NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN

Visual Communications

The Photo Essays of *Life* and *Picture Post.*

by

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Note- Several of the illustrations carry overlays which can be turned over for a clearer view of the underlying images.

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INTRODUCTION

Technical advances made to the camera in the late 1920s paved the way for new opportunities to photojournalism. The increased use of photography led to the introduction of the popular picture magazines. This thesis looks at America's picture magazine *Life* and its counterpart, Britain's *Picture Post*. Both magazines, introduced in the late '30s, produced articles using the photograph in a narrative format forming a style known as the photo essay.

The photo essay is used in the first issues of both *Life* and *Picture Post's* first issues. They reveal a raw and experimental stage of the photo essay technique. Between the years 1939-1945 the magazines were flooded by images of war and the photo essay was limited by topical subjects. The post-war years gave them the perfect opportunity to develop the style of the photo essay and fill the pages that would previously have held war reports. These became the most important years of the evolution of the photo essay.

This thesis proposes to investigate this development by looking at two photo essays, *Life's* Country Doctor by W. E. Smith (1948) and *Picture Post's* An Osteopath at work by Raymond Kleboe (1949). In exploring two essays which deal with similar subjects it is possible to compare the photographers approach and ability to communicate the topic to the readers. It can be seen that the methods with which these essays are executed is typical of the *Life/Picture Post* style by examining other photo essays published in the same year. This offers the opportunity to discuss the differences between *Life* and *Picture Post's* approach to the photo essay under the headings of layout, use of text, use of photography, and the level of importance the essay holds to the magazine.

Chapter 1 The Picture Magazine

There are many factors which combined to make inevitable the birth of the picture magazine. Technical advances in the camera threw society into a world full of new images that were not previously possible with the older and more cumbersome Speed Graflex camera . The picture magazine originally took off in the twenties, famously labelled as "the Jazz Age or the Era of Wonderful Nonsense" (Tebbel, 1991, pg.149). This decade also brought an increase in advertising revenue which helped to finance the growth of the magazine (Tebbel, 1991, pg.149). Back then, as now, advertising was the financial backbone of the magazine industry.

The picture magazines were also greatly influenced by a

> shift in national mood between the expansiveness and optimism of the twenties to the traditionalism and conservatism (in a social sense) of the thirties. The rise to success was followed by the glorification of the little man..... directed to mass middle class audiences (Tebbel, 1991, pg.181).

This shift was to dictate the content of the picture magazine and determine its readership. These magazines were to reflect the society of the day and communicate to them through photography.

Previous to the new advances in photography newspapers were illustrated by an on scene reporter, whose sketches were passed on to an engraver to make plates for the printing process. It is not difficult to imagine that the end result was manipulated as it went through both artists' interpretations of the scene. Often the scene was glorified to suit the journalist's descriptive paragraph (Willumson, 1992, pg.13). Such a process gave little encouragement to the readers to believe what they were seeing in the illustration. This process tested the credibility of the readers.

Photographs gave the readers an entirely new perspective in catching the real moment. "To the average man photography, which is the

exact reproduction of reality, cannot lie" (Freud, 1982, pg.149). We know now that this is not entirely true, but photographs then were rarely retouched, and any changes that had been made were stated under the published print.

Before the First World War cameras such as the Speed Graphic and the Speed Graflex were used, which entailed the transportation of large and heavy equipment. The use of large negatives was advantageous to the quality of the print reproduction, but only one or two pictures at a time could be taken. (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.6).

The Leica 35mm, which was introduced in 1925, was the camera used by many of the photographers researched in this study. The Leica was a much smaller and more compact camera which immediately made it easier to work with and to transport. Photographers were also able to use a 36 roll of film as opposed to the two negative run on the Speed Graphic. The Leica had a shutter speed ranging from one second to 1/1000 of a second which made it possible to take photos indoors without a flash (The Editors, Time Inc., 1970, pg.137). Leica also brought out a range of lenses to cater for the more specialised photographers.

The range and flexibility of this new equipment introduced greater potential for photojournalism and the idea of a picture orientated magazine was soon on every editor's mind. Tom Hopkinson, editor of *Picture Post*, spoke of the Leica favourably saying that "It was now possible to photograph statesmen in angry arguments, actors in actual stage productions, operations in hospital or athletes straining for a record" (1984, pg.7). Many of these may be seen in *Picture Post* and *Life* as they brought new realism and action to their magazines. They gave the public visual stimulants that they could directly relate to, offering them the clearest and closest image of the scene with fewer artistic interpretations that the illustrator

would have given. The public could then draw its own conclusions. This new equipment greatly enhanced the range and capability of photojournalism. "What comes first, is satisfying the public's appetite for news for the sensation of being there and for an image the mind can hold" (Evans, 1986, pg4).

Fig. 1 *Time* front cover, November 10th 1941.

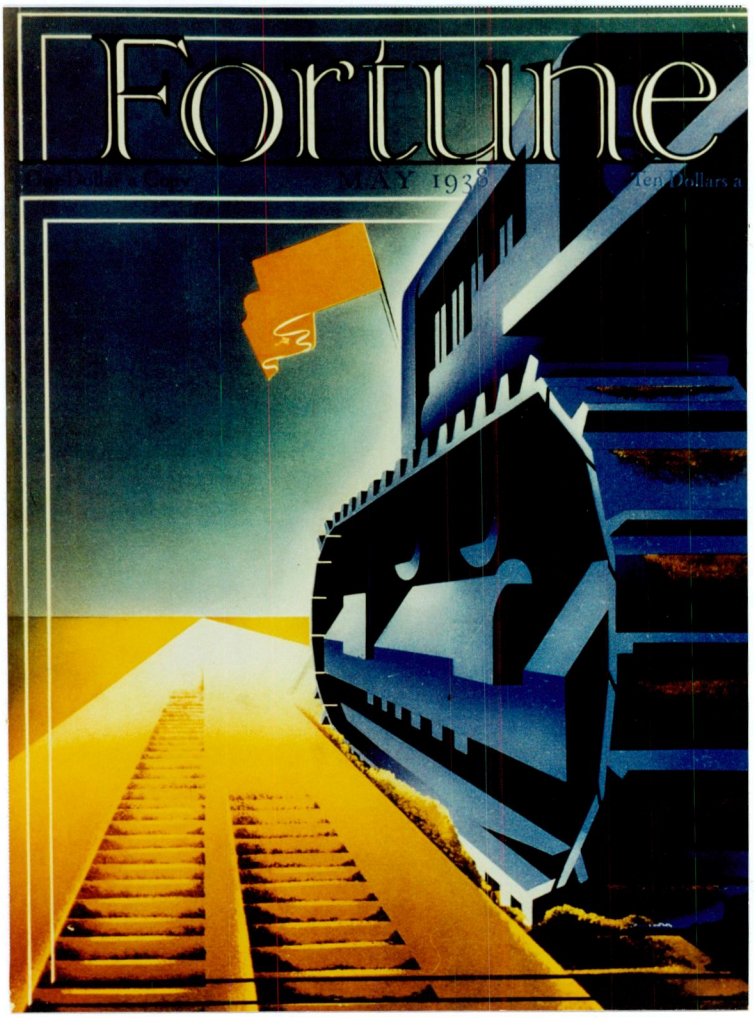


Fig.2 *Fortune* front cover, May 1938.

Chapter 2 Luce's Mission

With the rise in photography as a medium for visual communication the concept of a picture magazine was inevitable. In America the man to grasp the idea and turn it into a reality that would become "the most influential magazine of the 20th century" was Henry R. Luce, and the magazine was *Life* (Heller, 1993, pg.21). *Life* was America's first picture magazine but it was not the first in the world. There were already similar projects running since 1925 in Germany (*Munchner Illustrierte Presse)*, and England followed in 1934 with *Weekly Illustrated.* It is probable that Luce was influenced by these competitors. Shortly before *Life* was produced one of Luce's men, Daniel Longwell, made a trip to England to visit some of the English magazine publishers, one of them being *Weekly Illustrated* (Wainwright, 1978, pg61).

Luce was already involved in two other magazines, *Time* (Fig.1) and *Fortune* (Fig.2). He founded *Time* in 1923 with a Yale friend, Britton Hadden. They then released their second project *Fortune*, in 1930 (Tebbel, 1991, pg.163,165). The theme of *Time* was based on the news and *Fortune* was devoted to American Capitalism (Heller, 1993, pg23). *Fortune* was released as a monthly selling at the price of $1 a copy, which was quite expensive for that time. Luce wanted *Fortune* to be the "most beautiful magazine in the world" (Heller, 1993, pg.23). He was setting, without realising, the path for his next project, *Life* (Heller,1993, pg.23).

Among the *Fortune* staff were photographers such as Margaret Bourke-White, Edward Steichen (who both became staff photographers of *Life*) and Erich Salomon (Heller, 1993, pg.23). Erich Salomon was considered the father of photojournalism (Tebbel, 1991, pg.227). He was a German photographer whose work Luce had seen in London's *Tatler* (Tebbel, 1991, pg.227). Luce head hunted Salomon to work for the *Fortune* project. Salomon was brought over to America and became a

member of the *Fortune* staff photographers (Tebbel, 1991, pg.227). Not only did *Fortune* initiate the concept of a magazine which used large quantities of photography , but it also edged its way towards the development of the photo essay. They used arrangements which were similar to the essay structure in the photography layouts of *Fortune* (Heller, 1993, pg.23).

With these two successful projects backing Luce financially, he worked towards his final project, the picture magazine. Luce wanted to show society a variety of images from all over the world. He wanted his readers to see all aspects of life, and is quoted to have said that *Life* was invented for people

> to see life, to see the world, to eyewitness great events, to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud ,to see strange things- machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle on the moon, to see man's work, his paintings, his towers and discoveries, to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to and women that men love and many children, to see and to take pleasure in seeing and be amazed to see and be instructed thus to see and be shown, is now the will and new expectancy of half mankind (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.4).

