photographers exhibited in London in 1926. By the mid-1920s the influence of the pioneers of American straight photography such as Strand and Steichen had been readily felt in the commercial world. The ‘straight’ style of imagery they introduced was remarkably fresh and powerful.

The new style images that began to be produced were a direct departure from the Romanticism of the Pictorialists; sharp, with well-defined tonality, simple and clear-cut they took a new, more objective approach. The close-up was explored in both natural and man-made forms, an ideal form of imagery for attracting attention in an advert. Edward Weston, wanting to convey "...the very essence of the thing itself, be it polished steel or palpitating flesh..." was almost taking the words out of advertisers’ mouths. By the mid-1920s the Clarence White School of Photography, the first in the USA, graduated students such as Margaret Watkins, Paul Outerbridge, Ralph Steiner and later Anton Bruehl who became renowned for their powerful advertising work ranging from still-life to industrial, figure work to reportage.

Edward Steichen led a varied and influential career, possibly being best known for his fashion and portrait work for Conde Nast. Steichen has also been hailed as introducing ‘Naturalism’ into advertising. When Steichen first began studio work the technical rigours of mastering lighting were a mystery to him, but not a little under the influence of the film industry, he soon turned the studio into his domain. Recognising that there was still a great deal to be achieved in improving advertising imagery he was delighted when he was approached by J Walter Thompson to produce pictures to promote ‘Jergen’s Lotion’. The idea of the close-up of the hands was quite a novel compositional device for its time, being very selective yet also realistic in approach in the sense of equating quite closely with real life. As Steichen’s advertising experience increased he took on new approaches and it is probably for his Kodak pictures, creating the true feeling of spontaneity through unusual composition, camera angle and framing of models that he gained his ‘Naturalistic’ reputation.

However, whilst in America definite advances were being made in terms of the aesthetic developments of photography available to the advertising industry, other advances in advertising were less positive. America had been very keen on the idea of research to determine psychologies behind motivation to buy and by the mid to late 1920s a style of advertising had begun to predominate which took the form of ‘scare-appeal’.

Magazines such as True Story, appealing to the lowest moral common denominators, were filled with romantic stories of the confessional nature and proved an immense success. In similar emotive style advertising increasingly turned towards the approach which frightened the consumer into buying, playing on insecurities and the desire to progress in life. The photographs were perfect in expressing human emotion by its immediacy, accuracy and directness. The models used were carefully selected to give extra credibility to the ‘stories’ these adverts told, often taking on an almost reportage role, although more formally and authoritatively posed. Some health conditions - such as ‘Toilet Tissue Illness’ - were even invented by advertisers in order to sell more products, giving rise to the publication of a spoof magazine ‘slanding-up’ the advertising of certain products. The dramatic potential of the new use of
close-up and sharp-focus were also ideal in enhancing the 'frightening you into buying' techniques.

Similarly, techniques which could only be achieved through photographic means — such as the use of perspective distortion through wide-angled lenses — had tremendous dramatic potential. Anton Bruehl’s picture for Hind’s hand cream provides a strong contrast with the more honest, direct appeal of Steichen’s image for Jergens’ Lotion. It is little surprising that Steichen disillusioned with the moral dishonesty of such advertising approaches, soon turned his back on advertising photography in favour of a period of experimenting with the new miniature format cameras.

Another technique peculiar to photography and film which became popular around 1930 was the use of superimposed imagery. There was a directness in this photographic method — achieved by the impression of real time-space relationships, albeit in fantasy scenarios — which could not work the same with illustration. Amusing to us in hindsight, the notion of a man dreading the prospect of needing false teeth may well have been sufficient a warning of the potential perils of not using Forhan’s toothpaste to persuade the American market to buy.

However, such approaches were not tolerated in Britain. Woman’s Journal and Good Housekeeping magazines were the closest relatives Britain had to the American journals; dealing primarily with household matters, they were devoted to women, the group by the early 1930s recognised as having greatest purchasing power. However, agencies in Britain would not consider placing the same style of advertising in the British editions. As nations have clearly identifiable national characteristics, so, even by the later 1920s, distinctive advertising styles were emerging within different countries, as well as represented in articles featured in Commercial Art. British tastes were slower to adapt to change, more ready to criticise the moral tones of advertising suggestion. In short, the agencies who represented the big American organisations in Britain, such as J Walter Thompson, and Dorling, played safe in their British editions, and the positive approach to selling, via the appealing, rather than threatening image, predominated. Where American advertising of the time was dominated by ideas and suggestions of fear and failure on both social and career levels, British advertising was characterised by its use of humour. As humour tended to be well-portrayed by commercial illustrators of the period less scope was left for the more imaginative use of photographic imagery. As a French writer in Commercial Art (1929) observed: “...I marvel at the man who tries to sell a particular brand of petrol to his fellow-being by showing him a gentleman feeding an ostrich with golf balls; but I marvel still more at the man who does buy petrol on the strength of that recommendation...” (Maximilian Vox, ‘A Continental looks at British advertising’). British art directors did not seem to have the capacity to conceive photographic ideas which rivalled the witty imagery of Gilroy and his contemporaries.

Nonetheless, experimental photographic work was being carried out in Britain, although its application was not so widespread as in the USA. Madame Yevonde’s 1928 advertising study for Encor’s is an interesting study in shadow-play. Yet whilst its dramatic in impact it is nonetheless positive in its appeal, the caption with the picture advising women that they should look after themselves as well after a late night out as on going to bed early.

By the mid-1920s the Professional Photographers’ Association had recognised the need to organise for themselves means of promoting their own skills. A Commercial and Technical section had
been a feature of annual exhibitions since 1924, and in 1928 a special section of the PPA exhibition was devoted solely to advertising photographs. In 1929 a second exhibition of British Advertising Photographs was opened by Sir William Crawford, head of one of the most progressive native British agencies. The Times review of the exhibition set photography on a new pedestal; ‘Photography is strong exactly where painting and drawing is weak, that is to say in the precise reproduction of objects, particularly as regards surface qualities.’ Changes were beginning to appear in the British work which began reflecting not only the American approach to portraying people in human situations, but also assimilated considerable influences from Germany.

In 1930 the first major exhibition of German advertising photographs was shown in Britain - including a wide range of work from the New Objectivity through to the experimental photography and Typophoto compositions of the Bauhaus. Responses to the work were decidedly mixed; some hailed the work for its freshness and vitality but the response from diehard Pictorialists was only that which was to be expected; ‘Photographically (the work is) far inferior to the average in this country... On the whole they are excessively hard in gradation which doubtless ‘hits you in the eye’, but does nothing to evoke a feeling of admiration’ (Fig 4). As regards composition, it is evident that the dominant idea... is summed up in the favourite German word ‘kolossal’ (Anon; British Journal of Photography, 28.2.1930).

