

**The Institutionalization of Creative Photography's Higher Education
in the United States and Canada, c. 1960-1989**

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A Thesis
In the Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Art History)
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

February 2021

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Doctor Of Philosophy (Art History)

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Abstract for Ph.D.

The Institutionalization of Creative Photography's Higher Education in the United States and Canada, c. 1960-1989

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The second half of the twentieth century was marked by a rapid expansion of undergraduate and graduate photography studio programs in higher-education institutions (primarily universities, but also liberal arts colleges, art schools, and polytechnics) across Canada and the United States. The programs and related social and professional activities were crucial to the development of the creative photography field.

This study complexifies established narratives of pivotal photography educators by situating them within their respective professional and social networks and by describing the conditions influencing pedagogical choices and priorities. My research is rooted in the impact of networks on the development of fields. Social relationships were crucial to accessing information, obtaining financial and emotional support for creative work, advancing one's career, and ultimately affecting one's longevity in the field. Emphasis is placed particularly on networks while exploring brief examples of programs, available teaching resources, and exhibitions. This study provides a broad overview of this rich history by describing the progression of the medium's education through three major phases unfolding between 1960 and 1989. Each phase is accompanied by one or two related case studies. The first phase addresses photography education prior to 1965 when few programs dedicated to creative

photography existed. Its case study traces photographer meetings cumulating in the formation of the Society for Photographic Education (SPE) in 1962. The second phase marks the rapid expansion of photography programs in higher-education institutions throughout the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. This historical section has two case studies describing the evolution of two different programs, those at Ryerson Polytechnic in Toronto and the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester. The third phase, between 1975 and 1989, coincides with the stabilisation of available programs and documents the growing questioning of the medium's biases present in education. The formation of the Women's Caucus in SPE throughout the 1980s furnishes the final case study. The study provides insight into the way the boundaries of the discipline were shaped and the consequences of these decisions.

Résumé

L'institutionnalisation de l'enseignement supérieur de la photographie créative dans les États-Unis et le Canada entre 1960 et 1989.

Tal-Or K. Ben-Choreen, PhD

Concordia University, 2021

La deuxième moitié du vingtième siècle a été marquée par une expansion rapide des programmes pratiques en photographie dans les premiers, deuxièmes et troisièmes cycles d'établissements d'enseignement supérieur (universités, collèges, écoles d'art et polytechniques) à travers le Canada et les États-Unis. Ces programmes, ainsi que les activités sociales et professionnelles qui en ont découlé, ont été fondamentaux pour le développement du champ de la photographie artistique.

Cette étude vise une complexification des récits consacrés sur les éducateurs en photographie en les situant dans leurs réseaux professionnels et sociaux respectifs, et en décrivant les conditions ayant influencé leurs choix pédagogiques et leurs priorités. Cette recherche s'inspire de l'impact des réseaux dans le développement des champs disciplinaires. Le développement de liens sociaux a été essentiel pour l'obtention d'information, de support financier et émotionnel dans la pratique créative, ainsi que pour l'avancement des carrières dans le domaine. Une attention particulière est portée aux réseaux en explorant quelques exemples tirés de programmes, de ressources d'enseignement disponibles à l'époque et d'expositions. Cette étude offre un survol de la richesse de cette histoire en décrivant la progression de l'enseignement du médium en trois phases se déployant entre 1960 et 1989. Chacune de ces phases est accompagnée d'un ou deux cas d'étude. La première phase a trait à l'éducation photographique pré-1965, alors que peu de programmes se consacrent à la photographie créative. Elle

porte sur les rencontres de photographes qui ont mené à la formation de la *Society for Photographic Education* (Société pour l'éducation photographique, ou SPE) en 1962. La deuxième phase est marquée par une expansion rapide des programmes de photographie dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur au milieu des années 1960 au milieu des années 1970. Ce regard historique se pose sur deux cas d'étude qui permettent l'observation de l'évolution de deux programmes différents, soit celui de la *Ryerson Polytechnic* de Toronto et du *Visual Studies Workshop* de Rochester (New York). La troisième phase, se déroulant entre 1975 et 1989, coïncide avec la pérennisation des programmes offerts et documente une autoréflexivité grandissante quant aux biais dans l'enseignement de la photographie. La création du *Women's Caucus* au sein du *SPE* dans les années 1980 constitue le troisième cas d'étude. Cette thèse permet de mieux cerner les décisions qui ont façonné la discipline, de même que les conséquences de ces délimitations sur le champ de la photographie créative.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Martha Langford for her support throughout this research and for her continued enthusiasm for this project. In addition to my academic growth I greatly appreciate the enriching experiences we shared while at Concordia – from field trips, to photography lectures, to teaching opportunities. Thank you for your time reading over my thesis, writing countless letters, and advocating on my behalf.

Many thanks to my committee members Claude Baillargeon, Marie Fraser, Johanne Sloan, and Kathleen Vaughan for your generous time and carefully formulated questions. Thank you Dr. Fraser for pushing me to pursue the time capsule.

This research would not be possible without the assistance of many individuals who generously aided my efforts and guided me to further sources. I am grateful to the individuals in the photography network who generously agreed to be interviewed for this research, shared resources with me, and encouraged me to seek out still others. Among them are Allan Coleman, Morgan Gwenwald, Jeffery Hoone, Harold Jones, Ron MacNeil, Michael Schreir, Keith Smith, Charles Traub, Anne Wilkes Tucker, and James Wyman.

At Ryerson University, thank you Rosalynn Mackenzie at the Archives and Special Collections, and to the staff at the Ryerson Image Centre. Thank you also to the graduates and educators of Ryerson who sat down with me to discuss their experiences, especially Phil Bergerson, Marta

Braun, Robert Burley, Blake Fitzpatrick, Bill Grigsby, Peter Higdon, Eleanor Lazare, Michael Rafelson, and Don Snyder.

Much of my research was supported by individuals in Rochester, New York. To the staff of Visual Studies Workshop thank you for hosting me as a research fellow. A special thank you to Jessica Johnston and Tate Shaw who were willing to be a captive audience to my various archival finds. Thank you as well to Susie Cohen and William Johnson, Joan Lyons, and Joyce Neimanas for your hours of conversation, for digging in boxes, and for your generous introductions to so many others in the photography education network. Many thanks to Clara Auclair, Sam Lane, and Cléo for acting as my family while in Rochester.

My dissertation benefited greatly from my time at the University of New Mexico. Thank you Kevin J. Mulhearn and Mary Statzer for both acting as a sounding boards while I was in Albuquerque. I owe a great deal of gratitude to Cindy Able Morris, Pictorial Archivist at the Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections, who maintained and produced a record of the Photography Department. Thank you to Tomas Jaehn and Aaron Blecha for making me feel so welcome at the UNM library. Thank you also to the staff of the University of New Mexico Art Museum, especially Heather Kline and Stephen Lockwood. I will always fondly recall my conversations with Thomas Barrow, Betty Hahn, Michele Penhall, Holly Roberts, Adrienne Salinger, and Jim Stone; thank you for your time and for making my Albuquerque experience so special.

Thank you to the staff of the Center for Creative Photography for pulling carts of invaluable material from their archives. I am grateful to Leslie Squyres who generously wrote letters in support of my research. Thank you also to Molly Kalkstein for being my social and intellectual partner while in Tucson, and for maintaining our friendship long after.

This research was financially supported by the George Joseph Cooper Scholarship Award, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Fulbright Canada, the Montefiore Graduate Fellowship, and the Department of Art History at Concordia University.

This study was nurtured by my many friends who have encouraged me throughout this project and inspired me to consider the impact of community. I am much obliged to David Harris who has supported my academic progression since my undergraduate studies. I will forever treasure our chats. Thank you for all your time, feedback, encouragement, and belief in me as a scholar. Thank you to Philippe Guillaume and Julie Cusson for your enchanting dinner parties and for your friendship. To my art confidant Daniel Fiset (IAP) thank you for generously translating my abstract and for always being honest and caring. To Karla McManus and Dieter Toews, thank you for being the best neighbours long after our change in location. To my fellow scholar Michelle Macleod thanks for always bringing things back to the object. Thank you Braden Scott for your endless pithiness. To Jamie Jelinski, thank you for your countless edits and thoughtful feedback. Thank you Ariel Aronson, Cori Carl, Shifra Scher, and Yardena Shainbach Kaiman for your love and support. A special thank you to the Geithner and Sonnenschein-Tatham families for the many chats, laughs, and advice over the years. Thank you also to my peers, colleagues, mentors, educators, and friends among them Paula Alaszkiwicz, Elizabeth Cavaliere, Zulay

Chang, Elizabeth Cronin, Claire Ducresson-Boët, Vanessa Fleet, Will Green, Clinton Glenn, Marie-Josée Lafortune, Loren Lerner, Catherine MacKenzie, Csaba Nikolenyi, Elaine Cheasley Paterson, Nicola Tullio Pezolet, Christelle Proulx, Daniel S. Sáenz, Jennifer Solomon, and Anna Waclawek. Thank you Shira Honig for meticulously copy-editing this document.

To my husband, Noah Walker, thank you for your patience throughout this process and for always encouraging me onto my next venture. I greatly appreciate your friendship, constant enthusiasm, and your unwavering support. I will always treasure our three-thousand-kilometre-drive through the United States.

Lastly, I'd like to thank my family for supporting me through the many challenges and celebrations of this process. Thank you to my parents, Aviva and Jonathan, for fostering in me the confidence to be inquisitive, encouraging my independent thinking and spirit, and for instilling your bibliophilic natures in me. To Liat and Elishua, thank you for keeping me grounded and for being my sisters. To my grandparents, Laia and Avigdor Ben-Dov and Riva and David Rotenberg, thank you for exposing me to your passions for the arts and scholarship at a young age.

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Introduction

My Path to this Project

In October 2018, I travelled to Will Faller Jr.'s antique store in East Aurora, New York. I had been in contact with Faller since 2013, when I began conducting research on his mother, photographer and educator Marion Faller (1941-2014). Will Faller invited me to his store to examine his mother's archive. There were countless boxes of her prints, art materials, postcards, stickers, instructional notes, and so on. Included in these objects was the *Second Annual SPE Photo Quiz*, identified as dating from Asilomar, 1978 [fig. I.1].

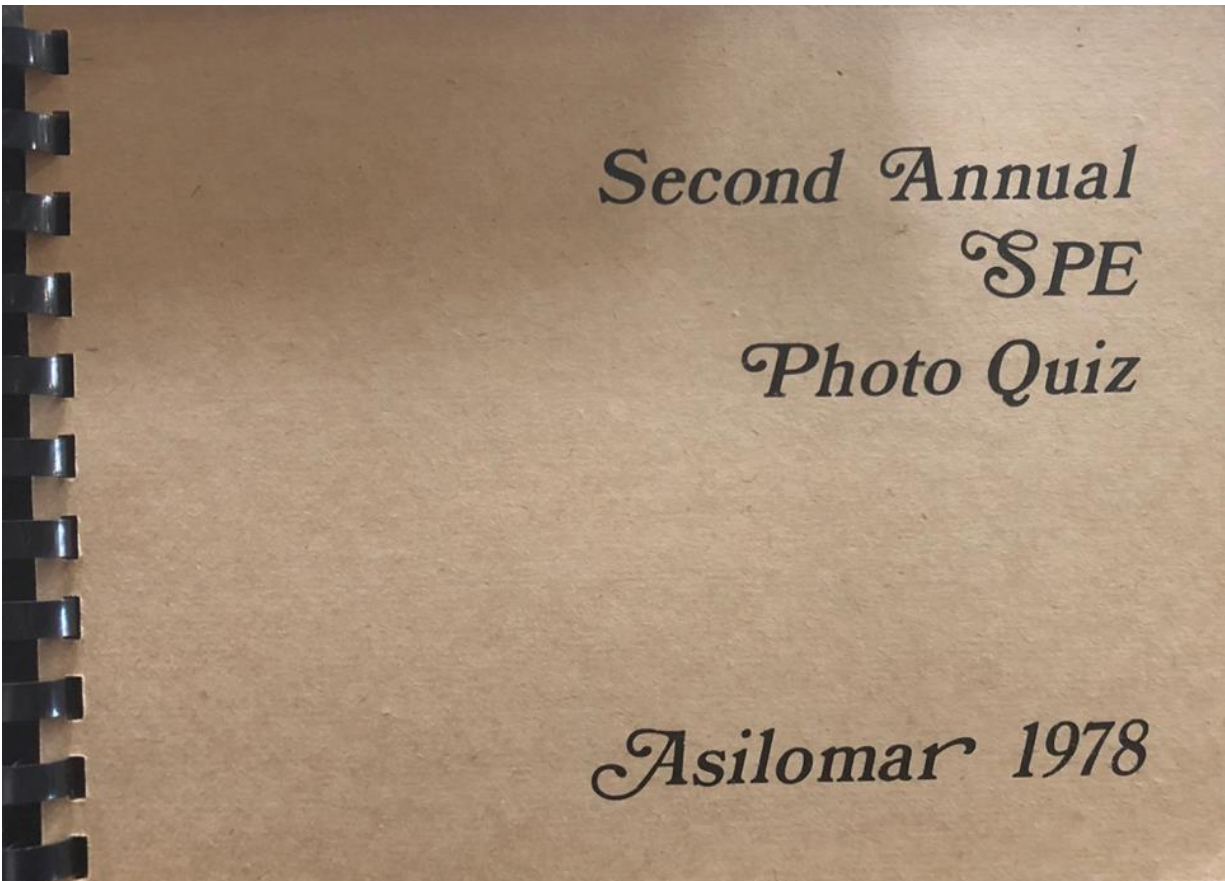


Fig. I.1
[Marion Faller], *Second Annual SPE Photo Quiz*, 1978. Courtesy of William Faller Jr.

Asilomar refers to the Asilomar Hotel and Conference Grounds in Pacific Grove California, an ideal location for the early Society for Photographic Education (SPE) conferences, as it provided accommodations, conference rooms, beautiful vistas, and an intimate setting.

The *Second Annual SPE Photo Quiz* is a spiral-bound album comprised of fourteen snapshots secured onto brown card paper by delicate golden photo corners. Above the right corner of each photograph is a number [fig. I.2].



Fig. I.2
[Marion Faller], *Second Annual SPE Photo Quiz*, 1978. Courtesy of William Faller Jr.

Opening the book, the reader sees a folded piece of paper housed in a pouch labelled “Instructions” [fig. I.3].

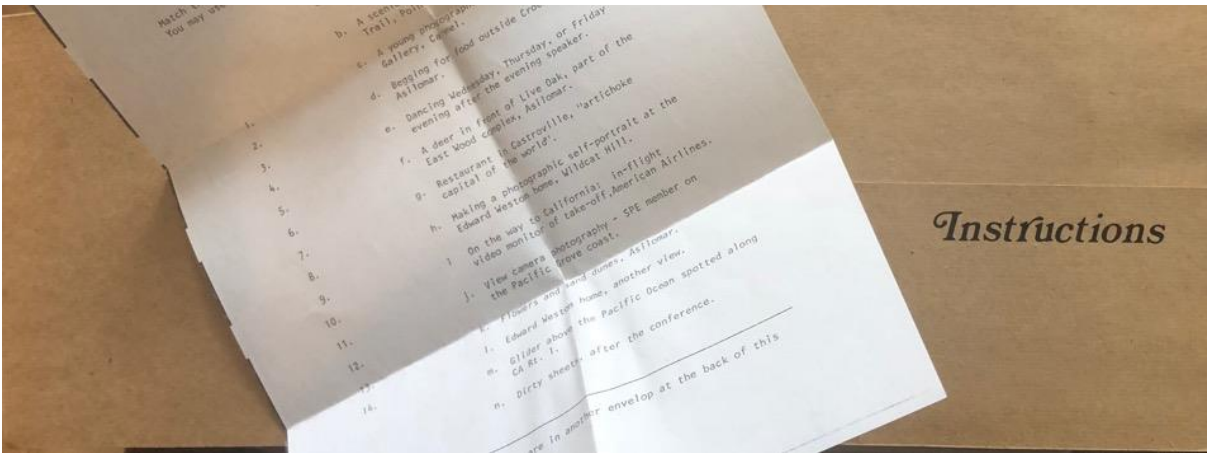


Fig. I.3
 [Marion Faller], *Second Annual SPE Photo Quiz*, 1978. Courtesy of William Faller Jr.

The reader is to match each of the photographs with one of the listed captions on the instructional sheet. The last page spread of the album echoes the first, with an embedded envelope containing the answers and scoring of the quiz. A top scorer who accurately identified between 13-14 photographs was declared “[a] winner! Happily you’ve found a medium where you’re never bored and always challenged.” Those who match less than two of the snapshots were asked, “Have you considered a career in painting?”

I begin my discussion with this object for two reasons. First it links this research to Marion Faller, who first piqued my interest in the photographer-educator phenomenon. Second, it shines a light on the themes that I address in this study. The object, likely made by Marion Faller,¹ playfully captures the activities of an SPE conference, a gathering dedicated to the discussion of photography education. At those annual meetings, peers from across the United States and Canada deliberated how they could encourage students to consider photography as a

¹ The object does not include an identified maker. I was unable to locate additional copies of the book suggesting it was produced as a singular object. It was housed among Faller’s work prints suggesting that it was part of her larger *oeuvre*. The book was surrounded by multiple copies of different SPE quiz questions and response sheets suggesting there may be other quiz books either in her extended archive or elsewhere. The inclusion of “second” in the title of the work could be referencing the second SPE conference held at Asilomar. Three SPE conferences were held at the hotel in 1975, 1978, and 1981. Multiple copies of each of the quizzes suggests that the object was likely shared among a large group where individuals were able to each receive a copy of the questions.

creative medium. The album's title suggests the audience, a pre-established network of attendees. The information provided to guide the reading links the setting to the broader photography network through Friends of Photography and Edward Weston (1886-1958). The scoring sheet, while humorous, suggests that a value system had been created: those in the know were welcomed into the field; those who did not were encouraged to abandon photography for painting. The reverse might be imagined in the academic settings of the day – a roast or a hazing of those incapable of drawing. The quiz could be read as photography educators making light of the prejudices many of them felt within their own teaching departments.

This study is the result of six years of research undertaken at libraries and private collections in Canada and the United States. Over this period, I travelled more than eight-thousand kilometres by car, gathered more than forty-five hours of oral histories, called for roughly one hundred and seventeen archival banker boxes, and read through the entire print run of three journals. The goal of this analysis was to gain a deeper understanding of the social networks operating during the study period. I was particularly interested in learning more about the photographers' concerns and aspirations for the medium.

Throughout my study, I sought answers to these questions: What were individuals seeking to achieve by implementing photography curriculums? Who was involved in education? What pressures, both external and internal, influenced the outcome of photography education? How did the results of these choices affect what has become understood as creative photography? I was also concerned with probing the schisms that occur within any social groupings, to see what they could tell me about this group in particular.

Project Introduction

The field of art photography has been shaped significantly by activities that took place in institutions of higher education in the United States and Canada between 1965 and 1989. Throughout this period, students at various institutions were actively engaged in photography production, learning the required skills to expose, develop, and print negatives, and edit, sequence, and present photographs. Simultaneously, they were expected to develop a vocabulary with which they could define their photographic output; they learned this lexicon through critiques and coursework. To many faculty members, employment in photography departments offered consistent and stable levels of income that allowed them the freedom to pursue, experiment in, and develop their personal art practices.

While a boom in photography education is evident from the rapid growth of programs and the attendant number of students and faculty, this development was not consistent across every program. As with any field, developments were shaped by individuals who were not only influenced by events at their respective institutions, but also by those in their private lives and the larger social, political, and economic context. As such, the goal of this dissertation is not to produce a single, linear narrative of events, but rather to identify and discuss the knotted and webbed relationships in the field until 1989, and to argue that there were multiple narratives, each corresponding to a different context. By doing so, the dissertation will, in addition, demonstrate that photographic education was key to the development and character of art photography practice.

This study is divided into three major sections; each section addresses events that are indicative of a particular phase in the development of photographic education within institutions of higher learning. As the project covers many institutions, it is important to remember that some

programs progressed or regressed beyond the trends of a given phase. Such discrepancies are reminders that the subjects are human beings and not mathematical linear equations. Each section comprises a historical chapter and one or two case studies. The historical chapters discuss general trends in the field and provide brief examples to illustrate these developments. Together, the historical chapters form a continuous broad overview of the progression of photography education. After each historical chapter, the case studies showcase an aspect of the period's development. Case studies were selected either because they represent the larger trend, as outlined in the survey, or because they deviated in ways that shine light on the trend. Always, the goal of these sections is to humanise the historical survey.

By placing an emphasis on the role and impact of networks, the resulting study forms a social history of photography education. Aspects of curriculums are discussed in order to describe the support materials available to teachers and the conditions under which photography education was taking place. Indeed, access to these materials, in part, marked important shifts in the three identified phases. Yet this thesis is not intended as a comprehensive study of curricula, programs, and teaching resources. Selected samples provide insight into the various pedagogical approaches taken by educators.

Throughout this research, I have probed how one became a photographer and an educator of the medium during this period. I was interested in describing the conditions under which photography became associated with higher education – that is, institutions that provide training as part of a post-secondary education. I have used this term broadly to investigate technical schools, art schools, polytechnics, colleges, universities, as well as independent workshops dedicated to the medium. This decision was made to reflect the reality of the field, as early photography educators applied their curricula with little regard for institutional mandates. Many

photography educators also conducted photography classes at different institutions and as private workshops simultaneously. As photography education progressed within higher education, producing undergraduate and graduate degrees, workshops provide insight into the limitations of this educational model.

Ultimately the scope of any extended research project results in a selective representation. Through the various examples I have selected, I attempted to provide a representative sample of the field. There are certainly omissions. For example, I did not discuss programs offered at historically Black colleges; my hope is that the overview I have offered here provides a solid platform for future case studies. In addition, as the research is focused on photography's treatment as a creative medium, programs dedicated solely to photojournalism, technical, or scientific photography are not discussed in detail, but mentioned when they intersect with trends in creative photography education.

Part 1. Education prior to 1965

The first historical chapter, Chapter 1, commences with a brief summary of photography's earliest educational training through photography societies and clubs. Early photography programs during this phase were largely taught by male practitioners. These passionate individuals were generally hired because of their expertise in the field as successful photographers and workshop educators. Many had offered private classes on photography prior to being hired by official institutions. Once working in higher-education institutions, photography educators were likely to be the only faculty members teaching photography. To find peer support and engage in debates over the formation of photography's discourse, many

students and teachers travelled large distances to photography hubs, such as Rochester, New York City, Chicago, and the Bay area in California.

To better describe the conditions, that formed these important professional and social networks, Chapter 2 analyses the conditions that produced the Society for Photographic Education (SPE) in 1962. This group was formed by invitation to create a network for photography educators and other actors in the field of creative photography. This case study describes the early ambitions of photography educators and the importance they placed on connecting with their peers. The contextualisation of SPE with prior meetings and organisations allows for a deeper grasp of the influences that shaped their choices when structuring the Society. It also more broadly reveals the different struggles educators were facing across the United States.

Part 2: Education 1965-1975

Chapter 3 is the second historical overview, tracing a highly dynamic phase of photography education. Over the course of ten years, between 1965 and 1975, photography education underwent significant and unprecedented growth. Soon, universities and colleges all over the United States and Canada were forming photography programs in response to the high levels of interest expressed by students. As a result, graduates of the early photography programs found jobs in the field as educators in the newly established programs. Unlike the prior generation of educators (many of whom were still active in the field), members of this generation tended to be young, with little experience outside the walls of the academy. What they lacked in professional experience was compensated by their enthusiasm. This generation was eager to build upon the

legacies of the past while pushing for more creative and experimental means of approaching the medium.

The first case study, examining the undergraduate level program at Ryerson Polytechnic in Toronto, provides insight into the shifts that technical schools were undertaking to align their programs more closely with creative photography. Ryerson was selected in particular to address the impact American educational models and teachers had on a Canadian institution.

In Chapter 5, the unique graduate program of the Visual Studies Workshop (VSW) in Rochester is explored as the second case study. VSW was chosen because it challenged the conventions of graduate programs in terms of structure and pedagogical approaches.

Part 3: Education 1975-1989

By the late 1970s, photography education had reached a level of maturity. As a result, the field faced new challenges that are addressed in Chapter 6, the third historical chapter. Many institutions, by this point, had established programs and were no longer looking to build departments from the ground up. There was steadily increasing number of graduates seeking jobs in a market of dwindling and scarcer teaching opportunities. In many ways, the goals of the early photography educators to establish a discipline had been realised.

At the same time, individuals within the field were influenced by the political climate and social upheavals of the 1970s. This led many to question the foundations upon which the history and understanding of photography had been established, and their own role in perpetuating a largely Caucasian and male-dominated narrative. Collective reflection and a recognition of the substance and implicit bias of photography education grew throughout the 1980s and led to a

boom in workshops. Attention was particularly paid to questions surrounding gender and racial representation.

The final case study, Chapter 7, explores the Women's Caucus of SPE. This study was selected because it displays aspects of mounting tensions in the field throughout the 1980s, and is reflective of the larger social and political struggles described in the preceding historical chapter. The charged debates held in and over the Women's Caucus reveal the different generational approaches to photography education, gender biases, and most of all, the importance of professional and social support through networks.

The dissertation concludes at this juncture of photography education. By 1990, early graduates of the first programs were in the middle of their careers and many of the earliest photography educators were retired. Concerns arising during the following decades were no longer considered in such broad, foundational terms, in part because photography was well established as a creative medium. Furthermore, the following decade (the 1990s) was largely consumed by discussions related to a different group of issues: censorship; the rise of digital technology, and the 'death of analogue.' These provide fruitful grounds for further research, but are beyond the scope of this study.

Research as a Time Capsule

In 1948, historian and critic Sigfried Giedion (1888-1968) published *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*.² In it he described history as a magical mirror whose:

² Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948).

totality cannot be embraced: History bares itself only in facets, which fluctuate with the vantage point of the observer.

Facts may occasionally be bridled within a date or a name, but not their more complex significance. The meaning of history arises in the uncovering of relationships. That is why the writing of history has less to do with facts as such than with their relationships. These relations will vary with the shifting point of view, for, like constellations of stars, they are ceaselessly in change. Every true historical image is based on relationship, appearing in the historian's choice from among the fullness of events, a choice that varies with the century and often with the decade...³

Giedion's understanding of history as a narration of links formed through a series of relationships is also my own, as developed by this project. In this thesis, I combine macro and micro histories of photography education. The history I trace in the following pages can be conceived as a time capsule.

Historically time capsules have been organised by groups to commemorate their lives within a particular period. Objects are typically placed into a secured storage unit by individuals to be revealed at a predetermined future date. Such collections suspend the items in time. A later entry into the collection reveals these items through their assembly or proximity, suggesting to the onlooker that there is a harmony or at the very least a relationship between the objects. Time capsules invite interpretation of complete moments, yet they are stalled representations shaped by the limitations of their origins. They do not, for example, provide insight into the lives of the individuals beyond the confines of the capsules, neither prior to their assembly nor after. Yet the items reveal a particular community as it once imagined itself.

Similarly, archival records and historical narratives can be seen as acting as time capsules. Both these forms of historical records are produced through a selection process

³ Ibid., 2.

whereby the archivist or researcher identifies a series of objects, individuals, or events that in their minds reflect a particular epoch.

When I first approached this research, I was interested in understanding what photography education was in the broadest sense. Motivated by my research into Marion Faller, I explored documentation of this subject with the knowledge that not everyone active as a photographer and educator was treated equally in historical accounts nor within archives. I asked: What were the limitations of the archives and narratives of photography education that I had access to? Which communities were able to assemble time capsules of their activities? Frequently those who were able to amass collections of items documenting their ambitions were led by individuals who were consciously and meticulously producing records of their beliefs and actions, by maintaining meeting and lecture notes, correspondence, and writings. Typically, such individuals made this documentation a priority, and at times, had assistance in maintaining and organising their files. Yet such assembled collections already narrowed the scope of the story and they belonged, like time capsules, to a specific period in time.

My scepticism in accepting such pre-set accounts of events and relationships led me to form my own time capsule that unfolds throughout the pages of this document. As I am a generation removed from the youngest generation mentioned in my study period, I did not have the same concerns, ambitions, or influences shaping my own selections. This has allowed me to select a wide variety of case studies that had not previously been considered side-by-side – a new time capsule that hopefully offers insights into this very rich field.

Discussion of the Intellectual Context of the Work and Methodology

This research builds upon studies from the fields of sociology and art history (in particular those in photography history and art education) and specifically draws upon network theory.

Contributions from cognate fields, such as cultural studies and visual anthropology have also been influential in my research.

From art history, I have drawn upon research published on photography histories, dissertations, exhibition catalogues, journal articles, and artist/s monographs. From sociology, I build upon the pioneering studies of Barbara Rosenblum (1943-1988), Judith E. Adler (b.1944), and Richard Wayne Christopherson (b.1943) who researched aspects of photography education. These sociologists considered photography and art as stemming from group-based organisations. Sociologist and theorists who bridge the gap between anthropology and philosophy have also aided in my conceptualisation of the methodological approach of the thesis; these include the work of Bruno Latour (b. 1947), Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Michael P. Farrell (b. 1942), and most significantly, Howard S. Becker (b.1928). My dissertation builds upon, and hopes to contribute to multiple fields, including the history of photography, art collectives, and art education.

Histories of Photography Education

Photography history surveys offer insight into the subject of photography education during the period of the 1960s to 1989 through brief chapters or articles. Robert M. Hirsch's (b.1949) *Seizing the Light: A Social & Aesthetic History of Photography* (2000), for example, includes a short section addressing education in photography in "The Rapid Growth of Photographic

Education.”⁴ From a wider perspective, curator Stuart Alexander (b. 1955) considers the impact of American universities, galleries, and mass culture on the development of the photo-boom in his 1998 article “Photographic Institutions and Practices”⁵ featured in *A New History of Photography*. The fourth edition of *Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science* (2007) contains three detailed articles exploring different photographic pedagogical approaches.⁶ Former Chief Curator at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Keith F. Davis has also included a discussion of the impact of photography education on the growth of the medium in his survey of the Hallmark Photographic Collection, *An American Century of Photography: From Dry Plate to Digital* (1999).⁷

The history of photography education is composed of case studies of individual educators or institutions. Photography as an emerging art form was of particular interest to sociologists who were concerned with the way society establishes professional fields, as can be seen in the work of Howard S. Becker,⁸ Barbara Rosenblum,⁹ and Richard W. Christopherson.¹⁰ Unlike art historians, these sociologists were interested in the activities of groups as opposed to individuals.

Art historical studies, however, have perpetuated the importance of individuals. In such

⁴ Robert M. Hirsch, “The Rapid Growth of Photographic Education,” in *Seizing the Light: A Social & Aesthetic History of Photography*. ed. Robert Hirsch. 389-392. (New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁵ Stuart Alexander, “Photographic Institutions and Practices,” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot. 694-707. (Köln: Könemann, 1998).

⁶ See Nancy M. Stuart “Photographic Higher Education in the United States,” *the Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres. (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007): 210-215.; Lynne Bentley-Kemp, “Photography Programs in the 20th Century Museums, Galleries, and Collections,” in *the Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres. (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007): 205-210. And Christopher Burnett, “Photographic Workshops: A Changing Educational Practice,” in *the Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres. (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007): 215-227.

⁷ Keith F. Davis, “The Photography Boom,” in *An American Century of Photography: From Dry Plate to Digital*, second edition, 387-397, (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1999).

⁸ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

⁹ Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers At Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1978).

¹⁰ Richard W. Christopherson, “From Folk Art to Fine Art: A Transformation in the Meaning of the Photographic Work,” *Urban Life and Culture* 3.2 (July 1974): 123- 157.

studies, photographers' reputations are justified through their connections to established figures. These relationships are like family trees and are reflected in academic studies: as scholars identify new key players, they link these photographers to the work of established predecessors. This can be seen in the 2015 catalogue on the work of photographer Louis [Hansel] Draper (1935-2002), edited by Margaret O'Reilly, in which she builds his importance through his training with well-known photographers Roy DeCarava (1919-2009) and [William] Eugene Smith (1918-1978).¹¹

Scholarship on photography's teachers and institutions in specific cities is increasing. Now Nancy Inman and Marlene Nathan Meyerson Curator of Photography at the Harry Ransom Center in Houston, Texas – a place of importance in this history – Jessica S. McDonald (b. 1974) recently wrote her doctoral thesis on the importance of Rochester, New York, as a cultural hub and key to the establishment of the photography field in the 1960s and 1970s. Rochester was indeed an important city, as it housed many research and teaching institutions, such as the George Eastman Kodak Company, Eastman Museum, Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester University, and VSW.¹²

Similarly, photographer and photography educator Nancy M. Stuart addressed photographic education at VSW in her 2005 thesis on photography education in Rochester. Unlike McDonald, Stuart begins her study by arguing that Rochester has long been recognised as a photographic centre and therefore, does not require justification for its selection as a case study.¹³ Furthermore, while Nathan Lyons plays a role in the thesis, the discussion of his

¹¹ Margaret M. O'Reilly, *Louis H. Draper: Selected Photographs* (Rochester: Booksmart Studio, 2015).

¹² Jessica S. McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s." Ph.D diss., (University of Rochester, 2014).

¹³ Nancy M. Stuart, "The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980." Ph.D diss., (State University of New York at Buffalo, 2005): 2.

achievements is placed within the context of additional educational activities present in the city such as camera clubs, journals, and education institutions. Stuart's study also includes a historiography of higher education in photography, a concise updated version of which can be read in the fourth edition of *Focal Encyclopedia*.¹⁴

Current scholarship on photography education largely focuses on American schools and can be found through a careful combing of periodicals. Journals such as *Image*, *Exposure*, and *Afterimage* have all included articles about the development of photographic education, often relating to a single educator, institution, or particular period. These articles shed light on the concerns of the period, as they were written as accounts of contemporary activities. More scholarly accounts can be found in peer-reviewed academic journals, such as "Teaching Photography as Art," in the journal *American Art* in 2007, written by artist and essayist Jason Francisco (b. 1967), in which he explored the historical trajectories of several American photographers.¹⁵ Short scholarly articles have also been published on specific photographic schools, often associated with photographers and related to exhibitions, as can be seen with curator Bonnie Yochelson's (b.1952) article, "The Clarence H. White School of Photography" for an online project for New York's Museum of Modern Art.¹⁶

Contextual information about the activities in the field of photography between 1960 and 1989 and the meteoric rise of the economic value of photographs often include discussions of photography educators or photography education. These texts are key to understanding the

¹⁴ Stuart, "Photographic Higher Education in the United States," 210-215.

¹⁵ Jason Francisco, "Teaching Photography as Art," *American Art* 21.3 (Fall 2007): 19-24.

¹⁶ Bonnie Yochelson. "The Clarence H. White School of Photography." In Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daner, and Maria Morris Hambourg, eds. *Object: Photo Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909-1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art*. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), accessed May 15, 2018, <http://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Yochelson.pdf>. See also her article "Clarence H. White Reconsidered: An Alternative to Modernist Aesthetic of Straight Photography," *Visual Communications* 9.4 (Fall 1983): 24-44.

circumstances under which photographers were practicing during the period. Photography historian Gilles Mora's (b. 1945) *The Last Photographic Heroes: American Photographers of the Sixties and Seventies*¹⁷ (2007), for example, describes the innovative ways that photographers approached photography, and how curators, gallerists, critics, and collectors established the conditions in which photography could flourish as an art form.

More frequently, photography education is addressed through essays in exhibition catalogues relating specifically to a photography program. These texts provide significant information about the atmosphere at the institutions. An example is *The Uses of Photography: Art, Politics, and the Reinvention of a Medium*,¹⁸ a catalogue published to coincide with the 2016 exhibition of the same title at the Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego, curated by Jill Dawsey. It features four major essays that address different aspects of the photographic community at the University of California, San Diego between the 1960s and 1980s. Similarly, the University of New Mexico's Art Museum history and its impact on students and faculty of the photography department are eloquently traced through brief essays in *Stories from a Camera: Reflections on the Photograph*¹⁹ (2015), organised by then-Curator Michele M. Penhall (b. 1953). The publication built upon the University of New Mexico's 2012 exhibition *Reconsidering the Photographic Masterpiece*.

Visual artist Lewis Baltz's (1945-2014) 1985 essay, "American Photography in the 1970s: Too Old to Rock, Too Young to Die,"²⁰ provides significant insight into the influence on

¹⁷ Gilles Mora, *The Last Photographic Heroes: American Photographers of the Sixties and Seventies* (New York: Abrams, 2007).

¹⁸ Jill Dawsey, et. al. *The Uses of Photography: Art Politics, and the Reinvention of a Medium* (La Jolla: Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego and California Press, 2016).

¹⁹ Michele M. Penhall, Ed. *Stories from the Camera: Reflections on the Photography* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico, 2015).

²⁰ Lewis Baltz, "American Photography in the 1970s: Too Old to Rock, Too Young to Die," in *American Images: Photography 1945-1980*, ed. Peter Turner, 157-164, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Book, London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1985).

American photographic production during this crucial decade. Written from Baltz's perspective of lived experience in the field, the paper identifies several important aspects of the decade, including government and corporate funding, the boom in higher education, and a solidification of a history of the medium. Each of these aspects led to the establishment of photography within the art marketplace, and thereby, helped to institute it as an art form.

Histories of photography groups or schools have been documented in a variety of publications, many of which were produced as catalogues to mark anniversary exhibitions. An example is *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence*²¹ (1983), a publication which features an essay on Harry Callahan (1912-1999) and brief reflections on his teaching by his former students. Similarly, in *Alternative Lineage: Five Decades of Mentoring Alternative Photographic Processes Honoring Betty Hahn*²² (2014), a catalogue for an exhibition at the Center for Photographic Art curated by Shelby Graham, traces the link between photographic output of educators and students turned educators over the span of five generations.

Publications related to specific photographers and biographies have proved useful to the research as well. Recent interest in photographic pedagogical models has made some classroom assignments public through publications such as *The Photographer's Playbook: 307 Assignments and Ideas*²³ (2014) and in *Buffalo Heads: Media Study, Media Practice, Media Pioneers, 1973-1990* (2008).²⁴ Books such as *Nathan Lyons: Selected Essays, Lectures, and Interviews*,²⁵ Henry

²¹ Louise E. Shaw, Virginia Beahan, and John McWilliams, *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence* (Atlanta: Georgia State University Art Gallery, 1983).

²² Shelby Graham, *Alternative Lineage: Five Decades of Mentoring Alternative Photographic Processes Honoring Betty Hahn* (Carmel: Center for Photographic Art, 2014).

²³ Jason Fulford and Gregory Halpern, *The Photographer's Playbook: 307 Assignments and Ideas* (New York: Aperture, 2014).

²⁴ Steina Vasulka, Peter Weibel et. al. *Buffalo Heads: Media Study, Media Practice, Media Pioneers, 1973-1990*, ed. Steina Vasulka. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).

²⁵ Nathan Lyons, *Nathan Lyons: Selected Essays, Lectures, and Interviews*, ed. Jessica S. McDonald (Austin: University of Texas at Austin Press, 2012).

Holmes Smith: Collected Writings 1935-1985;²⁶ *SPE: The Formative Years*;²⁷ and *The Education of a Photographer*²⁸ reproduce original essays and transcripts, which would otherwise only be accessible through archival research. These writings, therefore, act as a foundation upon which further analysis can be undertaken. They also provide a means to return to original sources, rather than accepting existing and later secondary interpretations.

Memoirs by photographers or gallery owners have also proven to be useful as they act in a similar fashion as an interview, providing insight into an individual's understanding of their circumstances. Limelight gallery founder Helen Gee (1924-2004), for example, spent time in her biography reflecting upon the impact her classes with both Lisette Model (1901-1983) and Sidney [Sid] Grossman (1913-1955) had on her life.²⁹ This record of teaching methodologies is of particular interest, as it traces the influence of an educator on a student, as well as the student's subsequent trajectory.

Of vital importance to the documentation of the education of photography are Dr. C. William Horrell's (1918-1989) surveys conducted on the state of photographic education in the United States and Canada between 1964 to the 1980s.³⁰ These reports contain details about the number of institutions offering courses in photography. Additional statistics include the kinds of degrees that were offered and program focus areas (ex. photojournalism, art, police photography,

²⁶ Henry Holmes Smith, *Henry Holmes Smith: Collected Writings 1935-1985*, eds. James Enyeart and Nancy Solomon (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography, 1986).

²⁷ Nathan Lyons, *SPE: the Formative Years* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012).

²⁸ Charles H. Traub, Steven Heller, and Adam B. Bell, ed., *The Education of a Photographer* (New York: Allworth Press, 2006).

²⁹ Helen Gee, *Limelight: A Greenwich Village Photography Gallery and Coffeehouse in the Fifties* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

³⁰ See for example Horrell, Dr. C. William. *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States* (New York: American Society of Magazine Photographers, 1964); Horrell, Dr. C. William. *A Survey of Motion Picture Still Photography and Graphic Arts Instruction* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1978); and Dr. C. William Horrell, *College Instruction in Photography, A Survey: Motion Picture, Graphic Arts, Still Photography* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak, 1982).

etc.). Information on the guiding philosophies of the departments and the number of graduates is also provided, forming a detailed statistical record of a large portion of the examined period.

Sociological Perspectives

Studies produced on photography education from the field of sociology concentrate on the importance of social connections. Barbara Rosenblum, for example, deliberated on the way photographers are trained in *Photographers at Work: a Sociology of Photographic Styles* (1978).³¹ This study considered the impact of photography's social groupings through a three-pronged approach that examined the organisation of professional work, the influence of institutions on the formation and support of common understandings of the profession, and an individual's conceptions about what they do.³² For her study Rosenblum examined three streams she identified in photography education: photojournalism, advertisement, and fine art. She then compared the different pedagogical approaches to describe the impact of social networks on the production of aesthetics³³ and thereby, creative output. In relation to art photography, Rosenblum found that:

[a]ttending art school has other consequences, the paramount one being the placement of the student within a network that has strong links with the institutional apparatus for conferring recognition, namely the 'art world' of galleries and museums. The school's second important function is that it confers credentials, now a mandatory requisite for teaching in publicly supported schools.³⁴

³¹ Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work: a Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1978).

³² *Ibid.*, 6.

³³ Rosenblum uses 'aesthetics' interchangeably with 'stylistic approach' and does not delve into the philosophical implications of the word.

³⁴ Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work*, 32.

A similar study, made at the same time in 1979, was undertaken by Judith E. Adler focusing on California Institute of Arts (CalArts) in *Artists in Offices: An Ethnography of an Academic Art Scene*.³⁵

Attempting to grapple with the growing value of photography, sociologist Richard W. Christopherson wrote two articles, both published in 1974, on photographers' understanding of photography.³⁶ In "From Folk Art to Fine Art," Christopherson explored the importance of social networks in the establishment of photography as an art form. He explained the socially established requirements of the production of art, arguing that photographers who are engaged in this kind of photography had to formulate breaks in social circles to define the process as art or a hobby. The artist photographers were reported as distancing themselves from behaviours that were associated with amateur photographers. They were often educated in photography at an institution, believing in a requirement of emotional transmissions through their art and a shunning of commercially viable aesthetics and work. Christopherson detailed the importance of being accepted into an artists' network in order to be acknowledged as an artist. He explained that such networks were formed by teachers, museum curators, collectors, gallery owners, and established artists. He noted that photography, like many other developing art forms, had journals, institutions, and critics, which set the standard for what is considered art and distinguished it from amateur work.

In 1982, American sociologist Howard S. Becker published *Art Worlds*.³⁷ While Becker addresses photography frequently in this study, the book considers all art forms. In the text,

³⁵ Judith E. Adler, *Artists in Offices: An Ethnography of an Academic Art Scene* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1979).

³⁶ Richard W. Christopherson, "From Folk Art to Fine Art: A Transformation in Meaning of Photographic Work," in *Urban Life and Culture* 3.2 (1974): 123-157. and "Making Art with Machines: Photography's Institutional Inadequacies," *Urban Life and Culture* 3.1 (1974): 3-34.

³⁷ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

Becker identifies how 'art' is solidified, arguing that it is dependent upon the confirmation of, and interaction between, multiple layers of social networks and consensus. Becker contends that an art world could be considered like any other field of production, in which there are multiple, active players in various roles. For example, while artists are typically seen as possessing special unique talents to produce art, Becker states that the manufacturers of their art products (camera manufacturers, paint producers, and so on) must also be considered in the process of art, as they influence the kind of work that can be created. Through this careful consideration, the artist and the art object become embedded in a web of connections that are composed of multiple layers of influence, including artists, curators, writers, historians, audiences, and manufacturers. It is through these networks that an object is produced and becomes accepted as art.

This sociological study also explains that these various social circles are required to change an object's status from craft to art. These circles, however, are only stable for a short period, as innovation is a key aspect of the art world. Becker, therefore, discusses the social function of art as a product of labour, where groups of individuals are crucial to the establishment of a field. Understanding the implications of art photography as a product of labour requires consideration of its impact on commerce. Here again, groups and institutions become important to the understanding of the trajectories of the medium. Individuals of influence include the artist, the gallerist, the curator, the auctioneer, the critic, the collector, the gallery visitor, and so on.

To Becker, an art object is produced through a series of interpersonal relationships that constitute the field. As such, the artist may produce a work, but the work must be considered in relationship to its sphere of production: the audience, the manufacturer, the educator, the peer circle, the channel of dissemination, and so on. Becker's understanding of history as an

intellectual construction, which is formulated to boost specific conformities of art worlds, is also important, as he explains:

An art world, finally, creates a history which shows how it has from its beginnings produced work of artistic merit and how a steady line of development has led inevitably from those beginnings to the present situation of undoubted achievement of high-art status... At some point in an art world's development, such historians appear and begin to construct a more or less official version of the medium's history, ignoring most of the work produced in the past and concentrating on a few workers and works which embody the aesthetic now regarded as appropriate for such a medium.³⁸

This understanding of art history is key as it clarifies why some artworks were never included or have fallen out of established histories.

³⁸ Becker, *Art Worlds*, 346.

Part 1. Education Prior to 1965

Chapter 1. “Go Out and ‘Dig it Out’ for Oneself:” Photography Education Prior to 1965

Institutional Context

This chapter surveys photography education before 1965, with a focus on American institutions. Few degree programs dedicated to photography existed in the university and college setting prior to 1965; those that did were the exception rather than representative of larger trends.

Photography courses were included in some design and journalism programs. Outside of the university and colleges, polytechnics, commercial schools, institutes, and art centres became important spaces for the early support of photography education. Such programs typically drew faculty from local photographers who had achieved some commercial success as photojournalists, portrait, and commercial photographers. On rare occasions, creative photographers were hired as well.

The 1930s saw a boom in photography magazines, which in turn led to a greater interest in photography. Much of these publications were rooted in commercial aspects of photography where product and production were deeply entwined. Simultaneously photography developed a large audience within the amateur market supported by companies such as Kodak.³⁹ While creative photography had emerged fashioned by pictorialist and straight photographers, it remained largely marginalised in relationship to commercial and amateur photography practices.

³⁹ For a detailed history of Kodak and the rise of the amateur photographer see Colin Ford and Karl Steinorth, eds. *You Press the Button, We Do the Rest: The Birth of Snapshot Photography* (London: D. Nishen, 1988).

The value of photographs during this period lay in their ability to illustrate other ideas rather than function as expressive tools.

There were, however, advances in the institutionalisation of creative photography. Most importantly, between the 1930s and the 1950s, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), founded in 1929, and the George Eastman House (Eastman House), established in 1947, began to regularly hold photography exhibitions not only in their respective cities of New York and Rochester but also across the United States and Canada through their travelling program. This provided an important outlet for creative photographers by providing them with exhibition spaces and by maintaining photography collections that could be studied, an important aspect of knowledge production that could augment the scholarship provided by photography periodicals or apprenticeships.⁴⁰

Texts on photography were key to education, as they published formulas and tips for the reader. Slowly, publications on photography became more readily available. Most publications emerging during this period catered to photography's technical aspects. Historical writings on the medium emerged in the 1930s, paving the way for the creation of a discourse by the 1970s.

In order to better contextualise the educational developments after 1965, this chapter will briefly examine educational patterns emerging from camera clubs, workshops, independent lecturers, vocational schools, and higher education. As creative photographer and educator Clarence White Jr. (1907-1978) explained in 1956:

Back in the early 1920's, there were three ways in which one could learn photography. One was to acquire a camera and the necessary materials; read all the information one could find; join a group of camera enthusiasts, usually a camera club; and go out and "dig it out"

⁴⁰ MOMA began collecting photography in 1930. In 1947, the Eastman Kodak Company's photography collection was amalgamated into the George Eastman House's collection, marking the institution's shift to photography collecting. These were not the first museums to collect photography. Earlier institutions such as the de Young museum and the Metropolitan Museum accepted photography into their collections in 1897 and 1928 respectively.

for oneself. Another was to become an apprentice in a good studio where the photographer in charge had the time and the interest to guide the beginning photographer. The third was to enroll in a trade school, one where they gave thorough training in design, technique and practice, and where the instructors gave the student the individual attention and guidance needed. The first was slow and expensive; the second depended upon the photographer in charge and, while relatively inexpensive, was slow; the third offered the quickest route to the development of the necessary skills and aptitudes, was easier, more efficient, and more economical in the long run.⁴¹

As such, the importance of these early educational modes cannot be overstated. The grouping of the various kinds of educational institutions offering photography that are discussed in this chapter is not to suggest that their institutional goals were similar, but rather to establish the different ways in which the education could be accessed.

During this period, credentials from educational institutions were not as important as they would become. As there were few photographers treating photography as a serious creative medium, the ones who were active in the field quickly established reputations. This suggests that formal education, while important, was only a small part of their influence on the emerging field.

There is little statistical data available on the study of photography prior to 1954, when Adrian L. TerLouw, then Educational Consultant at Eastman Kodak Company, compiled *A Survey of Photography Instruction in Colleges, Universities, and Technical Institutes*. In his survey of American schools, he found that one hundred and eighty-two institutions offered one-semester courses in photography. Thirty schools offered photography as a major credit.

Photography was largely associated with Science Departments, followed by departments of Education, Art, Journalism, and Engineering.⁴²

⁴¹ Clarence White Jr., "Photography at Ohio University," *Aperture* 4.3 (1956): 92-93.

⁴² Departments: Science 47, Education 32, Art 24, Journalism 15, Engineering 4, Other 17. See Adrian L. TerLouw, *A Survey of Photography Instruction in Colleges, Universities, and Technical Institutes* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1954), [1].

The second edition of *A Survey of Photographic Instruction* published by the Eastman Kodak Company was released in 1960 as “a resumé of instruction in American colleges, universities, technical institutions, and schools of photography.”⁴³ The findings indicated that four hundred institutions were teaching one or more courses in photography and that fifty of these offered “a major credit in photography.”⁴⁴ At some institutions, photography was offered in multiple departments, such as Journalism and Science. The largest number of photography courses was found in the amalgamated category of ‘Photography and Other Courses,’ which documented three hundred courses. The second largest number of courses was offered by Journalism Departments, followed by Science, and Art.⁴⁵ The survey included two-year terminal courses as well as degree programs.

Over the course of the next three decades, Dr. William Horrell, Associate Professor of Photography at Southern Illinois University, conducted surveys on the state of photography education with the support of the American Society of Magazine Photographers (ASMP) in 1962. The results were published with the help of ASMP’s magazine *Infinity* the following year in 1963. Despite his efforts, sixty percent of the institutions approached did not respond. This not only signifies the difficulty of assessing the status of photography education in 1963, but also reflects the larger struggle students had at that time in accessing information about institutions offering photography courses, let alone degrees. Part of the trouble of mapping photography education was linked to its different uses of photography. Horrell noted in 1963 that:

[t]he fact that photography in American colleges⁴⁶ is taught in so many different departments and under so many different course titles

⁴³ Eastman Kodak Company, *A Survey of Photographic Instruction*, second edition, (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1960).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, [1].

⁴⁵ Departments: Photography or other courses 300, journalism department 100, science department 40, art department 30. *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁶ Horrell uses colleges to encompass a wide variety of higher-education institutions including colleges, universities, institutes, art schools, and polytechnics.

is probably a reflection of two things – the broad application of photography to many different disciplines and its relative newness as a college subject.⁴⁷

Not taken into account in Horrell's surveys were the numerous institutions across Canada and the United States that offered photography education as part of continuing education, night classes, and occasional workshops. People attending such courses did not necessarily have an interest in photography as a serious pursuit; those who did were much more likely to report an interest in photojournalism and involvement in the magazine industry rather than in photography as a creative activity.⁴⁸

Photographic Societies and Clubs⁴⁹

Photography was first established as a technology and a commercial trade rather than an art, leading to its rejection by the beaux-arts educational system. Borrowing educational models relating to training commonly used in apprenticeships, photography was taught as a set of skills.⁵⁰ These relationships focused on transmission of skills from master to pupil, by word-of-mouth and local demonstrations. Examples of this can be seen with figures such as François [Fauvel] Gouraud's (1808-1847) public demonstrations of the daguerreotype in America.⁵¹ His impact on the trajectory of American photography would be felt through his students, such as

⁴⁷ Dr. C. William Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States* (New York: American Society of Magazine Photographers, 1964), [2].

⁴⁸ In Horrell's chart of the career objectives of the photography courses, the largest primary goal was that of newspaper photojournalism (107 primary responses), followed by magazine photojournalism (24 primary responses), and part of general art program (20 primary responses). Ibid., [4].

⁴⁹ For a summary of photographic clubs and societies see Kevin Moore, "Amateur Photography, History," and Clément Chéroux, "Clubs and Societies, Photographic," in *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, ed. Robin Lenman and Angela Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). <https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662716.001.0001/acref-9780198662716>.

⁵⁰ On the distinction between education and training see Doug Stewart, "Photographic Education – Some Distinctions," *Exposure* 18.3,4 (1980): 16-19.

⁵¹ Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America*, 3rd edition, (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1976), 27.

Albert Sands Southworth (1811-1894) and Josiah Johnson Hawes (1808-1901).⁵² Soon, similar showings were found at camera clubs, where members encouraged each other to demonstrate their photographic experiments, innovations, and achievements.

The quest for photographic knowledge however, was left unquenched by apprenticeships and manuals. The gap between education and training would be filled through the formation of early camera clubs. Associations such as the London Photographic Society (1853, which became the Royal Photographic Society in 1894), Société française de photographie (1854), the Photographic Society of Philadelphia (1860), The Montreal Camera Club (1892), and the Toronto Camera Club (1888) pushed the medium forward through educational seminars, journals, and exhibitions. Peer critiques were prominent during these assemblies, allowing members to share their personal photographic visions. These photographers also organised field trips where they would practice capturing photographs together [fig. 1.1]. These nineteenth-century societies, associations, and camera clubs flourished as photography was coming into maturity. While the camera clubs were typically associated with specific local communities and personal or small gathering spaces, early photographers also applied to join international clubs that would support their ambitions for the medium and raise their own status through peer recognition. In other words, photographers at times looked beyond their local circles to find a support system. Alexander Henderson (1831-1913) for example, was the first member from North America to join England's Stereoscopic Exchange Club.⁵³

The impact of such clubs, however, can be traced beyond their initial organisation. The history of The Camera Club of New York displays the impact of such organisations in realising

⁵² "Southworth & Hawes," in *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, ed. Joan M. Marter, volume 1 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 520.

⁵³ "Societies, Groups, Institutions, and Exhibitions in Canada," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy, ed., (London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), 1290.

the different potentials of photography. In 1884, the Society of Amateur Photographers was formed by a group of photographers who were eager to discuss the advancements of the medium without the influence of trade interests. The group placed its emphasis on serious scientific applications and saw themselves in opposition to photography's growing mass popularity. In December 1888, a sub-group of these photographers broke from the organisation to create their own assembly, founding the New York Camera Club. In part, this break was likely to have been influenced by their interest in photography as a creative medium. The two organisations rejoined in 1897 under the influence of Alfred Stieglitz⁵⁴ (1864-1946). To mark the new union, the organisation was renamed the Camera Club of New York. The new club quickly distinguished itself as a network of serious amateurs with Stieglitz acting as vice-president and chairman of the Publication Committee, where he oversaw the production of *Camera Notes*.⁵⁵ Yet soon thereafter, in 1902, Stieglitz broke from the club and abandoned his editorship of the publication to form the Photo-Secession, bringing with him members who he felt shared an understanding for the potential of photography as an art form.⁵⁶

At times, such organisations were founded within schools as can be seen with the Colby College Camera Club based in Waterville, Maine. In 1937, the club opened a school of photography to satisfy the interest at Colby for photography studies. The school was proposed by Edwin H. Shuman (1914-2004), club president, to aid first-year students looking to learn more about the fundamentals of photography technique. However, demand for the school was high and

⁵⁴ Stieglitz was awarded an honorary fellowship to the Royal Photographic Society in recognition of his contributions to the field of photography in 1924.

⁵⁵ For a brief history of the Camera Club of New York see Valerie Wingfield's finding-aid for the "Camera Club of New York Records, 1889-1983," in The New York Public Library Humanities and Social Science Library Manuscripts and Archives Division, July 1993, accessed February 8, 2021, www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/archivalcollections/pdf/cameraclub.pdf.

⁵⁶ For a longer discussion of the history of the Photo-Secession see Robert M. Doty, *Photo Secession: Photography as a Fine Art* (Rochester: George Eastman House, 1960).

applications came from not only students, but also faculty, and even some local residents. The classes were led by senior club members.

Beyond the planned five-evening course, the Colby College Camera Club organised photography excursions to nearby noteworthy landmarks. Members met bi-weekly to discuss their work and demonstrate techniques. The club organised an annual photography display in the school's library. After the exhibition period, the collection was sent on tour to other camera clubs.⁵⁷

The importance of participating in camera clubs as an introductory link to various photography networks continued well into the 1960s. Part of their popularity had to do with advice from established figures such as photojournalist Arthur Rothstein (1915-1985). In a 1951 interview published in *Popular Photography*, Rothstein told readers they should “join a camera club and enter prints in salon exhibitions”⁵⁸ to learn photography, a crucial step to their ultimate success in the field. This advice was based upon his own experience: he had joined a camera club while still in high school, and then started one at Columbia University with his classmates when he found no outlet there for his interest in the medium.⁵⁹

In 2000, Gerald H. Robinson (b. 1927) recalled that in the early days of Portland's Oregon Camera Club in the 1950s, many of its members were unable to sustain themselves from photography alone. As publications such as *Aperture* (founded in 1952) emerged, the group used these as sources of inspiration, studying the reproductions of Minor [Martin] White (1908-1976), Edward [Henry] Weston (1886-1958), Ansel Adams (1902-1984), Stieglitz, and Paul Strand

⁵⁷ Anonymous, “Colby Club to Open School of Photography; Even Faculty Members Enroll as Beginners,” *New York Times*, October 10, 1937, 48.

⁵⁸ Mildred Stagg, “A Career in Photo Journalism: Arthur Rothstein of Look Magazine, High-Ranking Camera Reporter, Reveals the Important Secrets of His Success,” *Popular Photography* 28.2 (February 1951): 58

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

(1890-1976).⁶⁰ Group 15, as they dubbed themselves, consisted of photographers, painters, sculptors, a musician, a poet, and an architect who started meeting monthly to discuss their creative work and art publications. These collaborations led them to seek other likeminded artists, who they invited to conduct workshops such as Minor White.⁶¹

Education offered by camera clubs varied significantly based on member interests and activities. Some clubs offered technical classes led by members of the organisation. Others held critiques of members' work. Select groups invited established figures to hold intensive workshops. At times, a combination of all these approaches existed. The richness of these activities also impacted educational institutions. It was not uncommon for universities and colleges to draw upon prominent members of camera clubs to develop their curricula. At times, these very demands for photography education by clubs resulted in the establishment of programs, as can be seen in the case of Ohio University. Photography courses at Ohio University were originally incorporated into the College of Fine Arts department in 1937, yet enrollment in the class was so high that within a few years, a separate undergraduate major was established.⁶² Here, we can see that the ambitions set forth by early camera clubs were continuing into newly established organisations.

Photography Schools Directed by Photographers

In 1906, impressed by Clarence Hudson White's (1871-1925) creative photographic work, Stieglitz encouraged Columbia University to hire him as a photography teacher.⁶³ Stieglitz

⁶⁰ Gerald H. Robinson, "Minor White in Oregon: A Personal Recollection," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101.4 (Winter, 2000): 510.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 513.

⁶² Clarence White Jr., "Photography at Ohio University," *Aperture* 4.3 (1956): 92.

⁶³ Nancy M. Stuart "Photographic Higher Education in the United States," *the Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007): 212.

recommended White for the position because they shared an understanding of photography's importance as art.⁶⁴ In 1907, White was offered a job teaching pictorial photography in Columbia University's Teachers College. Within a year, he also began teaching at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. The student body at the school at that time was primarily composed of women and the program aimed to produce art educators.⁶⁵ White indeed worked to educate his students with this goal in mind. He had, however, additional ambitions. For example, he believed that art education could encourage upward social mobility through an appreciation of life. White also appropriated John Dewey's (1859-1952) Project Method in the classroom, eagerly experimenting with this pedagogical model.⁶⁶ This approach stimulated learning through practice, whereby students were encouraged to follow their own interests and delve into different subjects through activities.

White created a summer school where he, along with photographer Gertrude Käsebier [née Stanton] (1852-1934) and painter Max Weber (1881-1961), he offered critiques of short assignments [fig. 1.2]. Unlike the Columbia program, the setting was more informal. By 1914, encouraged by the summer's success, White opened the Clarence H. White School of Photography in New York.⁶⁷ The thirty-week program of courses included classes on technical skills and art appreciation.⁶⁸ Because White valued art's contribution to society, he encouraged his students to produce ad campaigns and aided in their publication, as can be seen in the

⁶⁴ White left Ohio for New York to work more closely to Stieglitz in 1906. At the time, Stieglitz was still working as a pictorialist. Four years later, he abandoned the stylistic approach.

⁶⁵ Bonnie Yochelson, "The Clarence H. White School of Photography," Museum of Modern Art, 'Object: Photo,' 1-2. Accessed May 27, 2020. <https://assets.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Yochelson.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 2. The term 'the Project Method' was formalised further by Dewey's student William Kilpatrick.

⁶⁷ More information on Clarence H. White School and Clarence White see Anne McCauley, Peter C. Bunnell, Verna Posever Curtis, Perrin M. Lathrop, Adrienne Lundgren, Barbara L. Michaels, Ying Sze Pek, and Caitlin Ryan, *Clarence H. White and His Work: The Art and Craft of Photography, 1895-1925* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁶⁸ Yochelson, "The Clarence H. White School of Photography," 3

example of his student Paul Outerbridge's *Ide Collar* [fig. 1.3]. The school's students included Canadians such as Margaret Watkins (1884-1969), who attended the program in 1917. Two years later, Watkins started teaching at the school, remaining active into the late 1920s.⁶⁹

Paul Anderson (1880-1956), also a faculty member at the Clarence White School of Photography, published in the 1915 issue of *Photo-Era*, a monthly magazine dedicated to artistic photography, his thoughts on "The Education of the Photographic Artist."⁷⁰ Through this article, the reader can form a picture of his ideal class, one in which technique is important, but worthless if the resulting print is lacking a message. Anderson was appalled with what he saw as the increasing trend to educate through memorisation and made a plea toward a shift in education to enhance imagination, a tool he saw as vital to the development of any field. He further believed that photography educators should emulate the teachers of other arts, showing students designs by masters and explaining why such works were successful. As he wrote in the article, the student should be encouraged to:

make an effort to express in each print some thought or emotion, that he never make an exposure heedlessly, and that he try to make even his technical exercises true pictures... the student should always endeavor, not only to have a definite purpose in view, but also to reach conclusions promptly, thereby strengthening a good mental habit, since the photographer's opportunities often last but a few seconds, and vacillation may result in the loss of a good picture.⁷¹

In order to do so, Anderson recommended that students' work be critiqued on three essential aspects: thought, design, and technique. Students should also be given adequate time to ask and respond to questions. The workshop model of small classes with engaged students was key to

⁶⁹ Lori Pauli, *Margaret Watkins: Domestic Symphonies* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2012), 144.

⁷⁰ Paul Anderson, "The Education of the Photographic Artist," *Photo-Era* 35 (December 1915): 269-272.

⁷¹ Paul Anderson, "The Education of the Photographic Artist," republished in Donna Bender, *Paul Anderson: Photographs* (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography, 1983), 8-9.

this method. At the very least, class size to Anderson should be determined by students' ability to easily view the lecturer's demonstrations. Similarly, critiqued prints had to be limited to the number that could be discussed and considered in the allotted time.

When World War I forced Columbia to close their photography program in 1917, the students were brought into White's school. This fluid relationship between the two institutions demonstrates the state of photographic education at the time. Here, photography education's strength was not found within one institution's walls, rather with the individual practitioners. The relationship between the university and school, however, declined after White's death and was not fully re-established until the mid-1940s when White's son, Clarence White Jr. rekindled it.⁷² This connection was perhaps encouraged by the fact that White Jr. had been acting as Head of the Department of Photography at Ohio University.

Photography in Higher Education

Ohio University was notable for its early combination of photography, design, and art history. It offered a Bachelor's Degree in Photography in 1943, forming a Master's program three years later. However, the university was not the first post-secondary institution to offer photography classes. Scattered lectures on the medium in post-secondary institutions in America commenced on October 5, 1839, with D. W. [David William] Seager's lecture of the daguerreotype process at the Stuyvesant Institute⁷³ of New York City.⁷⁴ The Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics

⁷² Van Deren Coke, "The Art of Photography in College Teaching," *College Art Journal* 19.4 (Summer, 1960): 333.

⁷³ The Stuyvesant Institute was founded in 1835. According to a brief announcement published in the *New York Times*, the Medical College of the University (New York University) subsequently purchased the Institute. The building was later purchased by two Broadway firms. See "The Stuyvesant Institute," *New York Times*, June 12, 1886, 8. The New-York Historical Society Museum and Library holds the papers of the Stuyvesant Institute and describe it was a "library, museum, and lecture hall in New York City." See Series XIV: Stuyvesant Institute in MS 605 Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, The New-York Historical Society Museum and Library, New York, New York, the United States of America.

⁷⁴ Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America*, 23.

Institute (later to become the Rochester Institute of Technology, RIT) initially offered evening courses in photography, in 1902, guided by Eastman Kodak Company's Director of Training and Personnel Earl Billings.⁷⁵ Photography was also taught in a variety of departments – for example, the Sociology Department at Harvard University or the Geology Department at Kansas State University.⁷⁶ These programs, however, were not characterised by artistic ambitions for the medium. Much like the early training-based pedagogical models, they focused on producing skilled technicians, not artists.

Moreover, there was little motivation coming from higher-education institutions to expand their photography programs or course offerings. An article by C. B. [Carroll Bernard] Neblette (1901-1977), published in *Popular Photography* in 1946, described the current climate of education at that time:

At the present time, opportunities for teaching photography are almost negligible because few schools and colleges offer extensive training in this field. A knowledge of photography and the ability to conduct classes in it, however, may help an instructor in chemistry or physics to get a position teaching this subject.

Photography, as it is taught in the few colleges and universities offering such training, is usually more or less incidental to such subjects as journalism, engineering, physics, forestry or medicine. Often it is not included in the curriculum at all unless some faculty member, whose major efforts must be devoted to other courses, happens to be particularly interest[ed] in the application of photography to his particular field. Classes either deal with photography from the standpoint of particular work to the exclusion of its scientific aspects, or less frequently, are solely concerned with photography as science.⁷⁷

Neblette was well aware of the state of photography education, as he was one of the first two faculty members in the photography department at RIT. Neblette and Frederick F. Brehm (1871-

⁷⁵ Stuart, "Photographic Higher Education in the United States," 213.

⁷⁶ Christopher Burnett, "Photographic Workshops: A changing Educational Practice," 216.

⁷⁷ C. B. Neblette, "Careers in Photography," *Popular Photography* 19.2 (August 1946): 172.

1950) had originally been employed by Kodak before being sent to the school to teach photography part-time in 1930.⁷⁸

The educational requirements of schools were changing in general, if slowly. Neblette asserted in 1940 that “[t]here is no longer such certainty as once existed that the end of education is adequately met by the three R’s.”⁷⁹ The new curriculum would not replace subjects such as Latin, but rather, it would attempt to augment a student’s study through extra-curricular activities. To Neblette, the ability to study multiple subjects at once was provided exciting opportunities for cross-pollination between different subject areas, thereby enhancing all of them. Beyond this, there was a growing realisation that the economic world demanded graduates had more than the classical training in order to be productive members of the workforce.

According to Neblette’s 1940 article, “Photography as an Extra-Curriculum Activity,” the study of photography was not part of a school’s social responsibility to teach, in the same sense as was the education of “automobile-driving, crime prevention, sex education, etc.”⁸⁰ Despite photography’s proliferation in individuals’ daily lives, through magazines, newspapers, books, posters, and so on, Neblette argued the medium did not warrant inclusion in an already over-busy course schedule, even as an extra-curricular activity. The value of photography lay not in its illustrative qualities but in its ability to enhance multiple skillsets, including science, self-expression, art, craftsmanship, and technical savvy.⁸¹ Photography’s inherent social nature and ability to entice individuals to share and look at photographs made it a useful tool to attract students to experiment with physics, chemistry, drama, writing, and natural sciences.

Furthermore, Neblette reasoned that photography could be used as a tool to develop various

⁷⁸ Stuart, “Photographic Higher Education in the United States,” 213.

⁷⁹ C. B. Neblette, “Photography as an Extra-Curriculum Activity,” *The School Review* 48.10 (December 1940): 764.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 765

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 765-766.

passions. As he explained, “[t]he photography of birds is, admittedly, much more difficult, yet obtaining good bird pictures is not wholly beyond a patient, amateur photographer of secondary-school age, and a genuine love of birds is almost certain to grow out of such an activity.”⁸²

By 1957, two Bachelor of Science degree programs (Photographic Science and Applied and Professional Photography) and one Bachelor of Fine Arts degree (Illustrative Photography) were offered at RIT. In all programs, a student was expected, in the words of Neblette, to broaden their “perspective on science while at the same time increasing his sensitivity to life and the world about him.”⁸³ It was anticipated that graduates from science programs would support and enhance the scientific development of photography, an industry with many opportunities in Rochester, where Eastman Kodak had turned the city into an industry hub.⁸⁴

While separate from the scientific program, the Illustrative Photography program at RIT also placed a high value on the scientific nature of photography. In 1957, Ralph [M.] Hattersley [Jr.] (1921-2000), one of the instructors in the Illustrative Division believed that too often creativity was:

confused with anarchy, superficial artiness, blind experimentation, oddness for its own sake, childish rebellion against cultural traditions, even a form of insanity... by following the ‘creative recipes’ set forth by the camera magazine, i.e., it’s a solarized, bas-relief, high contrast, or hypo-splashed print. Instructors at the Institute steer their students around these erroneous notions.⁸⁵

This statement sheds light on the ways RIT approached the study of photography. For example, graphic experimentation was clearly frowned upon. Electives in the Illustrative Division at the

⁸² Ibid., 767.

⁸³ C. B. Neblette, “The Department of Photography at the Rochester Institute of Technology,” *Aperture* 5.1 (1957): 34.

⁸⁴ As stated earlier, the connection between Kodak and the program was strongly entwined.

⁸⁵ Ralph M. Hattersley Jr., “The Illustrative Division,” *Aperture* 5.1 (1957): 38.

time directed students toward commercial applications, in photojournalism, portraiture, or commercial photography.⁸⁶

This attitude contrasted with that of the Institute of Design in Chicago where experimentation was encouraged.⁸⁷ At the Bauhaus-based institution headed by László Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946), a balance between technician and designer was sought [fig. 1.4 reproduces his early notes on establishing a curriculum at the school]. Founded in 1937, the school would change names from the New Bauhaus in Chicago to the Chicago School of Design (1939), before settling on the name the Institute of Design at Illinois Institute of Technology (1944) (Institute of Design).⁸⁸ Moholy-Nagy, who was rooted in modernism, encouraged students to study photography for its inherent qualities. Archivist Nathaniel Parks (b. 1975) explained in 2008 that the school was:

neither an industrial design school nor an art school in the purest sense, the Institute of Design... brought fine arts, craft, and business together. It did so in an environment that built upon the generalist pedagogical foundation of the Bauhaus to create a new and unique amalgamation of American pragmatism and European theory.⁸⁹

At this Institute, faculty and students were encouraged to collaborate. Faculty was not expected to dictate assignments to students but rather encourage them to experiment in response to their own experiences.⁹⁰ When the school opened, first-year students were required to study sketching and photography, the fundamentals required for architecture, and sciences. The upper-year

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Much has been written about the Institute of Design including a special issue of *Aperture [The New Vision: Forty Years of Photography at the Institute of Design]* issue 87 (1982); Keith F. Davis, Elizabeth Siegel, and David Travis, *Taken by Design: Photographs from the Institute of Design, 1937-1971* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2002); and Kristina Lewis, *New Bauhaus Chicago: Experiment, Photography* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2017).

⁸⁸ For a brief chronology of the school see *Aperture*, “Chronology,” *Aperture [The New Vision: Forty Years of Photography at the Institute of Design]* 87 (1982): 73-74.

⁸⁹ Nathaniel Parks, ““Universal Designers”: Collections from the New Bauhaus and the Institute of Design,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 34.2 (2008): 73.

⁹⁰ Charles Traub, “Photography Comes of Age,” *Aperture* 87 (1982): 31.

students took one of six workshops. Photography could be found as part of the Light Workshop. Those who chose to pursue photography at the school were given degrees in design, not photography.⁹¹

Photograms, a key component of the curriculum, were used as a means of teaching students the fundamentals of photography: light, form, and texture [fig. 1.5]. By manipulating objects placed on light sensitive paper, the students learned how the resulting designs and patterns could evoke responses. Nathan [Bernard] Lerner (1913-1997), an evening student of Moholy-Nagy's, later recalled that some of the students sneered when they started with the photogram because they believed it was:

‘abstract art; it doesn’t mean anything.’ Then they found they were responding to forms that had nothing to do with subject matter. They realized that subject matter without a proper vehicle could lose its significance.⁹²

Personal connections were considered during the hiring process at the Institute of Design; graduates of the program soon joined as faculty. Lerner was put in charge of the photography workshop between 1941 and 1943. In 1946, Moholy-Nagy hired Arthur Siegel (1913-1978), also a graduate, to head the Photography Department. Henry Holmes Smith (1909-1986) for example, was hired to teach the first-year photography course⁹³ in 1937 after meeting Moholy-Nagy.⁹⁴ Smith was aware of Moholy-Nagy's approach to photography and was highly influenced by his 1928 publication *The New Vision*. Susan C. Cohen wrote in 1983 that “*The New Vision* had

⁹¹ Ibid., 21.

⁹² Nathan Lerner as cited by Charles Traub, “Photography Comes of Age,” 31.

⁹³ Smith's course outlines and notes can be located in Box 16 “Henry Holmes Smith Education,” File 9 “Bauhaus: Class outlines and related material, 1937-1938” and File 10 “Bauhaus Class material, 1937-38,” AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁹⁴ Nathan Lerner as cited by Charles Traub, “Photography Comes of Age,” 28.

confirmed his [Smith] search for unconventional means of photographic expression. He was particularly intrigued with Moholy's non-representational photograms."⁹⁵

Smith would go on to teach photography in the Department of Fine Arts at Indiana University at Bloomington, forming undergraduate courses in photography in 1948 and a graduate program in 1952. Graduates became notable artists and teachers and included Jerry N. Uelsmann (b. 1934) and Betty Hahn (b. 1940).

When Harry Callahan and Aaron Siskind (1903-1991) were hired at the Institute of Design as faculty members, in 1946 and 1951 respectively, they shifted the school's approach to photography from objective experimentalism to the subjectivity of personal vision. At the time, Callahan and Siskind were becoming increasingly celebrated through exhibitions and publications. Kenneth [Ken] Josephson (b. 1932) decided to attend the school because he wanted to study with Callahan and had a scholarship from the G.I. bill. While he was less aware of Siskind, he had seen his published work in *Aperture*.⁹⁶

A special issue of *Aperture* dedicated to five photography students⁹⁷ from the Institute of Design in 1961, indicated, at the very least to the readership of the journal, that the school was worthy of attention. The fact that members from the Institute of Design edited the issue demonstrates not only individual ties between the individuals, but also that the Institute of Design was consciously managing its image. Minor White's editorial for the issue justified the focus, stating that:

[b]ecause no one school at the present time offers all that is desirable to fully fit craftsmanship, hand in glove, to expressive-creative

⁹⁵ Susan E. Cohen, "The Critic's Tale: A Commentary on Henry Holmes Smith's Writing on Photography," in *Henry Holmes Smith Papers*, compiled by Charles Lamb and Mary Ellen McGoldrick, 7-16, (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, 1983): 9.

⁹⁶ Carl Chiarenza, "Talk W[ith] Josephson Re: Siskind As Teacher," [1], Box 4 "Carl Chiarenza Audio Tapes", File "Tape 8 AS/CC Biog etc.," AG 87 Carl Chiarenza Collection, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁹⁷ The students were Ken Josephson, Joseph Sterling, Charles Swedlund, Ray K. Metzker, and Joseph Jachna.

purpose, a student of photography as a medium must shop around for a visual education. The photography department at the Institute of Design in Chicago, which generously conceived and laid out this issue, features the patience to encourage individual student discovery.⁹⁸

At the time, White was teaching at RIT and was regularly holding workshops.

Photography Education on the East Coast, Localised in New York

Prior to accepting his position at the Institute of Design, Aaron Siskind had been active in the New York Photo League,⁹⁹ an important aspect of his education in the medium. In a 1970 interview with photographer and historian Carl Chiarenza (b. 1935), Siskind recalled that he was introduced to some photographers through the Photo League in the late 1940s.

I knew about [Edward] Weston when I was in the Photo League – one guy put on a big burlesque of Weston – we had a ball and this guy put on a little act with an 8X10 camera, dressed himself up like Weston, stumbling over rocks – but we respected him. Ansel [Adams] came around too, I must have seen some of the pictures.¹⁰⁰

The Photo League, which grew out of the earlier Workers Film and Photo League, provided a vital social support system for photographers. In 1936, The Photo League began offering affordable classes that were inspired by both the Bauhaus and progressive social movements. The group focused on producing socially conscious photographs, ones that would construct a story and evoke feelings in the viewer. Individuals active as educators in the Photo League,

⁹⁸ Minor White, "Editorial," *Aperture [Five Photography Students from the Institute of Design]* 9.2 (1961): front interior cover.

⁹⁹ For a longer discussion of the Photo League see Mason Klein and Catherine Evans, *The Radical Camera: New York's Photo League, 1936-1951* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

¹⁰⁰ [Aaron Siskind interviewed by Carl Chiarenza], June 15, 1970, page 21, Box 4 "Carl Chiarenza Audio Tapes," File "Ken Josephson on A.S. as Teacher. Tape 5A," AG 87 Carl Chiarenza Collection, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

included Berenice Abbott (1898-1991) and Paul Strand. The school was directed by Sid Grossman.

In a class in March 1950, Grossman stated that he believed that “most people come to photography from vastly different motivations than when they go into other medium. People go into painting with a widely accepted understanding of the function of painting as a cultural medium.”¹⁰¹ Grossman did not view his role as an educator as one that bore any responsibility for making something of his students. Rather, he expected his students to demonstrate initiative.¹⁰² Clarifying his intentions in the same lecture, he told them:

I am not asking you to give me an expression of what your problem is, but I am suggesting that you must do a great deal of research, so to speak, a lot of searching within yourself and a great deal of research in an almost literal sense – studying the work of other photographers, studying anything that has to do with art, every expression of art and every comment on art, for ideas.¹⁰³

Embedded in Grossman’s course lectures were the names of photographers that students should study; he gave particular weight to Eugène Atget (1857-1927). He used pictorialists as examples of photographers who were pursuing beauty as part of escapism.¹⁰⁴ Grossman lectured on a broad spectrum of photographic work, yet his presentation made his biases and values known. He saw a distinction between his own activities and those of photojournalism, as can be seen in his review of reactions at the Photo League symposium in March of 1950:

I heard some people who should know better, one picked up his tommy gun and let loose when he heard the word “art” and the other ran like hell, the third one dealt with it with a pair of white cotton

¹⁰¹ [First lecture], March 1950, pages 4-5 [also marked 13-14], Box 1 “Sid Grossman: Papers and Publications,” File 2 “Transcript of Notes for Class, ca. 1953,” AG 56 Sidney Grossman Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰² Second session, March 1950, 3, Box 1 “Sid Grossman: Papers and Publications,” File 2 “Transcript of Notes for Class, ca. 1953,” AG 56 Sidney Grossman Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ [First lecture], March 1950, 12, Box 1 “Sid Grossman: Papers and Publications.”

gloves. The three reactions were very significant of the kind of attitudes toward art, and toward the question of realism and naturalism in art and photograph. One guy was afraid of art – that was Roy Stryker – he kept making the most tremendous praises for the newspaper photographer, because every time he seen an artist, used the word art in photography, he saw confusion. He saw romanticism. He saw attempts to put qualities that don't belong there. And so he rejects the whole concept of art. He doesn't understand that art is the catalytic which takes the photogra[ph] through the natural scene.¹⁰⁵

Favouring neither pictorialism nor photojournalism, Grossman was attempting to encourage photography as an expressive tool that could lead to social change. The photographer had to be socially conscious. The print was of less concern.

Not everyone was a fan of The Photo League's approach. Ansel Adams, who at the time was running one-week workshops at Yosemite National Park, was critical. In 1940, he wrote a letter to the league's newsletter *PhotoNotes*:

Most of you people seem not to worry much about such things as prints; you worry about pictures... But permit me to raise a peep about this – your best picture, would hit harder if the print of it conveyed an enlarged experience... You and I know thousands of swell pictures have been weakened – emasculated – by careless attention to the final vehicle – the print.

... I am sure most of you are very different from each other, photographically, but I am wondering how different you are in the visual values of your work. I know of very few of you directly, but I do know that about 75% of your type of photographers adhere to a technique pattern; and that pattern does not take into consideration the vital impact of individual expression.¹⁰⁶

Here, the differences in photographic education become evident. For Adams, the print was of most importance; without it, an emotional response to the pictorial content could not be reached.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ansel Adams, "A Letter from Ansel Adams," *PhotoNotes* (June-July 1940): 5.

For the educators of the Photo League, the story could be communicated through composition and series; the print as such, was of little importance.

In the end, The Photo League's socialist political leanings led to its demise in 1951. At the time, any Communist or Socialist leanings were seen as treason. Beyond any beliefs a person may hold, if they had any association with others who had such political tendencies, it was seen as incriminating and could lead to a loss of employment, blacklisting, or incarceration. The period came to be known as McCarthyism, named after Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957), who presided over the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Americans' fear of being accused of being a Communist led to significant institutional censorship and self-censorship; it destroyed countless lives and pushed many organisations underground. Many of the teachers from the Photo League returned to their roots, teaching students out of their homes. In 1997, Helen Gee, founder of Limelight recalled a typical class with Sid Grossman at his home, as follows:

Sid sat at the head of the table, and, cigarette in one hand, coffee cup in the other... he launched into a monologue... Sid seldom looked at the students' work...but what he gave us was more valuable than individual criticism. His passion and commitment were lessons in themselves.¹⁰⁷

Lisette Model similarly offered classes in different schools, including the then California School of Fine Arts,¹⁰⁸ the New School for Social Research, and also taught out of her home. She shared values with the Photo League, as she described in one of Sid Grossman's 1953 classes:

[a]s a photographer when you tell a story, you have to use art, but here we assume you are interested in becoming a specialist – an expert at telling stories. But what is lost sight of in art to such a large extent,

¹⁰⁷ Helen Gee, *Limelight: A Greenwich Village Photography Gallery and Coffeehouse in the Fifties: a Memoir* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1997), 25.

¹⁰⁸ In 1907 the school was known as the San Francisco Institute of Art. In 1916, the school became California School of Fine Arts. It would maintain this name until 1961 when it was renamed again to the San Francisco Art Institute.

that this is a story that we are telling, that it is to be important to other people, it has to do something to them, it has to have an effect upon them, there has to be some emotional response, there must be some change in their personalities as a result of this experience, it must be important enough for them to listen to the story, to look at this picture. We have lost sight of this a great deal in photography.¹⁰⁹

In 1949, Jerome Liebling (1924-2011), a former student of the Photo League and the New School for Social Research, accepted a teaching position at the University of Minnesota, where he established the school's first photography program.¹¹⁰ He would soon be joined in 1950 by State University of Iowa graduate Allen Downs (1915-1983), who worked on establishing Minnesota's film department in 1952.

The New School for Social Research (New School) opened in 1919 in opposition to Columbia University's firing of two pacifist professors, who had been campaigning against the United States joining World War I. In its first year, the New School's photography program – situated in the Faculty of Arts – was composed of lectures. The following year, full course sets were offered.¹¹¹ The New School presented itself as a progressive alternative to college education. One of the earliest photographers to be hired to teach there was Berenice Abbott. In 1933, at the time of her hire, Leo Stein (1872-1947), an art collector, critic, and Abbott's friend, was already on the faculty. The faculty also included other well-established individuals such as dancer Doris Humphrey (1895-1958), historian Lewis Mumford (1895-1990), painter Stuart Davis (1892-1964), and composer Aaron Copland (1900-1990), all of whom would have drawn

¹⁰⁹ Third session, March 1950, 70-71, Box 1 "Sid Grossman: Papers and Publications," File 2 "Transcript of Notes for Class, ca. 1953," AG 56 Sidney Grossman Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹¹⁰ For his description of the program see Jerome Liebling, "Photography at the University of Minnesota," *Aperture* 4.3 (1956): 96-97.

¹¹¹ Judith Friedlander, "the First Founding Moment," *A Light in Dark Times: The New School for Social Research and Its University in Exile* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), [3].

students through their reputations in their respective fields.¹¹² The New School continued to hire established photographers to teach classes such as photojournalist Eugene Smith, who taught “Photography Made Difficult” in 1958.¹¹³

Alexey Vyacheslavovich Brodovitch (1898-1971), who was working as an art director for *Harper’s Bazaar* was also hired to teach at the school in 1941.¹¹⁴ American photojournalist Eve Arnold (1912-2012) received no training beyond a single course with Brodovitch in 1952. Arnold recalled that in her class of sixty photographers, Brodovitch approached his teaching using the Socratic method, meaning that the students were expected to learn from each other. The students, all keen to make a good impression, tore into each other’s work. The feedback Arnold received during her first class from her peers had a deep impact on her. She took the harsh criticism to heart, determined to bring back a better assignment to the following meeting.

Assignments given to the class came from Brodovitch’s work at *Harper’s Bazaar*; for one assignment, he asked the students to address a theme in fashion. Arnold, being uncertain of the subject, asked her son’s nursemaid Dora about the fashion in Harlem, New York. On Dora’s advice, Arnold contacted Edward Brandford, the head of two modelling agencies, who suggested she attend a fashion show where model Charlotte Stribling was on the runway. Arnold used the photographs she captured of Stribling for her assignment [fig. 1.6]. Brodovitch praised her approach and suggested that she abandon the other class assignments and focus on conducting a comprehensive study of Harlem.¹¹⁵ This exchange demonstrates the faculty’s flexibility with

¹¹² Bonnie Yochelson, *Bernice Abbott: Changing New York* (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1997), 17.

¹¹³ Lincoln Kirstein, “[W. Eugene Smith: His Photographs and Notes] Chronology,” *Aperture* 14.3,4 (1969): [6].

¹¹⁴ For more information about Brodovitch see Kerry William Purcell, *Alexey Brodovitch* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2002).

¹¹⁵ Eve Arnold, *Eve Arnold: In Retrospect* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1995), 3-5.

assignments. Course requirements were clearly dictated by individual teachers rather than by the administration.

Not all students were keen on Brodovitch's idiosyncratic approach. As Arnold explained in 1995:

the class started with sixty people. Each week found it shrinking, so that at the end of short semester it was down to thirty. The ones who left wanted a formula, words of wisdom on how to achieve success in a hurry. They didn't like the idea of pulling ideas out of themselves for which they would have to find techniques to produce pictures; the message was lost on them. Those of us who stayed the course learned an important lesson about creative work: there [are] no prescriptions, no facile answers, there is only concentration and hard work.¹¹⁶

This analysis of Brodovitch's course suggests that many of the entering students at the New School were not satisfied with his method. Curator Carol Squiers (b. 1948) confirmed that his scathing critiques typically resulted in large exoduses of his students.¹¹⁷ Those who remained under his tutelage maintained that he pushed their creativity.¹¹⁸

The Art Center School: Photography Education on the West Coast

According to Horrell's survey, by 1963, California had the largest number of schools in the United States that provided photography instruction. That was forty-three schools. New York, by comparison, only had thirteen. Included in this statistic were art schools, colleges, universities, and state schools.¹¹⁹ Of the forty-three institutions, many only offered classes in photography,

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁷ Carol Squiers, "'Let's Call it Fashion,' Richard Avedon at Harper's Bazaar," in *Avedon Fashion 1944-2000* ed. Carol Squiers, Vince Aletti, Philippe Garner, 156-191, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2009), 158.

¹¹⁸ For a longer discussion of the impact of Alexey Brodovitch see Kerry William Purcell, *Alexey Brodovitch* (New York: Phaidon, 2002) and George R. Bunker, *Alexey Brodovitch and His Influence: Exhibition* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia College of Art, 1972).

¹¹⁹ Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States*, [3].

not degrees. Such courses ranged in subject including photojournalism, art, portraiture, introduction or basics of photography, colour photography, and so on. The Art Center in Los Angeles (Art Center), offered a wide range of courses in photography including photojournalism, portraiture, commercial, experimental, and art photography, making it an important hub for photography education.¹²⁰

The Art Center was a professional school in the sense that it employed professionals from the industry and taught students how to become integrated in a professional field. It was thus not an education of art for art's sake, but rather how art could be applied to creative professions such as advertising. Along with their creative classes, students were expected to develop knowledge in their field through 'business clinics' that included information about model releases, copyright, negative ownership, pricing guidance, and so on.¹²¹ The school held small classes, which were limited to sixteen students during the academic year and twenty-five during the summer session.

Unlike most universities or colleges, no grades were required to enter the school, and none were provided to students for their assignments. Appraisals of students' work were provided through group discussions and analysis. Beyond the lack of grades, the school did not distribute diplomas or accreditations, as "employers and clients evaluate photographers by performance, not documents. Portfolios of superior work produced during training result in conclusive evidence."¹²² Entry into the school was depended upon the submission of six

¹²⁰ According to Horrell the complete list of offerings were 14 semester course hours offered in photojournalism, 6 in portraiture, 22 in commercial, 3 in scientific, 6 in art, 14 in elementary or basic, 14 in experimental, 7 in colour, and 41 in advertising. Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States*, [n.p. (see Art Center School listing under California schools)]

¹²¹ The Art Center School, "The School," *The Art Center School* (Los Angeles: The Art Center, 1939): 9. Accessed through Box 10 "Wynn Bullock Activity Files", File 6 [Art Center School Los Angeles Misc. ca. 1938-1939, 1962-1966], AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 57.

photographic works and the completion of high school, although a student's scholastic standing was not part of the evaluation.¹²³

Instructors provided feedback to students on their assignments through in-class critiques. Here, prints would be shown to the class and then assessed based on formal qualities such as composition, tonal range, and print quality, as well as creative approach, originality, and the demonstration of taste.¹²⁴ Particular importance was placed on photographers' creativity and their ability to successfully express their desired message through the photograph.¹²⁵ In 1946, [Edward] Eddie Kaminski (1895-1964), a photography teacher at the school, confirmed this approach to assignments in an interview for *Popular Photography*: “[p]hotograph, not the subject... but your *interpretation* of the subject.”¹²⁶ Kaminski was interested in challenging students to think beyond the simple solution approach of assignments, to develop skills in critical thinking and the interpretation of objects. For, “you could get an actor to portray despair before your camera. But you may not always have an actor available. What can you do with inanimate objects in depicting despair?”¹²⁷

The facilities of the Art Center School focused on production and included darkrooms and studio equipment. Items required for production such as models, backgrounds, accessories, and lights were also available to students. Darkrooms were divided into two major areas, negative rooms and enlarging rooms.¹²⁸ Students were expected to supply themselves with camera equipment and various accessories that would be required to complete assignments. This

¹²³ Ibid., 55.

¹²⁴ Anonymous, “Pictures and the Art Center,” *Popular Photography* 19.1 (July 1946): 58.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 144.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ The Art Center School, “The School,” 45.

included a range of cameras, lenses, a light meter, tripod, lens shade, filters, focusing cloths, notebooks, and a portfolio.¹²⁹

Outside the classroom, the Art Center School encouraged students to explore and capture locations. As such, field trips were considered an important aspect of all classes. Beyond these excursions, students were expected to spend prolonged periods of time focused on photographing a small geographic area, thereby developing an intimate knowledge of a location, which ultimately would lead to more creative photographs.¹³⁰ The Art Center's exhibitions in the school galleries, film screenings, and guest lectures were also meant to augment the students' education. Of note for the photography students in the late 1930s would have been the exhibitions of William [Will] Connell's (1898-1961) *In Pictures*, which was part of the Paris International Exhibition, as well as Man Ray's [born Emmanuel Radnitzky] (1890-1976) solo show. Guest speakers included photography heavyweights such as Edward Steichen (1879-1973) and Edward Weston.¹³¹

Todd Walker (1917-1998) studied commercial photography at the Art Center from 1938 to 1941.¹³² It was here that Walker was introduced to the ideas of modern art, in particular Cubism and Surrealism, by his teacher, Eddie Kaminski. The study of this material incorporated into photography was meant to serve the students' creative goals for advertising layouts – that is – the practical application of art theories to commercial purposes. Kaminski also led Walker toward nude photography, which was taught as a subject at the school. In 1979, photography

¹²⁹ Ibid., 49-53.

¹³⁰ Anonymous, "Pictures and the Art Center," 144.

¹³¹ The Art Center School, "The School," 47.

¹³² William S. Johnson, Susie E. Cohen, and Todd Walker, *The Photographs of Todd Walker...One Thing Just Sort of Led to Another* (Tucson: Todd Walker, 1979), 3, 5.

historian Susie E. Cohen (b.1948) analysed Walker's work produced while at the Art Center, such as *Kaminski Beach* [fig. 1.7], as having:

a command of advertising conventions, and they also demonstrate where he could work around the conventions to make an image that was more personally controlled. One of the strongest West Coast fashions of commercial nude photography used overly dramatic lighting effects to associate the female body (not the female character) with sexual provocative aspects of narrative scenarios.¹³³

Other photographs from this period similarly display an integration and mastering of school photography assignments that focused on honing technical aspects of the medium, including lighting, perspective, and form.

Wynn Bullock (1902-1975) was another student at the Art Center, who studied with Kaminski.¹³⁴ In 1938, Bullock took an advertising photography course that was taught by multiple instructors including, [Edward A. 'Tink'] E. A. Adams (1898-1981), Will Connell, Kaminski, Albert King (1835-1912), Charles Kerlee (1907-1981), Donald Hooper, Fred Archer (1889-1963), Vernon Murdoch, and Franklin Judson. In the first class, E. A. Adams explained to the students "why a photographer is worth \$500," providing them with background in advertising, the growth of merchandising, and an explanation of the role of the photographer in agencies and what they could expect in the field. During this class, students were asked to bring ten advertisement clippings to the following class that "interested you or made you wonder why they were used."¹³⁵ These early meetings in the course were intended to build foundations.

Students would then be carefully guided through the field, introduced to the basics of layout, the

¹³³ Ibid., 7.

¹³⁴ Richard Lorenz, "Bullock, Wynn," in *The Grover Encyclopedia of American Art*, ed. Joan Marter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 367.

¹³⁵ "Photography", [course syllabi], Spring 1938, page 1, Box 10 "Wynn Bullock Activity Files", File 4 "Art Center School, Class Notes 1938-1939," AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

visualisation of photographs in layouts, advertising trends, merchandise, and working with engravers to develop prints. The classes then shifted to provide more hands-on experience in skills that would be required by advertisers: photographing glass, china, and silverware, working with posing models and lingerie models, applying basic makeup, “emotional shooting,” trick photography, and montage.¹³⁶

Readings were determined by faculty members. The importance of popular photography magazines of the period was made clear, as can be seen from clippings from *Popular Photography* and *American Photography* in Bullock’s class notes.¹³⁷ Bullock, for example, was introduced to the idea of modern photography by an article written by Edwin Clarence Buxbaum (1903-1989), “Modernism in Photography,” published in 1932 by *American Photography*. The history of art photography was introduced briefly through the work of Clarence White, Paul Anderson, Gertrude Käsebier, Alfred Stieglitz, and Edward Steichen.¹³⁸

Photographs by contemporary master photographers were also shown to the students. This can be seen in Bullock’s notes on posing men, in which a 1932 portrait of German dancer and choreographer Harald Kreutzberg (1902-1968) by Edward Weston was used as an example [fig. 1.8]. Bullock’s writing indicated an analysis of the pose in terms of its pictorial photographic qualities. He noted that the pyramidal composition was very strong. The use of pronounced lighting resulted in the deep shadows under the eyes and chin. The turning of the head to Bullock indicated that it was carefully shifted backward to allow the light to shine on the

¹³⁶ Ibid., 1-4.

¹³⁷ See “What is Surrealism,” ca. 1938, as well as various other clippings in Box 10 “Wynn Bullock Activity Files”, File 4 “Art Center School, Class Notes 1938-1939,” AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹³⁸ “Modern Photography,” ca. 1938, pages 1-2, Box 10 “Wynn Bullock Activity Files”, File 4 “Art Center School, Class Notes 1938-1939,” AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

side of the face. Accompanying these notes and observations was a thumbnail replicating the composition of the image.¹³⁹

In 1940, Ansel Adams, a friend of Kaminski's, was hired to teach in the photography department of the school. Adams was well-connected to the established photography network, having been a key member of Group f/64 and actively engaged in the founding of the Department of Photographs at MoMA.¹⁴⁰ He was also becoming more involved with workshops. Adams viewed his role as working on the improvement of the creative areas of photography. Once at the school, Adams later remembered that he:

quickly found I had little to teach by the way I did it. This was in opposition to my concept of instruction in music. The students copied everything I did (even the food I ordered for lunch) simply because I gave them no sensible alternative. That had to change.¹⁴¹

To teach the students to better understand the medium's technical requirements, Adams with the enlisted the help of Fred Archer, who was an instructor at the Eastman War School of

¹³⁹ "Posing – Men," [notes on portrait by Weston], ca. 1938, Box 10 "Wynn Bullock Activity Files", File 4 "Art Center School, Class Notes 1938-1939," AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁴⁰ Group f/64 was formed by eleven photographers, who were exhibited at the M.H. De Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco and proclaimed themselves a group on November 15, 1932. The photographers were: Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham, John Paul Edwards, Preston Holder, Consuelo Kanaga, Alma Lavenson, Sonya Noskowiak, Henry Swift, Willard Van Dyke, Brett Weston, and Edward Weston. The goal of Group f/64 was to promote a new photographic vision that would break from the prevalent pictorial approach. Pictorialism stressed the use of painterly approaches, playing with the photographic emulsion, utilising soft focus, and attempting to remove all references to the mechanical nature of photography. Group f/64 in comparison, celebrated the inherent qualities of photography, a value aligned with modernism. In effort to demonstrate the camera's vision, the group selected to use the smallest aperture of the camera, f/64, this produced photographs with great detail and continual focus from background to foreground. For a longer discussion of Group f/64 see Mary Street Alinder, *Group f.64: Edward Weston, Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham, and the Community of Artists Who Revolutionized American photography*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016). A discussion of Adams's ties to the development of the Department of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art can be located in his biography, Ansel Adams and Mary Street Alinder, *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography*, 14th edition, (New York: Little Brown and Company, 2014): 167, 169-170, 174-177, 211, 275, 284.

¹⁴¹ Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography*, 264.

Photography prior to becoming a faculty member at the Art Center,¹⁴² to develop the Zone System.¹⁴³

The Zone System was a technical framework that Adams developed and systematised to explain to his students the relationships between exposure, development, and previsualising a photograph's qualities before capturing it. This meant training the human eye to see photographically, envisioning the exposure of a photographic negative based on the zones of lights that are to be reproduced in certain tones of gray in the print. Applied properly, this would aid students to make fully exposed negatives that would be less cumbersome to print. While Adams enjoyed teaching,¹⁴⁴ he quickly found that it took too much of his time, limiting his ability to work on his photographic practice. When he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1946, he recommended that Minor White¹⁴⁵ take his place at the California School of Fine Arts. The connection was made through close, mutual friends, photography historians Nancy [Wynne] Newhall (1908-1974) and Beaumont Newhall (1908-1993).¹⁴⁶ By this period, Adams was fully consumed, between conducting his various workshops, teaching at the Art Center School, and setting up the Department of Photography at the San Francisco Art Association.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² The Art Center School, "The School," 47.

¹⁴³ Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography*, 264.

¹⁴⁴ Adams taught at the Art Center School in 1941, the Museum of Modern Art in 1945, he was the founder-instructor of the Department of photography in the California School of Fine Arts in 1946, and held workshops throughout 1955 until 1984.

¹⁴⁵ White's earliest teaching took place at a local YMCA in 1938. In 1940 he taught at the WPA Art Center in La Grande, Oregon. In 1946, White was hired to assist Ansel Adams at the California School of Fine Arts. He taught there until 1953 when he moved to Rochester to work at the Eastman House. Two years later in 1955 White joined the RIT photography faculty, becoming a full-time instructor the following year. In 1965 White left RIT to work at MIT where he remained until his retirement in 1974. See Peter Bunnell, "Minor White Archive, 1908-1976: Finding Aid," Princeton University Art Museum, accessed February 8, 2021, http://artimage.princeton.edu/files/ProductionJpegs/MWA_finding_aid.html.

¹⁴⁶ According to Adams, the Newhalls recommend Minor White to him. Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography*, 270.

¹⁴⁷ He had started the task of setting up the department in 1945. *Ibid.*, 268.

Much like Adams, White had travelled to New York to seek advice from Stieglitz. Prior to being hired at the school, White sat in on some of Adams's classes, studying and later incorporating the Zone System into his own curriculum at California School of Fine Arts. While a technical mastering of the medium was important to White, he placed great emphasis on the transmission of the artist's feelings. Photographs had to contain an element of spiritualism.¹⁴⁸

Workshops

Workshops have always formed an important part of photography education. In 1951, Earl Clarence Kelley wrote the seminal text *The Workshop Way of Learning*,¹⁴⁹ a book describing and solidifying the workshop as an educational mode. Kelley acknowledged that the method was influenced by many educational trends, mostly emerging from and practiced outside of the university. The workshop was based on a system of learning that encouraged students to continuously self-evaluate their own work, taking an active role in the classroom and shaping their own education. Teacher-student relationships were meant to reflect more of collaboration than a traditional master-pupil relationship.

By 1961, the term 'workshop' was frequently used to describe photography education models, though no clear definition existed; in response to this trend, *Aperture* commissioned a special issue on the matter. While it did not manage to provide a firm definition for the pedagogical trend, it did identify two broad classifications of the 'workshop' based on duration. In 'blitz' workshops, participants took part in an intensive study session. Weekly classes were considered part of 'intermittent' workshops.¹⁵⁰ Each of the commissioned essays by Ruth

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 270-271.

¹⁴⁹ Earl Clarence Kelley, *The Workshop Way of Learning* (New York: Harper, 1951).

¹⁵⁰ Ruth Bernhard, Nathan Lyons, Minor White, Ansel Adams, and Henry Holmes Smith, "The Workshop Idea in Photography," *Aperture* 9.4 [36] (1961): 143.

Bernhard (1905-2006), Nathan Lyons (1930-2016), Minor White, Ansel Adams, and Henry Holmes Smith approached the workshop differently but had small class sizes and a close relationship between mentor and student in common. Of note is the fact that many workshop educators were often also working as instructors at higher-education institutes. At times, they conducted their workshops in addition to their duties to their respective schools.

Ruth Bernhard taught at the University of California Extension Program and ran workshops. To help her students understand the link between images and meaning, she assigned each one a photograph to write about. The following class, two such analyses would be compared to demonstrate that the meaning of the photograph was always produced by the viewer regardless of the photographer's intention. To Bernhard, this meant that photography could communicate much more than words. To aid the students in a better understanding how to communicate their vision, she showed examples of photographers such as Wynn Bullock and Edward Weston during her instruction.¹⁵¹

Minor White similarly used photographs in his Rochester workshops that he conducted from October to January at the Eastman House as intensive daily learning periods. These workshops, each limited to four or five people, were comparable to internships where the participants aided in the museum's ongoing projects, while studying original prints from the collection. Unlike Bernhard, White's workshop classes were more structured, requiring students to purchase two textbooks, Richard Boleslavsky's *Acting: The First Six Lessons* (1933) and Eugen Herrigel's *Zen and the Art of Archery* (1948).¹⁵²

White had earlier used these texts while conducting his Portland workshops as well. Increasingly, White incorporated his interests in Zoroastrianism, Sufism, and Gurdjieff's

¹⁵¹ Ruth Bernhard, "The Workshop Idea in Photography," *Aperture* 9.4 [36] (1961): 145-148.

¹⁵² Minor White, "The Workshop Idea in Photography," *Aperture* 9.4 [36] (1961): 149.

teachings into his curricula, not only in his workshops but also in post-secondary schools. All of White's workshops were set on meticulous schedules and consumed the entire day. Daily activities included meditations, assignments photographing, printing, and mounting work, and ended with critique sessions.¹⁵³

Black Mountain College

Some workshops were built into school curricula as can be seen with the example of Black Mountain College, a privately supported institution that was founded in 1933. The college was created in direct opposition to the standard higher education represented by Rollins College, where John Andrew Rice (1888-1968), the school's founder was working. The goal of Black Mountain College was to encourage artists to be independent thinkers, produce work for themselves, and then reflect upon the work they had created. Art was meant to blend with life and prepare the student to live dynamically. Unlike traditional universities, no board of trustees was put in place to oversee the structure of courses or programs.¹⁵⁴ These were, therefore, largely shaped by the individuals who were teaching, most of whom were selected on the basis of their connection to other individuals in the photography field or actively recruited by faculty. Josef (1888-1976) and Anni [née Elsa Frieda Fleischmann] (1899-1994) Albers, both Bauhaus graduates, were pursued by Rice while they were still in Germany. Shortly before his hiring in 1933, Josef Albers had been working at the Weimar Bauhaus,

¹⁵³ Gerald H. Robinson, "Minor White in Oregon: A Personal Recollection," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101.4 (Winter, 2000): 513-514.

¹⁵⁴ JoAnn C. Ellert, "The Bauhaus and Black Mountain College," *The Journal of General Education* 24.3 (October 1972): 144-152.

teaching preliminary and introduction courses that had originally alternated between himself and László Moholy-Nagy.¹⁵⁵

By 1940, Rice had left the Black Mountain College, and Josef Albers became its head. A 1944 bulletin of the college compares the atmosphere of the summer institute to that of a commune, where the faculty and students lived on the same campus, eating their meals together in the dining hall. The location of the school in the Great Craggy Mountains of Western North Carolina was built into the experience. The farm situated on-site provided the students and faculty with food, and students were encouraged to bring clothing appropriate for walking and working outdoors. As the bulletin noted, “The College community life in the summer offers opportunities for dancing, picnics, light farm work, hiking, and swimming.”¹⁵⁶ Admission was left to the college’s committee and relied upon the interest and availability of artistic training of the teachers in the applicants’ area.¹⁵⁷ Despite the title ‘college,’ Black Mountain’s teaching approach was more aligned with that of a workshop, where educators were meant to act as guides and, therefore, did not provide the typical grades or syllabi to the students.

By the 1940s, Black Mountain College offered photography courses. In addition to design courses, photography was taught in the summer of 1944 by Josef Breitenbach (1896-1984) and Barbara Morgan (1900-1992), although not together. Both would teach, practice, lecture on photography, and produce an exhibition while at Black Mountain. Breitenbach’s class focused on photography’s artistic and commercial tendencies [fig. 1.9]. He also planned six lectures on different fundamental aspects of photography, including how photographs transform

¹⁵⁵ Albers went on to teach the courses independently between 1928 to 1933. For a longer discussion of Albers and Moholy-Nagy relationship see *Albers and Moholy-Nagy: from the Bauhaus to the New World*, ed. Achim Borchardt-Hume, (London: Tate Publishing, 2016).

