

Photographic Retouching: The Press Picture Editor's "Invisible" Tool
1930-1939
A Study of Retouched Press Prints from the Art Gallery of Ontario's British Press
Agencies Collection

by
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ABSTRACT

*Photographic Retouching: The Press Picture Editor's "Invisible" Tool, 1930-1939;
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Agencies Collection*

Master of Arts

2010

Rachel Verbin

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

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Photographic Retouching investigates the mediatory work of the news picture editor during the 1930s. It considers what retouched press photographs add to the history of modern photojournalism, and offers a re-examination of the historiography of 1930s press photography.

A descriptive analysis of sixteen representative, retouched photographs from the Art Gallery of Ontario's (AGO) British Press Agencies Collection (BPAC) and ten corresponding newspaper and magazine page spreads from the *Daily Mirror*, the *Sunday Dispatch* and *Life* is carried out in conjuncture with press photography manuals published between the years 1930 and 1939. A literature survey, methodology section and description of the BPAC provide introductory contextual and historical information. Chapters 4 and 5, the main analytical sections, focus on two aspects of retouching: the technical difficulties that afflicted press photography during the 1930s and how retouching was employed as a corrective tool; and the ways in which retouching was utilized to strengthen and improve upon the photograph's ability to consistently convey a clear and visually efficient narrative for use by the press.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page
List of Illustrations.....	vi
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Literature Survey.....	6
a. General Publications.....	6
b. Academic Texts.....	12
c. Press Photography Manuals (1930-1952)	16
* Conclusion.....	18
3. Methodology.....	19
4. Production/Reproduction: Retouching to Improve Copy Value.....	24
a. Technical Issues.....	26
b. Production Issues.....	37
c. Reproduction Issues.....	52
d. Retouching Issues.....	62
* Conclusion.....	66
5. Illustration/Narration: Retouching to Improve News Value.....	67
a. Retouching to Add Visual Information.....	68
b. Retouching to Remove Visual Information.....	79
c. Retouching, Composition and Page Layout.....	89
d. Retouching and Textual Cutlines.....	95
* Conclusion.....	104
6. Conclusion.....	105
Bibliography.....	108
a. Primary Sources.....	108
b. Secondary Sources.....	109

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All prints are from the Art Gallery of Ontario's British Press Agencies Collection and are credited: Art Gallery of Ontario, Anonymous Gift, 2008.

	Page
Fig. 1. BPAC Print 322, <i>"Well Held!" - Activity at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the Royal Air Force is stationed</i> , The Associated Press, 1933. Gelatin silver print, 9.25 x 12 inches (recto)	28
Fig. 2. BPAC Print 322, <i>"Well Held!" - Activity at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the Royal Air Force is stationed</i> , The Associated Press, 1933. Gelatin silver print, 9.25 x 12 inches (verso)	28
Fig. 3. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , Thursday, November 16, 1933, p. 23	30
Fig. 4. BPAC Print 322, <i>"Well Held!" - Activity at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the Royal Air Force is stationed</i> , The Associated Press, 1933. Gelatin silver print, 9.25 x 12 inches (recto: detail)	32
Fig. 5. BPAC Print 579, <i>An 18th century Scold's Bridle of unusual design on show at the 5th annual antique dealer's fair</i> , Graphic Photo Union, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.5 inches (recto)	34
Fig. 6. BPAC Print 579, <i>An 18th century Scold's Bridle of unusual design on show at the 5th annual antique dealer's fair</i> , Graphic Photo Union, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.5 inches (verso)	34
Fig. 7. <i>Sunday Dispatch</i> , Sunday, October 30, 1938, p.13	36
Fig. 8. BPAC Print 579, <i>An 18th century Scold's Bridle of unusual design on show at the 5th annual antique dealer's fair</i> , Graphic Photo Union, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.5 inches (recto: detail)	36
Fig. 9. BPAC Print 441, <i>A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers on the Epping Road</i> , Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 9.5 inches (recto)	38
Fig. 10. BPAC Print 441, <i>A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers on the Epping Road</i> , Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 9.5 inches (verso)	38
Fig. 11. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , Saturday, March 27, 1937, p. 14-15	40
Fig. 12. BPAC Print 441, <i>A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers on the Epping Road</i> , Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 9.5 inches (recto: detail)	41
Fig. 13. BPAC Print 86, <i>Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters in a street of Saragossa, where labour troubles have caused wild disturbances. A reign of terror continues in Barcelona</i> , Wide World Photos, 1931. Gelatin silver print, 7.25 x 9.75 inches (recto)	43
Fig. 14. BPAC Print 86, <i>Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters in a street of Saragossa, where labour troubles have caused wild disturbances. A reign of terror continues in Barcelona</i> , Wide World Photos, 1931. Gelatin silver print, 7.25 x 9.75 inches (verso)	43

	Page
Fig. 15. BPAC Print 86, <i>Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters in a street of Saragossa, where labour troubles have caused wild disturbances. A reign of terror continues in Barcelona</i> , Wide World Photos, 1931. Gelatin silver print, 7.25 x 9.75 inches (verso: details)	44
Fig. 16. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , London Edition, Monday, September 7, 1931, p. 3 (detail)	45
Fig. 17. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , London Edition, Monday, September 7, 1931, p. 3	46
Fig. 18. BPAC Print 627, <i>A Spanish mother arrives in France. Refugees from Spanish civil war</i> , Keystone View Company, 1939. Gelatin silver print, 11.5 x 9.5 inches (recto)	48
Fig. 19. BPAC Print 627, <i>A Spanish mother arrives in France. Refugees from Spanish civil war</i> , Keystone View Company, 1939. Gelatin silver print, 11.5 x 9.5 inches (verso)	48
Fig. 20. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , Thursday, February 9, 1939, p. 16-17	50
Fig. 21. BPAC Print 526, <i>Czechoslovakia's training in National defense now starts at the age of six. Running for safety during air raid</i> , Paul Popper, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 8.75 x 9.5 inches (recto)	54
Fig. 22. BPAC Print 526, <i>Czechoslovakia's training in National defense now starts at the age of six. Running for safety during air raid</i> , Paul Popper, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 8.75 x 9.5 inches (verso)	54
Fig. 23. <i>Life</i> , March 7, 1938, p.56	55
Fig. 24. BPAC Print 399, <i>Men of General Varela's army examining a tank - stated to be Russian which was abandoned by fleeing Reds near Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid</i> , The Associated Press, 1936. Gelatin silver print, 9.5 x 11.5 inches (recto)	60
Fig. 25. BPAC Print 399, <i>Men of General Varela's army examining a tank - stated to be Russian which was abandoned by fleeing Reds near Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid</i> , The Associated Press, 1936. Gelatin silver print, 9.5 x 11.5 inches (verso)	60
Fig. 26. BPAC Print 399, <i>Men of General Varela's army examining a tank - stated to be Russian which was abandoned by fleeing Reds near Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid</i> , The Associated Press, 1936. Gelatin silver print, 9.5 x 11.5 inches (recto: detail)	61
Fig. 27. BPAC Print 551, <i>Franco's troops completing the conquest of Castellon, key to Valencia</i> , Planet News, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 7 x 10.5 inches (recto)	63
Fig. 28. BPAC Print 551, <i>Franco's troops completing the conquest of Castellon, key to Valencia</i> , Planet News, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 7 x 10.5 inches (verso)	63
Fig. 29. BPAC Print 551, <i>Franco's troops completing the conquest of Castellon, key to Valencia</i> , Planet News, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 7 x 10.5 inches (recto: detail)	64
Fig. 30. BPAC Print 109, <i>U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians. Canada defeated the U.S., two goals to one, in an overtime match. The first hockey contest of the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, NY</i> , Planet News, 1932. Gelatin silver print, 7.5 x 9.5 inches (recto)	69

	Page
Fig. 31. BPAC Print 109, <i>U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians. Canada defeated the U.S., two goals to one, in an overtime match. The first hockey contest of the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, NY</i> , Planet News, 1932. Gelatin silver print, 7.5 x 9.5 inches (verso)	69
Fig. 32. BPAC Print 109, <i>U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians. Canada defeated the U.S., two goals to one, in an overtime match. The first hockey contest of the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, NY</i> , Planet News, 1932. Gelatin silver print, 7.5 x 9.5 inches (recto: detail)	70
Fig. 33. <i>Sunday Dispatch</i> , Sunday, October 5, 1935, p. 28 (with detail)	72
Fig. 34. BPAC Print 527, <i>Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification</i> , Keystone View Company, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches (recto)	74
Fig. 35. BPAC Print 527, <i>Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification</i> , Keystone View Company, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches (verso)	74
Fig. 36. <i>Sunday Dispatch</i> , Sunday, March 20, 1938, p.13	75
Fig. 37. BPAC Print 527, <i>Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification</i> Keystone View Company, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches (verso: detail)	76
Fig. 38. <i>Sunday Dispatch</i> , Sunday, March 20, 1938, p.13 (detail)	76
Fig. 39. BPAC Print 527, <i>Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification</i> , Keystone View Company, 1938. Gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches (recto: detail)	77
Fig. 40. BPAC Print 315, <i>"Stay in strike." A miner receiving a kiss on returning home</i> , Keystone View Company, 1935. Gelatin silver print, 10 x 12 inches (recto)	80
Fig. 41. Print 315, <i>"Stay in strike." A miner receiving a kiss on returning home</i> , Keystone View Company, 1935. Gelatin silver print, 10 x 12 inches (verso)	80
Fig. 42. BPAC Print 243, <i>Young riflemen trying their skill beside the "Daily Mail" Silver Cup at the range in the New Horticultural Hall, Westminster, where the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition has just opened</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 6 x 8 inches (recto)	83
Fig. 43. BPAC Print 243, <i>Young riflemen trying their skill beside the "Daily Mail" Silver Cup at the range in the New Horticultural Hall, Westminster, where the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition has just opened</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 6 x 8 inches (verso)	83
Fig. 44. BPAC Print 201, <i>Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts before the opening at Beaver House, EC., of the spring fur sale of Hudson's Bay Company</i> , Alfieri Picture Service, 1934. Gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches (recto)	87

	Page
Fig. 45. BPAC Print 201, <i>Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts before the opening at Beaver House, EC., of the spring fur sale of Hudson's Bay Company</i> , Alfieri Picture Service, 1934. Gelatin silver print, 8 x 10 inches (verso)	87
Fig. 46. BPAC Print 242, <i>British Troops in Saarbrücken. A contingent marching through one of the beflagged streets on the way to their billets</i> , Planet News, 1934. Gelatin silver print, 10 x12 inches (recto)	91
Fig. 47. BPAC Print 242, <i>British Troops in Saarbrücken. A contingent marching through one of the beflagged streets on the way to their billets</i> , Planet News, 1934. Gelatin silver print, 10 x12 inches (verso)	91
Fig. 48. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , London Edition, Monday December 24, 1934, p.3	94
Fig. 49. BPAC Print 200, <i>A typical woman Blackshirt photographed at the London headquarters</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 7.5 x 9.5 inches (recto)	96
Fig. 50. BPAC Print 200, <i>A typical woman Blackshirt photographed at the London headquarters</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 7.5 x 9.5 inches (verso)	96
Fig. 51. BPAC Print 200, <i>A typical woman Blackshirt photographed at the London headquarters</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 7.5 x 9.5 inches (recto: detail)	97
Fig. 52. BPAC Print189, <i>Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge's. George the famous electric Robot, is one of the biggest attractions in the toy department</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.75 inches (recto)	99
Fig. 53. BPAC Print189, <i>Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge's. George the famous electric Robot, is one of the biggest attractions in the toy department</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.75 inches (verso)	99
Fig. 54. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , Tuesday March 13, 1934, p.26 (detail)	100
Fig. 55. BPAC Print189, <i>Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge's. George the famous electric Robot, is one of the biggest attractions in the toy department</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.75 inches (verso: detail)	100
Fig. 56. BPAC Print189, <i>Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge's. George the famous electric Robot, is one of the biggest attractions in the toy department</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , 1934. Gelatin silver print, 9.75 x 7.75 inches (recto: detail)	101
Fig. 57. <i>Daily Mirror</i> , Tuesday March 13, 1934, p.26	103

1. INTRODUCTION

Photographs taken for the press during the 1930s are generally heralded as representative of an innovative period, which earmarks this decade as the beginnings of modern photojournalism.¹ Established during the 1930s, American pictorial magazines *Life* (est. 1936) and *Look* (est. 1937), and their British counterpart the *Picture Post* (est. 1938), placed the photograph front and centre as a primary news medium;² newspapers followed suit and, thus, there emerged a vast network of photographic agencies and the professionalized, modernized press photographer.³ Stars of international repute, this “new generation of photo reporters”⁴ included Margaret Bourke-White, Erich Salomon, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Brassai and Robert Capa,⁵ who was famously championed as “The Greatest War Photographer in the World” by the *Picture Post* in 1938.⁶ Photographs such as Capa’s *Death of a Loyalist Militiaman* (1936) and Bourke-White’s *Fort-Peck Dam, Montana* (1936) have since been written into the canon of photographic history, surpassing the ephemeral life of the vernacular news media.

The myriad technical achievements made to press photography during the 1930s are generally used to explain how photojournalism was developed in its modern form on

¹ The terms “photojournalism” and “press photography” will be used to describe photographs taken for and published by the press.

² Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 3rd ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1997), 475.; *Life*, *Look* and the *Picture Post* adopted a style, which is said to have begun in Germany during the 1920s, with magazines such as the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung (BIZ)* and the *Munchner Illustrierte Zeitung (MIP)*. See Hendrik Neubauer, *Black Star: 60 Years of Photojournalism*, trans. Adri Van der Cloff et al. (Köln: Könemann, 1997), 7-8.

³ Thierry Gervais and Gaëlle Morel, “Les formes de l’information: 1843-2002; de la Press illustrée aux médias modernes,” in *l’Art de la photographie des origines à nos jours*, eds. André Gunthert and Michel Poivert, (Paris: Citadelles-Mazenod, 2007), 323-355.

⁴ Tim N. Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 5.

⁵ Fred Ritchin, “Close Witnesses: The Involvement of the Photojournalist,” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot, trans. Susan Bennet, Liz Clegg, John Crook, Caroline Higgitt (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 591; Rosenblum, 467.; Gidal, 5-30.

⁶ Ritchin, 591.

the pages of magazines such as *Life* and the *Picture Post*.⁷ While developments in camera, film and speedflash technology gave photographers increased flexibility, precision and freedom while shooting, improvements to the halftone process meant superior reproductions in print; new printing techniques, moreover, allowed for faster press runs. In 1935, The Associated Press Wirephoto network began transmitting images across the globe within minutes.⁸ Ever more willing and able to publish and promote photographs as an accurate form of visual information, magazine and newspaper editors looked to the photojournalist to provide their publications with an increasing amount of news coverage.⁹

To distinguish itself as a magazine that “treated pictures with reverence,”¹⁰ *Life* reportedly established a policy against extensive photographic retouching within its first few years of publication. As explained by former executive editor of *Life*, Wilson Hicks, in his 1952 manual *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism*:

During its experimental period,¹¹ *Life* enunciated for itself and adopted as part of its working philosophy the principle that the photographs should not be retouched except in the rarest circumstances. The day of the intervention of drawing between camera reporter and reader was over, yet most newspapers and some other magazines, primarily for mechanical but also for “artistic” reasons, had carried retouching to a point where, in many instances, the printed picture was a combination of a photograph and hand “art” work [...] When *Life* took this stand it rendered a great service to the photograph as a communicative medium.¹²

⁷ See: Ken Baynes, ed., *Scoop, Scandal and Strife: A Study of Photography in Newspapers* (New York: Hastings House, 1971); Ritchin; Richard Whelan, *This is War! Robert Capa at Work* (New York and Göttingen: The International Center of Photography and Steidl, 2007).

⁸ The Associated Press, *20 Years With AP Wirephoto* (The Associated Press, 1955).

⁹ Neubauer, 7-8.

¹⁰ Philip B. Kundhardt, Jr., ed., *Life 50: The First 50 Years: 1936-1986* (Toronto: Little, Brown, and Company, 1986), 18.

¹¹ Hicks is referring to *Life*’s publication period 1936-1938. Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 41-42. First published 1952 by Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.).

¹² *Ibid.*, 42.

Although this quotation refers to a policy outlined by *Life*, an American weekly, Hicks' words are applicable on a larger scale.¹³ While a distinction may be made between the American and European presses, and between newspapers and magazines, if one considers that agencies were sending photographs across the globe to dailies and weeklies alike — for example, *Czechoslovakia's training in national defense* (BPAC Print 526, Paul Popper, 1938) was date stamped by the *Sunday Dispatch* and published in *Life* (fig. 21-23) — one can read Hicks' quotation as a symptom of a generally held idealization of 1930s photojournalism as it traversed both the ocean and the various streams of the press. Thus, one can interpret Hicks' text in two ways. Firstly, underlying this noble history of modern press photography was the continuation of a contentious technical practice, now out of sorts with the grandeur of this enterprise, as exemplified by *Life*. Secondly, the quotation suggests that *Life* made this editorial decision as a way to separate itself from other publications, thus reaffirming that the retouching of press photographs was indeed common practice at that time.

Sixteen retouched 1930s press photographs were selected from the Art Gallery of Ontario's (AGO) British Press Agencies Collection (BPAC), an archive of 1,240 press photographs that features 680 prints from the 1930s; of the 139 works in the entire collection that are retouched, 97 (69.8 percent) date to this particular decade.¹⁴ As such, it is important to consider what a study of these objects can add to the history of 1930s press photography and, specifically, what do these retouched photographs tell us about the work of the picture editor during that period?

These 16 BPAC prints are copyright stamped by The Associated Press, the *Daily Mail*, Alfieri Picture Service, Keystone View Company, Planet News Ltd., The Topical

¹³ Hicks, *Words and Pictures* is cited in Neubauer, *Black Star: 60 Years of Photojournalism*, Erika Doss, ed., *Looking at Life Magazine* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001) and Vincent Lavoie, "Le mérite photojournalistique: une incertitude critéologique," *Études photographiques* 20 (June 2007): 120-133. However, these publications do not refer to Hicks' passage about *Life*'s anti retouching policy.

¹⁴ The BPAC will be described in more detail in the Methodology chapter of this thesis.

Press Agency Ltd., Wide World Photos and the Graphic Photo Union, with only a single print credited to an author: Paul Popper. Twelve prints (86, 109, 189, 200, 201, 242, 243, 315, 322, 399, 441 and 627) are date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*, a British illustrated daily published from 1903 to the present; and four prints (109, 526, 527 and 579) are date stamped by the *Sunday Dispatch*, a British Sunday paper published from 1928 to 1961.

The agency stamps, publication date stamps and cutlines present on the versos confirm that these objects are press prints; their overall creases, folds, staining and surface soil also document their use by this industry. They were taken in Czechoslovakia, England, Germany, Spain and the United States and feature a range of subject matter, including war, sports, human interest and world news.

The photographs exhibit retouching applications that vary from light to heavy, applied to improve both copy¹⁵ and news values. These representative images were selected for what they reveal about the picture editor's position as a powerful mediator between press photograph and pictorial news. Because of the importance of this role, I have devoted two central chapters to this discussion: "Production/Reproduction: Retouching to Improve Copy Value" and "Illustration/Narration: Retouching to Improve News Value." As interventions that went beyond cropping and sequencing, retouching applications provide researchers today with new avenues of analysis with regard to the treatment and uses of news photographs during the 1930s.

However, because scholars have, in general, concentrated on the subject matter of 1930s press photographs rather than the entire photographic object, they have not investigated the role of retouching, and, as a result, this practice has been largely written out of the history of photojournalism. The literature survey confirmed that academic interest in 1930s press photography is underscored by concerns with technical progress,

¹⁵ "Good copy is that which has (1) sharp focus; (2) good detail; (3) contrast in tones." According to Laura Vitray, John Mills, Jr., and Roscoe Ellard in their manual, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), 45.

the establishment of pictorial magazines and the starring roles of the photojournalist and news photograph. In contrast, press photography manuals published during the 1930s address retouching practices in depth, within an editorial context.

In the following paper, readers will find a literature survey, which provides an overview of studies previously carried out about photojournalism and photographic retouching, a description of the BPAC and an explanation of the methodology undertaken to select a group of prints relevant for analysis in the main part of the essay. By considering these prints as technical and illustrative agents and tools, this thesis utilizes photographic objects, newspaper pages and press photography manuals to reexamine the historiography of 1930s photojournalism through the lens of the news picture editor, a post that oversaw and directed the retouching work done to news photographs during that decade.

2. LITERATURE SURVEY

This literature survey included analytical, historical and technical texts about photographic retouching as practiced by the press during the 1930s. It begins with a review of general history of photography books and books on the history of journalism and photojournalism, followed by a survey of academic journal articles that examine the history of photographic retouching.¹⁶ The survey concludes with a brief review of technical manuals published between the years 1930 to 1952. However, as the 1930s manuals will be utilized as primary sources, they will not be analyzed in this survey at length. Rather, they have been listed and briefly overviewed.

2.a History of Photography, Photojournalism and Journalism Publications

In the chapter “Portraits for the Million” in Beaumont Newhall’s 1982 edition of *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present*, one learns that the inclusion by German photographer Franz Hanfstaengl of a retouched negative and two prints — one before the negative was retouched and one after retouching — at the 1855 Exposition Universelle in Paris was cited by the nineteenth century French portrait photographer, Nadar, as “the beginning of a new era in photography.”¹⁷ As sitters began to demand the removal of facial blemishes and wrinkles, retouching became customary in nineteenth century portrait studios.¹⁸ However, additional references to retouching found within this publication in writings about fine art, travel and scientific photography are little more than citations. The chapter “Photojournalism” discusses the role of the picture

¹⁶ French sources were also consulted to broaden the scope of this survey.

¹⁷ Franz Hanfstaengl is said to have been Germany’s leading portrait photographer at the time of the 1855 Exposition Universelle (Paris). Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present*, 5th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 69.

¹⁸ See nineteenth century manuals: J.P. Ourdan, *Concise Instructions in The Art of Retouching* (New York: Arno Press, 1973); Alfred H. Wall, *A Manual of Artistic Coloring* (New York: Arno Press, 1973).

editor during the 1920s in relation to editorial selection and layout, but does not address the use of retouching techniques.¹⁹

Fred Ritchin's "Close Witness: The involvement of the Photojournalist," published in the 1998 survey book *A New History of Photography* approaches 1930s press photography by writing about the grandeur of the photojournalist during that decade.²⁰ "The Spread of Photography" by Thomas Michael Gunther, also published in *A New History of Photography*, focuses on the popularity of weekly illustrated magazines and the development of photographic agencies during that period.²¹ Included in this chapter, in a technical focus box titled "From Photographer to Publication," is a brief reference to retouching practices as used by the press. This latter text simply cites retouching techniques applied to press prints during the 1920s and 1930s as one of several "precise instructions"²² passed on from editors to graphic artists and retouching specialists.

Mary Warner Marien's 2006 publication *Photography: A Cultural History*²³ includes several brief references to photographic retouching in connection with the practices of studio portraiture in the chapter "The Second Invention of Photography (1893-1854)."²⁴ Similarly, Marien's acknowledgement of retouching techniques as used by the press during the 1880s and 1890s is found in the chapter "Photography in the Modern Age (1880-1918)" and is only a single sentence: "The images were routinely

¹⁹ Newhall, 32-151. In my edition, this chapter runs from 249-267.

²⁰ Fred Ritchin, "Close Witness: The Involvement of the Photojournalist," in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot, trans. Susan Bennet, Liz Clegg, John Crook, Caroline Higgitt (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 590-611.

²¹ Gunther, 554-580.; See also: Michel Frizot, "Rituals and Customs," in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot, trans. Susan Bennet, Liz Clegg, John Crook, Caroline Higgitt (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 747-754. This chapter includes a sub-section titled "Retouching History," which focuses primarily on the use of photomontage in vernacular photography.

²² Thomas Michael Gunther, "The Spread of Photography," in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot, trans. Susan Bennet, Liz Clegg, John Crook, Caroline Higgitt (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 566.

²³ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (London: Laurence King, 2006). [There is now a third edition.] The third edition is available in the Ryerson Library.

²⁴ Ibid., 25-79.

cropped, retouched, and sequenced without the photographer's prior knowledge or permission."²⁵ The chapter "Convergences (1975-2000)" includes a section titled "Post Photography," in which Marien reminds readers that analogue photographs were retouched during the nineteenth century — however the text concentrates on digital manipulation practices.²⁶

In comparison, the 2007 French-language history of photography publication *L'Art de la photographie: des origines à nos jours*²⁷ includes essay-style chapters about scientific and press photography that deal more extensively and analytically with the history of analogue photographic retouching. Marta Braun's essay, "Aux limites du savoir: 1845-1900; la photographie et les sciences de l'observation," uses retouched nineteenth century scientific photographs as objects to raise questions concerning previously held beliefs about the relationship between science and photography in the nineteenth century. Braun's analysis of pre-1880s retouched scientific photographs reveals that while photography was championed from the onset as a tool that could accurately depict nature, and thus would serve science better than the illustrator's interpretive drawings, its earliest technologies required heavy retouching and as such were unable to provide unmediated records.²⁸

"Les formes de l'information: 1843-2002; de la presse illustrée aux médias modernes" by Thierry Gervais and Gaëlle Morel,²⁹ also published in *L'art de la*

²⁵ Marien, 166.

²⁶ Ibid., 398-401.

²⁷ *L'Art de la photographie des origines à nos jours*, eds. André Gunthert and Michel Poivert (Paris: Citadelles-Mazenod, 2007).