Luce gave all this and more to the American people, and later to an international audience (Heller, 1993, pg.124). *Time* INC also introduced *Sports Illustrated* in 1954, *Money* in 1972 and *People* in 1974 (Janello, Jones, 1991, pg.66)

Luce wanted *Life* to be printed with high quality photograph reproductions on glossed paper. This caused one of the main obstacles to the production of *Life*. There was the problem of how to "print, dry and bind a magazine..... and be sold for no more than ten cents" (Heller, 1993, pg.25). Luce asked Donnelley, the printers of *Time* to tackle this problem. Donnelley finally came up with a gas-fired drying process (Heller, 1993, pg.25). *Life* was the first magazine to use these "new techniques in press and paper making that enabled it to reproduce photographs on coated paper that very nearly duplicated the quality of the original photograph"

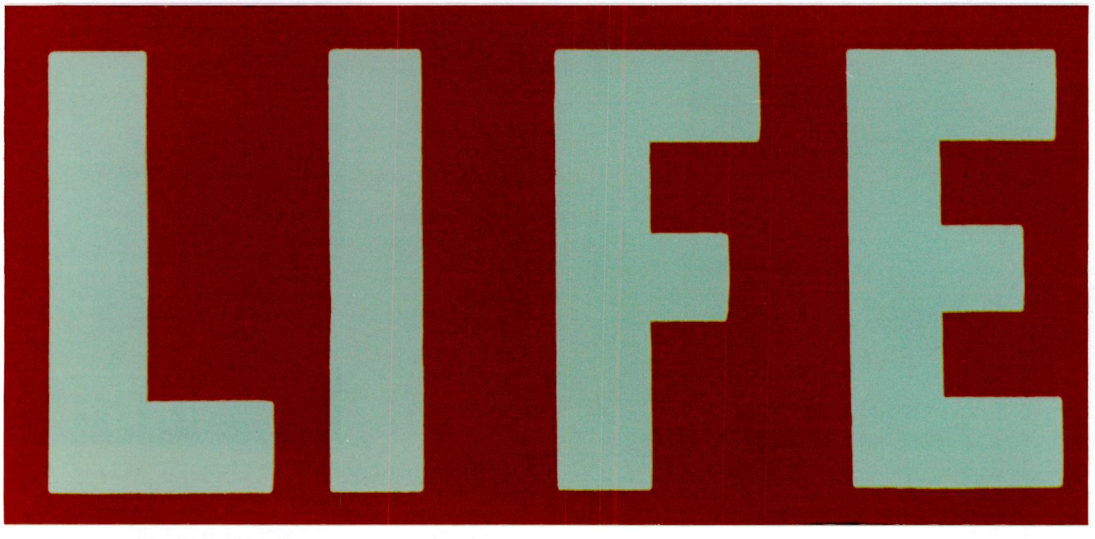


Fig.3 *Life's* distinctive logo.

(Elson, 1972, pg.2). This new high quality production added to the problem of production cost.

Before the quantity of the print run was decided a survey was carried out to estimate the possible circulation number (Heller, 1993, pg.25). Unfortunately they underestimated how instantly popular the magazine would be and as a result advertising rates were underpriced (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.6). The production price was not proportionate to the advertising rate, leading to severe losses in the foundation years of the magazine. A full page advertisement sold at $1,500 in black and white and $2,500 in colour (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.6). Although Luce invested his profits from *Time* in the *Life* project he also needed additional finance to keep it running. To encourage advertisers *Life* originally sold advertising space over a fixed period of time for a set price (Tebbel, 1991, pg.169).

On November 13th 1936, seven days before the first issue was to appear, the cover of the magazine was still undecided (Heller, 1993,pg.29). Howard Richmond, *Life's* first Art Director, had "only a few days to design what became one of the most emblematic magazine covers in the world" (Heller, 1993, pg.29). One of the freelance illustrators at *Fortune*, Edward Wilson, introduced the idea of having a black and white full bleed photo as their base for every issue. The famous *Life* logo was designed by Richmond (Fig.3),(Heller, 1993,pg.29).The clear san serif all-caps typeface against the red symmetrical rectangle, provided a distinctive and defined logo that would stand out on the display units of the news-stands. Even the positioning of the logo on the cover was a wise design decision. It sits in the top left hand corner which gives the cover photograph plenty of room to breathe, but at the same time, when it is stacked on the news-stand, sometimes behind other magazines, the logo is still very eye catching. According to Heller (1993, pg.29) "the logo became the most identifiable design element of *Life*". The red band at the bottom of the cover brings


LIFE

LIFE

Fig. 4 *Life* front cover, April 26th 1937.

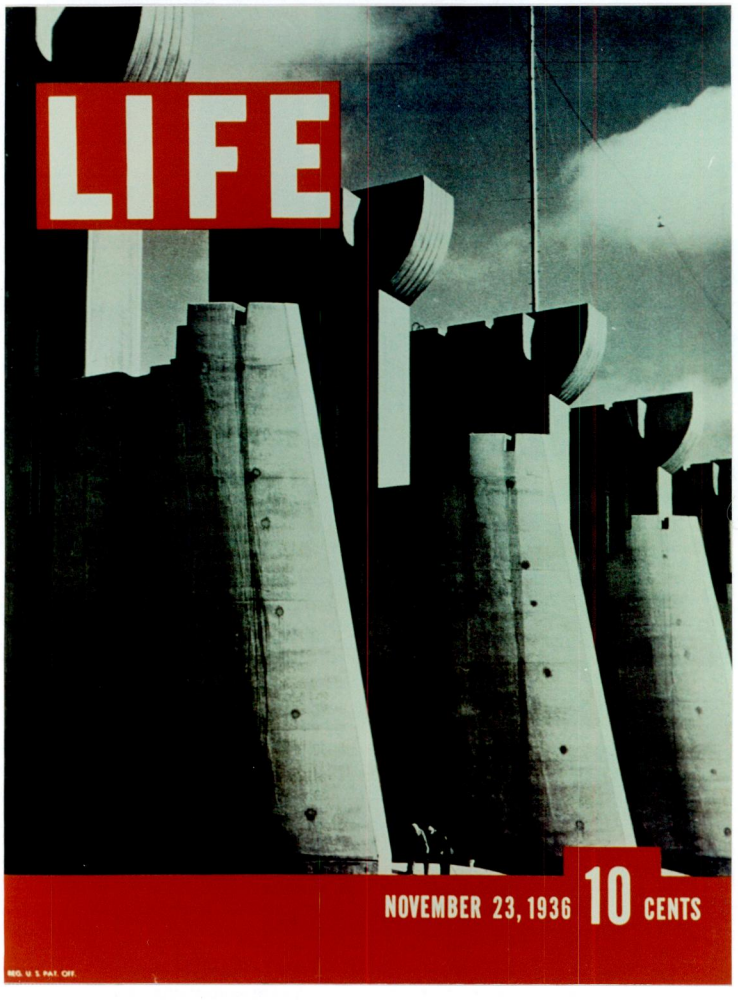


Fig. 5 First issue of *Life*, front cover, November 23rd 1936.

the whole layout together, echoing the logo at the top, but still not tilting the balance or interfering with the space of the photograph. These three elements, the logo, use of photograph and the red strip, became so well known that it was later decided to run an issue on the April 26th 1937 without the logo. The front cover carried a picture of a rooster (Fig.4); his comb would have overlapped with the logo had they run the two together (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.18). *Life* "treated pictures with reverence" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.15); in a situation like this they were willing to take the chance of leaving out the logo rather than impinge on the photograph. This was an important step: it showed how in less than a year the style of photography and the red strip could stand alone to represent the magazine.

The format of *Life* was bigger than any other magazine selling at the time (Heller, 1993, pg.25), which gave it an extra advantage on the news-stands in catching people's attention. The size decided on was 10.5"-14" which "would accommodate advertising plates made for the smaller *Vogue* and larger *Saturday Evening Post*" (Heller, 1993, pg.25). Kunhardt, one of *Life's* editors, said of Luce's new magazine that

> there had never been anything like it before . In the first place it was big; you could spot it a block away by its bold black-and-white picture on the cover and the four large white letters that spelled its name leaping out of the bright red (1986, pg.4).

On November 23rd 1936, the first issue of *Life* hit the news-stands (Freud, 1982, pg.142). The cover shows a photograph of Fort Peck by Margaret Bourke-White (Fig.5). The structure of the Dam is sturdy and bold, a good choice for a first issue; it reflects and establishes a strong first image for the magazine. The dam resembles a line of castle chess pieces, giving you a perspective flow which leads you from the logo, in the top left hand corner, to the bottom right hand corner and to the inside pages of the magazine. The *Life* logo in this instance is set lower than any of the magazine covers that followed. Comparing the two different layouts, it can

Introduction to this first issue of

LIFE

LIFE BEGINS

The camera records the most vital moment in any life. Its beginning. A few hours ago, the child lay restless in its mother's womb. A second ago, its foetal life was rudely ended when the surgeon snipped its umbilical cord—through which the unborn child had drawn all existence from its mother. Then, for a second or two, the child hung lank and unbreathing between two lives. Its blood circulated and its heart beat only on the impetus given by its mother. Suddenly the baby's new and independent life begins. He jerks up his arms, bends his knees and, with his first short breath, gives out a redfaced cry.

Fig. 6 *Life Begins*, introduction to *Life's* first issue.

