

PICTURE POST AND THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY: ÉMIGRÉ
PHOTOGRAPHERS AND VISUAL NARRATIVES, 1938-1945

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Art History, Curating and Visual Studies

School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music

The University of Birmingham

January 2017

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the pioneering British weekly magazine *Picture Post* (1938-1957) which introduced a mass audience to the innovative style of European photojournalism characterised by the format of the photographic essay. Founded by the Hungarian émigré, Stefan Lorant (1901-1997) and led by Sir Tom Hopkinson (1905-1990) from 1940 until 1950, *Picture Post* has not yet been the focus of a single academic publication. This thesis explores the concept of visual narration through a selection of photographic essays published in the magazine between 1938 and 1945, and utilises the unpublished corresponding contact sheets to expose the manipulation of photographs.

The present work has utilised archival material of the *Picture Post* archive, which forms part of the Hulton Archive at Getty Images, London, to inform a discussion surrounding the topics of manipulation, migration and memory in relation to photography, in order to identify the specific approach of *Picture Post* to photographic narration.

The subject of migration and visual narrative is of great importance to this study, and so this thesis will promote the significance of the presence of émigré photographers in Britain during the Second World War, in order to redefine the analytical framework for looking at the photographic essay.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Sarah McDonald, Curator of Hulton Archive, for her expertise and knowledge of the *Picture Post* archive and also the Sir Tom Hopkinson Archive housed at Cardiff University. I give my utmost thanks to Amanda Hopkinson, daughter of former *Picture Post* editor, Sir Tom Hopkinson and photographer Gerti Deutsch, for her kindness, generosity and support of this work. Thank you to my supervisor, DDr Jutta Vinzent, for her continuing advice and guidance. Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Nicola and Calvin, and my partner, Phil, for their love and support throughout this doctorate, and always.

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INTRODUCTION

My thesis, entitled *Picture Post and the Photographic Essay: Émigré Photographers and Visual Narratives in Britain, 1938-1945*, focuses on *Picture Post*, one of the most influential picture-led British magazines. Founded by the Hungarian émigré Stefan Lorant (1901-1997) in 1938, it was in circulation from 1 October 1938 until June 1957. As a popular weekly magazine *Picture Post* delivered frivolity juxtaposed with hard-hitting news stories. Like *Life* magazine in America and *Vu* in France, *Picture Post* addressed the current concerns of the day, presenting the news to its readers in a wholly new and innovative way. It was the first British magazine to introduce a mass audience to the candid style of photography used in Europe, which arose from advances in camera technology with the introduction of small-format cameras such as the Ermanox and Leica.¹ Lorant had mastered a new style in the arrangement of photographs in a publication which, as a format, has become known as the photo essay.² His ‘ability to use photography as the core narrative of the magazine’ meant that the photographs were no longer a mere addition to the text, but a feature in their own right.³

¹ Sarah MacDonald, ‘Picture Post’ in Lynne Warren, ed., *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Photography* (London-Routledge, 2005), 1266

² ‘Format’ is the term used to describe the way in which the photographs are arranged or set out for a photographic essay. In previous scholarship on the subject of photojournalism, this form of photography is most commonly known as the ‘photo essay’; however, in order to position this form of photography within an art historical framework which seeks to establish a concept of photographic narration, this format will be referred to here-on-out as the ‘photographic essay’

³ ‘50th Anniversary of Picture Post’, <www.gettyimagesgallery.com> [accessed February 2010]

When Lorant founded *Picture Post* in 1938, he had already achieved recognition as an esteemed editor both in Britain and abroad in Europe. He emigrated to London in 1934 after having been imprisoned for six months by the Nazis in Munich. Working for the eminent German publication, *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, Lorant found himself a target for persecution by the Nazis, and his experience as a ‘political prisoner’ has been recorded in his autobiography *I Was Hitler’s Prisoner*, first published in 1935. Arriving in Britain with substantial editorial experience, Lorant quickly found work with *Weekly Illustrated*, and in 1937 he launched *Lilliput* with Alison Blair, innovative as a pocket journal. *Lilliput* was one of the first magazines to include warnings concerning the immediate threat of war combining serious articles on war and lively stories and cartoons, most notably the photographic jokes, known as juxtapositions or doubles.⁴ Edward Hulton, the barrister-cum-publisher, bought the pocket journal and, aware of Lorant’s earlier ground breaking work at *Weekly Illustrated*, employed the émigré to produce a new picture-led publication for Hulton Press. The first issue of *Picture Post* was published on 1 October 1938, and found immediate success. Within two years, Lorant had brought its circulation up to 1.7 million through his innovative editorial skills and ground breaking photographic essay format.⁵ The magazine’s ability to highlight current events through the ‘new’ photojournalism – the photographic essay – serves as a poignant reminder of the socio-political climate of the times. As Michael Hallett has remarked, ‘*Picture Post* arrived in critical times. [... It] responded to the upheaval in Europe,

⁴ Kaye Webb, ed., *Lilliput Goes to War* (London: Hutchinson, 1986), 3

⁵ Michael Hallett, *The Real Story of Picture Post* (Birmingham: ARTicle Press, 1994). See also Appendix 1, which shows the circulation figures of *Picture Post* between 1938 and 1952.

by explaining the important issues and voicing strong criticism of Chamberlain's policies [...].'⁶

Picture Post has received some scholarly attention in the past, but this study aims to be the first significant work dedicated solely to this magazine. It will explore the concept and construction of the photographic essay in specific relation to *Picture Post*, focusing on the years 1938 to 1945. The thesis will consider the influence of European photojournalism on the publication, situating it within the wider context of British photojournalistic history. It will examine the significance of photographic narration, with specific reference to the first photographers of the magazine, who, like Lorant, were émigrés. It lends itself to an increasing interest in visual culture in Exile Studies, as well as attempting to consolidate the boundaries between the history of art and photography in Britain.

The publication itself has been the subject of a series of short books by various authors, consisting mainly of a selection of photographs dedicated to a particular subject area; these include women and idols.⁷ These provide an accessible insight into the photographs published in the magazine, although with little theoretical discourse. Similarly, Gavin Weightman has published *Picture Post Britain* in 1991, and a 50th anniversary celebration was marked by *The Picture Post Album* by Robert Kee, with a foreword by Sir Tom Hopkinson.⁸ Sir Tom Hopkinson, editor of *Picture Post* from 1940 until 1950, has also published one such text. Hopkinson provides an historical overview of the magazine, giving

⁶ Hallett, *The Real Story*, 2

⁷ See John Savage, *Picture Post Idols* (London: Tiger Books, 1994) and Juliet Gardiner, *Picture Post Women* (London: Collins & Brown, 1993)

⁸ Robert Kee, *The Picture Post Album. A 50th Anniversary Collection* (London: Barrie & Jenkins), 1989

a ‘behind-the-scenes’ insight into the workings of the publication. This text provides succinct secondary material on the magazine, serving as a starting point for further investigation into the magazine.

There are, however, a number of articles which explore the work of photographers who worked for *Picture Post* and some which also focus on the magazine itself. In particular, Michael Hallett has published extensively on Lorant and around the subject of photojournalism, including articles for scholarly photographic journals.⁹ These have gone some way to position *Picture Post* within a wider photographic context but have not established the magazine within a broader theoretical art-historical framework. However, Hallett’s publications, culminating in the biography, *Stefan Lorant: Godfather of Photojournalism*, published posthumously in 2006, provide valuable biographical insights into the life of Stefan Lorant himself with whom Hallett was working closely over seven years. Another area of secondary literature is the publications by those photographers who worked for *Picture Post* magazine. These provide an understanding of how these photographers viewed their own work and go some way to offer their opinions on the medium of photography. Most notably are the works of Felix H Man (Hans Baumann, 1893-1985), Kurt Hutton (Kurt Hübschmann, 1893-1960), Gerti Deutsch (1908-1979) and Tim Gidal (Nachum Gidalewitsch, 1909-1996).

Such works provide a first-hand account of photojournalism during the 1930s and 1940s.

Nachum Tim Gidal was born Ignaz Nachum Gidalewitsch on 18 May 1909 in Munich,

⁹ See for example, Michael Hallett, ‘Kurt Hutton’, *British Journal of Photography* (1998); and Michael Hallett, ‘20th Century Man. Stefan Lorant’, *Royal Photographic Society Journal*, 146(4) (2006)

Germany, to Russian-Jewish parents. Gidal attended the universities of Munich and Berlin, and continued his studies in Basel, receiving his PhD, *Bildberichterstattung und Presse* (Picture Reporting and the Press), in 1935.¹⁰ Gidal's photographs were published in the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* in 1929, and ten years later, Gidal migrated to Britain where he worked for *Picture Post* with Lorant, until 1940, when he returned to Israel. During the war years, between 1942 and 1945, Gidal was the chief photo-reporter for *Parade*, the British Eighth Army's illustrated magazine.¹¹ Gidal published widely on the topic of photojournalism, and in his essay, 'Jews in Photography' (1987), he articulated a core principle of photojournalism, as he understood it, by explaining that it 'became a medium of human communication directed primarily, in its essential examples, towards the individual in the mass rather than the mass instinct in the individual. Sensationalism and indiscretion has no place in true photojournalism.'¹² It is from this positioning of the photographic essay as a 'medium of human communication', that the specific approach of *Picture Post* to the construction of photographic narratives will be explored.

Felix H. Man was born in Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany on 30 November 1893. Man studied painting in Munich and Berlin, interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1914, when he joined the Army.¹³ Whilst serving in the Army, Man photographed the trenches; after the war, he became a regular contributor as an illustrator to a Berlin daily newspaper, but

¹⁰ Michael Hallett, 'Nachum Tim Gidal (1909-1996)', *The British Journal of Photography*, 143(7103) (20 November 1996), 11

¹¹ Hallett, 'Nachum Tim Gidal', 11

¹² Nachum T. Gidal, 'Jews in Photography', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 32 (1987), 447

¹³ Felix H. Man, *Man with Camera. Photographs from Seven Decades* (London: Schocken Books, 1983), no page number

gradually started to submit photographs to be published instead.¹⁴ Man subsequently met Lorant, who published his work in the *Illustrierte* until May 1934, when Man emigrated to Britain. Man was granted a three month permit to stay in Britain; his passport was stamped with the following: ‘Leave to land at Dover this day, 31 May 1934, on condition that the holder does not enter any employment paid or unpaid while in the United Kingdom.’¹⁵

Commenting on the development of the photographic essay, Man states,

The pioneers of what came to be known as photojournalism developed a new way of seeing photography. This [...] resulted in the essay, using a camera instead of a pen to describe a situation [...] these photographers used methods that were entirely new [...]. They became the initiators of a new way of seeing, by creating a form of photography which has lasted to the present day [...].¹⁶

Such sources provide an invaluable foundation for a discussion about how this form of photography – the photographic essay – functioned as a way to tell stories. However, it must be noted that autobiographical writing is subjective, and such personal accounts can be misrepresentative. This work also allows for an awareness of the relationship between the photographer and editor (many of the first *Picture Post* photographers had either worked with, or come into contact with, Lorant before their emigration to Britain). Man continues, ‘He [Lorant] at once asked me to photograph two essays for his magazine [*Münchner*

¹⁴ Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

¹⁵ Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

¹⁶ Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

Illustrierte Presse]. I [...] got a contract with his illustrated journal [...]. In the next three years I contributed nearly 250 pages as their principal photojournalist.’¹⁷

The present work makes use of such literature to inform a further discussion surrounding the technical and theoretical development of the photographic essay in photojournalism.

Similarly, the catalogues published for the retrospective exhibitions of the *Picture Post* photographer and wife of Sir Tom Hopkinson, Deutsch, illustrate the importance of these photographs to the development of visual culture in Europe and beyond.¹⁸ It has been widely acknowledged that the period between the wars witnessed a change in news photography.

Peter Twaites in his essay ‘Circles of Confusion and Sharp Vision: British News Photography, 1919-1939’ has noted that there were changes in the form and content of news photographs in the late 1920s and 1930s.¹⁹ Twaites claims that,

They were the techniques of photographers, pre-press decision makers, and the technology of photography. These combined to challenge the orthodoxy of news photography, and led to the emergence of “modern photojournalism”, in the mid to late-1920s, arising from a distinct change in practitioners’ attitudes to news photography.²⁰

¹⁷ Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

¹⁸ See Nicolette Roeske, Amanda Hopkinson and others, *Photographs by Gerti Deutsch 1908-1979* (London: Austrian Cultural Forum, 2010); Kurt Kaindl, ed., *Gerti Deutsch. Photographs 1935-1965* (Salzburg: Fotohof Gallery Salzburg, 2011)

¹⁹ Peter Twaites, ‘Circles of Confusion and Sharp Vision: British News Photography, 1919-1939’ in Peter Catterall, Colin Seymour-Ure and Adrian Smith, eds., *Northcliffe’s Legacy. Aspects of the British Popular Press 1896-1996* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 98

²⁰ Twaites, ‘Circles of Confusion’, 98

Colin Jacobson is able to relate this specifically to Lorant as editor: 'Lorant and his protégés had turned upside-down the notion that photography's role was merely to illustrate the text; they developed a style in which pictures themselves told stories, and the arrangement of image and text was crucial to the meaning of journalism.'²¹

These changes have been noted, too, in the scholarship of those writing in the technical and professional arena of photojournalism. Arthur Rothstein, for example, in his revised edition of *Photojournalism*, dedicates a section of the text to 'Photographic Narration'. He combines the history of the photographic essay with the technical processes of magazines, beginning with a description of the photographic essay as 'a planned and organized combination of news and feature photographs presenting in narrative form a complete and detailed account of an interesting and significant event, personality, or aspect of contemporary life.'²² He continues to say that the photographic essay 'represents the most complicated type of work done by the photojournalist, requiring the knowledge and use of the greatest variety of techniques, the ability to direct people and [...] the application of diplomacy, tact and persuasion [...]'.²³ Howard Chapnick, too, highlights the significance of the photographic essay in the history of photojournalism, with specific mention of Stefan Lorant. Chapnick emphasises the importance of the development of photojournalism from single pictures seen as isolated images, to juxtaposing two or more images to create a wholly new and innovative

²¹ Colin Jacobson, 'The Importance of Being There', *The Independent* (London), 14 November 1999

²² Arthur Rothstein, *Photojournalism*, 4th edn (Garden City, NY: Amphoto, 1979), 112

²³ Rothstein, *Photojournalism*, 112

statement.²⁴ He states that, ‘suddenly, when it came to pictures, one and one didn’t equal two, but to some incalculable number that gave new dimension and new meanings to simple juxtapositions.’²⁵ Such scholarship highlights the significance of the photographic essay in the development of photojournalism, placing it within an historical and technical framework, also seen in overviews of photography, such as Gilles Mora’s *PhotoSpeak. A Guide to the Ideas, Movements, and Techniques of Photography, 1839 to the Present* (1998). Most significantly, however, for the examination of the format of the photographic essay in *Picture Post* is the body of literature focused on the advancements of photographic technology and the new style of photography developing in Weimar Germany in the late 1920s. Daniel H. Magilow’s book on *The Photography of Crisis. The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (2012) explores the development of the form of the photographic essay in Weimar Germany during the 1920s, highlighting the innovative approach to news photography established by the illustrated weekly magazines in German cities such as Berlin. In addition, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (1994), edited by Anton Kaes, Martin Jay and Edward Dimendberg, provides invaluable source material relating to the visual culture of Weimar Germany. In particular, this sourcebook makes available key information concerning the expansion and development of the illustrated press in Germany during the 1920s. Magilow emphasises the significance of the development of the illustrated press in Germany at this time by proclaiming that it was ‘a dramatic juncture in German history [...] as Germany transitioned from an unstable democracy with fierce ideological divisions and a teeming culture into a

²⁴ Howard Chapnick, *Truth Needs No Ally. Inside Photojournalism* (Columbia, MO; London: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 29

²⁵ Chapnick, *Truth Needs No Ally*, 29

one-party society that embraced war and ultimately genocide.’²⁶ Gisèle Freund’s seminal text *Photography and Society* (1980) situates the ‘birth of photojournalism’ within the ‘liberal spirit’ of Weimar Germany, which emerged following a period of political and economic crisis.²⁷

This literature provides a basis for further critical investigation of the power of the photographic essay in a socio-political climate. While this thesis does not seek to explore the magazine specifically within a political discourse, it nonetheless provides an understanding of the progress of the photographic essay in specific relation to *Picture Post*, in order not only to contextualise the magazine in the wider development of photojournalism but to understand the politicised function of photography in the years of the Second World War. As Sarah McDonald has noted, the magazine exhibited clear political convictions. She continues that the inclusion of John Heartfield’s photomontage *The Happy Elephants*, in the third issue, was ‘a biting satirical comment on Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s pledge of “peace in our time”’. It was this strong use of imagery to put across complex social and political messages, coupled with Lorant’s remarkable gift for layout that set the tone.’²⁸ The ground-breaking use of photographs in magazines and the techniques employed by continental photojournalists have been widely discussed by historians. This thesis does not aim to merely relay this information; rather, it will acknowledge the undisputed influence of European photojournalism on American and British magazines, namely *Picture Post*, but will

²⁶ Daniel H. Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis. The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 2

²⁷ Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (London: Fraser, 1980), 115

²⁸ McDonald, ‘Picture Post’, 1266

focus on what this meant for the development of the photographic essay in British photojournalism and the specific characteristics of this British magazine. Lorant's pioneering format at both *Weekly Illustrated* and *Lilliput* has been recorded, but it is his work at *Picture Post* which will be the focus of this study. Lorant and his photographers, between 1938 and 1940, established *Picture Post* as an influential purveyor of social, cultural, political and economic issues of the day, pairing tongue-in-cheek stories with hard-hitting news.

The power of visual images has been documented by scholars such as Robert L. Craig, who states in his essay 'Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising' that

Much of the [...] power of images comes from how they engage viewers' subjectivity and allow a certain degree of association in the process of interpretation. The fact that individuals bring their own biography, mood, feelings, and dispositions to the inferences they make leaves them with the ideological sensation of having understood images.²⁹

By placing *Picture Post* within a framework which explores the powerful appeal of photographic images, this work aims to address the significance of photography, specifically the photographic essay, as an effective and convincing vehicle for communication. In light of this, the photographic theories of Roland Barthes will be utilised to inform a discussion surrounding the specific approach to the genre of the photographic essay established in

²⁹ Robert L. Craig, 'Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising', in Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, eds., *Picturing the Past: Media, History and Photography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 37

Picture Post by Lorant, his editorial team and its first photographers. The arrangement of images in the so-called photographic essay meant that the photographs were no longer a mere addition to the written text, but became a feature in their own right. Barthes's approach to photographic theory in a series of essays explores the concept of the relationship between text and image, addressing the significant developments in photojournalism. As such, the construction of the photographic essay is addressed and further examined in relation to Barthes's theories on photography, providing a basis for the question of how, and to what extent, the personal concerns and experiences of the émigré photographers' influenced the ways in which these stories were told through photographs.

This thesis, too, serves as a means to develop a somewhat neglected link between visual culture and Exile Studies. As has been noted by Jutta Vinzent, Exile Studies has previously been concerned primarily with literature.³⁰ James McPherson Ritchie founded Britain's Centre for Exile Studies at the University of Aberdeen in 1988, which became the Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, based now at the Institute of German Studies, University of London, since 1995. Ritchie's work instigated the development of projects focused on the art and photography of German-Jewish émigrés. However, previous scholarship on the art of émigrés working in Britain has tended to focus on that of drawing, painting and sculpting – the work of émigré photographers working in Britain during the Second World War has been, to a certain extent, overlooked by scholars within the field of Exile Studies. Publications

³⁰ Jutta Vinzent, *Identity and Image: Refugee Artists from Nazi Germany 1933-1945* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2006), 9

centre around a few better-known photographers such as Bill Brandt and Felix H. Man, but there is little published in English which places the work of émigré photographers within a larger theoretical framework; specifically, in light of this study, there is little development in academic writing centred on the exploration of émigrés working within the field of photojournalism in Britain during the Second World War. Furthermore, there are even fewer resources which address the prevalence of émigrés – and more precisely, Jewish émigrés – working in the field of photojournalism. However, more recently, Michael Berkowitz has explored the specific role of Jews in photography, and has highlighted that as yet,

[...] writing on Jewish photojournalists, and Jewish photographers generally [...] tends to either concentrate on the Jews' representations of themselves or to embrace the "contributions" genre: basically a listing of those who happened to be of Jewish origin and a thumbnail sketch of their accomplishments.³¹

In light of this, Berkowitz's work on the relationship between Jews and the development of photography will be drawn upon in this study, in order to assert that the experience of migration was influential in the construction and development of the magazine, and, more specifically, how such an experience may have been revealed in the photographic essays that were published. The significance of narration in the development of the photographic essay will be acknowledged, having recognised the importance of previous scholarship rooted in Postcolonial theoretical discourse. Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* explores

³¹ Michael Berkowitz, 'Jews and Photojournalism: Between Contempt, Intimacy, and Celebrity', in Susanne Marten-Finnis and Michael Nagel, eds., *The PRESSA. International Press Exhibition Cologne 1928 and the Jewish Contribution to Modern Journalism*, 2 (Bremen: Lumiere, 2012), 629

notions of migration in the formation of cultural differences. He notes that ‘what is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences.’³² Bhabha describes these as the ‘in-between spaces’ that instigate new forms of identity, expressed as ‘cultural hybridities’ that ‘emerge in moments of historical transformation.’³³ Stuart Hall, too, examines cultural identity, putting forward two different ways of thinking about the formation of cultural identity. On the one hand, this type of identity is defined in terms of ‘one, shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’ in which our ‘cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as ‘one people’ with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning’.³⁴ On the other, though, Hall recognises that ‘there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute ‘what we really are’; or rather [...] ‘what we have become’.’ He continues that ‘we cannot speak for very long [...] about ‘one experience, one identity,’ without acknowledging its other side – the ruptures and discontinuities [...].’³⁵ Theoretical discourse which has explored notions of cultural identity and shifting frameworks provides a basis for an advanced exploration of ideas of migration and functions of narrative in the photographic essay. As Robin Cohen has explained, ‘a member’s adherence to a [...] community is

³² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1

³³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 2

³⁴ Stuart Hall, ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’, in Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed., *Diaspora and Visual Culture. Representing Africans and Jews* (London: Routledge, 2000), 22

³⁵ Hall, ‘Cultural Identity’, 23

demonstrated by an acceptance of an inescapable link with their past migration history.’³⁶ Berkowitz has acknowledged that, ‘discussions of photojournalism usually are confined by national boundaries. Only in rare cases has some kind of cultural migration, or the influence of one nation upon others, been contemplated.’³⁷ Furthermore, there has previously been ‘a tendency to downplay multiple, complex, and complementary influences on [photojournalism’s] evolution. This is especially evident in the writing about *Picture Post*.’³⁸ This assertion is of particular significance to this study and so, in order to address the concerns raised by Berkowitz and further explore the development of photojournalism in Britain, this thesis will acknowledge the importance of migration and its effect on the construction of narratives in *Picture Post*.

In his essay, ‘Photography: Hungary’s Greatest Export?’ Colin Ford explores the significant role photography played in the life of a number of Hungary’s émigrés. With specific mention of Robert Capa (Endre Ernő Friedmann, 1913-1954), André Kertész (Andor Kohn, 1894-1985), László Moholy-Nagy (László Weisz, 1895-1946), Brassai (Gyula Halász, 1899-1984) and Martin Munkácsi (Márton Mermelstein, 1896-1963), Ford asserts that ‘all came from Jewish families (although none seems to have been strongly religious) and all changed their birth names at some point in their lives.’³⁹ Their personal backgrounds meant that they ‘changed their names to disguise their origins and help them to find employment [...]’.⁴⁰

³⁶ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), ix

³⁷ Michael Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography in Britain* (Austin: University of Texas, 2015), 77

³⁸ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 79

³⁹ Péter Baki, Colin Ford and George Szirtes, eds., *Eyewitness. Hungarian Photography in the Twentieth Century* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2011), 10

⁴⁰ Baki, Ford and Szirtes, *Eyewitness*, 12

Picture Post used photographs by such photographers, and this was also the case for the first official photographers of the magazine: Man and Hutton. Cornell Capa (Kornél), Robert Capa's younger brother, described the photographer's aims in a photographic essay: 'isolated images are not the most representative of my work. What I do best are probably groups of interrelated pictures which tell a story. My pictures are the 'words', which make 'sentences', which in turn make up the story.'⁴¹

Robert Fulford addresses the importance of narrative in visual culture in *The Triumph of Narrative. Storytelling in the Age of Mass Culture* (1999). Fulford explores how storytelling forms the core of civilised life and examines the connections between stories and how we live and view reality. John Tomlinson asserts that the great cultural narratives of modernity are 'the collective stories we tell ourselves about our experience [...]. These cultural "imaginings" do not spring from "inner-dynamic" of human self-development; they are, rather, stories about development itself – attempts at social self-understanding valorised and preserved within the interpretive texts of a culture.'⁴² If, as Cornell Capa stated, interrelated pictures have the ability to form a photographic narrative, then the act of taking a photograph can arguably be considered an attempt at 'social self-understanding', preserved within the pages of *Picture Post* magazine. Michael Ashley, too, has explored the significance of storytelling in magazine culture in the early twentieth century. Ashley explores the influence of the popular fiction magazine, noting that 'in the peculiarly modern age of mass production and mass communications which began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, before

⁴¹ Cornell Capa and Richard Whelan, eds., *Cornell Capa: Photographs* (New York: Bulfinch, 1992)

⁴² John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism. A Critical Introduction* (London: Piner, 1991), 153

film, radio and television were established, the prime medium for popular storytelling was the printed word.⁴³ Although Ashley directs his argument towards the printed word, his work acknowledges a preoccupation with storytelling as a cultural predefinition. As Twaites acknowledged, there was a decisive shift between the wars in attitude towards photography, and the development of the photographic essay highlights the move towards visual imagery as the vehicle for communication and the potential for the construction of a photographic narrative.

This thesis will make use of theoretical approaches to the genre of the photographic essay, and more widely, discourse surrounding the development of photojournalism in Europe, and to a lesser extent, the USA. Such scholarly literature will inform further exploration of the relationship between migration, narratives and visual imagery; most notably the power of photography as a vehicle for communication and a site for the formation of memory. The thesis will discuss the influence of the experience of forced migration on the photographer and in turn, will seek to make a connection between migration and photographic narration, in light of discourse surrounding émigré communities and modes of narrative. This work has placed significance on the use of primary resources (as previously mentioned) as well as applying extensive critical investigation of secondary literature to inform the theoretical approach of the overall thesis.

Rather than attempt to examine individual published photographs as singular works in their own right, this study will emphasise the importance of developing an understanding of the

⁴³ Michael Ashley, *The Age of Storytellers: British Popular Fiction Magazines 1880-1950* (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006), 3

photographic essay as a whole. Osman has noted that, on occasion, the photographer Bill Brandt's pictures have been extracted to become famous single pictures, rather than be known as belonging to reportage stories.⁴⁴ It is through an examination of the arrangement of a series of photographs on the page, however, which provides a basis for further exploration of how stories are told through photographs in *Picture Post* magazine. Such a consideration of construction will be informed by theories of photography which explore the function of photographs as narrative, in specific relation to the written text. It will, in particular, explore the relationship between text and image, in order to contextualise the photographic essay as a form of visual storytelling. Thus, the power of visual imagery in the press should not be underestimated. As David D. Perlmutter has noted: 'Claims of the powerful effects of pictures in the press [...] are so persistent, and made by such influential and powerful voices in media and the political structure, that they cannot be dismissed merely as hyperbole.'⁴⁵ By addressing the power of the photograph in determining the overall effect of a magazine, this work attempts to position *Picture Post* at the forefront of pioneering British photojournalism, by arguing that 'the choice, layout, cropping, and captioning of photographs radically affected the messages conveyed.'⁴⁶

Having established the photographic essay as the construction of representations and narratives by means of photographic material, this study aims to acknowledge the ways in

⁴⁴ Colin Osman, *The British Worker. Photographs of Working Life 1839-1939* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981)

⁴⁵ David D. Perlmutter, *Photojournalism and Foreign Policy. Icons of Outrage in International Crises* (Westport, Conn.; London: Praeger, 1998), 1

⁴⁶ 'Photojournalism' in Robin Lenman, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 490

which photographs are manipulated as a result of the editorial processes involved in the construction of a photographic essay.⁴⁷ As such, the role of the émigré photographer – and their experiences of forced migration – will inform a discussion on the specific development of the photographic essay in the early years of *Picture Post*. It has been noted that ‘[...] the timing of migration and settlement, as well as changing demographic realities, were as important as political change and shifting religious currents in determining the conditions and identities of [émigré] communities.’⁴⁸ Such research, while benefiting from an awareness of postcolonial theoretical discourse surrounding the topic of migration, such as Homi K Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture* (1994), will utilise, instead, scholarly literature situated within the field of Exile Studies, particularly in relation to the experiences of migration and memory. Andrea Hammel has, for example, written extensively on narration and memory in relation to émigrés, most notably women and children who experienced forced migration as a result of the Nazi regime.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Bhabha’s examination of the hybrid state of the new society points to the construction of space as determined by migration; an approach which may inform a discussion surrounding the significance of understanding the role of photography as narrative, which can be further defined by the identity of the photographers taking the pictures.

⁴⁷ The manipulation of photographs refers to an inherent aspect of producing photographic essays (the selection, cropping and layout of a series of photographs) and is not a reference to intentional attempts at falsification.

⁴⁸ David Cesarani, Tony Kushner and Milton Shain, ‘Introduction’ in David Cesarani, Tony Kushner and Milton Shain, eds., *Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory. Zakor v'Makor* (London;Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), 4

⁴⁹ Andrea Hammel’s work will provide a significant basis for argumentation surrounding photographic narratives and migration in Chapter Two.

Such theoretical discourse has been informed by research material gathered from initial work undertaken at archives in London and Birmingham. Archival resources have been crucial for the development of this thesis and provided the basis for wider theoretical context. Rather than attempt to contextualise the entirety of an archive, this study focuses on a specific selection of photographic essays from *Picture Post* between the years 1938 and 1945. The British Library houses a complete collection of *Picture Post* magazines, which, at the time of use, were situated at the Colindale Newspaper Library, North London.⁵⁰ This archive consists of hard copies of the magazine as well as a complete collection on microfilm. Access to this material is crucial in gaining an insight into the materiality of the magazine which the digital version, accessible online through the University of Birmingham catalogue, cannot provide. The online database, created by GALE Cengage Learning, provides access to full-colour digitised copies of every published magazine.⁵¹ This is advantageous whilst studying visual imagery, as it is imperative to distinguish between black-and-white and colour photography (something which cannot be carried out using microfilm).

The Hulton Archive, part of Getty Images in West London, houses a complete catalogue of *Picture Post* magazines, along with catalogued contact sheets, marked-up copies of the magazine, glass plates and negatives of the photographs, as well as a full index of photographers and a separate index of the titles of stories which featured in the magazine (these have been numbered and cross-referenced with the photographer index). In 1945,

⁵⁰ The Colindale Newspaper Library, North London, housed the British Newspaper Archive at the start of this study in 2010. This site has since closed and such material can now be found at The Newsroom at St Pancras, London.

⁵¹ The Picture Post Historical Archive (Gale) <www.gale.cengage.co.uk/picturepost> [accessed January 2011]

Edward Hulton commissioned Charles Gibbs-Smith of the Victoria and Albert Museum, to produce the first indexing system for pictures. The Hulton Picture Collection was purchased by Getty Images in 1996 and merged with Archive Film and Photos, New York. A project to digitise these images was begun in 2000.⁵² The Hulton Archive has since become the most significant resource for primary research relating to *Picture Post*. The archive housed at Getty Images does not contain any personal correspondence belonging to the editors or photographers of *Picture Post*.

Therefore, in order to further contextualise *Picture Post* in relation to the socio-cultural, political and economic climate of the times, additional archival work was required. Lorant has been, and shall continue to be, recognised as one of the leading figures in photojournalism history. Michael Hallett has written extensively on Stefan Lorant, completing his biography after years of working closely with Lorant himself. The Birmingham Central Library houses the Michael Hallett/ Stefan Lorant Archive, purchased with grants awarded by the V&A Purchase Grant Fund and The Friends of the National Libraries in 2009. The material relates specifically to information collected by Michael Hallett on modern photojournalism between 1990 and 2007. It is the most significant collection of ephemera and publications relating to Stefan Lorant outside of the United States.⁵³ This archive provides a wealth of material on Stefan Lorant himself, including material relating to his personal and professional life. The second part of the archive consists of material relating to photojournalists active during Lorant's editorial career, and after.

⁵² Getty Images (no title) (n.d.) <www.gettyimagesgallery.com> [accessed October 2010]

⁵³ Birmingham City Library, 'Photojournalism/The Stefan Lorant Collection', The Michael Hallett Archive

Most valuable are the recorded interviews with photojournalists who are no longer alive (specifically, for example, material relating to Tim Gidal, an émigré photographer who worked for *Picture Post* magazine under Lorant). Material concerning the Lorant's role in the development of photojournalism has been consulted, as well as material relating to Lorant's personal awards and achievements, including honorary doctorates. There are some restrictions in accessing certain parts of this archive due to the nature of the material; nevertheless, the archive is rich in photographic documentation and is an invaluable resource to this study.

The archival material relating to Lorant is supplemented by 'The Life of Stefan Lorant' collection at the British Library, London. A collection of three scrapbooks of articles, books, reviews, films and awards have been arranged chronologically and provide significantly towards an understanding of the reception of *Picture Post* and Lorant, both in Britain and the USA. Furthermore, the Sound and Moving Image Catalogue at the British Library also houses a collection of tapes dedicated to a series of interviews with Lorant by Alan Dein. This archive is part of the Oral History of British Photography project and allows for an insight into Lorant's upbringing as well as his approach to photojournalism. In particular, the interview questions which focus on *Picture Post* reveal Lorant's attitudes towards the magazine and his life in Britain after emigration. While the influence of Lorant, and in turn, the stylistic characteristics of European photojournalism must be acknowledged, the majority of this thesis focuses on the photographic essays of *Picture Post* published during the Second World War, under the editorial leadership of Sir Tom Hopkinson.

The Tom Hopkinson Archive, belonging to the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies at Cardiff University, consisted of a significant collection of twentieth-century photojournalism associated with Tom Hopkinson.⁵⁴ Tom Hopkinson replaced Lorant as editor of *Picture Post* from 1940 until 1950, having been his Assistant Editor since 1938 – this archive will provide a significant insight into the history of photojournalism in Britain from the 1930s onwards, placing *Picture Post* within a wider photojournalistic context.⁵⁵ This material is currently in the care of Amanda Hopkinson, one of the daughters of Hopkinson and *Picture Post* photographer Gerti Deutsch. Consisting of both published and unpublished sources, memos, notes and correspondence with Edward Hulton, Lorant and other employees of *Picture Post*, Hopkinson's papers have proved to be an invaluable source of information regarding the magazine and its position within British culture during the Second World War. These materials, combined with interviews carried out with Amanda, have provided a unique insight into the ways in which *Picture Post* functioned with Hopkinson as editor.

Sir Winston Churchill contributed to *Picture Post* as a writer, and it has been noted that Stefan Lorant became an acquaintance of the future Prime Minister.⁵⁶ In order to gain a better understanding of the socio-political climate of 1930s Britain, The Churchill Papers, housed at the Churchill Archives Centre in Cambridge, provide an estimated 1 million

⁵⁴ The Tom Hopkinson Archive, <www.cardiff.ac.uk/jomec/research/archives>. This archival resource closed down during the undertaking of this study. Amanda Hopkinson (Tom Hopkinson's daughter) provided archival material belonging to Tom Hopkinson. As of November 2016, Cardiff University has launched the new Tom Hopkinson Centre for Media History.

⁵⁵ Appendix 2 shows the offer letter Hopkinson received from the Director of Hulton Press Ltd for the position of Assistant Editor.

⁵⁶ See Hallett, *The Real Story*; also Michael Hallett, 'Obituary: Stefan Lorant', *The Independent* (London), 17 November 1997

individual documents related to the life and career of Sir Winston Churchill.⁵⁷ The collection consists of the original documents sent, received or composed by Churchill throughout his long and illustrious career; it includes personal correspondence with friends and family, as well as official communications. In particular, there are three specific archival resources which are pertinent to this study, referring to Stefan Lorant and articles published in *Picture Post*. There are, also, archives outside of Britain which could prove to be useful. For example, the Tim Gidal Collection, housed at The Israel Museum in Jerusalem, consists of over 14 000 prints, all of Gidal's transparencies, contact sheets, tear sheets, and a significant number of original newspapers featuring his work and most of his reportage.⁵⁸ As one of the first photographers of *Picture Post*, the émigré photographer belonged to the small group of innovative photographers who changed the face of modern photojournalism.⁵⁹

Although it is apparent that the archival resources outlined above will provide a wealth of information relating to *Picture Post* and photojournalism in Britain, there are also limitations. As émigrés, personal material relating to their lives and work would not have been brought to Britain, or, would not have been kept. For this reason, other research avenues have been explored, most notably, interviews and the importance of oral history in preserving narratives have been acknowledged. The date from which this study began meant that most *Picture Post* protagonists had already passed away, and those that are still living (for example, the

⁵⁷ Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, The Churchill Papers, <www.chu.cam.ac.uk/archives> [accessed November 2010]

⁵⁸ The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Tim Gidal Collection <www.english.imjnet.org.il/htmls/home> [accessed December 2010]

⁵⁹ While these archives relating to Churchill and Gidal are significant enough to warrant mentioning in the introduction to this thesis, neither have been central to the formation of this work for logistical and methodological reasons. Both archives did, however, provide documentation relevant to the collation of research material at the point of inception.

photographer John Chillingworth) are of second-generation *Picture Post* photographers, who are not central to this thesis. This means that it is unlikely that any first-hand accounts of the magazine by those who worked on it will be collected; therefore the existing scholarship of Michael Hallett, and secondary literature by photographers such as Kurt Hutton, Felix H. Man and Tim Gidal, is of key importance to the shaping of this study.

Interviews with existing leading scholars in the field are able to provide an insight into the ways in which this subject may be approached, as well as developing an in depth understanding of the limitations of the existing material and areas which have previously been neglected. As previously mentioned, interviews and correspondence carried out with Amanda Hopkinson have proved invaluable in the opportunities offered to access unpublished documents and notes written and compiled by Sir Tom Hopkinson, as well as providing a personal insight into the workings of *Picture Post* and its main protagonists. Similarly, an interview undertaken with the photographer and cinematographer Wolfgang Suschitzky (1912-2016) in January 2014 provided significant insight into the context of the times and the climate in which the new style of photojournalism flourished in Britain.⁶⁰ Correspondence with Dr Andrea Hammel, a leading academic within the field of Exile Studies, has provided this study with contextual background – namely an understanding of the significance of the socio-cultural climate in Britain during the 1930s in relation to the arrival of émigrés from mainland Europe.

⁶⁰ Amy Shulman, Conversation with Wolfgang Suschitzky, (15 January 2014). A recorded interview in which Suschitzky spoke at length about his life and work as a cinematographer in Britain following his emigration from Austria. His sister was the eminent documentary photographer, Edith Tudor-Hart (née Suschitzky).

The previously unpublished archival material – namely the original contact sheets for *Picture Post* – will be used primarily with a view to gain knowledge of the editorial process for weekly magazines. This will help to shape an understanding of Lorant's relationship with not only the photographers, but also Hulton, with a view to construct a framework for the understanding of the significance of Lorant's, and Hopkinson's, editorial authority in the outcome of the published photographs: thus, arguing that the role of the editor emphasised the complex processes involved in the production of a photographic essay, resulting in a specific development of the photographic narrative in British photojournalism, specifically in relation *Picture Post*.

This thesis examines a selection of photographic essays published in *Picture Post* magazine between the years 1938 and 1945, making use of previously unexplored documentation, such as original contact sheets and unpublished assignment photographs. The *Picture Post* archive in which this material is housed has been central to the construction of this study. This thesis aims to place *Picture Post* within an art historical framework, while arguing that the magazine played a significant role in the changing face of British photojournalism. Although the influence of *Picture Post* has been acknowledged in previous scholarship, this work will address the development of the photographic essay in specific relation to the magazine, utilising theoretical approaches to narration, migration, and memory discourse. Furthermore, this study will explore the relationship between photography as narrative and the processes of manipulation, placing significance on the connection of the émigré photographer and the construction of visual narratives as demonstrated through the format of the photographic

essay. The manipulation of photographs is considered here in relation to the construction of narratives by means of photographic material and is therefore explored as an inherent aspect in the production of a photographic essay. In other words, the processes of manipulation demonstrate the ways in which a story is told through photographs.

The present work can be categorised into three main parts: the first part of this study will contextualise *Picture Post* as an influential publication in the development of the ‘new’ photojournalism in Britain, focusing initially on a selection of published photographic essays in the seven year period, 1938 to 1945. It will focus on the innovative techniques employed by Lorant as editor, exploring notions of visual imagery as significant in the construction of a specific photographic narration in Britain during the Second World War. It will make use of theoretical discourse on photography and its relationship with written text, so as to further consider the importance of the format of the photographic essay in the function of photography as a means of communication. Through an examination of photographic theories relating to the construct of the so-called photographic narrative, the first part of this study will be further understood with reference to photographic imagery and concepts of manipulation.

This approach to the photographic essay will inform a discussion about the ways in which narratives are constructed by means of photographic material, and will question to what extent ‘the photographers took to their picture-making their own [...] backgrounds.’⁶¹ The European photographers brought with them extensive experience of working for weekly

⁶¹ Osman, *The British Worker*, no page number

illustrated magazines in Germany – the *Illustrierten*; and with that, developed a new way of thinking about photographs and an innovative approach to photojournalism. These issues will be explored with specific reference to the history of British and European photojournalism, and theoretical material relating to photography as a vehicle of communication. Thus, it will form the basis for the progression of this thesis which aims to draw a connection between the significance of different types of narration in émigré communities, such as autobiographical writings and memoirs, and the development of the photographic essay in the British picture-led magazine, *Picture Post*. It will question the influence of personal experiences on the construction of photographic narratives and explore the photograph as a site for the formation of powerful emotions, placing significance on the role of (forced) migration in the construction of visual narratives. The third part of this thesis will seek to consolidate the findings of the previous two thematic sections, by drawing on theoretical approaches to the Holocaust, memory and manipulation.

There are some imposed limitations for this study, namely the centring of research around the Second World War. There are multiple reasons for imposing this seven-year chronological parameter, including that, for a study of this size, it would be an unrealistic aim to consider exploring the history of *Picture Post* in its entirety. The reason for concentrating on the years 1938-1945 is that this period is significant in the history of emigration – many historians in Exile Studies have noted the significance of émigré activity by refugees from Europe during this period, particularly in Britain, where most of the émigrés arrived in 1938 after the

Degenerate Art Exhibition and the pogroms of the *Reichskristallnacht*.⁶² This seven year period also provides the study with a clear focus: the war years are vital to a shift of power in the Western world, and signify a change in the cultural identity of Britain. Furthermore, the war with its travel restrictions put a heightened emphasis on reporting, as first-hand information was restricted. In focusing on Britain, as a site for refugee activity during the 1930s and 1940s, this thesis emphasises the significance of Britain in understanding the nation as a site for cultural exchange, which during the war years when nations fought against each other, also provides for an intriguing insight into the relevance of national identity. It will be recognised as vital in the construction of émigré artistic development during the Second World War, in view of the forced journeys of refugees to Britain from mainland Europe.⁶³

As outlined above, the three thematic parts to this thesis will take the form of three main chapters. The first chapter, ‘Reading Photographs: *Picture Post* and the Photographic Essay’, will consider the development of the photographic essay in specific relation to *Picture Post*. It will aim to position the magazine within a broader context of the history of photojournalism whilst arguing that *Picture Post* was at the forefront of the changing face of photojournalism in Britain. It has previously been noted in this work that *Picture Post* has been recognised as an influential and pioneering publication in the history of photojournalism; however, the first section of this study will underline the point that it has

⁶² See, for example, Shulamith Behr and Marian Malet, eds., *Arts in Exile in Britain 1933-1945*, Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, 6 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004)

⁶³ *Forced Journeys. Artists in Exile in Britain c.1933-45* (London: Ben Uri Gallery/London Jewish Museum of Art, 2009)

not yet been explored in this context by utilising the previously unpublished original contact sheets. This chapter will also explore the techniques employed by the editors and photojournalists of *Picture Post* in order to produce an effective photographic essay, covering the ways in which photographs are used to tell stories and how these narratives are influenced by the processes involved in the construction of a photographic essay. It has been acknowledged that Lorant introduced a new format for picture-led magazines in Britain, and this will be discussed here in specific relation to *Picture Post*. This section of the study will make use of material published within the field of photojournalism and photography, namely literature which acknowledges the influence of the European weekly illustrated magazines on the new style of photography, which will inform an examination of the specific approaches of the magazine to the construction of a photographic essay and those who worked on it between the years 1938 and 1945. It will identify and examine trends in the magazine, such as common themes and types of narrative, and how and where these appear in sequential magazines. Such an examination will allow for an exploration of the techniques employed by the magazine to construct an effective photographic essay. This chapter will also be informed by previously unexplored archival material, in order to construct a substantial understanding of the photographic essay. The archival material, housed at Getty Images, consists primarily of original contact sheets relating to published and unpublished photographic essays produced by the magazine, which will provide a basis for an understanding of the photograph as a vehicle for narrative. The impact of these contact sheets will be assessed in relation to their corresponding final photographic essay, making use of existing scholarship on the power of photojournalistic images to distort and shape shared

understanding of news and events. It will focus on the distribution of images of significant events to inform a discussion on the cultural impact of photographs, arguing that *Picture Post*, as a weekly popular magazine, played a significant part in the shared experience of current events, specifically those events which were permitted a new visual platform. Furthermore, it will put forward an argument for the power of the photographic essay as a way to influence the already established notions of narrative, drawing from material relating to the photograph as an informative and communicatory tool, as an indisputable source of information particularly, as mentioned before, during the war with its travel and information restrictions.⁶⁴

While the first chapter places *Picture Post* within a broader historical context of photojournalism and examines the technical development of the photographic essay and the changing format of the picture-led magazine in Britain, the second chapter will suggest motives for these changes. With the birth of photojournalism in Germany, the first photojournalists brought with them to Britain an extensive background in working with picture-led magazines and an understanding of the value of a photograph in its ability to convey narrative and tell a story. The second chapter, 'Forced Separation: A Connection between Migration and Photographic Narration', will bring the photograph into focus as significant in the construction of modern-day narrative models, influenced by the work of scholars within the field of Exile Studies. While it should be acknowledged that these changes are due in part to the technological advances of photography and the printing press,

⁶⁴ Chapnick, *Truth Needs No Ally*, 7

this chapter will explore the influence of émigré photojournalists on the ‘new’ photojournalism developed in Britain during the 1930s and early 1940s. It will argue that the first photographers of *Picture Post* brought with them a specific kind of narrative, bound with their own backgrounds in mainland Europe and informed by their migration. This second chapter will make a claim for parallels between the construction of narratives by means of photographic material in *Picture Post* and the essentiality of communication for the émigré photographers working for the publication. It will make use of specific visual material published in *Picture Post*, relating to different types of forced separation. Thus, this chapter seeks to explore three aspects of forced separation, in relation to the émigré photographer’s own experience of forced migration, so as to suggest a connection between migration and photographic narration. Through an examination of the photographic essay format, in order to assert the subject presence of the émigré photographer, this chapter will explore three topics of forced separation relating to aspects of childhood: adoption, the Kindertransport and evacuation. These photographs will suggest a correlation between aspects of forced separation and the processes of narration in the development of *Picture Post* during this period, arguing that an effective photographic narrative is not only fundamental to the success of the magazine, but integral to an understanding of the particular experiences of the émigré photographers themselves. It will also be shown that national identity was not a hindrance to cultural exchange as played out through narrative practices. This chapter, in light of its findings, will acknowledge the ruptures experienced within the traditional construct of family as a result of forced separation but will seek to reconcile these supposed disruptions through

the recognition that, through an assertion of the photographic narrative as a vehicle of communication, such photographs serve as a unifying platform for shared experience.

The final chapter of this thesis, ‘Liberation: *Picture Post* and Images of the Holocaust’, will build on the outcomes of the previous two chapters of this study, and focus on the relationship between memory and photography and seek to establish an understanding of the role of the photographic essay as mediating current events as well as how these photographs might function in the construction of historical memory in Britain. That is to say, this chapter will concentrate on how events may be shaped by the construction of a photographic narrative and as such, will highlight how the photographs of the liberation of the concentration camps that were published in *Picture Post* may be situated within the wider context of Holocaust photography, particularly in light of differing representations of the atrocities in the press. Holocaust memory in Britain has been characterised somewhat by the immediate period following the liberation of the concentration camps and the end of the Second World War. It has been acknowledged that an ‘[...] awareness of and interest in the fate of the Jews under Nazism was somewhat niche, jumbled, and prone to fluctuation,’ however, ‘slowly but surely popular and political intrigue grew in British culture, finding articulation and organisation within an orientational framework [termed] “Holocaust consciousness”’.⁶⁵ Thus, the final chapter of this thesis will examine possible reasons for this lack of ‘consciousness’ following the end of the war, and situate the findings within a broader context of historical memory in Britain.

⁶⁵ Andy Pearce, *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain* (New York; London: Routledge, 2014), 1

This thesis, overall, aims to situate photography – more specifically, photojournalism – within an art historical framework whilst seeking to identify and explore the significance of migration in the development of photojournalism in Britain. Whilst focusing on a narrow time period, this study will place *Picture Post* within a broader art historical framework, providing an argument for the significance of cultural exchange in the development of the photographic essay around the time of the Second World War, a period significant in terms of mass migration from the continent. It will aim to provide an insight into how such theoretical discourses aid discussion on émigré photojournalists and the implication of the photographic essay in modern-day narration. A conclusion will furthermore propose the possibility for further study surrounding *Picture Post*, in order to highlight its potential as an important visual object within a wider socio-historical framework, but also to promote its ability to provide a significant insight, through an examination of the format of the photographic essay, into theoretical approaches to narration, migration and memory.

CHAPTER ONE

READING PHOTOGRAPHS: *PICTURE POST* AND THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY

This chapter explores the genre of the photographic essay in order to assert a specific approach to photojournalism evident in *Picture Post* between 1938 and 1945. The technical development of the photographic essay will be discussed with the aim of positioning *Picture Post* within a wider context of the history of photojournalism, focusing on the techniques employed by the photographers and editorial team to produce an effective photographic essay. The arrangement of the published photographs emphasises the ways in a narrative is constructed by means of photographic material; thus, the selection process, layout, cropping and captioning of the images affected the intended/conveyed communications of the photographic essay. The published photographic stories will be examined as a whole; the format of a specific selection of photographic essays will be discussed in order to highlight differing approaches to the construction of narratives through the arrangement of photographs in the magazine. Furthermore, photographs will not be considered individually: the aim of this chapter, and the thesis as a whole, is to examine the photographic essay in its entirety as a means to recognise the significance of this form of photography as a way to narrate a story.

This chapter will discuss the processes of construction involved in the production of a photographic essay in light of previous scholarship on the technical approaches – the selection process, layout, cropping and text – as well as discourse surrounding the

development of the ‘new’ photojournalism of the late 1920s and 1930s in Britain.⁶⁶ While this approach will seek to situate *Picture Post* within a broader context of photojournalism, it will focus specifically on the techniques employed in the construction of a photographic essay by the photographers and editor of this magazine. It has previously been acknowledged that the ‘new’ style of photojournalism was established in mainland Europe, notably in Germany, and reached the United States and Britain in the 1930s.⁶⁷ Thus, scholarship focused on European photojournalism will inform a discussion surrounding the format of the photographic essay in *Picture Post* because of the associations the magazine had with mainland Europe: its founding editor, Lorant, was a Hungarian Jew and its first photographers were émigrés from Germany who came to Britain in the 1930s. Daniel H. Magilow’s *The Photography of Crisis. The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (2012) and *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (1995) provide invaluable material relating to the development of the form of the photographic essay in Germany in the 1920s, placing emphasis on the socio-cultural role of the popular weekly illustrated press in Weimar Germany.