¹⁵⁶ *Black Mountain College Bulletin: Art Institute Summer 1944*, 1944, 11, Box 30 “Josef Breitenbach Education: Paris, 1930s Black Mountain College, 1944-1947, 1967,” File 14 “Black Mountain College: Publications, 1944,” AG 90 Josef Breitenbach Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

space, colour, and time, as well as the history of photography. Morgan, for her part, demonstrated, discussed, and provided criticism of photographs in her class, mirroring the experience of a workshop critique. Her two illustrated lectures would be on “photographic vision” and “control of elements and technique in photographic expression.”¹⁵⁸

In April 1946, Josef Albers wrote to Josef Breitenbach asking him to return to Black Mountain for a week during the Summer Art Institute. By this time, Beaumont Newhall had been scheduled to be at Black Mountain College to lecture on photography. Albers clarified that if Breitenbach were to join the college, they would announce he was offering “individual advice in photography”¹⁵⁹ rather than a course.¹⁶⁰ Albers first invited Beaumont and Nancy Newhall to the Black Mountain College’s summer institute in 1946. That summer, Beaumont gave a series of lectures illustrated by slides on the history and aesthetics of photography.¹⁶¹ He also screened films he had borrowed from the Museum of Modern Art in New York.¹⁶² Between 1946 and 1948, Beaumont Newhall continued reworking his 1937 MoMA exhibition catalogue into *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*. The lectures he gave while working at the summer institute formed an introduction to college-level teaching.¹⁶³ In the fall of 1949, Hazel-Frieda Larsen (1921-2001) became the first full-time appointed instructor for photography

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 8-9.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from Josef Albers to Joseph [sic] Breitenbach, April 9, 1946, Box 30 “Josef Breitenbach Education: Paris, 1930s Black Mountain College, 1944-1947, 1967,” File 8 “[Black Mtn. College: Correspondence with Josef Albers 1944-1947]” AG 90 Josef Breitenbach Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ The series had titles such as “‘the Tradition,’ ‘Photography in the Twentieth Century,’ ‘Photographic Vision: An Approach to the Aesthetics of Photography,’ and ‘Photography as an Expression.’” Beaumont Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993): 173.

¹⁶² For his account of his summer at Black Mountain College see Ibid., 172-175.

¹⁶³ Diana C. Stoll, “Learning to See: Photography at Black Mountain College,” *Aperture Online*, February 22, 2017. Accessed May 27, 2020. <https://aperture.org/blog/black-mountain-college-means-seeing/>.

education. Up until that point, photography was only included as a course in the summer sessions.¹⁶⁴

The G.I. Bill

The expansion of photography education into colleges, universities, and institutes was in large part tied to the United States G.I. Bill of Rights, signed in June 1944. The bill introduced a number of veteran benefits.¹⁶⁵ Among them was a guarantee of education aid that could be applied to any study at any institution. Financial assistance could be put toward books and tuition up to \$500 for a year, and \$50 per month would be provided for living expenses. Aid would be delivered for one to four years, depending on the number of years a veteran had served in the military. Some institutions such as Yale University made special arrangements for returning veterans to be matched with a faculty advisor, who would assist them with their educational goals. Other institutions did little to change their curricula. *Life* magazine at the time reported that veterans at the University of Southern California were having a difficult time reacclimating to the school and objected to take courses such as “Hygiene and Health, Behavior of Modern Society, and Principles of Learning.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ For a longer discussion of photography at Black Mountain College see Julie J. Thomson, *Begin to See: The Photographers of Black Mountain College* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2017).

¹⁶⁵ The G.I. Bill was applicable to any veteran regardless of gender or race. Yet women and individuals of colour were more likely to face systemic barriers to accessing their benefits, or be unaware that they were eligible for them. The most significant change to enrollment related to the G.I. Bill for Black veterans occurred in Historically Black Colleges. During the war women composed 49.8% of all students in higher education. In 1948, women enrollment dropped to only 28.8% of the student population, and by 1965 only made up 38.6%. This implies that two decades after the conclusion of the war women had yet to reach their earlier levels of participation. For a longer discussion of the broader implications of the G.I. Bill see Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America 1945-1965* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

¹⁶⁶ Anonymous, “When You Come Back Here Are Answers to Your Questions About the Future,” *Life* 17.3 (September 25, 1944): 54.

Veterans who had worked in the army as photographers or used their cameras on the battle fronts returned home increasingly interested in pursuing employment in photography. So popular was this phenomenon that Mildred Stagg wrote a detailed article about “Jobs for Veterans” in 1946. According to her, “if every person now in the photographic industry should step down to make room for a veteran, nine out of ten veterans who wanted to get in photography still couldn’t find room.”¹⁶⁷ The training of these veterans, who were largely men, was focused on the most rudimentary application of photography, aimed at teaching the largest number of people to expose, develop, and print pictures. This, to Stagg, was “a fine foundation for a *hobby*, not a profession.”¹⁶⁸ To bolster one’s chances at getting a job in the field – in terms of commercial industries such as advertising, portraiture, or photojournalism – Stagg recommended that individuals commit to working on photography over a long period of time outside of major photographic hubs, thereby gaining field experience. Moreover, veterans were encouraged to bolster their art backgrounds and creative imagination which would service them in all aspects of the photography world. Those seeking employment in advertising, magazines, press, portraiture, and documentary had to approach professionals or seek membership in professional organisations to obtain entry.¹⁶⁹

Responding to this demand, schools increased their photography courses and at times, created new programs. Advertisements peppered throughout the pages of photography and general interest illustrated magazines during the 1940s indicates that schools were actively recruiting G.I.s. A 1947 ad for the Texas College of Photographic Art in San Antonio, Texas, located one block from the Alamo, proclaimed “Scenic and Historic San Antonio/ The

¹⁶⁷ Mildred Stagg, “Jobs for Veterans,” *Popular Photography* 18.5 (May 1946): 43.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Photographers' Wonderland/ Veterans may enroll under G.I. Bill/ LEARN PHOTOGRAPHY NOW/ Fascinating Work – Excellent Pay.”¹⁷⁰ An advertisement in the September 1950 edition of *Popular Photography* for the Progressive School of Photography in New Haven, Connecticut featured a photograph of a scantily clad woman posed on the beach [fig. 1.10]. The copy, echoing the form of a wave, enticed the reader to “take pictures like this,” specifically targeting veterans. Not only were veterans singled out as an audience, the text indicated that, for a veteran to receive his benefits, schooling under the G.I. Bill must commence before the middle of the year. The courses would be led by William [Bill] Gerdes, a former president of the Photographers Association of America. It is interesting to note that coeducation and women were also highlighted in the advertisement.¹⁷¹

Photojournalism

In higher-education settings after World War II, photojournalism was the most likely means for individuals to seek photography education. In 1963 Horrell documented ninety-nine schools that offered photography through their Journalism Departments.¹⁷² Yet photography in Journalism Departments was still more likely to be a minor than a major.¹⁷³ The term ‘photojournalism’ can be traced back to Frank Luther Mott (1886-1964), the Dean of the School of Journalism in the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri, who, in 1924, declared that “photojournalism is the visual reporting of news for publications in newspapers and magazines.”¹⁷⁴ Professional photojournalists prior to World War II and the G.I. bill were much more likely to be educated

¹⁷⁰ [Texas College of Photographic Art Ad.], *Popular Photography* 20.1 (January 1947): 188.

¹⁷¹ [Progressive School of Photography Ad.], *Popular Photography* 27.3 (September 1950): 107.

¹⁷² Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States*, [2].

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Frank Luther Mott as cited by Guenther Cartwright, “Photojournalism,” *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres. (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007), 339.

through an apprenticeship or working in a newspaper darkroom.¹⁷⁵ Much like creative photography education, photojournalism educators were likely to reach out to established figures for guidance while establishing their curricula. This can be seen with University of Missouri photography professor Clifton [Cedric ‘Cliff’] Edom (1907-1991), who repeatedly wrote Roy [Emerson] Stryker (1893-1975) to keep tabs on the current trends outside of Missouri. This correspondence would lead to the establishment of the Missouri Workshop in 1949.¹⁷⁶

Such classes responded to the increasing commercial demand for photojournalists, as well as growing interest from students. The University of Missouri students were eager to create a support system for themselves. In 1945, students at its journalism school founded a photography fraternity naming themselves Kappa Alpha Mu. High academic standing in photography classes and at least average grades in all other areas was a requirement for entry.¹⁷⁷ Jane Scarbrough was president and Dorothy Kaufman worked as the secretary. The fraternity was made up of thirteen photography students from the School of Journalism and six honorary members, including Frank L. Mott; John R. Whiting, the managing editor of *Popular Photography*, and Roy Stryker, who was working at the time on a documentary project for Standard Oil.

The students organising Kappa Alpha Mu were advised by their photography instructor, Cliff Edom, who believed that the photographer had a great deal of responsibility to the press. As such, Kappa Alpha Mu could support a photographer “in the honest, direct and profitable discharge of his duty.”¹⁷⁸ Within a year, six more colleges and universities launched Kappa

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Howard Chapnick, *Truth Needs No Ally: Inside Photojournalism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 278.

¹⁷⁷ “Photographic Fraternity Founded at U. of Missouri,” *Popular Photography* (September 1945): 68.

¹⁷⁸ “U. of M. Forms Photo Group,” *Popular Photography* (September 1945): 88.

Alpha Mu fraternities. The additional branches also expanded the number of honorary members to include [Arthur Usher Fellig] Weegee (1899-1969), Joseph [Joe] John Rosenthal (1911-2006), Marie Hansen (1918-1969), and John R. Whiting, then managing editor of *The Magazine of the Year*, among others.¹⁷⁹ Beyond acting as a support system for students, Kappa Alpha Mu supported endeavours in the field; the Athens, Ohio, branch, for example, held a subscription to *Aperture* in 1954.¹⁸⁰

In 1946, Kappa Alpha Mu organised its first Collegiate Photography Exhibition at the University of Missouri. One hundred and eighty-five prints were submitted from eighteen schools. In total, fifty prints were selected for the exhibition. Beyond the exhibition walls, the display was reported on in *Popular Photography*. The winner in the best print category, Floyd Bright, a veteran and student at the University of Oklahoma, was also given a special prize of working at *Popular Photography* for a week and visiting photographers in Chicago, according to an account published in the December 1946 issue of *Popular Photography*.¹⁸¹ Bright was encouraged to submit work to the exhibition by Truman Pouncey (1907-1972)¹⁸² his journalism photography professor.¹⁸³

The following year, in 1947, the exhibition was again covered by *Popular Photography*. The winner was awarded an Eastman twin-lens Reflex camera sponsored by the magazine. The prize camera showcased the way commercial entities were supporting students' activities and aligning themselves with this population. Moreover, it displayed the symbiotic relationship between popular photography magazines and camera manufacturers. While the prize was

¹⁷⁹ Joseph Foldes, "College Photographers," *Popular Photography* 19.6 (December 1946): 66.

¹⁸⁰ "Subscribers," *Aperture* 2.4 (1954): back cover.

¹⁸¹ Foldes, "College Photographers," 66.

¹⁸² In 1952, Truman Pouncey wrote *Photographic Journalism, A Guide for Learning with the Graphic*.

¹⁸³ Foldes, "College Photographers," 211

originally given to Sally Schilling, she was disqualified when it was discovered that her photograph had been taken two years earlier, violating the rule that submitted work must have been taken within a year of the exhibition. Entries for the 1947 exhibition swelled as six hundred and ninety-one prints were submitted from sixty-seven schools. Applications were also reported from Canada, indicating the wide reach of the fraternity's activities. Unlike the previous year, only twenty-five prints were selected for exhibition, as judges Edward Steichen, Wilson Hicks (1870-1970), and Joe Sprague selected images that displayed:

not the [work of] 'fancy' photographers. They were pictures which had import. They were pictures taken in such a way as to be refreshing and interesting. They were pictures which showed simplicity in, and mastery of, technique. They were pictures which told their stories with honesty and integrity. They were all beautiful photographs.¹⁸⁴

This statement suggests that in accordance with the emerging practices of photojournalism, the value of photographs was placed on their ability to communicate information. Beauty here was constructed through the successful recording of events, not the sentiments of the photographer.¹⁸⁵

Exhibitions as Display and Advertisement

Kappa Alpha Mu's decision to quickly incorporate annual exhibitions into their programming was no doubt in part inspired by what they were witnessing in the field. Camera clubs organised many exhibitions to display the work of their members, at first out of necessity, as little infrastructure existed for the public display of photography as an art. Workshops similarly tended to incorporate some form of display during the course to showcase the work of their students.

¹⁸⁴ Jane Peterson, "Undergraduate Lenses," *Popular Photography* 21.4 (October 1947): 163.

¹⁸⁵ This notion lends itself to the idea of unbiased reportage, an impossible goal.

Such a display, although much earlier, was captured by Margaret Watkins in the summer of 1920, while she was attending the Clarence H. White School [fig. 1.11].

At times, exhibitions were used as a means of publicising photography programs goals and achievements rather than artistic accomplishments. In a 1947 exhibition of student work at the Cooper Union for Advancement of Science and Art, a private college in New York, the goals of its photography curriculum were described in the display. The introductory panel noted that none of the students had previous experience with photography. The course had commenced with training in photograms, providing students with the fundamentals of producing “abstract compositions, for tonality and dynamics. They are the most diversified and show an astonishing range of personal approach.”¹⁸⁶ At the beginning of the year, Breitenbach had taken over Cooper Union’s Photography Department. Photography at that time was not a major subject at the college and the curriculum contained no professional training for photographers. Instead, photography was taught as part of the advertising curriculum where students would devote one session a week to the subject.¹⁸⁷ The exhibition demonstrated that “[p]hotography is as well a creative means of expression in its own as one of the most valuable medium for advertising. As the aim was not to train professional photographers, Mr. Breitenbach devoted the time to create understanding for this specific potentialities of photography.”¹⁸⁸

Displays showcasing the work of particular courses or programs were most commonly seen in teaching institutions, though exceptions can be found, such as the 1942 exhibition *How to*

¹⁸⁶ [Cooper Union Exhibition], 1947, 3, Box 31 “Josef Breitenbach Education: Black Mountain College, photogs. 1944 Florida Southern College, 1944-1947 Cooper Union, 1947-1966,” File 10 “Cooper Union: Exhibition By students, ca. 1947,” AG 90 Josef Breitenbach Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, [1].

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

Make a Photogram, hosted by MoMA.¹⁸⁹ The exhibition was circulated between different schools including Williston Academy in East Hampton, Massachusetts;¹⁹⁰ the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minnesota;¹⁹¹ and Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut.¹⁹² Featured as part of MoMA's circulating exhibitions between 1941 and 1943,¹⁹³ it included only camera-less images made by members of the Institute of Design in Chicago. Eighteen panels combined text and photographs to introduce viewers to photograms, the selected images derived from everyday objects that were arranged to create patterns [fig. 1.12]. It was designed by László Moholy-Nagy, in collaboration with György [Geroge] Kepes (1906-2001) and Nathan Lerner, fellow faculty members from Institute of Design, to showcase the school.¹⁹⁴ As mentioned earlier, the photogram was a crucial aspect of the curriculum.

This is not to say that exhibitions displaying particular modes of production at different schools were always well received. In a March 1953 lecture, Sid Grossman lamented the quality of an exhibition at the Photo League showcasing work from the Chicago Institute of Design:

[f]rom what I saw there, I have no doubt that the Chicago Institute of Design is not a very useful place for people who are primarily interested in creative photography, in doing photography as we are. It turns out to be a pretty mechanical thing. The first glance at this show was absolutely sensational – grapefruit instead of titties – it overwhelmed me.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ The Museum of Modern Art, "The Making of a Photogram or Painting with Light Shown in Exhibition at Museum of Modern Art." Accessed May 27, 2020. https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325335.pdf.

¹⁹⁰ Museum of Modern Art, "Circulating Exhibitions," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art*, 9.3 (February, 1942): 15.

¹⁹¹ Museum of Modern Art, "Circulating Exhibitions," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art*, 10.3 (February, 1942): 24.

¹⁹² Museum of Modern Art, "Circulating Exhibitions," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art*, 10.4 (April, 1943): 16.

¹⁹³ Museum of Modern Art, "Exhibitions circulated from 1931 through June 30, 1954," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 21.3, 4 [Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954] (Summer 1954): 27.

¹⁹⁴ Nathaniel Parks, "'Universal Designers': Collections from the New Bauhaus and the Institute of Design," 75.

¹⁹⁵ Fourth Session reel 1, March 23, 1950, [n.p.], Box 1 "Sid Grossman: Papers and Publications," File 2 "Transcript of Notes for Class, ca. 1953," AG 56 Sidney Grossman Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

To Grossman, the display revealed the use of the pictures in the study of design, as visual exercises. While the photographs of objects were well done, they were not art. They did not challenge the viewer to a new understanding, nor did they evoke an emotional response from him. To Grossman, this was in part because the photography program was under the Design School and therefore not responding to photography alone. Grossman reported that shortly before Moholy-Nagy's death, Moholy-Nagy had approached him to teach at the school. Grossman rejected the offer because he did not believe his teaching values aligned with those of the Bauhaus, and as such, the Institute.¹⁹⁶

Beyond the walls of particular schools, photography educators were increasingly being recognised by their peers for their contributions to the growth and shaping of the field. In 1960, Limelight Gallery, a photography gallery established by Helen Gee, a former student of Lisette Model and Sid Grossman, held *Photographs by Professors*. The exhibition was “arranged to celebrate the rapidly increasing interest in photography as taught in university of design or fine arts programs.”¹⁹⁷ The selected educators consisted of Lou Block (1895-1969) from University of Louisville, Allen Downs from the University of Minnesota, Walter Rosenblum (1919-2006) from Brooklyn College, Aaron Siskind from the Institute of Design, Henry Holmes Smith from Indiana University, Minor White from RIT, and Van Deren Coke (1921-2004), then at the University of Florida.

Coke, who penned a review of the exhibition for the *College Art Journal*, embedded in the article a history of photography education, concluding that these educators represented four major trajectories in the conceptualisation and approach of creative photography. The first

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Van Deren Coke, “The Art of Photography in College Teaching,” 334.

approach, social documentary, was reflected in the work of Block, Downs, and Rosenblum. The second style of photography required the transformation of the original subject through the photograph leading to a new reading of the captured object; photographers listed under this category were White and at times, Coke himself. Thirdly, creative photography, identified as carrying symbolism or metaphors, was most clearly demonstrated in the work of Siskind and White. Finally, the fourth tendency was a creative approach to the medium itself, a manipulation of light and photo-sensitive papers; Smith here was used as an example. The group, entirely composed of men, represented to Coke the individual modes of photographic expression as reflected in the educational field.¹⁹⁸

Individuals interested in pursuing education in photography outside of their local institutions were likely attracted to photographers who had some form of public recognition. This can be seen in the case of Barbara Crane (1928-2019), who elected to attend Chicago's Institute of Design. She would later recall that she:

went out to meet Aaron Siskind who lived in Chicago. I had followed his work since I was in New York in 1948, 1949. He had a show at the Museum of Modern Art around 1949 and I sort of followed whatever happened. And when I wanted to buy his first book I had to special order it.¹⁹⁹

Education and Opportunities Through Networking

The importance of networking during this time can be seen in a 1961 letter from Van Deren Coke to Nathan Lyons. Coke wrote to Lyons on three matters. The first was to request permission to use two of Lyons's prints for his upcoming publication. The second: Would Lyons

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ [Barbara Crane audio recorded interview for *Exposure?* with David Tait], ca.1975, Box 33 "Audiovisual materials, various dates audio cassettes," File "Tape: 'Barbara Crane,'" AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

be willing to write a brief essay on the work of Charles O’Neal, Coke’s former student? Third: Did Lyons know of any students who would make good graduate students?²⁰⁰ This typical interaction between individuals active in the creative photography field demonstrates the multiple roles they played. They were artists, writers, curators, administrators, recruiters, and educators.

Prior to writing Lyons, Coke had written to other photographers to help establish his network. He had earlier reached out to Minor White in May of 1954, having just commenced his experimentation in creative photography. In order to contextualise his work, Coke mentioned his educational background. This reference to education not only showed his credentials, but also embedded him into the social fabric of the field. In 1952, he had attended ‘a photographic clinic’ by Ansel Adams in San Francisco. In his letter to White, he reported that he had left the clinic “feeling that photography is a great creative medium of untapped depth but that I could not reach the technical perfection of Ansel Adams and consequently I felt quite discouraged about working with the medium.”²⁰¹ Upon coming to this realisation, Coke turned to studying modern sculpture and painting. From these sources, he was inspired to photograph his immediate surroundings – not through photojournalist approaches, he insisted, but rather as an expression of his feelings. Next, Coke detailed the conditions under which he produced each of the seventeen prints sent along with his letter. He concluded requesting comments and criticism from White and Beaumont Newhall who were both in Rochester at the time.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Van Deren Coke letter to Nathan Lyons, January 26, 1961, File “Van Deren Coke,” Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

²⁰¹ Van Deren Coke letter to Minor White, May 19, 1954, [1], File “Van Deren Coke,” Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

²⁰² Ibid., [3].

Writing from the Eastman House, White responded to Coke, encouraging his photographic work. He wrote that:

[a]dvice-wise I would suggest you keep on photographing whatever interests you and give little concern as to what category they will fit. It seems that one makes photographic art the less one tries to make it. However, study of other good photog[raph]s is useful, and study of the seeable world around is still better. If one can look at it for what it is (whatever that means) every now and then the world opens up, that which is significant stands revealed for a moment and if you can see it, usually the camera can record it.²⁰³

Museums as Sites of Knowledge

The George Eastman House, Inc. opened its doors to the public on November 9, 1949 as an independent educational corporation. Housed in Kodak founder George Eastman's Rochester, New York, home, the corporation set forth a seven-clause charter focused on the establishment, development, and support of the history of photography. These goals would be achieved through teaching, exhibiting, and collecting.²⁰⁴ The creation of the new institution was announced by the University of Rochester in partnership with Kodak. Prior to that point, the house was being used by the University of Rochester, as it had been bequeathed to the university in Eastman's will. The costs of converting the house into a museum was estimated at \$300,000 which was covered by Kodak; in addition, Kodak committed to contributing \$100,000 annually toward operating costs.²⁰⁵ The University of Rochester and Kodak would continue to influence the trajectory of Eastman House as its seven-trustee board typically included representatives from both.

²⁰³ Minor White letter to Van Deren Coke, August 24, 1954, 1-2, File "Van Deren Coke," Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

²⁰⁴ Beaumont Newhall, "On George Eastman House," *Aperture* 7.1 (1959): 18.

²⁰⁵ Anonymous, "Eastman Mansion Will Be Center of Photography at Rochester," *New York Times* June 20, 1947: 13.

Beaumont Newhall was hired in 1948 as curator of the Eastman House.²⁰⁶ As the curator of the first major exhibitions on photography, and founder of the Department of Photography at MoMA, Newhall had already established a significant reputation in the emerging field. In 1951, Chicago-based collector Alden Scott Boyer (1887-1953) donated his entire collection to the Eastman House, a total of four and a half tons of photographs, books, apparatuses, and documents. This acquisition was augmented by donations from various photography manufacturers and individual collectors.²⁰⁷ Rochester quickly became a photography hub, supporting the research and education of photography through the University of Rochester, Rochester Institute of Technology, the Eastman House, and Kodak's manufacturing centre.

By the time Eastman House was launched, MoMA had already established its photography reputation, as it had founded its Department of Photography in 1940 with David Hunter McAlpin III (1897-1989), as Trustee Chairman and Beaumont Newhall as Curator. Four years later, MoMA opened the Museum of Modern Art Photography Center at 9 West 54th Street. Bruce Downes (1900-1966), writer, critic, photographer, and editor of *Popular Photography* proclaimed that:

[t]he influence of a center such as this will by no means be confined to New York. Mr. Morgan and Mrs. Nancy Newhall, acting curator, like to think of it as a national, even an international center. Through the Department of Circulating Exhibitions and Educational Services, the Museum of Modern Art has found its largest audience *outside* New York City. Close to a hundred traveling art shows are now in circulation, and before the war many were sent abroad. Utilizing these facilities the Photography Center hopes to establish a vast network of traveling shows, a half dozen of which are already in circulation. Exhibitions are in preparation for secondary schools as well as colleges, to acquaint the new generation with the best in photography, particularly from a historical point of view. All traveling shows are

²⁰⁶ Anonymous, "Newhall in Eastman House Post," *New York Times* (September 12, 1948): 42L.

²⁰⁷ Newhall, "On George Eastman House," 19.

available to museums, colleges, schools, community organizations and camera clubs without charge other than the cost of transportation.²⁰⁸

Between 1931 and 1954, fifty MoMA photography exhibitions were booked at six hundred and seven locations in the United States and Canada. This mass circulation of not only images but their interpretation made MoMA a stronghold in the artistic presentation of the medium.²⁰⁹ In addition to the exhibitions and publications, MoMA realised the need for visual aids, and developed teaching portfolios and slide talks. The teaching portfolios, introduced in 1943, consisted of reproductions printed on lightweight panels. Texts embedded beside or over illustrations, guided the viewer, much like exhibition labels, through the reading of the object. An example of such teaching portfolios was reproduced in the museum's bulletin [fig. 1.13].²¹⁰ These portfolios were largely geared toward high-school level educators.²¹¹

In 1944, “[a] series of special lecture sets accompanied by text are planned, and two of them are already in preparation. These are *The History of Photography* and *Photography as an Art*.”²¹² Beyond this, lantern slides were to be available for loan with the goal of creating a library that supported “photographers, students, critics, collectors, teachers, and historians.”²¹³ It is unclear if the slide sets ever went into production, though the museum's general intentions were

²⁰⁸ Bruce Downes, “The Museum of Modern Art's Photography Center Will be a Mecca for America's Cameramen,” *Popular Photography* 14.2 (February 1944): 26.

²⁰⁹ Nancy was acting curator (from 1942 to 1945) and Willard Morgan became the Director in 1943 while Beaumont was away on active service (1942-1945). Museum of Modern Art, “Exhibitions circulated from 1931 through June 30, 1954,” *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 21.3, 4 [Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954] (Summer 1954): 21.

²¹⁰ Museum of Modern Art, “Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954,” *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 21.3, 4 [Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954] (Summer 1954): 10.

²¹¹ Agnes Rindge, “Educational Activities of the Museum of Modern Art,” *College Art Journal* 3.4 (May 1944): 135.

²¹² Bruce Downes, “The Museum of Modern Art's Photography Center Will be a Mecca for America's Cameramen,” 26.

²¹³ The Museum of Modern Art, “Museum of Modern Art Opens Photography Center on West 54th Street,” *The Museum of Modern Art*, October 27, 1943, 2. Accessed May 27, 2020. https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/907/releases/MOMA_1943_0059_1943-11-02_431102-56.pdf.

clear. In a 1932 press release, the museum laid out their ambitions of the library as a central hub of activity where there would be “as complete as possible a collection of photographs and lantern slides. Lectures in colleges and clubs will be arranged as well as in the museum itself.”²¹⁴

Educators who were able to travel to museums across the country saw such collections as a means to learn more about the medium and to gather teaching material. Between August and September of 1948, for example, Henry Holmes Smith, then a photography instructor in the Fine Arts Department of Indiana University, visited archives and museums in Washington, DC., Philadelphia, and New York City, to study different photography collections and examine photographic equipment. In addition to his research at institutions such as the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the American Museum of Photography (in Philadelphia), MoMA, the Metropolitan Museum (MET), and the Museum of the City of New York, Smith conducted interviews with Edward Steichen, Lejaren à Hiller (1880-1969) and Martin Bruehl (1895-1980), Paul Strand, Diane [née Nemerov] Arbus (1923-1971) and Allen Arbus (1918-2013), Ed Lock,²¹⁵ and Al Resch, then the manager of the New York office of the Associated Press wirephoto service.²¹⁶ Beyond learning from his peers and seeing photographs, Smith noted that “the most important and immediate result of the trip was the unprecedented inter-library loan to this campus of more than 100 rare and important original photographs from the Library of Congress.”²¹⁷ Part of the loan agreement allowed for the exhibition of the prints, in Indiana University’s library’s rare book room. The loan was organised by the Head of the Prints and

²¹⁴ The Museum of Modern Art, “The Museum of Modern Art,” The Museum of Modern Art. Accessed May 27, 2020. https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/82/releases/MOMA_1932_0019.pdf.

²¹⁵ It is unclear if he is here referencing Edwin Locke.

²¹⁶ “Report Of Work Done with \$250 Research Grant For Study of Esthetic History of Photography,” 1948, [1], Box 18 “Henry Holmes Smith: Education One Man Exhibitions,” File 19 “Grant applications and related material 1948-1970,” AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

Photographs Division of the Library of Congress Reference Department, Paul Vanderbilt (1905-1992), who was interested in the collection being used. Prior to this point, the collection had not been organised, and Smith described the library's plans to sort and classify the material with the long-range plan of recording them on microfilms, which would ostensibly make research there easier. In addition to this, Smith was allowed to make his own photographs of the material he saw.²¹⁸

Smith was also excited about his findings in New York, which included a group of study prints from MoMA that covered photographs made between 1850 and 1948. While the MET was unwilling to lend work to Smith, the museum provided him with space to copy pictures. Information beyond the printed images was most helpful when obtained from "men who have been active in the field of photography for the last 40 to 50 years. On another trip, I would plan to interview more of these men."²¹⁹ Here, Smith was looking to gain insight from individuals he viewed as helpful to his study rather than supporting a particular photographic approach.

Eastman House made Rochester a key location for research, with Smith placing it first on his requested application for aid for his summer 1949 travels.²²⁰ Not only were his locations changing, but the language in which he proposed the value of the trips shifted as well. In his later 1953 research grant proposal, Smith explained the importance of travel to his assembling of teaching material in relation to "the iconological principles introduced by [Erwin] Panofsky with regard to paintings and other art work of the western world."²²¹ Smith's use of Panofsky's art

²¹⁸ Ibid. This enthusiasm for microfilm projects was commonplace at the time. Since then, microfilm has come to be understood as an unreliable, fragile medium, that is highly prone to deterioration and image loss.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 3.

²²⁰ Henry Holmes Smith, "Application for a Grant in Aid of Research," ca. 1963, Box 18 "Henry Holmes Smith: Education One Man Exhibitions," File 19 "Grant applications and related material 1948-1970," AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

²²¹ Henry Holmes Smith, "Faculty Research Fellowship Application for Grant in Aid of Research," January 10, 1953, [1], Box 18 "Henry Holmes Smith: Education One Man Exhibitions," File 19 "Grant applications and related

historical approach in his justification anchored his study in an art historical field, and as such, validated his proposal as part of an established, legitimate field of study. Panofsky's method, was introduced in his 1939 book *Studies in Iconology*.²²² In it, Panofsky argued that 'iconological' approach placed an emphasis on understanding an art work within its historical context, meaning cultural, sociological, and time period.

Smith further detailed the importance of access to public photography collections for his research. Studying photographs as objects rather than as pictorial data was explained in his 1953 grant request as a response to the original art object. As he wrote:

The photographic image leans very heavily on actual objects, situations, events, places for its subject matter. Yet out of this material one photographer creates a mere factual report and another creates what some persons regard as works of art.²²³

Smith recognised that the cultural value of photographs at this period was shifting from their original intentions, from visual document to work of art. Part of this shift had to do with the increase in textual material on photography in the form of books and catalogues.

Books: Establishing How, Who, and Where

In 1945, Nancy Newhall, who worked as acting Curator of Photography at MoMA between 1942 until 1945,²²⁴ wrote "The Need for Research in Photography," an article featured in the *College*

material 1948-1970," AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

²²² Edwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939).

²²³ "Faculty Research Fellowship Application for Grant in Aid of Research," January 10, 1953, 2, Box 18 "Henry Holmes Smith: Education One Man Exhibitions," File 19 "Grant applications and related material 1948-1970," AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

²²⁴ Nancy Newhall was appointed to the position while Beaumont Newhall was on leave conducting his military service. While acting curator, Nancy Newhall curated fifteen photography exhibitions. Beaumont Newhall details this tumultuous period at MoMA in his memoir. See Beaumont Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993):101-134.

Art Journal. In it, Newhall claimed that current scholarship on photography largely addressed the medium for its technological advancements. Emphasis on photography as a technical tool disregarded its impact on artistic and intellectual outputs. As such, a reassessment of photography would no doubt produce significant changes to our understanding of art, similar to the impact Futurists had on art. Newhall further proclaimed that “[t]he history and development of photography as an art is, to the writer at least, the most fascinating field of all, and one in which America is pre-eminent.”²²⁵ She argued that prejudice about the medium as less than art form precluded it from serious research. Newhall believed that the most promising work was occurring in schools and colleges where photography was increasingly found, largely in response to the demands of students.

Four years later, in 1959, a special issue of the *Saturday Review* on the *Photography as Fine Arts* exhibition at the MET made a similar claim; the editors wrote that there existed:

an inadequate place for photography in the field of art education. But such a tradition may be in the making. Once the machinery for winnowing and evaluating photography is established, a major lack will be met, the museum director will have specific sources at his command. Meanwhile, the creative photographer will have a wider audience.²²⁶

As such, photography required an audience and scholarship to be accepted as an art form. An aspect of this work was being undertaken in institutions of higher education. The photography network was far-flung, as museums, various types of schools, and different literary formats intersected to generate both an audience for and the research to expand the field. Access to material on photography was not only desired by those involved in photography education but also by the extended field including curators.

²²⁵ Nancy Newhall, “The Need for Research in Photography,” *College Art Journal* 4.4 (May 1945): 204.

²²⁶ Anonymous, “Photography in the Fine Arts,” *Saturday Review* (May 16, 1959): 35.

Beyond magazines and journals, books on photography published during this period can be broken into four major categories. The first consisted of technical manuals with information about the ‘how-to’ aspect of photography. The second offered historical surveys of the medium. The third group was comprised by exhibition catalogues. The fourth category was the pictorial survey, typically an annual that functioned between the exhibition catalogue and popular magazine, such as the *Photography Year Book* (London) and the *Photography Annual* (New York). Photographic education placed importance on the first three categories, as can be seen in Joseph Breitenbach bibliography for a course at the New School [fig. 1.14].

Books containing technical information about different aspects of the medium grew greater in numbers as the century progressed. Prior to this, technical guides were largely formulated by individuals through collections of periodical articles. A 1927 review of C. B. Neblette’s book *Photography: Its Principles and Practices*²²⁷ in *The Science News-Letter* proclaimed that the book “fills a long-felt need.”²²⁸ Unlike the advice provided in popular magazines, Neblette’s book was geared toward individual looking to better understand the fundamental scientific and chemical principles behind photography. This advice went beyond that of the manufactures’ guides, allowing individuals to reach a deeper understanding of how different aspects of the medium worked and why. The book was well received, and by 1953 Neblette released an updated and expanded fifth edition titled *Photography: Its Materials and Processes*. In 1953, D. A. [Douglas Arthur] Spencer (1901-1979), a key figure in the development of colour photography, reviewed the new edition, stating that it was “a member of

²²⁷ C. B. Neblette, *Photography: Its Principles and Practice* (London: Champman & Hal, 1927).

²²⁸ Society for Science & the Public, “First Glances at New Books,” *The Science News-Letter* 11.321 (June 4, 1927): 361.

that very limited class of perhaps half-a-dozen works which are ‘musts’ for the library of the photographic technician.”²²⁹

Jacob Deschin’s (1900-1983) *New Ways with Photography: Ideas for the Amateur* showcases another market of well-received ‘how-to’ books. Deschin’s 1936 publication catered to the hobbyist, as indicated by his title and introduction.²³⁰ The book focused on capturing the image, rather than its development or printing. The little information provided about the wet aspects of the medium was dedicated to how to best streamline the process. Deschin would have been well known to those interested in photography as he wrote a regular column in *Popular Photography* and was hired in 1941 to write a photography column in the *New York Times*.²³¹

Photographers also authored ‘how-to’ books. Ansel Adams’s 1935 *Making a Photograph*²³² is a good example. At this point, Adams was already well established through his frequent articles in *Camera Craft*. *Making a Photograph* was focused on providing technical information but unlike Deschin’s book it was illustrated with Adams’s own photographs. These were high quality reproductions made on letterpress and tipped-in the book. Links to the creative photography community can be seen throughout the edition, including a foreword by Edward Weston. Adams would later expand this book into the Basic Photo Series published in 1948, a step-by-step guide to the Zone System addressed over four books: *Camera & Lens: Studio, Darkroom, Equipment*,²³³ *The Negative: Exposure and Development*,²³⁴ *The Print: Contact*

²²⁹ D. A. Spencer, “Notes on Books: Photography – Its Materials and Processes,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 101.4909 (October 2, 1953): 821.

²³⁰ Jacob Deschin, *New Ways with Photography: Ideas for Amateurs* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936), vii.

²³¹ The column was suspended during World War II and picked up shortly after. Arthur Goldsmith, “Editorial: Jack Deschin and His Friends,” *Popular Photography* 90.9 (September, 1983): 57.

²³² Ansel Adams, *Making a Photograph* (New York: Studio Publications, 1935).

²³³ Ansel Adams, *Camera & Lens: Studio, Darkroom, Equipment* (New York: Morgan and Lester, 1948).

²³⁴ Ansel Adams, *The Negative: Exposure and Development* (New York: Morgan and Lester, 1948).

Printing and Enlarging,²³⁵ and *Natural-Light Photography*.²³⁶ *Basic Photo* contained all four books and was published in 1948, 1950, and 1952.²³⁷

Not only did these books provide readers with knowledge about the medium, it also provided a means for them to ground themselves within the field. *Making a Photograph*, for example, made a great impression on Beaumont Newhall, who took particular interest in Adams's call for a photographic museum.²³⁸ Newhall, who was working at the time at as a librarian at MoMA, reached out to Adams, which led to a meeting. Newhall later recounted that, “[b]y the time we reached Adams’s house in the valley [Yosemite National Park], we were all fired up. We all had a drink. Then Ansel threw the ice out of his glass and into the bushes and said, ‘It’s time to call Dave’” [David H. McAlpin, who would become the chairman of the photography committee at MoMA in 1940].²³⁹ *Artnews* writer Susan Weiley asserted in 1984, that it “was there, in Yosemite, that the first department of photography of any museum was conceived.”²⁴⁰

Photographer Berenice Abbott’s 1941 publication *A Guide to Better Photography*,²⁴¹ similarly included discussions of technical aspects of photography. She incorporated chapters dedicated to selecting a camera, planning a darkroom, composing, exposing, and printing photographs. Beyond the practical knowledge required to photograph, chapters examined

²³⁵ Ansel Adams, *The Print: Contact Printing and Enlarging* (New York: Morgan and Lester, 1948).

²³⁶ Ansel Adams, *Natural-Light Photography* (New York: Morgan and Lester, 1948).

²³⁷ Ansel Adams, *Basic Photo* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1948). Ansel Adams, *Basic Photo* (New York: Morgan and Morgan, 1950). And Ansel Adams, *Basic Photo* (Hastings-on-Hudson: Morgan and Morgan, 1952). A new revised edition was published in 1968 by Morgan and Morgan.

²³⁸ Susan Weiley, “A Conversation with Beaumont Newhall,” *Artnews* 83.8 (October 1984): 94. See also Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography*, 232. Newhall also reviewed the book see “New Books on Art: Making A Photograph: An Introduction to Photography,” *American Magazine of Art*, 28.8 (August 1935): 508, 512.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ Berenice Abbott, *A Guide to Better Photography* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1941). By October 1945 the title was in its fifth printing.

different approaches to photography, including straight and documentary photography. Her concluding chapter on “Standards for Photography” provided insight into the way she may have evaluated photographs while teaching. Abbott’s stylistic values were evident in her words: “[i]n short, the something done by photography is *communication*.”²⁴² Peppered throughout the book were reproductions of her work, as well as works by some thirty other photographers, such as Southworth and Hawes, Matthew Brady, Lewis W. Hine, Eugène Atget, Margaret Bourke-White, Lisette Model, and Nadar.

In 1961, Minor White published the *Zone System Manual*. In this book, White laid out the Zone System focusing on the fundamentals of the photographic approach. By this point, White had already published two essays on the Zone System in *Aperture*,²⁴³ republishing the first article in *Exposure with the Zone System* (Morgan & Morgan, 1956).²⁴⁴ White had extensive experience using this system of exposing and printing photographs in his teaching at the California School of Fine Arts. The system was more advanced than the amateur technical approach but more approachable than scientific studies. A review of the book in *Aperture* by Gerald Robinson praised the manual for providing clear instructions, of benefit to students. Robinson concluded that it “should be studied carefully and explored in detail by every student of photography. Teachers will also be rewarded by use of the *Zone System Manual* as a text and reference.”²⁴⁵

Outside technical books, a slow increase in the number of historical texts could be detected as well. In 1937, Beaumont Newhall’s *Photography 1837-1937* was published as a catalogue to accompany an exhibition of the same title at MoMA. After opening in New York, it

²⁴² Ibid., 172.

²⁴³ See Minor White, “The Zone System of Planned Photography,” *Aperture* 3.1 (1955): 15-30. and “Applications of the Zone System,” *Aperture* 3.3 (1955): 11-29.

²⁴⁴ Minor White, *Exposure with the Zone System* (New York: Morgan & Morgan, 1956).

²⁴⁵ Gerald Robinson, “Book Review: *Zone System Manual*,” *Aperture* 10.3 (1962): 129.

travelled to multiple cities including Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Buffalo.²⁴⁶ The catalogue followed the exhibition layout, dividing photographs chronologically along technological categories. Newhall's text detailed the history of the medium beginning with the camera obscura, thus linking photography with the history of other creative media. A press release for the exhibition declared that:

[t]he exhibition will be arranged to show step by step the evolution of photography from the first public announcement of Daguerre's process in 1839 to the present date... The exhibition will demonstrate the particular characteristics of different techniques, the artistic qualities of each process, and the relation of technical and aesthetic developments of photography to the taste and social needs of the times.²⁴⁷

Establishing the technical qualities of the medium was important to allow photographs to be evaluated – and specifically in relation to MoMA, this had to be done through a modernist lens. Without the ability to evaluate photographs as modernist artistic objects, an argument could not be made for their collection at the institution as the museum was guided by modernist principles. Beyond this, Newhall would have been exposed to this manner of thinking through his studies at Harvard University under Paul Joseph Sachs (1878-1965).²⁴⁸ The following year, the exhibition catalogue was printed with minor changes as *Photography: A Short Critical History*.²⁴⁹

Robert Taft (1894-1955), then working in the Chemistry Department at the University of Kansas, published *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* in 1938. Taft believed technological histories could be derived from handbooks. He began working on his

²⁴⁶ The Museum of Modern Art, "Press Release" [325087], The Museum of Modern Art, 1937. Accessed May 27, 2020. https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325087.pdf.

²⁴⁷ The Museum of Modern Art, [Press Release], The Museum of Modern Art, ca. 1937. Accessed May 27, 2020. https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325085.pdf.

²⁴⁸ For a longer discussion of the interpersonal connections in MoMA's Photography Department and their implications see Christopher Phillips, "The Judgement Seat of Photography," *October* 22 (Autumn, 1982): 27-63.

²⁴⁹ A number of changes appear between the two editions. The exhibition checklist is omitted while photographer biographies and bibliographies are added. The text was otherwise unchanged.

book when he could not easily find resources on the history of the medium. Preview chapters were originally released in magazines such as *American Annual of Photography* and *American Photography* before being expanded for the book.²⁵⁰ Taft's acknowledgements in *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* note links to many individuals working the field at that time, from magazine editors and librarians to curators and educators. Of note is his gratitude expressed to C. B. Neblette and Beaumont Newhall. Newhall had in fact read the Taft's manuscript as a reviewer and recommended it for publication.²⁵¹

One year later, in 1939, Lucia Moholy (1894-1989) published *A Hundred Years of Photography*, a one hundred and eighty-two-page book that included thirty-five illustrations printed on glossy paper gathered in the centre. A few engravings were also included throughout the book. Here, Moholy aimed to address the history of photography through social, political, economic, aesthetic, and artistic approaches. Penguin Publishing House in London released forty thousand copies of the book at six pence, and the book quickly sold out.²⁵² Beaumont Newhall's 1941 review of Moholy's work spurned it as a historical survey that provided little new information on the medium and divided periods by their technological advances.²⁵³ Chief among his criticisms was Moholy's lack of sufficient discussion of stylistic approaches and a dismissal of figures that he viewed as masters of the medium.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889*. Accessed May 27, 2020. https://archive.org/stream/aa098_PhotographyAndTheAmericanScene/aa098%20-%20Photography%20and%20the%20American%20Scene_djvu.txt.

²⁵¹ Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography*, 54.

²⁵² For more information on Lucia Moholy see Angela Madesani, Nicoletta Ossanna Cavadini, Angelo Maggi, Stefania Schibeci, Antonello Negri, *Lucia Moholy: Between Photography and Life 1894-1989* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012); and Lucia Moholy, Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin (ed.), *A Hundred Years of Photography 1839-1939* (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 2016), First published 1939 Penguin Books.

²⁵³ It seems part of Newhall's disdain for Moholy's historical text stemmed from her lack of citations, specifically when it came to attributing Newhall's texts as a source of influence.

²⁵⁴ Beaumont Newhall, "A Hundred Years of Photography by Lucia Moholy," *The Art Bulletin* 23.3 (September 1941): 246-247.

In 1949, Newhall published *History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, a reconceptualisation and further development of his 1937 and 1938 catalogues. The new edition was released by MoMA in collaboration with the Eastman House. Newhall's research for the expanded text was conducted as part of a year-long Guggenheim fellowship he received to conduct further research on the project.²⁵⁵

Between Newhall's third and fourth editions of the historical text, Alison [Eames] (1911-1969) and Helmut [Erich Robert Kuno] Gernsheim's (1913-1995) *The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914*, was announced in 1955. Connections to Newhall could be found throughout the book which itself was dedicated to Newhall. Helmut Gernsheim wrote to Newhall in the early 1940s after reading his introduction to a portfolio of photographs published in *US Camera*.²⁵⁶ Encouraged by Newhall, the Gernsheims began collecting photographs; it is from this collection that Helmut and Alison based their encyclopedic historical survey, *The History of Photography*, which was divided into three parts. The first part dealt with the pre-history of photography, the second, the invention of photography, and the third part addressed the early years of photography.²⁵⁷ Like Newhall's text, the survey began before the invention of photography. Differences between Newhall's and the Gernsheims's understanding of contemporary photographic stylistic approaches and their values were not expressed, as they concluded their study in 1914. For this and other reasons, Newhall's perspective on contemporary work articulated through his historical

²⁵⁵ The Museum of Modern Art, "Press Release," No. 60, Friday November 6, 1964. Accessed May 27, 2020. https://assets.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/3327/releases/MOMA_1964_0114_1964-11-06_73.pdf.

²⁵⁶ Newhall did not get the letter Gernsheim had sent him as he was stationed in Italy. Nancy sent him the letter later. See Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography*, 92-93.

²⁵⁷ I. Bernard Cohen, "Reviewed Works: *The History of Photography from the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914* by Helmut Gernsheim, Alison Gernsheim; *The World's First Photographer* by Alison Gernsheim, *L. J. M. Daguerre*, Helmut Gernsheim," *Isis* 49.4 (December 1958): 449-451.

publication held sway. Newhall and Nancy Newhall would go on to co-publish *Masters of Photography* in 1958, a book that highlighted seventeen photographers²⁵⁸ as key players in the history of the medium.

Slowly, photography was being addressed as an art form not only on the photography scene but also within the academic discipline of art history. In the 1959, the fourth edition of *Art Through the Ages* included a separate chapter on the history of photography.²⁵⁹ Helen Gardner (1878-1946), the original author of the survey text, organised the first publication in response to the work she did while assembling an art history course at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago.²⁶⁰ As such, the book was conceptualised for use in a classroom. The fourth edition was published post-mortem, with Sumner McKnight Crosby (1909-1982) acting as editor. Crosby, then Chair of the History of Art Department at Yale University, was aided by members of the department in making the revision.²⁶¹ Photography at that time could be found at Yale through the classes of Alvin Eisenman (1921-2013), who commenced teaching graphic design and photography at the university in 1950.²⁶² Beaumont Newhall was consulted as an outside expert in the writing of the chapter, and his text *History of Photography* was identified as a central resource.²⁶³ Gardner's text was unique for its early incorporation of photography. Horst

²⁵⁸ I used seventeen to reflect the number used in the text's introduction. This number suggests that photographers who worked together were considered a single entity. The photographers were: David and Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Albert Sands Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes, Nadar, Alexander Gardner and Timothy H. Sullivan, Julia Margaret Cameron, Peter Henry Emerson, Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Steichen, Eugène Atget, Paul Strand, Edward Weston, Erich Salomon, Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and Ansel Adams. Beaumont Newhall and Nancy Newhall, *Masters of Photography* (New York: George Braziller, 1958): 7.

²⁵⁹ Coke, "The Art of Photography in College Teaching," 332.

²⁶⁰ For a longer discussion of Gardner's history as well as general information about the impact and changes throughout the different editions of *Art Through the Ages* see Themina Kader, "The Bible of Art History: Gardner's 'Art Through the Ages,'" *Studies in Art Education* 41.2 (Winter 2000): 164-177.

²⁶¹ George Kubler, "Sumner McKnight Crosby 1909-1982," *Yale University Bulletin* 39.1 (winter 1984): 10.

²⁶² Jerry L. Thompson and Alvin Eisenman, "Teaching the Practice of Photography at Yale: A Conversation with Alvin Eisenman," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin [Photography at Yale]* (2006): 124.

²⁶³ The first page of the photography chapter contains the following footnote: "[i]n this chapter the sources for all quotations not otherwise identified will be found in Beaumont Newhall, *History of Photography*." Moreover, the editors concluding note apologise for not having the space to adequately address important photographers found in

Waldemar Janson's (1913-1982) art historical survey *History of Art: A Survey of Major Visual Arts from the Dawn of Art to the Present*, first published in 1962 would not incorporate a discussion of photography until its third edition in 1982.²⁶⁴

Also in the historical category were encyclopedias that provided brief articles stemming from keywords, photographers, inventors, technologies, and so on. In 1942, Willard D. Morgan collaborated with the National Educational Alliance, Inc. to produce the first volume of *The Complete Photographer: A Complete Guide to Amateur and Professional Photography*. He would go on publishing eleven volumes for the series culminating with the release of the *Encyclopedia of Photography: A Complete Guide to Amateur and Professional Photography* in 1949. In 1956, *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*²⁶⁵ was published marking the largest encyclopedic dictionaries to be released on the medium up to that date.²⁶⁶ The book was compiled over the span of ten years, and through multiple authors and editors, blended technical terminology with reviews of stylistic approaches such as pictorialism.

In 1962, Helmut Gernsheim released *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends 1839-1960*, a text that focused exclusively on creative photography. Despite his ambitions to present a history of creative photography and the way it evolved, the book faced much criticism for some of the selected examples and thesis. For example, Graham Reynold, reviewing the text in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* in 1962, questioned why Henry Peach Robinson's (1830-1901) photograph *Fading Away* was analysed in terms of photojournalism and not art.²⁶⁷ Art

Newhall's original manuscript. Newhall is also credited in the Preface as an outside expert, preparing and commenting on the revised texts. Helen Gardner, *Art Through the Ages*, 4th ed., ed. Sumner Crosby (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1958): 737-750.

²⁶⁴ For a longer discussion of photography in relation to Janson's art survey see Adam Sherman, "Accepted Attitudes: Photography's Appearance in Janson's *History of Art*," Master's thesis, (Ryerson University, 2008).

²⁶⁵ *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* ed. Andor Kraszna-Krausz, (London & New York: Focal Press, 1956).

²⁶⁶ Aperture, "Reviewed Work: *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*," *Aperture* 5.1 (1957): 40-41.

²⁶⁷ Graham Reynolds, "Notes on Books," *Journal of The Royal Society of Arts* (November 1962): 952.

historian Aaron Scharf (1922-1993) was more forgiving in his review for the *Burlington Magazine*. Scharf concluded that the book was provocative and “written with the spirited imperiousness of one who, come hell or high-water, believes that a machine may be subdued, that the soul of an artist may be expressed through it, that photography can be an art.”²⁶⁸ This made up for the fact that the photographers included in the book were confined to a selection of work from the Gernsheims’s collection.

1964 marked the release of Newhall’s fourth edition of *History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day (History of Photography)*. With a total of two hundred and ten illustrations, the new edition included a new section titled “Recent Trends” that discussed the work of only five contemporary photographers, Minor White, Aaron Siskind, Harry Callahan, Robert Frank (1924-2019), and Otto Steinert (1915-1978). In it, Newhall also addressed new technological advances such as the Polaroid.²⁶⁹ A review of the updated edition by Jacob Deschin in the *New York Times* noted that many of the illustrations displayed “more emphasis on pictures calculated to interest a wider public, more photographs that are familiar to the present generation,”²⁷⁰ indicating that photographers and certain photographs were becoming canonised and that this text was being used in that process. Newhall would later recall that collector Alden Scott Boyer’s²⁷¹ copy of his *Photography: A Short Critical History* as well as Taft’s *Photography and the American Scene* were both annotated with notes by Boyer indicating his interest in collecting the described works. These inscriptions by Boyer were updated as he

²⁶⁸ Aaron Scharf, “Reviewed Works: *Creative Photography*,” *The Burlington Magazine* 105.722 (May 1963): 218.

²⁶⁹ The Museum of Modern Art, “Press Release,” No. 60, Friday November 6, 1964.

²⁷⁰ Jacob Deschin, “History Updated: Newhall Book Appears in a New Edition,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1964, X23.

²⁷¹ The Boyer collection was the second major photography collection to enter the Eastman House. Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography*, 201.

purchased the photographs.²⁷² 1964 also marked the reprinting of Taft's *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History*.

The individuals active in the Neues Sehen (New Vision), mainly centred in Germany and France and including artists such as El Lissitzky (1890-1941), Man Ray, Hannah Höch (1889-1978), and Moholy-Nagy, worked to exhibit and publish texts on what they viewed as a new artistic movement. This can be seen in publications such as *Malerei, Fotografie, Film (Painting, Photography, Film)* (1925),²⁷³ *Foto-auge (Photo-Eye)* (1929),²⁷⁴ *Anlitz der Zeit (Face of Our Time)* (1929), and *Aenne Biermann: 60 Fotos* (1930).²⁷⁵ Historical writings on the medium could also be found through Georges Potoniée's *Histoire de la découverte de la photographie* (1925) and Gisèle Freund's (1908-2000) *La photographie en France au dix-neuvième siècle: essai de sociologie et d'esthétique* (1936). Such historical texts were not immediately translated into English and were not easily accessible to a North American anglophone audience. Yet a number of key texts were translated fairly early. Moholy-Nagy's *The New Vision* and *Vision in Motion* were translated in 1939 and 1947 respectively, and Josef Maria Eder's (1855-1944) *Geschichte der Photographie* (1932), was translated by Edward Epstean (1868-1945) as *History of Photography* in 1945.²⁷⁶

As mentioned, Newhall's history grew out of the exhibition catalogue for MoMA's 1937 exhibition *Photography 1839-1937*. MoMA would continue to present photography exhibitions and related catalogue publications such as *Walker Evans: American Photographs* (1938), *Paul*

²⁷² Ibid., 203.

²⁷³ This would be later translated and published in English in 1968 (London: Lund Humphries) and in 1969 (MIT).

²⁷⁴ For more on publications of the New Vision see Inka Graeve Ingelmann, "Mechanics and Expression: Franz Roh and the New Vision – A Historical Sketch," Museum of Modern Art, accessed May 21, 2020. <https://assets.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/GraeveIngelmann.pdf>

²⁷⁵ For a deeper analysis of *Painting, Photography, Film* see Pepper Stetler, "'The New Visual Literature: ' László Moholy-Nagy's *Painting, Photography, Film*," *Grey Room* 32 (Summer, 2008): 88-113.

²⁷⁶ Josef Maria Eder, *History of Photography*, trans. Edward Epstean, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945). And (New York: Dover Publications, 1978).

Strand: Photographs 1915-1945 (1945), *The Photographs of Edward Weston* (1946), *The Photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson* (1947), *Masters of Modern Art* (1954), which included a selection of photographs by Edward Steichen, and *Edward Steichen: A Life in Photography* (1963).²⁷⁷ Undoubtedly the most influential catalogue and show from MoMA was the 1955 exhibition *Family of Man*.

Curated by Steichen, *Family of Man* grew out of World War II and a push against fascism, Communism, and mass media. The viewers were led through a series of rooms with photographs hung in groups, following life from birth to death. By grouping images from across the world in large arrays that required the viewer to physically move around them, the exhibition attempted to flatten cultural differences between societies and peoples. This produced an illusion of a democratic commonality as the individual was asked to identify with the ‘other’ represented in many of the photographs. The exhibition was extremely popular and travelled extensively, both nationally and internationally.²⁷⁸ The catalogue’s publication, with an introduction by poet and journalist Carl [August] Sandburg (1878-1967), mirrored the exhibition’s chronology and thematic layout. While not directly connected to teaching, this exhibition and publication were influential in pushing individuals toward studying the medium, as well as incorporating the catalogue into classes. A 1959 review of photography as art by Patrick D. Hazard (1927-2015) reported that the “easiest way for teachers of traditional subjects to extend their horizons to include this new and important art is through Edward Steichen,”²⁷⁹ specifically through *Family of Man*.

²⁷⁷ For a more comprehensive chronology of the activities that took place in the Department of Photography at the Museum of Modern art see Museum of Modern Art, “Chronology of the Department of Photography,” May 1964, accessed May 21, 2020, https://assets.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/3242/releases/MOMA_1964_0029_1964-05.pdf.

²⁷⁸ For more on the *Family of Man* see Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

²⁷⁹ Patrick D. Hazard, “An Album for the Family of Man,” *The Clearing House* 34.2 (October 1959): 124.

In 1964, Van Deren Coke published *The Painter and the Photograph*²⁸⁰ to accompany an exhibition organised for the Art Gallery of the University of New Mexico (later the University of New Mexico Art Museum) by the same title. The exhibition travelled to five additional museums between 1964 and 1965.²⁸¹ The exhibition and text demonstrated the way innumerable artists had utilised camera apparatuses to solve technical and artistic problems in creating their paintings. The reproductions in the text encouraged readers to compare photographs and paintings. By doing so, Coke argued photography was central to the achievement of works by well-established artists, among them Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), and Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008).

Magazines

The importance of magazines for sharing technical and education information can be traced back to the earliest photography journals. Often initiated by a particular camera club or photography societies, such as the Photographic Society of London²⁸² these journals focused on the assessment of technological and scientific information related to photography but also shared news of the activities of local and international photographers.²⁸³

In the late 1930s, articles on photography became more easily accessible as mass-market photography magazines began publication. *US Camera* was first published in 1935; the magazine was so well received that fifteen thousand copies sold within the first month. By 1937,

²⁸⁰ Van Deren Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico, 1964).

²⁸¹ Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts; Museum of Art, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana; The Art Gallery, The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans, Louisiana; The Art Gallery, the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico; Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, California. Ibid. [front page].

²⁸² *The Journal of the Photographic Society of London*, later known as *The Photographic Journal*.

²⁸³ For an overview of the impact of various photography journals and their historic progression see “History: 4. 1850s” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 681-688.

thirty-five thousand copies were being printed. The enthusiasm with which the magazine was met encouraged others to enter the market. Soon thereafter, *Popular Photography* and *The Complete Photographer* began circulating in 1937 and 1941 respectively. Much of the information on photography easily available to photography educators and students during this period came from magazines, often geared toward photography enthusiasts. While not for the art-photography readership, some magazines included articles on creative photography nestled between hobbyist tidbits. American Studies and English professor John Raeburn (b. 1941), reflecting back on the 1930s, explained that these magazines were:

[s]upported by advertising and wooing newsstand buyers, they strove to cultivate the widest possible readership from the flourishing ranks of amateurs. According to one estimate, Americans bought two million new cameras every year, and dedicated hobbyists, especially vigorous consumers, traded up their cameras, added gadgets, built darkrooms, and purchased supplies and film. The commercial potential offered by this market—among the brightest spots in thirties consumer culture—fueled the magazines as manufacturers and retailers sought targeted outlets to advertise their wares.²⁸⁴

Much of the magazine writing was intertwined with the commercial interests of their advertised goods. Technical guide articles found in most issues typically required the purchase of some consumer item. Such articles provided the readers with carefully guided steps to achieve various photographic effects and in which context such stylisations should be applied. While these publications were not directly linked to education, they were important in introducing the reader to the idea of serious study of the medium, frequently featuring figures active in the field. By highlighting a creative photographer's work, exhibitions, or various photography courses, the magazines also provided a guide to the field, albeit an inconsistent one.

²⁸⁴ John Raeburn, "Camera Periodicals and the Popular Audience Book," in *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 94.

Life was first published on November 23, 1936. The weekly news magazine had a profound impact on photojournalism and the broader popularity of photography. ‘Photo essays’ made up of multiple page spreads of photographs, were regularly featured. Such essays placed an emphasis on the importance of photographs in narrating events. *Life*’s wide circulation and extensive use of portfolios as well as the quality of the photography would have been an important source for photographers learning about the medium and honing their skills.²⁸⁵

Photographer and later educator at Concordia University Gabor Szilasi’s (b. 1928) early knowledge of the medium was formed through popular magazines such as *Life*, *Paris Match*, and *Vogue*. He read these magazines while attending classes at the Alliance Française.²⁸⁶

In 1941, the National Educational Alliance issued *The Complete Photographer*. Meant as a guide to amateur and professional photographers, the magazine featured “20 to 40 lessons in each issue, with a wealth of photographs and explanatory diagrams.”²⁸⁷ A one-page advertisement for the journal published in *Popular Science* – an indication of the targeted readership – exclaimed that the material offered in the magazine would, if kept, form a reference encyclopedia. Five images descending from the top left corner of the ad toward the centre of the page spread displayed a variety of activities related to photography, including a man working at an enlarger, a woman at a press, a baby captured in the ‘peak of expression’ with a dog, an x-ray, and a glamour portrait [fig. 1.15]. The images reflected its readers’ different pictorial ambitions, covering commercial, medical, and family photography. Photography was clearly not advertised as a creative medium, but one that could be used by hobbyist and professionals. This

²⁸⁵ For an overview of *Life* see *Looking at Life Magazine*, ed. Erika Lee Doss, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

²⁸⁶ David Harris, *Gabor Szilasi: The Eloquence of the Everyday* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada and Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 2009), 14.

²⁸⁷ [‘The Complete Photographer’ Ad], *Popular Science* 139.5 (November 1941): 239.

aligned with the specialists that made up the “distinguished faculty” of the magazine, who were commissioned from “Kodak, General Electric, Bell & Howell and other world-famous research laboratories!”²⁸⁸ The collectability and importance of the magazine was underscored through the offer for purchase of brown leather embossed library binders, made by ‘De Luxe Artcraft Binders,’ which would hold and organise the editions the magazine for one’s personal library [fig. 1.16].²⁸⁹

While the magazine by all indications was catering to an audience that was not interested in creative approaches, articles about creative photography could be found in *The Complete Photographer*. The 1943 issue, for example, featured an article by Moholy-Nagy, “Surrealism and the Photographer.” Here, Moholy-Nagy provided an introduction to surrealism and featured photographs by George Kepes, T. Inagaki, Milton Halbe [Halberstadt] (1919- 2000), Maurice Tabard (1897-1984), and the author [fig. 1.17].²⁹⁰ The article situated the surrealist movement historically and theoretically, and then identified and described photographic approaches that could be used for a surrealist approach, specifically photograms, superimpositions, and photomontage.

Institutional affiliation was commonly used to identify the authors of *The Complete Photographer*. This information acted in two ways: one, it provided the author’s credentials to the reader, and two, it advertised the approach to photographic education of that particular institution. Ansel Adams,²⁹¹ Robert Taft,²⁹² and Beaumont Newhall²⁹³ were all featured in different issues of this journal.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ [De Luxe Artcraft Binders advertisement for *the Complete Photographer*], *The Complete Photographer* 52.9 (1943): back cover.

²⁹⁰ László Moholy-Nagy, “Surrealism and the Photographer,” *The Complete Photographer* 52.9 (1943): 3337-3342.

²⁹¹ Ansel Adams, “Printing,” *The Complete Photographer* 46 (1941).

²⁹² Robert Taft, “Matthew B. Brady,” *The Complete Photographer* 8.2 (1941).

²⁹³ Beaumont Newhall, “Talbot, William Henry Fox,” *The Complete Photographer* 59.9 (1943): 3364-3367.

Photography as an art could be found in earlier dedicated publications; however, these were produced in significantly smaller print runs. Building on his experience as editor at *Camera Notes*, Alfred Stieglitz began publishing *Camera Work* in 1903, effectively intending it as a journal to disseminate the value of photography as an art form and to support the activities of the Photo-Secession. This journal, which largely covered artistic photography between 1903 and 1907, – then shifted to focus on European art, – is an early example of an American art photography journal. Unlike the popular photography journals, *Camera Work* was printed on fine Japanese tissue and contained photogravures mounted onto deckle-edged paper. The run for this publication was originally one thousand; by the final issue, only five hundred copies were produced,²⁹⁴ making it far less accessible than the illustrated journals of the day.²⁹⁵ In an interview,²⁹⁶ photographer and educator²⁹⁷ Walker Evans (1903-1975) recalled that he first viewed Paul Strand’s photograph *Blind Woman* in the New York Public Library’s file on *Camera Work*. He credited viewing this image as influencing the kind of photographs he wanted to make.²⁹⁸

The Photo League’s newsletter *Photo Notes*, which ran between 1938 and 1950, documented the events of the organisation, including exhibitions and lectures. It also provided technical photography guidance geared toward a documentary approach. *Photo Notes* featured writings by Berenice Abbott, Beaumont Newhall, Ansel Adams, Paul Strand, and W. Eugene Smith as well as the various members of the Photo League. *Photo Notes* was printed on a

²⁹⁴ At first the issue had 650 paying subscribers, however, the publication was unable to maintain them. By 1912 they only had 304 subscribers. In 1917, the year the publication folded, they had only 36 subscribers. Pam Roberts, “Alfred Stieglitz, 291 Gallery and Camera Work,” in *Camera Work: The Complete Illustrations 1903-1917*, au. Alfred Stieglitz, ed. Simone Philippe, Ute Kieseyer, 6-31, (New York: Taschen, 1997), 18.

²⁹⁵ AA, “Camera Work,” *Bulletin* (St. Louis Art Museum) 12. 6 (November-December 1976): 97.

²⁹⁶ Leslie G. Katz, “Interview with Walker Evans,” *Art in America* 59.2 (March-April 1971): 83,85, 88.

²⁹⁷ Evans obtained his position at Yale University in 1964.

²⁹⁸ Presumably viewed in the final double issue of *Camera Work* published in 1917 that included this photograph. See Svetlana Alpers, *Walker Evans: Starting from Scratch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020): 87-88.

mimeograph machine making illustration impossible. Moreover, issues of the newsletter were inconsistent in quality and not always distributed to vendors, making access to the data difficult.²⁹⁹

In 1952, *Aperture* was founded as a journal intended to “communicate with serious photographers and creative people everywhere, whether professional, amateur, or student.”³⁰⁰ The goal of the publication was to provide an entry point and connections for a varied group of people to discuss photography as art. The inclusion of amateurs and students in the intended audience of the journal implied that they were recognised as an important part of the photography field. In the founding statement, the editors described the difficulty of individuals developing creative ideas with little access to a network to inspire and propel one’s art. *Aperture* was therefore conceived as a base for such ideas to be shared and accessed. The founders were Minor White, Dorothea Lange (1895-1965), Nancy Newhall, Ansel Adams, Beaumont Newhall, Barbara Morgan, Ernest Louie, Melton Ferris, and Dody [Weston] Warren [Thompson] (1923-2012) [fig. 1.18].³⁰¹

Students at the California School of Fine Arts, the school where Minor White was teaching at the time of the magazine’s founding, were among the first supporters of *Aperture*. They attended a launch party of forty people held at Ansel Adams’s home on February 27, 1952. To entice subscribers to the journal, an Ansel Adams signed print was offered to those who pledged \$25 rather than the base price of \$4.25.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ For a longer discussion of *Photo Notes* and the Photo League see John Raeburn, “The Photo League, Lewis Hine, and the Harlem Document” in *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006): 219-245.

³⁰⁰ Minor White, Dorothea Lange, Nancy Newhall, Ansel Adams, Beaumont Newhall, Barbara Morgan, Ernest Louie, Melton Ferris, Dody Warren, “About Aperture,” *Aperture* 1.1 (1952): 3.

³⁰¹ The group only signs the first issue’s opening remark. Minor White is otherwise credited as the editor. R. H. Cravens provides a detailed account of the formation of *Aperture* and the relationships between the founders in “A Celebration of Genius in Photography,” *Aperture [50th Anniversary 1952-2002]* (Fall 2002): 4-80.

³⁰² Adams and Alinder, *Ansel Adams: A Biography*, 215.

The importance of education in the journal can be seen through the selected articles for the first issue written by Minor White and Nancy Newhall. White's article stemmed from conversations he had with Lisette Model, while she was teaching a miniature camera class at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco in 1949. Here, White presented an argument for using miniature cameras as 'research tools,' a part of a larger working methodology of the creative photographer. Unlike the tutorial articles in popular photography magazines, the discussion of technical information was meant to aid the photographer's creative ambitions, rather than simply bolstering technique.³⁰³ As such, the technical advice laid out by White for achieving an artistic photograph through miniature cameras can be read more as a list of criteria for the photographer and onlooker to evaluate the final object for its artistic merit.

Similarly, Nancy Newhall's article provided the reader with tools to unpack the implications of different types of captions, and pointed to the new trend of excluding any textual elements from photographic spreads.³⁰⁴ She concluded that "[p]hotography is a young medium, and we who work in it are still pioneers."³⁰⁵ Throughout the pages of the journal, it is evident that the editors did not view the popular magazines as responding to the needs of creative photography.

Aperture also aided in the formation of a collegial network by printing the names of all their subscribers in the back of the publication. Beside each name was their geographic location. This provided basic contact information of the people who shared an interest in the journal and the type of photography it championed. Like other magazines, *Aperture* published brief announcements about upcoming exhibitions, workshops, and other news that might be of interest

³⁰³ Minor White, "Exploratory Camera: A Rationale for the Miniature Camera," *Aperture* 1.1 (1952): 4-16.

³⁰⁴ Nancy Newhall, "The Caption: The Mutual Relations of Words / Photographs," *Aperture* 1.1 (1952): 17-29.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

to their readers. The teaching of photography was addressed frequently in the early editions of the journal as Minor White, then the editor wrote in 1953, “[t]he educational aspects of this magazine loom larger than any of the members of the founding group realised a little over a year ago.”³⁰⁶

The same year *Aperture* was founded, *Image: Journal of Photography and Motion Pictures (Image)* [fig. 1.19], began publication from Eastman House. Edited by then director Oscar [Nathaniel] Solbert (1885-1958), Beaumont Newhall, and film curator James G. Card (1915-2000), the journal echoed the mandate of the Eastman House “to show the progress of the art and science of photography.”³⁰⁷ *Image*, therefore, reinforced the museum’s exhibitions and extended their audiences beyond those who lived in Rochester. Subscriptions to the magazine were automatic for members of the museum. A single issue of *Image* could be purchased for \$2.

Early issues of the journal were similar to a newsletter of brief scholarly articles on a particular subject. Beginning with four pages, by the second year of publication, *Image* had been doubled to eight. Images were sparse at first and typically were embedded as illustrations, either of technical devices or illustrated particular articles, rather than representations of artistic objects. Articles provided insight into historical facts about film or photography that would otherwise be omitted from a survey study. The focus of these early editions was on filling historical gaps rather than addressing contemporary concerns. An announcement about the publication in an issue of *Aperture* described the role that *Image* would play to contemporary photographers as grounding their practice through historical, scholarly material, as well as aiding their practice by providing detailed accounts of different photographic processes. In 1952, the editors of *Aperture*

³⁰⁶ Editors, “Notes and Comments,” *Aperture* 2.1 [5] (1953): 28.

³⁰⁷ Image Editors, “About Image,” *Image: Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House* 1 no.1 (January 1952): [1].

– one of whom sat on the editorial committee of both publications – claimed that creative photographers:

tend to practice photography as if it existed in a vacuum, neither knowing nor caring what has gone into photography to make it what it is. There has been an enormous amount of research, both in the optical and chemical areas and in the esthetic employment of the tool which, if a contemporary had some idea of, would save him considerable time for pursuit of the expressive aspect of the medium.³⁰⁸

By the fifth year of publication, *Image* outgrew the newsletter format to become more like a traditional museum bulletin. The increase in pages allowed for longer articles and more information about the activities of the moving pictures department. Exhibitions organised by the Eastman House were now recorded regularly in the publication. Additional information was also provided about different parts of the Eastman House collection, allowing the readers of *Image* to obtain a better sense of the different objects in the collection. The expanded aim of the magazine was now “to record and clarify the past and present progress of photography, thus defining and vivifying the traditions of what has become the universal language of our time.”³⁰⁹ Such discussions were typically still embedded in the activities of Eastman House.

For example, in 1956, Minor White who was teaching in Rochester at RIT, and had worked at the Eastman House a few years prior, wrote an article titled “The Little Gallery: Its Service to the Career Photographer” discussing the importance of showing contemporary photography that had taken place in the last two years. White argued that small galleries were key to supporting and encouraging photographers and educating the public, particularly when it came to photography that was not aligned with popular photography magazines or photographic

³⁰⁸ “Notes & Comments,” *Aperture* 1.1 (1952): [np].

³⁰⁹ “Editorial,” *Image: Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House* 5.1 (January 1956): 3.

societies.³¹⁰ White's editorial work on *Aperture* and his own writing demonstrate that he was deliberately and actively calling upon members of the creative photography field to build the infrastructure required to sustain a creative photography ecosystem.

In 1959, *Image* became a quarterly publication and underwent a significant design change under the supervision of then Associate Editor Nathan Lyons. Focus was placed on reproducing a photograph on the cover of each issue [fig. 1.20]. Within the journal, images were now published on individual pages with small captions rather than being embedded as technical illustrations [fig. 1.21].

Conclusion

Overall, it is important to note that many of the writers who were published in the journals discussed here often crossed-over between publications. For example, Ansel Adams's writings and photographs were published in *Popular Photography*, *The Complete Photographer*, *Aperture*, *Image*, and *Photo Notes*. Popular photography magazines were also engaging with creative photography, as can be seen with the US Camera Publishing Co., which was among the first subscribers listed in the first issue of *Aperture*.³¹¹ This implies that, despite these publications' lip service to a particular agenda or photographic approach, creative photographers were aware of the importance of these various publications as entry points into the medium and as such participated in them. Moreover, photographers and photography writers were working toward supporting broad discussions of photography. There was surely an economic factor involved in this decision as well. Beyond this, it demonstrates that the individuals active in the

³¹⁰ Minor White, "The Little Gallery: Its Service to the Career Photographer," *Image: Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House* 5.1 (January 1956): 12-13.

³¹¹ "Sustaining Subscribers," *Aperture* 1.1 (1952): back cover.

photography network were aware of each other, and knew they were not working in isolation. It is therefore, important to consider these publications in tandem. There was also a practical aspect to this, as historian William S. Johnson (b.1940) explained in 2018:

if you were living in Zanesville, Ohio, you would have never heard of *Aperture*... The commercial magazines occasionally devoted space to what they called creative photography. In the hobbyist magazines most of the material was devoted to this or that model camera and what it does and doesn't do... There might be an editorial column where somebody would talk about what's going on in the field a little bit. But each of them tried to include an article every so often, maybe one in three issues, or one in five issues, would have an article about a working photographer. Very often about the photography that this guy made. Most often, this would be a commercial photographer, but occasionally it would be high art photographer. But you got your rock stars established very quickly.... The annuals gave you more material, they had a broader reach.³¹²

Special features in magazines about different photography courses and announcements about workshops also aided students in search of entry points into the study of the medium. As the 'rock stars' alluded to by Johnson emerged, students were drawn to the opportunity of studying with them.

This pattern of influence from popular magazines can already be seen through Edward Steichen's early trajectory, as well as the role of personal contacts and relationships. While active in the Milwaukee Art Students' League, Steichen was introduced to the work of Clarence White and Gertrude Käsebier through an article written by art critic Charles [Henry] Caffin (1854-1918) about the Philadelphia Photographic Salon in the November 5, 1909 issue of *Harper's Weekly*. Reading about photographs discussed as art reinforced in him the possibility of pursuing the medium as an art form. After sharing the article with his peers at the Art Students'

³¹² William Johnson. Interviewed by the author. Cohen and Johnson's residence in Rochester, New York, United States of America. December 17, 2018. Recording part 2. Edits to the transcript made based on correspondence with author April 22, 2021.

League he was encouraged by them to submit his photographs to the following exhibition. Steichen set out to make new work for the exhibition, applying gum-bichromate printing techniques he acquired from an article published by Robert Demachy (1859-1936) in a photography magazine.³¹³ Steichen submitted ten photographs to the Chicago salon where he met Clarence White who was working as one of the adjudicators. Steichen reached out to Alfred Stieglitz at the Camera Club of New York in 1900 shortly after the exhibition and under White's advice.³¹⁴

Similarly, it is clear that professional and social relationships between photographers, historians, and curators were vital at this period. Many of the individuals discussed in this chapter were acting on multiple fronts concurrently. Obtaining teaching positions frequently required an individual to rely on recommendations from professional connections, as can be seen in the example of Minor White's hiring at the California School of Fine Arts upon the Newhalls's recommendation to Adams; or Clarence Hudson White's earlier hiring at Columbia University based upon Stieglitz's referral. Such networks were similarly at play in museums and publications. The founding members of *Aperture* represent but one example of such connections.

Just as clear lines cannot be drawn between publications, different modes of photography education cannot easily be disentangled. As traced throughout this chapter, photography education at this period was unlikely to be offered as a degree program but rather as a course or a

³¹³ Steichen does not mention the specific journal through which he accessed Demachy's writing. Edward Steichen, *A Life in Photography* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), [3-5]. Demachy published articles in English on gum-bichromate process in *The Amateur Photographer*, *The Photographic Journal*, *The Practical Photographer*, *The Photographic Times*, and *Camera Work*. For a longer discussion of Demachy's publishing efforts see Julien Faure-Conorton, "Robert Demachy: Apostle of the Gum Bichromate Process," *The PhotoHistorian* 172 (Spring 2015): 5-10.

³¹⁴ Steichen, *A Life in Photography*, [3-5]. Nathalie Herschdorfer's chronology states that White provided Steichen with a letter of recommendation and that Stieglitz looked at Steichen's portfolio and purchased three platinum prints from him on May 17, 1900. See Natahalie Herschdorfer, "Chronology," in *Edward Steichen Lives in Photography*, ed. Todd Brandow and William A. Ewing, 293-307, (Minneapolis: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 294.

workshop. Such classes were largely designed by particular individuals, who at times taught at multiple institutions and workshops simultaneously. Requirements for the evaluation of classwork and assignments varied greatly. Those who were working within the university or college setting were likely to be teaching photography as part of a program in a larger department such as Design, Journalism, Science, or Art. Connections between individuals educating and working in photography and their roles were often blurred as the educator was at times artist, teacher, writer, curator, and advocate. The following chapter, building upon this historical overview, will examine more closely the concerns of photography educators by tracing their discussions about their profession at different conferences culminating in the formation of the Society for Photographic Education.

Chapter 2. “The Jell-O and vodka ads are not the same as a Weston or Strand:”³¹⁵ Conferences and the Emergence of the Society for Photographic Education

Introduction

The Society for Photographic Education (SPE) was founded in 1962 after an invitational conference held at Eastman House on the status of photographic education. The participants had witnessed a growing interest in photography and were eager to establish a support network that would allow for better teaching resources, a sharing of texts and assignments. The success of the first meeting led to more conferences and the establishment of an official organisation in 1965.

In 1998, photography historian Stuart Alexander reflected on the growth of SPE, stated that:

the first year there were fewer than one hundred members. Today, numbering about 1,500 members, it is one of the largest groups in America oriented to supportive creative photography. It has its own internal hierarchy and exerts a great influence on American Photography.³¹⁶

As many of the founding members were active in the photography world as educators, curators, publishers, and photographers, SPE cultivated a reputation of authority and with it, shaped the trajectory of photographic education.

The emergence of SPE provided the groundwork for a professional network of photography educators. It was not the first organisation, however, to be assembled to discuss issues around photographic education. The 1950s was a decade of photography conferences.

While not all dealt with education directly, they often inventively led to some form of discussion

³¹⁵ Jerome Liebling, “The Place for Photography in the University Curriculum,” *SPE: The Formative Years* ed. Natahan Lyons, 26, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012), 26.

³¹⁶ Alexander Stuart, “Photographic Institutions and Practices,” in *A New History of Photography* ed. Michel Frizot, 695-707, (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 701. According to SPE’s website in 2021 the organisation has some 1,800 members.

on education. At this time, there were few set standards used in the assessment of photographs. As such, these events – and surrounding debates on photographs, photographers, and the role of different approaches – were key to building a photography discourse. This chapter will trace activities in the field prior to SPE’s formation until 1965 in order to demonstrate the importance of social networks to photography education. By comparing SPE to contemporaneous organisations, questions arise as to who was able to participate in SPE.

Early Photography Conferences

Conferences and conventions were organised by a wide variety of photography societies, clubs, and associations. Reports of such assemblies can be found within a few years of photography’s invention and they grew rapidly as photography became more accessible with the introduction of amateur cameras in the late 1880s. The ‘de-skilling’ of photography meant that individuals could now participate in photography without significant technical savvy, turning the once cumbersome activity into one of leisure. One result of this was an expansion of photography networks.

In 1890, *The New York Times* reported on a gathering in an article on the Conference of Amateur Photographers. The meeting brought together associations from across the United States, including camera clubs from New York, Boston, and Cincinnati as well as the Brooklyn Academy of Photography.³¹⁷ Here, members discussed the various needs of the associations and

³¹⁷ Reported associations at the conference were: the Syracuse Camera Club, the Society of Amateur Photographers of New York, the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, the Boston Camera Club, the Old Colony Camera Club of Rockland, Mass., The Camera Club of Harford, Conn., the Photographic Section of the New-York American Institute, the Brooklyn Academy of Photography, the Hoboken Camera Club, the Peekskill Camera Club, the Photographic Section of the Brooklyn Institute, the Washington Camera Club, the Albany Camera Club, the Cincinnati Camera Club, the Postal Photographic Camera Club, and the Lynn Camera Club. “The Amateur Conference: A Photographic Association Has Been Formed,” *The New York Times* December 8, 1890, 3. Accessed June 3, 2020, <https://lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fsearch.proquest.com%2Fdocview%2F94841547%3Faccounti>.

set standards for clubs to follow. The associations who did not comply were to be debarred.³¹⁸ Women were noted as being allowed to act as delegates in all classes of membership.³¹⁹

The development of photographic industries in the first half of the twentieth century led to a surge in professional associations to service the interests of specialised groups of photographers. This can be seen in the founding of organisations such as the Photographic Society of America in 1934,³²⁰ the American Society of Magazine Photographers in 1944, the National Press Photographers Association in 1945,³²¹ the Commercial and Press Photographers Association of Canada (CAPPAC) in 1946,³²² and the Society of Photographic Engineers in 1947.³²³

Museums exhibiting photography organised symposiums that frequently related to objects and materials on display. On November 20, 1950, New York's Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) held a symposium on the ambitious topic of 'What is Modern Photography?' Director of Photography at MoMA Edward Steichen coordinated the event to showcase the importance of

³¹⁸ The report for example stated that the Louisville and the New-Orleans Camera Clubs had their privileges revoked for one year because they were producing work deemed below the organisation's standard. Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ The Photographic Society of America (PSA) was founded as a society "for casual shutterbugs, serious amateurs, and professional photographers." Photographic Society of America, "About the Photographic Society of America," Photographic Society of America, accessed June 3, 2020, <https://psa-photo.org/index.php?about-psa-overview>.

³²¹ Claude Hubert Cookman discusses the evolution of NPPA and their interest in expanding photojournalism education in his chapter "Photography as a Tool for Social Reform," *American Photojournalism: Motivations and Meanings* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2009): 99-140.

³²² The Commercial and Press Photographers Association of Canada changed its name to the Professional Photographers of Canada Inc. in 1962. Professional Photographers of Canada, "About PPOC," Professional Photographers of Canada, accessed June 3, 2020, <https://www.ppoc.ca/about.php>.

³²³ The Society of Photographic Engineers was founded in 1947 as a group of eighty-one "researchers from the National Archives, US Navy, National Bureau of Standards, Signal Corp Engineering Laboratory, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Georgetown University, Bell & Howell Co., and Eastman Kodak Co." as well as other organisations. Their aim was to publish papers on scientific areas of photography. They went through several name changes and are currently known as the Society for Imagining Science and Technology. Society for Imagining Science and Technology, "About Us: History," Society for Imaging Science and Technology, accessed June 18, 2020, https://www.imaging.org/site/IST/About_Us/About_imaging_org/IST/About/About.aspx?hkey=4317a4c3-c465-4ea5-bbd5-ff40a2251074.

photography as an art and its vital role in communicating contemporary ideas.³²⁴ Some five hundred people attended, and it was simultaneously broadcasted by radio. Ten speakers³²⁵ were each given five minutes to present their perspective on modern photography. At the conclusion of their remarks, a discussion period was held.

The lecturers represented the field of photojournalism and documentary photography. Despite this, consideration of the impact of photography editors and censorship on the reception and meaning of their work was completely omitted from their presentations. Photographers seemed much more concerned with obtaining recognition of their work than the way that it functioned. The notion that what they were doing was indeed art was frequently raised, although ‘art’ was not addressed or defined. Walter Rosenblum³²⁶, who reported on the event in *American Photography* in 1951, recognised that while the symposium was unable to reach any conclusions on what modern photography was, such meetings played an important role in the development of the field.³²⁷

Institutes were also inviting photographers to gather at events at this time, as can be seen in the 1951 photography conference held at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in Aspen, Colorado, a non-profit educational foundation.³²⁸ The conference was organised by the institute’s founder, Walter P. Paepcke (1896-1960), who hoped the relaxed atmosphere of the facility

³²⁴ Edward Steichen, “What is Modern Photography?” *American Photography* 45.3 (March 1951): 146. Jennifer Tobias provides a longer discussion of this conference and contextualises it in relationship to MoMA’s *What is Modern?* lecture and book series. Jennifer Tobias, “The Museum of Modern Art’s *What is Modern?* Series 1938-1969,” Ph.D diss., (The City University of New York, 2012).

³²⁵ Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971), Ben Shahn (1898-1969), Irving Penn (1917-2009), Wright Morris (1910-1998), Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), Homer Page (1918-1985), Aaron Siskind, Gjon Mili (1904-1984), Walker Evans, and Lisette Model.

³²⁶ Walter Rosenblum was a member of the Photo League and studied with Paul Strand and Lewis Hine. In 1947 he became a photography instructor in Brooklyn College’s Art Department.

³²⁷ Walter Rosenblum, “What is Modern Photography?” *American Photography* 45.3 (March 1951):146-153.

³²⁸ In 1955, Beaumont Newhall published his summary of the conference in *Aperture*. Beaumont Newhall, “Aspen Photo Conference,” *Aperture* 3.3 (1955): 3-10.

would lead to a ‘cross-fertilization’ between participants and a discussion of common problems.³²⁹ The conference program included fourteen speakers: Berenice Abbott, Ansel Adams, Ferenc Berko (1916-2000), William [Will] Connell (1898-1961), Laura Gilpin (1891-1979), Fritz Kaeser II (1910-1990), Dorothea Lange, Wayne Miller (1981-2013), Eliot Porter (1901-1990), Frederick Sommer (1905-1999), Minor White, John [Godfrey] Morris (1916-2017), Paul Vanderbilt, and Beaumont Newhall. Eastman Kodak Company’s Superintendent of Color Control Department in Rochester, Ralph [Merrill] Evans (1908-1974) was unable to attend but submitted a paper on colour photography illustrated with colour slides.³³⁰ Forty other amateur and professional photographers attended the program.³³¹ In addition to the presenters’ addresses, informal discussions on the medium were held throughout the conference over meals, excursions, and workshops.

Unlike other photography conferences of the period that typically addressed the technological or commercial aspects of the medium, the discussions in Aspen focused on the role of photography in the world, unpacking the different ways the medium functioned. As Newhall summarised in his 1955 report:

[w]e did not ask if photography is an art; instead we tried to determine what kind of art it is, and we even asked ourselves what art is... We learned about the problems of safeguarding the photographic heritage which is daily accumulating, and how to make it available.³³²

³²⁹ Ibid., 5.

³³⁰ Ibid., 6.

³³¹ Ibid., 4.

³³² Ibid., 5.

The conference laid the foundations for a network of photographers to emerge to push the medium forward, with the most immediate and clear result being the founding of the photography journal *Aperture*, which first appeared the following year.³³³

A photograph of the participants taken by Robert C. Bishop (1921-2017) – a student of Ansel Adams and Minor White – showcases the camaraderie, liveliness, and enthusiasm felt during the gathering [fig. 2.1]. Moreover, it shows that the spouses of some of the individuals speaking at the conference were similarly engaged with debates about the field’s formation, including Nancy Newhall,³³⁴ Joella Bayer (1908-2004),³³⁵ Aline Kilham Porter (1909-1991),³³⁶ and [Mildred T.] Milly Kaeser (1911-2009).³³⁷ Despite the richness of the event, Newhall acknowledged that “there was so little dissension that discussions intended as debates became a series of unchallenged statements by panel members.”³³⁸

Photojournalism was among the most active streams of photography to hold conferences during this period. In 1953, a conference on the status of photojournalism, which drew heavily from the National Press Photographers Association, was held at the Eastman House in

³³³ See Chapter 1 for more information regarding *Aperture*.

³³⁴ As mentioned earlier, Nancy Newhall was a photo historian in her own right. She worked collaboratively with Beaumont, researching the history of photography. While Beaumont was in his military service during WWII, Nancy worked as acting curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art. “Nancy Newhall, Photo Critic, 66,” *New York Times* July 10, 1974, 40.

³³⁵ Joella Bayer married Julien Levy in 1927. They opened Julien Levy Gallery in New York together in 1931. At the time of the conference, Joella was married to Bauhaus painter, designer, and architect, Hebert Bayer. The two were instrumental in transforming Aspen into a cultural hub. “Deaths: Bayer, Joella,” *New York Times* March 21, 2004, section 1, 34.

³³⁶ Aline Porter was a painter. In 1928 she received a scholarship to study painting in Paris with André Lhote. She spent most of her life in New Mexico, where her and her husband, Eliot Porter, surrounded themselves with a community of artists.

³³⁷ Milly Kaeser was a dance teacher at the University of Wisconsin. At the age of 45, she turned to sculpting. Her most significant contribution to the growth of photography was through her annual gifts to the Photography Department at the University of Notre Dame and her bequest that benefits the program in perpetuity. She was married to Fritz Kaeser. “Mildred T. Kaeser,” *Arizona Daily Star* February 20, 2009, accessed June 18, 2020, <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/tucson/obituary.aspx?n=mildred-t-kaeser&pid=124456312>.

³³⁸ Newhall, “Aspen Photo Conference,” 5.

Rochester.³³⁹ Four years later, in 1957, the American Society of Magazines Photographers (ASMP) partnered with the University of Miami to hold their first conference on photojournalism.³⁴⁰ These annual meetings were well attended and were bustling with news of technical advancements for press, and lectures by photographers and experts in the field, from magazine editors to historians. An image that captured the 1960 Annual Conference in Miami provides a sense of the liveliness of such events. The large crowd is seen enthusiastically engaging with the speakers, the room surrounded by an array of photographs [fig. 2.2]. By September 1960, additional meetings were held in Asilomar, co-sponsored by the University of California Extension. These types of conferences for the most part focused on photojournalism and the needs of the industry. Nevertheless, individuals who were actively engaged with photography as a creative medium – especially members of *Aperture*'s editorial committee – could be found in attendance and at times were speakers.³⁴¹

The greatest collision of these supposedly distinct worlds occurred during the November 1960 ASMP conference, which was held in Rochester, co-sponsored by the Eastman House. In attendance were photographers Minor White, Ansel Adams, Arnold Newman (1918-2006), Eliot Elisofon (1911-1973), Dennis Stock (1928-2010), and Arthur Rothstein, as well as editors such as Ray Mackland (1911-1989) and William I. [Ichabod] Nichols (1905-2005). Inevitably, attitudes of the period shaped the conference, perhaps most drastically seen in photographer Gordon [Roger Alexander Buchanan] Parks's (1912-2006) presentation for 'Photography in the

³³⁹ Vincent S. Jones reported on the conference the following year in "Rochester Photojournalism Conference 1953," *Aperture* 2.4 (1954): 4-8.

³⁴⁰ The conference was reported upon by Beaumont Newhall in *Aperture*. American Society of Magazines Photographers' magazine *Infinity*, also reported on the conferences. See Beaumont Newhall, "The Miami Conference," 5.2 (1957): 76-81. *Infinity* issues IX.6 (June 1960), XI.8 (October 1960), XI.9 (November 1960).

³⁴¹ Beaumont Newhall spoke and reported on the 1957 conference. Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange spoke at the 1960 Asilomar conference.

Political Scene.’ Photography historian Susan E. Cohen later described the event from audio-recordings:

Parks’s opening line got his colleagues’ attention. He said, “After realizing I got this award³⁴² mainly because of my color [count slowly to five]... I was really shook up when I realized my lens wasn’t color corrected.” The audience was very quiet, and then they laughed with enormous relief.³⁴³

Parks’s inclusion in ASMP would have certainly represented an exception at such an organisation, as it did not have many participants of colour due to systemic barriers that kept them from becoming established in the field. The conference also made clear the divide between photographers who were valued as creative photographers and those whose work was meant to merely illustrate picture journals. During Minor White’s lecture, he begged the audience for more photographic criticism. *This Week Magazine* Editor William I. Nichols, on the other hand, appealed for photographers to work toward illustrating stories rather than attempt to express themselves creatively.³⁴⁴ Two years later, in 1962, ASMP and the Philadelphia College of Art co-sponsored a conference on education.³⁴⁵

Henry Holmes Smith, then working as the only photography instructor in the Department of Fine Arts at Indiana University,³⁴⁶ organised a conference on photography instruction in the summer of 1962. This was not the first conference Smith coordinated from Indiana; in 1953 and

³⁴² At the conference Parks was named Photographer of the Year.

³⁴³ Susan E. Cohen, “If this Conference were a Team Sport, I’d Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s,” paper presented at *Seminar on American Photography, Culture and Society* Rochester, New York, United States of America, November 14-18, 1990. Script provided to author by Cohen, 5.

³⁴⁴ See *Ibid.* as well as Minor White, “Call for Critics,” *Infinity* IX.9 (November 1960): 4-5; and William I. Nichols and Gerald Astor, “One Picture is Not Worth a Thousand Words: Two Editors Give Different Reasons Why Not,” *Infinity* IX.9 (November 1960): 6-9.

³⁴⁵ Cohen, “If this Conference were a Team Sport, I’d Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s,” 8-9.

³⁴⁶ Smith was the only photography instructor until Reginald Heron was hired in 1970. Between 1947 and 1952 Smith developed an undergraduate level photography program followed by a graduate program which he founded in 1952. In 1956 Smith was Assistant Professor of Fine Arts at Indiana University. By 1961 he had become an Associate Professor in the department.

in 1956,³⁴⁷ he held workshops at the university that included photographers and photography educators such as Minor White, Van Deren Coke, [Ralph] Eugene Meatyard (1925-1972), Aaron Siskind, and Ralph Hattersley. An image captured during the 1956 workshop functions much like a class portrait in the way it documented those present the first week [fig. 2.3].³⁴⁸ The 1962 gathering was composed of two parts that ran concurrently over the course of two, four-week sessions; attendance was limited to master educators and their students [fig. 2.4]. The syllabus indicated that the workshop's main purpose was "to put to the practical test certain theoretical positions held by major teachers in the field."³⁴⁹

In addition to Smith's efforts, *Aperture* was publishing articles on education. Between 1956 and 1957, the journal released ten papers over three issues³⁵⁰ as a part of a symposium they

³⁴⁷ An image captured on the first day of the 1956 conference lists the participants as Minor White, Eugene Meatyard, Ralph Hattersley (1921-2000) who taught at RIT, Henry Holmes Smith, [Yoichi Robert] Y. R. Okamoto (1915-1985) then Head of the Visual Materials section of the US Information Agency, Van Deren Coke; William Meitzler and Wilmer Counts (1931-2001) on staff of the Audio-Visual Center at Indiana University; Philip R. Morrison announcer on WTTV Bloomington, Indiana; Ronald Sterkel Assistant at the Fine Arts Department; Smith's students Jack Welpott (1923-2007), Orville Joyner (1927-2010), Alice Atkinson, Kay Boardman, Ruth McKnight, Sonya Rigwald; Unknown: Allan Denenberg, Ralph Nelson, Marvin Dawson, Howard J. Rogers (director of education and social economy for the U.S. Commission?). Box 17 "Henry Holmes Smith Education: Lectures, Conferences, Workshops," File 12 "1st photography Workshop, Indiana University, 1956," AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

A list of participants from the event who were not pictured included: Allen Walter (teaching in the Fine Arts Department at Ohio University; Harry Callahan from the Institute of Design; Horrell C. Williams, Director of Photographic Services, Department of Journalism, Southern Illinois University; Dorothea Lange; Tom Murphy; Pett Dennis, Henry C. Raurk, and R. Dee Rarick all on the staff of A-V Center at Indiana University; and Walter Scott Jr.

³⁴⁸ Howard Bossen, *Henry Holmes Smith: Man of Light* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983): 15.

³⁴⁹ Henry Holmes Smith, "Conference and Workshop on Photography Instruction," Summer 1962, 1, Box 17 "Henry Holmes Smith Education: Lectures, Conferences, Workshops," File 18 "Conference and workshop on photography instruction (Bloomington, Indiana) 1962," AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

³⁵⁰ Papers were provided by: Walter Rosenblum (Assistant Professor, Brooklyn College and Photography Instructor, Yale-Norfolk Art School), Clarence White Jr. (Head of the Photography Department, University of Ohio), Jerome Liebling (Instructor, Photography Department, University of Minnesota), Vincent Jones (Executive Editor, the Gannett Newspaper), William Rohrbach (Assistant Professor of Art, University of California, Santa Barbara College), Arron Siskind and Harry Callahan (Instructors in the Photography Section, Illinois Institute of Technology), Minor White (Photography Instructor, Rochester Institute of Technology), Henry Holmes Smith (Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Indiana University), Beaumont Newhall (Curator, George Eastman House), and C. B. Nebllette (Chairman Division of Photography and Printing, RIT), Hollis N. Todd (Instructor, RIT), and Ralph M. Hattersley Jr (Instructor, RIT).

titled “The Education of Picture Minded Photographers.”³⁵¹ Inaugurating the first issue was Minor White’s article “The 4 R’s and the Cave Man,”³⁵² in which he dramatically bemoaned the state of photography literacy with statements such as “Do today’s photos look like an all time low in picture making to you? They should.”³⁵³ White’s editorial introduction further made the claim that photography education, specifically undertaken within a college setting, was necessary to producing responsible photographers.³⁵⁴ Such an education was not only envisioned as being useful to the photographer but also to the curator, picture editor, educator, and “a future public that will be as wise to photography as today’s public is gullible.”³⁵⁵ This implied that outside the inculcation of photographic practices in practitioners, the editors at *Aperture* hoped to train an audience that would accept and support the medium as an industry. The other papers were penned by various educators, including Walter Rosenblum, Clarence White Jr., Jerome Liebling, Vincent Jones, William Rohrbach (1925-2017), Aaron Siskind, Minor White, Henry Holmes Smith, Beaumont Newhall, C. B. Neblette, Hollis N. Todd, and Ralph Hattersley. At the time, all the writers were teaching photography, and most used the editorial space to shed light on their programs and educational ambitions.

While photography education was clearly being explored in conferences in the 1950s and into the 1960s, a divide was also growing between photographers who viewed themselves as part

³⁵¹ See *Aperture* issues 4.3 (1956), 4.4 (1956), 5.1 (1957). It is unclear if the symposium was organised by *Aperture* as an editorial or resulted from a physical meeting. Smith’s symposium article is a review of the Indiana Workshop he organised. Jones’s article discusses the ASMP conference in Rochester. The special SPE supplement of *Aperture* published in 1963 mentions that *Aperture* had held a meeting in New York City in January of 1959 to form a proposal of visual-verbal photography vocabulary; this would have occurred after these journals but sets a precedence that such a meeting could have taken place.

³⁵² Minor White, “The 4 R’s and the Cave Man,” *Aperture* 4.3 (1956): 83-86.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁵⁴ Specifically, the editors (text on this page is in italics seeming to indicate a change in the author) state: “A photographer, for instance, for a major picture magazine has a million readers watching him. A man who tries to transcend both medium and subject has the Creator watching him. To accomplish such responsibilities without falsity or without failure the photographer must have all the background that a fine education can give. He must have all the insight that education can add to experience.” *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

of the ‘creative’ stream, thereby creating art, and those who were part of journalism. This was despite the fact that photojournalists and creative photographers attended each other’s conferences and were part of the same uphill battle; of establishing photography as a subject worthy of higher education and merit. Cohen would later comment that:

[i]n the teaching of photography in the 1960s, the use of words to explain photographs became confused with the use of words with photographs, especially for people whose hierarchy of creativity in the medium puts ‘equivalent’ à la Stieglitz, at the top of the heap. No matter what you said then to give either documentary photography or photojournalism its due, the damage was done. The categories alone created the hierarchy. Documentary and photojournalism were understood as lesser means of communication because they *needed* words, they were *dependent* on context, layout, etc.³⁵⁶

Such sentiments can clearly be seen in Minor White’s 1960 article “Ducks & Decoys.”³⁵⁷ He claimed the article was not a response to ASMP’s conference, but rather “one man’s scream of despair at the dearth of photojournalism.”³⁵⁸ Here, White demonstrated his irritation with photojournalists utilising ‘art’ as a description of their photographic output. He fumed: “[T]he photographers possessed a strong visual talent, but unfortunately their pictures (we will not mention verbalization) showed what little they had done with education, culture or background to develop that talent.”³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ Cohen, “If this Conference were a Team Sport, I’d Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s,” 9-10.

³⁵⁷ Minor White, “Ducks & Decoys,” *Aperture* 8.4 (1960): 171-173.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 171.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

1962 Invitational Conference and the Launch of SPE

It was under these conditions that Nathan Lyons, then Assistant Director at Eastman House, initiated an invitational conference on photography, to be held from November 28 to 30, 1962.³⁶⁰ His goal was to provide an intimate setting for a small group of individuals to learn more about the approaches of teaching photography as currently practiced and to co-ordinate the museum's newly formed department, The Office of Extension Activities.³⁶¹ The schedule [fig. 2.5] was tightly packed with each of the attendees presenting papers. Breakout discussions were then held, with the smaller groups reporting back to the entire meeting.³⁶²

The twenty-eight male individuals³⁶³ who gathered at the invitational meeting at the Eastman House did not represent a cohesive group in their approach to photography education. They were divided between fine arts, journalism, and the industry, a gulf that would have been obvious to the invited participants. C. B. Neblette, who was then teaching at the Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT), replied to Lyons's invitation: "[O]ur approach to photography

³⁶⁰ Jessica S. McDonald wrote and lectured about this formative meeting. See Jessica S. McDonald, "'A History Making Occasion': The 1962 Invitational Teaching Conference," *Exposure* 45.2 (Fall 2012): 33-43; and Visual Studies Workshop, "Jessica S. McDonald, Nathan Lyons, Kenneth Josephson (Keynote Panel) SPE NE Regional Conference 2012," Vimeo, accessed August 6, 2020, <https://vimeo.com/61116807>.

³⁶¹ In an interview with Maria Antonella Pelizzari, Nathan Lyons stated that he had helped established the department. Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Nathan Lyons: An Interview," *History of Photography* 21.2 (1997): 150. See also [The Society for Photographic Education Chairman's Report 1962-1965], ca. 1965, [3], Box "SPE," File "SPE 1963-1965," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

³⁶² "Teaching Conference Schedule," 1962, Box 1: "Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976," File 1: "Invitation to membership, 1963," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

³⁶³ Charles A. Arnold Jr., Neal Croom, C.B. Neblette, Leslie Strobel, and Minor White, RIT; Oscar Bailey, New York State University College, Buffalo; Walter Civardi and Ralph Hattersley, Pratt Institute; Robert F. Forth, Kalamazoo Art Center; Bill Hanson, Pennsylvania State University; Ken Josephson, School of the Art Institute of Chicago; Jerome Liebling, University of Minnesota; Sol Mednick, Philadelphia Museum College of Art; William L. Millard, Rensselaer Polytech Institute; Nathan Lyons and Beaumont Newhall, Eastman House; Walter Rosenblum, Brooklyn College; John Schulze, the University of Iowa; Art Sinsabaugh, the University of Illinois; Aaron Siskind, Institute of Design Chicago; Henry Holmes Smith, Indiana University; Ralph Steiner, independent instructor in New York City; John Szarkowski, Museum of Modern Art; Adrian TerLouw, Kodak; Jerry N. Uelsmann, the University of Florida; Charles Werberig, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute; Clarence H. White, Ohio University; John Wood, State University of New York College of Ceramics, Alfred. Nathan Lyons, *SPE: The Formative Years*, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 101-102.

here is so different that I do not feel that I can usefully contribute to the conference by acting as a chairman of one of the sessions or by leading a discussion group.”³⁶⁴ Lyons would later recall that Beaumont Newhall’s first reaction to the plan was to point out that most of the people invited had not spoken to one another in twenty years.³⁶⁵ Unsurprisingly, many of the group discussion reports came back with no solutions as to the ‘what, who, where, and how’ questions related to photography education.

Adrian TerLouw, then the Educational Consultant for the Eastman Kodak Company, reported that the breakout group that he joined had difficulty assessing the conditions of what should be taught, as they were all swayed by their own courses and interests. Further, he wrote that:

[t]he attention of the group was diverted repeatedly by a concern for what is needed to make present photography instruction more effective. We never did completely resolve this question of what to do about this complete learner complex existing in a college population, many of whom have specific needs and little relation to basic photography as such.³⁶⁶

Despite the inability of the entire group to reach any tangible solutions or agreement on photography education, the group was generally excited at the wide perspective of the exchange.³⁶⁷ For those who were working alone in different education departments, the chance to network with other professionals who had moved beyond the rudimentary questions of the validity of photography education was invigorating.

³⁶⁴ Neblette further explained that he did not have the time to write a paper but was nevertheless glad to attend. Letter from C. B. Neblette to Nathan Lyons, Oct. 17, 1962, Box “SPE,” File “Corres. 1962,” Nathan Lyons personal archives, Rochester, New York.

³⁶⁵ Nathan Lyons, *SPE: The Formative Years* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 7.

³⁶⁶ Adrian TerLouw, “Resume of Group Discussion,” 1962, [1], Box “SPE,” File “Corres. 1962,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York.

³⁶⁷ Letter from Adrian TerLouw to Nathan Lyons June 14, 1963, Box “SPE,” File “Corres. 1963,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

Debates were also held over the level of technical training in the medium expected from students.³⁶⁸ Minor White, a staunch advocate of the Zone System, insisted that technical mastery was key to creative expression. Jerry Uelsmann, who was then teaching at the University of Florida, acknowledged that while understanding the mechanics of photography were important, human interaction and the study of ideas were equally necessary. At the meeting, he asserted that “[t]he vehicle is the means by which the photographer may materially manifest his ideas; it is a false idol when worshiped as an end. Let the Philistines genuflect to the little yellow box; for the artist-photographer the visual horizon is infinite.”³⁶⁹ As such, technical aptitude in this scenario was valued as a means of enhancing creative expression, not as the ultimate creative output.

Beyond the teaching of technical skills, it was clear that establishing priorities for teaching was a pressing concern for the attendees. In his lecture, Newhall called upon teachers to take on the full-time job of turning photography into a profession, exclaiming, “we can help students to learn what photography is not, as well as what it is.”³⁷⁰ Jerome Liebling,³⁷¹ a former member of the Photo League, who had by this point taken a position teaching film and photography at the University of Minnesota, felt that not all photographic work required evaluation in attempts to establish a history. He justified this position in his paper stating that “[t]he Jell-O and vodka ads are not the same as a Weston or Strand. Photography is not all-inclusive.”³⁷² Then-freshly appointed Director of the Department of Photography at MOMA,

³⁶⁸ The papers presented in this first meeting have since been republished in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012).

³⁶⁹ Jerry N. Uelsmann, “Interrelationship of Image and Technique,” in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 78-81, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 79-80.