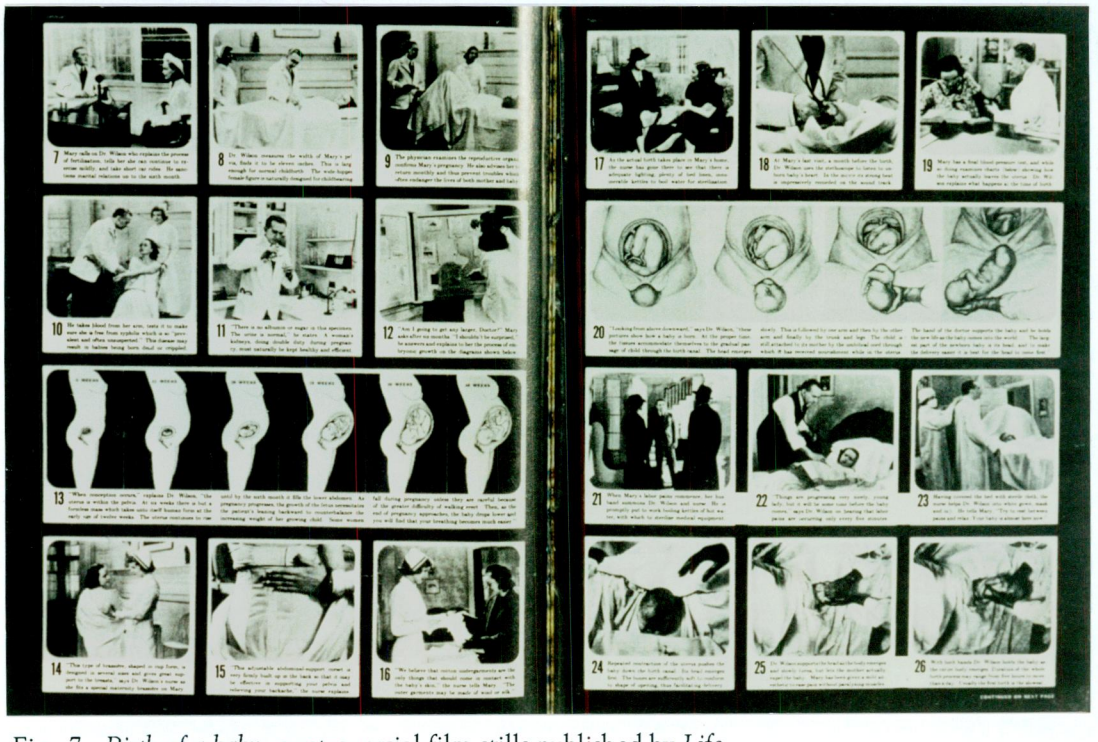


Fig. 7 *Birth of a baby*, controversial film stills published by *Life*.

actually be seen that the higher setting works better with the other layout elements than the lower setting.

Margaret Bourke-White also did a series of photos on Fort Peck and the lives of the people who lived in the shantytown near the dam (Fig.20), (Kappler, 1986, pg.6). These photos took the format of an early photo essay, indicating that the visual essay was beginning to develop even from their very first issue. This early essay started on pg.9 and goes through to pg.17. Margaret Bourke-White was a well respected photographer and Luce felt confident enough with the work she had brought back from Fort Peck to allocate her a full nine pages in the first issue (Kappler, 1986, pg.6). The contents of the magazine appears on pg.7, giving five pages to advertising and two for an introduction to *Life*, which explains in quite an informal and friendly manner the contents of the magazine and gives a bit of background about where the articles came from. On the facing page there is a very strong comparison of the first issue of *Life* to the birth of a baby. It shows a doctor in an operating theatre holding up a new born baby, with the caption *Life begins* under it (Fig.6).

Luce injected his own personal opinion into several of the articles. He brought his interest in China to the first issue with an article on *Chinese Schools* (Luce was born in China). The magazine did not always have an objective attitude, it "mirrored many of Luce's personal prejudices and passions" (Kappler, 1986, pg.6). Kappler quotes Luce from one of his articles in the first issue as saying "Brazilians are charming people but are incurably lazy" (1986, pg.6). Such sweeping statements would not be published in the politically correct society of today and shows how Luce was a man of strong opinions.

Before long *Life* had established its own staff photographers and no longer needed to go to news photo agencies for their pictures (Kappler,

1986, pg.16). *Life's* first photographers were Eisenstaedt, Stackpole, McVvoy and Bourke-White (Tebbel, 1991, pg.169).

> Luce described photography as 'a new language, difficult , as yet unmastered, but increasingly powerful - the most important Machine Age communication medium, offering an objective window on the world" (Heller, 1993, pg.22).

Although the structure of the magazine was constantly developing over the years, the first issue hit on themes that was to continue throughout the magazine, such as *Life goes to a party* (Kappler, 1986 pg.6). The first issue also had articles on NBC (a radio station), America's Newsfront, a nature section, the camera overseas, a weather section and an interview with actress Helen Hayes, among others.

The first issue print run was 466,000 copies, which sold out immediately. According to Tebbel: "No magazine had ever surpassed a circulation of 500,00 in their first year" (1991, pg.170), but *Life* did just that in its first few weeks. This success was a surprise to everyone with the origional estimated guaranteed circulation of just 250,000 (Heller, 1993, pg.25). In *Life's* early years it was losing $50,000 a week with a circulation which peeked at 1,500,000 (and 8.5 million in the more prosperous 1960s) (Heller, 1993, pg.21). By the end of *Life's* first year *Time* had invested $10.5 million in the project and *Life* had lost $3 million (Tebbel,1991, pg.171). As discussed earlier, advertising rates had been set and sold pre-publishing, at unfortunate low rates. The printing process was also very costly; these factors led to the huge loses of the company. Luce persisted through this difficult stage, encouraged by the fact that every issue was sold out on the news-stands. He knew that it would pay off in the end (Kappler, 1986, pg.15).

Life also had problems selling advertising space. Because of its wide readership it could not be categorised into any particular genre; which made it difficult to determine its advertising appeal. For example, *Post, Colliers*

and *Liberty* were considered dominantly male magazines, so they would attract advertisers who were trying to appeal to a male readership. *Life's* readers were both young and old, male and female (Tebbel, 1991, pg171). What it did have to offer to the advertising agencies was an astonishingly large readership of 17,300,300 (Tebbel, 1991,pg.171), through having copies in doctor's waiting rooms or households where several people would pick it up and flick through it. This large readership was bound to include the target audience and perspective clients of a wide range of products. *Life* reached over 20,000,000 readers worldwide in the late 1940s and 1950s. With this expansive circulation *Life* became "the nations dominant advertising medium", according to the *Time* INC historian Robert T. Elson (1972, pg.2).

Luce had also bought shares in *Look*, a similar project to *Life*, which was founded by the Cowles brothers, personal friends of Luce. They brought him their dummy issue to ask for his opinion (Tebbel, 1991, pg.169). *Life* was already up and running so Luce felt confident that *Look* was not any great threat. However, later on *Look* turned out to be one of *Life's* biggest competitors; Luce sold his shares back to the Cowles and made a small profit (Tebbel, 1991, pg.169).

Life liked to publish some controversial articles as publicity schemes to boost their circulation. Censorship was growing rapidly in America in the 1930s; when the film *Birth of a Baby* was released it did not pass the censorship boards. Luce jumped in and saw the opportunity for some good publicity if he published stills from the film. The published stills (Fig.7) caused an uproar which caused the issue to be banned in 33 cities in America and impounded on the Canadian boarder (Tebbel, 1991, pg.171). As a result the magazine became even more popular and talked about than before (Kappler, 1986, pg.22).

Chapter 3 Lorant's Mission

Almost two years after Luce's *Life* hit the news-stands, Britain's new picture magazine was introduced. Its name was *Picture Post*, its founder, a Hungarian, Stephan Lorant (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.13). Unlike Luce, Lorant had first hand experience of a picture magazine. He had worked for many different pictorial publications in Germany from 1925-1933, and worked as chief editor of the well known picture magazine *Munchner Illustrierte Presse* from 1928-1933 (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.14). Lorant also worked in the film industry previous to his career as an editor and had become a "prominent figure in the film world" (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.14).

With all this experience behind him, Lorant was by no means walking blindly into the *Picture Post* project. He arrived in England in 1934 and started working immediately on the first of his three picture magazines, *Weekly Illustrated*. This was followed by *Lilliput* (1937) and finally *Picture Post* (1938) (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.14).

With the financial backing of Edward Hulton, a millionaire who had just recently formed Hulton press and wanted the well known and respected magazine man to start a new project with him, Lorant started his third project (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.15). Hulton's only condition was that he could "write a weekly article for the paper" (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.15). *Picture Post* was to be a continuation of Lorant's work, based on the type of pictorial work he had done for *Munchner Illustrierte Presse* (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.15).

Lorant's target audience was basically similar to that of Luce's. He wanted to appeal to the "common man" (Hallett, 1/1992, pg.13) and he wanted his readers to identify with the heroes of the articles. Luce wanted to show these ordinary people that they too were as important to society as the rich and famous who featured in every magazine on the news-stands

(Kee, 1989, pg.9). Robert Kee tells us that the *Picture Post* philosophy was that the "people pictured in a familiar way at their work or just standing idly by were revealed as not ordinary at all" (1989, pg.9). Hallett quotes Lorant as saying

> I wanted to appeal to the masses, the common man, the workers, to the intelligentsia. I jotted in a little notebook what I wanted to do, and I still have it. The first sentence in it reads, 'to print the truth and to do it honestly.' Then it continues, 'to enlighten the reader of subjects on which they have little knowledge; never talk down to them; never underestimate their intelligence; but share with them a common knowledge, to learn together (1/1992, pg.15).

There were definite similarities between the aims of Lorant and Luce They both wanted to show and educate the masses about the world around them, including the society in which they lived and their own social classes.

Unlike *Life*, Lorant's first dummy was put together in two days. The material was gathered together only one month before it was released and the dummy ran with very few changes as the first issue (Hallett, 2/1992, pg.22). *Life* had produced several dummies during the few years of its initial production stage. Lorant had been joined by Tom Hopkinson (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.9), a man who was to play a very important role in *Picture Post* two years after its release. Only weeks before *Picture Post's* first issue was completed, Hopkinson tells us how the project seemed to be going well behind schedule: "I was anxious for dummies to be made up, for advertising to be collected, for advance orders to be booked by the circulation" (1984, pg.9).

Lorant tells us,

> I did my work in my head, I composed the pages, thinking them out in my mind, thus the youngsters on the staff could not understand what I was doing. It seemed to them that I was not doing anything. I put my ideas on paper only when they were fully developed in my head. I composed every issue as a whole not as a piecemeal (Hallett, 2/1992, pg.25).