Such texts offer a basis for further critical investigation of the power of the photographic essay in the context of a socio-political climate. Gisèle Freund’s seminal text, *Photography and Society* (1980), provides a foundation for the so-called ‘new’ photojournalism, emphasising the role of such photographs in society. Freund considers the power of the photograph in constructing and shaping meaning, stating that,

⁶⁶ See Peter Catterall, Colin Seymour-Ure and Adrian Smith, eds., *Northcliffe’s Legacy. Aspects of the British Popular Press, 1896-1996* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)

⁶⁷ Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (London: Fraser, 1980)

While the written word is abstract, the photograph is a concrete reflection of the world in which all of us live. The individual, commissioned portrait in the reader's home in a sense gave way to the collective press portrait. Photography became a powerful means of propaganda and the manipulation of opinion.⁶⁸

Thus, the photograph has been identified as significant in the construction of narrative; furthermore, in light of Freund's theoretical discourse on news photography, the construction of narratives by means of photographic material is tangible in contrast to the abstract nature of the written word. The relationship between text and image in a photographic essay has previously been addressed by Roland Barthes, and as Susan Sontag has written, 'in choosing to write about photography, Barthes takes the occasion to adopt the warmest kind of realism: photographs fascinate because of what they are about. And they may awaken a desire for a further divestment of the self.'⁶⁹ The way in which a story is told through the arrangement of a series of photographs will be examined in light of Barthes's photographic theories in which he explores the structure of the photograph in relation to the written word.⁷⁰

To date, *Picture Post* has been the subject of a series of short publications by various authors which present a historical and chronological overview of the magazine. These books provide an accessible insight into the types of photographs published in *Picture Post* in that they are thematically led and focused on a particular subject area, such as women. However, a

⁶⁸ Freund, *Photography and Society*, 103

⁶⁹ Susan Sontag, ed., *A Roland Barthes Reader* (London: Vintage, 1993), xxxv

⁷⁰ The two essays by Roland Barthes which form the basis for this exploration are 'The Photographic Message', first published as 'Le message photographique' in *Communications*, 1 (1961), 127-138 and 'Rhetoric of the Image', first published as 'Rhétorique de l'image' in *Communications*, 4 (1964), 40-51. For this thesis, both essays have been consulted in Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977)

theoretical exploration of the photographic essay is not offered; rather, these compilations of individual photographs are celebratory texts and serve as pictorial commemorations of *Picture Post*.⁷¹ Significantly, while the magazine has been referenced numerous times in scholarly texts on photojournalism and British history, there has not been a single academic volume focused solely on *Picture Post* and the function of the photographic essay.

Furthermore, while such publications have gone some way to position *Picture Post* within a wider photographic context, the previous scholarship has not established the magazine within a broader theoretical framework in relation to an art historical approach. In light of this, this chapter will address discourse surrounding the history and technological aspects of photojournalism, but the language associated with it.

This chapter seeks to acknowledge the connections of the British magazine with the popular weekly illustrated press in mainland Europe, namely Germany. The format of the photographic essay will be examined in light of this so-called text/image relationship in order to focus on the processes of producing a photographic essay in a popular weekly illustrated publication. The photographic essays of *Picture Post* will be examined by utilising semiotic analysis as appropriated by Barthes as well as scholarly material on the history and development of photojournalism. This approach will be informed through a selection of photographic essays published in *Picture Post*, with a diverse range of subject matter; however, the subject matter of the photographic essays discussed in this chapter is secondary

⁷¹ See Robert Kee, *The Picture Post Album. A 50th Anniversary Collection* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989)

only to the technical aspects involved in the production process. Rather, the following two chapters will consider the subject matter of selected photographic essays more readily.

Two of Roland Barthes's essays will inform the line of argumentation presented in this chapter: 'The Photographic Message' (1961) and 'Rhetoric of the Image' (1964). Barthes's writings provide a theoretical basis for news photography, which has previously been overlooked by scholars of photojournalism. Semiotic analysis, originally applied to linguistic study, has been employed by Barthes to examine photographic images as if they were written texts. This is helpful in asserting that this form of photography is a way to narrate a story through images rather than text; furthermore, the use of Barthes's essays on photography goes some way to highlight the development of the relationship between text and image in illustrated magazines in the first half of the twentieth century. However, there are some limitations to this approach in terms of this thesis's overall project of reading narratives from the assemblage of multiple photographs with text. The function of the photographic essay is indeed to narrate a story through a series of photographic images; yet, each photograph is accompanied by a short written caption and main text. This chapter will highlight some inconsistencies between the 'photographic message' and the 'written message'; as Barthes acknowledged, the written words seek to rationalise and suppress the visual.⁷² It cannot, and will not be denied in this study that the written text aims to direct the photographic message; rather, it is Barthes's reading of a photograph which becomes problematic. The photographic images have been discussed by Barthes as if they were text – his writings offer a textual

⁷² Barthes, 'The Photographic Message'

reading of a photograph – and therefore, the documentary nature of a photograph has been assumed. The limitations of Barthes's photographic message will be informed by his earlier work, *Mythologies* (1957), in which it is acknowledged that cultural 'myths' inform the ideological constructions of photographic images. Through a recognition of these so-called cultural 'myths', Barthes does not address the significance of the processes involved in the production of the photographic essay. Rather, through an acceptance of the documentary nature of the photograph, Barthes's reading of photographs negates the manipulation of images as an inherent aspect of producing photographs. Therefore, it is important to the overall development of this thesis that the editorial processes of the weekly illustrated magazine are examined in order to address the constructed nature of a photographic essay.

This line of argumentation will be informed by literature focusing on the textual qualities of visual imagery. Mikhail Bakhtin in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* has acknowledged the limitations of the 'implied text', while Victor Burgin has explored how a photograph is 'read', asserting that the 'language' of photography is never free from the constraints of language itself.⁷³ These texts will be used to highlight the limitations of Barthes's theoretical approach to photographic imagery, emphasising the discrepancies between the visual and the written text. Moreover, this will underline Barthes's assumption of the documentary nature of a photograph.

This chapter will utilise examples of published photographic essays in *Picture Post* between 1938 and 1945. These will illustrate the principles of the 'new' photojournalism and situate

⁷³ See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, trans. by Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986); Victor Burgin, ed., *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan, 1982)

Picture Post within a wider context of the history of photojournalism. There are some imposed limitations to the selection of photographic essays examined in this chapter; firstly, in the seven year period as stated above, the volume of published photographic essays is extensive, necessitating a rigorous selection process. Secondly, for the purpose of examining the arrangement of the photographic essay in *Picture Post*, the chosen examples were selected to best illustrate the principles of a photographic essay, emphasising the innovative techniques employed by the *Picture Post* team to construct a narrative through photographs. These photographic essays, too, demonstrate the role of the written text, in order to explore the text/image relationship in light of Barthes's theories on news photography. This chapter focuses on how a photographic essay was produced, concentrating on the layout, structure, construction and captioning of the photographs in order to highlight the ways in which a narrative is constructed by means of photographic material. Furthermore, it will place emphasis on the apparent reversal in the text/image relationship which occurs in the 'new' photojournalism, asserting that it is the photographs which become the vehicle for narration in a photographic essay whilst exploring the role of the written word in situating and rationalising what we see in the photograph. The role of this chapter in view of the thesis as a whole is that it focuses more specifically on the formal composition of the photographic essay rather than what is represented in the photographs. It deals with three topics: firstly, with the nature of the photographic essay; secondly, with the relationship between text and image and lastly, with the manipulation of photographs. The first section will examine the influence of the *Illustrierten* on *Picture Post*, in light of the advancements in photographic technology. It will seek to establish a connection between the principles of photojournalism

in mainland Europe in the late 1920s and the illustrated press in Britain in the 1930s. This will provide a basis for a discussion about the text/image relationship in light of Barthes's photographic theories in the second part of this chapter, where selected photographic essays published in *Picture Post* will be examined. The final section of the chapter will address the concept of manipulation as an inherent aspect of producing these photographic essays. Through an analysis of the corresponding contact sheets of the published photographic essays, the importance of the processes involved in the construction of representations and narratives by means of photographic material will be recognised.

I. *Picture Post* and the Photographic Essay

The tumultuous socio-political climate of Weimar Germany in the late 1920s was reflected in the growing significance of illustrated magazines in popular culture. The development of visual representation in the weekly press focused on using photographs in new ways, specifically in the formation of photographic narratives. As such, 'the sequencing or arrangement of photographs to tell stories, make arguments, communicate ideas, elicit narrative [and] evoke allegories' in order to persuade readers to 'accept new ways of seeing and thinking' was embodied in the new form of photography known as the photographic essay.⁷⁴ The photographic essay, 'How Picture Post is Produced', published in *Picture Post* on 24 December 1938, will be examined in light of the advances in photographic narratives of the German weekly illustrated press – the *Illustrierten*. Firstly, *Picture Post*'s approach to

⁷⁴ Magilow, *Photography of Crisis*, 4

photographic narration will be considered in relation to the *Illustrierten* of Weimar Germany in the late 1920s and early 1930s, asking whether a connection between the photographic essays of the Weimar Republic and *Picture Post* in Britain can be established; and secondly, to what extent *Picture Post*'s approach to the style and content of the photographic essay can be attributed to the construction of representations and narratives from the assemblage of multiple photographs in the *Illustrierten*.

As Daniel H. Magilow has noted, that 'while the photo essay did not, strictly speaking, debut in Weimar Germany, the combination of text and image in a way that shifted the terms of their interaction found its starring role there', and as such, scholarly literature has focused on the innovative developments of photographic narration in the illustrated weekly press of the Weimar Republic.⁷⁵ While the growth of two of the largest illustrated magazines – the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (BIZ) and the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* (MIP) – was perceived negatively by some contemporary critics such as Siegfried Kracauer and Edlef Köppen⁷⁶, the influence of illustrated magazines on ways of seeing cannot be denied. Arthur Rothstein has stated that the photographic essay 'represents the most complicated type of work done by the photojournalist, requiring the knowledge and use of the greatest variety of techniques, the ability to direct people and [...] the application of diplomacy, tact and persuasion [...].'⁷⁷ This, in part, was enabled by the technological advancements of portable cameras. At the end of the 1920s most photojournalists continued to use the Ermanox camera

⁷⁵ Magilow, *Photography of Crisis*, 4

⁷⁶ Edlef Köppen, 'The Magazine as a Sign of the Times' (1925), in Anton Kaes, Martin Jay and Edward Dimendberg, eds., *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1994), 644

⁷⁷ Rothstein, *Photojournalism*, 112

but by the beginning of the 1930s, the Leica became the most popular camera for photojournalists. The new possibilities of this small, lightweight and portable Leica camera attracted photographers to new ways of photographing objects and helped to revolutionise the genre of the photographic essay. Werner Graeff (1901-1978) is one such example; Graeff's photographs published in the *Kölner Illustrierte* as '*Das Bild liegt auf der Strasse*' depicted the different textures of street surfaces, including asphalt.⁷⁸ Such photographs enable the viewer to gaze unconventionally at conventional objects and as such,

It is necessary to photograph ordinary objects from totally unexpected vantage points and in unexpected combinations; new objects on the other hand are to be photographed from various perspectives, giving a full impression of their appearance.⁷⁹

The inclusion of textural photographs in the weekly illustrated magazines can also be viewed in *Picture Post*. 'This is How a Poppy Blooms' (Fig. 4) was also published in the first issue of *Picture Post* on 1 October 1938. The layout is bold and simple; the photographic series is made up of four rectangular photographs featured on page 54 of the magazine. The simplicity of this photographic essay showcases the technological advancements in photography as well as a familiar object from an unexpected vantage point. This is not intended as a news feature; rather it draws attention to the textural qualities of the photographic medium and the abilities of the photographer (who, incidentally, is unknown).

⁷⁸ John Willett, *The New Sobriety. Art and Politics in the Weimar Period 1917-33* (London: Thames Hudson, 1978), 141

⁷⁹ Willett, *The New Sobriety*, 141

The written elements of this piece are limited to the title: the six words identify the type of flower that has been photographed and the process: the blooming of the poppy. This photographic essay does not require further explanation; rather it highlights the significance of photographic images as narrative. The juxtaposition of word and image is such that the visual imagery dominates and the viewer must engage with the photographs in order to understand the flower's progression. The closely cropped, isolated shots of the poppy in bloom and the bold arrangement of the rectangular photographs encompass the principles of the 'new' photojournalism.

Thus, this section on *Picture Post* and the photographic essay explores the emphasis on visual communication in the weekly press, demonstrated by a selection of published photographic essays in *Picture Post* between 1938 and 1945. In other words, this section expands the history of the photographic narration beyond the Weimar Republic, arguing that *Picture Post* was indeed influenced by the illustrated weekly press of the continent, but was able to construct its own specific approach to photographic narration in Britain. The editorial processes of selection and manipulation as inherent aspects of producing photographic essays, place emphasis on the ways in which these technical approaches to photojournalism upheld *Picture Post*'s specific style of narrative.

1.1 The Photographic Essay in Weimar Germany and Britain

The photographic essay is a term which relates to the 'New Photojournalism' developed during the 1920s in mainland Europe, most notably Weimar Germany. Writing about photography in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century, Twaites notes that the weekly

illustrated press '[...] had little alternative than to repeat the use of pictures seen in earlier publications of their rival dailies.'⁸⁰ While the weeklies could not compete with the immediacy of the daily press, by the 1930s, these weekly magazines had fully adopted a new approach to reportage which set them apart from the dailies. James Jarché wrote in *Weekly Illustrated* on 12 May 1937, that this new approach was based upon, '[...] scoops from every part of the world – exclusive, first-hand news-picture records of things you might never see – some even beyond belief ... What few words it uses are vital and to the point, and it covers the talk of the land.'⁸¹ Through the use of photographic material to construct narratives, the weekly illustrated press were able to provide an original perspective on news which appealed to a broader audience. In a newspaper contribution, Colin Jacobson has asserted that 'Lorant and his protégés had turned upside-down the notion that photography's role was merely to illustrate the text; they developed a style in which pictures themselves told stories, and the arrangement of image and text was crucial to the meaning of journalism.'⁸²

The first issue of *Picture Post* was published on 1 October 1938. The front cover features a photograph of two jumping girls which was also used on the front cover of the last ever issue of the magazine in 1957. The block white lettering and red background motif is synonymous with the emerging photo-led magazines in Europe and America. The publication was arguably Britain's most successful picture-led magazine: within two years, the editor, Lorant, had brought its circulation up to 1.7 million.⁸³ With a readership of almost 2 million

⁸⁰ Twaites, 'Circles of Confusion', 105

⁸¹ Twaites, 'Circles of Confusion', 109

⁸² Colin Jacobson, 'The Importance of Being There', *The Independent* (London), 14 November 1999

⁸³ Hallett, *The Real Story*

people, these figures demonstrate the relevance of *Picture Post* as a pioneering magazine for the ‘new’ photojournalism in Britain. In the first issue, the magazine featured an article entitled ‘The Press’ (Fig. 1) which sought to demonstrate the significance of the daily news in contemporary society. This seven-page feature is made up mostly of text, accompanied by sixteen small portrait photographs of the chairmen and proprietors of eight national daily newspapers published in London.⁸⁴ This story was the first part of a series of features to be published each week by *Picture Post*, as an authoritative survey of a ‘great national institution’. *Picture Post* provided an accessible introduction to the press in Britain through narratives such as this; and, although the photographs in this story are small in size, they are by no means insignificant. Nevertheless, their size and the amount of text in comparison to the illustration also indicate that *Picture Post* wanted to prepare its readership for a new experience of viewing the world, as photographs play a much more important role in subsequent issues.

The magazine’s ability to highlight current events through the ‘new’ photojournalism – the genre of the photographic essay – serves as a poignant reminder of the socio-political climate of the times. As Michael Hallett has remarked, ‘*Picture Post* arrived in critical times. [... It] responded to the upheaval in Europe, by explaining the important issues and voicing strong criticism of Chamberlain’s policies [...].’⁸⁵ Similarly, the influence of photographs in the press has been explored by John Taylor who states that, ‘of all the weekly illustrated magazines, *Picture Post* had the highest reputation for using documentary style photography

⁸⁴ *Picture Post*, 1(1) (1 October 1938), 56-57

⁸⁵ Hallett, *The Real Story*, 2

in the hope of speeding up social reform [...]. Photographs were always printed in rectangles or rectangular grids, eschewing all sign of interference and so seeking to enhance the connotations of realism, the claims to near objectivity and the truth of “eye-witness””.⁸⁶

The influence of *Picture Post* on British photojournalism has previously been established in scholarly literature, as shown above, but it is vital to highlight the significant influence of European photojournalism on the British magazine in order to provide a broader historical context for *Picture Post*’s specific approach to photographic narration. The new photographic vision, as outlined by documents and essays selected by David Mellor, established the photograph as an effective vehicle of communication.⁸⁷ The concept of visual narrative informed a stylistic development realised on the pages of the weekly illustrated press in the Weimar Republic, and in turn, Britain and elsewhere. It has been considered that the Weimar Republic developed a passion for this new vision of visual culture – in particular, photography – exemplified by a series of international photographic exhibitions, most notably the *Film und Foto* exhibition held in Stuttgart, Germany in May – July 1929. The shift away from written text proved significant in the development of visual storytelling; the new attitude towards photographs, and more specifically photographic narratives, has been noted by Kurt Korff, the editor of the *BIZ*, who has written that,

To the extent that life became more hectic, and the individual was less prepared to leaf through a magazine in a quiet moment, to that extent it became necessary to find a sharper, more efficient form of visual representation, one which did not lose its

⁸⁶ John Taylor, *War Photography. Realism in the British Press* (London: Routledge, 1991), 55

⁸⁷ David Mellor, ed., *Germany. The New Photography 1927-33* (London: Arts Council for Great Britain, 1978)

impact on the reader even if he only glanced fleetingly at the magazine page by page.⁸⁸

To this end, the *BIZ* adopted the editorial principle that all events should be recorded pictorially, and presented as photographic narratives which were dramatic and visually stimulating.⁸⁹ The preoccupation with form took shape in the innovative layouts of photographic essays in the *Illustrierten* and as a result these weekly magazines became the ‘primary means in German society to publicize the new functionalist understanding of photography to mass audiences.’⁹⁰ As well as two of the most popular *Illustrierten* – the *BIZ*, having been published by the Ullstein Press and the *MIP* – there were four other major media empires publishing illustrated magazines in German cities, which spanned the diverse political and cultural spectrum.⁹¹ Lorant joined the *MIP* as head of the Berlin office and became its editor-in-chief in 1930.⁹² Unlike Korff, the editor of the *BIZ*, who ‘had invented the “ultra-secret” and “unique” photographs which occasionally required wiliness not always consistent with the truth’; Lorant refused to accept any apparently posed photographs.⁹³ According to Gisèle Freund, ‘under Lorant’s influence photographers began to fill entire pages of the magazine with groups of photographs on a single subject. He was the first to

⁸⁸ Kurt Korff, ‘The Illustrated Magazine’ (1927) in Kaes and others, *Weimar Sourcebook*, 646

⁸⁹ Korff, ‘The Illustrated Magazine’, 646

⁹⁰ Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis*, 37

⁹¹ Kaes and others, *Weimar Sourcebook*, 641

⁹² Freund, *Photography and Society*, 124

⁹³ Freund, *Photography and Society*, 124

realize that the public not only wants to be informed about famous personalities, but is also interested in subjects concerning everyday life.’⁹⁴

The migration of editors and photographers throughout Europe and further afield, most notably to the USA, as a consequence of the Nazi regime, resulted in a dissemination of *Illustrierten* ideals surrounding the approaches to photojournalism and photographic narration. While Lorant emigrated to Britain after being imprisoned by the Nazis, the German-Jewish editor of the *BIZ*, Kurt Korff, was exiled in 1933 and emigrated to the USA. Korff became an advisor to Henry Luce’s *Life* magazine which was founded in 1936, two years before *Picture Post*.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Mellor, in his essay, ‘London – Berlin – London: a cultural history. The reception and influence of the New German Photography in Britain 1927-33’, acknowledges that the ‘enthusiasm for German photographic modes as a fundamental break, and opportunity to rechannel a primal vision, would be a response [...] found among professional photographers in Britain [...]’.⁹⁶ Many of the photographers who pioneered the German approach to photographic narration in Britain had begun their careers in Germany, working for the largest illustrated magazines. Kurt Hübschmann and Hans Baumann – to become known as Kurt Hutton and Felix H. Man respectively – worked as photojournalists in Berlin with Lorant at the *MIP* and were the first two photographers to work for *Picture Post* in Britain. The work of these two photographers, as well as that of Gerti Deutsch, Tim Gidal and on one occasion, Edith Tudor-Hart, forms the main body of visual resources for this study.

⁹⁴ Freund, *Photography and Society*, 124

⁹⁵ Kaes and others, *Weimar Sourcebook*, 642

⁹⁶ Mellor, *The New Photography*, 113

Some of the first photographers of *Picture Post* had previously worked with Lorant either in Germany, or in Britain between 1934 and 1938. This included the German-Jewish photographer, Hutton. Hutton emigrated to Britain, changing his name and working as an anonymous freelance photographer for Lorant. Some émigré photographers either worked anonymously or under pseudonyms. For example, the German photographer Felix Man, born Hans Baumann, worked under the pseudonym Lensman during the early stages of his career in Britain. In Germany, Hübschmann's (Hutton) photographs appeared in the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse*, run by Lorant. The photographer emigrated to Britain in 1933 with his family, and was employed by Lorant to work on the photographic publication, *Weekly Illustrated*. Photographers such as Hutton worked anonymously in Britain so as not to attract attention to their émigré status. However, in June 1940, Hutton was interned as an enemy alien on the Isle of Man; on his release in June 1941, he was able to return to work for *Picture Post*.

Gerti Deutsch was born in Vienna on 19 December 1908, the only child of German-speaking Jews, Victor and Henriette Deutsch (née Haas).⁹⁷ Originally, Deutsch enrolled in the Music Conservatory with initial aspirations to become a concert pianist. However, it appears Deutsch pursued photography without formal training.⁹⁸ After living in Paris for two years, Deutsch returned to Vienna and undertook a professional diploma in photography at the *Graphische Lehr – und Versuchsanstalt* in 1933-1934.⁹⁹ In 1936, Deutsch arrived in London and in November of that year, was granted residency in Britain, enabling her to seek work

⁹⁷ Amanda Hopkinson, 'Gerti Deutsch of Vienna', in Kurt Kaindl, ed., *Gerti Deutsch*, 6

⁹⁸ Hopkinson, 'Gerti Deutsch', 9

⁹⁹ Hopkinson, 'Gerti Deutsch', 10

with Lorant and her future husband, Hopkinson, at *Weekly Illustrated*.¹⁰⁰ Unlike her male counterparts, Deutsch retained her own name and did not Anglicise it; she became one of very few women photographers working professionally in Britain. Her photographs for *Picture Post* form a significant basis for a discussion on émigré photographers working in Britain during the Second World War.

Although her work featured much less often in *Picture Post* than Deutsch's, Edith Tudor-Hart (1908-1973) was another female Austrian émigré photographer who migrated to Britain because of political persecution. Tudor-Hart (née Suschitzky) attended the Bauhaus foundation course from 1928 and in 1930 was employed as a photographer for the Soviet news agency, TASS.¹⁰¹ Tudor-Hart was the sister of the photographer and cinematographer, Wolfgang Suschitzky (1912-2016). Suschitzky did not work for *Picture Post* but, as part of a growing émigré community in London, was familiar with photographers such as Deutsch, providing an appreciation of her life and work for an exhibition catalogue.

The influence of Lorant on British photojournalism since his migration in 1934 was established in the first issue of *Picture Post* with the inclusion of a feature on Lilliput, the pocket magazine published monthly and co-founded by Lorant before *Picture Post*. This one-page photographic essay on page 73, 'The Laugh That Went On. The True Story of Lilliput' (Fig. 2), emphasises the new type of humour introduced through the photographic

¹⁰⁰ Hopkinson, 'Gerti Deutsch', 13

¹⁰¹ Duncan Forbes, 'Politics, Photography and Exile in the Life of Edith Tudor-Hart', in Shulamith Behr and Marian Malet, eds., *Arts in Exile in Britain 1933-1945. Politics and Cultural Identity*, The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, 6 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 58

juxtapositions presented in every issue of the pocket magazine. The six photographs depict three examples of the comedic appositions, to include a portrait photograph of Neville Chamberlain next to a similarly cropped photograph of ‘The Beautiful Llama’; but while these photographs do not strictly perform as narrative, this article is significant in making clear to the British readership that a new form of photojournalism has been introduced to the country, one which respects its readers and is dedicated to producing quality material. The written text of this piece exclaims that, ‘to a generation which wants its visual humour concise, apt and astringent, there was something irresistibly comic in the photographic juxtaposition [...]’ This photographic article accentuates the innovative techniques – both in style and content – of the new British magazine, and by extension, places Lorient at the forefront of British photojournalism. The final column of ‘The Laugh That Went On’ states that Lilliput was unique amongst popular periodicals in that ‘it had a wholehearted respect for its readers’ intelligence. It did not give them bad material expensively produced [...]’ and closes with ‘Lilliput is Picture Post’s brother; don’t forget to ask for it.’

The first photographic essay to be featured in *Picture Post* was ‘The World Looks at No. 10’ in the first issue published on 1 October 1938 (Fig. 3). This photographic essay consists of fifteen photographs taken by Kurt Hutton and runs from page 10 to 14. The clean, simple layout is reminiscent of the *Illustrierten* and typifies the style of *Picture Post* which is accentuated by the rectangular, linear arrangement of the photographs on the page. The first two pages – a double-page spread – feature ten close-up photographs of individuals in the crowd gathering outside 10 Downing Street. Each of the photographs is accompanied by a

caption; the portrait photographs of individuals in the crowd are supplemented with a short phrase in quotation marks, attempting to reflect the feelings of the people waiting to catch a glimpse of the Prime Minister or hear from a member of the cabinet (Fig. 3a). Here, the emphasis has been placed on the individual – the closely-cropped candid portraits show the people waiting, expectantly, all looking towards the same object. This focus on the individual is a consequence, according to Magilow, of a tendency towards a greater standardisation of modern life.¹⁰² The individual had become less important to society, and so, ‘as the relations among men became more dehumanized, the journalist tended to give the individual an artificial importance.’¹⁰³ The captions as thoughts seek to enhance the significance of each person outside No. 10, as the closely-cropped photographs identify the individuals as more than merely anonymous members of the crowd. Indeed, the attention focused on the individual offers a familiarity to this article, one which, it could be argued, sought to attract a wider readership to engage with current political activities.

The photograph of the door of No 10 in the top right-hand corner of page 11 invites the viewer to make a connection between the gazes of the individuals featured in the other ten photographs and the focus of their observation – the door. This photograph is accompanied by a caption: ‘The door that thousands gaze at and few pass through.’ The direction in which they are looking, coupled with the linear arrangement on the page, heightens the suspense – the reader’s eye is drawn from left to right, following the photographs sequentially. The grid-like formation and carefully balanced arrangement of photographs of ‘The World Looks at

¹⁰² Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 149

¹⁰³ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 150

No. 10' are indicative of the shift away from text-led journalism and rather legitimises photography as a vehicle of narrative.¹⁰⁴ The candid photographs taken by Hutton required an element of discretion from the photographer, who would have been required to blend into the crowd whilst taking numerous photographs. The anticipation of the crowd on the first two pages of the photographic essay is quelled on the third page: rather than being transfixed on the door of No. 10, individuals in the crowd are photographed interacting with each other. The three-quarter length portrait in the top left-hand corner of page 12 shows a well-dressed older couple in conversation as they face each other. The two women in the adjacent photograph wait casually; in contrast to the man in the photograph below, who is dressed for business. The man carries a rolled up newspaper tucked under his left arm, and holds a pair of black leather gloves in his hand. The chain of his pocket watch pulls across his chest as he looks towards the camera, seemingly caught off guard. The final image of the photographic essay is a full-page photograph on page 13. Here, the photograph has not been cropped closely to focus on individuals of the crowd; rather, Hutton has photographed the newspaper cameramen waiting for the ministers to arrive for a meeting. The photograph shows the full-scale of Downing Street, as the photographers mingle in the road outside No. 10. The curvature of the pavement directs the viewer's eye towards the small crowd, heightened by the man wearing a dark suit and hat walking towards them on the pavement.

The first issues of *Picture Post* encompassed the key features of photographic narration introduced by the *Illustrierten* in 1920s Weimar Germany. 'What are they looking at? A

¹⁰⁴ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 34

Flying Zebra? A Collision?’ (Fig. 5) is a photographic essay published in the magazine’s second issue on 8 October 1938. The question asked in the title, ‘what are they looking at?’ is illustrated by ten photographs taken by Felix H. Man, of men, women and children looking through a slatted, wooden fence to an object beyond the camera frame. Each of these ten photographs, on pages 32 and 33, is accompanied by a short caption. The images have been arranged so each of the people in the photographs looks towards the left-hand side of the page, which in turn, emphasises the sense of excitement and expectation of the readership. This photographic essay has similarities both with ‘The World Looks at No. 10’ and ‘This is How a Poppy Blooms’ in style and content. The layout is bold and simple, and the photographs have been arranged in a linear sequence. The format of this photographic essay, as in ‘The World Looks at No. 10’, encourages the viewer to engage with the photographs in order to experience a sense of anticipation without committing to reading a large amount of text. The last photograph in the essay reveals that in fact there is not much to look at, at all; the crowd have gathered to look at the empty space where the end of Waterloo Bridge had once been.

However, despite the immediacy of photography and the ideals of the pioneering *Illustrierten*, the weekly magazines were not met with unequivocal acceptance. In general, the new photographic narration brought with it a sense of excitement but some contemporary critics questioned the rate at which the mass media was expanding. The German writer, Edelf Köppen, commenting on the speed modern-day life, stated that, ‘the magazine [...] pursues complexity with such an emphatic single-mindedness that it cannot but appear

suspect: what is being cultivated here is nothing but exceedingly banal entertainment through the deployment of the crudest conceivable means.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Magilow has commented in light of such contemporaneous critiques, that indeed the ‘*Illustrierten*’ perpetuated oversimplified views of the complexity of [...] society. By encouraging an “objective” mode of photographic seeing, *Illustrierten* standardized and rationalized perception and allowed readers to become the willing consumers of a culture of media voyeurism.’¹⁰⁶ While it can be argued that, to some extent, the popular weekly magazines strategically selected and organised photographic narratives so as to uphold their own socio-political agendas whilst maintaining a so-called objectivity, it is clear that the editors and photographers had ‘bought heavily into the notion of photographic seeing and the illustrated press as a key space in which to train readers to see photographically.’¹⁰⁷ In light of this, the photographic essay ‘Operation’ (Fig. 6) also published in the first issue of *Picture Post* on 1 October 1938, was ground-breaking in its depiction of an operation taking place in a hospital.

This seven-page photographic essay depicts a hospital theatre in which an operation is taking place. This essay consists of seventeen photographs taken by Felix H. Man. The first photograph on page 31 is a large format rectangular photograph which features the photographer himself. Whilst Man remains anonymous, his inclusion in the photographic narrative highlights the active participation of the photographer in the production of a photographic essay. The dynamic of this photograph is such that the angular lines of the nurse’s bonnet combined with the crisp whiteness of the medical gowns create interest in an

¹⁰⁵ Köppen, ‘The Magazine as a Sign of the Times’, 644

¹⁰⁶ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 35

¹⁰⁷ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 38

otherwise sterile atmosphere. On the following pages, the photographs are numbered and accompanied by a caption explaining the activity depicted in each of the images. The two sequences featured on the double-page spread (pages 32 and 33) show the preparations involved in the operation. The top four photographs are larger than the four below; the top sequence shows the patient being brought into the operating theatre in the first photograph, while the following three focus on preparations being carried out on the surgical instruments. Below, the four photographs are dedicated to highlighting the measures taken by the operating doctor before he goes into surgery. The cropping of the photographs focuses attention on the important figures involved in the operation – namely the doctor and nurses. The influence of Lorant was such that he was able to generate intrigue and interest in subjects of everyday life that most members of the public would not previously have witnessed through his approach to photographic narrative. Even the subtitle of the photographic essay on page 31 proclaims that ‘a few years ago such a series would have been ‘sensational’. To-day it is only intensely interesting. Men and women are no longer terrified of hospitals. Doctors and surgeons rely more and more on the public’s sympathetic understanding of their work.’

1.2 ‘How Picture Post is Produced’, 24 December 1938

The production processes involved in the publication of an issue of *Picture Post* here are revealed in a series of photographs taken by Kurt Hutton published in the thirteenth issue of the magazine on Christmas Eve 1938. The very fact that *Picture Post* printed such a story in

the early years of its publication seems to indicate that the British public was relatively unfamiliar with the production of a photographic essay and the magazine wished to be seen as a product of such technological advancement. It also provides an excellently detailed and rare insight into the working process of a press in the 1930s, relevant for the history of the printing press in general and the discussion of the content of *Picture Post* in the subsequent chapters specifically. It goes without saying that this view is not only a historical one in the sense of being taken at face value, but the photographic essay demonstrates how the press wanted to be seen. Moreover, a close analysis of the photographic essay provides an understanding of the power relations between writers and photographers, editors and main publisher.

The nine-page photographic essay beginning on page 44 and ending on page 52 (Fig. 7), includes twenty-nine photographs and two images of the editor's and publisher's notebooks; each image is accompanied by a caption and twenty-five of the photographs are arranged in a numbered sequence to demonstrate the processes of producing and printing a single issue of *Picture Post*. The first photograph on page 44 shows the editor, Stefan Lorant, sitting at a desk with a pencil pressed to his temple, looking over photographs to be selected for an issue of the magazine (Fig. 7a). This large rectangular photograph has been cropped and resized to focus on Lorant, who does not acknowledge the presence of the photographer as he concentrates on the task at hand. This photograph is overlaid in the bottom left-hand corner by a smaller photograph of the assistant editor, Tom Hopkinson. Hopkinson, too, sits behind

a desk but has been photographed on the telephone as he looks to his left beyond the frame of the camera.

The text accompanying the images in this photographic essay explains the sequence of weekly events associated with the production and printing of a single issue of the magazine. A weekly editorial conference was held as soon as the last issue of *Picture Post* had gone to press, at which each member of staff contributed ideas for the next issue. The framework for the forthcoming issue was established and Lorant, as editor, presented this concept to Hulton, the publisher. Hopkinson, as assistant editor, contacted prospective contributors and cameramen, as demonstrated by the photograph of him on page 44. The photograph on the top right-hand side of page 45 shows Lorant meeting with the publisher, Hulton, in order to discuss the forthcoming issue of the magazine (Fig. 7b). Hulton reclines slightly in his chair and holds a smoking pipe to his mouth as Lorant looks down on him. The results of this meeting are highlighted in the two smaller images to the left of this photograph: rough notes scrawled in the notebooks of these two men. Lorant's notes contain small illustrations of the prospective layout for considered photographic essays; even at this early stage, the layout is simple and bold.

The next five days would be used to research and write; during this time, deadlines were set for the photographers and contributors and decisions were finalised for the specific content of each page of the issue. The material for the issue was then taken by the editors to the printing works outside of London. The words of 'How Picture Post is Produced' then describe the printing process, highlighting the different procedures associated with producing the text and

images. The first photograph in the numbered series in this photographic essay on page 46 depicts an example of a hand-drawn layout titled 'Wedding' (Fig. 7c); the blank spaces have been numbered to correspond with the chosen photographs which have been assigned a significant amount of space on the page in comparison to the written text. This is the first stage, the next being the typing and printing of the text on the Monotype machine; the Monotype punched a hole through a thick paper band on which each letter and punctuation mark has a distinct position. This paper band was transferred to the casting machine, travelling across rows of air-blowing jets causing the air to escape through the punched holes which in turn triggered a mechanism to drive a stream of molten metal into a die representing the letter of the alphabet which corresponds with that in the punched paper band. This part of the process is represented in the photograph numbered '2' which shows a man using a Monotype machine to type out the text. This process is then repeated for each section of the issue which were then taken to the Correcting Room, where it is inked and a first proof is produced, or 'pulled'. The proof, also known as the 'galley', was then proof read by two readers, who check the proof next to the original – one read the proof while the other marked errors. The errors would then be corrected, after which the material is transported to the Composing Room. The long strips of 'galley' are sectioned into the correct column sizes for the magazine format, in order to fit around the selected photographs.

At this stage in the process, the Photographic Department would make prints in the correct size from the selected photographic material; the proofs of the text were then pasted with the photographs in the exact position for the final publication. The editor would approve the

final proof and return it to the printers. The complete, approved pages were sent to the Gravure Department where the photographs are pinned into glass-fronted frames and photographed by cameras directly on to sensitive paper. This stage of the production process is depicted in the fourth photograph in the series, also on page 46 (Fig.7c). Again, a man is shown operating the machinery, and in this instance the machine is responsible for fabricating paper negatives. The photograph focuses on the structure of the machinery as well as highlighting the important presence of the operator of the aforementioned equipment. The negatives of the type and the images are photographed together, forming transparencies on clear gelatine. In conjunction, a sheet of light-sensitive carbon tissue was placed in contact with a sheet of glass ruled into microscopic squares. The pattern of the screen was transferred to the carbon tissue through exposure to mercury-vapour lamps. The transparencies were then photographically printed onto the carbon tissue, resulting in gelatine transparencies of the final pages of an issue of *Picture Post* marked with the microscopic grid-lines from the glass plate. The pages were assembled on glass-top tables, lit from below.

Whereas the written text describes the production process sequentially, the editors of this photographic essay rather place greater significance on certain aspects of the construction of an issue of *Picture Post* through the resizing, cropping and arrangement of the photographs. 'How Picture Post is Produced' is a typical example of the photographic essay genre in that it performs effectively as a visual narrative; the overall layout is simple and clearly defined. The narrative is established on the first two pages of the photographic essay, highlighting the key figures of the *Picture Post* editorial team, namely Lorant and Hopkinson, and to a lesser

degree, the publisher, Hulton. The influence of Lorant is recognised, demonstrably through his seemingly authoritative position over Hulton in the photograph on page 45 (Fig. 7b).

While the written words provide important context for the photographs – offering an insight into the magazine’s technical approaches to photojournalism, and more widely the innovative technology involved in producing illustrated magazines – the visual imagery takes precedence over the text. Here, it is evidenced that the weekly illustrated press actively encouraged its readership in the same way as Magilow has established for that press in the Weimar Republic, namely to ‘see the world *photographically*.’¹⁰⁸

To sum up, Lorant’s approach to photographic narration which he established as editor of the *MIP* in Weimar Germany was taken up by him when he became editor of *Picture Post* in Britain in 1938; and the influence of the *Illustrierten* on his British colleagues is evidenced in his assistant editor’s attitude towards photographic narration. Thus, in one of Hopkinson’s memos to Hulton about the particularities of British photojournalism, he states *Picture Post*’s position:

[...] PICTURE POST is a new paper, working on new lines. Many people like it, but very few have any idea how it achieves its affects. Very briefly, these are:-

A by telling a story in pictures

¹⁰⁸ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 37

B by always having natural pictures, never posed ones.¹⁰⁹

The success of the format of the photographic essay in a British weekly publication, such as *Picture Post*, was reliant upon the integrity of its photographers and editorial team in their approach to the principles of photojournalism as well as their ability to effectively utilise the medium of photography as a way to narrate a story in order to attract a wide-ranging audience. As early as 1940, in a survey of newspaper readership, it was stated that, ‘matters concerning the birth and death, marriage and divorce, health, wealth and habits of the great [...], the aristocracy, film-stars, aviators and athletes are first-call “human interest”.’¹¹⁰

Whilst *Picture Post* features numerous photographic essays depicting movie stars, artists and people of merit, so too does it focus on the working classes and immigrant populations of Britain. The juxtaposition of current news stories focused on socio-political affairs with light-hearted entertaining photographic narratives made accessible the events which the majority of the population would not otherwise be exposed. In light of this, the outbreak of war in Europe as well as further conflict around the world had a substantial effect on the content of the magazine, with the editorial team putting frivolous photographs of the latest hairstyles or dance trends side-by-side with significant coverage of the Nazi invasion in Europe. Taylor attributes this juxtaposition, not to the demands of the people, but rather ‘the *practice* of the press.’¹¹¹ This practice, he continues, ‘[...] enables wars to be *contained* in

¹⁰⁹ Tom Hopkinson, *Memo from T. Hopkinson to Mr. Edward Hulton*, Ministry of Information, INF1/234, GP/86 (n.d.). See also the Appendices for Hopkinson’s written thoughts about the future of *Picture Post* in 1943.

¹¹⁰ Taylor, *War Photography*, 2

¹¹¹ Taylor, *War Photography*, 3

the newspapers and so avoid the strictures of the official censor.¹¹² In other words, in the specific case of *Picture Post*, it can be argued that in order to report on the war a narrative was constructed with a focus on the ‘human interest’ element of warfare so as to sidestep press censorship and continue to appeal to a broad audience. It has been noted that the success of *Picture Post* was arguably,

[...] due to the fulfilment of the pledges of Lorant and Hopkinson to represent as wide a vision of British society as possible. Importantly, there was a socially aware use of photographic and written material, with the former dominating the publication’s pages as first order messages of news information, and the latter fully cooperating with [...] the images that offered a wider diffusion of knowledge about the life experiences of the people of Britain and the wider world.¹¹³

The importance of being able to appeal to a socially diverse audience by telling stories through photographs meant that the magazine ‘[...] focused the camera lenses on the more pressing social and economic concerns of the majority of people, bringing a sharper visual democracy to the representation of their lives in the British press.’¹¹⁴ Whereas the once politically and culturally liberal and influential *Illustrierten* of Weimar Germany had now become a propagandist platform for the National Socialists, with government officials and Nazi officers taking control over the press. The connection between the format of the photographic essay found in the *Illustrierten* of Weimar Germany and that of *Picture Post*,

¹¹² Taylor, *War Photography*, 3

¹¹³ Twaites, ‘Circles of Confusion’, 115

¹¹⁴ Twaites, ‘Circles of Confusion’, 116

can be understood in light of the forced migration undertaken by many of those involved with the *Illustrierten* during the 1930s. The significance of this is such that William Gaunt has asserted that,

The overwhelming cultural event which would shape the course of German and British photography in the [...] 1930s [was] the emigration of leading German photographers, photographic publishers and picture editors from Nazi rule [...]; this brought a pool of talent to London, which reinforced the incorporation of the new German photography into the mainstream of British culture.¹¹⁵

The *Illustrierten*, which had once been symbolic of the cultural liberalism of the Weimar Republic, began to reflect the ideals of the National Socialists in the 1930s. The émigrés who had sought to establish in Britain the principles of modern photojournalism founded on the continent in the late 1920s were by then responsible for exposing the extremist views of the Nazi regime through photographic narration. While the impact of migration will be explored in detail in the subsequent chapters of this thesis, it should be mentioned here that this juxtaposition had led to an attempt by some facets of the British Press to showcase the differences between British and German political systems. Moreover, and on a much deeper level, *Picture Post* has employed this photographic practice to picture this disjuncture and uphold the integral principles of photojournalism.¹¹⁶ The disjuncture ‘between the political systems of Britain and Germany was easily pictured in the favoured design technique of ‘oppositional’ layout. By placing side-by-side photographs of two contrasting scenes, it was

¹¹⁵ Mellor, *The New Photography*, 129

¹¹⁶ Taylor, *War Photography*, 71

possible to create a ‘third effect’.¹¹⁷ This so-called third effect was employed by *Picture Post* to demonstrate the abhorrent practices of the National Socialists. Rather than using shocking images of brutality or atrocity, *Picture Post* had preferred, at times, to focus on fascist narcissism. This technique was used, not only within the pages of the magazine, but also for the front cover. An issue of *Picture Post*, published on 13 July 1940, juxtaposes an image of a young, British boy, dressed in cricket whites against a photograph of a young Nazi, donning the uniform and arrogant stare of the National Socialists (Fig. 8). This continues in the main body of the story, beginning on page 9 of the issue – as contrasting photographs of Hitler and Churchill are placed side-by-side, accompanied by the captions, ‘Totalitarianism...’ and ‘Democracy...’.¹¹⁸

After the outbreak of the war, the government imposed restrictions on the British press in terms of what could and could not be published. This obstructed and influenced the ways in which stories could be told, which has been noted by Taylor. He has asserted that, ‘in wartime [...] governments have placed special obligations upon the press that have impeded the otherwise apparently free flow of news gathering and broadcasting.’¹¹⁹ Taylor continues,

In both the World Wars the governments had formidable and detailed control, enforceable in law if necessary, over what they would allow the press to say. In addition, during the Second World War, the press came under direct financial control of the government, which loosened the grip of advertisers but drastically reduced the

¹¹⁷ Taylor, *War Photography*, 71

¹¹⁸ ‘What We Are Fighting For’, *Picture Post*, 8(2) (13 July 1940), 9

¹¹⁹ Taylor, *War Photography*, 2

number of pages and pictures. The [...] papers retained their hold over readers by continuing to use the mainstay of reportage, the “human interest” story.¹²⁰

Picture Post, too, was subject to the censorship and publication controls imposed on the British press by the government. There is evidence to suggest that in relation to the procedures of the Ministry of Information, the editor of *Picture Post* recognised that the magazine was not functioning as effectively as it had potential to as a vehicle for positive propaganda for the war effort. Hopkinson, in a memo to Hulton at the end of 1939, suggests that the significance of *Picture Post* – in light of its impressive circulation – would secure its effectiveness as a function of propaganda abroad. Despite this, the style of photojournalism presented in *Picture Post*, was effective as a means to present the effects of war to the British readership whilst demonstrating their position as a popular weekly magazine. As such the technical advances in photography, coupled with innovations in photographic narration, were noted by Hopkinson when he stated that, ‘from the point of view – not of the cameraman but of the person using his work – the real meaning of all this development is that it makes possible the conveyance of emotion and excitement by photography.’¹²¹

In light of these findings, the specific approach to photographic narration evident in *Picture Post* will now be explored in the following section through an examination of theoretical discourses on photography and its relationship with written text in the popular press. As Andrew Scharf, who has carried out a survey of Press opinion in Britain, has noted,

¹²⁰ Taylor, *War Photography*, 2

¹²¹ This quote is reproduced from Tom Hopkinson’s notes in connection with the Proposed School of Photography, unpublished material, the Tom Hopkinson Archive, c/o Amanda Hopkinson, date unknown

[...] it is desirable to bear in mind certain factors generally applicable to the British Press of the period. It is obvious that a Press may at once try to mirror public attitude and to mould it. It is probable that both editorial approach and selection of news are the result of a complicated interaction between those two processes.¹²²

The so-called editorial approach is evidenced to a certain extent by the unpublished contact sheets of a number of photographic essays in *Picture Post*. The contact sheets of a selection of the essays discussed here (Figs. 9, 10 and 11) illustrate the number and variety of photographs taken by the photographer on assignment; thus, this photographic material provides a basis for a line of argumentation surrounding the construction and manipulation involved in the production of photographic narratives.

II. The Text/Image Relationship

As previously discussed in the first section of this chapter, on the photographic essays of Weimar Germany, it has been established that the *Illustrierten* not only influenced the format of the photographic essay in the British weekly magazines, but rather that it encouraged readers to see the world *photographically*. It has been noted that by the mid – to late 1920s, German photographers, thinkers and critics had ‘commented explicitly on photography’s ‘language-like’ abilities.’¹²³ This shift in attitude meant that, according to the editor of the *BIZ* Kurt Korff, ‘the public grew increasingly accustomed to receiving a stronger impression

¹²² Andrew Scharf, *The British Press and Jews under Nazi Rule* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 2

¹²³ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 5

of world events from pictures than from written reports.’¹²⁴ This format – that of the photographic essay – in view of Roland Barthes, represents a hybrid between text and image. Thus, in this section of Chapter Two, a selection of photographic essays published in *Picture Post* will be examined in light of the photographic theories of Barthes in order to determine the specific role of the image in relation to the written text, in the perception and effectiveness of a photographic essay.

The significance of the arrangement of the photographs and written text on the page is such that, firstly, the two structures of the photographic essay – the image and the written text – will be considered in relation to each other; in other words, the function of the photograph as a way to narrate a story will be explored in light of Barthes’s photographic message, asking to what extent the written text impacts on the reading of the image and how the images influence the text. Secondly, through a discussion of the assemblage of multiple photographs, their manipulation will be considered as an inherent aspect in the production of a photographic essay. Therefore, this section on the text/image relationship asserts the significance of Barthes’s theories of photography on understanding how a narrative is constructed by means of photographic material in *Picture Post* whilst demonstrating the limitations of reading such photographs as text; thus, it will be asserted that while Barthes accepts the perceived reality, as represented in a photograph, as it is, the subsequent section of this study will question this acceptance by recognising the physical construction of a photographic essay.

¹²⁴ Korff, ‘The Illustrated Magazine’, 646

2.1 An introduction to Roland Barthes's photographic theories

Roland Barthes, the French semiotician who wrote lengthily and influentially on photography and text, claimed that photography was a construction of signs and codes, utilising semiotic analysis to explore the photographic medium.¹²⁵ He first addressed the theories of photography in his series of essays entitled *Mythologies*; this book was first published as a single volume in 1957, consisting of articles written for the journal, *Les Lettres nouvelles*, between 1954 and 1956.¹²⁶ Barthes had developed his semiological approach in the 1950s and further examined these ideas to include an exploration of the relationship between text and image in the two essays previously mentioned, written during the 1960s: 'The Photographic Message' and 'The Rhetoric of the Image'. These two texts will provide the basis for a discussion surrounding the relationship between text and image in a selection of published photographic essays in *Picture Post* in order to assert a specific approach to the construction of narratives by means of photographic material. In 'The Photographic Message', Barthes examines the peculiarity of the press photograph. Here, he places the two structures – the photograph and the text – in binary opposition, stating that:

The structure of the photograph is not an isolated structure; it is in communication with at least one other structure, namely the text – title, caption, or article – accompanying every press photograph.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Sabine T. Kriebel, 'Theories of Photography: A Short History', in James Elkins, ed., *Photography Theory* (New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 13

¹²⁶ Graham Allen, *Roland Barthes* (London: Routledge, 2003), 33

¹²⁷ Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', 16

As a picture-led magazine, *Picture Post* pioneered the use of a photograph, or a series of photographs, to tell a story. However, for Barthes, the text and the photograph 'are co-operative but, since their units are heterogeneous, necessarily remain separate from one another: here (in the text) the substance of the message is made up of words, there (in the photographs) of lines, surfaces, shades.'¹²⁸ Thus the dualistic nature of photojournalism is highlighted through the juxtaposition of text and image. Moreover, the heterogeneity of the two structures within photojournalism means that, ultimately, according to Barthes, the photograph and the text remain distinct from each other.

'Whitechapel' (Fig. 12) is a 6-page long photographic essay.¹²⁹ It was published in the third issue of *Picture Post*, on 15 October 1938. It consists of twenty-one photographs taken by Humphrey Spender and the accompanying text was written by William Cameron. Each of the twenty-one images is accompanied by a caption, briefly describing the scene depicted in the photograph. In order to achieve photographic narration, the layout of the photographs was extremely important. During the editing process, the layout would be scrutinised; photographs would be cropped, resized and reordered, in order to create the most convincing photographic essay. A photographer may return from an assignment with hundreds of images, and as is pointed out here, beneath the title on page 23: "'Picture Post" turned a cameraman loose in Whitechapel. He was to stay there as long as he pleased, and come back only when he had the whole character of Whitechapel in pictures.'

¹²⁸ Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', 16

¹²⁹ This photographic essay begins on page 23, with the main body of the story ending on page 28. The remaining text continues on page 72.