But this exhibition was not the first British photographers had seen of the German styles. Some of Blossfeld’s plant form pictures had been shown in London in 1929, but more significantly many agencies had links with the new German work through their German outlets. Sir William Crawford had been instrumental in organising the exhibition mainly through contacts made via Crawford’s Reklam Agentur in Berlin. Indeed many leading agencies such as J Walter Thompson and Dorling had outlets in Germany, where the dynamic economic and industrial growth provided a stark contrast with Britain’s depressed economy. They were very much aware of the developments and applications of photographic style - both objective and more analytical as it began to be commercially applied in Germany. By 1930 the Bauhaus had actually started running courses in photography for advertising under the direction of Walter Peterhans. Those commercial artists and photographers working for British agencies in Germany recognised the significance of this new work and were both influenced and inspired. As David Mellor in ‘Germany; The New Photography 1927-33’ suggests; “Archaic styles of advertising (in Britain) were blamed as ‘partly the reason why the outside world is placing Britain among the also rans’, and the new German photography, it was felt, might infuse energy and efficiency.”

Through interrelation between the British artists - such as photographer Gilbert Cousiand, art director, photographer John Havinden (brother of the illustrator Ashley Havinden), and their European contemporaries and a series of major exhibitions the influences of the German work on Britain during the early 1930’s was phenomenal. Magazines such as Commercial Art, and the annual Modern Photography, enthusiastically featured and discussed the new styles and through their pages alone the dynamic enthusiasm with which British advertising enveloped the new style can be felt unquestionably. Modern Photography went so far as to imply the direct influence of a Paul Wolff close-up of a plant-form in the style of Blossfeld with Maurice Beck’s photograph of a crankshaft. But influences may easily be seen in looking carefully at most work of the period, as for example Hein Gorny’s advertising picture for shirts and John Havinden’s advertising shot for Johnny Walker.

Concern with pattern-making via repetition of shape was only one of numerous stylistic concerns yet it had many applications. In the hands of British photographer Al Hitchin the strict German objectivity was re-interpreted and modified to play on the notion of ‘Vanishing Cream’ in an advertisement for Ponds.
Styles of work, borrowed and adapted from both New Objectivity and the Bauhaus, showed infinite variety and versatility in application and design and photographic execution was raised to a remarkably high technical standard. By 1932 Howard Coster, whose work had already been influenced by the close-up techniques of the film industry had come to terms with the requirements of advertising art directors and exhibited portrait images of great advertising impact and human appeal.

Shaw Wildman, who had turned to the study of photography from his dissatisfaction with the photography he could commission as an art director at Carlton Studios, produced similarly powerful close-up images which, whilst undoubtedly influenced by new German styles— including Tschichold's and El Lissitzky's photo- typography — nonetheless maintained a very distinctive British style.

Photography was in fact never to have quite the same impact in British work as it was on the Continent although elements were frequently borrowed and applied in conjunction with other unconventional techniques — such as extremes of viewpoint — to create novelty and impact in a design. Any subject was suitable for experimentation, not least the human face and figure.

In 1930 Kodak figures were published which suggested that 32% of illustrated national advertising in newspapers used photography as opposed to only 6% in 1925. By 1933 Sir William Crawford opened a London exhibition of Modern Industrial Photography, which included a large percentage of advertising images of all sorts, with the statement: "The best photographic exhibition of its kind I have ever attended, whether in Paris, Berlin or New York." A remarkable change had taken place. It would not be fair to say that this was due only to the industry and imagination of photographers, but in the commercial art world as a whole a new attitude was emerging. For the first time commercial art was not a secondary offshoot of true artistic activity. Whereas artists like McKnight Kauffer had been for some time recognised as producing work of equal aesthetic merit for both poster and exhibition, so photographers began to be appreciated in the same manner. Art directors in the more creative agencies no longer treated the photograph with contempt as a means of realism which could be used only when an illustration was inappropriate. A greater understanding between advertising agency and photographer began for the first time to evolve in a way which was beneficial not only to the relationship between the two but also to the end product and its success in terms of sales. For photographers the advertising and commercial art press provided not only a place for discussion and dissemination of ideas but also a showcase for their most prestigious work. By the mid-1930s a few agencies and clients had begun to recognise photographers' styles sufficiently for them to become officially-aligned — for example, the name Maurice Beck became synonymous with the photographic work of Shell Mex although his personal work, often of very stylised nudes, could not have been more aesthetically remote.

But it would be absurd to suggest that this new language of advertising photography sprung up phoenix-like without shedding any of its previous. Whilst much of the imagery was strong and meaningful, inevitably a great deal was obscure, lacking in any real idea, but existing only for the sake of experimentation - to be original. Whilst strong links had been forged between many art directors and photographers, these relationships were the minority. Many photographers, on getting insufficient, or no, art direction were obliged to interpret the requirements of the advertiser themselves. Some of the more talented photographers, such as Gilbert Cousland, Shaw Wildman, Charles Wormald, W.G Briggs and J.H Havinden had sufficient experience of the requirements of a 'selling-picture' to be able to work alone. But in many cases ignorance of advertising on the part of photographers lead to 'interesting techniques' and 'attention-pulling' shock tactics being taken to extremes. Whilst fashion photographers enjoyed a successful brief flirtation with Surrealist montage effects it was rarely applicable to advertising per se. Even in instances where

Fig. 5: Towards the end of the 1930s, advertisers were giving British photographers more room to express their creativity. By Morgan Wells, c. 1938, planking advert, used to illustrate an advertising magazine article by G. Cousland.
photographer and art director should have known better the results tended to be somewhat fanciful.

In truth, although by the mid-1930s British advertising imagery had become far more dynamic and sophisticated, it still lacked direction. For those photographers with the right technical experience and aesthetic judgement there was the freedom to exercise quite a deal of influence on the interpretation of an advertising brief. Thus articles such as Cousland's advocating "Photographers study... the New Simplicity" is written as advice "...as to which type of photography will serve the advertiser best." (Fig. 5). The imagery, however, is far from retaining the simplicity of the work of the early 1930s. The more careful agencies, like the American-dominated JWT, were more restrained in their application of 'experimental technique', yet it was often no less effective for that, being combined with a definite, uncomplicated sales-message.

By the mid-1930s numerous commercial and advertising specialist photographers had established themselves, mainly in London but also throughout the major provincial cities, and a particularly British style of work was emerging, in truth a hybrid of American Naturalism and Dramatism in portraiture and the photography of people with the dynamic visual concerns of European — most particularly German Modernism.

For general advertising work pictures of people were still by far the most widely in demand as what research there was constantly proved that what the consumer of advertising images wanted was to make a human association with a product - to realise its use by seeing another person using it in a 'human situation'. The most successful of these images showed a direct influence from the film industry in their posing. Animation in posing of models was considered crucial to the success of the communication and although stock pictures were still readily available for advertising use specialist studios attended carefully to every aspect of casting, styling, set-building, lighting etc, almost to the same extent as in the arranging of a film set. Indeed professional advertising studios were expected to have the full facilities and experience necessary to be able to produce anything from a close-up dramatised portrait to a full-scale room-set.