Hopkinson found "Lorant's way of working both a revelation and a nightmare" (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.10). Lorant would gather up the relevant

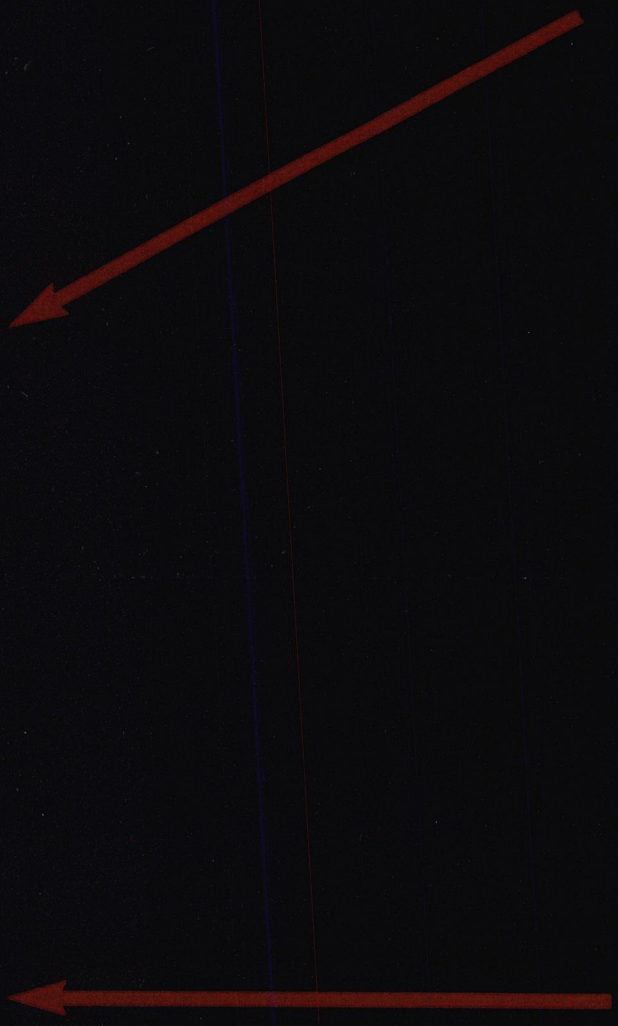


Fig.8 *Weekly Illustrated* front cover.

Fig.9 First issue of *Picture Post*, front cover, October 1st 1938.

Fig.10 First issue of *Life's* front cover.

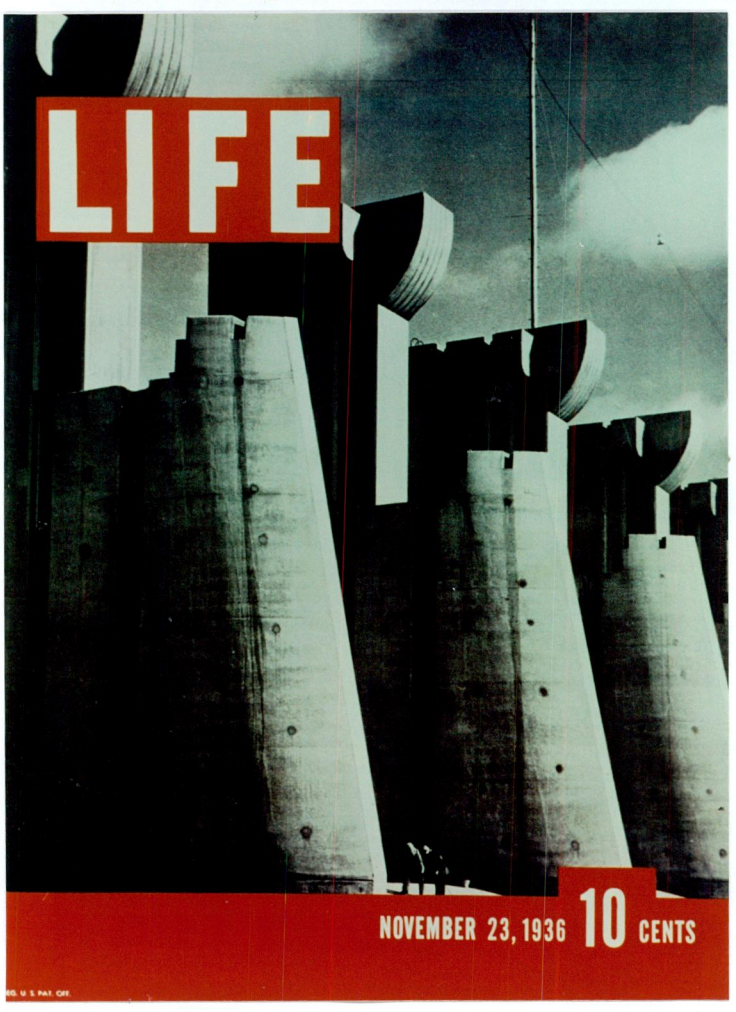


Fig.11 First issue of *Picture Post's* front cover.

material and lock himself away in his Lilliput office. Within a few hours he would return with sketches of the layouts with "scribbled instructions" for Hopkinson to carry out (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11). It was sometimes too late at this stage to carry out these requests and Hopkinson had to fill the gaps, captions and articles himself (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11). Although this way of working caused deadline problems it gave the magazine the spontaneous freshness that *Picture Post* thrived on (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11).

The first issue of *Picture Post* hit the news-stands on 1st October 1938. The cover of the first issue bore a great resemblance to Lorant's first cover of *Weekly Illustrated (Fig.8)* (Hallett 1/1992 pg.14), which featured two young female tennis players jumping over the net with their tennis rackets held up in the air. The front cover of *Picture Post* (Fig.9) had a similar pose, with two cow-girls jumping into the air, both holding hats in their outstretched arms. The expression on the girl's faces combined with their identical poses suspended mid-air, gives the cover a lively exciting atmosphere suitable to starting off a new magazine. The movement of the girls brings the viewer from left to right and towards the inside of the magazine. The layout and logo are very similar to *Life's* (Fig10-11). The logo uses the san-serif, all caps typeface on a red rectangular box in the top left hand corner of the cover as *Life's* does. Also there is the similar use of full bleed black and white photo and a red strip running across the bottom of the cover. The only difference in the red strip was that *Life* kept it clear and did not like to clutter it with type apart from the price and date of the issue, whereas *Picture Post* would sometimes run article titles across the strip.

Donald Gilles, an advertising agent who had done some work for the first issue "was convinced that its title should be '*Lo*!' "Buy *Lo*!, See and know" (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.10). Lorant was not happy with this name and came up with *Picture Post* (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.10). The format of

Fig.12 Hospital operation photo essay from *Picture Post's* first issue.

the magazine was decided on by Lorant and David Greenfield, who had printed *Weekly Illustrated* in 1934. They "figured out the number of pages that the roller could hold and decided about the most economical size" (Hallett, 3/1992, pg.24). It was rumoured to have been based on the 35mm format but on a simple glance it can be seen that it is squarer in shape (Hallett, 2/1992, pg.22).

Just as the first issue of *Picture Post* had gone to the printers it was announced that Hitler was threatening to invade the Czech frontiers; the danger of a World War was close behind. This would have been a catastrophic to *Picture Post's* first issue which had no mention of Hitler's threat (Kee, 1989, pg.6). Luckily Chamberlain signed an agreement with Hitler in Munich which would save the peace for the time being (Kee, 1989, pg.6).

Lorant reused some of the photo essay topics he had previously published in Munchner Illustrierte Presse. This gave him the opportunity to improve the approach and layout on the essays. The first issue of *Picture Post* ran a photo essay on a hospital operation scene (Fig.12). Although one of the negatives for these photographs had been damaged, they printed the images regardless of the flawed areas as the image still held a strong message and communicated the topic perfectly (Kee, 1989, pg.7). It shows one of the nurses wiping sweat off the brow of the surgeon. Without even seeing the patient you can get the feeling of the scene with this one gesture. The white of the uniforms and the bright lighting gives a clinical feel. Even the damaged section over the surgeon's head looks like the type of bright lighting you would expect to find in an operating theatre (Kee, 1989, pg.7). *Picture Post* shows the same reverence for the original print that one would also expect to find in *Life;* the frame would not be retouched or retaken lest some of the atmosphere and naturalness it caught in the initial image was lost.

Picture Post's first issue sold out with a circulation of 705,954. Within two months it had climbed to 1,025,548 and reached 1,700,000 copies only six months after its appearance (Hallett, 4/1992, pg.25). The instant success of the magazine may be attributed to the huge population of their target audience, the "ordinary people" (Hallett, 4/1992, pg.25).

Many of the articles in *Picture Post* gave no credits to the photographers. Lorant explains that "many of the picture essays were made by some of the German refugee photographers who had no working permits in England. They were grateful to me that their names did not appear" (Hallett, 4/1992, pg.24). Lorant himself had been kept in "protective custody" in Hitler's prisons (Hallett, 4/1992, pg.14). He therefore had no great love for Hitler and had published some of Heartfield's satirical montages of Hitler in *Lilliput* (Hallett, 4/1992, pg.24). Amongst some of the first photographers that worked for *Picture Post* were Kurt Hutton, Felix Man, Bert Hardy and Humphery Spender (Kee, 1989, pg.85). Hopkinson explains that his "journalists were always instructed to put the photographers needs before their own and to help him in every way they could" (1984, pg.16).

Lorant believed that

> the photograph should not be posed, rather the camera should be as the notebook of a trained reporter, recording contemporary events as they happen, without trying to stop them to make a picture; people should be photographed as they really are and not as they would like to appear; photo reportage should concern itself with men and women of every kind and not simply with a small social clique; everyday life should be portrayed in a realistic, unselfconscious way (Hallett, 5/1992, pg.24).

This maps out the whole concept of photojournalism at that time. As discussed earlier, the new developments in camera technology made all this possible. For the first time it was possible to catch people unaware, to carry a camera around and have it ready to catch an unexpected moment instantly, to bring the camera indoors without having to use a flash. The new cameras made possible a whole new type of photojournalism.

Picture Post's instant popularity was reinforced by a song, which was released soon after their first issue, called *Picture Girl*. It became very popular and gave great publicity to Lorant's magazine. The words of the song echo what Lorant was saying about realistic photography.