³⁷⁰ Beaumont Newhall, “Teaching the History of Photography,” in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 58-60, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 60.

³⁷¹ He was a student of Paul Strand, Sid Grossman, and also studied at the New School for Social Research.

³⁷² Jerome Liebling, “The Place for Photography in the University Curriculum,” *SPE: The Formative Years* ed. Natan Lyons, 26-27, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012), 26.

[Thaddeus] John Szarkowski (1925-2007) echoed Liebling, pushing a step further when he claimed that:

we often define serious photographic education in terms of what is safe and respectable, in terms of contemporary art criticism and in terms of the values held by the social microcosm that is known as the art world. I think that on one hand we suffer from what to me seems an inexplicable inferiority complex in the company of both modern painting and ancient academicism. In colleges, in art schools and in museums we are not quite sure that we are wanted, and I'm afraid that sometimes we adjust our art accordingly. On the other hand, we are embarrassed by the non-serious photographers, by our glib, trick, commercial, easily compromising, band wagon-jumping colleagues.³⁷³

While the members would not settle on the hierarchy of master photographers, they agreed that what they hoped to teach would reach beyond the commercial world. As such, their criteria for photographs worthy of attention and research were advancing.

Many of the speakers discussed the way photography was treated at their institution and what resources, if any, were available, with the aim of sharing tools that were currently available. Everyone agreed that prints were the best means of showing students what quality photography was, and that such prints needed to be original.³⁷⁴ Furthermore, they found that creating access to materials that could be used as teaching tools such as textbooks, slides, and photography collections was of high importance to all the participants. Deliberations were even held over the necessity of developing a textbook. Such resources were not easily accessible. Many were working independently toward this goal, and they concluded that the task of creating such resources was up to them.

³⁷³ John Szarkowski, "Commitment," in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 68-70, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 69.

³⁷⁴ Adrian TerLouw, Ken[neth] Josephson, John Schulze, Jerry Uelsmann, Oscar Bailey, "Resume of Discussion," in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 23-25, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 23-24.

Ralph Hattersley, then teaching at RIT, was unable to attend the conference, but sent his paper in advance, aptly titled “Misgivings.” Much more critical than the assembled group, Hattersley, over the course of eighteen points, challenged the role of the educator and the implications of their collective work. He was fearful that a gathering of photography teachers would inevitably lead to a defeatist core. It was clear to him from his relationship with other educators of the medium that there was no consensus on what the fundamentals of the medium were. As such, any work that was presented to students held too much sway over their thinking. Despite this, he felt that photography educators had to be open to their students, asserting that the medium had to be educated through life – that is, through practice – not from a textbook. He wrote that he had come to understand through his experiences that “[e]ducation, then, is an attack of some kind against enemies. I used to try to win this war by attempting to make students into safe (for me) versions of myself; and many other teachers must also do this.”³⁷⁵ It was natural, he concluded, for students to rebel against their teachers.

With regard to the history of photography, Hattersley was suspicious of the manner in which it was being written. Historians, in his mind, had not dug deep enough into the field to differentiate between the wide range of practices. As such, there was no use complaining about the lack of criticism, because it was the responsibility of photographers like themselves to do this work – to make people interested in what they were doing. The combination of all these factors weighed heavily on him and as such, he was wary of the gathering.

Group discussions held after Hattersley’s paper was read demonstrate that the attendees had also considered the ramifications of their teachings on students, but they could not reach agreement as to whether the influence caused harm, or whether the master-apprentice

³⁷⁵ Ralph Hattersley, “Misgivings,” in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 88-90, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 89.

relationship was better than the impersonal formal large lecture. Overall, they concluded that while they shared many of the anxieties expressed by Hattersley, photography education was necessary. This group discussion offers further evidence that the individuals involved in this early conference were well aware of their impact on their students' reception of the medium; moreover, it was a goal they were working toward. They wanted to establish a field of study.

Prior to concluding the conference, a Steering Committee was formed in the hopes of maintaining the momentum. On the committee were Clarence White Jr., Henry Holmes Smith, Sol Mednick (1916-1970), Art Sinsabaugh (1924-1983), and Nathan Lyons. They were tasked with reporting their findings to the group within six months.³⁷⁶

Donald [Wright Jr. Pat] Patterson (b. 1937), then editor of *Contemporary Photographer*, had written to Lyons prior to the conference to obtain more information about the rumoured event.³⁷⁷ Lyons responded that:

[t]here is not that much that I can announce at this time and I have no intention of making a public announcement of the conference because it is functioning as a small working group. However, I plan to ask a number of editors if they would like to sit in as observers. This all may sound rather formal, but when I have completed a draft of the program I think you will understand.³⁷⁸

Ultimately, *Contemporary Photographer*, *Aperture*, and *Image* were invited to attend and report on the conference. As earlier noted, *Image* was effectively Eastman House's newsletter and *Aperture* was run by Minor White, with many who attended the conference on the journal's board. In 1963, a special supplement, printed in *Aperture*, shared with a wider public the

³⁷⁶ Minor White, "The Conference Brought Isolated Teachers Together," *Aperture [Special Supplement in Honor of the Teaching Conference Sponsored by George Eastman House of Photography 1962]* Special Supplement Vol. II (1963): 2.

³⁷⁷ Letter from Donald Patterson to Nathan Lyons, undated, Box "SPE," File "Corres. 1963," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

³⁷⁸ Letter from Nathan Lyons to Donald Patterson, August 31, 1962, Box "SPE," File "Corres. 1963," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

discussions held behind the closed doors of the Eastman House.³⁷⁹ An official report of the conference, including the papers, was published by Eastman House and distributed to the participants, as well as two hundred colleges and university presidents.³⁸⁰ A few copies were made available for purchasing directly from the Eastman House for \$3.³⁸¹

Bylaws: Setting the Course of SPE

Over the next year, the Steering Committee compiled their report based on discussions held over three additional meetings. They presented their recommendations for forming an official group during their second conference that took place in Chicago in 1963. Here, they laid out the constitution and bylaws of the organisation to be named the Society for Photographic Education.³⁸² The proposed society centred around four objectives to “promote high standards in photographic education; to foster and encourage the practice of the art photography; to elevate public taste in photography; and to cooperate with all other organisations having similar aims.”³⁸³ Drafts of the objectives demonstrate that they narrowed the organisation’s goals, as can be seen in the crossing out of words such as “all branches” and the adding of “art” [fig. 2.6].³⁸⁴ This change was adopted and appeared in the official Steering Report.³⁸⁵ Clearly, SPE was most interested in advancing creative or art photography, not all streams of photographic education.

³⁷⁹ *Aperture [Special Supplement in Honor of the Teaching Conference Sponsored by George Eastman House of Photography 1962]* Special Supplement Vol. II (1963): [1]-8.

³⁸⁰ Nathan Lyons, *SPE: The Formative Years* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 7.

³⁸¹ *Aperture [Special Supplement in Honor of the Teaching Conference Sponsored by George Eastman House of Photography 1962]* Special Supplement Vol. II (1963): 8.

³⁸² The steering committee report notes that at least four out of five members were in attendance at each of the meetings.

³⁸³ “Steering Committee Report,” in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 107-112, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012), 107.

³⁸⁴ “Steering Committee Report,” November 28, 1963, [2], Box “SPE,” File “Corres. 1963,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

³⁸⁵ See “Steering Committee Report,” in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 107-112, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012), 107.

As part of their bylaws, they recommended eight standing committees: an Archives Committee, to track and preserve all historical material related to SPE; an Educational Services Committee, to collect and distribute information about available programs; a Finance Committee; a Membership Committee; a Publications Committee; a Publicity Committee; a Steering Committee, to solicit new ideas and further the aims of education; and a Nominating Committee, to keep members informed about votes, nominations, and vacancies.³⁸⁶ The list of committees indicates that the Society was devoting significant energy to documenting their opinions and decisions and to publishing their findings on photography education. They set out deliberately to act as an authority in the emerging field. They would undertake these goals by collecting and disseminating teaching materials, acting as advisors and/or board members for establishing photography programs, and assisting any organisation interested in collecting photography. By sending university and college presidents a summary of their first meeting, they were establishing direct ties to these institutions as resources and authorities that could be approached for advice on creating or revising photography programs.

At this stage, SPE was an entirely voluntary organisation. No fees were paid to any of the board members and there was no support staff. All the communication and organisational duties were divided among the members, who frequently passed requests between one another, shuffling letters to those better suited to respond.³⁸⁷ Membership fees were used to pay for the mail and other small expenses. The Society's proximity to Eastman House – through its members and origin – meant that the Office of Extension Activities played an important role in facilitating its goals. This was achieved through such activities as publishing teaching materials,

³⁸⁶ "Steering Committee Report," November 28, 1963, [5-7], Box "SPE," File "Corres. 1963," Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

³⁸⁷ There is a lot of correspondence in both Nathan Lyons's archives and the Center for Creative Photography that demonstrates letters addressed to one member were forwarded to and answered by another.

producing exhibitions that would be a fit in educational institutions, and by co-sponsoring events.³⁸⁸

Exhibitions were soon recognised as key to developing the field. As part of the tasks of Chairman of Student Exhibitions, Aaron Siskind compiled a list of twenty-four individuals who could be contacted for exhibitions that were available for rent from workshops or schools.³⁸⁹ They also collaborated with the Eastman House to produce *Photography 65 / Seeing Photographically*, an exhibition that opened at the New York State Exposition August 31, 1965 and had some thirty-five thousand visitors attend within seven days. The exhibition combined photographs, texts, and slide projections to educate visitors on the different ways to evaluate a photograph.³⁹⁰

SPE also aided in the production of teaching materials for photography education, including facilitating the production of a slide set with the Eastman House's Extensions Activities Program that resulted in the first set of two hundred and fifty slides based on Beaumont Newhall's historical text in 1964. That year, only thirty-six sets were produced; all were distributed shortly thereafter.³⁹¹

The 'Ins' and 'Outs' of Membership

During the Chicago meeting, membership in the organisation was "conferred upon men and women known to be qualified for and desirous of promoting the objects for which this Society is

³⁸⁸ Cohen, "If this Conference were a Team Sport, I'd Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s," 14-15.

³⁸⁹ Aaron Siskind, "Appendix F: Student Exhibitions," in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 107-112, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 136-138.

³⁹⁰ The following year the Eastman House showed the exhibition between October and November of 1966. A publication was anticipated in the fall of 1968. "SPE Chairman's Report 1963-1965," ca. 1966, 4.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

organised.”³⁹² Such credentials, of course, were determined based on the standards established by this founding all-male committee. Potential members had to be nominated by at least two standing members. Lyons later in 1997 rationalised this decision, arguing that this was necessary because SPE was:

concerned about not becoming another amateur group, but one that had professional credibility, both as photographers and educators. Subsequently, there’s been some talk about the organization originally being exclusionary. I think the mode of organizing was something that helped establish the seriousness of the group[.]³⁹³

An honorary membership category was also formed. Individuals within this category had to be nominated and to receive unanimous support from the board of directors. As honorary members, they were not permitted to vote. It is important to note that the organisation did not place restrictions on the kind of educational institution they were interested in; however, almost all members at the founding of the organisation had not worked as educators at institutions below the post-secondary level.³⁹⁴

In some ways, there were practical reasons for the group to narrow their interests to creative photography. For one, ASMP was already aiding photojournalism programs. Moreover, while photography education was increasing in institutions of post-secondary education, it was not doing so necessarily as a creative force. Arguing for photography education as a creative discipline, let alone an art form, was still controversial, as there was yet no serious market for photography as art. Furthermore, it served the interests of many of the founding members to address photography as an art, as this was their pursuit. Among them were John Szarkowski,

³⁹² Ibid., 9.

³⁹³ Pelizzari, “Nathan Lyons: An Interview,” 151.

³⁹⁴ Nancy M. Stuart “Photographic Higher Education in the United States,” in *the Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres. (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007): 213.

Henry Holmes Smith, Minor White, Aaron Siskind, Jerry Uelsmann (who had studied at RIT and as a graduate student under Smith), Kenneth Josephson (who had studied under Callahan and Siskind at the Institute of Design), and Art Sinsabaugh (who had studied under Moholy-Nagy, Callahan, and Siskind at the Institute of Design).

The formation of SPE did not stop other photographers from seeking support from their peers for photography and its education. In 1963, for example, Kamoinge Workshop began officially meeting in the homes of member photographers. The group grew out of two African American photography groups based in New York City: Group 35³⁹⁵ and Kamoinge.³⁹⁶ Participants included James Ray Francis (1937-2006), Herman [Klean] Howard [Jr.] (1942-1980), Louis H. Draper, Shawn W. Walker (b. 1940), and Herbert [Herb Eugene] Randall [Jr.] (b. 1936).³⁹⁷ In 2006, art historian Erina Duganne (b. 1970) explained that their assembly “resulted from the alienation and isolation that many of the members felt with respect to established photographic institutions.”³⁹⁸ Kamoinge met once a week to discuss photography, participated in critiques, exhibited together, contributed to the creation of portfolios, and acted as a general support network.³⁹⁹ While some of the members of the workshop had been educated in a university setting – for example, Louis Draper⁴⁰⁰ – they considered their true photographic development to have emerged within the workshop setting. The Kamoinge photographers announced their ultimate purpose in their second published portfolio in 1965, stating they were

³⁹⁵ Mel Dixon, Ray Francis, Herman Howard, Earl James, and Calvin Mercer were members of Group 35.

³⁹⁶ Herb Randall, Jimmie Mannas Al Dennar, and Louis Draper were members of Kamoinge.

³⁹⁷ Sharayah Cocharan, “A Chronology of Louis Draper, the Kamoinge Workshop and Significant Events of Their Time,” in *Working Together: Louis Draper and the Kamoinge Workshop*, ed. Sarah L. Eckhardt (Richmond & Durham: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and Duke University Press, 2020): 286.

³⁹⁸ Erina Duganne, “Transcending the Fixity of Race: The Kamoinge Workshop and the Question of a ‘Black Aesthetic’ in Photography” in *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement*, ed. Lisa Gail Collins and Margo Natalie Crawford, 187-209, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006): 190.

³⁹⁹ In the 1970s Kamoinge conducted more workshops that would have been more akin to classes.

⁴⁰⁰ Draper studied with Roy DeCarava and W. Eugene Smith (1918-1978). Margaret M. O’Reilly, *Louis H. Draper: Selected Photographs*, (Rochester: Booksmart Studio, 2015).

“fifteen black photographers whose creative objectives reflect a concern for truth about the world, about the Society and about themselves.”⁴⁰¹ That same year, the group set up an official space for the workshop in the Market Place Gallery in New York.⁴⁰²

Between 1963 and 1965, no women or people of colour were included on the board SPE as these appointments were made from individuals who were present in the 1962 invitational meeting.⁴⁰³ As such, these omissions were part of the roots of the organisation. As noted of earlier conferences, this exclusion was not reflective of the lack of existence of such minorities in the field. Members in SPE were certainly aware of some African American photographers. Henry Holmes Smith had advertised his 1956 workshops at the Photographer’s Gallery, a gallery founded by Roy DeCarava;⁴⁰⁴ Callahan and White had both exhibited there.⁴⁰⁵ One possible reason for their exclusion might have been that few held positions as photography educators at the post-secondary institutional level.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, as a complete list of initial invited participants has not been located, it is unclear whether any were invited and were unable to attend.⁴⁰⁷ At best, such an oversight was explained by Susan E. Cohen in 1990 as:

⁴⁰¹ See “Kamoinge Workshop Portfolio No. 2,” 1965 reproduced in Sarah L. Eckhardt, *Working Together: Louis Draper and the Kamoinge Workshop* (Richmond & Durham: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and Duke University Press, 2020): 33.

⁴⁰² Louis Draper, “The Kamoinge Workshop,” reproduced in Sarah L. Eckhardt, *Working Together: Louis Draper and the Kamoinge Workshop* (Richmond & Durham: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and Duke University Press, 2020): 5.

⁴⁰³ Between 1963-1965 board positions were as follows: Chairman: Nathan Lyons; Vice Chairman: Henry Holmes Smith; Secretary: Robert Forth; Treasurer: Sol Mednick; Board Members: Art Sinsabaugh, Minor White, Clarence White Jr., Aaron Siskind, and Walter Civardi. “The Society for Photographic Education,” in *SPE: The Formative Years* ed. Nathan Lyons, 114 (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 114.

⁴⁰⁴ A letter from Anne DeCarava to Smith dated June 3, 1956 notes that she had posted the workshop announcement at the Photographer’s Gallery (the New York based gallery formed by Roy DeCarava). See material related to conference in Box 17 “Henry Holmes Smith Education: Lectures, Conferences, Workshops,” File 12A “1st photography Workshop, Indiana University, 1956,” AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴⁰⁵ The gallery was active March of 1955 to May of 1957. Melissa Rachleff, “The Sounds He Saw: The Photography of Roy DeCarava,” *Afterimage* 24.4 (January / February 1997): 16.

⁴⁰⁶ To be hired as a female or person of colour at universities and colleges was extremely difficult and rare.

⁴⁰⁷ No list was located in SPE’s official archive holdings at the Centre for Creative Photography in Tucson, Arizona or in Nathan Lyons’s personal files.

by and large, with limited financial and administrative resources, limited experience at collecting bibliography or, for that matter, little experience with any kind of historical research, they collected, distributed, made notes about, or discussed, what they knew was there or had inklings of. I don't condone cultural domination or neglect. But it is quite clear to me from these tapes [the recordings of the early SPE meetings] that what we may have thought of as a conspiracy to exclude is, quite to the contrary, almost a miracle of persistence.⁴⁰⁸

Part of the lack of representation also had to do with larger societal norms that placed cultural, economic, physical, and psychological obstacles in the way of individuals attempting to enter into the field, thereby narrowing the scope of applicants.

Such obstacles also included self-ingrained norms. Artist and educator Betty Hahn poignantly later articulated the impact of such standards by explaining that much of her career success was owed to her teacher Henry Holmes Smith. As she said in 2019:

[Smith] literally pushed me into graduate school in photography of course. I really just wanted the job. I was happy working hourly in the darkroom; I had no aspirations. Well, what woman in her right mind in the 1960s would have aspirations for anything.⁴⁰⁹

Outside the letter of the bylaw, it is clear that early SPE membership was closely tied to the relationships of individuals within the photography network.⁴¹⁰ By 1964, several women were nominated and accepted to become members including: Patricia Caulfield and Gerda Peterich (1920-1990), both of whom studied with Newhall at the University of Rochester; Gayle Smalley (b. 1936), who had studied with Smith; Barbara Morgan, who was connected through

⁴⁰⁸ Cohen, "If this Conference were a Team Sport, I'd Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s," 12.

⁴⁰⁹ Betty Hahn. Interviewed by the author. Hahn's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019. [Part 1].

⁴¹⁰ Certainly access to these individuals would have already been narrowed by education and professional status.

the *Aperture* board; and Grace M. Mayer (1901-1996), who worked as a curator of photography at MoMA and was connected through John Szarkowski.⁴¹¹

The membership record files of the SPE held at the Center for Creative Photography reveal that, contrary to the required nomination process, some applicants contacted individuals within the organisation requesting nomination. There is little indication from the archives that such requests were denied.⁴¹² Such an appeal can be seen in Robert Heinecken's (1931-2006) letter of July 24, 1964, to Art Sinsabaugh, inquiring about becoming a member of SPE. At the time, Heinecken was working as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Art at the University of California. In his application he appealed to bypass the two-member sponsorship, claiming:

I am not personally acquainted with any of the members, largely I feel because of the distance separating me from the east coast. I shall include my letter of background and my fee. If my application is refused, please return the check to me.⁴¹³

He described in detail in his letter his education and ambitions for photography as a creative medium. He concluded by writing that SPE membership corresponded with his approach to photography education; he was applying for that reason.⁴¹⁴ His application was accepted as part of the general membership. Heinecken's letter demonstrates that word of SPE was spreading across the country and that individuals were interested in and seeking out peer support. Moreover, it shows that, while entry into SPE was meant to be obtained through sponsorship, such requirements were overlooked for certain individuals.

⁴¹¹ [Membership / Participants], October 26, 1964, Box "SPE," File "Society for Photographic Education Members / Participants 1964-1965," Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁴¹² Although refused applications may have not been kept.

⁴¹³ Letter from Robert Heinecken to Art Sinsabaugh, July 24, 1964, Box 22 "Membership Files and treasurer's records of membership, 1963-1970," File: G7 Robert F. Heinecken, AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

By 1965, updates to the membership included the addition of “corporations, joint stock associations, unincorporated associations and partnerships.”⁴¹⁵ Applications were still required to be supported by at least two members. Further language was added indicating that beyond the nomination of an individual, the sponsoring of members would have to include a justification setting out the applicant’s suitability for membership. Admission to SPE would therefore “be granted only to persons known to be qualified for and desirous of promoting the purposes of the corporation [SPE].”⁴¹⁶ Clearly, this was not an organisation for all photography educators, but rather educators who were deliberately and systematically working toward creating a support network to further the consideration of photography as art through higher education.

While no category was officially in place for students, they were present in the discussions of SPE as early as the 1964 conference. John Schulze (1915-1999), then Professor at the University of Iowa, completed his RSVP to the event, noting that he would have several students with him and he hoped that there would be enough seating.⁴¹⁷ For the same conference, Clarence H. White Jr. similarly wrote in advance of his arrival, indicating that four students would be accompanying him.⁴¹⁸ Early records of the establishing membership demonstrate that members were keen on sharing their peer network with their students through SPE, although no category existed for them. Such relationships aided in the fostering of connections that led at times to careers. As the field grew, members of SPE recommended other members for teaching

⁴¹⁵ “Appendix E: By-Laws of the Society for Photographic Education, Inc.,” in *SPE: The Formative Years*, ed. Nathan Lyons, 127-135, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 2012): 127.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁴¹⁷ [John Schulze RSVP], ca. 1964, Box “SPE,” File “Society for Photographic Education Members/ Participants 1964-1965; Symposium on the History of Photography – Nov. 27 & 28, 1964 receipts from: (M = member, NM = non-member),” Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁴¹⁸ Stephen P. Keller and Thomas C. Eckersley, two undergraduate students at Ohio University, as well as two graduate students, Paul M. Glenn and Elliott S. Parker. Letter from Clarence H. White to Nathan Lyons, November 21, 1964, Box “SPE,” File “Society for Photographic Education Members/ Participants 1964-1965; Symposium on the History of Photography – Nov. 27 & 28, 1964 receipts from: (M = member, NM = non-member),” Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

positions. Those with jobs were more prone to be able to sustain their photographic practices and thus their presence in the field over the long term.

History of Photography Symposium 1964

In addition to the abovementioned attendees, students and non-members were permitted to attend the co-sponsored GEH and SPE symposium on the History of Photography held at the Eastman House between November 27 and 28, 1964. An enthusiastic article by Jacob Deschin in the *New York Times* reported on the event: “The seeds of a possible renaissance in the awareness and teaching of photographic history may have been planted at the first International Symposium on the History of Criticism of Photography.”⁴¹⁹ To Deschin, the gathering demonstrated that the long-neglected treatment of photography history was finally being addressed. Unlike the previous closed-door conferences, much of the energy of the event was spent on history, specifically in relation to art photography rather than on pedagogical concerns⁴²⁰ [see Fig. 2.7 for the event schedule].

The welcoming addresses demonstrated the deep connection between Eastman House and SPE as Beaumont Newhall, then Director, Cyril J. Staud, then President, and Nathan Lyons, then Chairman of SPE and the Assistant Director at the Eastman House gave opening remarks. To tie photography to a longer tradition, thereby enforcing its legitimacy, Heinrich Schwarz (1894-1974), then professor of the History of Art at Wesleyan University, gave the keynote lecture, titled “Before 1839: Symptoms and Trends.”⁴²¹ Robert Heinecken also linked

⁴¹⁹ Jacob Deschin, “History of Photography is Theme of Symposium,” *The New York Times* December 6, 1964, X31.

⁴²⁰ There was only one session (an hour and a half) devoted to members of SPE. Other sessions that evening would have been relevant to photography teachers.

⁴²¹ This was later published in *Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences. Selected Essays by Heinrich Schwarz*, ed. William E. Parker. 97-108. (Rochester: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc. Peregrine Smith Books in Association with Visual Studies Workshop, 1985).

photography to the larger art tradition through an illustrated slide lecture reviewing painters' responses to photography from 1839 to 1900. Rather than providing historical insight into specific periods, Heinecken wanted to trace different attitudes toward the medium. Much of his paper was drawn from research compiled by Beaumont Newhall, Heinrich Schwarz, Helmut Gernsheim, and [Alpheus] Hyatt Mayor (1901-1980), whom he credited in his opening statement.⁴²² Van Deren Coke, Peter Bunnell, and Beaumont Newhall presented papers on individual photographers.⁴²³ José Boichard, then working in the service documentation department at Kodak-Pathé in Vincennes, France, spoke about the role of the French Press in the discovery of photography. Nathan Lyons and John Szarkowski gave papers on vernacular photography that were followed by a discussion panel with the speakers and Jerry Uelsmann, Paul Vanderbilt, and Robert F. Forth (b. 1926).⁴²⁴ The panellists agreed that photography history had to include more than art objects, yet they were largely uncomfortable assessing photographs beyond 'art tradition.'⁴²⁵ Photographic Arts graduate from Ryerson Polytechnic Institute Ralph Greenhill (1924-1966), who was then working at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Still Photography Department,⁴²⁶ lectured on the history of Canadian photography.⁴²⁷ Walter

⁴²² Robert Heinecken, "Painters on Photography," 1964, [1], Box 1: "Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976," File 2: "SPE Symposium on the history of photography 1964, GEH," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴²³ "Symposium on the History of Photography," [conference schedule], November 27 & 28, 1964, 1-5, Box 1: "Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976," File 2: "SPE Symposium on the history of photography 1964, GEH," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Cohen, "If this Conference were a Team Sport, I'd Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s," 16. With the exception of the panel on 'the Vernacular Tradition' which consisted of Szarkowski, Lyons, Coke, Uelsmann, Vanderbilt, and Forth.

⁴²⁶ The Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art, "Ralph Greenhill: CV," The Canadian Art Database: Artist Files, accessed June 11, 2020, <http://ccca.concordia.ca/cv/english/greenhill-cv.html>.

⁴²⁷ Greenhill would go on to publish *Early Photography in Canada* the following year (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965). Prior to Greenhill's involvement with SPE other Canadians were also approached such as Leslie H. Holmes who was then a Photography Research Officer at the National Film Board in Canada. Holmes took part in the 1963 conference. See letter from Leslie H. Holmes to Art Sisabaugh, December 2, 1963, Box "SPE," File "SPE 1963," Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

Rosenblum summarised various books and materials available as teaching tools, and pointed in particular to the usefulness of a one-thousand slide set of 35mm direct positive toned slides that sold for \$600.⁴²⁸

The recognition of photography as an emerging field outside the walls of the academy was bolstered by panels organised around topics such as ‘The Collecting and Preservation of Photographs,’ held during the conference. The discussion was moderated by Eugene Ostroff (1928-1999), Curator of Photography at the Smithsonian Institute, and featured José Boichard; Walter Clark (1899-1991), a researcher at Eastman Kodak Company; Robert Bretz (1928-2012), Assistant Curator of Collections at the Eastman House; Allan Ludwig (b. 1933), professor in the Fine Arts Department at Dickinson College; and Albert Boni (1892-1981),⁴²⁹ who worked at Readex Microprint Corporation. The preponderance of Kodak representatives on this particular panel underscores the intersection of SPE’s interests with commercial concerns and suggests that the organisation was actively involved in setting and promoting standards for the physical treatment of photographs. Given the paucity of available information on the collection and preservation of photographs, such discussions were likely received enthusiastically by museums and private collectors, as well as photographers themselves. Photography educators too would have taken a keen interest in the topic, as many were in the process of developing teaching collections at their respective institutions, an activity well supported by SPE.

⁴²⁸ Jacob Deschin, “History of Photography is Theme of Symposium,” *The New York Times* December 6, 1964, X31.

⁴²⁹ Boni was a pioneering bibliographer. In 1962 he published *Photographic Literature: An International Bibliographic Guide to General & Specialized Literature on Photographic Processes; Techniques; Theory; Chemistry; Physics; Apparatus; Materials & Applications; Industry; History; Biography; Aesthetics*, (New York: Morgan & Morgan in association with R. R. Bowker Co., 1962). He would later in 1972 publish *Photographic Literature 1960-1970: An International Bibliographic Guide to General and Specialized Literature on Photographic Processes; Techniques; Theory; Chemistry; Physics; Apparatus; Material and Applications; Industry; History; Biography; Aesthetics; etc.* (New York: Morgan & Morgan, 1972).

No Clearer Picture: SPE's 1965 Conference

By November of 1965, SPE had eighty-five members⁴³⁰ and the Society was officially ratified as a non-profit educational institution.⁴³¹ The annual conference that met again in Chicago between December 28 and 29, 1965, for the Symposium on the Teaching of Photography, had sixteen students in attendance.⁴³² At this point, Robert Heinecken rang the bell on the fact that photography education had already displayed a favouring of certain stylistic approaches over others. The term 'photography' to him was increasingly being associated with straight photography, signified by photographers such as Steichen, Weston, and Adams.⁴³³ Heinecken advocated for a more serious consideration of photography's alternative approaches and trajectories. Yet many of the other speakers still seemed to be caught up in questions regarding their roles and pleading for the establishment of a history.

After the papers Nathan Lyons announced plans for an Advanced Studies Program to take place between June and August 1967. The program would provide a paid fellowship program of \$110 per week⁴³⁴ at the Eastman House to train individuals in the special needs of photography in a museum setting. Funding for the program was supplied by the New York State Council on the Arts.⁴³⁵ Applicants required two letters of recommendation and official

⁴³⁰ "Society for Photographic Education: Members," November 1965, [1]-5, Box "SPE," File "Society for Photographic Education Members/ Participants 1964-1965," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁴³¹ "SPE Chairman's Report 1963-1965," ca. 1966, 2. Box "SPE," File "SPE 1963-1965," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁴³² James W. Brown, Marcia Daehn, L. Peter Feldstein, James Harvey, William Harvey, John Huston, William Huff, Victor Landweber, John Seaholm, Richard Ward, Wally Wright, Stanley Wiszynski, Sam Wang, Anthony LaPietra, Douglas Prince, Karen Titel. "Students Attending Symposium 1965," 1965, Box "SPE," File "Society for Photographic Education Membership/ Participants 1964-1965," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁴³³ See previous chapter and Therese Thau, ed. *Seeing Straight: The f. 64 Revolution in Photography* (Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1992).

⁴³⁴ "SPE Chairman's Report 1963-1965," 8.

⁴³⁵ Cohen, "If this Conference were a Team Sport, I'd Have Home Court Advantage. Teaching the Teachers: Photographic Education in the 1960s," 18.

transcripts from graduate studies as well as evidence of their interest in the field.⁴³⁶ In addition, a four-week workshop was planned for the museum in August 1967 for fifty individuals to develop skills in photography history, teaching, and museology.⁴³⁷ These two workshops indicate that photography education was tied to the interests of furthering photography in the museum, not only at the Eastman House, but also at other museums, galleries, and institutions. The goals of the two programs were to help make resources available for institutions planning to develop photography collections while training future curators.

Howard L. Worner (1913-2006), who was then Associate Professor of Graphic Design at Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, cautioned in his paper, “If this conference believes it can develop a cut and dried program for educational procedures, it will do a great disservice to the profession in general and to the students in particular.”⁴³⁸ Worner had witnessed the changes made to design curricula as the job market shifted to respond to the new demands of employers. So too, photographers would have to learn to develop more skillsets outside photography. As such, he believed it would be a disservice to the students and the education of the medium to develop strict standards for photography curricula.

Questions such as what to expect of students, what objectives should be set for classes, how class-hour allotments impact curriculum building, were raised frequently. Beyond indicating that those active in SPE were attempting to streamline and set regulations for photography education, it demonstrated that most of the individuals involved were not trained as

⁴³⁶ “SPE Chairman’s Report 1963-1965,” 8.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Howard L. Worner, “Photographic Education/From Here to Infinity,” [paper presented at Symposium on the Teaching of Photography], December 1965, [1]-2. Box 1: “Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976,” File “3: SPE symposium on the teaching of photography 1965,” AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

teachers. Moreover, many were utilising these meetings to brainstorm pedagogical solutions with their peers.

Still, merely gathering was important to these educators, as Bernard L. Freemesser (1926-1977), then Associate Professor at the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon, opened his lecture:

allow me to commend the Society for Photographic Education for its very existence. A teacher of photography many times finds himself amid colleagues not having the least concern about the past, present, or future of photography. Always the proverbial bridesmaid, photographic instruction is the handmaiden of art, journalism, or the industrial arts and all too often has a single voice pleading its case on the academic scene. That voice needs the philosophical guidance that an organization such as this is able to provide. It follows that photography will be the better for it – and that’s our ultimate purpose.⁴³⁹

Focusing on the needs of photography education in terms of photojournalism, Freemesser described the different courses he built at the University of Oregon to satisfy several factors. These were motivated by different ambitions he identified in the university’s student body. First, he had witnessed a growing segment of students interested in television documentaries. Second, there were students interested in the program as a means of obtaining training for editorial or advertising roles. Third, there was an expansion of students, who were enrolling in the program with no background in photography. As such, he created classes for photojournalism majors as well as courses open to the general university population. All these considerations indicated that curricula were not only shaped by photography educators but by the requests of the administrative level and needs of students. Moreover, the increase in students, who were first

⁴³⁹ Bernard L. Freemesser “Visual Aspects of Journalism Education,” [paper presented at Symposium on the Teaching of Photography], December 1965, [1]. Box 1: “Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976,” File “3: SPE symposium on the teaching of photography 1965,” AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

accessing photography education at the university, was indicative of a new generation. With this in mind, Freemesser noted that he added a historical component:

The History of Photography, taught from the photographs of the men who made history. This course was instituted not to sell Beaumont Newhall's latest edition but rather to give the students that much needed perspective which a knowledge of photography's history can provide.⁴⁴⁰

Conclusion

In 1977, Robert Forth asserted that SPE “began long before its name, its legal founding date, and nobody will ever know absolutely why, when, where, who, or how it occurred.”⁴⁴¹ This case study has shown that certain events had to take place before SPE could formulate its goals. Such an organisation could only gather once there was a large enough group of photography educators and students, who were interested in pursuing photography as a creative medium. It is important to recognise that the networking model for professional organisations already existed within the photography field, as well as the general academic realm. Earlier social connections between photography educators were fostered through the efforts of organisations and symposia that took place prior to SPE: for example, the ASMP's conferences and Henry Holmes Smith's workshops. Unlike other organisations however, SPE focused deliberately on pooling members' efforts toward shaping and supporting the growth of post-secondary photography education. Moreover, while not officially linked, they had strong institutional support from the Eastman House.

As such, the early years of SPE had a significant impact on the course of photography education. Hahn confirms that most of the early meetings were important to the members

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. 10

⁴⁴¹ Robert F. Forth, “Onto the Ark, Two by Two,” *Afterimage* 4.8 (February 1977): 4.

because they offered a place of support for individuals who often were working alone to form programs in colleges or universities that dealt with photography as an art, many of them facing significant pushback from their colleagues. As Hahn recounted in 2019, the acceptance of photography as an art:

took a long time. I mean it was just persistence. SPE really helped. Because the people in SPE supported each other. They had name recognition amongst themselves. Stayed in touch. When there were job openings they had somebody they knew to call. Always men. It was always a man to man thing. I don't know how Barbara Crane did it, but she did. I think persistence was probably the key there.⁴⁴²

Hahn's reflection on the role of SPE demonstrates the prevailing attitude of the field during this early period. That is, that it was better to be a part of a group such as SPE, which was promoting photography as an art, than to be chipping away at this goal alone. While views varied on how to best use photography as a creative form, individuals who may have otherwise disagreed on pedagogical and stylistic approaches united for the sake of professional growth.

⁴⁴² Betty Hahn. Interviewed by the author. Hahn's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019. [Part 1].

Part 2. Education 1965-1975

Chapter 3. From Training to Educating: Developments in Photography Education Between 1965 and 1975

Introduction

In 1971, looking back on the past decade, editor Van Deren Coke noted in *Image* that “photography and film making as serious means of artistic expression have captured the imagination of a tremendous number of people, especially those in their late ’teens and twenties.”⁴⁴³ To Coke, this was a result of enormous changes in photography education. With this in mind, he asserted that the George Eastman Museum – then his employer – would try to facilitate photography students work by securing more publications, photographs, and slides for the Eastman collection.

From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, photography departments in higher-education institutions were being formed across Canada and the United States at a staggering pace. As described in Chapter 1, photography courses had existed as part of some of these institutions, but were largely aligned with departments of Journalism, Science, or Design. According to a survey of Canadian and American programs conducted by Dr. C. William Horrell, in 1963, forty-seven schools⁴⁴⁴ were teaching photography in art departments and twenty programs had independent photography departments.⁴⁴⁵ Thirty-six universities offered degrees in photography, although

⁴⁴³ Van Deren Coke, “Editorial,” *Image* 14.1 (January 1971): 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Horrell uses the term ‘schools’ in his 1963 to address universities, various colleges, institutes, art schools, trade technical colleges, art institutes, junior colleges, teachers’ colleges, seminaries, museum colleges, and polytechnics.

⁴⁴⁵ Dr. C. William Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States*. (New York: American Society of Magazine Photographers, 1964): [2].

only two institutions offered Bachelor of Fine Arts degrees.⁴⁴⁶ By 1975, photography courses could be found in one hundred and eighty-four schools under Art, Fine Art, or Creative Arts departments. Fifty-one schools had set up an independent department for photography.⁴⁴⁷ Degrees in photography could be obtained from two hundred and thirteen schools, including forty-five in Bachelor of Fine Arts category.⁴⁴⁸ That same study found that there were some 49,731 undergraduate, 1,812 Master's, and eighty-three doctoral students of still photography,⁴⁴⁹ and 1,058 full-time teaching positions.⁴⁵⁰ These numbers demonstrate the significant growth of the field over some ten years.

Simultaneously, there was a decline in photography courses within Journalism Departments. In 1999, photography historian and curator Keith F. Davis (b. 1954) traced this development, writing that:

[i]n 1964, such [photography] courses were twice as likely to be found in departments of journalism as in departments of fine art. The number of fine-art photography courses doubled between 1964 and 1968, and doubled again between 1968 and 1971. By contrast, the number of photography courses taught in journalism programs declined in these years.⁴⁵¹

Creative photography programs overwhelmingly saw their role as tied to teaching students self-expression as part of a liberal education and not training them solely in the technical skills of the

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, [4]. Horrell does not provide the name of the schools in his program chart; nor does he indicate which institutions offer degrees in his program listing. It is interesting to note that the schools with the most semester course hours dedicated to art photography are the San Francisco Art Institute (50 hours); State University College at New Paltz (50 hours); Institute of Design of Illinois (38 hours); and Humboldt State College (25 hours).

⁴⁴⁷ Dr. C. William Horrell, *A Survey of Motion Picture, Still Photography, and Graphic Arts Instruction*. (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1975): 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, 8.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, 7.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁵¹ Keith F. Davis, "The Photography Boom," in *An American Century of Photography: From Dry Plate to Digital*, second edition, (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1999): 389-390.

medium. John Douglas [Doug] Stewart (1931-2018), a graduate of Northern Illinois University and later editor of *Photo Therapy Quarterly*, offered this distinction in 1973:

[t]raining is specific, technology-oriented (at least in our profession), outer-directed, of short-term value, and inclines the trainee toward resisting further exchange. *Education*, on the other hand, may be considered general, humanly oriented, inner-directed, of long-term value, and inclines the educate toward precipitating change.⁴⁵²

The tone of Stewart's assessment of the two approaches to photography education echoes many educators of this period. Photography educators sought to distinguish themselves as creative thinkers. As such, technical training in photography was not sufficient in itself. The goal of mastering technologies was to enhance students' ability to express themselves creatively. This represented a major shift in photography's presence in higher education.⁴⁵³

Looking back over the period, Charles H. Traub (b. 1945), a graduate student of photography at the Institute of Design in Chicago during the late 1960s, explained that much of the growth in interest around the study of photography had been stimulated by the social and political climate of the period. In 2004 he reasoned that:

[t]he political, social, and cultural spheres were all undergoing significant and radical change, and everything was fair game for visual witness, exploration, and exploitation. Graphic and explicit imagery in the media brought the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War to the forefront of political consciousness and encouraged the breakdown of sexual taboos.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² Doug Stewart, "Photographic Education – Some Distinctions," *Afterimage* 1.6 (March 1973): 13.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Charles H. Traub, "Up from the Basement," 2004, emailed to author, Feb. 21, 2019.

Photography historians such as Keith Davis,⁴⁵⁵ Jonathan W. Green⁴⁵⁶ (b. 1939), Gilles Mora,⁴⁵⁷ and photographer Lewis Baltz,⁴⁵⁸ have similarly contextualised educational developments during this period with reference to museum activities, popular culture, publications, and the marketplace.

Outside the academy, commercial entities took a particular interest in investing in what they viewed as a growing, lucrative market. In 1966, the Ford Foundation along with the Eastman Kodak Company, developed a multi-year project to create a curriculum for visual literacy. The venture, named Visual Communications Education, was funded through \$490,000 in Ford Foundation grants and \$76,000 from Kodak, with the intention of publishing a guide for educators.⁴⁵⁹ By 1974, Kodak announced a new division named the Education Markets Services, which amalgamated all their education efforts from various departments into a single branch with the aim of meeting the needs of photography educators at all levels in the field.⁴⁶⁰ This action by Kodak demonstrated that the demand for educational material was significant enough to justify a dedicated department.

⁴⁵⁵ Keith Davis, "The Photography Boom," 388-397.

⁴⁵⁶ Jonathan Green, *A Critical History 1945 to the Present* (New York: Henry N. Abrams Inc., 1984).

⁴⁵⁷ Gilles Mora, *The Last Photographic Heroes: American Photographers of the Sixties and Seventies* (New York: Abrams, 2007).

⁴⁵⁸ Lewis Baltz, "American Photography in the 1970s: Too Old to Rock, Too Young to Die." In *American Images: Photography 1945-1980*, ed. Peter Turner. 157-164. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Book, London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1985).

⁴⁵⁹ Jacob Deschin, "Photography: To Teach Language of Vision," *New York Times* July 10, 1966: 86. The venture built on an initiative developed by Ray Schwalm, a professor at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington. The program appears to have been launched in 1966 but ultimately failed to produce a full curriculum. The program was maintained by Western Washington University until 1993. See Ernesto José Peña Alonso, "Visualizing Visual Literacy," Ph.D diss., (University of British Columbia, 2018): 52-56. An article by Bob King mentions only the Ford Foundation's involvement with the venture. The program was to take place between June 1965 and August 1968. A curriculum designed in the summer of 1968 was used by Vancouver based educators until July 1971, when a new document *Graphic Communications* emerged. Bob King, "Visual Communication Education: (VICOED) The Death of a Program," *BCATA Journal for Art Teachers* 20 (1980): 12-13.

⁴⁶⁰ Anonymous, "New Education Markets Services at Kodak," *Exposure* 12.1 (1974): 18.

This chapter traces key aspects of this growth and its implications on creative photography in departments, course development, teaching materials and collections, portfolios, exhibitions, and ultimately the job market. With the field expanding at a rapid rate, the examples showcased here demonstrate only a fraction of the rich and diverse activities of the period. Detailed case studies of departments are given in the following two chapters on Ryerson Polytechnic (Ryerson) in Toronto, Ontario and Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, New York, respectively. These studies allow for a more complex and focused account of aspects of the period's development, as well as a more nuanced discussion of the impact that these activities had on individuals. Ryerson provides an example of a typical undergraduate program's transition from the study of photography as a set of technical skills to that of a creative medium in a post-secondary institution. VSW represents a graduate program that developed with ambitions for an alternative school approach that drew largely upon the workshop and artist-centre models.

Contextualising the Educational Climate

Between 1965 and 1975, considerable social and political changes took place in the United States and Canada. Some of these changes emerged from judicial rulings and legislation passed earlier in the 1950s and 1960s such as the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954 that desegregated schools; the Canadian Bill of Rights, signed in 1960, that provided all citizens with equal rights; the American Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination in public spaces, including employment based on gender, race, religion, or sex; the American Economic Opportunities Act of 1964, which provided funding for vocational training; and the Higher

Education Act of 1965, which created financial assistance toward post-secondary education.⁴⁶¹ In Canada in 1967, then Justice Minister Pierre Trudeau (1919-2002) introduced an omnibus bill that called for changes to the Criminal Code of Canada as related to abortions, homosexuality, and divorce, famously stating, “there’s no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation.”⁴⁶²

1965 marked the first time American combat troops entered Vietnam, shifting American participation in the ongoing war. Prior to this, the war did not have significant impact on the American population. As demand for troops to support the war increased, more civilians were drafted into the American military service. Throughout the late 1960s, demonstrations against the war and the mandatory draft grew across university campuses. A draft lottery system was developed in 1969 that conscripted Americans based on numbers associated with their birthdays. Regulations allowed individuals to postpone their draft based on their enrollment in post-secondary education. As such, according to an article published in 2000 by sociologist Maria-Giovanna Merli:

[t]he relationship between socioeconomic status and military service seemed to depend on the mechanism that allowed young men from well-placed families to prolong their education or to claim and receive medical deferments for minor ailments.⁴⁶³

Such a practice was not uncommon for those involved in photography education. In fact, it was widely supported by educators, who helped students navigate entry into accredited programs and

⁴⁶¹ For a longer discussion of the broader implications of such policies see Bridget Terry Long, “Supporting Access to Higher Education,” in *Legacies of the War on Poverty* ed. Martha J. Bailey and Sheldon Danziger, 93-120, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013): 93-120.

⁴⁶² The film footage of Tudeau’s statement can be accessed through CBC, “Trudeau: ‘There’s No Place for the State in the Bedrooms of the Nation,’ CBC Television News, December 21, 1967, accessed July 6, 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/omnibus-bill-theres-no-place-for-the-state-in-the-bedrooms-of-the-nation>.

⁴⁶³ Maria-Giovanna Merli, “Socioeconomic Background and War Mortality During Vietnam’s Wars,” *Demography* 37.1 (February 2000): 2.

prolonged their enrolment.⁴⁶⁴ Some individuals defected to Canada to avoid any chance of the draft. This migration of Americans to Canada had a significant impact on Canadian society.⁴⁶⁵

Simultaneously, protests against the war in both countries were part of the larger counterculture movement occurring over the 1960s and early 1970s. The height of the Civil Rights Movement took place between 1965 and 1968.⁴⁶⁶ The June 1969 Stonewall Uprising in New York reflected prior events such as the Compton's Cafeteria Riot in 1966. Stonewall was the first of such actions to be successfully commemorated by activists, leading toward a major step in gay liberation.⁴⁶⁷ Women's rights also advanced during this period; by 1965, nearly eleven-million women across the world were taking contraceptive pills introduced only a few years prior. These pills provided women with autonomy over their bodies and sexual lives.⁴⁶⁸ There is no doubt that these vast social changes, most of which unfolded across university and college campuses, affected the actors within the photography field – students and educators alike.

Treatment of women and minorities within photography programs reflected wider social norms, where references to the 'education of man' were common and assumed to encompass the entire student body. Statistics gathered during this time by Dr. Horrell on photography education do not include a student count based on gender or race, and as such, provide little insight into the

⁴⁶⁴ Jessica Johnston. Interviewed by author. Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America. October 16, 2018.

⁴⁶⁵ See Jessica Squires, *Building Sanctuary: The Movement to Support Vietnam War Resisters in Canada, 1965-73*, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 2013); and Martha Langford, "Hitching a Ride: American Know-How in the Engineering of Canadian Photographic Institutions," in *Narratives Unfolding: National Art Histories in an Unfinished World*. Ed. Martha Langford. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 209-230.

⁴⁶⁶ Melvin Small, "'Hey, Hey, LBJ!': American Domestic Politics and the Vietnam War," *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War* ed. David L. Anderson, 333-356, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011): 341.

⁴⁶⁷ Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanne M. Crage, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71.5 (October 2006): 724-751.

⁴⁶⁸ Lara V. Marks, "'A Dream Come True': The Reception of the Pill," in *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill*, 183-215, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 183.

realities of marginalised people in the field. Black Colleges in the United States that were included in Dr. Horrell's 1964 survey were Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; North Carolina Agriculture & Technical College, Greensburg, North Carolina; and Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. In the 1975 survey, North Carolina's Agriculture & Technical College was the only reoccurring institution; additional Black Colleges programs listed include Howard University's School of Communications, Washington, District of Columbia; and Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. However, it is unclear if these were the only schools to offer photography at the time, or if these omissions in Horrell's data.

According to a survey by the College Arts Association of America conducted by Janice Koenig Ross (b. 1926) and Landa L. Trentham (b. 1939) in 1977, only thirteen percent of the 3,271 MFA candidates recorded in all streams of study⁴⁶⁹ were from a minority group.⁴⁷⁰ Within this MFA cohort, males students dominated, at sixty-five percent of the total. Minority female students would have represented at this time only five percent of all female MFA candidates (with that population at only thirty-five percent). Only six percent of graduates between 1969 and 1974 were from minority communities. Furthermore, over half of the schools responding to the survey did not have a single minority candidate graduate over the examined period.⁴⁷¹ These statistics cover a wide range of programs within studio arts at the graduate level, and while photography is not differentiated within this aspect of the study, it would be reasonable to expect

⁴⁶⁹ This reflects an analysis of all MFA programs including painting, printmaking, ceramics, sculpture, photography, graphic design, jewelry/metal, other (3-d design, mixed media, conceptual...), film/video, weaving/textiles, and drawing. Between 1974 to 1975 there were 212 photography MFA candidates in 35 schools; meaning they represent only 6% of the total gathered data. As such, this statistic speaks to the larger trend of MFAs. Janice Koenig Ross and Landa L. Trentham, *Survey of MFA Programs Students and Faculty*, (New York: College Art Association of America, 1977): 4.

⁴⁷⁰ They defined minority as members of "Afro-American, Hispano-American, Native-American, Oriental." *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

that photography MFAs, like other art majors between 1969 and 1975, would not have had significant diversity in the classroom.

In the same survey, covering MFA graduates between 1969 and 1975, there was an eighty percent increase of female enrollment in all MFA programs.⁴⁷² In 1969, women only made up twenty-nine percent of the graduate student population. At the time, the surveyors assumed that by 1978 more than half of the MFA graduates would be women.⁴⁷³ Despite these encouraging statistics for enrollment, graduation by women was, in fact, far less likely. The surveyors found that in 1975 only thirty-seven percent of women entering MFA programs completed them.⁴⁷⁴ Between 1974 and 1975, Ross and Trentham recorded sixty-seven women enrolled in MFA photography programs, which represented thirty-two percent of the total enrollment in photography MFA programs⁴⁷⁵ [fig. 3.1 reproduces Ross and Trentham's table of finding].

Some of the women, who were successful in pursuing graduate studies as described in the previous chapter, received support from their mentors. Photographer Linda Connor (b. 1944), who was a graduate student at the Rhode Island School of Design in the late 1960s, recalled in 1983 that:

[i]n Harry [Callahan]'s program I felt a lot of support, although there was very little female involvement at that time besides a few other female students – fondly called ‘photo chickies’ by our male counterparts. Though it didn't seem to be so much an issue then, I would have appreciated having a woman instructor or even a visiting artist who was a woman. I have found some sexual prejudice within the field, but most of it is subtle and oftentimes unconscious.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷³ Between 1969-1970 there were 179 female graduates, each of the following academic years up to 1974-1975 saw an increase of female students; from 179, to 255, to 393, and 522 by the end of the study. Ibid., 6.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 8.

Generally women photographers have to prove themselves and be tenacious. It takes longer to be recognized.⁴⁷⁶

The women who were active in the field during the 1960s and early 1970s faced more difficulty gaining employment and were underpaid in comparison to their male colleagues. In 1971, Barbara Crane wrote Roger Gilmore (b. 1932), then Dean of the School of the Art Institute in Chicago:

[m]y salary has continued to be much lower than other members of the department. As you well know, I would not have signed my 1971 summer contract at the lowest salary in the department if the posters announcing the course had not already been printed.⁴⁷⁷

Betty Hahn asserted that she was only able to obtain her position at RIT through back channels. Hahn applied to RIT when she arrived in Rochester in 1967 based on the recommendation of Nathan Lyons and Henry Holmes Smith. In 2019, she recalled:

I went there, and the director told me to my face in his office “we have never hired a woman here. How would it look to have a woman in the darkroom with all those boys?” I had no answer I was just – no answer at all. Later I learned I had an answer for everything; but boy, it took a while. That was... I don’t know what he thought I was going to do. The whole thing was preposterous.⁴⁷⁸

Hahn was eventually hired at RIT in 1969 to train students as part of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. She obtained the position in part because she was working in Rochester as a social worker and had received training in Sign Language. As the institute was government funded it had to demonstrate that it was an equal opportunity employer as part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. As such, they were looking to hire women. When Assistant Professor of

⁴⁷⁶ Linda Connor, “Linda Connor,” in *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence*, ed. Louise E. Shaw, Virginia Beahan, and John McWilliams, (Georgia: Georgia State University Art Gallery, 1983): [np].

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from Barbara Crane to Roger Gilmore, August 20, 1971, Box 17: “Activity Files – teaching contracts, correspondence, n.d. – 1996,” File “SAIC / B. Crane Correspondence,” AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴⁷⁸ Betty Hahn. Interviewed by author. Hahn’s residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019. [Part 2].

Photography Tom Muir Wilson (1930-2011) became Chair of Photographic Illustrations Department, he approached Hahn and asked her to work for the department.⁴⁷⁹ In 1970 she transitioned to the Photographic Illustration Department housed in the School of Photographic Arts and Sciences.⁴⁸⁰ Shifting between departments was easier because Hahn was already an employee of RIT.⁴⁸¹

Despite such typical occurrences, there is little reference to gender bias in the records from the period. From the interviews I have conducted with educators active in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, it seems women either saw themselves as equal to men or felt the status quo needed to be selectively challenged. They felt it was better to play by the established rules than to not play at all. As part of this early generation of educators within higher-education settings, they saw first-hand the work that was needed to establish photography as a serious artistic medium. Many had studied photography with the figures who were becoming recognised as masters, and some still held their mentors in high regard. Some women understood their role as working toward filling the gaps in the developing narrative of the history of photography. Others were in romantic relationships with photographers, who were key players in the field. One interviewee, reflecting on this period, said that the history of the medium could be traced through marriages and divorces and that the pill was key to the establishment of the photography field. For various personal and systemic reasons, female educators were less likely to challenge the work that was being done toward establishing photography as an art. Overall, it was clear to these women that, for the most part, cooperation was key to success.⁴⁸² Moreover, many female

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Betty Hahn. email to author. April 12, 2021.

⁴⁸¹ Betty Hahn. Interviewed by author. Hahn's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019. [Part 2].

⁴⁸² This would change in the mid-70s and 1980s. An analysis of this shift is documented in Chapter 7.

photographers practicing between the 1960s and early 1970s were eager to be seen as photographers, not ‘women photographers.’ This is not to say that women never stood up to their male colleagues or students, but rather that they were more likely to pick their battles.

The experiences for female students within higher-education photography programs were also varied. Dating and romantic and sexual relationships between faculty members and students were present. Instances of sexual harassment toward female students and teachers by faculty and fellow students were unfortunately not uncommon. It was normalised for some faculty members to photograph their students in the nude and then display these images in exhibitions where their peers and other mentors would view them. The imbalanced power dynamics in such cases were rarely considered or openly discussed.

The popularity of the nude – typically, the female body – in creative photography meant that little thought was given when it was incorporated by some faculty members into their curricula. In such cases, students would pose for each other in the nude for a class. Such activities were largely normalised and not all the participants felt that they were being objectified; however, those who felt uncomfortable would have been required to take part. Cindy Sherman (b. 1954), who was a student at State University College in Buffalo, New York, in the early 1970s, described her unease with such a situation in a 1985 interview:

[o]ne of the reasons I started photographing myself was that supposedly in the spring one of my teachers would take the class out to a place near Buffalo where there were waterfalls and everybody romps around without clothes on and takes pictures of each other. I thought, ‘Oh, I don’t want to do this. But if we’re going to *have* to go to the woods I better deal with it early.’⁴⁸³

⁴⁸³ Betsy Sussler, “Cindy Sherman,” *BOMB* 12 (April 1985), accessed June 30, 2020, <https://bombmagazine.org/articles/cindy-sherman/>.

As mentioned earlier, entry into the photography network, and ultimately one's ability to sustain oneself through photography, required support steaming from social links who followed such norms. While not the only factor, a letter of recommendation or introductions made on behalf of students by established individuals would be important to obtaining a job after graduation.

American Immigration to Canada

Degree-granting programs in photography were expanding across the two countries as a result of different conditions, yet it is important to consider Canadians and Americans in relation to one another during this period that was significantly affected by the Vietnam War.⁴⁸⁴ To many Americans, Canada represented a country more aligned with their political beliefs 'free of conflict.' Furthermore, Canada increasingly became a safe haven for men seeking to avoid the American military draft. The well-documented relationships between photography colleagues reveal a deep desire and need for peer support, inspiration, and education. These needs were manifest in the wide range of social artist networks that formed, reformed, and reshaped. These connections, motivations, and ambitions are far more fluid than currently established, especially when it comes to international borders.

An example of the deep influence of Americans on Canadian institutions can be seen in the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design's (NSCAD) activities under the presidency of Garry Neill Kennedy (b.1935) from 1967 to 1990.⁴⁸⁵ In 1968, NSCAD offered classes in photography with Carl Drew (1946-2010) as the instructor.⁴⁸⁶ Photography was also found in the Design

⁴⁸⁴ Jessica Squires, *Building Sanctuary: The Movement to Support Vietnam War Resisters in Canada, 1965-73*, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 2013).

⁴⁸⁵ Martha Langford, "Hitching a Ride: American Know-How in the Engineering of Canadian Photographic Institutions," in *Narratives Unfolding: National Art Histories in an Unfinished World*. Ed. Martha Langford. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 225.

⁴⁸⁶ Garry Neill Kennedy, "Faculty and Administration," in *The Last Art College: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1968-1978*, (Halifax and Cambridge: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia and MIT Press, 2012): 427.

Department and taught by Guenter Karkutt (1931-2002) and [A. T. Edmund] Ted White.⁴⁸⁷ NSCAD's treatment of photography before Kennedy's hiring was akin to other art schools discussed in the previous historical chapter. Shortly after his hiring, Kennedy began restructuring the school's pedagogical approach, explaining that "[r]ather than looking to educational models, we looked to the art world itself as a guide to what the College could become."⁴⁸⁸ He shifted the photography program at NSCAD to address the medium as an artform rather than as a technology. In 1974, Alvin Comiter (b.1948) was hired to teach at NSCAD in the photography department, having been "imported" from CalArts.⁴⁸⁹

In Alberta, American influence on photography education was also seen through the work of Hubert [Hu] Hohn (b.1944). Having studied at workshops under Ansel Adams and Minor White, Hohn emigrated to Alberta in 1967 to avoid the draft, where he taught photography at the Emma Lake Workshop and then directing the photography program at the Banff School of Fine Arts.⁴⁹⁰ As a young educator, he applied an approach similar to a workshop methodology to his teaching. In 1979 he described:

I was caught in the absurd situation of training photographers by depriving them of the opportunity to do real photography; if we held class they could do no photography. I generously met the problem by suggesting that they use the scheduled class period to pursue their own work, and I offered to meet them at any place or time that was convenient for them when they had work to discuss. I explained that I would grade them on portfolios at the end of the course.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 427; and Martha Langford correspondence with author March 22, 2020.

⁴⁸⁸ Garry Neill Kennedy, "Introduction," in *The Last Art College: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1968-1978*, (Halifax and Cambridge: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia and MIT Press, 2012): xv.

⁴⁸⁹ Martha Langford, "Hitching a Ride: American Know-How in the Engineering of Canadian Photographic Institutions," 225.

⁴⁹⁰ Andrea Kunard, "Hubert Hohn," in *Photography in Canada 1960-2000* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2017): 96.

⁴⁹¹ Hu Hohn, "Why is This Man Laughing? A Scary Synthesis of Other Peoples' Ideas Having Something to do with Art Education" in *Canadian Perspectives: a National Conference on Canadian Photography, March 1-4, 1979*, ed. Gary Hall, Phil Bergerson, Bill Morgan, 318-354, (Toronto: Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, 1979), 321.

This methodology of teaching photography through critiques was typical of curricula in the United States. Other Americans educated in photography soon flocked to Canada, among them photographer and educator Donald Arthur [Don] Dickinson (1942-2007), a graduate of RIT, who was hired in 1968 to teach at Ryerson Polytechnic's photography program.

The Search to Fashion Educational Programs: Undergraduate

As the demand for photography programs expanded, photography educators were left scrambling with how best to fashion curricula, program requirements, and ultimately their own roles. These subjects were debated in faculty meetings and informal gatherings with peers. Many of the faculty involved in the field of creative photography at higher-education institutions, such as at art institutes, polytechnics, and universities, responded to the SPE's aim of supporting creative photography as a legitimate art. Programs were therefore modelled to meet these goals, frequently blurring lines between the institution's mission and those of the individual educators. Such occurrences demonstrate that photography educators were largely applying their personal goals to the curriculum rather than those of the institution. Administrations at this time allowed teachers and departments to independently set program requirements.

In the preliminary documents justifying the introduction of a photography program at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), a public research university that is part of the larger University of California system. it is evident that photographer and educator Robert Heinecken was leaning toward an artistic approach. In a guiding statement for the program, he wrote that "the photograph [is] made for the reasons which are personally meaningful to the

producer, and by virtue of that are further judged to have intrinsic artistic value.”⁴⁹² As a result of this mandate, photography education in the department emphasised creative uses of photography rather than the mastering of a particular technique or application. Early courses would be offered utilising black and white photography for personal expression.

Because photography was to be treated like the other media offered in the department, Heinecken argued, all students interested in majoring in photography were required to take classes in beginner drawing and painting as prerequisites. This mirrored traditional art training from the beaux-arts system. As such, a photography student’s curriculum could include a large number of electives outside of photography, such as classes on art history, art electives, and other courses in the Pictorial Arts Department.⁴⁹³ These requirements ultimately could be waived by the consent of the instructor if they deemed it appropriate to a particular situation.⁴⁹⁴ This indicated that, notwithstanding the systems in place, educators still held significant sway over the regulations.

The program justification established the spirit of photography education at UCLA. Despite the growing demand for photography teachers and their training, UCLA’s photography program would follow the goals of the Pictorial Arts Department to focus on artistic intent and develop high calibre of artists rather than provide vocational training. Concerns over pedagogy and pedagogical approaches were delegated to the Art Education Department. Program graduates would be professional in the sense that they would be able to address issues that arose during their own independent art practices. In other words, they would “probably not be able to solve

⁴⁹² [Robert Heinecken], [Statement of clarification on the photography program], ca. 1967, page 2, Box 42, Folder “Justifications for Photo Program,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

the many applied uses of photographic image, or if he is able to, it would be coincidental to the course work.”⁴⁹⁵ In this statement the program was clearly distinguishing itself from the skill-based photography programs that were available elsewhere in the city, the ones that typically developed through an apprenticeship or related to a polytechnical approach. The divide between ‘training’ and ‘education’ was widening. Within this model, the faculty at UCLA viewed their role as imparting knowledge.

Debates were held over photography’s presence in art departments and the role of post-secondary institutions in the training of potential students. An example can be seen in a faculty meeting discussion held on June 6, 1968, at UCLA between painters Sam Amato (1924-2013), Leslie Biller (b. 1937), Elliot Elgart (1927-2014), Arthur Levine (b. 1928), Jan Frederick Stussy (1921-1990), sculptor Oliver Andrews (b. 1925), and Robert Heinecken. The faculty members gathered to debate the department’s “current attitude towards the role of photography in the Department curriculum.”⁴⁹⁶ Andrews noted that another faculty member, painter and printmaker Richard Diebenkorn (1922-1993), who was absent from the meeting, felt photography should be given the same status as drawing, painting, or sculpture in the curriculum.⁴⁹⁷ Amato countered Andrew’s remarks stating:

[o]ne of the arguments raised against the inclusion of photo in the P.A. [Pictorial Arts] program is that it deals with art forms so different from traditional painting concepts that results will be types of light-art which do not relate to the major objectives of the rest of the P.A. area.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid. 4.

⁴⁹⁶ Oliver Andrews, “Last Regular Faculty Meeting for 67-68,” June 6th, 1968, page 1, Box 42, Folder “Justifications for Photo Program,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

Levine, for his part, pointed to photography's mechanical nature that, for him, limited its ability to transform nature, an essential quality of art.⁴⁹⁹ Heinecken, dismissed all these points by explaining that contemporary art had already moved beyond these ideas, rendering the entire conversation *passé*.⁵⁰⁰ Amato, attempting to find a common ground, reasoned that many of the best artists to emerge from the school would most likely apply some new artform or technique to their practice; this, however, should not diminish the importance of transmitting traditions to students in a manner that they could apply to the present day.⁵⁰¹

Despite this debate, Levine recognised that there was a limit to the changes they could make to undergraduate curricula, as the university had significant control over the program structure. Amato suggested that photography could be established in the department with a set of courses that could also formulate its own independent curriculum. Heinecken clarified that he was not interested in creating a separate discipline for photography, as a major. He argued at the time that this was because “[p]art of the problem of electives is requirements. That is, the university has so many requirements, and so many restrictions on the major, that is difficult for us to provide our undergraduates with the background we would like them to have.”⁵⁰²

Ultimately, a motion was proposed by Andrews and seconded by Heinecken to have photography offered as a discipline of study equal to the others in the Pictorial Arts Department. The status of photography within the program and student requirements would be decided at a later date. The motion passed unanimously.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid, 2.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 3.

Creative photography was also incorporated into photography programs at polytechnical institutions. As mentioned earlier, RIT offered photography from a polytechnic approach. Within RIT, photography educators who viewed photography as an art faced resistance from faculty members who focused on the technical and applied aspects of the medium.⁵⁰⁴ The transmission of technical skills was indeed more aligned with the general polytechnic instruction model that focused on applied skills. The hiring of educators such as Betty Hahn and Bea Nettles⁵⁰⁵ (b. 1946) in 1970 and 1971 respectively, however, contradicted this goal. While these educators taught students practical skills, they emphasised mastering technical problems for creative means. Hahn recalls the tensions in the photography department between the different faculty members' aspirations for photography education. A Masters graduate from Harry Holmes Smith's program at Indian University, Hahn frequently used alternative processes in her personal practice and encouraged her students to seek out the medium that would best meet their creative needs. Many of RIT's faculty members challenged her photographic output as not being 'photography.' Hahn recently explained:

They thought I was some kind of hippie, monster, looney-tune. Who knows. But they were very suspicious of me. But they were teaching... one guy was teaching mountain photography, born in Czechoslovakia. He told all his students that when they were in the mountains, they should take a knitting needle and a fake flower so that they could put that in the foreground of the composition. The students thought this was hilarious. It was so crazy, so outdated. That kind of stuff happened. That was the guy who told me what I was doing was not photography, nor was it photographic education. He told me I needed to take his class.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁴ Betty Hahn. Interviewed by author. Hahn's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019.

⁵⁰⁵ Nettles taught photography at Nazareth College in Rochester between 1970-1971 and at RIT from 1971-1972 and 1976-1984. Outside of Rochester, she taught at Tyler School of Art, Temple University, Philadelphia between 1972-1974 and Visual Studies Workshop between 1974-1975. Colin Naylor, ed., "Nettles, Bea," *Contemporary Photographers*, second edition, (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1988), 748.

⁵⁰⁶ Betty Hahn. Interviewed by author. Hahn's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019.

Moreover, similar statements about a blurring of institutional and faculty approaches could be made about the photography program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) to which Minor White moved in 1965, after teaching at RIT from 1955 to 1964.⁵⁰⁷

At the time, MIT was largely known as an engineering and architecture school; the photography program was initiated to round out the students' education by introducing them to creative work that was outside the realm of their area of study.⁵⁰⁸ The photography classes were very popular and had long waitlists. White's reputation drew photographers who sought to study with him. Those who entered MIT to study photography were required to complete a significant number of math and science courses. Such requirements narrowed the pool applicants. There was, however, a backchannel to enter the program. White was known to barter with individuals allowing them to sit in on his classes in exchange for doing various tasks.⁵⁰⁹ Left largely to his own devices by MIT, White hired individuals within his network, such as Ronald L. [Ron] MacNeil (b. 1941) to work in different areas of the department.⁵¹⁰ Simultaneously, White maintained an ongoing, private curriculum with a rotating group of students who lived in his home.⁵¹¹

Art schools were similarly expanding to include the study of photography. In 1961, David L. Strout (1922-2011), then Vice President and Dean of the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) in Providence, Rhode Island, hired photographer Harry Callahan to establish a

⁵⁰⁷ It is interesting to note that White was hired as Instructor in Photography and Photojournalism at RIT. At MIT he was Visiting Professor in the Architecture Department between 1965-1976. Colin Naylor, ed., "White, Minor," *Contemporary Photographers*, second edition, (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1988), 1111.

⁵⁰⁸ James Baker Hall, "Minor White: Rites & Passages," *Aperture* 80 (1978): 110-111.

⁵⁰⁹ These included both personal and professional tasks. A person, for example, could be asked to cook meals or clean the darkrooms at the school. Jim Stone. Interviewed by the author. Stone's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 22, 2019.

⁵¹⁰ Ron MacNeil. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 18, 2018.

⁵¹¹ Hall, "Minor White: Rites & Passages," 91.

photography degree within the Graphic Design Department.⁵¹² RISD was a private higher-education institution accredited in 1949, turning from its roots as a trade school to an art college.⁵¹³ Under Callahan's instruction, RISD expanded their single darkroom and purchased further equipment deemed necessary for the study of photography, such as 4x5 cameras. Unlike other schools, the graduate program emerged first in 1962. In the following year, 1963, the undergraduate program curriculum was announced. In the early stages of the program's development, Callahan personally recruited students, drawing on his knowledge of the photography network.⁵¹⁴ RISD's proximity to Boston made it desirable for students, who did not want to relocate from the city for graduate studies.⁵¹⁵

At RISD, away from the Institute of Design, Callahan found freedom to structure the program as he saw fit. Prior to Callahan's hiring, photography was taught as a class led by a photojournalist. At first, Callahan taught design students, but he quickly turned to teaching photography full-time as the department saw the growing demand from the student body. Callahan's focus was largely aesthetic and as such he was less interested in the discourse or technical procedures of photography. The additional faculty members hired shortly after his arrival were selected based on their ability to address aspects of the curriculum Callahan deemed important. Looking back, photographer and educator Jim Stone (b. 1947), a graduate of the program, noted that "basically Harry hired other people to cover the bases that he wasn't really terribly interested [in]."⁵¹⁶ Richard [Dick] Leibowitz, a Harvard graduate, was hired to respond

⁵¹² Rhode Island School of Design, "A Department in Motion: A Brief History of Photography at RISD," Rhode Island School of Design, Accessed June 24, 2020, <http://www.photo.risd.edu/new-page>.

⁵¹³ K. V. Cummings, "Rhode Island School of Design: The Politics of Art," *Change* 10.6 (June-July 1978): 32-33.

⁵¹⁴ Louise E. Shaw, *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence* (Georgia: Georgia State University Art Gallery, 1983), [3].

⁵¹⁵ Jim Stone. Interviewed by the author. Stone's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 22, 2019.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

to students' interests in critical theory and art history. Bert [Albert Preston] Beaver (1921-2012), a former student of Callahan's at the Institute of Design, was meticulous, a skill well-suited to the role of Chair, a position he obtained when Callahan stepped down from the position in 1973. Chemist Paul Kroc was hired to deal with the technical aspects of photography education.⁵¹⁷ In 1971, Siskind came over from the Institute of Design to RISD, reactivating his old partnership with Callahan.⁵¹⁸

This shift of faculty members from one institution to another, as exemplified by White, Callahan, and Siskind, was not uncommon. The reputations of photography educators such as these three would certainly have worked as a recruitment tool. Yet such relocations make it difficult to establish a continuous pedagogical treatment of the medium in particular institutions. While the institutional infrastructure and funding dictated darkroom materials, course requirements for majors, and physical space, institutions often held little sway over the way photography was treated within the classroom. Therefore, tracing photography educator's movements between schools is central to the understanding the different programs. Moreover, interpersonal relationships clearly impacted who was teaching what and where.

Yale University was also developing a photography program. Prior to the mid-1960s, photography was offered typically as an independent class led by an instructor who had an interest in photography. Yale's fine art school was modelled on the French beaux-arts system. This classical training approach placed a high value on ancient Greek and Roman aesthetics and required students to demonstrate a mastery of drawing. The photography program at Yale grew slowly out of the graphic design faculty; Alvin Eisenman and Josef Albers⁵¹⁹ had been the first

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Shaw, "Harry Callahan," *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence*, [6].

⁵¹⁹ As described earlier, Albers was involved with Black Mountain College.

hires in 1950. Their hiring marked a shift in the curriculum from the beaux-arts system to something more akin to the Bauhaus.⁵²⁰ In 1964, Walker Evans (1903-1975) was hired as Professor of Graphic Design at Yale's School of Art and Architecture.⁵²¹ Evans had been persuaded to join the faculty through Eisenman's efforts.⁵²² John T. Hill (b. 1934), a graduate of the graphic design program, worked to establish a department for photography in 1971, marking the first-time photography at Yale was offered as an independent degree.

Eisenman later recalled that there was significant tension in educating art in a university setting:

[t]here was a wide belief here on the part of the faculty that the university was absolutely the wrong place for a photographer or an artist of any kind to be, because the practice of art was a separate track that ran alongside a university but shouldn't ever get mixed up with being in a university. A practitioner of art was a non-person, he was the enemy, an inspired idiot who would be a nuisance in a faculty meeting and would probably spill alcohol all over the First Folio.⁵²³

Photography discourse at Yale could also be found outside the School of Art and Architecture.

Alan Trachtenberg (b. 1932), a friend of photographer and faculty peer Walker Evans,⁵²⁴ was teaching classes on the interpretation and history of photography as part of the American Studies

⁵²⁰ For a longer history of Yale see Jerry L. Thompson and Alvin Eisenman, "Teaching the Practice of Photography at Yale: A Conversation with Alvin Eisenman, February 2006," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin [Photography at Yale]* (2006): 124-131.

⁵²¹ James R. Mellow, "A Brief Chronology," in *Walker Evans* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 627. Evans taught photography at Yale between 1964 and 1975. His first official title was "Professor of Graphic Design" as Yale had yet to establish a photography department. Between 1974-1975 Evans held the title of Professor Emeritus. Colin Naylor, ed., "Evans, Walker," *Contemporary Photographers*, second edition, (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1988), 283. A longer discussion of Evan's lecture and activities at Yale can be located in Mia Fineman, "'The Eye Is an Inveterate Collector': The Late Work," in *Walker Evans*, Ed. Maria Morris Hambourg, 131-139, (New York and Princeton: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 2000), 131-139.

⁵²² Mellow explained that Eisenman approached Evans to teaching in the program shortly after Evans's lecture at the Yale Art Gallery on March 11, 1964. Evans was recommended to speak in the School of Art and Architecture lecture series by painter Jack Tworkov (1900-1982) who had previously heard Evans at the Century Association, New York. James Robert Mellow, *Walker Evans* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 561-562.

⁵²³ Jerry L. Thompson and Alvin Eisenman, "Teaching the Practice of Photography at Yale," 128.

⁵²⁴ Trachtenberg met Evans in 1971 while at Yale. According to Mellow, Trachtenberg introduces Evans to other academics interested in photography and specifically Evans's work. Mellow, "A Brief Chronology," 570.

program at Yale commencing in 1969.⁵²⁵ This marked a shift in how the medium was understood at the university level, as in such cases photography was not approached as a technology to be used in service of medicine, graphic design, journalism, or other fields, but rather as a discipline in its own right deserving of analysis. Students were encouraged to study photographs as cultural documents as well as aesthetic objects or historical artifacts.⁵²⁶

Within seven years of its founding, the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). Established a Visual Arts Department in 1967, which took a conceptual intermedia approach. Developed as part of the California state-funded public research institutions, UCSD was established to respond to the growing demand for access to higher education. Photography classes were at first integrated into the larger Visual Arts Department. First to be recruited to the department was Paul Brach (1924-2007), who soon become Chair. His wife, artist Miriam Schapiro (1923-2019), was hired at the same time. Early instructors hired were David Abram Antin (1932-2016), Harold Cohen (1928-2016), Newton Harrison (b. 1932), and Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk (1939-2002), all of whom represented a different realm of interest in the use of photography, not as an artistic medium but as a tool within their larger artistic practices. As such, these educators placed their emphasis on ideas rather than on technical achievements. They viewed themselves not as photographers but as conceptual artists. Conceptual artist John Baldessari (1931-2020), taught at UCSD between 1968 and 1970, at which point he joined the faculty of the California Institute of the Arts (CalArts).⁵²⁷ Brach also soon moved to CalArts,

⁵²⁵ Laura Wexler, "Finding Photography at Yale," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin [Photography at Yale]* (2006): 40-41.

⁵²⁶ Michael Kammen discusses the development and implications of American Studies in his article "Photography and the Discipline of American Studies," *American Art* 21.3 (Fall 2007): 13-18.

⁵²⁷ Baldessari studied painting at San Diego State College, California between 1949-1973; obtaining a BA in 1953 and an MA in 1957. Colin Naylor, ed., "Baldessari, John," *Contemporary Photographers*, second edition, (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1988), 42.

where he became Dean. After Brach's departure, poet and art critic David Antin took over his role as Chair.⁵²⁸

Under Antin's supervision between 1969 and 1971, the UCSD department "made intermedia and photographic practice a priority, establishing a 'commitment to non-formalist photography.'"⁵²⁹ It was at this point that an official photography program was established as a separate entity. The first instructors hired were Fred Lonidier (b. 1942) and Phel Steinmetz (1944-2013).⁵³⁰ Lonidier had recently graduated with an MFA from UCSD. Steinmetz had no formal higher education but had studied with Ansel Adams and Bennett Meyers.⁵³¹

The boom in photography programs would continue until the mid-1970s. This period was marked not by the introduction of photography as a subject of study, but by the creation of programs in which photography was treated as a distinct subject. Much of this expansion was part of a larger twofold trend. First, many of these programs emerged in response to the growing demands of students who were interested in photography. Secondly, such expansion was possible as more candidates became available to take on teaching positions. These candidates either would have been graduates of early photography programs or students who had completed photography courses as part of their higher-education degrees in areas such as graphic design. For example, William Larson (b. 1942), a graduate of the Institute of Design in Chicago, established the photography program at Temple University's Tyler School of Art in 1968. Prior to its formation, Tyler offered photography classes taught by documentary photographer Leif Skoogfors (b. 1940), who had studied with Alexey Brodovitch. Skoogfors started teaching at

⁵²⁸ Jill Dawsey, "The Uses of Photography: An Introduction," in *The Uses of Photography: Art, Politics, and the Reinvention of a Medium* ed. Jill Dawsey, 14-73, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016): 16-18.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵³⁰ For more detailed information on the early treatment of photography at UCSD see Jill Dawsey, "The Uses of Photography: An Introduction," 14-73.

⁵³¹ Seth Lere and Jordan Crandall, "Phel Steinmetz: 1944-2013: In Memoriam," *Fotoseptiembre USA*, March 10, 2014, accessed July 6, 2020, <https://fotoseptiembreusa.com/phel-steinmetz-1944-2013-in-memoriam/>.

Tyler in 1964 and would go on to establish the BFA photography program at Moore College of Art two years later.⁵³² Harold Jones (b. 1940), an MFA graduate from the photography program at the University of New Mexico (1972) created a photography program at Arizona State University in Tucson in 1977 after establishing the Center for Creative photography in 1975, where he had been Director from 1975 to 1977.⁵³³ As the candidate pool of photography educators expanded, programs became more selective in their hiring process. As such, candidates who had more accreditation – such as a graduate diploma or degree – were more likely to obtain a teaching position.

In 1972, Princeton University chose Peter C. Bunnell (b. 1937), former MoMA Photography Curator and graduate of RIT, Ohio University, and Yale University, as the first David Hunter McAlpin Professorship of the History of Photography and Modern Art in its Department of Art and Archaeology.⁵³⁴ The position was funded by David Hunter McAlpin III and was further supported by plans to increase the library's and the museum's holdings for the study of photography. In the announcement of the position, department Chairman Professor Wen C. Fong (1930-2018) said that department "has played an important role in turning the study of art into a serious academic discipline. The establishment of the McAlpin chair recognises the

⁵³² Anne Wilkes Tucker, "Radical Photographs: Philadelphia in Context," 2019, 4, provided to author by Tucker. A later version of the essay is published under the same title in *Invisible City: Philadelphia and the Vernacular Avant-garde*, editor Sid Sachs, 200-225, (Philadelphia: University of the Arts, 2020).

⁵³³ Jones studied photography at the Maryland Institute of Photography in Baltimore between 1963-1965 and obtained a BFA in 1965. He studied photography and art history at the University of New Mexico between 1965-1968 obtaining an MFA in 1972. He worked as an assistant at the UNM Art Museum between 1966-1968. Between 1970-1971 Jones served as Assistant Curator and then Associate Curator at the Eastman House. In 1971 Jones became the Director of Light Gallery in New York. For a more detailed account of Jones see Colin Naylor, ed., "Jones, Harold (Henry)," *Contemporary Photographers*, second edition, (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1988), 506-507.

⁵³⁴ Museum of Modern Art, "Peter C. Bunnell," Museum of Modern Art April 1989, accessed July 6, 2020, https://assets.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/6670/releases/MOMA_1989_0037_37.pdf. The first course announced in the new program was to focus on the work of Alfred Stieglitz. See Kerry North, "Faculty Promotions Released; Princeton to Offer Photo Chair," *The Daily Princetonian*, XCVI.55, April 19, 1972, 3.

Department's interest in the program of contemporary visual images and image-making."⁵³⁵ That same year, Bunnell supervised the first senior thesis on photography completed by Art History undergraduate Kirk D. Alexander (1950-2013) in 1972; the first Doctoral study was completed by Joseph Harris Caton (1950-1986) in 1980.⁵³⁶ Doctoral projects on photography had existed prior to this point but were not necessarily undertaken as part of art historical studies.⁵³⁷

Graduate programs in the medium were starting to take shape throughout the early 1970s. Research projects at the MA, MFA, and PhD level in photography emerged not only from photography programs but from education, sociology, and journalism.⁵³⁸ By 1973, graduates of Ohio University had published sixty-three theses dealing with photography. The University of Missouri published nine theses, UNM published eight, RISD published seventeen, and RIT published nine. In the early 1970s, Tim Daum worked on establishing a bibliography of photography dissertations; his 1973 list totalled one hundred and thirty-nine. He found that the largest concentration of dissertations focused on photography education, the teaching of the medium, and the use of photography in education. The next concentration of topics were on photography in journalism and documentary approaches.⁵³⁹ Clearly, the demand for graduate

⁵³⁵ Peter C. Bunnell, "Introduction," *Photography at Princeton: Celebrating Twenty-Five Years of Collecting and Teaching the History of Photography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9. See also Joseph Harris Caton, "The Utopian Vision of Moholy-Nagy: Technology, Society, and the Avant-Garde. An Analysis of the Writings of Moholy-Nagy on the Visual Arts," Ph.D diss., (Princeton: Princeton University, 1980). This research resulted in a Studies in Photography Series publication from UMI Research Press. See Joseph Harris Caton, *The Utopian Vision of Moholy-Nagy*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984).

⁵³⁷ In 1986, Amy E. Stark amalgamated a new bibliography of photography dissertations. Stark organized the information by degree level (doctoral and then graduate). Daum's list includes a more detailed account of earlier publications. See Tim Daum, "Bibliography of Theses," in *Photography Source & Resource* ed. Steven Lewis, James McQuaid, David Tait, "Teaching: A Point of View," (Rochester: Turnip Press, 1973): 161-170. And Amy E. Stark "Theses on the History of Photography: A Bibliography and Index," *Exposure* 24.1 (Spring 1986): 17-30. And Amy Stark, "Dissertations in the History of Photography: An Overview, Bibliography and Index," *Exposure* 22.3 (Fall 1984): 31-42.

⁵³⁸ Daum's research covers dissertations completed in the United States between 1942 to 1972. In Stark's 1986 bibliography, the earliest doctoral dissertation was completed by A. Brandweiner in 1932 at the Universität Innsbruck, Austria. The majority of doctoral dissertations listed by Stark were either completed in the 1970s or were still in progress.

⁵³⁹ Tim Daum, "Bibliography of Theses," in *Photography Source & Resource* ed. Steven Lewis, James McQuaid, David Tait, "Teaching: A Point of View," (Rochester: Turnip Press, 1973): 161-170.

studies in the medium was expanding considerably.⁵⁴⁰ In fact, Horrell's 1975 survey indicated that there were thirty-one programs offering MFAs in still photography,⁵⁴¹ a significant increase from the one available program in the 1964 survey.⁵⁴²

Graduate Programs

In 1974, photographer Robert Fichter (b. 1939) compiled a list of fifty American higher-education institutions that offered graduate degrees in photography.⁵⁴³ The availability of graduate studies in photography advanced the professionalisation of the field through an added accreditation. By acquiring a Master's level degree, graduates were moving closer to the teaching requirements of other fields in higher education, thereby becoming more competitive applicants for teaching positions. This further signalled, according to curator Anne Wilkes Tucker (b. 1945), a breaking of "prejudices against photography, at least among artists in the academic world."⁵⁴⁴ Enrollment in graduate programs was fairly limited, which allowed for closer relationships to be fostered between classmates and faculty members.⁵⁴⁵

Much like the undergraduate programs, the developing graduate programs placed an emphasis on educating students as creative artists rather than on training them in technological approaches. This can be clearly seen in the stance taken by the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, which was founded in 1969 by Nathan Lyons as a graduate program. Students were

⁵⁴⁰ Barbara Lucero Sand and Rikke Cox, "A Twentieth-Century Timeline of Photographic History," in *Photography 1900 to the Present*, ed. Diana Emery Hulick and Joseph Marshall, (Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1998): 332.

⁵⁴¹ Dr. C. William Horrell, *A Survey of Motion Picture, Still Photography, and Graphic Arts Instruction* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1975), 8.

⁵⁴² Dr. C. William Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States* (New York: American Society of Magazine Photographers, 1964), [4].

⁵⁴³ Robert Fichter, "Graduate Photography Survey A Beginning," *Exposure* 12.3 (September 1974): 9.

⁵⁴⁴ Anne Wilkes Tucker, "Radical Photographs: Philadelphia in Context," 5.

⁵⁴⁵ Donald Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction." Ph.D diss., (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1975): 46.

expected to gain the technical skills of the medium from each other, while the curriculum was designed to focus on theory and developing skills that could later be honed when they were professionals in the field. Lyons, who had earlier held classes in his home in Rochester as well as at the George Eastman House, had planned for some time to start a graduate school within the museum. When he abruptly left his position shortly after the opening of the exhibition *Vision and Expression* in 1969, he cut ties with Eastman House. This action led Lyons to open the school independently, establishing it as a not-for-profit education organisation in association with Buffalo's MFA program at the State University of New York.⁵⁴⁶ This decision to associate the Workshop with a degree-granting program indicated a growing desire among students for accreditation and a clearer understanding among members of the photography establishment of the importance of such degrees.

Shifts toward recognising photography as an art were occurring broadly across different institutions during this time. Some institutions already mentioned were committed to this approach. The Art Department at the University of New Mexico (UNM) was founded in the 1928-1929 academic year.⁵⁴⁷ In 1941, a photography course was introduced to the College of Fine Arts. In 1942, Director and President of Illinois Master Photofinishers Association Friedrich [Fred] Carl Fach (1894-1979), was listed as the instructor.⁵⁴⁸ This class was next expanded into two two-hour classes in photography taught in the College of Fine Arts by ex-Navy photographer

⁵⁴⁶ Jessica S. McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s." Ph.D diss., (Rochester: University of Rochester, 2014): 178.

⁵⁴⁷ The program first started with four instructors Brice H. Sewell focused on sculpture, Kenneth Chapman a specialist of Native American Art, Ralph Douglass who worked on commercial and advertising art, and Carl Redin a landscape painter. University of New Mexico, "UNM Department of Art Celebrates 90th Anniversary," University of New Mexico, March 23, 2019. Accessed November 10, 2020, <https://news.unm.edu/news/unm-department-of-art-celebrates-90th-anniversary>.

⁵⁴⁸ Photography course 74 AB, is listed as part of the College of Fine Arts. The course is described as an "elementary use of cameras and dark-room equipment; composition. 2 class hr. a week." The University of New Mexico, *The University of New Mexico Bulletin Catalog Issue 1946-1947*, 170, accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1051&context=course_catalogs.

and painter Lez L. Haas (1911-2001) as early as 1947. The two courses, Art 87 and 88, could be applied toward a major or minor in journalism.⁵⁴⁹ At the time, Haas held the position of Assistant Professor of Art and Acting Head of the Department.⁵⁵⁰ In the early 1960s, William [Bill] H. Thonson, an MFA graduate from the California College of Arts and Crafts, taught Haas's photography classes.⁵⁵¹ In the 1964-1965 academic year, photography was for the first time offered as a major in the BFA Studio stream as part of the College of Arts. In the 1966 course catalogue, a noticeable shift can be seen in the undergraduate curriculum.

Over the next few years, photography offerings in the department continued to expand. The "Advance Photography" course led by Van Deren Coke provides an example of the department's shift in values toward photography. The course was described as exploring "the practice of photography as a creative means of expression with an emphasis on various approaches to the development of personal vision."⁵⁵² At the time, Coke was Associate Professor of Art, Chairman of the Department of Art, and the Director of the Art Museum at the University

⁵⁴⁹ The University of New Mexico, "Journalism 51,52 Start New Major," *The Summer Lobo*, Tuesday, June 10, 1947, XIII.1, 1. Haas's name is misspelled in Van Deren Coke's publication the spelling used in this document has been verified by UNM course calendars, meeting minutes, and faculty listings. Van Deren Coke, "The 1960s and 1970s," *Photography in New Mexico: From the Daguerreotype to the Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 37. By 1949-50 "News Photography and Picture Editing" was offered in the Division of Journalism taught by Everton Ellsworth Conger who obtained an MA in Journalism from Columbia University. University of New Mexico, "Course Catalog 1949-1950," accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1054&context=course_catalogs. Leonard Leon Jermain also taught photography as part of the Journalism program. University of New Mexico, "Course Catalog 1954-55," accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1060&context=course_catalogs. In 1955, David Stanley Gebhard a graduate of the University of Minnesota took over Art 87 and Art 88, classes from Haas for one year. University of New Mexico, "Course Catalog 1955-56," accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1061&context=course_catalogs.

⁵⁵⁰ University of New Mexico Board of Regents, "University of New Mexico Board of Regents Minutes for June 17, 1947," University of New Mexico, 229, accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2185&context=bor_minutes.

⁵⁵¹ William Thonson left UNM to work in a similar capacity at Humboldt State College in Arcata, California. *New Mexico Lobo*, "Professor Quits," *New Mexico Lobo* Thursday January 8, 1966, 5, accessed November 10, 2020, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=daily_lobo_1966.

⁵⁵² University of New Mexico, "Course Catalog 1966-1967," accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1073&context=course_catalogs.

of New Mexico.⁵⁵³ In 1968-1969 academic year, ART 427: History of Photography was added to the curriculum.⁵⁵⁴ In 1965, the department expanded to include a graduate program that paralleled the programs already in place in the Art Department. Students first obtained a MA in a two-year program that encouraged a development of personal style. Those who excelled were invited to complete an MFA, which was structured more like a doctoral studies program with an emphasis on original research in the history of photography.⁵⁵⁵ The doctoral program in art history started in 1969.⁵⁵⁶

The growth of the UNM program was supported by the hiring of new photography educators including Wayne R. Lazorik (b. 1939) and Richard Rudisill (1932-2011). Lazorik graduated with an MFA from the University of Minnesota in 1965; the following year he was hired to teach photography at UNM. Rudisill also graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1967 where he received his PhD in American studies. His doctoral research focused on the daguerreotype and American society. A year later in 1968, he was hired at UNM.⁵⁵⁷

Early in the UNM's photography program's development, the faculty believed that their goal should be to train the future educators of photography. These individuals would not only be excellent teachers but also have active art practices. A student applying to graduate school did not necessarily require undergraduate studies in photography, but rather had to demonstrate a sharp mind.⁵⁵⁸ Much like UCLA, the program emerged within an art department. Applicants

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ The course is described as a "consideration of the historical development and aesthetic character of photography from 1839 to the present." University of New Mexico, "Course Catalog 1968-69," accessed April 16, 2021, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1075&context=course_catalogs.

⁵⁵⁵ Van Deren Coke, "The 1960s and 1970s," 37.

⁵⁵⁶ Michelle M. Penhall, "Introduction," *Stories from the Camera: Reflections on the Photograph* ed. Michele M. Penhall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2015), 4.

⁵⁵⁷ In 1967, his dissertation received the McKnight Humanities Foundation Award in American History. It was later published by the University of New Mexico as *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society* (1971). Richard Rudisill, "Climate of Need," *Stories from the Camera: Reflections on the Photograph*, 14.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

therefore had to demonstrate the ability to engage in the creative aspect of photography. As one of the earlier institutions to offer doctoral studies in photography, UNM quickly became an important training facility for graduate students.

The hiring within the UNM department typifies the significance of social connections. In fact, Wayne Lazorik recalled that most of the photography faculty members were hired solely on the opinions of Coke or Dean of the Art Department Clinton Adams (1918-2002), who were largely left to their own devices. Much of the faculty was assembled through contacts from their personal network. Hiring was also based on the increasing availability of graduates of MFA and MA programs in photography.⁵⁵⁹ In 2018, Lazorik explained that “the good ol’ boys could just do whatever they wanted. Now, if you had some progressive good ol’ boys you could do a lot.”⁵⁶⁰ The casualness of staffing can be seen in the hiring of Beaumont Newhall and Thomas Barrow (b. 1938). Coke asked Newhall to contact Adams after hearing that he had intentions to retire from the Eastman House. When Beaumont Newhall contacted Adams, he and Nancy Newhall were invited to a luncheon with several faculty members. By the end of the meal, Newhall had been offered and had accepted a position at the university for 1971.⁵⁶¹ Barrow similarly was invited to work as the Assistant Director UNM museum in a telephone call with Coke in 1973.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Wayne Lazorik. [Wayne Lazorik, Betty Hahn, and Thomas Barrow interviewed at Patrick Nagatani’s Memorial Service.] Interviewed by Jim Stone, filmed by Noah McLaurine. April 28, 2018. Recording provided to author by Jim Stone.

⁵⁶¹ Beaumont Newhall, *Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993): 236-237. And Ann Byars Smith, “In Focus: Beaumont Newhall,” *UNM Alumnus* (January 1979): 6.

⁵⁶² Thomas Barrow. Interviewed by author. The Frontier Restaurant, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 23, 2019.

The Workshop Circuit

Alongside this growth of photography in institutions of higher education, workshops continued to develop. Some workshops amalgamated into new programs, as can be seen in Ansel Adam's Yosemite Workshop, which became part of the Friends of Photography program in 1967.⁵⁶³ Other photographers who felt their understanding of photography was overshadowed in the university setting, also began forming private workshops, acting as social support networks much like early camera clubs. The workshop model provided instructors with a quick and additional source of income that would not be as time-consuming as teaching full-time. Some photographers choose to educate only through the workshop circuit by travelling around the United States and Canada for different teaching engagements. In 1982, Peter Schlessinger (b. 1946) the founder of Apeiron Workshop, reflected that, "I think something called workshops became big business in the mid-1970s and mostly garbage shortly thereafter. Any gathering in the presence of a star photographer was suddenly a workshop."⁵⁶⁴

Apeiron Workshop was founded in 1969 after Schlessinger attended two workshops by Minor White and Paul Caponigro (b. 1932). In 1973, Schlessinger wrote that he believed that the "normal school environment does not lend itself to concentrated creative study under an

⁵⁶³ Friends of Photography was formed from a group of twelve individuals who met in Ansel and Virginia Adams's home in Carmel, California. The founding group included: Arthur Connell, Morely Baer, Wynn Bullock, Gerald Robinson, Gerry Shape, Cole Weston, Liliane DeCock Morgan, Edgar Bissantz, Rosario Mazzeo, and Nancy and Beaumont Newhall. The organisation was run by a volunteer Board of Trustees until 1972 when they hired paid staff. Income for the organisation was generated through the publication and sale of books, portfolios, and exhibitions. The Friends of Photography published several newsletters and journals including *Untitled* and *See: A Journal of Visual Culture*. The organisation folded in 2001. For a longer summary of the organisation see Rebecca Morse, "Friends of Photography," in *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Photography*, Volume 1, ed. Lynne Warren, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 567-568. See also James G. Alinder, ed. *Light Years: The Friends of Photography* (Carmel: The Friends of Photography, 1987).

⁵⁶⁴ As cited by Christopher Burnett, "Photographic Workshops: A Changing Educational Practice," in *Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science* 4th edition, ed. Michael R. Peres, 215-222, (Burlington: Focal Press, 2007): 220.

individual master.”⁵⁶⁵ Unlike the workshops of his mentors, Apeiron was designed specifically to provide the facilities that would support other photography workshops, including darkrooms, accommodations, a dining hall, and classrooms. This allowed artists to hold their workshops at Apeiron rather than attempt to teach photographers in their homes. In 1970 – the same year Schlessinger began pursuing an MFA in photography at RISD – he purchased a ninety-one-acre farm in Millerton, New York, to house Apeiron.

Schlessinger announced eight workshops would take place during the summer of 1971 and mailed the information to the list of schools and individuals involved in photography created by the Eastman House [fig. 3.2]. He assembled the instructors through the connections he had formed in his time as an editorial assistant at *Aperture*.⁵⁶⁶ That first summer, week-long workshops were planned to be offered by Bruce Davidson (b. 1933), Robert Frank, Aaron Siskind, Harold Jones, Diane Arbus, George A. Tice (b. 1938), John Benson (b. 1927), and Paul Caponigro.⁵⁶⁷ The classes were limited to twelve students and admission into the programs required a portfolio submission.⁵⁶⁸

Tuition and residence did not cover workshop expenses, and soon other means of financial support had to be established. The New York State Council on the Arts supplied considerable funds to Apeiron. In an effort to raise funds, Apeiron began organising portfolios to sell from donated prints from their workshop leaders. Apeiron staff Robert Kent and Alex

⁵⁶⁵ Peter M. Schlessinger, “Apeiron Workshops, Inc. History/Activities/Fiscal Situation,” January 1973, [1], File “Apeiron,” Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ Diane Arbus committed suicide on July 26, 1971 a few days prior to her scheduled workshop.

⁵⁶⁸ [Apeiron Workshop Center in Photography poster] in Peter M. Schlessinger, “Apeiron Workshops, Inc. History/Activities/Fiscal Situation,” Summer 1971, File “Apeiron,” Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

Jamison (b. 1950)⁵⁶⁹ also initiated a travelling exhibition program that could be rented for \$25 a week. These exhibitions were most frequently rented by institutions of higher education.⁵⁷⁰

The model of recruiting multiple photographers to teach over the course of brief periods is also seen in other workshops that were established in the same period. In 1969, Cherie Hiser (1940-2019), a former student of Minor White founded the Center of the Eye in Aspen Colorado.⁵⁷¹ In Boston, Carl Chiarenza, Warren M. Hill (b. 1928), and Don Perrin established Imageworks Center and School in 1971 (1971-1973). David Lynman, two years later in 1973, initiated the Maine Photographic Workshops in Rockport, Maine (1973-present).⁵⁷²

Students in this period were extremely mobile and would travel great distances to expand upon information they saw as missing in their photographic education. Gayle Smalley, for example, wrote that her education at RIT had oriented her photographic output to largely focusing on ‘purist’ photography: “that lens, camera, sensitized product, and the direct approach were all required to make a photograph.”⁵⁷³ Building on this idea, Smalley travelled to take a workshop with Ansel Adams to learn about the Zone System. In a report, she noted that a key difference between her experience at RIT and the workshop was that she had “over-rated [her] fellow students. Most of them were well-heeled hobbyists whose main interest was in making more points in the next salon.”⁵⁷⁴ Smalley’s statement showcases the gap that was emerging

⁵⁶⁹ Jamison studied in Arizona under Frederick Sommer.

⁵⁷⁰ [Traveling Exhibitions Program], ca. 1978, 4, File “Apeiron,” Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁵⁷¹ In 1973, the Center of the Eye was incorporated into the Anderson Ranch Arts Center (opened in 1966) in Snowmass Village. They currently still offer photography workshops.

⁵⁷² For a longer discussion of the history of workshops in photography see Burnett, “Photographic Workshops: A Changing Educational Practice,” 215-222.

⁵⁷³ Gayle Smalley, [Report on RIT and Ansel Adams Workshop], ca. 1968, Box 16, File 3 “Student papers, S-T, 1960-1970,” AG32 Henry Holmes Smiths Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

between photography students at degree-granting institutions and those that attended photography workshops.

Workshops during this period were attended by a combination of hobbyists, medium enthusiasts, and photography students from various institutions. Those students, who viewed themselves as professionals, increasingly received their education from accredited degree granting institutions. Exceptions could be found, as discussed in the previous chapter with the example of the Kamoinge Workshop members.

Left to One's Own Devices: Curriculum Development

Overwhelmingly during this period, photography classes devoted to creative photography within the higher-education system combined teaching technical skills and critiques. Unlike training, the time devoted to technical skills in this context would have been brief. Some teachers expected students to master technical skills outside of class time, rarely going into the darkroom with their students. Others had their graduate students teach the foundation classes, thus freeing themselves up to work with advanced students. Some chose to include several classes devoted to teaching the bases of different techniques at the beginning of a course and then transitioned to focus on critiques. Some incorporated the history of photography into their studio programs as a means of providing their students with a foundational background, similar to what was done in other fine art programs. Independent courses on the history of photography were also expanding. In 1975, Donald Lokuta (b. 1946) a graduate of Ohio State University, documented a total of one hundred and twenty-seven courses offered across the United States on the history of photography.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁵ 127 reflects the total courses offered. There were 62 undergraduate courses, 14 graduate, and 51 courses that combined undergraduate and graduate students. Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction," 45.

Artist educator Joyce Neimanas (b. 1944), a graduate student studying photography at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago⁵⁷⁶ during the late 1960s, recalled in 2019 that “[n]obody knew what the hell they were doing. What was a curriculum then? Nobody knew what a curriculum was. Nobody knew anything about what to do.”⁵⁷⁷ The education she experienced while studying with Kenneth Josephson was largely self-guided in the sense that Josephson worked toward helping students find the means to solve the technical problems that arose during their independent explorations. For example, Josephson encouraged Neimanas and fellow classmate Keith A. Smith (b. 1938) to research different means of applying photographic emulsion to objects when they were seeking alternatives to printing on paper. In the same interview, she attested to the freedom she felt while at school:

we tried, because there were no rules about anything. But we were also sitting next to an art museum that had a photo collection... That changes a lot of stuff too because you have some history.⁵⁷⁸

By this, Neimanas meant that her education was augmented by the material that she accessed while studying. Josephson, who was a graduate of RIT and the Institute of Design, emulated his educational experience in his teaching by encouraging experimentation as a means of expressing creativity.⁵⁷⁹

Henry Holmes Smith, then educator in the photography program at Indiana University, noted in a 1966 exhibition catalogue essay that photography education in the academic world had rapidly expanded. Smith saw two means of photography education. One was for the teacher to model themselves after a master in the field, and to follow the philosophy of established figures.

⁵⁷⁶ The School of the Art Institute of Chicago offered classes in photography, with a resulting degree in Fine Arts.

⁵⁷⁷ Joyce Neimanas. Interviewed by the author. Neimanas’s residence, Rochester, New York, United States of America. December 12, 2018.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Lynne Warren, “Kenneth Josephson: A Philosophy of Paradox,” in *Kenneth Josephson*, ed. Terry Ann R. Neff, 8-14, (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1983): 14. For a longer discussion of Josephson’s education, practice, and teaching see Warren’s complete essay 8-14.

Smith's examples of possible models included Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Strand, Eugène Atget, Edward Weston, and Walker Evans. Teachers could then guide their students along the vision of the established photographer. This model recalled the apprenticeship model, where students learned by replicating rather than by studying the wider discipline. This Smith viewed as "the most useful *academic* discipline available to the teacher of the art of photography. It achieves a certain easy public support and is capable of considerable intensity of imagery."⁵⁸⁰ The second method allowed teachers to introduce students to multiple branches of photography simultaneously without placing an emphasis on 'master works.' The second means was more aligned with what the public would view as "*mistakes* open to photographers not with the traditional precision and beauty of depiction found in the monochrome prints of early masters."⁵⁸¹ This method could use the camera or abandon it completely depending on the desired pictorial output. This approach favoured experimentation.⁵⁸²

Smith noted that in many institutions these two methods were occurring side-by-side although, he also acknowledged that the latest trend – emerging from the second approach – was to re-engage with old processes. As many photography printing technologies had not been practiced for a long time, photographers had to experiment with recipes and conduct research using out-of-print books and periodicals to discover and re-invent 'historical processes' such as carbon print, gum-bichromate print, and bromoil transfer printing. Despite their link to historical developments of the medium, the use of such materials was motivated more by radical art than by a consideration of photography as a technology. Historical processing methods were not

⁵⁸⁰ Henry Holmes Smith, "Photography at College," *Graduate Photograph: Institute of Design, Indiana University, University of Iowa, University of California at Los Angeles*, (West Lafayette: Purdue University, 1966): [1]. Accessed through Box 42, Folder "Materials Related to Heinecken at UCLA," AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

dominated by manufacturers, and as such, had little or no established conventions for their use. According to Smith, this freedom benefited students' creativity, as they had little to replicate stylistically from these technologies. Instead, they would be free to experiment and develop their photographic approach independently from established norms. Ultimately, Smith concluded that "without a kind of keen-eyed re-examination of the past, which is the duty of college teachers and their students, such beginnings might have been delayed for decades longer."⁵⁸³ Smith would have certainly instilled these values in his students.

Once at RISD, Callahan integrated a degree requirement for his graduate students to teach. He did this because he knew that teaching had been key to sustaining his own career. Callahan also believed that such an experience would make his students more competitive in the job market. Within their first year, the graduate students were expected to assist in teaching the foundation courses, after which they would direct a course independently. This structure was possible in part because of the high demand for undergraduate photography classes. As these classes filled, more could be offered, providing additional teaching opportunities for graduate students.⁵⁸⁴

The new facilities of RISD did not stop Callahan from holding regular meetings for his graduate students in his home. In 2019 Jim Stone, a graduate of the RISD program (1975), recalled that Callahan:

would have very small classes and they would meet starting at eight or nine o'clock at night after dinner in Harry's basement; and they would drink. They would go on until one or one thirty in the morning when Eleanor would appear at the top of the stairs saying "Harry, it's time. Harry!" Then everybody would go home. But it would be a free-for-

⁵⁸³ Ibid, [2].

⁵⁸⁴ Shaw, *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence*, [3].

all drinking and talking about photographs for three, or four, or five hours.⁵⁸⁵

John McWilliams (b. 1941), another graduate of RISD (BFA 1965, MFA 1967), detailed such a bourbon-and-beer filled evening in a 1983 catalogue entry. Reflecting on these meetings, McWilliams said that students would show work and discuss each other's prints. Callahan would similarly share his work, allowing the students to see many of his photographs before he edited them. Through viewing these prints, McWilliams realised that Callahan, much like himself, went through a cycle of ideas and discoveries. This process required significant time to photograph, leading him to conclude that Callahan's action was far more impactful than lecturing the students about the discipline of photography.⁵⁸⁶ Such gatherings were only possible while the number of graduate students was still small. They faded throughout the early 1970s as enrollment in graduate programs increased.⁵⁸⁷

At MIT, Minor White's course named "Creative Audience," was first offered in the 1970-1971 academic year.⁵⁸⁸ In it, he aimed to train his students to respond to photography as an art. The course was open to all undergraduate students and faculty at MIT and to students from Harvard University and Wellesley College through cross registration. The course was designed for limited enrolment. The classroom was emptied of chairs to allow for students to "sit, stand,

⁵⁸⁵ Jim Stone. Interviewed by the author. Stone's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 22, 2019.

⁵⁸⁶ John McWilliams, "John McWilliams," in *Harry Callahan and His Students: A Study in Influence*, ed. Louise E. Shaw, (Georgia: Georgia State University Art Gallery, 1983), [n.p.].