The grid-like formation of the photographs, and the symmetrical look of this double-page spread on pages 24 and 25, is typical of Lorant's photojournalistic vision. These images have been carefully selected to give the impression that they have been published with limited interference in order to enhance the connotations of realism. The angles of the figures frame the page perfectly: the men in the top left image have their backs to the camera, facing out of the page, balanced with the two crouching children opposite. Similarly, the bottom four photographs have been arranged so as to form a visual frame in which to view the narrative. An emphasis has been placed, by scholars of photojournalism, solely on the visual. The subservient role the text has now come to play has been accepted, as the dominance of the photograph is established. In light of Barthes, it can be asserted that as these two structures – the image and the text – are heterogeneous, each structure needs to be studied independently of the other, before they can be understood as a whole. One must, therefore, examine one structure completely in order to then understand the second. He asserts that,

[...] although a press photograph is never without a written commentary, the analysis must first of all bear on each separate structure; it is only when the study of each structure has been exhausted that it will be possible to understand the manner in which they complement one another.¹³⁰

If one is to follow Barthes's assessment that one must study the image before studying the text, this would result in a seemingly unnatural reading of the photographic essay. Here, on the first page of the 'Whitechapel' photographic essay, the reader is confronted with two

¹³⁰ Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', 16

photographs, each captioned, a large title and two columns of text. The eye is drawn immediately to the title of the story – Whitechapel – and the large image showing six men and one woman standing on the street. The readers, therefore, are clear that this feature is about Whitechapel – the people of Whitechapel – and most would proceed to simultaneously read the text and look at the photographs. The photographic essay is a complex construction which requires an understanding not only of the familiar – the written language – but also the more unfamiliar structure – the photograph. Barthes, in ‘The Photographic Message’, states that, ‘certainly the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect *analogon* and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph. Thus can be seen the special status of the photographic image: *it is a message without a code* [...]’¹³¹

The photograph, as a perfect analogon, according to Barthes, is therefore a purely denoted message. The photograph is no longer a photograph, but analogous to the thing it represents. This is specific only to documentary photographic images. However, the peculiarity of the photograph allows Barthes to question his own insistence of the denotative nature of the photographic image, at least in relation to photographs which appear in the press. It is acknowledged in ‘The Photographic Message’ that ‘this purely “denotative” status of the photograph [...] in short its “objectivity”, has every chance of being mythical [...]’¹³² The assumed objectivity of the press photograph does not take into consideration the processes of construction involved in the production of a photograph, or indeed a series of photographs. Thus, Barthes considers that unlike other photographic images, the message of press

¹³¹ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 17

¹³² Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 19

photographs is not only denoted, but also connoted. Furthermore, unlike other kinds of photographic images, these types of photographs are objects which have been selected and constructed not only by the photographer himself but by the editor as well as being received and ‘read’ by an audience. For Barthes, this is the photographic paradox – ‘the co-existence of two messages, the one without a code (the photographic analogue), the other with a code (the ‘art’, or the treatment, or the ‘writing’, or the rhetoric, of the photograph) [...]’.¹³³ This so-called photographic paradox raises a question for Barthes about the assumed objectivity of the press photograph. He writes that,

This structural paradox coincides with an ethical paradox: when one wants to be “neutral”, “objective”, one strives to copy reality meticulously, as though the analogical were a factor of resistance against the investment of values [...]; how then can the photograph be at once “objective” and “invested”, natural and cultural?¹³⁴

Before the 1920s and the development of the so-called ‘modern photojournalism’, it was conventional for the image to illustrate the text. One of the many reasons for this was that the technology of the cameras and the printing presses, before the 1920s, was not advanced enough. The visual image was therefore an accompaniment to the text, making it clearer and more readily available to the reader or audience. The function of the image has now been reversed. As one can observe here, the function of the photograph is not auxiliary to the text. The variety of angles highlights the dynamism and vibrancy of this area of London, drawing attention to the bustling nature of the streets of East London. The perceived immediacy of

¹³³ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 19

¹³⁴ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 20

the photograph is something which cannot be achieved through the text. And so, in this sense, the text limits the image; by burdening the image, the text influences what is represented in and by the image.

Barthes emphasises the negative relationship between text and image, stating that,

The text constitutes a parasitic message designed to connote the image, to “quicken” it with one or more second-order signifieds. In other words, and this is an important historical reversal, the image no longer *illustrates* the words; it is now the words which, structurally, are parasitic on the image [...]; today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination. Formerly, there was reduction from text to image; today, there is amplification from the one to the other.¹³⁵

Similarly, the relationship between the photographer and the writer is significant in the overall effectiveness of the photographic essay. The photographs for ‘Whitechapel’ were taken by the British photojournalist, Humphrey Spender (1910-2005), and the words written by William Cameron. Cameron, himself from the East End of London, was an author who, in the same year as the advent of *Picture Post* had published a book entitled *Common People*. Spender, who undertook many trips to Germany, was familiar with the European style of photojournalism. In reading the words of the Whitechapel story, it is interesting to note that despite the left-wing tendencies of *Picture Post* and the émigré status of its editor and many of its photographers, there remains an overriding sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The East End is described, through the words of Cameron, who was a British citizen, almost like another

¹³⁵ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 26

country, as a melting pot of cultures and languages. In light of this reading, photographic narration, as a new approach to textuality, ‘both invokes and differs from traditional forms of reading and writing. In their various guises, photographic narratives and sequences evoke explicit or implicit meanings for readers.’¹³⁶ Therefore, as Magilow has argued, ‘the burden of interpreting those meanings falls to the readers, who must mediate a photograph’s denotative and connotative dimensions.’¹³⁷ This photographic essay is significant in its representation of the multicultural nature of London’s East End.

The photograph is immediately categorised; the initial connotation being perception – it connotes reality. Barthes makes reference to this procedure of connotation as the ‘trick effects’.¹³⁸ This effect makes use of ‘the special credibility of the photograph [...] in order to pass off as merely denoted a message which is in reality heavily connoted; in no other treatment does connotation assume so completely the “objective” mask of denotation.’¹³⁹ This can be demonstrated in particular by the photograph situated at the top of page 26 (Fig. 12a). The assumed objectivity of the photograph – what can be seen – is, on the most basic level, a street; there is a row of terraced houses on the right-hand side of the image and a group of five women are in the foreground, one of whom is sitting on a chair. This ‘perceptive’ connotation leads to a ‘cognitive’ connotation – the localisation of signifiers within the photograph. This cognitive connotation might draw upon to more specific elements of the photograph: for example, the floral dress worn by the woman on the left; the

¹³⁶ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 11

¹³⁷ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 11

¹³⁸ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 21

¹³⁹ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 21

crossed arms of the woman standing next to her; the sign on the wall slightly further down the street. Finally, according to Barthes, there is ideological, or ethical, connotation. This third connotative state introduces reasons or values into the reading of the image.¹⁴⁰ Thus, this third connotation here could allow a further reading of the clothes worn by the women in the photograph: the overalls of the women on the right-hand side of the group connote work, and therefore it could be read that these are working class women; that the women are sitting and conversing on the street – a common activity of the working classes, taking a break from work; the terraced houses connote the cramped living conditions of the urban working classes. It is taken, then, that the reading of a photograph,

Closely depends on [the readers'] culture, [...] knowledge of the world, and it is probable that a good press photograph [...] makes ready play with the supposed knowledge of its readers, those prints being chosen which comprise the greatest possible quantity of information of this kind in such a way as to render the reading fully satisfying.¹⁴¹

In the 'Rhetoric of the Image', Barthes addresses the functionality of the linguistic message of the photograph.¹⁴² The photographs of this story present the reader with a number of possible denoted meanings: the numerous scenes and the variety of elements of these scenes introduce the possibility of uncertain signs. In order for these signs to be 'fixed', Barthes claims that the technique of the linguistic message is used to stabilise this 'floating chain of

¹⁴⁰ Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', 29

¹⁴¹ Barthes, 'The Photographic Message', 29

¹⁴² Barthes, 'Rhetoric of the Image', 38

signifieds.’¹⁴³ The text, then, has a specific purpose to identify and anchor the chosen elements of the photograph. As Barthes explains, ‘the caption [...] helps me to choose the correct *level of perception*, permits me to focus not simply my gaze but also my understanding [...]. [T]he text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others [...].’¹⁴⁴ This process of ‘anchorage’ is the most frequent function of the linguistic message.¹⁴⁵ If this prescribed reading of the photograph(s) is to be observed, then, the text is understood to have a repressive value in the photographic essay.

Barthes’s exploration of the function of the linguistic message in how a photograph, or a series of photographs, is perceived emphasises the dominance of the text in the text/image relationship. Whilst recognising the different connotative states of the image, Barthes addresses the significance of the positioning of the text in relation to the photograph. The closer the text is to the photograph, the more it appears to ‘share in its objectivity’.¹⁴⁶ In other words, the caption – being the closest text to the photograph– seems to refer specifically to what is seen in the image rather than presenting the possibility of an ideological message. Barthes observes that,

The caption probably has a less obvious effect of connotation than the headline or accompanying article: headline and article are palpably separate from the image, the former by its emphasis, the latter by its distance [...]. The caption, on the contrary, by

¹⁴³ Barthes, ‘Rhetoric of the Image’, 39

¹⁴⁴ Barthes, ‘Rhetoric of the Image’, 39

¹⁴⁵ Barthes, ‘Rhetoric of the Image’, 41

¹⁴⁶ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 26

its very disposition [...] appears to duplicate the image, that is, to be included in its denotation.¹⁴⁷

The role of the text in a photographic essay will be explored in the following section.

Furthermore, the positioning of the caption, headline and article in relation to the photographs will be examined in order to assert the differing effects of connotation.

2.2 Text and image in the photographic essays of *Picture Post*

It can be argued that the peculiarity of the press photograph is heightened when it is viewed as part of a photographic essay. A series of photographs, displayed in grid-like formations, are designed not only so one can follow the series with ease, but so one can understand the story. As seen here the formation of images lends itself to a cyclical following. The format employed at *Picture Post* allowed the reader to follow the photographs around the page, creating a visual dynamic between the individual photographs. Each picture is no longer seen singularly, but rather as part of a whole. Barthes uses the term ‘syntax’ to make reference to the connotative status of a series of photographs, asserting that,

Naturally, several photographs can come together to form a sequence (this is commonly the case in illustrated magazines); the signifier of connotation is then no longer to be found at the level of any one of the fragments of the sequence but at that [...] of the concatenation.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 26

¹⁴⁸ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 24

It is asserted then that it is in the construction of a photographic essay that the ideological message can be ‘read’. In light of Barthes’s photographic theories, it can be argued that the photograph is immediately categorised. The documentary nature of photographic imagery is the basis for understanding and ‘reading’ a photograph. ‘The term “documentary” was coined by Scottish filmmaker, John Grierson, in 1926, to designate work based upon the “creative interpretation of reality”.’¹⁴⁹ The collectively understood language of sign systems begins with the image itself. The photographic essay clearly demonstrates Barthes’s categorisation of the relationship between text and image. In 1939, *Picture Post* published four feature stories on the subject of unemployment in Britain. The photographic essays based around the topic of ‘Unemployment’, were published on 21 January, 25 January, 4 February and 11 February 1939; the following discussion will be formed on the basis of Barthes’s three-stage examination of photographic images, focusing on the role of the text in specific examples of photographic essays, not only in terms of content but on the physical layout. The first instalment of the photographic essays on the unemployed, featured in *Picture Post* on 21 January 1939.¹⁵⁰ The story was made up of nineteen photographs. The last instalment of the four photographic essays dedicated to the topic of unemployment published by the magazine in 1939 was titled ‘Unemployed! 4 Industrial Transfers’ and featured in *Picture Post* on 11 February 1939 (Fig. 13). The six page story features thirteen photographs taken by Gidal and Hutton.¹⁵¹ And so, if we are to ‘read’ these images according to Barthes, the initial stage is to decipher *what* is being represented in the

¹⁴⁹ Liz Wells, ‘Documentary and Photojournalism. Introduction’, in Liz Wells, ed., *The Photography Reader* (London; New York: Routledge), 2003, 252

¹⁵⁰ This photographic essay ran from page 11 to page 19.

¹⁵¹ This photographic essay begins on page 43 and concludes on page 48.

photograph. What Barthes calls the initial connotation – that of perception – is what we see in the image. This ‘perceptive’ connotation leads to a ‘cognitive’ connotation – the localisation of signifiers within the photograph. Finally, according to Barthes, there is ideological, or ethical, connotation. This third connotative state introduces reasons or values into the reading of the image.¹⁵² The photographs in this essay are intended to be viewed sequentially, illustrated by the numbering system attributed to each of the images. Additionally, each photograph is accompanied by a caption: a title in italics is printed below each image, followed by two lines of further written text. The first page of ‘Unemployed’ is dominated by a half-page photograph above the bold title (Fig. 13a). This image, numbered 1, has been closely cropped and resized to command attention. The two photographed men do not acknowledge the camera or the presence of the photographer; they are, rather, engaged in conversation. The dark walls of the room in the background of the photograph illuminate the faces and hands of the two men. The accompanying caption, ‘Out Of Work For 14 ½ Years, A Durham Miner Gets A Fresh Start’, seeks to provide context for the photograph. The written text has been arranged in three columns below the photograph. Consigned to the lower half of the page, the text here plays a subservient role to the photograph. The following five pages of this photographic essay offer a combination of image and text in which the photographs, both in size and quantity, dominate the written text. The layout on pages 44 and 45 is almost symmetrical; the captions attribute names to the faces in the photographs, providing a sense of familiarity and import to the individual. It can be argued, therefore, that the role of the text here encourages a specific ideological connotation

¹⁵² Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 29

associated with the photographic narrative. The suggestion of familiarity is accentuated by providing the names of the individuals; it evokes an emotional response from the reader so that they may be able to understand the specific situation of the people who have been photographed and identify with them. Furthermore, the importance of the individual, which has been emphasised by the cropping of the photographs, should appeal to a wide-ranging audience by highlighting the economic and social concerns of the unemployed working classes. The implication is that concerns such as these were worthy of publication and therefore of national interest.

After the departure of Lorant for the USA, and the promotion of Hopkinson from assistant editor to editor, the approach to photographic narration in *Picture Post* continued in a similar manner in both style and content. It may be noted that in light of certain topics, such as legislative policies, there was a shift in balance between text and image. Take, as an example, the photographic essay 'Health for All', published in the magazine on 4 January 1941 (Fig. 14). This four-page photographic essay, with photographs by Felix H. Man and words by Julian Huxley, contains seven images, none of which feature on the first page. The bold title of the article is situated at the top of the page, below which is a three-line sub-heading providing information about the author, and three columns of text. The first page of text sets the tone for the photographic essay as a whole; without an image, the reader must engage with the written text and as a result the following photographs are burdened with an agenda as set out by Huxley in the written text. Here then, in light of Barthes's discourse on the categorisation of the photograph, the perceptive connotation of the image has been

influenced by the text. It may be deduced that this first photograph by Man, in the top left-hand corner of page 33 (Fig. 14a), depicts an operating theatre in which an operation is currently being performed – that is the denotative status of the photograph. The more specific details of the image include the number of people – there are six, excluding the patient, who cannot be seen – the medical equipment, the large light fitting above the operating bed, white walls and black electrical cables. Beyond this, the caption directs the ideological connotation to *fix* the meaning of the photograph. The caption reads:

What Our Present System Does Provide: The Cure of Disease

The kind of treatment our medical services provide very generously. An operation in one of our hospitals which offer everything modern science can supply – when the patient is seriously ill.

This description attributes specific details to the assigned photograph. The suggestive nature of the text is such that the reader is encouraged to associate this image of an operating theatre with one of the best hospitals in Britain, and significantly, with the idea that the patient is seriously ill. Thus, the written text establishes a specific framework for the photograph and influences the ways in which photographs are read.

The photographic essay has been considered to mark a significant aesthetic change more often measured in the context of written language.¹⁵³ If the photograph can supposedly be read as a ‘text’ then, the particular arrangements of text and image in a photographic essay

¹⁵³ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 7

highlight the variances between the written text and the visual narrative. Furthermore, the arrangement of photographs and text is less rigid in the photographic essays dedicated to ‘human interest’ stories; or rather, the photographic narratives concerned with lifestyle and beauty case studies, for example, are not read sequentially. The layout of text and image in the three-page photographic essay, ‘Inside London’s Coloured Clubs’ (Fig. 15), is such that it reflects the energy and dynamism of the subject matter. This essay was published in *Picture Post* on 17 July 1943, with photographs taken by Man. While the arrangement of photographs on the page is clean and bold, the images do not follow a specific chronology; the nine photographs, too, vary in size and orientation contributing a sense of liveliness to the structure of the narrative. The photographs dominate this narrative so that there are only five small sections of written text, in addition to the captions and title. The vitality captured in these images demonstrates that, in the most effective photographic essay, the image must ‘have the most intense possible concentration, has to capture a situation at its climax; when it does, it occasionally achieves an effect that remains out of reach of even the most eloquent text.’¹⁵⁴ The command of the image in a photographic essay, then, is dependent upon the facility of the photographic narrative to demonstrate effectively the nature of the event – in this case, the energy of dancing in the nightclub is captured in the narrative.

‘A Girl Learns to Make a Hat’ is a photographic essay with photographs taken by Edith Tudor-Hart and Hutton; the author of the written text is Alice Hooper Beck (Fig. 16). This narrative was published in *Picture Post* on 9 December 1944, and features seven photographs

¹⁵⁴ Korff, ‘The Illustrated Magazine’, 646

on pages 22 and 23. In a style similar to 'Inside London's Coloured Clubs', this photographic essay does not have a numbered chronological arrangement for the photographs; rather, the selection of photographs provide a visual narrative of a millinery class with the first image at the top of page 22 depicting a number of young women beginning their projects in a class room and two of the photographs on the last page focusing on an individual woman who has completed her hat. The title of this photographic essay, although in bold text, is situated approximately half way down the page, surrounded by four photographs of varying sizes, and four small sections of written text. Each of the photographs is accompanied by a caption written in italics.

While it has been asserted that the arrangement of text and image can influence the character of the photographic narrative, the focus on individual people results in stark similarities in the style and layout of a photographic essay. These two photographic essays are typical examples of narrative features in *Picture Post* where the grid-like formations of the closely-cropped photographs dominate the written text in order to provide a strong visual narrative. Although the subject matter differs, the layouts are strikingly similar. 'The First Coloured Service Girls Get Down to Work in Britain' was published in the magazine on 31 October 1942 and features six photographs by Deutsch (Fig. 17). This photographic essay appeared on pages 10 and 11, the first editorial of the issue. The title of the essay appears approximately three-quarters down the page, in bold capitals. Each of the photographs is accompanied by a descriptive caption and three sections of written text on the first page of the photographic essay. The large rectangular photograph on page 10 shows two

servicewomen and a uniformed man, gesturing towards a point beyond the camera frame. The following photographs have been cropped to focus on individual service women, all pictured wearing their uniforms. These are the first five servicewomen to arrive in Britain, and the captions supplementing the photographs provide the name of each woman and where they are from in America. The full-page grid-like formation of the four photographs on page 11 has been arranged in such a way that the photographs govern the tone of the narrative. Here, the written biographical information does not direct the narrative; the position of the photographs is such that women in the selected images echo the smile and gaze of the individual in the adjacent photograph.

Burgin has explained that, in light of a semiotic approach to the codification of images, ‘there is no “language” of photography, no single signifying system [...] upon which all photographs depend [...]; there is, rather, a heterogeneous complex of codes upon which photography may draw.’¹⁵⁵ Thus, while Barthes’s writing on the relationship between text and image is based on semiotic analysis, which in turn has been informed by his theories on cultural myths, namely in his volume of 1957, *Mythologies*, his analysis of contemporary society and the constructed cultural meanings surrounding visual imagery, provides a foundation for the evaluation of the role of the photographic essay. In other words, according to Burgin, the photograph is rarely seen without the accompanying written language, and

¹⁵⁵ Victor Burgin, ‘Looking at Photographs’, in Victor Burgin, ed., *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 143

therefore can be interpreted linguistically.¹⁵⁶ This can be applied to the format of the photographic essay.

Barthes, as mentioned above, claims that photography was a construction of signs and codes, utilising semiotic analysis to explore the medium.¹⁵⁷ Barthes argues that culture '[...] constantly presents artificial, manufactured and, above all, ideological objects and values as if they were indisputable, unquestionable and natural.'¹⁵⁸ This implies that there has been an intentional attempt at falsification in the production of the photographic narrative. Furthermore, Barthes attempts to address these concerns through an exploration of a photograph of a saluting, black soldier in the French army, which appeared on the front cover of an issue of *Paris-Match* magazine in his essay, 'Myth Today' (Fig. 19).¹⁵⁹ Barthes employs this as an illustration of Ferdinand de Saussure's explanation of signs, signifiers and signifieds, in the essay which was published in the *Mythologies* volume. As Barthes writes in his essay,

[...] a copy of *Paris-Match* is offered to me. On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour. All this is the *meaning* of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better

¹⁵⁶ Burgin, 'Looking at Photographs', 144

¹⁵⁷ Kriebel, 'Theories of Photography', 13

¹⁵⁸ Allen, *Roland Barthes*, 4

¹⁵⁹ Roland Barthes, 'Myth Today' in *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (London: Vintage, 1993)

answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors.¹⁶⁰

In relation to photography, the denoted and connoted meanings can be explained thusly: denotation is *what* is photographed and connotation is *how* it is photographed.¹⁶¹ For Barthes, this means he is faced with a greater semiological system:

[...] there is a signifier, itself already formed with a previous system (*a black soldier is giving the French salute*); there is a signified (it is here a purposeful mixture of Frenchness and militariness); finally, there is a presence of the signified through the signifier... In myth (and this is the chief peculiarity of the latter), the signifier is already formed by the signs of the language... Myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us...¹⁶²

Just as the photograph of the young black soldier in uniform on the cover of *Paris-Match* becomes the site for Barthes's codification of cultural myths, so too the front cover of *Picture Post* becomes, in light of Barthes, a site for denoted and connoted meanings (Fig. 8). The juxtaposition of the British boy, dressed in cricket whites, with the young German in his Hitler Youth uniform, is unambiguous. Here, the sign has become the signifier of a new signified. It is necessary to distinguish between the first order of meaning – the literal (or denoted) meaning – and the second-order system (the connoted meaning) within which the

¹⁶⁰ Barthes, 'Myth Today', 116

¹⁶¹ John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies* (London: Methuen 1982), 91

¹⁶² Barthes, 'Myth Today', 116

myth comes into being. Barthes, in relation to the young black soldier featured on the cover of *Paris-Match*, states that it is precisely here that we reach the very principle of myth. Myth, according to Barthes, transforms history into nature. In this specific case, he concludes,

[...] what is got rid of is certainly not French imperialism [...]; it is the contingent, historical, in one word: *fabricated*, quality of colonialism. Myth does not deny things [...] its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification [...]. In passing from history to nature, myth acts economically: it abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organizes a world which is without contradictions... Things appear to mean something by themselves...¹⁶³

The acknowledgement of ‘myth’ by Barthes draws attention to the manipulation and construction of a photograph; through the editorial processes involved in the production of a photographic essay, the apparently non-essential elements of the account are removed in order to provide a simple visual narrative. While this concept of myth is valuable in understanding Barthes’s approach to photographic theory and press photography, it does not recognise the processes of manipulation involved in the production of such an image, and therefore is limiting in terms of the reading of narratives from the assemblage of multiple photographs.

¹⁶³ Barthes, ‘Myth Today’, 143

2.3 Limitations of the photograph as ‘text’

While it can be argued that the genre of the photographic essay as a construction of narrative by means of photographic material offered ‘a path to greater knowledge and enlightenment about the rapidly changing world’, these same technical approaches were indeed ‘co-opted for reactionary purposes, even if they maintained the sheen of “the new”.’¹⁶⁴ In photographic essays, ‘photographs may have functioned like written or spoken language, but as with written or spoken language, they could also be co-opted and misused.’¹⁶⁵ Barthes’s reading of both the photographic message and the written message limits our understanding of the photographic essay: in dealing with the photographic images as if they were text, Barthes assumes the documentary nature of the photograph. Whilst Barthes acknowledges the ideological constructions of photographic images (i.e. what a photograph means, its connotations), he does not explore how, and to what extent, the processes involved in the production of photographic images – the staging, organisation and construction of photographs – influences the narrative of the photographic essay. This is a fundamental limitation of Barthes’s work in the context of press photography and more specifically, the photographic essay. While Barthes’s writing has been influential in the theoretical approach to photography, and photojournalism, and his exploration of the relationship between text and image has allowed for further examination of the specific relationship between these two ‘structures’ in *Picture Post*, his work has limitations, as will be shown in the following section.

¹⁶⁴ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 13

¹⁶⁵ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 7

Hence, if the photograph is to be ‘read’ as a text, this highlights the problematic nature of the text/image relationship in the photographic essay. In light of Mikhail Bakhtin’s ‘implied text’ it can be asserted that there are limitations to understanding how a photographic image can function as a language. Bakhtin addresses the function of the text, stating that,

Each text presupposes a generally understood [...] system of signs, a language (if only the language of art). If there is no language behind the text, it is not a text, but a natural (not signifying) phenomenon, for example, a complex of natural cries and means devoid of any linguistic (signifying) repeatability.¹⁶⁶

This serves as a means to an understanding of the way that the receivers of photographs collectively ‘read’ images. Without a recognised sign system, the photograph – or series of photographs – would not tell a story. The photographic essay relies, to this end, on a generally understood language, or system of signs, as Bakhtin writes. This may go some way to address the presence of the written word in a photographic essay – that the text (in this instance, the words) – are there to direct and inform. Burgin, too, focuses on the linguistic constraints of photographic imagery, asserting that,

[...] importantly, it was shown that the putatively autonomous “language of photography” is never free from the determinations of language itself. We rarely see a photograph *in use* which does not have a caption or a title, it is more usual to encounter photographs attached to long texts, or with copy superimposed over them. Even a photograph which

¹⁶⁶ Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*, 105

has no actual writing on or around it is traversed by language when it is “read” by a viewer [...].¹⁶⁷

However, it has previously been argued that the functions of the visual image and the written text have now been reversed. Kriebel, in her introductory essay, highlights the contradictory nature of photographic theory, in relation to the text/image relationship. In reference to Walter Benjamin and Barthes, Kriebel asserts that,

While Benjamin sees text as offering depth and structure, Barthes ultimately considers text as a repressive form of ideological control: text helps the viewer to “choose” the correct level of understanding, leading the viewer to attend to some signifieds in the image and avoid others.¹⁶⁸

Consequently, the written text, rather than emphasising the effectiveness of photographic narration, seemingly imposes an ideological structure on to the image, limiting its multiple possibilities of interpretation. As it has previously been established, Barthes emphasised the oppressive nature of the written text by stating that, ‘[...] in the relationship that now holds, it is not the image which comes to elucidate or “realize” the text, but the latter which comes to sublimate, patheticize or rationalize the image.’¹⁶⁹

To summarise, this section has examined the text/image relationship in the photographic essays of *Picture Post* in light of Barthes’s theories of photography. It has recognised that the inclusion of written language in a photographic essay – the title, captions, articles and

¹⁶⁷ Burgin, ‘Looking at Photographs’, 143

¹⁶⁸ Kriebel, ‘Theories of Photography’, 14

¹⁶⁹ Barthes, ‘The Photographic Message’, 25

essays – ‘quickly constrain interpretive possibilities and elicit specific interpretations.’¹⁷⁰

The noted limitations of Barthes’s treatment of the press photograph and its relationship with text places significance on the role of written language in the text/image relationship which in turn restricts, or burdens, the reading of the photograph. This, however, is not the intended function of the text in a photographic essay. Rather, it is by means of photographic material that a narrative is constructed. Moreover, it has been acknowledged by Barthes that the signifier of connotation in a sequence of photographs can be found in its construction as a narrative, rather than in the individual images. The photographic image is no longer considered subservient to the text but the processes of manipulation inherent in the production of a photographic essay have been made visible. According to Gisèle Freund,

While the written word is abstract, the photograph is a concrete reflection of the world in which all of us live [...]. Photography became a powerful means of propaganda and the manipulation of opinion. Industry, finance, government, the owners of the press were able to fashion the world in images after their own interests.¹⁷¹

Thus, the next section of this chapter will explore the processes of construction involved in the production of a photographic essay and will address how this influences the ways in which a story is told through the assemblage of multiple photographs with text.

III. Manipulation in the photographic narratives of *Picture Post*

¹⁷⁰ Magilow, *Photography in Crisis*, 11

¹⁷¹ Freund, *Photography and Society*, 103

The contact sheets of selected photographic essays provide evidence for the editorial manipulation of photographs in order to construct a convincing photographic narrative. The contact sheets for 'Whitechapel' (Fig. 20) expose the workings of the photographer as well as the editorial process of selection. Thus, it can be deduced from an examination of the contact sheets in relation to the published photographic essay, that this process involved the selection, cropping, resizing and rearrangement of the photographs. The selection process of the photographs for the 'Whitechapel' photographic essay is illustrated by the hand-drawn red 'selection boxes' on individual photographs. The first published photograph depicts a line of men leaning against a wall, which corresponds to a selected photograph on a contact sheet (Fig. 20a). This particular photograph has been annotated in red crayon on the contact sheet, most probably by Lorant.¹⁷² Having been selected, the photograph has since undergone a number of physical manipulations in order to be published as part of a photographic essay. While this is not evident from the contact sheet itself, an evaluation of the unedited photograph and the published image reveals a number of manipulations. Firstly, the photograph has been cropped in order to exclude the unnecessary detail which is not pertinent to the narrative. Two figures – one on the left-hand side of the image; the other on the right-hand side – have been cut out, and the top of the photograph has been removed in order to eliminate the distracting features of the building behind the line of people. This results in a clean image, centred on five men. The unassuming wall of the building behind does not disturb the clarity of the photograph; thus, the simplicity of the narrative is uninterrupted.

¹⁷² While it can be assumed that Lorant, as the editor of *Picture Post*, would have been responsible for the selection of photographs and had made these annotations, there is no archival evidence for this.

This photograph, having been cropped, was resized to fit the selected space on the printed page, demonstrated in the photographic essay ‘How Picture Post is Produced’, as discussed in a previous section of this chapter. The photograph has been sized to fit half of the page, dominating the beginning of the photographic essay and, furthermore, establishing the tone of the narrative. As the photographs are seen on the contact sheets, each image is of identical size and equal importance. However, the editorial process is such that, through the selection and physical manipulation of the photographs, it has influenced the overall narrative of the photographic essay. The manipulation of photographs to establish a photographic narrative is demonstrated through the arrangement and subsequent layout of the images. This can be seen most notably in the photographic essays of *Picture Post* that feature numbered photographic sequences. The extensive contact sheets attributed to the ‘Unemployed!’ series of published photographic essays in the magazine, determine the significance of the manipulation of photographs in the construction of the narrative (Fig. 21).

The final instalment of the ‘Unemployed!’ photographic essays was published in *Picture Post* on 11 February 1939 (Fig. 13), and features thirteen photographs arranged in a numbered sequence. This layout was employed to establish a simple photographic narrative which directs the reader through the story. This photographic essay focuses on the situation of families from deprived areas relocating as a result of finding new employment. The sequential arrangement of the photographs begins with a family moving furniture; as the narrative develops so too does the journey of the family: from moving and packing their possessions, to saying goodbye to friends and arriving at their new home. The photographs

have been arranged in a chronological sequence so that there is a beginning, middle and end to the narrative. As can be seen from the contact sheets – which include the photographs for all four instalments of the ‘Unemployed!’ series – the photographs have not been arranged in the published photographic essay in the same sequence in which they were taken by the photographers, Hutton and Gidal. As an example, the third and fourth photographs in the numbered sequence have been selected, cropped and arranged in such a way as to construct a narrative. The third photograph is of a small boy with his hands in his pockets, standing in front of another child and bicycle. The contact sheets show that this moment has been captured in between the removal of a piece of furniture from a house and the loading of it into the back of a lorry (Fig. 21a). The negative on the contact sheet has been marked with a red circle, denoting the inclusion of the image in the final photographic essay. The photograph has been cropped in order to focus on the two young children and selected as the third image for the final narrative structure; this precedes the photograph of a woman and young man standing over an upturned chair. Whilst these images belong to a series of photographs taken of a family moving house, they do not appear to be concurrent (Fig. 21b). This shows the negatives of the fourth photograph, and highlights the process of editorial selection for a feature in *Picture Post*. The manipulations of narrative, as well as the physical alterations made to individual photographs, are evident in this photographic essay.

The processes of manipulation involved in the production of a photographic essay are made visible through an examination of the contact sheets. The negatives which have been printed onto photographic paper show some, if not all, of the photographs taken by the photographer

on assignment. While it cannot be determined whether all the negatives have been printed onto the contact sheets, what such an analysis provides is substantial evidence of manipulation in the selection and elimination of specific photographs. Thus, the final published photographic essay has been constructed in order to influence the narrative. An inherent aspect of producing photographic essays, the manipulation of photographs – including their selection, cropping and resizing – allows for a story to be told from a specific perspective in order to create a precise narrative. Hence, it should be acknowledged that those involved in the construction of representations and narratives – namely the photographer and editorial team – impact the way in which the story is told from its inception to the final published photographic essay.

The contact sheets for the photographic essay, ‘The First Coloured Service Girls Get Down To Work In Britain’, show that Deutsch took at least 70 photographs on her assignment which resulted in a photographic narrative of six published images (Fig. 22). The one obvious signification of editorial selection is a yellow cross mark next to a single photograph. Unlike a number of the contact sheets which have been heavily annotated, Deutsch’s negatives provide little indication for the understanding of the editorial process (Fig. 22a). It can be deduced, however, from a comparison of the published photographs and the contact sheets that a specific selection process was carried out by the editorial team. The marked negative has not been included in the final photographic essay; rather, the photograph featuring the only male in the published narrative, appears to have been taken immediately before this image (Fig. 22b). While the contact sheets show a number of photographs of the

servicewomen interacting with one another, with fellow servicemen as well as engaged in working practices, the photographic essay focuses on five individual women whose portraits have been published. The resulting narrative emphasises the importance of the individual, rather than anonymously recording the work carried out by ‘the first coloured service girls’ in Britain.

The photographic essays of *Picture Post* were subject to many processes made possible by advances in the photographic and printing technologies. The printing processes involved in producing an issue of the magazine have been made clear through an examination of the photographic essay, ‘How Picture Post Is Produced’, and this section has focused on the manipulations of the photographs in order to construct an effective narrative. The photographs which are to be published are subject to manipulations such as cropping, resizing and restructuring; these processes are demonstrated in a number of photographic essays which present a diverse range of subjects. Furthermore, there are certain examples of the technique of photomontage being employed to further influence the narrative of a photographic essay in order to provide the reader with an exciting, dynamic visual image. This can be seen, for example, in the photographic essay, ‘Inside London’s Coloured Clubs’, shot by Man. The narrow, long rectangular photograph which is situated at the bottom of page 20 and continues onto page 21 is an example of this technique. Once published, it appears that this photograph is a single, seamless image of the dancefloor in a club. However, in light of an examination of the contact sheets (Fig. 23), this photograph is in fact constructed from a number of different images taken by Man (Fig. 23a). The annotated

contact sheet draws attention to a couple dancing; the male figure has his back to the camera, whilst the woman with blond hair embraces him and looks over his shoulder. The negative shows that this couple are the only individuals in focus; the photograph has been taken within close proximity of the dancers and not, as it appears in the magazine, with a wide-angled lens. Furthermore, the negatives also illustrate that the couples who seem to be dancing next to each other at the same time in the published photograph, have rather been cut, rearranged and overlapped from separate photographs. The resulting composite image – or photomontage – offers a sense of dynamism and energy as an illustration of London's coloured clubs.

Additionally, a photographic essay featuring a group of young women at a millinery class highlights the significance of the physical manipulation of photographs to emphasise particular aspects of narration. 'A Girl Learns to Make a Hat', with photographs by Edith Tudor-Hart and Man, is a two page photographic essay with seven photographs (Fig. 16). Of these seven images, all have been physically altered in some way. The sequence of the photographic narrative is not as rigid as some previous examples, but the arrangement of the photographs has in fact been influenced by the progress of the class. The cropping of the photographs again places emphasis on the presence of the editor – Hopkinson, who replaced Lorient in 1940 – and his team in the production of a photographic essay. The twenty-one negatives which have been printed onto the photographic paper for this photographic essay demonstrate the significance of cropping a photograph in order to accentuate particular aspects of the envisioned narrative (Fig. 24). The photograph in the top left-hand corner of

the first page of 'A Girl Learns How to Make a Hat' focuses on the whole group of women taking part in the class as they sit around the tables considering the project at hand; the corresponding negative discloses the original proportions of the photograph (Fig. 24a). The ceiling of the room has been completely removed from the final image so as not to distract from the chaotic nature of the scene; so too the floor in the foreground has been cropped to eliminate any blank space from the photograph.

Picture Post placed significance on the role of the child and childhood in society, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. In light of the topic here, the (technical) manipulation of a special Christmas issue on this subject published in 1945 is central. The photographic essay which echoes the style of 'The First Coloured Service Girls' was published in *Picture Post* on 29 December 1945 (Fig. 18). The *Picture Post* Christmas Special featured photographic essays and articles on the subject of children and childhood; 'Child Characters' is a two-page photographic essay with eight photographs taken by Deutsch. Again, the title is situated near the bottom of the page, on the left-hand side. Notably, beneath the title is the sub-heading which states that the photographs were taken by Deutsch; naming the photographers is, arguably, a consequence of the end of the Second World War on 2 September 1945. This photographic essay, 'Child Characters', with photographs by Deutsch, emphasises the importance of childhood through a carefully constructed photographic narrative (Fig. 18). The construction of the narrative is such that the so-called child characters are presented in their own right; the children are not actively being watched or accompanied by adults and are seemingly engaged in activities of their own accord as

demonstrated by the contact sheets (Fig. 25). The editorial selection of photographs reflects a considerate narrative approach to children, isolating precise moments through which a narrative has been constructed.

It would seem that, with Lorant's guidance, the magazine was able to effectively and sympathetically bring to light certain social, economic and political concerns faced by Britain at this time, not only by featuring Jews and refugees, but also photographing the aftermath of the invasion of Poland and other events in mainland Europe. The representations and narratives constructed by *Picture Post*, in this sense, were different from that of other comparable publications as, through their own identification with Europe and their status as émigrés, Lorant and the photographers of *Picture Post*, were able to provide an alternative representation of current events in Britain and beyond. It goes without saying that Lorant had to be mindful of the real threats faced by émigrés in Britain during this period. Not only was *Picture Post* published by Hulton Press, it was being produced when social and political tensions were high – the left-wing tendencies of some of its employees had to be suppressed in order to sensitively convey concerns about social and political policies. In December 1938, *Picture Post* published a photographic essay examining the lives of German-Jewish child refugees in England entitled 'Their First Day in England' (Fig. 26). This photographic essay appeared on 17 December 1938, the twelfth issue of the magazine. As a three-page story, the article featured 14 photographs, including many close-up shots of the faces of young boys (Fig. 26a). This photographic essay, like 'Whitechapel', follows the established photojournalistic format, adopting the grid-like formation of photographs, juxtaposed neatly

with two columns of text. This rectangular arrangement of photographs, with minimal photographic alteration or distortion, was employed to convey a sense of realism. The reader should not feel as if they are *looking* at a photograph, but rather that they are *reading* it. The large photograph on the left-hand side, following the same format as the Whitechapel feature, focuses on the faces of three young boys. This photograph highlights the worried looks of children who have been forced from home, away from their parents for the first time. As the narrative develops, the series of three rectangular photographs on the facing page, instead show the smiling faces of three more boys, happy to be in England and eager to learn (as demonstrated by the middle image of the studying boy).

The photographs are accompanied by individual captions and this photographic essay highlights the emotive power of child refugees. These fourteen black-and-white images, illustrate the innocence of young boys arriving in England for the first time without their families. The captions accompanying the photographs seek to clarify the need of children to be children, no matter their race or where they come from. In contrast to the depiction of settled Jews in 'Whitechapel', the text accompanying Hutton's photographs promises that the refugee children, unlike their adult counterparts, will more readily assimilate into British culture; trained by English families to become hard workers. These refugee children are now perceived to be a very real part of the future of Britain. The boys photographed by Hutton are seen smiling, sleeping, playing and eating and this photographic essay is in stark contrast to other stories published in the British Press during the 1930s. Hutton's position, as an émigré living in Britain, meant that he not only understood but had lived the experience

himself. The narrative of the refugee experience, here, has been constructed so as to be equated with the representation of innocent children. Thus, this construction of narrative offers a more digestible image for the reader. It could be argued, therefore, that Hutton's own experience as an émigré influenced the way in which the photographs were taken: in this sense, the fact that Hutton had experienced migration to Britain, meant that he had the ability not only to empathise with the subjects but understood how to construct an effective photographic narrative on the subject of Jewish émigrés. Hutton, therefore, was able to present a distinctive narrative of the émigré experience.

Rather than informing a purely biographical approach to the photographers of *Picture Post*, it will be argued that information about the lives of the photographers and editors is significant in the formation of an understanding of the photographers' relationship with their subject matter, and that part of this information can be used to explain differences in the presentation of certain topics covered in *Picture Post*. It will be argued that it is through a shared experience, or mutual understanding, that the photographers in question are able to tell a story through photographs in a way that is influenced to some extent by their own experiences.

IV. Concluding remarks

This chapter has explored the historical context of *Picture Post* in relation to the foundation of the so-called 'new' photojournalism of the *Illustrierten* in Weimar Germany during the late 1920s. While it has been acknowledged in previous scholarship that indeed the style of

photographic narration developed by the weekly illustrated magazines on the continent influenced the progression of photojournalism in Britain, this chapter focuses solely on the specific approach of *Picture Post* from its inception until 1945. The photographic essays of *Picture Post* demonstrate the innovations in photojournalism during the 1930s in Britain as a result of the emigration of Lorant and its first photographers. The influence of Lorant's editorial approach and the work of the photographers from Germany have been highlighted through an examination of selected photographic essays and the corresponding contact sheets.

In summary, the first section of this chapter explored the techniques employed by the editors of the *Illustrierten* to provide context in which to situate *Picture Post* and the magazine's approach to photographic narration. The photographic essay, 'How Picture Post is Produced' was analysed in order to highlight not only the working process of the press in Britain in the late 1930s, but also to establish the agenda of *Picture Post* as a pioneering picture-led magazine. In light of this, it was argued that the magazine encouraged its readers to see the world photographically; to understand the world through photographic narrative. This then, informed the focus for the second section on reading photographs and the relationship between text and image in a photographic essay. This section asserted a reversal in the relationship between text and image in relation to the photographic narrative of *Picture Post*; through an examination of the layout and structure of selected photographic essays, the significance of image in the perception and effectiveness of a photographic essay was established. Thus, the editorial processes involved in the production of a photographic essay were addressed, asking whether the selection and manipulation of photographs influenced the

narrative. Utilising the theories of Barthes, this chapter has determined the impact of the processes of manipulation in the production of photographic narratives through an examination of the previously unseen contact sheets. This chapter forms part of a larger discussion on the specific approach of *Picture Post* to photographic narration, which will draw on specifically selected photographic essays from *Picture Post* during the period 1938-1945, in order to explore the concepts of forced separation and the construction of memory in relation to the photographic narrative.

CHAPTER TWO

FORCED SEPARATION: A CONNECTION BETWEEN MIGRATION AND PHOTOGRAPHIC NARRATION

This chapter addresses the connection between narration and forced migration in order to assert the subjective presence of the photographer in the genre of the photographic essay. The relationship between forced migration and narration is one that has previously been established within exile studies, with particular reference to textual narratives produced by émigrés during and after their emigration. An emphasis has been placed on the autobiographical writings of, mostly female, German-speaking émigrés, with a particular focus on factors – such as migration – that may have provoked the writing of autobiography in the period between 1933 and 1945.¹⁷³ The process of forced migration as a contributing factor in the production of exile narration is significant as it has previously been argued by Charmian Brinson that the experience of exile was a common motive in the recording of narrative reflections by émigrés. It can be argued that the variety and wide-ranging narratives of émigrés reflects the ostensible necessity of the émigré to narrate their experiences.

Furthermore, the significance of the émigré experience will be considered in relation to the separation of family and the subsequent establishment of émigré networks in the host country of Britain. The impact of migration on individuals has been noted by Ruth Finnegan, who

¹⁷³ For example, see Charmian Brinson, 'Autobiography in Exile: The Reflections of Women Refugees from Nazism in British Exile, 1933-1945', in J.M. Ritchie, ed., *German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain*, The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, 3 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001)

focuses on the separation of family members through forced migration.¹⁷⁴ She asserts that when individuals or groups face discrimination as a result of migration, stories and images can become especially poignant as a vehicle for the construction of family, or indeed ethnic, identity. The work of the – mostly Jewish – émigré photographers on the subject of forced separation will be situated in relation to the wider community in Britain. The experience of migration will be used here as a central point for the discussion of a reconsideration of familial bonds; thus, it will be argued that through the different representations of forced separation, the photographic essays demonstrate an alternative to the traditional family construct. The correlation between separation and the processes of narration is such that rather than dismissing personal memories as mere ‘fantasy’, it is necessary to take account of ‘themes and narrative models current in the culture of the time.’¹⁷⁵ Finnegan acknowledges that these so-called narrative models are built through the conventions and ideologies of the time, and states that in order ‘to understand who we are and what we have done we “narrate our lives” following out those models.’¹⁷⁶ While focus has been placed on traditional ways of telling stories, such as writings and oral histories, it can be argued that one such ‘narrative model’ for émigrés emerged from the photojournalism of the late 1920s and early 1930s. The impact of émigrés on British photojournalism previously acknowledged in this study emphasises the relationship between migration and narration. The significance of photographic narrative as demonstrated by the genre of the photographic essay published in *Picture Post*, is that ‘[...] mass media [...] function as a constant reinforcement [...]. As

¹⁷⁴ See Ruth Finnegan, ‘Family Myths, Memories and Interviewing’, in Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, eds., *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), 177-183

¹⁷⁵ Finnegan, ‘Family Myths’, 180

¹⁷⁶ Finnegan, ‘Family Myths’, 180

such, they also arguably invent, *regulate* and perpetuate identity formation [...].'¹⁷⁷ The regulations imposed by forced migration and war result in, arguably, an even greater reliance on information provided by the mass media in question.¹⁷⁸

Thus, this chapter will seek to establish a connection between photographic narration and forced migration. Moreover, it will be argued that the representations of forced separation as shown in the photographic essays examined in this chapter are informed by the experience of migration. That is to say that through an examination of the selected photographic narratives, the argument will be extended to suggest that the émigrés reveal their own experiences and concerns in their photographs. This chapter, then, will focus on three topics which have been the subject of published photographic essays in *Picture Post*, each relating to the concept of forced separation. These are: adoption, the Kindertransport and evacuation. The archival material – namely the existence of contact sheets for these published photographic essays – as well as the identification of the photographers of the stories having been recorded and archived, provide evidence for this line of argumentation. Furthermore, the photographic essays demonstrate a specific association between childhood experiences of separation and forced migration: that major events have, in certain circumstances, influenced the choice of topic and the ways in which these stories were told through photographs.

The first section of this chapter will focus on the subject of adoption. An analysis of the photographic essay, 'A Mother Wanted' (1938), will provide a site for the understanding of

¹⁷⁷ Jutta Vinzent, 'Austria in "Die Zeitung": The Instrumentalisation of Émigré Newspapers during WWII and the Subversive Power of Cartoons', in Mark Stocker and Phillip G. Lindley, eds., *Tributes to Jean Michel Massing. Towards a Global Art History* (London: Harvey Miller, 2016), 3

¹⁷⁸ Vinzent, 'Austria in "Die Zeitung"', 3

the correlation between separation and the processes of narration. The photographs, taken by Hans Baumann (known as Felix H. Man), will be examined in relation to a consideration of the socio-historical context of adoption, and more widely, notions of family in Britain at this time. The changing cultural attitudes towards children and government legislation on adoption throughout the 1930s in Britain and Germany will be evaluated, in order to argue that the photographic essay in *Picture Post* presented this topic to a national audience in such a way that processes of forced separation were introduced to the British consciousness with a particular familiarity. The concept of family held a significant place in British society during the 1930s and 1940s, particularly after the outbreak of war. Geoffrey Field has acknowledged the positioning of family in relation to the Second World War, stating that ‘popular memory of war, reinforced by books, broadcasts and films [...] emphasized family, both as a social metaphor and as the key institution that enabled Britons to surmount the crisis.’¹⁷⁹ The family as institution provided a sense of stability throughout the war years; however, there is evidence to suggest that the devastating effects of war not only challenged this image of traditional family life but caused a significant shift in its construction. This reshaping of family life will be explored in relation to forced separation, and furthermore, it will be argued that the photographic essay on the subject of adoption demonstrates a positive alternative to the traditional family construct.

The second section will introduce the topic of the Kindertransport through an examination of the published photographic essay, ‘Their First Day in England’ (1938), in light of the

¹⁷⁹ Geoffrey Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class Family in Wartime Britain, 1939-1945’, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 38, ‘The Working Class in World War II (1990), 4

outcomes of the previous section. It will be argued that the photographers and editor of *Picture Post*, through their ability to establish an awareness within British culture of forced separation with the inclusion of a photographic essay focusing on adoption, were able to successfully introduce the more unfamiliar topic of forced migration, and, more specifically, Jewish migration. The specificity of Jewish immigration to Britain is such that Todd Endelman has commented that, '[...] the history of the Jews in Britain since their resettlement in the mid-seventeenth century seems to bear little resemblance to the history of Jews in other European states.'¹⁸⁰ It has thus been argued by Endelman that this is partly due to the fact that the cultural history of the Jewish community in Britain had been characterised by the absence of upheaval, particularly in light of tumultuous events elsewhere.¹⁸¹ However, the mass migration of Jews from Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century, made an unprecedented impact on the established Jewish community in Britain. As it has previously been noted in the scholarship of Anglo-Jewish history, the mass immigration of Jews to Britain at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries '[...] changed the shape of the British polity as surely as [...] the structure of British Jewry: the Jewish experience and the British experience merged [...].'¹⁸² In light of this, the Jewish community in Britain underwent significant change in the first half of the twentieth century; the immigrant population from Eastern Europe received attention not just from British society as a whole, but also the established Anglo-Jewish leadership. It is pertinent to note, as Alderman has, '[...] the sheer physical impact of the great immigration that took place

¹⁸⁰ Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000* (London; Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002), 2

¹⁸¹ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 2

¹⁸² Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 102

between 1881 and the First World War.’¹⁸³ He continues that ‘the sentiments and policies of the established Jewish community towards the immigrants can only be properly understood in the context of the magnitude – physical, cultural, social, religious, and political – of the phenomenon with which they were faced.’¹⁸⁴ The war years that punctuated the early part of the twentieth century highlighted the particular complexities in relations between the traditional Anglo-Jewish community and the new generation of immigrants. Moreover, the impact of the First World War on social attitudes towards the Jewish community resonated throughout the 1930s and 1940s and reignited a hostility which was directed towards the thousands of mostly Jewish émigrés who arrived from Germany and other mainland European countries in such a short space of time. This period of forced migration was influential in changing the perception of Jews in Britain, and therefore provides the context within which the child refugees arrived on the Kindertransports.

The late 1930s saw unprecedented involvement of the government in domestic life which was reflected in communal policies dealing with the émigré community and the workings of the family. The specific situation of child refugees from Nazi Germany challenged traditional notions of family life in Britain as well as the perception of the Jewish émigré. By concentrating on the refugee children who arrived in Britain on one of the first Kindertransports, the photographers Hutton and Deutsch addressed migration as though through the eyes of children. The ‘narrative model’ adopted here allows for an investigation into the relationship between the ‘narrated’ child and the ‘narrating’ photographer. As will

¹⁸³ Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 117

¹⁸⁴ Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 117

be shown, the photographs thus act as a vehicle for émigré identity; a unifying site for the experience of forced migration, whilst emphasising the potential of the child refugees as future citizens of Britain. Laura King has noted that, ‘through their innocence and potential, children could function as important symbols of future hope.’¹⁸⁵ Rather than providing a site for the development of negative connotations of Jewish émigrés, it will be argued here that the émigré photographers offered an alternative – positive – image of the émigré community.

Hence, in order to further understand photojournalism as a ‘narrative model’ of the time and to argue for the distinct position of *Picture Post* within British popular culture, it is beneficial, in the third section, to offer a comparative study. An analysis of a published photographic essay on the subject of evacuation will provide a foundation for a discussion of comparative perspectives on evacuation and the Kindertransport. The topic of evacuation – and the photographic essay in question – is pertinent to the discussion of how the rupturing of traditional family life as a result of war corresponded to the ways in which the family was positioned as ‘a crucial means for moving beyond wartime, a key institution for a future society and to bring up future citizens.’¹⁸⁶ While a comparison has been drawn in previous scholarly literature between evacuation and the Kindertransport, it will be argued here that the more convincing approach to encourage an understanding of forced migration within British popular culture at the beginning of the Second World War, was through the subject of family, and how these photographic narratives operate alongside/within the more traditional narratives of family life in British society at this time. This section as a whole will propose

¹⁸⁵ Laura King, ‘Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain, 1930s – 1950s’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(3) (2016), 390

¹⁸⁶ Laura King, ‘Future Citizens’, 390

that there is an identifiable connection between the ‘narrated’ and the ‘narrating’ in a photographic essay, having established photojournalism as an emergent ‘narrative model’ for émigrés in Britain. The immediacy of the photographic narrative is such that the particular situation of the émigré photographer will be recognised. This position will be explored with reference to discourse relating to the memoirs of refugees, considering a tension between the passing of time and memory. It will be suggested, through analysis of the photographs mentioned previously, that the act of photographic narration allowed the émigrés in question to ‘narrate their lives’ in the present, responding to the trauma of forced migration and from a professional position within British society.

I. Adoption

The interwar period in Britain saw significant change and development in child welfare. The matter of adoption was afforded substantial social and political attention throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The photographic essay published in *Picture Post* on 15 October 1938 (Fig.27) will be analysed in light of the unprecedented legislative amendments which were carried out between the two World Wars. Firstly, the legalisation of adoption in Britain and Germany will be considered in relation to the changing social perspectives of the child and the family, asking whether a correlation between the separation which occurs as a result of the process of adoption and the specific narrative of the photographic essay can be established; and, secondly, to what extent the role of the German émigré photographer can be seen to communicate a cultural familiarity with the concept of family separation.