By 1939 British advertising photography had evolved to a very high level of sophistication as perhaps best represented in the work of Walter Nurnberg. Having studied photography in Germany, under the influence of Renger-Patzsch and Helmar Lerski, Nurnberg's work typifies the assimilation of the German dynamism of design and subject simplification with a human sensitivity which together cumulate into a powerful narrative. His work for both John Players and Whitbread repeatedly demonstrates this assimilation of objectivity with Humanism. Nurnberg was indeed one of the few photographers who enjoyed and exploited to the full the confidence of his art directors to leave him to his own devices. His photograph for Players, "Players are always in the picture", demonstrates both dramatic tension and an element of humour — but evokes a sense of mood and atmosphere in which the desire for a cigarette is easily imagined. His design for Whitbread is even more sophisticated — careful styling suggesting the acceptability of drinking beer on a Sunday morning without too closely associating the product with identifiable people. It is a picture conveying mood alone, as is his delightfully sensitive illustration for Treasure Cot, entitled "The trust you will not fail" (Fig 6).

Sadly, the poor quality of its reproduction and 'cropping' reminds us only too clearly of the rigours of press advertising during this formative period when we compare it with the superb quality of a study from the same session, produced as a result of infinite patience and sensitivity (see the cover picture of this issue of Photoresearcher).

Sue Atkinson, who is a practising commercial photographer as well as a photo-historian, illustrated her talk at the National Portrait Gallery Seminar in June 1992 with some 70 slides, and we regret it is possible to reproduce only a small proportion here.

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Fig. 6: British advertising photography after World War II was greatly influenced by the work of Walter Nurnberg. This picture, full of the right kind of mood, was for advertiser Treasure Cot. (See also cover picture.)
The imperfect image

An outline of the programme of ‘Conference 92’ on photographic conservation held in April 1992 at Windermere, Cumbria, England.

From 6 to 8 April 1992, some 150 delegates representing 15 different countries from all over the world attended the Conference ‘The Imperfect Image - Photographs, their Past, Present and Future.’ It was organized by the Centre for Photographic Conservation based in London and directed by Angela and Ian Moor, two of the most influential conservators in the field.

The event took place at the Low Wood Hotel Conference Centre in Windermere, in the heart of England's Lake District.

Conference 92 was divided into five sections, and there was an accompanying poster exhibit.

The opening address was given by The Lord Palumbo, Chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain, who stressed the urgent need for adequate conservation of our world’s photographic heritage.

The sections, and speakers, were as follows:

Section One: PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY, PROCESSES AND APPLICATIONS.

Ian L. Moor and Angela H. Moor, of The Centre for Photographic Conservation, London, England first outlined the theme of the conference: ‘The Imperfect Image, Photographs their Past, Present and Future.’

Mame Warren, Curator of Photographs, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, USA delivered two papers on: ‘Oral History: Another Approach to Understanding and Preserving Photographs’ and ‘The Eye of the Deholder: A Photographer’s Experiences Collecting and Preserving Historical Images’.


Flesch Bálint, Director, the Hungarian Photographic Museum, Budapest, Hungary presented ‘The Heliochromy of Ferenc Veress (1867-1911)’.


Professor Margaret Harker, HonFRPS, President of The European Society for the History of Photography, spoke of the different methodologies employed by photographers in the production of ‘Composite Photographs: Intentions and Achievements’.

David Malin FRPS, Photographic Scientist Anglo-Australian Observatory, New South Wales, Australia, gave a lecture on ‘The Archival Image in Astronomy’.

Debbie Hess Norris, Assistant Director and Professor of Photographic Preservation, University of Delaware Art Conservation Programme, USA illustrated ‘The Painter/Photographer: The Photographic Works of Thomas Eakins and Andy Warhol’, two artists whose work often transcended the conventional use of materials and processes.


Section two: PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION MANAGEMENT.

Diane Vogt O’Connor, Audio-Visual Archivist, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, USA described the Photographic Collections of the Smithsonian Institution Archives.

Professor Joaquim Marcel F. Andrade, Director of the Preservation and Conservation Project at the Brazilian National Library, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil outlined ‘The Preservation and Conservation Project of the Photographic Collection of the Brazilian National Library’.

Susu Nousala, Photographic Conservator, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia described ‘Improving Storage and Access to the State Library of Victoria’s Large Glass Plate Collection’.


Roy Flukinger, Curator of the Photography, Theatre Arts and Film Collections, The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, Texas, USA explained the evolution of the Humanities Research Center and its commitment to the Photographic Collection in the lecture: 'Asleep in the Library: Photography in the Humanities Research Center'.

Alan Donnithorne, Head of the Western Pictorial Art Department, British Museum, Christopher Date, Curator at the British Museum and Suzanne Ruf, Conservator, commented on: 'Why Survey Your Photographic Collections? An Example of the Collective Approach at the British Museum'.

Hans Christiaan de Herder, Head of Conservation Department, Netherlands Office of Fine Arts, The Hague, The Netherlands in a lecture called 'Going Upstream: A Travel Against World Politics' explained the problems and progress made in starting a National Photoconservation Studio in The Netherlands.


Section three: PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION RESEARCH.


John McElhone, Photographs Conservator, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Canada spoke on 'Determining Responsible Display Conditions for Photographs'.

James Berry, Conservation Officer, Department of Conservation, Scottish Gallery of Modern Art, Scotland outlined the use of facsimiles in 'Resurrecting the Past: The Use of Facsimile Material for the Newhaven Project'.

Paul Messier, Head of Photographic Materials and Paper Conservation, Rocky Mountain Conservation Center, Denver, Colorado, USA lectured on 'Albumen Photographs: Effects of Aqueous Treatments and Fundamental Properties'.


Mark H. McCormick of Goodhart, Research Photographic Scientist, Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Museum Support Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, USA, studied 'Glass Corrosion and its Relation to Image Deterioration in Collodion Wet Plate Negatives'.

Glynn Wilton, Photographic Officer, The National Tramway Museum, Derbyshire, England, examined 'Preservation and Conservation Implications from Donations of Colour Transparencies Dating from the 1940s Onwards'.

Stanton I. Anderson, Senior Research Scientist, Image Stability Center, Eastman Kodak Company, New York, USA, lectured on 'The History and Natural Ageing of Ektachrome Products'.

Dr. Peter Douglas and Stewart M. Townsend, Chemistry Department, University College of Swansea, Wales, gave results of recent studies concerning 'Photodegradation of Image Dyes'.

David F. Kopper, Development Engineer, Image Stability Technical Center, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N.Y., USA outlined the latest 'Quality Improvements and Control Procedures at the Image Stability Technical Center'.

Professor Dr. Etsuo Fujii and Prof. Hideko Fujii studied 'Image Stability Evaluation of Colour Hard Copies'.

Robin Siegel, Conservator, National Geographic Society, Washington D.C., USA reviewed the A.I.C. Photographic Materials Group Colour Committee: 'Meeting and Mission', which was presented by Nora Kennedy, Photographic Conservator.

Section four: CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION.

Stephen J. Fletcher, Curator of Visual Collections, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, USA, described 'The Preservation of Panoramic Cirkut Negatives at the Indiana Historical Society'.

Ian Mavor, The Conservation Workshop, Sussex, England spoke on 'Some Research into Methods of Mounting, Lining or Repairing Albumen Prints'.

Richard Morris, FRPS, Buckinghamshire, England made a remarkable Calotype Portrait of the participants of the Conference on the pier in front of the conference facilities.