⁵⁸⁷ Jim Stone. Interviewed by the author. Stone's home Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 22, 2019.

⁵⁸⁸ The course is listed in the catalogue as: "4.057 Creative Audience: Group dynamics based on photographic images. Attempts to generate responses equivalent to the image stimulus. Emphasis on group experience and involvement as a way of personal growth and as a means of communication between the viewer and the photographer. The photographer's audience as creative as he is in matters of perception." Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Course Catalogue of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1970-1971," 30D, accessed April 19, 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/1721.3/98441>.

lie, run, view images, dance and interact.”⁵⁸⁹ White’s basic assumption was that MIT students studied photography to gain a deeper understanding of the medium, unlike his students at RIT, who wanted to become photographers. With this in mind, White applied principles drawn from a mixture of Zen Buddhism, hypnosis, Esalen, Gestalt, Gurdjieff, Castaneda, and astrology to turn the practice of looking at photographs into a ritualistic experience. As White believed that words inevitably influenced viewing, he hoped to teach students to first respond to the art through non-verbal experiences.⁵⁹⁰

Prior to introducing his students to slide presentations, White guided them through different breathing and motion exercises to open them to read the pictures. Students were then probed to respond to the pictorial material through movement and sound. In order to encourage this interaction, White included several dancers in the classes, such as his assistant Shirley Paukulis.⁵⁹¹ In a 2017 interview, she explained the class in spiritual terms as... “every inner image has an outer image and is awaked in the presence of light; so you need to bring the light within yourself. And every outer image awakens the inner image. So it has to do with the center core of light.”⁵⁹² Surely the loose structure of the class as well as the emphasis on spirituality would have been a startling break from the typical curriculum of the science courses at MIT.

In a 1973 SPE session, Van Deren Coke summarised of teaching the history of photography:

[m]any of the students taking the history of photography courses are not art or photography majors which generally means the course content is frequently on the general level of cultural history, using photography as a basis...there is no general consensus as to what is

⁵⁸⁹ Minor White, “Photographers’ Audience: A Preliminary Report of Some Research at M.I.T.,” *Exposure* 12.1 (1974): 8.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Jim Stone. Interviewed by the author. Stone’s home Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 22, 2019.

⁵⁹² Shirley Paukulis. Interviewed by Julianne Reynolds. Part 1 Interview. ca. 2017, accessed July 6, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HigHdDpWg6M>.

the most effective way to teach studio majors the history of photography. The purpose of instruction in the history of photography was likewise debated.⁵⁹³

Much like the debates that had taken place a decade prior, photography educators were still attempting to establish their goals as a collective group. The expansion of such classes was part of SPE's mandate. Approaches were reflective of the training that the incoming generation of photography educators had received from their mentors. Most would not have had formal training in the history of the medium but would have heard stories from their teachers about some of the individuals included in the history.

Barbara Crane's history of photography course, given at the Institute of Design in 1969, was organised as a series of six lectures that contained topics presented as dichotomies. The course was advertised as Illustrated Lectures. The class topics included: Part A: Straight Photography, Part B: Contemporary Trends; and Part A: Classical Documentary Photography, Part B: Social Documentary Photography. The course was organised chronologically and presented multiple approaches to photography each week. Such lectures demonstrated that stylistic camps – art versus documentary, for example – were simultaneous modes of production. This notion is best exemplified in Crane's March 3, 1969, lecture that addressed British Pictorialism, History of War Photography, and Expeditionary Photography.⁵⁹⁴ All three photographic approaches occurred concurrently; their stylistic outcomes resulted from different motives and not necessarily technological advancements. This methodology of instruction would

⁵⁹³ Van Deren Coke, "The Albuquerque Meetings: Teaching the History of Photography," *Exposure* 11.1,2 (May 1973): 19.

⁵⁹⁴ Barbara Crane, "Some Aspects of the History of Photography: Six Illustrated Lectures by Barbara Crane," Spring Semester 1969, Box 14 "Activity Files Workshop and Teaching Assignments, 1960-1994" (part 2), Folder History Photo Course Papers, AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

have been aligned with the most popular approach to the education of the medium through chronology and themes.⁵⁹⁵

Finding a Program and Mentor Through Forged Relationships

As described earlier, inter-personal relationships during this period were of key importance. Such relationships aided students in their searches for programs and in their career trajectories.

Travelling was key to much of these activities, as individuals had to be mobile to meet mentors and see photographic works. Such excursions were undertaken independently by individuals responding to the reputation of particular photographers. Photography educators also organised trips for their students to meet their peers.

In the early 1960s, finding a program dedicated solely to the study of photography was still difficult. No official list existed of schools offering training in photography; this was especially true for those who considered photography as a creative tool. Individuals interested in learning more about photography often contacted prominent figures in the field, such as curators or established photographers. In 1965, for example, H. M. [Mike] Kinzer, then editor of *Popular Photography* wrote to Nathan Lyons at the Eastman House:

here is an unrelated request: we have frequent inquiries from readers who want photographic education of one kind or another. Too often we simply give them names of commercial schools. Could you give me a short list of the colleges in various corners of the country which have the most comprehensive programs in photography? I would like to make up a form letter adding a few of these colleges to the commercial schools.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁵ Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction," 81.

⁵⁹⁶ Letter from Kinzer to Nathan Lyons, Sept. 13, 1965, Folder "Popular photography (SPE photographic studies workshop) 1962-1969," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

Such a demand was not atypical. As discussed in the previous chapter, a key aspect of SPE's mission was to make photography education more easily accessible.

Similar requests were made of individuals within higher institution departments – teachers and administrative staff – seeking to develop photography programs. SPE members quickly became resources to the community and shared among themselves the administrative tasks of responding to the growing number of letters regarding various aspects of photography education. At times, individuals interested in forming departments and schools reached out to SPE board members directly for advice on how to navigate their pedagogical ambitions. In 1968, for example, Barbara M. Spencer (1916-2014), a member of the Ouray County Chamber of Commerce in Ouray, Colorado, wrote to Ansel Adams to request advice on forming a photography school in Ouray. The Chamber of Commerce was looking to hire someone who would initiate and then direct a photography school. Spencer wrote that they were offering “only the opportunity – the idea – we have no wish to interfere or outline”⁵⁹⁷ indicating the significant impact the potentially selected educator would have on the established curriculum and program.⁵⁹⁸ The school was identified by the Chamber of Commerce as a business that would strengthen the local economy.⁵⁹⁹ Spencer's letter and request was forwarded to Nathan Lyons, whom Adams believed was in a better position to fulfill the request.⁶⁰⁰

If a student was travelling independently to have their work critiqued by a photographer, or was interested in obtaining further education in the medium, a letter of introduction would often be sent ahead from a photography educator at the student's institution or from a prior

⁵⁹⁷ Letter from Barbara M. Spencer to Ansel Adams, April 29, 1968, Folder “GEH 1960s correspondence / inquires on education programs,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁵⁹⁸ The archive did not contain the entire correspondence and it is unclear if the program was ultimately formed.

⁵⁹⁹ Letter from Barbara M. Spencer to Ansel Adams, April 29, 1968, Folder “GEH 1960s correspondence / inquires on education programs,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

workshop that the student had attended. Anne Wilkes Tucker, for example, introduced herself to Nathan Lyons upon the advice of Minor White.⁶⁰¹ At the time, in 1968, Tucker was completing her undergraduate studies in photography at RIT and was searching for a graduate program. White knew that Lyons was working on forming a graduate program at the Eastman House and recommended she contact him.⁶⁰² Mary Shepard, a graduate of Wellesley College, also wrote to Lyons in 1966 to obtain advice about programs specifically in the San Francisco area.⁶⁰³ Stephen Crane, a photography student, wrote to Thomas Barrow in 1971 to obtain insight into graduate programs. Barrow was a graduate of the Institute of Design and well-connected to the Rochester photography scene, having worked at the Eastman House and RIT. In the letter, Crane recalled a meeting with Aaron Siskind, in which he recommended that Crane study at the Institute of Design with Arthur Siegel. Personal circumstances, however, made Chicago unlikely for him and as such, he has set his hopes on RISD. Crane concluded his letter to Barrow by noting that “[i]f the RISD thing doesn’t pan out, I think I shall return to the photographic capital of the world and see Nathan Lyons about his program.”⁶⁰⁴ These three examples demonstrate typical interactions where academic links frequently expanded social connections between individuals already working in the field.

Whether a student was enrolled in a photography program was often also determined through personal connections. This vetting process can be seen through the example of Charles Traub’s 1969 entry into the Institute of Design’s graduate program. Traub later recalled that he approached Aaron Siskind with the support of his previous educators Art Sinsabaugh, his former

⁶⁰¹ Anne Tucker, [Addison Gallery], May 31, 1999, Folder “Anne Tucker Addison 2000,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Letter from Mary Shepard to Nathan Lyons, August 27, 1966, Folder “GEH 1960s correspondence / inquires on education programs,” Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁶⁰⁴ Letter from Stephen Crane to Thomas Barrow, September 8, 1971, Box 4, Folder “Be-Ca,” AG202 Thomas Barrow Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

teacher at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, and Ralph Eugene Meatyard, whom he knew from his activities with the Lexington Camera Club. Simply put, Traub, in 2019, reasoned that his acceptance to the program at the Institute of Design “wasn’t really anything like the kind of application you would do today. Basically, he [Aaron Siskind] liked my background [and] he liked that I knew these guys.”⁶⁰⁵ Similar narratives unfolded at SPE meetings, where educators were likely to be introduced to their peers’ students or view their portfolios.

As these relationships were evidently one of the keys to success in the field, educators incorporated them into their curriculums, either formally or informally. Students from various institutions recounted field trips to different centres to meet with photographers, curators, and educators. John MacDonald [Don] Snyder (b. 1945) and Jim Stone, for example, both reported that while they were students of Minor White at MIT, he organised and facilitated class visits to photography centres such as Chicago and Rochester.⁶⁰⁶ In Rochester, Snyder met with Beaumont Newhall and Nathan Lyons.⁶⁰⁷ Students from all over Canada and the United States would travel to cities to attend lectures by well-known photographers or photography curators and to see exhibitions and collections. While such excursions could be part of the curriculum, often they were undertaken by students, in addition to coursework, over weekends or during summer vacations.

Some schools incorporated visiting lecturers as part of their educational activities. In such cases, photographers would be invited to conduct brief lectures or work as an artist in residency. These events benefited students by introducing them to working artists. Sometimes these artists would also provide students with feedback on their work as part of a formal or informal critique

⁶⁰⁵ Charles H. Traub. Interviewed by the author. Skype. January 17, 2019.

⁶⁰⁶ Jim Stone. Interviewed by the author. Stone’s home Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 22, 2019.

⁶⁰⁷ Don Snyder. Interviewed by the author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. August 28, 2018.

period. To the visitors, such events offered some financial support, funded trips to see peers, and allow them to see what students were producing in different locations. Such an event was held, for example, at the University of Iowa in 1965, the Refocus Festivals. The first Refocus was held over a three-day period with filmmaker Kenji Kanesaka (1934-1999) and photographer Arthur Siegel, who showed students their work and conducted seminars and critiques. The Iowa Memorial Union Student Activities Center took over the planning of the event the following year, 1966, turning it into a student-run enterprise. With this change, the students chose to focus in on photography and expanded the number of days the visiting artists were invited to the institution. Refocus became an annual event at the university. Speakers over the following years included: Henry Holmes Smith, David Martin [Dave] Heath (1931-2016), John Szarkowski, Jerry Uelsmann, and Wynn Bullock. The speakers and John Schulze – who was the Professor of Photography at the University of Iowa, and one of the founding members of SPE – had a strong connection to SPE. In 1970, the Refocus Festival was held concurrently with the SPE annual conference, which was hosted by the university.⁶⁰⁸

Expanding the Teaching Tool Kit: Slides

Slides were an important aspect of the distribution of art history and thereby, photographic history. In 2000, art historian Robert S. Nelson (b. 1947), wrote “for many who have passed through university classes, art history *is* the illustrated lecture.”⁶⁰⁹ For photography, as explained earlier, the progression to slide based lecture was deeply embedded in the medium. Much like

⁶⁰⁸ A longer account of the history of Refocus festival between 1965 and 1973 may be found in John Schulze, “‘Refocus,’ the Iowa Festival,” *Exposure* 11.3 (August 1973): 8-10. Refocus was organised by the University of Iowa between 1965 to 1979. The Refocus fonds may be accessed through the University of Iowa Archives. Refocus Records RG02.0003.026., University of Iowa Archives, Iowa City, Iowa, United States of America.

⁶⁰⁹ Robert S. Nelson, “The Slide Lecture, or the Work of Art ‘History’ in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” *Critical Inquiry* 26.3 (Spring, 2000): 415.

photography collections, slides were used as important resources for students and teachers alike. Slides were still typically made specifically for educators upon request. These were then either maintained by the teacher or stored in a central slide-bank. Some higher-education institutions allowed their students access to their slide collection. By 1975, Lokuta found that most of the courses offered on the history of photography in institutions of higher education reported that slides were the most important means of transmitting history, followed by prints.⁶¹⁰

In a document describing the structuring of the photography department at the Institute of Design of Illinois Institute of Technology from the mid-1960s, the author⁶¹¹ noted under research materials that there was a “small photographic library at I.I.T. [Illinois Institute of Technology] (none at the Institute of Design). Art Institute [of Chicago] Library and collection available. We have 1500 slides and [Arthur] Siegel is now increasing that collection in depth.”⁶¹² This information item was listed first in an inventory of four central research items available for the students to consult, including Master’s theses, source material and books, and Charles [Chuck] Swedlund’s (b. 1935) *Guide to Photography*, a requirement for freshmen [fig. 3.3].

Similar importance was placed on slides in the UCLA photography program statement developed in the late 1960s. In this case, five ideas were put forward to be implemented in relation to courses development. First, there was to be a space for exhibiting student and professional work. Second, an adequate library would have to be developed for the students to consult (work on this had already begun before the program’s establishment by Robert Heinecken). Third, a collection of photographic prints by the masters would need to be

⁶¹⁰ Donald Lokuta, “History of Photography Instruction,” Ph.D diss., (Ohio State University, 1975): 58.

⁶¹¹ Most likely Aaron Siskind.

⁶¹² “Institute of Design Illinois Institute of Technology,” n.d. [ca. 1965], Box 18, Folder 3 “Programs for other schools, 1960s to 1970s,” AG32 Henry Holmes Smiths Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

assembled as “[s]tudents don’t know who the important contemporary photographers are and when they do, they know only a reproduction.”⁶¹³ Fourth, art history courses in the department would have to address at least an aspect of photography’s relationship to other art movements. Fifth, the department would nurture a relationship with the Motion Pictures Division so that the students could cross-pollinate.⁶¹⁴ Heincken believed that for a beginner student, the introduction to images through slides was of crucial importance. Specifically, the goal was to be able to achieve sufficient variety in the photography slide library that students who were confronting particular concerns in their practices could use the collection as visual aids and points of influence. This of course further justified the necessity for a slide library that would not only support student research but also aid faculty members in the classroom.⁶¹⁵

Prior to the early 1970s, photography slides sets were largely created by instructors or librarians. The Eastman House had organised slide sets at various times, but due to staffing and other concerns, they were largely unable to sell and distribute them. Researchers or teachers were welcome visit the museum and request specific slides be made of material. Slides from the collection were largely made by individual orders filled by the staff photographer, yet such ventures were expensive and time consuming.⁶¹⁶

University libraries were increasingly taking on projects to improve their slide collections. These were often were organised by a single individual or by a small team. At Ryerson Polytechnic, in Toronto, for example, Don [Donald Arthur] Dickinson (1942-2007)

⁶¹³ [Robert Heinecken], [Statement of clarification on the photography program], ca. 1967, page 5, Box 42, Folder “Justifications for Photo Program,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Robert Heinecken, “Heinecken Statement,” *Exposure* XI 1&2 (1973): 21.

⁶¹⁶ This was confirmed in interviews conducted by the author with Thomas Barrow, Betty Hahn, William Johnson, and Susan E. Cohen.

founded the photography department's slide library, assisted by Peter Higdon (b. 1949).⁶¹⁷ At Harvard University, William S. Johnson, then working as a librarian, was also tasked with teaching the history of photography in the Department of Fine Arts.⁶¹⁸ With this in mind, Johnson worked with the Head of the Study Collections, Helene E. Roberts (1931-2008) to search for commercially available sets. Roberts found little was accessible for photography at the time. In order to produce teaching slides for his lecture course, Johnson explored illustrated books and other resources available at the Harvard College Library, which included the Fine Arts Library in the Fogg Art Museum, the Widener Library, and the Houghton Library of Rare Books, and made requests for hundreds of slides to be made on a weekly basis. These orders were filled by the Harvard Photographic Facilities that serviced the Department of Fine Arts.⁶¹⁹

Slides were considered of such importance by some institutions that they began funding projects to support the creation of collections. In 1972, Marianne C. Gellman, then a graduate student at the University of Iowa, received a grant from the university to fly to San Francisco and interview photographer Imogen Cunningham (1925-1976) for her dissertation work. The project was meant to help build the institution's slide collection as well as to facilitate a slide-sound show on photography.⁶²⁰

Two years later, in 1974, Light Impressions began formally organising slide sets from the Eastman House collection. The slide sets were available either unmounted, mounted, with glass

⁶¹⁷ Peter Higdon. Interview with author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁶¹⁸ Johnson held several positions at Harvard. Between 1965 to 1967 Johnson worked as Assistant Circulation Librarian in the Widener Library. Next Johnson worked as Public Services Librarian for the Fine Arts in the Harvard College Library between 1967 to 1976. Simultaneously to these roles between 1971 and 1976 Johnson lectured at a variety of institutions including Harvard University Summer School, the Harvard Extension School, the School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for Tufts University and finally for the Department of Fine Arts, Harvard. William Johnson resume provided to author, December 12, 2018.

⁶¹⁹ William Johnson, email to author, Nov. 27, 2019.

⁶²⁰ Exposure, [Marianne Gellman], *Exposure* [Meeting Notes 2] (1972): [1].

or plastic.⁶²¹ Such sets helped educators streamline their curricula and marked a significant breakthrough in educational tools. The selected works often echoed publications available on the history of photography and could be used in tandem with the book, creating a digestible and organised history. Such collections resulted in two major outcomes. First, a centralised image bank (in the form of a slide collection) meant that individuals could compile significant collections without travelling to different locations to see the objects. Second, these collections – in theory – produced a consistent set of reproductions of the photographs. This meant that slides studied from coast to coast could reflect the same pictorial data. This, of course, would be greatly affected by the permanency of the slides’ physicality. *Light Impressions* is an example of the impact the growth in photography students had on the field as it was founded by William [David Bill] Edwards (b. 1944), a Visual Studies Workshop student. Edwards was encouraged by Nathan Lyons to provide the growing market with tools to help in its professionalisation. *Light Impressions* acted as a photography book publisher and distributor and provided archival material for matting and storing photographs. Unlike the Eastman House, *Light Impressions* had the apparatus in place to sell the slide sets as they had already established a catalogue mailing-order system.⁶²²

In the early 1970s a number of narrated slide sets were produced by Scholastic’s Concerned Photographer Program, a partnership organisation formed between Scholastic Magazines and the International Fund for the Concerned Photography. These slide sets were accompanied by an audiotape that provided commentary on the photographers and photographs. The package also included a teacher’s guide with slide facsimiles, a transcript, a number of black and white reproductions of the work, and the photographer’s portrait, biography and

⁶²¹ *Exposure*, “Slide Sets from *Light Impressions*,” *Exposure* 12.1 (1974): 18.

⁶²² William Johnson, email to author, Nov. 27, 2019.

bibliography. Some tapes included introductions by curators, followed by the photographer's personal commentary, as can be seen in the case of Cornell Capa's (1918-2008) introduction to Smith's *Images of Man: Between Birth and Death: An Affirmation of Life* released in 1972. Other photographers highlighted in the series were Eliot Porter, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Bruce Davidson, Don McCullin, Brian Langer, and Bill Allard.

The program was established as part of the International Fund for the Concerned Photography, as such the slide sets explored photojournalistic practices. Donald [Don] J. Cyr (b. 1949), a professor at the State University of New York, New Paltz, praised the slide sets in an article published in 1979 in *Popular Photography*, where he wrote that he had used the slide sets for several years as:

a motivational tool with my students. To be able to actually hear a famous photographer speak about his work as you see it projected in a darkened room makes for quite an exhilarating experience. Students leave the room literally enthralled by these brief encounters with the great ones.⁶²³

Slide sets were not only used to enhance curricula but also as inexpensive exhibitions. Vernon Cheek (b. 1934), for example, organised in 1974 a colour slide exhibition in response to the Vietnam War, in which he emphasised images that resembled tourist snapshots to contrast the media's representation of the region.⁶²⁴ The year prior, *New Photographics*, organised through the Roslyn Arts in Washington, offered for sale slides from their annually held exhibition of contemporary photographic work. The project was overseen by Jim M. Sahlstrand (1936-2009), a professor of art at Central Washington University, who selected adjudicators

⁶²³ Don Cyr, "Kids & Kameran: Inspiration is the Key to Turning Kids on to the Fun and Joys of Photography," *Popular Photography* 84.1 (January 1979): 44.

⁶²⁴ Vernon Chreek, "Viet Nam Exhibition," *Exposure* 12.3 (1974): 17.

annually for the exhibition.⁶²⁵ The large contemporary photography exhibition was made available for rent. The resulting slides provided an access point to contemporary practices that might otherwise not be present in museum collections or the slide collections that were being produced by Light Impressions. In 1973, two packages of slides of the exhibition were available for purchase. One consisted of twenty slides for \$15 and the second of two hundred and forty slides for \$120.⁶²⁶ These slides could be used to augment personal collections or those that would soon be made available and focused largely on historical photographic works. As such, these exhibition slide collections can be seen as another entry point to the study of the medium much like exhibitions and exhibition catalogues.

Expanding the Teaching Tool Kit: Publications

By the mid-1960s, publications about photography were slowly increasing. Such resources were quickly integrated into curricula. Examples of this can be seen in some of the publications released between 1965 to 1975, including Aaron Scharf's (1922-1993) *Creative Photography*, John Szarkowski's *The Photographer's Eye*, and Nathan Lyons's *Photographers on Photography*. Photography at this time was deemed to be a wide-open discipline, in which meaningful and significant research projects could be easily undertaken. Charles Swedlund's *Guide to Photography* and Anne Wilkes Tucker's (b. 1945) *The Woman's Eye* are both examples of the influence of recent graduates on the development of scholarship in the field.

Simultaneously, writing on photography expanded in magazines and journals. *Album* and *Exposure* were founded in 1970, *Afterimage* in 1972, and *The Black Photographers Annual* was

⁶²⁵ Rod Slemmons, "Jim Sahlstrand and the New Photographs for REFLEX, Winter 88," in a letter to Jim Sahlstrand, 1988, provided to author by Marie Auger.

⁶²⁶ Exposure, "New Photographics/73," *Exposure* (1973)

first published in 1973. In 1968, Frankfurt School theorist Walter Benjamin's (1892-1940) work was made available to the English-speaking public through *Illuminations* edited by [Johanna] Hannah [Cohn] Arendt (1906-1975).⁶²⁷ Included in her selection was his 1935 essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," which discussed photography's role in removing the aura from art objects. In 1972, Stanley Mitchell translated Benjamin's essay "A Short History of Photography."⁶²⁸ The early 1970s also marked a series of articles by Susan Sontag (1933-2004) in the *New York Review of Books*,⁶²⁹ which would later be issued as *On Photography* (1977).⁶³⁰ In 1972, John Berger's influential BBC television series and subsequent book *Ways of Seeing* were first released.

In 1965, art historian Aaron Scharf released *Creative Photography* [fig. 3.4].⁶³¹ The ninety-six-page book was available for purchase for \$2.25. In it, Scharf argued that creative photography did not have to be limited to a straight photographic approach. His thesis demonstrated this through a brief historical tracing of the medium that included discussions of montages, double exposures, and other experimental approaches to photography. In this text, Scharf built an art pedigree that legitimised contemporary alternative photographic practices by tying these practices to a longer historical narrative. This provided an additional history to

⁶²⁷ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968).

⁶²⁸ Walter Benjamin, "A Short History of Photography," trans. Stanley Mitchell, *Screen* 13 (Spring 1972): 5-26.

⁶²⁹ See for example articles by Susan Sontag, "Photography," *The New York Review of Books* 20.16 (October 18, 1973), <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1973/10/18/photography/>; "Freak Show," *The New York Review of Books* 20.18 (November 15, 1973): 13-19; "Shooting America," *The New York Review of Books* 21.6 (April 18, 1974), <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1974/04/18/shooting-america>; "Photography: The Beauty Treatment," *The New York Review of Books* 21.12 (November 28, 1974), <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1974/11/28/photography-the-beauty-treatment/>.

⁶³⁰ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

⁶³¹ Aaron Scharf, *Creative Photography* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1965).

creative photography, expanding beyond the increasingly recognised narrative of straight photography.⁶³²

Three years later, Scharf published *Art and Photography*,⁶³³ a book that explored photography's impact on art. The text was well-received. Carl Chiarenza for example, praised it in a 1968 review: "the book is absolutely indispensable to any research in the field; it will be the standard reference for a long time to come."⁶³⁴ In addition to his original research, Scharf drew upon Van Deren Coke's *The Painter and the Photograph* (1964) and Otto Stelzer's *Kunst und Photographie* (1966). In this manner, Scharf's text echoed Van Deren Coke's ambitions of linking photography to the larger art historical narrative of painting. The connection between the two authors can also be seen in Coke's 1972 expanded edition of *The Painter and the Photograph: From Delacroix to Warhol*,⁶³⁵ in which he credits Scharf's work on this subject as the most important recent scholarship on the medium.⁶³⁶ The extended text included further examples connecting nineteenth-and twentieth-century painters to photography. The book dedicated two chapters each to the exploration of portraiture and genre painting. The other six chapters were thematic, addressing the subjects of stop-action photography, photographic exaggerations, landscapes, mixed media, fantasy and protest, and photographs as catalysts. By placing specific photographs and paintings throughout the text side-by-side [fig. 3.5], Coke reiterated his central argument that painters used photography in the creation of their work.

⁶³² Ibid. A comparison may be made between this publication and Helmut Gernsheim's 1962 *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends 1839-1960*. Gernsheim's publication is discussed in Chapter 1.

⁶³³ Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (London: Allen Lane, 1968).

⁶³⁴ Carl Chiarenza, "Aaron Scharf: *Art and Photography* Review," *Art Journal* 31.3 (1972): 338.

⁶³⁵ The publication expanded upon the 1964 exhibition catalogue organised by the Art Gallery of the University of New Mexico.

⁶³⁶ Van Deren Coke, "Preface," in *The Painter and the Photograph: From Delacroix to Warhol* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico Press, 1972): ix.

In 1966, John Szarkowski published *The Photographer's Eye* [fig. 3.6] based on his 1964 exhibition by the same title held at MoMA. The importance of this book to teachers was its organisation, specifically Szarkowski's chapter divisions, which provided an easy means of linking a clear and accessible vocabulary with images. In the text, Szarkowski presented together photographs produced in different periods with various pictorial ambitions, such as artistic, commercial, and vernacular. By combining these photographs, Szarkowski illustrated the means by which they could be evaluated and discussed together, regardless of the photographer's original intention or historical context, thus demonstrating the means of creating a visual argument through the arrangement of pictorial data. These five terms – the Thing Itself, the Detail, the Frame, Time, and Vantage Point – provided an efficient way to communicate to students what they should be looking at in the making and consideration of a photograph. In the introduction to the book and the first page of each section, Szarkowski described each term and then demonstrated its application through an analysis. Much like a checklist, as Charles Traub recently explained, students could review their own work or that of other photographers by applying each term to the assigned work.⁶³⁷ Minor White's 1967 review of the book concluded that such publications "are always useful and generally necessary to help photographers see the body of photography whole."⁶³⁸ This indicated that White understood that while the terms were rudimentary, they were valuable to emerging photographers. Dave Heath's 1970s course syllabus for a Ryerson course lists *The Photographer's Eye* as a required reading.⁶³⁹ The legacy of this

⁶³⁷ Charles H. Traub. Interview with author. Skype. January 17, 2019.

⁶³⁸ Minor White, "Review: *The Photographer's Eye* by John Szarkowski," *Aperture* 13.3 (1967). <https://www-jstor-org.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/stable/24471417>.

⁶³⁹ David Heath, [course syllabi], ca. 1970, provided to author by David Harris.

book has continued, as it has been in print since its first publication and has been reissued without changes between editions.⁶⁴⁰

Szarkowski would continue to provide structures through which one could read photographic objects in *Looking at Photographs: 100 Pictures from the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art* (1973). This book, much like Beaumont and Nancy Newhall's 1958 book, *Masters of Photography*, helped establish specific photographers and particular photographs as significant. Unlike the Newhalls's book, *Looking at Photographs* contained high quality reproductions of the illustrated photographs. Moreover, the Newhalls's text highlighted the work of specific individuals, whereas Szarkowski's text addressed the reading of particular photographs. This established the value of the museum's collection and the work of particular photographers. As Szarkowski, a consummate stylist, narrated the illustrations, he offered a wide and varied range of potential reading of these objects.

In 1966, Nathan Lyons published *Photographers on Photography* [fig. 3.7], an anthology of essays by photographers. Arranged alphabetically, the book republished essays by a range of practitioners and photographic approaches from 1892 to 1963.⁶⁴¹ Each section opened with a quote that expressed the photographer's vision of photography, followed by a selection of the photographer's writing. The significance of Lyons's achievement in this publication was in the accessibility it provided to historical texts on the medium. The concluding "Biographical Notes & Selected Bibliographies" section provided further references on the photographers and acted to

⁶⁴⁰ Szarkowski's introduction to this book has also been republished several times. See for example: Penniah R. Petruck, ed., *The Camera Viewed: Writings on Twentieth-Century Photography*, Volume 2 (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979). Andrew E. Hershberger, ed., *Photographic Theory: An Historical Anthology* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014). Liz Wells, *The Photography Reader: History and Theory* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2019).

⁶⁴¹ They are: Berenice Abbott, Ansel Adams, Francis Bruguière, Wynn Bullock, Harry Callahan, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Alvin Langdon Coburn, Robert Demachy, Peter H. Emerson, Robert Frank, Dorothea Lange, László Moholy-Nagy, Man Ray, Henry P. Robinson, Arthur Siegel, Aaron Siskind, Henry Holmes Smith, W. Eugene Smith, Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Stand, Edward Weston, and Minor White.

reinforce Lyons's authority on the subject. By making photographers' essays available, Lyons offered an entry point to students of photography to decode the values different photographers placed on the medium. The anthology comprises writings by some twenty-three photographers, including Berenice Abbott, Ansel Adams, Man Ray, Aaron Siskind, Edward Weston and Minor White. Two versions of the publication were printed. One contained sixty-two reproductions and cost \$11.95 and the second was a paperbound edition with no photographs that sold for \$3.95. The price range and its content made it comprehensive enough for both private use and the classroom. Equally, the anthology of these writing grouped important essays for educators to teach original texts displaying a range of pictorial ambitions. The included photographers had already been identified as important through Newhall's historical writing and as such would have acted as an ideal companion for the classroom. Lyons's publication can be seen as responding directly to early concerns of SPE members on the need to create and expand teaching resources. In fact, the mid-1960s SPE Chairman's Report noted *Photographers on Photography* would be available as of March of 1966 with a special bound edition made specifically for students.⁶⁴²

Examples of the available material to be used to teach a photography class can be seen in Barbara Crane's compiled document "History of Photography Books ... Surveys."⁶⁴³ [fig. 3.8] Most of the resources in it had been published in the 1960s. Notably, the list of ten books was dominated by four authors: Beaumont Newhall, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, and Nathan Lyons, who each contributed two titles to the list. Crane's list for her 1968 art history course focused on photography used many of the same titles. The earliest title listed was Robert Taft's

⁶⁴² [The Society for Photographic Education Chairman's Report 1962-1965], ca. 1965, 8, Box "SPE," File "SPE 1963-1965," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁶⁴³ Barbara Crane, "History of Photography Books.....Surveys," ca. 1968, Box 14 "Activity Files Workshop and Teaching Assignments, 1960-1994" (part 2), Folder History Photo Course Papers, AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

1938 *Photography and the American Scene, A Social History, 1839-1889*. Crane noted in her bibliography that Taft's book as well as other early photography publications by Helmut and Alison Gernsheim and Peter Pollack⁶⁴⁴ (1909-1978) were available for purchase,⁶⁴⁵ indicating that, as of 1968, they were still being used as sources for the history of the medium.

Charles Swedlund's self-published *Guide to Photography* (1967) combined technical tutorials with a brief historical overview of photography, thereby addressing the goals of both creative photography educators and students. Swedlund had begun studying photography at the Institute of Design in 1953. By 1961, he had graduated with a Master's degree, and was lecturing part-time at different institutions in Chicago.⁶⁴⁶ The *Guide to Photography* opened with a brief historical tracing of photography, followed by chapters devoted to explaining different technical aspects of photography, functioning like a technical photography manual. Swedlund's approach of combining historical and technical information made the text significant for its potential use in studio photography courses. An article published in 1982 in *Aperture* explained that the text was "the first modern textbook integrating the history of photography as a fine art with technical concerns."⁶⁴⁷ That Swedlund choose to combine historical information with the technical demonstrates that students entering into creative photography programs were increasingly

⁶⁴⁴ Peter Pollack, *The Picture History of Photography, from the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1958). The publication was released in additional editions in 1960, 1963, 1969, 1977, 1983, and 1998.

⁶⁴⁵ Barbara Crane, "Art History, Photography: Photography Bibliography General History of Photography Books," 1968, Box 14 "Activity Files Workshop and Teaching Assignments, 1960-1994" (part 2), Folder History Photo Course Papers, AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁶⁴⁶ By 1971, Swedlund secured a permanent position at Southern Illinois University. At the time, the Cinema and Photography department was centred around commercial applications. Swedlund focused his teaching on creative photography and was part of the push that ultimately shifted the department's approach. Gus Bode, "Photography Department to Graduate Valuable Asset," *The Daily Egyptian*, November 19, 1999, accessed April 20, 2021, <https://dailyegyptian.com/39545/archives/photography-department-to-graduate-valuable-asset/>.

⁶⁴⁷ Charles Traub, "Photographic Education Comes of Age," *Aperture* 87 (1982): 55.

expected to be able to place their practice within a historical tradition and discourse. Such a requirement in photography education would not have been widespread prior to the mid-1960s.

Anne Wilkes Tucker's 1973 publication *The Woman's Eye* formed an entry point into the historical discussion of female photographers. The publication emerged from Tucker's research at MoMA conducted as part of her graduate studies at VSW.⁶⁴⁸ Unlike other dissertation projects that addressed female photographers such as Margaret Frances Sandahl's (b. 1940) "Women in Photography" (1965)⁶⁴⁹ and Margaret Knox Morgan's (b.1926) "Women in Journalism" (1962),⁶⁵⁰ Tucker's thesis was made more widely available by being reworked into a published catalogue. The book narrowed her research the findings to ten female photographers: Gertrude Käsebier, Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864-1952), Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971), Dorothea Lange, Berenice Abbott, Barbara Morgan, Diane Arbus, Alisa Wells [born Alice Wells] (1927-1988), Judith Rose [Judy] Dater (b. 1941), and Bea Nettles. Each photographer had a biographical entry and a selection of work.

The significance of this publication lay largely in the creation of knowledge on female photographers and their practices. In Newhall's *History of Photography*, which was widely being used as a textbook for the history of the medium, few females were mentioned.⁶⁵¹ Tucker was certainly influenced by Newhall, as she was his student and was well versed in his historical text. Yet she was compelled to respond to what she saw as the dismissal of females in the field.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸ Nancy M. Stuart, "The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980," 124. Anne Wilkes Tucker's thesis was presented as a slide show reviewing her work on the MoMA exhibition. Her work on the *Photographs of Women* exhibition, and subsequent special issue of *Camera Magazine [Photographs of Women]* (February 1972) devoted to the exhibition, were seen as satisfying the requirements of the degree. Her curatorial internship at MoMA in the Photography Department was supported by a New York State Council on the Arts Grant. Anne Wilkes Tucker, email to author, April 20, 2021.

⁶⁴⁹ Margaret Frances Sandahls, "Women in Photography," Master of Fine Arts thesis, (Ohio University,1965).

⁶⁵⁰ Margaret Knox Morgan, "Women in Photojournalism," Master's thesis, (University of Missouri, 1962).

⁶⁵¹ See further discussion of this in relation to Naomi Rosenblum's text in Chapter 6.

⁶⁵² Anne Wilkes Tucker, email to author, January 5, 2021.

Certainly, she was not alone in this feeling. Anemona Hartocollis (b. 1955), writing for *The Harvard Crimson* reported that:

The Woman's Eye aims to provoke an awareness of the feminine contribution to photography. Such an effort has been a long time coming and it's a good idea: not only because there are strikingly female approaches to the art, but because women in the field have generally been ignored. The names of Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Steichen and Lee Friedlander are familiar to many people, and one will note they are all men. Now, when was the last time someone mentioned Doris Ulmann, Berenice Abbott or Gertrude Kasebier? Men control the publication of most books and magazines, write about photography's history and determine, according to the exposure they've been willing to give certain artists, who'll be hailed as a master and what makes a masterpiece.⁶⁵³

Hartocollis's sentiments demonstrated the eagerness of some students to engage with emerging photography scholarship. Furthermore, they shed light on the way certain texts were becoming ingrained as foundational sources on the medium. As these access points stabilised, they solidified narratives that marginalised certain photographers within the field. These texts, such as Newhall's *History of Photography*, were no longer being seen as documentations of exhibitions; rather, they were understood as forming the foundation of photographic discourse. Increasingly, the emerging generation of graduates worked toward augmenting this data with new scholarship and new points of view.

Donald Lokuta's 1975 survey on photography education found that eighty-seven percent of institutions teaching the history of photography assigned Beaumont Newhall's *History of Photography* as their historical text. The same study noted that thirty-five percent of the programs required *Photographers on Photography*.⁶⁵⁴ The 13.3 issue of *Exposure* published in 1975 was dedicated to reviewing books available at the time for teaching instruction [fig. 3.9].

⁶⁵³ Anemona Hartocollis, "The Woman's Eye," *The Harvard Crimson* March 6, 1974. Accessed July 6, 2020. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1974/3/6/the-womans-eye-pbitibihe-womans-eye/>.

⁶⁵⁴ Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction," 59-60.

All the books listed were published between 1971 and 1975. Of the twenty-six titles surveyed, ten included sections dedicated to the history of photography. Some provided technical guidance on exposure, darkroom and general camera use. This suggests that these books would have largely serviced studio classes where educators were now incorporating historical surveys in addition to teaching technical approaches to photography.⁶⁵⁵

Expanding the Teaching Tool Kit: Journals

Also beneficial for photography education was the expansion of photography journals and magazines. As reviewed earlier, these journals provided important avenues for faculty and students to access information and to disseminate their photographic outputs. Indeed, many of the sources and magazines described in the earlier chapter were still being utilised. In fact, Jacob Deschin's articles were so well known and read at the time that John Durniak (1929-1997) the photo editor of *Popular Photography*, described in 1969 that:

Grace Mayer, the Curator of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art, confesses that she buys an incomplete *Sunday New York Times* from her dealer on the day before... [i]f you walk through the photographic department of the Museum [of Modern Art], you will find a stack of neatly pinned up Deschin columns on the bulletin board, just before you get to John Szarkowski's office. And at schools like The School of Visual Arts, Deschin's page is placed on the bulletin board every Monday morning like clock work [sic].⁶⁵⁶

The understanding that journals could act as teaching resources can be seen in the announcement of *Infill/Phot* in *Exposure* in April 1971. *Infill/Phot* was an index to photography journals. The quarterly publication reported on more than \$250 worth of publications, organising their data into entries by subject. The index was meant to act both as a recall tool and as a research guide

⁶⁵⁵ Anonymous, "Objective Chart: Identifying Information," *Exposure* 13.3 (1975): 28-29.

⁶⁵⁶ John Durniak, "The Deschin Contribution," *Infinity* 18.10 (October 1969): 6.

providing access points to the discourse.⁶⁵⁷ Bill McLaughlin, the editor and founder of journal, described the “‘futuristic’ tool” in 1974:

[It is] about-full-time job reading just the 35 publications digested in the present *Infill/Phot*. Since these are all the publications a photography educator should read without fail, how is an instructor-person suppose to get this and other readings done and still teach? It would be difficult to answer that question, if it weren't for *Infill/Phot*, which digests a couple hundred pounds or more of periodicals into four about-100-page issues per year.⁶⁵⁸

By the following year, McLaughlin was intent on incorporating an additional five journals into the review, reflecting the expansion of available sources. He summarised that only one publication, *Professional Photographer*, existed before 1900:

Back then, new publications (in our *present* coverage) were being added at about 30-year intervals. Recently, however, titles appeared at a 3-5 year average. Obviously there are going to be many new periodicals in the future. And they will be turning up an [sic] increasing rate.⁶⁵⁹

In 1970, the former editor of *Creative Camera*, Bill Jay (1940-2009), founded *Album*, a monthly magazine that featured the work of historical and contemporary photographers [fig. 3.10]. Jay would later become a graduate student at the UNM. Typically, the magazine provided a brief introduction describing a single photographer, with the next several pages dedicated to publishing the photographer's work. Also included in the magazine were reviews of books, exhibitions, and a listing of photographs for purchase through the magazine. Yet the magazine only lasted a year. While this brief cycle of publication was not uncommon for photography journals, they provided important documentation of photographers and regional activities.

⁶⁵⁷ “Infill/Phot,” *Exposure* 1 (April 1971): [3].

⁶⁵⁸ Bill McLaughlin, “Filling You in on INFILL/PHOT,” *Exposure* 12.1 (January 1974): 14.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

Afterimage began publication in 1972 [fig. 3.11]. Founded by Nathan Lyons, it quickly developed a reputation for publishing critical writings on different lens-based media. Unlike other creative photography journals of the period, *Afterimage* was printed on large paper, more akin to a newspaper than a fine arts journal. The front and back covers of the early editions were printed on the first page and then folded to make the issue more compact. The development of *Afterimage* was aligned to the activities at VSW. The VSW Press founded in 1971 by Joan Lyons (b. 1937) facilitated its printing. VSW students provided significant labour on all aspects of the magazine's publication, most notably as editors and writers. Such work was part of the students' mandatory work placement. It was vital to the VSW curriculum, which relied upon learning through hands-on production.

The journal's name references Eastman House's publication, *Image*. By designating the journal as an 'after image,' the nuanced reader would understand that the contents were more contemporary than those found in *Image*. The name also suggested *Image* as a relic. Grant H. Kester (b. 1959), reflecting upon the name choice in 1998, wrote, "the name he [Lyons] chose marked both a personal and an institutional departure."⁶⁶⁰

Alternative voices to the increasingly established field appeared in 1973 through the *Black Photographers Annual* [fig. 3.12].⁶⁶¹ *Black Photographers Annual* first began publishing intermittently with Joe Crawford as editor and Joe Walker as associate editor. Notably, Black photography teachers and members of the Kamoinge Workshop were frequently represented throughout the publication. The first issue was organised by Vance Bernard Allen (b. 1939),

⁶⁶⁰ Grant H. Kester, "Ongoing Negotiations: *Afterimage* and the Analysis of Activist Art," in *Art, Activism, and Oppositionality: Essays from Afterimage* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998): [1].

⁶⁶¹ The journal had a total of four issues published in 1973, 1974, 1976, and 1980. The complete run has been digitized and made available through the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, "The Black Photographers Annual," Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, accessed April 20, 2021, <https://www.vmfa.museum/collections/stories/the-black-photographers-annual/>.

Louis Draper, Ray Francis, Beuford Smith (b. 1941), Shawn Walker (b. 1940), Vernon Grant, Harriet Parks, and Robert L. Stewart. *Black Photographers Annual*, while printed in Brooklyn, was distributed by Light Impressions in Rochester. The introduction of the first volume, written by Clayton Riley (1935-2008) explained:

[t]he nation is surrounded by images of what it is supposed to be. And becomes institutionally and individually what those images imply, what they indicate, what they impose. The Black visual artist, his work for many years denied a true and complete public, develops muscle and emotional determination through a years-long struggle simply to be, exist and work. Thus here, in the pages beyond, an energy displayed, measures of awesome vitality and the recognition of what has always been available but hidden, an existence, a people, a whole situation and vitalized legend walking, talking, breathing in the land.⁶⁶²

Following the issue's introduction, work of forty-nine photographers unfolded across the journal's pages. Little text was present beyond the introduction. The content was limited to single photographs by a variety of photographers followed by a group of short portfolios by highlighted photographers.

The second volume of *Black Photographers Annual*, published in 1974, incorporated photographers from the United States, England, and Canada. Included in the selection were many educators. P. H. Polk's (1898-1985) work, for example, was showcased through a portfolio and accompanying article. Polk had worked as a studio photographer and in various roles, including as Head of the Tuskegee Institute Photography Department between 1933 and 1938 [fig. 3.13].⁶⁶³ The highlighting of work by increasingly acclaimed photography educators was commonly found in the pages of photography journals of the period, especially in relation to creative photography.

⁶⁶² Clayton Riley, "Introduction," *The Black Photographers Annual* 1 (1973): [7].

⁶⁶³ Joe Crawford, "P.H. Polk '... A Kind of General Practitioner,'" *The Black Photographers Annual* 2 (1974): [68-81].

Teaching from the Print: Collecting Photography

Despite the above-mentioned avenues of introducing students to photographic work, educators still favoured the study of photography through photographic objects. There were two ways objects were integrated into teaching: through the discussion of students' photographic work during critiques, and by showing students prints from the teacher's personal collection or institution collection. At times, these two methods were blurred. Some educators showed their own work to the students, using it as a teaching tool for different printing techniques. Prints accessed through various entry points were key to photography education.

One aspect of the early growth of photography collections in higher-education institutions can be traced back to photography educators, who stressed the importance of teaching students with master prints. These objects allowed students to see different printing techniques and were used to inspire them to hone such skills themselves. Beyond this, prints were a practical means of sharing with students the history of the medium. In the early 1960s and 1970s, master prints and examples of different photographic process could be purchased for modest sums. These provided better visual examples than slide collections or the poor photographic reproductions still found in some books. Finally, these activities were fostered by the SPE, which promoted the collecting of photographs as a teaching tool. Despite the high value such educators placed on showcasing photography through original prints, Donald Lokuta found in his 1975 study that only twenty-six institutions teaching the history of photography had permanent collections of photography.⁶⁶⁴ This implies that teachers at institutions without

⁶⁶⁴ Lokuta drew upon Horrell's 1968, 1971, and 1975 surveys to create a list of institutions to contact for the study. In total he reached out to 142 institutions. Of those, he successfully obtained responses from 79 schools. Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction," 40-41. Not all schools that had photography collections are listed as Lokuta's study as he focused specifically on the history of photography. UCLA, for example, is omitted from the list. Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction," 56.

teaching collections, showed material from their own private collection, relied on trips to exhibitions to show students work by master photographers, or else were unable to include them as part of their teaching.

Of the institutions that collected photography, the University of Rochester had the largest holding of photographs, with an estimate of between 25,000 and 300,000 prints.⁶⁶⁵ The high volume of prints was reflective of their association with the Eastman House rather than independent collection. The University of Maryland in Baltimore County held 10,000 prints, UNM had five thousand, and Ohio State University had three thousand. Three universities had ten or less photographs, three others had less than one hundred prints, and eleven institutions had between one hundred and several hundred prints [for the complete list gathered by Lokuta see fig. 3.14].⁶⁶⁶

Some institutions such as Yale University, Princeton University, and Harvard University had collections of photographs that had been acquired in various ways. Photographs prior to the mid-1960s were most likely to enter university collections as either donations from patrons or as part of a study collection for areas of research outside of photography, such as medicine, geology, and anthropology. Examples of photography collections in higher-education institutions that were not included in Lokuta's survey can be found through the University of Texas at Austin's Harry Ransom Center that acquired the Helmut Gernsheim collection in 1963; at UCLA, which began collecting photographs in 1968;⁶⁶⁷ at Ryerson, which began assembling a photography teaching collection in the early 1970s by Don Dickinson with the hopes of utilising

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 57.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Gerald Norland, "Foreword," in *Catalog of the UCLA Collection of American Photographs* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1976): 2.

it for his photography history courses;⁶⁶⁸ and at the University of Arizona's Center for Creative Photography (CCP), which commenced collecting photographers' archives in 1975 indicating a new avenue of study in post-secondary photography collections.

The UCLA photography collection was formed when several photographs, previously acquired from two different exhibitions in 1964 and 1968,⁶⁶⁹ were amalgamated into the art department's teaching resources study collection.⁶⁷⁰ At first, the collection largely leaned toward contemporary practices, purchasing photographs by living photographers, or photographers new to the photography scene. Much of the print collection at this early stage was formed through acquisitions by individuals or donations. Director of the Frederic S. Wight Art Gallery at UCLA, Gerald Nordland (1927-2019), justified the acquisitions in 1976 by arguing that:

[i]t is essential to have a collection of original photographic images in order to teach the art, to develop historic judgement and understanding, to foster connoisseurship, and to provide the campus with a contemporary vision of photography as it is being shaped by a new generation.⁶⁷¹

Nordland's words demonstrate that photography was being collected based on its own merits rather than as a way to illustrate other artistic forms. The expansion of this collection was substantially aided by a grant from the Museum Purchase Plan of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1974. Soon, this grant was matched by others, such as a grant from the Kress Foundation.⁶⁷² With the additional funding, the gallery focused on purchasing works "around the recognition that the work of a group of older, well-established photographers, working in more

⁶⁶⁸ Peter Higdon. Interview with author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁶⁶⁹ Robert Heinecken's introduction states the collection was formed from a three-man show held in 1964 and *Contemporary Photographs* held in September 1968. Robert Heinecken, "Introduction," *Catalog of the UCLA Collection of Contemporary American Photography* (Los Angeles: Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, 1976): 6.

⁶⁷⁰ Gerald Nordland, "Foreword," 2.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

or less traditional ways, indicated an undeniable priority for a collection of balance and consequence.”⁶⁷³ Such a purchase aligned with the collection of materials relating to a canon that would have been examined in history of photography classes. This shift in collecting habits may indicate that the choice of purchasing contemporary material may have been influenced by its cost.

In 1971, President of the University of Arizona Dr. John [Paul] Schaefer (b. 1934), founded CCP at the University of Arizona. Schaefer was an avid amateur photographer who had become friends with Ansel Adams. Unlike other institutions, where a photography educator initiated the collection, here Schaefer convinced Adams to donate his archive to the university. In turn, Adams encouraged Schaefer to not only collect his archive, but also to purchase those of five living photographers: Adams, Wynn Bullock, Harry Callahan, Aaron Siskind, and Frederick Sommer.⁶⁷⁴ William S. Johnson explained that at the time:

the Art Department wasn't teaching photography, and the Art Department was a little bit miffed about the whole thing. In order to get it going Schaefer worked through the library system. So, when the Centre for Creative Photography started, it was started as a branch library basically.⁶⁷⁵

Harold Jones, a graduate of the University of New Mexico MFA program and an experienced gallery worker, was hired in 1975 to act as the founding Director of CCP. Shortly thereafter he initiated the photography program at the University of Arizona.⁶⁷⁶

Funds for such collecting ventures could be secured through many means. It was not uncommon at this period for such collections to be built through National Endowment for the

⁶⁷³ Robert Heinecken, “Introduction,” *Catalog of the UCLA Collection of Contemporary American Photography*, 6.

⁶⁷⁴ Center for Creative Photography, “About Us,” accessed April 20, 2020, <https://ccp.arizona.edu/about-us-0>.

⁶⁷⁵ William Johnson. Interviewed by author. Cohen and Johnson’s residence in Rochester, New York, United States of America. December 17, 2018.

⁶⁷⁶ Center for Creative Photography, “Harold Jones,” accessed April 20, 2020, <https://ccp.arizona.edu/artists/harold-jones>.

Arts (NEA) grants or funds secured from similar government agencies.⁶⁷⁷ The NEA was founded in 1965 with an initial budget of \$2.5 million that, within four years, grew to \$7.8 million. The first photographer to be awarded an NEA grant was Bruce Davidson, in 1968.⁶⁷⁸ The goal of this art-funding organisation was to support artists in the creation of new work and help museums and institutions expand their collecting and exhibition.⁶⁷⁹ In Canada, the Canada Council for the Arts provided similar services starting in 1957.⁶⁸⁰ With the financial aid from such organisations, collections in higher-education institutions were able to expand rapidly, particularly in the area of collecting photography. Beyond this growth, the recognition such funding provided to individual photographers and to the field as a whole aided in the legitimisation of creative photography.⁶⁸¹

Early on, the NEA decided to distribute funds based on a philosophy of peer review. As few people had established themselves as experts in photography, the NEA relied upon prominent figures to assemble an adjudication committee for the photography grants. The panel rotated annually, it typically included critics, curators, teachers, historians, and practicing photographers. The aim of altering the panel's composition was to ensure that one photography approach was not valued over another.⁶⁸² In 1971, for example, the panel was composed of John Szarkowski, Van Deren Coke, and then Chief of the Division of Prints and Photographs at the Library of Congress Alan [Maxwell] Fern (b. 1930).⁶⁸³ Similar state funded granting agencies, such as the New York State Council of the Arts (NYSCA), also depended upon photography

⁶⁷⁷ Lewis Baltz, "American Photography in the 1970s: Too Old to Rock, Too Young to Die," 158.

⁶⁷⁸ Merry Amanda Foresta, "Introduction," *Exposure and Development: Photography Sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts*, ed. Carroll S. Clark, 6-12. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984): 6.

⁶⁷⁹ Mora, *The Last Photographic Heroes*, 137.

⁶⁸⁰ Canada Council for the Arts, "Background," Canada Council for the Arts, accessed November 18, 2020, <https://canadacouncil.ca/about/public-accountability/info-source>.

⁶⁸¹ Merry Amanda Foresta, "Introduction," 7.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 8.

educators, photographers, and curators when forming their different adjudication panels. An example of this could be seen with Nathan Lyons serving on the Museum Aid Panel of NYSCA between 1974 and 1975.⁶⁸⁴ It is no coincidence that such activities were taken on by some of the founders of SPE. Such actions demonstrate that SPE members were successful in working toward their goal of advocating for photography as a creative medium and providing expertise to influential organisations.

Portfolios

Part of the rapid growth of photography in such collections can also be directly attributed to the portfolios⁶⁸⁵ produced as part of an education curriculum, either at workshops or at higher-education institutions. Sold as sets of prints, portfolios were shared between faculty members at different institutions. Collecting such sets facilitated a quick and efficient means of acquiring large numbers of contemporary photographs. Portfolios were typically coordinated around a particular class. To outside collectors, the most desirable print in such portfolios was typically the one produced by the faculty member who had already established a reputation. However, institutions were also interested in purchasing portfolios as a means of keeping an eye on photography developments at different schools and emerging photographers. Museums were also purchasing such photography portfolios, as Therese Mulligan (b. 1957) wrote in 2006:

[p]ortfolios played an important role in American photography in the 1970s as both a collectible and a market entity. For newly established collections, portfolios were recognized as an affordable means to attend to present-day

⁶⁸⁴ Letter from Joan Rosenbaum to Nathan Lyons, April 14, 1975, Box "NYCA" File "National Council of the Arts Mtg., 1979," Nathan Lyons Personal Archives, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁶⁸⁵ For a longer discussion of portfolios and their developments see Molly Kalkstein, "Inside the Box: Photography and the Portfolio Format," Master's thesis, (Ryerson University, 2013).

organizations and schools, genres, and makers, and they occupy a privileged place in the PAM [Pasadena Art Museum] collection.⁶⁸⁶

Photography portfolios often brought student and faculty work. This can be seen in the portfolios held in the UNM museum collection⁶⁸⁷ such as *Folio '73* [California State University Fullerton] [fig. 3.15],⁶⁸⁸ *Portfolio* [Photo II, University of New Mexico, Spring 1973] [fig. 3.16],⁶⁸⁹ and *Photographs* [The Memphis Academy of Arts, 1972] [fig. 3.17].⁶⁹⁰

Exhibitions As Sites of Practice and Knowledge Production

In addition to these activities, photographic prints were increasingly shown across university campuses in exhibitions spaces outside the classroom. Such exhibitions displayed student work, providing them an important venue to distribute their photographs, begin their career, and practice professional skills. They also fed the appetite for photography by the larger student population, training them to accept photography as an art. Photography exhibitions were viewed favourably by administrations because they were affordable, increasingly supported by grants, and could be cheaply rented from museums or other institutions. Moreover, for institutions with photography collections, organising exhibitions that could also be rented acted as a revenue source. Some institutions, most notably VSW, organised travelling exhibitions as a means of distributing work, showcasing different readings of the medium, and to raise funds for the

⁶⁸⁶ Therese Mulligan, "More Than the Sum of Its Parts: the Photography Collection at the Norton Simon Museum," in *The Collectable Moment* (New Haven: Yale University Press for The Norton Simon Art Foundation, 2006): 17.

⁶⁸⁷ The 1980 catalogue of the collection lists 14 portfolios. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Catalog of 20th Century Photographs* (Albuquerque: Art Museum University of New Mexico, 1980), 57-58.

⁶⁸⁸ *Folio '73* contains 18 works of various processes: David Anderson, Darryl Curran, Scott Fitzgerald, G. H. Goodman, Patricia Howard, Ron Leighton, Robert Mautner, Grant Rusk, Kenneth Steuck, and Rose Marie Williams.

⁶⁸⁹ *Portfolio* contains 18 works of various processes: Jody Batista, Fred Boucherle, Robert Camburn, Richard Doig, Bruce Furman, Eileen Hardgrave, O. K. Harris, George Kirkham, Steve Koczan, Joe McCharen, Jim Munoz, Vicky Nadel, Greg Overman, Mari Palsce, Wayne Puvines, Richard W. Stach, Glenn Watson, Ed West, and Paula Zaleski.

⁶⁹⁰ *Photographs* contains 10 gelatin silver prints: Brin A. Baucum, Terry E. Clont, Diana Daimwood, Michael Pittman, Allen Rankin, Murray Riss, Robert Sanchez, Jane Shelby, Lou Tippit. Murray Riss joined the faculty of the Memphis Academy of Arts and started the photography department in 1968. Riss obtained an MFA from RISD in 1968.

school's activities. These two interlinked activities – the purchasing and production of exhibitions – were crucial for the financial support of photography as art as well as its dissemination.

Logistically, photography exhibitions were easier to arrange than exhibitions of paintings or sculptural work. As little conservation concerns were placed on photography, and as photographers were not as of yet producing works in editions, works could be printed and sent for exhibition in multiple locations simultaneously. An examination of Eastman House's exhibition history demonstrates that many of their travelling exhibitions were shown in post-secondary institution galleries from Buffalo, New York, to Newton, Kansas, to Santa Clara, California.⁶⁹¹ Viewing such exhibitions was an integral aspect of many students' educational experiences; while outside their own institutions, they were often attended by students excited to see photographs as art.

Image typically included a listing of such travelling exhibitions. In January 1971, for example, travelling exhibitions could be rented on a monthly basis from the institution for fees ranging from \$75 to \$900. These exhibitions also varied in size, catering to different venues. The number of loaned works varied from twenty-five prints to three hundred. There was a large selection of exhibition themes for exhibitors: solo exhibitions of photographers by such photographers as Lewis Wickes Hine (1874-1940), Edward Weston, and Leslie [Les] Krims (b. 1942); historical surveys of photographic practices; process centred exhibitions; and themed group exhibitions such as *Vision and Expression*.⁶⁹² Such listings in *Image* not only acted as an

⁶⁹¹ "George Eastman House Traveling Exhibitions," *Image* 14.1 (January 1971): 17.

⁶⁹² Editors, "George Eastman House Traveling Exhibitions," *Image* 14.1 (January 1971): 17. *Vision and Expression* exhibition had an accompanying catalogue printed. Nathan Lyons, *Vision and Expression: An International Survey of Contemporary Photography* (New York and Rochester: Horizon Press and the George Eastman House, 1969).

advertisement for travelling exhibition programs but also helped publicise access points to the medium for interested readers through the announcement of participating galleries.

The importance of early photography exhibitions on university campuses can be seen in the essays of the 1966 exhibition catalogue of *Graduate Photography* produced for a show by the same title held at Purdue University, West Lafayette Indiana. Henry Holmes Smith opened his essay by proclaiming that despite photography being allowed into the academy, “the accommodation has been uneasy and sometimes reluctant, like persons shifting on a crowded bench.”⁶⁹³ As such, the importance of the exhibition was to help further public acceptance of the medium.⁶⁹⁴ The Purdue exhibition was organised by Vernon Cheek, a graduate of the Institute of Design, and the founder of Purdue’s photography program four years earlier in 1962. It included the work of thirteen students from four schools: the Institute of Design, Indiana University, University of Iowa, and University of California, Los Angeles.⁶⁹⁵ Two brief essays appeared in the catalogue: one by Smith, and the second by Cheek. Interestingly, while the essays addressed the goals of the exhibition, they did not respond or draw attention to any of the works on display, nor did they expand upon how the exhibition was conceptualised. The publication contained thirteen photographs by the photographers included in the exhibition. A sample page spread from the catalogue illustrated [fig. 3.18] a work by two of the students. Here, it is clear that the

⁶⁹³ Henry Holmes Smith, “Photography at College,” *Graduate Photograph: Institute of Design, Indiana University, University of Iowa, University of California at Los Angeles*, (West Lafayette: Purdue University, 1966): [1]. Accessed through Box 42, Folder “Materials Related to Heinecken at UCLA,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁶⁹⁴ Vernon Cheek, [Closing remarks], *Graduate Photography: Institute of Design, Indiana University, University of Iowa, University of California at Los Angeles*, (West Lafayette: Purdue University, 1966): [18]. Accessed through Box 42, Folder “Materials Related to Heinecken at UCLA,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁶⁹⁵ Philip Curry, Wayne Lemmon, and John Mills from Indiana University; William Larson, James Newberry, and Jack Wilgus from the Institute of Design; Carl Cheng, Brian Hagiwara, Kenneth McGowan, and Maria Nordenann from the University of California at Los Angeles; Peter Feldstein, Douglas Prince, and Sheri Stern from the University of Iowa.

catalogue was acting both as a record of the exhibition – which included the work of emerging photographers – and as a means of sharing important concerns about the state of the field through the catalogue essays.

Not all those reviewing such exhibitions believed this shift to showing student work was beneficial. In a 1967 exhibition review published in *Aperture*, Margery Mann (1919-1977) and Sam Ehrlich jabbed at the students' output. They claimed that:

[i]n California, any of them [students] still feel compelled to go through an Edwardian phase, combing every sandy inch of Point Lobos and imitating The Master. The dead pelicans photographed and exhibited within the past and exhibited within the past five years would stock a good-sized lagoon. Some exhibit little bits and pieces of the world, little whispers of soul that exude fin-de-siècle preciousness. Many imitate Siskind, spattered walls and cracking pavements. Some go in for street corner realism – the derelicts in the doorways at Sixth and Howard Street – or social comment – hundreds and hundreds of people carrying banners. Jack Welpott's students at San Francisco State College have recently discovered the penis, although we can produce an affidavit signed by ten reputable observers who were willing to go on record that it existed before 1965.⁶⁹⁶

This statement was made as part of a larger argument about the homogenisation of the Bay region's photographic output. Photography exhibitions were on the rise, responding to the growing audience of viewers and collectors. The M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco had been hosting photography exhibitions since 1894, nurturing a community of photographers, most notably those who were involved with the straight photography group f/64.⁶⁹⁷ Many of the photographer in this region, like those across the United States and Canada supported themselves by teaching photography. Read within this context, it is clear that Mann and Ehrlich were identifying the impact of pedagogy and the developing canon on the

⁶⁹⁶ Margery Mann and Sam Ehrlich, "The Exhibition of Photographers: Northern California," *Aperture* 13.4 (1967): 13.

⁶⁹⁷ Therese Thau, ed. *Seeing Straight: The f. 64 Revolution in Photography* (Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1992).

photographic scene. Edward Weston and Jack Welpott's (1923-2007) influence on the local photographic output could be explained through personal contacts as they both worked in the region. Aaron Siskind's influence, however, speaks to the workings of the photography network, and his growing reputation as a master photographer. At the time of the article's publication, Siskind was teaching at the Institute of Design, far from the Bay region.

The impact of educators on photographers in the field could indeed be felt in early manifestations of their work. One print, for example, located in the Thomas Barrow fonds at the Center for Creative Photography, illustrated Mann and Ehrlich's argument [fig. 3.19]. Barrow, a student at the Institute of Design, Chicago at the time, captured the flat surface of a wall. The square frame was composed largely of a dark grey wash, disrupted by scrawled white text. Texture was formed from the peeling surface of jumbled white shapes, which teased their association with letters. Barrow later annotated the print's verso: "definitely under Aaron's influence."⁶⁹⁸ This graphic interpretation centred on texture and the search for meaning in human traces was central to Siskind's practice.

In the catalogue of the 1973 exhibition, *Four Photographic Centers*. Kenneth [K.] Kelly Wise (b. 1932), the exhibition coordinator, explained that while such exhibitions were key to the student's development, the presented photographers should not be regarded as mature for at least five years, or until the student "purging himself of the banal, derivative, the counterfeit. He must also rid himself of his teachers, ungrateful as that sounds, if indeed he is ever to create with freshness."⁶⁹⁹ *Four Photographic Centers* was an exhibition curated by Don Snyder and held in 1973 at the Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, and

⁶⁹⁸ Thomas Barrow photograph, n.d. [ca. 1964], Box 124, Folder "Student work, study prints, 1963-1964," AG202 Thomas Barrow Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁶⁹⁹ K. Kelly Wise, "Introduction," *Four Photographic Centers* (Andover: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1973): [1].

co-organised with Imageworks, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The one hundred and twenty photographic prints by graduate students were largely produced during the course of the 1972-1973 academic year. Four schools were selected to represent distinctive centres of photographic practices. Each of the institutions had a significant photography program, led by figures who were becoming known as central to the photography field. The exhibition's goal was to represent the trends stemming from the massive amount of produced student work. Three of the institutions had a faculty member provided brief essays for the catalogue [fig. 3.20]: Minor White wrote for MIT; Don Worth (1924-2009) for California State University, San Francisco; and Henry Holmes Smith for Indiana University. No essay came from the fourth school, VSW, representing Rochester. Both exhibition coordinators Kelly Wise and Minor White noted in their essays that this exhibition represented students, some of whom displayed promising futures, but who were not mature artists. In his essay, White addressed the difficulty of evaluating student work as well as the tension posed by being a teacher. At the time, he reasoned that teachers are "compelled to admit that the images he likes are those he would have made himself if he had not been chained to the classroom."⁷⁰⁰ Worth and Smith, for their part, were more encouraging and were delighted to see what future generations of photographers might achieve.

Snyder, who had studied photography with Walker Evans and Minor White,⁷⁰¹ became the first Curator of Photography at the Addison Gallery of American Art⁷⁰² (the Addison) in

⁷⁰⁰ Minor White, "Introduction," *Four Photographic Centers* (Andover: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1973): [2].

⁷⁰¹ At Yale, Snyder studied photography with Walker Evans and art history with Vincent Joseph Scully Jr. He graduated with a BA in the History of Music. Snyder took photography classes with Minor White at MIT. Don Snyder. Interviewed by the author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. August 28, 2018.

⁷⁰² For a detailed history of the Addison Gallery's history see Susan C. Faxon, Avis Berman, and Jock Reynolds, *Addison Gallery of American Art 65 Years: A Selective Catalogue* (Andover: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1996).

1970 after teaching in Phillips Academy Andover's Art Department.⁷⁰³ Christopher C. Cook (b. 1932), then Director of the Addison, had growing ambitions to turn the gallery into a museum that would showcase local and contemporary work. Realising that photography could allow the Addison to achieve these goals at a low cost, he allotted Snyder a few thousand dollars annually to support his position and activities.

In 1974, Snyder organised *3M: Color-in-Color*, an exhibition held at the Addison that combined work from a travelling exhibition from VSW with similar work by local photographers, curated by Tom Norton (b. 1941). The pooled exhibition was organised in two gallery rooms that faced each other. One room displayed the images from the VSW travelling show, and the other presented local work facilitated through Norton. At the time, Norton was well-connected to the activities at the Visual Language Workshop at MIT. For Snyder, the interest was centred on the way artists were using this new machine to make art. Reflecting later on the exhibition and the period Snyder explained:

It was an amazing decade... colour photography just kind of exploded. Everybody says that it was John Szarkowski and the new colour photography, Eggleston, and Meyerowitz, and all that stuff. But I actually think it was a synergy between 3M, Xerox, Polaroid, Kodak, Agfa, and Ciba[chrome] that made this all possible.⁷⁰⁴

A report on the exhibition was published in *Afterimage* by *Boston Globe* photography critic Deac Rossell (b. 1944). In it, Rossell celebrated the event as the first comprehensive survey of artists working with photocopiers.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰³ Snyder was first hired in the 1969-1970 academic year as a teaching fellow at Phillips. In 1970, he returned to the school dividing his between the Art Department and the Addison Gallery. He held the position of Curator of Photography from 1970 to 1977. Don Snyder, email to author, April 21, 2021.

⁷⁰⁴ Don Snyder. Interviewed by the author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. August 28, 2018.

⁷⁰⁵ Deac Rossell, "Instants East and West," *Afterimage* 2.2 (1974): 13.

Photocopy art also featured prominently in *Light & Substance*, a 1974 exhibition at UNM's Art Museum. The show was curated by Van Deren Coke and Thomas Barrow, in consultation with Leland Rice (b.1940) and Robert Heinecken. Funding was secured from a National Endowment for the Arts grant. The exhibition's theme grew out of the work of Betty Hahn and Roger Mertin (1942-2001). Hahn, a graduate of Indiana University and Mertin a VSW graduate, both applied alternative processes in their work. Coke used his graduate students to help with the show's logistics as well as the writing and research for the catalogue [fig. 3.21 provides a sample of the catalogue spread and textual information]. This case illustrates that the university gallery space was not only used to demonstrate a trend in the photography scene – pushing forward the knowledge of contemporary activities – but also as a lab space for students to practice professional skills.

Light & Substance was composed of a wide array of photographic practices, including photocopy work by Joel Swartz (b.1944) and Ellen Landweber (b. 1943), cyanotypes by Sylvia Seventy (b. 1947), bromide prints with solarization by Christopher Meatyard (b.1955), Diazo prints by Virgil Mirano (b. 1937), plexiglas photo-sculptures by Charles Roitz (1935-2012), etched photographs by Elliot Ross (b. 1947), and gum bichromate with coloured stitching by Betty Hahn.⁷⁰⁶ In doing so, the exhibition demonstrated the rich variety of definitions of photography that were not only practiced at the time but also pushing the medium forward.

Universities also collaborated with different organisations to share their exhibitions. An example of a large-scale travelling photography exhibition organised by a university can be seen

⁷⁰⁶ Michael Becotte, Ellen Brooks, Robert Brown, Linda Connor, Eileen Cowin, Harriet Casdin-Silver and Stephen Benton, Darryl Curran, Steve Fitch, Oliver Gagliani, Frank Gohlke, Betty Hahn, Robert Heinecken, Harvey Himelfarb, Harold Jones, Steve Kahn, Ellen Landweber, Christopher Meatyard, Roger Mertin, Virgil Mirano, Christopher Rauschenberg, Charles Roitz, Elliot Ross, Joel Swartz, Sylvia Seventy, Brent Sikkema, and Edmund Teske.

in *Photography as a Fine Art*, a national student photography exhibition, organised by the Center for Latin American and Tropical Arts and the University Gallery of the University of Florida, Gainesville, held and April 7 to 23, 1974. The ninety-print photographic exhibition was scheduled to travel to fifty foreign countries including Algeria, Guyana, Iran, Niger, Togo, and Zaire.⁷⁰⁷ Altogether, the exhibition featured the work of graduate students from fifteen American universities.⁷⁰⁸ This not only narrowed the pool of candidates for the exhibition, but was also used to promote the works as demonstrating the “apex of the educational pyramid.”⁷⁰⁹ From the original ninety photographs, smaller exhibitions of roughly thirty photographs, were edited and shipped to diplomatic American missions abroad. These prints were duplicates from the exhibition and purchased by the United States Information Agency. Following their display – at times in multiple locations – the photographs were to be retained by the diplomatic missions and incorporated into their permanent art collection. The exhibitions abroad were co-organised by American embassies and local governments, educational institutions, art schools, cultural centres, and camera clubs. Beyond the University of Florida’s exhibition site, these smaller exhibitions were largely sponsored through the United States Information Agency. As such, this

⁷⁰⁷ Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Dahomey [Benin], Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Lebanon, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Morocco, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Sierra Leon, Somali Republic, South Africa, Sweden, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, United Kingdom, Venezuela, Vietnam, and Zaire. Robert Ebersole, *Photography as a Fine Art*, Florida: University of Florida, 1974. Accessed through, Box 42, Folder “Materials Related to Heinecken at UCLA,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁷⁰⁸ University of California at Lost Angeles; Art Institute of Chicago; Institute of Design Illinois Institute of Technology; Indiana University; University of Iowa; University of New Mexico; Ohio University; University of Oregon; Rhode Island School of Design; Rochester Institute of Technology; San Francisco State University; Visual Studies Workshop; and Yale University. Robert Ebersole, *Photography as a Fine Art*, Florida: University of Florida, 1974. Accessed through Box 42, Folder “Materials Related to Heinecken at UCLA,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁷⁰⁹ Robert Ebersole, *Photography as a Fine Art*, Florida: University of Florida, 1974. [4], Accessed through Box 42, Folder “Materials Related to Heinecken at UCLA,” AG45 Robert Heinecken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

exhibition can be seen as an example of photography being used abroad as a tool of American propaganda, demonstrating that photography had become widely enough accepted that the government felt it would accurately represent ‘American values.’

A small publication was made to accompany the exhibition. Printed on yellow, black, and white cardstock [fig. 3.22], the catalogue featured an opening essay by Robert [Pelot] Ebersole (1922-2005), then Director of the University Gallery at University of Florida, as well as a brief introduction to the exhibition abroad, and the participating universities. Next, each school was provided with a page containing the names of the graduate students selected for the exhibition and an illustration or two of their displayed works. A small box printed on the inside of the back cover stated that “this public document was promulgated at an annual cost of \$1,160.77 or \$.33 per copy, to document, instruct and provide research material.”⁷¹⁰ Catalogues were key to recording exhibitions and to providing further points of access to the event. The catalogue’s central essay and the selected illustrations stressed that photography at these institutions included more than gelatin silver photography, but also printing on silks, xerographs, and the addition of text or interventions on top of the prints. An example of such work is reflected in VSW student Bobbe Besold’s (b. 1950) mixed media work. Besold’s photograph was selected as the exhibition’s central image, representing the creative output of the institution.⁷¹¹

Minor White, for his part, continued his work with *Aperture* at times utilising the publication as a catalogue for his group exhibitions at MIT’s Hayden Gallery.⁷¹² Examples of this can be seen in his 1968 exhibition *Light*⁷ and in 1972 for *Octave of a Prayer*. These displays were formed by soliciting work. In both cases, White reformatted the exhibition to suit the

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ Ibid., [11].

⁷¹² Examples can be seen with exhibition *Light*⁷ *Aperture* 14.1 (1968); *Be-ing Without Clothes* *Aperture* 15.3 (1970); *Octave of Prayer* *Aperture* 17.1 (1972); *Celebrations* *Aperture* 18.2 (1974).

transition from gallery wall to printed page. What became clear from this reorganisation is White's desire to share the photographs and his thesis with the reader and a much wider audience. For White, these exhibitions were exercises in better understanding photography by looking at photographs. As he stated in the *Light*⁷ issue, "the most useful observation in teaching creative photography to students at M.I.T. has been this: people in our culture *talk* photographs rather than experience them visually."⁷¹³ [fig. 3.23] White often depended upon his relationships with photographers to provide source material for his exhibitions and to help facilitate a response to his exhibition topic.

The issue on *Octave of a Prayer* contained a significant opening essay describing the means by which photography could be used as a form of prayer. Through personal experiences, White described his lifelong process to find religious meaning through photography. In both exhibitions, it is clear that White approached the exhibition themes with deep personal involvement that reflected his approach to teaching photography, one that was embedded in a spiritual exploration. The university gallery, provided a space for White to probe photography much like a laboratory. His connection to *Aperture* allowed for a venue that would expand the audience of this teaching beyond the university and extend past the exhibition's temporality.

A Future in the Field: Life After Graduation

By 1974, the job market for photography educators was becoming saturated. "It is old news that many more teachers of photography exist than teaching jobs,"⁷¹⁴ Walter [Walt] Craig, then director of photography studies at Ohio State University and 'SPE placement guy,' stated in an issue of *Exposure*. He suggested some possible solutions, such as out-sourcing the job search to

⁷¹³ Minor White, "Look, To See Is To Stop Talking," *Aperture* 14.1 (1968): 72.

⁷¹⁴ Walt Craig, "Placement and SPE," *Exposure* 12.1 (January 1974): 12.

organisations outside of SPE, making job advertisements free to institutions, encouraging students to apply for positions outside of the university, and making the conversation with students more candid in regard to their limited job prospects. Craig further asserted that, at the time, many photography students in higher education were not being trained in the skills required to obtain a job; by this he meant the professional aspects of creating a resume, cover letter, and presenting one's self to employers. Craig also believed there were additional challenges outside the photography network. To further complicate the job market, departments were no longer hiring full-time faculty members. If new courses were created, they were often being filled by teaching assistants. Students, for their part, had continued to assume that they would be guaranteed a teaching position, not because of their enthusiasm for teaching, but because it was a steady means of employment that would support them while they worked. Craig recognised his generation's complacency in not addressing this situation when he wrote, "all of us who now teach need to take a hard look at our own attitudes, our programs and our students. We must be sure that we do not confuse the role of the photograph/artist with the role of the educator."⁷¹⁵

Despite the shrinking job market in academia, students still flocked to photography courses in higher-education institutions. Students not enrolled in photography departments had to wait significant periods before being able to take a class due to the demand. Moreover, as BA and BFA programs grew, so did MA and MFA programs. This led to an increased demand for further accreditation to be competitive in the academic job market. In 1973, Steven Lewis (b. 1947), James McQuaid (b. 1946), and David Tait (b. 1946) concluded their essay on the status of photography education by claiming that the largest problem in the photography education field was the creation of:

⁷¹⁵ Ibid., 13.

numerous MFA graduates, without sufficient responsibilities to the issue of employing this learning. The nature of this degree and the needs for it (at the current level) is due for serious reconsideration... The notion in many graduates' minds that "teaching is something that you can always fall back on" belies the real demands and skills of the profession. This attitude has been partially responsible for the overabundance of advanced degrees relative to the number of openings.⁷¹⁶

Much of the reason that students believed they could fall back on teaching was in part due to assuming they could emulate their teachers, many of whom were supporting themselves in that manner. For a brief period between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s, graduates, upon the recommendation of their teachers, students could typically find employment teaching. At first the expansion of the market meant that photography educators needed little more than a connection to the photography network to demonstrate competency and obtain a position. The marketplace, however, could extend only so far. The system remained viable while photography programs were expanding and the number of students graduating was relatively small.

As students graduated, many sought to form communities to support their creative growth and to supply them with the technical apparatus and facilities with which to continue to produce photographs. This led to a growth of photography centres and groups. Typically, most groups held regular meetings and created some form of exhibition space. These gatherings simulated the photography critiques they had received in their institutional education. Other groups created shared darkrooms and purchased equipment that could be rented to their members. This allowed participants access to creative tools that might otherwise be financially unattainable or unsustainable to a single individual. These institutions also created a new stream of administrative positions for the increasing graduate pool.

⁷¹⁶ Steven Lewis, James McQuaid, David Tait, "Teaching: A Point of View," *Photography Source & Resource* (Rochester: Turnip Press, 1973), 12.

In 1970, Conrad J. [CJ] Pressma (b. 1944), a graduate from Indiana University, founded the Center for Photographic Studies in Louisville. The Center offered various services to the local and international community, including classes on creative photography and darkroom access. It also featured two galleries that held exhibitions from local and international photographs. In addition, the Center made portfolios, including *Portfolio Three*, a set of ten photographs by Ralph Eugene Meatyard, a photographer from Lexington. Four years later, in 1974, the Center for Exploratory and Perceptual Arts (CEPA) opened in Buffalo, New York, first as a communal darkroom and soon added an exhibition space. The space was opened by a graduate of VSW, Robert Muffoletto (b. 1947). CEPA was in close physical proximity to Hallways, an artist space opened by a group of young visual artists including Diane Bertolo (b. 1953), Charles Clough (b. 1951), Nancy Dwyer (b. 1954), Robert Longo (b. 1953), Cindy Sherman, and Michael Zwack (1949-2017). That same year, San Francisco Camerawork opened to serve the photography community of that city. En Foco would also open in 1974 to support the growing community of Puerto Rican photographers in the Bronx, New York. Founded by Charles Biasiny-Rivera (b. 1930), Roger Cabán (b. 1942), and Phil Dante, En Foco would soon thereafter expand their mandate to organise and promote all photographers of colour.⁷¹⁷

A year prior, in 1973, Light Work had opened in Syracuse, New York. It was founded by Phil Block (b. 1951) and Tom Bryan, former students at Syracuse University. Director of Light Work, Jeffrey Hoone (b. 1955) reflected upon the period in 2018, explaining that part of this growth in photography community spaces had to do with the environment of:

the artist space movement in general and what that meant and why it took place. In the late 1960s, early 1970s almost spontaneously artists all across the country were bannin' together in small groups. There was a huge upheaval in the country, participated by the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the women's movement; so,

⁷¹⁷ Ilana Swerdlin, "En Foco Celebrates 30th Year," *Afterimage* 33.1 (July/August 2005): 2, 14-15.

things were changing, and people were voicing their opinions about the status quo and not just opinions but, doing things about it in very concrete ways and artists were doing the same thing. Artists were getting together and saying the institutions that exist now for artists aren't really serving our needs and we're going to reinvent these institutions. We're going to create institutions of our own. And that's what they did. Whether it was one or two artists creating a co-op gallery, or sharing a studio space, or figuring out how to get health insurance, or dance companies forming, all kinds of things. This was taking place all over the country. So photography organizations, people interested in photography, or different mediums were banding together. [I]n photography, a lot of these ideas really had to do with the tools of making photographs. If you have two darkrooms that fifty people can share then the costs go down; and not only does the cost go down but you create a community of people that have similar ideas working together, sharing ideas.⁷¹⁸

By August of 1974, Light Work received official status as a non-profit corporation in New York State. Soon thereafter, it created an exhibition space and began inviting photographers to run workshops and lectures.

SPE's Place

SPE continued to meet throughout this period. Annual meetings became sites for portfolio reviews and job interviews. The once-small gatherings described in the previous chapter had now blossomed in size. With such expansion came criticism from within the organisation. Secretary of SPE between 1968 to 1970, David Vestal for example, wrote to Michael McLoughlin (b. 1936), then Assistant Professor of Art at the University of Connecticut, in 1970, stating, "SPE meetings I have attended (Boulder, '67, Washington '68) lead me to the possibly mistaken

⁷¹⁸ Jeffrey Hoone. Interview with author. Telephone. August 8, 2018.

feeling that SPE is at heart a social club with ego-expansion and the delivery of speeches as its primary reason for being.”⁷¹⁹ Margery Mann, explained the growing friction as the:

Old Guard faculty who had struggled hard to make photography an acceptable academic subject and the students who sucked their mothers’ milk with one eye on the television screen. The Old Guard faculty are now trying to be academicker [sic] than anyone else on the campuses and to turn the SPE into a Nineteenth Century Learned Society. The students think that photographs are important and that most of the faculty are deadheads and they are right on both counts.⁷²⁰

To Mann, part of this tension was due to the lack of support offered by the organisation outside of the conferences. Little more than a membership list was provided to members. As Mann challenged in regard to the membership fees, “\$15 would buy a lot of beer.”⁷²¹

In response to such feedback, Heinecken, SPE Chairperson between 1970 and 1972, proposed the board be open-minded to changes that would better serve the needs of the community.⁷²² To Heinecken, schisms and forms of conflict were part of the fabric of the Society. As an organisation, it had always had to mediate between the different members’ visions of the basic premise of what photography was. Yet the survival of the group depended upon the resolution of these debates.⁷²³ As such, he recommended that the organisation focus its efforts on providing its members with resources. This could include a newsletter, program listing, an

⁷¹⁹ Letter from David Vestal to Michael McLoughlin, May 19, 1970, Box 1 “Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976,” Folder 4 “Correspondence,” AG78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁷²⁰ Letter from Margery Mann to Michael McLoughlin, May 13, 1970, Box 1 “Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976,” Folder 4 “Correspondence,” AG78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁷²¹ Ibid.

⁷²² Robert Heinecken, [facsimile memo], May 1970, page 1, Box 1 “Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976,” Folder 4 “Correspondence,” AG78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁷²³ Ibid. 2.

ongoing survey of teaching methods, and solving the best means of conducting portfolio reviews at conferences.⁷²⁴

After much deliberation, the 1971 conference was cancelled as the board felt there was an overall “absence of response and desire to contribute to the meeting.”⁷²⁵ Despite this, regional meetings expanded and continued to meet, indicating that individuals were still looking for peer support. In the first issue of *Exposure*, SPE’s official journal, the board penned a letter to its members. In the letter, the board claimed that the regional meeting trend seemed to indicate that:

the Society now exists as an occasional social equalizer, necessary once a year so we can drink together and return home to incorporate our independent manifestations with the energies we have absorbed from one another during these meetings.⁷²⁶

Exposure sought to address concerns regarding the availability of teaching resources, providing updates on educational methods and activities of different regional meetings.

Commencing in April of 1971, the first three editions⁷²⁷ of the publication were made up of mix of information, including reports on the activities of the association, announcements about members’ new positions at institutions, listings of summer workshops, and open letters about the state of photography education. These early publications functioned as newsletters, providing updates on the status of the organisation and the people within it. It would not be until 1973 that *Exposure* began formatting itself more along the lines of a journal with articles. Still, the communal aspect of the earlier issues remained. Articles in the journal naturally were inclined toward education and reviews of successful teaching models. They included brief

⁷²⁴ Ibid. 3-4.

⁷²⁵ Anonymous, “Which National Meeting?” *Exposure* (April 1970): [np].

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

⁷²⁷ The first issue was published in April 1971. Two additional issues were published in 1972.

coverage of events or exhibitions at different institutions, teaching philosophies, and articles describing, for example, the technical aspects of printing different photographic processes.

The conferences still offered important avenues for discussions, but discussions no longer centred around the debates of legitimising photography as a subject worthy of teaching. During the 1974 SPE conference, for example, sixty people met to discuss concerns regarding women in photography. This early gathering was composed of both men and women, was indicative of a level of camaraderie, in the organisation across genders. These individuals sought to better understand why their female undergraduates were not continuing onto graduate school. They also wanted to survey the female photographers practicing at the moment, specifically those who represented exciting new work. Furthermore, they were curious about the impact of their pedagogical approaches: were they supporting their student bodies, especially the female students? Lastly, they questioned the role of photographic imagery in promoting sexism and how they might positively address sex and sexism in their teachings. Using these key concerns as starting points, the group continued their discussions sporadically throughout the conference.

As a direct result of these discussions, a group of members began assembling a directory of women photographers and formed a slide exchange program. This first step would facilitate a survey of active female photographers and provide examples of their work. The second step would increase exposure to women's contributions by making examples of their work available for teaching purposes. As noted earlier, many faculty members, during this period, did not have access to slide libraries at their institutions and often were responsible for creating their own slide collections. This slide exchange program provided the members with a way to shift their curricula to address issues around women and photography. In addition to the slides, the group

began seeking funding to create a National Women's Photography Exhibition to encourage female photography.⁷²⁸

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have traced the rich activities that nurtured the teaching of photography as an art at different institutions between 1965 and 1975, including an overview of the way photography programs were shaped through the visions of photography educators. Teaching materials during this period, including publications, journals, slides, prints, exhibitions, and at times exhibition catalogues, increased dramatically in comparison to the previous decades. This period was marked by students increasingly practicing of professional skills in their education, through their production of prints, participating in exhibitions, or conducting historical research. While some institutions seem to progress more rapidly than others, it was clear that an enormous and unprecedented growth in photography education had taken place by 1975.

This expansion could be felt in photography departments and in collections, exhibitions, and portfolio production. As such, higher-education institutions actively participated in the marketplace of art photographs. Moreover, students and members of the public viewing the exhibitions were trained to interact with the medium as an art. Photography students of this period were willing to engage as an audience as they saw themselves reflected in displayed works. While not all graduates would become active in the field as curators, writers, educators, or artists, they were certain to have been introduced to photography as an art form in their

⁷²⁸ Exposure, "Women's Caucus Formed at '74 Conference," *Exposure* XII.2 (May 1974), 17. This early documentation of the Women's Caucus is the only evidence in the SPE archive related to the organisation until the 1980s.

curricula, and thus would be willing to support local displays of photography long after graduation. As felt in the organisation of SPE, the needs of the field were shifting, and this led to heated debates that will be analysed in the following historical chapter, Chapter 6.

Chapter 4. Becoming Creative at a Polytechnic Institution: The Building of Ryerson's Arts Program

Introduction

This chapter is a case study of the photography program at Ryerson Polytechnic Institute (Ryerson). It traces the development of the program in order to demonstrate the different components that influenced students' education. The analysis will present a largely chronological narrative of events unfolding between 1948 and 1975,⁷²⁹ it includes certain activities that took place outside of the classroom but nevertheless played a crucial role in the education process. These extracurricular activities were important for bolstering the students' resumes, building social connections within the photography network, and helping students practice professional skills. Many of the trends described in this chapter reinforce the general developments addressed in the previous historical chapter, revealing an increasing standardisation across institutions.

The evolution of Ryerson's program illustrates a typical example of photography curricula shift from a technical and commercial approach to one more focused on creative photography. By providing an example of a Canadian undergraduate program, this chapter exemplifies the rising strong-hold of American discourse over photography education in countries outside of the United States.

Institution History and the Importance of Program Categorisation

At Ryerson, the definition of photography shifted in response to faculty and students' changing views and priorities, and to larger social trends in the institution's mandate. In 1948, Ryerson

⁷²⁹ Film studies, housed in the same department as photography, also followed an impactful trajectory in its own right, but as this thesis focuses on photography, the discussion of the film program has been omitted.

opened its doors as an alternative to the traditional apprenticeship model. The new institution was meant to quickly and efficiently train the growing workforce in the post-World War II boom. As a school, Ryerson prided itself on educating its student body to respond to the growing needs of the economy.⁷³⁰ Ryerson's founder, Howard Hillen Kerr (1900-1984) was inspired to create a Canadian institution that would emulate MIT, after he visited the institution in 1943.⁷³¹ Specifically, Kerr was enamored by MIT's training model that combined theoretical studies and practical experiences obtained through laboratory work. He believed that the combination of these two pedagogical models, theory and practice, would make the graduates better employees who could respond effectively to changing problems in the workplace. Kerr hoped that graduates would be more adaptable to ongoing workplace changes and demands by broadening the educational requirements toward acquiring knowledge in the social sciences and humanities. Much of Kerr's aspirations for the school would not be actualised until the mid-1960s, when the school shifted toward combining technical and theoretical studies.⁷³²

In the institution's early years, Ryerson was much like other polytechnics, where faculties were divided into technical and trade-based departments aimed toward training in particular professions. Early areas of study included cosmetology, barbering, electronics, fashion and crafts, welding fabrication, business, electronics, and so on.⁷³³

Initially students could train in photography at Ryerson through one of two schools, the School of Photography and the School of Graphic Arts. Photo lithography for example, was part of the Graphic Arts Diploma accreditation. In 1949, the School of Photography expanded to

⁷³⁰ Claude W. Doucet, "A Brief History of Ryerson University," Ryerson Archives and Special Collections, accessed January 28, 2020, <https://library.ryerson.ca/asc/archives/ryerson-history/brief-history/>.

⁷³¹ Bruce Piercey, "Where It All Began," *Ryerson University Magazine* (Winter 2020): 48.

⁷³² Ronald Stagg, "Serving Society's Needs: A History of Ryerson Polytechnic University," Ryerson University, accessed March 30, 2020, <https://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/alumni/60/documents/stagg1.pdf>.

⁷³³ Claude W. Doucet, "A Brief History of Ryerson University."

include a post-graduate certificate in natural colour photography. Photography education was largely focused on technical skills, and students were trained to become commercial studio photographers or lab technicians for Canada's booming photography industries and companies.⁷³⁴

By 1951, the School of Photography was renamed the School of Photographic Arts, indicating a shift in the conceptualisation of the medium and its treatment from a technical skillset to a technology that was coupled with art [fig. 4.1]. This change was short lived, however, as by 1954 Ryerson abolished all school designations from their programs, offering specific diplomas for their trade programs. At this time, photography was offered independently from a department. Grouped courses in departments returned in the academic year of 1958-1959; however, the Photographic Arts diploma remained outside of a specific department designation until it was made part of the Business Division of Ryerson in 1960. This relationship between photography and the Business Division lasted only the one academic year, at which point photography was once again listed as an independent diploma. The fact that the photography program was housed in several different departments over the years demonstrates the polytechnic's confusion about the program's educational goals. Over time, photography would shift its department alignment from Arts Courses, to Communications, to Arts Division: Communications Department. In 1970, the Photographic Arts Department was established to house the photographic art diploma. This new department was part of the larger Applied Arts Division which included departments such as Library Arts, Journalism, Interior Design, Radio

⁷³⁴ The Eastman Kodak Company established a subsidiary division in Canada in 1899, selecting Toronto as their headquarters. After closing their facilities in 2004, the company archive was donated to Ryerson. See "Kodak in Toronto, 1899-2005: A Century of Traces," January 5, 2015, Ryerson Archives and Special Collections, accessed July 8, 2020, <https://library.ryerson.ca/asc/2015/01/kodak-in-toronto-1899-2005-a-century-of-traces/>.

and Television Arts, Business and Technical Communications, and Home Economics.⁷³⁵ The 1970-1971 academic year also introduced several diploma options for the study of photography. Under the Photographic Arts diploma students could specialise in still photography studies, motion picture studies, or media studies. In addition, a new diploma was made available titled Photographic Arts Advanced.⁷³⁶

Prior to this change, in 1969, a building – which later became the Photographic Art Centre – was purchased to house the school, finally embodying the department as an independent structure [fig. 4.2]. The facilities⁷³⁷ opened in 1970, relocating the program from the Kerr Hall building.⁷³⁸ The Photographic Art Centre was 85,000 square feet, designed in conjunction with “a new curriculum to provide for the needs of Canada’s major photographic school.”⁷³⁹ The decision to purchase the new facilities was based on enrollment growth from fifty students in 1965 to more than two hundred in only five years.⁷⁴⁰

The shift to the new building coincided with the offering of four major diploma options the following academic year: Media Studies, Photography, Film, and Colour Technology. The first year of studies for all four majors brought all the students into a core curriculum that required the study of art history along with production-based classes. In the second year, students would begin taking classes specific to their major. The Media Studies option was oriented

⁷³⁵ Don Kinder and Rosalynn MacKenzie, “Ryerson Program Changes and Additions from the Ryerson UNDERGRADUATE FULL TIME Academic calendars (1948-2018/19),” document emailed to author from Rosalynn MacKenzie on August 21, 2018.

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

⁷³⁷ Prior to being acquired by Ryerson in 1966, 122 Bond Street was the O’Keefe beer storage warehouse. Andy Lee, “The Evolution of Gould Street,” Ryerson University, accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.ryerson.ca/double-anniversary/through-the-years/remember-when/evolution-gould-street-ryerson/>.

⁷³⁸ Director of Information Services for Distribution on Campus [Ryerson], “Photo Arts Centre Opens Saturday,” *Ryerson Polytechnical Institute News Bulletin* (April 3, 1970): [2], 1970, Box 55-26, Folder RG 55.38: “School of Image Arts History,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷³⁹ Ibid. [1].

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid. [1].

toward fine art, and took a more multidisciplinary approach, combining photography and film students together. Students in this stream were required to produce a large, self-directed project, formalised along the lines of a creative thesis.

Curriculum Development

The expansion of the program came with new expectations of students' spheres of knowledge. As part of the core curriculum, they were required to master the practical applications of photography equipment, materials, and ultimately communications skills. Under the new program students were to gain expertise in a variety of disciplines including arts, humanities, sciences, and social sciences, by taking courses outside the department. As such, the first year was structured in an interdisciplinary manner that encouraged the students to consider the relationships between different mediums and disciplines. Emphasis was placed on "studies of man, communication studies, and creative developments."⁷⁴¹

In the 1971-1972 academic year, a fourth year was added to the undergraduate program. This additional year would allow students to obtain an advanced diploma in Photographic Arts.⁷⁴² Upon completion, students were expected to demonstrate a specialisation in an area that would also qualify them to enter into graduate work in photography or communications.⁷⁴³

In the new curriculum, first-year students were taught by faculty members from different departments – such as Photography, English, and Social Sciences – who applied a research team approach to learning and problem solving. Some classes were structured as seminars, in which

⁷⁴¹ Ibid. [1].

⁷⁴² Don Synder, "Making and Thinking: Four Decades of Projects and Teaching," Faculty talk at Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 5, 2018. Lecture transcript provided to author by Robert Burley, [1].

⁷⁴³ Ryerson Polytechnical Institute of Photographic Arts Department, "The Philosophy of the New Curriculum: Photographic Arts Department," 1970, [1], Box F128, Folder 11.16: "Photographic Arts/Film and Photography Department," Donald Gillies fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

students in groups of twenty or fewer participated in classroom discussions. Courses designed in this manner included “Man: Forms of Expression,” “Man: an Exploration of Perception,” “Creative Development,” “Communication Theory,” and “Communication Practicum.”⁷⁴⁴ The research areas of the class expanded beyond photography surveying music, literature, dramatic arts, visual arts, and philosophy.

This multidisciplinary approach was meant to urge students to consider the implications of social and cultural variables of perception and how these acted as the foundations of communications in societies. In order to achieve this ambitious goal, students were provided with overviews of major media theorists and theories.⁷⁴⁵ Students in “Communication Theory” for example, were required to read several texts exploring media, language, and communication by several authors among them Edward T. Hall (1914-2009), Marshall McLuhan, and Rudolf Arnheim (1904-2007) [fig. 4.3].⁷⁴⁶ [Donald] Don Gillies and Bob [Robert Barry] Scott (1933-2019), who taught 1970-1971 “Communication Theory” class, introduced the course in the syllabus:

[t]here is no outline for this course in the usual meaning of the term: a set linear pattern of topics or areas to be dealt with, usually taught in lecture form by the instructor. The course takes a mosaic rather than a linear approach to the general area of study known as communication theory, reflecting the fact that many of the traditional disciplines contribute to our field of interest, e.g., information theory, linguistics, sociology, literary criticism, psychology, biology, logic or mathematics...

Our attitude to the study of communication theory is that it provides many of the answers to the problems of understanding human interaction, particularly at a time when the media of communication appear to be

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid. 3.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid. 5.

⁷⁴⁶ Don Gillies and Robert Scott, [PTM 011 ‘Communication Theory’ reading list], ca.1971, Box 128.10 “Records Received from D. Gillies Upon Retirement in 2003,” File 25 “Photographic Artss / Image Arts Course Materials,” Donald Gillies Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

symbiotic with man. We believe that the Innis-McLuhan hypothesis provides exciting perceptual probes for exploring the world of man and his media.⁷⁴⁷

Artist and educator Blake Fitzpatrick (b. 1955)⁷⁴⁸ reflected upon his experience at Ryerson in 2018, saying that such classes “were interesting because theory wasn’t divorced from practice.”⁷⁴⁹ To make discussions more relatable to the students, faculty members encouraged them to bring their photographs to class. Their work was then applied to the studied theories. This action was important as it provided students with a means to describe their creative output. As Fitzpatrick concluded: “it showed me that one could talk about photography seriously, and that there was even a kind of vocabulary that could be developed.”⁷⁵⁰

This shift in curriculum mirrored the desire of the institution to expand beyond its polytechnic roots.⁷⁵¹ Photography students at Ryerson were no longer expected to only master the technical aspects of the medium, they now had to understand their position within larger academically grounded discourses. Part of this shift came from a social and academic climate in which degrees held greater importance. Unlike previous generations, students entering into higher education between 1965 and 1975 were more likely to obtain some kind of accreditation. To meet these demands, technical schools – including Ryerson – shifted their curricula to be more closely aligned with those in universities and colleges. This required them to augment their educational requirements to obtain official accreditation.

⁷⁴⁷ Don Gillies and Robert Scott, *Communication Theory*, ca.1970, Box 128.10 “Records Received from D. Gillies Upon Retirement in 2003,” File 25 “Photographic Artss / Image Arts Course Materials,” Donald Gillies Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁴⁸ Fitzpatrick graduated from the Media Studies program in 1979.

⁷⁴⁹ Blake Fitzpatrick. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. August 30, 2018.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁵¹ Ryerson would not become a university until 1993. See Claude W. Doucet, “A Brief History of Ryerson University.”

Media Studies Stream

The Media Studies program recognised students' desires to interact with multiple media simultaneously. The new stream both addressed and expanded the mounting schism in the Photographic Arts Department between technicians and artists. Faculty members in the department were divided, some conceptualised the medium as a commercial tool and others saw it as a means of self-expression.⁷⁵² Such tensions were also felt in relation to funding allocations and educational vision. These rifts were not unique to Ryerson; they could be felt in other institutions such as RIT.

Despite debates within the department, the administration presented the new program as a forward-thinking solution to a practical problem. Graduates of the Ryerson photography school had already successfully established themselves in the fields of advertising, science, and technology. Their areas of employment included biological photography, military photography, advertisement photography, and medical photography. An article in the school's newspaper *The Ryersonian*⁷⁵³ boasted that the jobs in the photography field were unlimited.⁷⁵⁴ As such, the

⁷⁵² This included faculty members between the four described streams: Film, Photography, Media Studies, and Colour Technology. Photography and Colour Technology were more applied and commercially oriented programs. The incoming faculty members however, pushed photography toward a more creative expression based curriculum (while maintaining a strong emphasis on technical aptitude). In the 1974-1975 academic year, a new diploma was offered by the Department, Photographic Arts (BTech) that addressed Photographic Technology. This program was cut entirely in the 1985-1986 academic year, leaving only Film Studies, Media Arts, and Still Photography study options. At that stage, the department no longer granted students BTech degrees. For a more detailed listing of the programs included in the department and their changes over the years see Don Kinder and Rosalynn MacKenzie, "Ryerson Program Changes and Additions from the Ryerson UNDERGRADUATE FULL TIME Academic calendars (1948-2018/19).".

⁷⁵³ The school paper was known as *The Ryersonian*, *Daily Ryersonian*, and *Ryersonian*. The Ryerson University Library catalogue record names the publication only as *The Ryersonian*. As such, footnotes drawn from this journal use '*The Ryersonian*.'

⁷⁵⁴ "Photo Arts Polishes Ingenuity, Foresight," *The Ryersonian*, 24 Jan. 1968. Box 55-26, Folder "IMAGE ARTS I," RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Polytechnic viewed training students in ‘self-expression’ as simply another means for the graduates to become more competitive employees within the above-mentioned fields.⁷⁵⁵

Unlike the administration, the faculty of the Media Studies program believed that their goal was to produce students who could create their own jobs and explore the medium creatively. Bob Scott, a faculty member in the program between 1970 to 1998, reasoned in 1976 that the program was not as “glamorous as the career-oriented options of photography and films... [we are] trying to create generalists as opposed to specialists where the student generates his own work instead of having it laid out for him.”⁷⁵⁶ The curriculum reflected this ambition. Assignments were typically self-directed and independently driven by the students. The faculty used class time to critique student work and provide feedback on projects that were to be completed outside of the classroom. This mirrored the workshop model which had been incorporated into many photography programs in the United States. This teaching methodology was soon applied to the other photography streams and became a cornerstone of the program.⁷⁵⁷

Not all students were able to cope with the self-guided nature of the stream. Such expectations were assumed to be one of the factors that led to a significant drop in enrolment, which ultimately threatened to close the Media Studies program by 1975.⁷⁵⁸ As in most educational institutions, students’ interests in particular streams and courses were directly linked to their survival. Ryerson’s pragmatic approach to education meant that if the courses could not

⁷⁵⁵ “Photo Art,” *The Ryersonian*, January 24, 1968, page 13 Box 55-26, Folder RG 55.38: “School of Image Arts History,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁵⁶ Kathy Lodge, “Photo Arts Students Want Media Studies,” *The Ryersonian*, February 6, 1976. Box 55-26, Folder “IMAGE ARTS I,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁵⁷ Don Snyder, “Making and Thinking: Four Decades of Projects and Teaching,” [2].

⁷⁵⁸ The stream continued until the 1985-1986 academic year when the name was changed to Media Arts and would remain as such until the 1995-1996 academic year. That year Media Arts was dropped allowing for a new stream named New Media. Kinder and MacKenzie, “Ryerson Program Changes and Additions from the Ryerson UNDERGRADUATE FULL TIME Academic calendars (1948-2018/19).”

sustain their enrolment, they were cut. As such, faculty were not in complete control over the program's structure. Courses needed to balance their educational goals with students' interests, and more broadly, of the institution.

Exterior Forces Influencing the Department

Shifts in program accreditation led to further changes in the structuring of the department and education. For example, in 1974, Don Gillies, then acting chair of Photo Arts, announced that the department had been given approval to grant both Bachelor of Technology and Bachelor of Applied Arts degrees to students in the department participating in the four-year program.⁷⁵⁹ The terms applied in these degree designations indicated that Ryerson hoped to demonstrate its graduates had a specific form of knowledge that could be transferred into a workplace environment.⁷⁶⁰ The Diploma, as well as the Advanced Diploma, that had been offered up until that point, were dropped the same academic year. To balance this shift, students who had graduated prior to this accreditation – dating back to 1972⁷⁶¹ – would be allowed to return to the program, entering directly into the fourth year. This allowed students to ‘upgrade’ their diplomas to degrees.⁷⁶²

As the program grew, applications for entry into the 1974 academic year soared with an average of five submissions for each available placement. Historian [Ronald John] Ron Stagg (b. 1942) stated that many factors may have influenced this growth, but it was most likely that “Ryerson had a much higher profile outside Toronto... and had some programs that were unique

⁷⁵⁹ Len Fortune, “Photo Arts: First to Offer Two Degrees,” *The Ryersonian* (January 8, 1974): [n.p.].

⁷⁶⁰ Ronald Stagg, “Serving Society’s Needs: A History of Ryerson Polytechnic University,” 17.

⁷⁶¹ “Correction,” *The Ryersonian*, 1974, Box 55-26, Folder “IMAGE ARTS I,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

⁷⁶² Len Fortune, “Photo Arts: First to Offer Two Degrees,” [n.p.].

or almost unique in the university field.”⁷⁶³ As such, Canadians applying for the program had to compete with applicants from Africa, Asia, Central and South America, the United States and the United Kingdom.⁷⁶⁴

Despite the tremendous growth in the photography program, the department faced considerable financial strain due to Ryerson’s budget cuts. In 1973, artist, photographer, filmmaker, and educator Darryl George Williams (1936-2002) resigned as Chair of the department, which he had occupied since 1971, explaining that the institution’s approach to the financial problems was a factor in his decision. He asserted in an interview with the school paper that over five years, the department had expanded from eighty students and four faculty members to four hundred students and twenty-four faculty members. In addition to full-time students, the department also offered courses to four hundred students outside of the department.⁷⁶⁵ Such rapid growth allowed for little time for administrators to respond to the alterations in the budget, the curriculum, staff, and student body.

Another reason for the financial burden was the lack of correlation between the increasing enrollment and program funding. Indeed, soon after Williams resigned, in 1974, students began to feel the direct impact of the budget cuts. Access to the school’s facilities was more limited to students. Soon, students were banned from using the building over weekends and on weeknights. This led to significant pushback from students, who depended on the school’s facilities to complete assignments and practice their craft.⁷⁶⁶ Beyond the facilities, budgetary cuts

⁷⁶³ Ron Stagg, email to author, April 13, 2020.

⁷⁶⁴ Donald Gillies, “Ryerson Photo Arts Dept. Gains International Reputation,” *Toronto Sun* (July 5, 1974): 39.