When I saw your picture in the Picture Post
I fell in love with you!
And now that I've met you I realise
That pictures in the Picture Post,
They never tell lies.

Chapter 4 *Life v Picture Post*

When comparing *Life* with *Picture Post* it is important to remember the size of America's population in contrast to Britain's. It is very hard to reach a conclusion as to which magazine is the better and why one survived the invention of the television whereas the other did not. Both Lorant and Luce had previous experience in the magazine business. Lorant had the advantage of having worked on a picture magazine before. Luce's *Life* was the first of this type of magazine in America, which put enormous pressure on him to create the ultimate picture magazine. Luce pushed *Life* from every angle, forcing it to be a more distinctive magazine than any other running at that time. He wanted the quality of the magazine to be very high which consequently caused the production cost to be excessive. This led to the enormous financial loses for *Life* in its first few years. Even the unusual size of *Life's* format added to the high production cost of the magazine, on the other hand *Picture Post's* format was dictated by what was the most economical size to produce. Luce also concerned himself with having the most prestigious photographers on his staff, while Lorant's main concern was to help his photographers by keeping them employed and anonymous. The cover of *Life's* first issue features Fort Peck dam, photographed by Margaret Bourke-White, a well established photographer. *Picture Post's* first front cover features an equally powerful photograph by an unknown photographer.

Luce liked to keep his magazine perfectly organised, running several dummies before the first issue and pushing for constant development on a better layout for *Life* (Heller, 1993, pg.27). *Picture Post* was a more relaxed and smaller business. *Life's* staff was divided up into departments for each section of the magazine; *Picture Post's* staff consisted of about twelve people with some articles written by "literary figures such as A.J Cronin, J.B Priestly, George Bernard Shaw and H.G Wells" (Hallett, 4/1991, pg.24). Luce's strict organisational ideas could be one of the reasons why *Life* is still

published today and *Picture Post* is not. Hallett quotes Lorant as saying

> *Life* in America, *Stern* in Germany, *Paris Match* in France - they all survived. *Picture Post* was killed because it was dull and boring. It offered no new ideas. The issues in the '50s were carbon copies of the pages which were printed in the late '30s. The layouts were copied over and over. If editors had gone with the times *Picture Post* would still be with us today(Hallett, 4/1992, pg.25).

In 1940 Lorant panicked and emigrated to America. He was convinced that the British government would hand the foreigners over to the Germans and he would once again be Hitler's prisoner (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11). This left the running of *Picture Post* to Hopkinson. At first Hopkinson had little knowledge of how to make good layouts, but when he first learnt that Lorant was going to leave he set about learning how to put the picture stories together (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11). Hopkinson based his layouts on Lorant's style. Before the raw material for each picture story was submitted to Lorant, Hopkinson would ask for it to be brought to him so that he could work out how he would have dealt with the layout. Hopkinson would then examine Lorant's finished work so that he could compare both solutions and learn from Lorant's more experienced layouts (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11). Luckily for *Picture Post* Hopkinson adopted Lorant's ingenious use of layout. Hopkinson injected great energy into the project during his run as editor of *Picture Post*. He brought the magazine successfully through the war years overcoming censorship problems that were put before him. Hopkinson was unfortunately fired from *Picture Post* in 1950 as a result of an argument over censorship of photographs he felt should have been published. This dismissal resulted in a succession of different editors none of whom lasted long enough to "establish a real character for the magazine" (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.21). This could possibly be what Lorant meant when he referred to the unoriginality of *Picture Post* in the '50s. The editors were turning to the original copies of the '30s for layout ideas. As result they failed to inject any new formulas into the magazine.

Picture Post's first issue sold 705,954 copies which is surprisingly higher than *Life's* net sales of 466,000. Within a few weeks *Life's* circulation increased to 1,500,000, passing out *Picture Post's* 1,025,548. But again the size of America's population and the introduction of the international version of *Life* played a large role in *Life's* continual increasing numbers which reached 8.5 million in the 1960s. *Picture Post* retained high sales, with some fluctuation, until the final few years before its termination (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.18).

Life was losing $50,000 a week during the first two years of production. Luce told Lorant that "he was amazed at *Picture Post's* financial success, *Life* was in the red for years, while *Picture Post* made money within the first year (all investments was recouped by 1940)" (Hallett, 4/1992, pg.26). The reasons for this profit was due to *Picture Post's* smaller staff and more economical production. Luce had also made the mistake of undercharging the advertising space, which is where the profits of a magazine are made.

Although *Life* preceded *Picture Post,* their "photographers were encouraged to study *Picture Post's* pages, both in terms of camera work and lively layout" (Kee, 1989, pg.76). It was plain to see that Lorant had previous experience with the picture magazine; he had been working on them since 1928. According to Hopkinson, "it was Lorant's sense of timing which made the magazine" (1984, pg.11).

When World War Two broke out in 1939, both magazines held their own opinions on how the war would effect their publications. *Life* felt war would be a threat to the growth of their magazine; Luce "didn't plan *Life* as a war magazine..... although it turned out that way" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.15). Although war is a grim subject to gain recognition under, *Life's* coverage of the fighting produced spectacular photographs that stirred emotions all over the world.

Fig.13 *Life's* double page spread of Pearl Harbour casualties.

Fig.14 *Life's* double page spread of World War Two concentration camps.

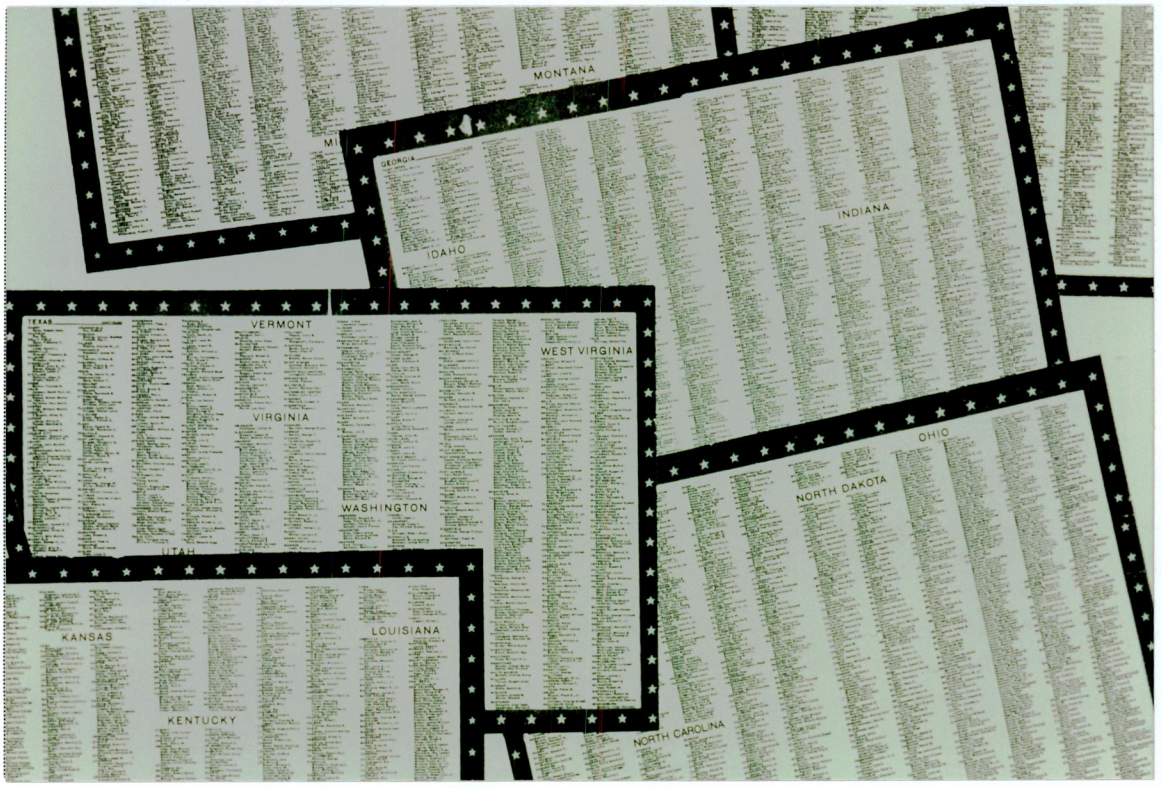


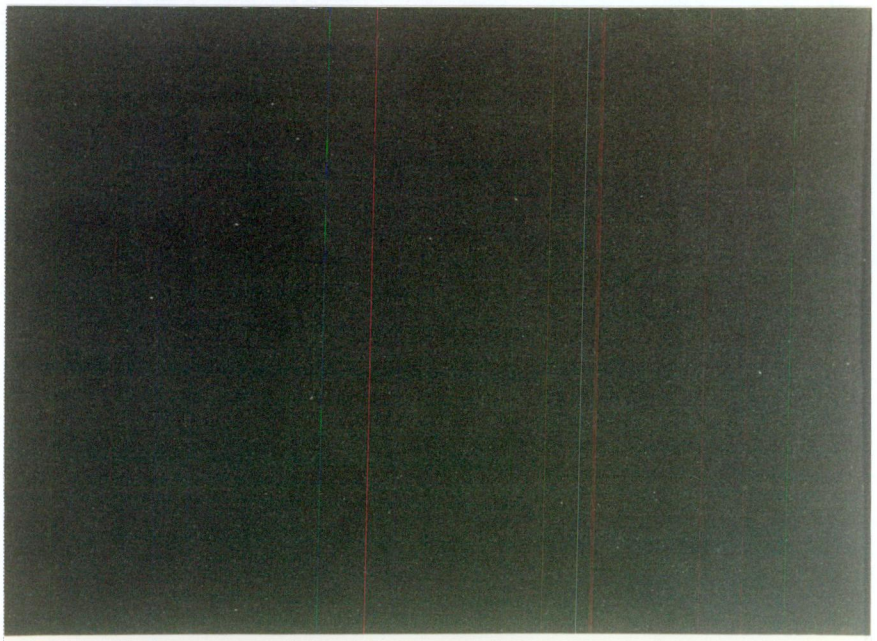
Fig.15 List of war casualties published in *Life*.