Furthermore, it will be argued that through an examination of this photographic essay, *Picture Post* disrupted the traditional family narrative and sought to provide an alternative; that is, the photographic narrative presented a reconsideration of the familial construct through the process of adoption. This section of the chapter will show that such a representation emphasised the sensitive and emotive nature of this subject, which was, to a certain extent, at odds with British social policy at the time.

There has been very little scholarly research published on the topic of adoption in Britain, specifically from an historical perspective. In contrast, there has been a wealth of literature issued on current adoption practices and policies from the field of social work. However, as Jenny Keating suggests, '[...] in the interwar period social work as a profession was in its very early stages and social workers had little involvement with adoption', a position which was reflected in the parliamentary Horsburgh Report delivered in 1937.¹⁸⁷ In light of this, this section on adoption utilises a specific literary resource published on the history of adoption in England to inform discussion surrounding adoption legislation, as well as scholarly literature focused on child welfare policy and family narratives in Britain to supplement an analysis of the photographic essay, 'A Mother Wanted'.

1.1 'A Mother Wanted', 15 October 1938

The four-page photographic essay, 'A Mother Wanted', was published in the second issue of *Picture Post* on 15 October 1938. It features eight photographs, taken by the German émigré

¹⁸⁷ Jenny Keating, *A Child for Keeps. The History of Adoption in England, 1918-1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8

Felix H. Man, each accompanied by a caption. The first photograph in the series, on page 29, shows a member of staff bathing a baby in preparation for the events which unfold on the following pages (Fig.27a). The large rectangular photograph has been cropped to focus on the child; the nurse's gaze directs the viewers' look towards the unclothed baby in the sink whose wide-eyed gaze in turn captures the vulnerability of the scene. The dominant position of this large photograph on the first page is typical of the genre, securing the attention of the reader by evoking an emotional response. The regimented grid formation of photographs on pages 30 and 31 highlight the significance of the images over the text and the telling of a story in pictures (Fig.27b). The simplification of the story is effective: the first photograph, in the top left-hand corner of page 30, shows the baby and potential mother as strangers. The child is positioned upright, not engaging with the adult. By the fourth photograph, in the bottom right-hand corner of page 31, the baby has accepted the rattle from the woman, implying a successful bonding process has taken place.

The constructed nature of the photographic essay is evident through the study of the contact sheets (Fig.28). The photographs depicting the bonding process between potential mother and baby have been significantly cropped for the final photographic essay. The cropping of these four photographs, by removing a proportion of blank background and shadow, is effective in offering a closeness between the infant and his or her future mother. This process is shown by the twenty individual photographs of this particular scene in the contact sheets (Fig.28a). The final four photographs would have been selected from the original twenty by the editorial team, after which the images underwent a further editorial process, including

cropping. The significance of these images in particular is that they emphasise the importance of a bond between mother and child for an adoption.

The unconventional construction of family is addressed in this photographic essay. Although the sixth and seventh photographs in this photographic essay depict not just a mother, but a father too, it remains distinct from a celebration of the nuclear family common at the time. Rather, it acknowledges an alternative, going some way to highlight the complexities of family life, particularly relevant to the 1930s in Britain. As Katherine Hoffman has asserted, ‘the word *family* is no longer simply singular [...]. There are diverse families - in configuration, ethnicity and class.’¹⁸⁸ The complex notion of ‘family’ here emphasises the significance of the process of separation; a process which often saw the cultural understanding of the original, singular family destroyed. The reshaping of family life in wartime can be characterised in part due to the separation of families, which was ‘[...] much more widespread and protracted than in World War I [...].’¹⁸⁹ Not only did war separate children from their families through mass evacuation but this period also saw unprecedented levels of state intervention in family life. Field has addressed the circumstances that reshaped family life during the war years, and comments in relation to state intervention that, ‘while mobilization and the requirements of state policy in a “total war” severely disrupted family life, they also placed family needs in the spotlight and created the context for a remarkable expansion in the scope of government activity [...].’¹⁹⁰ However, as will be demonstrated in

¹⁸⁸ Katherine Hoffman, *Concepts of Identity. Historical and Contemporary Images and Portraits of Self and Family* (New York: Westview Press, 1996), 3

¹⁸⁹ Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 5

¹⁹⁰ Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 5

the following section, state policy concerning children and their welfare in the first half of the twentieth century centred on the strength of the traditional family, whilst placing greatest significance on the role of the mother. The disruption of the Second World War highlighted the systemic problems related to child welfare policy in Britain (and Germany) and placed emphasis on negative associations surrounding ruptured family life.

While the family was indeed positioned as a key institution for the future of British society in wartime propaganda, the negative image of family life abounded amongst '[...] officials, journalists, social workers, and social policy groups [...].'¹⁹¹ Although it has been argued that the threat to the traditional family was exaggerated, nevertheless reports of neglected children, juvenile delinquency, unfaithful wives and "slum mothers" featured in family rhetoric.¹⁹² Similarly, the arrival of Jewish émigrés from Nazi Germany posed a significant disruption to the Anglo-Jewish leadership, with this new generation of European Jews introducing a way of life far removed from the traditional establishment. The socio-political climate in which *Picture Post* published a photographic essay on adoption – an example of forced separation – in such a way, is demonstrative of the progressive nature of the magazine and its émigré photographers. As Gidal has noted in relation to Jewish photographers, 'there is a discernible quest to explore the unknown, to experiment, to take risks, to accept new ideas, to find and fight for new vistas as well as new visions.'¹⁹³ In light of this, what remains to be questioned is why the subject was chosen and why the particular images from the contact sheets were selected. In order to suggest reasons, firstly the adoption policies of

¹⁹¹ Field, 'Perspectives on the Working-Class', 4

¹⁹² Field, 'Perspectives on the Working-Class', 4

¹⁹³ Gidal, 'Jews in Photography', 453

Britain and Germany in the years preceding the Second World War will be explored in order to suggest a connection between the separation experienced as a result of adoption and the visual and cultural narratives of the émigré photographer.

1.2 Legal Background of Adoption in Britain and Germany

The issue of illegitimacy during the First World War encouraged the growth of adoption societies and the establishment of the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, following the end of the First World War in 1918, the Maternity and Child Welfare Act was passed, which ‘signified the explicit recognition of the responsibility of the State to protect the health of its citizens regardless of socio-economic status.’¹⁹⁵ While this act acknowledged the duty of the State to protect children, it was not until the late 1920s that the legislation advanced to include matters on parental rights and adoption. Previously, those who cared for other people’s children as part of their own families effectively possessed no parental rights; but in 1926, the Adoption of Children Act was passed, which signalled the beginning of legally sanctioned adoption in England. The Act resulted in the change in legal status of the child, as well as the natural and adoptive parents. A report by the Home Office in October 1928 recorded that over three thousand adoption orders for children were made in the year following the enactment of the Adoption of Children Act.¹⁹⁶ Despite this, it has been

¹⁹⁴ Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare. Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2003), 155

¹⁹⁵ Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (London: Tavistock, 1987), 214

¹⁹⁶ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 117

noted that ‘there were no regulations about adoption; anyone could obtain a child from an adoption society or take on someone’s unwanted baby with no questions asked.’¹⁹⁷

After the First World War, legislation in Weimar Germany sought to legally define adoption and ensure there was a degree of state intervention in child welfare. In 1919, Article 120 of the Weimar Constitution stated that, ‘the education of children and young people to physical, mental, and social fitness is the prime duty and the natural right of parents; the carrying out of these duties is watched over by the State.’¹⁹⁸ Following the enactment of the Reich Youth Welfare Law (RJWG) in 1922, ‘local youth departments, funded by the city and county, were to implement national youth policy locally, and local youth department authorities were to supervise foster children, care for orphans, and provide legal guardians for illegitimate children.’¹⁹⁹ This law sought to define ‘family’ in order to raise the quality of parenting, and as a result, this characterisation of ‘family’ became symbiotic with national strength. The adoption laws in Western Europe were, however, far behind legislation in the United States. During the second half of the nineteenth century, individual states began to pass laws for adoption and in 1851, the Massachusetts statute was passed and was considered to be the most comprehensive adoption legislation than any other statute which had previously been recognised by law.²⁰⁰ In Western Europe, however, following legislation in Weimar

¹⁹⁷ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 2

¹⁹⁸ Elizabeth Harvey, *Youth and the Welfare State in Weimar Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 165

¹⁹⁹ Michelle Mouton, ‘Rescuing Children and Policing Families: Adoption Policy in Weimar and Nazi Germany’, *Central European History*, 38(4) (2005), 549

²⁰⁰ Ellen Herman, *Kinship by Design: A History of Adoption in the Modern United States* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 21

Germany in 1922, France passed its adoption law in 1923 and England in 1926. It was not until 1930 and 1952 that Scotland and Ireland, respectively, passed any laws for adoption.²⁰¹

The importance of the role of the mother in the family was such that child welfare concerns attracted the attention of eugenicists in both Britain and Germany. The Eugenics Education Society in Britain was founded in 1907. This society, along with child welfare campaigners, lobbied for the Notification of Births (Extension) Act 1915, the Maternity and Child Welfare Act 1918 and, in 1919, the establishment of the Ministry of Health in Britain. It could be argued then, from a eugenics perspective that ‘a healthy, educated and devoted mother was much more likely to produce a healthy, physically and mentally fit child.’²⁰² The social unrest of the interwar period had provided a platform for the eugenicists to develop discourse surrounding the position of children in British society; the Eugenics Society were particularly concerned by the falling birth rate following the First World War, and so were involved in the campaigns of the welfare movement, ‘[...] believing it encouraged the survival of weak and sickly children who could only bring down the overall health and well-being of the general population.’²⁰³ The society was renamed in 1926 as the Eugenics Society. Prior to the passing of the Adoption of Children Act in 1926, such acts as the Maternity and Child Welfare Act 1918, reinforced the traditional role of women in the family, centring on an ideology of motherhood. The importance of the ‘mother’ is asserted by Man in his photographs of the prospective mother and infant. The father is seen in two of the photographs on the last page of the photographic essay, but only in order to formally agree the adoption with the

²⁰¹ Herman, *Kinship by Design*, 21

²⁰² Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 21

²⁰³ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 21

authorities. The presence of the mother in this photographic essay does in fact correspond with the state's focus on the ability of the mother to maintain a strong, traditional family; the mother figure was believed to have a particular influence on the psychological wellbeing of the child and it can be argued that this would have been especially relevant for the emotional health of an adopted child. However, there came to be a preoccupation with the physical health of the child and its birth mother after the First World War; the child who was suitable for adoption was to be both mentally and physically sound – rather than emotionally content. On this point, it can be argued that the photographs in this essay emphasise the emotional bond between the prospective mother and adopted child, rather than the physical and cerebral fitness of them both. Furthermore, the representation of adoption in this photographic essay may be seen as a reconsideration of familial bonds, in that its strength as a photographic narrative relies not on the official line of government policy, but rather on the emotional connection between mother and child.

The influence of eugenics in subsequent child welfare and adoption policy proved to be minor in Britain; however, after Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, the impact of Nazi racial policy was reflected in adoption legislation and procedure. The power given to motherhood and the 'family' was such that child welfare policies were adapted to include only the 'racially pure' into the national community - *Volksgemeinschaft* - in order to strengthen National Socialist ideals. This, again, was reinforced by the National Socialist Office for Enlightenment on Population Policy and Racial Welfare, which 'oversaw an ambitious public relations drive to heighten ethnic consciousness among the general

population.’²⁰⁴ The Nazis continued to place stringent controls on marriage, divorce and childbearing, with adoption a primary focus of the racial laws. In 1936, the National People’s Welfare Organisation (NSV) established the first Reich Adoption Centers, which were intended to replace church involvement in adoptions procedures.²⁰⁵ An emphasis was placed on national control of adoptions rather than local departments, which had previously overseen the proceedings. In 1937, the year before ‘A Mother Wanted’ was published in *Picture Post*, the Reich Minister of the Interior set out additional racial guidelines for adoption in Germany. These guidelines - *Adoption und Unterbringung in Pflege bei Verschiedenrassigkeit, Runderlass des Reich Minister der Interior* (6 August 1937) - ‘forbade Jews and people of ‘Second Degree Mixed Race’ (*Mischlinge Zweiten Grades*)’ from entering adoptive contracts with ‘healthy Germans’ under any circumstances. The nationalisation of adoption and child welfare policies in Nazi Germany was in stark contrast to the efforts to localise adoption procedures in Britain during the 1930s. It has been asserted that ‘racial purity’ was given prominence over the welfare of children after 1933, embodied by the 1938 Legal Annulment of Adoptive Relations, issued by the Reich Minister of the Interior, granting the State the right to ‘terminate at any time any adoption considered contrary to the public interest.’²⁰⁶

The photographer of the photographic essay in question, Man, was living in Munich, Germany when the Weimar government passed legislation on child welfare and adoption.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap, 2003), 106

²⁰⁵ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 559

²⁰⁶ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 566

²⁰⁷ Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

When the National Socialists came to power in 1933, those working in the field of photojournalism experienced first-hand the severe policies put in place immediately by the Nazis. The photographer, Man, and his editor Lorant, both worked in the Berlin office for the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* when the Nazis took over. The publication, which had featured a photograph of a crying child on its cover on 23 March 1930 accompanied by the caption, ‘No, I don’t want to be photographed ... boo hoo’, became a platform for Nazi propaganda, with journalists required by law to join the Nazi organisation, *Reichspressekammer*. Man left Germany in May 1934, having been granted three months in Britain. His passport was stamped with the following: ‘Leave to land at Dover this day, 31 May 1934, on condition that the holder does not enter any employment paid or unpaid while in the United Kingdom.’²⁰⁸ Lorant, however, had been arrested and imprisoned in Munich in 1933, keeping a diary throughout the six and a half months he was an inmate. Lorant recalls, in his first diary entry on 19 March 1933, the moment he was taken from his wife and son:

The two detectives stood on either side of me. I was permitted to take leave of Niura and Andi.

Andi howled as if his heart would break. He was not used to his father leaving so early.

“You haven’t told me any stories yet this morning!”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

²⁰⁹ Stefan Lorant, *I Was Hitler’s Prisoner* (London: Penguin, 1934)

These personal accounts, particularly that of Lorant, may have informed their approach to child welfare in England, having experienced their own forced separation from their families in Germany. Thus, the legislation of adoption in Germany and Britain provides a basis for further discussion surrounding social perspectives on child welfare in Britain, with a focus on the adoption societies and organisations which formed accordingly.

1.3 Social Perspectives on Child Welfare in Britain - Adoption Societies and Organisations

The growth of adoption societies and the number of applications for adoption resulted in a chaotic, and still largely unregulated, system. While there were various attempts to regulate adoption policies between the enactment of the Adoption of Children Act in 1926 and the 1940s, it was not until 1948 with the passing of the Children Act that legislature ‘sought to provide a coherent and centralised structure for all homeless children.’²¹⁰ Following the enactment of the Adoption of Children Act in 1926, attention turned to the abuses of the adoption system, with specific concern regarding the conduct of some of the adoption societies. In 1933, the director of the NSPCC, William J. Elliot, wrote a letter to the Home Secretary, Sir John Gilmour, requesting ‘a full enquiry into the conduct of all adoption societies, in order that something may be done to minimise or remove the dangers that result from the present condition of the law.’²¹¹ Two years later, in October 1935, the subsequent Home Secretary, Sir John Simon, received a deputation with details of the evidence of abuses in the adoption system, from the NSPCC and other organisations involved with adoption and

²¹⁰ Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 156

²¹¹ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 148

child welfare. This resulted in the formulation of a departmental committee to investigate these claims.²¹²

The Horsbrugh Committee was announced in the House of Commons on 13 February 1936. In the first published report, the Committee defined adoption as ‘the creation of “an artificial family relationship analogous to that of parent and child” ... which is accepted by all parties as permanent.’²¹³ In order to regulate the activities of the adoption societies, it was recommended that these agencies were licensed through the larger local authorities – such as county councils and county boroughs – in a similar system managed for nursing homes and employment agencies. The local authority, it was suggested, would have the right to refuse or withdraw a licence for an adoption organisation, with a means of appeal by the agency in question. In October 1938, following the findings of the Committee, the current Home Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare, sent a memorandum requesting his colleagues approved the introduction of a Bill to regulate the activities of adoption societies and agencies.²¹⁴ The Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act was passed on 13 July 1939, the year following the publication of this photographic essay. However, the outbreak of the Second World War meant that legislation such as this was no longer a priority and it was included in the Postponement of Enactments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1939 which postponed a number of recent legislative actions.

²¹² Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 152

²¹³ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 155

²¹⁴ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 168

Similarly, in Weimar Germany, a number of religious and secular organisations established adoption centres (known as *Adoptionszentrale*), in response to governmental initiatives to improve children's well-being. These centres focused on providing help to single mothers and couples who wished to adopt but had chosen not to work with the government youth departments.²¹⁵ By 1927, across Weimar Germany, there were a number of adoption organisations, such as: the Catholic Welfare Association (*Katholische Fürsorge Verein*), the Westphalian Women's Aid (EFH), the Central Authority for Jewish Foster Homes and the Mediation of Jewish Adoptions (*Zentralstelle für jüdische Pflegestellenwesen und jüdische Adoptions-vermittlung*), run by the Jewish Women's Organisation (*Jüdischer Frauenbund, JFB*). However, with the introduction of legislation relating to child welfare and the adoption process in Weimar Germany, a conflict developed between state bureaucracy and the existing non-governmental agencies, which had traditionally arranged adoptions.

While the Weimar authorities had sought to establish a centralised child welfare programme, the adoption societies continued to offer an alternative adoption practice, relieving some prospective parents from the intrusion of rigorous inspections. The complexities of the adoption process in Germany, however, became a cause of serious concern; the limitations of the state's ability to train and finance the youth departments in order to establish a centralised adoption system meant their initial objectives could not be met. After the establishment of the first Reich Adoption Centers in 1936, child welfare procedures were overshadowed by the

²¹⁵ Mouton, 'Rescuing Children', 552

‘racial and hereditary guidelines of the National Socialist state.’²¹⁶ The requests for children reflected a general acceptance of this racial ideology, and it was reported in 1937, that the Protestant church adoption authorities remonstrated that prospective adoptive parents began to insist the children up for adoption should ‘be blond and blue-eyed, of northern parentage, and have proof of high-quality heritage!!’²¹⁷ The original initiatives of the adoption societies in Weimar Germany had been undermined, and the welfare of individual children had effectively been compromised.

The photographic essay published in *Picture Post* highlights the work of a particular adoption agency established in England, the National Adoption Society. The accompanying text to the photographs explains that the pictures were taken at the Babies’ Hostel, Connaught House, North-West London.²¹⁸ The story ran concurrently with the memorandum sent by the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, to his parliamentary colleagues requesting the regulation of adoption societies and agencies following the published findings of the Horsbrugh Committee. Despite this, the photographs published for ‘A Mother Wanted’ do not betray any of the legal concerns surrounding adoption societies at this time. The photographic essay, rather, focuses on the importance of a strong bond between the infant and its future parents - notably the mother - reinforcing that ‘adoption is permitted only after the strictest examination of all the circumstances.’²¹⁹ The editor and photographer, here, opted to emphasise the advantages of adoption on the well-being of a child, ensuring the adoption

²¹⁶ Eckhard Hansen, *Wohlfahrtspolitik im NS-Staat. Motivationen, Konflikte und Machtstrukturen im ‘Sozialismus der Tat’ des Dritten Reiches* (Augsburg: Maro Verlag, 1991), 253

²¹⁷ Mouton, ‘Rescuing Children’, 559

²¹⁸ ‘A Mother Wanted’, *Picture Post*, 1(3) (15 October 1938), 29

²¹⁹ ‘A Mother Wanted’

society was shown in a favourable light. While it is significant that the photographic essay focuses on adoption in this way, it should be acknowledged that by 1938 (the year in which this photographic essay was published), the adoption societies were subject to extreme scrutiny, by the press and the authorities. In this light, *Picture Post* seems to promote adoption by highlighting the advantages to the child. It is also interesting to note that the story depicts the adoption of a single child, seemingly emphasising the significance of the individuality of each adoption and that the well-being of the child is paramount in the process. Hence, this narrative appeals to the sensibilities of the reader, rather than the governmental agenda towards adoption policy, offering an alternative to the standardised initiatives of the LEAs.

It has been acknowledged that prior to the 1926 Adoption of Children Act, the welfare of the child was not regulated. The absence of adoptive parental rights and protection of the child meant that,

[...] parents could give their children to relatives, friends or even strangers, without relinquishing either their parental rights or obligations. The children had no legal status in respect of their foster parents, and their natural parents could remove them whenever they wished. The practice was a clear demonstration of the chattel-like regard in which children were held by society at the time.²²⁰

The irrevocable change in the legal status of the child brought about by the Adoption of Children Act had been influenced in part by a shifting social attitude towards children. The

²²⁰ Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 155

First World War saw a decrease in birth rate, and during the interwar period these figures declined further.²²¹ A decline in the birth rate coupled with a decrease in infant and mortal mortality meant that ‘there was an associated change in the value placed upon each individual child.’²²² As the societal value of the individual child increased, so too did the interest in the legal rights of that child.

Following the Adoption of Children Act in 1926, adoption became a much more widely published activity. According to the Report of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies (The Horsbrugh Report), published in 1937, the annual number of registered adoptions rose subsequently in the decade which followed the Adoption of Children Act. However, the need to preserve the respectability of the adopting parents ‘[...] permeated the work of the adoption societies and lay behind the desire for secrecy which dominated so much of the way they operated.’²²³ Before the passing of the Adoption of Children Act in 1926, and without legal security, those involved in adoption procedures emphasised a need for secrecy throughout the process as a whole. It has been noted that ‘[...] some potential adopters claimed they would not adopt if there was any chance of their action becoming public knowledge.’²²⁴ The adoption societies formed in the 1920s reinforced this by ensuring there was a complete break between the adopted child and its birth parents, limiting the ability of the child or the natural parents to seek the other out later in life.²²⁵

²²¹ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 12

²²² Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 12

²²³ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 15

²²⁴ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 3

²²⁵ For further discussion on the secrecy surrounding adoption see Murray Ryburn, ‘Secrecy and Openness in Adoption: An Historical Perspective’, *Social Policy and Administration*, 9(2) (June 1995), 151-68

It is interesting, then, that *Picture Post* published this particular photographic essay on adoption which focused on the personal, individual process, rather than aspects of the contentious legislation. The layout of this photographic essay is such that rather than depicting a factual news story, ‘A Mother Wanted’ invokes a personal, and possibly, an emotional response from its reader. Far from portraying adoption as an act which should remain private, the closely cropped photographs highlight the significance of the delicate bond between infant and parent without being intrusive.

The adoption policy continued to be debated throughout the 1930s with reference to the well-being of the individual child. While the organisation of the adoption societies became more closely scrutinised and criticised, the work of the LEAs progressed. As the minutes of the London County Council from a report in 1932, highlight:

In general [...] it will probably be agreed that an ordinary child has a better chance of happiness and social adjustment by being brought up in a reasonably good family home than in any public or charitable institution[...]. In the child’s interests, which should be paramount, adoption by private persons would seem to be preferable in most cases to institutional maintenance under the poor law.²²⁶

The discussion surrounding the ‘happiness’ and ‘social adjustment’ of children as vital to child welfare policy is significant for progress made in other areas of child welfare legislation. In 1933, the Children and Young Persons Act was passed, which focused on the

²²⁶ London County Council minutes, Joint Report of the Central Public Health Committee, the Education Committee and the Public Assistance Committee, 13 and 14 July 1932, 169, HO 45/20467

strengthening of the connection between the care of delinquent and neglected children and the LEAs. This Act saw the removal of neglected children from the care of the Poor Law, the importance of which was outlined by the London County Council in their minutes from 1932. It has been claimed that the Act set '[...] a standard of welfare and rehabilitation for the delinquent and the neglected children and those in need of care which had never previously been approached.'²²⁷ However, Hendrick has asserted that this interpretation of the Act has been contested, stating that 'when it comes to children's psychological well-being, there is little doubt that this was distinctly secondary [...].'²²⁸ Despite these reservations, Hendrick acknowledges that the more progressive LEAs were, by the late 1930s, funding their own clinics to research the psychological well-being of children in their care. He continues that,

The clinic was one of the most significant ways in which 'society' (in the form of psychiatrists, social workers, psychologists, educators, magistrates and penal administrators) came to 'know' children and to seek to 'adjust' them to what was regarded as normal behaviour.²²⁹

The advancements in psychology during the 1930s are noted in 'A Mother Wanted'. On page 32, the author states that one of the reasons adoption had grown in popularity is '[...] the increasing importance psychologists are attaching to upbringing, which has lessened the fear that adopted children may later develop undesirable "hereditary" tendencies.' The emphasis

²²⁷ Jean S. Heywood, *Children in Care: the development of the service for the deprived child* (London; Boston: Routledge & Paul, 1978,) 130

²²⁸ Hendrick, *Child Welfare and Social Policy. An Essential Reader* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2005), 42. For further views on the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act see, N. Frost and M. Stein, *The Politics of Child Welfare* (New York; London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989)

²²⁹ Hendrick, *Child Welfare and Social Policy*, 42

is placed on the account that '[...] psychologists are acknowledging more and more that the treatment a child receives in its earliest years, and its whole environment, do in fact make an enormous difference to the kind of person it grows to be.'²³⁰ Felix H. Man has photographed the infant and the woman in such a way that the images reflect this psychological understanding. The 'happiness' of this infant is paramount to the development of the photographic story: the reserved look of the baby in the first two photographs corresponds to its unfamiliarity with the potential mother. The realisation of the narrative depends on the successful bonding of the baby and its adoptive parent, which is captured by the exchange of smiles and the receiving of the rattle in photograph number four on page 31.

1.4 Reception of Adoption in the Press

The significance of the regulation and legalisation of adoption practices taking precedent over the welfare of the children (and adults) involved was noted in the press as early as 1927, only one year after the passing of the Adoption of Children Act. Writing in *The Child Welfare Worker* in 1927, A. E. Stanley Smith claimed that, 'the legal recognition of adoption is the one great and practically the only substantial benefit and advantage of the Act, the difficulties in the way of those seeking to gain this benefit are, at present, very great and may in many cases seem to outweigh this benefit.'²³¹

²³⁰ 'A Mother Wanted', 32

²³¹ A. E. Stanley Smith, 'The Adoption of Children Act 1926. The Benefit and Some Disadvantages of the Present Law', *The Child Welfare Worker*, vviii,(29) (1927), 6

Various articles were published in the press during the 1930s relating to adoption and more specifically, the adoption societies. A number of these articles focused on the legalisation of adoption, overlooking the effects of such adoption procedures on the individual child, the family or the wider social group. However, adoption practices were not always received favourably by the popular press. On 4 June 1932, *John Bull* ran a story with the headline ‘Stamp Out our Baby Sellers!’, proclaiming: ‘An appalling traffic in unwanted babies is going on to-day, and as the law now stands nothing can be done to end it.’ It should be acknowledged that stories such as this were published with little, if any, supporting evidence for these statements; instead, favouring dramatic and generalising slurs on adoption. The *Sunday Dispatch*, similarly, published an article on 3 July 1935, declaring:

Investigations by the authorities have brought to light a scandalous traffic in British children. It has been discovered that ‘adoption societies’ exist in this country with their agents abroad, for adopting children and selling them on the continent. The dealers in this nefarious traffic are making vast sums yearly.²³²

In contrast, an article published in *The Times* on 7 July 1937 (Fig.29) outlines the proposals made for the regulation of adoption agencies, highlighting the significance of the report issued by the Horsbrugh Committee on the same day. In comparison to the photographic essay published by *Picture Post*, this editorial reports solely on the findings of the Departmental Committee, stating that the Committee ‘recommend that it should be an offence to carry on an adoption agency unless it is licensed by the council of the county or

²³² Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 148

county borough of the area in which it is administered, and that the conditions of the licence should be prescribed by the Home Secretary.’²³³ The importance of the welfare of the child is implicit, as,

Adoption societies and agencies should make thorough inquiries into the suitability of would-be adopters to have the care of the child. The submission of a form of application, the taking up of references, a personal interview, a home visit, are all essential. There should also be a thorough medical examination of the child, and inquiries into the social and medical history of its parents.²³⁴

However, the focus of this article is unambiguous: it has been written without further personal or social implications for the child or its family – biological or adoptive. Similarly, *The Manchester Guardian*, in January 1932, published an article titled, ‘Child Adoption. The Work of the National Association’, which concentrated primarily on the work of the National Children Adoption Association, founded in 1915.²³⁵ The opening of a new home is announced, stating that ‘it is felt [...] that the opening of the association’s largest home in the present economic situation will save many young lives and provide a larger choice of well-trained healthy children for childless homes.’²³⁶ Such news stories provided publicity for the adoption societies, promoting the children for potential adoptions as ‘well-trained’ and ‘healthy’. The epitome of this message is embodied in an advertisement featured in *The*

²³³ ‘Adoption of Children’, *The Times* (London), 7 July 1937, 7

²³⁴ ‘Adoption of Children’

²³⁵ ‘Child Adoption. The Work of the National Association’, *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), 29 January 1932, 4

²³⁶ ‘Child Adoption’, 4

London Illustrated News in May 1935 (Fig.30). At the centre-left of page xv is an advert for the Children's Aid and Adoption Society, including a photograph of a young, fair-haired, smiling child, accompanied by the phrase, '200 TINY TOTS NOW KNOCKING AT OUR DOORS'.²³⁷ This, in contrast to the editorials featured in *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian*, evokes an emotional response; appealing to the reader whilst simultaneously promoting the work of the adoption society, the announcement reads: 'In two thousand homes to-day the light and joy of the household is a little child once "unwanted," but now made equal with the most "wanted" baby in England by the Homeless Children's Aid and Adoption Society.'²³⁸

It has been made clear through this selection of news articles and advertisements relating to adoption that by the 1930s, the welfare and health of the child was of paramount importance. However, the press continued to employ a cautionary approach to the role of the adoptive parents. While the Children's Aid and Adoption Society welcomed gifts (as stated in their feature in *The London Illustrated News*), it had also been widely reported in the press that adoption continued to have links with 'baby-farming', a Victorian term given to the practice of taking in an unwanted or destitute infant or child for payment. Without legal repercussions or regulations on adoption, it was suggested that a number of prospective parents were interested in adopting an unwanted child purely for financial gains. Similarly, it had been speculated by the press that adoption societies were involved in the selling of children abroad for the purpose of making money.

²³⁷ *The Illustrated London News* (London), 11 May 1935, xv

²³⁸ *The Illustrated London News*, xv

While official figures showed an increase in the number of adoptions per annum throughout the 1930s, various stories published in the press highlighted the problematic and complex nature of adoption following its legalisation in 1926. As the attitude towards the family constitution and the value of the child changed during the 1930s, the challenge to regulate adoption procedures was further complicated. The culture of the times placed emphasis on domesticity, encouraging the importance of motherhood and home-based activities. For the first time, the ‘family’ was recognised as two parents with between one and three children living at home. The desire for a home, and ‘the desire for gardens and for “privacy” (interpreted as not sharing accommodation or facilities and not being overlooked) came out as overwhelmingly important.’²³⁹ It has been argued that the context for the approach of the Horsbrugh Committee, as reported in *The Times* and other newspapers, was that of the ‘[...] general attitudes of the time towards disability and the stigma of illegitimacy, and in particular the continuing influence in the mid-1930s of the eugenics movement which still had many followers among the educated and progressive classes [...].’²⁴⁰

1.5 Concluding Remarks

In light of the ways in which adoption was portrayed in other British press publications of the time, the photographic essay in *Picture Post* seems remarkable in focusing less on the legislation of adoption, but rather providing an emotional response, depicting adoption as a positive endeavour for all of those involved in the adoption process, in particular the

²³⁹ For an analysis of the Mass Observation survey on housing see John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1986), 237

²⁴⁰ Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 158

prospective mother and child. In the years following the Second World War, there was a decisive shift in the level of social provision for children and families. This was a result of the belief that the war had left family life in disarray, and was in need of restoration. It has been noted that ‘a vigorous campaign developed, followed by a formal enquiry, appointed by the Home Secretary [...]. Chaired by Dame Myra Curtis, the committee re-examined the whole question of the war’s consequences for family.’²⁴¹ A shift occurred from prioritising the physical and cerebral fitness of mother and child – as well as a preoccupation with legislative discourse – to the importance of encouraging a nurturing family environment. It was not until 1948 – a decade after ‘A Mother Wanted’ appeared in *Picture Post* – that,

[...] the committee’s recommendations were embodied in the Children’s Act, which, besides authorizing closer inspection of residential institutions, unequivocally affirmed the significance of family nurture. It supported adoption and fostering, wherever possible, for children separated from their families [...].

Focusing on adoption as such, however, seems very much in line with legislation, organisation and thus a heightened interest in adoption by the press. Hence, what needs explanation is not why Man depicted the topic as such, but why he and the editors who selected the photographs from the contact sheets portrayed it so positively, appealing emotionally to the readership. Man himself has noted that this new interpretation of photojournalism ‘was to photograph human beings [...], returning to simplicity, rejecting all

²⁴¹ Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 23

artificial means, and emphasising psychological factors.’²⁴² This line of thought is reflected in the writing of Gidal, who, when giving an explanation for the significance of the proponents of Modern Photojournalism in the history of photography, asserts that,

Of far-reaching importance was the fact that the new kind of photo-reportage took its cues not from art or literature, but from the many and varied aspects of the *condition humaine* itself. The emphasis was placed almost exclusively on the human element.²⁴³

‘A Mother Wanted’ demonstrates this emphasis on the human element associated with the photojournalists from Europe. Thus, this photographic essay can be understood as a reconsideration of the construction of the family by highlighting the importance of the emotional bond between mother and adopted child; moreover, it presents the notion that an alternative to the traditional blood family does in fact exist. The relationship between emotions and photographs compared to text has been highlighted in scholarship, arguing that particularly photographs stress emotions. Burgin has noted that ‘looking at photographs can [...] occasion great interest, fascination, emotion, reverie – or all of these things. Clearly, the photograph [...] acts as a *catalyst* – exciting mental activity which exceeds that which the photograph itself provides.’²⁴⁴ The photograph as ‘catalyst’ is significant here in that it acknowledges the power of photography to stimulate an emotional resonance within the viewer, and furthermore, takes ‘into account the active participation of the mental processes

²⁴² Man, *Man with Camera*, no page number

²⁴³ Gidal, *Jews in Photography*, 447

²⁴⁴ Burgin, ‘Introduction’, 9

of the viewer' which results in an emotional intensity far greater than the photograph alone.²⁴⁵

The significance of the active participation of the viewer as a factor in the emotional appeal of the photograph is again highlighted by Susan Sontag in her seminal book, *On Photography* (1977). Sontag wrote extensively about the relationship between photography and emotion and while *On Photography* is replete with contradictions, the question is not whether photographs stress emotion at all, but rather the significance of time and knowledge in the severity of that emotion. This, however, reasserts the significance of the involvement of the viewer in the emotional impact of the photograph – the photograph as 'catalyst' ignites an emotional response in the viewer, which in turn – in light of Sontag – is dependent upon the viewer's consciousness. Furthermore, with reference to Sontag's exploration of the emotional impact of photographs, Sarah Parsons has asserted that 'in photographs of trauma, this emotional force is evident and often intentional on the part of the photographer.'²⁴⁶ The trauma, in this instance, is that of forced separation – namely the rupture of the mother-child relationship. The photographic essay's positive portrayal, however, could in fact be related to the experience of migration and resulting dispersal and separation that make relevant to rethink traditional family conceptions based on blood relations. If the photographic essays of the pioneers of Modern Photojournalism are concerned primarily with the *condition humaine*, then it can be argued that such a representation of forced separation is connected to the émigré experience. Gidal highlights a key factor in the breakthrough of Modern

²⁴⁵ Burgin, 'Introduction', 9

²⁴⁶ Sarah Parsons, 'Sontag's Lament: Emotion, Ethics, and Photography', *Photography and Culture*, 2(3) (2009), 292

Photojournalism that recognises '[...] the emergence of a new generation of sensitive photo-reporters, who came mainly from an academic or intellectual background and who opened up new areas of photo reportage as witness of their own experience in their own time [...].'²⁴⁷

Man, and his fellow photographers at *Picture Post*, having experienced a kind of forced separation through their own migration to Britain, revealed their own experiences and concerns in their photographic work. Berkowitz, who, when considering the Jewish émigré photographers working in Britain in the 1930s, quotes Adi Gordon who asserts that they 'emigrated as Jews, and the experience of emigration decisively shaped them.'²⁴⁸ One of the most prominent examples for such scattering is the so-called Kindertransport, the topic of the next section in this chapter. This will explore the potential tensions between the émigré photographers and the institutional cultures of Britain, including that of the established Anglo-Jewish community, and how this may have influenced the presentation of child refugees from Nazi Germany in *Picture Post*.

II. Kindertransport

The previous section of this chapter has shown that there may well be a correlation between separation and the processes of narration, specifically the construction of narrative by means of photographic material. This section will focus on one photographic essay published in *Picture Post* in December 1938, asking whether a connection between these different types of

²⁴⁷ Gidal, 'Jews in Photography', 447

²⁴⁸ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 28

forced separation – ultimately that experienced through forced migration – can be established, and to what extent this particular familiarity between adoption, the Kindertransport, and evacuation (as a dispersal initiated not by migration but war) provides an insight into the connection between the émigré photographer and the photographed child.

The Kindertransport has hitherto held a specific place within British cultural memory, one which has been celebratory and heroic. The resonance of the Kindertransport within British memorial culture at the turn of the century was possibly, as Caroline Sharples has argued, ‘a response to the sheer outpouring of memoirs and oral testimony from the refugees themselves that has occurred over the past two decades in Britain.’²⁴⁹ Recently, however, a re-reading of the Kindertransports has demonstrated that ‘the historical reality of the Kindertransports is in danger of becoming somewhat obscured by a largely ahistorical mythology that has grown up around them.’²⁵⁰ In light of such views, much scholarly attention has been paid to the literary memoirs of former Kindertransportees. Andrea Hammel, in her essay, ‘Authenticity, Trauma and the Child’s View: Martha Blend’s *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing’s *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David’s *Ein Kind Unserer Zeit*’ analyses three memory texts written by women Kindertransportees whose work was published in the 1990s.²⁵¹ Hammel identifies certain ruptures which occur as a result of the tension between the child self and the adult self.

Through an examination of the three texts in question, she places emphasis on ‘the contrast

²⁴⁹ Caroline Sharples, ‘The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory’ in Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz, eds., *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39. New Perspectives*, Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, 13 (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2013), 16

²⁵⁰ Anthony Grenville, ‘The Kindertransports: An Introduction’ in Hammel and Lewkowicz, *The Kindertransport to Britain*, 1

²⁵¹ Andrea Hammel, ‘Authenticity, Trauma and the Child’s View: Martha Blend’s *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing’s *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David’s *Ein Kind Unserer Zeit*’, *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 49(2) (2013)

between the narrated child self and the narrating adult self', highlighting 'how both normality and extraordinary situations are narrated' and how this 'contrast has a defamiliarizing effect.'²⁵² Furthermore, through an examination of historical evidence, Hammel has highlighted the discussion surrounding the psychological impact of the separation of children and their parents. While it has been acknowledged that notions surrounding child welfare have changed significantly since the Second World War, there have been instances where the detrimental effects of emigration on unaccompanied minors has been considered.²⁵³ Hammel has concluded that a number of the Kindertransportees were not all sent to Britain without a family member having already left Nazi Germany and a connection having already been established in the host country. While it is documented that these children travelled either on their own or with an unknown adult, the papers of the department for the *Jugendfürsorge/ Subsection Kinderauswanderung* of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien* show that their families saw the Kindertransport as an opportunity to keep the family together, as a way of reuniting as a family, as nucleus or wider, in the host country.²⁵⁴ Thus, this provides evidence for the reasons why parents sent their children on the Kindertransport in the first place: by providing a contact point for the children once in Britain, even if they could not live with them, these parents were unable to accept the notion of forced separation from their

²⁵² Hammel, 'Authenticity', 202-3

²⁵³ See, for example, Anthony Grenville, 'The Kindertransports: An Introduction', in Hammel and Lewkowicz, *The Kindertransports to Britain*, 1-12; also, Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 7, and Ute Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation: Loss of Family and Home as Childhood Catastrophes', *Shofar*, 23(1) (2004), 85-99

²⁵⁴ Hammel, 'The Future of Kindertransport Research', in Hammel and Lewkowicz, eds., *The Kindertransports to Britain*, 143

children as a result of the restrictions of the Kindertransports.²⁵⁵ While this group might still be a minority amongst child refugees, it goes without saying that the Kindertransport has had an impact on the assessment of the relationship between migration and family as illustrated by the portrayal of the Kindertransport in *Picture Post*. Through a reconsideration of familial bonds – as a result of forced migration – many child refugees were able to assimilate and remained in Britain once the war had ended.

While Hammel, and others, have focused on literary works and oral testimonies relating to the Kindertransport, there has been little analysis of the visual imagery produced of the refugee children. Here then, *Picture Post* will be situated within the British cultural climate of the time; the photographic essay in question, as a contemporary source of understanding of the first wave of refugee children arriving in Britain on a Kindertransport, will be examined to demonstrate the significance of a narrative relationship between the ‘narrating’ émigré photographer and the ‘narrated’ refugee child. Rather than creating a ‘defamiliarizing effect’ between the child and the adult, as Hammel argues for in her essay, the photographic narrative in ‘Their First Day in England’ exposes a shared experience between the narrating (adult) and the narrated (child). This familiarisation – as a result of forced separation – is such that it does not only resonate within the émigré community but also with the wider British public. The first part of this section will focus on visual analysis of the photographic essay, ‘Their First Day in England’, situating the photographs within the historical context of the Kindertransport in relation to the Second World War. The second part will explore a

²⁵⁵ Hammel notes that it was only in extremely rare cases that children were allowed to live with their parents who had been employed as domestics in Britain (in Hammel, ‘The Future’, 144)

chosen selection of unpublished photographic essays in order to draw a correlation between the narrative of the émigré photographers and the cultural perspectives on children (specifically child refugees) in late 1930s Britain, in light of the subsequent research on memoirs and testimonies of former Kindertransportees.

2.1 ‘Their First Day in England’, 17 December 1938

The photographic essay, ‘Their First Day in England’, published in *Picture Post* on 17 December 1938, focuses on some of the first German-Jewish refugee children to arrive in Britain in December 1938 (Fig.26). The fourteen photographs taken by the émigré photographers Kurt Hutton and Gerti Deutsch cover three pages of the magazine, and include many close-up shots of the faces of young boys. The bold rectangular arrangement of the photographs is simple yet effective in conveying the story of these refugee children from Nazi Germany. The photographic essay begins on a left-hand page of the magazine (page 56), with a large landscape photograph positioned above the title of the piece (Fig.26a). The photographic story begins here; this top photograph is a close-up, frontal shot of the faces of three German-Jewish boys. The photograph has been cropped, focusing attention on the emotion displayed on the boys’ faces. A sense of anxiety and apprehension has been established; the closely-cropped photograph does not reveal anything of the background, signifying the uncertainty of the situation of the first child refugees who have been forced from their homes, away from their parents for the first time. This perceived trauma, present

in memoirs of former Kindertransportees, is instead short-lived.²⁵⁶ As the story develops, the following thirteen photographs instead focus on happy, diligent boys. The second and third photographs of the essay, also featured on page 56, depict scenes of children playing. In the bottom left-hand photograph, two boys and a girl are playing darts and in the right-hand image a group of boys play football on the grass. These two photographs have also been cropped and formatted, but unlike the first image in the series, the cropping is not so close so as to eliminate the background. These photographs successfully convey a sense of normality to this extraordinary situation.

The importance of the photographic essay published in a popular weekly magazine is such that it was indeed remarkable for the editorial team to depict the child refugees favourably, in order to provoke an empathic response from the viewer. The mass migration which took place in the 1930s as a result of Nazi policy in Germany highlighted the tensions between the established Anglo-Jewish community and their European counterparts. Whilst there had been some positive contributions from the Anglo-Jewish leadership to support Jewish migration to Britain – particularly after *Kristallnacht* – there remained a sense of ambivalence towards the plight of the émigrés.²⁵⁷ It has been noted that the attitude of the British government towards Jewish immigration in the 1930s was informed by the underlying principle ‘[...] that Jews, by

²⁵⁶ See, as an example of memoirs of former Kindertransportees: Martha Blend, *A Child Alone* (Edgware: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), Vera Gissing, *Pearls of Childhood: The Poignant True Wartime Story of a Young Girl Growing Up in an Adopted Land* (New York: Robson, 1988) and Werner Neuburger, *Dark Clouds Don't Stay Forever: Memoirs of a German Jewish Boy in the 1930s and 1940s* (Maryland: Publish America 2006)

²⁵⁷ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 213

their presence and behaviour, created anti-Semitism.’²⁵⁸ The outbreak of war only served to deepen feelings of hostility towards the Jewish émigrés, and while ‘Britain had a long tradition of anti-Semitism before 1939 [...] the stress of war intensified it.’²⁵⁹ However, as Berkowitz has noted, ‘it has been little noticed [...] that these magazines [such as *Picture Post*] also spread a self-consciously anti-racist and anti-antisemitic visual discourse as never before articulated in the pictorial press.’²⁶⁰ In light of this, it will be argued that *Picture Post*’s approach to the Kindertransport – and by extension the Jewish émigré community – in the photographic essay, ‘Their First Day in England’, offered not only a positive representation of Jewish émigrés but also a reconsideration of familial bonds as a result of forced migration.

Photographs four, five and six (Fig. 31) show three clean, healthy, well-dressed refugee boys; the close-cropping of the images acting as a means to individualise the children. The refugee children, not only had the ability to socialise, as demonstrated by these three photographs, but were also industrious and well-behaved. It has been noted in previous research that the child refugees would have been required to learn English upon their arrival in Britain, and the middle photograph on page 57, shows a young boy studying. The propensity for children adapting to their new surroundings has been acknowledged by Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, who states that ‘their facility for learning languages is greater and their chances for

²⁵⁸ Louise London, ‘Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy, 1930-1940’, in David Cesarani, ed., *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 164

²⁵⁹ Smith, *Britain in the Second World War*, 11

²⁶⁰ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography in Britain*, 119

successful assimilation far surpass those of any other age group.²⁶¹ The photographers have constructed an image of an eager, hard-working child refugee, one who would contribute to the prosperity of Britain.

2.2 The Kindertransport 1938-39

The Kindertransport was organised by the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, which later became known as the Refugee Children's Movement.²⁶² The Refugee Children's Movement (RCM) was jointly chaired by Sir Wyndham Deedes and Viscount Samuel, a former government minister, following a debate on refugee policy which had taken place in Parliament on 21 November 1938. During this debate it was announced by the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, that the Home Office would grant entry visas to all those child refugees whose maintenance could be guaranteed. The visa requirement for the refugee children was subsequently waived, and one of the first transports arrived from Berlin as early as 2 December 1938. The Kindertransport occupies a specific place within British cultural memory, although organised mass emigration and child immigration to Britain was not without precedent. As Hammel notes, approximately 4000 unaccompanied Basque children arrived in Britain following battles in Eastern Guizpuzcoa in August 1936, during the Spanish Civil War; Belgian children, too, had found refuge in Britain during the First World War.²⁶³ However, the time between the government decision to admit child refugees in late

²⁶¹ Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back. The Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain, 1938-1945*, Shofar Supplements in Jewish Studies (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2012), 5

²⁶² Grenville, 'The Kindertransports' 8

²⁶³ Andrea Hammel, 'Child Refugees Forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39', *Diskurs Kindheits-und Jugendforschung*, (2) (2010), 133

November 1938 and the first Kindertransport in early December 1938, highlights the determination and organisation of those involved. In Germany, the department for child emigration - *Abteilung Kinderauswanderung der Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* - had been established by the Council for German Jews in 1933. Facilitating emigration had become the main focus of the organisation post-1933, which provided the RCM with a corresponding organisation familiar with the procedures of a large-scale emigration.²⁶⁴

This first transport, carrying 200 children, arrived at Harwich in Essex, where the children were temporarily housed at the Dovercourt Bay holiday camp, the largest of the empty holiday camps used by the RCM. As the photographic essay in *Picture Post* informs its readers:

The difficulty is to find homes and accommodation for those in immediate need, while plans for their final settlement are worked out. Already the first few hundred children have arrived in this country, and been installed in a holiday camp at Dovercourt Bay, near Harwich.²⁶⁵

The Kindertransportees were boys and girls aged between two and seventeen years old on entering the UK. The urgency of the children having to leave Germany was assessed in order to select those for the first Kindertransport; for example, boys aged between 15 and 17 years old were considered a priority as they risked arrest. Similarly, children who were living without one or both of their parents, and those living in children's homes, were also thought

²⁶⁴ Hammel, 'Child Refugees Forever?', 134

²⁶⁵ 'Their First Day in England', *Picture Post*, 1(12) (17 December 1938), 56-7

of as urgent cases.²⁶⁶ As this photographic essay demonstrates, the children were at first accommodated in holding camps, and were then either allocated a foster family, or, more commonly for older children, placed in hostels. ‘Their First Day in England’ includes photographs of children - predominantly boys - aged approximately between eleven and thirteen. In light of what has just been said, boys in this age group were of the least concern to British society of all the children who arrived on the Kindertransports. Older boys were, as previously mentioned, at risk of arrest and the younger children required much more dedicated care. The photographic essay, whilst exposing the situation of child refugees in Britain, ensures the message is positive. The British public should welcome the arrival of the child émigrés, not only because of the socio-political situation in Europe, but because these children would enrich British society, young enough to have time in which to turn them into ‘Britons’.

2.3 Jewish Refugees in the Press

In comparison to earlier press coverage of refugees arriving in Britain during the 1930s, the reception of the Kindertransportees was, almost wholly, positive. The press emphasised the innocence of the child refugees, heightening the perception of them as victims. As Hammel has observed,

The arriving children, often seen in pictures with their labels, luggage and sometimes even toys, evoked public sympathy and were repeatedly featured in national newspapers. In some of the photos, as well as the reports, we see kindly British

²⁶⁶ Hammel, ‘Child Refugees Forever?’, 134

officials who check the children's identity, but are certainly portrayed as humane and friendly, thus supporting the view of Britain as rescuer.²⁶⁷

In this sense, the photographic essay in *Picture Post* was not unusual. However, it does not focus on the immediate arrival of the child refugees with their luggage, labels or toys in any of the published photographs. Neither do the photographs depict a so-called kindly British official. However, it is made clear through the title of this photographic essay - 'Their First Day in England' - and the sequence of the photographs, that the child refugees portrayed here in the photographs have only just arrived in Britain. Although this photographic essay differs somewhat to other photographs published in the press, in that the children have been photographed once they have arrived at the holding camp - without their luggage and with no visible labels - it does present the child refugees in a positive light. It is understood that 'the holding camp in Dovercourt [...] became a point of interest for a number of reporters, and even BBC radio reporters arrived to record a programme. The RCM forewarned the organisers at Dovercourt and advised them to cooperate and create a favourable impression.'²⁶⁸ This positive picture of child refugees was fuelled by the perception that children were less of a threat to British society and its way of life. Here, the children are seen to be keen to assimilate. Such a presentation of Jewish émigrés has been noted by Berkowitz, who has written that,

[...] Jews in Britain, under Lorant, had been presented as decent, proper British subjects by refugee and native-born photographers alike [...]. In contrast to Nazi

²⁶⁷ Hammel, 'Child Refugees Forever?', 137

²⁶⁸ Hammel, 'Child Refugees Forever?', 138

thinking and propaganda up until 1945, Jews were rendered, by the photojournalists dominating British and American newsstands, as human beings,²⁶⁹

Berkowitz references this specific photographic essay, and the photographs by Hutton and Deutsch, as a striking example of a representation of Jews as respectable human beings. The human element of photojournalism – to which Gidal had previously referred, and which was explored in the examination of the previous photographic essay in this chapter – is a significant characteristic of *Picture Post*'s approach to the subject of forced separation and the more unfamiliar topic of forced migration. By focusing on the emotional connection between people, the children in this photographic essay, having experienced the trauma of forced separation – from their families, homes and country – are portrayed positively, as children engaged in education and social activities. Neither the photographs or the accompanying text in this photographic essay make reference to the reported hostility and direct anti-Semitism faced by Jewish émigrés in Britain during the 1930s; rather, it appeals more specifically to the emotion of the reader. However, the presence of anti-Semitism in the British press during this period has been previously noted. The negative approach towards refugees - specifically Jewish refugees - in national newspapers was widespread, although it was focused primarily on adult émigrés rather than the unaccompanied children who arrived on the transports. The seeming ambiguity of the British press in relation to refugees during this time does, to a certain extent, help to establish a correlation between the narrative of the

²⁶⁹ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 126

émigré and cultural perspectives on the refugee situation in Britain. Andrew Scharf has addressed this notion of ambiguity, firstly on the negative attitudes towards Jewish refugees:

The importance of both positive and negative attitudes does not lie in their political or financial results but in their psychological meaning. Negative attitudes were partly caused by an anti-Semitic infection; partly by the less noble element in the profession of journalism; but mostly, perhaps, by an inveterate British inability to grasp imaginatively what could happen on the continent of Europe.²⁷⁰

The notion of journalism as a ‘less noble element’ in the understanding of anti-Semitism in Britain, places emphasis on the positive position of *Picture Post* in the wider context of British photojournalism as a whole. This is highlighted by Berkowitz, who acknowledges the specific approach of *Picture Post* to the child émigrés and how they were presented to its readership. The magazine, it has been argued,

[...] assured its readers that these young refugees were utterly respectable. Obviously their plight was desperate, but they would not become a burden to the British. The pictures also clearly showed these normal, happy children as exhibiting no trace of the ugly and threatening stereotypes that the Nazis and their followers attributed to Jews.²⁷¹

Indeed, anti-Semitism existed in Britain, long before the ideological construction of the Nazi regime. As demonstrated in the *Daily Mail* on 3 February 1900:

²⁷⁰ Sharf, *The British Press*, 209

²⁷¹ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 128

There landed yesterday at Southampton [...] over 600 so-called refugees, their passages having been paid out by the Lord Mayor's fund [...]. There was scarce a hundred of them that had, by right, deserved such help, and these were the Englishmen of the party. The rest were Jews [...]. They fought and jostled for the foremost places at the gangways [...]. When the Relief Committee passed by they hid their gold and fawned and whined, and, in broken English, asked for money for their train fare.²⁷²

This same feeling towards the Jewish refugees can be seen in an edition of the *New Statesman* published almost four decades later, on 7 November 1936:

It is quite true (the Nazis are right there) that the Jewish mentality is a distinctive thing. Even those Englishmen who are most deeply attached to their Jewish friends must feel at times a profound sense of the generic, and not merely individual differences that mark them off. One would not wish England to be represented in the world solely or even mainly by Jewish minds; for in truth then she would cease to be England. But a great nation, sure of itself, will not harbour this fear.²⁷³

It could be observed, however, that even in expressing such thought, this 'great nation', England, was harbouring such fear in 1936. This fear was fuelled, in part, by a total lack of knowledge of the actual numbers of refugees who entered Britain during the 1930s. It can also be reasoned that such statements, as expressed in the British press, were not so separate

²⁷² *Daily Mail*, 3 February 1900

²⁷³ *New Statesman*, 7 November 1936

from the nation's consciousness as some have argued but testament to the belief that the media can, to some extent, influence and shape cultural understanding: a way of constructing a narrative (through photographs).