⁷⁶⁵ Marcia Singer, “Photo Arts Head Quits ‘I’m Tired,’” *The Ryersonian*, 1973, 1, Box 55-26, Folder “IMAGE ARTS I,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁶⁶ M. E. G. Somers, “Budget Cuts Sting Photo Arts Students,” *The Ryersonian*, January 16, 1974, Box 55-26, Folder “IMAGE ARTS I,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

influenced course curricula. For example, courses such as “Man: Forms of Expression” and “Man: An Exploration of Perception,” which were originally taught by multiple faculty members, were either cut or restructured to be taught by only one instructor.⁷⁶⁷

Plainly, the Photographic Arts Department was not autonomous from the decisions of the larger institution. As such, modifications in the photography program’s components and certification often indicated not only a departmental reconceptualisation, but also greater pressures on funding, facilities, and academic requirements from the university. Such changes should be seen as factors outside of the classroom that directly affected curriculum, faculty, and student programming and success. Tracing Ryerson through its different institutional iterations, reveals, like all academic institutions, elements of internal policies and practices.

Assignments and Outcomes

Instructors freely controlled the course curricula they were teaching. While the course calendar and degree requirements may have been influenced by exterior factors, they certainly had power over the education within the classroom. In this sense, faculty members held sway over the departmental vision and program delivery. Examining the class curricula in the department provides insight into how different faculty members organised their classes.⁷⁶⁸ Don Gillies and Rob Scott’s 1970-1971 “Communication Theory” class syllabus lay out the demands that their

⁷⁶⁷ Marta Braun. Interview with author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. September 4, 2018.

⁷⁶⁸ First-year students were required to take five courses prior to specialising. The program proposal claims that “the first year program will emphasize an interdisciplinary approach to the field of study.” Areas of study were “Man: Forms of Expression,” “Man: An Exploration of Perception,” “Creative Development,” “Communication Theory,” and “Communication Practicum.” Second year students in Photography were required to take classes in “Still Photography Studies,” “History of Visual Expression,” two options from Humanities and Social Sciences, and two workshop options of the following list: Media Applications, Graphics, Sculpture, Physics of Photography, and Motion Picture. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute of Photographic Arts Department, “The Philosophy of the New Curriculum: Photographic Arts Department,” 1970, [1], Box F128, Folder 11.16: “Photographic Arts/Film and Photography Department,” Donald Gillies fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

first-year students to be largely self-directed.⁷⁶⁹ Their interdisciplinary approach was meant to be mirrored by students, who were instructed to interpret the list of assignments in accordance to their own interests and inclinations.⁷⁷⁰ By the second term of the course, a student was expected to make an evaluation of their own work based on their acquired skills. Course grades were assigned on the basis of the student's ability to apply terminology and concepts to their own work.⁷⁷¹

The creative thinking required of students in "Communication Theory" can be contrasted with questions from the final examination of "Photographic Arts I," the department's technical course. In April 1960, Geoff Bullock quizzed the students on their knowledge of photographic chemistry, photographic apparatuses, and printing techniques. To pass the course, students had to demonstrate that they were technically competent. In the 1967 final examination of "Photo Arts I," students were asked general composition and definition questions, indicating that design and aesthetics was becoming part of this professional tool kit. The terms that students were asked to define included "complementary, secondary, value, tone, shade tint, hue."⁷⁷² Similarly, an examination from the 1967 "Colour Photography" course required students to demonstrate a proficiency in identifying, and familiarity with, various photography processes and printing techniques.⁷⁷³ Such tests illustrate that demands were placed on students to acquire a technical

⁷⁶⁹ D. J. Gillies and R.B. Scott, "Communication Theory 1970-1971," 1970, [1], Box 10, Folder 25 "Photographic Arts / Image Arts Course Materials, Donald Gillies Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid, 2.

⁷⁷² E. Some "Art Workshop: Winter Term Final Examination," April 1967 [1] Box 10, Folder 25 "Photographic Arts / Image Arts Course Materials, Donald Gillies Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁷³ G. M. Bullock, "Colour Photography: Third Year Final Examination," April 1967, [1], Box 05, Folder 1.14 "Textual Materials: Examinations Photographic Arts," Miscellaneous Archival Materials Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

mastery of their medium and cultivate a vocabulary that would showcase proficiency of their craft.

These goals can be contrasted with the outcomes sought by educators approaching photography as a creative medium. Such teachers were hired throughout the late 1960s and into the 1970s. In 1972, artist and educator Phil Bergerson (b. 1947) a graduate of the Ryerson program, was hired as an instructor in the photography department.⁷⁷⁴ In a 2018 interview, he said that he quickly realised that not all his students would become photographers. His teaching methodology therefore focused on building and developing students' critical thinking and their self-awareness. The role of critiques, which composed a large aspect of Bergerson's curriculum, was therefore not to arbitrate between good or bad work, but rather, to teach students how to talk about pictures.⁷⁷⁵ This, to Bergerson, was the real educational goal of the program; to encourage the students to think critically and provide them with the tools to apply such approaches outside the classroom. To fulfill this ambition, Ryerson educators increasingly exposed students to publications and creative photography ideas from the United States.⁷⁷⁶

Through their education, the students became aware of the importance of exhibitions and publications to their development as artists. Michael Rafelson (b. 1952), a student in the Media Studies stream in the early 1970s, later in 2018 described the critiques as:

[t]he most intense classes were the three-hour critiques every week of [the] students' work. That I'll never forget. Sometimes a person would leave the room in tears. It was grueling. Staying up all night printing and trying to answer the ongoing question: "what does this mean?"⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁴ Phil Bergerson. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 9, 2018.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁶ For more on Bergerson see Phil Bergerson, Peter Higdon, Don Snyder, and Robert Burley, *Phil Bergerson: A Retrospective* (Daylight Books: 2020).

⁷⁷⁷ Michael Rafelson. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. September 6, 2018. [edited transcript by Rafelson, provided to author January 31, 2020, 2].

Structuring the critique classes was left largely up to the faculty member teaching the course. Rafelson attested that Don Dickinson used assignments to push students to the boundaries of their photographic knowledge. Reminiscing in 2018, he said:

He would give us assignments like ‘things in the sky that fly high’- that was to make a photographic kite. We made them and flew them on Centre Island. Another assignment was to make a 360° pin hole camera that worked. Another was a self-portrait assignment. I made a simulated apple pie with a tire that was a cyanotype and learned how to sew. I covered the tire with a pie motif and inside were over twenty small “pillows” of me juggling in front of my beat-up Volvo 1800. Don got us in touch with Nathan Lyons, Visual Studies Workshop, and that crowd in Rochester. We’d go down to Eastman House just as a day trip.⁷⁷⁸ [fig. 4.4]

Dave Heath similarly pushed his students to consider their work beyond the technical. This can be seen in his course outline for a critique-based class from the early 1970s. Unlike Dickinson, Heath clearly expected students to direct their own photographic assignments. The first section of the outline is dedicated to describing his education philosophy. He first asserted that the teacher-student relationship is formed from a subtle distinction of self-awareness, where the teacher is to encourage students’ process of self-awareness. In order to best facilitate learning, Heath believed a classroom should be structured around three principles: the expression of a community impulse, the educator rejection of students’ expectations to act as judge, and students responsibility for their own curiosity and self-actualisation.⁷⁷⁹ To achieve these goals, Heath proposed that students continuously pose three questions that would challenge their methodology, historicity, and the best means of self-actualisation. He concluded the course introduction by writing: “As artists, our goal is not the simplistic expression of personal taste, of

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁷⁹ Dave Heath, “Photography Taught: Photography Learned; Some Observations and a Proposal,” [1], ca. 1975, provided to author by David Harris.

what we like: it is to give form to our states of awareness and our comprehension of being.”⁷⁸⁰

Following this ambitious set of goals, Heath provided students with several pages of quotes drawn from poets, artists, photographers, curators, and concluded with a list of reading sources.

Heath’s reading list demonstrates that he incorporated the history of photography into his studio-based class. The category of history mirrors typical texts included in American photography curricula, with the exception of Ralph Greenhill’s 1965 *Early Photography in Canada* [fig. 4.5].⁷⁸¹ Marta Braun (b. 1946),⁷⁸² a faculty member, who taught the history class in the early 1980s, reasoned in a 2018 interview that:

the history of photography was really being created at this time in the seventies. I mean there was Beaumont Newhall the last edition was in 1964 and there was an edition in 1982. The 1964 edition was the book that we used. That was very much an art history of photography. That’s how the history of photography was created. That’s what we taught. So the pedagogical basis of the history of photography was really as subset of art history. That only began to change in the nineties I would say.⁷⁸³

This grounding of photographic history was aligned with curricula at many institutions including RIT and UNM. Dickinson, who initiated the history of photography curriculum at Ryerson, was well-connected to the above-mentioned networks, having graduated from RIT and frequently travelling to Albuquerque.⁷⁸⁴ Moreover, Dickinson had completed a major study on the treatment

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 2.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., [6].

⁷⁸² Marta Braun was first hired as a limited term faculty member in 1975 to teach Linda Lewis’s classes while she was on leave. Braun taught art history and classes such as “Man: Forms of Expression.” In the 1980s she took over the history of photography class from Don Dickenson. Marta Braun. email to author. April 29, 2021.

⁷⁸³ Marta Braun. Interview with author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada, September 4, 2018.

⁷⁸⁴ There is a lot of correspondence at CCP between Tom Barrow and Don Dickinson detailing their friendship and multiple trips to Albuquerque. In one 1976 letter, Dickinson thanks Barrow for the visit to the UNM University Library. Further he states “[t]his year away has clearly indicated to me that I want to leave the east and get into a position out west... From what I sense there is no possibility at New Mex[ico] since all the positions in photography are filled.” Letter from Donald Dickinson to Thomas Barrow, May 17, 1976, letter, Box 7 “DE-EN,” File “Dickinson, Don,” Series 1 “Correspondence, 1950s-2000s,” AG 202 Thomas Barrow Archive, Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America. Barrow was invited by Dickinson to lecture at Ryerson on a number of occasions. Thomas Barrow. Interviewed by author. The Frontier Restaurant, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 23, 2019.

of photography in higher-education institutions in the United States as part of his MFA thesis.⁷⁸⁵ The outcome of such an approach ensured that students discussed photography through a largely American narrative and perspective. This was, in part, because little was easily accessible at this time.

Learning on the Road

Road trips were a crucial part of the student experience at Ryerson. Photographer educator Robert Burley (b. 1957), a Media Studies student in the mid-1970s, recalled travelling to Rochester at least twice during each academic year. These trips typically included stops at the George Eastman House Photography Museum, Visual Studies Workshop, and the photography supply shop Light Impressions.⁷⁸⁶

Beyond such trips, students accompanied faculty members to meet photographers living in cities such as New York and Buffalo. Peter Higdon recalled: “John Solowski being exasperated by the provincialism of his students and thinking ‘God the world is a big place, you gotta get out.’ He took them on field trips; he took them to see Frank Lloyd Wright houses in Buffalo.”⁷⁸⁷ John Solowski (1929-2009), who previously taught at RIT, also organised trips for his students to meet with photojournalist W. Eugene Smith in New York.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁵ Dickinson obtained an MFA in 1968 from the School of Photographic Arts and Sciences. His thesis, titled “Photography: A Basic Course for Art Students,” was completed under the supervision of Hans Barschel, Charles Arnold, and Stuart Ross. Research material for the project was made available to Dickinson at the George Eastman House. In order to better understand the current state of photography education and how it could be strengthened, he made trips to different campuses and interviewed students at Portland State College, Reed College, University of Oregon, San Francisco State College, San Francisco Art Institute, UCLA Berkeley, UCLA Santa Barbara, UCLA Los Angeles, Rhode Island School of Design, Institute of Design, SUNY Buffalo, and SUNY Geneseo. Slide production for history of photography classes is noted as a major concern. Slide production was a major aspect of his research. Donald Dickinson, “Photography: A Basic Course for Art Students,” Master of Fine Arts thesis, (Rochester Institute of Technology, 1968). <https://scholarworks.rit.edu/theses/4851/>.

⁷⁸⁶ Robert Burley. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 28, 2018.

⁷⁸⁷ Peter Higdon. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

This recognition of the importance of forming social links with the photography field at large was similarly applied by other Ryerson faculty members as part of their pedagogical approach. Bergerson regularly scheduled field trips to Rochester to see exhibitions. He also incorporated artists visits into his curriculum. Such trips were important to educators as well as students, as they acted as a means for the teachers to maintain connections with their peers. In 1975, for example, Dave Health travelled to Syracuse University to lecture and display his slide show.⁷⁸⁹ Bergerson later said that it was a visit with his students to New York City that inspired him to start the lecture series at Ryerson. These lectures allowed visiting speakers to learn more about the individuals and events at Ryerson well fostering new relationships and maintaining old ones.⁷⁹⁰

A Lecture Series

The lecture series was a defining characteristic of the Ryerson program. Few institutions at that time had photographers give lectures about their work. Ryerson, therefore, became an outlet for photographers to reflect on their production and for students to discover new work. Filmmakers were similarly supported at Ryerson, through lectures organised by filmmaker and educator R. Bruce Elder (b. 1947).⁷⁹¹ In this way, the Canadian institution became an important support system not only for the Canadian photography scene, but also for the American scene. Lectures at Ryerson fostered the photography community in Toronto, often drawing graduates back to the school.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁹ Letter from Donald Dickinson to Thomas Barrow, February 9, 1975, letter, Box 7 “DE-EN,” File “Dickinson, Don,” Series 1 “Correspondence, 1950s-2000s,” AG 202 Thomas Barrow Archive, Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁷⁹⁰ Phil Bergerson. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 15, 2018.

⁷⁹¹ Don Synder, “Making and Thinking: Four Decades of Projects and Teaching,” [2].

⁷⁹² Robert Burley. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 28, 2018.

The “Mind and Sight Lectures” held in 1973 formed an early iteration of the formal lecture series.⁷⁹³ “Ten Photographic Perspectives,”⁷⁹⁴ a series headed by Phil Bergerson in 1975,⁷⁹⁵ with funding assistance from the Ontario Arts Council, soon became an annual lecture series.⁷⁹⁶ Students were encouraged to help organise the lectures and worked as coordinators, publicists, and hosts to the visiting presenters.

Robert Burley reflected on the lectures’ significance, stating that they became an important aspect of his education. The uniqueness of these experiences, he noted was not fully appreciated until he began his MFA studies at the Art Institute of Chicago. There he met other students who had no exposure to many practicing photographers. The lecture series at Ryerson, Burley said in 2018, was “a real scene thing, and it was something that [the] community responded to in a big way.”⁷⁹⁷ Students did not attend these lectures because they were required by a class or faculty member, but because they were an important part of the community itself: such events became part of their shared socialisation and bonding experience.⁷⁹⁸ The lectures also acted professional networking events. Then graduate of the department, Peter Higdon, for example, obtained his position as Collections Manager in 1978 after being spotted by a faculty member while attending a lecture.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹³ A.D. Coleman, Ralph Gibson, Garry Winogrand, Nathan Lyons, Les Krims, Alex Sweetman, Duane Michals, and John Max spoke at the “Mind and Sight Lectures.” Recordings of these lectures can be accessed at the Ryerson Image Centre and the Ryerson Archives and Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁹⁴ “10 Photographic Perspectives: A Lecture Series on Photography, 1975-1976” included: W. Eugene Smith, James Borcoman, Aaron Siskind, Robert Frank, Andre Kertesz, Jerry Uelsmann, Van Deren Coke, Nathan Lyons, Robert Heinecken, Geoffrey James. Recordings can be accessed at the Ryerson Image Centre and the Ryerson Archives and Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁹⁵ A longer account of the development of the lecture series can be found in Peter Higdon, “In the Pursuit of Meaning the Evolution of an Artist,” in *Phil Bergerson: A Retrospective*, 12-77, (Daylight Books: 2020), 45-50.

⁷⁹⁶ “Lecture Series by Top Photogs [sic] a Quick Sellout,” *Forum* October 2, 1975. Box 55-26, Folder “IMAGE ARTS I,” RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁷⁹⁷ Robert Burley. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 28, 2018.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Peter Higdon. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

American Influences

American pedagogy was embodied in Ryerson's photography department, as the Photographic Arts Center facilities were renovated in 1970 to replicate RIT's teaching facilities. The layouts for the darkrooms, studios, and classrooms all mirrored the Rochester, New York, polytechnic. Ryerson faculty members in the department held RIT in high regard for its practical and well-established program.⁸⁰⁰ In the new building, there was a significant amount of equipment and darkroom space allotted in anticipation of the increasing student body. The new space included two studios with pull-down backdrops, a variety of cameras including 4 x 5 in. and 8 x 10 in. formats, along with a variety of small cameras, floods and electronic flash lighting, studio spots, colour darkrooms, and enlarging rooms with automatic processing equipment.⁸⁰¹

The facilities were not the only aspect of the Ryerson program that reflected the impact of RIT's ideology. Don Dickinson, a graduate of RIT in 1968, was brought to Ryerson upon his graduation to teach the history of photography as part of the new curriculum.⁸⁰² Peter Higdon later clarified that "[t]his was a radical idea in 1968."⁸⁰³ Dickinson's connections with Beaumont Newhall, Nathan Lyons, and Minor White meant that he was deeply embedded in the American photographic scene, specifically in Rochester.⁸⁰⁴ His and other faculty members' social connections aided in spreading the word of Ryerson's activities outside Toronto and in turn grew the program's reputation. The addition of American photographer Dave Heath to the faculty in

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ Director of Information Services for Distribution on Campus [Ryerson], "Photo Arts Centre Opens Saturday," *Ryerson Polytechnical Institute News Bulletin* (April 3, 1970): [1], 1970, Box 55-26, Folder RG 55.38: "School of Image Arts History," RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁸⁰² Peter Higdon. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

1970 brought further clout to the school.⁸⁰⁵ Heath's 1965 book, *A Dialogue with Solitude* was well-regarded for its contributions to the photography field and was widely respected in American photography circles at the time.

Increasingly, the Ryerson photography community was filled with Americans. In addition to Don Dickinson and Dave Heath, other faculty members in the department who were either from the United States or had studied there included: Darryl Williams, who had studied at both RIT and Ryerson;⁸⁰⁶ Rob [Robert Steven] Gooblar (1945-1997)⁸⁰⁷ who had studied at RISD; Bill Scanlon⁸⁰⁸ and Hans Westerblom,⁸⁰⁹ who both studied at RIT; Marta Braun who studied at SUNY Buffalo; and John Solowski, who studied at the University of Buffalo and Columbia University before first joining the photography faculty at RIT and then, moving to Ryerson.⁸¹⁰

The student population too was shifting, as more Americans moved to Canada in response to economic and political shifts, most notably those caused by the Vietnam war. This marked an epoch that art historian Martha Langford (b. 1953) referred to in 2017 as, “a temporary reversal of the ‘brain drain’ that normally flows from Canada into the United States.”⁸¹¹ Toronto's metropolitan centre and proximity to its close proximity to Rochester, and to Kodak's major manufacturing hub, made it a hotbed for photography.

⁸⁰⁵ Carol Payne, “Dave Heath,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia* published March 19, 2009, updated August 28, 2017, accessed Jan. 23, 2020, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/david-heath>.

⁸⁰⁶ Williams graduated from Ryerson with a diploma in Photographic Arts in 1958 and obtained a BSc from RIT in 1968. He was hired to teach photo illustration and motion pictures at Ryerson in 1962.

⁸⁰⁷ Gooblar was hired as a part-time instructor in the Photographic Arts Department in September 1974. In September of 1977 Gooblar was made a full-time instructor. Cathy Gullo, emailed to author, May 12, 2021.

⁸⁰⁸ Scanlon was hired at Ryerson in 1967. He studied at RIT between 1961-1967 obtaining an ASS (Photo science), BFA (photo illustration), and MFA (graphic communication).

⁸⁰⁹ Westerblom graduated from the photography program at RIT in 1963 and was hired at Ryerson in 1965.

⁸¹⁰ Solowski was a professor in RIT's School of Art and Design between 1961-1968. He obtained a BS from the University of Buffalo and an MA from Columbia University. Solowski joined the Ryerson faculty in 1968. See RIT Archives Collection, “John Solowski Collection,” Rochester Institute of Technology, accessed June 17, 2019, <http://library.rit.edu/findingaids/html/RITArc.0011.html>.

⁸¹¹ Martha Langford, “Hitching a Ride: American Know-How in the Engineering of Canadian Photographic Institutions,” in *Narratives Unfolding: National Art Histories in an Unfinished World*. Ed. Martha Langford. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 211.

The Battle for Canadian Identity

Not everyone was happy with the growing transnational links at Ryerson. American influence within the Toronto photography scene, which was saturated with Ryerson graduates, was sometimes seen to be snuffing out Canadian modes of production. In a 1974 exhibition review of photography at 567 Gallery in Toronto, Canadian photographer Michel Lambeth (1923-1977) lamented that most of the photographs on display were produced by individuals, with connections to Ryerson. He asserted that the program was “heavily-staffed with a Rochester-trained, American-trained, faculty.”⁸¹² As a result, he dismissed the Canadians in the exhibition, arguing:

[i]f there are token ‘Canadians’ they are often that, generally, in name only. Attitudes, morals, values, points of reference, rarely refer to the student’s place in Canadian community, or attempt in any way, to inculcate an authentic, personal and artistic release and liberation.⁸¹³

Penny Cousineau-Levine (b. 1947) – a graduate of the Visual Studies Workshop in 1974, who was then teaching the history of photography at the University of Ottawa – displayed similar resentment for the American style that saturated Canadian exhibitions.⁸¹⁴

Outside the galleries, a larger reaction against American encroachment on Canadian universities was evident across many campuses. In 1969, R. Mathews and J. Steele published *The Struggle for Canadian Universities*. In the book, the two Carleton University professors trace the ‘de-Canadianization’ of universities due to the large influx of American faculty

⁸¹² Michel Lambeth, “Recent Photographs by Six Photographers at the 567 Gallery,” *Only Paper Today* 2.2 (October 1974): [2].

⁸¹³ Ibid.

⁸¹⁴ Cousineau-Levine focuses her criticism around an exhibition titled *Exposure* held at the Art Gallery of Ontario connecting it to broader trends at the National Gallery of Canada and the National Film Board. Ryerson is not specifically mentioned in her argument. Penny Cousineau, “Too Much ‘Exposure’ – Not Enough Development,” *Afterimage* 3.8 (February 1976): 4-5.

members.⁸¹⁵ Many American faculty members were lured to Canada through a program that allowed them to teach for two years without being required to pay taxes. This campaign was supported through an extensive advertising campaign and “helped Canadian universities raise their level of scholarship with the use of U.S. talent.”⁸¹⁶ As more Canadians obtained PhDs, there was a larger pool of local talent from which to draw from for faculty membership. By this point, however, many of the short-term contracted American professors had obtained tenured positions. As such, when cuts to higher education were made, young Canadian PhDs with short-term contracts were the ones left behind.⁸¹⁷

At Ryerson, these concerns were raised by instructors Gail Dexter Lord (b. 1946) and Barry Lord (1939-2017).⁸¹⁸ The two were passionate advocates of Canadian art history motivated in part by their involvement in the Canadian Liberation Movement.⁸¹⁹ Barry Lord was Chairman of the 85 Per Cent Canadian Quota Campaign, where he, argued that many Americans were breaking the law by staying in Canada longer than they were permitted and by not paying Canadian taxes.⁸²⁰ He further argued that cuts needed to be made until eighty-five percent of the department was composed of Canadians.⁸²¹

Students were not all impartial to this campaign. Eleanor Lazare, a photography student at Ryerson in the early 1970s, spent much of her final years in the polytechnic consumed with

⁸¹⁵ Martin J. Loney, “Books,” *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue De La Pensée Éducative* 4,1 (1970): 60-62. Accessed January 21, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/23768146.

⁸¹⁶ Tom Arnett, “Yankee Go Home,” *Change* 5.8 (Oct. 1973): 27.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

⁸¹⁸ Gail Lord was an instructor of Art History and Multi-Disciplinary Studies between 1970 and 1975. Barry Lord was hired to teach Art History courses between 1972 and 1973. Mira Ovanin, Executive Assistant to Gail Lord, email to author, May 6, 2021.

⁸¹⁹ Barry and Gail Dexter Lord would publish *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art* in 1974. For a longer discussion of Barry and Gail Dexter Lord see Adam Douglas Swinton Welch, “Borderline Research Histories of Art Between Canada and the United States, c. 1965-1975,” Ph.D diss., (University of Toronto, 2019): 247-300.

⁸²⁰ Michael Keating, “Nationalist Renew University Debate on Limiting Jobs for Foreign Teachers,” *Toronto Globe & Mail* (February 19, 1973): 33.

⁸²¹ Arnett, “Yankee Go Home,” 27.

Barry and Gail Lord's movement. Looking back in 2018, she said, "I was really anti-American at the time and really felt like the school had been overly influenced by the American instructors."⁸²² Michael Rafelson, for his part, recalled taking part in a sit-in associated with Lord's movement where the students took over the president's office.⁸²³ The thirty day occupation of the fourteenth floor of Jorgenson Hall in 1973 is one example of their actions.⁸²⁴ These feelings of resentment over Americans in the department at times spilled into the classrooms.

An Active Student Body

Beyond demonstrating in campaigns across the university, students in the photography program were active in organising exhibitions and publications. The application of such ideas can be seen in a 1973 book, a collaboration between students in the Media Studies program and the Graphic Arts Management course. The book, titled *MSIII* [fig. 4.6]⁸²⁵ – a nod to the course code – showcased the work of twenty students, including: Isaac Applebaum (b. 1946), John Bloom (b. 1948), Eleanor Lazare, Anne Wordsworth, Chris Clark, Don Thurston, and Frank Kelly. Developed over two and a half years, the catalogue was a way for the students to grow their

⁸²² Eleanor Lazare. Interviewed by author. Skype. August 24, 2018.

⁸²³ Michael Rafelson. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. September 6, 2018. [edited transcript by Rafelson provided to author January 31, 2020, 2].

⁸²⁴ Michael Keating, "Squatters Move Out of Ryerson," *The Globe and Mail*, April 28, 1973, 5. And "Ryerson Staff Opposes Probe of Department," *The Globe and Mail*, May 10, 1973, 5.

⁸²⁵ It is unclear how many editions of book were printed. The printing was overseen by Doug Curwood. The design and sequencing were credited to Issac Applebaum, John Bloom, Don Gorges – cover, Eleanor Lazare, Rick Lynett, Chris Tammaro, John Taylor, and Anne Wordsworth. Inquiries about the publication were to be made to "3rd year Media." The book opens with a short introduction explaining the project. Each participant is then given a page spread. The left page contains the photographer's name and at times the title and date of the work. The right page reproduces student's work. The size of the reproductions varies between images.

understanding of print culture and to practice different aspects of book production. The result also demonstrated the students' different approaches to photography.⁸²⁶

The same year as *MSIII*'s publication, the Photo Arts students organised an exhibition in the main lobby of the Toronto Dominion Bank [fig. 4.7]. This exhibition, documented only through a brief article in the school's newspaper, demonstrated the students' desire for their work to be seen beyond the walls of Ryerson. The origins of both *MSIII* and the exhibition can be traced back to courses in the department. It was the students, however, who pushed for the work to continue past class requirements.⁸²⁷

In 1973, then students John Bloom, Bill Grigsby, John Luna, Roger Schip, and Clare Schreiber, decided they would organise an exhibition with an accompanying catalogue, of Ryerson photographic and mixed-media work. They aptly named the venture *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers*.⁸²⁸ Faculty and students were encouraged to submit three pieces for the December deadline. Bill Grigsby later explained the motivation for the exhibition as being highly influenced by the students' exposure to American exhibition catalogues.⁸²⁹ Such assertion similarly be seen in *MSIII*, where the editors of the book were credited for their 'sequencing,'⁸³⁰ a term used by American photography educators such as Nathan Lyons in relation to creating photographic narratives through the placement of images in books and exhibitions. *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers* publication [fig. 4.8] became key to the exhibition organisers as a means to not only a document the event but also publish their work.

⁸²⁶ Issac Applebaum, John Bloom, Don Gorges, Eleanor Lazare, Rick Lynett, Chris Tamaro, John Taylor, Anne Wordsworth, and Doug Curwood, *MSIII* (Toronto: School of Image Arts, Ryerson Polytechnique), 1973. Folder 13 "Student and Faculty Exhibitions," RG 55 School of Image Arts fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁸²⁷ Bob Skalitzky, "Photo Arts Exhibition," *The Eyeopener* (March 29, 1973), 12.

⁸²⁸ John Bloom, Bill Grigsby, John Luna, Roger Schip, and Clare Schreiber, *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers* (Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974).

⁸²⁹ Bill Grigsby. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 9, 2018.

⁸³⁰ Applebaum et al, *MSIII*.

They understood that the catalogue could more easily be distributed and was not restricted to those who could visit the exhibition.⁸³¹ The idea was well-received by fellow students and faculty members. The initial call for submissions received some four hundred applications.⁸³²

Ultimately, twenty photographers were chosen for the show. The selected students were Ellie Forrest, Marci Colthorpe [fig. 4.8a], Bill Morgan, Don Thurston [fig. 4.8b], Clare Schreiber, Bill Grigsby [fig. 4.8c], Eleanor Lazare, Michael Rafelson, Chris Clark, Edwin Gailits, Paul Douglass, Roger Schip, and John Bloom. Faculty members were represented through the work of Phil Bergerson, Bill Scanlon, and Dave Heath [fig. 4.8d]. The exhibition, *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers* was held in the lower rotunda of the Royal Ontario Museum between March 26 and April 21, 1974 and represented a wide array of photographic practices, including social landscape photographs, combination screen prints, and sculptural work.⁸³³ Postcard invitations were made by the students and sent out to individuals and journals – including *Afterimage* – announcing the upcoming show [fig. 4.9]. To hang the exhibition, the students borrowed the Weston frames⁸³⁴ from the Resource Centre.⁸³⁵ Don Dickinson stated in his introduction to the catalogue that “only through a visit to Ryerson, coupled with time and

⁸³¹ Bill Grigsby. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 9, 2018.

⁸³² Henry Cuffy, “Photo Arts Show Opens,” *The Ryersonian*, April 2, 1974, 3.

⁸³³ Ibid.

⁸³⁴ Peter Higdon recalled that the school had roughly eighty Weston frames that were used by the students. They stocked three sizes 11 x 14 in., 14 x 18 in., and 16 x 20 in. In correspondence he described “A small number were painted black, or white, with the majority in the silver-grey of unfinished steel.

They were one-piece, thin welded steel, with Masonite backs that slipped in the back, held in place by little pivoting brass hooks that slipped into retainers welded to the insides of the frames. They were incredibly durable, and, unlike the aluminum frames, didn’t get quickly scratched up. They were in use for at least 30 years. If memory holds, their manufacture was overseen by Cole Weston, whose name was on the Masonite backs.” Peter Higdon, email to author, November 6, 2019.

⁸³⁵ Bill Grigsby. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 9, 2018. And Peter Higdon. Email to author. November 6, 2019.

perseverance, could a person discover the abundant variety of ideas and photographic processes being explored.”⁸³⁶

After the exhibition concluded at the ROM, the organisers were able to secure the travel of their exhibition through the Art Gallery of Ontario’s extension program under a new title *Visual Transformations*. Over the course of three years, the exhibition was presented in twelve locations [fig. 4.10].⁸³⁷ The exhibition demonstrated the blurring of lines between faculty and students. The faculty members’ work included in the exhibition was not singled out; rather, it was integrated into the students’ work. Further, while they were supported by the faculty, the exhibition’s conceptualisation and realisation was entirely carried out by the students.

This obscuring of hierarchy was felt by the faculty members themselves. Phil Bergerson described the exhibition in terms of a whirlwind, one in which he saw little distinctions between himself and the student organisers. Part of this association was due to Bergerson’s proximity to student life, as he had been a student himself in the department only a few years prior. He later stated that he was taken aback by the students’ ability to organise the exhibition and was impressed that they had succeeded. The experimentation present in the exhibited work Bergerson credited to the students’ involvement in the photography community at large. He said in 2018 that these students were “people who were really quite active and energized”⁸³⁸ and furthermore,

you could see in the senior students, in their work, that here they are clearly experimenting with the character of the medium. It was so difficult to do, just if you’re out there all by yourself; but then you [suddenly have catalogues] coming in from the Eastman House. They were coming one after the other. Then, you realise ‘oh my goodness,

⁸³⁶ Donald Dickinson, “Introduction,” in *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers* (Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974): [1].

⁸³⁷ Bill Grigsby, “News Release,” February 6, 1974, Folder “Ryerson,” Nathan Lyons Research Center, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America. And “Visual Transformations” file, Edward P. Taylor Library & Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁸³⁸ Phil Bergerson. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 9, 2018.

look what else it can be.' It was so dynamic and exciting to think that we can do these other things.⁸³⁹

Activities outside and inside the classroom demonstrated that photography students at Ryerson were encouraged to engage and contribute to a photography community at Ryerson and around the city.

Annual hallway exhibitions included an array of photographs from the students within the department. Such displays typically coincided with the conclusion of a class or the academic term as a means of celebrating the students' achievements. At times, the hallway exhibitions displayed photographers from outside Ryerson, such as the 1970 exhibition of coloured Xerox mixed-media work by Barbara Astman (b. 1950), from Rochester, who was in Toronto studying photography at the Ontario College of Art.⁸⁴⁰

The Resource Centre

Student at Ryerson developed an understanding of the importance of print collections through the Resource Centre. Faculty member and Chair of the Photography Department Darryl Williams supported Dickinson's endeavours to expand photography education at Ryerson. Early on, Dickinson began a significant push to collect photography for educational purposes for his photography history curriculum. The official housing for these objects in the Resource Collection was initiated in September of 1973.⁸⁴¹ It was soon populated with prints by established photographers such as Eugène Atget, Harry Callahan, Betty Hahn, and Robert Capa (1913-1954) as well as student and faculty work. Some of the early photographs in the collection

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ Robert Fahlman, "Life's Joy Exhibit on Display," *The Ryersonian*, November 14, 1974, 3.

⁸⁴¹ Al Kowalenko, "Photo Resource Centre Constant Hub of Activity," *The Ryersonian*, February 20, 1975, [unknown], 1975, Folder "Image Arts I," C001 Archives Newspaper Clipping Files fond, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

were purchased by Dickinson at an auction held at Visual Studies Workshop.⁸⁴² Additional prints were acquired through an unofficial process, whereby faculty members “rescued” objects from across Ryerson. For example, several portfolios now a part of the collection had been taken from the school’s circulating library.⁸⁴³

The need for a teaching collection was inspired in part by recommendations from SPE. Teaching directly from prints meant that students would not learn the history of the medium through poor reproductions but rather through master prints.⁸⁴⁴ This notion aligned with the growing trend of considering photographs as not only objects of pictorial indexical relationships, but as objects with unique qualities, an idea that drew upon the value of art established by modernist theorists and print collectors.

In 1975, within two years of its founding, the Centre held some twenty-thousand film slides, in addition to books, information files, periodicals, and reference volumes, and became an important resource for both students and faculty members. Of all the materials, the slides were used most frequently.

Focused on photography, painting, sculpture, and art history, the slides were an important resource for faculty to teach with and for students to use while conducting research and exploring particular areas of interest. Included as well in the Centre was a copy camera that allowed individuals to duplicate slides or other research material. Graduate of the Media Studies program, Blake Fitzpatrick explained that he

learned about the history of photography in the Resource Centre. I basically memorised the slide files and spent many hours just perusing them with no real intent and no real reason to be there other than just

⁸⁴² Anonymous, “Ryerson Uncovers a Unique Collection,” *The Ryerson Rambler* 21 (Fall 1983): 11. Box General Subject Canadian F-R, Folder Ryerson Film & Photography Department (Articles, Reviews, Etc.), Peter Higdon Research Centre, Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁸⁴³ Peter Higdon. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁸⁴⁴ This trend could be seen in other institutions including Yale University, UNM, and VSW.

fascination. I was forever in the resource centre pulling out these files of slides, putting them on the light-table, looking at them with the loop, and just memorising [them].⁸⁴⁵

Such sentiments illustrate the importance of being able to easily access photographic data. More than a collection, the Resource Centre, along with the reference photography books, and periodicals purchased for the general circulating library, became a key aspect of the informal and formal Ryerson curriculum. As Fitzpatrick later clarified, “I think I learned about photography as much from the Resource Centre or the library, as from our darkroom or studio classes.”⁸⁴⁶

Moreover, the Resource Centre acted as an important social hub for Photo Arts community [fig. 4.11]. In an interview with Al Kowalenko, early Collection Manager Bill Morgan⁸⁴⁷ said that the Centre was important for the way it functioned

as a source of varied information. We have students and staff constantly coming in and talking about new ideas or exchanging viewpoints on current trends. Often after lunch hour, the room is crammed with twenty to thirty people even though there are only five seats in the place.⁸⁴⁸

This indicates that individuals within the school of Photographic Arts were using the space as an important location for socialising and exchanging information.

Each year, the department allocated funds to expand the collection’s holdings and rehouse objects. Students aided the Resource Centre by organising fundraisers. Peter Higdon, former Manager of the Resource Centre, recalled that

the faculty challenged students to raise money to buy prints. A faculty student volleyball game was organised – which faculty won – and the money earned from admission charges was used for a buying expedition to Magnum agency in New York. The people at Magnum, which handles some of the world’s top-flight photographers, were so impressed by the students’ initiative that they sold Ryerson two

⁸⁴⁵ Blake Fitzpatrick. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. August 30, 2018.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁷ Morgan would later go on to establish Lunar Caustic Press in Toronto.

⁸⁴⁸ “Ryerson Uncovers a Unique Collection,” 11.

photographs by Cartier-Bresson, three by Capa and two by Burk Uzzle for about the same amount that it would cost to buy two such prints.⁸⁴⁹

Other efforts involved fundraising exhibitions that combined student and faculty work with prints ranging in price from \$3 to \$25. The proceeds of these exhibitions were donated to the Resource Centre to help purchase materials and prints.⁸⁵⁰ Faculty members expanded the collection as well by donating works or by requesting that slides be made for their classes.

Beyond the faculty's interest, the lecture series organised by Bergerson and upper-year students was another factor that deeply impacted the collection. The lecturing photographers and scholars frequently visited the Resource Centre to examine its holdings. Slides were made in anticipation of these visits to augment the holdings and display a wider variety of the speaker's work.⁸⁵¹ Additionally, the events became bartering opportunities, whereby the speakers were encouraged to either donate work to the collection or to provide work for sale at a steep discount.⁸⁵² Phil Bergerson often requested prints from speakers, reserving a small portion of the collection's annual budget for such occasions.

Resources from the collection were displayed throughout the Photographic Arts Centre building. At times, students were invited to engage in the curatorial process of selecting and hanging prints in the hallways. Such displays were typically organised around a thematic approach. More frequently, the faculty in the department or the head of the Resource Centre controlled the exhibition themes and layouts.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid. 11-12.

⁸⁵⁰ Marina Quattrocchi, "500 Works Displayed: Art Exhibition Offers Imaginative Talent," *The Ryersonian*, March 21, 1975. Folder "Image Arts I," C001 Archives Newspaper Clipping Files fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

⁸⁵¹ Peter Higdon. Interviewed by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁸⁵² Ibid.

⁸⁵³ Ibid.

Conclusion

The activities described in this chapter provide a glimpse into the ongoing activities at Ryerson. By tracing the institution's program development, facilities, faculty, curricula, lectures (including series), exhibitions, and resource and photography collections, it is clear that many factors contributed to the education of students while attending the Ryerson program. Transnational links between Canada and the United States were reflected in the student and faculty population and their social networks. These connections played a considerable role in shaping the department. Overall, it is evident the faculty placed a high level of importance on their students' engagement within the broader field of photography. At its core, the education at Ryerson relied on producing individuals who would have the necessary skillset for a career in photography. The changes made to the curriculum by faculty members ensured that photographers emerging from Ryerson would understand how to contextualise their practices within a larger scene of commercial and creative photography, and as such, were well-positioned to participate in the growth of the photography field.

Chapter 5. Feeding the Field: Graduate Studies at the Visual Studies Workshop

Introduction

In August of 1969, a group of twenty-eight graduate students arrived early for the academic year at 4 Elton Street, Rochester, New York. Here, the students who were to commence their academic studies in September worked repairing windows, replacing drywall, painting walls, building darkrooms, and moving the required equipment into the old woodworking factory that would become the Visual Studies Workshop (VSW, the Workshop). The graduate program was established as a not-for-profit education organisation in association with State University of New York, Buffalo's (SUNY Buffalo) MFA program.⁸⁵⁴ It would become a place where students were encouraged to experiment. As with other photography programs, many students in the Workshop were there because they felt a calling to the medium. Together, faculty and students worked to broaden the conceptualisation of photography and produced artworks, their approach was rooted in the philosophy of visual literacy.⁸⁵⁵

William S. Johnson, a retired educator from the program, reflected on the institution's founder, Nathan Lyons in 2016 writing:

⁸⁵⁴ Jessica S. McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s," Ph.D diss., (University of Rochester, 2014): 178.

⁸⁵⁵ The visual literacy movement gained momentum in the United States throughout the 1960s as concern over the impact of television on children rose. In Rochester, the International Visual Literacy Association was founded in 1969. The first conference on visual literacy was organised by John [Jack] Debes, Coordinator of Education for Eastman Kodak Company. The conference was supported by the Eastman House, Syracuse University, and the University of Rochester. Visual literacy theory covers a broad spectrum of approaches and there is a lack of consensus as to its definition by those who apply the theory. Maria D. Averginou and Rune Pettersson provide an overview of the movement's history in "Visual Literacy Theory: Moving Forward," in *Handbook of Visual Communication: Theory, Methods, and Media*, second edition, ed. Sheree Josephson, James D. Kelly, and Ken Smith, 433-464, (New York: Routledge, 2020): 433-436. According to Anne Wilkes Tucker, Nathan Lyons's understanding of the term was aligned with the International Visual Literacy Association; that is, "a set of skills involved in the interpretation and criticism of images and the use of images to communicate." Early manifestations of these ideas can be seen in the Institute of Design's teachings. Lyons assigned his students György Kepes's *Language of Vision* (1944) and Rudolf Arnheim's *Art and Visual Perception* (1954) in support of his visual literacy curriculum. Anne Wilkes Tucker, "Lyons, Szarkowski, and the Perception of Photography," *American Art* 21.3 (Fall 2007): 29.

The Workshop was a monstrous impossibility; a mashed-together hybrid made up of (at different periods) an alternative art school, a degree-granting visual arts program, an artist's press, a journal publisher, an art gallery, a traveling exhibitions venue, a video studio, an archive, a library, and more—each of these parts would be enough for most men to wrestle with, but Nathan [Lyons] insisted on them all, and somehow he kept all the balls spinning in the air long enough to keep it all going. Performing miracles from inadequate support bases, staggering from crisis to crisis, its rumored demise somehow always averted, the Workshop was continuously active and contributing to the fields of creative photography, to artist's book-making, to printmaking, film, videos – in short, to the visual arts. The Workshop has been, over many years, a center of a great deal of creative practice for a great many people.⁸⁵⁶

This case study of VSW will explore the ways in which the institution was formed.

The Workshop's Founding, Program Conceptualisation, and Faculty

The graduate school was originally conceived as a partnership between SUNY Buffalo and the established photography epicentre of Eastman House. As discussed earlier, the Eastman House was highly regarded in the photography field, due to its encyclopedic collection and active engagement with the production of knowledge on the medium. The proposal for a graduate school, submitted in 1968⁸⁵⁷ to Provost of SUNY Buffalo Eric Larrabee (1922-1990) by Nathan Lyons, stressed the importance of using the Eastman House as a the catalyst for research and inspiration for young photographers.⁸⁵⁸ Beyond the concept of the program, Lyons had already demonstrated significant interest in photographic education through his organised exhibitions,

⁸⁵⁶ William S. Johnson, "Nathan Lyons, 1930-2016: A Remembrance," VSW online, accessed February 4, 2020, <http://www.vsw.org/online/nathan-lyons/>.

⁸⁵⁷ Jessica S. McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s," 173.

⁸⁵⁸ Nancy M. Stuart, "The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980." Ph.D diss., (State University of New York at Buffalo, 2005): 105.

publications, and conferences at the Eastman House, as well as through his involvement in professional networks, such as SPE, and the workshops he held in his home.

Lyons began teaching photography workshops in 1958. The practice emerged from a discussion he had with photographer Minor White, who had encouraged Lyons to create his own workshop. White attended many of Lyons's classes and brought his students with him. Classes ranged in size between three to six students, as regular attendance was not required.⁸⁵⁹ The topics typically stemmed from a particular question and varied depending on the subject. At times, project assignments, informal lectures, and critiques were combined throughout the roughly three-hour class. When Lyons provided feedback on photographic works in these classes, his comments were deliberately vague, forcing to students to wrestle with the meaning of their work and how to strengthen it. Often, Lyons challenged his students to constantly pose questions to themselves and about their work.⁸⁶⁰ Participant Betty Hahn recalled that beyond the classes being of interest to her, she joined them to forge connections with the Rochester photography community. As a newcomer to the city, Hahn knew that these classes acted as a local hub where she could develop her professional and peer network.⁸⁶¹

In the summer of 1969, Lyons was dismissed from his position as Associate Director and Curator of Photography at the Eastman House, and he took with him the relationships he had fostered for the graduate program with SUNY Buffalo. Lyons's resignation was requested by the Board of Directors after he protested the firing of Alice Wells, a senior staff member.⁸⁶² The

⁸⁵⁹ Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Nathan Lyons: An Interview," *History of Photography* 21.2 (1997): 152.

⁸⁶⁰ Susan E. Cohen reported on a recording of the class made by Roger Mertin in *Time After Time, The Photographs of Alice Wells* (Rochester: Visual Studies Press, 1990), [16-19].

⁸⁶¹ Betty Hahn. Interviewed by author. Hahn's residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019. [Part 2].

⁸⁶² Wells was first hired at the Eastman House as a secretary and later as Assistant Curator. Wells assisted Lyons in several of his exhibitions held at the Eastman House including *Photography 63*, *Photography 64*, *Toward a Social Landscape*, and *Vision and Expression*. Her employment records between 1964 and 1969 list her as 'preparer,'

events leading up to his resignation have all the components required for the sensational folklore they would later become.⁸⁶³ Shortly after leaving the Eastman House, Lyons sent the incoming registered students a telegram informing them of the institutional break and asked them to arrive early for the academic year if possible [fig. 5.1]. Once they arrived at 4 Elton Street, the students and staff worked tirelessly to modify the building that would become the Workshop.⁸⁶⁴

The curriculum at VSW focused on theory and the students were expected to gain the technical skills of the medium from each other. This was contrary to the traditional goals of photography schools, where classes centred on the technical aspects of the medium such as mastering the Zone System, but it was reflective of the emerging trends of conceptual art. In many ways, Lyons developed VSW in response to his experiences at the poetry workshops he had organised while studying at Alfred University, Alfred, New York. Additional influence came from his Alfred University mentor John Wood (1922-2012), who was a graduate of the Institute of Design in Chicago and had incorporated the school's Bauhaus ethos into his teaching at Alfred University. Beyond this, Lyons was impacted by art dealer and publisher George Wittenborn's (1905-1974) writing on contemporary art and [Herbert] Marshall McLuhan's (1911-1980) writings on media.⁸⁶⁵ These combined stimuli led to the experimental and loose nature of the Workshop curriculum.⁸⁶⁶

'copreparator,' or 'curator.' She also worked with Thomas Barrow on proofreading Lyons's *Photographers on Photography* publication. Cohen, *Time After Time, The Photographs of Alice Wells*, [4].

⁸⁶³ According to various witness and employees Wells performed a 'curing ceremony' on another employee. That employee complained to the Board of Directors about the event. Actions were not taken on the matter until Lyons was out of town, at which point, Wells was fired with no due process. Lyons and Wells worked together and had become very close. Five months after obtaining her position at the Eastman House, Wells attended the first SPE meeting as Lyons's secretary and worked tirelessly behind the scenes recording SPE's earliest meetings. When Lyons returned to the Eastman House and questioned the board's decision to fire Wells, he was told to resign. More detail accounts of this event may be found in Cohen, *Time After Time, The Photographs of Alice Wells*, [1-2], 6.

⁸⁶⁴ Jessica S. McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s," 178.

⁸⁶⁵ Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Nathan Lyons: An Interview," 152.

⁸⁶⁶ Jessica S. McDonald reproduces Nathan Lyons's program outline in her 2012 anthology see "A Joint Program in Photographic Studies / State University of New York at Buffalo & George Eastman House," in *Nathan Lyons*:

The diversity in knowledge base and curricula was echoed in the accepted graduate students' backgrounds. The students had completed their undergraduate studies not only in the fine arts but also in social sciences, anthropology, sociology, history, and philosophy.⁸⁶⁷ This variety was in part due to the relatively new availability of photography studies for undergraduates. Those students who had taken photography courses in higher education did not always obtain degrees in photography. They also came to the Workshop upon personal recommendations from individuals within their professional networks or from contacts with VSW faculty and student members. Photographer educator Kenda North (b. 1951), for example, applied to the Workshop after taking Nathan Lyons's workshop at the Center of the Eye.⁸⁶⁸

In 1971, VSW was incorporated as a non-profit institution with Carl Chiarenza, Robert Forth, Robert Frank, Arthur C. [Art] Kramer (1924-2017), Nathan Lyons, William Parker, Aaron Siskind, Stan Vanderbeek (1927-1984), and John Wood as trustees. The institution offered five major teaching programs: a graduate program, a workshop program, a children's program, a summer institute, and an evening program. Each of these catered to a particular student body but often combined and overlapped with the enrolled graduate students.⁸⁶⁹ The status of the Workshop students was further muddled as all applicants to the school were accepted as "workshop program students." The number of officially enrolled graduate students was significantly smaller than that of the Workshop students.⁸⁷⁰ Individuals who were not accepted

Selected Essays, Lectures, and Interviews (Austin: University of Texas Press, Harry Ransom Center Photography Series, 2012), 231-233.

⁸⁶⁷ Nancy M. Stuart, "The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980," 116.

⁸⁶⁸ Kenda North, [student information form], ca. 1973, File "Kenda North," Student Files Archive, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁸⁶⁹ Visual Studies Workshop, [Visual Studies Workshop Background], from VSW files, p [1], 1976-1977. Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁸⁷⁰ A list of the graduates of VSW can be found on their. See "Alumni," Visual Studies Workshop, accessed February 11, 2021, <http://www.vsw.org/education/mfa-program/alumni/>. A longer list has been compiled by the author in consultation with the institution's official student files. In addition to these, the VSW archive has many

into the graduate program were encouraged to attend the Workshop and reapply to the graduate program once they gained further experience, and expanded their practice, through the curriculum at VSW.

Beyond the students' and faculty members' diverse backgrounds, the institution's lack of adherence to a traditional idea of education could be seen in the 1971 Statement of Incorporation released by the VSW Board of Trustees. Here, they identified the school as focused on the "modes of visual communication," rather than photography.⁸⁷¹ This terminology allowed for an expansion of the technologies that would add to visual literacy and also help develop a discourse beyond straight photography mode. "Visual communication" expanded the students' options to exploring mixed-media, cinema, video, and non-silver based photographic processes in addition to straight photography. Furthermore, it demonstrated that the board was attempting to support all possible aspects of the medium, including vernacular photography.

From the program's inception, a weekly history of photography course was a required class for all graduate students. At first, the class was directed by then Eastman House curator Beaumont Newhall. Newhall would teach the course until the end of the 1971 academic year when he accepted an appointment as visiting professor at UNM.⁸⁷² Upon his resignation, Newhall told Lyons that he was sorry to be unable to continue teaching as he had "found teaching the Workshop students most rewarding."⁸⁷³ After Newhall left, Lyons took over the role.⁸⁷⁴

student files as part of their 'open' files. The mixing of workshop and graduate students in their student files demonstrates the looseness of these two categories.

⁸⁷¹ Nancy M. Stuart, "The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980," 106.

⁸⁷² Beaumont Newhall, [Letter to Nathan Lyons], 4 May 1971, File "Beaumont Newhall," Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ Later the class was instructed by William Johnson and then Michael Starenko. Maria Antonella Pelizzari, "Nathan Lyons: An Interview," 153.

Very little was otherwise structured at the Workshop. Faculty members and students alike were expected to find their own way and given largely free reign over the projects they produced. Students who had anticipated a rigid curriculum and clear instructions tended to struggle. In 2016, Robbie McClaran (b. 1955) stated of Lyons that “[h]e could be maddening to a student looking for a shortcut, or to be told what was right or wrong about an image. These were not classes about how to take good pictures.”⁸⁷⁵

Social Connections

The selection of faculty members at VSW was often drawn from people within Lyons’s professional network. Newhall, for example, was Lyons’s colleague while at the Eastman House and had supported his efforts to establish SPE. Geographic proximity was also a factor, as different photographers, curators, and historians flocked to Rochester, as a photographic centre, where they would be enticed by Lyons to either lecture for a full term or to conduct a workshop. In the summer months, for example, photographer Dave Heath who taught at Ryerson Polytechnic in Toronto would teach at VSW.⁸⁷⁶ Photography historian Nancy M. Stuart later explained that:

[b]eing a “part time” faculty was a misnomer at VSW. Teaching responsibilities were often combined with a staff position coordinating one of the program areas: The Research Center, The Media Center, The VSW Galleries, The VSW Press, *Afterimage*, and Community Education and Artists in Residence. These program areas were originally established based on prior commitments Nathan [Lyons] had made in his last year at the Eastman House.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁵ Robbie McClaran, “Exhibitions: Nathan Lyons (1930-2016),” Visual Studies Workshop, accessed March 14, 2020, <http://www.vsw.org/online/nathan-lyons/>.

⁸⁷⁶ Alex J. Sweetman, “Everything Overlaps: There Are No Edges,” *Afterimage* 1.1 (March 1972): 2.

⁸⁷⁷ Nancy M. Stuart, “The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980,” 110.

The faculty was also supplemented by students who were enrolled in the graduate program. Students who demonstrated particular interest or strength in a certain area were assigned to teach a class on the subject.⁸⁷⁸

Many of the courses at the Workshop focused on theoretical approaches, historical contextualisation of the medium, and debates on the status of photography as an art practice, mode of expression, and as a tool of communication. Students also explored philosophy during the first semester. Assignments at the institution required students to work outside a specific medium. During the first year, students had to produce four self-directed assignments, a sound performance, non-verbal theatre, an exhibition, and an installation.⁸⁷⁹ In addition to the core faculty, workshops were offered throughout the year and the summer by visiting scholars, artists, students, and the faculty members.

Students and faculty at the Workshop benefited from the presence of many artists who would stay for either short or long-term projects. Frederick Sommers, for example, stayed at the workshop as part of a three-month residency in 1973.⁸⁸⁰ Robert Frank had a three-month residency, in which he produced a collaborative film with students titled *About Us a Musical* (1972).⁸⁸¹ Lectures were given by individuals considering the social uses of art such as Gestalt psychology school thinker Rudolf Arnheim (1904-2007);⁸⁸² sociologist Howard S. Becker;⁸⁸³

⁸⁷⁸ Joan Lyons. Interviewed by author. Lyons's residence, Rochester, New York, United States of America. August 7, 2018.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Frederick Sommer, [Talk at Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, 1973, transcription], 1973, Box 19 "S," Series "Interviews with Sommer," AG 28 Frederick Sommer Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁸⁸¹ For a brief description of Frank's visit and related collection material see Visual Studies Workshop, "Collections: Robert Frank (1924-2019)," Visual Studies Workshop, accessed December 18, 2020, <http://www.vsw.org/collections/robert-frank-1924-2019/>.

⁸⁸² Peter Galassi, "Rudolf Arnheim," *Afterimage* 2.5 (November 1974): 2-5.

⁸⁸³ See Howard Becker, Faculty Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

and photographer and historian Gisèle Freund [fig. 5.2].⁸⁸⁴ At times, such lectures were made available to the public.

In 1970, book artist Keith Smith joined the faculty as Co-ordinator of Printmaking.⁸⁸⁵ Smith shared Nathan Lyons's passion for the importance of book sequencing. Inspired by Lyons's *Notations in Passing* (1974), Smith reflected, "I was elated. Here was the only book, outside of my own, I felt, that utilises sequence to construct order."⁸⁸⁶ Smith would apply this thinking in his personal artistic practice. Sequencing to Smith meant that "[e]ach picture is a dependent unit used to compose the multiple picture format. This permits speaking between the pictures, to speaking on many levels – not unlike a poem."⁸⁸⁷ Much like other faculty members, Smith's involvement with the Workshop was formed through his relationship with Lyons. Smith first met Lyons when the latter gave a guest lecture at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Kenneth Josephson seized upon this opportunity to introduce Smith, then his undergraduate student, to Lyons. Upon meeting, Lyons explained to Smith that he was not interested in photography but in pictures. Lyons subsequently told Smith that if he completed his Bachelor's and Master's degree, he would have a job waiting for him.⁸⁸⁸

Smith's career exemplifies the important role professional networks and teaching had in sustaining artists during this period. In 2018, he reflected "[m]y career was only possible because my teachers passed the word to others about me, and they sought me out."⁸⁸⁹ Teaching provided

⁸⁸⁴ Visual Studies Audio Collection holds a recording of Freund's 1974 "Children's Class," that she conducted while at the Workshop, along with an interview. Visual Studies Audio Collection, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁸⁸⁵ Molly Kalkstein, "Today is Their Creator: Keith Smith's No-Picture Books as Photographic Works," *Photographies* 12.3 (September 2019): 303.

⁸⁸⁶ Keith A. Smith, *Structure of the Visual Book*, expanded fourth edition (Rochester: Keith Smith Books: 2003), 29.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸⁸⁸ Keith A. Smith, email to author, October 18, 2018. A more detailed account of this event and Smith's educational history can be found in Keith A. Smith, *Structure of the Visual Book*, expanded fourth edition, (Rochester: Keith Smith Books, 2003): 29-37.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Smith with the financial support he required to sustain himself while making art. Unlike some of the other faculty members, Smith did not draw on education theory, philosophy, or sociology, to teach his students. He relied instead upon assigning students projects that would require significant amounts of work. He believed this would encourage them to practice particular skills until they were well honed. This approach in many ways reflected his personal working habits as he claimed he was not and had “never been interested in the theory of education. I just make my pictures.”⁸⁹⁰

Smith’s employment at the Workshop was reflective of the larger attitude of the institution and his teaching aligned with Lyons’s understanding of the Workshop’s mandate, that is,

the overriding concern in the Workshop was to develop practice into theory, not theory into practice. There is an important distinction in that regard, because it really tries to establish more investigative model, rather than simply an applied model for students to work within.⁸⁹¹

Moreover, the Workshop supported artists and recognised their importance in guiding the students to become artists by demonstrating living as active artists. This is not to say that Smith did not offer support to his students. As an openly gay artist, Smith wrote in 2018 that he sought to provide guidance to his students:

who may have wondered if they were gay, or if there was a future for them. Hopefully I helped some. I never began a conversation about being gay. I would wait for a student to come to me after class and wanted to talk, I listened and would give advice. That happened more than once, every year that I taught. They had no one that they could confide in.⁸⁹²

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁹¹ Maria Antonella Pelizzari, “Nathan Lyons: An Interview,” 152.

⁸⁹² Keith A. Smith. email to author. October 18th, 2018.

Participation in the Field: the Blurred Position of the Workshop ‘Student’

Internships were a key aspect of the Workshop’s curriculum. These self-guided projects required students to find a host institution where they would work as employees in different professional capacities. Such roles could include a variety of positions related to the photography field: curatorial work, teaching, assisting in an art granting agency, publishing, and so on. At times, students drew upon previous program graduates for their placements. This can be seen with Katherine Tweedie’s placement at the National Gallery of Canada, where she was supervised by James W. [Jim] Borcoman (1926-2019).⁸⁹³ Some students selected to teach at different institutions such as Fred Bacher (1957-2014),⁸⁹⁴ Amy L. Corder,⁸⁹⁵ Francis Coutellier (b. 1945),⁸⁹⁶ and Marion Faller.⁸⁹⁷

The students at VSW were expected to be self-reliant, self-motivating, and key members of the institution’s survival. The importance of interpersonal relationships was crucial to the students’ experience of the school. Those who built strong relationships with various faculty members flourished, as Joan Lyons clarified in a 2018 interview:

[i]t was basically an artist space with a graduate program, so that made it unusual. We had a lot of free and cheap student labour, people pitching-in in a community way – not that they were all happy about it. Some of them were not. Some of them resented having to build a wall or sweep the floor but for the most part it worked. The students who were more involved in the workshop, who worked in production areas, are the ones who really engaged more with the photo community, or the book community, or the curatorial community after they graduated; because they did what essentially was a professional job while they were here. Even though it might have been unpaid, or ill paid, it was still an amazing experience.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹³ Katherine Anne Tweedie, [internship form], ca. 1977, from Katherine Anne Tweedie file, Student Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁸⁹⁴ Part-time teaching in the Rochester area.

⁸⁹⁵ SUNY Brockport teaching summer session in photography under the supervision of Jill Gussow.

⁸⁹⁶ Taught full time at the University of Moncton.

⁸⁹⁷ Taught photography at Colgate University.

⁸⁹⁸ Joan Lyons. Interview with author. Lyons’s residence, Rochester, New York, United States of America. August 7, 2018.

The students who were hired to teach at VSW were provided adjunct salaries from SUNY Buffalo. Faculty members tried to help ease students' financial burdens by advocating for them to either obtain assistantships through the University or by waiving their tuition fees. Students were not the only ones who received little remuneration for their work. Most of the faculty members typically received adjunct or intern-level salaries despite working on multiple aspects of the Workshop. The only faculty members who had official full-time positions and commensurate salaries were Nathan Lyons and Smith.⁸⁹⁹

The community involvement that many of the graduate students engaged in frequently boosted their careers. Some elected to take extended leave of absence from the program in order to complete particular projects. These included pursuing artistic and professional activities, both of which were supported by the faculty at the Workshop. The administrative files of many of the graduate students are filled with brief letters explaining their whereabouts and requesting more time to explore particular projects. Such letters are also accompanied by official SUNY Buffalo administrative slips completed by Lyons and other faculty members. Such forms are among the few traces linking SUNY to VSW.

At times, tensions between the two institutions' educational visions led to clashes. Bill Edwards for example, did not obtain his Master's from the program as SUNY Buffalo did not view his project of distributing photography books as complying with program requirements.⁹⁰⁰ Ultimately, this had little impact on his career as these activities would lay the ground for his

⁸⁹⁹ Joan Lyons. Interview with author. Telephone. April 1, 2020.

⁹⁰⁰ Nancy M. Stuart, "The History of Photographic Education in Rochester, New York 1960-1980," 124.

partnership with Lionel Suntop (b. 1942), another VSW student, in creating *Light Impressions*, which was discussed earlier in Chapter 3.⁹⁰¹

Community Press: Embracing Visual Literacy

Artist Joan Lyons, a graduate of Alfred University, was crucial to the introduction and sustainability of the Visual Studies Workshop Press. As a graduate student at the Workshop,⁹⁰² Lyons, like other members of the VSW community, took on different roles, including coordinating and operating the VSW Press and teaching classes in printing, printmaking, and bookmaking.⁹⁰³ In 2018 she explained:

[i]n my teaching I always felt more like a mentor than a teacher. I was usually there, working, producing books... I might teach a class and students were helping and interning. And it happened in all areas that students participated as not only students but also as contributors to the community.⁹⁰⁴

Among the first pieces of equipment purchased by the school was a letterpress. Soon after an offset printing machine was brought to the school from someone's garage. The VSW Press was founded in 1972 through a foundation grant that allowed the Workshop to build a basic printing shop, a darkroom, a platemaker, and an 11x17 press.⁹⁰⁵ The Press became an important resource in the art community; as Lyons recently noted, "as soon as that [the offset press] appeared, people started materializing who wanted to make books."⁹⁰⁶ This affected the artist community outside of photography as well. An early example is the 1973 publication of *Cooperstown TV is*

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.

⁹⁰² Graduates from VSW were awarded degrees from SUNY Buffalo until 1981 when VSW and SUNY Buffalo severed their ties.

⁹⁰³ Joan Lyons. Interview with author. Lyons's residence, Rochester, New York, United States of America. August 7, 2018.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

a Museum,⁹⁰⁷ a transcript of a workshop conducted by Videofreex in Cooperstown and the result of an artists' residency at VSW.⁹⁰⁸ Founded in 1969 by David Cort (1935-2020), Mary Curtis Ratcliff (b. 1942), and Parry Teasdale (b. 1948), the Videofreex were an important early video collective working in New York State.⁹⁰⁹ The 'Freex' as they were known, were frequent visitors to VSW and used the space to showcase their videos and hold their own workshops.⁹¹⁰ The books produced by the Press were often supported through grants. They were each designed specifically for the artist or author's project.⁹¹¹

As discussed in the related historical chapter, Chapter 3, the journal *Afterimage* was founded in 1972 and published by the VSW Press. It played an important role to the Workshop students and the wider photography community. The journal was initiated by Nathan Lyons but was largely sustained by the Workshop students.⁹¹² The first editor of the publication was then student Charles [Chuck] Hagen (b. 1949). At times Nathan Lyons made recommendations about particular topics or aided in the solicitation of articles for the journal. However, like the other branches of the Workshop, control of *Afterimage* was left in the hands of the editorial committee. At times, assistantship stipends were given to the editors as payment for their work. The longevity of the journal depended upon students taking on leadership positions at the Press as editors, writers, and staff dealing with the daily demands of running a publication.⁹¹³

Afterimage reported on ongoing events at the Workshop, SPE, and other related

⁹⁰⁷ Videofreex, *Cooperstown TV is a Museum* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1973).

⁹⁰⁸ Joan Lyons, *Artists Books: VSW Press 1971-2008*, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 2009), 132.

⁹⁰⁹ Videofreex, "Videofreex," Video Data Bank. Accessed March 14, 2020, <http://www.vdb.org/artists/videofreex>.

⁹¹⁰ Tara Nelson. Email to author. February 25, 2020.

⁹¹¹ A listing of the books published by the press can be found in Joan Lyons, *Artists Books: VSW Press 1971-2008*, (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 2009).

⁹¹² Lyons at times recommend an article or a topic to address but largely left the publication in the hands of the *Afterimage* team. This was typical of his management approach. Once a group or individual had taken the lead of an area of the Workshop they were entrusted with its operations. In the 1980s this led to tensions in the field as *Afterimage*'s editorials clashed with the opinions of some Workshop members.

⁹¹³ Joan Lyons. Interview with author. Telephone. April 1, 2020.

institutions and organisations. It also published, listed, and reviewed emerging resources and addressed the work of particular artists and theorists. The letter section was active and allowed for participation by amateur photographers and established professionals.

At times, the journal revealed an emerging generation gap. Such a schism can be seen in Ansel Adams's 1973 published letter in response to a book review⁹¹⁴ of his work. The review by Ellen Manchester (b. 1945) claimed that it was hard to decipher Adams's creative perspective as much of his known photographic work had been selected by Nancy Newhall, who according to Manchester, acted effectively as his editor.⁹¹⁵ Adams was adamant that his work reflected his own intentions, which were not influenced by the whims of fashion. In his concluding remarks, Adams distanced himself from contemporary modes of photography and discourse, writing:

I support the Contemporary in photography (was a 'contemporary'
once myself). I do not spiritually or emotionally respond to much that
I see in the work today – I would be truly dishonest if I said otherwise
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Adams's response demonstrated that while he might have been aware of contemporary photography production, he did not view himself as part of it. Further, it is clear that he was removing himself from the contemporary photography discourse that increasingly sought to situate photographer's work within a broader context.

The journal's ethos of presenting more contemporary material than the Eastman House publication, meant that the articles addressed a wide range of issues, pressing beyond the increasingly canonised discourse of the history of photography. The journal also acted as a platform for a younger generation of photography scholars to publish writings on the work and ideas of contemporary artists, photographers, and filmmakers. As such, *Afterimage* played a

⁹¹⁴ Ellen Manchester was reviewing *Ansel Adams* edited by Lilliane de Cock.

⁹¹⁵ Ellen Manchester, "'Ansel Adams': About His Work, Not His Editor," *Afterimage* 1.7 (May 1973): 5.

⁹¹⁶ Ansel Adams, "Letters to the Editor," *Afterimage* 1.8 (September 1973): 8.

similar role as *Aperture* had in its early days of publication, as a support system for an emerging generation of photographers, curators, historians, and critics. Art historian Grant H. Kester, explained that:

[o]ne of the most important contribution that *Afterimage* has made to the analysis of contemporary art lies in the ongoing attempt by its contributors to challenge and expand upon the techniques of traditional criticism. This is particularly evident in essays that are concerned with activists or politically engaged works that require the critic to fundamentally rethink the nature of the work and the experience of art.⁹¹⁷

Facilitating the Spread of Photography

In addition to the Press, VSW's research centre was a key component of the school. Here, much like all other aspects of the institution, students participated in work-study programs that provided the labour required to maintain the ever-expanding collections. Within three years of the Workshop's existence, the research centre housed more than six thousand volumes and one hundred thousand items of visual material. These included a rich selection of both vernacular and high art collections. Items in the collection included comic books, bubble gum cards, snapshots, mundane advertising material, and portfolios of prints by well-established photographers. Beyond a teaching tool, the collection allowed students to draw upon its resources for their creative projects. Students also built the collection. As students graduated, they were required to leave material documenting their final projects as part of a special collection named the Trace Collection.

From his work at Eastman House, Lyons had come to understand the importance of exhibiting photographs as a means of distributing and publicising photography. With this in mind, he established the Slightly Sloping Gallery [fig. 5.3] shortly after the school's formation.

⁹¹⁷ Kester, "Ongoing Negotiations: *Afterimage* and the Analysis of Activist Art," 8.

The space was largely run by the students, providing them with skills in installation and curation. As the students produced work, they were encouraged to use the onsite gallery as a hub from which to sell their art. This allowed them to begin their professional careers with an exhibition history from an institution that was developing a growing reputation. Frequently, photographers who were displayed in the gallery visited and lectured at the workshop. This included Jacques Henri Lartigue (1894-1986), who was interviewed by then student Brent Sikkema (b. 1948) and held an exhibition in 1975.

In addition to the exhibition space in the Workshop, Lyons facilitated the creation of a travelling exhibitions program as a means of raising funds for the school, reaching a wider audience of photographers, and continuing his work from the Eastman House. Some of the exhibitions emerged out of VSW student projects, themes, or group presentations organised by the current graduate students. Others were dedicated to single photographers who chose to be shown by the Workshop's gallery.

The 1974 *The First Traveling Rip-Off Show* [fig. 5.4] serves as a good example of the Workshop's diverse approach to photography exhibitions. Here it is clear that the space served multiple purposes, showcasing artists, disseminating the institution's varied understanding of 'visual arts,' and pushing back against the emerging photography display trends. The exhibition contained twenty-two different offprint, pads each containing twenty copies of an artwork created by the exhibiting artists, all of whom donated their work to the exhibition. They were: Michael Bishop (1946-2016), Leif Brush (b. 1932), Eileen Cowin (b. 1947), Stephen Cruise, Robert Fichter, Robert Heineken, David Hlynsky, Scott Hyde (b. 1926), Syl Labrot (1929-1977), Joan Lyons, Cynthia Marsh, Bea Nettles, Anthony [Antonio Tony] Petracca (b. 1945), Sonia Landy Sheridan, Keith Smith, Harland Snodgrass (1941-2019), Michael Snowden, Joel Swarts,

Charles Swedlund, Todd Walker, Barbara Wilson (b. 1941), and John Wood.⁹¹⁸ The exhibition was available for purchase as part of the travelling exhibition program for several years and cost \$150.⁹¹⁹ The project was coordinated by Brent Sikkema under the supervision of Joan Lyons. Most of the printing was done by Jerry Wallace on the Workshop's A.B. Dick 360 printer, with the exception of Michael Sowden, Joel Swartz, Charles Swedlund, Todd Walker, Joan Lyons, David Hlynsky (b. 1947), and Stephen Cruise (b. 1949), who each printed their own pads. The Workshop's press release about the exhibition explained that the "pieces are a step toward realizing the potentials of offset lithography as an original printmaking media, rather than a means of reproducing work."⁹²⁰

The First Traveling Rip-Off Show grew out of VSW graduate Joel Swartz's artistic practice in which he distributed his images, giving them away to members of his network. This not only acted as a means of dispensing his work, but it was part of a larger trend of sharing, which in turn helped forge links in the larger photography field. The works included a variety of uses of the off-set lithograph, while some works such as those by Cynthia Marsh, John Wood, and Joan Lyons [fig. 5.5], made use of the medium's ability to replicate or document objects much like a photograph. Harland Snodgrass and Joel Swartz [fig. 5.6] used the medium to combine prints and text, collaging multiple works on a single page. Artist and educator Sonia Landy Sheridan (b. 1925) choose to engage her audience by asking them to participate in the project by returning a work to her. Sheridan's work was printed on 3M's Sound Page paper, a medium that combined sound and image [fig. 5.7]. Below the image, Sheridan encouraged the

⁹¹⁸ Visual studies Workshop, "Rip-Off Show" [press release]. ca. 1977, file "The First Traveling Rip-Off Show," Traveling Exhibitions Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁹¹⁹ Visual Studies Workshop, [Purchase Order Muhlenberg College], 1977, file "The First Traveling Rip-Off Show," Traveling Exhibitions Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁹²⁰ Visual studies Workshop, "Rip-Off Show" [press release].

viewer to play the work at their local 3M office and then record a response on a page to be mailed back to her. A reply would follow to those who wrote her.

This kind of exhibition was a direct challenge to the understanding of the photographic object and the financial value of the fine art print. Just as photographs were being placed in the ‘white cube’ of the gallery and museum, cradled in mats and protected by glass, VSW offered an exhibition that neither contained nor required such formalities. As the works were self-contained and expected to be distributed in the host institution space, the typical needs of an exhibition – including the expenses of returning the crates, frames, glass, and postage – were unnecessary.

Raising Funds for the Workshop’s Survival

The survival of the school depended on money raised through peer networks, government grants, and other fundraising efforts. The initial years were funded through the support of photographers in Rochester and across the United States and Canada who believed in Lyons’s vision. Artists Robert Heinecken and photographer Dave Heath, for example, joined the students as workers during the initial renovation of the workshop facilities. In 1970, \$28,000 was raised through the sale of three thousand photography prints donated by members of Lyons’s network. The prints were sold at fundraising exhibitions held across the United States at the Workshop, Rochester; Focus Gallery and Camera Work Gallery in San Francisco; Carl Siembab Gallery, Boston; Witkin Gallery, New York; Photic Gallery, Baltimore; and Lo Guidice Gallery, Chicago.⁹²¹

Much like other institutions, VSW produced portfolios of student and faculty work to help raise funds. In 1974, seventy-five editions were made of *1974 Portfolio Project*. Thirty-nine works were included in a black print box with only the Workshop’s logo indicating the

⁹²¹ Jessica S. McDonald, “Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s,” 180-181.

relationship to the institution [fig. 5.8].⁹²² The portfolio demonstrates VSW's variety of technical and conceptual approaches. As examples, Anne Cameron Beach's (b. 1952) work was a lithographic print [fig. 5.9]; Greg Taylor (b. 1947) was a gelatin silver print [fig. 5.10]; Kenda North created a serigraph [fig. 5.11]; and James Lewis [Jim] Silvia (b. 1946) abandoned visual reproductive methods completely by producing a work comprised of an empty glassine envelope mounted on a card [fig. 5.12].

In the same year, 1974, the Workshop looked to establish a more formal gallery. To raise funds it published the *Visual Studies Workshop Print Sale Catalogue* (1974) which was provided for free upon request. The publication included one hundred and fifty photographs by sixty-four artists and sixty-seven illustrations. All the prints included in the sale were donated to the Workshop by photographers. The sale included works by Michael Bishop, Cornell Capa, Judy Dater, Lee Friedlander (b. 1934), Betty Hahn, Robert Heinecken, Aaron Siskind, and Minor White, among many others. Most prints had been produced between 1950 and 1973. An advertisement for the publication and sale was published in the May-June 1974 issue of *The Print Collector's Newsletter*,⁹²³ which catered to fine art print collectors and aimed to raise awareness of the value of prints in the art market.⁹²⁴

⁹²² The portfolio was made in edition of seventy-five, each included: Joan Lyons, Anne Beach, Jerry Wallace, Elsa Voelcker, Greg Taylor, Skip Atwater, Jonathan Morse, Paul Ginsberg, Erik Sundance, Alex Sweetman, Alan Winer, Jim Silva, Frank Pflamer, Kenda North, Steve Moore, Lawrence Myers, David Greene, Bobbe Besold, Frank Duffy, Tad Goodale, Tim Hearsum, Art Hynes, Ann Rosen, Ron MacDonald, Laddy Kite, Laura Blacklow, Gail De Loach, Ronald Kohn, Eve Cohen, Steve Foote, Brent Sikkema, Ken Slosberg, Rudolf Kicken, Bryan Smith, Gunther Cartwright, Michelle Mercier.

⁹²³ Art in Print Review, "Review: *The Visual Studies Workshop Print Sale Catalogue*," *The Print Collector's Newsletter* 5.2 (May-June 1974): 44.

⁹²⁴ For a more nuanced discussion of the implications of *The Print Collector's Newsletter* see Molly Kalkstein, "Multiple Art Breeds Questions: The Photographic Legacy of the Print Collector's Newsletter," Paper presented at 108th College Art Association of America Annual Conference, Chicago, February 2020.

Transnational Relationships: A Focus on Canada

The activities of the Workshop also influenced the trajectory of the Canadian photography scene. Canadian graduates of VSW included Paul Lawrence Albert (b. 1947), Doug Beube (b. 1950), James Borcoman, Penny Cousineau-Levine, Henri Sylvain Cousineau (1949-2013), and Francis Coutellier. Additional Canadians attended the Workshop as graduate students or informally auditing classes as general Workshop students. Cousineau, Cousineau-Levine, and Coutellier all went on to teach in the Visual Arts Department of the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario after their graduation.⁹²⁵ Americans who graduated from the program would also go on to teach in a variety of Canadian institutions. Amanda Means (b. 1945), a graduate student at the Workshop between 1974 and 1978, would go on to teach at the University of Ottawa and as well as at Emily Carr College of Art in Vancouver.⁹²⁶

Students and faculty members in Canadian institutions were also accepted into the program. Michael J. Spencer (b. 1948) for example, came to the Workshop from Ryerson where he had been teaching between 1970 and 1973. His attendance at VSW was supported through two Canada Council for the Arts grants.⁹²⁷ Some students were supported through educational program exchanges that were fostered between Canadian and American institutions. Jack Mlynek (b. 1948), entered the program through an academic exchange facilitated between the agricultural and technical colleges of the State University of New York and Ryerson that commenced in the fall of 1970.⁹²⁸ Nathan Lyons later provided Mlynek with a letter of reference that secured him a teaching position at Western University in London, Ontario.⁹²⁹

⁹²⁵ See compiled alumni spreadsheet created from Official and Standing Student Files at Visual Studies Workshop by author. "VSW Alumni," 2019, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

⁹²⁶ Amanda Means, "Artist Biography," Amanda Means, accessed March 14, 2020, <http://www.amandameans.com/bio>.

⁹²⁷ Ben-Choreen, "VSW Alumni."

⁹²⁸ Ibid.

⁹²⁹ Ibid.

Tom Gibson (b. 1930), an immigrant to Canada from Scotland, joined VSW in 1969 through Nathan Lyons's recommendation. Upon his return to Canada, Gibson started the Mind and Sight Gallery in Toronto. Gibson hoped the gallery would help establish a similar community that he had experienced while at VSW. In an interview with Martha Langford in 1993, Gibson recalled:

[w]e found this old factory loft, north of Wellesley, just off Yonge. It was in rough state so we set about doing what had been done at the Visual Studies Workshop, though on a much more modest scale: cleaning, building exhibition areas and darkrooms, setting up schedules for open seminars and films. We were creating situations in which we could develop a community, with people coming in to look and talk about work.⁹³⁰

Gibson would go on to teach photography at the University of Ottawa. In the mid-1970s he was invited to help develop the photography program at Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec. At first, Gibson wanted to emulate VSW and have students directly involved with the program. He found however, that this model was difficult to implement while adhering to institutional requirements.⁹³¹

Prior to entering VSW's graduate program, James Borcoman was the director of the Department of Education at the National Gallery of Canada (NGC). With the support of then director Jean Sutherland Boggs (1922-2014), Borcoman was able to take a two-year leave of absence, between September 1969 and June 1971, to complete his Master's studies at the Workshop. Once at VSW, Borcoman studied under Nathan Lyons and Beaumont Newhall.⁹³² In

⁹³⁰ Martha Langford, Tom Gibson, and Michael Snow, *Tom Gibson: False Evidence Appearing Real = Tom Gibson: Des apprentes trompeuses* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1993), 39.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, 39-43.

⁹³² Peter C. Bunnell, "The National Gallery Photographic Collection: A Vital Resource," *Artscanada* 31.3,4 (December 1974): 40. Charlotte Gagnier's chronology of the National Gallery's collection indicates that the Gallery had intentions of collecting photographs in 1966 and had held three exhibitions of photography in anticipation of the announcement. She noted that in 1967, Beaumont Newhall and Nathan Lyons lectured at the National Gallery on separate occasions. See Charlotte Gagnier, "Chronology: A Collection in the Making," in *The Extended Moment:*

line with the mandate of the National Gallery, the photography collection set out to collect the masters of the field. Borcoman's selections were highly influenced by his experiences while at VSW and he came to believe that the photographic renaissance "emanated very much from America in the sixties."⁹³³ As such, an American dominance could be felt in the early years of the National Gallery of Canada's photography collection. These objects were soon accompanied by photographs produced by practitioners who had been identified as reflecting the masters of photography by scholars such as Newhall, including Charles Nègre (1820-1880), David Octavius Hill (1802-1870), Gustave Le Gray (1820-1884), and Gertrude Käsebier.⁹³⁴ Borcoman frequently purchased works for the NGC collection from the Workshop's various print sales and student-run store.⁹³⁵

In 2017, Martha Langford summarised that the students of VSW who had formed "tight bonds":

fanned out across the United States, landing or creating institutional positions, and maintaining their friendships... The Canadians went back to Canada with historical and technical knowledge, a critical vocabulary, connoisseurship, hands-on experience, and membership in this US-based elite.⁹³⁶

The impact this American-based education and influence had on Canadian students, practitioners, and educators made it difficult to easily identify what a Canadian photographic education entailed.⁹³⁷

Fifty Years of Collecting Photographs at the National Gallery of Canada, ed. Ann Thomas and John McElhone, 316-321, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2018), 317-318.

⁹³³ Rob Powell, "Northern Eye," *The British Journal of Photography* (12 October 1984):1086.

⁹³⁴ Peter C. Bunnell, "The National Gallery Photographic Collection: A Vital Resource," 40-41.

⁹³⁵ Peter Higdon. Interview by author. Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. June 18, 2018.

⁹³⁶ Martha Langford, "Hitching a Ride: American Know-How in the Engineering of Canadian Photographic Institutions," in *Narratives Unfolding* ed. Martha Langford 209-230 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 227.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 229.

Artist and educator Mark Klett (b. 1952), reflecting upon the skills he gained from the Workshop, stated that, “Nathan created in his students a concern for community, for identifying and participating in a ‘field’ larger than oneself, and of a responsibility to one’s colleagues and the culture as a whole.”⁹³⁸ Willis E. Hartshorn (b. 1950) echoed Klett’s statement, writing, “[f]rom the first day it was clear that we were there to work not just for ourselves, but for the workshop as well.”⁹³⁹ This brief discussion of VSW touched upon some of the key activities in the institution’s formative years between 1969 and 1975. The Workshop demonstrates the importance educational institutions had in building, supporting, and expanding the photography field. Students who were active in the social landscape of the institution built strong foundations and connections that helped them flourish later as professionals in the broader field. Many also relied upon professional and social connections to enter into the program and to secure a position after graduation. Together, students, faculty members, visiting artists and lecturers, produced art works, installations, performances, films, books, exhibitions, and ran a gallery, a press, a research centre, and a journal. These collective activities helped sustain and evolve the photography field far beyond the walls of the single institution.

⁹³⁸ Jessica S. McDonald, *Nathan Lyons*, 262.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Part 3. Education 1975-1989

Chapter 6. “Too Large to be the Old-Buddy Group”⁹⁴⁰ Photography Education 1975 to 1989

Illustrating the Field

In a casual easy stance, his catching mitt reaching high, stands John Szarkowski; Robert Heinecken, is captured the moment before he swings his bat toward the camera; similarly, Mike Mandel’s (b.1950) image freezes the player just as the ball leaves the frame, his legs and arm still locked in a throwing position [fig. 6.1]. These objects are part of the one hundred and thirty-five cards from Mike Mandel’s 1975 series *Baseball-Photographer Trading Cards*.⁹⁴¹ Three thousand cards had been made of each player. They were then randomly mixed and packaged

⁹⁴⁰ Letter from Michael Simon to Peter Bunnell, December 2, 1979, Box 2 “Michael Simon files, 1978-81,” File 3 “Bunnell, Peter, 1979-81,” AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁹⁴¹ Complete series was made up of one card listing the set and one hundred and thirty-four photographers, critics, and curators they are: 1) Bob Flick; 2) Joel Meyerowitz; 3) Van Deren Coke; 4) Joe Deal; 5) Ron Walker; 6) Lee Witkin; 7) Al Sweetman; 8) Don Drowty; 9) Ellen Brooks; 10) Dennis Hearne; 11) Elaine Mayes; 12) Bart Parker; 13) Larry Sultan; 14) Ed West; 15) Arthur Siegel; 16) Leonard Freed; 17) Margery Mann; 18) Harry Callahan; 19) Gary Metz; 20) Peter Gowland; 21) Ansel Adams; 22) Ed Ruscha; 23) Grace Mayer; 24) Mike Mandel; 25) Harold Allen; 26) Laura Gilpin; 27) Hank Smith; 28) Anne Tucker; 29) Phil Perkis; 30) Michael Simon; 31) Bill Owens; 32) Manuel Bravo; 33) Nathan Lyons; 34) Bill Arnold; 35) Jim Hajicek; 36) Les Krims; 37) Joyce Neimanas; 38) Judy Dater; 39) Al Coleman; 40) Ira Nowinski; 41) Jack Welpott; 42) Linda Parry; 43) Burke Uzzle; 44) Jim Dow; 45) Dave Freund; 46) Todd Walker; 47) Catherine Jansen; 48) Eva Rubinstein; 49) Eddie Sievers; 50) Minor White; 51) Michael Becotte; 52) Fred McDarrah; 53) Richard Link; 54) Betty Hahn; 55) Nick Hlobeczy; 56) Bob Cumming; 57) Ken Josephson; 58) Naomi Savage; 59) John Divola; 60) Tom Barrow; 61) Carl Chiarenza; 62) Bea Nettles; 63) Roger Mertin; 64) John Benson; 65) Cal Kowal; 66) Aaron Siskind; 67) R. von Sternberg; 68) Paige Pinnell; 69) Arthur Tress; 70) Jacob Deschin; 71) Linda Connor; 72) Don Blumbeing; 73) Jim Alinder; 74) Harold Jones; 75) M.J. Walker; 76) Bill Parker; 77) Al Woolpert; 78) Duke Baltz; 79) Gus Kayafas; 80) Duane Michals; 81) Darryl Curran; 82) Arnold Newman; 83) Geoff Winningham; 84) Paul Vanderbilt; 85) Anne Noggle; 86) Timo Pajunen; 87) Edmund Teske; 88) Imogen Cunningham; 89) Andy Anderson; 90) Bill Larson; 91) Pete Bunnell; 92) Robert Doherty; 93) Joe Jachna; 94) Oscar Bailey; 95) Jerry Uelsmann; 96) Art Sinsabaugh; 97) Charles Roitz; 98) Doug Stewart; 99) Chuck Swedlund; 100) Bill Edwards; 101) Bobby Heinecken; 102) Micha Bar-Am; 103) Beaumont Newhall; 104) Wynn Bullock; 105) Jerry McMillan; 106) John Schulze; 107) Neal Slavin; 108) Lee Rice; 109) Joan Lyons; 110) Bill Jenkins; 111) Fred Sommer; 112) Barbara Crane; 113) Emmet Gowin; 114) Barbara Morgan; 115) Mark Power; 116) Cornell Capa; 117) Lionel Sontop; 118) Bunny Yeager; 119) Doug Prince; 120) Eileen Cowin; 121) Eve Sonneman; 122) Reg Heron; 123) Scott Hyde; 124) Conrad Pressma; 125) John Szarkowski; 126) Bill Eggleston; 127) Mike Bishop; 128) Bob Fichter; 129) Liliane DeCock; 130) Tom Poret; 131) Arnold Crane; 132) Arnold Gassan; 133) Elliott Erwitt; 134) Len Gittleman; 135) Trading card checklist.

into packets of ten, accompanied by a piece of bubble gum [fig. 6.2].⁹⁴² Just like baseball cards, a collector could only complete his or her set over time or by trading with other collectors. These cards were traded and autographed by the pictured photographers, echoing the treatment of baseball cards.

Mandel began the series in 1974 with Alison Woolpert (b. 1949) while they were both students at the San Francisco Art Institute.⁹⁴³ The two created a list of one hundred and thirty-four photographers to include in the project. The series was produced in response to the emerging photographic market that was establishing star figures. It seemed to Mandel that the photography world was closing its circles and becoming more competitive. Included in the series were his peers: mentors, curators, practitioners, and emerging photographers alongside established figures. Each card had a portrait on its recto, while the verso provided ‘player’ information, such as height, favourite photographer, preferred camera, and a personal comment. The lithographic prints not only recreated a social circle through their pictorial representation, but also acted as the network through their existence as objects. News of the cards spread quickly⁹⁴⁴ and museums began to organise trading events for collectors.⁹⁴⁵

In a letter written in 1981, Mandel explained his motivation for the project:

Baseball cards are tokens for the disciple (fan), and the act of collection takes on a religious zeal... Photographs were collected for investments, photographers entertained themselves at conventions,

⁹⁴² SFMoMA, “Mike Mandel’s *Baseball-Photographer Trading Cards*,” accessed Dec. 3, 2017, <https://www.sfmoma.org/mike-mandels-baseball-photographer-trading-cards/>.

⁹⁴³ It is important to note that while Woolpert is recognised in several sources as aiding in the project’s development she is not listed as a collaborator. “Mandel and Woolpert took their show on the road in the fall of 1974, cobbling together \$1,700 in savings and embarking on a 14,000-mile cross-country road-trip to shoot their subjects.” Brad Balukjian, “That Time When Ansel Adams Posed for a Baseball Trading Card,” *Smithsonian* Sept 15, 2015. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/photographer-baseball-cards-mike-mandel-180956594/>.

⁹⁴⁴ Stephanie Salter, “At the End of Your Ribbon Searching for Christmas Gifts? Here Are Good Ways to Spend From \$4 to \$4,000” *Sports Illustrated*, Dec. 22, 1975, <https://www.si.com/vault/1975/12/22/616711/at-the-end-of-your-ribbon-searching-for-christmas-gifts-here-are-good-ways-to-spend-from-4-to-4000>.

⁹⁴⁵ Balukjian, “That Time When Ansel Adams Posed for a Baseball Trading Card.”

openings. Competitions for grants and jobs revolved around a hierarchy of administrators who were taken the most seriously of all. The Baseball-Photographer Trading Cards served as my political cartoons that cut through the pretentiousness of the photo world. More than the potential of the cartoon, or even the collage, the photograph of the photographer, dressed in the garb of baseball player, participating in the satire, achieved a level of self-critical humor where the aggressiveness was not directed at the knowing participants but rather the game in general. The ‘photo world’ was equated with celebrity baseball and the Americana childrens [sic] pastime of trading and collecting cards, which is not to be confused with the trading and collecting of gum prints, or even with the collecting of images or butterflies as the case may be in the late afternoon light.⁹⁴⁶

During the project, Mandel stayed with members of the creative photography community; his hosts spanned thirty-one cities in which he travelled to take the photographs. He had made many of these contacts using SPE’s membership directory.⁹⁴⁷

Three years later, in 1978, Darryl Curran (b. 1935) a graduate of the photography and design arts program at the University of California, Los Angeles, started work on *A Moment in Photo History*. Most of the seven hundred photographs composing the series were captured during the 1980s. Each of the photographs documented a different photography-related event, from gallery openings, higher-education programs, conferences, lectures, or meetings between photographers. Curran provided his subjects with a clipboard containing a piece of paper detailing the event, location, and date. In big block letters printed across the top of each sheet were the words “A MOMENT IN PHOTO HISTORY.” The result was a documentation of photography’s social milieu in a specific place and time. The series grew out of Curran’s

⁹⁴⁶ Mike Mandel, [Letter on baseball trading cards], originally written October, 14, 1977, edited August 12, 1981, 10-14-77, 1-8, Box 1 “Caltworthy Colorvues Activity Files, 1975-81 Memorabilia,” Folder 1: “Baseball-Photographer Trading Cards: Correspondence & Essay,” AG 12 Clatworthy Colorvues Collection, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid.

fascination with the social networks at Los Angeles art events, but he then shifted to focus exclusively on photography.⁹⁴⁸ [figs. 6.3 and 6.4]

By claiming each of the gatherings as a “moment in photo history,” Curran pointed to the contemporary nature of the medium’s narrative where every gathering had the potential to be claimed as monumental. Moreover, the work signalled that individuals in the field were aware that they were able to partake in historical events through their presence in certain social and professional networks.

Both Mandel’s and Curran’s projects contain an aspect of light-heartedness in their treatment of photography’s networks. These objects act as contemporary records which can now, in hindsight, be examined to consider the values and realities of the period that they reveal. Both can be studied as a time capsule of particular communities captured in a specific time and place. Yet they simultaneously reveal the darker reality of who was able to participate in those communities. Exclusion meant the removal of the practitioner from discourse production, access to positions, and ultimately, their ability to sustain themselves in the field. With the increased population involved in photography, the number of individuals who held positions of power grew smaller in relation to the size of the field. Moreover, photographers, educators, curators, historians, and collectors were less likely to actively seek out a support network outside of their local regions.

⁹⁴⁸ as-is.la, “Darryl Curran: L.A. Art Events and A Moment in Photo History,” as-is.la, accessed September 23, 2020, <https://www.as-is.la/exhibitions/darrylcurran-k7ccs>.

The Status Quo

By the late-1970s, photography education had reached a level of maturity in higher-education institutions. In 1975, there were forty-five BFA programs, thirty-one MFA programs, and two PhD programs available in still photography.⁹⁴⁹ In 1983, Dr. William Horrell published his last survey. In it, he noted an increase in photography programs on all levels of study. There were then ninety-four BFAs, forty-nine MFAs, and four PhD programs.⁹⁵⁰ Statistically, this growth paled in comparison to the expansion marked by the prior decade.⁹⁵¹ Horrell wrote at the conclusion of his survey:

[i]n general, the 1982-1983 survey shows a leveling off of instruction in motion picture, graphic arts, and still photography instruction at the post secondary [sic] schools. There was an increase of 8.5% in the number of questionnaire responses over the 1979-80 survey... Enrollments decreased by 1/10 of one percent in the last three years. Degree offerings increased by 8.2% over the 1979-80 survey. The number of graduates from degree programs increased 6% in the last three years.⁹⁵²

Between the 1960s and 1980s, graduates of photography programs grew significantly from one hundred and forty-three annual students graduating in 1963,⁹⁵³ to 2,936 graduates in 1977,⁹⁵⁴ and 5,338 graduates in 1982.⁹⁵⁵ A survey completed by SPE's Women's Caucus six years later, in

⁹⁴⁹ Dr. C. William Horrell, *A Survey of Motion Picture, Still Photography, and Graphic Arts Instruction* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1975): 8.

⁹⁵⁰ Dr. C. William Horrell, *College Instruction in Photography: Motion Picture, Graphic Arts, Still Photography* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1983): [10].

⁹⁵¹ Part of this had to do with photography becoming part of other disciplines.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁵³ Horrell reported that 14,000 students were taking photography classes however, only 143 students per year were graduating from the 25 schools offering bachelor or advanced degrees in photography. Horrell wrote that this represented an average of less than 6 students per school. This study does not provide the number of students enrolled in undergraduate programs for photography. Dr. C. William Horrell, *Photography Instruction in Higher Education: on Photographic Education in Colleges, Universities and Institutions in the United States*, [1, 4].

⁹⁵⁴ This is the total number of graduates in Still Photography: 1,293 Associate degrees, 1,328 Bachelor degrees, 273 Masters, 42 Doctoral. Dr. C. William Horrell, *A Survey of Motion Picture, Still Photography, and Graphic Arts Instruction* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1978), 6.

⁹⁵⁵ Graduates of Still Photography including all levels of study. Dr. C. William Horrell, *A Survey College Instruction in Photography: Motion Picture, Graphic Arts, still Photography* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1983): 14.

1988, found that there were some 6,606 students in undergraduate and graduate programs who had declared photography as their major area of study.⁹⁵⁶ Some of the discrepancies in these statistics are related to the different modes of data collection. Ultimately, it is clear that by the late 1980s, photography education programs had at best leveled off, and at worst, begun to decline.

In the fall of 1983, *Exposure* published an eighteen-page spread providing brief information about fifty-nine⁹⁵⁷ American MA and MFA programs. The survey was assembled by School of the Art Institute of Chicago MFA graduate Gail Kaplan (b. 1948).⁹⁵⁸ The guide organised programs geographically and alphabetically by state and included information such as faculty, admission requirements, tuition, facility amenities, graduation requirements, and a section for foreign students.⁹⁵⁹ As such, the guide was meant as a tool for students and for teachers aiding their students search for graduate programs. As the listing was incomplete, faculties were encouraged to send their information to SPE for future lists.⁹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the publication of the list demonstrated a demand for information about graduate programs.

⁹⁵⁶ Barbara Jo Revelle, Charlotte Striebel, Linda Brooks, and Catherine Lord, "Introduction," *Exposure [Survey of Women and Persons of Colour in Post-Secondary Photographic Education]* 26.2,3 (1988): 45.

⁹⁵⁷ University of Arizona; Arkansas State University; Brooks Institute; California State, Fullerton; California State College; Pomona College Claremont Graduate School; San Francisco Art Institute; University of California, Davis; University of California, Riverside; University of California San Diego; UCLA; University of Colorado Boulder; University of Delaware; George Washington University; Florida State University; University of Florida; University of South Florida; Georgia State University; Governors State University; School of the Art Institute of Chicago; Southern Illinois University; Columbia College; Illinois State University; Northern Illinois University; University of Illinois; University of Illinois, Chicago; Indiana State University; University of Iowa; Murray State University; Louisiana Technical University; Maryland Institute; Boston University; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Central Michigan University; Cranbrook Academy of Art; University of Minnesota – Duluth; University of Missouri; University of Nebraska; Mason Gross School of the Arts Rutgers State University; University of New Mexico; Cornell University; C. W. Post; Rochester Institute of Technology; Visual Studies Workshop; Pratt Institute; State University of New York; State University of New York, Oswego; Syracuse University; Ohio State University; Ohio University; University of Oklahoma; Clemson University; Texas Technical University; University of Houston; University of Texas Austin; Virginia Commonwealth University; Utah State University; University of Wisconsin – Superior; and Central Washington University.

⁹⁵⁸ Kaplan graduated in 1980.

⁹⁵⁹ Gail Kaplan, "Teaching: Survey of Schools with MFA/MA Programs in Photography," *Exposure* 20.3 (Fall 1983): 11-29.

⁹⁶⁰ Of note is the omission of The Rhode Island School of Design.

Simultaneously, more photography programs were made available in Canada. In 1985, *Blackflash*, the Photographers Gallery's⁹⁶¹ magazine, dedicated an entire issue to photography education.⁹⁶² In it the editors assembled profiles on major Canadian photography programs and a brief program directory.⁹⁶³ Most of the listed programs were undergraduate or certificate based; only Concordia University and York University offered graduate programs in photography.⁹⁶⁴ Given that the choices for Canadians interested in pursuing graduate studies in photography in Canada were limited, some Canadians looked to the United States for more options.

This era brought new challenges to photography education. The model of educating students to become teachers was no longer justified, as full-time positions were becoming scarcer. As competition became stiffer for teaching placements, a greater value was placed on university accreditation. It was therefore far less likely to obtain a photography teaching post in higher education without having a university degree. Some institutions even required their faculty members to obtain university-level degrees in order to maintain their positions.

Photography educators in the early stages of their career were likely to teach at multiple

⁹⁶¹ The Photographers Gallery was established in 1973 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

⁹⁶² *Blackflash* 2.3 (1985).

⁹⁶³ Highlighted programs were: The Banff Centre; Concordia University; Emily Carr College of Art and Design; Northern Alberta Institute of Technology; Nova Scotia College of Art and Design; Ryerson Polytechnical Institute; Sheridan College of Applied Arts and Technology; University of Ottawa; and York University. Listed programs were: Bay St. George; Holland College; Mount Allison University; CEGEP Dawson College; CEGEP de Trois-Rivieres; McGill University; Canada Memorial Chiropractic College; Canadore College; Carleton University; Centennial; Cambrian; Algonquin; The Confederation; Fanshawe; Humber; Lakehead University; Lambton; Niagara; Ontario College of Art; Queen's University; St. Clair; St. Lawrence; The Sault; Sir Sanford Fleming; University of Toronto; University of Waterloo; the University of Western Ontario; University of Windsor; Alberta Vocational Centre; Athabasca University; Capilano College; Camosun College; Cariboo College; East Kootenay; University of Calgary; Northern Lights College; Red River; Simon Fraser University; Alberta College of Art; the University of Alberta; the University of British Columbia; The University of Manitoba; University of Regina; University of Saskatchewan; University of Victoria; Vancouver (Community College); and Wascana Institute. "Schools," *Blackflash* 2.3 (1985): 4, 8-9.

⁹⁶⁴ Other MFA programs existed in Canada but they did not necessarily provide a degree specifically in Photography. Concordia and York's programs for example, were studio based.

institutions as adjuncts or part-time instructors and to travel considerable distances for limited contract placements.

Moreover, the photography education field seemed to be at an impasse. Just as teaching materials were expanding to meet the demands set by the previous generation, a new generation was questioning the very models these texts were built upon. The introduction of postmodernist theory and mixed media courses to curricula presented new avenues of exploration. By the end of the 1980s, photography experts were concerned not over photography's ability to sustain itself, act as an art, or as an academic discipline, but rather over the canon and the looming era of conservative censorship.

Simultaneously, photography became a subject of interest for thinkers outside of the photographic realm.⁹⁶⁵ From the growing field of cultural studies came essays by Susan Sontag⁹⁶⁶ and Roland Barthes (1915-1980).⁹⁶⁷ *October*, an art criticism journal drawing upon post-structuralist theorists,⁹⁶⁸ published extensive articles on photography by theorists such as Rosalind Epstein Krauss (b.1941),⁹⁶⁹ Douglas Crimp (1944-2019),⁹⁷⁰ Allan Sekula (1951-2013),⁹⁷¹ and Christopher [Joel] Phillips (b.1950).⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁵ Charles Desmarais, "From Social Criticism to Art World Cynicism: 1970-1980," in *Decade by Decade: Twentieth-Century American Photography from the Collection of the Center for Creative Photography*, ed. James Enyeart, (Tucson: Arizona University and Center for Creative Photography, 1989): 99.

⁹⁶⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

⁹⁶⁷ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977) and *Camera Lucida* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1981).

⁹⁶⁸ The Editors, "About October," *October* 1 (Spring 1976), 3-5.

⁹⁶⁹ Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," *Art Journal* 42, 4 (Winter 1982): 311-319.

⁹⁷⁰ Douglas Crimp, "Pictures," *October* 8 (Spring 1979), 75-88.

⁹⁷¹ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986), 3-64.

⁹⁷² Christopher Phillips, "The Judgement Seat of Photography," *October* 22 (Autumn 1982), 27-63.

In the spring of 1985, Abigail Solomon-Godeau (b.1948), a BA graduate from the University of Massachusetts, Boston,⁹⁷³ an educator, and an art critic who published extensively in *October*, *Afterimage*, and *Exposure*, cautioned that the prevalence of these documents and publications did not mean they were now integrated into photography curricula.⁹⁷⁴ Some photography professors rang the alarm on issues surrounding the implications of education mandates and their constructed curriculums. They were also considering the impact of their own education on their applied pedagogical approaches.

Those seeking to change the perpetuated academic models faced considerable pushback from within the creative photography education community. Deborah Bright (b.1950), an MFA graduate from the University of Chicago, and then professor in the Photography and Art history departments at RISD, summarised such tensions in 1990, writing:

[f]inally, in response to those who will insist that these sorts of practices have nothing to do with ‘photography’ or ‘photographic education.’ ...it is worth noting that most of us who organized and participated in this workshop are graduates of M.F.A. photography programs of the 1970s, the heyday of Szarkowskian aesthetics. Among our former teachers are some notable members of the art photography world, including the late Garry Winogrand, Paul Berger, and Carl Toth. If it appears that we reject ‘photography,’ that is, the reductive notions of photographic practices we were taught, it should not be construed as a market-oriented stylistic maneuver nor as some sort of oedipal rebellion against ‘the fathers’ (which only matters in the case of the white sons, anyway). For we were also affected by the social upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s (civil rights, the antiwar movement, the women’s movement, gay liberations) which coincided with our socialization as artists and which made agonizingly clear, if only retrospectively, the

⁹⁷³ Solomon-Godeau’s undergraduate studies were completed predominantly in art history with an emphasis on French nineteenth century painting. Her writing and curatorial work was focused on contemporary art and photography. Abigail Solomon-Godeau. Email to author. December 20, 2020.

⁹⁷⁴ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, “Winning the Game When the Rules Have Been Changed: Art Photography and Postmodernism,” *Exposure* 23.1 (1985), 15.

importance of acknowledging those other personal and political identities that we have been taught to deny ‘as artists.’⁹⁷⁵

Such reflexivity and questioning of the implications of photography education grew throughout the 1980s. Attention was particularly paid to questions surrounding representation in the academy, external institutions, and founding agencies.

How Is Photography Taught?

The stabilisation in the number of photography programs in higher-education institutions did not mean that there was a single or coherent approach to photography education. In 1980, SPE published a special issue of *Exposure* exploring education, later reproduced as a book titled *Teaching Photography* (1981).⁹⁷⁶ In their opening editorial, Tony Frederick (b. 1955) and Thomas Neff (b. 1948) explained the purpose of the issue was “an attempt to provide the photographic community with a broad and inclusive anthology of various positions current in the field.” They argued that:

without having a clear idea of how to proceed as teachers, we were forced to rely on ourselves. One strategy we used was to draw upon our experienced as students by imitating methods our former teachers had used...⁹⁷⁷

Two major themes emerged from the issue’s contributions. First there was a collective frustration felt with the state of the history of photography, (although the authors’ reasons differed). Second, there was no clear vision or singular voice of what photography education should be. Some

⁹⁷⁵ Deborah Bright, “Preface,” *Exposure* 27.3 (Summer 1990), 9. The issue of *Exposure* was dedicated to socially-motivated photography practices. The essays were drawn from papers presented at a one-day workshop “New Options/Working Solutions,” held at Boston University on April 29, 1989. The workshop was co-sponsored by the Boston Center for Photography Criticism, the Photographic Resource Center, and a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

⁹⁷⁶ Thomas Neff and Tony Frederick, ed. *Teaching Photography* (New York and Denver: Society for Photographic Education and University of Colorado at Denver, 1981).

⁹⁷⁷ Thomas Neff, “Preface,” *Exposure* 18.3,4 (1980), 8.

authors argued for theoretical approaches grounded in history, some in technical or mechanical skills, and some in the capturing of a feeling or an expression of hidden emotions of a moment.

The editors assembled texts about educational models or earlier writings that they believed illustrated these tensions. As such, included in the contemporary responses were reprints of earlier essays, dating back to 1957. For example, Allan [A.] D. Coleman's (b. 1943) 1971 essay "A Manifesto for Photographic Education," was reprinted in the publication. In it, the photography critic expressed his vexations with the trending dichotomies found in the education system, stating:

Unfortunately, photographers – and virtually everyone involved in photography education is a photographer – take these arguments personally, and thus we get sucked into trying to break through this chain of circular reasoning. That is why, just as war is too important to leave to the generals, photography education is too important to leave to the photographers.⁹⁷⁸

His point was that photography education had been structured by photographers who were not trained as teachers. The education system was not formulating a generation trained and proficient in pictorial literacy, but rather a group coached in the identification of particular stylistic approaches – ones favoured by their mentors.