Fig.16 Robert Capa's Normandy landing published in *Life*.

Picture Post held a different view of the war; they almost wanted the opportunity to grow by using the extensive coverage of the war which everyone would want to see. "If war came everyone would want war pictures, so the magazine would quickly find a public....." (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.10). However the running of *Picture Post* took a considerable blow with the start of the war. Not only did they lose their editor Lorant, but they also lost two of their German photographers who "were imprisoned in the Isle of Man as enemy aliens" (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.11).

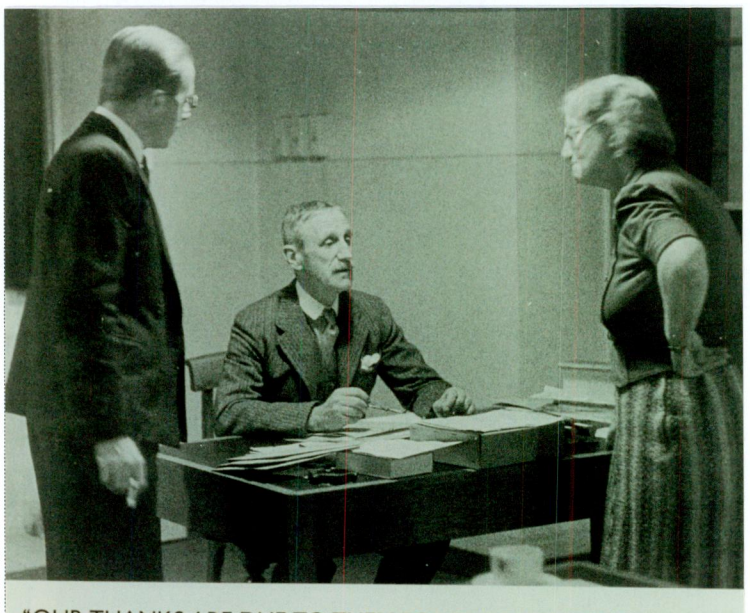
During the war years the development of the photo essay was limited to the topics of war and campaigning. They did not contain subjects of human interest and the strong narrative flow that the post-war essays developed. *Picture Post* and *Life* used several different approaches in covering the horrors of war. In 1941 *Life* published a double page spread on 30 GIs out of the 3,000 Pearl Harbour casualties (Fig.13). The following year they showed photographs on some of the victims of the Nazi concentration camps (Fig.14). They often got letters from their readers asking "Why does *Life* present such horrible pictures?"; to which Editor Ed Thompson replied, "the pictures bore terrible and vital pertinence to the age in which we live" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.106). He also recalled a comment made by the editors during photo coverage of the Spanish Civil War casualties: "Dead men have indeed died in vain if live men refuse to look at them" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.106). They used images which contained shock value to convey the war. The use of single frames worked best in this situation to give the viewer maximum impact in the one image

On Independence Day *Life* ran a twenty-four page list of all the "U.S servicemen killed in the first 18 months of the war" (Fig.15) (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.44). Some of *Life's* best photojournalism produced during the war years came from the famous war photographer Robert Capa. Among Capa's work were the memorable images of the Normandy landings in 1944



"Some of the Leaflets our Airmen Dropped on Germany
Our country has at least done something in propaganda. Our planes have dropped leaflets over Germany. But the leaflets are a dead secret. Only Germans may read them. Britons may not. We asked to be allowed to show them to you. Permission refused."

Fig.17 Censorship of *Picture Post*.



"OUR THANKS ARE DUE TO THEM FOR THE PICTURES ON THESE PAGES:
The Picture Censorship Department of the Ministry of Information
Lord Raglan (centre) and two colleagues in the department of the Ministry of Information which decides which pictures the press may have and which it may not. Without their co-operation and far-seeing initiative, we could never have presented these exciting pictures of Britain at war."

Fig.18 Members of the censorship board.

(Fig.16). Capa's photos brought the readers closer to the scenes than ever before, living up to his theory "If your pictures aren't good enough, you aren't close enough" (Kunhardt, 1986,pg.51). *Life* continued to bring reality and shock value to its readers during the war years through its extensive coverage of the fighting.

Even though *Picture Post* looked on the war as an opportunity to "find a public" through war coverage, they had problems with the censorship of their reports. Hopkinson struck back at the Censorship Department by publishing "black blank spaces where the censored photographs should have been, with the captions which should have illuminated them intact underneath" (Fig.17). Beside these frames he published photographs of some of the censorship board members (Fig.18),(Kee, 1989, pg89). During the war years *Picture Post* covered the progress of the war in its own way. They concentrated on the home front, running articles on the bad conditions of the shelters, the lives of the women left behind and devoted a special issue to "A plan for Britain" which looked at life after the war (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.15). On July 13th 1940 they published a photo essay on the comparisons between life in England and life in Germany. It offered a blinkered view of both countries; portraying an idealistic image of Britain and an inevitably slanted view of Germany. *Picture Post* took an active stand on many political issues where the war was concerned. Hopkinson, with the help of Tom Wintringham, set up a Military training school for the Local Defence Volunteers. Hopkinson proved himself a responsible and worthy editor in these hard years. Under his editorship *Picture Post* "advanced from strength to strength in both journalistic quality and importance" (Kee, 1989, pg.89).

Chapter 5 The Photographic Essay

The end of World War Two in 1945 brought a whole new way of living to society. The streets of America and Britain were lively with celebrations and homecomings, but Britain also had to deal with housing problems and the reconstruction of whole streets.

Life and *Picture Post* also had to think about a plan of reconstruction to fill the empty pages that would previously have run articles on the war. Hopkinson took the challenge on with an open mind, saying that "it was possible to a much larger extent for an editor to make the magazine he wanted" (1984, pg.15). Both magazines could go back to concentrating on the lives of their readers and developing a method of communicating their stories. At this stage the photo essay became the "new art form" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.76). It would be wrong to say that the first photo essay was published in the post-war years because examples had already been seen in both *Life* and *Picture Post* as early as the pre-war years. But in these post-war years the photo essay became the main focus of the magazines, "Never had the camera shared the lives of subjects while they went about their normal routines as if oblivious of the lens" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.88). The main topic of the photo essay was an inside look at the lives of the ordinary people. They chose people that their readers could identify with, bringing them into the magazine and giving them as much importance as the glamourous stars.

Photo essays took time, as patience was required to collect the perfect photos that would capture their subjects. People had to be

> relaxed in the presence of a camera..... A photographer must spend time with them live with the click of the shutter, until finally they do not hear the click at all. That is when the good pictures begin to happen (Graves, 1985, pg.).

The photo essay was a very important part of the picture magazine; it brought action to the pages. Its narrative structure could tell a story

better than a single frame image could. It gave the readers a deeper look into the lives of other people of their own nationality and an insight to the culture of different nationalities, for example, W.E. Smith's essay for *Life* on a *Spanish Village*. Luce had a special interest in the photo essay and felt that it was "a dominant part of the magazine" (Kunhardt, 1986, pg16).

A photo essay is composed of a succession of photographs which give the narrative of the essay, assisted by a minimal amount of text. According to Henry Cartier Bresson a photograph should be able to communicate a subject successfully enough to carry a small caption with just the place name of the scene (Evans, 1986, pg.255). The photographer should be able to capture the atmosphere so perfectly that all the other supplementary information would be deemed repetitive. This was the ultimate aim of the photographers when composing a photo essay. They aimed to be the sole originator of what the essays had to say. Unfortunately, because of the development process and editorial influence the photographers lost power over their photographs as soon as they handed over the films to be developed (Willumson, 1992, pg.24).

It can be argued that this could possibly have taken away from the photo essay. Wilson Hicks, *Life's* picture editor from 1937-1950, felt that the photographer should have had more power over their essays (Willumson, 1992, pg.21). The photos were the photographer's personal response to a situation. He put so much feeling and personal opinion into capturing what he thought was important to the subject that surely he should have been involved in the selection of the photos and the layouts of the essay. The editors had the final word on the selection of the photos. This could have worked to the editor's advantage, by putting pressure on the photographers to give the clearest pictures and be as literal as they could. The whole concept behind the photo essay was communicating through photography. If the message was not clear enough for the editor

to pick up maybe the essay was not as successful as it should be. On the other hand perhaps by forcing the photographers to be so literal they risked loosing some of their subtlety and sensitivity towards the subject. This divided opinion often caused bitter disagreements between editors and photographers, especially W.E Smith, who was a strong-headed man (Willumson, 1992,pg.24).

In this study the main source of reference for the photo essay process comes from Willumson's book W.E Smith and the Photographic Essay. The process described refers to *Life's* methods of assigning the work for a photo essay. Due to the lack of material on *Picture Post's* methods it is unfortunately impossible to compare the two. It can be imagined that there is very little difference in the two except in the initial stage in *Life* where there is competition between the different departments to get the space allocated for a photo essay.

Essay ideas were proposed by the departments and presented to the managing editor. Subjects selected were then assigned to a researcher who wrote a picture script or guideline description for the photographer. The picture editor would then decide whether the story was worth developing. If it was, he would assign it to the most suitable staff photographer. Once the photos came in the picture editor checked them with the shooting script to make sure the photographer had followed his brief. They were then sent to the appropriate editor of the department where the story originated. Here the layouts would be made and submitted to the managing editor for approval. At this final stage it was handed over to the writer to fit text in the space available (Willumson, 1992, pg.21,22).

This process indicates that the final step was the addition of the text in the 'space available'. This shows just how important the photos were to the essay. Willumson also says that "small blocks of single-paragraph text

Fig.19 Gordon Parks's *Harlem Gang Leader* (*Life* 1948).

Fig.20 Margaret Bourke-White's *Franklin Roosvelt's Wild West* (*Life* 1936).

can be found on each page but, for the most part, the words do little more than identify picture content. Photos dominated the page and convey the narrative story line" (1992, pg17).