²⁸ Marta Braun, "Aux limites du savoir: 1845-1900; la photographie et les sciences de l'observation," in *L'Art de la photographie des origines à nos jours*, eds. André Gunthert and Michel Poivert (Paris: Citadelles-Mazenod, 2007), 140-177.

²⁹ Thierry Gervais and Gaëlle Morel, "Les formes de l'information: 1843-2002; de la Press illustrée aux médias modernes," in *L'Art de la photographie des origines à nos jours*, eds. André Gunthert and Michel Poivert, (Paris: Citadelles-Mazenod, 2007), 304-355.

photographie, surveys the uses of photography by the press from the mid-nineteenth century through to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Gervais and Morel address the gradual incorporation of photography by the print media — a history which in France can be traced to 1843 and the publication of an illustrated view of the Fort Saint-Jean d’Ullos, Veracruz in *L’Illustration* along with a note specifying: “from a view taken by a daguerreotype.”³⁰ Reexamining the process through which photography and the press became partners, the authors address the extensive mediatory handwork and experimental publication processes used during the later half of the nineteenth century to reproduce photographs in newsprint. Retouching and montage, used in combination with the coated wood technique, for example, reveal that the nineteenth century print media utilized photographs primarily as time saving devices. In contrast to most histories, which tend to assume that the halftone process immediately superseded wood engraving methods, this complex, transitional — and non-linear — historical relationship between photography and the press was not instantaneously overturned by the commercialization of the halftone process during the 1890s, but continued into the twentieth century. Although photographic retouching as employed by the press during the 1930s is not addressed in “Les formes de l’information,” the chapter offers analysis of the exponential growth in the illustrated news magazine market, the innovative layouts made with photographs in magazines such as *Vu*, the emergence of the photographic agency and the development of the Wirephoto network during this decade. The photojournalist’s transformation during the modern period into “special envoy”³¹ and “auteur”³² is also discussed.³³ Thus, the chapters by Braun and Gervais and Morel in *L’art de la photographie* exemplify a new

³⁰ Gervais and Morel, 304; translation by the author.

³¹ Ibid., 325.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 304-355.

scholarly approach, which views photographic retouching as a practice, which provides new paths of historical analyses.

On the other hand, a review of books about twentieth century press photography indicates that such publications have focused on the technical and professional advances made to modern photojournalism. Retouching techniques and the role of the picture editor are not of primary concern to these studies. “Design” by Allen Hutt, published in 1971 in *Scoop, Scandal and Strife: A Study of Photography in Newspapers*,³⁴ lists “careful retouching of the prints”³⁵ as an important step in the *Daily Mirror*’s production process during the early twentieth century but does not carry this discussion into the modern period. Tim Gidal’s *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (1973) studies improvements made to camera equipment, the emergence of illustrated magazines, photojournalists and news agencies but does not address retouching.³⁶ Former *Sunday Times* editor Harold Evans’ *Pictures on a Page* (1982) examines the effects of editorial selection, cropping and enlarging.³⁷ Retouching techniques are included in a short instructional paragraph that acknowledges the practice, but does not engage in subsequent analysis.³⁸ Moreover, by referencing the unfaithful reproduction of daguerreotypes published as engravings in the illustrated press during the mid-nineteenth century, Robert Lebeck and Bodo Von Dewitz’s 2001 book *Kiosk* once again situates photographic retouching as an historic practice. The *Kiosk* chapters that focus on the

³⁴ Allen Hutt, “Design,” in *Scoop, Scandal, and Strife: A Study of Photography in Newspapers*, ed. Ken Baynes (New York: Hastings House, 1971), 59-70.

³⁵ Ibid, 60.

³⁶ Tim N. Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York: Macmillan, 1973).

³⁷ Harold Evans, *Pictures on a Page: Photo-Journalism, Graphics and Picture Editing* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1982).

³⁸ Evans, 277. See also: “In the early ‘30s Press pictures were expected to be — and were — heavily edited.” Ian Jeffrey, “Feeling for the Past: Photojournalism,” in *Thirties: British Art and Design Before the War*, ed. Jennifer Hawkins and Marianne Hollis (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1979), 111. However, Jeffrey does not specify that photographs were retouched, nor does he examine retouching practices used by the press during that period.

1930s are concerned with propaganda and wartime reporting, and although Lebeck and Von Dewitz analyze the use of photomontage as a layout style during 1930s, they do not address the picture editor's employment of retouching techniques during that decade.³⁹ In the introduction to *Looking at Life Magazine* (2001), Erika Doss cites the photographic medium as "manipulation of light and chemicals."⁴⁰ Although *Life*'s editors, including Wilson Hicks, "who held the authoritative hand over *Life*'s pictorial aesthetic from 1937 to 1950,"⁴¹ are criticized for their manipulation of visual news through sequencing, framing and editing, Doss does not address retouching specifically.⁴² As such, while books about twentieth century photojournalism do acknowledge that photographic retouching existed within this field, they do not provide an analytical history of this facet of the picture editor's work.

Similarly, books about contemporary journalism are eager to critique the manipulation of digital photographs, but tend to approach retouching's analogue lineage only briefly. The chapter "Old-Fashioned Fakery" in Tom Wheeler's 2002 book *Photographic Truth or Photofiction: Ethics and Media Imagery in the Digital Age* may not be extensive in its analysis of this history, but it nevertheless affirms that such a history exists. For example, Wheeler refers to *Life*'s 1930s policy against extensive retouching. However, he does not provide specifics about this policy, nor does he cite its original publication date or context.⁴³ *Pulling Newspapers Apart: Analyzing Print*

³⁹ Robert Lebeck and Bodo Von Dewitz, *Kiosk: Eine Geschichte der Fotoreportage 1839-1973/A History of Photojournalism* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2001), 20-226; See also: Richard Whelan, *This is War! Robert Capa at Work* (New York and Göttingen: The International Center of Photography and Steidl, 2007). This publication discusses pictorial magazines, photojournalists and photo news agencies during the 1920s and 1930s, as well as technical advances made during the 1930s.

⁴⁰ Erika Doss, ed., *Looking at Life Magazine* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 16.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴² See also: Kundhardt's discussion of 1937 as vital to *Life*'s history with regards to its treatment of photographs: "[*Life*] treated pictures with reverence: prints were rarely retouched (when they were, the caption said so), and the aesthetic s of cropping them could cause a crisis," 18.

⁴³ Thomas H. Wheeler, *Phototruth or Photofiction: Ethics and Media Imagery in the Digital Age* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002), 22.

*Journalism*⁴⁴ (2008) also contains points of relevant information — again within the context of contemporary digital media. For example, in the chapter “The Veracity of Photographs,” Eamonn McCabe (a former picture editor at the *Guardian*) writes: “Long gone are the days when you could squeeze a three-column football picture into two columns by moving the ball.”⁴⁵ In this regard, these publications tend to use the history of retouching as a pathway into current debates that center on digital photojournalism and that raise questions about computer-based photographic editing.

Thus, the history of photography surveys and books about journalism and photojournalism reviewed in this section suggest that until recently, as the popularization of digital technology has increased, the technical and professional advances associated with modern press photography have, in general, been the focus of such publications. However, texts such as “Aux limites du savoir” and “Les formes de l’information,” which use retouched photographs as objects to raise questions about the standard histories of photography — including those of the press — suggest and exemplify a new approach, which offers a more complex set of historical narratives.

2.b Academic Texts

A survey of academic journals was also conducted to determine how scholars have addressed retouching practices within the history of photography. Several recent articles reaffirm a growing interest in this topic and, moreover, provide insight into why this facet of photography’s history has not previously been extensively researched.

⁴⁴ Bob McFranklin, ed., *Pulling Newspapers Apart: Analyzing Print Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁴⁵ Eamonn McCabe, “The Veracity of Photographs,” in *Pulling Newspapers Apart: Analyzing Print Journalism*, ed. Bob McFranklin (New York: Routledge, 2008), 196. This passage is of notable interest to *U.S Hockey team loses to Canadians* (BPAC Print 109, Planet News, 1932), a photograph of a hockey game that features a second hockey puck painted onto the print recto with retouching fluids (fig. 30-33).

The 1989 anthology, *La Photographie en France: textes et controverses: une anthologie 1816-1871*, edited by André Rouillé, includes a section entitled “Pour ou contre la retouche (1855).”⁴⁶ Here one finds the beginnings of an argument that has become central to discussions surrounding the retouching of photographs. Written by Paul Périer (vice-president, Société française de photographie) and Eugène Durieu (president, Société française de photographie), the two articles were first published in the July 1855 and October 1855 issues of the *Bulletin de la Société française de photographie*. As explained by Rouillé in his introduction to the texts, Périer, in his desire to have photography accepted as a fine art, is:

Driven paradoxically to question the specificity of the medium, when in the name of the “major interests of artistic creation,” he defends in 1855 the practice of retouching, thus according priority to the image over the process, the product (the “result”) over its mode of production (the “means”).⁴⁷

In his written response to Périer, Durieu argues that Périer’s statement praises the technique of retouching that is “fatal to the progress of photography.”⁴⁸ Durieu’s position, while fiercely against the retouched, hybrid photograph (which he argues subtracts from photography’s autonomy as a process), however, accepts retouching only when it is used to fix minor technical irregularities, such as air bubbles. Thus, these texts at once acknowledge the use of photographic retouching during the 1850s and call into question the limits of acceptability afforded by this technique.

⁴⁶ André Rouillé, ed., “Pour ou contre la retouche (1855),” in *La Photographie en France: textes et controverses: une anthologie 1816-1871* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 1989), 272-276.

⁴⁷ “Cela le conduit paradoxalement à mettre en question la spécificité du procédé quand, au nom des “intérêts majeurs de la création artistique,” il défend en 1855 la retouche et accorde ainsi la priorité à l’image sur le procédé, au produit (le “résultat”) sur son mode de production (le “moyen”).” Rouillé, 272; translation by the author.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 275; translation by the author.

However, because subsequent scholars had largely avoided photographic retouching as a topic of study, André Gunthert's journal article "Sans retouche," published in *Études photographiques* in 2008, provides an outline of this history from the nineteenth century to the present.⁴⁹ Gunthert examines why "retouching has the distinction of being a practice that is systematically denied"⁵⁰ in contrast to other photographic techniques, which are celebrated as achievements and advancements, and in contrast to cinema studies, wherein special effects are embraced as a topic apt for research. Gunthert also explains that while the fashion and advertising industries have more or less accepted digital manipulation, retouching techniques used by the press are still governed by a heavy moral code even though the practice of retouching is as old as press photography itself.⁵¹

Thierry Gervais' "On Either Side of the 'Gatekeeper:' Technical Experimentation with Photography at *L'Illustration* (1880-1900)," also published in *Études photographiques*,⁵² utilizes retouched press photographs from the late nineteenth century to raise questions about how photography and the press were "destined to meet."⁵³ A heavily retouched and montaged photograph of a gatekeeper, published in *L'Illustration* in 1891 using the coated wood technique, is this essay's main focus. The editorial work done to this print and to others found in *L'Illustration*'s archive prompts Gervais to reexamine the uses of photography by the illustrated press during the 1880s and 1890s. Gervais reviews secondary sources written about *L'Illustration*'s publication of this image, all of which reaffirm the same technically progressive history by overlooking "the

⁴⁹ André Gunthert, "Sans Retouche," *Études photographiques*, 22 (October 2008): 56-87.; See also: Mark Osterman, "Photographic Truth?," *IMAGE: The Magazine of George Eastman House* (Spring 2009): 23-29.

⁵⁰ Gunthert, "Sans Retouche," 60; translation by the author.

⁵¹ Ibid., 69-75.

⁵² Thierry Gervais, "De part et d'autre de la «garde-barrière»: Les errances techniques dans l'usage de la photographie au sein du journal *L'Illustration* (1880-1900)," / "On Either Side of the 'Gatekeeper:' Technical Experimentation with Photography at *L'Illustration* (1880-1900)," *Études photographiques* 23 (May 2009): 30-63.

⁵³ Gervais, "On Either Side," 57.

multiple techniques invented at the crossroads of [the relationship between] the press and photography.”⁵⁴ According to Gervais a “chronological gap [in the historiography of press photography] at the end of the nineteenth century”⁵⁵ becomes apparent when one understands that, regardless of the availability of the halftone process during this period, photographs were not used on a regular basis by the illustrated press without the addition of auxiliary printing processes. Similar to the ideas presented in “Les formes de l’information” by Gervais and Morel, discussed previously, this journal article builds on the premise that while photography and the press did “meet,” so to speak, this encounter and subsequent relationship were neither straightforward nor was the adoption of the halftone process instantaneous. Analyses of the photographs found in *L’Illustration*’s archive reveal the existence of “hybrid images resulting from the merging of drawing, printing and photography”⁵⁶ at the end of the nineteenth century — and a print media that did not immediately recognize photography’s inherent qualities as a communicative medium but rather continued to use the press photograph as a cost saving tool.⁵⁷

Concurrent with the more general publications reviewed in the first section of this survey, only a few academic texts were found that comprehensively addressed the histories and uses of analogue photographic retouching. Rouillé’s inclusion of excerpts from a debate in 1855 about retouching in his anthology of nineteenth century photographic controversies reveals the practice’s importance at an early point but these appear as isolated texts. Gunthert acknowledges retouching’s conspicuous omission from the history of photography and outlines the first scholarly history of the technique. Finally Gervais’ essay, the most recent article surveyed, uses retouched photographs as a

⁵⁴ Gervais, “On Either Side,” 56.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 57-60.

starting point for a paper focused specifically on the press at the end of the nineteenth century, reaffirming that retouching is an essential part of the history of photography.

2.c Press Photography Manuals (1930-1952)

A review of press photography manuals, published between the years 1930 to 1952, was also carried out in search of information about retouching practices. The five 1930s technical manuals surveyed, *The Complete Press Photographer*,⁵⁸ *News Photography*,⁵⁹ *Press Photography*,⁶⁰ *News Pictures*⁶¹ and *Pictorial Journalism*,⁶² include an extensive range of technical and editorial-related information about this technique. However, as these manuals will be used as primary sources in the thesis' main essay, they will not be analyzed further in this survey.

The 1944 manual *A Guide for Military and News Photography* by Jack Price⁶³ is specific to military press photographers and does not address retouching techniques. However, this omission should not be read as an indication that retouching practices were no longer used during the 1940s, but as reflective of the impact of the Second World War and thus the need for manuals that addressed other issues.⁶⁴ While this literature survey did not locate any additional press photography manuals published in English during the 1940s (*The Technique of the Picture Story* by Daniel D. Mich and Edwin Berman,⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Bell R. Bell, *The Complete Press Photographer* (Bath and New York: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1930).

⁵⁹ Jack Price, *News Photography* (New York: Industries Publishing Company, 1932).

⁶⁰ James C. Kinkaid, *Press Photography* (Boston: American Photographic Publishing Co., 1936).

⁶¹ Jack Price, *News Pictures* (New York: Round Table Press Inc., 1937).

⁶² Laura Vitray, John Mills, Jr., and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1939).

⁶³ Jack Price, *A Guide for Military and News Photography* (New York: Falk Publishing Company, 1944).

⁶⁴ See: L. Hennessey, "The Mark A. Freeman Collection of World War II Photographs at George Eastman House" (Master's thesis, Ryerson University and George Eastman House, 2007), 46-48. Hennessey's thesis addresses in part the uses of photographic retouching by the US Army Signal Corps for security and censorship purposes during WWII.

⁶⁵ Daniel D. Mich, and Edwin Eberman, *The Technique of the Picture Story* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945).

published in 1945, is specific to freelance writers), my research suggests that the more extensive type of manuals of the 1930s reappeared during the 1950s. This decade long gap may indicate a slow down in the publication of press photography manuals during the 1940s, rather than an end to photographic retouching practices. However, this hypothesis requires further research.

The 1951 manual *Picture Editing*⁶⁶ includes an instructional section about retouching entitled “Art Work,” in the chapter “Picture Handling.” In this publication, retouching is considered as one of the many steps involved in the process of editing press photographs, along with cropping and scaling:

Every picture should go through the art department for possible retouching [...] Retouching should be done completely and carefully to any picture that needs it, but the tendency to overdo retouching should be actively discouraged. The test of a good retouching is paradoxical: A retouched picture in the paper should look like an unretouched picture!⁶⁷

Published one year later, Wilson Hicks’ *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism*,⁶⁸ written for press photographers, editors and writers, treats the retouching of press photographs differently than *Picture Editing*. The manual includes a chapter titled “Birth of the Form,” which restates the commonly held ideas about the technical advances made to press photography during the 1920s and 1930s:

Fundamental changes in the thinking of editors, together with [the] mechanical advancement of the camera, had revolutionary effects on production and use of the journalistic photograph in the years 1925-1935.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Stanley E. Kalish and Clifton C. Edom, *Picture Editing* (Toronto: Rinehart and Company, 1951).

⁶⁷ Kalish, Edom, 122.

⁶⁸ Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Arno Press, 1973. First published 1952 by Harper and Row Publishers, Inc).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

Hicks, moreover, discusses the editorial position against photographic retouching adopted by *Life* during the late 1930s. However, as *Life*'s former executive editor, Wilson Hicks was writing from a very specific standpoint — a standpoint which, contrary to information found in the other manuals surveyed, tends to suggest that retouching practices used by the press were curtailed when *Life* introduced its formative editorial policy against the technique.

To conclude, the manuals surveyed feature technical and editorial information about photojournalism and retouching during the 1930s, which was generally not found in the secondary sources consulted, thus pointing out a dichotomy between what has been written about this history and what was practiced on a day-to-day basis during that period.⁷⁰ As such, this literature survey suggests that academic interest in 1930s press photography has been largely focused on technical achievements, the establishment of pictorial magazines and press agencies, the expansion of the photojournalist's reach and famous news images produced during the modern period. In this regard, photographic retouching, as used by the press during the 1930s, proposes another way to analyze and understand the complex relationship between the press and photography during that decade.

⁷⁰ Vincent Lavoie's journal article, "Le mérite photojournalistique: une incertitude critéologique," *Études photographiques* 20 (June 2007): 120-133., references the manuals *Words and Pictures*, *Pictorial Journalism*, *Press Photography*, *News Photography* and *News Picture* when in search of the provenance of criteria used currently to judge photographs in the World Press Photo contest. Lavoie's essay does not focus on the history of retouching practices but on the history of criteria used to judge press images.

3. METHODOLOGY

The research methodology undertaken for this thesis required continual reevaluation. Researching and writing about the uses of photographic retouching by the press and thus the work of the picture editor during the 1930s meant working with a technical practice without a clear historiography, and developing a research process complicated by the size and scope of the Art Gallery of Ontario's (AGO) British Press Agency Collection (BPAC).

The BPAC features 1,240 gelatin silver press prints from 1911 to 1986 housed in ten boxes. The collection was assembled by the Archive of Modern Conflict (London, England) and donated to the AGO by an anonymous donor in 2008.⁷¹ Comprising work from more than fifty press agencies and seventy photographers, the BPAC does not constitute a single archive. Instead, it presents a sweeping survey of primarily British press photography over a seventy five-year time span. With fifty four percent of the BPAC photographs dating from the 1930s, the collection highlights the uses of photography by the press during this decade.

Although the BPAC includes works by seventy photographers, attributed prints constitute roughly one tenth of the total collection. Included are a small number of photographs by Brassai, Cecil Beaton, Emil Otto Hoppé, Willi Ruge and Paul Popper, housed side by side in Box 10 with prints by less recognized and unknown photographers. Photographic agencies are better documented, as their copyright stamps mark the versos of most prints in the collection. Press agencies include: The Associated Press, *Daily Mail* (British and French Bureaus), Fox Photos, Keystone View Company, Planet News Ltd., BIPPA, the Photographic News Agencies (PNA), Sport & General News, The Topical Press Agency Ltd., Central Press, Wide World Photos, the General Photographic Agency, the London News Agency and Photo Press. Boxes 1 through 8

⁷¹ R. Streiman, "The British Press Agencies Collection at the AGO" (Master's thesis, Ryerson University, Art Gallery of Ontario and George Eastman House, 2009), 6.

feature works from these agencies. Box 9, labeled as “Press Agencies A-U,” houses prints by agencies that are not extensively represented within the BPAC, including the Alfieri Picture Service and the Graphic Photo Union.

According to the BPAC’s finding aid, 680 of the 1,240 photographs in the collection are from the 1930s.⁷² As part of my research, I discovered that 139 of the 1,240 prints are retouched (11.2 percent of the total number of photographs in the BPAC). Of these 139 retouched works, 97 prints (representing 69.8 percent) are from the 1930s. Thus, of the 680 1930s prints within the BPAC, 14.3 percent are retouched.

However, the retouched prints in the BPAC are not comprehensively addressed in the collection’s finding aid, nor are they housed together in the same box. As a result, it was necessary to examine the entire collection in order to identify and select retouched press prints from the 1930s for this study. In addition, while the BPAC was arranged chronologically when it was donated to the AGO in 2008, the prints were reorganized to better suit the AGO’s author-based collections management policies and the needs of most of its researchers.⁷³ Therefore, the 680 1930s prints in the collection are now spread throughout ten boxes, arranged by press agency, as previously noted, with one box dedicated to prints attributed to individual photographers; in some cases this organizational structure means a physical separation of the work of a given photographer from the other prints copyrighted by his/her photographic agency.

Although the date stamps found on the verso of most prints in the collection are noted in the collection’s original spreadsheet, they are not included in the AGO’s current finding aid. Searching through the BPAC in its entirety was, therefore, necessary in order for me to view all of the retouched prints in the collection and, moreover, group together a body of work from the 1930s.

⁷² Streiman, 9.

⁷³ Ibid., 7.

My initial selection of prints was carried out in conjunction with writing my preliminary literature survey. At that time, the selection criteria were very general and based largely on visual interest and the need to study a variety of application techniques. As such, the first selection process resulted in a group of retouched press prints from the years 1917 to 1940. However, as my research progressed I became aware of the complicated relationship between retouched press prints from the 1930s and the historiography of 1930s press photography. Therefore, I conducted an exhaustive survey of the BPAC, gathering data that would allow me to analyze the number of retouched prints in the entire collection in comparison to the percentage of retouched prints from the 1930s. I formulated a list of all 1,240 photographs in the archive, noting for each print as much of the following information as was available: date, press agency, photographer and whether or not retouching work was applied. Additionally, I created descriptive entries for the 139 retouched prints in the collection, using the following criteria. Was the print retouched heavily or lightly? Was the retouching applied to add or remove detail? Were colour fluids used and why? What were the technical faults that were being fixed with retouching fluids? How was the photograph's news value potentially affected by the retouching? This process enriched my understanding of the BPAC, helping me to form a final selection of sixteen photographs from various agencies, which range in date from 1931 to 1939 and which correspond to the uses of retouching outlined in technical manuals published during that period.

The retouching work done to press prints is, moreover, an intermediary step bridging two physical objects: the photograph and the newspaper or magazine in which it was published. Because retouching is not meant to be visible in its published form, this technical process has generally been overlooked when histories of press photography have centered on subjects rather than objects. An entry into this topic of study can, therefore, be found through an analysis of the picture editor's work, with the retouched photographs acting as the link between our understanding of the uses of press

photography by this editorial figure and the information presented in press photography manuals.

Because *The Complete Press Photographer* and *Pictorial Journalism* were both published concurrently in the United States and England, thus confirming the sharing of editorial techniques internationally during the 1930s, I concluded that the American-published manuals *News Photography*, *Press Photography* and *News Pictures*, were also applicable to this analysis of primarily British press prints. Furthermore, while these publications have been used as primary sources, in certain instances it was equally as important to question their points of view as it was to extract information from them.

This thesis, therefore, approaches these retouched prints not as unique cases of image manipulation but as typical examples of one of the many steps involved in the process of building visual news during the 1930s. Discovering that many of the photographs were published in the *Daily Mirror*, the *Sunday Dispatch*, *Life* and possibly also in the *Daily Mail*⁷⁴ allowed for comparisons with their respective published images, layouts and cutlines. However, because the online archive UKPressOnline is not extensive, I did not have access to the multiple editions of the *Daily Mirror* that were published each day. While I was able to locate six *Daily Mirror* editions that feature published versions of the retouched BPAC prints (or in certain cases similar photographs of the same news event published on a given date), I was not able to always find a published image for each print date stamped by this newspaper. Although it was not possible for me to search the *Daily Mail* or the *Sunday Dispatch* due to the time constraints of this thesis and the fact that these particular editions are only available at the British Library in London, England, I was able to gain research assistance from a colleague who searched through selected editions of the *Sunday Dispatch* for me.

⁷⁴ BPAC Prints 189, 243 and 189 are copyright stamped by the *Daily Mail* and date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*. It was not possible to search for these photographs in the *Daily Mail*.

However, because of the policies at the British Library's Reading Rooms at Colindale, which determine that once a newspaper has been transferred to microfilm the original can no longer be viewed, it was only possible to have scans made from photocopies of the second generation facsimile. In most cases this extensive copying process degenerated the photographic images to such an extent that an analysis of the retouching work as it carried through into newsprint was no longer possible.

The analytical approach employed in chapters four and five to produce a descriptive analysis of the sixteen prints was based on methodologies outlined by Ilse About and Clément Chéroux in their article "L'histoire par la photographie."⁷⁵ The authors stress the importance of using only first generation photographs and publications as research tools to reexamine history, and employing the following working model: a. identify the photographer; b. conduct an analysis of the photographic object in its entirety; and, c. analyze the subject captured in the image.⁷⁶

This thesis was, therefore, carried out in response to the two-pronged research question: What can these objects add to the history of 1930s press photography and what do these photographs tell us about the work of the picture editor during that decade? By dividing the main analysis into two chapters, "Production/Reproduction: Retouching to Improve Copy Value" and "Illustration/Narration: Retouching to Improve News Value," this thesis utilizes retouched press prints to discuss different facets of the picture editor's work, taking into consideration how aesthetics were employed in the creation and presentation of visually efficient news during the 1930s.