Where previous generations of photography educators did not necessarily agree on the best means of education, the growth of the field meant that individuals no longer required a single community to support their ambitions. They could find professional or peer support for their practices from outside the academic network. Moreover, the field was now large enough to sustain itself while rejecting the individuals who did not conform to the values and norms of photography education. These values were shaped not only by faculty members but also by the

⁹⁷⁸ A.D. Coleman, "A Manifesto for Photographic Education" *Exposure* 18.3,4 (1980), 14. The essay was first published in the *New York Times* on November 21, 1971 and is reprinted in A.D. Coleman, *Light Readings*, 1979.

growing marketplace for photography. With photography's growth in the art market came the solidification of photography's history and the respective masters.

The Implications of a *History*

On January 9, 1979, Beaumont Newhall, lecturing at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago at an event partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, presented "Toward the New Histories of Photography" to some six hundred people.⁹⁷⁹ Newhall's *History of Photography* was well-known in the photography world at this time, consumed in lecture halls and private homes. Newhall's lecture addressed three topics. First, he provided an overview of early writings on the history of photography. Second, he explained how he became involved in the subject. Third, and perhaps of most interest to the audience, he sketched out his hopes for the future of the history of photography. He stressed:

I don't want anybody in this room to think that my history is *the* history... I hope that there will be many other books, with many different points of view, coming out of this wonderful and extraordinary wave of interest in the history of photography.⁹⁸⁰

Despite his sentiment, Newhall's account of the history of medium was already firmly established in classrooms and was guiding the collecting habits of not only different museums and galleries, but also individual collectors.

Moreover, the codification of the history of the medium along these lines affected the means by which future narratives would be researched and written. John Brumfield (b. 1934) Associate Dean at the California Institute of the Arts, in 1980 considered the results of such a history:

⁹⁷⁹ Alex J. Sweetman, "Introduction," *Exposure* 21.4 (1983): [3].

⁹⁸⁰ Beaumont Newhall, "Toward the New Histories of Photography," *Exposure* 21.4 (1983): 4.

the photo-historians are hungry; for, like the legendary Transylvanian bat, they have a tradition to sustain. And that's too bad, for what are they to do but rearrange again the tired old categories of mainstream art? And, as in the case of those medieval chronicles which once so artfully traced lineage of the Kings of England to the genealogical tree of the Roman Brutus, the line drawn between flexibility and fraud is faint indeed.⁹⁸¹

The need to identify, transmit, and safeguard photographic traditions was connected to the growing economic value placed on photography as an art form. It also reflected a historical narrative that was successfully transmitted to students who had since graduated and become teachers themselves.

In 1974, Richard W. Christopherson, a PhD student in sociology at the University of California, Davis, published an article detailing the means photographers were using to establish themselves as artists: they required a canon and theoretical framework to justify the value of their work to galleries, museums, and collectors. The creation of a history was key to evaluating photographs as works of art. Education, therefore, in which this history was taught and learned, played a particular role in transferring knowledge beyond the technical craft to a profession.⁹⁸²

Just as photography's canon was being established, reinforced, and embedded within the gallery, museum, and academy, a new generation of educators, curators, and critics emerged in opposition. Such individuals entered the field at a time when they did not have to argue for photography's legitimisation as an artform. Editor and critic Jan Zita Grover (b.1945), theorised the burdens of photography education after the 1980s, and specifically the transmission of photography history and pedagogy. In 1991 she questioned

if technique is the ordering principle of photographic history and these are the people who have mastered the technique, how can we open the canon to those who have not? To reach escape velocity from the

⁹⁸¹ John Brumfield, "Count Dracula in the Olive Grove," *Exposure* 18.1 (1980): 4.

⁹⁸² Richard W. Christopherson, "From Folk Art to Fine Art: A Transformation in the Meaning of Photographic Work," *Urban Life and Culture* 3.2 (July 1974): 123-157.

Planet of the Guys, we obviously need to start by challenging the rationales for stressing technique as the *summum bonum* of photographic education/aesthetics.⁹⁸³

To Grover, there were two trends in the constructed history of photography. One historical model followed Newhall's "*modernism-is-the-watershed* theory: here everything leads up to and follows upon the work of a pantheon of photographic modernists".⁹⁸⁴ The second was a pattern that looked at the developments of the medium through a cool disillusioned stance. These two methods, however, did not allow for the complexities of photography in relationship to its production. She concluded that this lack of contextualisation was "the epistemological equivalent of slide-library magic."⁹⁸⁵

Teaching: Practicing Theory

Grover's assertion was part of the influence of theory on the curriculum of photography education throughout the late 1970s and into the 1980s. Jennifer Day, then an undergraduate student in Ryerson's photography program, wrote about her experience in *Camera Canada* explaining in 1976 that it was typical for her to spend more time in a lecture than in the darkroom or shooting for assignments. Most of her photographic work for assignments consumed her weekend. Twenty hours each week were dedicated to classroom lectures on various theoretical subjects dealing largely with theory, only four hours were spent on technical aspects of photography.⁹⁸⁶

This shift from practical to theoretical training occurred gradually, influenced by the emergence of postmodernist practices of re-appropriation, popular culture, and a rejection of the

⁹⁸³ Jan Zita Grover, "Frayed Edges: Academic Photography in 1990," *Exposure* 28.1,2 (1991): 73.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁶ Jennifer Day, "Ryerson: First Impressions," *Camera Canada* 28 (March 1976): 30.

notions central to modernism – such as uniqueness, genius creator, and high-art – that fundamentally changed the field of photography. Artists were now turning to photography as a creative medium not because they were interested in it as a creative medium, but because of its association with the mundane, the mechanical, and its reproducibility. The late 1960s marked a rise in self-identified conceptual artists who valued ideas as creative acts. Such artists used multiple mediums – painting, sculpture, film, photography, performance, each selected or combined on the basis of compatibility to their work.⁹⁸⁷

In 1983, Solomon-Godeau presented a paper titled, “Winning the Game When the Rules Have Been Changed: Art Photography and Postmodernism” at RISD. She published the lecture in *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts* that same year.⁹⁸⁸ The paper presented a summary of her larger arguments about photography’s newfound use in contemporary art.⁹⁸⁹ She claimed that, as photography was becoming accepted in other fields, photographers who had been able to control the narrative of artistic photography discourse, now found themselves lagging behind. In her lecture, Solomon-Godeau presented the post-modernist work by artists such as Sherrie Levine (b. 1947) and Richard Prince (b. 1949).⁹⁹⁰ She concluded her presentation with:

⁹⁸⁷ For the most part, individuals who identified as artists worked in different social networks from those who identified as creative photographers. Artists who used photography, were likely to be flexible in their artistic approach, selecting any medium that appropriately conveyed their idea. Creative photographers centred their practices around photography. The relationship between these two networks is slowly coming to light. Andy Grundberg recently described these different approaches and social networks in *How Photography Became Contemporary Art: Inside an Artistic Revolution from Pop to the Digital Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021). See also Mary Statzer, ed. *The Photographic Object 1970* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Matthew S. Witkovsky, Mark Godfrey (Mark Benjamin), Robin Earle Kelsey, Anne Rorimer, Allen Ruppertsberg, Giuliano Sergio, Joshua Shannon, and Art Institute of Chicago, *Light Years: Conceptual Art and the Photograph, 1964-1977* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

⁹⁸⁸ *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts* 8 (1983): 5-13. The lecture was subsequently published in *Screen* 25.6 (1984): 88-103 and *Exposure* 23.1 (Spring 1985): 5-15.

⁹⁸⁹ See for instance Abigail Solomon-Godeau with Ben Lifson “Photophilia: A Conversation about the Photography Scene,” *October* 16 (Spring, 1981): 102-118; and Solomon-Godeau, “Tunnel Vision,” *The Print Collector’s Newsletter* 12.6 (January-February 1982): 173-175.

⁹⁹⁰ Both Levine and Prince were exhibited in Douglas Crimp’s exhibition *Pictures* that was soon coined to define a generation of post-modernist and conceptual artists who used photography in their practices.

winning the game when the rules have been changed – relates to precisely this phenomenon. Having achieved institutional legitimation as a fine art among the others, art photography remains rooted in a conceptual impasse of its own making. Most art photographers, particularly those established within the past fifteen years or so, and now ensconced within the photography departments across the land, give little thought to the general collapse of the modernism which provided the ballast for the triumphant rise of art photography. The teaching of photography tends to be cordoned off from what goes on in the rest of the art department. So while young painters are reading art magazines and as often as not following developments in film, performance or video, photography students are reading photography magazines, disputing the merits of documentary mode over self-expression, or resurrecting unto the fourth generation an exhausted formalism that can no longer generate either heat or light.⁹⁹¹

This sentiment was indicative of the generation gap and attitude shift in the field. Those of the previous generation who had remained in photography by obtaining teaching positions imagined the field as an open and welcoming space. Conversely, to some of the graduates of the mid-1970s and the 1980s, the tight-knit network of photographers who had worked to establish the field of photography was viewed as a cohort of gatekeepers rather than as trailblazers, with the ability to prevent their access. Moreover, individuals active within the photography education community were seen as having ghettoised themselves within the discipline rather than partaking in the larger art discourse.

Some programs, such as the one at the University of California, San Diego, actively embraced this generational shift. Many of the early faculty members in the Visual Arts MFA program at the school (which included photography, video, and performance) were recent graduates of the very program they were hired to teach in, including Martha Rosler (b. 1943)⁹⁹² and Allan Sekula. Sekula's 1978 essay published in a special issue on photography of *The*

⁹⁹¹ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Winning the Game When the Rules Have Been Changed: Art Photography and Postmodernism," *Exposure* 23.1 (Spring 1985): 15.

⁹⁹² David and Eleanor Antin were Rosler's mentors while working on her MFA in the department.

Massachusetts Review, “Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation),”⁹⁹³ displayed his philosophical approach. The essay highlighted the role of education in perpetuating an elitist and narrow model for the arts and called for the deconstruction of modernist values. Sekula viewed the documentary approach – one that was critical and political rather than formalist – as an important tool for artists. His essay contended that an artist’s interest in photography should be based on photography’s ability to act as a critical language rather than an aesthetic representation of reality. This was contrary to photography education which placed a primary value on the mastery of technical skills in order to transmit the photographer’s creative ambitions. Sekula provided examples of artists using photography in this documentary approach including his colleagues from the UCSD department. Sekula explained that ultimately, he was arguing...

for an art that documents monopoly capitalism’s inability to deliver the conditions of a fully human life, for an art that recalls Benjamin’s remark in the *Theses on the Philosophy of History* that “there is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism.”⁹⁹⁴

Sekula’s reference to Frankfurt School thinker Walter Benjamin, as well as his overall Marxist ambitions for the medium, illustrated the way theory was being incorporated into the photography scene and addressed within some institutions.

At UCSD, faculty members Fred Lonidier, Phel Steinmetz, Rosler, and Sekula regularly met as a working group to discuss Marxism, critical theory, the history of art and photography, and ecology. In 2016, art historian Pamela M. Lee (b. 1967) wrote that the group discussions on readings “might include Barthes, Brecht, Benjamin, and [the anthropologist Gregory] Bateson as

⁹⁹³ Allan Sekula, “Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation,” *The Massachusetts Review [Photography]* 19.4 (Winter 1978): 859-883.

⁹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 883.

well as radical feminist literature.”⁹⁹⁵ Their thinking was also influenced by the overall environment at the university at the time, where activists such as Angela [Yvonne] Davis (b. 1944) were demonstrating against social, racial, and economic injustice. It was clear that photography education at UCSD was more influenced by the Civil Rights Movement, the Feminist Movement, and other concerns than by the sways of the photography education network.

Soon after publishing his essay, Sekula began work on his photographic series *School is a Factory*, 1978-1980, in which he photographed different aspects of the education system. Each image was accompanied by text describing the function of the displayed data, directing the viewer’s reading of the image. Part of the series was published in *Exposure* accompanying an essay by the same title.⁹⁹⁶ Schools to Sekula were institutions designed to indoctrinate individuals into particular understandings and therefore acted to reproduce strict social norms and hierarchies, over which students had little control.

Sekula began photographing aspects of the education system in response to the conditions he saw while teaching at Orange Coast College, a public community college in Costa Mesa, California. Some of the images in the series include documentation of various aspects of photography programs including class critiques. The text that accompanied each image remarks on the manner in which the depicted behaviour functions within the larger scheme of the educational institution. By doing so, Sekula drew attention to inequalities and discrepancies between the educational model and social conditions.⁹⁹⁷ For example, in one image depicting an

⁹⁹⁵ Pamela M. Lee, ““There Was No Radicalization... It Was *Normal* for Us”: Teaching and Learning in the UCSD Department of Visual Arts, 1967-76,” in *The Uses of Photography: Art, Politics, and the Reinvention of a Medium* ed. Jill Dawsey, 80-93, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016): 88.

⁹⁹⁶ Allan Sekula, “School is a Factory,” *Exposure* 18.3,4 (Fall and Winter 1980): 76-91.

⁹⁹⁷ *Exposure* published an earlier version of ‘School is a Factory.’ The series was first published in its entirety in Allen Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973-1983*, ed. Benjamin H.D. Buchloh and

interview for a teaching position [fig. 6.5], the text noted that the documented interview with the Hispanic female interviewee acted as evidence of affirmative action by the department despite the lack of her ultimate employment. In another image, a photographer inspects the work of two students [fig. 6.6], Sekula wrote that while the students were seeking counsel from the fine art photographer, they were unlikely to work as exhibiting photographers themselves.

By the time he had completed the series in 1980, Sekula had become an Assistant Professor in the Photography and Cinema Department at Ohio State University. His closing words in the essay published on the work demonstrated the kind of goals he would have set for his teaching, centred around issues of labour from a leftist perspective.⁹⁹⁸

The task of progressive teachers, artists, and students is to critique this vision and combat its further realization, while preserving the awareness that utopian esthetic possibilities must be struggled for as intrinsic to a genuinely democratic future, but cannot be achieved in a society governed by a mechanical and world-threatening lust for profit and control.⁹⁹⁹

UCSD department's embracing of post-modernism and conceptual approaches to photography reflected the minority trend in photography education at the time. Sekula's mobility during this period as an educator in multiple programs across the United States was typical. It was more common to find examples of single educators such as Sekula taking on theoretical pedagogical models rather than an entire department. With educators moving to positions across the country, such approaches could be located at different institutions that otherwise maintained traditional¹⁰⁰⁰ department values.

Robert Wilkie, (Halifax: The Press of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984). The series is composed of 19 photographs accompanied by captions and seven graphic panels.

⁹⁹⁸ Lucy Soutter, "Allan Sekula: Educator," *Photographies* 7.1 (2014): 109-111.

⁹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰⁰⁰ By this I mean departments that celebrated large format, black and white photographs, that emulated the masters of American photography as established through Newhall's history, and increasingly reinforced by the photography market.

Teaching: Technical Skills and Traditions

Outside of graduate programs and special topics classes, most undergraduate photography courses and programs centred around the transmission of technical skills to students, instilling within them a value system with which to identify creative photography. In 1983, Horrell found that six hundred and sixteen departments offered courses in basic photography at the undergraduate level, making this the largest area of study in photography. Courses on the history of still photography, in comparison, could be found in one hundred and eleven departments.¹⁰⁰¹ Phillip [Phil] Davis (1921-2007), a graduate of Albright Art School in Buffalo, New York, then teaching at the University of Michigan, in 1976, used the Zone System in his beginner classes. Davis noted that the new crop of students were interested in understanding the foundations of the medium and were eager to receive technical training. Beyond mastering photography, the study of densitometry¹⁰⁰² offered another outcome to Davis as he wrote in a 1975 summary of his classes:

we're all familiar with the brash beginner who makes it clear at the beginning of the semester that he is only taking the course to get access to the darkroom and who expects nothing from the instructor but admiration and praise. With his thousand-dollar SLR outfit slung around his neck like a medal of honor and his armful of ratty prints of sleeping drunks, screaming rock singers, and bosomy nudes lurking in deserted houses, he is a force to be dealt with. When all the more subtle attempts at communication have failed, I know no better way to close his mouth and open his head than to set him down in front of a densitometer for a week or two to learn a little humility.¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰¹ Dr. C. William Horrell, *College Instruction in Photography: Motion Picture, Graphic Arts, Still Photography*, 7.

¹⁰⁰² Densitometry is a measurement used for calculating the amount of light-sensitive material on a given surface such as a photograph. Such values can be obtained by using a device called a densitometer. The ability to calculate and understand the meaning of these values was a key component of the Zone System. See Barbara Upton and John Upton, "Learning the Zone System," in *Photography*, sixth printing, (Boston: Educational Associates A Division of Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 254.

¹⁰⁰³ Phil Davis, "Peace and Joy Through Sensitometry or, What Happened When We Threw Our Students a Characteristic Curve" *Exposure* 13.1 (1975): 17.

Davis's sentiment indicates the way technical mastery was used as a means of separating hobbyists from professionals and amateurs from creative photographers.

At Columbia College, a private four-year liberal arts college in Chicago, Illinois, thirty-four classes were dedicated to foundation studies in photography. The photography faculty at the school was the college's largest, with more than thirty full and part-time faculty members. The basic courses in photography were among the most popular, including "Photography I" and "Darkroom Workshop I." Each of the classes met for four hours for a total of eight hours each week of the semester. "Photography I" was designed to meet in a classroom and the "Darkroom Workshop I" met in specially designed teaching darkrooms. They were both designed to easily follow Upton and Upton's *Photography* text. The seminar classes were used to develop students' language for discussing their photographs and the darkroom time was used to master techniques.¹⁰⁰⁴

At times, exhibition catalogues were used to guide classes. In the mid-1970s, exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues greatly affected photography. Two such examples were George Eastman House's exhibition *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape* (1975)¹⁰⁰⁵ and the Museum of Modern Art's *Mirrors and Windows: American Photography Since 1960* (1978).¹⁰⁰⁶ Both these exhibitions and their publications, as earlier catalogues had, provided photographers and educators with a vocabulary with which to define photography stylistic approaches.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Alan Cohen, "Photo I the Columbia Way," *Exposure* 19.1 (1981): 48-49.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *New Topographics* was restaged at the Eastman House and the Center for Creative Photography between 2009-2010. For an overview discussion of this exhibition see Wendy Cheng, "'New Topographics': Locating Epistemological Concerns in the American Landscape," *American Quarterly* 63.1 (March 2011): 151-162.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Jed Perl, "Mirrors and Windows: Messages from MOMA," *Aperture* 81 (1978): 2-4.

In 1976, David [Dave Dolloff] Read (b. 1938) – then photography teacher at Miami-Dade Community College, South – used John Szarkowski’s 1966 catalogue *The Photographer’s Eye* to structure his beginner class. Each chapter was dedicated to a particular term and acted as a module with a correlating project. Read began each section by introducing students to the terms: “The Thing Itself,” “The Detail,” “The Frame,” “Time,” and “Vantage Point” through slide presentations. He used the displayed images to explain the way the vocabulary functioned toward constructing photographic meaning. In his class introducing the photographer as constructor of “The Frame” for example, Read showed his students work by Paul Strand, Robert Frank, Ralph Gibson (b. 1939), and Mark Cohen (b. 1943) in conjunction with artworks such as Japanese prints and paintings by Edgar Degas (1834-1917) and Édouard Manet (1832-1883). By connecting such photographers with objects and painters already understood as masters, Read relayed which photographers were valued as artists. The students were then assigned to produce photographs that displayed the concept. As such, the use of a text such as Szarkowski’s was twofold. First, it provided a toolkit of terms around which to structure a course and analyse photographs. Second, it facilitated the transmission of stylistic values.¹⁰⁰⁷

As such texts were used by educators as vocabulary for analysing photographs, they became deeply ingrained as the standards within the field. Knowledge of terms established during the early stages of photography education would have been applied to the students’ own work during critiques. Therefore, this controlled lexicon shaped the way students were able to conceptualise, realise, and discuss their own photographic work, as well as that of their peers. Sociologist Barbara Rosenblum found that during undergraduate critique periods, students’ works were more likely to be criticised for how they failed to meet the standards of art than

¹⁰⁰⁷ Dave Read, “Notes on Methods,” *Exposure* 14.3 (1976): 38-39.

define what creative photography was. As such, Rosenblum termed such classes in 1978 as “public shaming or degradation ceremony.”¹⁰⁰⁸

Beyond critique-based classes, such vocabulary had implications on students learning to write about the history of photography. Bill Jay, for example, who obtained his MFA from the University of New Mexico in 1976¹⁰⁰⁹ and was working as an associate professor of art history at Arizona State University in 1980, staunchly opposed outsiders writing the history of the medium. In his 1980 article “History of Photography: The Inside-Out Approach,”¹⁰¹⁰ he advocated for more meticulous historical research and noted that not enough had been compiled to allow for a more theoretical or overarching study approaches:

[t]he medium needs fewer historians who are hanging onto Newhall’s coattails and more individualistic pioneers with his willingness to travel alone. There is one problem with this ideal – it requires an immense amount of tedious work, painstaking compiling data in the privacy of a study or in the basements of museums and libraries. In an age of increasing passivity and demand for instant gratification this notion seems difficult to accept, or apply. Everyone wants the glamour of drawing conclusions, constructing systems, reaching subjective responses. When based on insufficient data the results are not only inaccurate but potentially disruptive, like a signpost turned the wrong way.¹⁰¹¹

To Jay, outsiders were defined by their lack of understanding of the medium itself: “the theorists are absurd attempts at drawing attention to themselves rather than to history.”¹⁰¹² This compromised their conclusions about the photographer’s intentions, especially when a researcher

¹⁰⁰⁸ Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc., 1978): 36.

¹⁰⁰⁹ “UNM Photo Alumni created by Eugene Ellenberg,” ca. 2014. Provided to author by Cindy Able Morris, Pictorial Archivist at the Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections, University of New Mexico Libraries, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. Email to author. January 18, 2019.

¹⁰¹⁰ Bill Jay, “History of Photography: The Inside-Out Approach,” *Exposure* 18.3,4 (Fall and Winter 1980): 28-30.

¹⁰¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, 30.

was unable to distinguish between a technical flaw from a decisive outcome of the photographer's conscious decision.¹⁰¹³

Knowledge of photography thus defined and rooted in the understanding of technical mastery over the medium would have been expected of individuals within the photography network. Jay's opinions on the proper approach to historical writing reflect the kind of methodical art historical research that was required of him while completing his graduate studies. At the University of New Mexico all graduate students had to produce a substantial research paper, in addition to an artistic project. As a teacher, Jay perpetuated this model with his students.

Despite Jay's assertion that people should not latch onto Newhall's history, he himself used Newhall's historical text when teaching the history of photography. His contradiction illustrates the difficulty of breaking away from Newhall's narrative, as it provided a convenient introduction to the subject. While most educators at the time – including Jay – acknowledged that Newhall's history did not represent the entire field, the use of such text as a foundation meant that students were expected to know and use it to participate in the field's discourse.

Jay's teaching approach, which emulated his mentors, was similarly seen in some of the emerging photography faculty members of the late 1970s and into the 1980s. In 1981, Greg [William] Erf's (b. 1945) wrote an essay titled "Some Thoughts on the Matter" as part of a work study report for VSW on his experience teaching. In it, he explored the reasons photography education was failing to teach students "the importance of expressing human feelings in art."¹⁰¹⁴ Part of the problem, according to Erf, emerged from the homogenisation and formalisation of

¹⁰¹³ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁴ Greg Erf, "Some Thoughts on the Matter," Spring 1981, 1, Greg Erf file, Student Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

photography. Specialisations in particular techniques and the training of individuals to replicate the work of their teachers resulted in an unproductive conversation. By training students to accept particular ideologies, personal energy and unique thought were sacrificed. Erf's solution was that:

[t]he student and teacher must be co-workers and co-discoverers bound by the act of making art. Producing and discussing work must be thought of in human terms not formal terms. Critical inquiry about the production of one's art must be based on the human values shared not opposed, by the teacher and student.¹⁰¹⁵

Erf believed human values were the core from which one created art. In photography, the divide was caused largely by students' bypassing the consideration of art in other media. As Erf wrote, "[t]hey lost the concept of art because they never had an opportunity to paint or draw. They got sucked into photographic education which was perpetuating itself rather than art."¹⁰¹⁶ Ultimately, his solution was to draw upon photographer educator Gary Metz's¹⁰¹⁷ (1941-2010) notions of dialogue in an unstructured classroom format. Here, the roles of working artist, working student, and working teacher were to be interchanged and re-evaluated by the whole group; where, in Erf's words, the "position of artist becomes the great equalizer, the common denominator bonding together student and teacher."¹⁰¹⁸

As discussed in the previous chapter, Erf's assertions demonstrate the impact of the VSW's pedagogical approach on his teaching, where the hierarchy between student and teacher was blurred – at least in theory. Arthur Nager (b. 1949)¹⁰¹⁹ a graduate of VSW in 1976, similarly

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid. 5

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid. 5-6.

¹⁰¹⁷ Metz taught at the University of Colorado, Boulder, the International Center of Photography, and Rhode Island School of Design.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid. 9.

¹⁰¹⁹ Between 1973 and 1990 Nager was the Director of the Photography Program at the University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Connecticut. Prior to obtaining his position, Nager worked in the Exhibitions Department at the Eastman House between 1968 and 1970, and then as a faculty member at the Center of the Eye, Anderson Ranch Art Center, Aspen, Colorado between 1971 to 1973.

recalled using VSW's model in his own teaching approach. In 2016, reflecting on his education, Nager wrote that:

Nathan's [Lyons] style of teaching did not focus on the validation of one's work as good or bad – instead he conveyed that it was the overall body of work that mattered. This approach to the medium provided the framework for how I began teaching and continued through my years directing a photography program on the University level. Nathan served as the model for how to create a community, foster dialogue about photography and how to communicate what photography could be to a broad audience.¹⁰²⁰

Chuck Swedlund likewise emulated his teacher Aaron Siskind,¹⁰²¹ while working in the early 1980s at the University of Southern Illinois. Swedlund had students come to his house to:

get back to the old ways of teaching, somehow, I just think something has changed. I keep relating to that one picture from *Family of Man* where it's a guy sitting in his loincloth around a fire and the caption says 'aborigine' – I don't know what that means – and he's got his ten, twelve students sitting around looking at artifacts from their culture talking about it. Getting to know their names... Using the objects is a way in which I can get back to a more one to one basis. The point of this is it helps students better understand their heritage.¹⁰²²

In order to achieve this object-based education model, Swedlund went to different flea markets in Chicago and Buffalo collecting photographs and brought the objects to his classes to show his students. In addition, he organised a weekly exhibition of twenty-five to forty photographs based around photography technologies such as daguerreotypes, carte-de-visits, or tintypes. By

¹⁰²⁰ Arthur Nager, "Exhibitions: Nathan Lyons (1930-2016)," Visual Studies Workshop, Accessed March 14, 2020. <http://www.vsw.org/online/nathan-lyons/>.

¹⁰²¹ In the cited lecture Swedlund recalls Siskind would bring a book to share with his students during the class. As a group they would examine and discuss the book. Chuck Swedlund, [conference recording], 1982, Box 32 "Audiovisual Materials, various dates audio cassettes," File "Teaching Philosophies and Question Period: Crane Moderator (SPE Meeting 1982 Broadmoor) with Schulze, Weber, Heinecken, Raymond, Swedland," AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰²² Ibid.

showing his students such objects, he believed they would gain a better understanding of photography's materiality and apply this to their own practice.¹⁰²³

Lilo Raymond (1922-2009) who began teaching photography in the late 1970s at the School of Visual Arts in New York City, also replicated her mentor's pedagogical methods in her own teaching approach. In 1982 Raymond described that during her classes...

we talk about just about anything. You know, the kitchen thing gets into it. And I think once in a while I feel we are all the products of our backgrounds. The only class I ever went to was David Vestal's class and we arrived there at 7 o'clock at night and left at 4 in the morning and we talked about just about everything. It was a very stimulating experience. And I think my teaching comes out of that. I become a fellow photographer and at the same time, I'm trying very hard to pull out what is in each individual student. It's a very one to one thing. It is a critique class, but everyone bounces off everyone else and we learn from each other an enormous amount. Basically, I feel that kind of photography really cannot be taught. But you can give people enthusiasm, I can give them a kick in the ass to make them go on further into something. Because they come from an environment which is very competitive and also where they have to jump from one thing to another; and I very much like them to stay at one thing. It isn't necessary to do nudes in one term and still lifes in the next term. I find it more important to go really deeply into something and explore that totally.¹⁰²⁴

Like all faculty members at the school at the time, Raymond taught part-time. Replicating her own educational experience, she held classes in her private home.¹⁰²⁵

Sociologist Barbara Rosenblum found in her 1978 study that links throughout the 1970s increased between influential curators and teachers in what she deemed the educational-gallery-museum network.¹⁰²⁶ While such connections could be found earlier than the mid-1970s, as

¹⁰²³ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁴ Lilo Raymond, [conference recording], 1982, Box 32 "Audiovisual Materials, various dates audio cassettes," File "Teaching Philosophies and Question Period: Crane Moderator (SPE Meeting 1982 Broadmoor) with Schulze, Weber, Heinecken, Raymond, Swedland," AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁶ Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work*, 87-109.

discussed in the previous chapters, they took on greater economic significance in the latter part of the decade. Relationships fostered within academic structures reinforced students to work in particular styles. Successful applications of favoured approaches were rewarded not only with grades but also with connections, and by extension to the marketplace through exhibitions, gallery representation, and even patrons who collected their work.

An example of the influence of gallerists on academic programs can be seen through Lee D. Witkin (1935-1984), the founder of Witkin Gallery in New York City in 1969. As an early supporter of the medium in a gallery setting, Witkin quickly developed a reputation among private collectors and acted as an advisor and mentor to individuals interested in collecting photography. Perhaps his widest reach in this area can be seen in his 1979 publication with co-author Barbara London [formerly Upton] (b. 1936), *The Photograph Collector's Guide*.

Beyond the gallery and publication, Witkin supported the circulation of photography as an artistic medium by providing donations to his alma mater, and later employer as a photography history lecturer, New York University, to purchase photography publications in the late 1970s.¹⁰²⁷ In a thank-you letter to Witkin in 1978, Barbara L. Michaels (b. 1935), then a photography lecturer at the university, explained that she used the funds to augment the students' recommended textbooks, Newhall's *History of Photography* and John Szarkowski's *Looking at Photographs*. Her selection [fig. 6.7] combined survey texts by Nathan Lyons, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, and Szarkowski with monographs about photographers such as Walker Evans, Lewis Wickes Hine, and Garry Winogrand (1928-1984).¹⁰²⁸ This support of particular

¹⁰²⁷ Letter Barbara L. Michaels to Lee D. Witkins, March 23, 1978, Box 130 "Lee Witkin Biographical Material and Activity Files (NYU Teaching Files)," File 6 "NYU Teaching Files New York University Correspondence, 1975-1978, 1981-1984," AG 62 The Witkin Gallery Collection, Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid.

narratives of the medium's history and identification of key photographers worked toward solidifying students' ideas of what photographs should look like and address.

This model benefited some students, but not all. Those who did not adhere to faculty members' and curators' preferences for photography – due to either conscious or unconscious biases – were unlikely to find support or mentorship from their teachers. Beyond the student's ability to graduate or successfully complete a course, this lack of support had larger implications on their success and career. In 1985, one female undergraduate, in the conclusion of her term paper presented to Jan Zita Grover, wrote:

There's really something wrong here. There's something wrong with photography programs that ignore one-half of the student population and yet pretend not to. I feel like a sheep tricked by a hungry wolf masquerading as one of my comrades. How falsely women have been portrayed by the 'master' photographers and how wrongly we (myself and female students) have been misguided in our education.

In [our] photography program, you are taught to think about form, structure, and interesting compositions, and study how others have already used these, yet you are never encouraged to really think about the contents of the work you view. You are shown and told work that is good (rarely are good images challenged as to why they are so good, never are the images evaluated in terms of bad) and so in our naivete, we accept these opinions without question. Good work is evaluated by its notoriety or by an individual's success, by ingenuity or technique, but rarely if ever are students asked to consider a photographer's viewpoint or intentions when evaluating a photograph or body of work... what distresses me, is when only one view is presented and refuses [sic] to accept any other view of society. This is what is lacking in nearly every photography institution. Not nearly enough time and energy is placed into the discussion of women's work, and so female students are given an image which they are supposed to accept as representing qualities which they themselves possess. In other words, they are told who they are supposed to be, what they are supposed to feel, and how they should look by people who are outside the experience of 'femaleness.'¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁹ Jan Zita Grover citing a student's paper, "Editorials: Putting Feminism in the Classroom," *Exposure* 23.2 (Summer 1985): 26-27.

The student's statements were reflective of a larger trend Barbara Rosenblum observed in her sociological study. As she summarised in 1978, "[w]hile this social arrangement furnishes a mobility path for upcoming young photographers, it also at the same time tends to perpetuate the dominance and continuation of several photographic traditions."¹⁰³⁰ Rosenblum found that social networks were key to obtaining teaching positions for students: applicants with desirable references were often hired based on recommendations from their mentors and for their assumed connection to the photography network elite; which they in turn could impart to their students.¹⁰³¹

Rise of Mixed-Media Programs

The late 1970s saw the solidification of mixed-media programs as an independent educational stream. In 1970, Sonia Landy Sheridan, a graduate of Hunter College and the holder of an MFA from the California College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland, founded the Energy Bank program, soon thereafter renamed the Generative System at the Art Institute of Chicago. The program was focused on introducing students to various reprography techniques and early computer animation. Loosely tied to the world of photography and printmaking, Generative System was largely intended to explore new possibilities in pictorial representation created through the latest technology, such as 3M photocopiers and fax machines. More broadly, Sheridan's pedagogical approach was rooted in the Bauhaus.¹⁰³² By the mid-1970s, recognition of the program's

¹⁰³⁰ Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work*, 101.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

¹⁰³² Interviews conducted by Kathryn Farley with Sheridan on the program may be accessed at Kathryn Farley, "Interview with Sonia Sheridan," Foundation Langlois, access August 24, 2020, <https://fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=2051>.

importance was evident through funding from organisations such as the Union of Independent Colleges of Art and the National Endowment for the Arts.¹⁰³³

Part of what motivated Sheridan to start the program was her desire to encourage her students to obtain skills outside their narrow education limited to a particular artistic medium. She believed that the role of art schools was to teach students creativity: not a set of skills reliant on a particular technology or medium, but a means of approaching and thinking about the world. At the time, Sheridan saw schools increasingly gearing their education models toward the transmission of medium-specific technical skills. This to her was the pre-disposition of administrators, who, as non-artists, emphasised efficiency over creative and intellectual rigour.

At the same time, the rise in value placed on academic learning meant that institutions traditionally outside the realm of university pedagogical approaches, such as the art school, were now more likely to mirror university requirements. Beyond the administrator's growing influence, the faculty whom they hired were not always equipped to teach creativity, as it required them to be flexible and open to considering work outside their area of expertise.¹⁰³⁴ The acquisition of technical skills provided educators and administrators with a calculable and visible scale with which to assess students' progress. The looseness of the Generative System's educational approach, in contrast, recalled the traditions of an art school that allowed for students to pursue their areas of interest independently of a particular medium or grading system.

¹⁰³³ For a longer description of Sheridan's biography and early stages of the Generative Systems program see Diane Kirkpatrick, "Sonia Landy Sheridan and the Evolution of Her Generative Systems Program," *Visual Resources* 22.4 (2006): 343-361.

¹⁰³⁴ Sonia Landy Sheridan, "The Institutionalization of Creativity: Frustrations of the Artist-Teacher," *Exposure* 18.3,4 (Winter 1980): 58-62.

Three articles in *Afterimage* documented the program's progression throughout the 1970s.¹⁰³⁵ Early in the program's existence, Sheridan required her students to teach a variety of classes. These classes were taped for the benefit of the lecturing student. The goal of this exercise was to have the students consider the means by which they were communicating and transferring knowledge. Sheridan initiated this practice because she believed that as contemporary artists, her students would likely work as educators to support themselves financially.¹⁰³⁶

In 1973 in Buffalo, New York, Gerald O'Grady (1931-2019) founded a media studies program at the State University of New York Buffalo, hiring Hollis Frampton (1936-1984), Tony Conrad (1940-2016), Paul [Jeffrey] Sharits (1943-1993), Woody Vasulka [Bohuslav Vašulka] (b. 1937) and Steina Vasulka (b. 1940) as founding faculty members. Like the Generative System, O'Grady structured the program to emphasise creative thinking rather than mastering technical skills. The creative outlet was expected to emerge from the process of media exploration. In 1977, the program expanded to include the Digital Arts Laboratory, housed in the same department. The Digital Arts Laboratory was founded under Frampton's direction.¹⁰³⁷

Soon other mixed-media programs and courses appeared across the United States. At the University of California, Santa Cruz, Peter Hunt Thompson (1945-2013) worked on a Generative Systems Workshop designed to explore electronic imaging devices and recycled photographs. The 1977 syllabus described the class as being modelled on:

¹⁰³⁵ See Sonia Lady Sheridan, "Generative Systems," *Afterimage* (April 1972). Sonia Lady Sheridan, "Generative Systems – Six Years Later," *Afterimage* (March 1975). Diane Kirkpatrick, "Sonia Sheridan: Between Mind and Machine," *Afterimage* (February 1978): 14-15.

¹⁰³⁶ Kathryn Farley, "Interview with Sonia Sheridan," Foundation Langlois, access August 24, 2020, <https://fondation-langlois.org/html/e/page.php?NumPage=2051>.

¹⁰³⁷ For more detailed information about the Buffalo program and educational approaches of the different faculty members see Woody Vasulka and Peter Weibel, *Buffalo Heads: Media Study, Media Practice, Media Pioneers, 1973-1990* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).

the scientific laboratory – that is, on the concepts of artist-as-explorer, mutual cooperation and the sharing of individual discoveries. This unusual structure for an art course seems mandated by the nature of the explorations and also by the fact that the concept of Generative Systems is rather new. In a real way, therefore, we are explorers.¹⁰³⁸

Thompson soon moved to Chicago, bringing the Generative Systems program with him to Columbia College.

In 1985, MIT founded the Media Lab, a place where engineers, artists, scientists, and designers worked collaboratively to find creative solutions to advance everyday life. The Media Lab emerged out of the amalgamation of several educational programs and research groups at MIT including the Architecture Machine Group, the Logo Group, the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, the Electronic Music, and the Visible Language Workshop.¹⁰³⁹ Among the individuals involved in this venture was Ronald L. MacNeil who had co-founded the Visible Language Workshop with graphic designer Muriel Cooper (1925-1994), and Jonathan W. Green who was then Head of the Department of Photography.

Prior to joining the Visible Language Workshop, MacNeil worked at MIT as part of the Photo Lab, a position he secured from Minor White after helping him set up his darkroom. Seeing MacNeil's interest in experimenting with photographic processes, White directed MacNeil to the Department of Architecture. White believed the faculty was better suited to respond to MacNeil's creative ambitions. MacNeil's work at the Visible Language Workshop ultimately influenced his MFA thesis project at RISD where he worked on offset press printing images on PVC plastic.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁸ Peter Hunt Thompson, "Generative Systems Workshop," Spring 1977, Box 18 "Henry Holmes Smith: Education One Man Exhibitions," File 3 "Programs for other schools 1960s-1970s," AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰³⁹ Muriel Cooper, "Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Laboratory," *Design Quarterly* 142 (1989): 18.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ron MacNeil. Interviewed by author. Telephone. October 18, 2018. MacNeil graduated from RISD in 1976.

Connections between the above-mentioned mixed media programs and VSW in Rochester were fairly strong as interpersonal and professional relationships brought the two worlds together. Some artists used the VSW Press as means of documenting and sharing their practices. Furthermore, exhibitions organised by VSW supported mixed-media work and mixed-media educators were invited to teach classes or workshops at the school. MacNeil, for example, was invited to hold a workshop on computing in 1978, prior to the Media Lab's formation.¹⁰⁴¹

Throughout the 1980s, video and new media studies grew into independent disciplines and became more distantly related to the still photography field. The schism between these fields was driven further by the solidification of photography as a discipline and its rejection of early applications of digital photography.¹⁰⁴²

Expanding Networks: Artist-Run Centres, Workshops, and Communities

Workshops flourished during this period. In 1989, ShawGuides, a publisher of guides for career and educational programs, began annually releasing *The Guide to Photography Workshops*.¹⁰⁴³ Universities and colleges organised courses offered during the evenings or over the summer months. Some programs allowed students to apply such classes as credits toward their degree, though many catered to students who were not otherwise enrolled. Independent photographers continued to hold workshops privately or through the 'workshop circuit,' travelling great distances for brief teaching opportunities at established centres. Artist-run centres, galleries, and

¹⁰⁴¹ Ron MacNeil Workshop, 1978, File "Ron MacNeil," Box "Teaching Files," Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

¹⁰⁴² Discussions about analogue and digital photography consumed photography education throughout the 1990s and well into the 2010s.

¹⁰⁴³ ShawGuide, *The Guide to Photography Workshops* (Coral Gables: Shaw Associates, 1989). The following year the guide expanded to include schools. See ShawGuide, *The Guide to Photography Workshops & Schools* (Coral Gables: Shaw Associates, 1990).

museums also offered photography classes led by members already connected to the organisations or individuals brought in specially for the occasion.

These classes offered students an alternative entry to the photography network. The nature of the short intensive workshop model lent itself well to the training of technical skills rather than to theoretical concepts. Many of the popular workshops were aligned with the values of commercial photography or the production of national geographic prints, rather than creative or abstract photography. Participants sought to learn quickly particular technical skills as hobbyists; the workshop model provided more flexibility to respond to these needs. Workshops also continued to be used by some photography networks as a means of providing training to photographers who were marginalised by the academic field.

By the early 1980s, there were enough workshops around the United States and Canada that photography educators and photographers could select to teach at multiple workshops throughout the year, creating for themselves a schedule that verged on full-time employment. Indeed, as academic positions were becoming scarcer and more competitive in the university and college setting, workshops became a more viable option for those who were mobile. Educators who had secured positions in the university and college setting also participated in teaching in workshops as a means of meeting different students and learning from their colleagues.

Artists-run centres dedicated to photography continued to offer workshops and functioned as places for further training for photographers looking for peer support outside of the academic setting. While not directly associated with schools, many such communities included graduates from local institutions.

In Toronto, the Toronto Photographers Cooperation – soon renamed the Toronto Photographers Workshop (TPW) – began meeting in the late 1970s. In 1977, James [A. Jim]

Chambers (b. 1945) a graduate of the fine arts program at McMaster University organised the first meeting. Chambers worked as Head Photographer at the Art Gallery of Ontario, believed that by founding a place for photographers to meet to discuss their work, they would be able to build a photography community. Involved in the early days of the organisation were Ryerson graduates such Gary Hall, the organisation's founding Director since 1980, Rafael Goldchain (b. 1953), Roger Schip, and Blake Fitzpatrick.¹⁰⁴⁴ In 1987, reflecting on joining TPW, Nina Levitt explained that she sought out a community of photographers to provide feedback and support for her photographic work.¹⁰⁴⁵ In this way, she and the others at TPW replicated their critique experience as students through their involvement in the artist-run centre.

In 1980, TPW began organising exhibitions in The Photography Gallery in the Toronto Harbourfront building. The exhibition space was formed in a corridor of the building and displayed a wide range of contemporary photographic work.¹⁰⁴⁶ Here, graduates from Ryerson applied the connections they had formed while students. Burley and Fitzpatrick for example, brought Roger Mertin's work to Toronto after seeing it at an exhibition at VSW as students. While separate entities, Ryerson continued to be linked to TPW as faculty members, including David Heath and Don Snyder, exhibited at the Photographers Gallery.¹⁰⁴⁷

Artists-run centres and different associations sprang up across the United States and Canada during this period. Oregon Center for the Photographic Arts, later renamed Blue Sky Gallery opened in Portland, Oregon in 1975, founded by five photographers: Robert DiFranco (b. 1950) an MFA graduate of RISD; Craig Hickman (b. 1948) an MFA graduate from the

¹⁰⁴⁴ Gary Hall, "Introduction," in *Public Exposures* (Toronto: Toronto Photographers Workshop, 1990), 18.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Rick Buchan, "How to Get the Right Exposure in Toronto," *Ryersonian* November 18, 1987. Folder "Image Arts – Students (Grads / Undergrads) 1," C001 Archives Newspaper Clipping Files fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Gary Hall, "Introduction," 17.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

University of Washington, Seattle; Christopher Rauschenberg (b. 1951) who had studied photography at Evergreen State College, in Olympia, Washington; Ann Hughes (b. 1948) who had studied at Portland State University; and Terry Norman Toedtmeier (1947-2008) who had studied Earth Sciences at Oregon State University before turning to photography in the early 1970s. All of the Blue Sky Gallery founders went on to teach photography for various periods of time at different post-secondary schools in Oregon.¹⁰⁴⁸

Organisations that had been founded earlier, such as Community Darkrooms Light Works in Syracuse, New York, expanded their operations in response to interest from their local communities. For example, Light Works began publishing *Contact Sheet* in 1977 to share event and workshop announcements with their membership. The same year, they also developed an artists-residency program and a press that provided artists with funding for modest publishing projects.

Photography could also be located in some organisation's workshops dedicated to subjects outside of the medium. Between 1979 and 1982, for example, Ruth Mountaingrove (1923-2016), Carol Newhouse (b. 1943), and Tee A. Corinne (1943-2006) established and ran the Feminist Photography Ovulars, a workshop held in Southern Oregon that met over the course of a month to six weeks in Rootworks, the home of Ruth and Jean [Janette] Mountaingrove (1925-2019). The workshop grew out of the Women's Movement and Gay Rights Movement and aimed to help women explore their creativity. The first event, held in 1979, had seven participants; by the following year, they had expanded to twenty-three members. A number of the participants, such as Corinne, an MFA graduate from Pratt Institute, had some formal

¹⁰⁴⁸ A panel was recently held by the gallery with the founders. Blue Sky Gallery, "Blue Sky Ahead: Founders Panel Discussion," October 5, 2019, YouTube, accessed September 23, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TZtFEFeJ8-E>.

training in photography but many were self-taught. Photography education at the Feminist Photography Ovulars was aimed at teaching women photography as a means of self-expression and as a way of documenting political events, protests, and women's lives.

Between 1981 to 1983, *The Blatant Image: A Magazine of Feminist Photography* was published as an outgrowth of the Feminist Photography Ovulars. The publication allowed for more participants to take part in dialogues surrounding feminist and queer photography, beyond those involved in the physical workshops.¹⁰⁴⁹ *The Blatant Image* featured the work of photographers such as Cathy Cade (b. 1942), Honey Lee Cottrell (1946-2015), Morgan Gwenwald (b. 1952), Joan E. Biren [JEB] (b. 1944), and Carrie Mae Weems (b. 1953).¹⁰⁵⁰

Independently of these activities, Morgan Gwenwald, a lesbian photographer in search of a larger photographer community, assembled the *Lesbian Photography Directory* in 1982. The brief directory provided information about seventy lesbian photographers from around the United States and Canada. Gwenwald had obtained a BFA in photography at Florida State University.¹⁰⁵¹ Her opening statement made her ambitions for the \$3.50 directory clear. First, she aimed to connect lesbian photographers to one another, allowing them to share and discuss their work. Second, she wanted to encourage the gay press to hire photographers from within their own communities. And third, she sought to support lesbian photographers who might be struggling to sustain themselves through their photography. Gwenwald acknowledged that the task of assembling such a collection created a personal risk to the mentioned photographers as they identified with both the word 'lesbian' and 'photographer.' As Gwenwald wrote:

¹⁰⁴⁹ The location of the workshop demanded participants have the financial means to travel to the site and have flexibility in their respective responsibilities to take six weeks off.

¹⁰⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the Ovulars and *The Blatant Image* see Anna Conlan, "Seeing and Surviving: The Ovular Workshops and the Blatant Image," in *Art After Stonewall 1969-1989*, ed. Jonathan Weinberg, (New York: Columbus Museum of Art and Rizzoli Electa, 2019), 144-155.

¹⁰⁵¹ Morgan Gwenwald. Interview by author. Zoom. September 14, 2020.

[t]hese words constitutes a risk and is an act of bravery and a political statement, it is part of an evolving “lesbian aesthetic.” The creating of our own works, from our own sensibilities and experiences is a long and difficult process but it must start with the naming of ourselves.¹⁰⁵²

This assertion makes clear the difficulties faced by individuals in sustaining themselves in photography, and shows that social support systems that benefited some were by no means neutral or all-inclusive, and furthermore, that they were crucial to one’s survival within the field. While a number of the photographers included in the directory indicate that they studied photography in colleges and universities, most made little or no reference to their education. This alludes to their motivation to obtain recognition not for their academic accreditation but for their photography practices.

Support for this venture was initially funded independently by Gwenwald and then assisted through a grant from the Money for Women Fund, Inc. Additional support in the form of labour came from the members of the Lesbian Herstory Archives in Brooklyn, New York.¹⁰⁵³ While members listed in the directory may have been part of some local photography network, be it academic, artistic, or commercial, Gwenwald’s networks linked them into a larger network outside the realm of mainstream photography.

This expansion of narratives related to photography outside of the confines of the established photography network could clearly be seen in JEB’s slide show presentations. Between 1979 and 1985, JEB, a photographer and archivist, toured the United States and Canada, presenting to women-only audiences “Lesbian Images in Photography, 1850 to the Present,” a slideshow which was also coined “The Dyke Show.” The presentation was first

¹⁰⁵² Morgan Gwenwald, *Lesbian Photography Directory* (Brooklyn: The Print Center, Inc., 1982): 6.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid. The Lesbian Herstory Archives still functions in Brooklyn. “Lesbian Herstory Archives,” Lesbian Herstory Archives, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://lesbianherstoryarchives.org/>.

launched as a means of publicising her monograph *Eye to Eye: Portraits of Lesbians* (1979).¹⁰⁵⁴ JEB was not trained as a photographer, but came to photography through the world of political science and activism.¹⁰⁵⁵ Her presentation given in various community centres, bookstores, coffee houses, church basements, and at the Ovular Workshop [fig. 6.8] soon expanded and shifted as more material accumulated from workshop participants. Over the two-and-a-half-hour performance JEB discussed some three hundred images. This performance accumulated further material, topping out at four hundred and twenty slides. The selected photographs were not all composed by lesbian photographers, but rather struck JEB as instances in which the photographers embodied a rebellion against social norms. By presenting images of lesbian life as well as queering the reading of images made by women-identified photographers JEB created and claimed a history of lesbian semiotics.¹⁰⁵⁶ JEB's activities are examples of the way photography education was taking place outside of the academic lecture halls, motivated by factors beyond photography's ambitions as a creative artistic medium.

In addition to workshops and communities established to meet the needs of individuals otherwise disenfranchised by photography's academic networks, photography curators and museum professions were seeking an organisation that would meet their needs. In 1983, a group of twenty individuals¹⁰⁵⁷ met in Arizona to discuss photography's place within the museum.

¹⁰⁵⁴ JEB, *Eye to Eye: Portraits of Lesbians* (Washington: Glad Hag Books, 1979).

¹⁰⁵⁵ JEB completed three years of doctoral work in political science at Oxford University and did some graduate work in communications at American University. Her undergraduate major was in political science at Mount Holyoke College.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Sophie Hackett, "Queer Looking," *Aperture* 218 (Spring 2015): 40-45.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Jim Alinder director of Friends of Photography; Andy Birrell, Director of National Photography Collection Public Archives of Canada; Cornell Capa, Director of International Center of Photography; Martha Charoudi, Curator, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Charless Desmarais, Director, California Museum of Photography; James Enyeart, Director, CCP; Merry Forresta, Curator, National Museum of American Art; Roy Flukinger, Photography Collection, Humanities Research Center University of Texas; Kathy Gauss, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Carroll T. Hartwell, Curator, Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Therese Heyman, Curator, Oakland Museum; Bill Jenkins, Professor and Director, Northlight Gallery, Arizona State University; Nathan Lyons, Director, VSW; Dorothy Martinson, Assistant Curator, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; Robert Mayer, Director, George Eastman House; Arthur Ollman, Executive Director, CCP; Terence Pitts, Curator, CCP; Susan Rankaitis, Visual

While geared toward museum workers, the organisers, James Enyeart (b. 1943) and Nathan Lyons, were affiliated with higher-education institutions. Enyeart at the time was the Director of the Center for Creative Photography; Lyons was the Director of VSW. The following year, the invitation only organisation Oracle was officially founded with the goal of meeting annually. Early participants in Oracle meetings included curators (both in institutions and freelance), educators, and professionals working at museums and galleries housed within higher-education institutions. A report about the group's activities published in *Afterimage* in 1984 explained that the organisation was formed:

as an alternative to, though not necessarily a substitute for, various organizations such as the College Art Association, the American Association of Museums, and the Society for Photographic Education. Nevertheless, Lyons and Enyeart have no intentions of turning Oracle into an 'official' organization with bylaws, board of directors, etc. As it stands now, these meetings are a cross between a small trade convention, an encounter group, and a dinner party.¹⁰⁵⁸

The fact that such an organisation was established at all indicates that SPE was no longer meeting the needs of these individuals. Moreover, the lack of establishment of a board of directors, bylaws, or a means for people to become members indicated that Oracle's founders were intent on controlling who could participate in these dinner parties. In many cases, those who attended Oracle were less likely to partake in SPE, leading to a lower attendance in SPE from those in established positions of power.

Arts Overview Panel, National Endowment for the Arts; Marni Sandweiss, Curator, Amon Carter Museum; Howard Spector, Los Angeles Center for Photographic Studies. "Attendees 1983 Oracle Conference," 1983, 1-2, File 1 "Oracle I – 25-27 November 1983," Box 1 "Oracle Conference: Conference Records," AG 110 Oracle Conference Collection, Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹⁰⁵⁸ "Pocketful of Oracles," *Afterimage* 12 (December 1984): 2.

Publications

In 1981, George M. Craven (b. 1929), a photography teacher at DeAnza College, in Cupertino, California, compiled a bibliography on photography to be used as a guide for assembling an undergraduate library. The article, published in *Exposure*, set five criteria for the annotated list; first, the books had to cater to undergraduate students; second, primary sources were selected over secondary sources; third, books that were written in non-technical terms were favoured over those directed toward a scientific audience; fourth, books had to be easily available for purchase; and fifth, paperbacks were favoured over hardcovers. Photography textbooks and guides were not included, as they were assumed to be known by most educators or selected for particular classes. This compilation was necessary to Craven because “each year we see work which challenges accepted definitions of the medium. And if photographers seem to be questioning the nature of the medium in their work, librarians are also puzzled.”¹⁰⁵⁹ Beyond the librarians’ uncertainty over the organisation of these books, Craven reasoned that budget cuts to programs and libraries required them to be more selective. All the works included in the bibliography could be purchased from Light Impressions, the Rochester-based photography resource shop.¹⁰⁶⁰ The bibliography spanned eight pages divided into eleven categories. This vast number of titles demonstrates the rapid expansion of texts available during this period. As such, books discussed in this section represent not the entirety of the material available to teachers, but rather the texts that were most frequently used or that offered new contributions to photography.

1982 marked the fifth edition of Newhall’s *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present Day*. The new edition featured significant rewriting of the text, with expanded

¹⁰⁵⁹ George M. Craven, “Teaching: A Bibliography on Photography for the Undergraduate Library,” *Exposure* 19.4 (1981): 34.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

information, new illustrations, and the occasional swapping of some photographs for different works.¹⁰⁶¹ Newhall's updated text did not include a discussion of photography as related to performance, mixed media, or conceptual approaches that had been applied throughout the 1970s, as he viewed these as being outside the scope of photography. Newhall chose instead to continue to address the medium largely through a modernist approach.¹⁰⁶² The text, composed of a total of one hundred and twenty pages, remained comparable to the earlier editions as an easily digestible historical narrative of the medium. The updated edition included only fourteen women; which Naomi Rosenblum (1925-2021) reported in 1994 was "three more than Newhall's 1964 revision, which had two fewer than the original 1949 edition."¹⁰⁶³

In 1983, Jonathan W. Green, who was then teaching at Ohio State University, published *American Photography: A Critical History 1945 to the Present* [fig. 6.9]. Green's approach to the historical text was to follow the development of photography through several case studies focused on particular publications, exhibitions, and stylistic approaches. In each of the fifteen chapters, a network of individuals was traced and tied into the larger socio-political context of the period. Documentary, straight photography, mixed media, colour, and conceptual photography approaches were all discussed and illustrated. Yet Green's approach to the history of the medium, while more socially conscious than texts such as Newhall's, still reinforced the notion of major 'heroes or geniuses' – largely male – of the medium. This can be seen in the case of an entire chapter dedicated to Robert Frank's photobook *The Americans*. The history Green established was still one of winners.

¹⁰⁶¹ More detailed examples of the expansion of various chapters and material in the publication may be located through Mary Warner Marien, "What Shall We Tell the Children? Photography and Its Text (Books)," *Afterimage* 13.9 (April 1986): 4-7.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid.

¹⁰⁶³ Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994), 7.

In the final chapters, Green's proximity to events led the writing to be more akin to criticism rather than history. Yet his inclusion of contemporary work was part of what made this source exciting at the time. Perhaps because the book's structure seems to veer so far from Newhall's narrative of historical events – for example, Green argued in his chapter “The Painter as Photographer” that Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008) was the most important photographer of the past decade¹⁰⁶⁴ – the text never achieved a wide use as a historical narrative in the classroom.

It is in this context that Naomi Rosenblum, PhD graduate from City University of New York specialising in photography,¹⁰⁶⁵ wrote *A World History of Photography* in 1984 [fig. 6.10]. Rosenblum's history of the medium expanded beyond North American and European photographers. The survey text positioned the narrative of the medium as a social rather than a technological history. In order to achieve this, Rosenblum structured the twelve sections of the book into themes that flowed chronologically to explore different functions of photography such as art, documentary, printed media, and portraiture. The book's design indicated a consideration of classroom needs, as the number of chapters corresponded to the typical length of a semester. Embedded in each chapter were a variety of ‘albums’ meant to function as illustrations of the chapter's theme. Some of the material overlapped between sections because of Rosenblum's choice to divide the text into thematic chapters. Brief overviews of historical advancements, photographer profiles, an index of terms, and a bibliography of further reading materials lent themselves well for student use.

¹⁰⁶⁴ A review of the text in *Afterimage* centres much of the criticism of the publication on what the author deems as Green's questionable and at times contractionary choices. Tom Goodman, “Reviews: No Ideas But in Things,” *Afterimage* 12 (February 1985): 16-17.

¹⁰⁶⁵ She graduated from CUNY in 1978 having completed her dissertation “Paul Strand, the Early Years, 1910-1932.”

Rosenblum's decision to include recently released historical scholarship expanded the narrative of the medium beyond that of Newhall's research. This expansion was mirrored in the text's length, which spanned more than over six hundred and seventy-two pages. Included were non-art uses of photography, contemporary mixed media, and conceptual approaches. A complete chapter was dedicated to probing photography's use as a tool of documentary in "Documentation: The Social Scene to 1945." In it, Rosenblum analysed the Photo League. This was in no doubt influenced in part by her husband Walter Rosenblum's participation in the organisation.

While Rosenblum's text offered many illustrations and much more material than Newhall's, the premise of the plot remained that which had been established by Newhall's history. Instead of providing a completely alternative history, then, Rosenblum's text could be seen as an augmented history. Rosenblum's historical narrative was well received and within five years, she released a second edition of the book, aptly naming it the 'College Edition.'

Writing in 1985, Jan Zita Grover noted that she selected Rosenblum's text as a required reading for her course because she believed "it redresses, as its title implies, many of Newhall's sexual, geographical, and aesthetic biases."¹⁰⁶⁶ To Rosenblum's text, Grover added supplementary readings to incorporate contemporary discussions that were adversarial and polemic. The goal of presenting students with conflicting readings was to raise their awareness of the lack of cohesion and continuity in the history despite its representation.¹⁰⁶⁷

The 1980s marked important expansions of scholarship of and by individuals and communities that had been previously marginalised. In 1982, Richard [Dick] Newman (1930-2003) approached Deborah Willis[-Thomas] (b. 1948) to write a book on Black photographers.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Jan Zita Grover, "Editorials: Putting Feminism in the Classroom," *Exposure* 23.2 (Summer 1985): 24.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

At that time, Willis had already conducted research on Black photographers as part of an independent study unit she undertook while studying at the Philadelphia College of Art. Her photography history teacher, Anne Wilkes Tucker, encouraged Willis to take on the research. In her project justification sent to the Chair of the Department, Barbara Blondeau (1938-1974),¹⁰⁶⁸ in 1973 Willis reasoned “I have found no standard art history that refers to any Afro-American artist. References have led me to more references which are scanty.”¹⁰⁶⁹ In the same document, Willis identified thirteen photographers¹⁰⁷⁰ on which to focus her research. Of the thirteen, Willis was able to meet with five,¹⁰⁷¹ she first received support for the project from photojournalist Gordon Parks.¹⁰⁷² In addition to the aid Willis gained from these photographers, her photographer directory was compiled by searching through Black newspapers and city directories that had a practice of placing an asterisk symbol beside the names of Black photographers to identify them as such.¹⁰⁷³

With the support of Newman, Willis was able to revive her undergraduate project building on it to publish *Black Photographers, 1840-1940: An Illustrated Bio-Bibliography* in 1985.¹⁰⁷⁴ The book compiled biographies of some three hundred photographers, with a section of

¹⁰⁶⁸ Blondeau studied at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and with Aaron Siskind at the Institute of Design where she obtained her MFA. She then took on various teaching positions becoming the Chairman of the Department at the Philadelphia College of the Arts.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Deborah Willis. Interviewed by Jasmine Nicole Cobb. “Picturing Us: The Work of Deborah Willis,” From Slavery to Freedom Lab at the Franklin Humanities Institute, at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, United States of America. March 1, 2019, accessed July 21, 2020, <https://fhi.duke.edu/videos/picturing-us-work-deborah-willis>.

¹⁰⁷⁰ James Latimer Allen, Jonathan Eubanks, King Daniel Ganaway, Roy DeCarava, Gordon Parks, Addison W. Scurlock, Moneta Sleet Jr., James Conway Farley, Andrew Taylor Kelley, John Roy Lynch, Edgar Eugene Phipps, and James VanerZee. Ibid.

¹⁰⁷¹ Moneta Sleet Jr., Gordon Parks, James VanerZee, Robert Scurlock [Addison W. Scurlock’s son who also worked in the studio], and Roy DeCarava. Ibid.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid.

¹⁰⁷³ Ibid. James de T. Abajian’s 1977 publication *Blacks in Selected Newspapers, Censuses and Other Sources* was also an important resource for Willis.

¹⁰⁷⁴ This book lay the foundation for Willis’s future publications on Black photographers such as *Early Black Photographers* (1992) and *Reflections in Black: A History of Black Photographers 1840 to the Present* (2000).

illustrations. Three years later in 1988, Willis released a second book on the subject covering photographers active between 1940 and 1988, in *Black Photographers 1940 - 1988: An Illustrated Bio-Bibliography*. These two books provided a pivotal step in documenting the lives of many photographers who were omitted from the narrative of photography history. As then Curator of Photography and Film in the Studio Museum in Harlem and Kamoinge member [Charles] C. Daniel Dawson (b. 1944) wrote in his foreword to her 1985 publication, “Willis-Thomas has produced a much-needed instrument for understanding black America.”¹⁰⁷⁵

The growing importance placed on the history of the medium in photography education could perhaps be seen most evidently through the inclusion of the subject in Barbara London and John Upton’s¹⁰⁷⁶ (b. 1932) 1976 book *Photography*. The text, based on the Time-Life photography library series, was a ‘how-to’ manual intended for use in a higher-education setting. London and Upton sought to establish it as a foundation textbook for students. *Photography* was broken into sections largely aimed toward mastering the technical aspects of photography, such as lighting, introductions to different cameras, the Zone System, and printing techniques. Two chapters stood out from the technical information, as the authors explained in the preface to their book “[t]he first chapter – a history of photography – and the last chapter – a gallery of contemporary photographs – are included to link the past with current use of the medium.”¹⁰⁷⁷

¹⁰⁷⁵ C. Daniel Dawson, “Foreword,” *Black Photographers, 1840-1940, An Illustrated Bio-Bibliography*, Deborah Willis-Thomas, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985): x.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Upton studied with Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham, Minor White, Dorothea Lange, and Edward Weston at the California School of Fine Arts in the early 1950s. In 1955, he was the first resident student of Minor White in Rochester, N.Y. Once in Rochester, Upton worked at the Eastman House and took courses in the history of photography at the University of Rochester with Beaumont Newhall. Simultaneously, he continued to work with White as an assistant to both his practice and his work on *Aperture*. In the late 1960s, he became Chair of the Photography Department at Orange Coast College. Upton became a teacher upon White’s recommendation to teach instead of pursuing commercial work. John Upton. Interviewed by Gary St. Martin. Upton’s residence in Laguna Beach, California, United States of America. January 2017, accessed July 21, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NwUU5orSItY>.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Barbara Upton and John Upton, “Preface,” *Photography* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1976): [n.p.].

The historical chapter was written as an abridged version of Newhall's history. Students interested in learning more about the history of the medium were directed to consult his publication.¹⁰⁷⁸ The book's illustrations were drawn from the Time-Life archive, narrowing the selection of presented photographers to those already curated by Time-Life. Photographs by established photographers were used to illustrate technical procedures, providing students with the information on how to master a technical skill and what kind of image would result [fig. 6.11]. The low quality reproductions in the book speaks to its distribution and marketplace. As a textbook, the publishers would have undoubtedly attempted to keep the cost low by providing a general sense of the images rather than high-quality reproductions.

The individuals acknowledged in *Photography* indicate that educators, curators, and companies all had a vested interest in this work, and exemplified that the ideas presented in the textbook aligned with the norms of the field and were designed to reinforce the standards supported by SPE. In fact, by the early 1970s, John Upton, who was working as a teacher in Orange Coast College, was an active member of SPE.¹⁰⁷⁹ Among the acknowledged were Ansel Adams, Peter Bunnell, Leland Rice, Arthur Taussig, and Beaumont Newhall. Moreover, the book itself was dedicated to Minor White. Corporate support came from Eastman Kodak Company and Time-Life. By 1989, *Photography* was in its fourth edition.

While London and Upton's text suggests a homogenisation of the field, Bea Nettles's 'how-to' 1977 manual *Breaking the Rules: A Photo Media Cookbook*¹⁰⁸⁰ demonstrated there was a desire for knowledge of alternative processes as well. At the time of publication, Nettles was

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁹ John Upton is listed in the 1970 membership list. [Membership List 1970], 1970, 11, Box 22 "Membership Records, 1963-2011," File "Membership List 1969-1970," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America. He is also listed as being part of the board meetings recorded in *Exposure* 15.2 (May 1977).

¹⁰⁸⁰ Bea Nettles, *Breaking the Rules: A Photo Media Cookbook* (Rochester: Inky Press Productions, 1977).

employed as a photography instructor at RIT. *Breaking the Rules* was available for \$5.95 through Light Impressions. The instructional cookbook included recipes for alternative photographic process. Nettles's publication made processes such as magazine lifts, cyanotypes, halftone prints, Van Dyke Brown, and Kwik-Prints more easily accessible.¹⁰⁸¹ Ten years later, in 1987, Nettles released the second edition of the book, and a third in 1992. The three editions have sold some thirty thousand copies.¹⁰⁸²

Outside these examples of technical manuals, the mid-1970s marked the beginning of a flurry of theoretical texts on photography emerging from literary studies, the Frankfurt School, and French theory. Susan Sontag's series of essays analysing photography from a literary perspective between 1973 and 1977 were compiled into a book titled *On Photography* (1977). That same year, in 1977, Walter Benjamin's "Short History of Photography" was translated into English by Phil Patton and published in *Artforum*.¹⁰⁸³ In 1981, French literary theorist Roland Barthes's influential *Camera Lucida*, a book theorising photography through the author's personal exploration, was published.

Such writings brought photography into the larger trend of French literary theory that had achieved considerable attention in the larger circles of American and Canadian university and college settings. Throughout the 1970s, postmodernism, which drew upon the work of post-structuralist theorists such as Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), Michel Foucault (1926-1984), and Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998), had gained momentum throughout humanities departments. As much of the discourse in the humanities had relied upon a modernist foundation,

¹⁰⁸¹ Other alternative process guides were also available. John Towler's 1864 *The Silver Sunbeam* was republished as a facsimile in 1969, 1970, and 1974. Towler's text provided instructions for processes such as wet collodion, bromine printing, calotypes, gum-arabic prints, and various toning methods. See John Towler, *The Silver Sunbeam* (New York: Morgan and Morgan, 1974).

¹⁰⁸² Nicole Rudick, "Magic in Everyday: The Art of Bea Nettles," *The New York Review of Books*, February 27, 2021, <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2021/02/27/nettles/>.

¹⁰⁸³ Phil Patton, "Walter Benjamin: Short History of Photography," *Artforum* 15.6 (1977): 46-51.

postmodernist theory demanded a re-evaluation of the values upon which curricula were built. Eager to dismantle oppressive systems of power in higher education, some educators applied postmodernist theory in their classrooms.¹⁰⁸⁴

The influence of such theories on photography students can be seen, for example, in Hal Fischer's (b. 1950) 1977 publication *Gay Semiotics: A Photographic Study of Visual Coding Among Homosexual Men* [fig. 6.12]. The book of photographs and texts was completed a year after he obtained his MA from the San Francisco State University. Fischer was introduced to theoretical texts during his MA by authors such as Jack Wesley Burnham (1931-2019), Ursula Meyer (1915-2003), Susan Sontag, and Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), all of whom had a deep impact on the way he was thinking about photography. The photographs in the book documented the San Francisco gay scene, identifying sets of signifiers the gay community used to communicate. They acted as a visual dictionary with which to decode the meanings of the prevailing fashions. In an interview, Fischer later explained that in the 1970s, the successful translation of such symbols was crucial for safe gay interactions, as a misstep in identification held the potential for personal danger.¹⁰⁸⁵ Beyond the influence of his academic training, Fischer was inspired by his involvement with *Artweek* as a writer and by his relationship with artist, curator, and bookstore manager Lew Thomas (b. 1932).¹⁰⁸⁶ Five images excerpted from Fischer's book were published in *Exposure* in 1978. Unlike the book, the texts accompanying the

¹⁰⁸⁴ For a longer discussion of the impact of French theory on higher education see François Cusset, *French Theory: How Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze & Co. Transformed the Intellectual Life of the United States*, trans. Jeff Fort, Josephine Berganza, and Marlon Jones (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁸⁵ Hal Fischer, "Hal Fischer: The Gay Seventies," SFMOMA, accessed December 18, 2020, <https://www.sfmoma.org/watch/hal-fischer-the-gay-seventies/>.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Hal Fischer and Julia Bryan-Wilson, "Gay Semiotics Revisited: Hal Fischer in Conversation with Julie Bryan-Wilson," *Aperture* 218 (Spring 2015): 33-39.

photographs in *Exposure* were placed underneath the images rather than embedded in the picture [fig. 6.13].¹⁰⁸⁷

In the United Kingdom, photography scholarship and education had also been developing throughout this period.¹⁰⁸⁸ By the 1980s, these two academic networks were sharing sources and at times, trading physical spaces. An example of this collaboration can be seen in the anthology *Thinking Photography* [fig. 6.14] edited by artist and writer Victor Burgin (b. 1941) in 1982.¹⁰⁸⁹ The photography theory book contained eight essays examining photography rooted in material analysis and informed by Marxist ideologies, by Walter Benjamin, Umberto Eco (1932-2016), Victor Burgin, Allan Sekula, John Tagg (b. 1949), and Simon Watney (b. 1949), and was published as part of the Communications and Culture series edited by cultural theorists Stuart Hall (1932-2014) and Paul Walton (b. 1944). The book functioned as a course reader on photography theory, bringing together key essays on the subject.

John Tagg,¹⁰⁹⁰ who like Burgin was a product of the British education system, published *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* [fig. 6.15] in 1988. At the time of publication, Tagg had immigrated to the United States and held the position of Associate Professor of Art History in the Department of Art and Art History at the State University of New York at Binghamton. In the book, Tagg argued that photographs derived meaning through their social uses and contexts. Unlike other texts that focused on artistic uses of photography or the

¹⁰⁸⁷ Hal Fischer, "Gay Semiotics Archetypal Media Images," *Exposure* 16.2 (Summer 1978): 24-25.

¹⁰⁸⁸ For a brief overview of British and social history approach to photography see Douglas Nickel, "The Social History of Photography," *The Handbook of Photography Studies* ed. Gil Pasternak, 43-58, (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Burgin studied at the Royal College of Art, London and obtained an MFA from Yale University. Burgin returned to London for a period in the 1970s and immigrated to the United States in the late 1980s.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Tagg obtained a BA in Fine Art and Art History in 1971 from the University of Nottingham and an MA in 1973 from the Royal College of Art.

original singular maker, Tagg's interest lay in vernacular photography and its circulation. As he concluded on photographs in his introduction:

we must try to grasp their historically produced relations not only as levels in the market, but as levels in a hierarchy of practice whose most privileged strata, increasingly sustained by post-market institutions, are called "Art", whose middle ground ranges from "commercial art", to "craft", and whose lower registers are designated "kitsch", "vernacular", "amateur" or "popular culture".¹⁰⁹¹

In the seven essays, Tagg addressed elements of photography such as portraiture, criminal photography, photography as tool of surveillance, photographs as legal function, and documentary photography. By focusing on photography's function in society, Tagg raised questions regarding photography's social role and how it could be decoded to reveal its inner power relations. Beyond a history of the medium, Tagg also addressed the institutions that commissioned and preserved photographs. The significance of this publication lay in its valuing of photography as a subject worthy of research outside the artistic sphere. By justifying the study of photographs as cultural objects rather than artistic, Tagg provided a different reasoning for collecting photography.

Magazines

The late 1970s saw an expansion in photography journals that provided outlets for emerging scholarship. *The History of Photography: An International Quarterly*, a journal dedicated to the history of the medium, began publication in 1977. *The History of Photography* was founded by then Professor of the History of Photography in the Department of Art History in Pennsylvania State, Heinz K. Henisch (1922-2006).¹⁰⁹² The journal's publication through Taylor & Francis

¹⁰⁹¹ John Tagg, "Introduction," in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18-19.

¹⁰⁹² Henisch graduated from Reading University in England having studied mathematics and physics. He developed a personal interest in photography working in physics. He was hired by Pennsylvania State University as a Professor

was secured through Henisch's academic network. At the time of its founding, Sir Nevill Francis Mott CH FRS (1905-1996) was the Chairman of the Board of the publishing firm. Mott had acted as Henisch's external examiner of his doctoral study.¹⁰⁹³ The journal's objective was to provide art historians, art educators, photographers, collectors, archivists, and social historians with source material on photography, with a focus on the relationship of the medium to other graphic arts and its value to sociology and art history. This multidisciplinary approach reflected Henisch's personal interest in photography and was further supported by Mott's ambitions for new Taylor & Francis publications.

The first advisory Board of the journal had some thirty individuals, all experts in the field, among them James Borcoman, who was then working at the National Gallery of Canada; Peter C. Bunnell, then teaching at Princeton University; Van Deren Coke and Beaumont Newhall, then both at UNM; photographer and photography historian Gisèle Freund; and collectors and authors Helmut Gernsheim and André Jammes (b. 1927).

Henisch believed that, in the late 1970s, the history of photography was being shaped through the events that had taken place largely in France, Britain, and the United States. His placement of the word 'international' in the journal's subtitle was an effort to expand scholarship beyond these three countries. The first issue in fact, had a section dedicated to exploring early photography in Eastern Europe, with research made possible through financial assistance secured from the Eastman House.¹⁰⁹⁴

in the Department of Physics and was moved to the Department of Art History after presenting a paper at the University on early photography. He was then invited to develop a course on the history of photography. By 1974, Henisch was working as a Professor in the History of Photography in the Art History Department and Professor of Physics. John Wood, "Heinz K. Henisch, 1922-2006," *History of Photography* 30.3 (2006): 193-195.

¹⁰⁹³ H. Henisch and Bridget Henisch, "The Early Years of *History of Photography*: An Interview with Heinz and Bridget Henisch," *History of Photography* 30.3 (2006): 198.

¹⁰⁹⁴ H. K. Henisch, "Early Photography in Eastern Europe," *History of Photography* 1.1 (1977): 38.

Also aiding in the professionalism of the field was the introduction of publications dedicated to photographic preservation such as *PhotographiConservation: A Forum of Photographic Preservation & Restoration* (1979-1985), a periodical first issued in 1979 by RIT's Graphic Arts Research Center. The first issue justified its importance by underscoring the fragility of photography, as understood by curators. The journal grew out of the Graphic Arts Research Center at RIT, founded in 1977 to bring curators, archivists, conservators, and collectors together to discuss preservation and restoration of photographs.¹⁰⁹⁵ This publication exemplifies the trend of producing professional standards not only for making photographs, but also for their display and safekeeping. RIT's decision as an institute to form the Research Center dedicated to this subject area was no doubt influenced by their close ties to Kodak and the Eastman House.

By the late 1970s, articles addressing photography could be easily located in contemporary art and theory journals. In 1976, *October*, named after the 1917 October revolution in Russia, was founded by Rosalind Krauss, film critic and writer Annette Michelson (1922-2018), and painter and educator Jeremy Gilbert-Rolfe¹⁰⁹⁶ (b. 1945). As the editors explained:

[o]ur aim is not to perpetuate the mythology or hagiography of the Revolution. It is rather to reopen an inquiry into the relationships between the several arts which flourished in our culture at this time, and in so doing, to open discussion of the role at this highly problematic juncture. We do not wish to share in the self-authenticating pathos which produces, with monotonous regularity, testimonies to the fact that 'things are not as good as they were' in 1967, '57 – or in 1917."¹⁰⁹⁷

Krauss and Michelson had both worked as writers for *Artforum* – an art magazine – and had

¹⁰⁹⁵ Editors, "Why We're Here," *PhotographiConservation* 1.1 (March 1979): 1.

¹⁰⁹⁶ By the second issue, Gilbert-Rolfe is no longer listed as part of the editorial team.

¹⁰⁹⁷ The Editors, "About October" *October* Vol. 1 (spring 1976): 3.

found that its formalist bent made it unsuitable to deal with emerging art practices.¹⁰⁹⁸ *October* provided a literary outlet for postmodernist critics. Photography became a popular topic in the journal as it could be easily applied to psychology, French theory, semiotics, and linguistics.¹⁰⁹⁹ Rather than address art through style, the writers probed the way photographs functioned, through a theoretical analysis that typically led to insight into culture and the power of social structures. Curator Jamie M. Allen (b. 1978) wrote in 2006 that:

[t]heir target was the institutions of art, the classroom, studios, workshops, galleries, libraries, and museums, the same institutions that were creating, promoting, selling, and validating the artistic practices of that time.¹¹⁰⁰

Throughout the late 1970s and the 1980s, *October* published pivotal essays on photography. These included original critical essays and translations of French theorists for Anglophone audiences.

The fifth issue of the journal, published in 1978, was dedicated to photography with Douglas Crimp acting as Editorial Associate. Mirroring the call for action taken two decades prior for the establishment of photography history, this issue called for the need of a radical reconsideration of the theoretic implications of the medium.¹¹⁰¹ The following year, in 1979, Crimp published “Pictures,”¹¹⁰² an article presenting an exhibition he had curated for Artists Space with the same title in 1977. The exhibition included the work of Troy Brauntuch (b.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Jamie M. Allen, “October Culture: Photographic Theory and the Beginnings of Postmodernism,” Master’s thesis, (Ryerson University, 2006): 7.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹¹⁰¹ The Editors, “Photography: A Special Issue,” *October [Photography]* 5 (Summer 1978): 3-5.

¹¹⁰² Douglas Crimp, “Pictures,” *October* 8 (Spring 1979): 75-88.

1954),¹¹⁰³ Jack Goldstein (1945-2003),¹¹⁰⁴ Sherrie Levine,¹¹⁰⁵ Robert Longo,¹¹⁰⁶ and Philip Smith (b. 1952). These artists did not identify themselves and their work with a specific medium; rather, they selected the best medium to embody their creative intention. While they chose to use photography in specific projects, they did not view themselves as photographers. The essay was quickly adopted to identify a generation of practitioners working in a postmodernist approach.¹¹⁰⁷

In 1982, Christopher Phillips¹¹⁰⁸ then a photography critic living in Princeton, penned “The Judgment Seat of Photography”¹¹⁰⁹ in which he charted the network of curators who had built MoMA’s Department of Photography and their impact on photography.¹¹¹⁰ Other prominent writers who addressed photography in the publication included Hollis Frampton¹¹¹¹ and Allan Sekula.¹¹¹²

Photography journals were also taking on the task of criticism. Between 1979 and 1983, *Camera Lucida: The Journal of Photographic Criticism* was published by the founder of CEPA and educator Robert Muffoletto and the Photographic Education Research Group. In the early 1980s, *Afterimage* turned to a more activist approach in their coverage under the editorial leadership of recent graduates of VSW Martha Gever (b. 1947), Catherine Lord (b. 1949), and

¹¹⁰³ Brauntuch graduated from the California Institute of the Arts, Valencia in 1975.

¹¹⁰⁴ Goldstein attended Chouinard Art Institute and California Institute of the Arts, graduating with an MFA in 1972.

¹¹⁰⁵ Levine got both a BA and MFA from the University of Wisconsin in Madison; she completed her graduate studies in 1973.

¹¹⁰⁶ Longo attended Kent State University and then enrolled in State University College in Buffalo graduating in 1975. He was one of the founders of Hallwalls, an exhibition space in Buffalo.

¹¹⁰⁷ For a longer discussion of the Picture Generation see Douglas Eklund, *The Picture Generation, 1974-1984*, (New York, New Haven, and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁰⁸ Obtained an MFA from Rochester Institute of Technology.

¹¹⁰⁹ Christopher Phillips, “The Judgment Seat of Photography,” 27-63.

¹¹¹⁰ Phillips summarises the major activities of the department leaving the discussion of Nancy Newhall’s contribution to a footnote and entirely omitting Grace Mayer.

¹¹¹¹ Frampton began teaching in the Media Studies program at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1973 a position he held until February 1984.

¹¹¹² At the time Sekula was teaching at the California Institute of the Arts.

David Trent. While *Afterimage* had always taken a progressive approach, Gever, Lord, and Trent brought articles to the journal that addressed politics, queer theory, and like *October* challenged the models that had been utilised in art historical writing.¹¹¹³

As artist communities grew, some chose to publish magazines to fill a void in their community's representation and to record their activities. An example of this can be seen in En Foco's journal *Nueva Luz* which began publication in 1985. The first issue was dedicated to "the search for statements by photographers who have developed a reflective stance vis-a-vis their culture."¹¹¹⁴ Each issue featured a series of photographs by a selection of photographers acting like a portfolio. The first issue featured New School for Social Research graduate Sophie Rivera (b. 1938), photography educator Tony Mendoza (b. 1941), and Kenro Izu (b. 1949) a graduate of Nihon University in Tokyo, who had come to New York to study photography and later immigrated to the United States. A brief essay, printed in English and Spanish, concluded each issue.

The second issue was dedicated to Afro-American photographers published to coincide with Black Heritage Month in February, 1986. The three selected photographers were Dawoud Bey (b. 1953), a graduate of the School of Visual Arts, Coreen Simpson (b. 1942), a graduate of the Parson's School of Design, and Jules T. Allen (b. 1947), who had studied at California State University in San Francisco with Jack Welpott and was teaching at Queensborough Community College. Art critic and activist Lucy R. Lippard (b. 1937) penned the concluding essay. In it, she stressed the importance of minority artists to the understanding of reality, writing "[w]orks like

¹¹¹³ For a more detailed discussion of the way *Afterimage* shifted toward an activist approach see Grant H. Kester, "Ongoing Negotiations: *Afterimage* and the Analysis of Activist Art," in *Art, Activism, and Oppositionality: Essays from Afterimage* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), [1]-19.

¹¹¹⁴ Frank Gimpaya, [editorial], *Nueva Luz* 1.1 (Winter 1985): [1].

these help us to see for ourselves, the way we never would see for ourselves, which is what communication is.”¹¹¹⁵

Canadian magazines dedicated to photography and addressing photography expanded as well during this period. Many of the publications grew out of the efforts of artist or photographer communities, documenting and sharing their local activities. Some of the magazines, such as *Parachute-revue d'art contemporain* (1975-2007) addressed photography as part of a larger discussion of contemporary art. *Photo Communiqué* (1979-1988), *BlackFlash* (1984-), and *Ciel variable* (1986-) provided outlets for particular photography hubs specifically in Toronto, Saskatoon, and Montréal respectively. Each of these journals provided a narrative of photography production grounded within their communities. The importance of them to Canadian modes of photographic production was in their ability to provide a place of distribution for photography that was not reliant upon the American scene.¹¹¹⁶

Slides

In 1980, A. D. Coleman, Patricia Grantz, and Douglas I. Sheer (b. 1944) published *The Photography A-V Program Directory* an index to some 3300 audiovisual programs. The directory provided a catalogue of slide, audio, films, and other media presentations on photography, organised into categories such as individuals, history, and technical. The authors attempted to make the material easily accessible by cross-indexing information under different

¹¹¹⁵ Lucy R. Lippard, “Commentary: Three Seers,” *Nueva Luz* 1.2 (1986): 32.

¹¹¹⁶ Zoë Tousignant, “Canadian Photography Magazines 1970-1990: Reconsidering a History of Photography in Print,” (Montréal: Arttexte, 2016): [1-2], accessed July 16, 2020. <https://e-arttexte.ca/id/eprint/27865/1/ENmagazinesphoto.pdf>. This exhibition and related publication grew out of Tousignant’s doctoral dissertation on Canadian magazines between 1925-1945. See Tousignant, “Magazines and the Making of Photographic Modernism in Canada, 1925-1945,” Ph.D diss., (Concordia University, 2013).

categories and by providing an index. Nevertheless, Lynn Sloan-Theodore (b. 1945)¹¹¹⁷ and Tedwilliam Theodore (b. 1945) who reviewed the directory in *Exposure* in 1981 reported that they were disappointed by the usefulness of the information as:

of the 133 items listed under ‘History,’ 82 of them, a full 62%, are available for research only, at the university, museum or institution which houses them, and are, therefore, not usable for teaching.¹¹¹⁸

Teachers and librarians however, were not the only audience members envisioned for the book. The authors hoped it could prove useful for researchers, curators, historians, and the public.¹¹¹⁹ The directory illustrates that slide collections about photography were becoming more commonly accessed at higher-education institutions and museums. Faculty members, however, continued to amalgamate their own collections for teaching to use as a primary source of material or to augment material from their institution’s slide collection.

Barbara Rosenblum found in her research that slide presentations were often used by educators as a means of transmitting photography’s status as fine art. Over the course of the slide presentation, teachers would show work that was deemed ‘art,’ conveying to students what such work should look like.¹¹²⁰ By the late 1970s and into the 1980s, slide collections were becoming more readily available to be purchased through commercial outlets. Educators such as Joyce Neimanas combined slides of art objects with photography slides, thereby showcasing that photography was simply another artistic medium.¹¹²¹

¹¹¹⁷ Sloan-Theodore obtained an MS in photography from the Institute of Design at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago in 1971.

¹¹¹⁸ Lynn Sloan-Theodor and Tedwilliam Theodore, “Reviews: The Photography A-V Program Directory,” *Exposure* 19.2 (1981): 60.

¹¹¹⁹ The negative review led to a lengthy response from Coleman published in following issue of *Exposure* along with a response from the reviewers. See A. D. Coleman, “Letter to the Editor,” *Exposure* 19.3 (1981): 68-70.

¹¹²⁰ Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work*, 35.

¹¹²¹ Joyce Neimanas. Interviewed by the author. Neimanas’s residence, Rochester, New York, United States of America. December 12, 2018.

Despite the larger production of slide sets, access to such material was limited to those specialising in the area. In librarian Betty Jo Irvine's (b. 1943) 1979 edition of *Slide Libraries: A Guide for Academic Institutions, Museums and Special Collections* for example, only two publishers dealing with photography were listed. The two companies were Les Editions Yvan Boulerice – also published as Le Centre de Documentation Yvan Boulerice, a Canadian company that distributed slides series on Canadian visual arts that included architecture, painting, photography, printmaking, and sculpture; and the second was a history of photography set published by the International Museum of Photography, the name that the Eastman House was using at the time.¹¹²²

In the spring of 1980, the Eastman House offered several slide sets for sale, divided into seventeen categories dedicated to the work of singular photographers and those reproducing works from exhibitions. A set of two hundred and fifty slides titled "Survey of the History of Photography" was composed specifically to accompany Beaumont Newhall's *The History of Photography* and sold between \$315 to \$430 depending on the mounting and make of the slides.¹¹²³ Most of these sets were comprised of historical work. A set of one hundred and one slides, for example, provided an overview of "the Daguerreotype." Another of two hundred and twenty-five slides addressed "Photography During the 19th Century," notably centred on British and American photographers and advancements. Two exhibitions stand out from these offerings: a 1972 exhibition *60's Continuum: Works by 29 Photographers* and the 1979 exhibition of copy art, curated by Marilyn McCray (b. 1949), *Electroworks*. Many of the slide collections were sold

¹¹²² Betty Jo Irvine, *Slide Libraries: A Guide for Academic Institutions, Museums, and Special Collections*, second edition, (Littleton: Libraries Unlimited Inc., 1979), 295.

¹¹²³ The unmounted set was \$315, the mounted \$375, and glass mounted sold for \$430. International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, *Photographic Book Catalogue* (Rochester: George Eastman House, Spring 1980): 22.

with additional material, including biographies of the photographers, checklists, chronologies, essays, and at times the exhibition catalogue. The sets presenting work of individual photographers, such as Harry Callahan and Aaron Siskind, were typically organised into portfolios or decades of work.¹¹²⁴

In Canada, the Stills Photography Division of the National Film Board (NFB) produced slide shows of various exhibitions and photographic work, sometimes working toward the organisation's goal of Canadian nation-building and at times to promote independent creative works.¹¹²⁵ Slide shows were displayed as works corresponding with exhibitions, such as with the 1976 exhibition *Between Friends / Entre amis*. The exhibition was accompanied by a photobook by the same title published to commemorate the American Bicentennial. Photographer Lutz Dille (1922-2008), who was hired to take part in the project by then executive producer and editor Lorraine Monk (b. 1922), organised a corresponding slide show of two hundred and twenty-one photographs.¹¹²⁶ In the mid-1970s the organisation turned to publications and audiovisual productions.¹¹²⁷ In 1984, the NFB Still Photography Division ceased operations and was amalgamated into the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography (CMCP).¹¹²⁸ Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the CMCP produced the VIEW series in which photographer interviews were edited to synchronise with an accompanying tray of slides.¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., 20-22.

¹¹²⁵ For a historical description of the organisation see Carol Payne, *The Official Picture: the National Film Board Of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada 1941-1971* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013).

¹¹²⁶ Files from the National Gallery of Canada's "Between Friends" Project provided to author by Andreas Rutkauskas, email to author, September 24, 2020.

¹¹²⁷ Martha Langford, "The Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography," *The History of Photography* 20.2 (1996): 175.

¹¹²⁸ Carol Payne, *The Official Picture*, xvii.

¹¹²⁹ Martha Langford, correspondence with author, October 13, 2020. See National Gallery of Canada's library holdings of the VIEW, accessed December 20, 2020, <http://archives.gallery.ca/?lang=en&id=33713>.

Meanwhile, the juried photography exhibition *New Photographics* organised out of Central Washington University in Ellensburg, Washington, under the efforts of Jim M. Sahlstrand, continued into the 1980s. As part of this exhibition, fifty to sixty photographers would each display four photographs at the university's Sarah Spurgeon Gallery. The annual juried exhibition was curated through submissions typically averaging four hundred applications. At the height of exhibition's organisation, between 1976 and 1978, there were about six hundred and fifty submissions. Overwhelmingly, these came from individuals who had some connection to photography education.¹¹³⁰ Slide sets of the exhibition continued to be marketed as representing contemporary photography practices. The 1976 slide set, for example, sold for \$140 and contained two hundred and ten slides. The brochure, advertising the slides in 1976 claimed:

New Photographics Slide Sets have become a valuable educational tool and are represented in collections by over 80 major institutions and museums. These slides represent a broad range of photographic activity and as they are collected over the years will become a valuable historical document for any person or institution that is concerned with the growth and development of trends in photography.¹¹³¹

The slide set represented a smaller portion of the six hundred and forty by one hundred and ninety-two artists selected for the annual exhibition. Each of the sets included one work by each of the photographers as well as installation views of the exhibition itself. A catalogue of the exhibition was also included with the sale of the slides.¹¹³² The annual competition continued into the late 1980s as it had when it originated with the exception of 1988, when Sahlstrand

¹¹³⁰ Rod Slemmons, "Jim Sahlstrand and New Photographics for REFLEX, Winter 88," 2-6, included in letter to Jim Sahlstrand, 12/6/1988. Provided to author by email July 4, 2019, Marie Auger.

¹¹³¹ *New Photographics* 76, brochure, Roslyn Arts. Provided to author by email July 4, 2019, Marie Auger.

¹¹³² *Ibid.*

abandoned the juried competition instead inviting twelve photographers to participate in the exhibition.¹¹³³

The use of slide sets as a means of distributing material from exhibitions can be seen in other instances. SPE too toyed with the idea of using slide exhibitions to distribute student and faculty work. In 1979, Michael Simon (b. 1936), then Board Chair proposed the possibility of organising slide set exhibitions of faculty work that would make exhibitions easily transportable and cheap to produce. In a letter responding to Simon's proposal, Richard [Warren "Jake"] Jaquish (1933–1999),¹¹³⁴ then working as a photography teacher at the Maryland Institute College of Art, rejected the idea of the slideshow exhibition because it would not be acceptable at his college. He reasoned that the school placed an emphasis on viewing original prints. The value of displaying photographic work through slides at the Maryland Institute College of Art lay in its ability to showcase what was being produced at different schools. This would allow his students to consider different institutions for graduate school. This was the only value Jaquish saw in a slide set of recent graduate and faculty work.¹¹³⁵ His hesitation toward the use of the slideshow as an official exhibition speaks to the growing value placed on prints as transmitters of photographic artistic data. In his letter, Jaquish attested that prints were still viewed as the best means of transmitting photography to students. Much like other artforms slides functioned as an illustration of the art object.

¹¹³³ These were Lawrie Brown, Jerry Burchfield, Jo Ann Callis, Robert Flick, Judith Golden, Betty Hahn, Robert Heinecken, Patrick Nagatni, John Pfahl, Dan Powell, Todd Walker, and Joel-Peter Witkin. Rod Slemmons, "Jim Sahlstrad and New Photographics for REFLEX, Winter 88."

¹¹³⁴ Jaquish graduated from RIT.

¹¹³⁵ Letter Richard Jaquish to Michael Simon, 1-2, June 8, 1979, Box 2 "Chairperson's Files Michael Simon papers 1978-1981," Folder 23 "Members – Activities – Etc., 1979-1980," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

Exhibitions

In 1976 Peter Hunt Thompson wrote that university museums had two basic functions. The first was to display objects in a way that was accessible and meaningful to both non-specialists and specialists. The second was to facilitate research by faculty and students, acting as an “artistic analogue to a scientific laboratory.”¹¹³⁶ The permanent collections of university galleries such as those at Princeton, UNM, and UCLA, as well as others, were used to show students examples of photographic masterpieces. In the late 1970s, graduate photography shows became part of many programs’ curricula, in which senior students were expected to produce work that would be displayed at the end of the term, paralleling the demands placed on other studio programs such as painting and sculpture. The work of faculty members was similarly highlighted by dedicated annual exhibitions. Beyond these displays, university and college galleries showed contemporary art.

In addition to exhibitions curated around annual class work, faculty exhibitions, and graduation shows, there was a rise in exhibitions exploring ‘women photographers.’ At times, such exhibitions were facilitated outside of photography departments emerging in English Departments for instance.¹¹³⁷ In 1980, Nancy Gonchar (b. 1952) and Catherine Lord, then both students at VSW curated *The Image Considered*, an exhibition of photography by women. The exhibition was originally conceptualised to occur concurrently with Judy Chicago’s (b. 1939) installation of *The Dinner Party* at the nearby Memorial Art Gallery. Initially, the two had support for the exhibition, as members of VSW agreed that some display should correspond to

¹¹³⁶ Peter Hunt Thompson, “The University Art Museum Two Articles: Communication, Acquisition, and Insurance,” *Exposure* 14.3 (1976): 46.

¹¹³⁷ Betty Hahn recalled that while these departments enthusiastically embraced “women’s art” exhibitions, they were not always the best custodians of works as many exhibitions were hung in makeshift galleries such as classroom or corridors. Betty Hahn. Interviewed by author. Hahn’s residence, Albuquerque, New Mexico, United States of America. January 17, 2019. [Part 2].

Chicago's work.¹¹³⁸ Yet, no consensus was formed regarding the implications of restricting the show to only 'women's art.' Several complications arose in the planning process as Lord wrote, reflecting back on the feedback in 1980:

Women's art, we were told, was:

- not a coherent exhibition premise, because the only thing the work would have in common was that it was made by women.
- not a coherent exhibition premise, because any individual artist's work stands on its own, and because good art, or interesting pictures, have no connection with the gender of the creator. (Some people who don't normally talk about "great art" felt compelled to do so.)
- feminine, which was defined as delicate, soft, pretty, etc., as well as personal, and sometimes as overly personal, in the sense of presenting autobiographical facts which were apparently discomfiting to consider or not of general interests.
- feminist, which was defined both as a political viewpoint which focuses on male/female power relationships and a commitment to improving the situation of women, as well as gyno-erotic imagery, which in itself often has a fundamentally political motivation.
- outdated, because everyone has already seen a lot of it.
- outdated, because the general "consciousness" having been raised and past errors rectified, women who do good work now have an equal chance.
- second-rate.¹¹³⁹

These sentiments were voiced by women at the Workshop as well as those who had submitted work to the exhibition itself. Some women did not feel that the categorisation of women's art amounted to a coherent exhibition theme, as different genres or approaches were combined simply along the lines of the makers' identified gender. Lord and Gonchar themselves struggled with these dilemmas. The two ultimately decided to move forward with the exhibition, which they felt was united by the diversity of the work, rather than by theme.

Applicants for the exhibition were solicited from the network associated with VSW and advertising in *Afterimage*. Lord believed that as a result, the submissions represented largely

¹¹³⁸ Chicago's show at the Memorial Art Gallery ultimately was cancelled.

¹¹³⁹ Catherine Lord, "Women and Photography: Some Thoughts on Assembling an Exhibition," *Afterimage* 7.6 (1980): 7-8.

academic and contemporary photography, that is, photography produced by individuals who were associated to a photography program and perhaps already affiliated with the field. Despite this, the selected photographers' work had received little attention or publicity.

The show included photographers such as Marion Faller,¹¹⁴⁰ Wanda Hammerbeck (b. 1945),¹¹⁴¹ Ruth Schilling [Harwood],¹¹⁴² Susan [Eve] Jahoda (b. 1952),¹¹⁴³ Jessie Shefrin (b. 1948),¹¹⁴⁴ Eileen K. Berger (b. 1943),¹¹⁴⁵ Jacqueline Louise Livingston (1943-2013),¹¹⁴⁶ and Wendy Snyder MacNeil (1943-2016).¹¹⁴⁷ To the curators, this work represented photographic practices that applied characteristics typically associated with femininity – romantic, personal, delicate, soft – explored through elements such as fabric, interiors of houses, botanical forms, and children. Each of the photographers manipulated these 'feminine' approaches to create different statements transcending their immediate readings. Ultimately, while Lord and Gonchar struggled with the justification of the exhibition and the questions raised through its assembly, they concluded that participating in such a dialogue and displaying this work was crucial.¹¹⁴⁸ Such debates continued throughout the late 1980s and deeply influenced the social fabric of the photography network.¹¹⁴⁹

Censorship was also a major concern during this period. In May of 1978, faculty and students in the Photography Department at RISD opened *Private Parts* hung in the Electron Movers' gallery located off campus at 128 North Main Street, Providence, Rhode Island. The

¹¹⁴⁰ MFA from Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester.

¹¹⁴¹ MFA from San Francisco Art Institute, California.

¹¹⁴² MFA from RISD, Rhode Island.

¹¹⁴³ MFA from RISD, Rhode Island.

¹¹⁴⁴ MFA from University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

¹¹⁴⁵ MFA from Tyler School of Art, Philadelphia.

¹¹⁴⁶ At the time was teaching photography at Cornell University.

¹¹⁴⁷ Studied with Minor White at MIT at the time of the exhibition she was teaching at RISD.

¹¹⁴⁸ Catherine Lord, "Women and Photography: Some Thoughts on Assembling an Exhibition," 6-13.

¹¹⁴⁹ This is discussed further in the following chapter on the Women's Caucus of SPE.

exhibition was assembled as part of an independent study project by two senior students¹¹⁵⁰ under the supervision of Photography Professor Richard Lebowitz (b. 1937).¹¹⁵¹ Soon, enthusiasm within the department grew. By the time the call for submissions was released, it had reached individuals outside the program. It is unclear who suggested *Private Parts* as the exhibition theme and title, but it was adopted. The call for submissions printed on a flesh-coloured poster [fig. 6.16] reproduced the dictionary definitions of ‘private’ and ‘part’ and promised anonymity for all the exhibitors involved.

As the submissions came in for the exhibition, the university gallery revoked their permission to display the material at the gallery. Faced with this challenge, Bob Jungles, a faculty member and one of the founders of video collective Electron Movers, suggested the exhibition be moved to the collective’s gallery.¹¹⁵² All one hundred and sixty submissions were brought to the gallery and accepted or rejected on the basis of their ability to fit into subgroupings that were developed from the submitted material. Ultimately, one hundred and ten works¹¹⁵³ were accepted and grouped into categories such as “funky/comic, the conceptual, the high-esthetic, the animal theme, the kinky theme, etc.”¹¹⁵⁴ [fig. 6.17] Some larger sculptural works were mounted throughout the exhibition including a photobooth described by RISD faculty member Baruch D. Kirschenbaum in 1984:

¹¹⁵⁰ Due to the charges brought against the organisers, the two curators were not named. Les Wisner identified himself as one of the students involved.

¹¹⁵¹ Due to the students fearing arrest, they were not identified. Douglas W. Doe, “From the Files: Public Outrage and *Private Parts*,” *Manual: A Journal About Art and Its Making* 9 (2017): 11. In an interview Lynette Labinger and John Roney, the defense attorneys for Les Wisner in Ricci vs. Wisner (the “Private Parts” case), by Angela Siew in October, 2004, accessed July 15, 2020, <https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:147245/>.

¹¹⁵² Electron Movers was a group of artists dealing including Alan Powell, Laurie McDonald, Robert and Dorothy Jungles, and Dennis Hlynsky that was formed within the video program at RISD. See Alan Powell, “Collaboration in Electronic Image Processing: Electron Movers,” Master’s thesis, (Rutgers University, 1987). <http://www.experimentalvcenter.org/collaboration-electronic-image-processing-electron-movers>

¹¹⁵³ Vincent ‘Buddy’ Cianci, Jr. and David Fisher, *Politics and Pasta: How I Prosecuted Mobsters, Rebuilt a Dying City, Dined with Sinatra, Spent Five Years in Federally Funded Gated Community, and Lived to Tell the Tale* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books and St. Martin’s Press, 2011): 281.

¹¹⁵⁴ Baruch D. Kirschenbau, “Private Parts and Public Considerations,” *Exposure* 22.3 (1984): 8.

for a quarter, they could individually or in concert photograph whatever they considered to be their private parts. Results were push-pinned on the wall outside the booths as an on-going assemblage, a piece that made itself.¹¹⁵⁵ [fig. 6.18]

In 2003, Les Wisner recalled that at the opening, hung from the ceiling by wires in the centre of the room, there was:

a large area of matted hair of some sort. Probably ten feet square; at its horizontal it was probably about five feet in height off the floor. In the center of it there was a cut out – an opening in there – in the shape of a vagina; somebody’s whimsical idea of this thing. Then you could walk under it if you stooped and then stand up in the middle in this opening and put your head up through the vagina.¹¹⁵⁶

The introduction text to the exhibition replicated the poster’s printed definition of ‘private’ and ‘parts’ and included excerpts from Charles Albrecht’s *You and Your Wonderful House* (1923), William James’s *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), and Ludwig Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigations* (1953).¹¹⁵⁷

Within days of the exhibition’s opening, it was raided by the police. Forty-three works were confiscated.¹¹⁵⁸ Filmmaker Laurie McDonald, assisted by Larry Heyl and Alan Powell, documented the police’s arrival in the gallery space and their random process of confiscating work [fig. 6.19].¹¹⁵⁹ As a result of this exhibition, then Providence City Councilman Thomas Pearlman threatened to revoke RISD’s tax exception.¹¹⁶⁰ At the time, RISD’s administration refused to support the students or faculty, claiming they held no responsibility for the exhibition.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹¹⁵⁶ “Oral History of Les Wisner (excerpt),” 2003, Brown University Library, accessed July 15, 2020, <https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:147040/>.

¹¹⁵⁷ Baruch D. Kirschenbau, “Private Parts and Public Considerations,” 9-10.

¹¹⁵⁸ Afterimage, “Private Parts,” *Afterimage* 13 (October 1985): 21.

¹¹⁵⁹ Laurie McDonald, “Private Parts, 1978,” Laurie McDonald Video, accessed September 23, 2020. <https://www.lauriemcdonald.net/private-parts.html>.

¹¹⁶⁰ Baruch D. Kirschenbaum, “Private Parts and Public Considerations,” 10-11.

Then President of RISD Lee Hall (1935-2017) maintained that the exhibition was a matter of private citizens organising outside the university.¹¹⁶¹

Within eight days of the raid, eight of the exhibitors represented by Lynette Labinger and John Roney, filed a class-action suit against the city police, arguing that the agents' actions violated the exhibitors' freedom of speech and expression.¹¹⁶² No official ruling was made, but the case was ultimately settled in 1984, based on citing a different ruling on the Obscenity Statute.¹¹⁶³ As a result, the participating artists had until December 16, 1985 to file a claim for \$100 payment from the city of Providence. Five additional photographers were paid a larger settlement and reimbursed for their legal expenses.¹¹⁶⁴

Censorship

In the late 1970s, tensions escalated over censorship. Photography's indexical relationship to objects made it central to many of these debates. Anthropologist Carole S. Vance asserted in 1990 that contemporary photographers and their work were more likely to become subjected to censorship because:

there has been less time in which to develop a consensus about their value – financial, artistic and cultural. Photography is also less privileged than other fine arts because of its ubiquity. The proliferation of photographic images and mass culture – in advertising and photojournalism – makes it more difficult to shelter...¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁶¹ See letter exchange between Katie R. Florsheim and Lee Hall published in Douglas W. Doe, "From the Files: Public Outrage and *Private Parts*," *Manual: A Journal About Art and Its Making* 9 (2017): 10-15.

¹¹⁶² Baruch D. Kirschenbaum, "Private Parts and Public Considerations," 11-21.

¹¹⁶³ Baruch D. Kirschenbaum, [Reply: 18 October 1984], *Exposure* 22.4 (1984): 30.

¹¹⁶⁴ William Parker, Richard Lebowitz, Michael Martone, Nan Goldin, and Judy Jacobs. *Afterimage*, "Private Parts," *Afterimage* 13 (October 1985): 21.

¹¹⁶⁵ Carole S. Vance, "Photography, Pornography and Sexual Politics," *Aperture [The Body in Question]* 121 (Fall 1990): 52.

Beyond deciding the risk of works on display, photography educators themselves faced risk for their photographic work.

In 1978 photographer and educator Jacqueline Livingston was fired from her position as Assistant Professor of Art at Cornell University¹¹⁶⁶ after complaints surfaced over her exhibited portraits of her nude son, father-in-law, and then husband. Carol Jacobsen, later reporting on the event, noted that her colleagues in the art faculty were composed of fourteen men and one woman who warned Livingston “that she could not expect to photograph male penises and stay at Cornell.”¹¹⁶⁷ Of greatest concern in this matter were the images Livingston captured of her son masturbating, which were deemed as child pornography by the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The following year, Livingston was investigated by the Department of Social Services for child abuse. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children charged her with child pornography, a suit that was ultimately dropped. Livingston attempted to bring a legal action against Cornell for her treatment, but they settled out of court and she never regained her position.¹¹⁶⁸ Several advertisements published in *Exposure* [fig. 6.20] advocated for Livingston, with little result.