The left-leaning tendencies of the magazine, informed by the experiences of the émigré editor and photographers, could have gone some way to influence the public's understanding of the émigré situation - at the very least, it exposed events to the readership from an émigré perspective, in an accessible photographic essay format. As Sharf explains,

Positive attitudes [...] expressed the proper professional urge to discover and report every relevant fact, and they illuminated another British characteristic equally rooted in British history: a love of tolerance and of political moderation, a loathing of manifest injustice.²⁷⁴

The ambiguity, however, is also present between the private and public spheres. Children were a popular theme in the press, particularly child refugees, and this, it could be argued, influenced the public perception of the refugees arriving in Britain. A respondent to a Mass Observation report in 1939 stated, 'I think I am right in saying that a great percentage of [the refugees] are children.'²⁷⁵ This underlines the significance of press ambiguity stated by Scharf, who concludes that it was, a 'picture of understanding and lack of understanding, a

²⁷⁴ Sharf, *The British Press*, 209

²⁷⁵ Hammel, 'Child Refugees Forever?', 137

picture of willingness to help and hesitation in actually doing so, a picture of sympathy and bewilderment in the face of the great cataclysm of our day.’²⁷⁶

2.4 The Kindertransport and Childhood Experience

Marion Berghahn has ascertained the complexities of émigré identities in relation to German-Jewish refugees in Britain. She writes that ‘it was assumed that it would make a significant difference to the attitudes of individuals whether they had left Germany and settled in Britain as an adult or as a child.’²⁷⁷ This notion had previously been explored, in an article by Charmian Brinson, in relation to the autobiographical writings of women refugees in Britain.²⁷⁸ Discussing the linguistic medium in which the autobiographical works would have been written – namely English or German – Brinson asserts that this is dependent on, amongst other things, ‘[...] the age of the author both at the time of writing and on arrival in Britain,’ and continues that this ‘[...] also self-evidently determines the writer’s perspective, that is to say, whether the exile experience is presented through adult eyes or through those of a child.’²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Scharf, *The British Press*, 209

²⁷⁷ Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons. German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany*, new and rev. edn (Oxford: Berghahn, 2006), 3

²⁷⁸ Charmian Brinson, ‘Autobiography in Exile: The Reflections of Women Refugees from Nazism in British Exile, 1933-1945’, in J.M. Ritchie, ed., *German-Speaking Exiles*, 1-21

²⁷⁹ Brinson, ‘Autobiography’, 2

The memory of the Kindertransport for those involved is something which is inextricably linked with the concept of home; and more specifically, the notion of being forced from home. Judith Grunwald, a head teacher, remembers a transport arriving at her school:

It seemed that each youngster carried the imprint of his own past, of his childhood days at home with him and each one seemed to represent the programme of his own family with its heritage and special hallmark. They carried all this to the shores of a free world, there to plant new seeds.²⁸⁰

While it must be acknowledged that accounts such as these cannot be assumed to be historically accurate, such remembrances are significant in order to understand the complexities of forced separation – in this case, the kind of forced separation is that of migration. This concept of forced separation was not alien to the British public, specifically the readership of *Picture Post*. The plight of the unwanted or destitute child had been approached in an earlier photographic essay - ‘A Mother Wanted’, a story concerning the adoption process - which had resonated with the British public. The familiarity of the adoption processes in the 1930s - as discussed in the previous section - introduced the audience to the notion of forced separation, one which was closer-to-home, and which concerned British society. Despite this, the reception of children who had come unaccompanied on the Kindertransports was not wholly positive, particularly from within the Anglo-Jewish community. Endelman has asserted that there ‘were those who remained indifferent and did not respond to appeals for funds and, more importantly, for homes for

²⁸⁰ John Welshman, *Churchill's Children. The Evacuee Experience in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 16

unaccompanied children, one-third of whom, as a result, were placed in Christian homes.’²⁸¹

The placement of Jewish children in non-Jewish British homes, it has been argued, may have emphasised the trauma experienced through forced separation. This apparent reluctance of the Anglo-Jewish community to take the refugee children into their homes is, to a certain extent, representative of the tensions between the established Jewish community and the European émigrés. As Alderman has acknowledged, it ‘[...] constituted a particularly painful episode [...]’. He asserts that,

Had they all been found billets in Jewish homes, their sufferings might have been lessened. This could have been accomplished, but the will was lacking. In August 1939 [...] we find the editor of the *Birmingham Jewish Recorder* pleading with his readers to offer hospitality to refugee children, or at least contribute to their care in a hostel.²⁸²

The fact that such strained relations between the Anglo-Jewish community and the émigrés from Europe are not reflected in the photographic essay published in *Picture Post* is arguably an example of how the émigré photographers and editor revealed their own concerns in their work. The photographic images published in ‘Their First Day in England’ were chosen over a number of other photographs taken of Jewish émigrés arriving in Britain on the Kindertransports. A comparison of the contact sheets of these unpublished photographs with those published in ‘Their First Day in England’ offers an insight into how differently the Jewish émigré children were presented in the press during the late 1930s in Britain (Figs. 32

²⁸¹ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 215

²⁸² Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 299

and 33). The photographic images shown on the contact sheets (Fig. 33) were taken by Gerti Deutsch and were intended to be published in *Picture Post* as the photographic essay, 'Refugee Children', with a possibility of appearing in the magazine in October or November 1940.²⁸³ Deutsch's photographs show groups of individuals at what appears to be a port and a train station. Although the images on this contact sheet are somewhat distorted, it can be deduced from the given title of this assignment and information from the archive, that the photographs depict the arrival of refugees in Britain from Europe. For example, the top photograph on the right-hand strip of the contact sheet (Fig. 33) shows a close-up shot of a boy wearing a smart, dark-coloured coat and contrasting hat, holding a suitcase. The figure on the left of the photograph is wearing a light-coloured overcoat and dark hat. This male is also holding a suitcase and appears to be gesturing towards the boy. Such images are synonymous with other press photographs of the Kindertransports in so much as the focus of the photograph is the moment the refugees step off the train with their suitcases.

In contrast, the published photographic essay, 'Their First Day in England' comprises photographs of the child refugees studying and at play, once they have arrived at the holding camp. These children appear much more settled than the refugees pictured with their suitcases having just arrived in Britain. The decision to focus on the refugee children once they were more at ease in their new environment meant that the published photographic material functioned as a means to highlight the potential of the positive contributions the child émigrés could make to British society and thus turn attention away from the more

²⁸³ It is possible that this photographic essay was to be published in October or November 1940, as its entry in the archival material corresponds with this date. However, the records during the war years were not as thorough as they had been in 1938-39, and the recording of publishing dates is at times patchy and erratic.

damaging reports of Jewish migration. The conflict between the ‘narrated’ child and the ‘narrating’ adult is, to a certain extent, overcome here through an assumed shared experience of the photographer and the photographed children - that of forced separation, and subsequently, migration - leaving families, homes and countries behind. It is significant, then, for this reason, that the children have been photographed once they are more settled at their holding camp - Dovercourt Bay - rather than as destitute refugees arriving in the country. Hence, the photographic essay is focused less on the political and economic outcomes of this situation. Instead, the photographs address the notion of settlement. It should be acknowledged that the changing image of the ‘family’ in 1930s Britain, alongside the development of child welfare policies placed the needs of the individual child first - at least theoretically. The value of the child is echoed here in the photographs taken of refugee children, as the photographic essay emphasises the stability of the refugee situation.

The circumstances which lead to the child refugees being placed in non-Jewish homes in Britain, according to Endelman, ‘undoubtedly contributed to the high rate of radical assimilation among German Jews in Britain after the war.’²⁸⁴ While the initial experience of forced separation and the subsequent traumatic experience of being placed in a home with religious, cultural and linguistic barriers could arguably have been detrimental to the future progress of the child émigré, the children photographed for ‘Their First Day in England’ are presented as happy individuals who were keen to assimilate. The development of a strong bond between the émigré children themselves, through a shared experience of forced

²⁸⁴ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 215

migration, as well as being part of a foster family in the host country, may have been influential in their successful assimilation and naturalisation after the Second World War.

Furthermore, the photographs of the child émigrés who arrived on one of the first Kindertransports to Britain have become a visual record of these events, a narrative of the forced migration from mainland Europe to Britain through photographs. The way in which the narrative has been constructed, rather than having a defamiliarising effect, conveys an immediacy and a familiarity between the photographer - adult - and the subject - child.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

The photographic essay published in *Picture Post* – similar to other stories in the British press – illustrated the Kindertransport positively. However, the scene depicted in ‘Their First Day in England’ focuses attention on the age group most neglected by other publications; rather these adolescent boys were shown in a favourable light as future contributors to the prosperity of British society. This is significant in further understanding the specific approach evident in *Picture Post* in relation to forced separation. The emphasis here is placed not on the implementation of the scheme by the British government, but rather the positive presence of the child refugees in the country. While the photographic essay does not highlight the possible trauma experienced by these children, it rather reflects the agenda of the émigré photographer, and the publication as a whole: it would have been beneficial to portray the child refugees favourably in order to reassure the British public, while simultaneously reasserting the positive position of the émigré photographer in Britain. It can be argued that the act of taking the photograph, for the photographer – adult émigré – and the

subject being photographed – Kindertransportee, acts as a catharsis ; the difficulties involved in writing about – or remembering - trauma has been documented, particularly trauma related to the separation of children from their parents. Hammel has noted, however, that while most Kindertransportees remark on the moment when communication ceases between themselves and their parent(s) once they have arrived in Britain, ‘generally it seems that the worry about the fate of the parents does not take up as much space in the memoirs of former members of the Kindertransport as one might assume.’²⁸⁵ On the one hand, this could in fact be explained by the difficulty in talking about such experienced traumatic events and suggestive of the shared experience of the photographer and the photographed subject in this chapter; on the other hand, this could provide evidence for further understanding the complexities of forced separation and its effects on the child. This will be examined in the next section of this chapter in relation to the evacuation of children in the Second World War, with a particular focus on the depiction of the child in visual imagery.

III. Evacuation

The previous sections, which concentrated on adoption and the Kindertransport, explored differing types of forced separation in order to suggest a possible connection between the experience of the photographer and that of the photographed child. This third section will focus on the evacuation of over one million civilians in Britain, namely unaccompanied children and mothers with infants, as a result of the outbreak of the Second World War. The

²⁸⁵ Hammel, ‘Child Refugees Forever?’, 138

photographic essay, 'We Are Happy', published in *Picture Post* on 18 November 1939, focuses on the subject of evacuation (Fig. 34) and will be examined here in light of the preceding discourse on adoption and the Kindertransport, in order to provide a comparative perspective on forced separation, and in turn, demonstrate how this representation of evacuation may be understood as an instance of a reconsideration of familial bonds.

3.1 'We Are Happy', 18 November 1939

The three-page photographic essay, 'We Are Happy', was published in *Picture Post* on 18 November 1939. It consists of eight photographs, taken by Gerti Deutsch.²⁸⁶ Each of these photographs is accompanied by a caption in italics and a short descriptive paragraph. The story begins on page 42, with three rectangular photographs depicting young children in the countryside. The first photograph in the top left-hand side of the page focuses on a small girl, looking beyond the camera. The close-up proximity of the shot reveals she is wearing a floral summer dress, wellington boot-type footwear, and carrying a cardboard box from which she appears to be eating. There are two other, slightly older, children in the background. They are standing in a field, surrounded by dense foliage. This image is stark in contrast to the other four photographs on the double-page spread of this photographic essay. The children, who are alone in the field, are not playing or running; they do not have visible smiles. The isolation that evacuated children may have experienced, having been separated from their own families in the city, is apparent in this unembellished photograph. This may serve as a reminder of the distress caused by forced separation, as the reader continues to

²⁸⁶ The archival material states that the photographs were taken by Gerti Deutsch; unfortunately, no contact sheets available for this photographic essay.

look at the following photographs in the sequence. The photograph in the top right-hand side of the same page is a similar size to the previous image; however, it has been closely cropped in order to focus on the young girl and a member of the family she has most likely been placed with in the countryside. Here, the little girl is seen wearing a good quality summer dress and buckled shoes, pointing towards a doll on the step. An older man bends down next to her, offering a sense of security to the child. There is a familiarity to this photographed scene; both the child and the man appear to be comfortable in each other's company.

This sense of familiarity and comfort remains in the third and fourth photographs by Deutsch. Deutsch has documented the evacuated children as members of a family, seemingly at ease with their surroundings. The type of 'family' being photographed is not immediately apparent from the photographs themselves - the child may have been unaccompanied and placed with a foster family; a mother and her infant may have been evacuated to a billeted house in the countryside; siblings may have been evacuated together to live with other children in a larger hostel-like environment (as shown in the photograph in the lower right-hand side of page 43). The function of the caption is to inform the reader of the specific circumstances of each photograph - this photographic essay provides the reader with different cases of the evacuees in Britain. One element that connects the photographs - and the evacuees depicted - is the safety of the countryside, which has been acknowledged as an

idyllic refuge away from the dangers of the city by government-issued posters on the subject of evacuation, as well as published literature on this topic.²⁸⁷

The photographic essay continues on page 44, where the last three photographs of the story show the day-to-day activities of the evacuated children. The rectangular format of each of the photographs lends itself to the characteristic style of the photographic essay in *Picture Post*. The simple layout is effective in conveying the story to the reader, without any distractions from the photographs. The photograph on the left-hand side of the page shows the evacuees at leisure, gathering at the entrance of a village shop. The picket fence in the foreground of the photograph acts as a barrier between the children and the viewer, reinforcing the notion of protection in the countryside. Similarly, the church in the next photograph connotes ideas of safety and well-being. British children would have commonly attended church and Sunday school at this time, an activity which has continued despite the disturbance caused by evacuation. The last photograph highlights the importance of the presence of a stable ‘family’ environment for children. The children are sat around a laid dining table, with the ‘mother’ pouring water from a jug, and the ‘father’ sitting at the head of the table. Although the setting is somewhat formal (tablecloth, napkins, two sets of cutlery for each place setting), the cropping of the photograph - centring on the table and eliminating much of the surrounding room - results in a comforting, homely atmosphere, with the foster parents and children at ease in each other’s company.

²⁸⁷ Posters on this subject were issued by the Ministry of Health during the Second World War and will be discussed further in this chapter.

This photographic essay will be utilised as a foundation for a discussion of evacuation in relation to (forced) separation; it will provide a point of comparison for the processes of evacuation, adoption and the Kindertransport which have previously been explored in this chapter. The concept of ‘family’ will be introduced in order to establish a connection between the photographic narratives of the photographic essays shown here, and forced separation experienced through adoption, the Kindertransport and evacuation.

3.2 Historical Background of Evacuation in Britain

In 1934, it had been reported by an evacuation sub-committee, founded by the Committee for Imperial Defence, that in the event of war it would be advisable to evacuate three million people from London.²⁸⁸ This sub-committee announcement dominated plans for the next four years, and on 26 July 1938, a report by another committee, known as the Anderson Committee, was published. It was chaired by Sir John Anderson, an Independent MP for the Scottish Universities seat. As the situation deteriorated, the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, accepted the findings of the Anderson Committee’s report. It concluded the following:

Evacuation should not be compulsory; production in the large industrial towns must be maintained; and arrangements for reception were to be mainly on the basis of accommodation in private houses under powers of compulsory billeting [...]. This

²⁸⁸ Edward Timms, ‘The Ordeals of *Kinder* and Evacuees in Comparative Perspective’ in Hammel and Lewkowicz, *The Kindertransports to Britain*, 126

established the basic principles of the evacuation scheme. The Ministry of Health began to translate the principles of the Anderson Report into a practical plan.²⁸⁹

Despite years of debate and months of meticulous planning, there remained a sense that the evacuations would never need to take place. However, in the early hours of 1 September 1939, Operation Pied Piper was launched. This was the first wave of evacuations, and the most notable. However there were two later evacuations; the first of which took place in September 1940, during the time of the German raids on London. There was no mass evacuation; rather the evacuees were moved on a daily or weekly basis, depending on their circumstances. The third, and final, wave of evacuations was a result of the rocket attacks on London in 1944.²⁹⁰ The reshaping of family life during the war brought into question the ‘long-term detrimental psychological consequences on children’ who had grown up during this period.²⁹¹ The forced separation of families which occurred as a result of evacuation, ‘[...] produced a huge outcry; it touched the nation’s raw nerves, disclosing deep class and confessional divisions and making society transparent to itself in new and unsettling ways.’²⁹² The examples of photographic essays on the subject of evacuation in *Picture Post* do not directly depict the reasons for evacuation in relation to the children affected - in other words, the photographs of evacuees are not juxtaposed with images of violence, destruction or urban poverty. The photographs, rather, treat the subject positively: a sense of familiarity and the advantageous effects of the countryside would have been seen to be good for morale and the

²⁸⁹ Welshman, *Churchill’s Children*, 21

²⁹⁰ Welshman, *Churchill’s Children*, 6

²⁹¹ Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 6

²⁹² Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 7

war effort as a whole. This, combined with conventional emotions which imagery of children provoke, is emotive; indeed, the photographers of *Picture Post* appeal to the sensibilities of the readership, highlighting the difficulties of the population at home as a result of war.

The evacuation of children from urban areas exposed some of the most impoverished families from inner city areas to the countryside, and played a significant role in shaping opinion about the working-class family. While the scheme exacerbated negative attitudes towards these so-called ‘problem families’, nevertheless it has been asserted that ‘the initial public outcry over evacuation [...] ascribed much of the blame for its failure to the alleged low standards of working-class mothers.’²⁹³ The adverse effects of forced separation on the traditional family unit as a consequence of war are reflected in reports about criminality, juvenile delinquency and promiscuity.²⁹⁴ However, simultaneously, the family was positioned as an important institution for future society, as it has previously been acknowledged in this chapter. This photographic essay constructs an affirmative narrative about evacuation and presents these almost idyllic scenes of children in the countryside with their foster family. Such an approach, it can be argued, reveals the émigré photographer’s own experiences of forced separation and their desire to portray such an experience positively. Thus, this photographic narrative demonstrates an alternative to the traditional family construct and seeks to highlight the possibilities of a reconsidered familial bond by unconventional means; in this case, the creation of a foster family as a result of evacuation.

²⁹³ Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 11

²⁹⁴ Field, ‘Perspectives on the Working-Class’, 13

For most Kindertransportees the trauma of forced migration was experienced yet again, when, following the outbreak of war on 1 September 1939, thousands were evacuated along with hundreds of thousands of British children from the major cities to the countryside of the Midlands.²⁹⁵ During the last week of August 1939, rehearsals took place for the evacuation of schoolchildren, with each child carrying a gas mask and a label. The refugee children residing in official evacuation areas were thus eligible for evacuation.²⁹⁶ As Edward Timms has noted,

[...] the ideal instance for comparative analysis is the evacuation of children from London and other British cities during the Second World War. This event, known as Operation Pied Piper, offers instructive parallels to the Kindertransport within the same historical framework, while enabling us to identify fundamental differences.²⁹⁷

This point of view had been considered by someone who had experienced the evacuation as a child. Ruth Inglis, in her book *The Children's War 1939-1945*, asserted that, 'one thoughtful evacuee told me that she always contrasted it in her mind with other newsreel footage she had seen, showing Jewish people herded into trains [...].'²⁹⁸ In discussion with this evacuee, Inglis was told that:

The twentieth century is as much about cramming people into trains as about bombs though the atmosphere of our evacuation was extraordinarily light-hearted

²⁹⁵ Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 2

²⁹⁶ Richard Morris Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), 33

²⁹⁷ Timms, 'The Ordeals of Kinder', 125

²⁹⁸ Ruth Inglis, *The Children's War 1939-1945* (London: Collins, 1989), 3

considering the adult fears that had made it come to pass. Certainly, some of us suffered from full bladders and hunger, a little discomfort perhaps, but by and large it was viewed as a rather larky business altogether.²⁹⁹

Through an exploration of the information collated by the Mass Observation reports throughout the war years, a further comparison between the Kindertransport and evacuated children can be deduced. It has been indicated from early Mass Observation reports ‘that the children maintained a strong sense of identification with their kin back home, and no startling change in status, taking them from a city slum to a country manor, could shake loose such a fundamental attachment.’³⁰⁰ However, while refugee children continued to speak and write in German, it can be argued that this was not through a desire to maintain a strong attachment to their homes; rather, it has been claimed that this was a result of necessity. Baumel-Schwartz states that refugee children were ‘trying to communicate with each other in the only way they knew [...] and were unable to even explain why they did not know how to express themselves in any other language.’³⁰¹ The evident cultural and linguistic barriers were exacerbated by the homes within which the Kindertransportees were placed: ‘the pain endured by children who were placed in ill-suited or uncaring homes [...] comes across vividly in the books that record their memories, as does the difficulty they had in adapting to the largely indifferent society around them.’³⁰² This is reflected by Hammel in her analysis of Kindertransport memoirs. Rather than attempting to continue speaking and writing in

²⁹⁹ Inglis, *The Children's War*, 3

³⁰⁰ Inglis, *The Children's War*, 49

³⁰¹ Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 161

³⁰² Grenville, ‘The Kindertransports’, 10

German – in order to preserve a strong sense of identity – the Kindertransportees described cases of language learning, since it was necessary for all of the child refugees to learn English.³⁰³

The aptitude for learning a new language – and how quickly one is able to adapt – is largely dependent on age. Older children were able to learn enough English to communicate with their new classmates and adoptive families, while others excelled in learning the language, particularly through reading.³⁰⁴ The opportunities for speaking German became fewer, with many children using the English language as a means of assimilation and some even forgetting German so that they were unable to communicate with their families once they were reunited after the war.³⁰⁵ Thus, the concept of home is significant in the understanding of the sometimes traumatic effects of forced separation, whether that has been experienced through evacuation, migration, or even adoption.

However, the German children who did not leave Germany as part of the Kindertransport did not experience evacuation in the same sense as British children, or indeed the kind of forced separation of the Kindertransportees who were also evacuated once they had arrived in Britain. While the anticipation of war had informed official discussions surrounding the evacuation of children in Britain long before the outbreak of war, it was not until the autumn of 1940 that any governmental negotiations in Germany took place.³⁰⁶ This point of

³⁰³ Hammel, 'Authenticity', 207

³⁰⁴ Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 162

³⁰⁵ See for example, the memoir of Inge Sadan, as noted in Mark Jonathan Harris and Deborah Oppenheimer, eds., *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 229

³⁰⁶ Nicholas Stargardt, *Witnesses of War. Children's Lives Under the Nazis* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), 50

comparison between the organised evacuation of children in Britain and the “evacuation” of children to the countryside in Germany is significant in light of the political, as well as social, disparities between the two countries. Nicholas Stargardt addresses this in *Witnesses of War. Children’s Lives Under the Nazis*, in which he notes that,

the name itself, ‘sending children to the countryside’, *Kinderlandverschickung* or the *KLV* as it became universally known – had its origins in the summer camps for workers’ children from the big cities which had been pioneered by Church and Social Democratic Welfare organisations before and after the First World War – and which the Nazis had taken over and continued throughout the 1930s.³⁰⁷

This attitude towards organised evacuation reflected the fear of the Nazi regime of conveying negative signals to the population, particularly Hitler’s refusal to make the evacuation of children compulsory.³⁰⁸ This seemingly relaxed approach to evacuation – at least outwardly – may have contributed to the children in question experiencing different kinds of trauma as a result of evacuation and furthermore, different understandings of forced separation. The stark variances between voluntary and compulsory separation are played out in the evacuation of children.

³⁰⁷ Stargardt, *Witnesses of War*, 51

³⁰⁸ Stargardt, *Witnesses of War*, 51

3.3 Evacuation, the Press and Propaganda

The declaration of war on 4 September 1939 brought about significant bureaucratic changes for the British press with regards to censorship, as well as propaganda. The Ministry of Information (MOI), the central government department which had been formed during the First World War, was renewed in order to take responsibility for news and press censorship, publicity, and propaganda, both at home and overseas.³⁰⁹ Concerned by the threat of censorship, the press, including *Picture Post*, reacted negatively towards the MOI (as previously discussed in Chapter One). The MOI was responsible for the publication of propagandist materials throughout the war, including films, an example of which will be discussed here in light of the evacuation of British children. Following the publication of the Anderson Committee report in the summer of 1938, and the subsequent development of the Government Evacuation Scheme, the Ministry of Health (MOH) set about interpreting and implementing the principles of the scheme in anticipation of a necessary evacuation. As a result, a number of materials were produced by the MOH, including posters and pamphlets. These government posters served as clear, precise messages regarding evacuation, emphasising the importance of maintaining the safety and health of the children. The press, too, were concerned with the evacuation of children from Britain's cities, and, as the inevitability of war neared, national newspapers began to report on preparations for evacuation.

³⁰⁹ 'The Ministry of Information, INF series and INF3' <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/the_artofwar/inf3.htm> [accessed July 2016]

On the 29 August 1939, *The Times* published a picture story on the subject of evacuation (Fig. 35). As the photographic essay, 'Rehearsals for the Evacuation of Schoolchildren' demonstrates, the summer months of 1939 were dedicated to the preparation of procedures necessary for the supposed imminent evacuation of women and children from urban areas to the British countryside; the photographs published in *The Times* highlight the requirement for practice. The five published photographs depict evacuation rehearsals throughout the London boroughs of Acton, Bethnal Green and Hackney and appear at the top of the page in a grid-like formation. Each photograph is accompanied by a caption, as a means of explanation for the type of rehearsal taking place. Having been published before the outbreak of the Second World War, these photographs seek to demonstrate the organisational aspects of evacuation whilst simultaneously placing it within a context of war. The five evacuation photographs appear alongside eight other photographs depicting a variety of preparatory activities relating to the impending outbreak of war.

In contrast to the daily newspapers, *Picture Post* did not publish photographs documenting the preparations for, or the event of, the first wave of evacuations on 1 September 1939. Although the magazine published material relating to evacuation in consecutive issues throughout September 1939, the first photographic essay dedicated to the subject of evacuation was not published until 18 November 1939.³¹⁰ Between September 1939 and the first few months of 1940, the press published photographs of the evacuation of children, focusing, on the most part, on the forced separation of families. Closely-cropped

³¹⁰ In particular, *Picture Post* published a number of letters to the editor from members of the public concerned with the well-being of evacuees. See, for example, *Picture Post*, 4(13) (30 September 1939), 44

photographs of emotional parents – namely mothers – waving goodbye to their children were juxtaposed with those of small children alone, wrapped tightly in overcoats, accompanied only by suitcases and billeting labels. *The Daily Mail*, on 15 December 1939, published two such photographs on page 7 (Fig. 36). ‘Farewell to the Children’ shows a closely-cropped portrait photograph of a single woman at Waterloo Station in London. The woman, seemingly unaware of being photographed, possesses a look of anguish, extending her right-hand towards her child(ren) to whom she is saying ‘farewell’. This photograph takes precedence over a smaller photograph below, of two children sat together in a train carriage. Both of these children are wearing overcoats and boots, one wears a hat. A large suitcase is positioned on the seat next to them, and they both reportedly look down at a copy of the *Daily Mail Nipper Annual*. These press photographs focus on this kind of forced separation of children from their families, emphasising the emotional strain on parents having to send their children away from home. Photographs such as these, contrast sharply with the government-issued material surrounding evacuation, which urged parents to send their children to the countryside.

The MOH published a number of propagandist materials including posters and pamphlets dedicated to the importance of evacuation, particularly the evacuation of children from London. Posters issued by the MOH were visually striking, juxtaposing visual imagery with clear, direct text. One such poster, entitled *Children Should be Evacuated* designed by Dudley S. Cowes (Fig. 37), shows a black and white illustration of a young boy wearing a helmet, carrying a sword with a rifle slung over his shoulder, standing defiantly next to a man

dressed in military uniform. The young boy, ready for battle, is told by the man 'LEAVE HITLER TO ME SONNY – YOU OUGHT TO BE OUT OF LONDON'.³¹¹ Rather than focusing on the emotional turmoil caused through the separation of families, here the MOH emphasises the necessity of sending children to the countryside – the city was simply not a safe place for children during the war. The ruin of a bombed building in the background of the image reinforces this message.

The pressures on families – specifically mothers – to send their children out of the cities, away from their homes, was echoed in MOH posters produced to ensure mothers did not bring their children back home during the so-called 'phoney war'. An illustrated poster, similar in style and force of message to the aforementioned print, was issued by the MOH in response to increasing numbers of mothers bringing their children back home before the end of the 'phoney war' (Fig. 38). By January 1940, almost half of evacuated children had returned home, despite warnings that the threat of bombing remained highly likely. This poster serves as a warning – a threat in itself – targeting mothers in order to evoke an emotional response to the inevitable devastation which would occur as a result of sending their children back to the city. The phantom-like figure of Hitler lures over the shoulder of the mother, who sits beside her two young children, oblivious to the dangers which await them back home. The stark red paired with black and white visual imagery – 'DON'T do it, Mother – LEAVE THE CHILDREN WHERE THEY ARE', as Hitler whispers in her ear

³¹¹ Poster issued by the Ministry of Health, 'Children Should be Evacuated' by Dudley S. Cowes, date unknown, charcoal and gouache on board, INF 3/87, Ministry of Information: Original Art Work, The National Archives, <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk> [accessed February 2016]

‘TAKE THEM BACK! TAKE THEM BACK! TAKE THEM BACK!..’ - is intimidating and does not provide reassurance to the mother who wants her children to be safe.

The uncertainty of sending children away to the countryside through the Government Evacuation Scheme, when many had never left the city before, required the MOH to provide reassurance and encouragement to those families affected by the scheme. However, these posters, it can be argued, were alarmist and targeted the vulnerability of mothers without providing the assurance that their children would indeed be happy and safe in the countryside with foster families. The photographic essay published in *Picture Post* in November 1939 focuses on children who are seemingly settled in their countryside ‘homes’, interacting with adults and children alike. These photographs offer a comfort to those parents who had to say goodbye to their children, whilst highlighting the advantages of living in the British countryside. The photographs propose a successful alternative to traditional family life – that, despite being forced to separate from your own family (namely, for children to be separated from their biological mother) – children could live happy lives and positively adjust to their new environment. It is possible that these children were able to forge strong new relationships which impacted on their futures.

As documented by Ben Wicks in *The Day They Took the Children*, a compilation of personal memoirs of child evacuees, this experience was remembered fondly by some. Wicks notes the case of Veronica Knight, who was evacuated with her brother from Wythenshawe, Manchester, to Glossop, and was away for only three months from September to December 1939. Rather than take heed of the MOH issued posters urging mothers to keep the children

in the countryside, Knight's mother returned them to Manchester. Knight, however, reflects on the positive experience of her short evacuation:

How welcome they made me; it was just as if I had been part of their family all my life [...]. I was just twelve years old [...] and I can honestly say they were three of the happiest months of my life. The small village school was stretched to accommodate us [...] the music teacher there (even though I have forgotten his name) remains in my memory and I see him in my mind's eye [...]. He fostered and encouraged a love of music in me which still remains.³¹²

Although many child evacuees reported negatively on their experiences – from hostile families to poor living conditions – this excerpt reflects the reassuring photographic narrative of *Picture Post's* photographic essay. As Knight remembers, she was inspired by her music teacher who gave time and imparted knowledge to ensure her experience of the village school was a beneficial one. The significance of maintaining education throughout the evacuation scheme was highlighted in propaganda films commissioned by the Ministry of Information (MOI) during the early stages of the war. In contrast to the propaganda posters issued by the MOH, the MOI films associated with evacuation, sought to provide comfort and assurance to parents that their children continued to receive a high-level of education in the countryside. One such film, *Village School*, directed by John Eldridge and produced by the Strand Film

³¹² Ben Wicks, *The Day They Took the Children* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1989), 111

Company in 1940 celebrated ‘the work of teachers in their contribution to the war effort.’³¹³

The film opens with a statement of intent:

This film is a tribute to Britain’s women teachers, standard bearers of an education
Nazi-ism would destroy and it tells of one tiny village school typical of hundreds, at
Ashley Green in the leafy countryside of Buckinghamshire.³¹⁴

As Peter Cunningham asserts, ‘at the intentional level, another reading must be the attempt to persuade and reassure those many parents now sceptical of the evacuation process that their children would be well cared for away from home.’³¹⁵ Similarly, *Picture Post* published a further photographic essay on 23 March 1940, focusing on education and evacuation (Fig.39).³¹⁶ However, rather than centring on the working class children affected by evacuation, ‘School in Exile’, with photographs taken by Felix H. Man, focuses on the evacuation of an entire public school in Cheltenham. Boys, as well as furniture, books and equipment from the public school, Cheltenham College, were evacuated to Shrewsbury school as it had been determined that the College’s buildings might be needed for government offices.³¹⁷ This seven-page photographic essay features eighteen photographs depicting the lives of the evacuated pupils at their temporary school and lodgings in Shrewsbury, Shropshire.

³¹³ Peter Cunningham, ‘Moving Images: Propaganda Film and British Education 1940-45’, in *Paedagogica Historica*, 36(1) (2000), 392

³¹⁴ Cunningham, ‘Moving Images’, 392

³¹⁵ Cunningham, ‘Moving Images’, 392

³¹⁶ ‘School in Exile’, *Picture Post*, 6(12) (23 March 1940), 35-41

³¹⁷ ‘School in Exile’, 35

The photographic essay has been edited to resemble a scrapbook; the photographs depict moments of study and play, overlapping to create an informal aesthetic on the page. The large closely-cropped photograph on page 35 of this issue of *Picture Post*, depicts a pupil at Shrewsbury school – a boy who has not been evacuated. The confident stance of the boy, paired with the intimacy of the photograph, demonstrates the boy's familiarity with his environment at the beginning of the photographic story. As the photographic essay develops, the introduction of the Cheltenham evacuees unfolds. The largest of the three photographs on page 36 shows the meeting of the Shrewsbury and Cheltenham schoolboys, distinguished by their uniforms. There is a formality to this photograph; as the photographer looks up towards the boys on the imposing staircase, the slight tension of the first meeting is captured. The last photographs of the story depict the coming together of the two schools; in particular, the photograph on page 39 shows a group of Cheltenham and Shrewsbury boys having tea together, seemingly relaxed in each other's company.

Despite the vastly differing backgrounds of these boys and those children depicted in the 'We Are Happy' photographic essay, the message remains largely the same: that although evacuation – the forced separation of children from their homes, from their own environments – caused a level of upheaval and unfamiliarity, it can be argued that these experiences were in fact enriching for the children involved. As Tom Hopkinson wrote, 'Here it is worth mentioning something about the importance of good propaganda and therefore of what a paper like PICTURE POST [sic] – with its six million readers and its big

U.S. and Canadian circulation – could mean to the Government.’³¹⁸ Furthermore, as asserted by Cunningham, ‘these images are highly constructed so we have evidence of how government wished education to be portrayed. These motion pictures are also emotional pictures. They were moving pictures designed to move their audiences, to persuade and disseminate ideologies [...].’³¹⁹ As previously mentioned in Chapter One of this study, *Picture Post* was in contact with the Ministry of Information (MOI) throughout the war years. It can be asserted that these constructed photographic essays demonstrate the potential positive outcomes of evacuation; the photographs serve as warm portraits of child evacuees, enriched by their evacuation to the countryside and experiencing people and places they may never have had the chance to otherwise. At once, *Picture Post* provided comfort and familiarity to its readership whilst demonstrating the constructed veracities of forced separation.

3.4 *Picture Post* and a reconsideration of the family

As the interest in child welfare increased during the 1930s and notions of ‘family’ shifted, *Picture Post* published numerous photographic essays depicting serious news events either from a child’s perspective or with a particular emphasis on the plight of the child. After the outbreak of war, the magazine published a photographic essay, ‘A Child’s View of the War’, on 11 May 1940 (Fig. 40). The photographic essay covers three pages, and consists of seven

³¹⁸ Memo from Tom Hopkinson to Edward Hulton, Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence, INF 1 series, National Archives, Kew, copies of which accessed through the Tom Hopkinson Archive, Cardiff University, c/o Amanda Hopkinson, August 2015

³¹⁹ Cunningham. ‘Moving Images’, 402

photographs, three of which are of drawings by children. The photographs were taken by Gerti Deutsch. The first page of the photographic essay features a large, closely cropped photograph which covers more than half of the page. This is distinctive of the photographic essay format in *Picture Post*, with the bold title shown below the image. The photograph shows a young boy kneeling on the floor over a large piece of blank paper; he is holding a crayon and beginning to draw. He does not look at the camera. The contrast between the dark background and the white paper focuses the viewers' attention on the act of drawing, providing a sense of anticipation for the resulting picture. The extent of the cropping of this photograph can be seen through an examination of the accompanying contact sheets (Fig. 41). In the unedited photograph, the boy is surrounded by other items: a small table covered in papers, for example. The image is somewhat cluttered, and detracts from the concentration of the small boy drawing on the floor. The cropping of this photograph is effective in emphasising that this photographic essay is concerned with the opinions of children on the war. The following two pages juxtapose photographs of the children drawing with the end results; the drawings have also been photographed by Deutsch and included in the published photographic essay. Each of the photographs has been closely cropped, highlighting the concentration of the children drawing, giving weight to the photographic essay as more than just a novelty news story.

It was not until the eighteenth century that the role of the child in society shifted, and in turn, such notions of childhood were restructured, with significance being placed on childhood innocence and vulnerability as a means of viewing children in their own right, as individual

members of society. Children became, to a certain extent, the focus of visual representations of the urban and rural poor, embodying suffering and highlighting a specific susceptibility to the perils of poverty. In order for the image of the child to become a site for the formation of emotion, a perceived understanding of this notion of 'childhood' is crucial; children, as emblems of hope and justice, exemplified a reassuring vision, particularly at times of war. Thus, the years before and during the Second World War have been acknowledged as distinctive in the development of thinking about children as innocent and symbolic of future hope, '[...] as children were potentially endangered alongside adults during the war on a substantial scale in Britain [...] and the state developed a necessarily more direct relationship with children through evacuation.'³²⁰ This insight into the opinions and feelings of children about the war they are experiencing is something which was not commonplace in the British press during the war years. *Picture Post*, specifically, drew attention to the significance of children and their place within the wider socio-political climate of Britain before and during the Second World War. It has been noted, as a result of the Mass Observation reports, that children would have been aware of the events in Europe at the start of the war: '[They] appear to have been aware of Hitler's victories in the first year of the war: they would [...] have seen him repeatedly in newsreels, since Pathé and Paramount news footage was regularly screened for ten to twenty minutes alongside feature films in the movie houses.'³²¹ This, too, is evident in the photographic essay 'A Child's View of the War'. The innocent act of drawing jars with the subject matter of the illustrations - naïve representations of war,

³²⁰ King, 'Future Citizens', 394

³²¹ Inglis, *The Children's War*, 60

including tanks, ships and aeroplanes. The photographs here are significant in evoking an emotional response from the readership to the depicted subject matter. The emotional character of the visual imagery is such that, in comparison to the accompanying text, the photographs become effective as an emotional appeal; this is emphasised particularly as they are published under the pretext that they are, in fact, documentary.

It has been acknowledged that there were concerns about the detrimental effects of separation on children caused by the war. These instances of separation highlighted the importance of the family institution to the maintenance of British society after the war. It has been noted that, 'the absence of fathers who were in the services and the recruitment of mothers for war work in factories had, it was argued, vastly accelerated the collapse of normal family relationships and parental controls.'³²² The so-called collapse of 'normal' family relationships gave rise to the concept of the 'problem family', an idea which emphasised that '[...] the war's main impact was to underscore deeply the connections drawn between criminality, family breakdown, and prolonged separations, particularly early rupture of the child-mother bond.'³²³ However, the representations of children in the photographic material examined in this chapter focus on experiences of forced separation in a new light. What is demonstrated by the photographic essays published in *Picture Post* is that, despite psychological theories determining the detrimental effects of family separation on the child, such a forced separation may in fact result in a positive, enriching experience. 'A Mother Wanted' explores the process of adoption as a means of constructing a new family and

³²² Field, 'Perspectives of the Working-Class', 13

³²³ Field, 'Perspectives of the Working-Class', 14

focuses specifically on the strength of the mother-child bond. It can be understood that this emotional connection goes beyond that of blood family relations and thus the photographic narrative presents a reconsideration of the familial bond. Furthermore, such photographs published under the pretext of being documentary, are able to ‘offer a formidable epistemological challenge and can often serve as catalysts for the exploration of the intersections between individual life stories and more collective and distanced forms of social history.’³²⁴

Thus, the representation of these children as happy and well-adjusted individuals in each of the case studies, having experienced a kind of forced separation, is suggestive of a connection between the émigré photographer’s own experience and that of the child. In particular, the construction of narrative to highlight the adaptability of the child refugees and their apparent willingness to assimilate is reflected in ‘Their First Day in England’ and ‘We Are Happy!’. This representation seeks to emphasise the possibilities of a positive outcome of forced separation and arguably demonstrates the significance of an emotional bond between those who are not considered to be part of a traditional family relationship. It can be understood that the photographer, having experienced migration, revealed their own concerns in the representations of instances of forced separation; furthermore, the ways in which such an approach operated within/alongside the more traditional narratives of family life in British society at this time, particularly in light of the tensions between the established Anglo-Jewish community and the European émigrés, should be considered. It has been noted that ‘the tide

³²⁴ George Dimock, ‘Photographs of Children’, in Paula S. Fass, ed., *Encyclopedia of Children*, 675

of refugees fleeing Nazi persecution [...] challenged the communal elite's understanding of Jewishness and the place of Jews in the British state.'³²⁵ The apparent social mobility of second-generation Jewish immigrants in Britain,

[...] coincided with a period of industrial depression, long-term unemployment, labor unrest, and bad housing conditions, when the national mood was dark and anxious [...]. Moreover, it took place at a time when news-making events abroad – the Bolshevik revolution, riots and armed revolt in Palestine, the rise of the Nazis – heightened the “Jew consciousness” of ordinary Britons.³²⁶

It can be argued, therefore, that the reception of Jewish émigrés in the 1930s was influenced by this hostile socio-economic climate and so it can be deduced that Lorant and the photographers of *Picture Post* may have experienced antipathy from the established Jewish community in Britain, and society more widely. This is significant in further understanding how such conditions may have influenced the ways in which the photographers constructed narratives on the subject of forced separation. Through their own experiences of forced migration, the photographers were able to present a positive reflection of separation and the benefits of establishing a non-traditional familial network. It has been acknowledged by Cesarani, Kushner and Shain that, ‘[...] the timing of migration and settlement, as well as changing demographic realities, were as important as political change and shifting religious currents in determining the conditions and the identities of Jewish communities.’³²⁷

³²⁵ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 213

³²⁶ Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 198

³²⁷ Cesarani, Kushner and Shain, *Place and Displacement*, 4

Therefore, through the positive representations of children – who were considered to be symbolic of a hopeful future – and their experiences of forced separation in the photographic essays, *Picture Post* was able to present a more progressive, socially-inclusive narrative of family and acceptance. Hence, as Lisa Silverman has noted, '[...] photography proved particularly compelling to assimilating Jews engaged in the process of constructing a more inclusive social world in the face of increasing antisemitism.'³²⁸ The construction of narrative by means of photographic material in this instance served as a way to negotiate between the émigrés and British society; furthermore, it would seem that the approach evident in these photographic essays is framed, not by the ruptures of war, but rather a particular interpretation of family.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explored the relationship between émigré photographer and the represented photographic essays on blood family separation published in *Picture Post* in the 1930s and 1940s: adoption, Kindertransport and evacuation. The reason for looking at these topics in the first place was that it can be assumed that, if there is a dependence of the photographer's life on the depicted story at all, it might in fact be in the subject of forced separation; in this particular case of forced separation of children. Indeed, these topics were depicted as shown above through a discussion surrounding the representation of forced separation in *Picture Post*, and by comparison the wider British press and visual imagery.

³²⁸ Lisa Silverman, 'Family Business', *The Jewish Quarterly*, 195, 2004

In summary, the first section of this chapter examined the topic of adoption in light of the photographic essay, 'A Mother Wanted', photographed by Felix H. Man. It was asserted that the magazine focused less on the legislative details of adoption in Britain, choosing instead to portray adoption positively with an emotional emphasis on the bond between the (adoptive) mother and child. It is significant that through the telling of this story – a particular kind of forced separation – it is conceivable to rethink traditional family conceptions. The section on the Kindertransport asserted a connection between the photographer and the photographed subject, in relation to the photographic essay, 'Their First Day in England'. The telling of stories through photographic images was informed by a discussion surrounding narrative, and the significance of the relationship between émigré photographer and refugee child through the shared experience of forced separation. The last section of this chapter explored the experience of the evacuation of children in Britain during the Second World War as another form of forced separation and a means to reconsider the structures of the perceived family. As a consequence of the dialogue surrounding forced separation, the effectiveness of documentary photography and the role of the child in visual imagery came under scrutiny. It was asserted that the photographs were effective as an emotional appeal, particularly because they were published under the pretext of being documentary; furthermore, this emotional appeal intensified through the depiction of the child, or notions of childhood. It can be concluded that while evacuation was depicted in the British press in a very similar way, the Kindertransport, and to some extent, adoption, were portraying the topics in an evocative, very positive light; thus, supporting/propagating the contributions refugee children and

teenagers could make to the economy of their host country and that blood relations do not necessarily matter in the formation of a happy childhood and family life.

In this respect, the influence of emigration disseminated much earlier than it actually has been claimed for western societies towards the end of the twentieth-century, namely a family life away from the nuclear blood relation to a much broader understanding of what family could comprise. It has indeed been established by scholars that emigration is to be considered as a contributing factor in the production of creative and intellectual output by exiles. Most notably, Brinson has stated that forced migration was in fact a motive for émigrés to record their autobiographies.³²⁹ The collective experience of forced migration highlights the importance of émigrés actively participating in their host community, finding comfort in the company of fellow émigrés, as well as assimilation. By focusing on the child and notions of childhood, the photographs of *Picture Post* reflected the ideas of the memoirs published by former Kindertransportees. The significance of childhood is noted by Andrea Hammel when she states that,

these memoirs should not be read as a straightforward representation of life under certain historical circumstances, but as a creative reflection on a childhood experience which included ruptures and loss [...]. While the Kindertransportees' texts share common features with other memoirs, the rupture experienced during the identity-

³²⁹ Brinson, *Autobiography*, 3

formation process is investigated in relation to changes of language and culture and how these are portrayed.³³⁰

The photographs in *Picture Post*, specifically those in relation to the Kindertransport, show experiences of rupture and loss; the presence of child refugees in Britain is a result of forced migration – a rupture in family life and identity. However, the adaptability of the Kindertransportees (and, to a lesser extent, those children evacuated to the countryside) is portrayed positively: notions of family structures and home have been fragmented but rebuilt through a familiarity and shared experience of forced migration. The concept of home – of belonging – is significant in the discourse surrounding migration. As John McLeod has asserted that home,

can act as a valuable means of orientation by giving us a sense of our place in the world. It tells us where we originated from and where we belong. As an *idea* it stands for shelter, stability, security and comfort (although actual experiences of home may well fail to deliver these promises).³³¹

While the concept of home is powerful in the construction of émigré identities, the rigidity of such discourse has been challenged by the positioning of émigrés within the host country. As Andrea Hammel and Godela Weiss-Sussex asserted that there was a need for émigrés to adapt to the changing cultural and political climate of the 1930s and 1940s³³², so too the

³³⁰ Hammel, 'Three Kindertransportees' Narratives', 202

³³¹ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 210

³³² Andrea Hammel and Godela Weiss-Sussex, eds., 'Not an Essence but a Positioning'. *German Jewish Women Writers (1900-1938)* (München: Martin Meidenbauer; London: Institute of Germanic & Romance Studies, University of London, 2009) 8

photographs published in *Picture Post* place emphasis on the fluidity of family life conceptions in relation to forced migration. The diversification of families as a result of forced separation is demonstrated through the visual imagery of children, to such an extent that these images are recognised as vehicles of communication, and become sites for the formation of powerful emotions. The photographs of three aspects of childhood published in *Picture Post* – exemplified by the relationship of the émigré photographer and the photographed child – serve as a connexion between individual narratives, or memories, and a shared experience of forced separation.

CHAPTER THREE

LIBERATION: *PICTURE POST* AND IMAGES OF THE HOLOCAUST

The previous chapter established the ways in which narratives of forced separation were constructed by means of photographic material, and how such narratives demonstrated the significance of the shared experience of forced separation. Thus, it was asserted that the photographic essays published in *Picture Post* presented a reconsideration of familial bonds and furthermore, argued that the concerns and experiences of the photographer – namely that of forced migration – was influential in the construction of these narratives. The notion that such photographic narratives have the potential to evoke powerful emotions on account of their subject matter provides the foundation for this chapter.

This chapter, through an examination of selected photographic essays, will explore representations of the Holocaust in relation to historical memory in Britain. A discussion of the photographic essays published in *Picture Post* on the liberation of the concentration camps will be situated within the wider context of Holocaust photography. Furthermore, a comparison of these photographic essays with depictions of cruelty by Margaret Bourke-White and Lee Miller in the American press will address the differences in these representations of Nazi brutality. In light of earlier arguments about the specific approach of the editor and photographers of *Picture Post*, it will be asked whether, and to what extent, these representations respond to editorial intentions, or rather, if they are the result of

institutional restrictions and the practicalities of reporting during the Second World War. Thus, these images of the Holocaust will be discussed in relation to historical memory in Britain in order to make clear the distinction between the photographs as mediating current events, and their part in the construction of Holocaust memory.

I. *Picture Post* and the liberation of the concentration camps

In this section, three photographic essays published in *Picture Post* depicting the liberation of the concentration camps will be examined in light of existing literature surrounding Holocaust photography and the concept of memory. These particular photographic essays – ‘The 8th Army Breaks Open a Concentration Camp in Italy’ (23 October 1943), ‘The Problem that makes all Europe Wonder’ (5 May 1945) and ‘Whose Guilt? The Problem of Cruelty’ (16 June 1945) – have been selected to provide material for a discussion about the specific approach to Nazi brutality and the persecution of the Jews adopted by the magazine. Firstly, the role of photographs in the construction of Holocaust memory will be explored specifically in relation to the liberation of the concentration camps throughout Europe. This will provide context for the subsequent evaluation of the three photographic essays published in *Picture Post* in relation to depictions of Nazi atrocities printed in the American magazines, *Life* and *Vogue*. This comparison will aim to establish an understanding of the representations of the liberation of the concentration camps, acknowledging the different ways in which atrocity photographs have been utilised to mediate events in the press, and furthermore, in the construction of Holocaust memory.