Christopher S. Woods, Conservator, County Record Office, Dorset County Council, Dorchester, England gave a practical demonstration of 'Treatment to Reveal or Remove Negative Images on Deteriorated Cellulose and Nitrate Support'.

Roy Flukinger and Barbara Brown, Curator Photography, Theatre and Film and Photographic Conservator, The Harry Ransom Humanities (Continued on page 34)
Competition and Collaboration

New light on the relationship between the English and French Photographic Savants 1839-47

By Michael Gray

Part 1: The Welsh Vanguard

Following on from the announcement of the invention of the Daguerreotype by Arago on the 8th of January 1839, William Henry Fox Talbot [1800-1877] began an extensive programme of photographic experimentation that culminated in his discovery and formulation of what now is called the Calotype Process in the Autumn of 1840. At the same time he corresponded regularly with a wide range of notable European scientists, in France principally with Jean Baptiste Biot, a man that Talbot regarded with great respect and with whom he had a strong rapport.

Talbot's postal contacts are listed systematically in two Memoranda Notebooks that give detailed information with whom he communicated; to whom he sent photogenic drawings and camera pictures; the quantity and often the number of prints and subject titles. The name of Jean Baptiste Biot occurs regularly in both, and correspondence survives in the archives of the Academy des Sciences in Paris; The Talbot Collection, The Science Museum, Bradford and The Lacock Abbey Collection, The National Trust Fox Talbot Museum Lacock. However, this paper is concerned with the first contacts made by The Reverend Calvert Richard Jones. The Clergyman officiated at the wedding of Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot to Charlotte Traherne, thus establishing the route through which he made his first social contacts that led to his subsequent friendship with William Henry Fox Talbot.

The Reverend Calvert and Mrs Jones in Paris: Summer, 1841

The Reverend Calvert R Jones was a close friend of Kit Talbot, the cousin of WHF Talbot. As early as 1839 he had shown close interest in the basic photogenic drawing process. In a short note that accompanied a letter of introduction from John M Traherne to the inventor of the calotype, Jones included a short addendum dated March 8th 1839. He [Jones] sought information from Talbot for 'the exact proportion between salt and water, and between the nitrate of silver and water he considers best. And the time between washes that produces the best sensitivity'.

Calvert Jones was not at this time on personal terms with Talbot, otherwise he would have had to communicate through JM Traherne, Talbot's cousin by marriage.

His next recorded contact with Talbot was not for some two years, reporting that:

"We talk for starting for Italy in about a fortnight, via Paris, and being very anxious to see how photography prospers there, as well as other places, I should be particularly obliged if you would be so kind as to give me a line of introduction to Mr Biot."

Until the recent discovery of the diaries of Anne Harriet Games Jones covering the period from August 1837 to June 1841 there had been no confirmation that the trip had actually taken place or that any information was available, giving details of their travels and the primary contacts that he made.

Jones' interest was primarily directed towards improving his skill and technique in the practice of the Daguerreotype process, hoping to avail himself of the latest advances to both chemistry and camera technology.

The Diary of Anne Harriet Gaines Jones

The contacts that The Reverend Calvert R Jones had with Arago, Bayard, Blot, Soleil, Chevalier, Lerebours and Benguio (sic) were recorded initially with interest, by the clergyman's first wife, however her focus on photographic matters fluctuated, the greater part of the journal concerned with domestic...
Two trade cards tipped into the journal [MSS 1,100-12] Journal of Harriet Gains Jones, 3 vol., Bath Central Reference Library Special Collection.]

and family matters.

When they first arrived in Paris she records that on Wednesday 30th June 1841, "It was showering, Calvert went to the Bank, and we sent the servants and dear Christina to the Lodgings and went down to the Pont Neuf, to see Mr. Larebours and Mr. Vincent Chevalier's shops, we found great improvements in the Daguerreotype apparatus, which is now quite small and portable compared with the original ones. We saw many beautiful Dags. and many portraits infinitely better than those in London, done in 15 seconds. We thought Chevalier's the best apparatus but Calvert determined not to purchase any until he had spoken to Mr. Biot ...

On the following day, presumably armed with a letter of introduction from Talbot, she wrote on Thursday 1st July that it was "A very dark morning Calvert went to enquire about Mr. Biot and found he only came into Paris two or three times a week".

The correspondence also covers visits to two meetings at the Institution to hear Arago speak on the Daguerrotype and on a later occasion when Daguerre made a personal appearance: 'Monday 5th July) A very hot morning, Calvert drew and I read to him while Christina went for a walk in the Tuileries. After luncheon Calvert went with Mr. Biot to the Institute where he heard some very clever papers, particularly about Gelatine, while they were sitting they heard a most tremendous noise and then screams and groans, they directed all the physicians and priests to run out which they did, and found that the Scaffold had given way literally falling on the ground, many people were hurt but none killed most fortunately. A paper was read from Mr. Daguerre by Mr. Arago, but he only said that he had made discoveries without stating what they were, Mr. Biot introduced Calvert to two gentlemen one of whom promised to come tomorrow to see Mr. Talbot's Calotypes, he and all his family are going to Brighton to reside."

Three days later on the Thursday, "Calvert went to Mr. Larebours and Mr. Chevalier's, but could not decide which was the best apparatus".

On Saturday July the 10th he "Hired a carriage & directed the Coachman to drive to the Luxembourg Gardens whence we intended to deposit Stookes and Christina while we went to Mr. Soleil's, but after driving an immense way we found that the man did not know where the Palace was and was taking us to the Palais de Justice, & we had to walk an immense way back to Mr. Soleils. When we saw his Camera & took a view which did not succeed well but taught Calvert the New Method."

After the weekend, on the following Monday (12th): "Calvert went to the Institute to see Mr. Biot", whilst on the Wednesday, [We] Felt a good deal better, and went out soon after breakfast to Mr. Soleils who had not made the experiments Calvert had expected. From this correspondence we can see that Jones was being extremely careful in deciding exactly from whom he was going to purchase a new camera. He certainly seemed to have taken a great deal of time to come to a decision and we do not know if he actually purchased the camera with or without lens attached. There is considerable evidence to support the hypothesis that, following the advice of Antione Claudet, he favoured the lenses constructed by Davidson of Edinburgh, as the Frenchman expressed a preference for them himself as they were, at that time, "faster than the French." Clearly Davidson's career warrants further research and investigation as his craftsmanship is always spoken of in complementary terms in correspondence and documents of this period. The sole surviving Daguerreotype by Jones of Margam Abbey was taken with a camera fitted with a Davidson Lens.

The journal continues and records Daguerre's non-appearance on the Friday, following his well recorded attack of stage fright: in the afternoon Calvert went to the Institute where Mr. Daguerre did not publish his new invention."

Calvert Jones was by now close to deciding which apparatus to purchase, and contrary to the undertaking he had given to Talbot whilst in England, practiced the Calotypet with the Mr Beguiciot mentioned
earlier, "A dark morning, illegible... to try Calotyping with Mr. Beguier" [sic] It is not possible to ascertain from this entry if the weather conditions permitted the experiments to go ahead.