⁷⁵ Ilse About and Clément Chéroux, "L'histoire par la photographie," *Études photographiques* 10 (November 2001), <http://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/index261.html>.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

4. PRODUCTION/REPRODUCTION: RETOUCHING TO IMPROVE COPY VALUE

Although the position of press picture editor was not new to the 1930s newsroom,⁷⁷ authors Laura Vitray, John Mills Jr. and Roscoe Ellard⁷⁸ stressed the importance of this position in their 1939 manual *Pictorial Journalism*. The publication's second chapter "Picture Editing" describes the picture editor as "a new executive,"⁷⁹ promoting his/her role as essential to the creation of visual news:

"The picture editor's concern is to provide art for all departments of the paper [...] A picture editor's purpose is to improve the appearance of the paper, and he can often accomplish this with great economy [...] He is above everything a news editor for pictures."⁸⁰

Specific daily tasks included: supervision of the publication's photographic studio and picture desk, liaison with news desks, photographic commission and selection of photographs, writing and editing of textual outlines, page layout and retouching work (or supervision when this work was carried out by an art department, retoucher or process artist at a larger publication).⁸¹

The position of authority held by this editorial post — a mediator between raw press photograph and published news image — was also addressed at the beginning of the decade in Bell R. Bell's 1930 manual *The Complete Press Photographer*. Bell's publication identifies the types of pictorial news most desired (and thus selected) by picture editors and the technical requirements of a press print in relation to available

⁷⁷ See: Thierry Gervais, "L'invention du magazine: La photographie mise en page dans *La Vie au grand air* (1898-1914)," *Études photographiques* 20 (June 2007): 51-67.

⁷⁸ As listed in the front matter of *Pictorial Journalism*: "Laura Vitray: Formerly, Associate Editor of *McCall's Magazine*; Sunday Editor of *The Washington Post*; City Editor of *The New York Evening Graphic*. John Mills, Jr.: Illustrative Photographer; Formerly, Chief Photographer for *The New York Woman Magazine*; Staff Photographer for *The Washington Post*. Roscoe Ellard: Professor of Journalism, University of Missouri." Laura Vitray, John Mills, Jr., and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1939).

⁷⁹ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 13

⁸⁰ Ibid, 13-15.

⁸¹ Ibid, 10-17.

halftone printing technologies. According to this manual, the combination of narrative strength and technical efficiency (namely tonal range, sharpness and detail) are crucial to the making of a good news photograph.⁸² At the close of the decade, Vitray, Mills and Ellard echoed this sentiment in *Pictorial Journalism*: “Newsphotos, we have seen, should measure up to a two-way standard for perfection. They should tell an important story and they should be good copy for halftone.”⁸³ This “two-way standard for perfection,” singled-out as so important to the picture editor’s selection and post-production process can, therefore, be used to examine the retouching techniques employed during the 1930s when building and creating aesthetically efficient and illustrative pictorial news images for publication by newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Dispatch*.⁸⁴

As press prints were judged for their ability to become good copy, picture editors had to decide in each case how well a given photograph would reproduce in newsprint halftone. As explained in James C. Kinkaid’s 1936 manual, *Press Photography*: “The only positive test of a print as far as news photography is concerned is the kind of halftone it will make.”⁸⁵ Good copy value, as outlined by Vitray, Mills and Ellard in *Pictorial Journalism*, was based on three main criteria: sharp focus, good detail and tonal contrast.⁸⁶ Instructions and reasons for the retouching of press photographs, provided in the fourth chapter of *Pictorial Journalism*, “Art Department Practice,” are closely related

⁸² See: “The Type of Picture Required,” 84-86; “Essential Qualities in a Print for Reproduction,” in Bell R. Bell, *The Complete Press Photographer* (Bath and New York: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1930), 57-58. See also: “WHAT WE WANT: Messages from Some of the Leading Art Editors,” Ibid., 180-181. This section in Bell’s manual includes a quotation by the *Daily Mirror*’s picture editor who stresses the necessity of “news interest” in a press photograph. Ibid., 180.

⁸³ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 147.

⁸⁴ BPAC Prints 86, 109, 189, 200, 201, 242, 243, 315, 322, 399, 441 and 627 are date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*, a British daily, published 1903 to present; Prints 109, 526, 527 and 579 are date stamped by the *Sunday Dispatch*, a British Sunday paper, published 1928-1961. BPAC Print 526 was published in the March 7, 1938 edition of *Life*, however, it is not date stamped by this publication.

⁸⁵ James C. Kinkaid, *Press Photography* (Boston: American Photographic Publishing Co., 1936), 114.

⁸⁶ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 45.

to these criteria. The authors state: “Newsphotos are retouched to improve copy value. This is the most important purpose of retouching.”⁸⁷

In order to understand these criteria, the following eight prints have been chosen to exemplify technical deficiencies, which occurred when the photograph was taken (production) and/or during the gelatin silver print’s transformation into a halftone image (reproduction). Having been retouched for copy value, these objects can also be used to study the technical limits of this intermediate editorial process.

4.a Technical Issues

The retouching applied to *"Well Held!"* (BPAC Print 322, The Associated Press, 1933), a photograph of the British Royal Airforce holding down the tethers of a hot air balloon, illustrates a technical difficulty that continued to trouble the press during the 1930s: the reproduction of fine photographic details in newsprint (*fig. 1-2*). As a photograph was transformed from a gelatin silver print to a halftone cut, and finally to a newsprint reproduction, image loss occurred; if details were deficient at the outset, the published output would be most unsatisfactory.

The author of this 9.25 x 12 inch gelatin silver photograph is today unknown. Rather, this print is credited solely to The Associated Press of Great Britain, Ltd.; its poor condition reflecting both its age and commercial usage. Soiled and marked up with fingerprints, the photographic emulsion highlights and verso are yellowed; photographic blacks have faded to browns.⁸⁸ As Kinkaid explained in *Press Photography*, because publication speed was often more important than a print’s longevity, little care was taken in the chemical processing of press photographs. Referring to the most extreme of cases,

⁸⁷ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 45-147.

⁸⁸ “Image Deterioration in Gelatin Developing-Out Papers: [...] sulfiding due to improper processing and by an oxidative-reductive process. Symptoms of oxidative deterioration included overall fading, some loss of highlight detail, a yellowing of the lighter areas of the image [...]” James M. Reilly, *Care and Identification of 19th Century Photographic Prints* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1986), 46.

Kinkaid elucidates: “No thought is given under such circumstances to the permanence of the print. The only desire is to get a print that will last for perhaps an hour or two.”⁸⁹

Although *Pictorial Journalism* suggests applying crop marks to a print with a soft lithograph pencil or water-soluble paint to avoid permanent damage,⁹⁰ with “*Well Held!*” best practice was forgone for a brisker and more intrusive approach. Running vertically down the right side of the photographic image is a deep fold, with a crop mark symbol hand-scripted in graphite on the emulsion to the right of this indented line. The retouching work — blue and black water-soluble fluid applied to the print recto — stops abruptly at these crop mark indicators. Thus, it can be deduced that in this instance layout and cropping were decided upon prior to the application of retouching paints. In an industry where speed and economy of means were vital, it is unlikely that the picture editor, who was “mindful of deadlines,”⁹¹ would have wasted time and materials retouching the entire photograph when, inevitably, press prints were usually cropped to avoid reducing the size of the image.⁹²

In addition, illegible sizing calculations on the print verso are accompanied by The Associated Press of Great Britain’s copyright stamp, applied in blue ink, and the *Daily Mirror*’s⁹³ publication date stamp, applied in red ink: “DM 16 NOV 1933.”⁹⁴ A typed cutline is adhered to the verso:

“WELL HELD!”— Activity at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the Royal Air Force is stationed.

⁸⁹ Kinkaid, 42.

⁹⁰ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 142.

⁹¹ Ibid., 151.

⁹² Ibid., 146.

⁹³ The *Daily Mirror*, a British illustrated daily, published from 1903 to the present.

⁹⁴ “Duplicate sent to Manchester 12. 26 pm 15 Nov. 1933” is also stamped on the print verso.



Fig. 1. BPAC Print 322, "Well Held!" - Activity at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the Royal Air Force is stationed, The Associated Press, 1933 (recto)

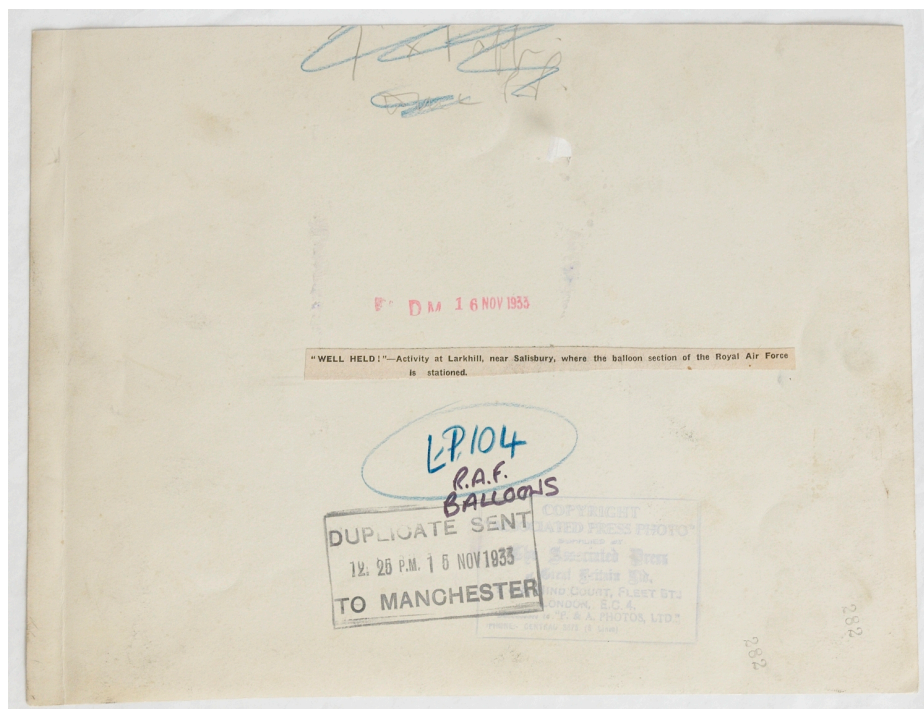


Fig. 2. BPAC Print 322, "Well Held!" - Activity at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the Royal Air Force is stationed, The Associated Press, 1933 (verso)

The type font and align centre spacing of the verso text suggest that it was clipped from a newspaper page. However, the published version of this print found in the London Edition of the Thursday, November 16, 1933 *Daily Mirror*⁹⁵ (fig. 3) is accompanied by a lengthier and more descriptive cutline:

The ground staff holding down a kite balloon at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the R.A.F. is stationed. Army officers are sometimes sent up for observation practice in such balloons, which were extensively used during the war.⁹⁶

Moreover, as the largest illustration laid out with six other unrelated photographs and several advertisements, "*Well Held!*" is the only image on the page highlighted by an overline: "TUG-OF-WAR" AGAINST A BALLOON."⁹⁷

As illustrated by these two texts, the photograph captured British soldiers holding down the tethers of a hot air balloon. The ropes, recorded by the camera as infinitely thin lines, were seemingly too fine for newspaper reproduction. Thus, the print required retouching in order to be suitable as news copy. Referring back to *Pictorial Journalism's* "three point system" for judging copy value, one can note that good detail was essential in this regard as visual information was lost when converting to a halftone cut:

The reason detail is so important in the newspaper print is that so much of it is going to be lost in engraving [...] The engraver, in making the halftone cut, rephotographs the picture through a screen which breaks its solid surface up into tiny dots [...] The finer the screen used, the more dots result and therefore the more of the picture's detail is preserved.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ UKPressonline.co.uk was used to search back issues of the *Daily Mirror*; this online archive holds only one edition of the *Daily Mirror* per date searched.

⁹⁶ *Daily Mirror*, November 16, 1933, 23.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 46-47.

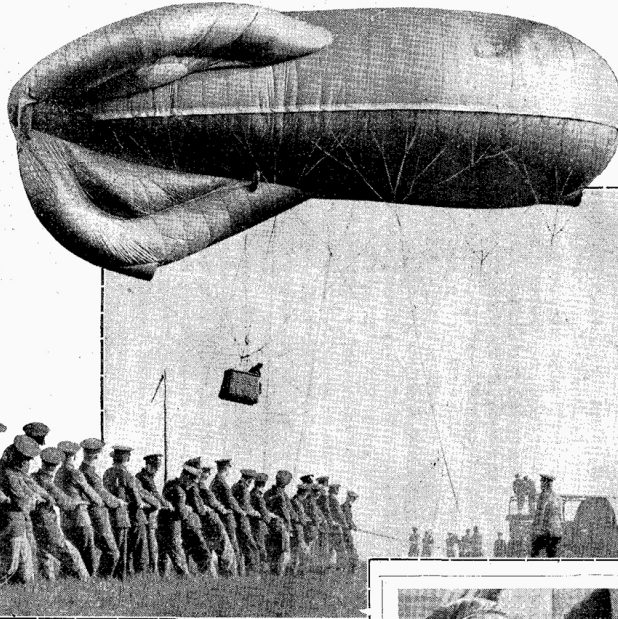
"TUG-OF-WAR" AGAINST A BALLOON



Mr. Edward Nash Hurley, a well-known U.S. manufacturer and financier, who died at Chicago, aged seventy-three.



Mr. F. W. Turner, Governor of Lincoln Prison, whose sudden death is announced. He went to Lincoln in 1922.



The ground staff holding down a kite balloon at Larkhill, near Salisbury, where the balloon section of the R.A.F. is stationed. Army officers are sometimes sent up for observation practice in such balloons, which were extensively used during the war.



Miss Eleanor Hunt, the film actress, who has gone with Mr. Frank G. Nolan to Las Vegas, Nevada, U.S.A., to be married.



ALMSHOUSE INMATES KILLED.—Mr. G. Pragnell, who was killed, and his wife, who was injured when a car knocked down some aged inmates of almshouses in Shenfield-road, Brentwood, Essex. Another inmate, Miss R. Giles, was also killed.



PIANIST'S TOUR.—Miss Harriet Cohen, the well-known pianist, at Waterloo before leaving for America.



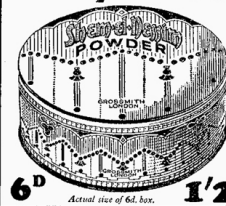
CANON'S ESCAPE.—When this lorry and trailer swerved from the ice-bound road between Kelghley and Skipton (Yorkshire) and demolished part of a low wall, Canon J. G. Watson nearly dashed through the gap in his car in trying to avoid them.



*Lovely
in every light*

GROSSMITH'S Face Powders give the best effect at all times because of their **NEW COLOUR PRINCIPLE**. In four exquisite perfumes, Phul-nana, Shem-el-Nessim, Tsang-Ilang, (pronounced "Sang Yang") and Old Cottage Lavender and in all popular shades.

**Grossmith's
Face powders**



6D Actual size of 6d. box. 1/2

**TURNED AWAY FROM
VERY SIGHT OF FOOD**

Indigestion Was So Bad

Then Instant Relief

"I used to be in agonising pain after every meal," writes Mr. E. Walthamstow. "I had frequent attacks of heartburn and used to turn away from the very sight of food. After trying all manner of remedies I took Dr. Jenner's. I had instant relief and can now eat anything." Like magic a single Dr. Jenner's Lozenge banishes heartburn, wind, dizziness, stomach pains, "full-up" feeling and all symptoms of acid stomach. Dr. Jenner's are pleasant-tasting lozenges which descend into the stomach in the form of a cream with instant soothing and carminative effects. Stomachic gases are absorbed and digestion functions naturally. Made up from a prescription of the celebrated Dr. Jenner in the private laboratories of Savory & Moore. Contain no bicarbonate or magnesia, do not constipate or relax. DR. JENNER'S Absorbent LOZENGE Brand Digestive Tablets. Boxes 1/3, 2/-, all chemists or post free from Savory & Moore, Ltd., 143a, New Bond Street, London, W.1. (24)

PAINFUL FEET

After shopping or walking add a tablespoonful of Cond's to a basin of tepid water. Stand feet in this. Soothes like magic. Hardens and braces because Cond's in water makes active oxygen. Cond's Fluid 1/6 bottle. It must be Cond's. (15)

Fig. 3. *Daily Mirror*, Thursday, November 16, 1933, p. 23

Generally, newspapers during the 1930s used coarser halftone screens than magazines, which printed on higher-grade coated papers.⁹⁹ However, Bell's manual cites the *Daily Mirror* as one of a handful of British papers using a finer grade of screen:

The screen which they employ in the process of block making is comparatively very fine, and the quality of the pictures in these papers remarkably is good for daily journalism.¹⁰⁰

Regardless, black retouching fluid was applied to this print to “retouch for detail,”¹⁰¹ rendering the balloon tethers more pronounced (*fig. 4*). Additionally, blue retouching fluid was used selectively to add tonal range to the dull grassy area in the foreground and to the soldiers and military wagon in the background.

The corresponding published image printed in the *Daily Mirror* suggests that the retouching work done to this photograph may not have sufficed, as the tethers appear to have remained extremely faint. Although the digital scan of this page spread is poor, one can note that the section of the sky filled with these ropes was transformed into a gray tone upon publication, whereas the area above the balloon was left white, indicating that an additional step may have been taken during the printing process to clarify the existence of the balloon's rigging supports.

If one compares the cutline adhered to the print verso to the text published in the *Daily Mirror*, the latter is also more detailed, specifying that the soldiers are holding down the balloon. Was this written content used to compensate for photographic reproduction issues? In this instance, it would seem that the picture editor was editing and re-editing text and photograph alike to ensure both a clear reproduction and a corresponding understanding of the image on the newspaper page.

⁹⁹ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 47.

¹⁰⁰ Bell, 53.

¹⁰¹ “Retouching for detail means sometimes painting in essential details.” Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 150.

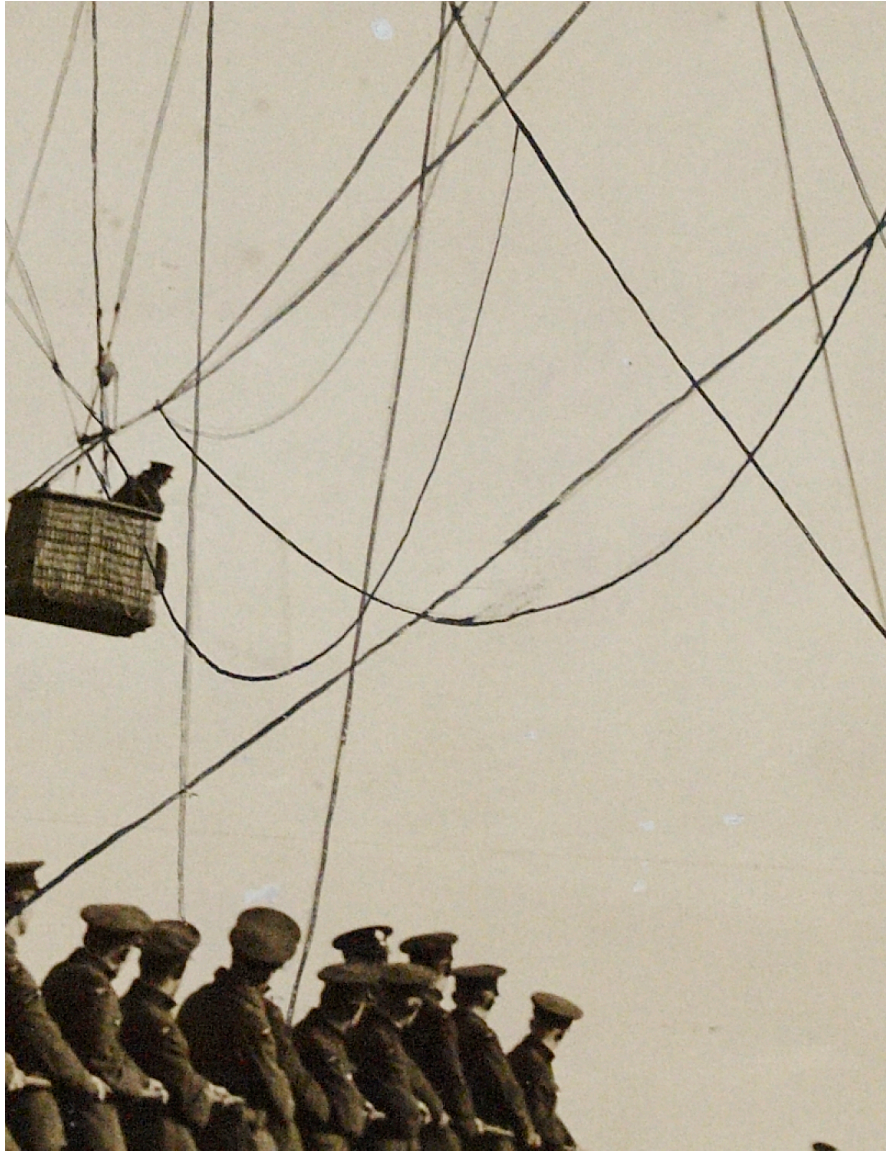


Fig. 4. BPAC Print 322, The Associated Press, 1933 (recto: detail)

In a similar manner, the flash bulb, while advantageous for the photographer shooting out in the field, was not always beneficial to the picture editor's post-production work. Nevertheless, it has been said that during the 1930s "remarkable progress"¹⁰² was made to press photography due to the introduction of the flashbulb in 1929.¹⁰³ As explained in the 1937 manual *News Pictures*, the speedflash bulb had become "the acknowledged dependable source of artificial lighting for news photographers."¹⁰⁴ Although *An 18th century Scold's Bridle* (BPAC Print 579, Graphic Photo Union, 1938) was exposed using a flash, as is evident by the reflection in the subject's eyes, the photograph's uneven exposure resulted in poor clarity of detail (*fig. 5*). As it was not perfect copy, this print therefore required remedying with paint and brush before it could be turned into a halftone cut.

This object, a 9.75 x 7.5 inch gelatin silver print credited to the Graphic Photo Union, is in poor condition. Its two left corners are missing and there are dents and scratches in the photographic emulsion. The image highlights have yellowed and the blue fluids applied to the print recto are deteriorating. The verso has also yellowed, is soiled, and, similar to "*Well Held!*," is marked up with editorial notations that were penciled in and scribbled over with blue grease pencil (*fig. 6*). Stamped on the verso in purple ink is the London-based Graphic Photo Union's copyright logo. "S.D. 30 OCT 1938," applied in red ink, gives the print a date and place of publication: the *Sunday Dispatch*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Kinkaid, 203.

¹⁰³ The flashbulb was invented in Germany during the First World War but was not introduced onto the international market until 1929. Jack Price, *News Pictures* (New York: Round Table Press, 1937), 130.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁰⁵ The *Sunday Dispatch*, a British Sunday paper, published from 1928 to 1961.



Fig. 5. BPAC Print 579, *An 18th century Scold's Bridle of unusual design on show at the 5th annual antique dealer's fair, Graphic Photo Union, 1938 (recto)*

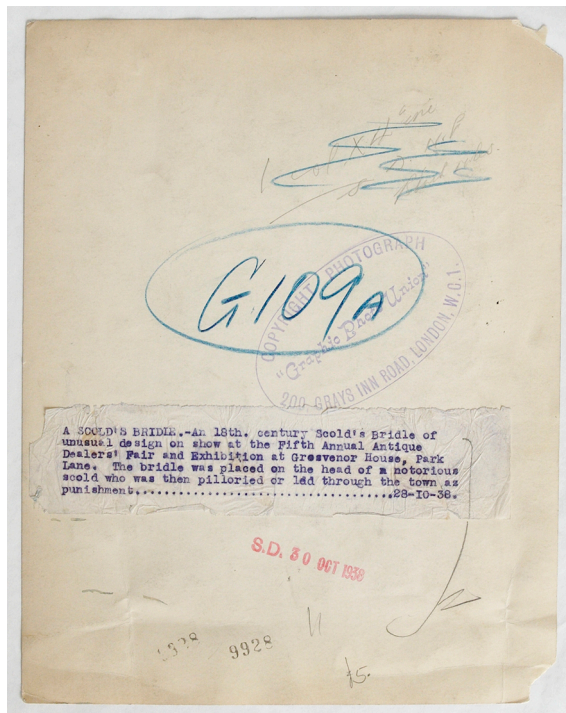


Fig. 6. BPAC Print 579, *An 18th century Scold's Bridle of unusual design on show at the 5th annual antique dealer's fair, Graphic Photo Union, 1938 (verso)*

The cutline adhered to this print's verso was, however, produced on a typewriter:

A SCOLD'S BRIDLE. — An 18th. Century Scold's Bridle of unusual design on show at the Fifth Annual Antique Fair and Exhibition at Grosvenor House, Park Lane. The bridle was placed on the head of a notorious scold who was then pilloried or [*illeg*] through the town as punishment. 28-10-38.