1.1 Images of the Holocaust

The last group of photographers to produce images of the Holocaust arrived only in 1944: the liberators. The full extent of Nazi criminality was revealed through Soviet images in Auschwitz and Maidanek, British photographs of Bergen-Belsen and American shots of Dachau and Mauthausen.³³³

The images of the liberation of the concentration camps are the photographs which have become synonymous with the Holocaust. However, the volume of the photographic material relating to the actions of the Nazis is vast and includes images taken by various photographers, both professional and amateur. Significantly, many of the photographs depicting the atrocities that have survived the Second World War were part of the official administrative records of the perpetrators.³³⁴ Sybil Milton has noted that, ‘the SS photographed themselves at work as well as the architecture, daily prisoner routine, roll-calls and even the medical experiments.’³³⁵ Throughout the war years the Nazis used photography as a means to persecute and intimidate; as a result, there are millions of images as they implemented the Final Solution.³³⁶ The particular complexities of atrocity photographs are noted by Hirsch, who writes that,

The Nazi gaze is so all-encompassing that even for those in the postmemorial generation, available screens seem to falter, and any potential resistance of the look is

³³³ Sybil Milton, ‘Images of the Holocaust – Part I’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1(1) (1986), 32

³³⁴ Milton, ‘Images of the Holocaust – Part I’, 29

³³⁵ Milton, ‘Images of the Holocaust – Part I’, 29

³³⁶ Milton, ‘Images of the Holocaust – Part I’, 29

severely impaired. The retrospective irony that Sontag identifies with photography has ceased being ironic as we feel ourselves in the position of both killer and victim, inextricably entwined in a circle from which, even for those of us analyzing the images in the postmemorial generation, it is difficult to find an escape through ironic insight. Too late to help, utterly impotent, we nevertheless search for ways to take responsibility for what we are seeing, as Michael Herr suggested, to experience, from a distance, even as we try to redefine, if not repair, these ruptures.³³⁷

The positioning of atrocity photographs – both as documents of evidence and as personal testimony – constitutes their significance in the construction of Holocaust narrative. The ways in which this might affect how these photographs have been received has been addressed by Milton in the following:

[...] the photographer's identity, whether German or Jewish, which determines subjectivity and bias in any image and is rarely known with certainty; the function of the photograph, whether official or personal, that in turn defines the relationship between camera and subject; and the identification of the specific smaller components of an even when translated into sequences of images [...].³³⁸

The specificity of the concentration camp liberation photographs is noteworthy in that these images were used indisputably as visual evidence of the barbaric acts of the National

³³⁷ Marianne Hirsch, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory' in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14(1) (2001), 26.

³³⁸ Sybil Milton, 'Images of the Holocaust – Part II', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 1(2) (1986), 195

Socialists. Furthermore, Val Williams, in her chapter 'Shadows on the Body. Photography and the Holocaust', has asserted that,

Photographs have an inalienable status as evidence, and after the end of the Second World War, photographs made of the death camps and the ghettos were used both as a way of informing the public of the crimes of the German SS and to prosecute war criminals.³³⁹

Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that many of the images of the Holocaust 'have become blunted through repetitive and manipulative overuse.'³⁴⁰ In the subsequent sections of this chapter, the way in which these photographs have been used to construct narrative(s) of the Holocaust in the press will be examined in light of the representations of the liberations of the concentration camps in *Picture Post* and two other, American, magazines. Moreover, the impact of images of the Holocaust will be recognised as significant in the formation and evolution of historical memory relating to the Holocaust.

Whilst it is necessary to acknowledge the status of the concentration camp photographs as evidence, and their significance in the post-war years as powerful visual documentation, for the purpose of this study, such photographs will be examined in light of their positioning as photographic narratives published in the weekly illustrated magazines. To this end, the significance of these photographs as formative functions of memory will be highlighted with specific reference to the symbolic nature of the liberation photographs of the concentration

³³⁹ Val Williams, *Warworks. Women, Photography and the Iconography of War* (London: Virago, 1994), 33

³⁴⁰ Milton, 'Images of the Holocaust – Part I', 27

camps in order to assert a connection between the inherent narrative of Holocaust photographs and that of the photographic essay. Pertinent to the specificity of atrocity photographs, and informed by an understanding of the experience of forced migration, Williams makes a connection between the emblematic nature of family photographs, and those who had been forced from their familial surroundings to the concentration camps. She states that, ‘for many who survived the Holocaust, lost family photographs are remembered in precise detail. They become symbolic of heritage and of loss, part of both a collective and a familial memory.’³⁴¹ The significance of family photographs in the formation of memory, particularly in relation to the experience of forced migration in the Second World War, is such that it provides a context of memory in which to position the photographic narratives of *Picture Post*. Williams has affirmed the symbolic resonance of family photographs to those who were imprisoned in the concentration camps by stating that,

[Family photographs] are symbols of place and change; they remind us of the past, and reconnect us with the familiar [...]. [P]risoners in the concentration camps were deprived of their identities, and identity rests very much in the ways that we see ourselves in regard to others. Deprived of the benchmarks, not only of belonging to a known structure, but of recognizing others in relation to one’s own social group, or generation, or family, can render the individual almost invisible.³⁴²

The strong attachment to family photographs, as noted by Williams above, asserts a connection between a sense of self-identity and a sense of place, and highlights the impact

³⁴¹ Williams, *Warworks*, 38

³⁴² Williams, *Warworks*, 40

Holocaust memory in relation to the concentration camps. The anonymity enforced on the prisoners of the concentration camps, branded instead with numbers and symbols and deprived of any familiar – or familial – belongings, rendered them lifeless. The experience of being imprisoned in a camp seems to be interlinked with the concept of memory for those who survived. Veronika Zangl, in her essay ‘Remigration and Lost Time: Resuming Life After the Holocaust’, notes that ‘the faculty of memory itself seems to have been at stake after the Holocaust.’³⁴³ Furthermore, Zangl includes an account from a camp survivor who summarises the effects on the function of memory, having been liberated:

Over there we had our entire past, all our memories, even memories from long ago passed on by our parents. We armed ourselves with this past for protection, erecting it between horror and us in order to stay whole, keep our true selves, our being. We kept on dipping into our past, our childhood, into whatever formed our personality, our character, tastes, ideas, so we might recognise ourselves, preserve something of what we were [...]. Each one of us recounted our life thousands and thousands of times, resurrecting her childhood, the time of freedom and happiness, just to make sure all this had existed, and that the teller was both subject and object [...]. But since I came back, everything I was before, all my memories from that earlier time, have dissolved, come undone. It is as though my past had been used up over there.

³⁴³ Veronika Zangl, ‘Remigration and Lost Time: Resuming Life After the Holocaust’, in Creet and Kitzmann, eds., *Memory and Migration. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 62

Nothing remains of what was before ... Today, my memories, my past are over there.

When I project my thoughts backward they never overstep these bounds.³⁴⁴

This account reveals some of the ways in which memory is inextricably linked with the experience of the concentration camps; and furthermore, the author of the above provides personal evidence of the difficulties with which the survivors of the Holocaust have when they are confronted by memories or visual records of the brutality of the camps. It is significant then, that it can be asserted to a certain extent, that the ways in which the concentration camps are remembered by survivors is so specific that the experience - the memory of being in the camp - performs as a marker; an indicator that there was a before and an after, which remain distinct from one another, and leaves certain memories inaccessible. As Susan Sontag has stated,

Look, the photographs say, *this* is what it's like. This is what war *does*. And *that*, that is what it does too. War tears, rends. War rips open, eviscerates. War scorches. War dismembers. War *ruins*.³⁴⁵

The importance of visual imagery in the documentation of the Holocaust and the locations of the concentration camps across Europe, is exemplified by Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, who recorded their journey to find an abandoned camp in the no longer existent geographical location of Transnistria, in their essay, "There was never a camp here." Searching for Vapniarka', which aimed to link postmemory to place. This essay – as well as the journey –

³⁴⁴ Zangl, 'Remigration', 63

³⁴⁵ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin Books, 2004) 7

highlights not only the deliberate erasure of the past, but also the forgetting caused by the passing of time.³⁴⁶ Thus, it is interesting to note the ways in which certain memories of the concentration camps perform, and can be shaped by the act of forgetting as well as remembering. While it has been deduced that memory is not a fixed state, rather that it is fluid and has the ability to change over time, the idea of place, as introduced by Hirsch and Spitzer in their essay, still performs as an anchor for memory; place situates memory and it has been argued that ‘inhabiting physical places is crucial to the phenomenology and recovery of memory.’³⁴⁷ Hirsch and Spitzer expressed this specifically in relation to the Vapniarka camp, ‘its very existence in the past and connection to this place was unknown to many (if not most) of the town’s present-day inhabitants. Or, suppressed and forgotten, its existence had been erased from memory and the surrounding landscape.’³⁴⁸ Things, objects, can – according to Hirsch and Spitzer – (re)connect memory and place. As the modern-day town of Vapniarka was described by the two authors as ‘emptied of memory’, their photographs and videos ‘[...] do record and memorialise the fleeting reconnection that transpired between memory and place.’³⁴⁹

The relationship between memory, place and time is described by a character in the novel – *Beloved* (1987) – by Toni Morrison: When the protagonist, Sethi remarks about the connection between place and memory, it is reminiscent of the account of the survivor of the

³⁴⁶ Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, “‘There was never a camp here.’ Searching for Vapniarka”, in Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister, eds., *Locating Memory. Photographic Acts* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 135-153

³⁴⁷ Creet and Kitzmann, eds., *Memory and Migration*, 7

³⁴⁸ Hirsch and Spitzer, “‘There was never a camp here’”, 142

³⁴⁹ Hirsch and Spitzer, “‘There was never a camp here’”, 152

concentration camp in so much as the effect of a place can be so traumatic, and have the power to evoke powerful emotions, that even in its absence it can affect the way in which we remember – or indeed forget.

Places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place – the picture of it – stays, and not just in my rememory but out there in the world. The picture is still there and what's more, if you go there – you who never was there – if you go there and stand in the place where it was, it will happen again; it will be there for you, waiting for you.³⁵⁰

1.2 Representations of the liberation of concentration camps in the press

The following three photographic essays which depict the liberation of the concentration camps were published in *Picture Post* between 1943 and 1945. The first of these was published on 23 October 1945 and shows the liberation of a concentration camp in Italy. The photographs are quite different than what has come to be expected of concentration camp photographs in that the construction of the photographic essays has focused on the positive outcome of liberation, rather than emphasising the hardship and brutality experienced by the prisoners of the camp. While these photographs have not been taken by one of the photographers working for *Picture Post*, the distinctive approach to the layout and arrangement of photographs has been employed with great effect. The following paragraphs

³⁵⁰ Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), 36

serve as a visual analysis for these photographic essays and seek to situate the photographic narrative within a theoretical framework focused on the differing representations of the Holocaust in photography. Furthermore, the two photographic depictions of the liberation of the concentration camps by Bourke-White and Miller will function as a point of comparison for the *Picture Post* narratives, in order to assess to what extent these photographic essays '[...] reflected certain nationalistic stylistic conventions as well as the dictates of official and self-censorship that manipulated photographs for ideological and political purposes.³⁵¹

‘The 8th Army Breaks Open a Concentration Camp in Italy’ - 23 October 1943

The photo essay, titled ‘The 8th Army Open a Concentration Camp in Italy’ was published in *Picture Post* on 23 October 1943 (Fig. 42). It is three pages in length, including ten photographs, each accompanied by a short caption. The photographer is unknown. The title page of the photographic essay adheres to the format established by *Picture Post* - the first photograph is situated above the title of the piece, dominating the page with its large size and close-cropping. This photograph shows an Allied soldier shaking hands with a group of men liberated from the concentration camp in the Italian town of St. di Barracano. The men situated at the front of the group, in open-necked shirts, reach for the left hand of the soldier, whose profile is captured by the photographer. This photograph does not show the extent of the abhorrent conditions of the concentration camp, focusing instead on the relief of the individuals freed from it. The young boy in the background, who stares past the shoulders of the men to acknowledge the presence of the photographer, is a reminder of the innocence of

³⁵¹ Milton, ‘Images of the Holocaust – Part I’, 27

those affected by National Socialism and the horrors of the camps. His silhouette is framed by the whitewashed building in the background, giving prominence to his shadowed eyes and shirtless torso.

While the first photograph conveys a sense of relief and calm, the photographs on the following two pages highlight the necessity for the civilians to return to their day-to-day activities. Having been liberated from the concentration camp, the second photograph of the series shows men and boys waiting to receive food and water from other civilians. The image has been cropped into a square, focusing on a small group of mostly older men, who do not acknowledge the camera. The grouping of people is echoed in the next two photographs, offering a sense of narrative to the images. The reader is led from the large square photograph on the top left of page 8 to the smaller, rectangular image on the top right-hand side of the page (Fig. 42a). The bright white of the men's shirts is reflected in the dress of the woman in the following photograph. The couple, surrounded by a crowd, walk towards the camera. The woman wears a veil - an indication of an impending marriage - while the male figure is dressed in a suit and tie, with a formal double-breasted overcoat and hat. The subtle smiles of the couple, juxtaposed with the inquisitive looks of the crowd, belie the atrociousness of the previous three years of Nazi occupation in their town.

The image is one of hope, of tentative joy, which continues in the photograph of women sitting with their children in the image in the bottom left corner of page 8. The simple layout of the photographs lends itself to the effectiveness of the photographic narrative; as the women and children smile into the camera, the man in the adjacent photograph appears to

look on. These two square photographs have been cropped and re-sized, and the figures are framed against similar backgrounds. The modest white-washed buildings highlight the humble surroundings of those being photographed, reinforcing the importance of the liberation of the camp to secure the future of the town. The grid-like formation of the square-shaped photographs is carried onto the final page of the photo essay, with each image focused on a once-considered mundane activity, now elevated to one of significance. The final, tenth, photograph of the photo essay, shows a man walking towards the camera looking down at the path ahead of him. He walks away from the wooden entrance to the St. di Barracano concentration camp emblazoned with the words *campo di concentramento*. This photograph confirms the liberation of those interned in the Nazi camp, symbolising those fortunate enough to walk away from the camp in order to join the fight for democracy and equality.

‘The Problem that makes all Europe Wonder’ - 5 May 1945

This six-page photo essay, published in *Picture Post* on 5 May 1945, is made up of eleven photographs by an unknown photographer, and with each accompanied by a caption (Fig. 52). The main body of the photo essay runs from pages 7 to 11, with the text continuing further in the issue on page 26. The photographs document prisoners held at the Nordhausen concentration camp situated in Thuringia, Germany. The first photograph of the photo essay is a large, rectangular image, positioned above the title of the piece (Fig. 43a). The photograph has been closely cropped to focus on two male figures. The man in the foreground of the image sits hunched on the ground, gazing out beyond the camera. He wears ripped, torn clothing which exposes his thin, malnourished frame. His angular collar

bone protrudes from under his skin, leading the viewers' eye towards his companion. This second male lies on his side, propped up by one agonisingly thin arm. His torso is exposed, highlighting the bones of his ribcage and chest, stark against the darkness of the overcoat and trousers he is wearing. The background of the photograph is indistinct, allowing the viewer to focus solely on the two figures. This image, short of showing deceased victims of the camp, reveals the horror of this particular concentration camp - victims who have been starved and subjected to unsanitary conditions.

These two victims are shown in comparison to a photograph of a German mother and child; this smaller portrait photograph has been centrally positioned below the title of the photo essay. The photograph differs to the previous image in various ways: the woman and boy look directly into the camera; their gaze meets that of the viewer. They appear healthy, nourished and well-clothed. This photograph fulfils the intended message of the photographic essay: in order to expose what happened in the concentration camps, the German people - and their inherent characteristics - must be questioned. This small image of a German woman and her son is powerful in that it exposes the plight of the victims of the National Socialist regime, allowed to suffer at the hands of the acquiescent German people.

The photographic essay continues with another large photograph situated across the top half of page 8. This photograph has been re-sized and cropped in order to focus on a row of standing victims and a single line of prisoners lying in the foreground (Fig. 43b). The starkness of the background, punctuated only by the spokes of the camp fence, draws attention to the details of the individual men waiting to be called. The single soldier, standing

on the left-hand side of the photograph, holds a notebook in his right hand. Some of the men standing hold walking sticks or are on crutches to steady themselves. Their emaciated frames are accentuated by their loose-fitting trousers, sagging at the knees. The emaciation of these men is highlighted further through the bodies lying on the ground. The feet of these men appear overly-large for their frames and the creases in their trousers are immediately apparent. The diagonal formations of the two lines of men - standing and lying - create a painful dynamic in the photograph; the consequences of the concentration camps cannot be ignored.

The following four photographs focus on five individuals freed from Nordhausen. Three of these men appear in striped uniforms that they were forced to wear by the camp officials. The large square photograph at the top of page 9 shows two men sat side-by-side on the stone steps of a porch (Fig. 43c). Both stare directly into the camera, drawing attention to their lowered eyebrows and gaunt faces. This photograph highlights the conditions of the camp at Nordhausen and the effects on its prisoners. The two photographs below depict scenes of prisoners in the camp before it was liberated by Allied forces. The left hand image has been cropped to focus on three prisoners weighing out rations on improvised scales. The right hand image shows a larger group searching through a pile of refuse discarded on the ground.

The photographs in this photographic narrative have documented victims of the Nordhausen camp, survivors who are malnourished and gravely unwell. The ninth photograph in this series, featured on page 10, covers almost the entire page. This image is unlike the previous photographs in its composition and subject matter. The photographer has taken the

photograph from above, looking down into a mass grave. It shows a soldier standing by the edge of the trench looking down at two dead children. The lifeless bodies of the small child on the left and the baby, placed on a cushion, on the right, reinforce the horrors of the camps and the atrocities committed by the National Socialists. The photographic essay concludes with another feature photograph showing a man lying in a metal-framed bed looking towards another, who sits on a stool with his left hand propped on a crutch or stick. These are men who were forcibly imprisoned, bore witness to, and experienced first-hand, the atrocities committed by the Nazis, but who, nevertheless, survived.

‘Whose Guilt? The Problem of Cruelty’ - 16 June 1945

This four-page photographic essay, published in *Picture Post* on 16 June 1945, features nine photographs, each accompanied with a caption (Fig.44). The photographer is unknown. This constructed narrative documents the uncovering of the Wöbbelin concentration camp, north-west of Berlin, by the Allied forces. The photographs are accompanied by text written by the British philosopher, Bertrand Russell. The first photograph, on page 10, is situated above the title of the photographic essay. It is a large, rectangular image, showing German civilians digging graves in the town square. The civilians appear to be older males, not of military age. The men, who have removed their jackets, dig the graves wearing their shirts, waistcoats and caps; they use pickaxes, one of which has been discarded in the foreground of the photograph. The graves have been created in a residential area of the town; the starkness of the square windows of the buildings in the background contrasts with the dark mounds of earth and rubble. This first photograph of the essay is sombre, the large mounds of earth

emphasise the sense of disquiet in the image. The only bodies present in the photograph are those of the men digging the graves. The next photograph in the series, situated at the bottom left of page 10, is a smaller image which shows one of the mass graves at the site of the concentration camp. In the foreground, a body is being exhumed by three men, in order for its re-burial in the town square (as shown in the first photograph) (Fig.44a). A number of soldiers and civilians look on from the edge of the trench. The lack of respect paid to victims of the camp by its officials is emphasised by the juxtaposition of the third photograph depicting the newly-excavated single graves ordered by the Allied forces. The impact of this is further realised in the following photograph on page 11. The size of the image is greater than half a page, the sheeted bodies of the dead are highlighted against the darkness of the soil. What must have once been a lawned area surrounded by hedges and trees has now been rapidly transformed into a burial ground for the victims of the concentration camp.

The following four photographs of the photo essay focus on the German civilians being led to witness the atrocities of the concentration camp situated on the outskirts of their town. Men and women file past the rows of dead bodies wrapped in white sheets; behind them are the white, wooden crosses erected by troops. The sixth photograph has been cropped to focus in on two women, one of whom holds a handkerchief to her eyes as she looks to the ground. She is being supported by her companion as a man in the background looks on. The shock of the German civilians is shown in contrast to the resolve of the military personnel in the bottom left-hand photograph on page 12. The troops had experienced the atrocity of war first-hand; their portrayed resolve highlights the professionalism and respect shown to the

dead. The civilians, reportedly, had not witnessed the consequences of such brutality until this moment; a woman is depicted as having fainted as a result of the shock (the photograph in the bottom right-hand corner).

The reader is reminded, however, in the final photograph of the series, of the atrocities committed by the National Socialists in the concentration camps. The photograph covers the full length of the page, resulting in a powerful, hard-hitting image. The photographer has taken the photograph from above, creating a dramatic diagonal shadow. The intensity of the lighting highlights the single body waiting to be laid to rest by an open grave. The head and feet of the male body are exposed; his identity has been revealed by the engraving of the Star of David on the white cross behind his head.

These three photographic essays published in *Picture Post* highlight the ways in which the liberation of the concentration camps were shown in the magazine and in turn, how such images were constructed into a photographic narrative to illustrate the apparently incomprehensible acts of the National Socialists. While the photographic essays published in *Picture Post* on this subject matter show, to some extent, the brutality of the Nazis and the consequences as such, it seems that the focus is rather on the Allied efforts of liberation and therefore the survivors of the concentration camps. As a means of comparison, two photographic essays, one published in *Life* magazine, the other in American *Vogue*, highlight the slight differences in the representation of the liberation of the concentration camps by the magazines.

Margaret Bourke-White and Lee Miller were two of the first photojournalists to document these phantasmagorical sights. Their photographs, frequently published, have become symbolic of that period in history. As such, they form an important part of the documentation of the Holocaust.³⁵²

Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971) travelled to Europe as an official war photographer for *Life* magazine, along with a number of other photojournalists, to photograph the liberation of the concentration camps. As Williams notes, 'Margaret Bourke-White's photographs were produced, like Lee Miller's, with a particular end in view. They acted both as news and as war-crime evidence; Bourke-White's photographs of the camps were later used during the Nuremberg trials.'³⁵³ The following photographic essay features two photographs by Bourke-White and is examined here as a means of comparison to those liberation photographs published in *Picture Post*. Notably, this photographic essay published in *Life* magazine, features the liberation of the Nordhausen concentration camp; this concentration camp, too, had been the subject of the photographic essay published in *Picture Post* on 5 May 1945, two days prior to the publication of the photographic essay in *Life*. The differences in the depiction of the camp are notable. The photographic essay published in *Picture Post*, while it does include one photograph showing the lifeless bodies of a baby and young child having been laid in a mass grave, the remaining photographs place emphasis on the liberation, showing men clothed with hats and blankets, their angular bones jutting out from beneath to permeate the surface of the photograph. In contrast, Bourke-White has taken

³⁵² Williams, *Warworks*, 35

³⁵³ Williams, *Warworks*, 38

photographs of the survivors indoors, exposing the cramped wooden bunk beds and the confused look of the survivor steadying himself against the wooden bed post. These photographs of survivors have been juxtaposed with images of emaciated corpses, set out in rows and arranged. Lee Miller's photographic essay again presents the concentration camp from a point of comparison. The supposed clean and efficient habits of the German people have been utilised by Miller to highlight the systematic killing and abuse carried out by the Nazis at the camps.

The work carried out by the photojournalist, Lee Miller (1907-1977), at Buchenwald in April 1945 has been noted by Williams, who remarks that 'as a war correspondent with the US Army, she [Miller] recorded, in words and pictures, the terrible sights she witnessed [...].'³⁵⁴ The significance of the photographs taken by Bourke-White and Miller, in the sense that photographic images of such atrocities had not before been circulated in the public sphere to such an extent, is relevant in order to construct an understanding of the reception of such imagery, particularly in light of Miller's photographic essay which was published in the fashion magazine, *Vogue*.

'Atrocities', *Life*, 7 May 1945

The photographic essay, 'Atrocities' was published in *Life* magazine on 7 May 1945 (Fig.45). The six-page essay features twelve photographs by four *Life* photographers on pages 32 to

³⁵⁴ Williams, *Warworks*, 35

37.³⁵⁵ The first photograph on page 32 was taken by George Rodger, whose work also features at the top of page 33 and the full-page photograph on page 37; the two photographs along the bottom of page 33 were taken by Bourke-White, while the photographs on pages 34 and 35 are credited to William Vandivert and the image on page 36 was taken by John Florea.³⁵⁶ The sub-heading reads, ‘Capture of the German concentration camps piles up evidence of barbarism that reaches the low point of human degradation’; the photographs depict scenes from a number of concentration camps which had been liberated to expose the barbaric magnitudes of the Nazi regime.

The first photograph is a full-page image with the caption set within the photograph itself. This photograph shows a young boy dressed in a shirt, jumper and shorts walking along a path towards the camera; he looks directly into the camera, with his head slightly turned, meeting the gaze of the reader. The road along which he walks is edged with a dirt-filled ditch by which numerous dead bodies have been laid. The juxtaposition of the young boy – representative of innocence in his formative years – and the masses of semi-clothed bodies is arresting. The four photographs on page 33 are arranged in a grid-like formation with the main body of the text positioned in the centre of the page. The top two photographs show women and men in the Belsen concentration camp who lie dying on the ground. The photograph on the left-hand side depicts a group of women lying on the dirt floor, enclosed by a barbed wire fence on which a white t-shirt has been hung. The three women whose faces can be seen have been covered in blankets; the woman in the foreground stares out

³⁵⁵ The article states that the photographs of four *Life* photographers are presented in this photographic essay. While this includes the work of Margaret Bourke-White, the article does not credit the photographers.

³⁵⁶ The reference to the credited photographers is stated by Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images.

towards the camera, her hand exposed from underneath the woollen blanket. The natural surroundings of this section of the Belsen camp contrasts with that of the extensive building seen in the photograph on the right-hand side of the page. The sharp angle of the camera creates a severe diagonal line with the roof of the building, which leads the eye beyond the frame of the photograph, offering a sense of scale and permanence to the concentration camp. A path runs parallel to the barracks, between which a muddy ditch runs the full length of the building. The bank of the ditch has been constructed against the back wall of the barracks, exposing the top of a series of small windows. A number of clothed men lay along the bank, as a single figure straddles the ditch in the foreground of the photograph. Two women are just seen within the camera frame, walking along the path looking towards the emaciated figures along the dirt bank.

These two photographs situated at the top of page 33 depict outdoor scenes of the concentration camp at Belsen. The barely-surviving prisoners have been photographed lying on the ground; the accompanying captions of each of the photographs suggest that these men and women were unable to respond to Allied medical assistance, and like thousands of others at Belsen, will die from disease and starvation. The two photographs at the bottom of this page focus instead on the interior of the barracks at the camp at Buchenwald. Where the two previous images showed the prisoners from afar, covered in ragged clothing and blankets, these photographs expose the emaciated bodies of the male prisoners. The photograph on the left depicts ten men on their wooden bunk; the three figures at the bottom unable to turn to look at the camera, covered in blankets so only their heads are exposed. The three men in the

centre all acknowledge the presence of the photographer, propping themselves up on their elbows. One of the men cradles a metal bowl and holds a spoon up to his mouth. Two of the men on the top bunk wave to the camera, highlighting the hollows of their eyes. The third man on the right sits cradling his knees, showing his emaciated legs. The exposure of the prisoner's legs is echoed in the next photograph of the standing man, dressed only in a baggy white shirt. He leans against the wooden bunk, emphasising the weakness of his withered legs. This man stares blankly beyond the camera; the effects of malnutrition and brutality are clear in this image. While these photographs show the effects of malnourishment and cruelty on the surviving prisoners, the following images of this photographic essay focus on the masses of corpses discovered by the Allied forces after the liberation of the concentration camps.

The four equal-sized photographs on page 34 have been arranged in a bold, grid-like formation; the only written text on the page is that of the accompanying captions. These photographs have been closely cropped in order to focus on a particular body, or group of bodies, highlighting the barbarity of the actions of the Nazi troops. The caption of the first photograph in the top-left hand side of the page states that these photographs were taken at Gardelegen, near Berlin, where 'the Nazis set fire to a warehouse full of political prisoners.' This image shows one man crouching by a low brick wall, his head leant against his right arm, and a can on its side. He has been burnt to death. In the background, the faint outline of further burnt bodies can be seen. The next photograph focuses on the head and arm of another male political prisoner who died trying to escape underneath a wooden door of the

warehouse. The image suggests a sense of desperation; the space through which the prisoner tried to escape is too tight and he was unable to avoid the deadly flames. This sense of desperation is met with an unnerving stillness; the expression etched on the man's face does not betray the inhumane way in which he died. However, the details of the photograph expose more of the merciless situation as the readers' eye focuses on the other bodies lying lifeless in the background, piled on top of each other. One wears the characteristic striped uniform of a prisoner.

The sense of abandonment of the bodies present in the images of this photographic essay exposes the incomprehensible actions of the National Socialists. The fourth photograph on page 34, in the bottom right-hand corner, shows bodies piled on top of one another, smoke still rising from the burnt corpses. The next three pages of the photographic essay are made up of full-page photographs, depicting the extent of the damage and fatality caused by Nazis. The first full-page photograph on page 35 shows the scale of death at the warehouse at Gardelegen, which, according to the caption, took place of Friday 13 April 1945. The camp at Gardelegen was liberated on 17 April by U.S. Allied troops; two soldiers can be seen standing with their hands on their hips amongst the corpses in the background of this photograph. The sheer scale of the building highlights the enormity of loss of life caused by the intentional burning of those prisoners held at Gardelegen. The floor of the warehouse is strewn indiscriminately with corpses, piled on top of each other, which contrasts with the ordered arrangement of dead bodies in the following photograph on page 36. This photograph depicts thousands of corpses discovered at the Nordhausen concentration camp,

which have been laid out for burial by Allied troops after its liberation. The bodies in the foreground can be seen still wearing the distinctive striped uniform of prisoners held by the Nazis at camps across Europe. The eight soldiers in the foreground are shown to walk past this group of corpses positioned on their backs on the ground, directing the gaze of the reader beyond the front of the photograph, to expose a vast number of bodies which have been laid out in a similar way to those at the forefront of the image. The way in which the bodies have been arranged – on their backs and in rows on the ground – contrasts sharply with the previous images of the burnt bodies at Gardelegen, which were discovered piled atop one another, in the position in which they had died. The ordered appearance of the dead prisoners at Nordhausen places emphasis on the role of the Allied troops in liberating the concentration camp, as they seemingly treat the bodies respectfully and dutifully.

The photographic essay ends with another full-page photograph which has been closely cropped to focus on two German guards – one male, the other female – moving a body. The caption attributes this scene to Belsen, where the two officials in question are moving bodies into a mass grave. The bald-headed man in uniform grabs the wrist of a dead body, whose torso is covered by a large shirt, as the female guard actions to support the underside of the corpse. The almost abstract nature of the background of the photograph betrays the atrocious presentation of the mass grave. The readers' gaze is drawn to the foreground where the two German guards are positioned; the blur of shapes in the foreground is not immediately recognisable. As the eye is guided to the hands of the male guard from the indistinct form at the bottom right-hand corner of the photograph, the directional aspect of the lifeless arm

which he holds extends to the tangle of corpses in the background. Amongst the ragged piles of clothing, emaciated legs permeate the surface. The hollow, open-mouthed face of a male corpse punctures the otherwise unidentifiable mass of bodies.

‘Believe It. Lee Miller cables from Germany’, *Vogue*, 1 June 1945

This three-page photographic essay, which appeared on pages 103 to 105, in American *Vogue* magazine on 1 June 1945, features six photographs by Lee Miller (Fig. 46). The layout of the first page of the photographic essay emphasises the disparities between the lives and towns of the German civilian population and those who were imprisoned in the concentration camps. The top left photograph depicts four young children holding hands, walking towards the camera along a seemingly quiet German road. A cyclist has come into frame moving in the opposite direction. The children are bathed in dappled light which streams through the branches of trees which are silhouetted on the ground on which they walk. The combination of the girls wearing light and dark clothing is echoed in the striped trousers of the three standing figures which are depicted in the photograph in the top right-hand corner of the page. The accompanying caption for the two photographs reads: ‘German children, well-fed, healthy ... burned bones of starved prisoners’. The juxtaposition of these two photographs shows the apparent blamelessness of the German people; the scene depicted in the photograph on the left utilises the innocence of children to highlight the disproportionate treatment of German civilians and those sent to the concentration camps during the Second World War. The striped trousers shown in the photograph on the right are representative of camp prisoners. These three assumed male figures stand solemnly behind a pile of bones in

the foreground of the image; the bones, according to the caption, are those of burned prisoners held captive by the Nazis at Buchenwald. This photograph is in stark contrast to its counterpart on the left-hand side of the page; and a similar apposition has been arranged between the two images at the bottom of the page.

Again, the photograph on the left shows an unspoiled German village on a hillside, seemingly undisturbed by the happenings of war. The cluster of houses in the foreground opens out onto agricultural land without any presence of artillery or devastation. To the right, the photograph depicts a row of furnaces used to burn the bodies of prisoners. Two of the doors have been left open to expose what could be the remains of detainees. The supplementary caption draws similarities between the methodical appearance of the village and that of the furnaces as it reads, 'Orderly villages, patterned, quiet ... orderly furnaces to burn bodies.' While these four photographs are suggestive of the systematic and structured brutality of the Nazi regime, the images do not explicitly show the identifiable human remains of those held at the Buchenwald concentration camp. The large photograph on page 104, however, focuses on a mass of bodies, illuminated against the dark background and the dirty ground on which they have been laid. The twist of bare, emaciated limbs is interrupted by the lifeless stare of a male prisoner. The final photograph, positioned above the small amount of written text included in this photographic essay, focuses on the bruised and swollen face of a camp prisoner, whose striped shirt features dark streaks and drips of blood. The style of the photograph is reminiscent of a formal studio portrait, which emphasises the horrific nature of the subject matter.

1.3 The differences in the representations of the liberation of concentration camps

The visual analysis of the photographic essays demonstrates the distinct approaches to narrating the liberation of the concentration camps in the three different magazines: *Picture Post*, *Life* and *Vogue*. In order to contextualise the differences in the ways the victims of Nazi brutality are represented in these photographs, the forthcoming analysis will seek to situate the photographs within a broader socio-historic context. Firstly, the extent to which the restrictions placed on *Picture Post* by the Ministry of Information may have affected the kind of war-related photographs that could be published in the magazine will be examined. In light of this, the distinctions between the approaches to the liberation of the camps will be clarified. Secondly, what will be further examined is the construction of these narratives in relation to the reaction to, and reception of, the extremes of Nazi brutality in both Britain and the United States in the final months of the war and how this might be influential in how the atrocities were reported.

The basis for this discussion is a memo written by Hopkinson to *Picture Post*'s publisher, Hulton, explaining the perceived difficulties the magazine faced during the war with regards access to information and subjects relating to the war effort.³⁵⁷ Although material such as this cannot be considered as objective evidence to determine the barriers Hopkinson and his team of photographers faced, it provides a significant insight into the editor's experience of running a popular weekly magazine during the war. The first section of the memo to Hulton is as follows:

³⁵⁷ Tom Hopkinson, *Memo from T. Hopkinson to Mr. Edward Hulton*, MOI series, INF1/234

This is to explain the sort of difficulties we are up against in trying to secure pictures dealing with the War for use in PICTURE POST. These difficulties are of two kinds.

1. The difficulty of getting matters arranged. One example will do. We wrote three times to the Admiralty, once before the War, once at the outbreak, once more recently, asking permission to take pictures at the Admiralty [...].

No letter was even acknowledged – and weeks later the pictures we had asked permission to take appeared in the “Daily Sketch” and elsewhere. They had received permission, and we had to buy the picture and use it 10 days after they did.

However, I don’t make a point of this kind of difficulty. It could be got over.³⁵⁸

This dialogue positions *Picture Post* as distinct from the daily newspapers with which it had to compete for photographs. Hopkinson’s own frustrations are clearly expressed in this example of their attempts to try to obtain permission to take photographs and subsequently use the images for publication. Nevertheless, it can be assumed from these notes that Hopkinson faced particular obstacles in securing photographic opportunities relating to the war effort. The potential for *Picture Post*, in light of their photojournalistic style and preference for the ‘human interest’ aspect of a story, to contribute significantly to Britain’s war propaganda is acknowledged by Hopkinson:

³⁵⁸ Hopkinson, *Memo from T. Hopkinson*

Here it is worth mentioning something about the importance of good propaganda and therefore of what a paper like PICTURE POST [...] could mean to the government [...]. We alone are getting nowhere. You ask what the solution is. As regards PICTURE POST, we need our own Cameraman out there.³⁵⁹

Here, it is made clear that *Picture Post* did not have its own photographers working in mainland Europe. This would have severely restricted the images available to them and would have inflected the construction of narratives relating to the war. This can, to some extent, account for the ways in which the atrocities carried out by the Nazis were reported on the pages of *Picture Post*, and also goes some way to situate the magazine in relation to other newspapers/ periodicals, whose photographers were permitted access to Europe. Although ‘foreign cameramen, including freelance photographers representing non-German newspapers, magazines and agencies, faced rigorous censorship of images they transmitted from Germany’, it has been acknowledged that despite Germany’s censorship laws, ‘there were still many accredited American reporters and photo-journalists in both Warsaw and Berlin during the summer of 1941, since the United States was a non-belligerent.’³⁶⁰ The impact of having to reproduce photographs bought through an agency would, arguably, have affected *Picture Post*’s specific approach to photographic narration which set them apart from other publications at the time. Again, Hopkinson’s aspiration to use his own photographs is demonstrated in his appeal to Hulton:

³⁵⁹ Hopkinson, *Memo from T. Hopkinson*

³⁶⁰ Milton, ‘Images of the Holocaust – Part II’, 193

This case is set out at length, not for the sake of going over old ground, but to illustrate the sort of service PICTURE POST can render, working in real contact with the Ministry of Information – and the way an existing, and to our mind damaging, agreement makes such working impossible [...].³⁶¹

It can be asserted, therefore, that *Picture Post*'s coverage of the liberation of the concentration camps would have been influenced, to a certain extent, by their use of agency photographs in the construction of the previous photographic essays. While it would be speculative to question the ways in which the magazine's narratives of Nazi brutality would have differed had they had access to these areas themselves, it should be made clear that the photographs available to the magazine for purchase and subsequent reproduction would have been limited.

To further support the assertion that the daily newspapers had an advantage over the weekly publications such as *Picture Post* in having the means to send reporters and photographers to take first-hand accounts of the consequences of war and Nazi brutality, is a publication compiled by the Daily Mail newspaper. The book entitled *Lest We Forget* was published in 1945 and contains numerous photographs of the liberations of the concentration camps.³⁶² The introductory article, 'We may shudder but we dare not turn away', written by George Murray states that the book is 'a record of the German concentration camps in official photographs and documents, and in first-hand accounts by correspondents of *The Daily Mail*

³⁶¹ Hopkinson, *Memo from T. Hopkinson*

³⁶² *Lest We Forget. The horrors of Nazi concentration camps revealed...in...photographs* (London: Associated Newspapers, 1945)

who witnessed the scenes of which they write.’³⁶³ Furthermore, Murray states that, ‘[...] it would be great folly to shut our eyes to the grim and ghastly realities set forth in these pages, or to forget that it is the duty of decent men to exact retribution for such crimes against the body and the spirit of humanity.’³⁶⁴ However, it can be argued that while *Picture Post* may not have had the means to publish first-hand photographs of the crimes committed by the Nazis, their own concerns and experiences – as émigrés – influenced the content and construction of the photographic essays published at this time. Their awareness of anti-Semitic rhetoric and attitudes towards Jewish émigrés in Britain is made clear in the following photographic essay, published in 1943. ‘The Fight Against Anti-Semitism’ (Fig. 47), with photographs taken by Kurt Hutton, will provide an insight into the presence of anti-Semitism in British society, in order to situate the photographic narratives of *Picture Post* within a broader context of imagery related to Holocaust memory in Britain.

‘The Fight Against Anti-Semitism’ - 8 May 1943

This two-page photo essay was published in *Picture Post* on 8 May 1943. It features six photographs, taken by Kurt Hutton, with each being accompanied by a short title and caption. The first photograph in the series, on page 22, is a large rectangular image, showing a view of the Memorial Hall in London. The people in the photograph have gathered for a conference organised by the National Council for Civil Liberties in order to discuss the question of anti-Semitism in Britain. This first photograph sets the tone for the photo essay as a whole; the wide angle of the photograph captures a significant number of people in the hall highlighting

³⁶³ George Murray, ‘We may shudder but we dare not turn away’, in *Lest We Forget*, 4

³⁶⁴ Murray, ‘We may shudder’, 4

the importance of this topic to Britain. The delegates of the conference appear to be attentive, as the accompanying caption describes, as they listen to a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The elevated position of the photographer, Hutton, lends gravitas to the image.

The second photograph on page 22 focuses on two delegates of the conference. The image is situated in the bottom left-hand corner of the page, a closely-cropped portrait photograph of a man seated next to a standing woman who appears to be animated, captured by Hutton in mid-sentence. The stillness of the male figure in the foreground of the photograph is in contrast to the determined gestures of the standing female figure. Her clenched fist and resolute stare reinforce the seriousness of the topic addressed by the photo essay: that of anti-Semitism and the extermination of the Jews in Europe. The composition of the photo essay is effective in leading the readers' eye from each photograph to the next; the story would have appeared as a double-page spread in the printed magazine, with page 22 on the left and page 23 on the right. The sloping line of the bannister in the first photograph, combined with the forward glances of the conference delegates, guides the eye of the reader to the next page; here, the individual delegates face them, constructing an effective dynamic in the photographic narrative.

The subsequent four photographs of the photo essay are also closely-cropped portrait shots of other delegates of the conference. The formation of the photographs on page 23 is such that it represents the order of the speakers - the reader of the photo essay is able to follow the progression of the conference through the series of photographs. These four photographs show the variety of people in attendance at the conference, signifying to the reader the

widespread importance of this issue: the square photograph in the top right-hand corner of the page depicts Percy Collick, the Assistant General Secretary of the Society of Locomotive Engineers (as outlined in the caption below the image), who has been photographed by Hutton during his speech. His right hand is clenched in a fist on the desk on which he leans as he delivers his speech; to the left, is the smaller rectangular photograph of Miss J. Parsons, a delegate of the National Union of Students, whose stance is more passive than that of Collick. She looks down at the papers in her right hand, and has placed her left hand on the cast iron rail in front of her; below is a closely-cropped portrait of D.N. Pritt, a barrister and politician, who is waiting to speak. He leans his chin on his right hand as if listening to Mrs Corbett Ashby, whose photograph is situated opposite; the last photograph in the series is a rectangular composition of two men sat side-by-side. The man on the left is F.W. Adams, the Chairman of the Refugee Committee, and on the right is R. Bridgeman.

The formality of the occasion is shown through the dress of the individual speakers - the male figures wear three-piece suits and ties; Miss J. Parsons, of the National Union of Students, wears a formal dress, as shown in the photograph on page 23. The delegates do not acknowledge the camera; rather Hutton has observed the progression of the conference, documenting the delegates 'in action'. It has been noted by Kushner that,

Three major surveys on the Jews were carried out during the war by Mass-Observation – 1941, 1943 and 1944. In 1943 those experiencing strong disfavour against the Jews halved from its proportion two years earlier to just 13%. A year later the situation had improved again [...]. This contrasts strongly with the United States

where at the end of 1942, 47% of the population believed antisemitism was on the increase, whereas the figure for 1944 was 56%.³⁶⁵

These official figures produced by the Mass-Observation report suggest hostility towards the Jewish community in Britain was in decline as the war continued and Kushner situates this in relation to the United States by clarifying that

[...] the level of intensity of antisemitism in war-time Britain appears to have been much less than in the United States [...]. Ironically, however, in this same period, when America was liberalising its rescue programme, the British government made few changes to its policies [...].³⁶⁶

1.4 Concluding remarks

The particular situation of the émigré photographer in Britain during the Second World War is such that, it can be argued, their status influenced the ways in which *Picture Post* chose, or indeed were able, to depict, through photographs, the hostility towards the Jewish community in Britain on the one hand, and the most heinous acts of atrocity during Holocaust, on the other. While Val Williams has noted that ‘when we look at photographs of the Holocaust, and most particularly of the death camps, we consider their content rather than the aims and

³⁶⁵ Kushner, ‘Rules of the Game: Britain, America and the Holocaust in 1944’, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 5(4) (1990), 384

³⁶⁶ Kushner, ‘Rules of the Game’, 384

motivations of the photographers who made them³⁶⁷, it should be acknowledged here that the photographers of these selected photographic essays for *Picture Post* remain unknown.

Thus, in light of Williams's assertion that the aims and motivations of the photographers who took the photographs of the concentration camps are rarely considered, the complex nature of images of the Holocaust and how their role in the construction of Holocaust memory is acknowledged. The use of photographs to record and expose the atrocities committed by the Nazis after the liberation of the concentration camps has been defined by Sontag as relating to the specificities of the medium itself. She writes that,

For the photography of atrocity, people want the weight of witnessing without the taint of artistry, which is equated with insincerity or mere contrivance. Pictures of hellish events seem more authentic when they don't have the look that comes from being "properly" lighted and composed [...].³⁶⁸

Sontag, in reference to Hannah Arendt, notes that '[...] all the photographs and newsreels of the concentration camps are misleading because they show the camps at the moment the Allied troops marched in.'³⁶⁹ In fact, as Sontag continues, 'what makes the images unbearable – the piles of corpses, the skeletal survivors – was not at all typical of the camps, which, when they were functioning, exterminated their inmates systematically (by gas, not starvation and illness), then immediately cremated them.'³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Williams, *Warworks*, 33

³⁶⁸ Sontag, *Regarding*, 23

³⁶⁹ Sontag, *Regarding*, 75

³⁷⁰ Sontag, *Regarding*, 75

In a similar sense, photographs of other atrocities, which have been subject to legislative censorship, are, as Barbara Marcon has argued, considered as evidence and are formative in the construction of historical memory. Marcon, then, in her essay, 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the eye of the camera: images and memory', explores the photographs taken of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which were banned from publication as a result of the American Occupation censorship, and were not publically shown until 1952.³⁷¹ Marcon addresses the role of these photographs in the construction of the memory of these events at a national level. These photographs, it is argued, are considered as evidence – as documentary – of the events which took place. The article asserts that the revelation of the photographs was crucially significant in the process of shaping Japanese cultural trauma (memory) and can therefore be useful in the understanding as to why photographs play such an important role in Holocaust memory. The significance of photography to the construction of Holocaust memory will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

If there was one year when the power of the photographs to define, not merely record, the most abominable realities trumped all the complex narratives, surely it was 1945, with the pictures taken in April and May at Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau in the first days after the camps were liberated [...].³⁷²

The emaciated bodies of those photographed at the camps at the point of liberation are symbolic of the atrocities committed by the National Socialists. In an essay which focuses on

³⁷¹ Barbara Marcon, 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the eye of the camera: images and memory', 'Ruins: Fabricating Histories of Time', *Third Text*, 25(6) (2011), 787

³⁷² Sontag, *Regarding*, 21

the displaced persons camps in Germany, set up immediately after the Second World War, Tamara West asserts that the camps became complex sites of identity, belonging and difference. Through oral and visual narratives of former displaced persons, West examines the role of old and new photographs in the imagined and actual spaces of memory, place and the shifting sites of belonging and identity. Drawing on interviews undertaken in Hildesheim, West suggests that ‘in order to explore the role of photography as not only a representation of memory but as an embodied and interactive space in the process of remembering and negotiating belonging and identity’.³⁷³

Significantly, West acknowledges that memory is, rather, a changing, fluid entity; it is not fixed: ‘[...] space and time, rather than being binary opposites limited to a progressive understanding of linear time, exist on equal – multi-temporal – footing and are constantly constructed and reconstructed through contemporary activity.’³⁷⁴ In relation to the concept of memory then, the photograph can be understood as a space that called upon the past, present and future simultaneously; West reasserts the notion that a photograph is not only the site for the construction of memory, but also for contemporary interactions which have negotiated changes in time.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Tamara West, ‘Remembering Displacement: Photography and the Interactive Spaces of Memory’, *Memory Studies*, 7(2) (2014), 177

³⁷⁴ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 177

³⁷⁵ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 189

II. The photographic essay and Holocaust memory in Britain

This section of Chapter Three will explore the significance of photography in the construction of historical memory, and will seek to establish a specific connection between memory and photojournalism; namely, concerning memory and the construction of a photographic narrative. Secondly, having identified the importance of manipulation in the construction of a photographic essay in Chapter One, this section will then utilise these findings to inform a discussion on the manipulation of memory, and how this arguably affects the ways in which the Holocaust is remembered. Lastly, in light of scholarship focused on the Holocaust and memory it will be argued, in relation to specific images published in *Picture Post* that through the construction of a photographic narrative, a particular interpretation of the Holocaust has been presented, thus suggesting the influence of the manipulation of memory on Holocaust remembrance.

2.1 Mediating the liberation of the concentration camps

Whitehead, in her introduction to the fifth chapter, 'Jewish Memory Discourse', in her memory reader, draws attention to Nicholas de Lange's work, *An Introduction to Judaism* (2000), in which he argues that it is not the Jewish religion that unites the Jewish people, but rather 'a strong sense of common origin, a shared past and a shared destiny.'³⁷⁶ Shared – or collective – memory has, notes Whitehead, become predominantly associated with space and

³⁷⁶ Rossington and Whitehead, eds., *Theories of Memory*, 160

territory.³⁷⁷ The term diaspora, as Linda Anderson notes, has become – more than a denotation of the dispersal of the Jewish people – but a term to describe a ‘non-essentialist identity or culture, which is “hybrid”, made up of different “crossings” and difficult to “locate” in terms of territorial alignments.’³⁷⁸ The association of memory with space and place is reflected in Nicholas Mirzoeff’s edited text on *Diaspora and Visual Culture*. Mirzoeff, in his introduction, introduces the concept of hybridity in relation to race and ethnicity. There is a recognition that race and ethnicity may be constructed, hybrid and insecure.³⁷⁹ While it may be argued that hybridity is a construct, it is also, according to Homi K. Bhabha, progressive. Bhabha states in his essay, ‘The Third Space’, that, ‘hybridity to me is the “third space” which enables other positions to emerge.’³⁸⁰

Anderson sets out a series of terms usually associated with ‘diaspora’, questioning the boundaries of place. Traditionally, place implicitly supports territorialism as an unchanging concept, but instead this concept can be viewed as something dynamic. With reference to Doreen Massey, it can be argued, according to Anderson, that place itself is constructed out of changing social relations, extending from the local to the global. Marion Berghahn explores the problematic nature of identity, examining the significance of age in the formation of memory and socio-cultural attitudes.³⁸¹ In the specific case of Jewish

³⁷⁷ Whitehead, ‘Introduction to Chapter 5 “Jewish Memory Discourse”’, in Rossington and Whitehead, eds., *Theories of Memory*, 160

³⁷⁸ Linda Anderson, ‘Introduction to Chapter 9 “Diaspora”’, in Rossington and Whitehead, eds., *Theories of Memory*, 272

³⁷⁹ Mirzoeff, ‘Introduction. The multiple viewpoint: diasporic visual cultures’, in Mirzoeff, ed., *Diaspora and Visual Culture*, 1-19

³⁸⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, ‘The Third Space’, in Jonathan Rutherford, ed., *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 211

³⁸¹ Berghahn, *Continental Britons*

assimilation and identity, it is not race but culture that distinguishes them from and with others. Berghahn asserts that ‘one has to look for a sociological concept to interpret “peculiarities”’.³⁸² Berghahn focuses on perception, stating that ‘it is a person’s perceptions which give coherence to events in the outer world and shape reactions to them’, and continues, ‘[...] if we accept that perception, i.e. viewing reality through a culturally specific value system is the ultimately unifying factor, the organizing system of the individual, then we must assume also that it is at work at all levels of identity formation’.³⁸³ This then, emphasises the significance of the experience of migration in the construction of memory in the sense that Berghahn acknowledges that an individual’s perceptions shape reactions to events, and so it can be argued that, as the perception of the photographer has been influenced by their own experiences, this will, in turn, play a part in the shaping of a wider perception through photographic narration.

In relation to the mediating of current events in light of the previous conclusions drawn from the construction of narrative by means of photographic material, it can be asserted that the personal concerns and experiences of the photographer influenced how they photographed a subject – the processes of selection and manipulation inherent in the production of a photographic essay were initiated by the photographer and the ways in which they determined what to photograph, and what to exclude from the photographic frame, was significant in the representation of current events.