If he did succeed in demonstrating the process, it is difficult to see how the details of chemical manipulation could be withheld from a skilled practitioner of the Daguerreotype process.

Jones was not yet fully conversant with the calotype neither was he yet capable of making prints from his negatives, so it is likely that his efforts would have done little justice to the process, and helped to confirm, the long held view in France at that time that the "calotype was a primitive process, bought to perfection in France".

The later text records Calvert visiting Mr Chevalier's shop and studio on several occasions, for example on: "Wednesday July 21st We walked to the Palais Royale, whence we went to see Mr. Chevalier for Daguerreotyping, it is very good we dined at Richelieu and had a bottle of Champagne and an excellent dinner for 7 Francs"; and two days later, "Friday 23rd A letter from my Aunt & Georgina, they are all well; a showery morning, we went to the Palais Royale, where we saw Mr. Charles Chevalier's apparatus which Calvert thinks the best of all".

The Clergyman received a visit from Chevalier and Soleil but finally took the wise decision to purchase apparatus from Chevalier. It was probably as much due to Jean Baptiste Biot's advice as Jones had arrived in France with a letter of introduction from Talbot and a strong recommendation to make immediate contact upon arrival, "Saturday 24th[July] Mr. Chevalier came and I bought a Camera Lucida as a present for dear Calvert tomorrow," and four days later on Wednesday July 28th "... went to the Palais Royale where Calvert ordered his apparatus of Chevalier who has promised to let him try experiments in his rooms, and take own pictures."

Pasted into the pages of the journal, both invoices survive to authenticate both his and his wife's purchases at the end of July. At the same time Jones was met Hippolyte Bayard, and on several occasions they both made photographs together, as Mrs Jones relates on the 30th: "Calvert went to Mr. Bayard & was charmed with his productions on paper." From this statement I think we can conclude that Calvert Jones was not privy to a demonstration of Bayard's process but was only shown selected examples of his, Bayard's work. Quite understandably Bayard was in a much more vulnerable situation than Talbot, he must have known that the Calotype was much faster and more complete than his own direct reversal method.

At this stage, however, his interest was divided equally between the magic mirror, the calotype and hoping to witnessing at first hand Bayard's direct positive process on paper: Wednesday 4th... Calvert went to Mr. Chevalier's with Le Comte Adriane Schonskee['?] and later the same day 'Mr. Bayard came he was charmed with Calvert's performances. at 1 [pm] Calvert went to Mr. Chevaliers & tried his portrait he succeeded very well.'

At the end of the week there was further photographic activities for on Friday August 6th she states that: "After breakfast we took Mr. Lerebours letter to Mr Isabeem ['?] he is coming tomorrow morning to see Calverts sketches. We then proceeded to Mr. Chevaliers where we spent the whole day Daguerreotyping, we only succeeded in doing two views of me. The day was very hot. Calvert went to Mr. Bayard's Calvert went to Mr. Chevaliers where he did a very good picture of himself."

There is a further gap of one week before a short entry on Friday the 13th of August which reads "Calvert was with Chevalier and Mr. Bayard all day."

Probably in view of their imminent departure for Italy photographic activities intensified, so the last few entries are here with recorded verbatim:

Tuesday August 21st) "Went after breakfast to Mr. Chevaliers. Calvert did two very good portraits of Miss Trevelyan & me he said [sic] there all day."

Thursday 26th) "Dear Calvert had his new apparatus home and tried it but did not succeed. I wrote to Mr. Brewster he had an appointment at 12 tomorrow for him to go."

Friday (27th Aug ) "Calvert went out to try his apparatus with Mr. Bayard. I then went with him and Mrs. MacDonald's party to Chevaliers where Calvert did some very good pictures."

Sat 28th August) "... at 1 [pm] wen [with] Miss MacDonald & co to Chevaliers where Calvert did some beautiful portraits of Miss Linds ['?] Miss Trevelyan & me, paid our bills, and we find ourselves much cheated, it is a horrible place for that, I gave my pictures to Mr. Chevalier."

Perhaps this might be the same Miss Donaldson who's portrait was exhibited by Robert Bingham who set up business at 58 rue Larochejaquiel in Paris and was ultimately responsible for making the photographic prints that were used to illustrate the Report of the Jurors from negatives taken by Henneman, Owen and Ferrier.

At this point the relevant section of the diary finishes with their departure for Italy, with the aim of Daguerreotyping the classical sites in south. They
visited Venice and Genoa, according to her journal, but unfortunately none of his daguerreotype plates are known to endure. The only surviving example that we know taken by Calvert Jones was the Daguerreotype of Margam Abbey in South Wales, prior to his [Jones] departure on his European travels[3].

Notes


2. Distinguished Scientist and member of the French Academy of Science.


5. Lacock Abbey Correspondence, Unindexed letter, 1839 RG


7. A manservant travelling with the Jones.

8. The Reverend Calvert Jones’ daughter.

9. R Coulson, Mémoires Originaux des Créateurs de la Photographie, 1898

10. Jones was born on the 25th of July, 1804

11. Exhibit 142/Page9 Catalogue de la Trosièmè Exposition de la Société Française de Photographie 1859, Reprinted by Jean Michel Place, Paris, 1985

12. Exhibition of the Works of All Nations, 1851, report by the Jurors in the 30 classes into which the work was divided. Spicer Bros, London 1851

13. Home of Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot, cousin of WHF Talbot.

CUMBRIA CONFERENCE

(continued from page 30)

Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, Texas, USA, presented: ‘Curatorship and Conservation at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center: A Case Study in the Evolution of a Process’.


Dianne van der Reyden, Senior Paper Conservator and Co-Head, Paper Conservation Laboratory, Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Museum Support Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, USA, lectured on ‘Case Studies in Photographic Conservation at the Smithsonian Institution’.

Debbie Hess Norris, noted Photographic Conservator and Professor, presented a general overview of ‘The Conservation Treatment of Deteriorated Photographic Print Materials’.


Stuart Welch, Product and Technical Manager, Conservation by Design, Bedford, England developed the concept of ‘Conservation by Design’.

Willem A. van den Berg LRPS, Drimmelen, The Netherlands, illustrated with slides the restoration, by Ian and Angela Moor, of an historic carbon print in a lecture entitled: ‘Cracked and Flaking’.

Section 5: PHOTOGRAPHIC CONSERVATION TRAINING.


Debbie Hess Norris, Professor of Photographic Conservation, USA, lectured on the ‘Training of Photographic Conservators in the United States’, with a Profile of the Courses at the Getty Conservation Institute.

Exhibits, Proceedings

This very successful conference was further enhanced by richly documented and demonstrative poster exhibits by:

Adrian Lautenbach and Kathryn Henderson of Australia, Sandra Davison, Nicholas Burnett, Anthony Hamber, Sarah Hattrick, Angela Thompson, Angela and Ian Moor of England, Bertrand Lavedrine and Jean Paul Gandolfo of France.

The proceedings of this interest-packed Conference 92, with full coverage of the many questions addressed to the various speakers, will be available by the end of 1992 and can be ordered from: The Centre for Photographic Conservation, 233, Stanstead Road, Forest Hill, London SE23 1HU, England.