The date of "28.10.38," typed at the end of this verso text, may imply that the photograph was taken on Friday, October 28th and printed in the *Sunday Dispatch* two days later (*fig. 7*). A quirky photographic overline, "TONGUE-TIED," accompanies the published image in the Sunday paper, along with a cutline that is shorter and more light-hearted than the text present on the print's verso:

They were very thorough in the 18th century. This pleasant little invention is a scold's bridal, used for nagging women. It is on view at the Antique Dealers' Fair at Grosvenor House, London.¹⁰⁶

Although this photograph, a head and shoulders shot of a woman modeling an antique Scold's Bridle, was taken using a flash bulb, the capture resulted in an overexposed, high-key face and an underexposed, low-key jacket and background. Thus, delivered to the picture editor's desk was a print lacking sufficient detail. Dark blue fluid was therefore used to retouch for details on the coat, where the negative was too thin (*fig. 8*). A mid-tone of blue retouching paint was also used to add tonal range to the depthless jet-black background, while a lighter shade of blue was applied to the back of the woman's hair to distinguish it from the enveloping darkness behind her. In contrast, the

¹⁰⁶ *Sunday Dispatch*, October 30, 1938, 13.

woman's face is overexposed, blown out by the heavy strength of the flash, giving her a powder-white appearance. However, her face was left unretouched, suggesting that there was just enough detail present to avoid having to be worked up by hand prior to publication.¹⁰⁷



Left: Fig. 7. *Sunday Dispatch*, Sunday, October 30, 1938, p.13

Right: Fig. 8. BPAC Print 579, Graphic Photo Union, 1938 (recto: detail)

¹⁰⁷ A published version of *An 18th century Scold's Bridle* was found in the October 30, 1938 edition of the *Sunday Dispatch*. However, the process involved in securing a scan from a photocopy of the microfilm holdings at the British Library, London, England, reduced visibility to a point where the effects of the retouching work done to the original print cannot be analyzed. From this scan, one can note that this photograph was printed as a small illustration, in the top right corner of p.13, in column seven of a seven-column layout.

While the flashbulb's contributions to press photography during the 1930s were most important, allowing photographs to be taken with artificial light in circumstances unwieldy to magnesium flash powder,¹⁰⁸ this technology did not resolve the need for corrective work. However, by selectively retouching only the areas that required it most, one can see that the *Sunday Dispatch*'s staff were cautious not to overwork the image, mindful of time, economy and final outcome. Highlighting the picture editor's meticulous approach, Vitray, Mills and Ellard write:

He knows the right amount of retouching is what is required to bring the picture up to reproduction standards, whether this means none, or a very *slight* amount, or so much that it seems like *painting a new picture* over the old shell.¹⁰⁹

4.b Production Issues

In comparison to the previous two photographs, which were retouched “a very *slight* amount,”¹¹⁰ *A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers* (BPAC Print 441, Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937) exemplifies the opposite approach: “*painting a new picture* over the old shell.”¹¹¹ Shot during a snowstorm, the soft focus, blurry image has poor detail and low contrast. However, the editor used this photograph's production problems to his/her advantage, as the retoucher improved the print's copy value and strengthened its visual qualities in the process (*fig. 9*). Printed in the *Daily Mirror* on Saturday, March 27, 1937, this photograph can also be used to discuss how retouching work was made invisible upon publication.

¹⁰⁸ Jack Price, *News Photography* (New York: Industries Publishing Company, 1932), 127.

¹⁰⁹ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 154.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.



Fig. 9. BPAC Print 441, *A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers on the Epping Road*, Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937 (recto)

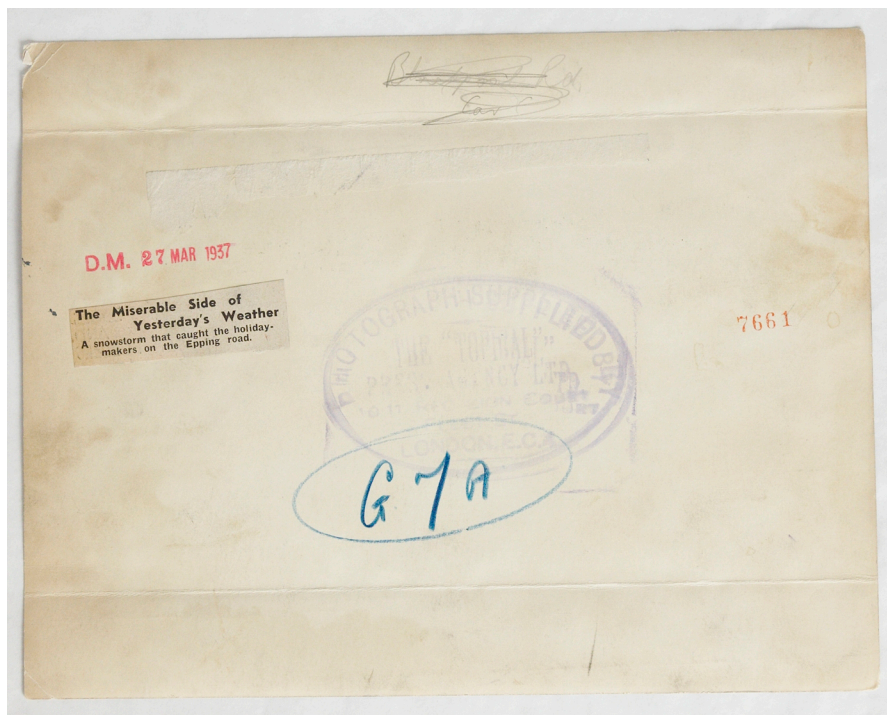


Fig. 10. BPAC Print 441, *A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers on the Epping Road*, Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937 (verso)

Credited to the Topical Press Agency Ltd., *A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers* (a 7.75 x 9.5 inch gelatin silver photograph) commemorates its age as an eighty plus year old press print. The corners are dog-eared and the image highlights and borders have yellowed. There are deep, invasive fold lines running horizontally along the top and bottom of the object. Although the retouching work stops at these folds, these indicators do not correspond with how the print was cropped when published in the *Daily Mirror* (fig. 11). As previously discussed, *Pictorial Journalism* cautions that damaged areas on the print recto, caused by improperly applied crop marks, would show up in the halftone cut should more of the image be desired.¹¹² Notably, a larger area at the bottom of this print was indeed published, with additional dead space at the top of the image having been cropped out instead. However, there is no evidence of a fold line appearing in the newspaper reproduction.

These indentations, on the other hand, are clearly visible on the print verso, which is also stained, soiled and marked up with notations (fig. 10). Stamped on the verso in purple ink is the Topical Press Agency's copyright (London address included). The *Daily Mirror*'s red inked date stamp is also present: "D.M. 27 MAR 1937." A typed cutline adhered to the verso reads: "The Miserable Side of Yesterday's weather. A Snowstorm that caught the holiday makers on the Epping road." Although the combined use of a bold and regular type face and the centre aligned spacing of the font would suggest that the verso text was clipped from a newspaper layout, it differs from the cutline accompanying this photograph in the *Daily Mirror*:

Joys of the open road near Epping. Men in the police car — see the loud speaker — on patrol duty had no cause to envy the holiday-makers, especially cyclists.¹¹³

¹¹² Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 142.

¹¹³ *Daily Mirror*, March 27, 1937, 14-15.

In addition, a photographic overline laid out in bold upper case type above the published photograph exclaims: “THIS WAS THE BITTEREST BLOW.”¹¹⁴



Fig. 11. *Daily Mirror*, Saturday, March 27, 1937, p. 14-15

As implied by these texts, the photograph shows a cyclist riding alongside automobiles during a snowstorm. From the blurred image and the photographer’s position in front of oncoming traffic, one can surmise that it was likely taken from the back of a moving vehicle, with the intent to capture a dynamic action shot of cars and bikes along a snowy road. Despite the photographic equipment made available to photojournalists during that period, which prompted them to extend their reach,¹¹⁵ the less than optimal

¹¹⁴ *Daily Mirror*, March 27, 1937, 14.

¹¹⁵ See: “Adventures,” 81-97; “Equipment,” 98-101; “Miniature or Candid Cameras,” 114-121; “Exposures and Films,” 140-147 in Price, *News Pictures*.

conditions under which this ambitious shot was taken were problematic to its production nonetheless. As such, the poor capture became poor copy: out of focus, bad detail, muddy tones.

However, as the photograph would have rated high in news value, being local news and an action shot,¹¹⁶ the print was not dismissed. As noted in *Pictorial Journalism*, Christmas shoppers caught in a snowstorm would always serve a newspaper well:

Rushing crowds, at the business hour, Christmas shoppers caught in a whirl of snow, traffic policemen in new uniforms — these and ten thousand other feature subjects are at the picture editor's elbow, and they have instant appeal.¹¹⁷

Thus it would seem that the picture editor used this photograph's technical shortfalls to his/her advantage during the editorial process. Lines of blue retouching fluid, applied with a brush in various shades of blue, add clarity of detail to the moving cars and cyclist; short lines of light blue and white, applied briskly, were employed to reinforce the appearance of falling snow. Markedly, this retouching application works with the blurred image to highlight the hazardous conditions that occur during a bad snowstorm (*fig. 12*).



Fig. 12. BPAC Print 441, Topical Press Agency Ltd., 1937 (recto: detail)

¹¹⁶ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 33-43.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

Because retouching fluids were generally applied to an enlargement, once the photograph was scaled down for reproduction the handwork — if done well — would be unnoticeable in newsprint. If necessary, the retouched print was photographed and the copy print reworked to better camouflage the initial editing attempt.¹¹⁸ As noted by Vitray, Mills and Ellard, “The worst that can be said of retouching is that it shows in the halftone.”¹¹⁹

In this case, with a few tricks of the process artist’s brush, retouching techniques were employed by the *Daily Mirror*’s photo-editorial staff to convert poor photographic copy into visually efficient news copy. Placed in the lower centre of a two-page spread, along with eight other unrelated photographic illustrations, this snowstorm scene now holds its own, competing fiercely for visual attention with the leggy starlet in the image laid out above it and the boat sail jutting in from the right (*fig. 11*).

Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters (BPAC Print 86, Wide World Photos, 1931), captured on the spot during a riot, also resulted in a poorly produced photograph of high news value. Taken in Spain, the image is soft in focus with poor detail. In comparison to *A snowstorm that caught the holiday-makers*, this print is too high in contrast and thus retouching work was used to tone down the exposure (*fig. 13*). An analysis of the published photograph located in the *Daily Mirror* (September 7, 1931; *fig. 17*) suggests that this lack of clear detail caused by too much contrast allowed the picture editor to bend said news story to his/her will.

¹¹⁸ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 151.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.



Fig. 13. BPAC Print 86, *Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters in a street of Saragossa, where labour troubles have caused wild disturbances. A reign of terror continues in Barcelona*, Wide World Photos, 1931 (recto)

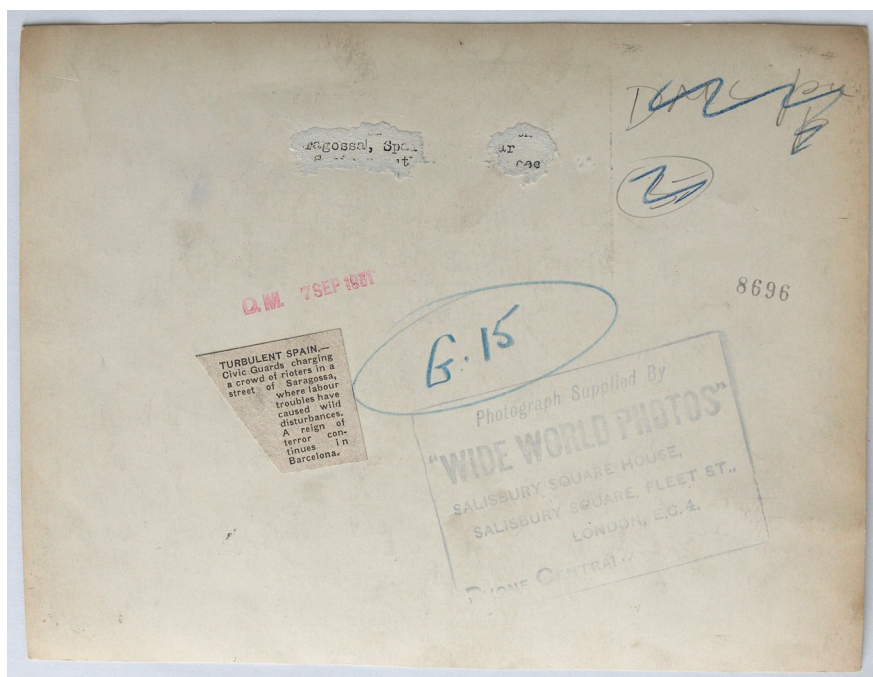


Fig. 14. BPAC Print 86, *Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters in a street of Saragossa, where labour troubles have caused wild disturbances. A reign of terror continues in Barcelona*, Wide World Photos, 1931 (verso)

The oldest of the 16 prints analyzed in this thesis, this 7.25 x 9.75 inch gelatin silver photograph is in relatively good condition. However, the photographic emulsion has yellowed in the highlights and the verso is littered with fingerprints. Asserting ownership of the image, the London branch of Wide World Photos copyright stamped the print verso in black ink (*fig. 14*). A red-inked *Daily Mirror* stamp, “D.M. 7 SEP 1931,” also present, corresponds with a reproduction found on page 3 of the London Edition of that day’s paper (*fig. 17*).

In addition, two cutlines are adhered to this object’s verso. Firstly, one can see remnants of a piece of text typed in black ink, which was likely the photographer’s original description of the event.¹²⁰ Although no longer legible in full, one can note a location name from this shred of paper: “Saragossa, Spain.” A second cutline, formatted in a justified type set with a faint hairline rule visible at the top of the clipping, was likely pulled from a newspaper (*fig. 15*):

TURBULENT SPAIN. — Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters in a street of Saragossa, where labour troubles have caused wild disturbances. A reign of terror continues in Barcelona.

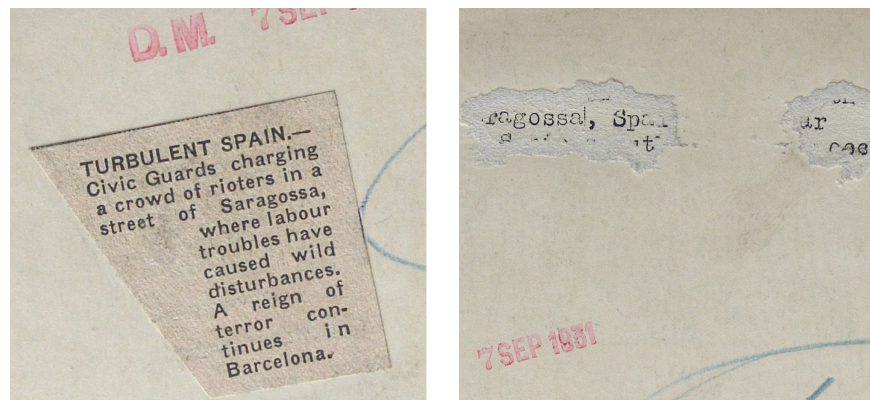


Fig. 15. BPAC Print 86, Wide World Photos, 1931 (verso: details)

¹²⁰ “Always be careful to paste the proper caption on the back of each print. Do not write on the print [...]. If you must write use a soft pencil and write lightly. The better procedure is to type your description on a strip of paper and paste this to the back of the photograph.” Price, *News Photography*, 92.

However, the cutline published below this photograph in the *Daily Mirror* (fig. 16) points to a riot in Barcelona, making no reference to the civil unrest in Saragossa:

Civil Guards fighting with rioters in the streets of Barcelona during the disturbances, in which twenty people were killed and many injured.¹²¹

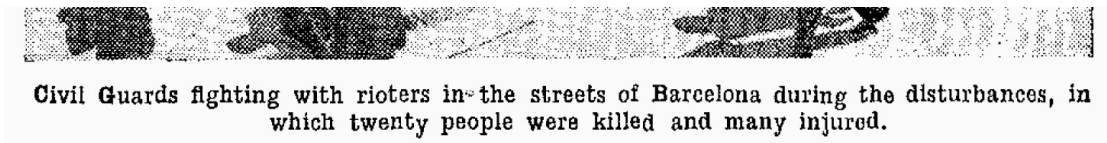


Fig. 16. *Daily Mirror*, London Edition, Monday, September 7, 1931, p. 3 (detail)

The photographer, having followed the general rules for photographing such events, captured the riot scene from an elevated viewpoint. The manual *Press Photography* suggests adopting precisely this strategy: “In covering parades, fires, blasts, riots and similar assignments, the best way to get a good picture is to get above the scene and aim the camera downward.”¹²² However because the shot was ‘snapped’ so fast, and likely clandestinely, the image is out of focus. Although in this case there was enough light present to allow a brief exposure that would stop action, the rioters’ movements, while forever frozen in time, are nevertheless out of focus. It would seem that the negative was also too high in contrast, as both shadow and highlight areas lack detail; the harsh shadows pounding the pavement are barely distinguishable from the men creating them.

Bell’s *The Complete Press Photographer* explains that the finer halftone screen employed by the *Daily Mirror* required “a print that is not too contrasty.”¹²³ As such,

¹²¹ *Daily Mirror*, London Edition, September 7, 1931, 3.

¹²² Kinkaid, 174.

¹²³ Bell, 53.

shades of blue retouching fluid were applied to subdue the harsh shadows cast on the street, while blue fluids add tonal contrast to the rioters in motion. In addition, from the reproduction printed in the *Daily Mirror* (fig. 17), one can see that the bottom and left sides of the photograph were cropped, ridding the image of extended foreground space and the large shadow area in the top right corner of the composition. With little details to denote a location, the published image takes on a graphic aesthetic, illustrating a riot in a very general way. The close cropping and high contrast, moreover, make it nearly impossible to identify the photograph's location. Thus, editing the cutline to relocate the riot would have changed how the photograph was seen.



Fig. 17. *Daily Mirror*, London Edition, Monday, September 7, 1931, p. 3

With *Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters*, retouching techniques were used to fix problems of production and reproduction. However, by cropping and retouching the picture editor was also able to create a riot in Barcelona from a riot in Saragossa. By editing this photograph, along with its accompanying text, the picture editor produced the news story that he/she needed for the September 7, 1931 edition of the *Daily Mirror*.¹²⁴

In contrast to the previous two photographs (*fig. 9; fig. 13*), whose poor copy values were reworked to an editorial advantage, *A Spanish mother arrives in France* (BPAC Print 627, Keystone View Company, 1937; *fig. 18*) raises questions regarding the use of photographic retouching as it related to copy value versus news value. This photograph may be an example of poor copy that prompted the editor to publish an alternate image of lesser news value. It is equally possible, however, that *A Spanish mother arrives in France* may have replaced this other photograph published in the *Daily Mirror* on Thursday, February 9, 1939 (*fig. 20*).¹²⁵

This 11.5 x 9.5 inch gelatin silver print is soiled, yellowed and dog-eared. The Keystone View Company's faded red copyright stamp brands its verso, as does the *Daily Mirror*'s date stamp: "D.M. 9 FEB 1939"¹²⁶ (*fig. 19*). In addition, penciled editorial crop marks and sizing calculations on the verso include arrows, crop lines and calculations, suggesting that this photograph was indeed worked on and slated for publication.

¹²⁴ "In addition to answering the question, Does the picture say what it is intended to say? the editor asks and answers another question, Does it say what I want it to say?" Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Arno Press, 1973. First published 1952 by Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.), 60.

¹²⁵ The *Daily Mirror* published several editions each day; although a single edition would generally feature 60 photographs, the total number of photographs in use on a given day would often total 80. Bell, 76-77.

¹²⁶ "DUPLICATE SENT 4.26pm, 8 Feb 1939 TO MANCHESTER," stamped on the print verso in black ink, indicates that the photograph was taken one or more days prior to its publication date.



Fig. 18. BPAC Print 627, *A Spanish mother arrives in France. Refugees from Spanish civil war*, Keystone View Company, 1939 (recto)

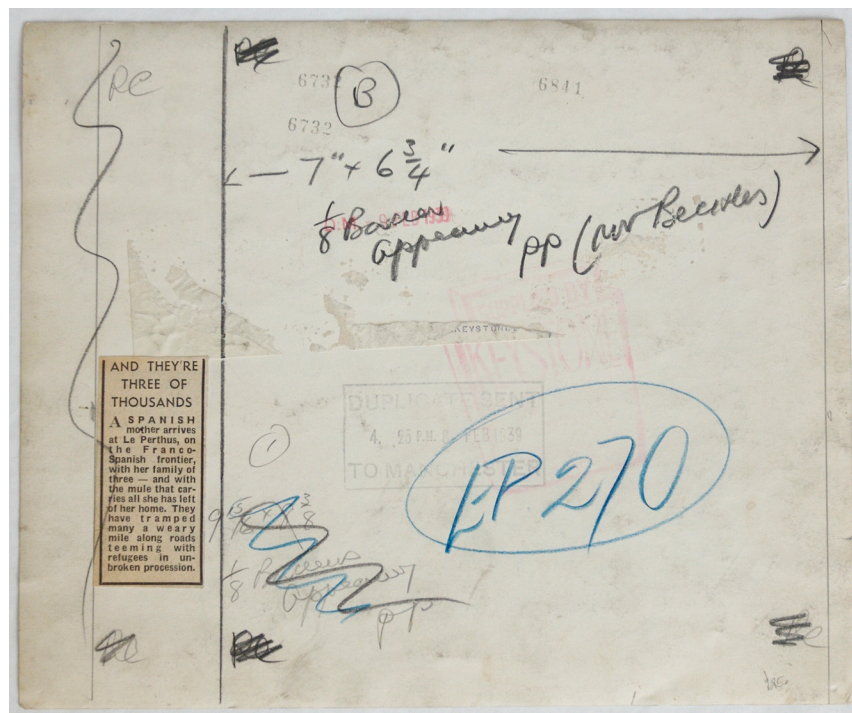


Fig. 19. BPAC Print 627, *A Spanish mother arrives in France. Refugees from Spanish civil war*, Keystone View Company, 1939 (verso)

While a search for this photograph in the February 9, 1939 *Daily Mirror* revealed that another photograph featuring a refugee Spanish mother and children was published in this newspaper on the same date (*fig. 20*), the cutline adhered to the BPAC print's verso suggests that *A Spanish Mother Arrives in France* was also printed, most likely in an alternate edition of that day's *Mirror*. This verso text is type set in a justified format; hairline rules form a column enclosure around the characters:

AND THEY'RE THREE OF THOUSANDS: A Spanish mother arrives at Le Perthus, on the Franco-Spanish frontier with her family of three — and with the mule that carries all she has left of her home. They have tramped many a weary mile along roads teeming with refugees in unbroken procession.

As the cutline describes, this photograph features a young mother and three children; a donkey trails behind them loaded up with possessions. The mother, a slender, fresh-faced woman with messy hair, is carrying her youngest child, whom she holds close to her body. Two older children, wearing clothes much too large for them, walk on either side of her. Although the two figures in the background of this photograph are out of focus, their body language, as per their outstretched and folded arms, adds to the sense of malaise experienced by the main subjects.

Because the shot was heavily backlit, all details are soft in focus. Therefore, blue retouching fluid was used to add clarity of detail to the subjects. A sense of three dimensionality was rendered in by “running a narrow stroke of the brush around”¹²⁷ the contours of the figures' clothing, the donkey's body and the belongings that it is carrying. However, although the backlighting is responsible for this overall hazy aesthetic, it does create good contrast between the dark subjects in the foreground and light-toned

¹²⁷ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 147.

A picture should never be taken with the lens aimed directly at the light unless it is the photographer's wish to get some unusual effect. In newspaper work such effects are neither necessary nor wanted. Papers want only those pictures that will reproduce well, make a good "cut," which is the trade vernacular for halftone.¹²⁸

[illegible]

Fig. 20. *Daily Mirror*, Thursday, February 9, 1939, p. 16-17

¹²⁸ Price, *News Photography*, 140.

Laid out as a full-page illustration, the published photograph begins in column four of page 16, bleeding over the gutter of this tabloid-format newspaper and consuming the entire layout of page 17. A photographic overline in bold upper case type follows the image across both spreads, exclaiming: “WEARY FEET... HEAVY HEARTS.”¹²⁹ However, in comparison to the young mother featured in *A Spanish Mother Arrives in France*, this photograph captures an older looking woman who is disheveled and homely. In addition, she appears less connected with her children as she does not walk beside them, nor does she cradle a baby to her chest. Rather, this mother strains to pull a donkey that has two children riding on its back. Moreover, there are many others trudging along with them, including a man pushing a cart into the right foreground of the image. As such, the accompanying published outline is significantly less personal:

And Their Homeland Behind Them. Throughout the night they have tramped, these mothers of Spain — that once was sunny Spain — away from guns, from bombs, from the fear of vengeance, to the sanctuary of France. Shoes worn through, feet weary, all they have left are their children, their eyes to weep with — and LIBERTY.¹³⁰

Thus, while both images and texts illustrate the same news story, they make use of different visual cues. Whereas *A Spanish mother arrives in France* conjures up images of a romanticized Madonna and child, the published photograph is less iconic. As noted in *Pictorial Journalism*, “Romance, love and hate — is news.”¹³¹ How then does one explain the publication of another photograph with potentially less news value?

While the retouching work done to *A Spanish mother arrives in France* was applied for technical reasons (employed to improve the print’s copy value), one is left wondering at the use of another image by the *Daily Mirror* and, moreover, which

¹²⁹ *Daily Mirror*, February 9, 1939, 16-17.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 34.

photograph was selected to replace the other in that day's paper? As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Section C, "Retouching, Composition and Page Layout," press photographs were also considered in relation to a newspaper spread's graphic design, yet an additional influence on the picture editor's selection process and another possible reason for the *Daily Mirror*'s use of this other photograph. Photographic retouching was, after all, but one mediatory step of many in the structuring of visual news.

4.c **Reproduction Issues**

Picture editors were hardly judging news photographs for their strength as gelatin silver prints. In spite of being a well-exposed and finely executed photograph, *Czechoslovakia's training in national defense* (BPAC Print 526, Paul Popper, 1938; *fig.* 21) required working up with paint to improve its copy value, thus highlighting the difference between a photographic object and photographic copy. However, in this case, although the image was printed in *Life*, the reproduction was not made from the BPAC print. As such, unretouched areas of the object itself are used to explain why this handwork was carried out.