³⁸² Berghahn, *Continental Britons*, 7

³⁸³ Berghahn, *Continental Britons*, 10

In this view, it is appropriate to address the personal backgrounds of the photographers and suggest that current events were mediated through the construction of narrative by means of photographic material. Anderson highlights the significance of autobiography, which should not be underestimated in this examination of photographic narrative. Diaspora emphasises the discontinuous, fractious nature of memory, and storytelling has an important place within our understanding of the individual – personal – condition. Drawing on Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* (1958), Anderson asserts, 'only someone's story [...] can truly reveal who they are or were. This connects, for her, with a failure of philosophical and political discourse which can only deal in universals.'³⁸⁴ Therefore, it can be argued that the particular background of the émigré photographer – and specifically here, in the case of Hutton – namely, a German-Jewish cultural framework influenced by the experience of forced migration, influenced the photographic narrative and thus, had the ability to shape the readers' reaction to events and manipulate the individual and cultural memory formed in response to said events. Furthermore, the necessity to understand the uniqueness of the Other, is achieved first through an understanding of our own individuality. Anderson notes, 'we have nothing better [...] than the perception of the unique story each of us has to tell – with its own burden of remembering and forgetting – to alert us not just to the past but to the current political necessity of our connection with others.'³⁸⁵

The construction of narratives as a record of events has a significant place within the history of Jewish culture. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, in *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*,

³⁸⁴ Anderson, 'Diaspora', 274

³⁸⁵ Anderson, 'Diaspora', 275

explains that in the Middle Ages, Jews preserved the remembrance of events through the composition of penitential prayers, known as *selihot*.³⁸⁶ This poetic form is not concerned with literal details, posing a difficulty for future generations to link a *selihah* with a particular event. Literary forms flourished, specifically the *Memorbücher*, or memory book, amongst the Ashkenazi Jews. These were not historical accounts; rather, these writings were concerned with local specificities, and as Yerushalmi conveys, ‘it has been stated repeatedly that suffering and persecution numbed their historical consciousness, or that they wrote little or no history because, lacking a state and political power, [...] they had nothing to write about.’³⁸⁷ The significance of narrative as a means of constructing memory is pertinent to the ways in which the émigré photojournalists who worked for *Picture Post* photographed and narrated events having experienced migration. Furthermore, in order to situate this line of argumentation within the broader context of British society and in reference to previous suggestions about the role of government in mediating narratives, Sharples and Jensen emphasise the role of the British government in providing information to the British population during the Second World War about the persecution of the Jews and other minority groups, by referencing Tony Kushner, who in his book, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History*, according to Sharples and Jensen,

[...] has also explored levels of British knowledge of mass killings by 1942, suggesting that a commitment to liberal values precluded any emphasis on the fate of any one victim group. These values meant the government was reluctant to address

³⁸⁶ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, in Rossington and Whitehead, eds., *Theories of Memory*, 165

³⁸⁷ Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 169

publicly the “Jewish dimension” to Nazi atrocities, and thus did not speak out as strongly as it might have done.³⁸⁸

Janina Struk, too, highlights the role of the British government in the control of images relating to Nazi atrocities. Struk asserts that,

Despite the fact that thousands of atrocity photographs were available in Britain and the USA during the war years, the British and American governments were reluctant to publish them, seeing them largely as propaganda from Poland, the Soviet Union or from Jewish sources.³⁸⁹

2.2 Construction of Holocaust memory through photographs

Memory work has been, and continues to be, troubled by questions surrounding accuracy and authenticity. Interlinked with the problematic nature of memory in terms of the aforementioned notions of truthfulness and authenticity, are the concepts of narrative, truth and identity. This approach, as introduced by Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead, is defined by the recognition that every group or individual remembers according to its own traditions, ideals and experiences. Rossington and Whitehead, in their introduction to *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, relate memory specifically to identity and time. To think about memory is to ‘consider its function in humans’ consciousness of themselves as having

³⁸⁸ Caroline Sharples and Olaf Jensen, ‘Introduction’, in Caroline Sharples and Olaf Jensen, eds., *Britain and the Holocaust. Remembering and Representing War and Genocide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3

³⁸⁹ Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 5

distinct identities over time.’³⁹⁰ The two authors contribute the growth of memory studies to a specific selection of scholarly literature, including the publication of Yosef Yerulshami’s *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1992), Pierre Nora’s introduction to *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984), ‘Between Memory and History’, as well as debates surrounding False Memory Syndrome (FMS) in the early 1990s. The two authors, Rossington and Whitehead, also note Marianne Hirsh’s work on family and memory as significant to the development of memory studies, as well as emphasising the significance of memory in Holocaust Studies.

The significance of memory studies to the examination of the photographic essays of *Picture Post* is such that, arguably, these published photographs confront the concepts of narrative, truth – or reality – and identity, as acknowledged above. The photographic narratives depicted on the pages of *Picture Post* highlight the power of photographs in their emotional appeal and establish the photographic image as a vehicle of communication. As such, photographs serve as a connection between individual narratives and emphasise the photograph as a site for the formation of memory. Susannah Radstone begins the introduction, ‘Working with Memory: An Introduction’, to her edited volume *Memory and Methodology*, by stating that ‘memory’ means different things at different times.³⁹¹ It is not, simply, the case that memory is unchanging and it is, rather, its value that alters in different periods. Thus, the significance of the nineteenth century is highlighted by Radstone as when the perception of memory changed. It is noted that ‘[...] memory could no longer be understood [...] as reflection, as the transparent record of the past. From this moment on,

³⁹⁰ Rossington and Whitehead, eds., *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, 2

³⁹¹ Susannah Radstone (ed.), *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford: Berg) 2000, 3

memory came to be understood as actively *produced*, as representation, and as open to struggle and dispute.³⁹² Radstone highlights that at the core of memory work is the subjectivity and particularity of memory itself. It is through the peculiarities of memory that the wider socio-cultural context can be explored; the relationship between remembering and transformation, or indeed forgetting and transformation, is such that memory work occupies a liminal space between the two.³⁹³

Radstone, then, has recognised the mediated nature of memory.³⁹⁴ She asserts that, in light of post-1960s cultural theory, it became apparent that memories ‘were complex productions shaped by diverse narratives and genres and replete with absences, silences, condensations and displacements that were related, in complex ways, to the dialogic moment of their telling.’³⁹⁵ In understanding memories as complex productions, as Radstone has stated, the concept of memory can be further categorised as having three levels: the individual, the social and the cultural.³⁹⁶ Jan Assmann considers the relationship between time, identity and memory so that the ‘inner level’ of memory represents our own personal memories; for the second categorisation of memory, Assmann asserts that the social level of memory requires ‘communication and social interaction’ so that ‘memory enables us to live in groups and communities’.³⁹⁷ Cultural memory is exteriorised and objectified, notes Assmann. Personal memory exists in constant interaction with ‘things’ as well as other human memories. These

³⁹² Radstone, *Memory*, 7

³⁹³ Radstone, *Memory*, 12

³⁹⁴ Radstone, *Memory*, 11

³⁹⁵ Radstone, *Memory* 11

³⁹⁶ Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 109-118

³⁹⁷ Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 109

objects do not “have” a memory of their own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory because they carry memories which we have invested into them [...].³⁹⁸ This is, according to Assmann, cultural memory. Whereas cultural memory is institutional – based on ‘things’ or objects – communicative memory is not. While discourse surrounding collective memory, in light of Maurice Halbwach’s theory, has established an interconnectedness between individual remembering, Susan Sontag challenges the viewpoint that collective memory exists. Rather, Sontag asserts that, in relation to photographs, there is ‘collective instruction.’³⁹⁹ This so-called ‘collective instruction’ relates to the selection and manipulation of photographs which constitute a significant part of ‘what a society chooses to think about, or declares that it has chosen to think about.’⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, Sontag claims that,

All memory is individual, unreproducible – it dies with each person. What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that *this* is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds.⁴⁰¹

In relation to the third level, that of cultural memory, Assmann makes reference to the art historian Aby Warburg, who coined the term ‘social memory’ and thusly, as Assmann argues, ‘treated images, that is, cultural objectifications, as carriers of memory.’⁴⁰² In this sense then, the visual image as a carrier of memory situates it within a context of remembering. The

³⁹⁸ Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 111

³⁹⁹ Sontag, *Regarding*, 76

⁴⁰⁰ Sontag, *Regarding*, 76

⁴⁰¹ Sontag, *Regarding*, 76

⁴⁰² In reference to Aby Warburg see Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 110

photograph, as object, does not have a memory of its own, rather it can be considered as a ‘reminding object’, one which ‘may remind us, may trigger our memory because they [the photographs] carry memories which we have invested into them [...]’.⁴⁰³ It is pertinent then, to this thesis as a whole, to acknowledge the significance of a connection between memory and migration, and therefore, by association, a consideration of memory in relation to identity and place. Julia Creet, in her ‘Introduction: The Migration of Memory and Memories of Migration’, asserts that,

Memory, in all its forms, physical, psychological, cultural, and familial, plays a crucial role within the contexts of migration, immigration, resettlement, and diasporas, for memory provides continuity to the dislocations of individual and social identity [...].⁴⁰⁴

Furthermore, Creet acknowledges the significance of the historical context of memory, and for the purpose of this study, it can be asked, through an exploration of contemporary theories of memory, how notions of memory and photography seek to challenge the established perception of memory as fixed. Creet, then, outlines that,

Contemporary theories of memory have mostly considered memory *in situ*, and place itself as a stable, unchanging environment. The link between memory and place has historically attended the study of memory in every sense: in its contents (our attachment to memories of home); in its practices (place as an aid to rote

⁴⁰³ Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 111

⁴⁰⁴ Creet, ‘Introduction’, 3

memorization); in its externalizations (monuments and museums); in its linguistic expressions [...] and in its psychological and physiological theorizations (the conscious and unconscious brain as the loci of memory [...]).⁴⁰⁵

In order to establish a connection between memory and photography, David Bate in his essay, 'The Memory of Photography', begins by asserting that in domestic culture photography is, conventionally, a device for remembering.⁴⁰⁶ He asks, 'what *did* photography do for memory and what contribution has photography made to the practice of memory in human culture?'⁴⁰⁷ Bate draws on the theories of Sigmund Freud, namely Freud's essay 'The "Mystic Writing-Pad"', in order to question the effects of photography on individual and collective memory. Bate highlights Freud's distinction between 'Natural Memory' – the human capacity for recollection – and 'Artificial Memory' – the technical devices invented to support natural (or mnemonic) memory. These so-called artificial devices allow the extension of memory, creating space for new thinking.⁴⁰⁸ If photography, then, is to be considered one of these artificial – or 'prosthetic' – devices for the support of human *memory*, Bate questions what specific impact photography has had on human memory and the cultures that use it. It is noted that thinking about photography as memory belongs to a long history and theory of memory devices, namely, as 'instruments for collective cultural memory.'⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁵ Creet, 'Introduction', 3

⁴⁰⁶ David Bate, 'The Memory of Photography', *Photographies*, 3(2) (September 2010), 243-257

⁴⁰⁷ Bate, 'Memory of Photography', 243

⁴⁰⁸ Bate, 'Memory of Photography', 244

⁴⁰⁹ Bate, 'Memory of Photography', 245

The significance of artificial – or prosthetic – devices which Bate draws attention to in his essay, have previously been established by Celia Lury, in her book, *Prosthetic Culture. Photography, Memory and Identity* in which she begun by highlighting the absence of the analysis of photography and its subject-effects in existing scholarship. To date, narrative has been the focus of this kind examination and the significance of the image for understandings of the self remains under-developed.⁴¹⁰ The photograph, then, is more than a representation; rather, it is a way of seeing, a way of understanding the self. As a result, Lury introduces the concept of a prosthetic culture, in which self-extension ensues: ‘[...] the relations between consciousness, memory and the body that had defined the possessive individual as a legal personality are experimentally dis- and re-assembled.’⁴¹¹ The photographic image is key in this process – a significant aspect of prosthetic culture – in that it is able to frame, freeze and fix its objects. The framing of the image is described by Lury as a process of,

Outcontextualisation, as contexts are multiplied and rendered a matter of apparent choice or selective framing, while the photograph’s ability to freeze and fix its objects is seen to have contributed to a process of *indifferentiation*, that is, the disappearance or infilling of the distance between cause and effect, object and subject.⁴¹²

Lury concludes the introduction to *Prosthetic Culture* by highlighting the significance of the term *mimesis* in relation to photography and prosthetics. A term adopted from Walter

⁴¹⁰ Celia Lury, *Prosthetic Culture. Photography, Memory and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998), 2

⁴¹¹ Lury, *Prosthetic Culture*, 3

⁴¹² Lury, *Prosthetic Culture*, 3

Benjamin, Lury asserts that mimesis is central to the changing role of aesthetics.⁴¹³ Peter Stupples, then, addresses the relationship between images, visual culture and personal memory and national identity. As images ‘become internalised as cultural memories’, Stupples suggests, they ‘act as instruments of cohesive identity’.⁴¹⁴ This cohesion is, for Stupples, a sense of belonging as well as an exclusion of the Other. The internalisation of cultural memories in the form of images contributes to a ‘synthetic memory bank’ which relates to identity: personal, collective or national. This asserts an interconnectedness between memory and identity, and once this sense of identity has been established, Stupples asserts that ‘[...] other images will be “seen” through its already inscribed determining mechanisms of perception’.⁴¹⁵ In other words, it can be argued, our own sense of identity – personal, collective or national – shapes our understanding and perception of ‘documentary’ photographs. Assmann relates memory to identity, claiming that: ‘memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level. Identity, in its turn, is related to time.’⁴¹⁶ Furthermore, Assmann has noted, ‘memory is knowledge with an identity-index [...]’.⁴¹⁷ Memory, therefore, relates to the understanding of oneself, and how we consider ourselves as individuals, as a member of a group, a wider community or how we place ourselves within a nation or traditional system. Remembering, then, is a realisation of belonging.

⁴¹³ Lury, *Prosthetic Culture*, 5

⁴¹⁴ Peter Stupples, ‘Visual Culture, Synthetic Memory and the Construction of National Identity’, *Third Text*, 17(2) (2003), 127

⁴¹⁵ Stupples, ‘Visual Culture’, 132

⁴¹⁶ Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 109

⁴¹⁷ Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’ 113

Stupples continues to outline the significance of social exchange, stating that through this exchange, '[...] we not only recognise ourselves and the existence of those with cultural affinities but also those who are culturally Other, with language and visual memories that do not overlap at many, if any, points with our own.'⁴¹⁸ In order, then, to establish a psychoanalytical positioning of memory – in light of theories outlined by Creet - Stupples takes on a specifically psychoanalytical approach to visual memory, utilising the theories of Jacques Lacan and Kaja Silverman. In order to understand a national, or cultural identity, one must first – according to Stupples's assertion of Silverman's *The Threshold of the Visible World* (1996) – recognise that we take in images and representations continuously, so that they become part of the 'ego's precipitate'.⁴¹⁹ It is argued that Lacan and Silverman 'emphasise that culturally we apprehend our subjectivity, our subjective identity, in a complex three-way process [...]'. The third stage is, according to Stupples, in the 'apprehension of ourselves through the gaze of others, enabling symbolic ratification of that apprehension.'⁴²⁰ As a result, the 'look' is predetermined. It is argued that which becomes our normative vision has been approved by culturally dominant fictions. It is through these individual processes of subjective identification that some elements seem to be shared through social exchange. In turn, these shared elements become what may be called, as Stupples asserts, a national identity.

It is concluded by Stupples in his essay on visual culture and memory, that national identity should be understood as a structured fiction, manifested through misrecognition, fetishisation

⁴¹⁸ Stupples, 'Visual Culture', 133

⁴¹⁹ Stupples, 'Visual Culture', 135

⁴²⁰ Stupples, 'Visual Culture', 135

and the suppression of the Other, and in particular, a refusal of the possibility of normativity to the visual memories of those with other cultural identities.⁴²¹ The relationship between memory and cultural identity, as explored by Stupples, addresses notions of the Other, and highlights the significance of the émigré within a cultural context. Stuart Hall in his essay, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', addresses the positions from which we speak or write (in this case, from which we photograph); these are termed positions of 'enunciation'. He asserts, that whoever speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical.⁴²² Hall challenges the accepted notion of a singular, cohesive cultural identity, claiming that images can impose an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation. Cultural identity can be problematic in that, paradoxically, a unification can result in a lost past. The essay demonstrates that history is constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth; it is a positioning.⁴²³

As previously highlighted by Creet, memory plays a crucial role within the context of migration and can provide a continuity of identity in spite of the ruptures experienced as a result of forced migration. Lury notes that,

[...] the transformation wrought by images, especially the mechanically reproduced image of the photograph, in the role of memory [...] disturbs and reorders the conventional narratives of continuity of consciousness and self-identity. In other words, the cultural politics of memory are a site at which the conflicting processes of

⁴²¹ Stupples, 'Visual Culture', 137

⁴²² Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed., *Diaspora and Visual Culture. Representing Africans and Jews* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21

⁴²³ Hall, 'Cultural Identity', 24

individuation and individualisation [...] are played out in terms of the image and narrative.⁴²⁴

Moreover, memory inhabits a space between remembering and forgetting, and as Annette Kuhn asserts in her book, *Family Secrets. Acts of Memory and Imagination*, '[...] narratives of identity are shaped as much by what is left out of the account – whether forgotten or repressed – as by what is actually told.'⁴²⁵ Personal memory, then, extends far beyond the individual: these personal memories '[...] spread into an extended network of meanings that bring together the personal with the familial, the cultural, the economic, the social, the historical.'⁴²⁶ It can be argued as such that personal memories, as described by Kuhn, interlink with cultural photographic narratives, which, it will be shown, perform as a formative function of memory; a vehicle of communication within a wider cultural context. Thus, this situates *Picture Post* within a specific memory culture, recognising the ability of such documentary photographs to act as a site of memory. Furthermore, when thinking about the relationship between photography and memory, Kuhn suggests a number of factors which should be considered: (i) the context of production; (ii) how the image was made; (iii) the contexts of the photograph's reception.⁴²⁷ Through memory work, new understandings of the past and present can be formed, while, Kuhn asserts, '[...] refusing a nostalgia that embalms the past in a perfect, irretrievable, moment.'⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ Lury, *Prosthetic Culture*, 106

⁴²⁵ Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets. Acts of Memory and Imagination* (London: Verso, 1995), 2

⁴²⁶ Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 5

⁴²⁷ Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 8

⁴²⁸ Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 10

In specific relation to the photographic process and family memory, Hirsch argues that following the acceptance of the camera into the domestic domain, '[...] photography quickly became the family's primary instrument of self-knowledge and representation – the means by which family memory would be continued and perpetuated, by which the family's story would henceforth be told.'⁴²⁹ In this sense, the transition of photographs from the private to the public domain, influences how photographic narratives have contributed to the shaping of individual memory, and in turn, have sought to connect individual narratives through the medium of photography. In essence, it can be deduced that what exists is rather a cultural memory than a collective memory. Photography is an immobiliser of life, reducing the fluidity to a series of snapshots. It perpetuates family myths while apparently recording actual moments. The existence of the familial myth, according to Hirsch, contributes to the shaping of an individual living within a social group.⁴³⁰ The significance of family here then, is that, having experienced forced migration as a result of the Nazi regime, the photographers in question were separated from their families and familial environment. The influence of the family is such that, as Hirsch has asserted through an exploration of family memory, the role of the photograph is significant in a formation of individual narrative.

The concept of time, also, is significant in the understanding of memory in the sense that cultural memory refers only to the past that can be reclaimed. Here there is a connection between memory and forgetting. Memory is, as is asserted by Assmann, local, egocentric

⁴²⁹ Hirsch, 'Surviving Images', 6

⁴³⁰ Hirsch, 'Surviving Images', 7

and specific to a group and its values.⁴³¹ An acknowledgement of time, by its very nature, situates memory within a site-specific context. The photograph here is a mediator between the past and the present and as a result, according to Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister, invokes uncertainty about what it is possible to know from images.⁴³² The following text examines the photograph as a location of memory. Kuhn and Emiko McAllister in their introduction to the edited volume, *Locating Memory. Photographic Acts* (2006), assert the troubling notion that the photograph can disturb the present/contemporary landscape; that, although the photograph is a fixed object, through time it can accrue meaning and affect.⁴³³

While the concept of memory has been explored in relation to photography, and the significance of the photographic image has been asserted in the formation of memory, very little scholarly attention has been paid to the specificity of photojournalism and its relationship with memory. Robert L. Craig has noted that much of the power of so-called documentary photographs,

[...] comes from how they engage viewers' subjectivity and allow a certain degree of free association in the process of interpretation. The fact that individuals bring their

⁴³¹ Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', 113

⁴³² Kuhn and McAllister, *Locating Memory*, 15

⁴³³ Kuhn and McAllister, *Locating Memory*

own biography, mood, feelings, and dispositions to the inferences they make leaves them with the ideological sensation of having understood images.⁴³⁴

Louise Spence and Asli Kotaman Avci, in their essay, 'The talking witness documentary: remembrance and the politics of truth', focus on the conventional talking witness documentary, stating that by this genre relying on memory of experience as evidence, it employs an inherently conservative politics of truth.⁴³⁵ It explores the ways in which a documentary breaks into the moral and conceptual space of trauma, arguing that the medium seeks to fix as well as disseminate memories that counter state-authored versions of that history. Thus, Spence and Avci assert that personal recollections – personal memories – are no longer private, but have been appropriated as a common discourse. The experiences of watching a documentary film with fellow audience members 'bind us to an affective community'.⁴³⁶ In a similar sense, the documentary nature of the photographs published as part of a photographic essay, assert the subjective presence of the photographer – and their own memories – in the published photographic narrative, and as such, the reception of the constructed photographic narrative by the readership, exposes the reader to a manipulation of their own memory. Furthermore, Barbie Zelizer has suggested that,

News images [...] acting as conduits of both news and memory [...] draw public attention regardless of how fully they depict what viewers might know and

⁴³⁴ Robert L. Craig, 'Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising', in Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, eds., *Picturing the Past: Media, History and Photography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 37

⁴³⁵ Louise Spence and Asli Kotaman Avci, 'The talking witness documentary: remembrance and the politics of truth', *Rethinking History*, 17(3) (2013), 295-311

⁴³⁶ Spence and Avci, 'The talking witness documentary', 306

understand. Over time, the tendency to disconnect what is understood from what is seen intensifies, suggesting that reasoned information relay is not the sum total of what images provide.⁴³⁷

The peculiarity of the construction of a photographic narrative, then, is that it combines text and image in such a way that the photographic essay can, arguably, recognise, according to Sontag, is that ‘narratives can help us understand. Photographs do something else: they haunt us.’⁴³⁸

Thus, it will be suggested that the photographic narratives of the Holocaust as depicted in *Picture Post* have contributed to the ways in which the Holocaust has been remembered in Britain, highlighting the significance of photographs in the construction of Holocaust memory. The significance of the relationship between memory and photography in relation to Holocaust remembrance is such that, according to Sontag, ‘remembering *is* an ethical act, has ethical value in and of itself. Memory is, aching, the only relation we can have with the dead.’⁴³⁹

Furthermore, more recently Caroline Sharples and Olaf Jensen, in the introduction to their edited volume, *Britain and the Holocaust. Remembering and Representing War and Genocide*, have asked why the Holocaust should become a central part of British memory culture.⁴⁴⁰ Sharples and Jensen have noted that, as a result of Britain’s geographical location,

⁴³⁷ Barbie Zelizer, *About to Die*, 5

⁴³⁸ Sontag, *Regarding*, 80

⁴³⁹ Sontag, *Regarding*, 103

⁴⁴⁰ Sharples and Jensen, ‘Introduction’, 2

the country was removed from the sites of atrocity and had not been occupied by the National Socialists, and therefore did not experience the same subsequent aftereffects of the atrocities of war as Germany, Austria and other former occupied territories, such as Poland.⁴⁴¹ ‘In many ways’, then, ‘the Holocaust was, and remains, a distant event for the British population.’⁴⁴² While it has been established that the Holocaust is a significant part of British national history, it has been asked how much the British government understood about the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis on the continent.⁴⁴³

While it can be deduced that the British government did in fact retain control over the content of the press during the war years, there is evidence to show that sectors of the British population were made aware of the atrocities committed by the Nazis through photographs published in the press. The photographic essays published in *Picture Post* between 1943 and 1945 provided the British public with visual evidence of the concentration camps, albeit with a focus on the liberation by Allied troops. Sharples and Jensen, too, make reference to British memories of the Holocaust in the immediate years following 1945, stating that,

As with conventional narratives of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (overcoming the past) in West Germany, or the formation of a collective Holocaust memory in the United States, works on Britain tend to depict the post-war period as one of lengthy silence or disinterest with regard to the Nazi genocide.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ Sharples and Jensen, ‘Introduction’, 2

⁴⁴² Sharples and Jensen, ‘Introduction’, 2

⁴⁴³ Sharples and Jensen, ‘Introduction’, 3

⁴⁴⁴ Sharples and Jensen, ‘Introduction’, 4

However, they point out that contrary to a post-war silence, scholars such as David Cesarani ‘convincingly points to the role of survivors, former refugees and Jewish ex-servicemen in maintaining a public discussion of the Holocaust after 1945.’⁴⁴⁵ The role of survivors and the concept of postmemory will be discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

However, in relation to the depiction of the liberation of the concentration camps in *Picture Post*, it is crucial to explore how photographs have been utilised in the representation of historical events, in light of legislative control over visual imagery during the Second World War. As Sontag has asserted, ‘[...] the pity and disgust that pictures [...] inspire should not distract you from asking what pictures, whose cruelties, whose deaths are *not* being shown.’⁴⁴⁶ However, rather than place emphasis exclusively on governmental censorship for the exclusion and ignorance of certain types of images throughout the war, it can be argued that in the specific case of *Picture Post*, the depiction of such events may have undergone a particularly rigorous editorial process in order to protect specific photographers in light of their émigré status in Britain. The experience of forced migration, as has been previously addressed, has implication in the representation of the Holocaust in *Picture Post* and thus shows how the photographs have been utilised to present a specific visual narrative to the British readership, of the brutal actions of the National Socialists. As Barbie Zelizer has explained in her essay ‘From the Image of Record to the Image of Memory: Holocaust Photography, Then and Now’,

⁴⁴⁵ Sharples and Jensen, ‘Introduction’, 6

⁴⁴⁶ Sontag, *Regarding*, 12

One of the least understood dimensions of photography involves the ways in which photographs help the public construct, understand, and remember the past [...].

[Photographs] have helped create a specific kind of memory about the Holocaust that inflects both how it is remembered and how its memory shapes popular experience of other atrocities of the modern age.⁴⁴⁷

Here then, Zelizer asserts that photographs have the ability to influence how the Holocaust is remembered, emphasising the ways in which photographs give access to an arguably otherwise unavailable past.⁴⁴⁸ Furthermore, Zelizer highlights the ways in which photographs have come to symbolise the atrocities of the Holocaust, by asserting that,

Photographs became effective ways of marking Holocaust atrocities by playing less to their effectivity as referential documents of a specific camp, in a specific place and time, and more to their effectivity as symbols of the atrocities at their most generalized and universal level.⁴⁴⁹

In response to her first encounter with photographs depicting scenes from the camps at Bergen-Belsen and Dachau in a bookshop in July 1945 at the age of twelve, Susan Sontag recalls that,

One's first encounter with the photographic inventory of ultimate horror is a kind of revelation, the prototypically modern revelation: a negative epiphany [...]. Nothing I

⁴⁴⁷ Barbie Zelizer, 'From the Image of Record to the Image of Memory: Holocaust Photography, Then and Now', in Brennen and Hardt eds., *Picturing the Past*, 98

⁴⁴⁸ This was discussed by the author in her unpublished M.Phil (B) thesis, *Photography, Memory and Identity: The Émigré Photographer Lisel Haas (1898-1989)*, University of Birmingham, 2010

⁴⁴⁹ Zelizer, 'From the Image', 101

have seen – in photographs or in real life – ever cut me as sharply, deeply, instantaneously. Indeed, it seems plausible to me to divide my life into two parts, before I saw those photographs [...] and after, though it was several years before I understood fully what they were about.⁴⁵⁰

Moreover, Barbie Zelizer, in her seminal text, *About to Die: How News Images Move the Public*, makes reference to those theorists who have been influential in the understanding of the relationship between photography and memory, particularly in relation to death. Zelizer asserts that,

Viewing death has also been associated with mourning and grief, where gazing on pictures of the dead can help mourners come to terms with their loss. Photography, wrote Roland Barthes, keeps “time in a frame ... making each instalment hypothetically knowable” and seemingly “death defying”; belonging to the past but engaged in the present, it creates a temporal moment of “having been there” [...]. Susan Sontag famously observed that “all photographs are *memento mori* ... To take a photograph is to participate in another person’s (or thing’s) mortality, vulnerability, mutability.” Marianne Hirsch [...] demonstrated how photographs provide a medium for mourning in everyday life.⁴⁵¹

While Zelizer focuses on the photographs which depict the ‘about-to-die’ moment, the discourse surrounding such images is pertinent to those atrocity photographs of the

⁴⁵⁰ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 19

⁴⁵¹ Zelizer, *About to Die*, 25

concentration camps published in *Picture Post* and other popular illustrated magazines, such as the American *Life* magazine. In response, Zelizer asks, ‘what does it mean when the news encourages the emotions, imagination, and contingency as a way of responding to the world? The subjunctive voice provides a construct for understanding how and why certain images emerge as powerful and memorable depictions of events [...].’⁴⁵² Zelizer continues by asserting the fluidity of photographic narrative; hence it can be determined that the photograph performs as a site for the formation of memory, as Zelizer writes that,

It is thus possible, even probable, that news images, and particularly, photographs, function through a qualification of reason – a combination of contingency, the imagination, and the emotions – that settles not at the image’s original point of display but over time by different people putting it to multiple uses in new contexts.⁴⁵³

To sum up, then, the specificity of photographic narratives as presented by *Picture Post* in relation to memory is that it embodies a so-called ‘structural significance’ associated with cultural memory. Assmann states that,

Transitions and transformations account for the dynamics of cultural memory [...]. One concerns the transition from autobiographical and communicative memory into cultural memory, and the other concerns, within cultural memory, the move from the rear stage to the forefront, from the periphery to the center [...].⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² Zelizer, *About to Die*, 26

⁴⁵³ Zelizer, *About to Die*, 11

⁴⁵⁴ Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 117

The modern period has, according to Bate, changed the process of collective remembering. Utilising the theories put forward in *History and Memory* (1992) by French historian Jacques Le Goff, Bate examines the process of modern collective memory. Le Goff identifies two specific modern phenomena as significant for this process: one, the erection of public monuments ‘through which funerary commemoration reached new heights’, and secondly, ‘[...] photography, which revolutionizes memory: it multiplies and democratized it, gives it a precision and a truth never before attained in visual memory, and makes it possible to preserve the memory of time and chronological evolution.’⁴⁵⁵ Bate takes this further, stating that the photograph ‘has a capacity to incorporate and absorb many other already existing visual memory devices within photographic re-presentation.’ What makes photography peculiar as an artificial device is ‘its capacity to store and reproduce other objects as a visual image.’⁴⁵⁶ Through a discussion of photography as a prosthetic device for the support of memory, Bate argues that it is possible that these artificial memories create uncertainty; that these images are internalised so that we no longer experience our memory as our own. In conclusion, Bates emphasises that memory is both fixed and fluid in relation to photography. As a site of memory, the photograph is a perpetual phenomenon upon which a historical representation may be constructed.⁴⁵⁷ In some cases, memory work moves beyond the experiences of others, and focuses rather on the personal and collective transformation in the present. From a critical perspective, it seeks to reinterpret and re-contextualise memory. The

⁴⁵⁵ Bate, ‘Memory of Photography’, 246

⁴⁵⁶ Bate, ‘Memory of Photography’, 248-249

⁴⁵⁷ Bate, ‘Memory of Photography’, 255

liberatory potential of memory work is acknowledged, as it illuminates aspects of individual and collective formation, transformation and ‘re-membering’.⁴⁵⁸

The concept of ‘postmemory’ as established by Marianne Hirsch can be understood in the following way,

[...] most specifically describes the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents, experiences that they “remember” only as the narratives and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right.⁴⁵⁹

Hirsch continues to acknowledge that, ‘Postmemory is a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection, and creation [...].’⁴⁶⁰ In relation to contingency and memory, however, it has been noted by Zelizer that the presence of such in photographic narratives – in news images – introduces ‘chance, relativity, implication, and hypothesis into the act of viewing [...]’ so that over time ‘both qualities can alter unseen sequences of action [...].’⁴⁶¹ She continues that,

When dealing with events of an unsettled nature, contingency and the imagination may constitute a particularly useful stance for those needing to establish meaning [...]. In fact, contingency and the imagination suggest that closure around images is

⁴⁵⁸ Radstone, *Memory*, 13

⁴⁵⁹ Hirsch, ‘Surviving Images’, 9

⁴⁶⁰ Hirsch, ‘Surviving Images’, 9

⁴⁶¹ Zelizer, *About to Die*, 6

rarely achieved and that they may provide the necessary leakage through which visual meaning can change.⁴⁶²

Marianne Hirsch, in the same sense as Zelizer, acknowledges the repetition of a small number of atrocity photographs, which have frequently been reproduced. In response to this, Hirsch raises questions surrounding the role of such images and their emblematic representation of the Holocaust. Hirsch asks,

Do they act like [...] empty signifiers that distance and protect us from the event? Or, on the contrary, does their repetition in itself retraumatize, making distant viewers into surrogate victims who, having seen the images so often, have adopted them into their own narratives and memories, and have thus become all the more vulnerable to their effects? If they cut and wound, do they enable memory, mourning, and working through? Or is their repetition an effect of melancholic replay, appropriative identification?⁴⁶³

As a means of addressing the questions posed earlier in her essay, Hirsch suggests that,

The postmemorial generation – in displacing and recontextualizing these well-known images in their artistic work – has been able to make repetition not an instrument of fixity or paralysis or simple retraumatization (as it often is for survivors of trauma), but a *mostly* helpful vehicle of working through a traumatic past.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² Zelizer, *About to Die*, 7

⁴⁶³ Hirsch, 'Surviving Images', 8

⁴⁶⁴ Hirsch, 'Surviving Images', 9

Sontag has highlighted the simultaneous presence of life and death in photographs, writing that ‘photographs state the innocence, the vulnerability of lives heading toward their own destruction and this link between photography and death haunts all photos of people [...]’.⁴⁶⁵

In response to this, Hirsch states that,

In its relation to loss and death, photography does not mediate the process of individual and collective memory but brings the past back in the form of a ghostly *revenant*, emphasizing, at the same time, its immutable and irreversible pastness and irretrievability. The encounter with the photograph is the encounter between two presents, one of which, already past, can be reanimated in the act of looking.⁴⁶⁶

Hirsch highlights the effects of the repetition of the same atrocity photographs on the so-called postmemorial viewers. She states that ‘in repeatedly exposing themselves to the same pictures, postmemorial viewers can produce in themselves the effects of traumatic repetition that plague the victims of trauma.’⁴⁶⁷ Rather, as Hirsch suggests,

It is only when they are redeployed, in new texts and new contexts, that they regain a capacity to enable a postmemorial working through. The aesthetic strategies of postmemory are specifically about such an attempted, and yet always postponed, repositioning and reintegration.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁵ Sontag, *On Photography*, 70

⁴⁶⁶ Hirsch, ‘Surviving Images’, 21

⁴⁶⁷ Hirsch, ‘Surviving Images’, 29

⁴⁶⁸ Hirsch, ‘Surviving Images’, 29

Hirsch makes reference in her essay to two postmemorial texts, which she categorises as a form of projection. In this sense, the selected art works discussed in this chapter can arguably be viewed as forms of projection; either in response to the lived experiences of the Second World War, or a positioning informed by the exposure to the atrocity photographs. The specific influence of these photographs on the formation of memory and also the ‘working through’ of traumatic experiences, is such that Sontag has noted,

The familiarity of certain photographs builds our sense of the present and immediate past. Photographs lay down routes of reference, and serve as totems of causes: sentiment is more likely to crystallize around a photograph than around a verbal slogan. And photographs help to construct – and revise – our sense of a more distant past, with the posthumous shocks engineered by the circulation of hitherto unknown photographs.⁴⁶⁹

Sontag suggests that the memorialisation of the Holocaust, through the perpetual recirculation of photographs and other such memorabilia, has its limitations. She puts forward the argument that,

To aim at the perpetuation of memories means, inevitably, that one has undertaken the task of continually renewing, of creating, memories – aided, above all, by the impress of iconic photographs [...]. The problem is not that people remember through

⁴⁶⁹ Sontag, *Regarding*, 76

photographs, but that they remember only photographs. This remembering through photographs eclipses other forms of understanding, and remembering.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Sontag, *Regarding*, 9

CONCLUSION

I. Summary

The present work focuses on the weekly picture-led magazine, *Picture Post*, its editors and a select group of German-speaking émigré photographers from Nazi Germany who worked as photojournalists in Britain between 1938 and 1945. This thesis has considered the role of Stefan Lorant and his émigré photographers in introducing a European form of photojournalism to Britain, and through an analysis of selected photographic essays and the corresponding unpublished contact sheets, it has addressed the practices and manipulations of photographic narration. An examination of key topics such as forced separation and the liberation of the concentration camps has allowed for a consideration of how the personal backgrounds and experiences of the photographers might have inflected the ways in which stories are told through their photographs. As Berkowitz has suggested, in order to establish a better understanding of the significance of Jewish (émigré) photographers, it would be beneficial,

[...] to not only look at the pictures, but to look beyond and behind these images at the human agency involved in their production and dissemination, with greater attention to ethnic-religious difference and their attendant networks than so far has been practiced.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷¹ Berkowitz, 'Jews and Photojournalism', 638

This thesis has sought to recognise a connection between the experiences of the photographers of *Picture Post* – specifically their experience of migration – and the sensitive narratives evoked in the photographic essays they produced. Thus, the three main chapters of this thesis have examined the processes involved in the construction of photographic narratives with reference to theoretical approaches on photography, migration, Anglo-Jewish history and memory in order to situate the photographic narratives of *Picture Post* within a broader social and historical context. Chapter One introduced the genre of the photographic essay, outlining the development of the format in Weimar Germany before emphasising the importance of the processes involved in the production and subsequent dissemination of the photographic essays in Britain. Furthermore, this chapter, through an examination of the selected photographic essays in conjunction with the previously unpublished original contact sheets, exposed the highly mediated nature of the photographic narrative. The theoretical approaches to photography as highlighted by Roland Barthes, addressed the text/image relationship in photographic narratives and established the significance of imagery in the perception and effectiveness of narration. Moreover, an examination of the so-called contact sheets highlighted the processes of manipulation inherent in the production of a photographic essay and consequently, revealed the potential for an examination of the link between the experience and impact of migration and the construction of photographic narratives.

Chapter Two, sought to address instances of forced separation as narrated by the photographs in *Picture Post*. These instances of forced separation – adoption, the Kindertransport and evacuation – allowed for an extension of the suggestion that the Jewish émigrés revealed their

own concerns and experiences in the photographic narrative. Through an analysis of a selected number of photographic essays, the chapter made use of theoretical and historical approaches to Anglo-Jewish history and traditional narratives of family life in Britain so as to provide a framework within which to situate not only the émigrés themselves, but their apparent understanding of, and need for, a reconsideration of the traditional construct of family. The ruptures to family life and concepts of home as a result of war highlighted the distinctiveness of the émigré situation. As noted by Cesarani and others,

For those on the move, or of recent settlement, the necessity of creating a sense of place is, on the one hand, crucial, and, on the other, fundamentally difficult as a result of their perceived or experienced rootlessness [...]. [T]he concept of “home” and “belonging” is rarely straightforward for any migrant – it is multi-layered and continuously negotiated through the processes of memory relating to places past and present, “there” and “here”.⁴⁷²

It was established in the second chapter of this thesis that through the shared experience of forced separation, and most specifically, migration, the émigré photographers presented an alternative to traditional family life in the photographic essays on adoption, the Kindertransport and evacuation. Through an analysis of the constructions of representations and narratives in the magazine and the specific situation of the Jewish émigré in Britain at this time, a distinction between the editorial intentions and institutional restrictions should be established. Thus, Chapter Three introduced the topic of Holocaust photography and sought

⁴⁷² Cesarani, Kushner and Shain, *Place and Displacement*, 8

to address the representations of the atrocities in *Picture Post*. Three case studies from the magazine which focus on the liberation of the concentration camps are examined in order to situate the photographic essays within the broader context of Holocaust photography. A direct comparison with photographs taken by Bourke-White and Miller has been sought in order to address the more complex notions of how photographs mediate current events, whilst also functioning as part of the construction of historical memory.

This thesis has, thus, established a connection between visual narratives, migration (or, more broadly, forced separation) and memory in particular relation to *Picture Post* and the construction of the photographic essay. Through the construction of the photographic narratives, the subjective presence of the photographer was, arguably, asserted and, furthermore, the significance of their own experiences as émigrés has been recognised in the developments of photojournalism in Britain.

II. Photographic narration, separation, liberation

The significance of migration – specifically the migration to Britain which occurred during the 1930s as a direct result of the Nazi regime in Germany – has been recognised in the construction of narratives throughout the thesis. Firstly, the development of photojournalism, and specifically the genre of the photographic essay, in Britain can be attributed to the arrival of émigrés in Britain from Nazi Germany in the 1930s. *Picture Post*, having been founded by a Hungarian émigré, Lorant, benefited directly from the innovative stylistic devices employed by those who had worked for the *Illustrierten* in Weimar Germany, in order to become one of the most influential picture-led magazines in Britain. Secondly, it was asserted in Chapter

Two, that if the particular experience of the émigré photographer – that of migration – informed the ways in which a subject was photographed, then perhaps a connection between migration and photographic narration could be asserted. This connection between forced separation and the construction of photographic narrative asserts the significance of photographic imagery not only in how stories are told, but in mediating current events and furthermore, in the construction of historical memory relating to the Holocaust in Britain. The liberation of the concentration camps and their subsequent dissemination in newspapers and magazines revealed the full consequences of Nazi criminality and has emphasised the way in which photographic images are used to narrate, mediate and commemorate instances of historical importance.

Berkowitz has acknowledged the challenges of formulating a historical context for British photojournalism by stating that this approach,

[...] is an especially striking lacuna in the case of Britain. This area is intellectually impoverished partly because of the centrality of “outsiders” in its development. Each of them departed the British scene in such a way as to make a study of their historical legacy unlikely. Some of the individuals most significant for the understanding of photojournalism in Britain disappeared rather unceremoniously. Erich Salomon, although a German subject until being made stateless by the Nazis, helped set critical

trends in what came to be seen as “Fleet Street” photography. Salomon was murdered in Auschwitz.⁴⁷³

This thesis has sought to address the contribution of German-speaking Jewish émigrés to British photojournalism through an analysis of published photographic essays and their corresponding contact sheets, whilst recognising the significant impact that their personal backgrounds and experiences had on the construction of photographic narratives.

III. Limitations

Despite the wealth of material which exists in relation to the magazine, most significantly an archive which contains each issue of *Picture Post* published between 1938 and 1957 as well as a significant number of contact sheets, there are some limitations to the primary source material available to this study in relation to the émigré photographers who were employed by *Picture Post*. Firstly, there is little, if any, personal correspondence belonging to the émigré photographers employed by *Picture Post* between 1938 and 1945. This has previously been recognised by Berkowitz through his own research: ‘In addition to the problem of preserving and locating sources, writing a history of British photojournalism is even more slippery because for a long time press photographers and photojournalists were not thought of as very important.’⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 80

⁴⁷⁴ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 81

The locations of some photographic archives have been informed by the subsequent emigration from Britain of some of the photographers in question, namely Tim Gidal. However, while this material may have been useful to help situate *Picture Post* within a broader narrative context, it has meant that rather than being influenced by a significant amount of personal correspondences, the thesis has remained focused on constructing an assessment of the photographic essays of *Picture Post* informed by the original published and unpublished photographs of the aforementioned émigré photographers and constructing an original line of argumentation based upon said visual material to include a convincing narrative focused on the shared experiences of migration and memory in relation to photography.

Furthermore, it was necessary to impose some restrictions to this study, in order to focus the thesis on the principal concept of photographic narration without diluting the already broad selection of photographic essays. A single issue of *Picture Post* was published every week, between October 1938 and June 1957 – including the war years – which encompasses a vast amount of potential research material. It was crucial, therefore, to select a limited period in which to examine the magazine. The resulting seven year period (1938-1945), which includes the formative stages of *Picture Post* under the leadership of Lorant is particularly relevant in the exploration of migration and memory, as was previously mentioned in the introduction to this thesis.

IV. Contribution

The work of Stefan Lorant and *Picture Post* has been noted but not explored in depth in the contexts of the history of photography and Jewish history in Britain. In particular, the revolutionary character of *Picture Post* has been minimized, and it has sometimes been assumed to be an imitation of Henry Luce's *Life* magazine.⁴⁷⁵

As outlined in the introduction to this study, there have been numerous resources published which are dedicated to the subject area of photojournalism, most of which are focused on the development of the genre in the USA and Europe.⁴⁷⁶ The literature focused on the role of photojournalism in the United States is such that the subject is approached from a technological perspective, with a view to inform and educate the readership on contemporary advancements in equipment; on the other hand, certain texts seek to examine the format of the photographic essay within a broader political context, rather than situate it within an art historical, or indeed, pictorial framework. To date, there remains a disjuncture between the historiographies of photography and the history of art but this thesis aims to situate the subject of photography – specifically, that of documentary photography and the photographic narrative – within an art historical framework in order to assert its significant contribution to visual culture; moreover, the influence of the popular weekly illustrated press on British visual culture recognises the invaluable contribution of émigré photographers to the visual arts working in Britain during the 1930s and 1940s. It can be asserted therefore, that this

⁴⁷⁵ Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography*, 26

⁴⁷⁶ See the bibliography for a variety of texts on photojournalism; specifically, the work of Arthur Rothstein and Donald Perlmuter encompass this specific approach to photojournalism in the USA

study also highlights a significant gap in the field of Exile Studies with regards the contribution of émigrés to the arts. While scholarly literature does exist on the subjects of the fine arts – i.e. émigré artists, sculptors – there is very little dedicated solely to those involved in photography.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, this thesis provides a scholarly approach to British photojournalism and highlights the significance of the photographic essay in the construction of visual narratives and the concept of memory.

To select a few [photographers] only because of their Jewish background or their Jewish heritage must have a valid reason. The justification [...] is the attempt either to prove or to disprove certain traits in these photographers which may contribute to distinguishing common denominators [...]. A common denominator however seems indeed to be discernible [...] by far the majority were, or are, explorers or revolutionaries in a new field, pioneers or outspoken proponents of new movements in photography.⁴⁷⁸

In view of Gidal's justification for identifying the specific contributions of German-speaking Jewish émigrés to the field of photography, this thesis focuses on the role of émigrés to the development of photojournalism in Britain and offers a specific analysis of their work for *Picture Post* magazine. The work of *Picture Post* is situated within the broader social and historical context of the period.

⁴⁷⁷ See, for example, Jutta Vinzent, *Identity and Image. Refugee Artists from Nazi Germany in Britain (1933-1945)*, Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften 2006); Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove, *Politics by Other Means. The Free German League of Culture in London 1939-1945* (London; Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2010)

⁴⁷⁸ Gidal, 'Jews in Photography', 452-453

The Jews brought with them a common culture from Eastern Europe, a common religion and language, and a history of exclusion and experience with anti-semitism. In major cities where they settled [...] they formed social, religious, and political organisations that often resembled each other; [...] there is often a strong sense of kinship based on these shared institutions, their shared historical experience as Jews, and their past [...] exclusion.⁴⁷⁹

Furthermore, Jacob S. Eder has noted that ‘[...] the field of migration history has put forward the concept of transculturalism [...]. These connections also change the societies with which they are connected, inevitably affecting questions of identity and memorial cultures.’⁴⁸⁰

Within the broader contexts of social and cultural history, it has been acknowledged that,

[...] immigration has called into question many predominant notions of entrenched and homogeneous memory cultures. The memories of migrants often do not conform to, and indeed often clash with, the entrenched national memories that constitute contemporary studies of memorialization.⁴⁸¹

This thesis has recognised and contextualised the shared experience of the Jewish émigrés in the construction of narrative through an examination of selected photographic essays; such an approach has the potential to contribute to a growing interest in the relationship between migration and memorial cultures which extends beyond the end of the Second World War.

⁴⁷⁹ Nancy Foner, ‘Migration, Location and Memory: Jewish History Through a Comparative Lens’, in Cesarani, Kushner and Shain (eds.), *Place and Displacement*, 132

⁴⁸⁰ Eder, ‘Holocaust Memory’, 17

⁴⁸¹ Arnd Bauerkämper, ‘Holocaust Memory and the Experiences of Migrants. Germany and Western Europe after 1945’, in Jacob S. Eder, Philipp Gassert and Alan E. Steinweis, eds., *Holocaust Memory in a Globalizing World* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017), 31

To this end, the ‘studies of narratives, groups, and the relationship among different social and ethnic groups will enrich historical scholarship by calling concepts of supposedly homogeneous (national) memory cultures into question.’⁴⁸² The developments in Holocaust discourse have, more recently, been situated within a broader global context. It has been acknowledged that ‘this calls for an analysis of the paths, changes, transformations, and modes of transportation, as it were, of Holocaust memory.’⁴⁸³ In doing so, ‘one needs to look at the people who have crossed borders and have influenced memorial cultures [...]’.⁴⁸⁴ The present work demonstrates how the narratives presented in *Picture Post* operate within/alongside the wider concerns of British society and the ways in which these narratives contribute to the construction of historical memory.

⁴⁸² Bauerkämper ‘Holocaust Memory’, 32

⁴⁸³ Jacob S. Eder, ‘Holocaust Memory in a Globalizing World. Introduction’, in Jacob S. Eder, Philipp Gassert and Alan E. Steinweis, eds., *Holocaust Memory in a Globalizing World* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017), 16

⁴⁸⁴ Eder, ‘Holocaust Memory’, 16

[illegible]

THESE ARE THE HISTORIES OF THE EIGHT NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS - PUBLISHED EVERY DAY IN LONDON

THE LONDON PRESS **The Daily Telegraph** **Daily Sketch** **Daily Mirror**

Street de Chronicle **Daily M. Mail** **Daily Express** **Daily Herald**

The London Press, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Sketch, the Daily Mirror, the Street de Chronicle, the Daily M. Mail, the Daily Express, and the Daily Herald are the eight national newspapers published every day in London. The illustration shows the headquarters of these newspapers, the London Press, and the figures of people standing in front of them. The text is in a serif font, typical of 19th-century publications. The overall scene depicts the bustling nature of the London newspaper industry in the mid-19th century.

[illegible]

THE LAUGH THAT WENT ON

The True Story of LILLIPUT

A SULTRY evening in June, 1937. The compartment was crowded, unbearably hot, filled with smoke. The straphangers, jostled and swayed, looked at the seated passengers with tired envy. Suddenly, a man began to laugh. Not a snigger or a sudden, short puff, but a long, deep laugh that went on and on, gathering strength. Everyone stared. An old lady sitting next to him moved away with ostentation. Self-conscious passengers began to fumble with their hats and ties. Young women peered hastily into looking-glasses. And the man went on laughing.

He laughed till his hat fell off. He went on laughing when an angry old gentleman loudly said, "Disgraceful!" He laughed so much that he missed his station.

He had good reason for laughing. He had come across a new form of humour.

The man who laughed was looking at two pictures on opposite pages of a new magazine he had just bought for sixpence at a station bookstall. On the left-hand page, jaws agape to their fullest extent, was a hippopotamus. On the right-hand page, reaching a top note, was a renowned singer, mouth agape to its fullest extent. And in the eyes of the hippopotamus and of the singer were the same rapt concentration.

The man in the train saw the joke. That was sixteen months ago, and millions have seen the joke since. The laugh that began in the crowded train has gone on. The new form of humour that started the laugh has gone round the world. And the magazine that invented this form of humour has become one of the most successful periodicals in the history of English publishing.

That magazine is LILLIPUT, the Pocket Magazine for Everyone. The comparison photographs which appear in every issue have helped to make LILLIPUT—named

so because of its size, just right to slip into a pocket—famous wherever pictures are looked at. They were new, arresting, startlingly funny.

To a generation which wants its visual humour concise, apt and astringent, there was something irresistibly comic in the photographic juxtaposition of, let us say, a dictator, arm upflung, and a polar bear, paw raised in strikingly similar salute; of an Uzbek girl kissing her camel, and a French president bestowing the traditional Gallic congratulation on a bemuddled general.

There have now been 17 issues of LILLIPUT, and its total of comparison photographs runs into hundreds. In each number of the magazine there are several that stick in the

memory, and each of the half-million readers of LILLIPUT probably remembers and cherishes a few that have had a particular appeal for him or her. Some will recall Neville Chamberlain and the beautiful llama, others the head of Gracie Fields and its almost unbelievable medieval likeness, the head of a herald angel in the Bamberg Dome.

To some, the sharp little pictorial satires will have been especially welcome—the beggar asleep in a street facing the hoarded gold of the Bank of France, the lined faces of a multimillionaire and an aged peasant.