Life's first photo essay by Margaret Bourke-White, which was published in the first issue, shows a very raw and disconnected approach to the photo essay when compared to the developed techniques used by the post-war essayists such as W.E. Smith, Gordon Parks and Leonard McCombe. The early essay layout is very symmetrical and preconceived. The photo essays of the late '40s show a more free flowing structure, full of variety and versatility. This can be seen when an essay of the '40s such as Gordon Parks's *Harlem Gang Leader* (1948), (Fig.19) is compared to Margaret Bourke-White's *Franklin Roosvelt's Wild West* (1936), (Fig.20).

Chapter 6 W.E. Smith's *Country Doctor*

During the early post-war years the photo essay was still in an experimental stage. By the end of the '40s the technique was beginning to be mastered. Skillful layout methods which added to the movement of the narrative were also developed. For the first time the subjects began to ignore the presence of the camera which gave the essay a very natural feel. One of *Life's* best photo essays by W.E Smith, *Country Doctor,* appeared in 1948 (Willumson, 1992, pg.64). Smith is remembered as being "the master of the photographic essay" (Willumson, 1992, pg.1). He liked to spend time with his subjects and observe them, learning about their personalities, their work and letting them get used to having him around (Maddow, 1985, pg.109). He felt this was an important part of the process; without this stage the photos would have a posed and stiff quality to them. People naturally feel self-conscious when they are not used to being the subject of a constantly clicking camera. Smith wanted to capture "A true picture, unposed and real" (Willumson, 1992, pg.25), hence his success with the photo essay.

The idea of publishing an essay on the "*Country Doctor*" was suggested by Wilson Hicks (Willumson, 1992, pg.45). This subject choice is compatible with the main aims of the photo essay in the picture magazine of the '40s ; to show society the less glamourous job opportunities and educate the readers on the life of a country doctor. The first stage was to find a suitable doctor for the role. They wanted a young, enthusiastic and photogenic doctor, so after much research the bureau chief of *Life's* Denver office, Beshoar, suggested they use Doctor Ernest Ceriani of Kremmling Colorado (Willumson, 1992, pg.45). The shooting script was written up and Smith was chosen for the job. Smith spent four weeks with Dr Ceriani, who was his "constant companion" for the duration of Smith's stay in Kremmling (Willumson, 1992, pg.46). He used three different types of camera, the most important one being the 35 mm for the spontaneous shots

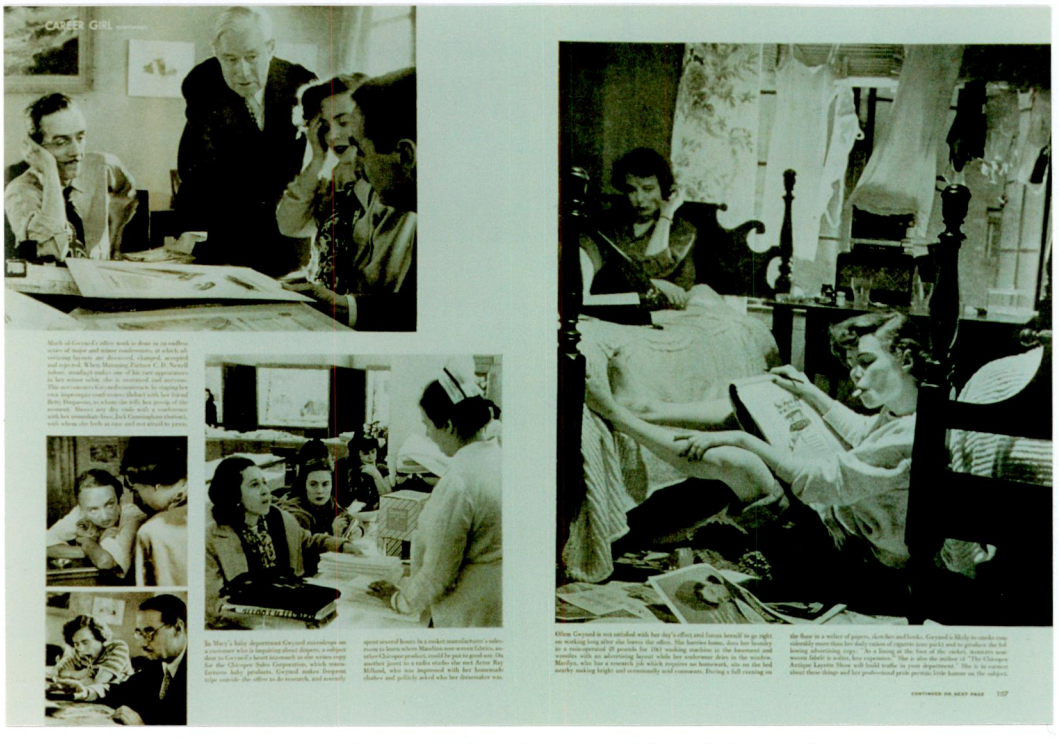


Fig.21 Leonard McCombe's *The Private life of Gwyned Filling.*(*Life* 1948).

(Willumson, 1992, pg.46). He shot over 2,000 negatives for the story, which breaks down to about three rolls of film a day (Willumson, 1992, pg.239). Smith's job was to show the readers a *Country Doctor's* way of life by building up a picture of the doctor's personal life along with his hectic career so the viewers could see him as a human being. Smith wanted to catch how the doctor cared for his patients and gave them his time day or night by showing the doctor's facial expressions. Also by fixing the attention on one particular doctor, the essay gave a stronger and closer look at life. Smith also felt that it was very important to be "compatible with your subject" as he felt he was with Dr Ceriani (Maddow, 1985, pg.109).

Country Doctor was published on 20th September 1948. It ran over eleven pages, an indication of the importance Smith hoped it would achieve (Willumson, 1992, pg.49). Although he was disappointed that he did not get the front cover of the issue (Willumson, 1992, pg.49) as Leonard McCombe had for his essay *The private life of Gwyned Filling* (Fig.21) on 3rd of March 1948, which was about a young girl and her career as a graphic designer (Kunhardt, 1986, pg.87). McCombe was considered to be the first to reveal an inside look without the subject showing any discomfort, giving the illusion that the camera was not even there (Willumson, 1992, pg.49). Essays that featured previous to this one were very posed and lacked the narrative continuity of McCombe and Smith's work (Willumson, 1992, pg.49). The cover of the *Country Doctor* issue featured actress Jaon Diener, also by W.E Smith. Obviously it was very important for the photographers if their essays got the front cover of the issue; it meant that their article was the main feature and selling point of that issue.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter *Life* did not like to retouch their photographs, but in this case Smith insisted on developing his own prints and making marginal changes in the process. When he had seen the prints

COUNTRY DOCTOR

THROUGH WEEDS GROWING RANK IN AN UNKEMPT DOORYARD, DR. ERNEST CERIANI OF KREMMLING MAKES HIS WAY TO CALL ON A PATIENT

HIS ENDLESS WORK HAS ITS OWN REWARDS

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR LIFE BY W. EUGENE SMITH

The town of Kremmling, Colo., 115 miles west of Denver, contains 1,000 people. The surrounding area of some 400 square miles, filled with ranches which extend high into the Rocky Mountains, contains 1,000 more. These 2,000 souls are constantly falling ill, recovering or dying, having children, being kicked by horses and cutting themselves on broken bottles. A single country doctor, known in the profession as a "g.p.," or general practitioner, takes care of them all. His name is Ernest Guy Ceriani.

Dr. Ceriani begins to work soon after 8 o'clock and often continues far into the night. He serves as physician, surgeon, obstetrician, pediatrician, psychiatrist, dentist, oculist and laboratory technician. Like most rural g.p.s he has no vacations and few days off, although unlike them he has a small hospital in which to work. Whenever he has a spare hour he spends it uneasily, worrying about a particular patient or regretting that he cannot study all of the medical journals which pour into his office. Although he is only 32 he is already slightly stooped, leaning forward as he hurries from place to place as though heading into a strong wind. His income for covering a dozen fields is less than a city doctor makes by specializing in only one. But Ceriani is compensated by the affection of his patients and neighbors, by the high place he has earned in his community and by the fact that he is his own boss. For him this is enough. The fate of thousands of communities like Kremmling, in dire need of "country doctors," depends on whether the nation's 22,000 medical students, now choosing between specialization and general practice, also think it is enough.

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Fig.22 W. E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 1, original print.