In contrast to the other photographs discussed in this thesis, *Czechoslovakia's training in national defense* is credited to an author: Paul Popper.¹³² An 8.75 x 9.5 inch gelatin silver photograph, this object is in very good condition; the image highlights and print verso have hardly yellowed or faded. As noted in *The Complete Press Photographer*, it was recommended that negatives be submitted to agencies and newspapers whenever possible, instead of prints.¹³³ In those cases when importance was

¹³² Paul Popper was a European photojournalist who moved to London to become a literary and photographic agent, establishing Popperfoto in 1934. See: "Societa Italiana per lo studio della storia contemporanea," <http://www.sissco.it/index.php?id=1084>. The agency is now owned by Getty Images. See: Getty Images, "We're Proud to Welcome Paul Popper to Getty Images,"

<http://corporate.gettyimages.com/Marketing/m12/Popperfoto/usa/index.html>.

¹³³ Bell, 119.

placed on production speed, less care would have been given to a print's archival longevity.¹³⁴ However, if Popper printed this photograph himself, he may have been more studious during the development process than a darkroom technician.

The object's verso is copyright stamped not by an agency, but by Popper: "PHOTO SUPPLIED BY PAUL POPPER FURNIVAL HOUE [...] LONDON [...]" — the Furnival Houde address confirming that Popper was based in London during this period (*fig. 22*). Although the *Sunday Dispatch*'s red-inked date stamp, "S.D. 20 MAR 1938," is also present on the verso, the photograph was not found in the Sunday paper printed on that date. As Bell's "Press Book Abbreviations" list suggests, the letters NP were to be used to signify "Not Published" in a photographer's logbook.¹³⁵ As such, the verso notations, "1 col x 5" SD NP [*illeg*] 2 Blocks," may indicate that this particular photograph was not sent to print. In addition, as the verso is not date stamped by *Life*, it is likely that Popper sent a second print across the sea for use by the weekly magazine (*fig. 23*). The photo credit, which accompanied the image in *Life*, moreover, gives sole authorship to the agency European,¹³⁶ a copyright stamp not present on the BPAC print. Furthermore, as the cutline adhered to Popper's photograph was produced on a typewriter it does not appear to have been clipped from either publication. It reads:

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S TRAINING IN NATIONAL DEFENSE NOW STARTS AT THE AGE OF SIX. Children in military training. PHOTO: Running for safety during an air raid when wearing a gas mask is no easy matter, so these boys gain valuable experience by taking part in an obstacle race at their camp. Their masks give them an almost ghoulis appearance. (2).

¹³⁴ Kinkaid, 25-78.

¹³⁵ Bell, 128.

¹³⁶ *Life*, "Life's Pictures," March 7, 1938, 61.



Fig. 21. BPAC Print 526, *Czechoslovakia's training in National defense now starts at the age of six. Running for safety during air raid*, Paul Popper, 1938 (recto)

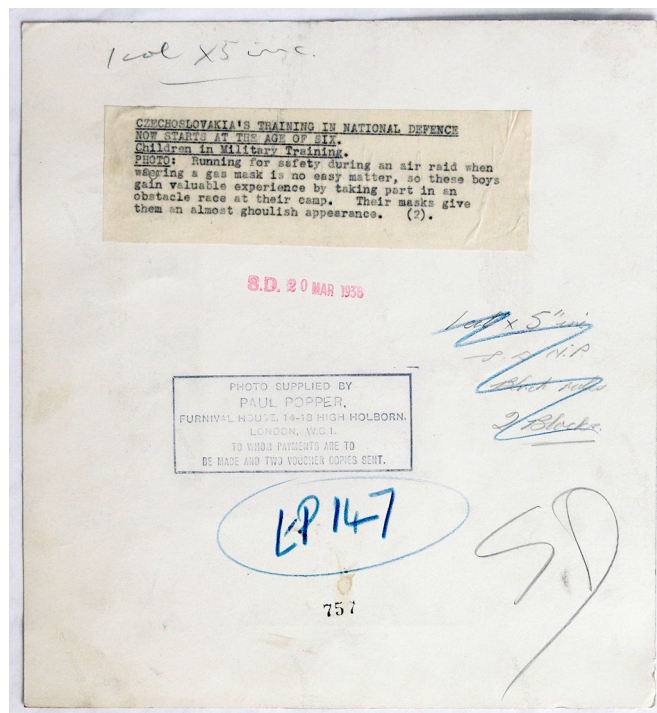


Fig. 22. BPAC Print 526, *Czechoslovakia's training in National defense now starts at the age of six. Running for safety during air raid*, Paul Popper, 1938 (verso)

Popper's *Life*-published photograph is featured in the section, "The Camera Overseas," and is accompanied by a photographic overline that reads: "CZECHOSLOVAK CHILDREN ARE READY FOR GERMANY'S NEXT MOVE."¹³⁷ The image, while laid out underneath a short textual article about this topic, takes up 9.125 x 10 inches of the 10.25 x 14 inch magazine page and is clearly the focus of the spread (*fig. 23*).



Fig. 23. *Life*, March 7, 1938, p.56

¹³⁷ *Life*, "The Camera Overseas," March 7, 1938, 56.

Czechoslovakia's training in national defense shows a group of gas mask-clad boys participating in an air raid exercise. They are running through a clearing in the forest towards Popper's lens. Two of the boys are out of focus, their bodies cut off at the edges of the frame in the right hand side and bottom left corners of the foreground. These two figures aside, the photograph is well focused, with good clarity of detail and contrast.

The three large crop marks applied to the recto with blue retouching fluid suggest that the *Sunday Dispatch's* picture editor had planned to narrow in on the boys in the centre of the image. From the unretouched figures outside of these crop marks one can see that the dark-toned gas masks, while well rendered on the gelatin silver photograph, would have been less visually effective as newsprint halftone. As explained in *Pictorial Journalism*, standards used to judge a photograph were not the same as those used to judge would-be press copy. The press print was but an intermediary object:

If the newspaper reader were going to see original photographs instead of their reproductions on newsprint, the task of judging and selecting would be easier. However, before any news shots can reach the reader, they must be subjected to engraving and printing process which may enhance or destroy the story they have to tell.¹³⁸

As such, the gas masks within the vertical crop marks in Popper's photograph were skillfully painted over with light to medium shades of blue. The eye sockets, however, were left their natural photographic black. White and blue retouching fluids, applied as thin contour lines, were also employed to better define the boys' clothes, shoes and skin. Yet the purpose of this work was not to enhance the boys' "ghoulish" appearance, but to ensure that tonal ranges and clarity of outline would translate equally well into a halftone reproduction as they did in the original photograph.

¹³⁸ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 44.

Determining whether or not Popper's photograph was also retouched by *Life* would only be possible through an analysis of the print used by the magazine to make its reproduction. However, one can see from the *Life* spread that the magazine refrained from cropping the image. In addition, the photograph sent to *Life* is closer to full frame of the negative. Whereas the boy on the right side of the BPAC photograph is but a bent arm dangling from the edge of the frame, in the *Life*-published version one can also see a small portion of his shorts and leg. The same is true of the left side of the composition, which shows slightly more of the out of focus boy captured in the left foreground. A minor refocus of the enlarger up or down is the probable cause of this small visual discrepancy, which suggests once again that Popper produced multiple enlargements and that the reproduction in the *Life* publication was done from another print.

Nevertheless, one can see that even though *Czechoslovakia's training in national defense* is a well executed gelatin silver photograph, the picture editor at the *Sunday Dispatch* considered it necessary to include retouching as part of the pre-publication work done to this object. Despite improvements made to darkroom materials and equipment, as described in the instructional chapter "Enlarging-Drying" in Price's *News Pictures*, retouching was rarely omitted from the editorial process. Quite the opposite, according to Price, who exclaims promptly: "This artistic pointing up is done with almost all prints before they go to the engraving department."¹³⁹

Such was also the case with photographs sent over the news wire. Prior to their arrival on the picture editor's desk, images sent via radio transmission were exposed to a series of intermediate transformations new to the press at large during 1930s.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Price, *News Pictures*, 156.

¹⁴⁰ Earlier experiments in phototelography were conducted by Professor Arthur Korn between 1902 and 1907; the first successful telegraphic transmission took place between Munich and Nuremberg in 1904. Pierre Albert and Gilles Feyel, "Photography and the Media: Changes in the Illustrated Press," in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot, trans. Susan Bennet, Liz Clegg, John Crook, Caroline Higgitt (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 359-369.

On January 1, 1935, The Associated Press (AP) inaugurated the Wirephoto network, followed one year later by the portable Wirephoto transmitter.¹⁴¹ Photographic prints were transformed into photoelectric currents, sent cross-country and around the globe at the rate of one inch per minute over the AP's network lines, only to become second-generation negatives on the receiving end. If sending and receiving machines were improperly calibrated, exposure lines would be visible on the facsimile negative.¹⁴² Until the end of the 1940s, when vast improvements were made to this technology, a loss in copy value regularly occurred during the sending and receiving process.¹⁴³ Wirephoto transmission is thus the likely cause of the misaligned line structure, flat tonal range and lack of clear detail plaguing *Men of General Varela's army* (BPAC Print 399, The Associated Press, 1936; *fig.* 24). Yet, only minimal retouching work was carried out on this print. One questions, what effect did this technology have on the need for and uses of corrective retouching work?

Men of General Varela's army is copyright stamped on its verso by The Associated Press Photo's London office. A 9.5 x 11.5 inch gelatin silver photograph, this print was clearly treated as an intermediary object. The emulsion has yellowed severely, likely from a rushed processing job by The AP's darkroom staff, who would have developed and printed the second generation negative upon receiving the electronic transfer. Damage was also caused by careless crop notations: multiple folds scar the print's left, right and top areas. Reinforced graphite lines on the verso, moreover, indicate which of these indentations were to be used as crop mark guides (*fig.* 25).

Editorial markings and calculations are also visible on the print verso, while a red-inked *Daily Mirror* stamp, "D.M. -9 NOV 1936," denotes a likely time and place of

¹⁴¹ *20 Years With AP Wirephoto*, 1-4.

¹⁴² Price, *News Pictures*, 172-185.

¹⁴³ *20 Years With AP Wirephoto*, 12.

publication.¹⁴⁴ In addition, a cutline, which appears to be a newspaper clipping, is also pasted on to the verso (overtop a now removed piece of paper that still bears the faint marks of a typewriter produced text). This cutline includes a sentence, crossed out with blue grease pencil, which suggests that the image was published as part of a series:

Men of General Varela's army examining a tank — stated to be Russian — which was abandoned by the fleeing Res near Getafe the "Corydon" of Madrid. ~~Right: a church at Getafe reduced to ruins by shell fire.~~

Upon closer inspection of the soldier in the centre of the image (standing in front of the Russian tank), one can see that the photograph is distorted by a horizontal jagged line structure (*fig. 26*), a deficiency caused when it was sent over the wire. Wirephoto transmission involved wrapping a positive print around a revolving cylinder on the sending end. A light beam worked its way across the print horizontally at one inch per minute, while the cylinder rotated at 100 revolutions per minute, scanning the print in strips 1/100 of an inch in width and converting tonal ranges into electric currents. On the receiving end, an unexposed negative was wrapped around on a synchronized rotating cylinder; a light beam moved across the film, exposing a second generation negative of equal tonal values to the original.¹⁴⁵ However, as noted in *20 Years with AP Wirephoto*, "Obviously, any photograph lost something in quality during the process of transmitting it over thousands of miles of networked lines."¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the width of the light beam, if properly adjusted, would unite the exposure lines, making them undetectable on the final positive print. As evidenced by *Men of General Varela's army* this process was not always perfect.

¹⁴⁴ A search through the November 9, 1936 *Daily Mirror* on the online archive UKPressOnline did not locate this photograph.

¹⁴⁵ Price, *News Pictures*, 173-185.

¹⁴⁶ *20 Years With AP Wirephoto*, 12.



Fig. 24. BPAC Print 399, *Men of General Varela's army examining a tank - stated to be Russian which was abandoned by fleeing Reds near Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid,*
The Associated Press, 1936 (recto)

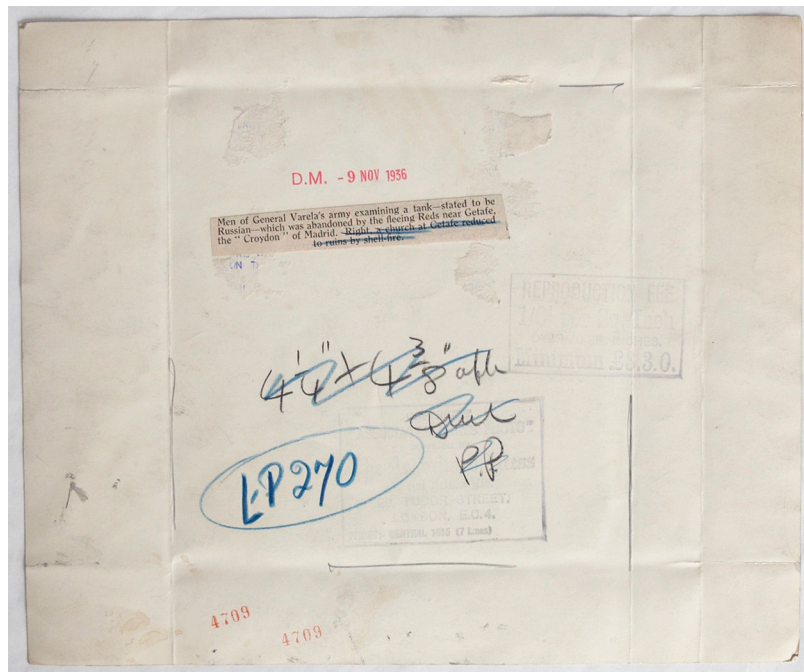


Fig. 25. BPAC Print 399, *Men of General Varela's army examining a tank - stated to be Russian which was abandoned by fleeing Reds near Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid,*
The Associated Press, 1936 (verso)

In addition to this visible line structure, *Men of General Varela's Army* has poor tonal values — muddy dark tones with little to no information in the highlights. As clarity of detail is also less than optimal, the image lacks an overall sense of three-dimensionality. However, shades of blue retouching fluid were applied very gingerly to clarify contour details and help define image values in darker areas of the print. Markedly, the ruled lines were not retouched.



Fig. 26. BPAC Print 399, The Associated Press, 1936 (recto: detail)

What did Wirephoto technology really mean for the picture editor, now working with second-generation negatives and prints? A chronological comparison of 1930s press photography manuals may suggest that photographic retouching was in greater use by the daily press during the second half of the decade. Although a direct link between Wirephoto transmission and retouching practices is not addressed in these publications, a potential relationship may be traced that corresponds with this shift from working with slow-to-arrive first generation prints and negatives versus the light speed arrival of second-generation negatives with degraded copy values. For example, Price's 1932 manual *News Photography* criticizes retouching as a practice that can waste precious time,¹⁴⁷ while his 1937 manual *News Pictures* cites the technique as a standard technical necessity.¹⁴⁸ In *Pictorial Journalism*, published at the tail end of the decade in 1939,

¹⁴⁷ Price, *News Photography*, 125; 140.

¹⁴⁸ Price, *News Pictures*, 76; 756.

retouching techniques and applications are explained in great detail, within the larger context of picture editing and the many journalistic shifts that occurred during the decade.¹⁴⁹

Certainly, the Wirephoto network facilitated the speedier delivery of visual news from 1935 onward. What precisely this meant to the process of photographic editing, however, requires further study. The picture editor, now working with second-generation prints such as *Men of General Varela's army*, had a new set of circumstances to consider and additional technical deficiencies to account for when selecting, retouching and reproducing press photographs.

4.d Retouching Issues

What were the standards and limitations set out by picture editors when retouching press prints for copy value during the 1930s? *Franco's troops* (BPAC Print 551, Planet News, 1938) was selected for this study because of its ability to raise more questions than it answers in this regard. As noted in *Pictorial Journalism*, an over-retouched face would become “vulgar”¹⁵⁰ upon publication. But was this concern for evading a crude-looking output the only reason to avoid overworking poor copy?

Franco's troops, a 7 x 10.5 inch gelatin silver photograph, has crop lines running vertically down both sides of its recto; “[illeg] Repeat of Lead” is handwritten in black ink on the bottom right hand corner of the emulsion (*fig. 27*). The verso is copyright stamped by Planet News Ltd.; although “DM 17/6/38” is written on the verso in pencil, this photograph was not found in this edition of the *Daily Mirror*. Moreover, the editorial notations “R.F 8S SHIN Ruler See Facial” were handwritten on the verso in graphite only to be scribbled over with blue grease pencil (*fig. 28*).

¹⁴⁹ For example, see: “Art Department Practice” in Vitary, Mills, Ellard, 141-156.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.



Fig. 27. BPAC Print 551, *Franco's troops completing the conquest of Castellon, key to Valencia*, Planet News, 1938 (recto)

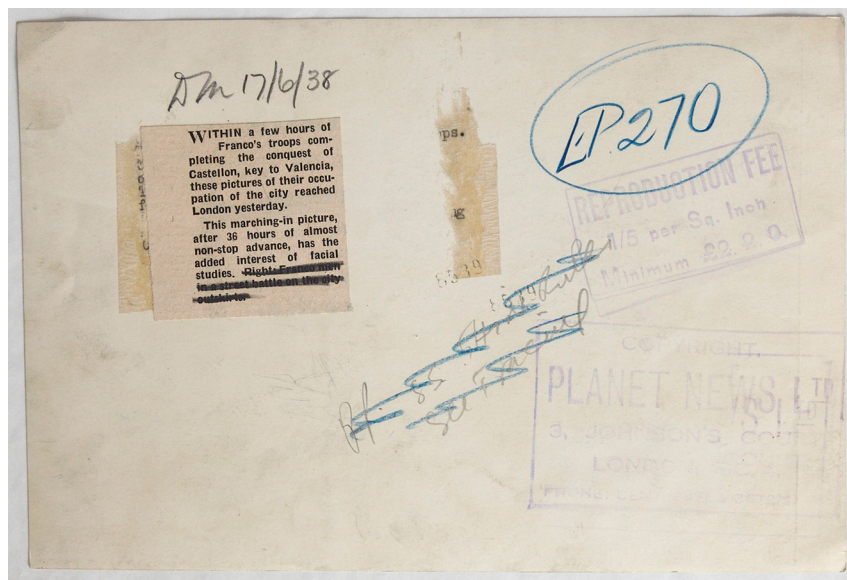


Fig. 28. BPAC Print 551, *Franco's troops completing the conquest of Castellon, key to Valencia*, Planet News, 1938 (verso)

There are two cutlines adhered to the verso of this print. What is likely the photographer's original type-written text was removed and the picture editor's justified, column-set, newspaper-clipped cutline was pasted over top of it. Included in the cutline is a now crossed-out sentence, which similar to the text adhered to *Men of General Varela's army*, points to a second image published to the photograph's right:

Within a few hours of Franco's troops completing the conquest of Castellon, key to Valencia, these pictures of their occupation of the city reached London yesterday. This marching-in picture, after 36 hours of almost non-stop advance, has the added interest of facial studies. ~~Right, Franco men in a street battle on the city outskirts.~~

Four soldiers are pictured leading a group of marching troops, while a boy runs on the sidewalk beside them, trying to keep up with the action. The photographer, having jumped in front of the scene, captured the soldiers walking briskly towards his lens. As a result, the shot is out of focus and underexposed, with little tonal range and detail. Blue and black retouching fluids were, however, applied only sparingly when adding clarity of outline and tonal range to the soldiers' clothing, faces and shoes. For example, the men's nostrils and eyes were retouched ever so slightly with black paint to add clarity of detail and contrast to their facial features (*fig. 29*).



Fig. 29. BPAC Print 551, Planet News, 1938 (recto: detail)

From the cutline adhered to the print verso, one can see that this photograph was being marketed to readers as an opportunity for “facial studies” of Franco’s troops. What constituted over-retouching a face as opposed to reworking an out of focus print into better photographic copy? Clearly, the picture editor requested that the retoucher “[supply] the missing detail and contrast,”¹⁵¹ but in this case only minor corrective rendering was carried out. One is left to question why so little retouching was done to a print with such poor copy value? According to *Pictorial Journalism*, retouchers had to be extremely careful dealing with facial features, otherwise an unnatural effect would be observed upon publication:

Retouching for detail means sometimes painting in essential details, such as eyes and nose and mouth in a face, when these have been blurred or are indistinct. [...] The purpose of such retouching is to produce not exaggerated effects but natural effects in halftone. [...] Overdone retouching, like overuse of cosmetics, is vulgar in its effect on the spectator.¹⁵²

Earlier in the decade, Price’s 1932 manual *News Photography* made a similar point:

The essential thing about a news picture is the honesty of the likeness. Photographic beauty is not necessary, but a faithful likeness of the subject’s face is. The readers are interested in what he looks like.¹⁵³

Were different criteria applied to one type of news story versus another? In Wilson Hicks’ *Words and Pictures*, *Life*’s anti-retouching policy reportedly determined that “if a picture was important or interesting enough, it was used, unretouched, even though of inferior technical quality.”¹⁵⁴ Although it is possible that this photograph’s news value —

¹⁵¹ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 148.

¹⁵² Ibid., 150.

¹⁵³ Price, *News Photography*, 138.

¹⁵⁴ Hicks, 42.

the study of facial expressions on Franco's troops — was deemed more important than its deficiency as poor copy, the question remains as to how these soldiers' faces would have been viewable in newsprint if the image were unable to translate effectively into a halftone cut.

Without sufficient copy value, a press photograph would run into difficulty translating as legible upon publication in newsprint. Thus, it would seem that the picture editor's selection and editorial process looked not to the many great advancements in photographic technologies during the 1930s, but to the print that landed on his/her desk, questioning in each case how a given gelatin silver photograph would be rendered as a halftone reproduction. While the equipment made available to press photographers during this decade was certainly beneficial with regard to production, reproduction problems persisted. Just as textual cutlines were edited, so too were photographs retouched. In the same way that a poorly written cutline would be confusing to read, a photograph with poor copy values would become difficult to comprehend visually on the printed page.

5. ILLUSTRATION/NARRATION: RETOUCHING TO IMPROVE NEWS VALUE

Price's *News Pictures* situates press photography as vital — “an essential ingredient”¹⁵⁵ — to the dissemination of news during the 1930s. Price maintains that newspapers, following the lead of pictorial magazines, must “repeat and amplify the [written] news by saying it with pictures.”¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, Price reminds photographers that technical finesse is not *the* singular key to the picture editor's heart — or selection process, more specifically — as a technically poor photograph of an important news event could, as discussed in the previous chapter, be remedied if “worked up with a pen and brush.”¹⁵⁷ Likewise, *Pictorial Journalism* emphasizes the importance of narrative value; Vitray, Mills and Ellard explain that news photographs cannot merely be good copy, they must also tell a story: “If they answer to the second requirement [good copy] and not the first [the telling of a story], they are useless.”¹⁵⁸ Kinkaid's *Press Photography* assumes a similar standpoint: “Of all the rules that might be laid down for press photographers, the most important is that the picture should tell a story.”¹⁵⁹

As will become evident in the analysis of the handwork done to the following prints, the 1930s picture editor also employed retouching techniques as a way to help enable the press photograph to deliver its narrative. In this regard, aesthetics can be considered as a tool used to render the photograph into a more efficient storyteller. Through the addition and removal of visual information and by employing retouching in concert with explanatory cutlines and in relation to page layout, the editor worked with

¹⁵⁵ Price, *News Pictures*, xi.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 77.

¹⁵⁸ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 147.

¹⁵⁹ Kinkaid, 171.

his/her retouching staff to ensure that news value, like copy value, would be clear and comprehensible upon press publication.

5.a Retouching to Add Visual Information

The second hockey puck painted on to *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians* (BPAC Print 109, Planet News, 1932) altered the news story originally captured on film. The publication of this photograph in the October 6, 1935 *Sunday Dispatch* reveals that this retouching work enhanced narrative value by better reflecting the fast-paced action of the sport. Moreover, in the process of moving the puck over to the right, the editor also reduced the space required for this image on the newspaper page.

The poor condition of this 7.5 x 9.5 inch gelatin silver photograph reflects its age and heavy use. The object's left side is cracked, its corners dog-eared and missing (*fig. 30*). Crop folds travel vertically across the print's sides and horizontally through its top section. The verso, heavily soiled and yellowed, is a maze of stamps and editorial notations (*fig. 31*). A black inked date stamp, "15 FEB 1932," marks the print's earliest (probable) date of publication, followed by "D.M. 20 JAN 1934" (stamped in red ink), "SD 11/2/1934" (handwritten in blue grease pencil) and finally "S.D. 6 OCT 1935" (stamped in red ink).¹⁶⁰ In addition, the print is copyright stamped by the London-based Planet News. The typed cutline adhered to the verso is, however, credited to ACME:

US HOCKEY TEAM LOSES TO CANADIANS. CANADA DEFEATED
THE UNITED STATES, TWO GOALS TO ONE, IN AN OVERTIME
MATCH—THE FIRST HOCKEY CONTEST OF THE WINTER
OLYMPICS WHICH OPENED TODAY, FEB 4, AT LAKE PLACID,
N.Y. [...] HERE'S AN ACTION VIEW DURING THE GAME.
CREDIT LINE (ACME)

¹⁶⁰ As there are no initials preceding the 15 FEB 1932 stamp it is not known where this first publication occurred. Searches for this photograph in the January 20, 1934 edition of the *Daily Mirror* and the February 11, 1934 edition of the *Sunday Dispatch* were inconclusive. The photograph was found published in the October 6, 1935 edition of the *Sunday Dispatch*.