Success came to LILLIPUT as swiftly as laughter to its early readers. In less than a year it had achieved a sale of 100,000 copies a month; now, it is approaching 150,000, and is established in the front rank of English magazines. It has what is perhaps the most regular and enthusiastic readership in the world. It still costs only sixpence. And if suddenly you hear a laugh that doesn't stop in a house, bus, tram or train, it is still a safe bet that someone is reading LILLIPUT.

LILLIPUT is PICTURE POST's brother; don't forget to ask for it. It costs only 6d.



Neville Chamberlain The Beautiful Llama
Picture comparison from "Lilliput"



Penny Plain Twopence Coloured The Jolly Publican The Big Pear
Picture comparisons from "Lilliput" the Pocket Magazine for Everyone.

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Fig. 2

No. 10

[illegible]

¹⁰ "And we have to do the fighting."



It isn't any longer enough.



Visitors to Downing Street
They remember the last time. They talk over what it means. They wonder



...and giving for an hour or two, and drift away.



Buy now, and there will be time to spare. Drinking Smart at each meal doesn't add up.

NATURE LAUNCHES HER BOMBERS ON A SILENT RAID



Strongly like a squadron of bombing planes in flight are these Synchro fins as they come streaming across the field. The housing of their



Fig. 3a

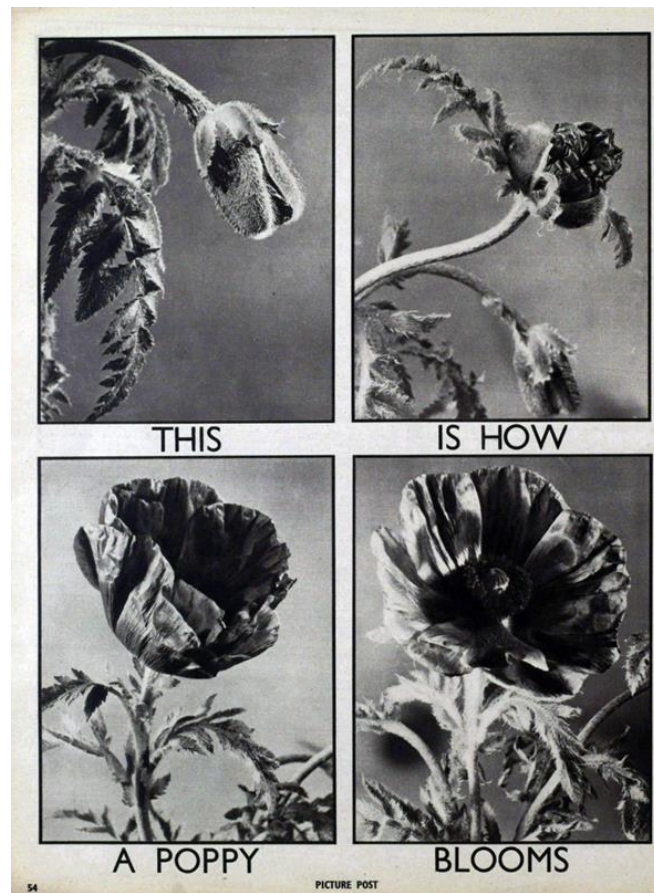


Fig. 4

What are they looking at?



"Then, I say: Look what's going on through there. . . . That makes you think, doesn't it?"



"Well, I wouldn't have thought it possible. . . . Looks I came along just when I did."



"Take a look at this, my lad! There's progress if you like. None of that about in my young days."



"Can. . . . I don't make much of that. See stranger things in Glasgow any day of the week."



"Amazing. . . . Shouldn't have thought they'd have gathered it. . . . and right in the heart of London. . . ."

A Flying Zebra? A Collision?



"The time is coming, you'd have been back in school. . . . Now you've got something to tell the others?"



"If'n. Look at that now! What if you make it, eh? Don't say anything like that?"



"If you're all right. I mean, they wouldn't be doing it if they hadn't got permission and all that."



"What if you think, Elsie?" "Don't know. What do you?" "Couldn't really say."



"Elsie my heart and soul! The things they get up to. I must tell Emily about this."

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PICTURE POST

PICTURE POST

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TURN TO PAGE 74 TO SEE WHAT THEY ARE LOOKING AT

Every body needs the Beef in BOVRIL

The stress of modern life takes toll of your health and energy. A cup of hot Bovril will put things right for you, because Bovril enables you to get more nourishment from all your food. Meet stress with strength—the strength of Bovril.



*You'll enjoy
the
appetising
flavour*

WANTED

ONE HUNDRED PERSONS neither men nor women WHO ARE READY TO EARN A HANDFUL OF £1 NOTES BY SPARE TIME WORK BETWEEN NOW AND XMAS.

A handful of £1 notes by Christmas to spend on little luxuries for yourself on some things you have been wanting, at no expense for reference—you can have a handful!

Send a postcard to us asking for our Private Christmas Card Sample Book, and we will send you the book and full particulars, free of charge. You are not asked for any deposit nor to make any of your own money. Our Sample Book contains for the three selections of private Christmas Cards, Christmas to Christmas, among others, remarkable Catalogue of samples: Old Paintings, Animal Figures, Beautiful Pictures in Booklets, Coloured Tissues and Paper, Tissues, Shiny "Compagnies", Illustrations, etc.—a description of the character and how. Your friends and acquaintances will be delighted to buy these from you. There is something for everybody's taste and needs, and plenty of one person and another showing someone else. We pay you handsomely and there are valuable prizes in addition. Apply to me and be the first to start.

FIRTH GRAHAM & Co., Ltd., Dept. F.60
CORPORATION STREET, ACCINGTON.

THIS IS WHAT THEY WERE LOOKING AT

Continued from page 33.



When the end of Waterloo Bridge used to be!

A MAN walks along the street. He comes to some railings. There is a gap in the railings. He stops, leans over and looks through, and begins to stare. Something is going on. He doubts about it. The man stands waiting for some time and then, completely satisfied, he goes away.

Another man comes along. He comes to the gap in the railings. He looks through. He sees something going on. He spreads his elbows along a railing, tilts his head back over his eyes, and begins to gaze. Occasionally he scratches the back of his head with a finger. Then he lets out a low whistle. At last he has seen all he wants to see. He goes away.

Down the road another man is coming. He is carrying a bag with the evening's shopping. He is in a hurry. But when he comes to the gap in the railing he can no more resist it than the others.

He puts one foot on the railing, runs his bag on his knee, and begins to stare. He stays staring for five minutes. Then he, too, has seen all he wants and goes away.

As the morning goes by, other men come past—all men, thin men, portly men, stout men, elderly men, elderly men. Some get past easily, but a large proportion find the gap in the railing too much for them. The camera watches and records.

Every woman, who, we all know, have no time from the beginning of the day to the end, manage to spare a few minutes to look through the railings. So do girls, and so do boys. The camera records them all.

At last the camera-man can stand it no longer. He knows there's nothing happening—no why do all the people stop and stare? He goes up to the nearest gate.

"Excuse me," he says. "Should you mind telling me what it is you're looking at through there?"

"There isn't nothing to look at through there, mate," says the man.

"But it looks as if there might be behind that."

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PICTURE POST

Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

HOW PICTURE POST *is produced*

Dozens of readers have asked us to tell them the story of the paper. How is each number of PICTURE POST planned, carried out, printed and produced? Here then is the story—the story of ourselves.



The Editor Studies the Pictures for the Next Issue
Stefan Lorant, editor of PICTURE POST, has to examine some thousands of pictures every week. His is the eye that picks out the picture to make large; the picture for the cover; the series that will run over ten pages; the one good picture in an otherwise useless set. He is also editor of the monthly magazine "Lilliput."



The Assistant Editor Orders the Contributions
Tom Hopkinson keeps in touch with contributors; sees that pictures and articles come in in time; is responsible for the literary side of the paper and the wording of captions.

THE official start of every issue is the weekly editorial conference—held as soon as the last issue has gone to press. To this conference each member of the staff brings a list of ideas. The last issue is discussed. Criticisms made by the publisher or other members of the staff are discussed. What readers have been saying in their letters is considered. Then, one by one, the members of the staff put forward ideas and suggestions, for the critical examination of the rest.

One idea is too like something that has been done before. Another would be better carried out in summer—so

it is put down for later in the year. Very many which sound good will not translate into effective pictures. Occasionally someone produces one which is at once acclaimed a winner.

So, after a morning's discussion, the framework of a new issue is taking shape. The editor goes off to discuss plans with the publisher. The assistant editor gets on the 'phone to contributors and cameramen.

One has to leave to-night for Newcastle. One must spend the night on the Embankment. One has to photograph an operation. Another must find at once twelve pretty girls. . . .

For five days each member of the

Fig. 7a

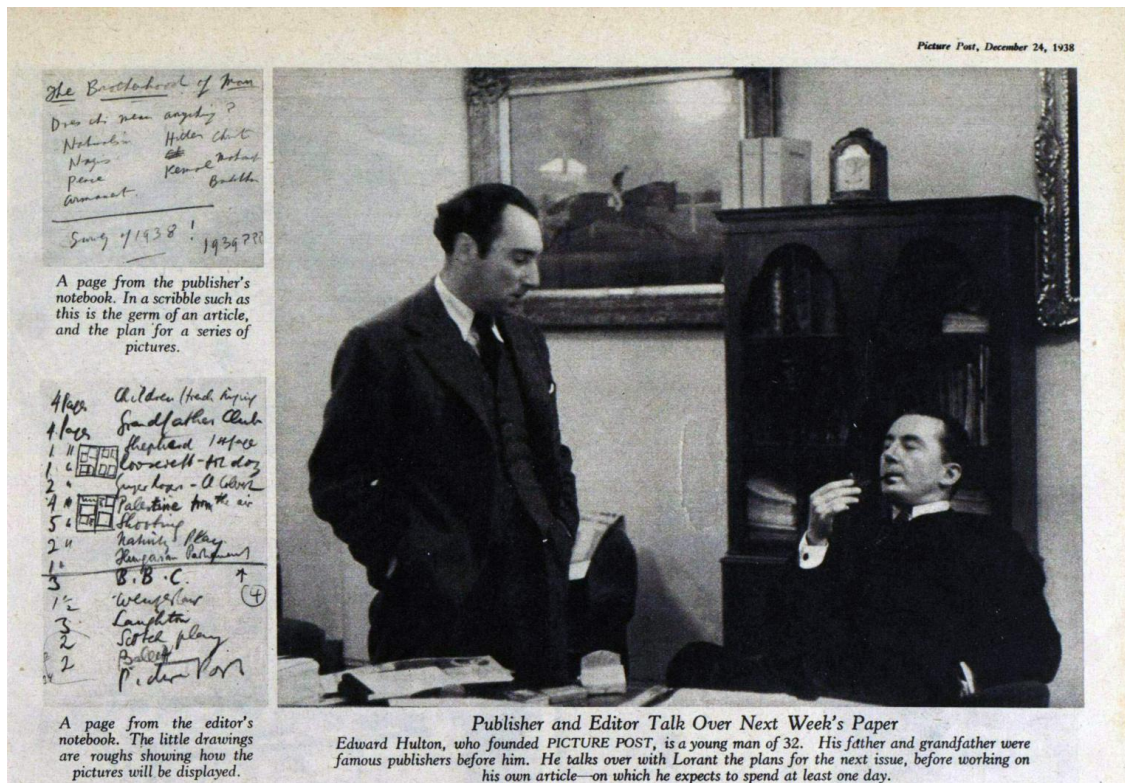
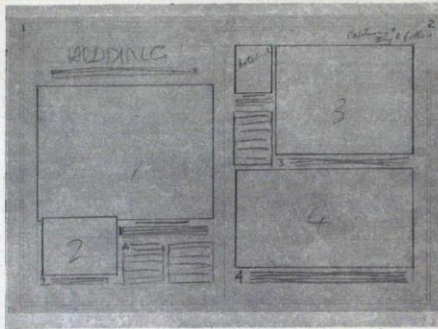
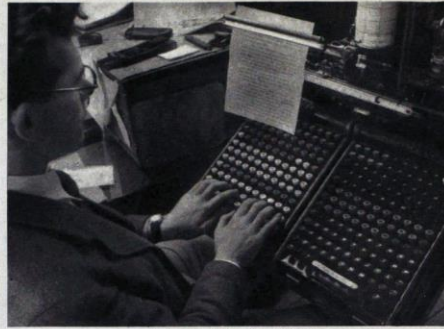


Fig. 7b



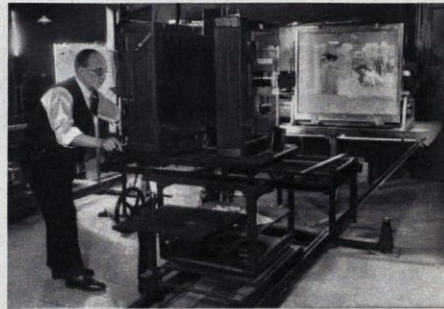
1 Pages of *PICTURE POST* in Their First Stage
After the pictures have been chosen and the article written, a lay-out like this is made and the actual photographs numbered to correspond. Compare this lay-out with the previous two pages to see just what it means.



2 Tapping Out the Wording
Written matter goes to the Monotype machines, which look like very big typewriters—but the result is to produce rows of metal type instead of printed letters.



3 The Type Matter is Made Up
After the first proof has been checked through by expert readers and the metal type corrected, it is put into formes and built into the exact position it will occupy on the page.



4 The Photographs Are Reproduced
Meantime, work is going forward on the pictures. Pinned into glass-fronted frames, the photographs are photographed again direct on to sensitive paper to produce a paper negative.

Fig. 7c



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 12a



Fig. 13



Fig. 13a



Fig. 14

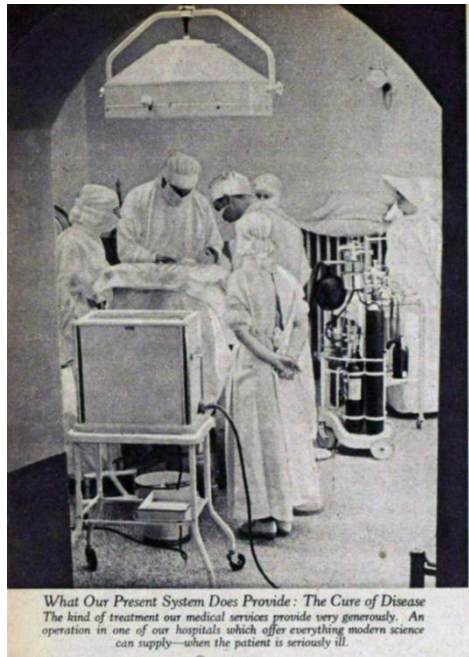


Fig. 14a



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Fig. 16

Photo: Staff, London, 1945

On Arrival By Air, the Coloured Girls Have Their First Look at Britain. The U.S. army brings over five colored girls specially to look after the first American Red Cross Club for negro service men. They are the first of hundreds who are being trained for social work among negroes in this country.

THE FIRST COLOURED SERVICE GIRLS GET DOWN TO WORK IN BRITAIN

The first coloured women in uniform have just arrived in Britain. We asked Rudolph Dunbar, the famous coloured musician, to interview them for us.

NEGRO troops are already a familiar sight in dozens of towns in Britain. They've been seen on the streets, working hard with surprising ease. Now the first coloured service women have arrived — a platoon headed who are the vanguard of those who will be working in the U.S.A. These service girls were flown over here to join the first American Red Cross Club for coloured troops. Of course they have the typical features and features of the negro, besides that.

They are all university graduates with experience of social work and organization. They have all worked in hospitals, for children's welfare, or for negro societies in America, and some of them are graduates of the University of Chicago, a graduate of the University of Illinois, and one had long experience at all over America, with experience and with the U.S.A. She is already looking for a job in the U.S.A. when she returns to the States. Mrs. Rudolph Taylor Brown (the only married one) has spent six years as a nurse for a Children's Aid Society in Allegheny. Gladys Martin was Director of Social Service in the largest coloured hospital in the world at St. Louis, and she is now in England. Margaret Lattimer comes from Georgia in the Army Medical, and graduated at the famous negro university at Atlanta. Carol Jarvis graduated and did social work at Denver, Colorado. So they have all had social work experience and experience in social work all over the States.

The big question, of course, is "how do they like England?" They were especially sent here to. They came with their heads full of stories of English officers, English doctors, English, and of course, "They found themselves, completely, happy." Gladys Martin was told in America "that if you tell an Englishman a joke on Saturday, he will have no laughing in Church on Sunday when he sees the joke." But she says she has been "in contact with Englishmen" — "well, no, not at all — not at all at all." Margaret Lattimer is much impressed with our hospitality. Carol Jarvis, a High School graduate, was especially pleased to be moved to a Hospital Service.

These service girls are part of a volunteer staff of the Red Cross which is looking after the welfare of all the negro troops in the area. The Director, George Goodwin, from Manchester, wants negro nurses in England to see as much of this country as they can. He is not only arranging for the Club where these girls work to have the best possible facilities and staff. He wants coloured nurses on duty, or at least to have the chance of organizing. The Little Mother of the work has formed a Committee, with a negro representative, to see that the negro girls will be going to sports events, entertainment and cinema, and for seeing the famous sights of the neighbourhood. The Club is well equipped, and provides first-class food in the highly decorated kitchenette — or so much in the kitchenette as to prepare to prepare dinner. The highlight is going to be the dance floor, which is now under construction. (The Little Mother has promised to act as hostess. When service men are admitted to the Club, and about a dozen have already used it in the short time it has been open, including more than the best of the Coloured women of nursing care to have their first experience, experience of life in Britain.)

In all this work of organizing and maintaining the coloured girls are doing an important part. Their experience and education are helping hundreds of negro troops to settle down in their strange surroundings. Their work is proving so successful that many more coloured girls will soon be coming over. Mr. Goodwin hopes to open similar clubs all over Britain.

Carol Jarvis, of Denver, Colorado. She is a university graduate. For service men she has been engaged in social work.

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Photo: Staff, London, 1945

THE FIRST FIVE: Gladys Ward, of Chicago, Illinois. A graduate of the University of Illinois, she holds a certificate from Harvard University in Physical Education. At home, she is doing a woman's college director of women's work in the Chicago Y.W.C.A.

Margaret Lattimer, of Atlanta, Georgia. Another graduate, she is one of the famous negro institution, Atlanta University. In a distinguished social worker in her home town and a student of negro history.

Mrs. Rudolph Taylor Brown, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The wife, married abroad in the past. Studied at Boston University, Bryn Mawr School of Education, and at Chicago and Pittsburgh Universities. Before the war, was a nurse in the Children's Aid at Allegheny.

Gladys Edward Martin, of Topeka, Kansas. For three years director of social service in the Palmer Phelps Hospital, St. Louis, the largest coloured hospital in the world. For six years engaged in social work at the Palmer Phelps Hospital in St. Louis.

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Fig. 17



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 20a



Fig. 21



Fig. 21a



Fig. 21b



Fig. 22

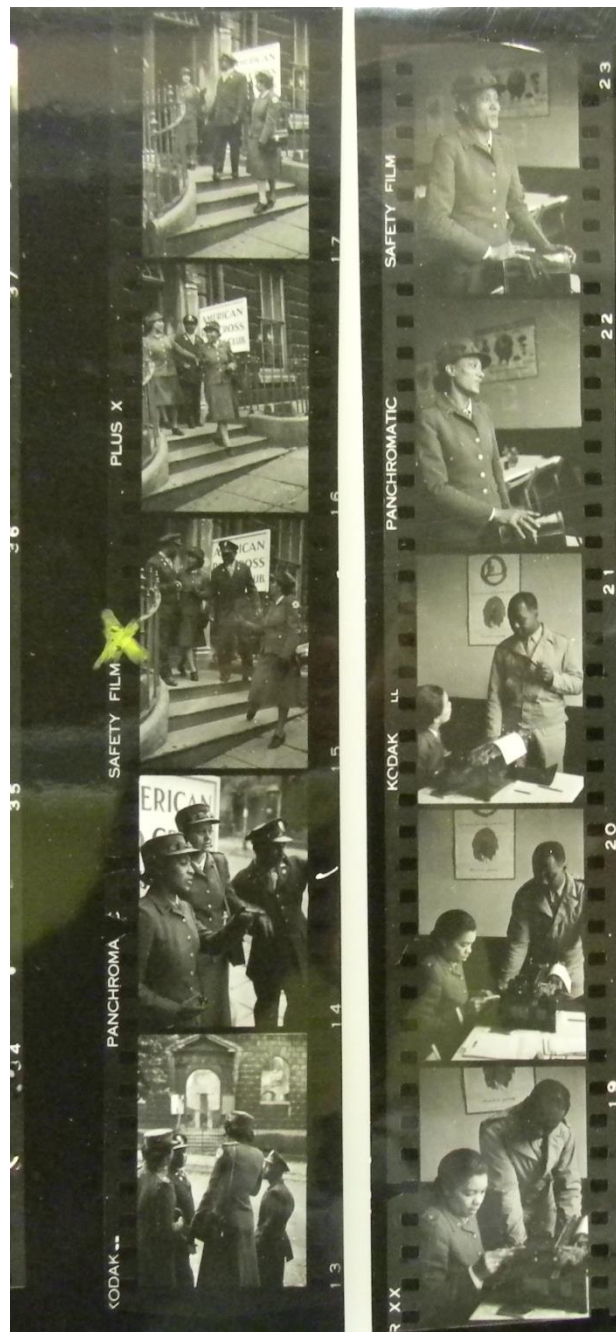


Fig. 22a



Fig. 22b

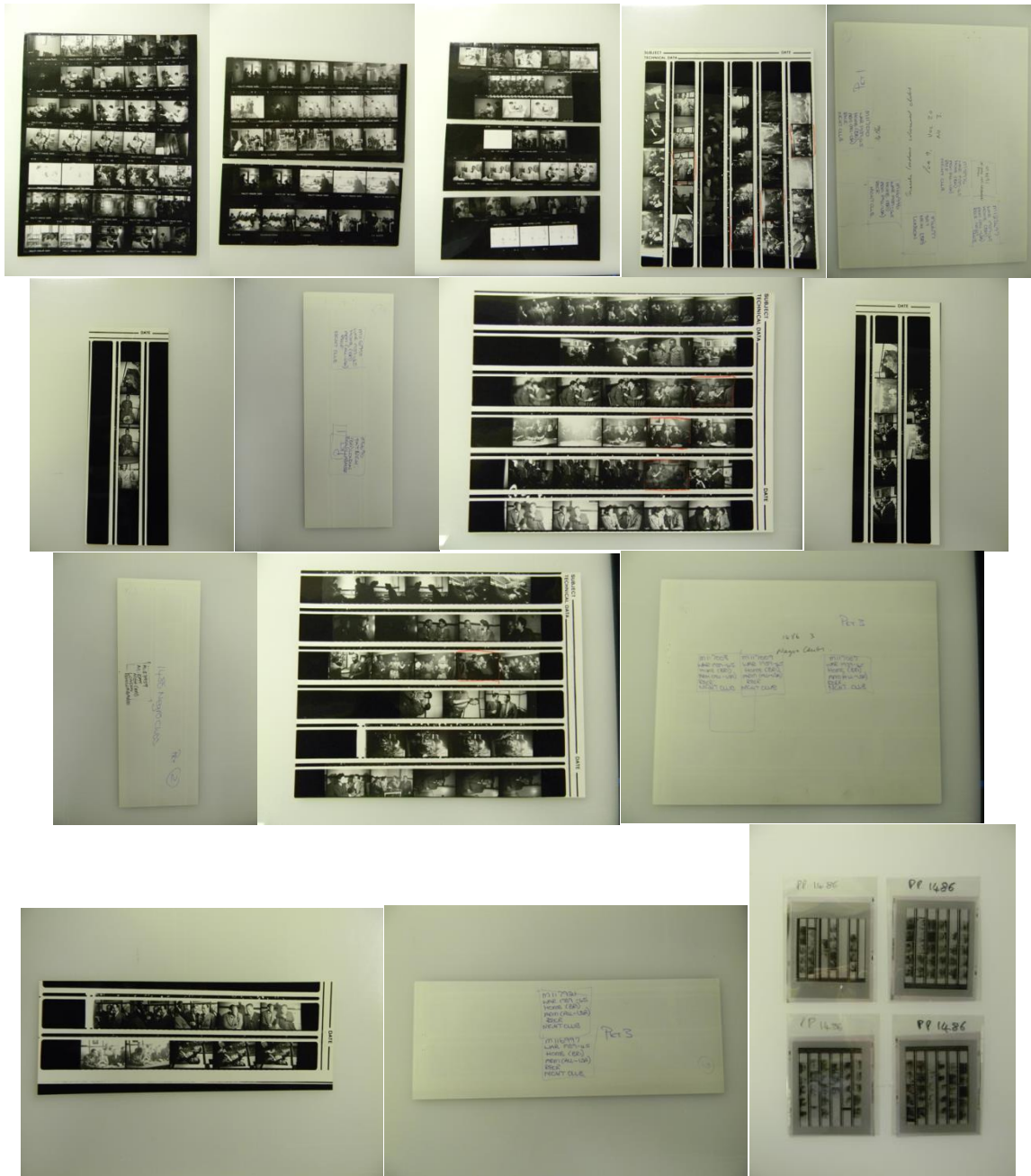


Fig. 23



Fig. 23a



Fig. 24



Fig. 24a



Fig. 25

Picture Post, December 15, 1938



What Has the World in Store for Them

These German-Jewish boys. They have left their country. They have left their parents and their friends. Many of them come from wealthy homes and have lost everything they had. But they are free. They are in a land where they will not be despised on account of race!

Their First Day in England

Fig. 26a



"Does Anybody Want Me?"

Adoption is a growing habit. Nearly four times as many families as ten years ago want to adopt babies now. This child is likely to make a short stay in the Babies' Hostel, Gerrington House, before he finds parents and a home.

A Mother Wanted

Healthy, happy babies of both sexes find a temporary home at the Babies' Hostel in North-west London—under the care of the National Adoption Society—waiting for parents to come and adopt them as their own.

EVERY year, says the National Adoption Society, more and more families are seeking to adopt infants—and partly because of this demand, the average age of adoption gets younger and younger.

Most of the adopters are young married couples who have no children of their own, but a number of infants—chiefly girls—are adopted by unmarried women who wish to fulfil their instinct for motherhood.

Very few babies are adopted by elderly people, and very few by bachelor—though each case is not unknown.

Adoption is permitted only after the strictest examination of all the circumstances. On the one hand, care must be taken that there is a real need for adoption; and on the other, that the prospective parents are adopting the child entirely for love—any would-be adopters who ask for payment are at once refused.

The organization of adopting has been brought to a fine perfection by the National Adoption Society.

When a parent wishes to get a child adopted,

she or he, as the case may be, must apply to the Society, giving the fullest particulars and references, including a detailed medical certificate, and if necessary must submit to a blood test. All this being satisfactory, only those children, who are perfectly healthy, physically and mentally, are accepted.

A like criticism as to references and information is applied to the adopter, whose home is inspected by the Society's representative.

A point not all would-be adopters realize at first is that adoption is a lasting arrangement—made for life.

The National Adoption Society arranges a probationary period of at least a month or longer in which the "parent" and child get on well together. If all has gone well so far, the adoption is then regularized by application to the Court.

By this arrangement, the natural parent completely surrenders the child to its adopter, who takes over full legal responsibility and "rights" in it.

By these means the child can feel it has a true belonging in its future, and the new parents are

free to endow their new "son" or "daughter" with all their affection and worldly goods, without the fear that their child may be reclaimed by its natural parent.

At the same time, they are always advised (while bringing up the adopted child in all ways as their own) to let it know it is adopted. Otherwise, there may be considerable shock for it later on in life when it learns the truth.

The pictures on this and the following pages were taken at the Babies' Hostel, Gerrington House, in North-west London. There, in the course of the last year, 121 babies whose parents have given them up, found a home for a short period—a period which grows shorter every year. To-day, nearly all of them are adopted within a few months.

Visitors are told in at certain hours on any day, and a family that is thinking of arranging an adoption is encouraged to come frequently to "make friends" before taking away the child of its choice.

In all, the National Adoption Society has arranged nearly 5,000 adoptions, more than any

PICTURE POST

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Fig, 27a



Fig. 27b



Fig. 28



Fig. 28a

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

FRESH SAFEGUARDS

PROPOSED REGULATION BY LICENCE

Proposals for the regulation of adoption agencies are made in the report of a Departmental Committee which is issued to-day (Cmd. 5499, price 1s. net). The Committee recommend that it should be an offence to carry on an adoption agency unless it is licensed by the council of the county or county borough of the area in which it is administered, and that the conditions of the licence should be prescribed by the Home Secretary.

The Committee, of which Miss Horsbrugh, M.P., is chairman, were set up "to inquire into the methods pursued by adoption societies or other agencies engaged in arranging for the adoption of children, and to report whether any, and if so what, measures should be taken in the public interest to supervise or control their activities." They express the opinion that the societies and other agencies, though their methods are open to improvement in certain directions, are performing a useful function. They commend the power of arranging adoptions under the Poor Law Act to the notice of local authorities that do not make use of it.

The committee are not in favour, however, of restricting the arrangement of adoptions to public authorities, since they think that many suitable applicants would be reluctant to apply to a Government Department or a local authority, and they consider it desirable that there should be alternative agencies available. They are likewise opposed to the suggestion that the arrangement of adoptions should be restricted to societies specializing in adoption work. "We should," they add, "be reluctant to see the arrangement of adoptions the monopoly of a few societies, and, subject to the proposals which we make later for regulation, we think that other organizations concerned with the welfare of children should be free to arrange adoptions in suitable cases."

COMPULSION NECESSARY

The committee carefully considered whether the improvements which they regard as essential could be brought about without submitting the adoption agencies to any form of regulation, but came to the conclusion that it would be altogether too sanguine to hope that certain of them, at any rate, would put their houses in order without compulsion. They were strengthened in this view by the general opinion of witnesses, including the representatives of the better adoption societies, that some measure of regulation was necessary. It is not thought necessary to regulate the arrangement by local authorities of adoption under section 52 (7) of the Poor Law Act, 1930, or otherwise. Licensing seems to the committee the most practicable method of regulating the other agencies. The licensing authority should be empowered to refuse or withdraw a licence if it is satisfied:—

(a) That the agency is not a bona-fide charitable society governed by a responsible committee;

(b) that any person employed, or proposed to be employed, by or in connexion with the agency is not a fit person to carry on or be employed in the work of an adoption agency; or

(c) that the staff employed, or proposed to be employed, is not adequate, or not qualified, to carry on the work of an adoption agency; or

(d) that any of the conditions of the licence will not be, or (in the case of withdrawal) have not been carried out.

There should be a right of appeal to the High Court against a decision to refuse or withdraw a licence.

DUTY OF NOTIFICATION

The committee attach great importance to the conditions of the licence. It would be impossible, they hold, even if desirable, for the licensing authorities to inspect all homes in which children are placed by adoption agencies, and the only effective way of supervising them is by laying down in the licence the methods to be followed and giving the licensing authorities the power to inspect books and records. The committee consider that to prohibit private persons from arranging adoptions would be unreasonable, though the risks of such privately-arranged adoptions are great. They recommend that there should be a duty of notification to the infant life protection authority on both the agent and the person receiving the child. The age limit should for privately-arranged adoptions be 16 years, in view of the risk that adolescents might be adopted as a means of obtaining cheap labour or for other undesirable reasons.

Thus, under the committee's proposals, "there would be general regulation and supervision of the work of the licensed agencies, and detailed supervision of adoptions arranged by private agents. Persons obtaining children from licensed agencies would be free from the supervision of the local authority to which those who obtain children from private agents would be submitted, and we think that for this reason the majority of adopters would prefer to apply to a licensed agency than to attempt to obtain a child through private channels. In these circumstances, as it is only right, the licensed agencies would be in a more advantageous position than private agents."

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

Among other recommendations are the following:—

Adoption societies and agencies should make thorough inquiries into the suitability of would-be adopters to have the care of the child. The submission of a form of application, the taking up of references, a personal interview, a home visit, are all essential. There should also be a thorough medical examination of the child, and inquiries into the social and medical history of its parents.

There should be a probationary period of at least three months.

There should be a case committee of suitably qualified persons, whose sanction should be required before final approval is given to any adoption.

The constitution of the governing body of an adoption society is important. Persons who are invited to become patrons or members of the council of an adoption society should make careful inquiries as to the society's methods before accepting.

Adoption societies should insist upon application to a Court for an adoption order immediately upon the expiration of the probationary period. Certain irregularities by societies in connexion with applications for adoption orders may be best corrected by vigilance on the part of the Courts.

It should be an offence for an adoption society or any other body or person to arrange for a British child (a) to be taken out of the country for adoption by foreign nationals, or (b) to be taken out of the country for adoption by British subjects, without a licence from the Chief Magistrate of the Metropolitan Police Courts or any magistrate of the Metropolitan Police Courts appointed by Order in Council for the purpose.

It should be an offence for any private person to receive any payment for negotiating an adoption without the leave of the Court upon an application for an adoption order. There should be a similar prohibition on the receipt of payments by parents or adopters.

All advertisements offering or seeking children for adoption, except by adoption societies and agencies covered by the recommendations for regulation made in the report, should be prohibited.

One member of the committee, Mr. Geoffrey W. Russell, parts company with his colleagues over their recommendation that there should be set up some new form of statutory control which would make it an offence to carry on an adoption agency without a licence from a statutory licensing authority. "I am not persuaded," he states in a reservation, "that there is mischief which requires that remedy nor that, even if there were much greater mischief than I think there is, that would be the proper remedy."

Fig. 29

MAY 15, 1932 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 307

THINKING OF OTHERS. SOME CHARITIES THAT NEED YOUR HELP.

The Church Army.
The Church Army does a tremendous lot of good in a variety of ways. It has a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes. They also have a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes. They also have a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes.

The Cancer Research Fund.
The Cancer Research Fund is a charity which has been set up to help the victims of cancer. It has a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes. They also have a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes.

The Juvenile Hospital.
The Juvenile Hospital is a charity which has been set up to help the victims of juvenile delinquency. It has a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes. They also have a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes.

The Cancer Hospital.
The Cancer Hospital is a charity which has been set up to help the victims of cancer. It has a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes. They also have a large staff of men and women who are trained to visit the sick and distressed in their homes.

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JUBILEE in 2,000 homes

In two thousand homes to-day the light and joy of the household is a little child once "unwanted," but now made equal with the most "wanted" baby in England by the Homeless Children's Aid and Adoption Society.

37,000 Homeless and unwanted little children are born every year in the United Kingdom.

3,000 of these lonely little ones have been provided with loving protection and care. Will you help us to give these lonely, friendless and unwanted children a chance in life?

200 TINY TOYS NOW KNOCKING AT OUR DOORS

Gifts will be welcomed by Hon. Treasurer, Commander Stephen King-Hall, 93, Westminster Bridge Road, London, S.E. 1

HOMELESS CHILDREN'S AID AND ADOPTION SOCIETY.

And F. R. Meyer Children's Home (Inc.) Charity for befriending the Unmarried Mother and Child.

Fig. 30

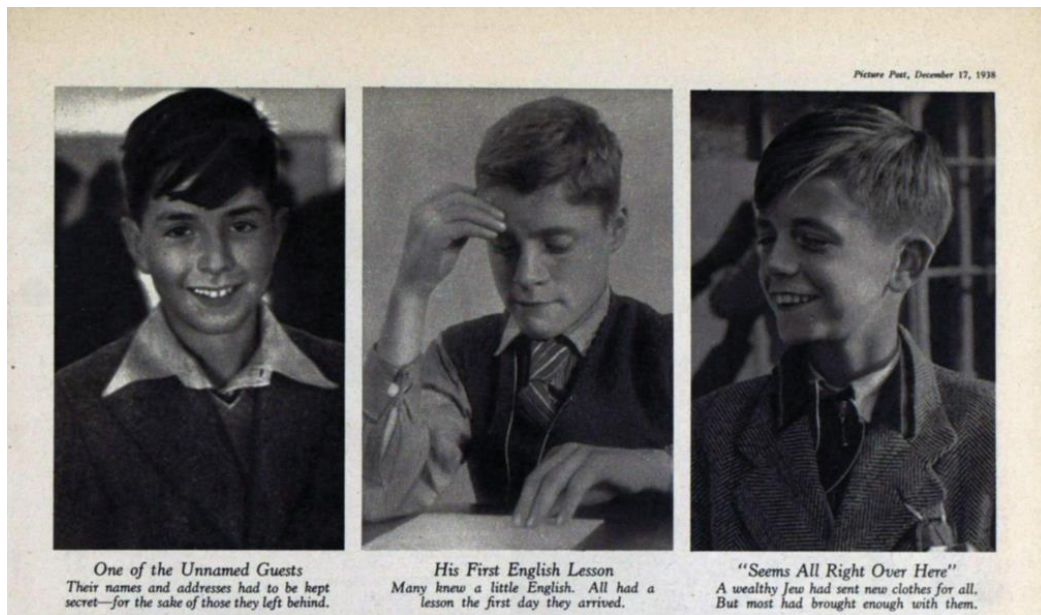


Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34

REHEARSALS FOR THE EVACUATION OF SCHOOLCHILDREN



Fig. 35

Girl
Fire

FAREWELL
TO THE
CHILDREN

BR
'KI



Guard Bar Nurses from Post

A GUARD of men was mounted at a first-aid post adjoining King George Hospital, Ilford, to stop four auxiliary nurses from going on duty, it was revealed yesterday.

When the nurses discovered this, they staged a sit-down strike in the corridor, starting there all night.

They had been on night duty at the post since the beginning of the war, but recently other nurses applied for a change of hours so that they could be free in the day-time.

Refused Day Work

When the commandant granted this the four nurses said they would not work in the day.

They arrived at 10 p.m. as usual and found a bunch of guards of men

A WOMAN'S "good-bye" at Waterloo Station yesterday when London evacuees were leaving for Devon. They were some of the 10,000 who will have gone to the country by tomorrow to complete the second evacuation scheme. Below: Making friends over the "Nipper" Annual as the train pulled out.



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



***DON'T do it,
Mother—***

**LEAVE THE CHILDREN
WHERE THEY ARE**

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Fig. 38



Fig. 39





Fig. 41



Fig. 42a



Fig. 43

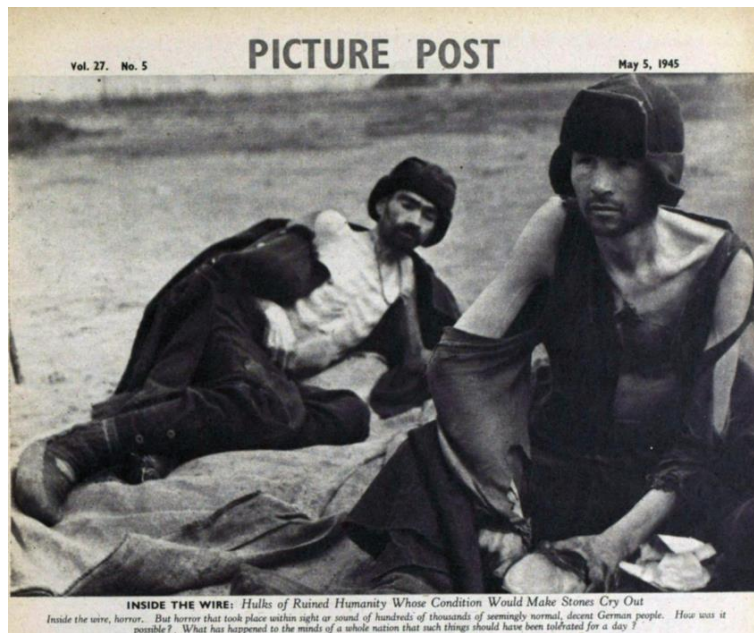


Fig. 43a



Fig. 43b

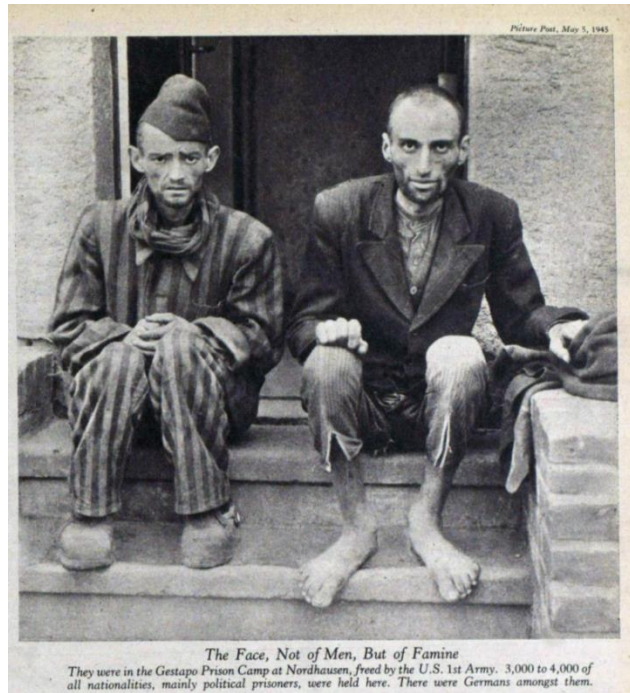


Fig. 43c

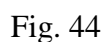




Fig. 44a

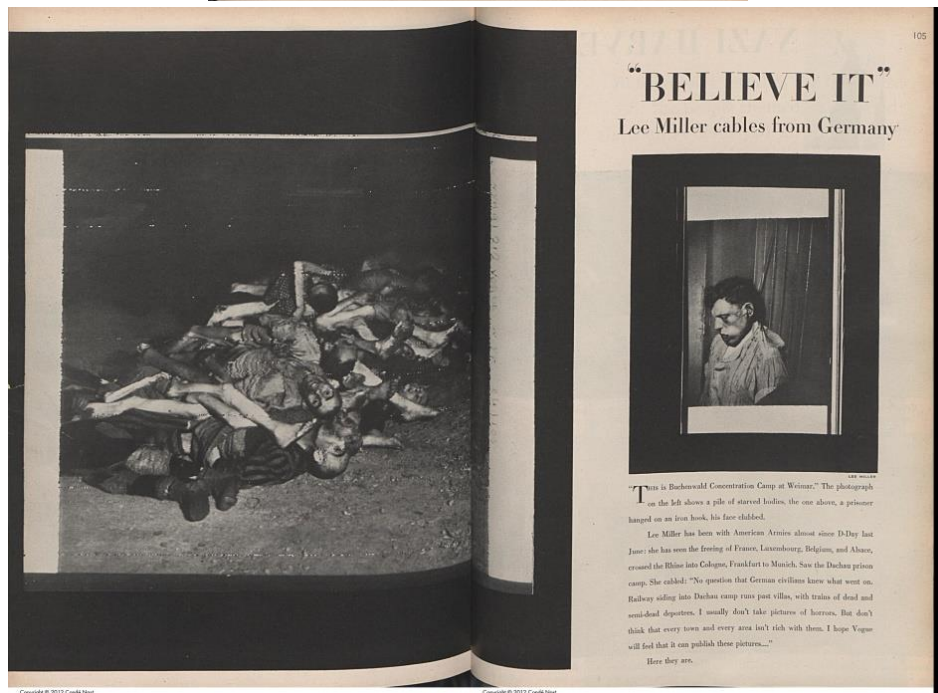
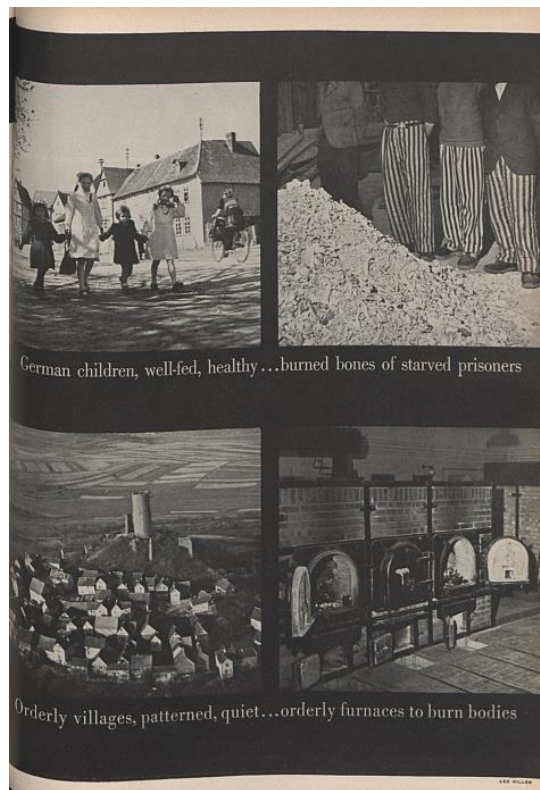


Fig. 46



The Delegates to the Conference on Anti-Semitism Listen to a Message from the Archbishop of Canterbury



"It Weakens the War Effort"
Mrs. Corbett Ashby addresses the crowd of delegates.
Next to her is L. C. White, Chairman.

THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

There are signs in this country of an Anti-Jewish campaign—sponsored on German lines and backed by German broadcasts. At a conference organised by the National Council for Civil Liberties, delegates from national organisations representing a million members denounce "the moral disease of anti-Semitism."

750 million Jews have been killed or deported. Five million more are in danger of death. These are the facts which give the Jewish people the emphasis the urgency of the problem which brought the Anglo-American representatives together in London for the purpose of the Conference on Non-occupied Europe. But they emphasize something else: the importance of stopping the spread of Jewish blood by force. It was in fact this job—the fight against the "moral disease of anti-Semitism"—which was the main purpose of the Liberator called the National Council for Civil Liberties called at the conference at this Memorial Hall, London.

Hitler said to the Germans: "Think with the blood instead of the brain." He meant, "Release yourself from reason. Abandon yourselves to the passions and prejudices which will justify anything you do. Gratify your sense of power. Enjoy your Teutonic irony. You are a superior race." Behind this nonsense were the calculating, soulless men who had decided that Germany, to be rich and powerful, must subject and plunder the rest of

Hitler's method was to exaggerate their numbers and influence till it seemed that they were the rulers of Germany. Then, he, like an old-time knight, would wage his war for their destruction. Nearly two thousand years ago, if the Nile or Tiber overflowed, the cry went up, "The Christians to the lions!" Hitler reversed the formula. "The Jews are our misfortune. Death to the Jews!"

Could the German people have seen within Hitler's bait was to lead them—to the ruin of their

PLEASE PRINT NAME AND ADDRESS OF PERSON TO WHOM THIS CHECK IS TO BE PAID ON THE REVERSE

trades unions, the loss of their civil liberty, and (ii) their attempt to steal the rights and lands of their neighbours) the death of their youth on battlefields far away—they might have halted him in 1932. But the Nazis were already afloat, the boats produced under the influence of Christian and liberal thought were already being thrown on the bonfire, and outside the Berlin Chancellery, the inscription "*The Jews*," "*The Jews*," had already turned Germany from reason to madness. The Germans were thinking with their blood.

Hitler's exterminating aim is obvious. He is not even satisfied merely to use the Jews as the means of destroying a Continent's liberty. His aim is the extermination of the Jewish people by hunger, disease and mass murder. Not content with forcing them into foul ghettos and degrading occupations, where his propagandists can photograph them in their bitter squallor, he has, like a modern but more terrible Herod, decreed their death. So remote from the Christian tradition, so remote from the tradition of Europe, are Hitler's crimes that civilized people do not want to believe their truth. But they are true. They are the crimes of Adolf Hitler.

In Britain, the last rags and shavings of the Fascist movement are trying to divide and then destroy democracy by the old slogan, "The Jews are responsible." War brings inconvenience and

The Students Denounce this Crime
Miss J. Parsons, delegate of the National Union of Students, says: "Students are unanimous in their condemnation of this crime."

their abhorrence of that criminal movement."



"It Does Hitler's Work"
D. N. Pritt speaks later. He sits next to Miss
E. A. Allen, Civil Liberties Secretary.



"After the Persecution of the Jews, Came the Destruction of the Trades Unions"
Percy Collick, Assistant General Secretary of the Society of Locomotive Engineers, points out that the Fascist attack on the civil rights of Jews is part of the attack on the rights of other citizens.

harshship. Criminals exploit the misfortune of others for their own ends, and new crimes flourish. What could then be easier for Fascists than to charge the

Jews, like non-Jews, have virtues and vices; it is their inhuman inheritance. In this war, they are bearing their full share of the common sacrifice. While fascists were writing "Porkies Fodor" in Mainz

White Passages were given "Purple Hearts" in Monte Vail, Col. Kasch, D.S.O., the Jewish Chief Engineer of the 8th Army, was dying in the Middle East.

But Jews have no need to justify their right to existence. It is a right which men cannot take away. In their old history of suffering, they have stood



F. W. Adams (left), Chairman of the Refugee Committee, and R. Bridgeman. They are two men who for years have devoted themselves to the welfare of the oppressed and persecuted, irrespective of colour or creed. Now they have a bigger problem than ever.



"It Does Hitler's Work"
D. N. Pritt speaks later. He sits next to Miss
E. A. Allen, Civil Liberties Secretary.



F. W. Adams (left), Chairman of the Refugee Committee, and R. Bridgeman. They are two men who for years have devoted themselves to the welfare of the oppressed and persecuted, irrespective of colour or creed. Now they have a bigger problem than ever.

APPENDIX 1

Circulation figures for *Picture Post* from 1938-1952, published in *Printing Press and Publishing News*, 23 May 1957

<u>PICTURE POST</u>	<u>: ABC FIGURES</u>
December 1938	881,274
June 1939	1,300,492
December 1939	1,251,321
June 1940	1,185,918
December 1940	958,445
June 1941	1,022,125
December 1941	921,549
June 1942	899,805
December 1942	900,216
June 1943	904,066
December 1943	946,994
June 1944	1,034,518
December 1944	1,047,578
June 1945	1,071,887
December 1945	1,132,021
June 1946	1,199,520
December 1946	1,250,951
June 1947	1,342,176
December 1947	1,328,950
June 1948	1,229,788
December 1948	1,330,977
June 1949	1,407,555
December 1949	1,422,063
June 1950	1,381,809
December 1950	1,365,777
June 1951	1,225,858
December 1951	1,100,264
June 1952	935,829
December 1952	1,059,011

APPENDIX 2

Copy of a letter outlining an offer of employment for Sir Tom Hopkinson as assistant editor
at *Picture Post*

④

OLDBOURNE HALL
43-44, SHOE LANE,
E.C. 4.
CENTRAL 2416

June 13th, 1958.

Tom Hopkinson Esq.,
2 Fernshaw Road,
S.W.10.

Dear Mr. Hopkinson,

Further to our conversation on Friday last, I am writing to offer you the appointment as Assistant Editor of the new publication to be published by the Hulton Press.

The appointment is to carry a salary of £20 a week, and the engagement is for twelve months terminable thereafter by three months' notice in writing on either side. If you decide to accept the appointment I should be glad if you could start with us at not later than one month from the date of this letter.

Yours sincerely,

Maxim Rasmussen

Director,
HULTON PRESS LTD.

Replied saying we had
agreed to business.

APPENDIX 3

Front page of a memo sent by Sir Tom Hopkinson to Edward Hulton, date unknown

8

MEMO FROM T. HOPKINSON TO MR. EDWARD HULTON.

GP/86

(pre LEADY 87
Sec 100/11/11 -
10/10/11)

This is to explain the sort of difficulties we are up against in trying to secure pictures dealing with the War for use in PICTURE POST. These difficulties are of two kinds.

1. The difficulty of getting matters arranged. One example will do. We wrote three times to the Admiralty, once before the War, once at the outbreak, once more recently, asking permission to take pictures at the Admiralty - chiefly of an Admiralty "Board Meeting".

No letter was even acknowledged - and weeks later the picture we had asked permission to take appeared in the "Daily Sketch" and elsewhere. They had received permission, and we had to buy the picture and use it 10 days after they did.

However, I don't make a point of this kind of difficulty. It could be got over.

2. This is our real trouble. PICTURE POST is a new paper, working on new lines. Many people like it, but very few have any idea how it achieves its effects. Very briefly, these are:-

A . by telling a story in pictures

B . by always having natural pictures, never posed ones.

The idea of telling a story in pictures is still new in Fleet Street. Few papers attempt to do it. Not half-a-dozen cameramen in the whole country understand the technique.

The same is true of the 'natural' picture. If a regular Fleet Street photographer goes to photograph the Prime Minister, he comes back with a "cartoonist's joy" - silk hat lifted, mouth half-open, eyes staring straight into the lens. The same picture has been taken every day for 3 years. This just happens to be one that was taken yesterday.

"When one of our cameramen goes to see someone, the first thing he does is to get himself forgotten - and, when the subject is absorbed in his work and getting on with his normal life, the cameraman gets on too - not before."

Apply this to the Front - and see what we get. There are 4 cameramen out there, all daily newspapermen, trained for years in the regular run of Fleet Street work. They are excellent

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