Roger Kockaerts
Book Reviews


The history of photography is in its comparative infancy when placed beside other academic disciplines and has yet to be fully accepted and integrated within formal education. This book should become standard reading for those who wish to begin serious research into any aspect of the history of photography or to enhance their scholarly methodology and working practices.

This publication is split into two parts, the first dealing with “The Experience of Regional Directory Research” and the second being “Directories of Photographers: An Annotated Bibliography” compiled by Richard Rudisill of the Museum of New Mexico.

In part I six photographic historians discuss their research and their methodology. David Haynes, in his essay “Where Did You Find That One? Sources for Finding Dead Photographers”, examines his research into photographers in Texas. Haynes gives important tips for those starting off building up information on photographers perhaps the most pertinent being that “you will never find all the photographers!” While research practices may vary considerably, Haynes believes that “All in all, the advantages of using a computer over a notebook and card file far outweigh the disadvantages for all but the smallest of projects”, an opinion that this reviewer firmly supports.

In “Looking for Lochman: Researching a Historical Photographer” Linda A. Ries discusses her research into Charles L. Lochman, a commercial photographer working in Pennsylvania during the 1860s. Ries’ study is an example of what can be accomplished through the integrated use of local historical records and sheds light on the manner in which a local photographer acted as an observer and historian. Peter Palmquist, the editor of this book, outlines his methodology in researching photographic history in “California Photographers: A Personal Account of Regionalism in Practice”. Palmquist emphasizes that he collects information on individuals involved in almost any aspect of the photography industry in California. He also values all information related to these individuals and estimates that a book of about 50,000 pages would be required to accommodate his assembled information on California photographers active before 1910. While this encyclopaedia has yet to be published Palmquist is a prodigious author which reflects his strong belief “in the need for dissemination of new research.”

Moving across the Atlantic, “Regional Photographic History in Europe - A Review of Methodology and Sources” by Steven Joseph is another thought provoking essay. Joseph, who, together with Tristan Schwilden, has written several books on the early history of Belgian photography uses this country and his paradigm. While mention of “Europe” in his title is something of a misnomer since he does not refer in detail to photohistorical research in any other European country, Joseph’s interpretation of the “process of socialisation” of photography has a pan-European perspective. He states that “all approaches [to the research of photographic history] are equally valid, providing that the fundamental duty of the historian is to respect the primary sources.” Here is an important consideration, that of the very definition of primary sources, their classification and the weighting of their significance. Joseph underlines in his conclusion that “much writing on the history of photography tends to reinforce conventional wisdom” and while it is essential to employ methodical criteria for the compilation of verifiable and reliable data the “plurality of approaches... should generate new and unconventional insights.”

Ron Polito’s short essay on “Combining Directory Research with Demographic Analysis” briefly examines his research into 19th century photographers in Boston and looks at the interrelationships between studio growth, economic trends and population patterns. Polito states that without demographic analysis “we will never truly understand the nature of the [photographic] industry or the impact commercial photography has on 19th-century society.” His forthcoming new edition of Boston photographers is eagerly awaited and it must be hoped that Polito’s comparison of the development of photographic studios in Boston with London will be continued and expanded and stimulate a greater number of comparative studies.

Richard Rudisill concludes part one with an essay entitled “Ruminations After a Bibliography of Directory Research” and which leads to the second part of this book, an annotated bibliography of directories of photographers. This is a useful bibliography which

REVIEWERS:
Anthony Hamber
Jo Labanyi
Sidney Ray
covers most of the major English language publications (and a selection of non-English publications) dealing with photo-bibliography. Some of the titles, such as Evans and Gohi Photomontage: A Political Weapon, might be seen as general stylistic overviews but this bibliography will act as a useful working tool for all photographic historians. (AH)


This is the third bibliography covering the history of photography published by Mansell in as many years. Following Roosens and Salu History of Photography - A bibliography of books (1989) and Johnson's magisterial Nineteenth-Century Photography - an annotated bibliography 1839-1879 (1990) this smaller volume covers a smaller but intricate subject area that of photography and literature.

The bibliography contains some 3,900 titles in about twenty languages and includes books, exhibition catalogues, dissertations and special issues of magazines. The scope of the bibliography is defined as:

(1) Books with texts in prose or verse by writers mentioned by name and with photographs by photographers mentioned by name. (2) Books dealing with photographic work produced by writers themselves. (3) Anthologies on writings of photography by a single writer. (4) Books exploring the relationship between photography and literature. (5) Books on major art movements which included studies on the relationship between photography and literature. (6) Books containing portraits of writers made by credited photographers. (7) Books containing photographs of 'places memorable in literature'.

It is significant that the authors do not indicate under which category each bibliographic reference falls.

The definition of the scope of this book to exclude titles where the photographer is not clearly identified, while having some justification, does give the coverage a somewhat distorted perspective which belies the full impact of photographic illustration on books of prose or verse during the 19th century. Many relevant 19th century titles do not have credits for the photographer but merely for the photographic printing company. A significant number of books of literature published during the 1870s and 1880s contained an uncredited photographic frontispiece of the author.

There are some strange anomalies in this book. There are 18 titles listed for William Henry Fox Talbot including The Process of Calotype Photogenic Drawing, Talbot’s 1841 communication to the Royal Society in London, but not his The Art of Photogenic Drawing of 1839. Several of the other titles referring to Talbot are those important monographs by H.J.P. Arnold, Gail Buckland and others and seem to have little to do with "Photography and literature". Conversely, while Vera has 20 references to publications produced between 1959 and 1976, one L.J.M. Daguerre has not a single entry!

At $100.00 this is an expensive bibliography and while there is some useful information contained in it the confusingly arbitrary nature of the entries and the distortions introduced by the definition of the categories make it of far lesser utility to the photographic historian than the two previous bibliographies published by Mansell. (AH)


Catalogue to accompany and exhibition at the Musée de la Photographie of the photographs of the Belgian photographer Charles Leirens (1888-1963) who between 1933 and his death photographed almost 250 portraits of renowned artists, writers and musicians of the period, ranging from his compatriot René Magritte to Jean Cocteau, from the art historian Bernard Berenson to the composer Bartok. The exhibition catalogue includes an essay on the Leirens, a "biographie" of the notable events of his career, extracts from critical reviews, a list of his exhibitions and a bibliography together with a selected catalogue of some of his work. (AH)


The history of the early experiments of Daguerre, Talbot and Herschel and the early years of the progress of photography following the epoch making announcements of 1839 are at once both complex and yet fascinating. This book by Dr. Larry Schaaf, based on his University of St. Andrews Ph.D. thesis, is an important contribution to the history of the invention of photography.

The crucial question that Schaaf poses at the beginning of the book is "why, rather than how, photography was finally invented." Schaaf explores the relationship between Herschel and Talbot up until 1844 in order to put forward an answer, or, perhaps more accurately, a series of answers. However, the majority of this study centres on the
years 1839 and 1840 and the period after 1841 is not
dealt with in the same detail as these two decisive
years.