Fig. 30. BPAC Print 109, *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians. Canada defeated the U.S., two goals to one, in an overtime match. The first hockey contest of the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, NY, Planet News, 1932 (recto)*

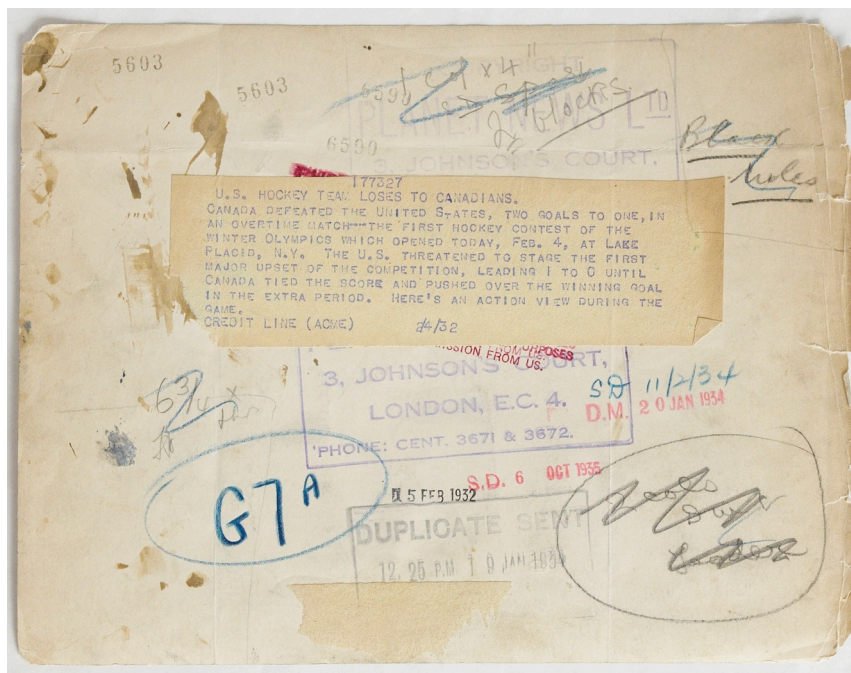


Fig. 31. BPAC Print 109, *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians. Canada defeated the U.S., two goals to one, in an overtime match. The first hockey contest of the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, NY, Planet News, 1932 (verso)*

Taken at the 1932 Olympics in Lake Placid, New York on February 4th, the photograph features four hockey players — two Americans and two Canadians¹⁶¹ — centered in the middle of a generously composed horizontal shot. Blue and white retouching fluids were used to add clarity of detail to the men, sticks and net. While the image captured by the photographer shows an American player chasing the puck in the offensive zone, a second puck painted onto the photograph in closer proximity to him alters the play at hand; the American player is now stick handling the puck. This change makes for a clearer and more lively action shot, as the American now fights for this object against two Canadian defenders, rather than hovering ambiguously near it. The fold marks visible on the print recto confirm that the original puck was to be cropped out upon publication (*fig. 32*).



Fig. 32. BPAC Print 109, Planet News, 1932 (recto: detail)

¹⁶¹ The Canadian and American 1932 Olympic team hockey jerseys were confirmed using photographs available on the Getty Images website:
<http://www.gettyimages.com/Search/Search.aspx?assetType=Image&family=Editorial&contractUrl=2&phrase=lake%20placid%20olympics%201932%20archive>

As Price explains in *News Pictures*, the 1930s public was not savvy to editorial mediations, making it easier for newspapers to make necessary alterations:

Questionable news and pictures are accepted by readers because they have no way of distinguishing between the true and the false, and consequently digest their newsprint with an unquestioning faith in the honesty of newspapers.¹⁶²

Rather than a matter of truth versus fakery, however, it would seem that the picture editor supervised the retouching of this photograph with specific goals in mind. The publication of *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians* in the October 6, 1935 edition of the *Sunday Dispatch* shows that this painting on of a second puck at once created a better action shot and facilitated the sizing down of what would have been a two column image into a single column slot, allowing the text to dominate the space allotted to the news story (fig. 33). The editor, by moving the puck over to the right, was able to crop the photograph into a slender portrait (vertical) format, thus eliminating the excess ground captured on both sides of the players. On the other hand, had the entire composition been scaled down to fit into a single column, the men would have become miniscule and the puck a mere dot. Furthermore, in making these alterations, the editor transformed the photograph from a conservatively composed image into a fast-paced snapshot. Three of the players, now cropped mid-way through their bodies, suggested to readers that the photograph was shot with utmost rapidity in order to keep up with the speed of this swift sport.

Although it was not possible to determine when this retouching work was carried out, and in which of the four possible publications it first appeared, one can note that for this final printing the *Sunday Dispatch* utilized the three-year-old photograph to illustrate the article “Rinks Flout the Ice Hockey Association: Canada and the United States

¹⁶² Price, *News Pictures*, 9.

Outlaw Men Who Play for English Clubs.”¹⁶³ The story discusses the American and Canadian Associations and the probable prohibition of their Olympic teams from playing in England. The cutline published underneath the photograph reads: “Ice-hockey — the fastest game on earth.”¹⁶⁴ Although neither text addresses the 1932 Olympic game specifically, one can further note a direct relationship between the sense of speed inferred by the cutline text and the fast-paced action shot that *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians* became after the editorial retouching and cropping work.



Fig. 33. *Sunday Dispatch*, Sunday, October 5, 1935, p.28 (with detail)

¹⁶³ *Sunday Dispatch*, October 5, 1935, 28.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

Just as *Civic Guards charging a crowd of rioters*' textual cutline was re-written to change the location of a photographed riot from Saragossa to Barcelona, here the editor reworked the image itself, altering the play originally captured by the camera and narrowing in on the print's centre of action to infer a snapshot aesthetic and reduce the size of the photograph. Although it remains unknown whether these editorial decisions were made specifically for the 1935 *Sunday Dispatch* printing or for an earlier run, the visual information added to *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians* was, in any case, part of the many production considerations of this last publication.

In comparison, the reasons for and outcomes of facial expressions painted on to the hooded men featured in *Eastbourne hotel workers protesting* (BPAC Print 527, Keystone View Company, 1938) are less clear than for the hockey puck added to *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians*. Rather, this photograph (fig. 34) prompts one to consider the fine line between retouching for detail to improve copy value and the addition of visual information that tailors narrative structure, thereby enriching its news value. In addition, the published version of *Eastbourne hotel workers protesting*, found in the March 20, 1938 edition of the *Sunday Dispatch* reaffirms the difficulties associated with analyzing retouching work when such applications are considerably subtle and access to the newspaper reproduction is limited to a fourth generation copy.

This 8 x 10 inch gelatin silver print, although soiled, is less marked up than *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians*, likely because it was only published once (fig. 35). Pressed on the verso in red ink are the London-based Keystone View Company's copyright stamp and the *Sunday Dispatch*'s publication date stamp: "S.D. 20 MAR 1938." The editorial notation, "2 cuts x 6cm/ S.D. NP. [*illeg*]," handwritten in graphite on the verso, suggests that in this case N.P. was not an acronym for "not published," as the photograph was indeed found in the March 20, 1938 edition of the Sunday paper (fig. 36).

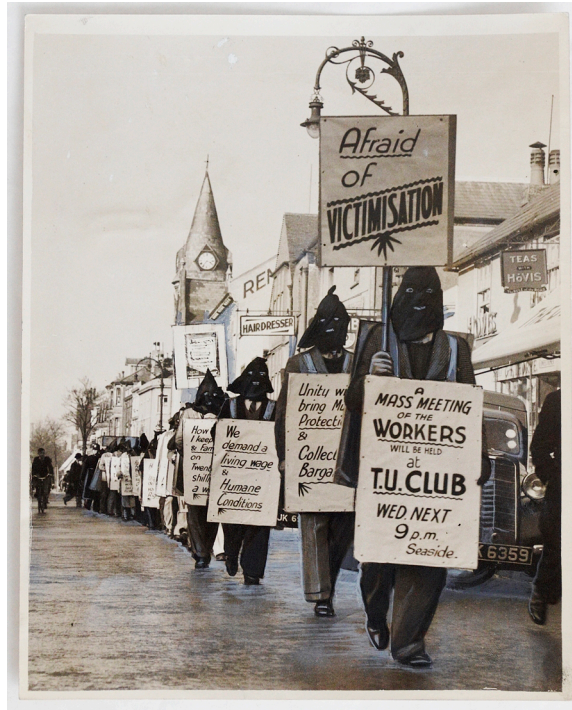


Fig. 34. BPAC Print 527, *Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification*, Keystone View Company, 1938 (Recto)

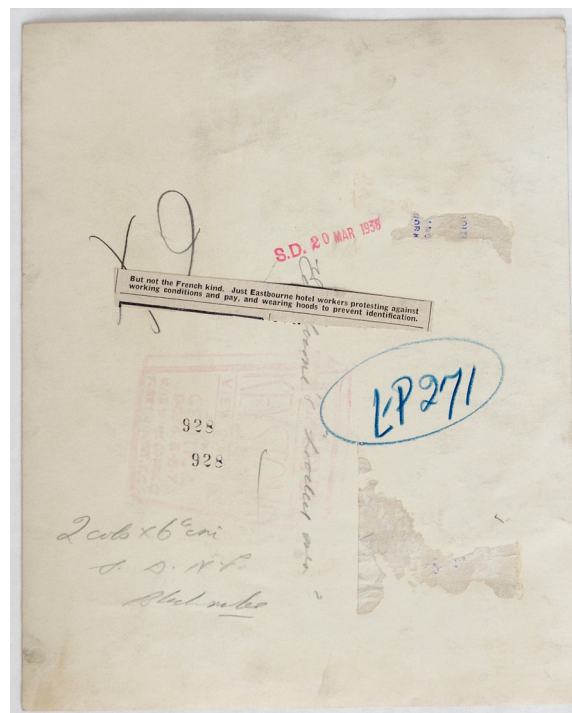
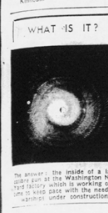


Fig. 35. BPAC Print 527, *Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification*, Keystone View Company, 1938 (Verso)

WIDOW WEEPS IN DARKENED ROOM FOR PLAYBOY PEER

"COLOURLESS" LIFE OF NIGHT CLUBS



"His Work For Underdog Must Go On"

By A Special Correspondent

THE Countess of Kinnoull-daughter of the late Mrs. Maybrick—"Night Club Queen of the West End"—late last night had refused to leave the Marylebone nursing home where the body of her 35-year-old husband, who died early yesterday, lies.

Berengaria Is To Be Withdrawn From Service

THE famous Cunard-White Star liner Berengaria (15,000 tons) is to be withdrawn from service for prospects for Atlantic travel and the disturbed international situation are given as the reasons.

Under the company's new policy, the liner will be used for the transport of troops and supplies to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

The liner was built for the Cunard-White Star line and was the first of a new class of liners to be built for the company.

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Two Directors 'Locked Out'

THE joint managing directors of the British Agula Oil Company, Mr. Van Hasselt and Mr. Davidson, were refused entry to their office by the Mexican City by members of the Oil Workers' Union, says Reuters.

They were finally admitted after promising to put out other employees of the company who had entered previously.

The Mexican Government, earlier in the day had seized 11 British and American oil companies, representing investments of over £10,000,000.

Mr. G. G. O'Malley, the British Minister in Mexico, had an interview with Mr. Davidson, the American Ambassador, to discuss the situation.

Later he stated that he was unable to obtain access to the company's records to ascertain their exact position.

It was reported that when this office was made known to no longer be any more.

But an official statement issued by the Mexican Government stated that the oil companies were already seized.

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Mystery Of A Mexico Oil 'Peace Offer'

HOPES of a settlement of the dispute between the Mexican Government and the British and American oil companies were reported from Mexico City last night—but caused mystification in London.

The Mexican Government, earlier in the day had seized 11 British and American oil companies, representing investments of over £10,000,000.

Mr. G. G. O'Malley, the British Minister in Mexico, had an interview with Mr. Davidson, the American Ambassador, to discuss the situation.

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Mr. G. G. O'Malley, the British Minister in Mexico, had an interview with Mr. Davidson, the American Ambassador, to discuss the situation.

Boys Of The Young Brigade

By Our Military Correspondent

A SCHEME for enlisting boys in companies directly from the schools, so that by the time they reach the age of 16 they will be well on the way to becoming efficient soldiers, has been considered by the War Office.

It is hoped by this means to increase the future number of recruits to the army.

The scheme would mean that boys would be enlisted at the age of 14 and would be trained for two years.

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Which Woman To Choose?

MAURICE WARD DIXON, 30-year-old musical director, of Transatlantic Road, Brockley, S.E., is accused of attempting to seduce a girl, aged 17, who was his former mistress.

The girl, who was his former mistress, was charged with the offence of seducing a minor.

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MERTON MAJOR

THE MERTON MAJOR is a new type of motor car, built for the Merton Motor Company. It is a four-seater car, with a powerful engine, and is built for speed and comfort.

CHAIR FROM £415.0 SETTEE FROM £819.6

THE MERTON MAJOR is a new type of motor car, built for the Merton Motor Company. It is a four-seater car, with a powerful engine, and is built for speed and comfort.

MINTY CLUB CHAIR

THE MINTY CLUB CHAIR is a new type of motor car, built for the Minty Motor Company. It is a four-seater car, with a powerful engine, and is built for speed and comfort.

Police Guard Eros From Night Crowd

A POLICE GUARD was seen to be running through a crowd of people at night, trying to clear a path for a car.

Woman Driver Saw Fire—Her Own Home

A WOMAN DRIVER was seen to be running through a crowd of people at night, trying to clear a path for a car.

Well I never, Mr. Mercury, you did give me a start!

First thing in the morning, when the engine's dead cold, you'll bless the power that Benzole has of making good petrol better. The starter comes to know there's Benzole in the tank. One touch, and the engine's firing merrily. No wonder 'National' is called the Spirit of 'STARTABILITY'.

NATIONAL BENZOLE MIXTURE

The spirit of 'STARTABILITY'

Fig. 36. Sunday Dispatch, Sunday, March 20, 1938, p.13

The cutline adhered to this photograph's verso (*fig. 37*) was clipped directly from the *Sunday Dispatch*, as evidenced by the identical wording, font, layout and hairline rules (*fig. 38*). Both texts read:

But not the French kind. Just Eastbourne hotel workers protesting against working conditions and pay, and wearing hoods to prevent identification.¹⁶⁵

One can also see fragments of a typewriter-produced cutline on the print verso, likely the photographer's suggested text, now since removed from the object. Although no longer legible, a single word, "WORK," is partially visible.

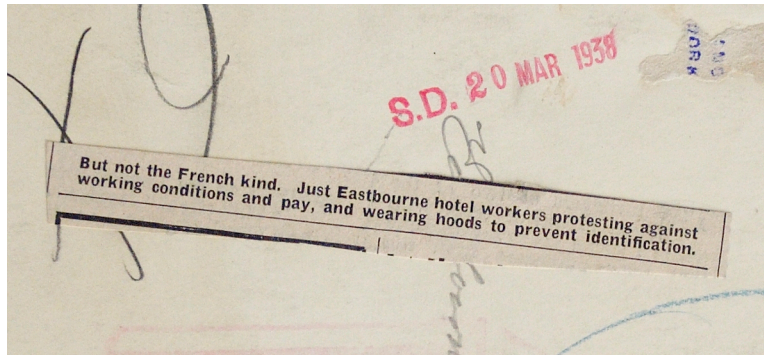


Fig. 37. BPAC Print 527, Keystone View Company, 1938 (verso: detail)

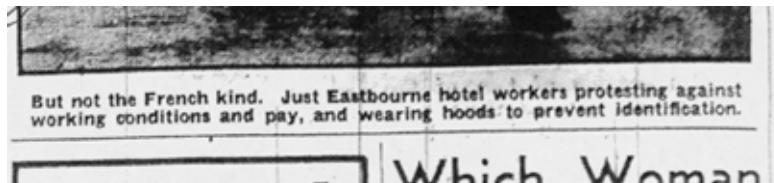


Fig. 38. *Sunday Dispatch*, Sunday, March 20, 1938, p.13 (detail)

¹⁶⁵ *Sunday Dispatch*, March 20, 1938, 13.

Protesting hotel workers wearing sandwich boards and holding signs are captured in this photograph (*fig. 34; fig. 39*). They picket in a long singular queue, which begins in the foreground of the image and runs in a continual line, set on the diagonal because of the photographer's front-left position and use of a wide angle lens, and ending where the horizon point and background converge. Black hoods mask their identities and, in addition, create a sequence of black triangular shapes with little to no photographic detail. These faceless protestors lack narrative value, as their hoods cause them to appear inanimate. As discussed in Chapter 1, this technical issue would have been exacerbated during the halftone process when further degeneration of the image would have occurred. The blue retouching fluid, used to rework the eye and mouth holes of the masking hoods could, therefore, be read as an enhancement of detail carried out to improve the print's copy value. Blue paints were clearly used for such purposes on other areas of the print to add contour detail to the men's clothing and hands, and to the straps of their sandwich boards. The ground was also worked up with a faint shading of blue to separate their dark-toned clothing from the gray tones of the street.



Fig. 39. BPAC Print 527, Keystone View Company, 1938 (recto: detail)

On the other hand, the eyes and mouths painted on to the masking hoods may also be considered as visual information applied to subtly augment this photograph's news value, as this retouching work also enhances the image's ability to convey a strong narrative. The faces, now more prominent, highlight the photograph's human element. In contrast to *Czechoslovakia's training in national defense*, discussed in Chapter 1, where unretouched gas masks were used to deduce that the retouching work was done to retain copy value, in this case the rendering suggests that visual information, unlikely to have been captured on the photographic negative, may have been added to the print. Applied in the form of lines and dots overtop of the hoods, in much the same way that a stick figure's face is drawn, the overly-simplistic treatment flags this editing job as perhaps untrue to the visual information underneath.

However, while this handwork appears to have formed a series of unnatural expressions on the workers' faces, such an assumption is not verifiable without a comparison with the published version of the print. Although locating this image in the *Sunday Dispatch* confirmed that it was published as a lone photographic illustration (accompanied by the cutline adhered to its verso), working from a fourth generation copy of the newspaper page precludes an accurate assessment of the retouching work in question.¹⁶⁶ Having lost all detail and tonal range during the microfilm to photocopy to digital scan process, the row of striking men are barely distinguishable as human figures, in contrast to *U.S. Hockey team loses to Canadians*, where the painted-on hockey puck remained visible throughout this same copying process.

Nevertheless, judging the original retouched print against the degenerated newspaper copy, where the figures' heads appear only as black triangles, one can note a lessening in narrative strength when their facial expressions are no longer present.

¹⁶⁶ Access to the published image was only possible through a fourth-generation digital scan created from a third-generation photocopy of microfilm — itself a facsimile of the original newspaper held at the British Library, London, England.

Without so much as a glimpse of the protestors' visages, they appear not as living, breathing people but as a series of ghostly shapes, which, in addition, one might conclude was a technical flaw in the photograph. Although the textual outline clarifies that the protestors are shrouded to prevent identification, it would seem that the picture editor saw a need for the addition of just the slightest amount of facial detail to tweak reader interest in the image.

While the degree to which *Eastbourne hotel workers protesting's* news value was adapted to the picture editor's needs may remain uncertain, one can see that deliberate editorial steps were taken before the image went to print. Whether for copy value, news value or both, visual information was added to this photograph to enhance its ability to disseminate a specific pictorial story with visual strength and narrative efficiency.

5.b Retouching to Remove Visual Information

The retouching work done to "*Stay in strike.*" *A miner receiving a kiss* (BPAC Print 315, Keystone View Company, 1935) shows how the technique of washing over of a background with retouching fluid was employed to enhance news value by removing unwanted visual information (*fig. 40*). In addition, by extracting the subjects from their context, this approach allowed the picture editor to create from this photograph the precise news story required at a given moment.

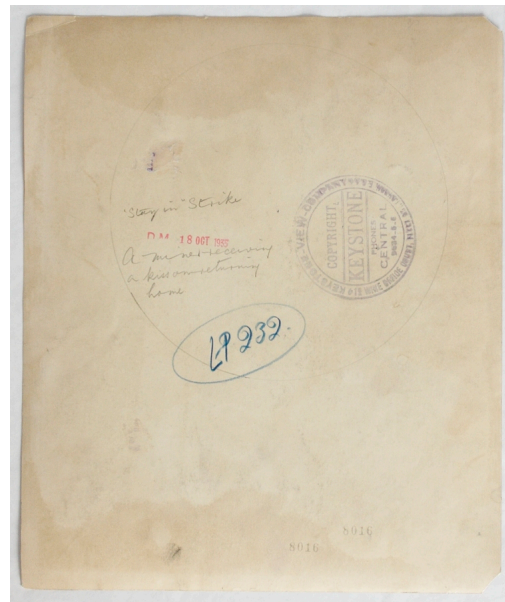
This 10 x 12 inch gelatin silver photograph is on the larger end of suggested sizes for press prints during the 1930s, which generally ranged from 8 x 10 inches to 11 x 14 inches, with larger prints working best to facilitate retouching applications.¹⁶⁷ While the *Daily Mirror's* date stamp,¹⁶⁸ "D.M .18 OCT 1935," which dots the verso in red ink, suggests that this photograph was published, it was not found in this edition of the

¹⁶⁷ Price, *News Pictures*, 156.

¹⁶⁸ The Keystone View Company's copyright stamp is also present on the print verso. The design of this earlier Keystone stamp differs from those found on Prints 527 (1938) and 627 (1939).

newspaper.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, only a brief cutline handwritten in graphite is present on the verso: “Stay in strike. A Miner receiving a kiss on returning home” (fig. 41).

Whether the man and woman were posing for this shot or were caught candidly, the couple was photographed standing in front of a crowd. A thick circular coating of white retouching fluid was therefore employed to eliminate these background folk. The faint spray noticeable at the edges of the application implies that the work was done with an airbrush. A circle drawn on the print verso in graphite corresponds to the retouching done to the recto, suggesting that this photograph was to be cropped in a circular shape, termed “fancy” cropping.¹⁷⁰



Left: Fig. 40. BPAC Print 315, “Stay in strike.” A miner receiving a kiss on returning home, Keystone View Company, 1935 (recto); Right: Fig. 41. BPAC Print 315 (verso)

¹⁶⁹ This photograph was not found in the October 18, 1935 edition of the *Daily Mirror* available on UKPressOnline.

¹⁷⁰ By 1939 fancy cropping was considered poor practice as it took away from a photograph’s visual impact. Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 143.

As explained in *Pictorial Journalism*, washing over a background with a single shade of fluid had specific illustrative uses, but was not without aesthetic drawbacks:

Washing over the whole background with white or black paint so as to obliterate it completely is a good plan with some pictures, particularly those where the background is unimportant to the story the picture has to tell yet is so full of detail that it distracts the eye from the faces or figures in the foreground. Candid-camera shots of men in public life are often handled in this way. There is, however, a certain harshness to the plain background. If too many pictures in the same paper use it, the whole is apt to seem characterless and crude.¹⁷¹

Areas of the print at the outer edges of the airbrushed circle reveal that the background crowd was itself rather expressive. As noted in the above quotation, such extraneous visual information may have competed or perhaps conflicted with the story told by the main subjects and as such was removed from the equation. In addition, because the washed over background detaches the couple from any sort of contextual setting, the photograph, now more generalized, could have been used to illustrate any strike in any place at any time or, just as easily, an alternate news story unrelated to labour troubles. In comparison to *Eastbourne hotel workers protesting*, this photograph does not feature a picket line, but a woman kissing a man on the cheek. The only indication that a worker's strike was at play is the handwritten text on the print verso, which may or may not be authentic to the circumstances of the original photograph.

By over-working the photograph's background, the picture editor turned this image into a pliable resource. Whether or not "*Stay in strike.*" *A miner receiving a kiss* was published, this object wears the marks of a particular retouching technique in use during the 1930s. Utilized to remove unwanted visual information, this application

¹⁷¹ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 149.; A light application of blue retouching fluid used to add tonal range on the main subjects' clothing may have been applied to temper the crude aesthetic of the background overwash.

technique is best understood as one of the many editorial tools employed to retouch press photographs for news value.

The retouching work done to *Young riflemen* (BPAC Print 243, *Daily Mail*, 1934, 6 x 8 inches) demonstrates a variant technical and illustrative intervention related to this same approach. In this instance, the editing out of background objects and people strengthens the specific event captured on film, rather than merely de-contextualizing it (fig. 42). In addition, by applying varying tones of blue fluid, the picture editor avoided the “characterless and crude”¹⁷² aesthetic of the white over-wash applied to “*Stay in strike.*” *A miner receiving a kiss.*

Competing verso stamps suggest that the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* may both have published this photograph. The verso is copyright stamped by the *Daily Mail* and date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*: “D.M. 28 DEC 1934” (fig. 43). As noted in *The Complete Press Photographer*, publishing a photograph in more than one newspaper was common. Because this news story is one of general interest — hardly a picture scoop — *Young riflemen* was likely taken by a *Daily Mail* staff photographer and sold to the *Daily Mirror* for additional use.¹⁷³

The cutline adhered to this print’s verso is type-set on the diagonal. Having been clipped from a newspaper, one can note the fragment of a hairline rule visible in the top right corner. When magnified this black line reveals a series of halftone dots. The text reads:

Young riflemen trying their skill beside the “Daily Mail” Silver Cup at the range in New Horticultural Hall, Westminster, Where the Schoolboys’ Own Exhibition has just opened.

¹⁷² Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 149.

¹⁷³ Bell, 117-125.; This photograph was not found in the edition of the *Daily Mirror* available on UKPressOnline; it was not possible to do a search through the *Daily Mail*.