A year prior to Livingston’s firing, New York had passed a statute to prevent the distribution of child pornography by changing the way they defined ‘sexual conduct.’ At a federal level in the United States, images depicting nudity – including children – in art were defended, as a ban on ‘nudity’ was deemed too vague to be constitutional. This did not stop groups from forming to lobby state authorities on the matter.¹¹⁶⁹ The pressure from such

¹¹⁶⁶ Afterimage, “Livingston Firing Sparks Controversy,” *Afterimage* (April 1978): 3.

¹¹⁶⁷ Carol Jacobsen, “Redefining Censorship: A Feminist View,” *Art Journal* 50.4 [Censorship II] (Winter 1991): 45.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁹ Edward De Garzia, “The Big Chill: Censorship and the Law,” *Aperture [The Body in Question]* 121 (Fall 1990): 50.

groups, accompanied by the views from conservatives such as Hilton Kramer (1928-2012), Samuel Lipman (1934-1994), and others on the National Council, led to a proposed fifty percent cut in funding to the NEA.¹¹⁷⁰

By 1989, pressure to censor artworks deemed to be ‘obscene’ was at an all-time high. The School of the Art Institute of Chicago’s grants were reduced from \$130,000 to \$1 after they exhibited then student [Dread] Scott Tyler’s (b. 1965) *What Is the Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag?* In June of 1989, the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. elected to cancel Robert Mapplethorpe’s (1946-1989) solo exhibition *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment* to avoid becoming involved in controversy over exhibiting his works.¹¹⁷¹ Increasingly, gallery spaces and art magazines were self-censoring to avoid the wrath of funding cuts. That same year, in 1989, Senator Jesse Helms (1921-2008) wrote legislation barring the NEA and National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) from funding ‘obscene’ art, forcing all grant recipients to sign an anti-obscenity oath.¹¹⁷²

The rise in censorship recalled a darker period for photography education under McCarthyism that led to the demise of the Photo League and pushed many active photographers underground. In response to growing concerns over this new wave of censorship, a committee on Censorship and Freedom of Vision was formed in SPE in 1981 headed by photography critic A.

¹¹⁷⁰ For a more detailed timeline of events see Robert Atkins, “A Censorship Time Line,” *Art Journal* 50.3 (Autumn 1991): 33-37. Further discussion of this period and related events are discussed in Richard Bolton, *Culture Wars: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts* (New York: New York Press, 1992).

¹¹⁷¹ The show included sexually explicit photographs from Mapplethorpe’s “X Portfolio.” The ramifications of this case would have a lasting hold on the art world that would have influenced photography education throughout the 1990s. For more information about the exhibition and result controversy see Charles-Edward Anderson, “Mapplethorpe Photos on Trail: Jury Acquits Museum of Obscenity Despite Pretrial Losses,” *American Bar Association Journal* 76.12 (December 1990): 28; Robert Storr, “Editor’s Statement: Art, Censorship, and the First Amendment: This is Not a Test,” *Art Journal* 50.3 (1991): 12-25; and Richard Meyer, “The Jesse Helms Theory of Art*,” *October* 104 (2003): 131-148.

¹¹⁷² Atkins, “A Censorship Time Line,” 33-37.

D. Coleman.¹¹⁷³ In an open letter published in 1989, Coleman noted that, while photography had always faced issues of censorship, that year was unprecedented for three major cases including *Nueva Luz*'s publication. The journal came under scrutiny after Ricardo T. Barrios's photographs of his nude family were deemed child pornography by Brooklyn Assemblyman Dov Hikind (b. 1950). The havoc wreaked by these issues raised concerns over the funding and sustainability of *En Foco*, as the magazine was reliant upon annual grants from the New York State Council on the Arts and the New York City Bureau of Cultural Affairs.¹¹⁷⁴ As such events were unfolding at the university and college campuses and impacting employment, gallery exhibitions, and collecting habits, there is little doubt that photography educators were aware of the rising levels of censorship. Reactions from these educators varied. Some elected to self-censor, while others looked to respond to these events through peer networks such as the committee on Censorship and Freedom of Vision.

Employment after Graduation

By the mid-1970s, the boom of easily available photography positions for those with MFA accreditation was declining. This was in sharp contrast with previous years. Many MFA graduates who completed their studies prior to the mid-1970s could expect to secure a position. The lack of experience they had outside the academy prior to obtaining their position led to them to replicate the teaching methods of their mentors. Peter [Bacon] Hales (1950-2014), then

¹¹⁷³ See files 8 and 9 "Committee: Censorship and Freedom Vision, 1981-84; 1984-1985." Box 10 "Martha Strawn files, 1981-87," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹¹⁷⁴ A. D. Coleman, "Letter from: New York / Washington / Rockport No. 7," *Photo Metro* 8.73 (October 1989): 26-27.

associate professor in the History of Architecture and Art Department at University of Illinois, claimed in 1982 that most photography programs were staffed by young MFA graduates who:

were themselves still neophytes in a medium with scant history of prodigies or youthful genius*, a medium whose history suggested that important work was rarely done before middle-years or later.¹¹⁷⁵

At first, this system appeared to function as a motivated young generation worked toward expanding the field of photography, but as those graduates saturated the field, employment opportunities became scarcer. With this reality, higher-education institutions were able to demand more certification from their employees. Those who had already obtained positions in such institutions were pressed to acquire further accreditation to maintain their current positions.

Part of the employment problem was caused by faculty members who conveyed to their students that teaching was the only legitimate career path for creative photographers looking to remain artists. Taking on commercial assignments was frowned upon by some creative photography educators. The lack of support for individuals sustaining themselves through practical applications of photography in the field was contrary to values of many of the founders of photography education, as discussed in Chapter 1. Many of the early photography educators had, in fact, made careers as advertisement, commercial, press photographers, or studio photographers. Teaching only became a viable career path to sustain creative photography between the 1960s and early 1970s.

Some photography educators such as photographer Ruth Bernhard, did not agree with this approach. During a 1982 SPE, she argued that more educators should be supportive of students wanting to take on commercial assignments, stating that “to make the distinction between art and commercial destroys each for each other. I see no reason why we can’t be

¹¹⁷⁵ “*[Jacques Henri] Lartigue remains the outstanding exception.” Peter Hales, “Teaching: The MFA Syndrome: A Gentle Jeremiad,” *Exposure* 20.4 (1982): 26, 28.

interested in the art of making [photographs of] beautiful shoes.”¹¹⁷⁶ Lilo Raymond similarly advocated that students take on commercial work to fund their creative work. As the room was filled with photography educators, she encouraged them to assign their students commercial work as part of their courses and to thereby train their students to see the value in it. Raymond said:

The art world is something else. I tell them very straight about what I know is going on in the gallery scene but really emphasize that as a photographer it is possible to do commercial work and personal work. Because I have done it.¹¹⁷⁷

Part of the growing negative attitude toward commercial work had to do with photography’s mirroring of larger trends of art associated with patronage. As photography became more accepted as an artform, more and more photographers were emulating artists. Another element was rooted in the assumption of some photography educators that the system was a ‘naturally’ weeding-out process. As discussed earlier, photography educators were aware that not all their students would become artists; the goal of many of the first educators including the founders of SPE was to train a larger audience to appreciate creative photography.

Moreover, educators adopted the position that the university had never been a place associated with direct employment. In a 1979 letter to then SPE Chair Michael Simon¹¹⁷⁸ Robert Heinecken wrote:

I don’t quite agree with what you said about a concern for what employment exists for grad. students. I’m not sure that that is an appropriate educational concern. Certainly it’s important and I don’t mean to sound elitist etc. I do feel that it is sticky however. The best students will get jobs. The imaginative ones will invent or create jobs. The weak ones will be in trouble – as has always been true. I think it

¹¹⁷⁶ Ruth Bernhard, “Teaching Philosophies and Question Period: Crane Moderator (SPE meeting 1982 Broadmoor) with Schulze, Weber, Heinecken, Raymond, Swedland,” AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁸ Simon was working as a photography teacher at Beloit College, Wisconsin at the time.

is perhaps a matter of raising the standards in the programs and taking in and letting out fewer students – if we are concerned with it at all. And as I said I'm not certain that we need be. It needs more thought.¹¹⁷⁹

Heincken's response to the future of his students showcases the conflict many felt in regard to their role in aiding their students obtain employment. The idea of reducing the intake of students and the number who graduated would likely have been an improbable solution for most educators, as their departments, and ultimately their jobs, were funded based on the number of enrolled students.

In 1988, SPE's Women's Caucus published a report on the status of employment of women. The survey came at a time when higher-education institutions were facing legal challenges for their treatment of women and minorities.¹¹⁸⁰ The Caucus found that while women made up forty-eight percent of graduate students in photography, they only occupied nineteen percent of the available positions. Moreover, they recorded significant inconsistency in wages between the sexes.¹¹⁸¹ Part of the discrepancy in pay had to do with the salaries associated with rank, implying that an individual who did not secure tenure would be unlikely to receive a high salary. Moreover, as Mary W. Gray explained in a 1985 article:

[o]nce the equal skill, effort, and responsibility standard has been established, exceptions are allowed for pay differences based on quantity or quality of production, merit, seniority, or 'any other factor other than sex.'¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁷⁹ Letter from Robert Heinecken to Michael Simon, Letter July 26, 1979, [1-2], Box 2 "Chairperson's Files Michael Simon Papers 1978-1981," File 18, "Heinecken, Robert, 1979," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹¹⁸⁰ Mary W. Gray, "The Halls of Ivy and the Halls of Justice: Resisting Sex Discrimination Against Faculty Women," *Academe* 71.5 (September-October 1985): 33-41.

¹¹⁸¹ The Women's Caucus, "Survey of Women and Persons of Color in Post-Secondary Photographic Education," *Exposure* 26.2,3 (1988): 41-87.

¹¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 36.

Conclusion

1989 marked the celebration of photography's sesquicentennial. One hundred and fifty years prior a photographic process developed by Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's (1787-1851) and Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) had been presented to a joint meeting of the French Academy of Sciences and the Académie des Beaux Arts, marking the beginning of the patented history of the medium. Exhibitions to celebrate this milestone were planned to take place at major American and Canadian museums over the course of some three years from late 1988 to 1990.¹¹⁸³ Beyond commemorating photography's invention, such events demonstrated that photography had reached a level of maturity that could only have been imagined by the photography educators working in the 1950s. The marking of this landmark required curators, collection managers, framers and gallery technicians, photographers, and an audience willing to engage with photography as a creative medium. Many of the individuals who participated in such events were graduates from photography programs.

At the time of the sesquicentennial, the field of photography was too large to encapsulate the peer network that had formed a decade earlier. As Michael Simon wrote to Peter Bunnell in 1979, "we grew too large to be the old-buddy group we used to be."¹¹⁸⁴ With the increase in population, those in positions of power were viewed by some as gatekeepers to be challenged rather than upheld. In 1989, photographer Charles Biasiny-Rivera (b. 1930) poignantly wrote in *Nueva Luz*:

Culturally diverse photographers would be hard put to celebrate 150 years of photography that represent ridicule, disfranchisement and exclusion. For us to realize the level of our achievements reached over the past fifty years we have to shed the lepers cloak.

¹¹⁸³ Andy Grundberg, "Season Preview: Photography," *The New York Times*, September 11, 1988, A 62.

¹¹⁸⁴ Letter from Michael Simon to Peter Bunnell, December 2, 1979, Box 2 "Michael Simon files, 1978-81," File 3 "Bunnell, Peter, 1979-81," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

One way we have worked to accomplish that is by establishing our own history, providing a vital forum for fine photography produced by artists of color.¹¹⁸⁵

Biasiny-Rivera was part of the mounting voices of dissent that rose in response to the solidification of photography's narrative supported in part by photography education. Educators and students who rejected this narrative were influenced by theoretical and political discourse that blossomed over the 1980s.

Despite the injection of political and social activism into photography education, many undergraduate programs continued to be led by instructors who perpetuated the educational models they had experienced as students. Educators who identified with this school of thought, tended to focus on transmission of technical mastery as an aspect of creative photography. By utilising specific exhibition catalogues and historical texts that supported modernist ambitions and a canon for photography, some students were educated within a particular value system with which to adjudicate photographs, placing a value on the original fine print.

The growth of the field and of photography's acceptance meant that photographers and educators no longer relied heavily on photography networks such as SPE. Local communities and organisations formed around particular interests or concerns were more likely to support individuals after graduation.

These combined elements affected photography education at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. The size of the field and the number of programs available to students makes it difficult to make generalisations and draw conclusions on the overall development of photography education. It is evident that the scope of the field allowed for departments and schools to act much more independently than they had previously. While some educators sought

¹¹⁸⁵ Charles Biasiny-Rivera, "Editorial Page," *Nueva Luz* 3.1 (1989): 1.

to push photography education to align more closely with theory and other creative academic disciplines, others pushed back against this trend. An aspect of this was the rejection of writing on the medium that emerged from outside the discipline. To some photographers and educators, those who could not demonstrate an understanding of the technical aspects of the medium were unable to make judgements about its success or failure. Others who had come to believe that the medium should remain separate from other art forms – due in some parts to the photography’s increasingly insular network – saw writing by those outside their network as a threat to their authority as experts. Battles over who had the power to make decisions about photography education can be seen within SPE, with the formation and growth of the Women’s Caucus throughout the 1980s.

Chapter 7. A ‘Women’s Caucus’ for Whom?

Introduction

In March 1990, SPE gathered in Santa Fe, New Mexico to hold their twenty-seventh national conference. One of the most anticipated panels was “The Practice of Photography Education: Gender and Ideology,” dubbed prior to the event’s occurrence as “the fireworks panel.” It was organised in response to the significant tension within the society over the presence of the Women’s Caucus. Supporters and advisories of the Caucus debated its role over the course of the prior decade. In her presentation, Women’s Caucus member Catherine Lord reviewed their achievements, concluding that:

[p]ut boldly, the stakes are how we will survive. Either we create a network that addresses differing investments in photography that can be reflected in many different ways or we reconstruct the privilege of a 19th-Century guild in preparation for the 21st Century.¹¹⁸⁶

By the early 1980s it was clear that photography, like all institutional arts, was inherently political and reflected deeply ingrained societal inequalities as related to representation, employment, and economic wellbeing. By organising within SPE, the Women’s Caucus members were carving out space for themselves and demanding a reconsideration of the impact of the discipline’s pedagogy. The struggles of the Caucus and SPE were a microcosm of the field. The actors expressed their grievances in actions and words.

At this stage, half the student population in higher education was composed of women yet they were underrepresented in exhibitions, publications, and teaching positions. Women’s exclusion was reflected in the curricula developed throughout the 1960s and 1970s, which used male photographers as examples of ‘quality’ photography. In response, some educators

¹¹⁸⁶ Virginia Maksymowicz, “The Practice of Photography: Conference,” *Women Art News* (Fall 1990), 4.

attempted to fill these gaps when developing their own curricula. Yet these reconsiderations of the medium were not always supported by the SPE membership. Indeed, many times, the educators were accused of addressing topics outside the scope of photography, such as politics and theory.

Photographers' collective awareness of the impact of photography education rose in the 1980s. This led to a boom in educational workshops outside the university setting and to new support organisations. Attention was particularly paid to questions of representation in the academy, external institutions, and founding agencies. In 1986 for example, an open letter was published in *Exposure* criticising the National Endowment for the Arts for their lack of ability to find a qualified woman to serve on its adjudication panel.¹¹⁸⁷ Two years later, the journal published a study conducted between 1985 and 1986 by SPE's Women's Caucus titled "Survey of Women and Persons of Color in Post-Secondary Photographic Education" that questioned the formation of university faculties largely around white men¹¹⁸⁸ – despite the fact that by 1985, female-to-male student ratios in most undergraduate majors were almost equal.¹¹⁸⁹

By studying the history of the Women's Caucus, this chapter will provide an example of a larger growing trend at the time of organisations assembling around women's issues. In 1969, the Women Artists in Revolution was formed in response to the lack of consideration by the Art

¹¹⁸⁷ Paul Berger, James Enyeart, Andy Grundberg, David L. Jacobs, Carole Kismaric, Mark Klett, Esther Parada, James Pomeroy, Martha Rosler, Allan Sekula, Carol Squiers, Evon Streetman, and Anne Tucker, "The composition of the panel and the gender breakdown of the grant recipients were probably related to one another, and the results were unfortunate both for the many worthy photographers who did not receive fellowships and for the reputation of the National Endowment for the Arts." Paul Berger, et al., "Open Letter to the NEA" *Exposure* 24.4 (Winter 1986): 5.

¹¹⁸⁸ Linda Brooks, Catherine Lord, Barbara Jo Revelle, and Dr. Charlotte Striebel, "Survey of Women and Persons of Color in Post-Secondary Photographic Education," *Exposure* 26.2,3 (1988), 40-87.

¹¹⁸⁹ Males made up 50.54% of students. Persons of colour were significantly underrepresented composing only 12.04% of the total student body. *Ibid.*, 53.

Workers' Coalition of sexism in the art field.¹¹⁹⁰ In 1971, Linda Nochlin (1931-2017) published the now well-known essay, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"¹¹⁹¹ in *ArtNews*. Organisational groups in art education established by 1982 included: The Feminist Studio Workshop of Women's Building, The New York Feminist Art Institute, 'Where We At' – Black Women Artists, Women's Interart Center Inc., and Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation.¹¹⁹² Feminist curricula, art performances, and exhibitions were slowly growing across school campuses. At CalArts, for example, Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro (1923-2015) organised the first public exhibition of Feminist Art in *Womanhouse* in 1972 as part of an educational program for female artists.¹¹⁹³

These activities must be considered in relationship the communications available during the period. In 2018, artist educator Joan Lyons said:

in the Sixties and even in the Seventies we didn't have the communication that you have now... I was delighted to get these index cards with people's addresses that I could get in touch with because somebody did a show in California, and sent it out somehow, and it got to me. This was a miracle. So, there were isolated groups all over the country doing stuff. And because there was something in the water or in the air these isolated groups of people might have been doing similar things at the same time. But who knew?¹¹⁹⁴

The stakes for creating "female art" were high at the time. As Lyons noted in the same discussion:

[w]hat if I have the nerve to make this pastel coloured dress, which is so feminine – not feminist, but feminine – and it's a scary thing to do; because I've been brought up to get the biggest canvas I could possibility afford and throw paint around and make it as macho as possible if I wanted to be taken seriously as an artist. All these little

¹¹⁹⁰ Paula L. Chiarmonete, "Women Artists: A Resource and Research Guide," *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 1.5 (October 1982), A1, A3-20.

¹¹⁹¹ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *ArtNews* (January 1971), 22-39 & 67-71.

¹¹⁹² Paula L. Chiarmonete, "Women Artists: A Resource and Research Guide."

¹¹⁹³ Miriam Schapiro, "Recalling Womanhouse," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15.1,2 (Spring/Summer 1987), 25-30.

¹¹⁹⁴ Joan Lyons. Interviewed by author. Lyons's residence, Rochester, New York, United States of America. August 7, 2018.

autobiographical elements, all that stuff – it’s hard to realize now in this “me generation” – was really nervy; and you were doing it very reluctantly and tentatively because it didn’t seem quite right. That’s not what art was supposed to be about, and you didn’t have any support for this. There’s nobody else around you doing it.¹¹⁹⁵

The SPE Women’s Caucus provides an example of the inter-generational and gender gaps raised in relation to women in photography education in this era. As already established in this thesis, SPE membership had never been unified in their approach to photography education nor were they ever in agreement as to what photography even was. To early photography educators, SPE was a means of lending legitimacy to the field, and intellectual disputes were therefore, as John R. Grimes (b. 1945) wrote in 1984, “held in check by a higher purpose: to promote photography for any use to which it might be put. Toleration was the rule.”¹¹⁹⁶ In many ways, the Women’s Caucus can be seen as an indication of an emerging critical mass in the field. These individuals of the second and third generation, of academically trained photographers, did not need SPE to function as a single umbrella society in the way their predecessors had; in fact, they were now demanding that the field take note of the voices that had been marginalised for the sake of history building.

It is important to note that the Women’s Caucus represents just one photography organisation that addressed women’s issues. Yet this case is of particular importance because the Caucus emerged from within an established organisation that had played a foundational role in the development of the medium. In other words, members of the Women’s Caucus were not speaking to SPE as outsiders, but as insiders, seeking change from within the organisation as full members, thus presenting a dynamic dichotomy.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁶ John Grimes, “SPE at Twenty-One,” *Aperture* 94.5 (Spring 1984): 4-5.

Attempts at Addressing Women's Issues

Women attempted to self-organise within SPE a number of times during the mid-1970s. Their meetings, while addressing the interests of women in the field, did not gather under the same concerns nor ambitions.

An early example of members gathering around the idea of a 'Women's Caucus' occurred during the 1974 SPE conference. However, little documentation of these discussions concerning women in the organisation are held at SPE's official archival holdings at the Center for Creative Photography. 1980 marks the first archival fonds dedicated to the Women's Caucus. Earlier conference records in the SPE archive indicate that panels on 'women's issues' had been coordinated at annual conferences since the 1974 gathering largely as independently arranged events. The growing trend of women group photography exhibitions in the mid-1970s demonstrates that the field at large was shifting, at the very least to recognise the lack of representation of female photographers.

The first SPE *Women's Caucus Newsletter* [fig. 7.1] was sent out to a mailing list of seventy-five individuals in April 1980.¹¹⁹⁷ In it, the goals of the Caucus were laid out as "to further the interests and concerns of women in S.P.E. – to form a network of mutual support."¹¹⁹⁸ The newsletter announced that the first meeting was to be held to attempt to organise a functioning body. Martha Rosler acted as Chairperson, facilitating the meeting. Martha Madigan (b.1950), an MFA graduate from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, was elected as liaison between the Women's Caucus and SPE's board members. Shortly after the meeting, the

¹¹⁹⁷ "Women's Caucus Membership List," [n.n.], Box 6, Folder 15: "Women's Caucus 1980," AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Women's Caucus newsletter* #1, April/May 1980, Box 6, Folder 15: "Women's Caucus 1980," AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

unofficial Caucus presented the board members with a petition to circulate to the general membership to affirm the decision not to hold the conferences in unratified states (states that had not ratified the federal Equal Rights Amendment) [fig. 7.2]. In this early iteration of the Caucus, men were allowed to attend the meetings as “non-voting observers.”¹¹⁹⁹

Small changes to the organisation could be felt within a year. Barbara Sonneborn (b.1944) announced a panel for 1981 National Conference coordinated to:

discover and understand the differences between the female and male creative process – to establish a comprehensive history – to investigate social and political concerns – [and] to share personal concerns, for example family and career.¹²⁰⁰

Such issues were of great concern to members of SPE as they sought to better understand how to support their student body and colleagues.

Also in 1981, the 19.3 issue of *Exposure* was dedicated to Women in Photography [fig. 7.3]. Edited by Gretchen Garner (1939-2017), Steven Kilndt (b.1947), and Jan Zita Grover, the issue included a substantial portfolio of twenty-eight contemporary female photographers as well as a list of resources by and about women photographers.¹²⁰¹ The letter from the editor, Gretchen Garner, explained the issue was motivated by the Women’s Caucus 1980 board meeting. The editors sought to explore how women were faring academically, what challenges they faced, and how women were changing critical patterns.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁰ Letter from Greg Mac Gregor to SPE Members, August 20, 1980, page 3, Box 2, Folder 7, AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²⁰¹ Eileen Berger, Ellen Brooks, Marsha Burns, Eileen Cowin, Judy Dater, Mary Beth Edelson, Chris Enos, Marion Faller, Judith Golden, Bonnie Gordon, Betty Hahn, Abigail Heyman, Barbara Kasten, Minnette Lehman, Joanne Leonard, Joan Lyons, Ana Mendieta, Wendy MacNeil, Margaretta K. Mitchell, Helen Nestor, Anne Noggle, Starr Ockenga, Esther Parada, Olivia Parker, Diana Schoenfeld, and Gail Skoff. See “Connections: An Invitational Portfolio of Images and Statements by Twenty-Eight Women,” *Exposure* 19.3 (1981), 19-44.

At the time, while women represented roughly one third of the SPE membership and held prominent roles in SPE, including on the board, they were still underrepresented in photography-related employment.

The *Exposure* editors noted that men held seventy-seven percent of full-time positions while women had only secured twenty-three percent. In part-time employment, men again held the upper hand: they held sixty-four percent of positions, while women held thirty-six percent. This trend echoed the findings of Janice Koenig Ross and Landa L. Tentham 1978 survey for the College Art Association that examined employment trends in art departments. In this study, Ross and Tentham found that despite women making up approximately fifty percent of the student body, men held eighty-eight percent of full-time faculty positions.¹²⁰²

As such, the goal of the *Exposure* issue was to demonstrate that female photographers had contributed significantly to the medium, both stylistically and conceptually. In her introduction, Garner claimed that:

Iconography not style – or, if you prefer, *content* not form. For almost any woman, formal concerns are not enough, and I think that as you look through *Connections*, a portfolio of images and statements by women who began working seriously in the 1970s, you will see in most cases an intensity of concern for meaning, for truth – even if it is a strictly personal truth of one life.¹²⁰³

Photographer educators contributing to this issue included Marion Faller, Judith Golden (b.1934), Betty Hahn, Joan Lyons, Esther Parada (1938-2005), Judy Dater, and Anne Noggle (1922-2005). These artists demonstrated a wide range of photographic approaches including documentary, directorial mode, snapshot, formalism, collage, and appropriation.

¹²⁰² Gretchen Garner, “From the Editor,” *Exposure* 19.3 (1981), 7. This report was addressed earlier in Chapter 6.

¹²⁰³ *Ibid.*

In the same issue, Suzanne Lacy (b. 1945) boldly explained the problematics of photographic work that presented graphic images of women, including examples from photographers Les Krims, Helmut Newton (1920-2004), and stock newspaper photographers.¹²⁰⁴ At the time, Krims's work was well known in photography circles. In fact, several articles featured in *Exposure*, such as "Education for Response: Criticism in the Curriculum,"¹²⁰⁵ published only three years prior to Lacy's article, employed Krims's photographs as examples of work to be used for classroom teaching. That same year, in 1978, Krims was named the featured photographer at the National Conference in Asilomar,¹²⁰⁶ indicating his support among some SPE members. Yet Krims's presentation of his staged photography of nude and brutalised women during his conference lecture led to an impromptu protest. Virginia Maksymowicz (b. 1952), an MFA graduate from the University of California, San Diego, later recalled that the Women's Caucus formation in 1980 was "sparked, among other things, by an impromptu protest during the presentation by Les Krims a few years earlier."¹²⁰⁷

SPE reaction to the *Exposure* issue was mixed. Eric Breitenbach (b. 1956), an SPE member in Florida, stated that the *Exposure* issue dedicated to women should be required reading for female and male photographers and that it provided him with "a new sense of artistic responsibility, not only toward women, but toward any certain person or group of persons that might now or later be represented in my photographs."¹²⁰⁸ While this was a promising response, not all members were keen on the publication. In fact, criticism even came from within the Women's Caucus. Member Catherine Lord, did not agree with the selection of the guest editors.

¹²⁰⁴ Suzanne Lacy, "Learning to Look: The Relationship Between Art and Popular Culture Images," *Exposure* 19.3 (1981): 8-15.

¹²⁰⁵ Terry Barrett, "Educating for Response: Criticism in the Curriculum," *Exposure* 16.4 (1978): 20-23.

¹²⁰⁶ *Exposure*, "SPE National Update" *Exposure* 15.4 (1977):38.

¹²⁰⁷ Virginia Maksymowicz, "The Practice of Photography: Conference," *Women Art News* (Fall 1990): 3.

¹²⁰⁸ Eric Breitenbach, "Letters to the Editor," *Exposure* 20.1 (1982): 54.

She and others in the Caucus felt that they should have guest edited the issue, or at the very least, been consulted on the choice of material.¹²⁰⁹

Resentments, Miscommunications, and the Forming Divide

A brief exchange between Lord and SPE Chair William Parker (1932-2009), was published in the following issue of *Exposure*.¹²¹⁰ Parker defended Garner and blamed the Women's Caucus for never actuating an issue. As no plan was officially submitted for consideration to the board, he reasoned they could not have acted on the publication. This early exchange with the board demonstrates their attempts to meet the women's concerns; on the other hand, this action also represented to some members a lack of respect for the work undertaken by the Women's Caucus by organising and advocating on behalf of women.

In 1983, Helmmo Kindermann (b. 1947) wrote a report on the status of women in the National Conference in Philadelphia for Chairperson Martha Strawn (b. 1945) [fig. 7.4]. In it he maintained that the Conference Committee and the Featured Speakers groups were both composed of three men and one female, representing a seventy-five percent majority for the men. Overall, sixty-three percent of the speakers at the conference were men. Also included in the conference were seven specific programs related to women's issues. In the final subheading dedicated to programming related to men, he inscribed 'none.'¹²¹¹ Important work was achieved during the 1983 Conference despite these statistics. Barbara Jo Revelle (b. 1946) facilitated a panel on "Teaching Women," and the Caucus formally requested the creation of a survey concerning the status of women in photographic education. Concurrently, the women

¹²⁰⁹ Catherine Lord, "Letters to the Editor," *Exposure* 20.1 (1982): 54.

¹²¹⁰ See "Letters," *Exposure* 20.2 (1982): 49-51.

¹²¹¹ "1983 National Conference Report," 1983, Box 21, Folder 12, AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

commenced work on a special issue of *Exposure* that they could bring to the board of directors without waiting for an invitation.¹²¹²

Simultaneously, a meeting was held with no planned agenda for women and men to discuss in candor personal cases of sexual harassment, pay inequality, and sexual discrimination. The attendees included a half-dozen men and thirty to forty women. David Jacobs later in 1991 recounted that all of the men were tenured; of the women, only a few held similar academic positions. During the meeting, Jacobs noted, a female photographer recounted her experiences obtaining a series of non-tenure-track teaching positions, which had taken a significant toll on her personal and economic well-being. Through various examples, she showed how women were excluded from policy decisions that would shift the way tenure was adjudicated to make women more competitive. In response, a male photographer in the audience pressed her for further information. She refused, yet he persisted, leading her to lose her composure.¹²¹³ At the time of this exchange, the female photographer was a visiting professor in the same department as the male photographer, and she was a candidate for tenure-track position. In this instance, the job was ultimately filled by a man. Jacobs described that during the meeting men frequently monopolised the speaking time and sometimes spoke condescendingly. In 1990, Jacobs remarked that “what was being played out there was very deep cultural patterns of discourse that extended considerably beyond a particular moment in Philadelphia.”¹²¹⁴ It was decided shortly thereafter that the Women’s Caucus should hold closed women-only meetings to allow for more honest and candid discussions.

¹²¹² Judith Crawley, Martha Gever, Rebecca Lewis, Aneta Sperber, “Introduction,” *Exposure [What You Staring At?]* 22.2 (Summer 1984): 4.

¹²¹³ Virginia Maksymowicz, “The Fireworks Panel,” *Women Artists News* 16 (December 1991): 312-314.

¹²¹⁴ As cited by Virginia Maksymowicz, “The Practice of Photography: Conference,” *Women Artists News* (Fall 1990): 2.

In the summer of 1984, the Women's Caucus' guest edited issue of *Exposure* was released [fig. 7.5]. Organised by Judith Crawley (b. 1945), Martha Gever, Rebecca Lewis, and Aneta Sperber the issue was introduced as showcasing:

writers and photographers who contributed – individuals with sustained interests in and commitments to various questions raised by the conjunction of a major political movement and a specific cultural practice.

In total, seven articles were published that explored women's issues, some through visual analysis and others through the recounting of personal struggles. The editors laid out the political position that resonated throughout the issue:

From the start we agreed on three primary principles: the work we would seek out, encourage, and publish should treat feminism as a political phenomenon (or phenomena); without imposing one definition of feminism, an implicit foundation should be women's experiences (as opposed to, say, concepts of feminine aesthetics); and following from that point the subjects of the articles should not be confined to the boundaries of the United States. Perhaps the last goal was emphasized because two of us live in Montréal, where the importation of U.S. culture presents a continual reminder of the power and deficiencies of U.S. domination. The third layer of productivity which helped generate this volume is the group of women who have persistently, if erratically, provided a forum for feminist discussion and challenged sexism within SPE.¹²¹⁵

The publication opened with a poignant article by photographer and adjunct faculty member at the International Center for Photography, Pace University, and Ramapo College, Diane Neumaier (b.1946), in which she sketched her personal history. In it, she detailed the stakes of being an artistic photographer, a wife, and a mother. Neumaier reasoned that her photographic desires as an artist were deeply influence by master photographers; most significantly, Harry Callahan, Alfred Stieglitz, and Emmet Gowin (b. 1941). These photographers – introduced to her throughout her education – all documented their spouses and children in what she viewed at first

¹²¹⁵ Judith Crawley, Martha Gever, Rebecca Lewis, Aneta Sperber, "Introduction," 4.

as romantic gestures that she hoped to apply to her own life. Quickly these aspirations were shattered as she realised that:

I simultaneously wanted to be Harry, Alfred, or Emmet, *and* I wanted to be their adored captive subjects. I wanted to be Eleanor or Edith and have my man focus on me and our child, *and* I wanted to be Georgia, passive beauty and active artist.¹²¹⁶

Through her reflections, Neumaier was able to demonstrate the ingrained gender biases of the discipline of photography that flowed through the education system. She explained that her teachers “were only interested in technique and, more elusively, in something they called perception, which didn’t have anything to do with the object of their perceiving.”¹²¹⁷ The separation of the objects’ meaning from the forms they were representing omitted the possibility of addressing any of the political or social messages being transmitted by such works.

In another essay in the issue, “A Thorn is a Thorn is a Thorn,” Catherine Lord lamented that by her:

calculations, most people in this professional society devoted to improving fine-arts photographic education would happily forego any searching critical investigation of women and photography. I base this not on the fact that women and just about anything – seen politically and seen in detail – makes for uncomfortable conversation, but on the resounding silence that has accompanied certain institutional symptoms.¹²¹⁸

To Lord, there was an undeniable inequality presented not only in the representation of women in the field, but also a significant deficiency in the distribution of funds for equal labour, be it teaching or art-making. Ultimately, the article attempted to promote activism on these matters from the SPE membership, specifically from women members, many of whom were likely to define themselves as artists first and as women second. To Lord, SPE members appeared to be

¹²¹⁶ Diane Neumaier “Alfred, Harry, Emmet, Georgia, Eleanor, Edith, and Me,” *Exposure* 22.2 (Summer 1984): 6.

¹²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²¹⁸ Catherine Lord “A Thorn is a Thorn is a Thorn” *Exposure* 22.2 (Summer 1984): 41.

praying for this feminist phase to pass.¹²¹⁹ Artist and SPE member Judy Seigel (1931-2017)

responded to the issue as being:

dense with current ideas improved and new ideas articulated. *Exposure 22.2* brings photography, finally, as far as, say, the 1970's on these issues (while of course the 'art world' slides back to the '50s, or is it the '30s?). It is to be hoped that SPE will not think it has thus taken care of matters.¹²²⁰

When analysed side-by-side, the two issues of *Exposure* dedicated to addressing women issues demonstrate the emerging gap between SPE members. The 1981 issue attempted to respond to the lack of female representation by filling in historical data, providing readers with a portfolio of work by female educators and a bibliography of sources on women photographers. The 1984 edition, however, was much more confrontational. Their attitude was clearly displayed through the editors' selected cover image from Madeley Young Women's Writing and Designing Group National Association of Youth Clubs' poster *What you staring at?*¹²²¹ Unlike the previous issue that attempted to clarify why some images were offensive, the 1984 issue unapologetically demanded to be heard. Moreover, it notably did not attempt to enhance the system in place, but rather sought to redefine the foundation upon which education was classified.¹²²²

As the Women's Caucus' activities grew more political, those active in earlier iterations of the organisation increasingly felt disenfranchised. During the March 1985 National Conference held in Minneapolis, members held major debates over its purpose and status. At

¹²¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²²⁰ Judy Seigel, "Letters to the Editor," 22.4 (Winter 1984): 29.

¹²²¹ A discussion of the origins of the poster and the context of its production can be accessed in Sally Stein, "Some Girls," *Exposure 22.2* (Summer 1984): 9-13.

¹²²² Ariel Evans further analysed the differences between these two issues in "Let Us At Least Begin: Institutional Politics in American Feminist Photography, 1980-1984," paper presented at the College Art Association Annual Conference 2020, Hilton Hotel Chicago, Illinois, February 14, 2020. This paper was drawn from Evans's dissertation which is currently embargoed. "I am for an art: the struggle of the San Diego group and the Women's Caucus to reinvent photography in the Society for Photographic Education, 1962-1982," Ph.D diss., (The University of Texas, Austin, 2018).

first, the Women's Caucus intended to hold a women's only gathering at the conference as a means of providing women a space to discuss their concerns without intrusion from male SPE members.¹²²³ This was because some of the women felt that the presence of men swayed the mood of the meetings and at times dictated the agenda.¹²²⁴ Despite these intentions, the conference program noted the meeting was open to "all persons interested in discussing the formal structuring of the Women's Caucus."¹²²⁵ In response, the Women's Caucus organisers requested an amendment be made to clarify that the meeting was only open to women. The wording, however, was never changed.

As a result, a dozen men came to the meeting room, including male board members. When the men were asked to leave, some women chose to leave as well, either out of a sense of solidarity with the men or in disagreement with the Caucus' position. The meeting soon became consumed by heated infighting between the members as to who should be allowed to meet to address women's issues. At one point, some members asked whether the women-only policy violated the NEA's anti-discrimination laws. One male member went as far as to officially register a complaint with the board. The Caucus was evicted from the room on the grounds of discrimination shortly after passing a vote to bar men from the meeting.¹²²⁶ The Women's Caucus claimed that the battle was not over men being allowed to attend or whether some women want to assemble without men; rather, "the issue was, and is, whether or not women can choose to hold organisational meetings that might exclude men."¹²²⁷ The programming, they argued, was always open to all members of the organisation.

¹²²³ Catherine Lord as cited by David Trend, "The Politics of Representation," *Afterimage* 12 (May 1985): 20.

¹²²⁴ Ibid.

¹²²⁵ Linda Brooks, Nancy Hamel, Connie Hatch, Catherine Lord and Aneta Sperber, "Letter to the Editor," *Afterimage* (Summer 1985): 2.

¹²²⁶ Ibid.

¹²²⁷ Ibid.

These arguments left many members with a feeling that the organisation was becoming fractured. David Trend (b. 1953), reporting on the conference in 1985, argued that the conference tensions were caused by “the stormy presence of the Women’s Caucus.”¹²²⁸ Women who supported the Caucus’ activities felt they were not being supported by SPE. Some members believed the activities of the Women’s Caucus were distracting from SPE’s mandate, that is forfeiting discussions of photographic education in favour of politics, and specifically, feminism. Female members were caught in the crossfires of such debates. Those who did not want to join the Women’s Caucus were deemed as having the “‘ladies-against-women’ syndrome”¹²²⁹ by the Caucus’ members.

Yet women had various motivations for not supporting the Caucus. One such sentiment can be seen in photographer Sue Rosoff’s (b. 1954) 1985 letter to SPE Chairperson Helmmo Kindermann, penned shortly after the conference. In it, she explained that she had always photographed in a male dominated arena specifically, at rodeos where she had presented herself as “a photographer first and foremost and that my gender does not alter that.”¹²³⁰ To her, the men being asked to leave the meeting was an act of discrimination, and worse, demonstrated an “insecurity and distrust on the part of the caucus.”¹²³¹ Despite Rosoff’s disdain for the Caucus, she understood that the topics they raised were important, but she wanted them framed in relation to economics, minority and third world issues, new educational theories, and legal issues in mass media. To Rosoff, the Women’s Caucus was not representative of SPE’s membership, nor were

¹²²⁸ David Trend, “The Politics of Representation,” 20.

¹²²⁹ Linda Brooks et al. “Letter to the Editor.”

¹²³⁰ Sue Rosoff letter to Helmmo Kindermann March 23, 1985, 1, Box 19, Folder 4, AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²³¹ Ibid, 2.

they productive as too much time was spent arguing. She concluded that an organisation that discriminated could not offer solutions to women's issues.¹²³²

Rosoff was not alone in this belief. Many female photographers who were trained during the 1960s and 1970s saw the actions of the Women's Caucus as a direct attack on their mentors and their own work. Some of these women had been supported by the men whom they now saw publicly attacked; they believed they owed their careers to these individuals. Moreover, the Caucus' confrontational nature was contrary to the way many of them had worked to address the sexism they had faced.¹²³³ While they may have agreed with the need for more female representation in the field, they did not align themselves with what they perceived as the Caucus' lack of collegiality and decorum.¹²³⁴ Increasingly, there was a growing level of distrust on all sides.

Officially a Caucus

In September 1985, the *SPE/Newsletter* published a report announcing that the Women's Caucus had been officially sanctioned as a subgroup within SPE.¹²³⁵ The Caucus' goals were voted on by attendees at the Minneapolis conference held a few months prior to the newsletter's release.

They established that:

¹²³² Ibid, 1-3.

¹²³³ During one of my interviews, a female educator claimed that as the only female faculty in the department she had to pick her battles, limiting herself to one major argument a year. This was necessary to maintain the respect of her colleagues whom she believed would over-look her concerns as simply a hysterical woman if she acted more frequently.

¹²³⁴ Susan E. Cohen. Interviewed by author. Cohen and Johnson's residence in Rochester, New York, United States of America. December 17, 2018.

¹²³⁵ The Women's Caucus was the first official Caucus formed in SPE. Yet there was an established history within SPE to create smaller groups. Unofficial subgroupings could typically be found at conferences organised around a particular subjects. As mentioned earlier, a group of men and women had held such a gathering in 1974. By this period SPE, had robust and active Regional Divisions that held meetings, conferences, and other activities centred around a particular geographic region.

the Women's Caucus is a body of women committed to the advancement of women in the profession of photography and photographic education, and to the advancement of women's issues in the exhibition, discussion, and teaching of photography. Men's auxiliaries to the Women's Caucus are permissible and encouraged.¹²³⁶

The announcement encouraged interested members to join and to write to SPE about the importance of the Women's Caucus and women's issues.¹²³⁷ The general board meeting summary was also published in the newsletter. During the board meeting, the Women's Caucus, represented by Catherine Lord, raised several points about the lack of support for the Caucus, including an absence of female keynote speakers at the national conferences, insufficient funds allocated for the Caucus programming at conference, and lack of funding for their *Exposure* issue.¹²³⁸

A large portion of the board meeting was spent addressing Lord's demands. On the first petition, to allocate twenty-five percent of the National Conference budget to the Women's Caucus, no motion was made, and as such, there was no further discussion of the matter. Board member Arthur Taussig (b. 1941) was recorded as stating that the conference coordinators were always "provided with ideological leeway in organising a conference, and that this was part of the inducement for doing the job."¹²³⁹ As such, he reasoned that the demand for funds or the female speakers would restrict conference organisers. Ultimately, the motion to divide conference speakers equally between men and women failed with only three members voting in

¹²³⁶ *SPE/Newsletter* Sept/Oct 1985, 1985, page 8, Box 28, Folder "SPE Newsletter, 1977-1984," AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²³⁸ Letter "Women's Caucus Proposal to the Board of Directors of the Society for Photographic Education." Signed by Martha Gever added by phone signatures Becky Lewis, Catherine Lord, Sally Stein, Diane Neumaier, Natalie Magnom, and Connie Hatch, February 1985, Box 13, Folder 5, AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²³⁹ *SPE/Newsletter* Sept/Oct 1985.

favour, two abstaining, and eleven opposing. The following vote to secure an equally split conference planning committee also failed, although the board noted that the sentiment of SPE was “to secure equitable representation of women at all levels of conference programming but not to have it mandated.”¹²⁴⁰

In response, Women Caucus members Linda Brooks (b. 1951), Nancy Hamel, Connie Hatch (b. 1951), Catherine Lord, and Aneta Sperber penned an open letter published in the Summer of 1985 in *Afterimage*. Here they claimed that:

the only thing the board managed to approve was the reassurance that it supported the caucus “in spirit.” The reason for spiritual sympathy rather than economic remedy may indeed be the board’s concern about giving “blank checks” to similar groups, but the caucus, having discovered only two sexes, has not yet deduced what other “similar groups” the board might be worried about.¹²⁴¹

By publishing these debates outside of SPE’s official journal, the Caucus extended the dialogue on these issues to the broader photography community.

Despite the lack of support, the Women’s Caucus planned to meet again at the following conference in Baltimore in 1986. Some SPE members – both female and male – responded by refusing to attend the conference entirely. Simultaneous to the Caucus’ planned meeting, artist activist Fred Lonidier – a teaching colleague of Martha Rosler, Allan Sekula, and Sally Stein (b. 1949) at the University of California, San Diego – scheduled a meeting for men who wanted to discuss gender inequality. Men who approached the Caucus could therefore be steered to this

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁴¹ Linda Brooks et al, “Letter to the Editor,” 2.

concurrent meeting.¹²⁴² Lonidier's meeting was attended by a group of men and women.¹²⁴³ In a letter to the members of the Women's Caucus the organisers explained that:

since 1980 discussions about the attendance of men have diverted us from discussing and acting on issues germane to women in SPE. Our second, more painful, observation is that the attendance of men has on occasion caused direct repercussions for certain women seeking working or voicing complains about their current employers.¹²⁴⁴

Ultimately, the Caucus' meeting was spent introducing members in attendance and conveying findings from a survey on employment in the field.¹²⁴⁵

While the two meetings were deemed successful, the mood shifted when the Caucus members saw the conference's entertainment. A highlight of the annual conferences, theatrical events typically addressed trends in the field. Many Caucus and general SPE members walked out of the Friday event, scripted by Richard Kirstel (1936-2007) and performed by Jack Welpott, Evon Streetman (b. 1932), Jaromir Stephany (b. 1930) and James Hilbrandt (b. 1934), as misogynistic remarks were made in the dialogue including: "you can be a feminist and still be an asshole."¹²⁴⁶ Outside the main event, the Women's Caucus gathered more than two hundred signatures in support of allotting twenty percent of annual conference time and money to the Caucus' agenda.

Support for the Caucus continued on Saturday when the panellists of "Photos for Hire" session made up of Jan Zita Grover, Deborah Bright, Christopher Phillips, Simon Watney, and

¹²⁴² Letter from Deborah Bright, Linda Brooks, Karen Johnson, Catherine Lord, Aneta Sperber, and Sally Stein to Women's Caucus Members & Friends, May 1 1986, page 1, Box 42, Folder 'Women's Caucus 1986-1987,' AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²⁴³ Deborah Bright et al, [Letter May 1, 1986], page 1.

¹²⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁵ This is the survey discussed in Chapter 6. See Linda Brooks, Catherine Lord, Barbara Jo Revelle, and Dr. Charlotte Striebel, "Survey of Women and Persons of Color in Post-Secondary Photographic Education," *Exposure* 26.2,3 (1988): 40-87.

¹²⁴⁶ "Women Photographers Organize, Photographers Apologize," *Women's Art News* (September 1986): 27.

Allan Sekula, refused to present their papers until the Caucus' demands for funding and allocated time were met. Instead, two speakers Adriana Angel (b. 1955) and Fiona Macintosh (b. 1951) presented work from their upcoming book on Nicaraguan women, *The Tiger's Milk: Women of Nicaragua* (1987).¹²⁴⁷ A discussion held after the presentation about the scarcity of photographic supplies in Nicaragua led the audience to spontaneously donate \$164 toward the filmmakers' cause.

The Sunday board meeting of the conference led to a significant step forward for the Caucus. After watching the events of the conference unfold, the board voted unanimously to allot the Caucus twenty percent of the programing time and budget for the upcoming conference. Simultaneously, the board apologised in writing for the offensive presentation that had taken place on Friday night.¹²⁴⁸

Shortly after, the Women's Caucus began holding regional meetings. Many women felt that regional meetings were the best means of participating in SPE and addressing their concerns.¹²⁴⁹ Other Caucuses also began formulating within SPE, including the Black Caucus, in 1986. The planning for the following year's conference in San Diego also moved forward, with Catherine Lord and Sally Stein elected to represent the Caucus' interests on the planning committee.

By September, however, both Lord and Stein had submitted their resignation from the planning committee. The two had taken issue with the lack of representation of non-whites and Latin Americans in the selection of speakers, particularly given the location of the conference in San Diego. Meanwhile, the conference committee felt that the two were not addressing the

¹²⁴⁷ Adriana Angel and Fiona Macintosh, *The Tiger's Milk: Women of Nicaragua* (London: Virago, 1987).

¹²⁴⁸ Deborah Bright et al, 2-3.

¹²⁴⁹ Karen E. Johnson, "Informal Meeting at Viewpoints Conference," *The Women's Caucus Newsletter* (February 1987): 1-2.

concerns of the Women's Caucus. In response, the board told Lord and Stein that they could stay on the committee provided they forfeited their voting rights. Shortly thereafter, both resigned feeling that their presence on the committee with no vote was moot as they could not in good faith fulfill their duty to support all minorities.¹²⁵⁰ The pair continued to plan a full day of conference panels specifically for the Women's Caucus. The upcoming panels would include addressing women photographers in the history of photography, Latina women in media, alternative education, and a co-sponsored panel of women artists of colour.¹²⁵¹

During the San Diego conference, the Women's Caucus staged an intervention at Joel-Peter Witkin's (b. 1939) presentation. Before and after the event, members of passed out a six-page leaflets titled "The Women's Caucus Study Guide to the Work of Joel-Peter Witkin." The document included questions about the implications of looking at photographs with Witkin's aesthetics – largely images of corpse or severed body parts. They asked what could be ascertained from the analysis of his artist statement, what kind of pleasure could be gained from looking at these images, and if they would be appropriate to share with children. Further, they questioned the role of SPE in perpetuating the economics of these images and if the attendees' local museums had already purchased them.¹²⁵²

In many ways, the Women's Caucus had achieved the diversity in their organised panels that they had demanded from the board. The Caucus' fundraising matched the allocated funds they received from SPE, proving them with a larger conference budget. With it, they invited Latin American women working in media, including Mexican photographer Lourdes Grobet (b.

¹²⁵⁰ Catherine Lord, "Why Were Women's Caucus Representatives Forced off the Program Committee," *The Women's Caucus Newsletter* (February 1987), 3-6.

¹²⁵¹ Sally Stein, "Women's Caucus Program Track for the San Diego Conference," *The Women's Caucus Newsletter* (February 1987): 7-8.

¹²⁵² "The Women's Caucus Study Guide to the Work of Joel-Peter Witkin" reprinted in *The Women's Caucus Newsletter* (August 1987): 6-7.

1940), Chilean activist Paula Sanchez, and multi-media artist from Argentina who was living in Chicago, Silvia Malagrino (b. 1950). Two additional speakers were meant to attend – photographer Celeste González from Nicaragua and media scholar Lilliana Ramos Collado (b. 1954) from Puerto Rico – but they were unable to come due to visa problems and an ongoing trial, respectively. The keynote speaker on the Caucus’ schedule was Martha Rosler.¹²⁵³

Soon after, the findings of the survey on “Women and Persons of Color in Post-Secondary Photographic Education,” which had been initiated by the Caucus in 1983, was published in September 1988 in *Exposure*.¹²⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, while women and persons of colour attended institutions of higher education as students, they were significantly less represented on the faculty level. Accompanying the grim statistics from the field, the Women’s Caucus offered a series of recommendations. Embedded in the footnotes of their study was an agonising statement made by one of the surveyed photographers. In it, she explained that:

[e]ach time a woman interviews against a man with more years of experience she will have to step aside until she is competing against the next generation of young men who will then have the advantage of youth... I cannot help but feel that issues of discrimination have played a role in holding the line just out of reach.¹²⁵⁵

Who Should Represent Us?

While the Caucus’ survey findings held implications for the entire photography education community, there was no consensus among SPE members regarding the importance of the Caucus’ existence. In fact, tensions were increasingly mounting between the wider membership and the Caucus. In 1987, Frances Fulton, a member of

¹²⁵³ “Sally Stein’s Opening Statement and Introduction of Martha Rosler, The Women’s Caucus Honored Guest Speaker to the Society of Photographic Education” *The Women’s Caucus Newsletter* (August 1987): 4-6.

¹²⁵⁴ “Survey of Women and Persons of Color in Post-Secondary Photographic Education” *Exposure* 26.2,3 (1988): 41-87.

¹²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 52.

SPE from Cockeysville, Maryland, wrote a letter expressing her disdain for the constant conflict stemming from the Caucus. She detailed that while she joined the Caucus with optimism over what could be accomplished, she was horrified by the “most unprofessional, sardonic-tongued [sic] cat-fight”¹²⁵⁶ she had witnessed during the first meeting. She was further:

astonished at the amplitude of venom slung specifically targeted at male members of the S.P.E. Board... with the immediately apparent mega-doses of bitterness and lack of respect publicly sloshed in a supposedly professional setting.¹²⁵⁷

To Fulton, the Caucus did not behave professionally. She found them “insulting – not only to men, but to women as well.”¹²⁵⁸ Importantly, she noted that while she was in favour of debating the issues raised by the Caucus, she did not support their approach. She concluded the letter by requesting the Caucus leadership to secede or “at least – retitle your ‘caucus’ the Radical Feminist Caucus, as the present title is misrepresentational [sic] borderline libelous.”¹²⁵⁹ The letter was published in *The Women’s Caucus Newsletter*. Women’s Caucus representative JoAnne Seador (b. 1953) replied to Fulton:

[i]n response to your statements reflecting your anger and disapproval regarding our history of conflict, I suggest to you the perusal of some history texts. For better or worse, intelligent, persistent, informed challenges from subordinate groups is often the only route to progress and social change.¹²⁶⁰

Fulton was not the only person expressing concern. Two years later, in 1989, Bill Jay published an essay in *Shots* titled “The Fascism of the Left,” which he laid out his frustrations

¹²⁵⁶ Frances Fulton letter to JoAnne Seador, March 17, 1987, page 1, Box 42, File “Women’s Caucus 1986-1987,” AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

¹²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²⁶⁰ JoAnne Seador, “Dear Ms. Fulton,” *The Women’s Caucus Newsletter* (August 1987): 13.

with the Caucus [fig. 7.6]. Interestingly, while the magazine felt the need to place a disclaimer to the article stating that it did not express their views, they concluded that very statement with, “go get ’em Bill!”¹²⁶¹ From the first line of the essay, Jay’s feelings toward the Caucus were evident: “There is a nasty little pimple on the face of photographic education.”¹²⁶² To Jay, a minority group of radical feminists had taken over SPE through a process of intimidation and were subverting the topics that should be addressed relating to the medium itself. In the article he asserted that:

no one who has attended a conference of the Society in recent years can doubt the extraordinary dominance of this group. It has reached a point that there is little left on the program to interest intelligent, concerned artists and scholars of either sex. Only frothing-at-the-mouth feminist leftists (of either sex) need apply or attend.¹²⁶³

According to Jay, such evidence could be seen in the upcoming 1990 conference programming, which included panel discussions on sexual politics and lesbian sexuality. He asserted that the papers recently presented at the conference had little to do with historical facts and more with feminist theory, reading photographs not for their intent but to demonstrate a political stance. Jay wrote “[a]part from being a personal and prejudice interpretation”¹²⁶⁴ they were “bad history.”¹²⁶⁵ He further attested that photography had been “relatively free of sexual discrimination.”¹²⁶⁶ To him, the women were not interested in photography but in politics. They were clearly interlopers.

Jay’s article was widely circulated. Copies of the essay were inserted into the registration packages for the following SPE National Conference to take place in Rochester. Additionally,

¹²⁶¹ Full quote reads “the views expressed here are not necessarily those of SHOTS magazine. Go get ’em Bill!” Bill Jay, “Fascism of the Left,” *Shots* 13 (January / February 1989): 22.

¹²⁶² Ibid.

¹²⁶³ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid.

the article was re-published in *Photo Metro*. Then editor of the magazine Henry Brimmer (b. 1945), explained that Jay's article raised important topics that were affecting the photography field at large:

are we going to ostracize those artists who do not create political art? Is the current 'political awareness' about concern or power? Does it represent a guilt-ridden middle class? Or a true effort to remedy situations? Should every photographer do essays on the homeless, those afflicted with AIDS, the environment, Nicaragua, nukes, the KKK, etc. Is this exploitation too? What is the current role of the artist? Are we buying into a new uniformism [sic]? Is there any room for beauty, joy, imagination, humor, fantasy? Do women photographers represent the classification 'women photographers,' or will 'photographer' or 'artist' do?¹²⁶⁷

These events culminated in the 1990 "the fireworks panel" mentioned in the opening of the chapter. In the summer of 1990, Catherine Lord published her revised conference paper in *Afterimage* naming the article "History, Their Story, and (Male) Hysteria;"¹²⁶⁸ a clear indication of her stance on the ongoing tension. During the panel discussion, photographer Patty Carroll (b. 1946) pointed out that everyone in the organisation "seemed to feel 'excluded, put upon and misunderstood," yet, this to her was "reflective of the society-at large, not restricted to a small group of professional photo-educators."¹²⁶⁹ While it was clear that the 1990 panellists did not agree with each other's stance, this event marked a much-needed public airing of these differing perspectives.

Conclusion

By 1990, the Women's Caucus was meeting regularly. *Exposure* was also regularly publishing articles with feminist approaches. In 1987, Sally Stein said that the Caucus had:

¹²⁶⁷ Henry Brimmer, "Introduction," *Photo Metro* 8.68 (April 1989): 3.

¹²⁶⁸ Catherine Lord, "History, Their Story, and (Male) Hysteria," *Afterimage* 18.1 (Summer 1990): 9-10.

¹²⁶⁹ "The Firework Panel," 313.

managed to provide a safe forum for women to speak of sexual harassment and discrimination, thus challenging the representation of women not only at a semiotic level, but also the representation of women's work in the gallery and museum system as well as the representation of women workers in our educational system.¹²⁷⁰

This in itself was important because: “unless we move beyond token role model, we can rest assured that these unequal relations will be reproduced.”¹²⁷¹

The activities of the Women's Caucus marked a clear schism within SPE. The photographers first working actively in the Women's Caucus faced considerable challenges. The stakes were high for women active in the field who faced sexual discrimination. Barbara Jo Revelle for example, stated that Jay's article had been circulated at the university where she was teaching, in an effort to persuade the Dean that she was a radical.¹²⁷² Such sentiments are found too in Barbara Crane's lecture notes, secured in a folded reproduction of Joyce Stevens's 1975 “Because We're Women” [fig. 7.7]. In them, Crane recounts cases of discrimination she had faced over the course of her career. In 1969, she was told that she would give up photography when she met the right man. In 1972, a photography collector said she could castrate a man because she was smart. In the mid 1980s, Crane was asked by a female student if she could have a child and still have a career. Crane concluded her writing “I don't think there's a woman alive that if you unzipped her you wouldn't find a volcano ready to explode – if she dared!”¹²⁷³

The Women's Caucus' activities, while causing fractures and divisions in SPE, were crucial in pointing out the discrimination in the photography field and in challenging the role of

¹²⁷⁰ “Sally Stein's Opening Statement and Introduction of Martha Rosler, The Women's Caucus Honored Guest Speaker to the Society of Photographic Education,” *The Women's Caucus Newsletter* (August 1987): 5.

¹²⁷¹ Sally Stein, “Sally Stein's Opening Statement and Introduction of Martha Rosler, The Women's Caucus Honored Guest Speaker to the Society of Photographic Education,” *The Women's Caucus Newsletter* (August 1987): 5.

¹²⁷² Maksymowicz “The Practice of Photography: Conference,” 5.

¹²⁷³ Barbara Crane, “Feminist Panel,” [n.d.], Box 16, Folder “Lecture Research File,” AG176 Barbara Crane Archive, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

photography education had in perpetuating it. Such divisions had direct implications to education within classroom. Photography educators who were active in the Women's Caucus were more likely than their colleagues to incorporate theory emerging from feminism, literary studies, or philosophy into their photography curricula. Those who opposed this typically upheld photography – that is, the discourse emerging from and by photographers – as the central ethos of their educational model. Such educators would have been more likely to view the overemphasis of theory as a reflection of a lack of commitment to the medium itself. The response within SPE may not have been unified, but by the late 1980s, it was clear that the organisation had grown large enough that individuals could assemble along political and social issues and still find common ground.

Conclusion

In 1980, Charles Reynolds (b. 1935) and David Vestal (1924-2013) produced a chart tracking the broad developments of photography international from 1839 to 1970 [fig. 8.1].

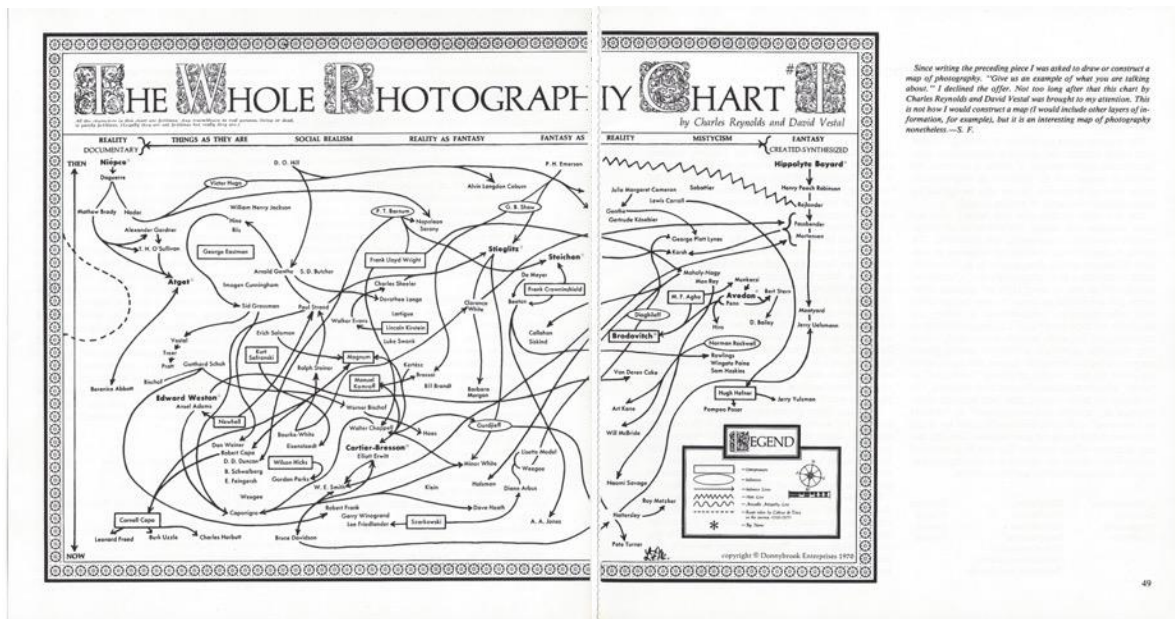


Fig. 8.1
Charles Reynolds and David Vestal, *The Whole Photography Chart #1*, 1970, as published in *Exposure [Special Education Issue]*, 18.3,4, 1980.

Its legend explained that the lines indicated influence, hate, amicable antipathy, and so on. Photographers were divided by stylistic approaches to the medium. A subheading warned: “All the characters in this chart are fictions. Any resemblance to real persons, living or dead, is purely fictitious. (Legally they are not fictions but really they are.)”¹²⁷⁴ By this point, the photographers’ are well-known. Indeed, their histories were being recorded and their reputations established at the time of the chart’s creation. Perhaps these narratives are what Reynolds’s and Vestal’s

¹²⁷⁴ Charles Reynolds and David Vestal, “*The Whole Photography Chart #1*, 1970,” *Exposure [Special Education Issue]* 18.3,4 (1980): 48-49.

‘fictional’ status proposes: their fame created through their social networks and links forged through shared approaches to photography.

In 2013, Jonathan Gitelson (b. 1975), Professor of Art at Keene State College displayed his, *Map of Teaching Influence* at SPE’s fiftieth anniversary conference celebration.¹²⁷⁵ The map tracked relationships between SPE members, including teachers and students, as a visualisation of the organisation’s history [fig. 8.2].

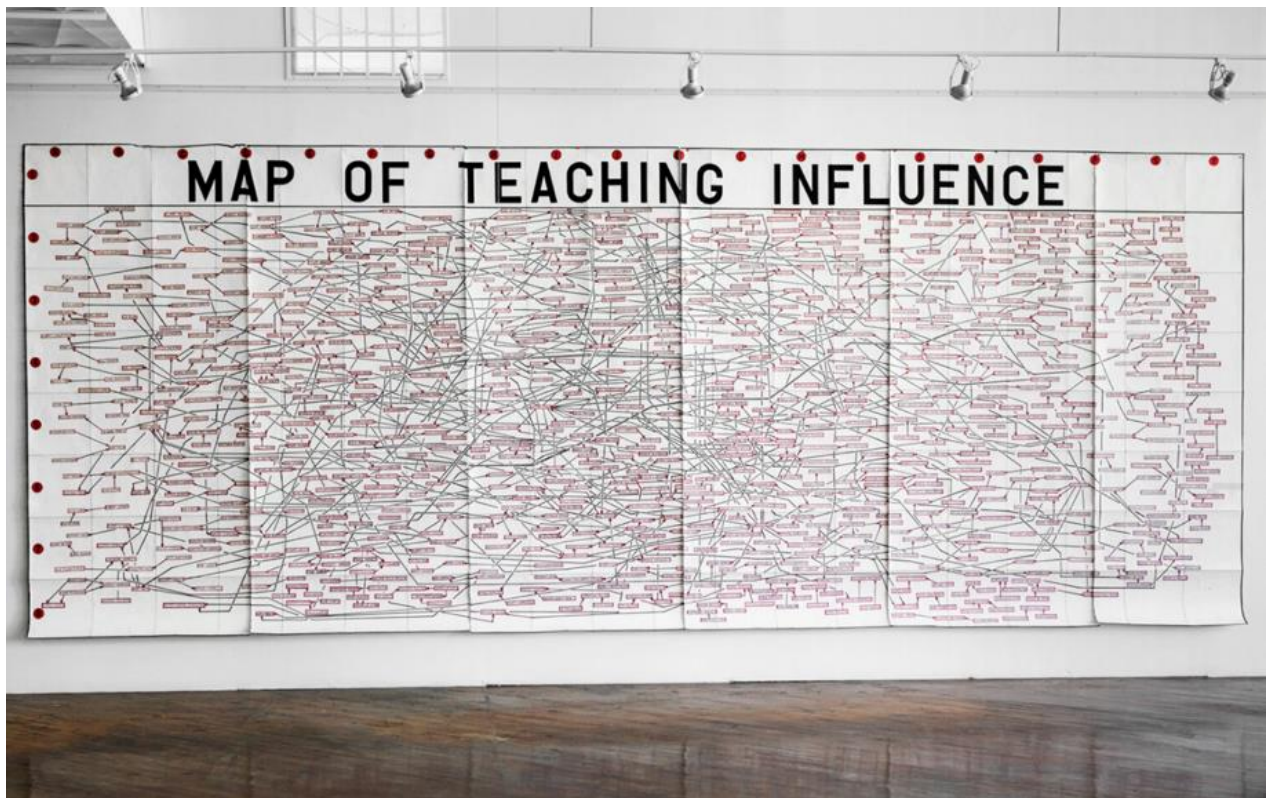


Fig. 8.2
Jonathan Gitelson, *Map of Teaching Influence*, 2013, pen on paper, 8 x 21 feet. Installed at the Society for Photographic Education Headquarters, Cleveland, OH.

¹²⁷⁵ Documentation of the resulting project can be accessed through Jonathan Gitelson’s website “Public Commissions – SPE” Jonathan Gitelson, accessed January 6, 2021, <https://www.jonathangitelson.com/public-commissions/spe>. Call for participation in the project is listed under the 50th Anniversary SPE National Conference program. Society for Photographic Education, *Conferring Significance: Celebrating Photography’s Continuum: 50th Anniversary SPE National Conference*, (SPE: Cleveland, 2013): 25. Conference was held at the Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, March 7-10, 2013. Accessed January 6, 2021, <https://www.spenational.org/files/conferences/2013cpgforweb2.pdf>. The *Map of Teaching Influence* was housed in the offices of SPE located in Cleveland, Ohio, United States of America until the SPE offices closed in 2019. Permanent housing for the work was still in discussion when I contacted the organisation in July, 2021.

To help his audience navigate the massive chart, (approximately 8' x 21' feet), Gitelson penned a fifteen-page guidebook to the display, listing the participants alphabetically [fig. 8.3].

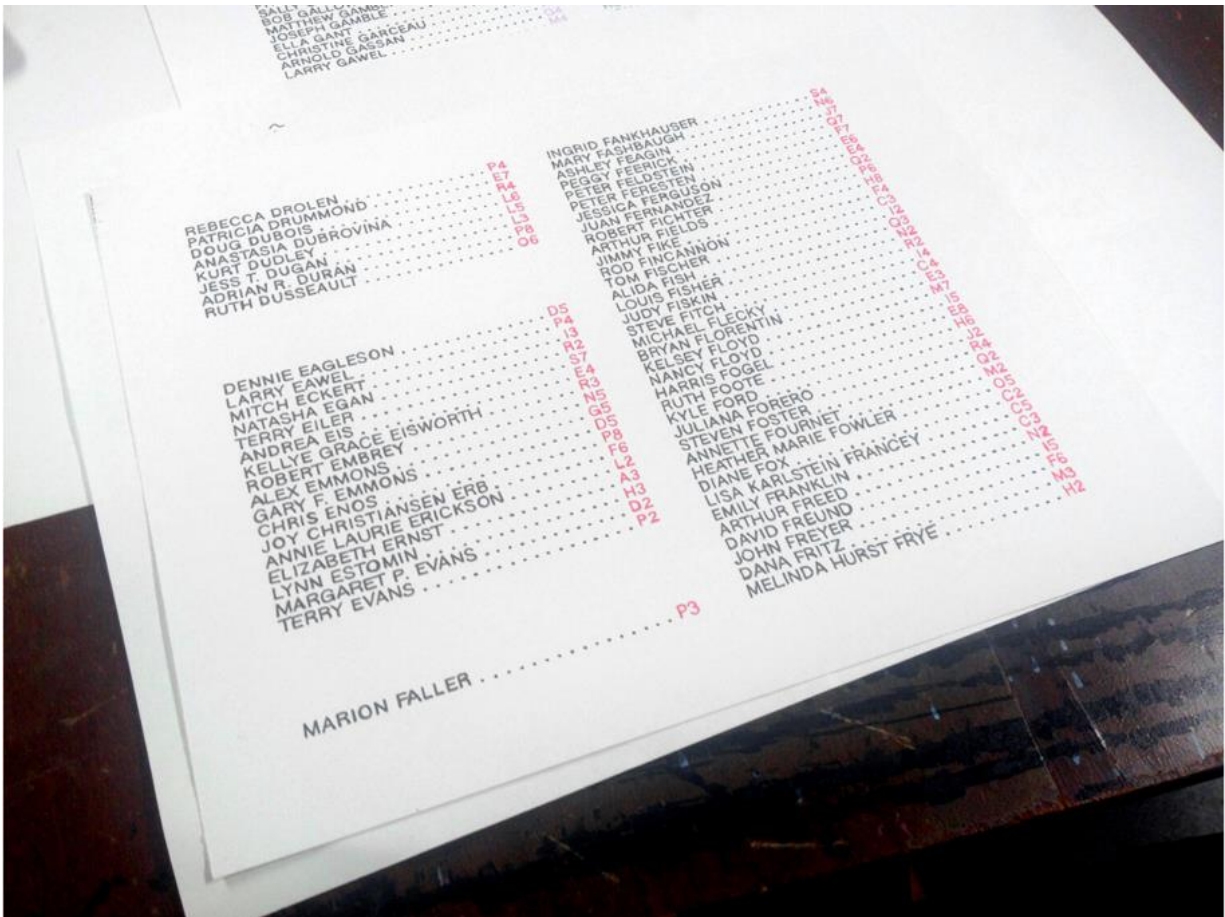


Fig. 8.3
Jonathan Gitelson, *Map of Teaching Influence*, 2013, pen on paper, 8 x 21 feet. Detail.

An individual could be located on the map much like a street name can be found in a road atlas – by tracing the name to a square on the grid. Over nine hundred names were inscribed on Gitelson’s map, each one of whom was linked to others through curving lines of influence. Gitelson’s name is located on the bottom of the L6 square. Three lines of influence are associated with his name, two entering and one exiting. Linda Connor’s name can be found in E2 associated with five individuals: Scott Weber, Sonja Thomsen, Steve Babbitt, Melissa Borman, and Tom Patton. These links connect Gitelson and Connor in an ever-expanding and diversifying

chain of actors. Gitelson's project visualised the importance of connections to the sustainability of the photography field and individuals within it [fig. 8.4].

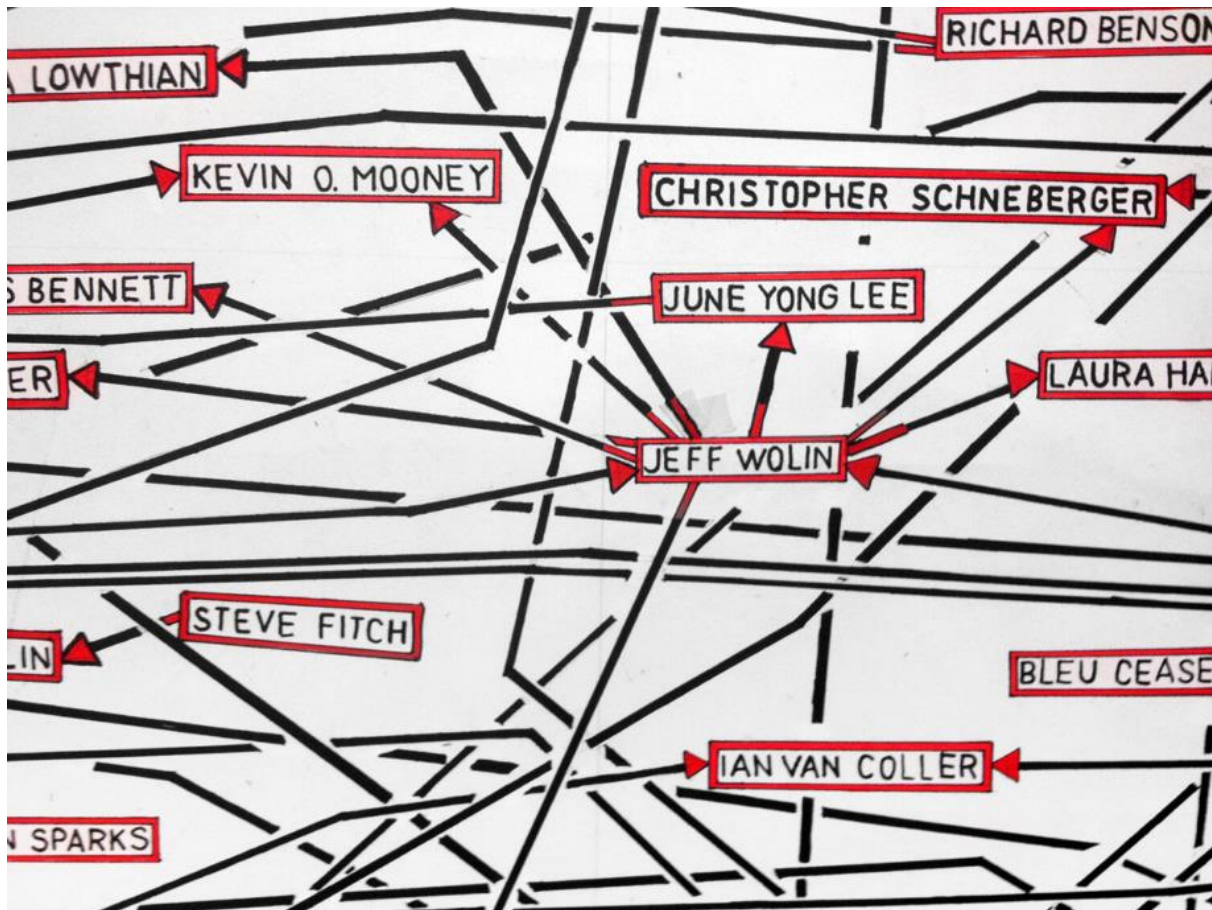


Fig. 8.4
Jonathan Gitelson, *Map of Teaching Influence*, 2013, pen on paper, 8 x 21 feet. Detail.

Throughout this dissertation, I have outlined social relationships, linking photographers to peer networks and institutions both formal and informal, as another way of mapping the way photography education developed. The history of photography, I would argue, has always been composed of such webbed constellations of characters. The deep desire and need for peer support, inspiration, and education, taken in the most general sense of learning skills and absorbing traditions, are demonstrated by the wide range of networks formed throughout this history. These connections, motivations, and ambitions are far more fluid and complex than

those proposed in the two aforementioned charts, especially when it comes to international borders.

It seems clear that by 1989 a leveling off of the field's growth was leading to a new set of circumstances. As Fred Glass (b.1961), a teacher at San Francisco Community College, explained in 1991, "culture doesn't just happen; it takes a slow molecular action of years and large numbers of people acting on one another to make a social movement."¹²⁷⁶ Prior to the mid-1960s, photography had presented itself at higher-education institutions largely through the demand of a few individuals, donations,¹²⁷⁷ or interpersonal relationships. As educated photographers graduated and students increasingly sought courses in photograph, higher-education institutions expanded, forming departments to respond to these demands. This growth, however, was codependent on the state of the photography field. It required students willing to take classes, educators who could teach them, and a marketplace that would support these activities: schools, museums, exhibitions, lectures, conferences, collections, a job market, a gallery system, an art market, and so on. Graduates of such programs in turn increased demand for photography while they simultaneously formed and shaped the market as educators, curators, audiences, technicians (printers, framers), critics, artists and collectors themselves. Thus, we can turn back to sociologist Howard S. Becker's notion of *Art Worlds*. As his research suggested, while the acceptance of a history ensured the legitimacy of an art world, it did not reflect the complete activities of the field.¹²⁷⁸ In the case of photography, educators and graduates came together to create support networks that reflected different concerns: social, theoretical, and

¹²⁷⁶ Fred Glass, "Class Pictures: Teaching About Photography to Labor Studies Students," *Exposure* 28.1,2 (1991): 42.

¹²⁷⁷ Donations of photography collections to university museums are another important catalyst to photography department. Yale University, for example, began offering courses in photography after a large donation of material from Katherine S. Dreier. Joek Reynolds, "Photography at Yale University Art Gallery: A Brief Overview," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (2006): 29.

¹²⁷⁸ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 346.

practical. Throughout this dissertation, I have presented multiple narratives of the field of photography education. These represent exemplary fragments of the many histories that unfolded over the period I have addressed. Each one of the discussed institutions, individuals, or objects discussed here can be used as an entry point for a deeper probe that would surely unveil further connections.

Each historical chapter has been distilled in one or two case studies. These moments of energy must be considered in relation to the development of the environments that produced them, forming simultaneous, and at times temporary communities. While the data in this study has been presented in linear fashion, it does not imply a continuum of motivations or progressions. Rather, it demonstrates that the actors in the field were partaking in communities that formed and fragmented the state of the photography ‘art world.’ Individuals were influenced and supported by one another, but their collective activities did not form a unified front. Furthermore, just as the field of photography was beginning to stabilise in character and size in the late 1970s, some photographers began to question its very foundations.

Over the course of my research, I have collected statements, actions, and objects toward a mapping of the field. Lack of reference to a particular individual does not suggest that they did not exist or that they were not important. It might point to pre-existent systems of exclusion, or relationships of power. It may simply indicate a lack of documentation. Some institutions, notably the Visual Studies Workshop, were more conscious of archives and their impacts on historical research than others. To address historical gaps is to demystify power structures, including those that influence historical writing, while simultaneously expanding entry points into the narratives. It is to recognise history as a relic of a particular epoch.¹²⁷⁹ Built into my

¹²⁷⁹ Raymond Williams questioned the implications of studying and producing writings about historical literature. The outcome of which, to Williams, would always reflect the society in which the history itself is been written in.

research model, as such, was the inherent understanding that this study could never represent a fully comprehensive map of the field. The implications of this study are, as anthropologist

Clifford James Geertz (1926-2006) wrote in 1973:

not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said.¹²⁸⁰

My research did not seek to retrospectively create social relationships or to force individuals into pre-existing networks, but to trace their activities and question their positions over long periods.

The documents and objects mentioned in this thesis – curricula, textbooks, slide-sets, photographs, exhibitions, and creative projects – therefore act as time-capsules providing traces of communities who wished to be seen, to record their existence, and to produce work with the knowledge of each other’s backing. While the objects speak to the existence of groups, they do not, without further research and exploration, delve deeply into documented relationships, nor do they explain their longevity or fragility. By probing further institutional and personal archives, a continuously multifaceted narrative of these periods will be produced. Such studies, however, do not rest easy, as Geertz explained in the same article, “[c]ultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And worse, than that, the more deeply it goes, the less complete it is.”¹²⁸¹

My thesis into the different trajectories of photographic education, therefore, forms a history that relates to other histories. Yet it does not do so without challenging how narratives are established, for what purpose, and to what outcome. Ultimately, my goal was to trace different trajectories and histories through moments of concurrent social activities. The challenge was to

“Literature and Sociology,” *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Redwood Burn Ltd, 1980), 11-30. See also part one and two of Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965).

¹²⁸⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 30.

¹²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

act both on a macro level, describing a general map of the photography education field, while contextualising the micro activity of actors or objects operating sporadically. These moments of social synergy often reflect social fractures, such as the formation and dismantling of higher-education programs, materialising and dissolving peer groups, the emergence of workshops as alternative means of education, and the appearance of polemic exhibitions or protest work. All these actions speak of reactions to larger activities,¹²⁸² pushed into motion by large and small actor collectives. I hope this document will allow and encourage further exploration into these foundational years in creative photography education and additional moments within a larger photography boom.

This study demonstrates the importance of human connections to discourse development. The scope of this research demanded a narrowing of the rich narrative. Many worthy questions might yet be posed. For example, how did class and economic inequality bar individuals from accessing photography education? How might their contributions have changed the course of photography development? How was photography education at historically Black Colleges and Universities structured? What values were these photography educators seeking to impart on their students? How is photography currently addressed in higher education? What standards have remained ingrained from these early educational models? Are these approaches still useful? Perhaps most importantly, how can we continue to trace and expand upon the histories of the individuals who formed this rich map of our discourse through relationships?

¹²⁸² These too must be considered in relationship to larger social activities; political changes, social movements, economic circumstances, and so on.

Appendix A: Images

Chapter 1



Fig. 1.1

An example of a camera club outing. Kidderminster Camera Club [United Kingdom] Founding Members on an Outing 1907. Accessed May 27, 2020. <http://www.kidderminster-camera-club.co.uk/contact-us/club-history/>.



Fig. 1.2

Gertrude L. Brown, Clarence H. White [seated center], Gertrude Käsebier [seated right], and students, *Summer School of Photography, Five Islands, Maine*. ca. 1913, Platinum print, 13.48 x 18.87 cm, Library of Congress.



Fig. 1.3
Paul Outerbridge. *Ide Collar*. 1922. Platinum print, 11.9 × 9.2 cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.



Fig. 1.4
First draft of New Bauhaus curriculum, drawn by Moholy-Nagy while crossing the Atlantic, August 1937. Victor Margolin, Richard Buchanan, *The Idea of Design* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995): 30.



Fig. 1.5
László Moholy-Nagy, *Untitled*, ca. 1940. Gelatin Silver Photogram, 50.1 x 40.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. 1968.264.



Fig. 1.6
Eve Arnold, *Charlotte Stribling waits backstage at the Ayssinaian Church*. New York City, 1952.



Fig. 1.7
Todd Walker, *Kaminski Beach*, 1940, reproduced in William S. Johnson, Susie E. Cohen, Todd Walker, *The Photographs of Todd Walker...One Thing Just Sort of Led to Another*, (Tucson: Todd Walker, 1979): 5.

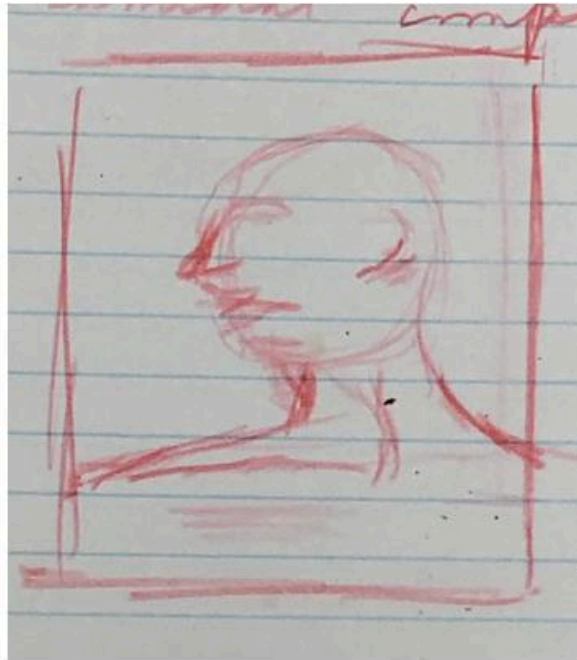
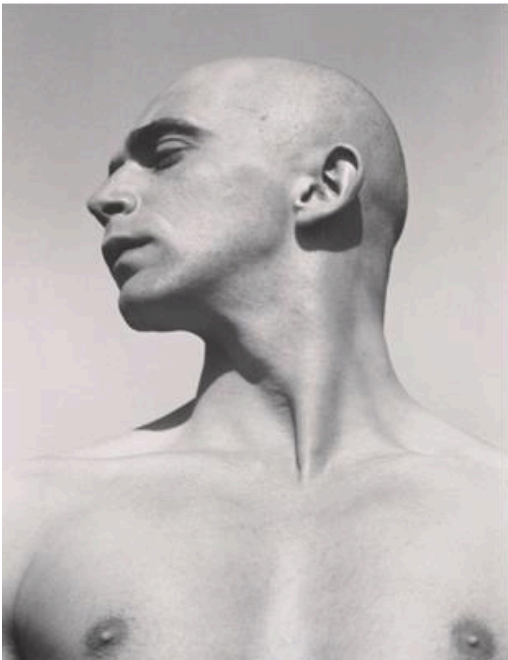


Fig. 1.8
L: Edward Weston, Harald Kreutzberg, 1932. © Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents.
R: Wynn Bullock, [sketch of Weston's photograph], ca. 1938, "Posing – Men," [notes on portrait by Weston], ca. 1938, Box 10 "Wynn Bullock Activity Files", File 4 "Art Center School, Class Notes 1938-1939," AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.



Fig. 1.9
[students making photograms at Black College Mountain], ca. 1944, gelatin silver print, Box 30 "Josef Breitenbach Education: Paris, 1930s Black Mountain College, 1944-1947, 1967," File 19 "Black Mountain College: Contact Sheets, 1944," AG 90 Josef Breitenbach Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

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Fig. 1.10
 [Progressive School of Photography Ad.] *Popular Photography* 27.3 (September 1950): 107.



Fig. 1.11
 Margaret Watkins, *Summer Exhibition*, 1920, Gelatin Silver Print, 20.8 x 15.3 cm, Collection of Harry and Ann Malcolmson, Toronto. As published in Lori Pauli, *Margaret Watkins: Domestic Symphonies* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2012): plate 28.

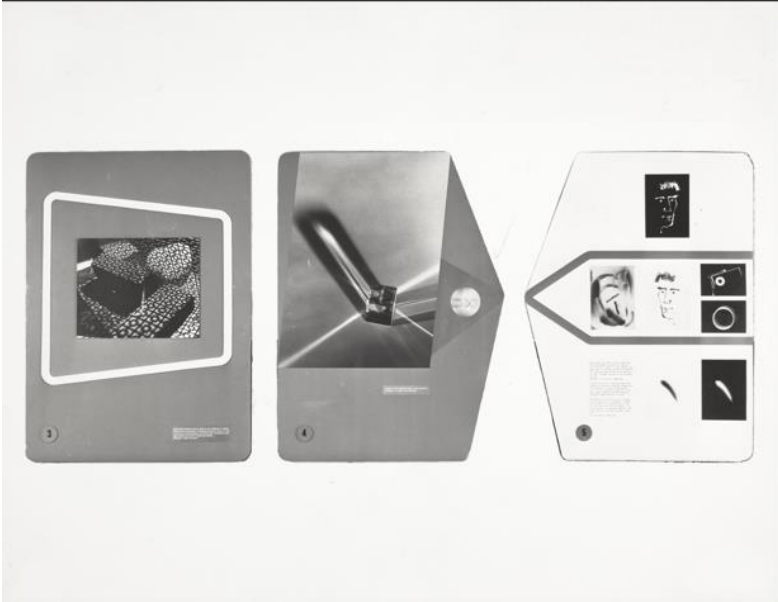


Fig. 1.12
 Sample of panels 3-5 from *How to Make a Photogram* exhibition hosted by MoMA ca. 1942.
<https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3050>.



Fig. 1.13
 “Panels from three of the gravure-process multiple exhibitions: WHAT IS MODERN PAINTING?, CREATIVE PHOTOGRAPHY and ELEMENTS OF DESIGN” published in the Museum of Modern Art, “Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954,” *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 21.3, 4 [Circulating Exhibitions 1931-1954] (Summer 1954): 10.

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PHOTOGRAPHY AS DOCUMENT AND SELF-EXPRESSION

Joseph Breitenbach

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For additional bibliography ^{on} ~~the~~ general and special ^{problems} ~~phases~~ of photography ^{See} ~~See~~ instructor.

x-indicates books in the New School Library.

Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

Fig. 1.14
Joseph Breitenbach, "Photography as Document and Self-Expression," ca. 1950, Box 32 "Josef Breitenbach Education: New School for Social Research, 1949-1968," File 4 "New School Lecture: Photography as document and self-expression, 1950 Spring [parts of this lecture used in other years]," AG 90 Joseph Breitenbach Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

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Fig. 1.15
 [‘The Complete Photographer’ Ad] in *Popular Science* 139.5 (November 1941): 239.

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Fig. 1.16
 [De Luxe Artcraft Binders advertisement for *the Complete Photographer*], *The Complete Photographer* 52.9 (1943): back cover.

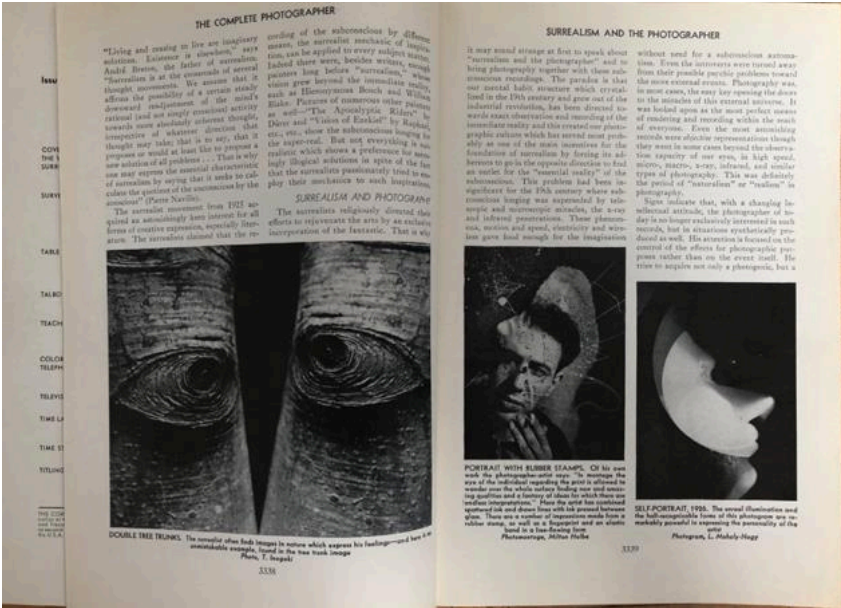


Fig. 1.17
 László Moholy-Nagy, "Surrealism and the Photographer," *The Complete Photographer* 52.9 (1943): 3337-3342.

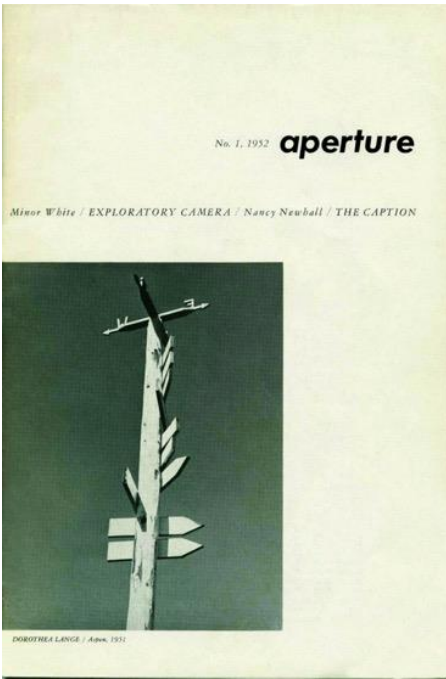


Fig. 1.18
 Cover of *Aperture* 1.1 (1952). Dorothea Lange's 1951 photograph 'Aspen,' perhaps paying homage to the 1951 conference in Aspen where plans for the journal were first seriously discussed.¹²⁸³ Much like *Camera Work*, *Aperture* worked toward carefully reproducing images in the publication in a manner that displayed a consideration for the viewer's experience of the picture.

¹²⁸³ Anne Tucker, "Anne Wilkes Tucker on the 1951 Aspen Conference Attendees," *Aperture* 193 (2008): 88.



Fig. 1.19
Image: Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House 1.1 (1952).

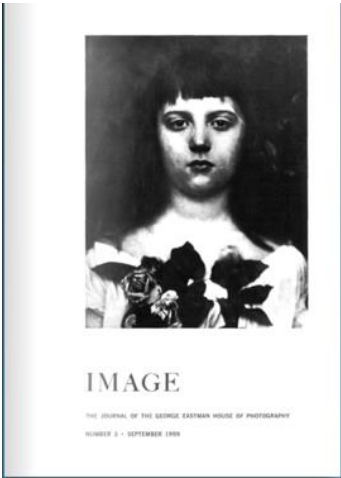


Fig. 1.20
Image 3 (September 1959).



Fig. 1.21
Image 3 (September 1959): sample page spread.

Chapter 2



Fig. 2.1

“Photographers at the Jerome Hotel Aspen, Colorado, 1951. Left to right front row (lying down): Will Connell, Wayne Miller; Middle row: Milly Kaeser, Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, Walter Paepcke, Berenice Abbott, Frederick Sommer, Nancy Newhall, Beaumont Newhall; Back row: Herbert Bayer, Eliot Porter, Joella Bayer, Aline Porter, Marion Frances Vanderbilt, Minor White, Mrs. Steele, John Morris, Ferenc Berko, Laura Gilpin, Fritz Kaeser, Paul Vanderbilt. Photograph by Robert C. Bishop.” As published in Anne Wilkes Tucker, “Anne Wilkes Tucker on the 1951 Aspen Conference Attendees,” *Aperture* 193 (Winter 2008): 88.



Fig 2.2
 David Greenfield, “Audience participation reflected the impact of the speakers’ varied ideas.”
 As published in Doris M. Jones, “Report from Miami,” *Infinity* IX.6 (June 1960): 4-5.



Fig 2.3
 “Photography Workshop Fine Arts Department Indian University June 16, 1956. Back Row (l to R) Jack Welpott, Sonya Rigwald, Allan Dennenberg [sic], Minor White, Eugene Meatyard, Orville Joyner, Wilmer Counts. Center row (L to R): Phil Morrison, Ralph Nelson, Alice Atkinson, Marvin Dawson, Ralph Hattersley, Y. R. Okamoto. Front row (L to R): Kay Boardman, Van Deren Coke, Ronald Sterkel, Ruth McKnight, Howard J. Rogers, Henry Smith, William Meitzler.” Box 17 “Henry Holmes Smith Education: Lectures, Conferences, Workshops,” File 12 “1st photography Workshop, Indiana University, 1956,” AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.



Fig 2.4

“1962 Workshop in Fine Arts Dept. Indiana University, Henry Holmes Smith, Director Those attending second week’s session: Back Row: unknown, Alan DuBois, Henry H. Smith, Orville Joyner, Water Allen, George Strimbu, Robert Forth, Wiseman; Front Row: Oscar Bailey, Bauman, Richard Jaquish, Gayle Smalley, Jaromir Stephany, Jack Doyle, Charles Beloian.” Box 17 “Henry Holmes Smith Education: Lectures, Conferences, Workshops,” File 18 “Conference and workshop on photography instruction (Bloomington, Indiana) 1962,” AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

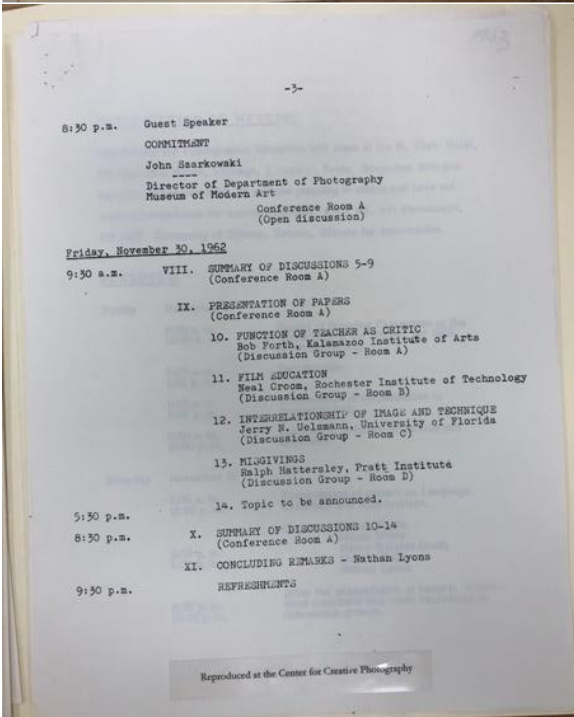
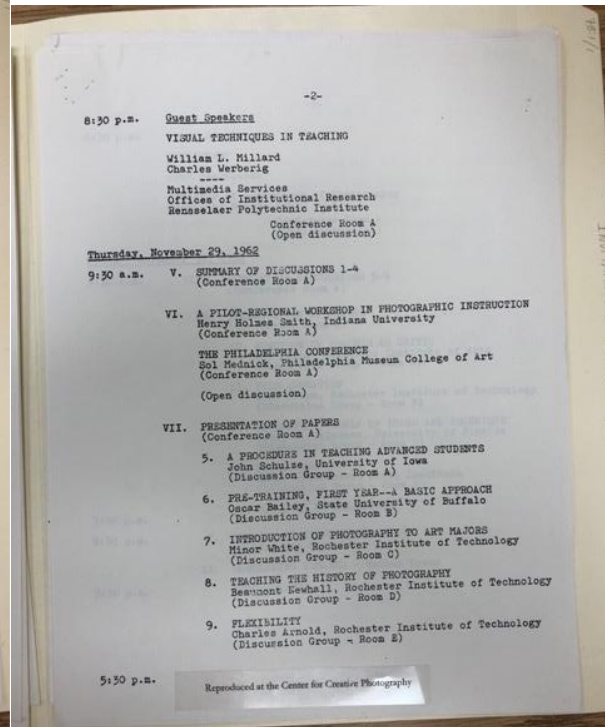
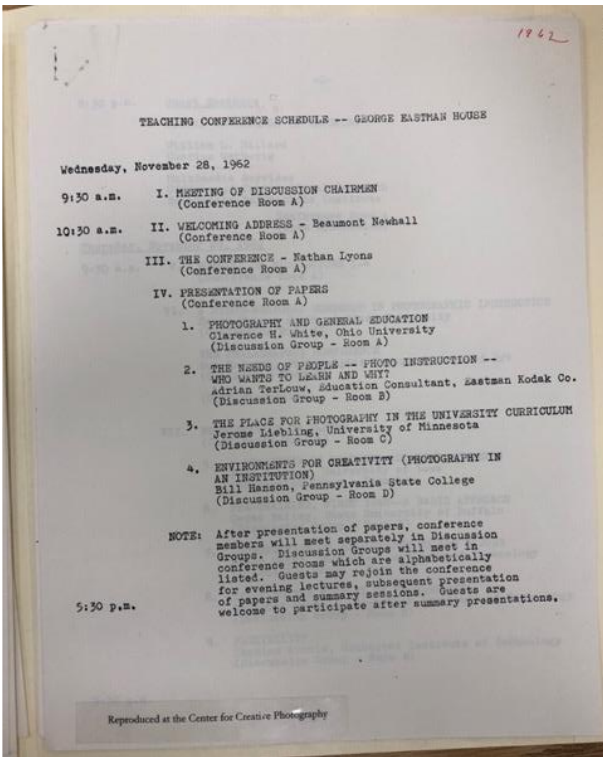


Fig. 2.5
 "Teaching Conference Schedule," 1962, Box 1: "Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976," File 1: "Invitation to membership, 1963," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

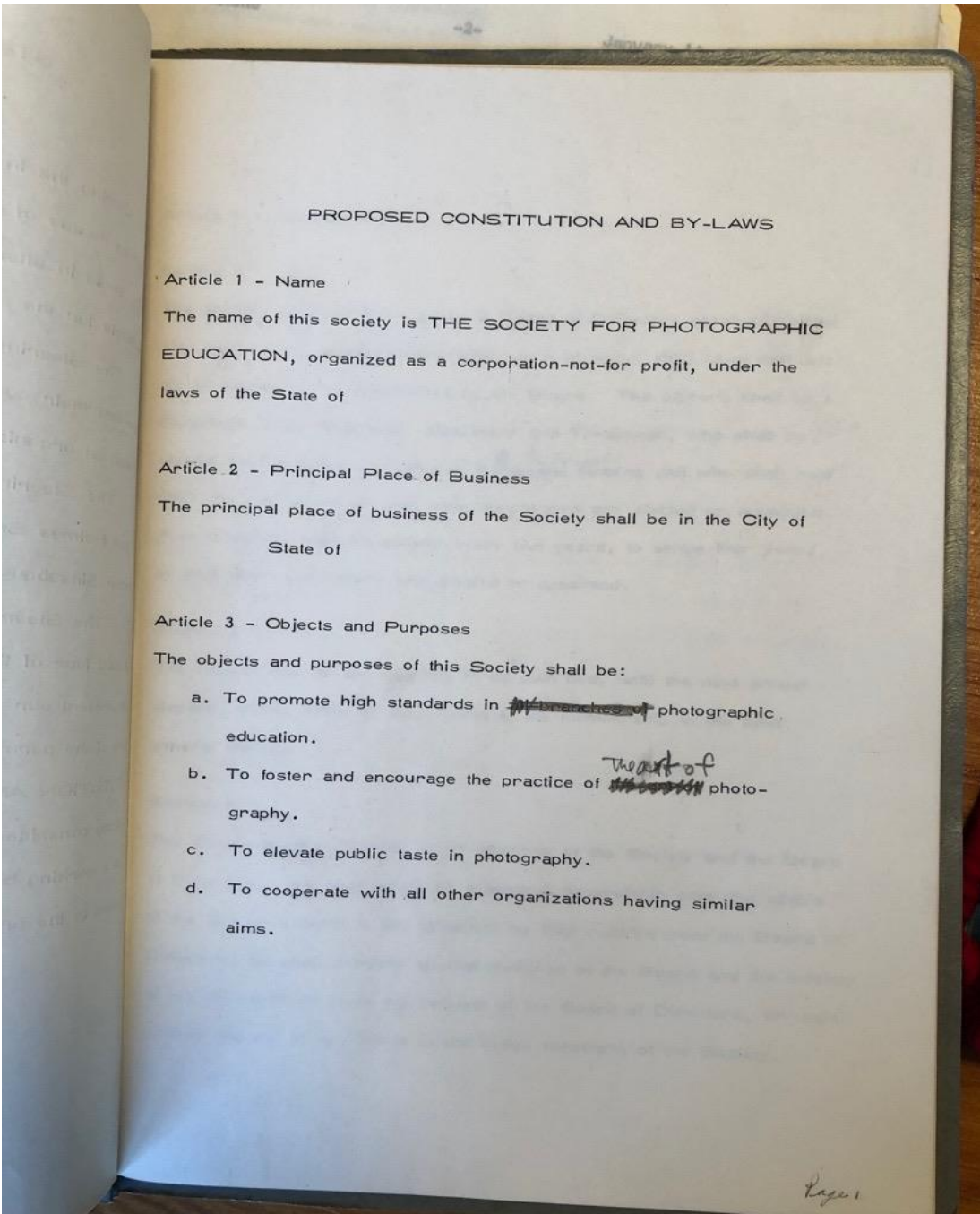


Fig. 2.6
"Steering Committee Report," November 28, 1963, [2], Box "SPE," File "Corres. 1963,"
Nathan Lyons Personal Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY
 CO-SPONSORED BY THE GEORGE EASTMAN HOUSE
 AND THE SOCIETY FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC EDUCATION
 November 27 & 28, 1964

Friday, November 27th, Morning

Registration (coffee) 9:00 to 10:00

WELCOMING ADDRESSES 10:00 to 11:00

Beaumont Newhall, Director
 George Eastman House
 Opening Address

Dr. Cyril J. Staud, President
 George Eastman House
 Welcoming Address

Nathan Lyons, Chairman
 The Society for Photographic Education
 Society Report

Beaumont Newhall, Chairman of Symposium
 OPENING OF CONFERENCE

"BEFORE 1839: SYMPTOMS AND TRENDS." 11:00 to 11:45

Heinrich Schwarz
 Professor, History of Art
 Curator, Davison Art Gallery
 Wesleyan University
 Middletown, Connecticut

"FAIRMAN ROGERS AND HIS FOUR-IN-HAND." 11:45 to 12:30

Gordon Hendricks,
 Author, New York City

LUNCH 12:30 to 2:00

Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

-2-

Friday Afternoon:

"PAINTERS ON PHOTOGRAPHY." 2:00 to 2:45

R. F. Heineken
 Professor, University of California
 Los Angeles, California

"THE USE OF BRADY PORTRAITS BY
 19TH CENTURY PAINTERS." 2:45 to 3:30

Van Doren Coke, Professor
 Chairman of Art Department
 Director, University Art Gallery
 University of New Mexico
 Albuquerque, New Mexico

"THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLABORATION OF
 CLARENCE H. WHITE AND ALFRED STIEGLITZ
 IN 1907." 3:30 to 4:15

Peter Bunnell
 Associate, Steiglitz Archives
 Yale University
 New Haven, Connecticut

"FREDERICK H. EVANS." 4:15 to 5:00

Beaumont Newhall
 Director, George Eastman House

DINNER 5:00 to 8:00

Friday Evening:

"THE FRENCH PRESS OF 1839 AND THE
 DISCOVERY OF PHOTOGRAPHY." 8:00 to 8:45

Mile J. Bolchard
 Service Documentation
 Kodak Pathe
 Vincennes, France

Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

-3-

Friday Evening, continued:

"NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF
 CANADIAN PHOTOGRAPHY." 8:45 to 9:30

Ralph Greenhill
 Photographer
 Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Saturday, November 28th, Morning:

"TECHNIQUES FOR THE RESTORATION
 OF W.H.F. TALBOT PHOTOGRAPHS." 9:30 to 10:15

Eugene Ostroff,
 Curator of Photography
 Smithsonian Institution
 Washington, D.C.