In order to do this Schaaf has examined and mastered
a vast amount of primary material on Herschel and
Talbot. The letters of Talbot to Herschel in the
Library of the Royal Society, the letters from Herschel
to Talbot in the National Museum, of Photography,
Film and Television in Bradford, the Herschel material
at the Humanities Research Center at the University
of Texas at Austin and the material in the Fox Talbot
Museum in Lacock. Herein lies this study’s greatest
strength, the use of primary material as evidence to
weave a steady, readable and scholarly path through
a complex and, hitherto, essentially unwritten story.
This is not a book to examine in order to find an
extensive bibliography of secondary sources though
the reader will readily appreciate the rewards and
benefits of archival research.

Schaaf centres his thesis on the interests both Herschel
and Talbot had in the study of light. However, Schaaf
makes detailed comparison of the artistic competence
of these two 19th century polymaths in order to build
his thesis. One distinguishing feature between the
two men was Herschel’s proficiency with the camera
lucida (on which Schaaf has already published) and
Talbot’s comparative incompetence. It was, Schaaf
conjectures. Talbot’s inability to master the camera
lucida which acted as a primary motivator in his
quest to record an image through the action of light.
Thus Talbot was spurred by his failings as an artist
towards the creation of photography while Herschel’s
interests were primarily in understanding the science
of light rather than harnessing it within an image
making system. However, once stimulated by Talbot’s
achievements in early 1839 with what might be
demed a practical scientific experiment, Herschel,
using his immense knowledge of light, optics and
chemistry, produced a photographic process in a
matter of weeks.

The detailed use Schaaf makes of the correspondence
between Talbot and Herschel, together with other letters
sent to these inventors of photography shed considerable
light on their methodology, their working practices and
their experiments during the 1830s. The evidence from
these original letters indicates the reluctance of
Talbot to publicly announce his process until he had it
fully mastered to his own satisfaction and the
chaotic effects which ensued following Daguerre’s
announcement in January 1839. These placed
considerable pressure on Talbot and pushed him
onto both the defensive and the offensive at a stroke.
Feeling that he had lost the initiative to Daguerre
Talbot’s quest for a negative/positive photographic
process to challenge the Daguerreotype makes
compelling reading. Schaaf’s insights into Talbot’s
character are lucid and perceptive and help explain
why Talbot did what he did in the way that he did
them. There is a clear sense of a race against time
in which Talbot found himself an uneasy participant.

The difference between French government support
of Daguerre and the poor treatment shown Talbot by
the Royal Society are highlighted on several
occasions. As Schaaf points out, Herschel did not
actively promote Talbot’s cause within the ranks of
the Royal Society in the way Arago championed
Daguerre’s. The “chaotic nature” of the early progress
of photography included the manner in which the
French Academie des Sciences strategically handled
Daguerre’s invention and the fate that befell his
compatriot Hippolyte Bayard, who had invented a
direct positive process by early spring 1839. Schaaf
considers Arago’s treatment of Bayard in a
comparatively kind light. Undoubtedly Arago had a
difficult balancing act to perform faced with the
problem of two of his countrymen vying for the prize
of being deemed the inventor of photography, while
Arago “derailed” Bayard’s ambitions to be recognised
as the inventor of photography. Schaaf points out
that Talbot’s Photogenie Drawing process did not
have the spectacularly detailed appearance of the
Daguerreotype and this could be as well said of
Bayard’s first images, thus giving Arago additional
reason for encouraging Bayard to improve his
process before making an official announcement.

That a similar situation did not arise in England
between Talbot and Herschel can be attributed to a
significant degree to the characters of the two
Englishmen who saw themselves as friends and
colleagues. Their backgrounds were not commercial
ones as was Daguerre’s and their research was
primarily motivated by scientific curiosity. However,
one must sympathise with Talbot for the sometimes
vitulent attacks made by his mother on his ability to
obtain credit for his achievements, though Schaaf
concludes that she “had been the main source of
strength he needed to bring his brilliant ideas before
the public.” Above all one must conjecture what
Herschel might have achieved had he had such a
champion and been motivated in the same way as
was Talbot.

The story that Schaaf tells entices the reader and,
like all good books, raises many questions. Several
of these are the result of the perspective given by the
scope and limitations of the material Schaaf has so
effectively employed. The period from 1841 until the
first issue of The Pencil of Nature is briefly covered
and it is hoped that the archival material survives for
a similarly detailed publication on this crucial period
in the progress of photography. Other questions
may never be answered. For instance, why did not
Talbot attempt to visit Daguerre or at least travel to Paris to examine his process? Is this again a reflection of Talbot’s character or was there a bona fide reason? How much can we learn about the critical events in the progress of photography in Great Britain between 1841, and the announcement of the Calotype, and the publication of The Pencil of Nature? Will extant archival material help us build a clearer picture of the history of European photography during the 1840s? Another question is why no major scholarly study on Daguerre has appeared since the Gernsheims’ seminal tome published thirty-six years ago?

Schaal’s book, due to the generosity of Manfred Heiting, is lavishly illustrated by several duotone and colour-colour printing processes on a paper similar in surface to that employed by Herschel and Talbot. It is a major work which will further enhance Dr. Schaal’s already formidable reputation as one of the leading photographic historians of his generation. While the continued publication of his research is eagerly awaited one hopes that his scholarship will stimulate others to follow his lead and head for the archives! (AH)


This lavishly produced book on nineteenth-century photography in Valladolid has no doubt benefited from the generous subsidies provided by Spanish regional government for works of local interest. However, it has a wider value as a case study of the development of photography in a northern industrial town situated at the heart of a new national railway network, and therefore open to outside influence. Several of the most interesting photographers discussed are in fact British or French: notably Charles Clifford and Jean Laurent (successive photographers to the Spanish Crown in the 1850s and 1860s), and the earliest photographer of the city, William Atkinson, a British engineer engaged in the 1850s on the construction of the railways. The photographs reproduced from this period show that the job of the early photographer was, in a kind of technological fetishism, to provide an official record of new engineering wonders, notably bridges and railways.

The information given is taken largely from local newspapers, and much of it is fascinating. In particular, the advertisements placed by local photographers give valuable information about prices and the range of photographic technology available. The book’s strength is its emphasis on economics, and on dating the introduction of new technical developments. An interesting section traces the history of the 16 photographic studios (housing 42 commercial photographers) that existed in Valladolid between 1857 and 1900, including ground plans of their physical layout (prior to electric lighting, reconciling the need for sunlight with the need to keep temperatures down was a permanent problem) and some wonderful illustrations of contraptions designed to keep the sitter’s posture rigid during up to 40 seconds’ exposure. A catalogue of local studios and photographers is provided at the end.

Gonzalez stresses the link of photography with the rise of the industrial bourgeoisie, but the portraits reproduced are not particularly revealing. There is however some interesting information about the use of photography for visiting cards and already in the 1850s, for the purposes of blackmail and private detection. There are also some interesting, if brief, comments on press photography: although photographic reportage was introduced only in the 1860s, touched-up photos played an important part in the political lampoons that helped precipitate the liberal Revolution of 1868.