Fig. 42. BPAC Print 243, *Young riflemen trying their skill beside the "Daily Mail" Silver Cup at the range in the New Horticultural Hall, Westminster, where the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition has just opened, Daily Mail, 1934 (recto)*

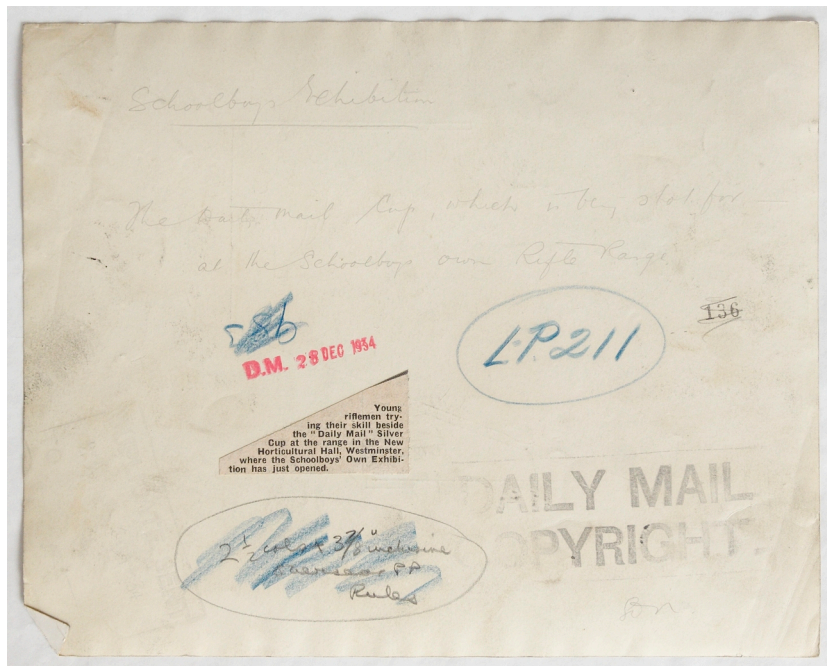


Fig. 43. BPAC Print 243, *Young riflemen trying their skill beside the "Daily Mail" Silver Cup at the range in the New Horticultural Hall, Westminster, where the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition has just opened, Daily Mail, 1934 (verso)*

A handwritten cutline applied in graphite on to the verso, “Schoolboys [illeg] The Daily Mail Cup, which they shot for — at the schoolboys own rifle range,” is shorter and less descriptive, suggesting that the published text was rewritten to elucidate the news story told by the image.

The photograph features three schoolboys at a rifle range; a woman stands behind them supervising the target practice. As suggested by the typed cutline, which promotes the event as one of public fanfare, the photographer would have had ample time to take this shot which, as a result, is well focused and properly exposed. Blue fluids, applied lightly to add highlights and clarity of detail to the subjects, would have ensured the print’s effective transition into a halftone cut.

However, in composing this photograph to capture the boys at an angle, which would point their rifles horizontally in a rightward direction across the frame, the photographer included extraneous background information in the shot. From the unretouched area at the top of the background (which was certainly to be cropped out), one can see that objects, people and the rifle range facilities, all similar in tonality to the main subjects, were thickly overlaid with blue-gray fluids.¹⁷⁴ This handwork created a clean, simple background whose tones and shapes no longer conflict with the persons at hand or the activity they are engaged in. As noted in *Pictorial Journalism*, visual simplicity equaled better narrative clarity: “The purpose of washing out the background is to obliterate confusing detail: furniture and ornaments, foliage on a tree, background details.”¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, because the retoucher subtly reapplied tonality to the background by using various shades of blue-gray paint, the picture editor avoided the starkness of the white over-wash applied to “*Stay in strike.*” *A miner receiving a kiss.* As

¹⁷⁴ Print 243 is cockled; water-soluble retouching fluid, applied heavily to the print recto, is the likely cause of this preservation concern. Reilly, 44-47.

¹⁷⁵ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 150.

explained by Vitray, Mills and Ellard, this other technique was seemingly less austere as it worked with, rather than against, the image captured on film:

Sometimes a gray background is preferable, and occasionally the background may be made with light on one side, shading to dark on the other, following the original lighting of the photograph.¹⁷⁶

Notably, however, the rifle support bench in the foreground of this image — itself retouched with blue fluid to correspond in tonality with the painted over background — retains the photograph's place of origin. Where "*Stay in strike.*" *A miner receiving a kiss* did not feature any such anchoring visual clues and thus its context was buried underneath the overlay of retouching fluid, the apparent objective with *Young riflemen* was not to remove the boys from the range facilities, but to make them more clearly visible within it.

Just as *Young riflemen's* outline was rewritten to be more descriptive upon publication, retouching ensured the delivery of a concise photographic illustration unaffected by an overabundance of visually conflicting subject matter. Although this photograph's background was edited out, the retouching work does not de-contextualize the news story at play, as the photograph's location was not eliminated along with the deleted information. Rather, with less to distract the eye, readers of the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* would have focused their attention solely on the main subjects and the activities underway at the rifle range.

As exemplified by *Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts* (BPAC Print 201, Alfieri Picture Service, 1934), the process of retouching to remove visual information can also be paired with aesthetic efficiency. Utilizing aesthetics as an illustrative and communicative tool, the retoucher added contrast and carefully rendered tonality to this

¹⁷⁶ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 147.

photograph while editing out a visually dull warehouse floor. In turn, this visual rendering up enhanced the image's escapist value (*fig. 44*).¹⁷⁷

Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts is an 8 x 10 inch gelatin silver photograph copyright stamped by the Alfieri Picture Service and date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*: "DM 24 APR 1934."¹⁷⁸ Although a search through the *Daily Mirror* was inconclusive, it is unlikely that such meticulous retouching work would have been carried out if the print was not slated for publication. In this regard, "[*illeg*] NP Early," handwritten on the verso, may indicate that the image was not printed in the early run of that day's paper. Reaffirming the probability that this photograph was published, the verso cutline is laid out with hairline rules above and below the text (*fig. 45*). It reads:

Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts before the opening at Beaver House, E.C yesterday of the spring fur sale of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The photograph shows men inspecting fox pelts in a warehouse, captured studiously examining their stock. Lined up in two opposite facing rows with furs hanging to their left and right, the men are placed in the centre of the image, surrounded by the pelts. The photographer, having positioned himself at an elevated location, used a wide angle lens to compose the frame so that the furs lead into the scene, bringing the viewer into the foreground and carrying the eye to a converging point in the background where the rows of merchandise and inspectors meet. As a result, one has a clear view of the warehouse floor, which has since been edited out — the floor was over-painted with a range of light to dark shades of blue.

¹⁷⁷ "Fourth of the forms of news appeal in picture is escape [...] Man longs insatiably for change, for adventure, for fun and glamour." Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 35.

¹⁷⁸ A "Duplicate Sent 12.26PM 23 APL 1934 to Manchester" is also stamped on the print verso, suggesting that the photograph was taken a day or more before it was published.



Fig. 44. BPAC Print 201, *Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts before the opening at Beaver House, EC., of the spring fur sale of Hudson's Bay Company*, Alfieri Picture Service, 1934 (recto)

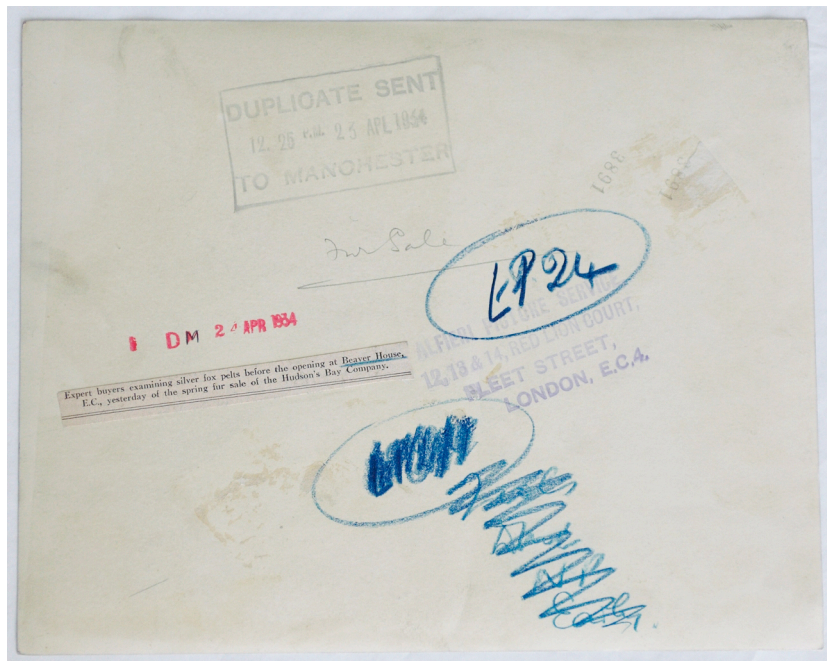


Fig. 45. BPAC Print 201, *Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts before the opening at Beaver House, EC., of the spring fur sale of Hudson's Bay Company*, Alfieri Picture Service, 1934 (verso)

Utmost attention was paid to the treatment of these tonal values, enhancing, or perhaps creating, the effect of light and shadow on this ground area. From several spots where the paintbrush application was slightly too thin, one can note that the retouching work disguises a dull floor too light in value to contrast well with the inspectors and their furs. Thus, by overriding this bland area of the image, the picture editor transformed a drab scene into one of increased visual interest. The dramatic lighting now catches the eye, while the painterly brush strokes of white and light shades of blue applied to the furs augment the shimmering pelts and help them to stand out against the deeper tones of the retouched floor.

Having been employed with a keen eye and hand for painting and rendering, the application of retouching fluids to this photograph was certainly undertaken with visual interest in mind. However, the following quotation from Kinkaid's *Press Photography* suggests that aesthetics would have been utilized to enhance narrative value:

The art editor looks at a print with an eye only for news value, nothing else. A photograph that might be accepted in a salon exhibition will receive a cold reception from the pictorial editor of a newspaper if it does not tell the story or at least part of it.¹⁷⁹

Although Kinkaid's text may prove unjustly divisive in its polarization of salon photography versus news photography (a debate outside the sphere of this thesis topic), the quotation nevertheless illustrates the emphasis placed on news value by the 1930s picture editor. In this regard, the painterly retouching work done to *Expert buyers examining silver fox pelts* may be understood as a means to a visually illustrative end.

By using retouching fluids to enhance the effects of light and shadow, the picture editor and his/her process artist(s) rendered this scene more visually enticing to the

¹⁷⁹ Kinkaid, 175.

would-be pelt purchaser. In comparison to *"Stay in strike." A miner receiving a kiss* and *Young riflemen*, one can also note the degree to which skilled rendering was employed when working over unattractive visual information, turning aesthetics into narrative efficiency and narrative precision into visual news. Furthermore, as these three prints have illustrated, when a photograph brings too much — or the wrong type of — visual information to the table, it may require retouching work when used by the print media. Unwanted details, even when attractive on the gelatin silver print, can be problematic to a newspaper's specific editorial needs with regard to narrative clarity and visual interest.

5.c Retouching, Composition and Page Layout

Retouching for news value can also be analyzed in concert with page layout. With regard to *British Troops in Saarbrücken* (BPAC Print 242, Planet News, 1934), an analysis of the editorial notations present on this print suggests that retouching was likely carried out to clarify composition and ultimately to enhance the image's narrative strength. However, when compared to a photograph of the same event published by the *Daily Mirror*, questions arise as to whether these mediations were sufficient. Did *British Troops in Saarbrücken* remain ill-suited for placement on the newspaper page?

Credited to Planet News Ltd., this 10 x 12 inch gelatin silver photograph is marred by a deep vertical fold line (likely a crop indicator) that runs down the left side of the recto, piercing through to the verso where it is visible on the object's right (*fig. 46-47*). A line applied in graphite on the verso several inches from the bottom of the print is accompanied by an arrow, two vertical lines and the word, "off," penciled in twice, thus indicating that this lower area was to be cropped. The verso is also copyright stamped by Planet News and date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*: "D.M. 24 DEC 1934." Although a different photograph of the same event was found in the London Edition of the *Daily Mirror* published on that date (*fig. 48*), the cutline adhered to the BPAC print is centre-

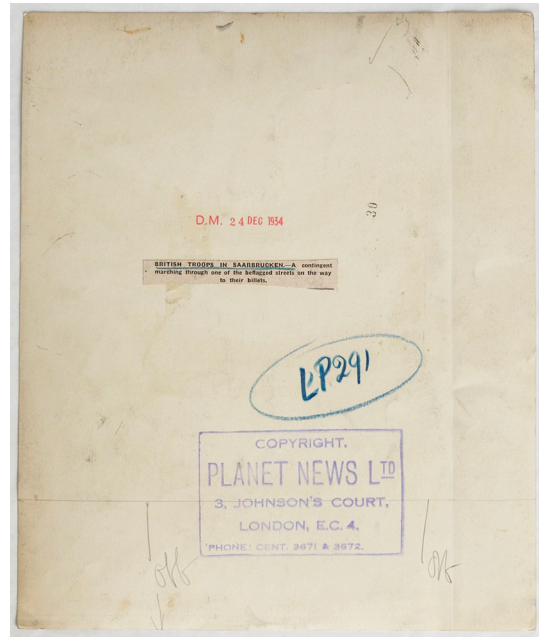
aligned, with the fragment of a hairline rule visible in the bottom right corner, suggesting that the piece of text was clipped from a newspaper:

BRITISH TROOPS IN SAARBRUCKEN. — a contingent marching through one of the beflagged streets on the way to their billets.

The British soldiers, photographed marching through Saarbrücken, Germany, are, however, barely distinguishable from a mass of semi-out of focus spectators gathered in the foreground of the image. Without the ability to pose his subjects and with presumably little time to frame the shot, the photographer, although shooting from a slightly elevated position, composed *British Troops in Saarbrücken* with an overly extended foreground. As a result, there is no separation between the pedestrians and the troops and thus little illustrative clarity to the image. The Nazi and German flags, located in the top half of the print, which hang from buildings well above the people on the streets below, become the focal point of an otherwise difficult to decipher photograph.

While the retouching work ends at the vertical fold line that runs down the left side of the print recto, the fluids carry onto the area at the bottom of the photograph also slated for cropping (as per the handwritten notations on the verso). When considering that the other prints analyzed in this study were not retouched outside of their crop marks — such a practice would waste both time and materials — it is probable that this photograph went through several rounds of editorial trials and tribulations. It would seem that the image was first cropped down its left side, therefore cutting out the dead space in the top left corner and turning the flags into a graphic frame for the pictured scene. Retouching work was then carried out to emphasize and clarify select areas of the composition: blue fluids add contour detail to the civilians and soldiers in an attempt to separate bodies, one from another. The German and Nazi flags lining the streets are also retouched with blue paint, ensuring their transition into halftone as instantly readable symbols. However, this

retouching work may not have been adequate as the object also bears a second set of crop marks, as previously described, which reduce the jam of retouched people present in the image's foreground.



L: Fig. 46. BPAC Print 242, *British Troops in Saarbrücken. A contingent marching through one of the beflagged streets on the way to their billets*, Planet News, 1934 (recto); R: Fig. 47. BPAC Print 242 (verso)

In comparison, the photograph published in the December 24, 1934 London Edition of the *Daily Mirror*, was taken from a slightly more elevated position and from the other side of the beflagged boulevard (fig. 48). A well-defined formation of soldiers is seen marching in an uninterrupted diagonal line that begins in the left foreground, running through the centre of the composition and into the right side of the background. Civilians stand across the street and do not obstruct one's view of the British forces. Although Nazi flags are visible hanging from buildings, they are smaller in size and do

not overpower the rows of troops and onlookers. The published cutline, however, reaffirms that both photographs depict the same scene:

The main British contingent on their arrival at Saarbrucken, marching along the streets lavishly decorated with flags bearing the Nazi swastika.¹⁸⁰

Because the published image is composed with such clarity, the news story that it illustrates is easily understood. Therefore, readers would have been able to distinguish this image from the contingent articles on the page, although little physical separation exists between them in the layout. On this page, “Cordon Round Ministry of War: Hitler’s Long Vigil,” a vague news story involving the movement of German troops in Berlin, Hitler, the Ministry of War, a Christmas tree and “a possible event, which as a matter of fact did not materialize,”¹⁸¹ features the bold headline “MYSTERY TROOP MOVEMENTS IN BERLIN”¹⁸² that spans all four columns and is thus laid out atop the photograph featuring the British troops in Saarbrucken. In addition, “6,000 Prisoners Released,” placed in the lower half of column two of this same page, cuts directly into the Saarbrucken photograph’s bottom right corner, which could also be mistaken as a sign that the text and image are telling of the same story.

It would seem from the dense layout of this page that the picture editor required a photograph with clearly defined visual cues — one that would minimize any chance for confusion between the pictorial news story and these competing texts. In this regard, perhaps the ill-defined composition and ambiguous site lines plaguing *British Troops in Saarbrucken* remained problematic even after an extensive editing process was carried out. *Pictorial Journalism* suggests that “the wise editor does not make a layout first and

¹⁸⁰ *Daily Mirror*, London Edition, December 24, 1934, 3.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

then try to fit it with pictures.”¹⁸³ Whether or not this was the case, the *Daily Mirror*-published photograph was certainly featured prominently as the largest illustration on page 3 of the London daily. Laid out in the top right corner of the page,¹⁸⁴ it begins in the middle of column two, carrying over into columns three and four of the four-column spread. The marching soldiers featured in this scene pull the reader’s gaze back and forth between the left foreground and the right background — and ultimately towards the centre of the newspaper page — in comparison to the BPAC photograph, whose muddled composition leads the eye to a standstill, quickly losing reader interest, in addition to being less clear about the news story that it was intended to tell.

When comparing the retouched BPAC print to the *Daily Mirror*-published photograph, the layers of retouching and cropping carried out on *British Troops in Saarbrücken* suggest that the picture editor was trying to elucidate the pictured narrative by clarifying and simplifying its composition. While it remains uncertain which photograph replaced the other in the December 24th 1934 *Daily Mirror*, and whether or not *British Troops in Saarbrücken*, the BPAC print, was ever in fact published, the question remains: after all of the retouching and cropping work, was this photograph still too visually confusing for newspaper publication? Although such a question will remain unanswerable until further research at the British Library can be carried out, this example points to a series of editorial steps, which were undertaken with the aim of producing an efficiently laid out newspaper page earmarked by a clearly defined news photograph.

¹⁸³ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 146.

¹⁸⁴ “Personal interview tests have revealed that the majority of readers look more often at the top of columns two and three than at column one.” Ibid., 310.

MYSTERY TROOP MOVEMENTS IN BERLIN

Cordon Round Ministry of War

HITLER'S LONG VIGIL

Official Statement That He Went to Look at a Christmas Tree!

PARIS, Sunday.
MYSTERIOUS movements of troops in Berlin and a strange official explanation in which Herr Hitler and a Christmas tree figure prominently are revealed by M. Georges Blun, special correspondent of "Le Journal" in Berlin.

In the night, from Thursday to Friday, says M. Blun, troops brought by lorries were posted at all the approaches to the Ministry of War, which they surrounded completely.

Towards four o'clock in the morning additional lorries arrived and discharged blue-uniformed police armed with rifles who had been dispatched to reinforce the Reichswehr.

Curiously enough, some British diplomats returning from a social gathering, were involuntary witnesses of these strange proceedings.

Throughout Friday morning was busy in political circles. Nobody knew what was happening.

There was a further development during the night of Friday to Saturday when it was reported that several companies of Reichswehr fully equipped had been seen passing through Berlin and marching towards the Schöneberg suburb.

These companies had come from the West—probably from the Doberitz camp.

What were they doing in Berlin and why did they enter the city at dead of night? Official circles maintained complete ignorance.

Eventually, however, an explanation was issued. It was stated that all the military preparations taken around the Ministry of War had been ordered because, in the interior of the building, a giant Christmas tree had been erected for the entertainment of the troops and that Herr Hitler had personally taken part in the ceremony.

SOLDIERS ON GUARD

The Ministry had been guarded by soldiers in order that nobody should penetrate into the building during the presence of the Chancellor.

This explanation, says M. Blun, is to say the least droll. Even if Adolf Hitler went to see the famous tree he would hardly have remained there until four o'clock in the morning. The sentinels, as a matter of fact, were on continuous duty for nine hours.

The Christmas tree, guarded by Steel Helmets heavily armed, will, says M. Blun, remain a legend.

The Journal thinks that the real reason for the massing of troops was that certain precautions were taken in view of a possible event which, as a matter of fact, did not materialise, but which was probably connected with the recent drastic Nazi purge.—Central News.

YOUR LAST CHANCE

You have forgotten somebody. To-day is your last chance, so think hard. P.S.—And please don't forget Uncle Dick's Tea Fund for poor children.

GIRL IN FLAMES

Though he was burned in an attempt to save his eight-year-old daughter's life, a father raced to hospital with the girl in his arms.

The girl, Lillian Short, of Canal-road, Shore-ditch, died in the Metropolitan Hospital yesterday from burns received when her clothing caught fire.

Her father, Mr. Francis Short, told the Daily Mirror last night: "Lilian went into the back room alone, and we heard her cry out. I rushed in and found her cowering in a mass of flames."

"After my wife and I had smothered the flames with an overcoat, I carried Lillian to hospital. Although she must have been in great pain she did not cry out."



Lillian Short.



The main British contingent on their arrival at Saarbrücken, marching along streets lavishly decorated with flags bearing the Nazi swastika.

6,000 Prisoners Released

CHRISTMAS SPIRIT IN AUSTRIA

VIENNA, Sunday.

Nearly 6,000 of the Socialists and Nazis detained in concentration camps have been released by the Austrian authorities to mark Christmas.

The Socialists had been under detention since the armed struggle with the Socialist semi-military organisations last February while the Nazis were arrested at the time of the attempted coup in July.—Reuter.

THE KING'S "SHADOW"

Officer Who Has Watched Over His Majesty for Fourteen Years to Retire

Superintendent William George Cole, who for the last fourteen years has acted as special police officer attached to the King, is about to retire after thirty-four years in the Metropolitan Police. He is fifty-four.

Superintendent Cole has acted as the King's "shadow" at every type of function, and has supervised the police arrangements. The King and Queen bade him farewell at Buckingham Palace on Saturday.

At Sandringham and Balmoral Superintendent Cole has had the responsible task of seeing that no unauthorised persons should gain admission to the royal estates.

He will be succeeded by Inspector Harold Green.



Supt. Cole

SHOT BY HIS FIRESIDE

Sitting with his wife and children by the fire-side at his home in Thomas-street, Belfast, Mr. Samuel Leddy was shot by one of three gunmen who burst into his room and fired a revolver. Leddy was wounded.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS

In common with other national daily newspapers, the "Daily Mirror" will not be published to-morrow (Christmas Day) or on Wednesday, December 26, but will appear as usual on Thursday, December 27.

Full wireless programmes for the holidays appear to-day on pages 8 and 17—a section that can be easily removed for reference.

HE STOWED AWAY IN STYLE

Picked Cabin and Had Month's Good Time

This man, the world's coolest stowaway, picked a cabin for himself in a liner, spent an enjoyable month—and was given away by a gale.

A native of Preston (Lancs), he had been unemployed in Australia for three years, so he decided to come home.

He walked on board the liner Barrabool at Adelaide, selected a cabin and went to sleep. Unable to take a seat in the dining-room for fear of being discovered, he lived on afternoon tea and sandwiches which were handed round between meals.

He took part in deck sports, and was generally accepted as a passenger for more than a month.

Discovery only came when the liner was approaching the Bay of Biscay.

A gale sprang up, and orders were given for portholes in all cabins to be closed.

A steward went to the cabin in which the man was sleeping, and found to his amazement that six people instead of the scheduled five were there.

The man was not allowed to land when the liner reached Plymouth during the week-end, but will be sent ashore at Hull.

LIGHTS TO LAY GHOST

Tunnel Apparition That Scared Shop Assistants

After this Christmas it is unlikely that the Ghost of Hanging Ditch will make his appearance again in the subterranean passages that wind from the ancient market place to Manchester Cathedral.

A new lighting scheme to be installed by business houses will rob him of the dark corners in which he roamed and startled countless shop assistants.

This apparition is said to be the ghost of Wilkins Falkner, who was hanged, drawn and quartered at Hanging Ditch, on the site of a former hostelry in Wilby-grove, for the murder of his sweetheart in Boggart Hole Clough on Christmas Eve in 1618.

HE WENT—AS A PATIENT

While on his way to visit a sick relative at St. Giles's Hospital, Police-constable Atkins, attached to the Peckham, S.E. station, was knocked down by a motor-car and was taken to St. Giles's as a patient.

He is in a serious condition.

DAY OF DISASTERS IN THE U.S.A.

Thirteen Killed in Fire, Road, Rail and Plane Accidents

New York, Sunday.

Numerous accidents marked the advent of Christmas in the United States. Two trains, aeroplanes and motor-cars were involved.

At Delaware, Ohio, three persons were killed and fourteen were injured in a train collision.

At Warburg, Tennessee, and St. Louis, Missouri, three persons were killed in aeroplane crashes.

At Lincoln, Nebraska, four persons were killed and five injured in a motor-car collision.

Three persons were killed and five seriously injured in a hotel fire at Carsbad, New Mexico.—Reuter.

DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES



Please be Santa Claus to a destitute little one this Christmas.

There are 8,500 children in the Barnardo Family

10/- will feed one child for a fortnight at the Christmas Season.

Children and others possible "Dr. Barnardo's Homes Fund" and crossed, addressed Dr. Barnardo's Homes, 27 Barnardo House, Stepney, London, E.C.