PANEL DISCUSSION: 10:15 to 11:15

COLLECTION AND PRESERVATION
 OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Eugene Ostroff, Moderator
 Mile J. Bolchard
 Walter Clark, Research Laboratories
 Eastman Kodak Company
 Robert Bretz, Assistant Curator of Collections
 George Eastman House
 Allan Ludwig, Professor, Chairman Fine Arts
 Department, Dickinson College
 Carlisle, Pennsylvania
 Albert Boni, Readex Microprint Corporation
 New York, New York

"ART OR PHOTOGRAPHY? A QUESTION FOR
 NEWSPAPER EDITORS OF THE 1890s." 11:15 to 12:00

R. Smith Schuneman
 Instructor in Photojournalism
 University of Minnesota
 Minneapolis, Minnesota

LUNCH 12:00 to 2:00

Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

-4-

Saturday Afternoon:

"THE VERNACULAR TRADITION:
 PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE
 PICTURE EXPERIENCE." 2:00 to 2:45

Nathan Lyons
 Assistant Director
 George Eastman House

John Szarkowski
 Director, Dept. of Photography
 The Museum of Modern Art 2:45 to 3:30

PANEL DISCUSSION: 3:30 to 5:00

THE VERNACULAR TRADITION

Nathan Lyons, Moderator
 John Szarkowski
 Van Doren Coke
 Jerry N. Uelsmann, Instructor
 Dept. of Art
 University of Florida
 Gainesville, Florida
 Paul Vanderbilt,
 Curator of Iconography
 State Historical Society
 Madison, Wisconsin
 Robert Forth,
 Dean, Maryland Institute
 College of Art
 Baltimore, Maryland

DINNER 5:00 to 7:30

Saturday Evening:

Meeting of members of the
 Society for Photographic Education
 in Mesa Lecture Room. 7:30 to 8:00

"THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY
 IN THE EDUCATION OF THE
 YOUNG PHOTOGRAPHER." 8:00 to 8:45

Walter Rosenblum,
 Associate Professor
 Brooklyn College

Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

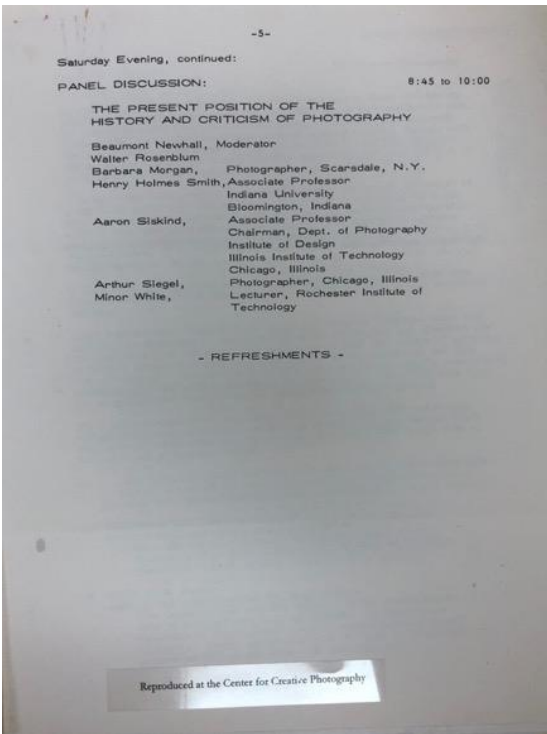


Fig. 2.7

“Symposium on the History of Photography,” November 27 & 28, 1964, 1-5, Box 1:
“Chairperson files: Robert Heinecken papers, ca. 1963-1976,” File 2: “SPE Symposium on the history of photography 1964, GEH,” AG Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

Chapter 3

8

Table 9

Female Enrollment by Area of Concentration,
MFA Candidates, 1974-1975

<u>Area of Concentration</u>	<u>Female Enrollment</u>	<u>Percent of Total Area Enrollment Represented by Females</u>
Weaving/Textiles	71	73%
Printmaking	213	52%
Graphic Design	80	50%
Painting	575	48%
Jewelry/Metal	59	48%
Ceramics	154	38%
Other	44	37%
Drawing	29	34%
Photography	67	32%
Film/Video	26	27%
Sculpture	96	25%

Fig. 3.1

Janice Koenig Ross and Landa L. Trentham, *Survey of MFA Programs Students and Faculty*, (New York: College Art Association of America, 1977): 8.

Summer 1971

APEIRON

WORKSHOP CENTER IN PHOTOGRAPHY

Located on our own 91-acre farm, 2 hours north of New York City and 3½ hours west of Boston, Apeiron will provide opportunities for practicing creative photographers and a small number of students to work together in an ideal setting. The center will provide lodging, incredibly good organically grown food, air conditioned darkrooms suitable for a variety of formats, basic chemicals, and a positive emotional environment designed to minimize those day-to-day hassles that inhibit perception.

The following workshops are now scheduled:

BRUCE DAVIDSON	JUNE 14-21
ROBERT FRANK	JUNE 24-JULY 1
AARON SISKIND	JULY 8-17
HAROLD JONES III	JULY 20-27
DIANE ARBUS	JULY 31-AUG. 9
GEORGE A. TICE	AUGUST 14-22
JOHN BENSON	AUG. 28-SEPT. 3
PAUL CAPONIGRO	SEPTEMBER 7-17

Each workshop limited to 12 students; Admission is by portfolio.

APEIRON WORKSHOPS
BOX 551
MILLERTON, NEW YORK
12546

For information write:

Summer 1971

Fig. 3.2

Apeiron summer 1971 workshop listing, File "Apeiron," Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

INSTITUTE OF DESIGN ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

I. CURRICULUM

a. Aims: Practice of photography as an art with chief components the traditions of photography (and other arts) and the motivation of the student. Our constant concern - the expressive means and possibilities of photography.

b. Undergraduate degree: B.S. in Design
Graduate degree: M.S. in Photography
Undergraduate courses: (credits per year)

Foundation -	4
Sophomore -	4
Major option (B & W) -	8
Minor option (B & W) -	4
Thesis -	2
Minor option in cinema -	4
Major option in cinema -	8
History of photography -	4

Foundation and sophomore courses are prerequisites for all others.

c. Outline of courses is in preparation and will be mailed to anyone requesting it. Address Aaron Siskind.

d. In undergraduate program, all students may opt as much photography as they wish or can; after the sophomore year all courses are options for all students, and only one degree is granted. For graduate students, the facilities and faculty of the entire school are available.

II. RESEARCH MATERIALS

a. Small photographic library at I.I.T. (none at the Institute of Design). Art Institute library and collection available. We have 1500 slides and Siegel is now increasing that collection in depth.

b. About 40 master's theses readily available for reference, as well as file of work by former students.

c. Budget for books, source material, etc. is uncertain and small.

d. Text used by freshmen: "GUIDE TO PHOTOGRAPHY" by Charles Swedlund.

Fig 3.3

"Institute of Design Illinois Institute of Technology," n.d. [ca. 1965], Box 18, Folder 3
"Programs for other schools, 1960s to 1970s," AG32 Henry Holmes Smiths Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

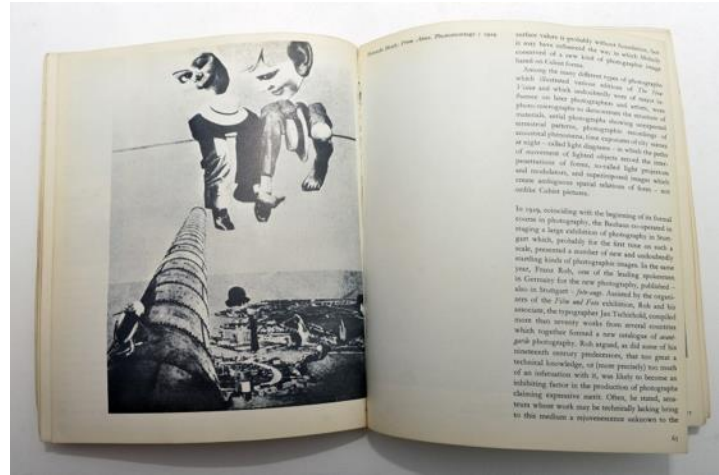
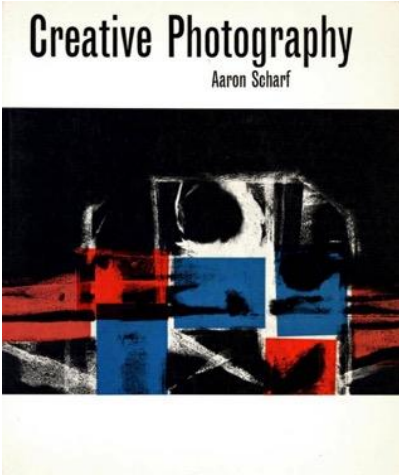


Fig. 3.4
 Aaron Scharf, *Creative Photography* (London: Studio Vista; New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1965): cover and page spread.

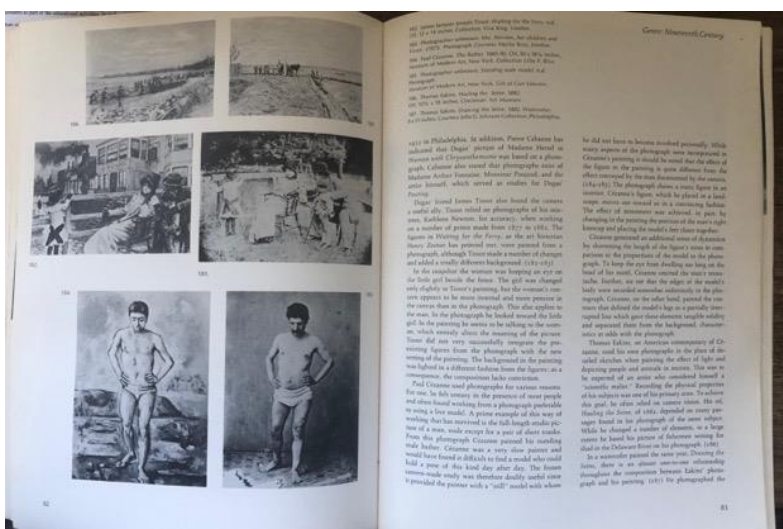
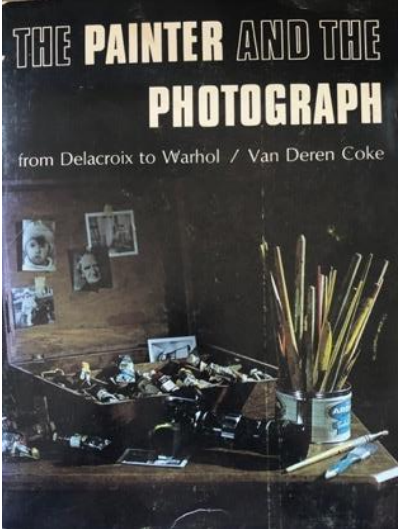


Fig. 3.5
 Van Deren Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph: From Delacroix to Warhol* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico Press, 1972): cover and page spread.

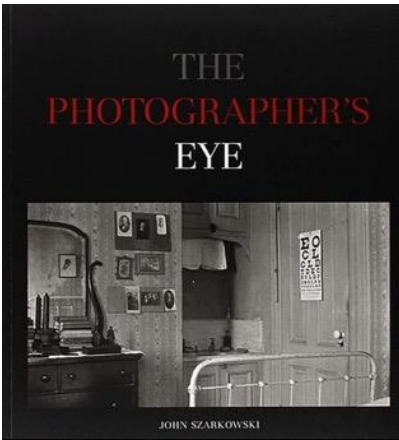


Fig. 3.6
John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966): cover and page spread.

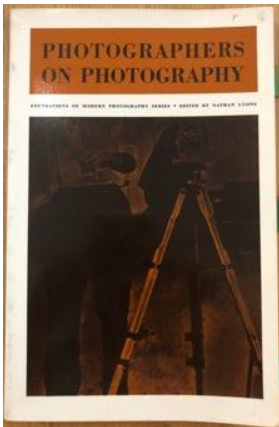
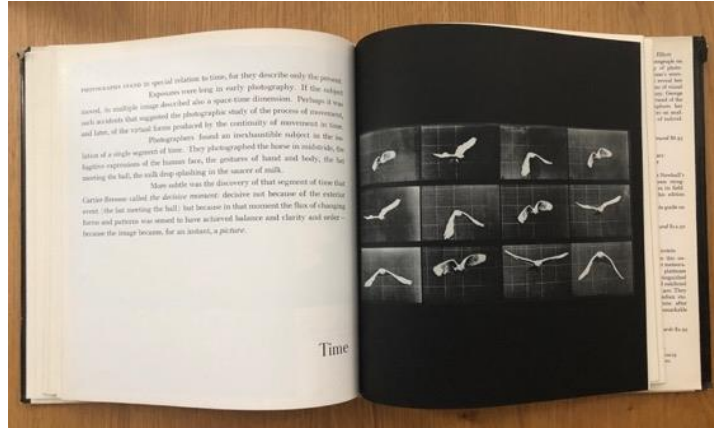


Fig. 3.7
Nathan Lyons, *Photographers on Photography* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966): cover [paperback edition] and sample chapter introduction.

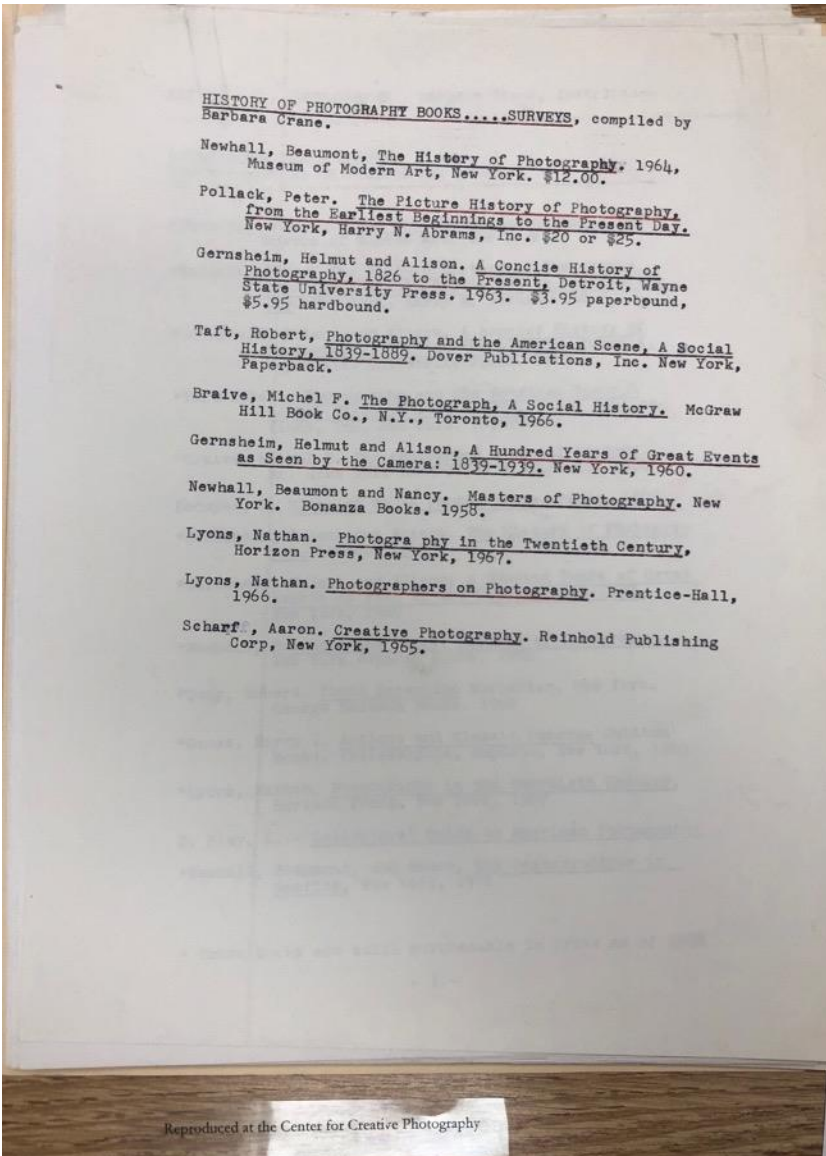


Fig. 3.8
Barbara Crane, "History of Photography Books.....Surveys," ca. 1968, Box 14 "Activity Files Workshop and Teaching Assignments, 1960-1994" (part 2), Folder History Photo Course Papers, AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

OBJECTIVE CHART		PRICE (SB/HB)	PUB. DATE/ED.	PUBLISHER	NUMBER OF PAGES	PHOTOS AS PICTURES
IDENTIFYING INFORMATION						
AUTHOR	TITLE					
Asher, Henry	PHOTOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES	/11.95	1975/2	Amphoto	288	0
Craven, George	OBJECT AND IMAGE: AN INTRODUCTION TO PHOTOGRAPHY	/10.95	1975	Prentice-Hall	280	159
Czaja, Paul	WRITING WITH LIGHT	/5.95	1973	Chatham	96	60
Davis, Phil	PHOTOGRAPHY	9.95/	1975/2	Brown	354	77
Felninger, Andreas	TOTAL PICTURE CONTROL	/14.95	1970	Amphoto	356	2
Gaccan, Arnold	A HANDBOOK FOR CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHY	5.95/11.95	1974/3	Handbook Company	147	1
Gottop, Philip	VAN NOSTRAND REINHOLD MANUAL OF PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHY	/9.95	1973	Van Nostrand Reinhold	208	2
Grimm, Tom	THE BASIC BOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHY	4.95/	1974	New American Library	288	13
Hattersley, Ralph	BEGINNER'S GUIDE TO PHOTOGRAPHY	3.95/	1974	Doubleday	149	12
Hattersley, Ralph	DISCOVER YOUR SELF THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY	/14.95	1971	Association Press	320	234
Haveman, Josepha	WORKBOOK IN CREATIVE PHOTOGRAPHY	5.95/	1975/2	Morgan and Morgan	1507	0
Hedgecoe & Langford	PHOTOGRAPHY: MATERIALS AND METHODS	/12.95	1974/2	Focal	170	61
Horenstein, Henry	BLACK AND WHITE PHOTOGRAPHY: A BASIC MANUAL	3.95/7.95	1974	Little, Brown	179	2
Kemp, Weston D.	PHOTOGRAPHY FOR VISUAL COMMUNICATORS	/12.95	1973	Prentice-Hall	279	126
Kennedy, Fern	EXPLORING PHOTOGRAPHY	/16.95	1974	Prentice-Hall	448	1
Langford, M. J.	BASIC PHOTOGRAPHY	9.95/	1973/3	Focal	376	1
Larmore, Lewis	INTRODUCTION TO PHOTOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES	2.00/	1965/2	Dover	229	0
Muse, Ken	PHOTO ONE	5.95/	1973	Prentice-Hall	231	0
Neblette, C. B.	PHOTOGRAPHY: ITS MATERIALS AND PROCESSES	/22.50	1962/6	Van Nostrand Reinhold	506	7
Shipman, Carl	UNDERSTANDING PHOTOGRAPHY	5.95/9.95	1975	H. P. Books	221	0
Spillman, Ronald	THE COMPLETE PHOTOBOOK	/6.95	1971/2	Fountain/Morgan & Morgan	191	32
Sussman, Aaron	THE AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER'S HANDBOOK	/8.95	1973/8	Crowell	562	20
Swedlund, Charles	PHOTOGRAPHY: A HANDBOOK OF HISTORY, MATERIALS & PROCESSES	9.95/12.95	1974	Holt, Rinehart & Winston	368	120
Vestal, David	THE CRAFT OF PHOTOGRAPHY	/12.50	1975	Harper & Row	364	42
Weber, E. A.	THE PRACTICAL PHOTOGRAPHER	/13.95	1973	Fountain	288	13
Woolley, A. E.	PHOTOGRAPHY: A PRACTICAL AND CREATIVE INTRODUCTION	/11.95	1974	McGraw-Hill	383	185

28 EXPOSURE, 13:3

Fig. 3.9
 “Objective Chart: Identifying Information,” *Exposure* 13.3 (1975): 28-29.



Fig. 3.10
Album (1970).

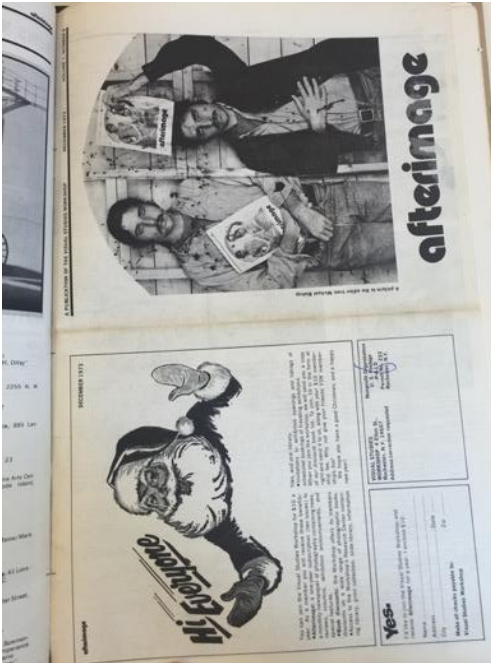


Fig. 3.11
Sample of *Afterimage* (1973): cover and (1974): sample page.

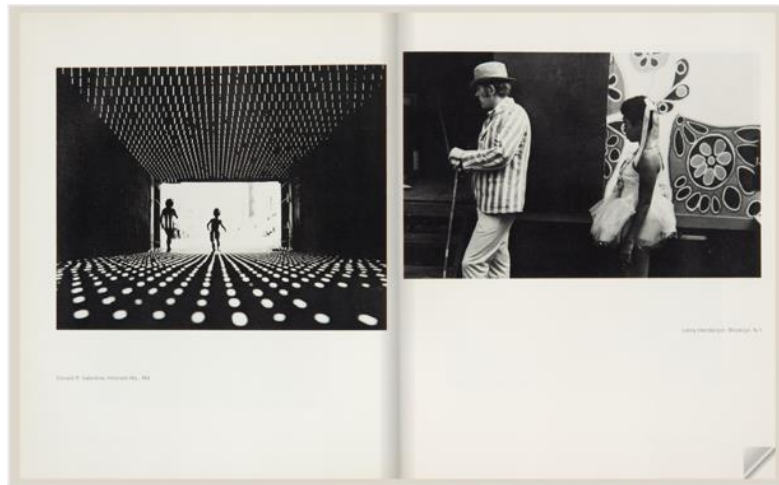


Fig. 3.12
Black Photographers Annual (1973): Cover and page spread. The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Accessed July 6, 2020. <https://user-qpwbtci.cld.bz/bpa1973>.

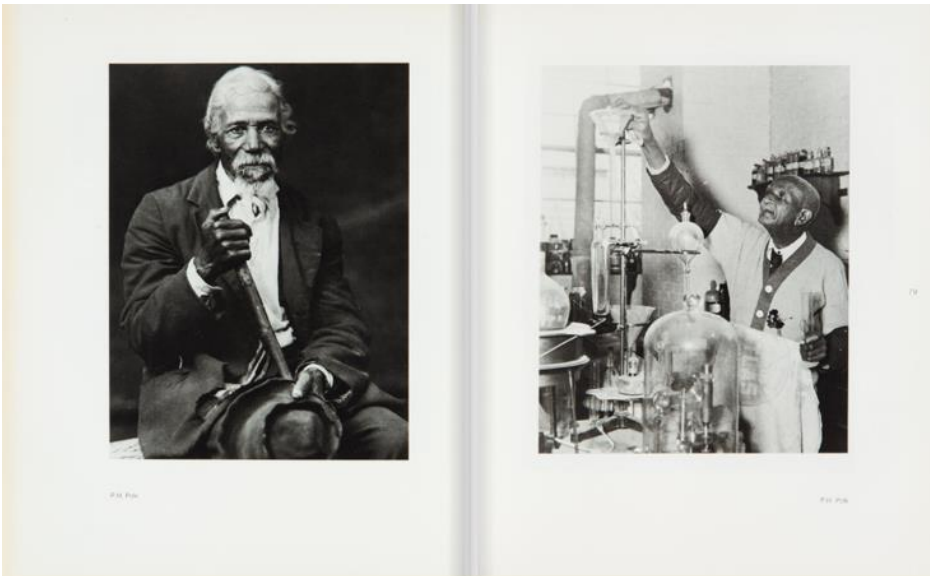


Fig. 3.13
Black Photographers Annual (1974): 78-79.

TABLE 10
 PHOTOGRAPHIC PRINT COLLECTIONS AT INSTITUTIONS
 OF HIGHER EDUCATION

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Number of Prints</u>
De Anza College, California	5 to 10
University of California--Davis	10
State University of New York at Oswego	10
Utah State University	75
Chaffey Community College, California	Less than 100
Colgate University, New York	Less than 100
Grand Valley State Colleges, Michigan	100
Community College of Philadelphia	100
Philadelphia College of Art	200
Florida Atlantic University	300
Kansas University	300
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	300
Arizona State University	400
Indiana University	400
University of Nebraska--Lincoln	500
Harvard University (Fogg Art Museum)	Several hundred
Rochester Institute of Technology	500 to 1000
The Ohio State University	3,000
University of New Mexico	5,000
University of Maryland, Baltimore County	10,000
University of Rochester (The International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House)	250,000 to 300,000

Fig. 3.14
 Donald Lokuta, "History of Photography Instruction." Ph.D diss., (Ohio State University, 1975): 57.

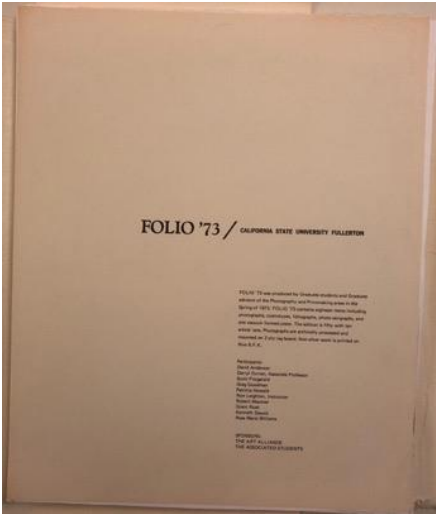


Fig. 3.15

Folio '73 cover page and two sample works.

TR: David Anderson, "Sales Promotion," c. 1973, photo silkscreen, vacuum print. 35.5 x 43 cm.

LL: Kenneth Steuck, "Untitled," 1973, cyanotype, 43 x 35.5 cm.

All works accessed at the University of New Mexico Museum 74.28.1-19.

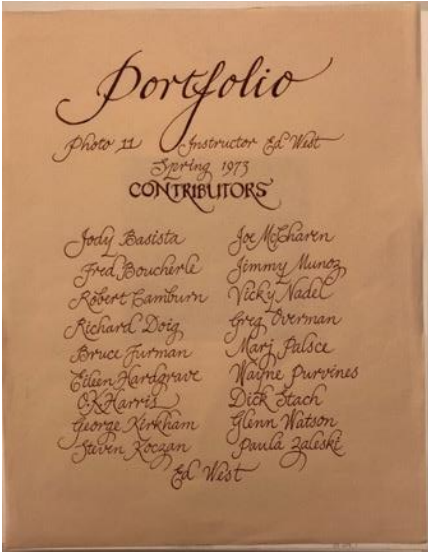


Fig. 3.16
Portfolio [New Mexico University, 1973]
 TR: Edward West, "Untitled," 1973, photolithograph, offset, 9 x 13.8 cm.
 LL: Wayne Purvines, "Untitled," n.d., gelatin silver print, 24.9 x 18.8 cm.
 All works accessed at the University of New Mexico Museum 73.203 and 73.204.1-18.



Fig. 3.17
Photographs [The Memphis Academy of Arts, 1972]
 C: Terry E. Clont, "Picnic Postcard," 1972, gelatin silver print.
 R: Brin A. Baucum, "October 12, 1972," 1972, gelatin silver print.
 All works accessed at the University of New Mexico Museum.

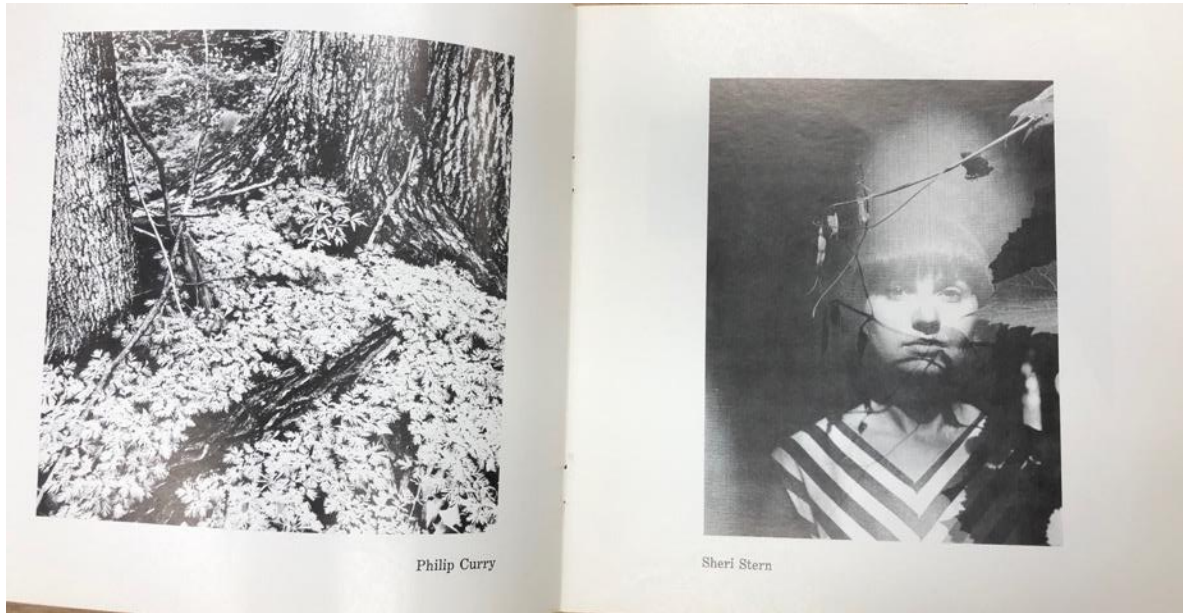


Fig. 3.18
Graduate Photography: Institute of Design, Indiana University, University of Iowa, University of California at Los Angeles, (West Lafayette: Purdue University, 1966): page spread.

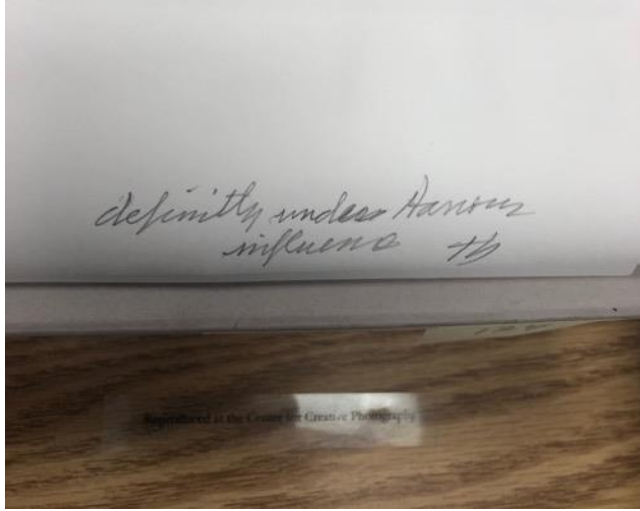


Fig. 3.19
 Thomas Barrow photograph, recto and verso, n.d. [ca. 1964], gelatin silver print, Box 124, Folder "Student work, study prints, 1963-1964," AG202 Thomas Barrow Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

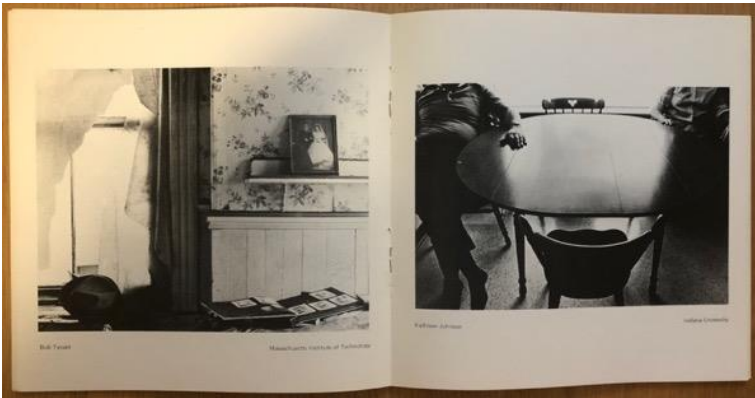


Fig. 3.20
Four Photographic Centers (Andover: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1973): page spreads.

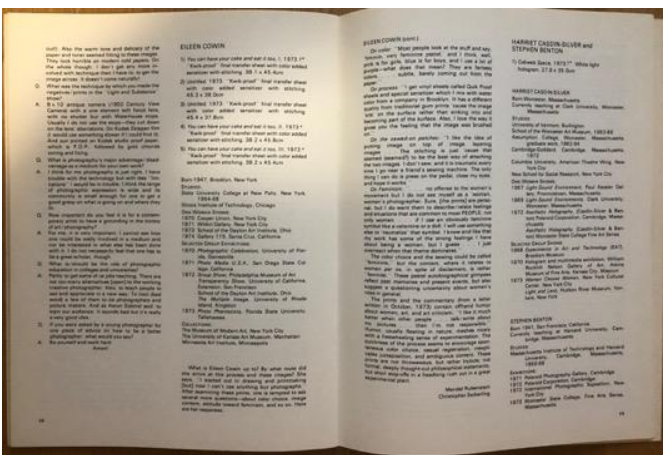


Fig. 3.21
Light & Substance (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1974): page spreads.

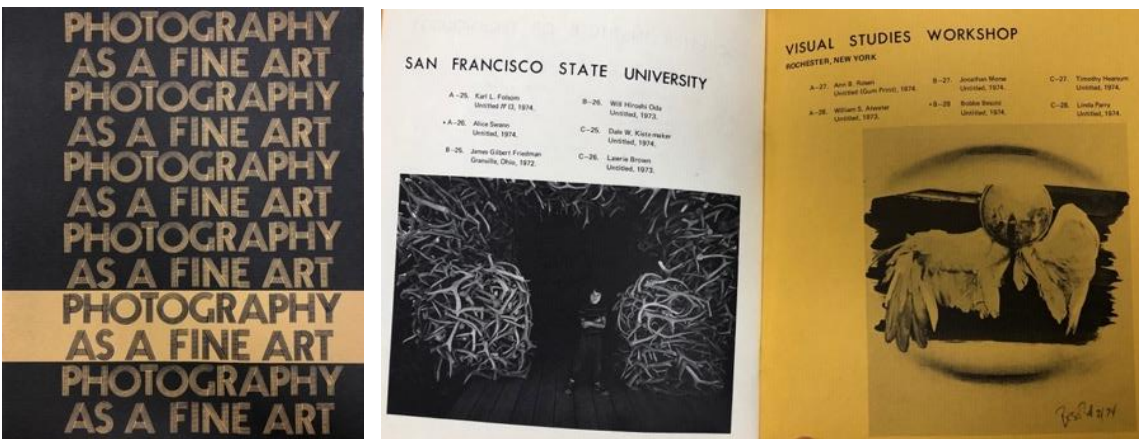


Fig. 3.22
Photography as a Fine Art exhibition catalogue, cover and page spread, *Photography as a Fine Art*, Florida: University of Florida, 1974, Accessed through Box 42, Folder “Materials Related to Heineken at UCLA,” AG45 Robert Heineken Archive, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

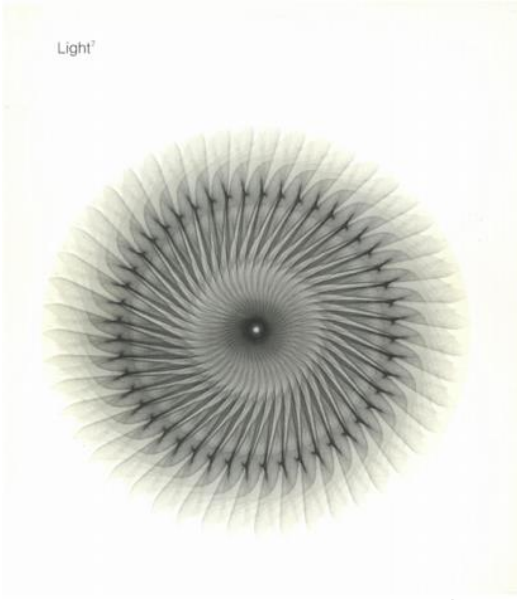


Fig. 3.23
Aperture [Light⁷] 14.1 (1968): cover and page spread.

Chapter 4



Fig. 4.1
[Freshmen Photographic Arts Class], ca. 1953, Box "Image Arts I," File "Image Arts Students (Grads / Undergrads) 2," C 001.271.03, Series "Archives Newspaper Clipping Files," Ryerson University Archives, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.



Fig. 4.2
[Photographic Art Centre], Image source *Ryersonian*, October 21, 1976.

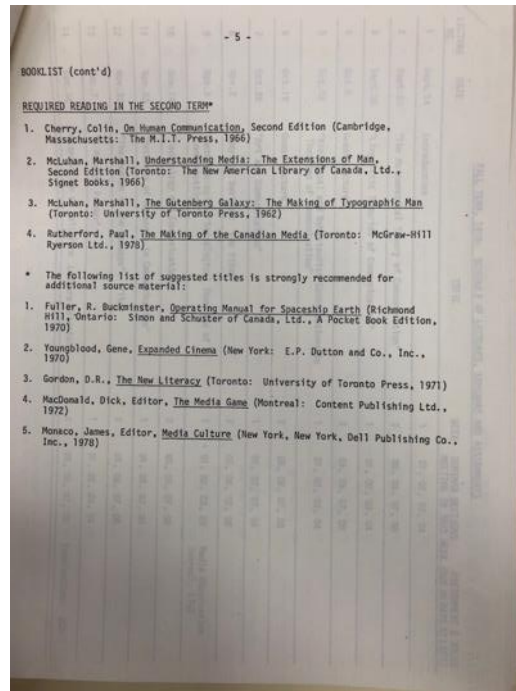
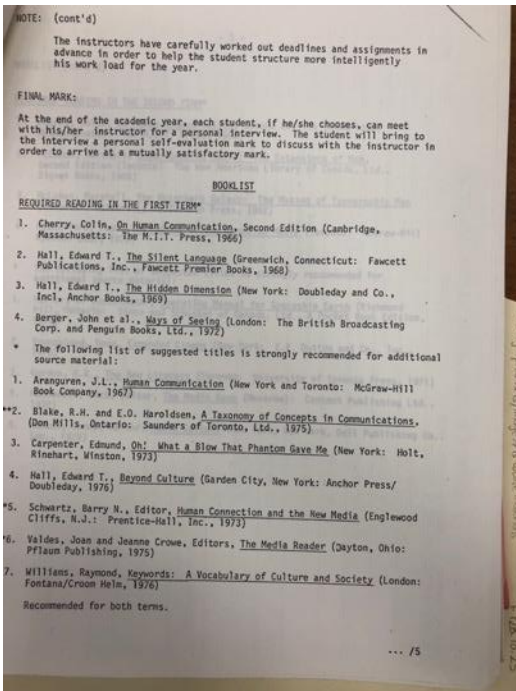


Fig. 4.3
 Don Gillies and Robert Scott, [PTM 011 'Communication Theory' reading list], ca.1971, Box 128.10 "Records Received from D. Gillies Upon Retirement in 2003," File 25 "Photographic Arts / Image Arts Course Materials," Donald Gillies Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.



Fig. 4.4
 Michael Rafelson, [Apple pie project], ca. 1973, cyanotype and van dyke prints on fabric. Courtesy of Michael Rafelson.

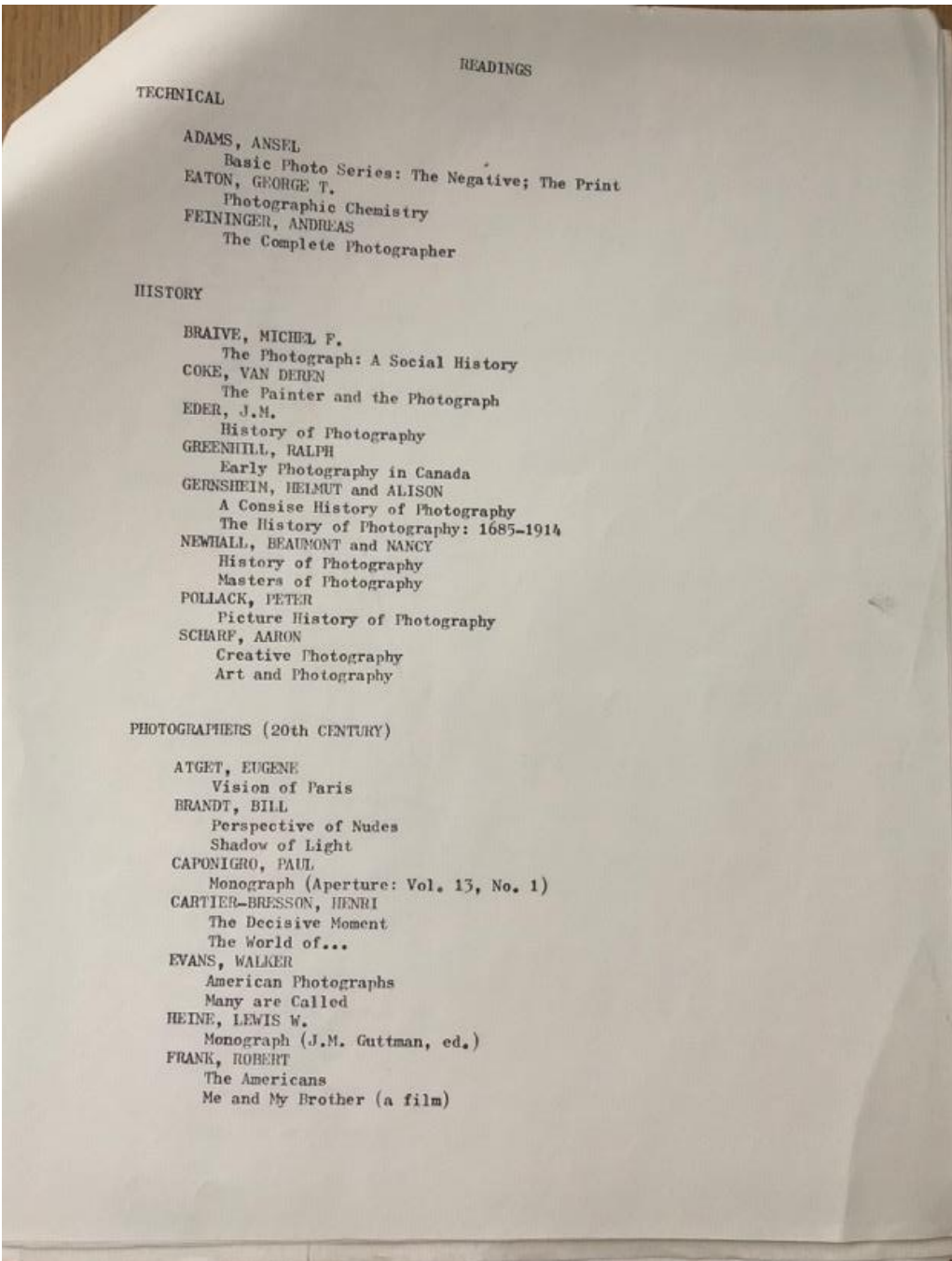


Fig. 4.5
Dave Heath, [reading list], ca. 1975, provided to author by David Harris.

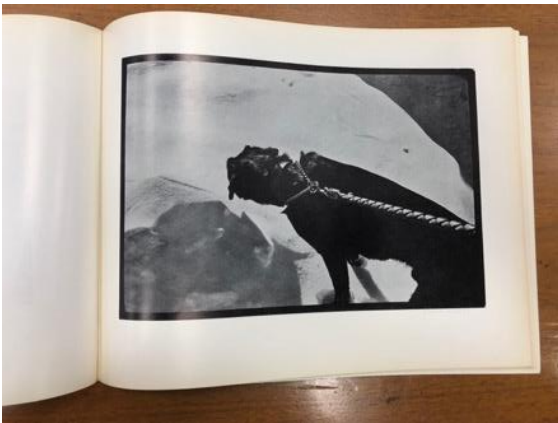
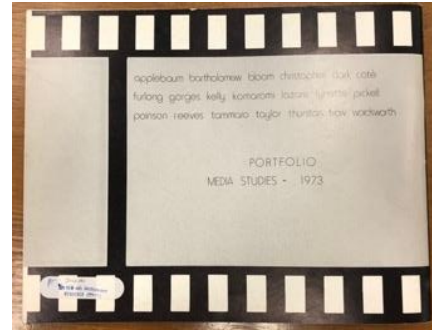
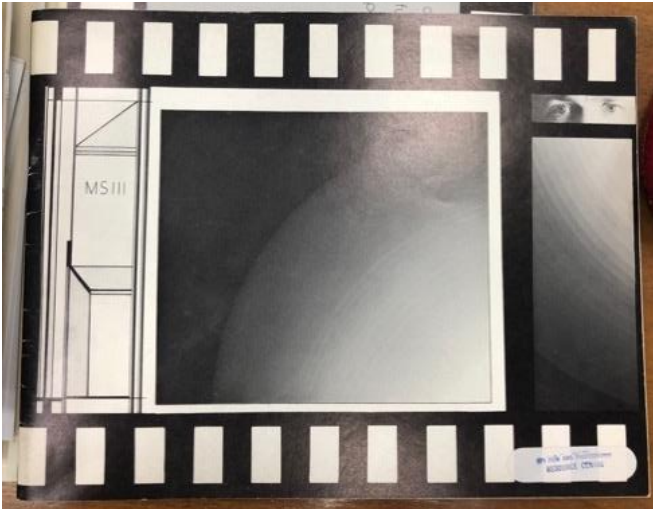


Fig. 4.6
MSIII [Media Studies Portfolio], 1973, printing production by Doug Curwood.
 TL: Front cover
 TR: Back cover
 LL: Sample work by Ian Reeves.
 LR: Sample work by Susan Trow.



Fig. 4.7

[Image of Photo Arts students preparing their work for an exhibition at the Toronto Dominion tower], photographer unknown. Published in Bob Skalitzky, "Photo Arts Exhibit Aims for Top," *Ryersonian* March 27, 1973, 6.

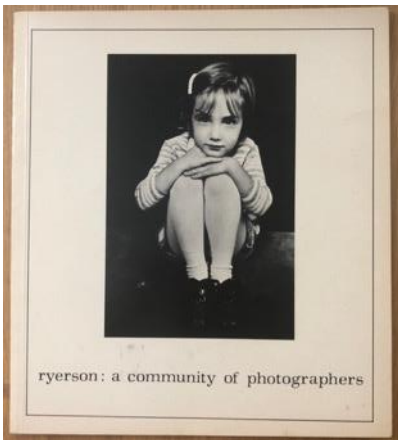


Fig. 4.8

Ryerson: a Community of Photographers, Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974.

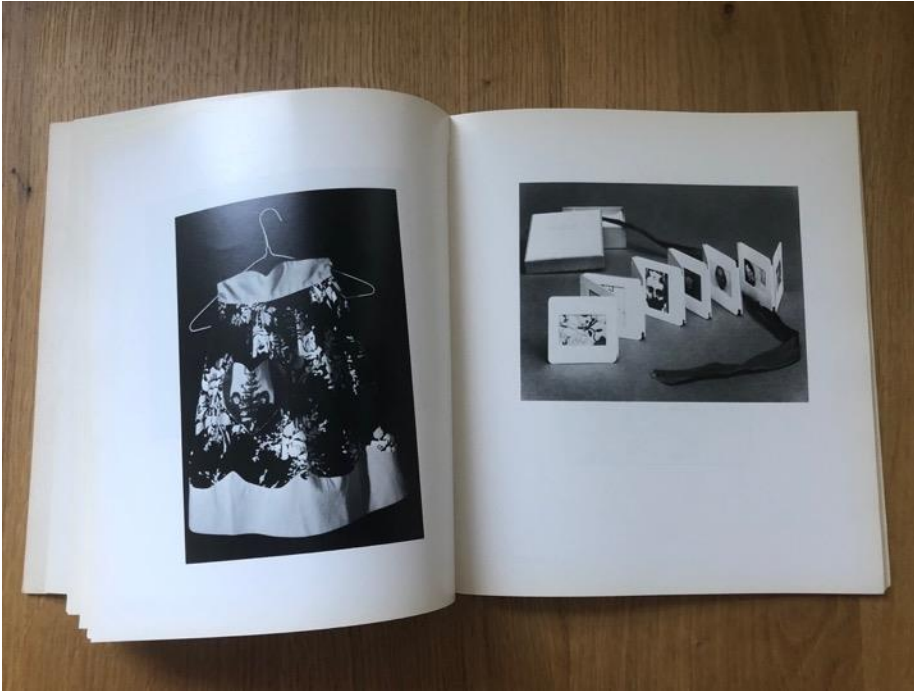


Fig. 4.8a
Examples of Marci Colthorpe's sculptural photographic work included in *Ryerson: a Community of Photographers*, Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974.



Fig. 4.8b
Example of Don Thurston's colour prints included in *Ryerson: a Community of Photographers*, Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974.



Fig. 4.8c
Example of Bill Grigsby's gelatin silver work in *Ryerson: a Community of Photographers*,
Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974.

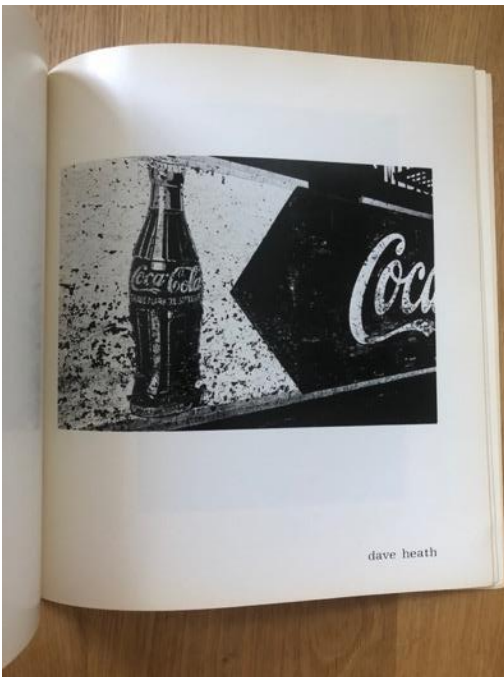


Fig. 4.8d
Example of Dave Heath's gelatin silver work in *Ryerson: a Community of Photographers*,
Toronto: The Ryerson Community, 1974.

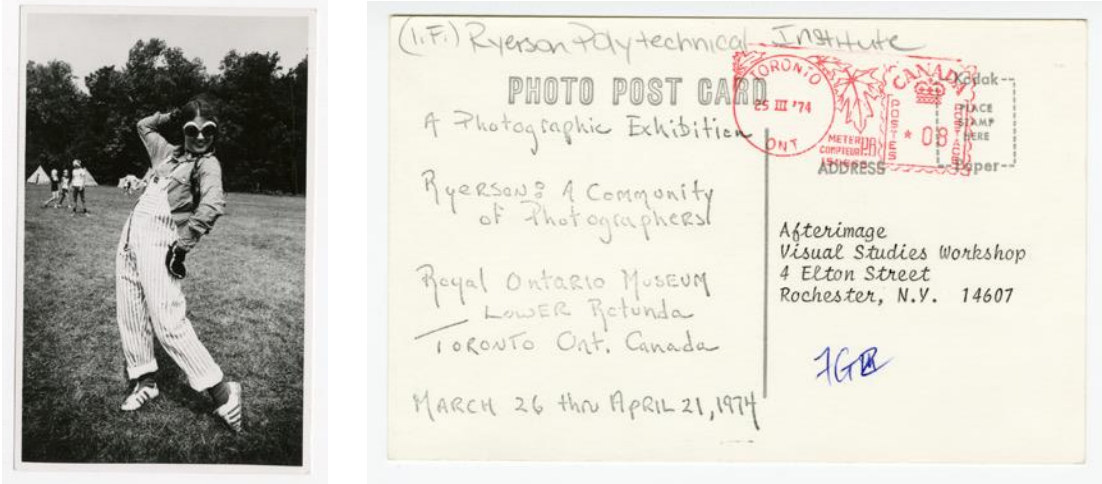


Fig. 4.9
 [Postcard verso and recto advertising *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers*], File "Ryerson," Information Files, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, United States of America.



Fig. 4.10
 [Photographs of *Ryerson: A Community of Photographers* retitled *Visual Transformations*, installed in the Oakville Centennial Art Gallery as part of the Art Gallery of Ontario's traveling exhibition program]. Illustrated on the upper left is John Bloom's gelatin silver print, upper right is Marci Colthorpe's sculptural work; bottom left is Roger Schip's silkscreen, bottom right is Clare Schrieber's gelatin silver print. *Oakville Journal Record* February 17, 1975, 8.

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Al Kowalenko

This small room in the Photographic Arts building is often crammed with students and faculty looking for information or exchanging ideas.

Since last September, Mr. part of daily life at Photo-Arts.

Fig. 4.11

[the study room in the Photographic Arts building. Photograph by Al Kowalenko. ca. 1975.]
Al Kowalenko, "Photo Resource Centre Constant Hub of Activity," *Ryersonian*, February 20, 1975, [unknown], 1975, Folder "Image Arts I," C001 Archives Newspaper Clipping Files Fonds, Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Chapter 5

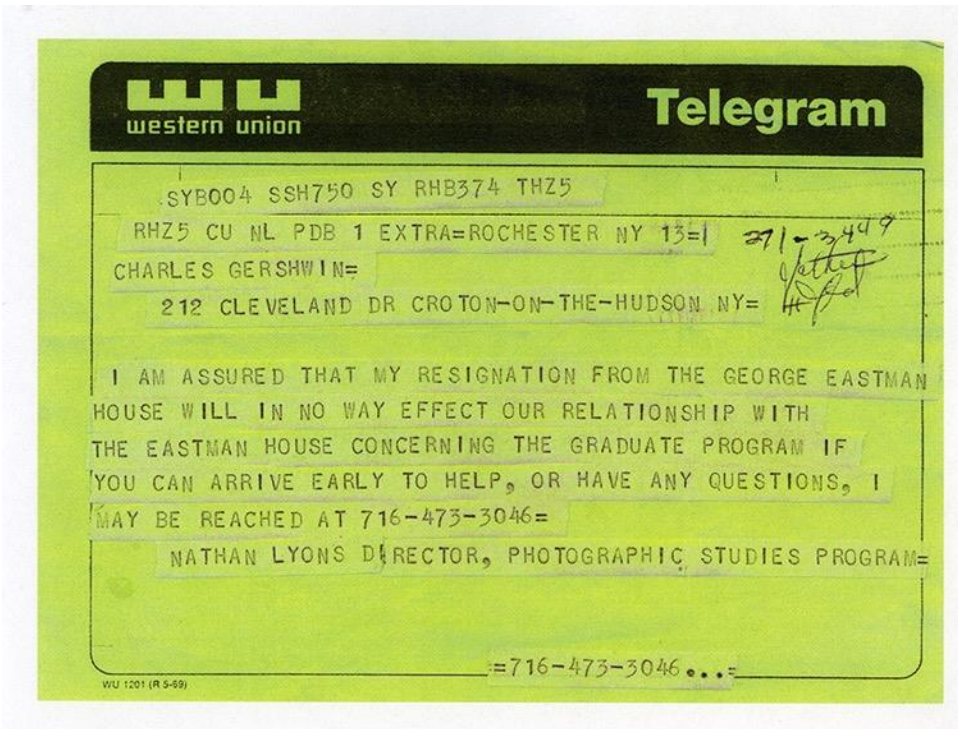


Fig. 5.1
[Nathan Lyons Telegram to incoming students], 1969, Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.



Fig. 5.2
[Gisèle Freund Lecturing at VSW], ca. 1974, Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.



Fig. 5.3
 “The gallery was constructed in a hallway that ran between two sections of the building. The floor was inclined by 50 degrees.” ca. 1975. Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

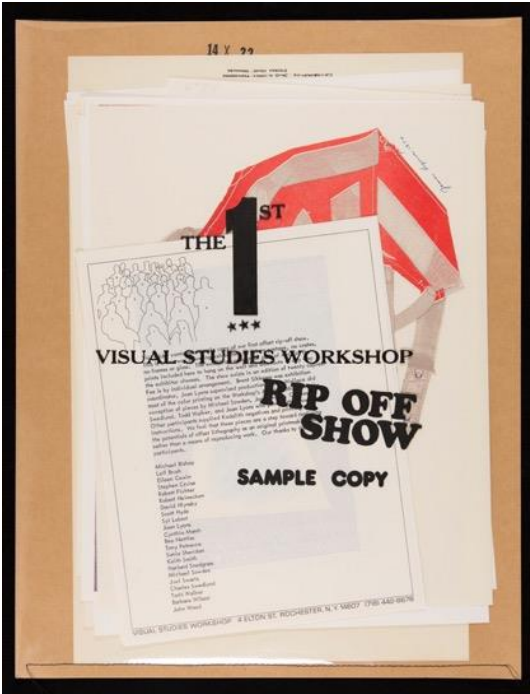


Fig. 5.4
 [Sample copy of *The First Visual Studies Workshop Rip Off Show*], Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

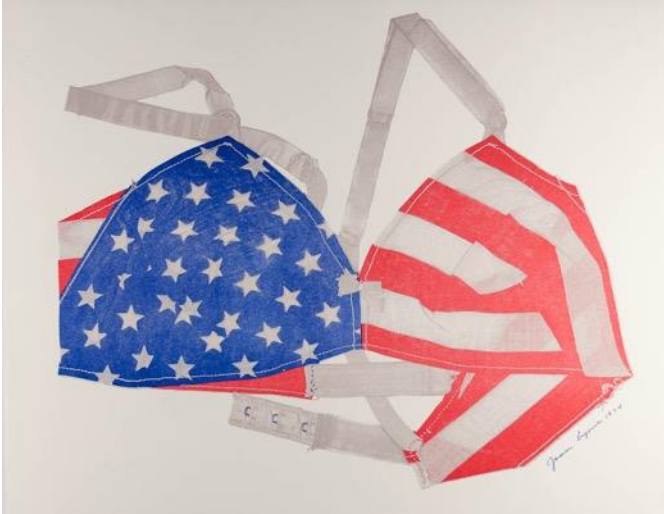


Fig. 5.5
 Joan Lyons, *Untitled*, 1974, Offset Lithograph, (from *The First Visual Studies Workshop Rip Off Show* portfolio), Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

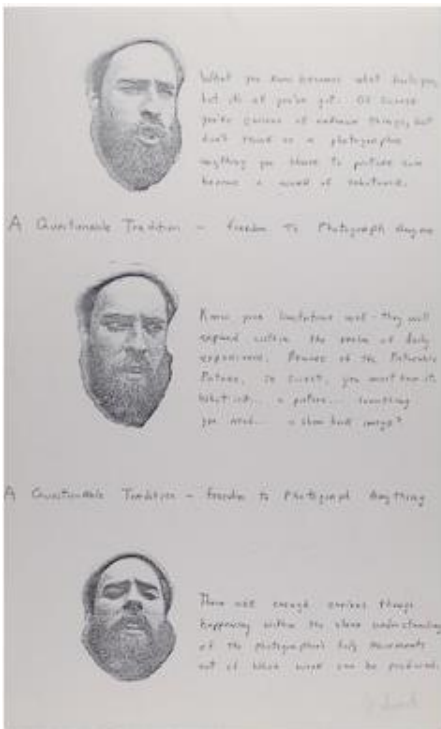


Fig. 5.6
 Joel Swartz, *Untitled*, 1974, Offset Lithograph, (from *The First Visual Studies Workshop Rip Off Show* portfolio), Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

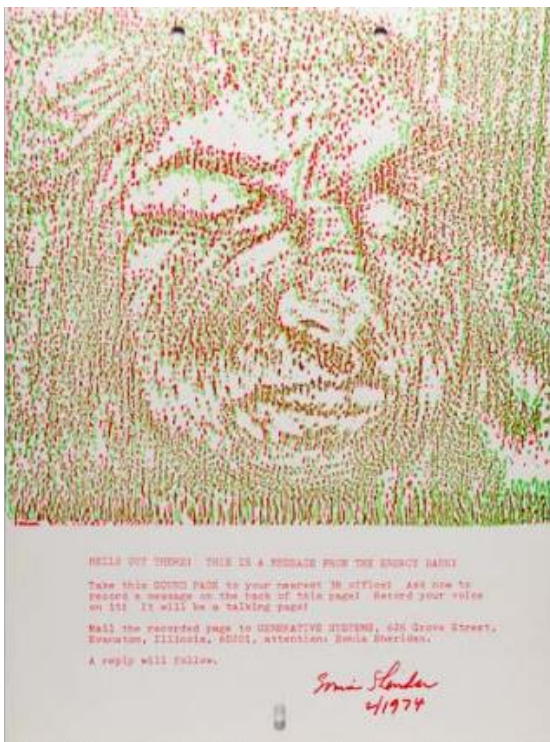


Fig. 5.7
 Sonia Sheridan, *Untitled*, 1974, Offset lithograph, (from *The First Visual Studies Workshop Rip Off Show* portfolio), Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

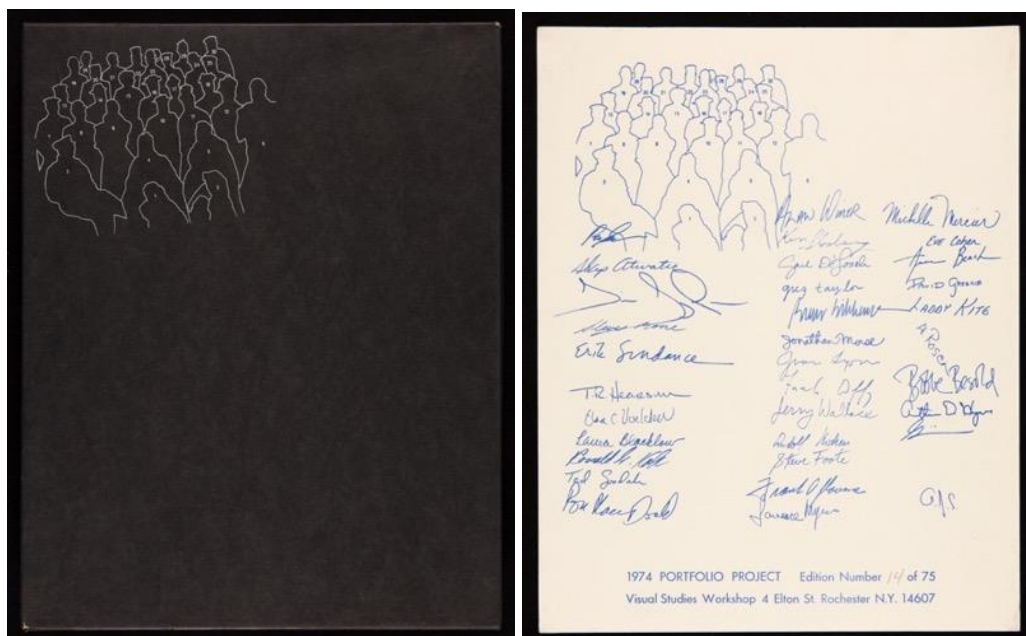


Fig. 5.8
 1974 *Portfolio Project*. [Portfolio box and signature page]. Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.



Fig. 5.9
Anne Beach, *Untitled*, 1974, offset lithograph, *1974 Portfolio Project*. Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.



Fig. 5.10
Greg Taylor, *Untitled*, 1974, Gelatin Silver Print, *1974 Portfolio Project*. Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

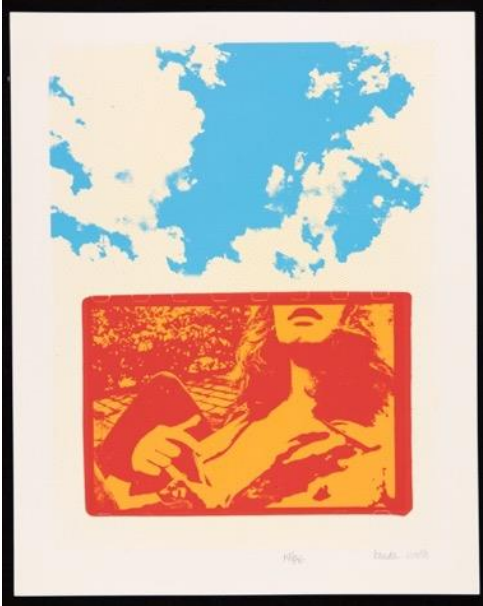


Fig. 5.11
Kenda North, *Untitled*, 1974, Serigraph, *1974 Portfolio Project*. Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.



Fig. 5.12
James Silvia, [untitled], 1974, Glassine Envelope Mounted on Card, *1974 Portfolio Project*. Visual Studies Workshop Archive, Rochester, New York, United States of America.

Chapter 6

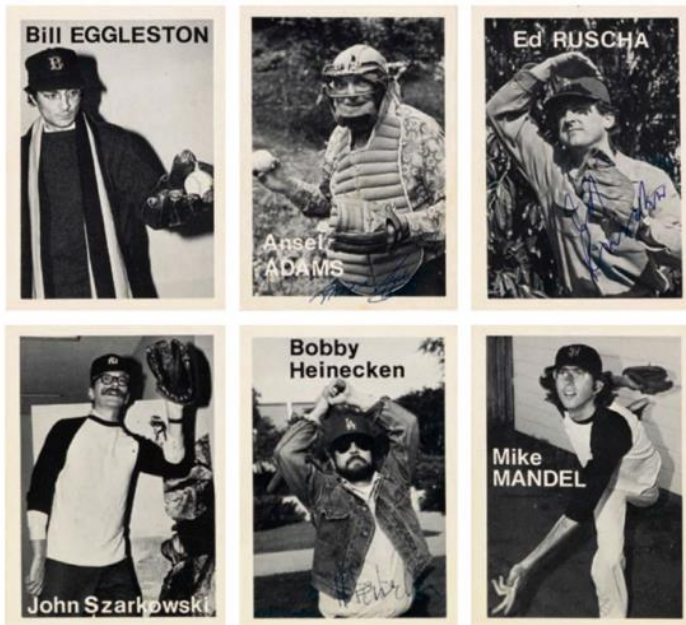


Fig. 6.1

[Mike Mandel Sample of *Baseball Photographer Trading Cards*], Swann Auction Galleries, *Auction 2406: Art & Storytelling: Photographs & Photobooks*, February 25, 2016. Accessed Dec. 3, 2017. <http://www.swannalleries.com/3dcat/2406/files/assets/basic-html/page-232.html>. (Back cover and Lot 120 image)



Fig. 6.2

Mike Mandel, Sample of *Baseball Photographer Trading Cards* with enclosed bubble-gum, 1975.

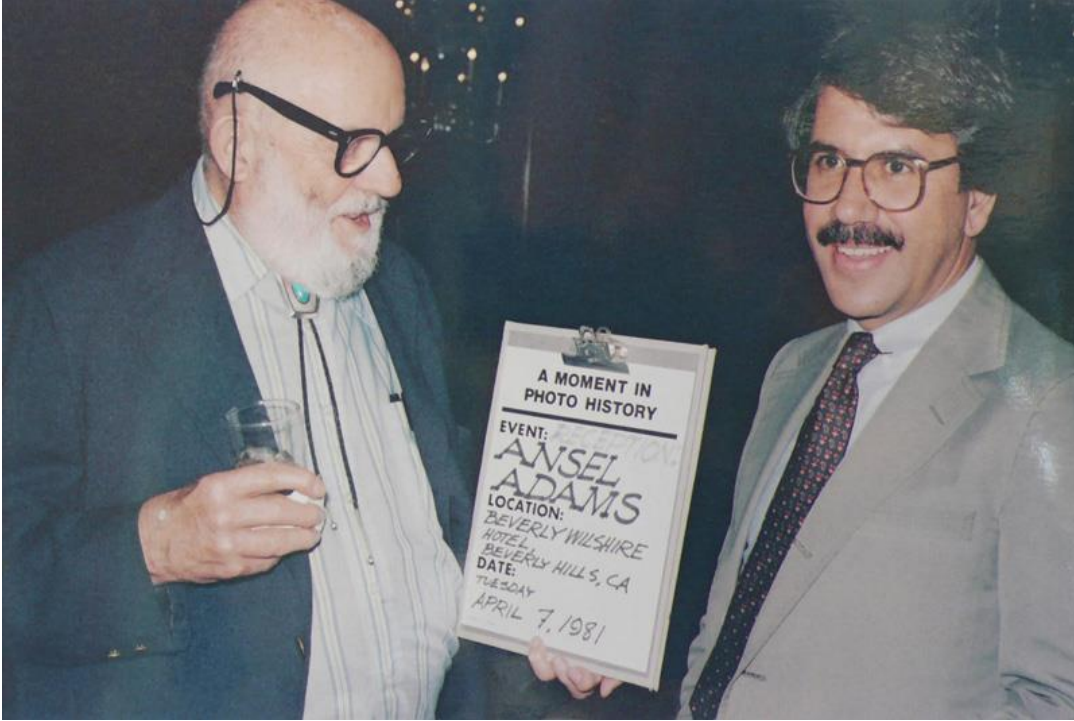


Fig. 6.3
Darryl Curran, *A Moment in Photo History*, “4/7/ 81.”



Fig. 6.4
Darryl Curran, *A Moment in Photo History*, “9/7/ 79.”



Fig. 6.5
Allan Sekula, *School is a Factory*, 1978-1980. Published in *Exposure* 18.3,4 (Fall and Winter 1980): 91.

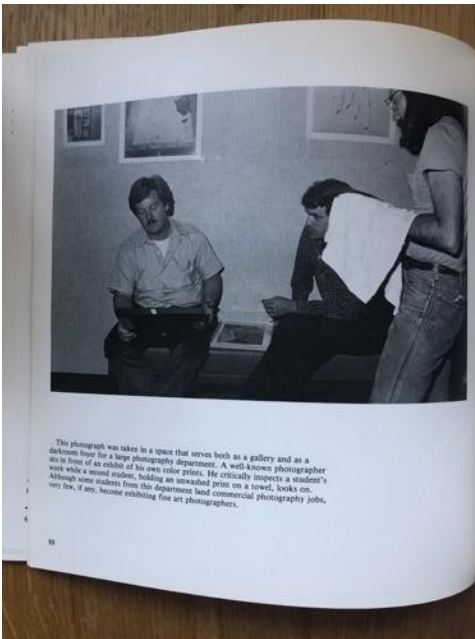


Fig. 6.6
Allan Sekula, *School is a Factory*, 1978-1980. Published in *Exposure* 18.3,4 (Fall and Winter 1980): 88.

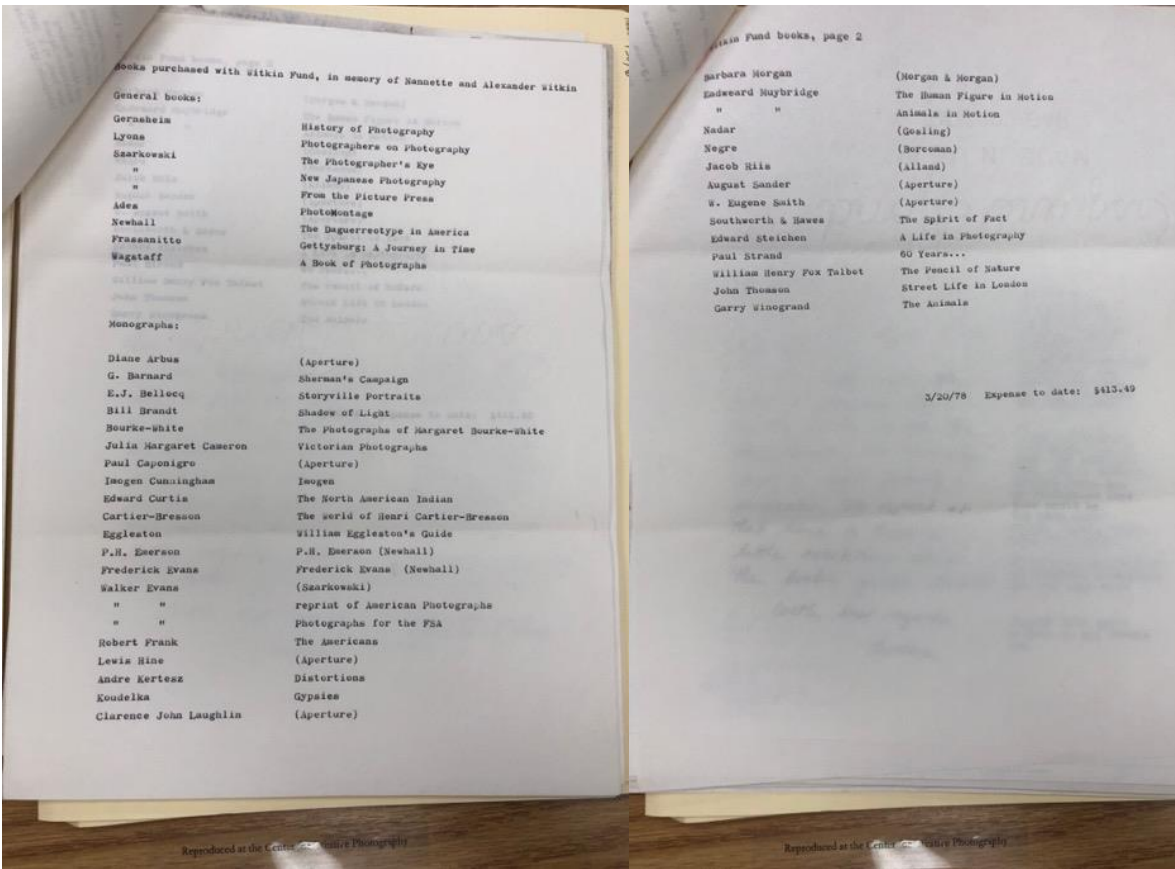


Fig. 6.7
 Letter Barbara L. Michaels to Lee D. Witkins, March 23, 1978, Box 130 "Lee Witkin Biographical Material and Activity Files (NYU Teaching Files)," File 6 "NYU Teaching Files New York University Correspondence, 1975-1978, 1981-1984," AG 62 The Witkin Gallery Collection, Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

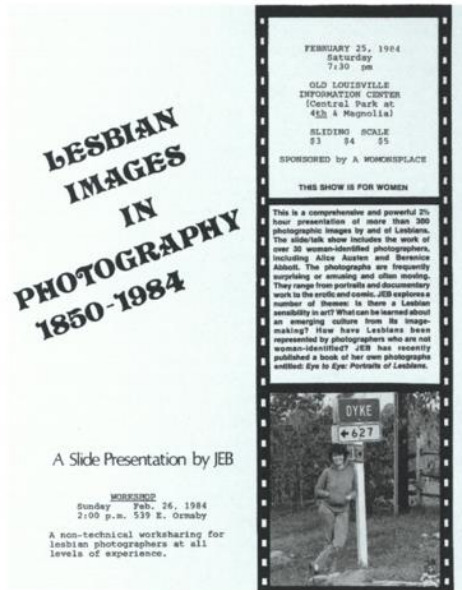


Fig. 6.8
 Publicity flyer for JEB’s slide presentation, “Lesbian Images in Photography, 1850-1984,” 1984. Published in Sophie Hackett, “Queer Looking,” *Aperture* 218 (Spring 2015): 43.

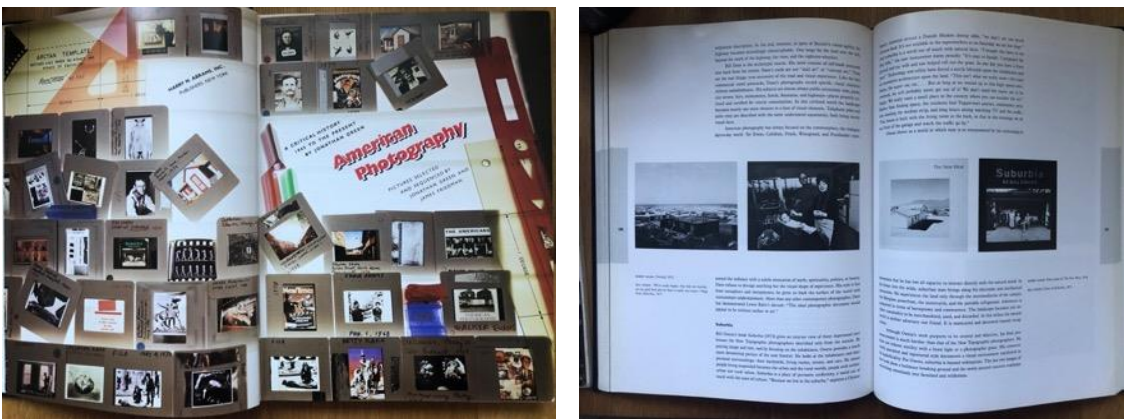


Fig. 6.9
 Jonathan W. Green, *American Photography: A Critical History 1945 to the Present* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1984): page spread samples.

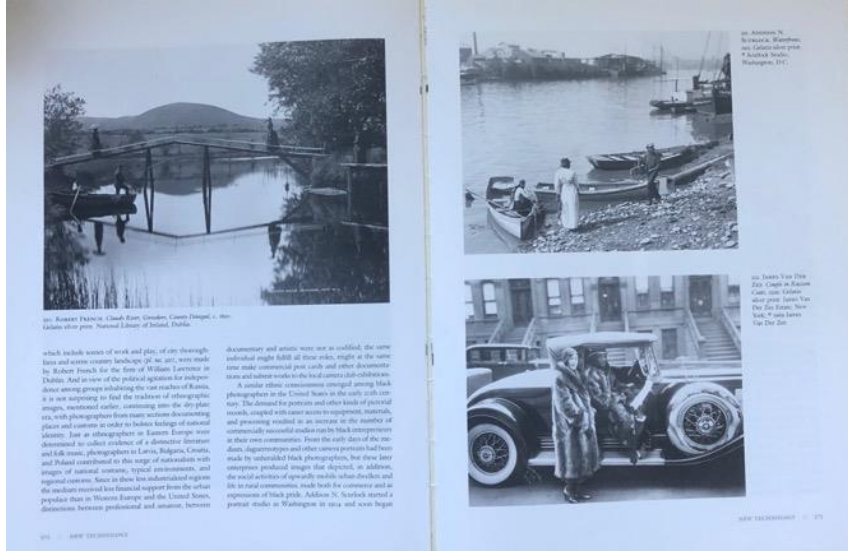
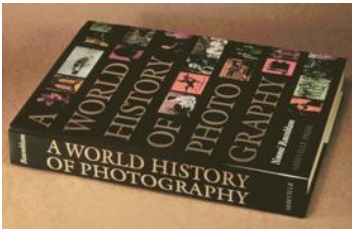


Fig. 6.10 Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984): first edition cover and page spread from 1989 college edition.

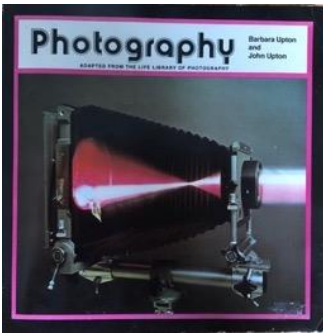


Fig. 6.11 Barbara Upton and John Upton, *Photography* (Boston: Educational Associates, Brown Company, 1976): cover and page spread.

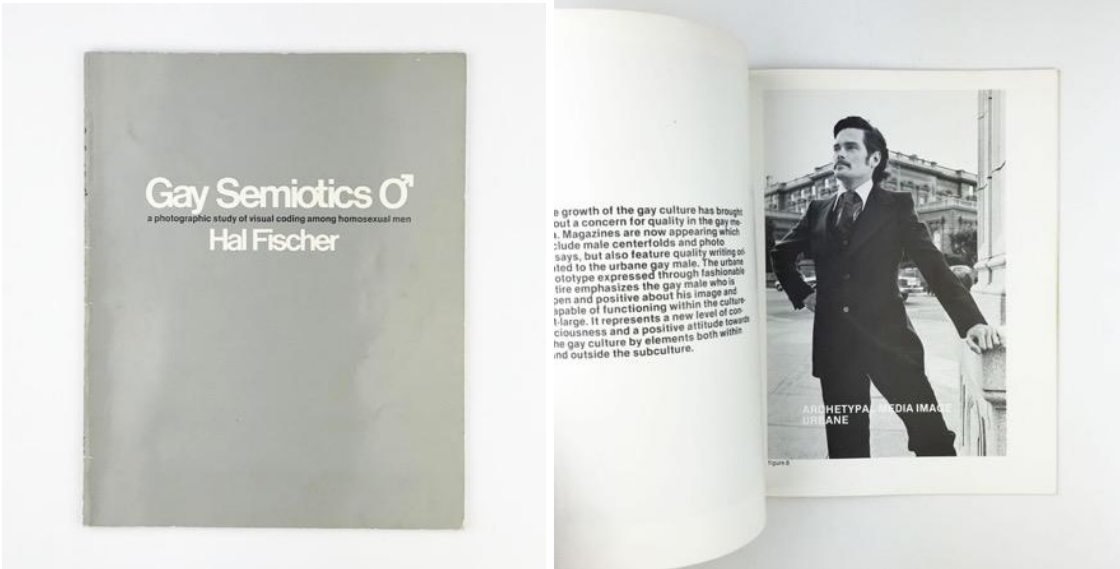


Fig. 6.12
Hal Fischer, *Gay Semiotics: A Photographic Study of Visual Coding Among Homosexual Men* (San Francisco: NFS Press, 1977).

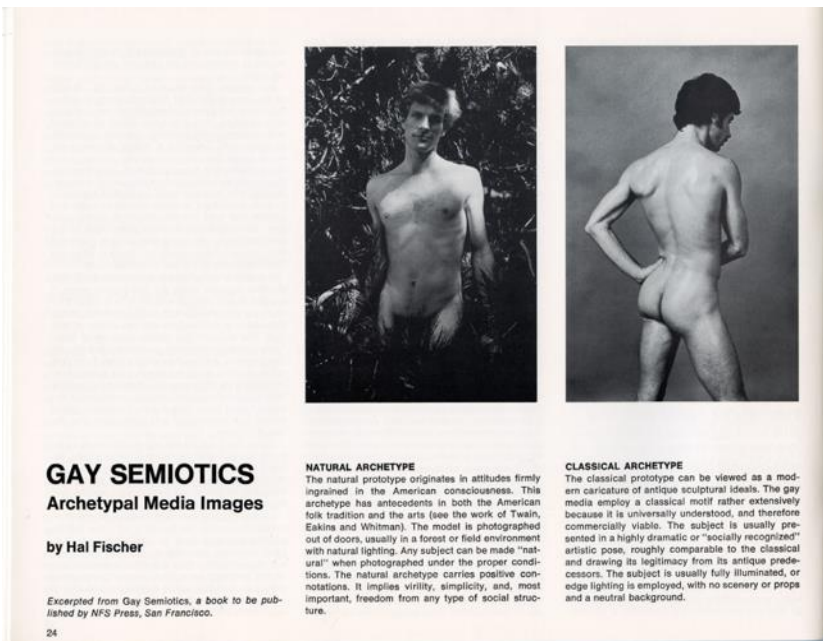


Fig. 6.13
Hal Fischer, "Gay Semiotics Archetypal Media Images," *Exposure* 16.2 (Summer 1978): 24.

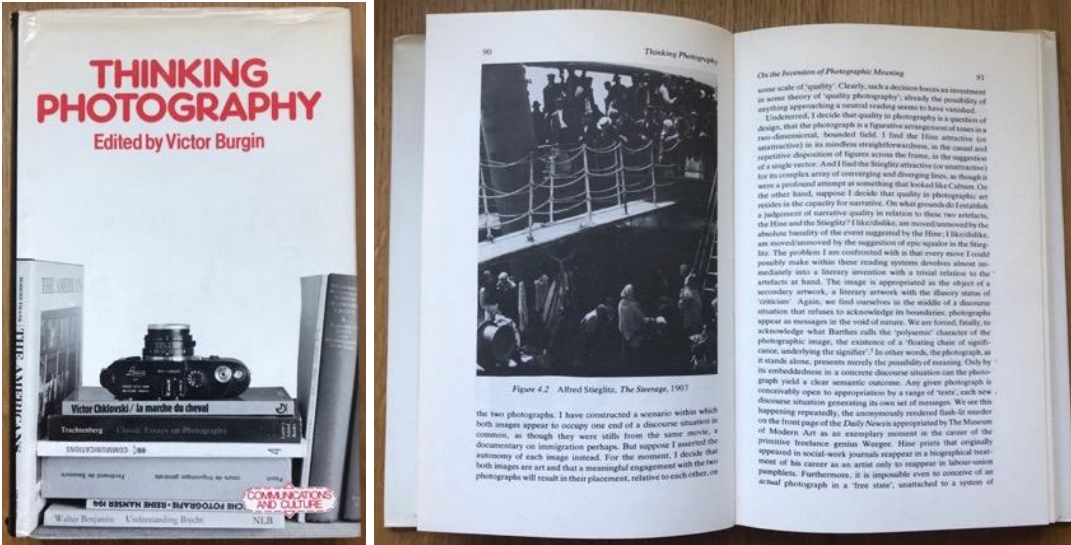


Fig. 6.14
 Victor Burgin, *Thinking Photography* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1982): cover and sample page spread.

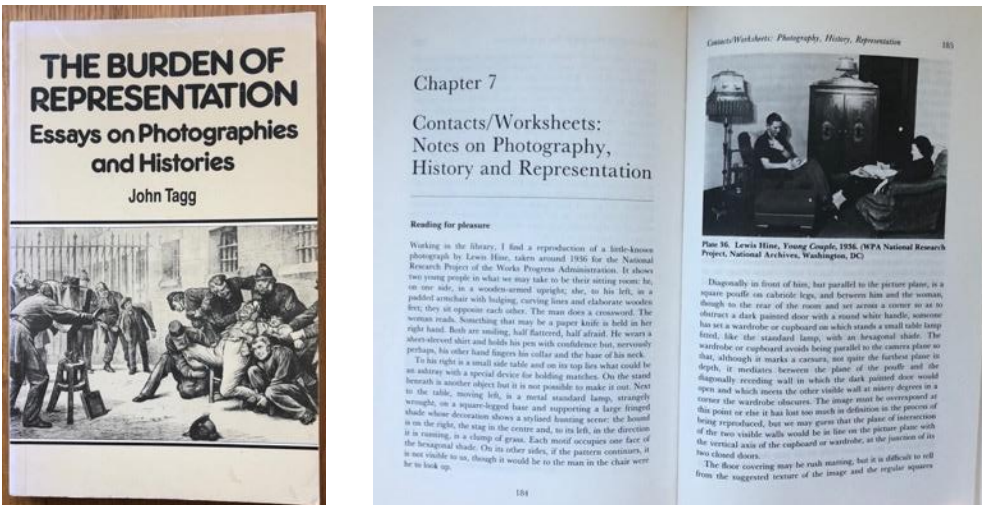


Fig. 6.15
 John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988): cover and sample page spread.

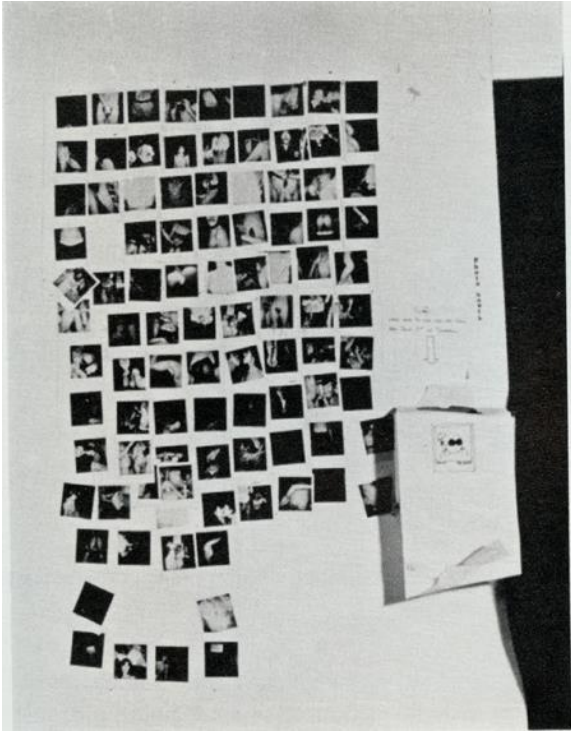


Fig. 6.18
Detail of Polaroid photo collage from *Private Parts*. Baruch D. Kirschenbau, "Private Parts and Public Considerations," *Exposure* 22.3 (1984): 7.

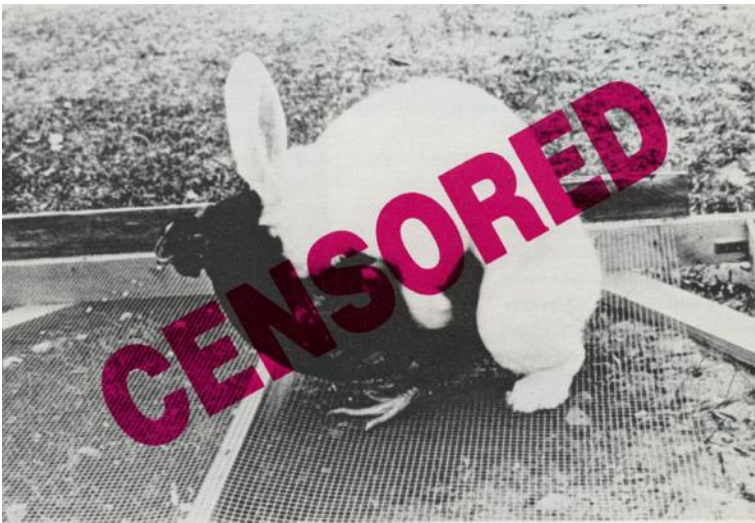


Fig. 6.19
Example of work seized by police from the exhibition. Richard Liebowitz, "Rabbit and Chicken." Baruch D. Kirschenbau, "Private Parts and Public Considerations," *Exposure* 22.3 (1984): 5.

**Position Available
for an Institution**



Jacqueline Livingston
"John, My Father-in-law"

OFFER MADE BY A PRIVATE PARTY:
JACQUELINE LIVINGSTON — Must financially maintain and enthusiastically support photography as an important means of personal expression. Offer degree program in Art or Photography Department. Experience in hiring women required. Consider women seriously for tenure (must be able to demonstrate this by previous example). But having no system of tenure at all is more desirable. National reputation for encouraging artist-faculty who are concerned with fully expressing their reality even if it involves controversial images and ideas. Strong record of sustaining a student-oriented educational institution. Capable of offering 3 year contract with possibility of renewal and negotiable salary. Send letter verifying qualifications to: Jacqueline Livingston, Assistant Professor of Art, Cornell University, Sibley Hall, Ithaca, New York 14853 or call (607) 273-0472.

Those who qualify should make haste to contact Jacqueline Livingston at their earliest opportunity lest the chance pass them by. An association with Ms. Livingston is an inspiration and a challenge. Hers' is a Twentieth Century mind.

Written and paid for by The Committee of Cornell University Students to
Get Jacqueline Livingston a Job Next Year.

Paid Advertisement



Jacqueline Livingston © 1979
"John Dennis and His Son, Richard"

Dear Reader:

I was doing well in San Francisco investing in real estate and starting a construction company. In my three years there, I was getting rich.

Then Jackie's teaching took her to Cornell!!!!

Ithaca real estate is slow. But even here I have done well.

Then Cornell fired her!!

Who will hire her next and where will we go?

Being English, I prefer warmth and sunny winters.

Hawaii is the impossible dream.

L.A. is smoggy but the real estate is good.

San Diego has beautiful beaches.

Tucson seems fine, if we can avoid the summer heat.

New Mexico might be nice. Georgia O'Keefe can't be too far wrong.

Colorado is up and coming. Beautiful too.

Texas sounds rich and I've heard real estate is booming.

The Old South is starting to happen, but would they really take to my kind of being.

Florida would warm my English heart.

Intellectual New England (I'm a poet too) turns me on, especially that "old" money.

Alaska, wow! What a thought.

My apologies to the places unmentioned. I'm really just a newcomer to America, maybe, I've missed the best.

By the way, I will need investment capital for my ventures in whatever village, town or city we arrive at.

My track record is good, my financial statement sound. If you are interested in a secure return on your money at a far higher rate than your bank can give, call or write to Richard Dennis Enterprises, 717 North Cayuga Street, Ithaca, New York 14850, (607) 273-0472. All loans will be secured by well located, well managed real estate.

Sincerely,

Richard A. Dennis

Richard A. Dennis

Paid Advertisement

Fig. 6.20
Sample of advertisements for Jacqueline Livingston published in *Exposure*.

Chapter 7

WOMEN'S CAUCUS NEWSLETTER #1, April/May 1980

Hello,

As you will see from the compilation of various lists, seventy-five women attended one or more meetings of the newly formed Women's Caucus at the National S.P.E. meeting. It is not clear whether all of the people listed wish to continue active participation in the Women's Caucus, however, these lists will comprise our tentative membership initially, if you know of anyone who would like to receive NEWSLETTERS and have their name added to the membership/mailling list, please send their name and address to me (Barbara Jo Revelle) or to Jerry Zbiral.

During the several meetings many issues and goals were discussed and some quite specific things were accomplished. What follows is a synthesis of various minutes and notes, with a few updates.

It was decided that the general purpose of the Women's Caucus would be to further the interests and concerns of women in S.P.E. - to form a network of mutual support. Issues touched on included our concerns as women photographers, teachers and members of S.P.E. We discussed how our caucus might be established as a functioning body within the larger organization and a temporary liaison to the S.P.E. Board, Martha Madigan, was selected. Martha attended the Board's business meeting and read a statement briefly detailing our initial goals and proposals. This statement was reprinted in the S.P.E. Newsletter which came out shortly after the national meeting. The Board was also presented with a petition, circulated by members of the Women's Caucus, affirming the decision of two years ago not to hold S.P.E. meetings in unrated states.

It was decided to work for a Women's Track for next year's national S.P.E. meeting. The liaisons who are working with Greg Macgregor are: Barbara Sonneborn, Marsha Bailey and Rita Ilbert. These people should be contacted directly if you have specific ideas about presentations you would like to see or give. Barbara Jeffrey, while reluctant to take on the formal position of a track co-ordinator, offered to work on the program with a group of women from N.C. Topics which might be appropriate were listed as (1.) Mixing motherhood and a photographic career; (2.) Female symbolism/imagery; (3.) History of women in Photography; (4.) Class issues; (5.) Humanitarian issues (6.) Panel or workshop on networking.

This was not intended to be a definitive list.

Additionally, it was suggested that we push for a key-note speaker who might be sensitive to women's issues. Lucy Lippard, Linda Bronckowicz, Susan Sontag were suggested and if you have input on this issue contact Greg Macgregor directly (415-533-0203) as his decision may be imminent.

While it was decided that a Board of Directors or Steering Committee should be elected, no action was taken. Martha Rosler acted as Chairperson for the initial meetings. Neither was a permanent Woman's Caucus Representative to the S.P.E. Board elected though it was agreed that this would be desirable. We might nominate candidates from among our constituency for next years elections, or we might convince someone already on the board to join the Women's Caucus and represent us.

In order to facilitate ongoing communications it was decided to have a mailing list, Newsletter (and/or column in Exposure's Newsletter), and to try to guest edit an issue of EXPOSURE. Barbara Jo Revelle is the Newsletter Co-ordinator and liaison person with Charles Desmarais. Jerry Zbiral offered to help in this effort. Any information you would like to have in the next Exposure Newsletter should be sent to either Barbara or Jerry by June 10th. The next Exposure Newsletter will come out in the middle of July and anything that Charles doesn't print will be sent out in our own expanded version.

It was decided that the liaisons for the EXPOSURE edition would be Sally Stein, Martha Rosler, Martha Madigan and Judith Krolley. Sally Stein met with Charles Desmarais during her recent visit in Chicago and they discussed various ideas and possible sources of funding. At present the Publications Committee has made no decision but the idea of the four named people from the Women's Caucus editing an issue was looked on "favorably".

People who will be bringing infants or young children to next years National S.P.E. Conference are asked to contact Greg Macgregor directly to arrange childcare.

Finally, it was decided after considerable debate that men (of good will) would be allowed to attend Women's Caucus meetings as non-voting observers.

Well, I think that's about it. Again, if you have information about a job, event, workshop, an update or an opinion you want to share, please contact Jerry Zbiral or me.

Be well,
Barbara Jo Revelle
Barbara Jo Revelle

Reproduced in the Center for Creative Photography

Fig. 7.1
Women's Caucus Newsletter 1 (April/May 1980). Box 6 "Chairperson Files: William E. Parker papers, 1977-1985," Folder 15 "Women's Caucus," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

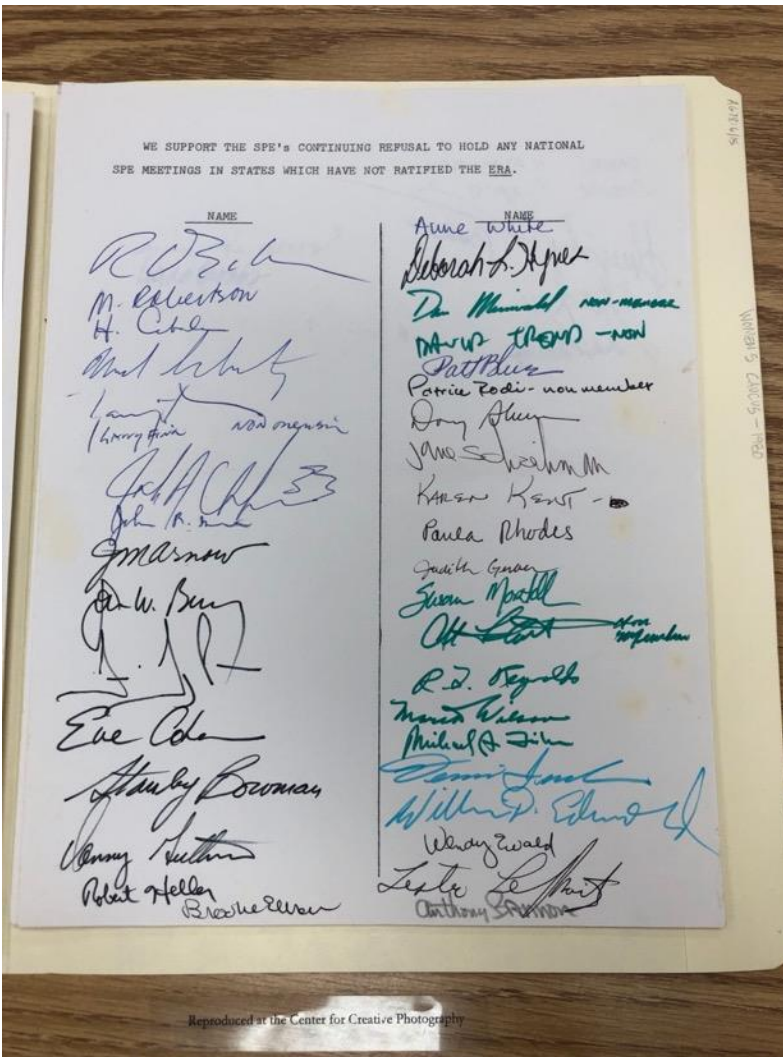


Fig. 7.2
 [Sample of signatures gathered in support of SPE's refusal to hold any National meetings in none ratified States]. 1980. Box 6 "Chairperson Files: William E. Parker papers, 1977-1985," Folder 15 "Women's Caucus," AG 78 Society for Photographic Education, Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

exposure 19:3



Fig. 7.3
Exposure [Women in Photography] 19.3 (1981).

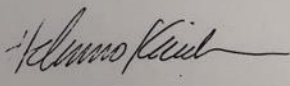
1983 NATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT

For: Chairperson Martha Strawn
 The following is a report on the speakers and topics covered by the 1983 National Conference in Philadelphia. Special attention was paid to "Women's Issues" as they relate to questions raised in a report sent to Chairperson Strawn by a group of women members.

I. CONFERENCE COMMITTEE:	1 Woman	3 Men	- 75% Men	
	25%			
II. CONFERENCE STAFF:	8 Women	6 Men	- 54% Men	
	(46%)			
III. PROGRAM SPEAKERS:				
FEATURED SPEAKERS	1 Woman	3 Men	- 75% Men	25% women
	25%			
THEME TRACK				
Individual Speakers:	31% 4 Women	9 Men	- 69% Men	
Panel Chairs:	25% 1 Woman	3 Men	- 75% Men	
Panel Speakers:	61 8 Women	5 Men	- 61% Men - Women	
Workshops:	0 Women	4 Men	- 100% Men	
TOTALS =	13 Women	21 Men	- 61% Men	
EDUCATION TRACK				
Individual Speakers:	4 Women	10 Men	- 71% Men	
Panel Chairs:	4 Women	2 Men	- 66% Women	
Panel Speakers:	12 Women	24 Men	- 66% Men	
Workshops:	2 Women	1 Man	- 66% Women	
TOTALS =	22 Women	37 Men	- 62% Men	
IMAGE MAKERS TRACK				
Individual Speakers:	9 Women	9 Men	- 50%	
Panel Chairs:	0 Woman	1 Man	- 100% Men	
Panel Speakers:	3 Women	5 Men	- 62% Men	
Workshops:	2 Women	3 Man	- 60% Women	
TOTALS =	14 Women	18 Men	- 56% Men	
OPEN TRACK				
Individual Speakers:	8 Women	12 Men	- 60% Men	
Panel Chairs:	1 Woman	5 Men	- 83% Men	
Panel Speakers:	7 Women	18 Men	- 72% Men	
TOTALS =	16 Women	35 Men	- 68% Men	
TOTALS FOR ALL PROGRAM SPEAKERS=	66 Women	114 Men	- 63% Men	
	39%			

- IV. SPECIFIC PROGRAMS RELATED TO WOMEN'S ISSUES:
1. "Reading Photographs (ads) in the Classroom"
 2. "Teaching Women: Toward a Non-Sexist Photo Education"
 3. "The Creative Balancing of the Personal, Professional and Social Goals of the Photographic Educator"
 4. "High Heels and Ground Glass"
 5. "Out of Sight, Out of Mind"
 6. "Escape Attempts: Activist Networking, Organization and Outreach"
 7. "Photographic Subjects: Sexuality and Human Interaction"

- V. SPECIFIC PROGRAMS RELATED TO MENS ISSUES:
 None



Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

Fig. 7.4
 "1983 National Conference Report," 1983, Box 21, Folder 12, AG78 Society for Photographic Education, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

exposure



What you staring at?

Summer 1984

22.2

Fig. 7.5
Exposure 22.2 (Summer 1984).

bill jay

FASCISM OF

THE LEFT

There is a nasty little place on the face of photographic education. No one seems willing to acknowledge its presence, at least publicly. However, it is a common topic of conversation and concern around the field although it is an issue which seems so sensitive that it can only be discussed in lowered voices and after furtive glances as if it were a shameful and dirty secret and its mere mention a cause for recrimination and reprisals. It is about time that the blemish was exposed in order that it can be treated in the healthy air of public debate.

The issue is this: a minority group of radical feminists / pseudo-Marxists has, through a process of intimidation, gained a position of power in the medium which has distorted and subverted topics of critical and historical importance in the medium. Its power-base is the Women's Caucus of the Society for Photographic Education (and its organ, Exposure). No one who has attended a conference of the Society in recent years can doubt the extraordinary dominance of this group. It has reached a point that there is little left on the program to interest intelligent, concerned artists and scholars of either sex. Only frothing-at-the-mouth feminist leftists (of either sex) need apply or attend.

At the time of writing (January 1989) it is obviously impossible to prophesy what will happen at this year's National Conference but the just received conference schedule indicates yet more of the same. On one page the Women's Caucus is cited seven times and is credited with the organization/initiation of one featured speaker (out of two) and four panel discussions, including "Sexual Representation and Feminist Transgression..." and "Through the Looking Glass: Unconscious Desire and the Representation of Women." Even when the Women's Caucus is not credited, the remainder of the program is disproportionately Sexual/Political, including "Lover's Menace: Imagining/Imagined Lesbian Sexualities," "Contaminated or Consumed: Perilous Sexuality in the 1980s," "Constructing the Wild Woman: National Geographic Photography and the 'Fragile' Female Body," and so on.

From a total of 22 sessions, presentations and panels on the conference schedule, 16 sessions are actually termed "Feminist/Political." It is worth noting that although it is possible and only a few as though they have no "radical" interest, although a greater title is often assumed to mean or only occur once the audience is seated.

At the recent SPC conference I was particularly interested in a presentation on the "Feminist/Political" by the title of "A History of Historical Post as a Feminist/Political." The speaker, Susan Sontag, was a member of the Women's Caucus. Her presentation was a history of the Women's Caucus and its role in the development of the field. She argued that the Women's Caucus was a "radical" feminist organization that was created in order to challenge the male-dominated field of photography. She argued that the Women's Caucus was a "radical" feminist organization that was created in order to challenge the male-dominated field of photography. She argued that the Women's Caucus was a "radical" feminist organization that was created in order to challenge the male-dominated field of photography.

The views expressed here are not necessarily those of SHOTS magazine. Go get 'em Bill!

Fig. 7.6
Bill Jay, "Fascism of the Left," Shots 13 (January / February 1989), 22.

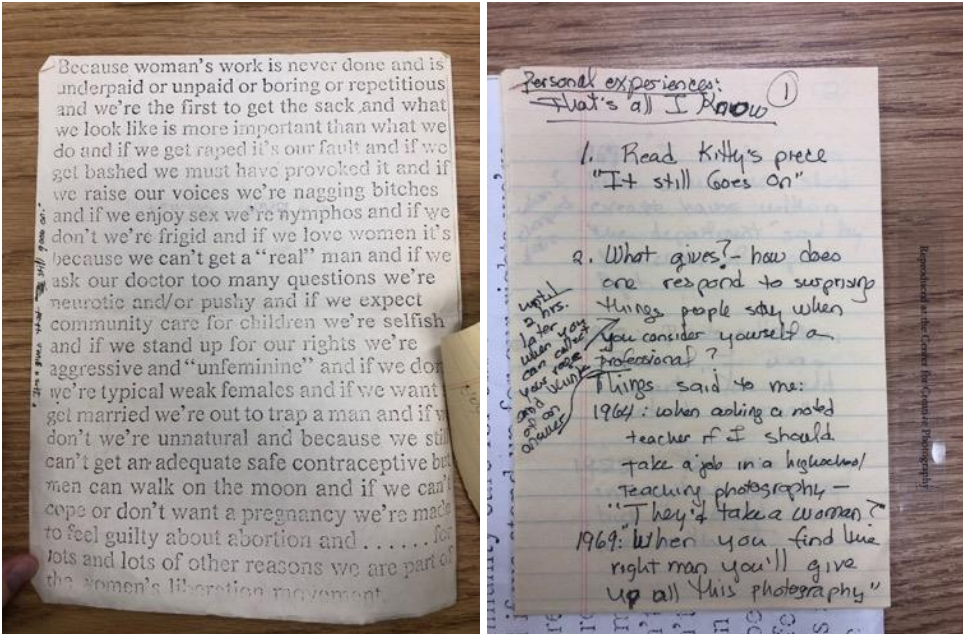


Fig. 7.7
Barbara Crane, "Feminist Panel," [n.d.], Box 16, Folder "Lecture Research File," AG176
Barbara Crane Archive, The Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

Bibliography

“Bibliographies are like friendships – their breadth, limitations, detail and completeness depend on the needs of the partners to them.”¹²⁸⁴

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Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Edward P. Taylor Library & Archives

“Visual Transformations” File

National Gallery of Canada

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

“Between Friends” Exhibition File

Ryerson University

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Ryerson Library and Archives: Special Collections

RG 55 School of Image Arts Fonds

Donald Gillies Fonds

Miscellaneous Archival Materials Fonds

Archives Newspaper Clipping Files Fond

Ryerson Image Centre

Ryerson Film & Photography Department

University of Arizona

Tucson, Arizona, United States of America

Center for Creative Photography

AG10 Wynn Bullock Archive

AG 12 Clatworthy Colorvues Collection

AG 28 Frederick Sommer Archive

AG 32 Henry Holmes Smith Archive

AG 45 Robert Heinecken Archive

AG 56 Sidney Grossman Archive

AG 62 The Witkin Gallery Collection

AG 78 Society for Photographic Education

AG 87 Carl Chiarenza Collection

AG 90 Josef Breitenbach Archive

AG 110 Oracle Conference Collection

AG 176 Barbara Crane Archive

AG202 Thomas Barrow Archive

¹²⁸⁴ Jan Zita Grover, “Books and Audio/Visual Sources by and about Women Photographers: A Bibliography,” *Exposure [Women’s Issue]* 19.3 (1981): 45.

Visual Studies Workshop

Rochester, New York, United States of America

Nathan Lyons Research Center

Information Files

Student Files Archive

Traveling Exhibitions Files

Faculty Files

Visual Studies Workshop

Official Student Files

Visual Studies Audio Collection

Web Based Archives**Brown University Library**

Oral Histories - Underground Rhode Island

The Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art

Artist Files

Duke University***John Hope Franklin Humanities Institute***

Picturing Us: The Work of Deborah Willis

La foundation Daniel Langlois pour l'art, la science et la technologie

Sonia Sheridan Fonds

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MIT Course Catalogues

The Museum of Modern Art

Digitized collection of the institution's press releases, *The Bulletin of the Museum*, chronology, and exhibition listings.

University of New Mexico

UNM Digital Repository – University Archives & Historical Records

Periodicals¹²⁸⁵***Aperture***

1.1 (1952); 2.1 [5] (1953); 4.3 (1956); 4.4 (1956); 5.1 (1957); [*Special Supplement in Honor of the Teaching Conference Sponsored by George Eastman House of Photography 1962*] Vol. II

¹²⁸⁵ This list of periodicals includes special and heavily cited issues.

(1963); [*Light*] 14.1 (1968); [*Octave of Prayer*] 17.1 (1972); [*The New Vision: Forty Years of Photography at the Institute of Design*] 87 (April 1982).

Blackflash

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