The later sections of the book, dealing with the period 1875-1900, including the rise of the amateur photographer, are rather bitty and disappointing, although the photos from this period (more people, fewer monuments) are more varied and visually interesting than those from the mid-century. There is tantalising mention of the use of photographs in ex-votos, but no examples are given (there is however a fascinating photo of an autopsy). It is a pity that the book has no conclusion. (Jo Labanyi)


In general the private collector or anyone interested in the history of photography has little to do with the cataloguing and describing of photographs for exhibition, museum or sale purposes unless he or she is consulting an archive of images. Given such an activity, there is a bewildering number of different photographic terms, processes and treatments to be familiar with, ranging from completely obsolete to contemporary. Such knowledge can be vital in the assessment, valuation and conservation of photographic images. A concise, illustrated guide would be a useful aid.

The author, who is Assistant Curator of Photography at the J. Paul Getty Museum, has drawn upon the extensive picture resources located there and at the British Museum to explain and illustrate one hundred such technical terms listed in alphabetical order, ranging from Albumen Print to
Woodburytype. There is a short bibliography but no index.

It must be said at once that the illustrations are superb, half are in colour and taken from the originals of many famous images and incunabulae in the collections. The subtle colouration of calotypes, pigment prints, cyanotypes and many others are clearly shown, unlike the uniformly black and white photolitho reproductions in other books of this type. Additionally, each figure has full and accurate documentation as to the author, process, size, date, location and catalogue data normally lacking in other publications. Almost every entry in the alphabetical listing of terms has an exemplary accompanying figure.

Unfortunately, given the example of meticulous care in the selection and captioning of the illustrations, the quality and accuracy of many of the entries is distressingly poor. It would seem that the text entries have not been checked by anyone with a modicum of technical knowledge of photography. For example in just the third entry on APERTURE, the aperture setting is incorrectly referred to as being 'a numbering system known as f-stops, a ratio of the diameter of the aperture to the focal length of the lens'. Another example of incorrect optics is found when the image in a reflex type of camera obscures is said to be the right way round and not laterally reversed. Other terms which contain serious errors include those referring to orthochromatic, burning-in, camera, chromogenic print, chromogenic development, optical density, digital image, dye destruction print, dye diffusion print, dye transfer print, colloidion materials, fixing, contact prints, ground glass screen, photo-engraving, hologram, half plate and ultraviolet 'light'. In most cases the simple chemistry described is wrong or a precise definition is missing. The use of necessarily concise entries does not mean that they need be inaccurate. Throughout it appears that there is little knowledge of photographic chemistry, the theory of colour reproduction or basic optics. This is a pity and could have been rectified by suitable refereeing of the manuscript.

The comparatively low cost of the book may justify its purchase just to have access to the 71 splendid illustrations, but otherwise it cannot be recommended due to the large number of technical inaccuracies. Hopefully a second corrected edition may soon be forthcoming as there is a definite need for a modest book of this type. (SR)

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THE CHANGING ROLE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN ADVERTISING AND FASHION

Programme outline of a one-day Seminar jointly organised by the European Society for the History of Photography and the Historical Group of The Royal Photographic Society. This was held on Saturday 30 May 1992, in the Lecture Room of the National Portrait Gallery, Charing Cross, London.

This seminar owed much to the organising ability and enthusiasm of Dr Peter Agius LRPS, a member of both organisations, who welcomed the delegates. In the Chair for the morning session was Dr Michael Austin FRPS, President of the RPS. The afternoon session was chaired by Colin J. Ford, Head of the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford.

‘The Formative Years’, by Sue Atkinson, photographer, lecturer and writer, traced the development of advertising photography from its beginnings. The transcript of her lecture is in this issue of Photoresearcher.

In ‘Bulbs, Tubes and Chips’, the well-known advertising photographer Adrian Flowers gave an entertaining discourse on his work, explaining the approach and techniques behind some of his very well-known advertising campaigns.

ESHPh President Professor Margaret Harker Farrand led the afternoon session, with an illustrated lecture ‘Fashions in Fashion Photography’. She talked about leading figures and their influences, from Hill and Adamson in the 1849s to Jean Loup Sieff. Major names discussed on the way included Steichen, De Meyer, Huyningen-Hunze, Beaton, Man Ray, Horst, Avedon, Penn, French, Bailey, Donovan and Parkinson. She stressed that the talents and interpretative genius of these masters put them, in her view, in the forefront of photography considered as a whole.

The final lecture, ‘My Kind of Photography was by Sandra Lousada, another well-known fashion and advertising photographer. She talked about her beginnings in this area, and her techniques at present, showing some very lively examples of her work. It was soon evident from her lively delivery why she excels in this field.
President’s Report
by Margaret Harker Farrand

We are living through hard times, and this affects Associations such as ours as well as individuals. The smaller the organisation the worse it is and our financial situation is a cause for considerable concern. The Executive Committee will meet on 27 September during our Edinburgh Symposium on which occasion Matters of Finance will be a priority Agenda item. Our sponsors were unable to continue their sponsorship due to the effects of the recession. On the other hand we have increased our membership but not in sufficient numbers to provide the income we need to produce Photoresearcher three times per annum, which was the desired target.

The situation is particularly disappointing in that we are attracting some very worthwhile contributions for publication. The position with Photoresearcher Number 5, the next one due, is very promising indeed as far as content in prospect is concerned. The Editorial Board is convinced that the opportunity presented to photographic historians to have their researches published is an attractive form and under the auspices of our Society is distinctly beneficial, not only to the individuals themselves but also in the over-all cause of the development of the History of Photography.

On the activities front, there has been plenty going on this year. The Society itself has been closely involved with two events: a One Day Symposium on the Role of Fashion and Advertising Photography which was organised by the Society in partnership with the Historical Group of The Royal Photographic Society. This took place at the National Portrait Gallery in London in May of this year. It was well attended by an enthusiastic and responsive audience, and fulfilled our role of bringing history into the present. The second event, about to take place, is a Symposium: Photography 1900. This is organised by the Society in partnership with the Scottish Society for the History of Photography, to take place in Edinburgh, Scotland, 24-27 September. The speakers are representative of the international nature of the Pictorial Photography Movement, which was so widespread that a truly comprehensive coverage would demand a full week programme, unrealistic at the present time.

A very interesting and impressive Symposium took place at Windermere, England’s Lake District in April of this year, organised by lan and Angela Moor, the photograph conservationists, who are members of the ESHPht. Entitled ‘The Imperfect Image, Photographs their Past, Present and Future’, it attracted an international assembly of conservationists with a number of photographic historians who also made invited contributions in the form of papers. The conference was attended by 150 delegates, the programme covered a week of intensive lectures and the audience was maintained throughout.

Our member, Paul Jay, continues his activities with history of photography programmes at the Niepce Museum, Chalons-sur-Saône, France. He is to be congratulated for his enthusiastic endeavours for the development of the history of photography. Rune Hassner, our Vice President has created an impressive programme of exhibitions, publications and awards at the Hasselblad Centre, Göteborg, Sweden, and he is also to be congratulated. There must be other members who are similarly engaged and it would be good to hear from you.

Do help us to keep our (yours and mine) Society alive. We certainly welcome any positive suggestions you may have.

Margaret Harker Farrand