Fig. 48. Daily Mirror, London Edition, Monday December 24, 1934, p.3

5.d Retouching and Textual Cutlines

In addition to page layout, the picture editor was responsible for overseeing the writing of descriptive texts. The cutline adhered to the verso of *A typical woman Blackshirt* (BPAC Print 200, *Daily Mail*, 1934), for example, certainly corresponds with the retouching work done to the photograph's recto. Retouching fluids applied to a featured woman transform her into the "typical woman" described by the verso text, creating a tighter union between words and pictures while enhancing the photograph's news value rating (*fig. 49*).

This object, a 7.5 x 9.5 inch gelatin silver photograph is copyright stamped in black ink by the *Daily Mail*. A purple date stamp, "23 APR 1934," is present but without a publication's initials, while "D.M. 21/4/1934" is handwritten on the verso in red ink (*fig. 50*).¹⁸⁵ "Women Blackshirts" — likely a printing slug — is also noted on the verso, while a cutline adhered to the object reads: "A typical woman Blackshirt photographed at the London headquarters yesterday." Although the type font suggests that this slip of paper was likely clipped from a newspaper page, there are no hairline rules visible to confirm this supposition.

Of the three women pictured in this photograph, two are clearly standing before the camera, while the woman in the background is out of focus and only partially included in the frame. The woman posing on the left was heavily retouched and prepared for publication, while the woman on the right was left unretouched and was to be cropped out, as per the two framing marks painted on to the recto underneath the woman on the left. The subject selected for publication is thinner, has a more elaborately coiffed hairdo and a daintier face.

¹⁸⁵ The handwritten date may also read: 27/4/1934 or 29/4/1934. All three editions of the *Daily Mirror* were searched on UKPressOnline; a search through the *Daily Mail* was not possible.



Fig. 49. BPAC Print 200, *A typical woman Blackshirt photographed at the London headquarters, Daily Mail, 1934 (recto)*

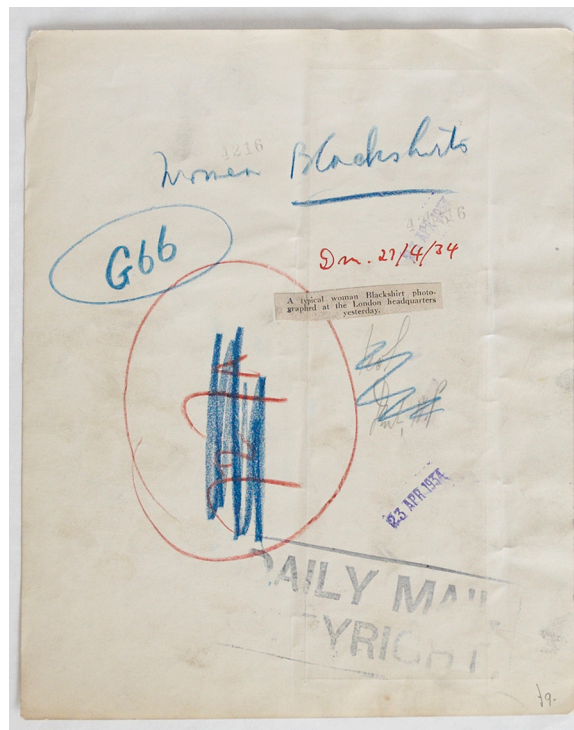


Fig. 50. BPAC Print 200, *A typical woman Blackshirt photographed at the London headquarters, Daily Mail, 1934 (verso)*

In what appears to have been an attempt to correlate the woman on the left's appearance with the “typical woman” described in the cutline, the picture editor used the retoucher's background application — white and bluish-gray retouching fluids applied heavily to the brick-clad wall behind her — as an opportunity to have her waist slimmed and her upper torso and arms reshaped. Her face was also retouched, although only lightly, with black paint used to add contour details to her eyebrows, eyes, nose and mouth (*fig. 51*).



Fig. 51. BPAC Print 200, *Daily Mail*, 1934 (recto: detail)

Because retouching was not done in isolation from other editorial tasks, it is important to address these other factors when examining retouching work. As noted by Vitray, Mills and Ellard, sexual appeal was news value,¹⁸⁶ and although what exactly constituted a “typical woman” in 1934 would be a separate historical and sociological

¹⁸⁶ Vitray, Mills, Ellard, 34.

discussion — as would the notion that this photograph captures a mid-1930s instance of Britain’s historical (and uncomfortable) ambivalence about Nazi-fascism — one can certainly see a relationship between the cutline adhered to this print, which makes reference to an emblematic female, and the editorial work done to *A typical woman Blackshirt*, which does its best to comply with this explanatory text.

The retouching work done to *Birthday celebrations of Selfridge's* (BPAC Print 189, *Daily Mail*, 1934) can also be analyzed in relation to its cutline. In this case, the painting over of a facial expression adds an element of surprise to a child’s face (*fig. 52*), which corresponds to the written accounts present on the object’s verso (*fig. 53*). However, the *Daily Mirror*’s publication of a similar image (and varying cutline), laid out above a large advertisement, leads one to wonder whether the sale of this ad space disrupted the column slot initially allocated to the pictorial news story (*fig. 57*). Did such a change in layout prompt the selection of this second photograph and, as such, the adaptation of the image’s accompanying text?

This 9.75 x 7.75 inch gelatin silver print is copyright stamped by the *Daily Mail* and date stamped by the *Daily Mirror*: “D.M. 13 MAR 1934.” Two cutlines are present on the verso: one is handwritten in graphite and the other is typed. The penciled-in text emphasizes the crowd’s delight:

Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge’s. The Robot one of the Biggest Attraction[s] of Selfridges in the Toy Department. George the [illeg] Electric Robot answering questions much to the delight of the crowd.

The typed cutline describes an astonishing scene:

George, the astonishing mechanical man — one of the special attractions at Selfridge’s. All this week the famous firm is celebrating a quarter of a century’s trading.

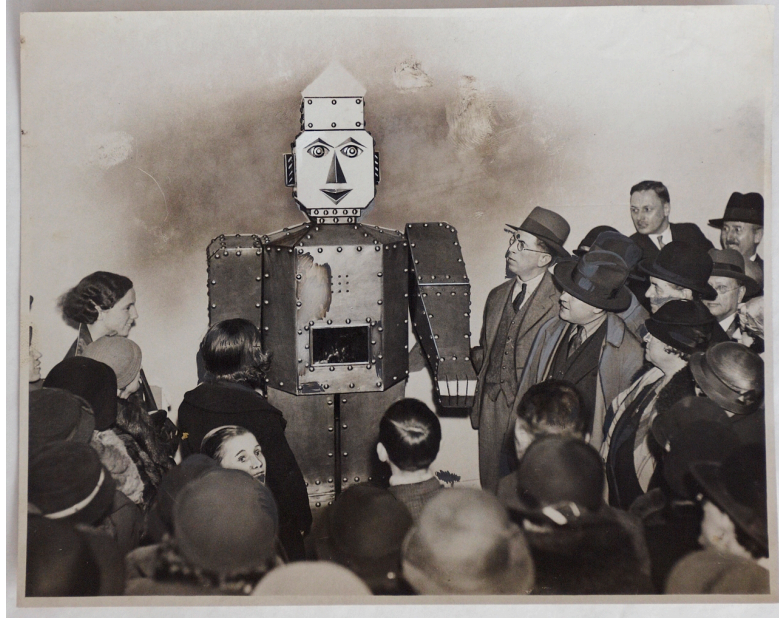


Fig. 52. BPAC Print 189, *Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge's. George the famous electric Robot, is one of the biggest attractions in the toy department, Daily Mail, 1934* (recto)

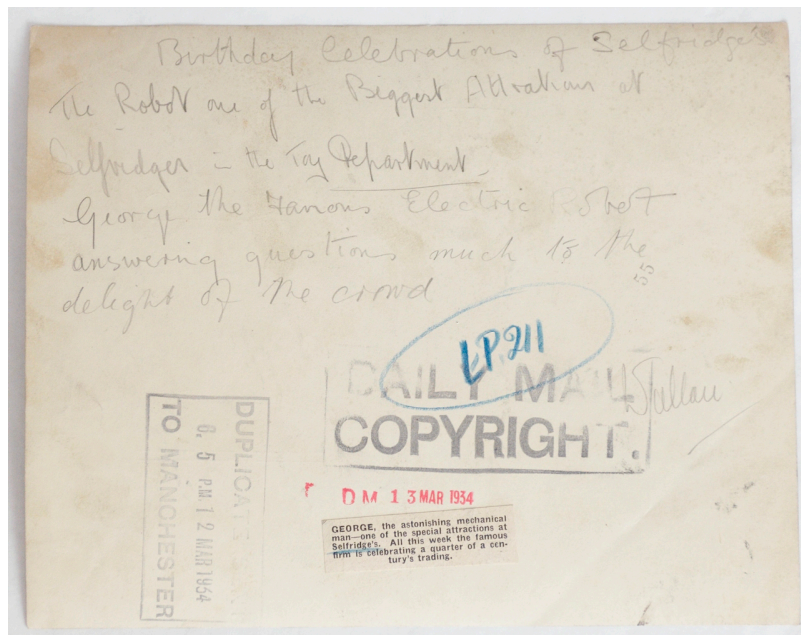
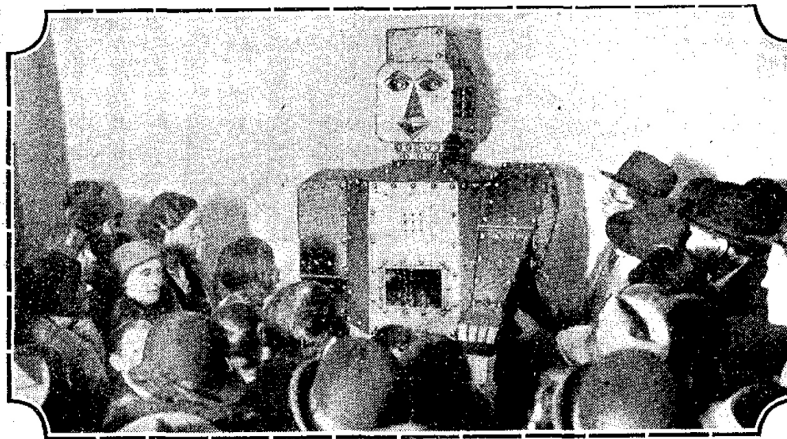


Fig. 53. BPAC Print 189, *Birthday Celebrations of Selfridge's. George the famous electric Robot, is one of the biggest attractions in the toy department, Daily Mail, 1934* (verso)

Although it remains uncertain as to whether the typed cutline was clipped from a newspaper, this text differs from that reproduced underneath the photograph published in the *Daily Mirror* (fig. 54-55), which makes no reference to astonishment or delight:

A busy time for an electric robot which answers questions. It has been installed at Selfridge's in connection with the store's twenty-fifth anniversary.¹⁸⁷



A busy time for an electric robot which answers questions. It has been installed at Selfridge's in connection with the store's twenty-fifth anniversary.

Fig. 54. *Daily Mirror*, Tuesday March 13, 1934, p.26 (detail)

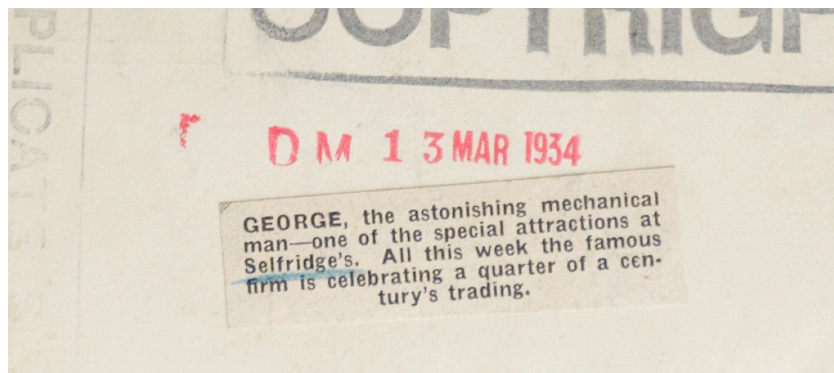


Fig. 55. BPAC Print 189 (verso: detail)

¹⁸⁷ *Daily Mirror*, March 13, 1934, 26.

Birthday celebrations of Selfridge's and the *Daily Mirror*-published photograph feature the same crowd of people gathered around the Selfridge's robot. However, the sense of excitement suggested by the BPAC print's cutlines and illuminated by the retouching work on its recto is absent from the newspaper page. In the BPAC photograph a child, captured on the left side of the frame, looks backwards away from the robot and towards the photographer; white and black retouching fluids help to illustrate the expression of great surprise on his/her face by raising and accentuating his/her eyes and eyebrows (*fig. 56*). However, in the published image, the back of another figure's head obstructs this child's face, and the accompanying cutline does not allude to any such enthusiasm. Rather, the *Daily Mirror*'s text refers to the "busy time"¹⁸⁸ had by the robot at the department store's birthday celebration.



Fig. 56. BPAC Print 189 (recto: detail)

¹⁸⁸ *Daily Mirror*, March 13, 1934, 26.

The *Daily Mirror* published the other Selfridge's photograph (fig. 57) as a small illustration, placed in columns two and three of a four column spread, and laid out above a three quarter page Lux Toilet Soap advertisement that boasts a large portrait of Joan Crawford. In addition, it is sandwiched between an unrelated article about divorce and a smaller advertisement for Dr. Wernet's denture powder. At less than one third the size of the Lux slot, was the Selfridge's story treated as secondary to this major feature governing the layout?

If cropped for the small space allotted to the story by the *Daily Mirror*, the child highlighted in the retouched BPAC print would have slid down to the bottom of the frame, becoming less of a focal point. The crowd, largely cropped out, now appears rather thin. As the most visible remaining figures post-cropping would have been mainly grown men gathered in the right side of the frame, *Birthday celebrations of Selfridge's* would have lost the sense of enchantment suggested by the dense group of spectators and highlighted by the expressive child. In comparison to the BPAC print, which was shot from a left of centre position, the *Daily Mirror*-published photograph was taken from a slightly right of centre location and from a somewhat lower point of view deeper within the crowd. The image fits well into the two column space, as the denser crowd offers another angle to be taken up by the textual cutline: the busy time had by all. Was the picture editor, therefore, prompted by the insertion of the Lux advertisement to select this related photograph because it is better suited to the ad-driven layout? In this regard, the picture editor may have been pressed to rework the Selfridge's story from one of wonderment, purported by the BPAC print, to that of the busy event suggested by the published scene. Was the cutline rewritten by the editor to better correspond with the visual cues found in the published photograph or were both textual story lines initially suggested to the editor by the photographer as he/she submitted two similar images?

FALSE TEETH TROUBLES ENDED

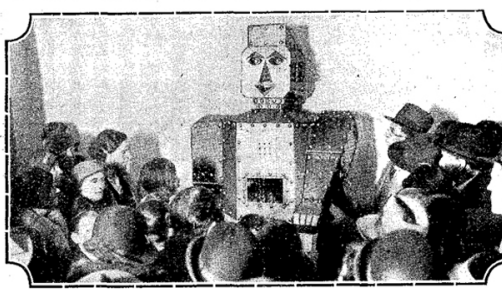
"JUST A SPRINKLE"

No more worry and pain from loose and slipping false teeth. Dr. Wernet's Powder completely overcomes these defects by making perfect action between plate and palate. Just a sprinkle on the plate firmly, removes painful pressure on the gums, stops chafing and lets you eat and talk with absolute comfort and confidence. In a trial will amaze and delight you. Get Dr. Wernet's Powder and forget your false teeth troubles today. In sprinkler top tins, 1/6, 2/6 and 4/6, largest size largest savings. Of all chemists and stores.

Dr. Wernet's Powder

ensures **FIRMNESS and COMFORT**

SAMPLE FREE on receipt of postcard addressed: Dept. 85, Fussell & Johnson Ltd., 86, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.1.



A busy time for an electric robot which answers questions. It has been installed at Selfridge's in connection with the store's twenty-fifth anniversary.

Joan CRAWFORD

gives you her Beauty Secret...

JOAN CRAWFORD
(Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) puts her priceless beauty secret into words: "Smooth, clear and youthful skin is always irresistibly attractive. I've used Lux Toilet Soap for years to keep my skin always at its best—flawlessly clear, exquisitely smooth and youthfully attractive." Beauty is a vital business with Joan Crawford... and the other lovely stars. They cannot afford to experiment with complexion care. That's why they use Lux Toilet Soap. They proved that it holds youth and beauty in the skin!

846 of the leading 857 stars declared Lux Toilet Soap OFFICIAL beauty soap...

"Lux Toilet Soap is official in all our great studios!" say 846 of the leading 857 stars. They have found Lux Toilet Soap essential—a most important part of their daily complexion care!

Let these lovely stars show you the way to skin loveliness. Have and hold the beauty you have always wanted! Smooth, youthful skin—the greatest charm! Use Lux Toilet Soap—regularly.

Lux Toilet Soap costs no more than ordinary soap. A pure-white tablet, rich lather, delicate perfume. Buy Lux Toilet Soap from grocer or dealer. Splendid for the bath and shampoo.

This price applies to Great Britain and Northern Ireland only. A LEYER PRODUCT

LUX TOILET SOAP 3" A TABLET

TL 544-256

DIVORCE CASE SCENE

Young Man Fined for Contempt of Court

JUDGE'S CENSURE

Stern words of rebuke fell from Mr. Justice Langton in the Divorce Court yesterday in dealing with the alleged molestation and abuse of witnesses in a case that had been before him.

The matter complained of occurred during the hearing of a petition by Mr. Joseph Foster, a hairdresser, of Strickland Hill, S.W., for divorce on the ground of his wife's misconduct.

The suit, in which a decree nisi was granted on Friday, had been strongly contested. Mr. J. E. A. Foster, a son of the parties, had been a witness on behalf of his mother. It was alleged against him that on the Thursday afternoon he met two women witnesses outside the Law Courts and used very offensive expressions to one of them, and that just after the Court rose for the luncheon interval on Friday he came towards his father and called him an offensive name. When the solicitor intervened and told him to behave himself he said he would "punch him on the nose."

LOST CONTROL

Foster denied the incident of Thursday and also that he threatened to "punch the solicitor on the nose." All he said was: "I would like to knock the smile off your face."

"All through this case I have noticed that smile on him," he added.

Mr. Justice Langton: Is that the way you think you ought to behave in a court of law?

"I know it was wrong," replied Foster, "and I can only offer you my humble apologies, my lord. The stress of the case during the three days made me lose control of myself."

Mr. Justice Langton said he believed the complaint by the woman witnesses as to the incident outside the courts on Thursday, but it was a matter outside the precincts of the court and he did not think he could deal with it. It was a matter the magistrates might deal with. The other matter—the threat to the solicitor—was a contempt of Court.

NOT PRISON

Addressing Foster, the Judge said: "I do not think I ought to pass that over."

"I have taken into consideration the fact that you are a young man, that there has been a great deal of family feeling in this case, and that you do not appear to be a very well-instructed person. But that is no reason why you should behave in an ill-conditioned manner in the King's Court."

"You have got to learn that when you come here you have got to behave yourself just as well as you possibly can, and you are not entitled to go and abuse people on the other side."

"I have considered whether I ought to commit you to prison, but, taking all the facts into consideration, I do not think I need do that. A heavy fine would weigh heavily on you, but some fine I must inflict, so that people of your ill-manners shall realise they cannot exercise them here. You will pay a fine of £1."

The fine was handed over by Mr. Foster to the court usher, and he was then allowed to go.

QUICKEST SHAVE

BUDAPEST, Monday.

Joseph Poch shaved a man in forty-one seconds to win a competition at the St. Gellert Hotel. The man had three days' growth of beard.—Reuter.

RAINBOW MOTOR-CARS

There will be a rainbow at the "Journey's end" of the 400 motorists taking part in the R.A.C. 1,000-miles Rally this week.

This is no startling long-distance weather forecast. The rainbow will be the result of an attractive inspiration of Armstrong, Siddeley Motors, Ltd.

The firm will be represented at the rally by nine of its new Sports Twelves, each of which will get out from a different point, and will be painted in one of the shades of the rainbow. When the vehicles finish in formation in correct colour sequence the illusion will be complete.

Three of the cars will be fitted with a "coupe-lettle" body, a combination of coupe and landaulette.

DISTRESSING COUGH

"Gently Coaxed Away"

"You feel it easing your throat and chest while you are rubbing it in. Just a gentle rub of Musterole on the throat and chest when going to bed," writes Mrs. B. W., of Wellington, "and the cough vanishes while you sleep."



RELIEVES Influenza • Colds & Coughs • Aches and Pains • Neuralgia • Rheumatism • Sprains

MUSTARD OINTMENT

Fig. 57. Daily Mirror, Tuesday March 13, 1934, p.26

Because both cutlines present on the verso of *Birthday celebrations of Selfridge's*, the BPAC print, refer to the astonishment and delight of the crowd, such a narrative was likely taken into consideration during the retouching process. However, this storyline may not have carried through into print, as suggested by the *Daily Mirror's* publication of a nearly identical photograph accompanied by a cutline that relays a different account of the event. Whether or not it was indeed the sale of a large advertisement space that caused the picture editor to swap both image and accompanying text, these objects, images and words together represent a complex working editorial process as it unfolded and developed. From one pictorial news story to the next, the picture editing process took its direction from the many factors affecting newspaper publication during the 1930s.

As expressed by the *Daily Mirror's* art editor in Bell's *The Complete Press Photographer*, press photographs “must be of news interest.”¹⁸⁹ Therefore, retouching for news value is perhaps best understood not as image manipulation but as one of many editorial techniques employed by the picture editor, whether it be for a daily paper or a weekly edition, to better enable the efficient dissemination of a given news story or event. Once again, a link can be made between editing a cutline to be more expressive, thus captivating as a textual deliverer of news, and retouching a photograph to make it more visually efficient and clear, thus enticing as a news illustration. As this process was hardly done in an editorial vacuum, other aspects of the picture editor's work such as the creation of page layouts and the writing of cutlines, are of vital importance to this discussion as well.

¹⁸⁹ Bell, 180.

6. CONCLUSION

Studying the uses of photographic retouching by the press during the 1930s provides another research avenue into a topic that is central to the history of photography: modern photojournalism. More specifically, this technique brings one face to face with a less documented figure in this history: the 1930s picture editor, who supervised and influenced this mediatory post-production work. From the research undertaken for this thesis, one learns how photographic retouching, a process technique with the sole purpose of becoming invisible upon publication, has done just that — buried the picture editor's work along with it. Once published, press photographs bore little trace of the editorial work that went into their making, unless one has access to the original retouched prints with which to make comparisons.

As discussed in the last two chapters, an analysis of these retouching techniques brings one to the realization that press photography during the 1930s may have remained in some ways insufficient for use by the print media. Although the advancements made during this period were many, greatly improving the production side of the photographer's work, these technologies did not relieve the picture editor's need for retouching fluids when preparing photographs for reproduction. For example, the flash bulb did not always make for a perfectly exposed image; the Wirephoto network sped up the delivery of visual material but presented picture editors with second generation negatives of reduced quality. Thus, the 1930s newspaper saw a continued need to retouch photographs for copy value before they could be transitioned into halftone cuts. In addition, the BPAC prints analyzed suggest that problems regarding the dissemination of photographs with clearly defined news values also continued during this decade. Retouching techniques, along with other editorial mediations such as the writing of textual cutlines, cropping and page layout, were therefore employed to improve press photographs in this regard as well. Retouching was one of the many "invisible" tools utilized by picture editors to build visual news during this modernizing decade.

However, it should be noted that this thesis is not an exhaustive study, but a preliminary investigation that illustrates the need for further scholarship. It is my hope that the many difficulties encountered during the research stages of this study will be reduced as more museums begin to collect large archives of working press prints, an activity that the AGO and the Ryerson Gallery and Research Centre in Toronto are currently doing. As this thesis has demonstrated, such a research topic is made exponentially more difficult by the necessity to have access to first generation prints and publications (in this instance British daily and weekly newspapers) and, ultimately, to collections that can facilitate comparisons between retouched originals and their published versions. Second, third and fourth generation copies, while useful to some degree, do not allow for sufficient analysis of this particular photographic technique. Burying the picture editor's work underneath the layers of image degeneration caused by microfilm, photocopying and scanning, later generation copies — the product of policies enforced by libraries that remain text-driven — can make research into this area virtually impossible.

Although working with the AGO's BPAC allowed me unlimited access to a large collection of original press photographs, such was not the case when it came to the newspapers in which they were printed. The AGO's BPAC cataloguing records do not list these publications which, in addition, are not part of the museum's larger holdings. Rather, these newspapers are held at the British Library in London, England, which has yet to create an online archive for its extensive historical print media collection. While certain newspapers, such as the *Daily Mirror*, are available on UKPressOnline, this private website was not extensive enough for the meticulous research required for this area of research.

As such, a number of my research questions remain unanswered. For example, were certain BPAC photographs indeed published in alternate editions of the *Daily Mirror* and, moreover, were they ever published in the *Daily Mail*? In this regard, having

access to a single newspaper or agency's complete archive, which holds both retouched photographic prints and original published output would be the optimal collection with which to apply this research — a project that I hope to undertake at some point in the future.

Nevertheless, the BPAC prints amply demonstrate the myriad interventions made to press images during the 1930s as they were transformed from gelatin silver photographs into halftone reproductions. As this process was clearly linked to both copy value and news value, the daily press picture editor supervised the retouching of photographs with visual efficiency in mind, editing image and text together as he/she worked to lay out the newspaper page. Along with the technical and professional advancements made to press photography during the 1930s comes a continuing need for a fuller understanding of this facet of the picture editor's work.

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