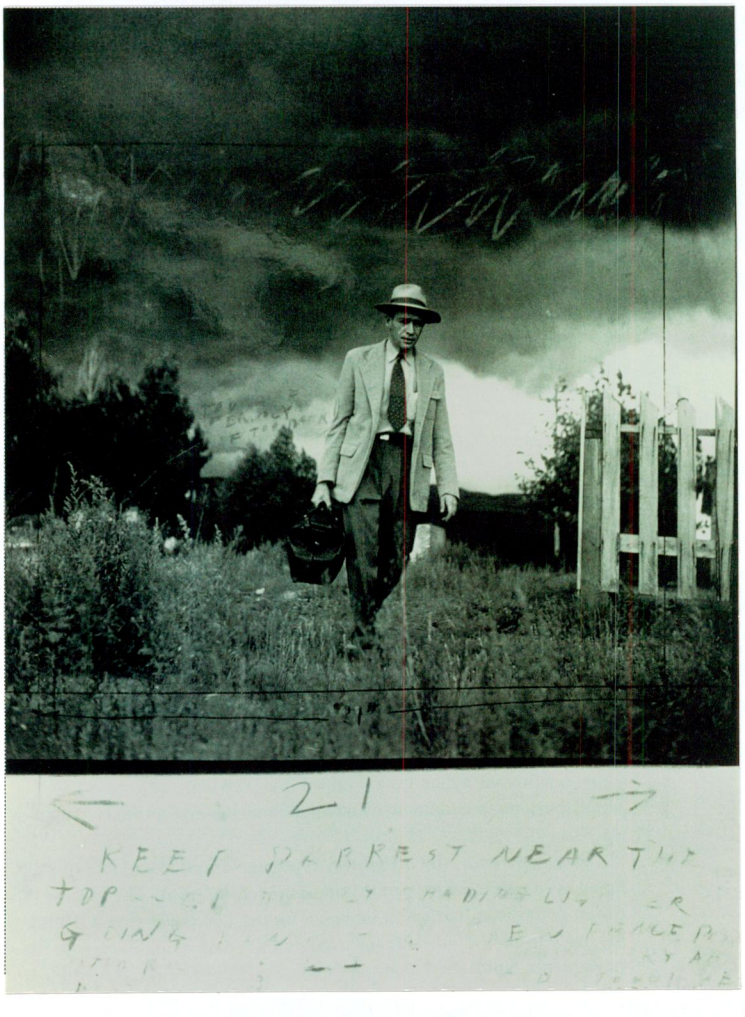
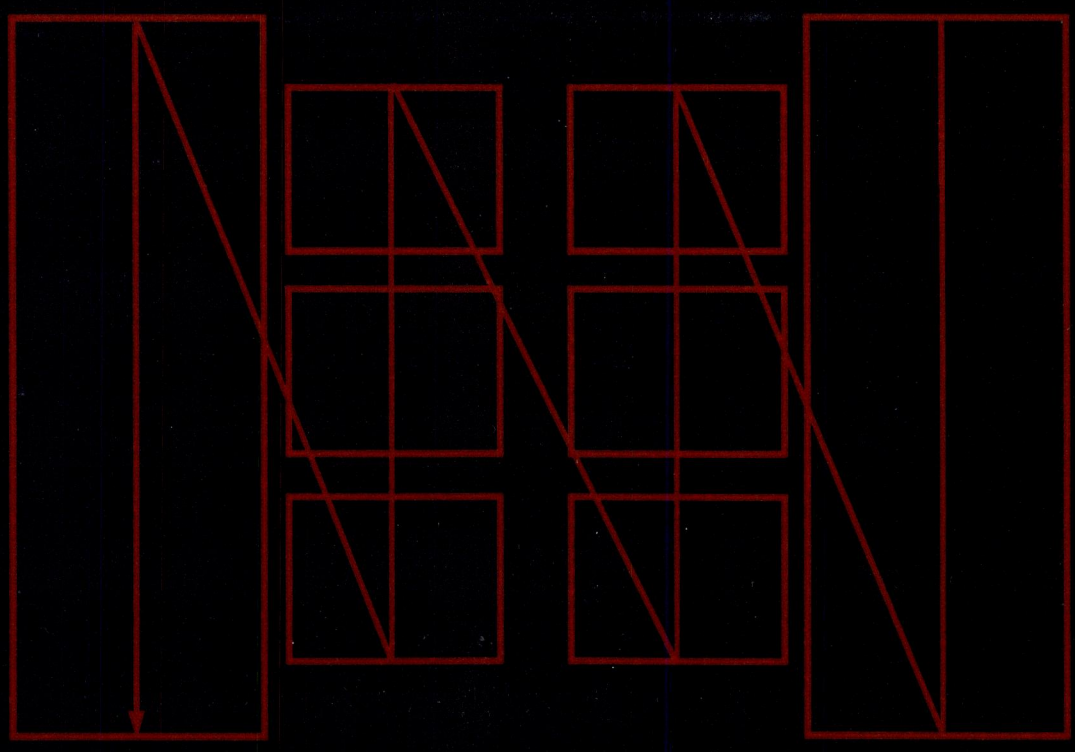


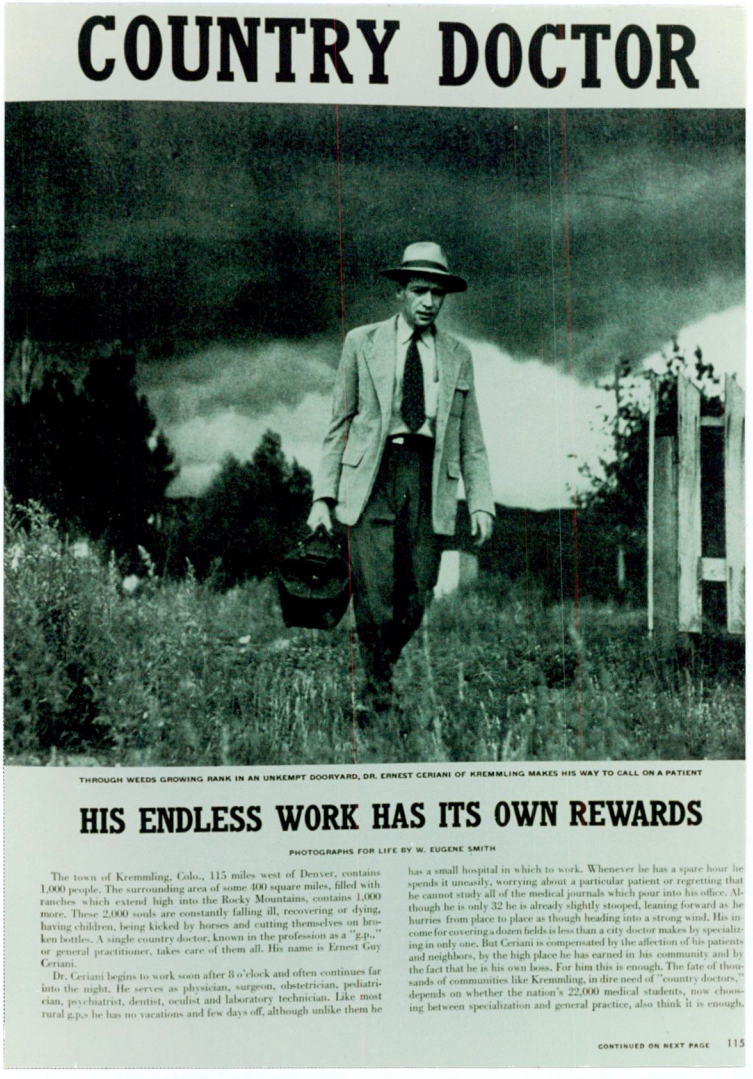
Fig.23 W. E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 1, altered print.

that *Life's* photo lab had made for *Country Doctor* he was so "disappointed in the quality of the reproductions" that he requested permission to make his own prints for the story (Willumson, 1992, pg.249). Once again the question is raised as to how much control the photographer should have over his photo essay. Smith adjusted the prints according to how he felt they should be by darkening areas and applying bleach to other areas to achieve what he felt was important to the atmosphere of the image (Willumson, 1992, pg.249). He could also darken the areas of the photo which gave insignificant details he felt could distract the eye (Willumson, 1992, pg.249). These alterations were not considered as tampering with the reality of the photographs, but as enhancing reality. The fact that it was Smith, with his firsthand experience of the scenes, who was carrying out these alterations suggests that the objective in making these alterations was not to deceive.

The introductory photograph for *Country Doctor* (Fig.24) shows Dr. Ernest Ceriani walking through an open field. The dark sky shadowing behind him seems to sit on his shoulders like a weight. His profession is instantly recognisable by his heavy doctor's bag that becomes part of the figure's silhouette. His knitted brow suggests that he is on his way to visit a patient; this is confirmed by the subtitle that runs under the photograph which states *His endless work has its own rewards.*

When the original print (Fig.22) and the altered print (Fig.23) for this frame are compared the cropping, darkening and bleaching that Smith carried out become apparent. The Doctor's face has been lightened (Willumson, 1992, pg.250) to emphasise his expression. The bush on the left has also been slightly lightened (Willumson, 1992, pg.250) to give the photograph more depth of field. The paragraph underneath tells the viewer where they are situated, with a small bit of background on the town of Kremmling. It also introduces Dr. Ceriani and gives some statistics on how





COUNTRY DOCTOR

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PHOTOGRAPHS FOR LIFE BY W. EUGENE SMITH

The town of Kremmling, Colo., 115 miles west of Denver, contains 1,000 people. The surrounding area of some 400 square miles, filled with ranches which extend high into the Rocky Mountains, contains 1,000 more. These 2,000 souls are constantly falling ill, recovering or dying, having children, being kicked by horses and cutting themselves on broken bottles. A single country doctor, known in the profession as a "g.p.," or general practitioner, takes care of them all. His name is Ernest Guy Ceriani.

Dr. Ceriani begins to work soon after 8 o'clock and often continues far into the night. He serves as physician, surgeon, obstetrician, pediatrician, psychiatrist, dentist, oculist and laboratory technician. Like most rural g.p.s he has no vacations and few days off, although unlike them he has a small hospital in which to work. Whenever he has a spare hour he spends it uneasily, worrying about a particular patient or regretting that he cannot study all of the medical journals which pour into his office. Although he is only 32 he is already slightly stooped, leaning forward as he hurries from place to place as though heading into a strong wind. His income for covering a dozen fields is less than a city doctor makes by specializing in only one. But Ceriani is compensated by the affection of his patients and neighbors, by the high place he has earned in his community and by the fact that he is his own boss. For him this is enough. The fate of thousands of communities like Kremmling, in dire need of "country doctors," depends on whether the nation's 22,000 medical students, now choosing between specialization and general practice, also think it is enough.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Fig.24 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 1.

COUNTRY DOCTOR CONTINUED

HE MUST SPECIALIZE

IN A DOZEN FIELDS

HOME CALL at 8:30 a.m. starts Ceriani's day. He prefers to treat patients during office hours at the hospital, but because this pioneer had a fever and symptoms of influenza Ceriani thought it would be unwise for him to get up and make the trip.

MINOR EMERGENCY disrupts Ceriani's office routine. This 50-year-old trapper, suffering from a heart disturbance aggravated by a trip through an 11,000-foot pass in the Rockies, came to the hospital to get an injection of morphine.

ANOTHER HOME CALL turns up a feverish 4-year-old suffering from acute tonsilitis. Although a large proportion of his patients are children, Dr. Ceriani is still inexperienced in pediatrics and studies it whenever he has an opportunity.

X-RAY PICTURE is explained to a rancher by Ceriani, who developed the negative himself. In addition to the X-ray machine, the hospital contains about $10,000 worth of equipment, including a $1,500 autoclave and an oxygen tent.

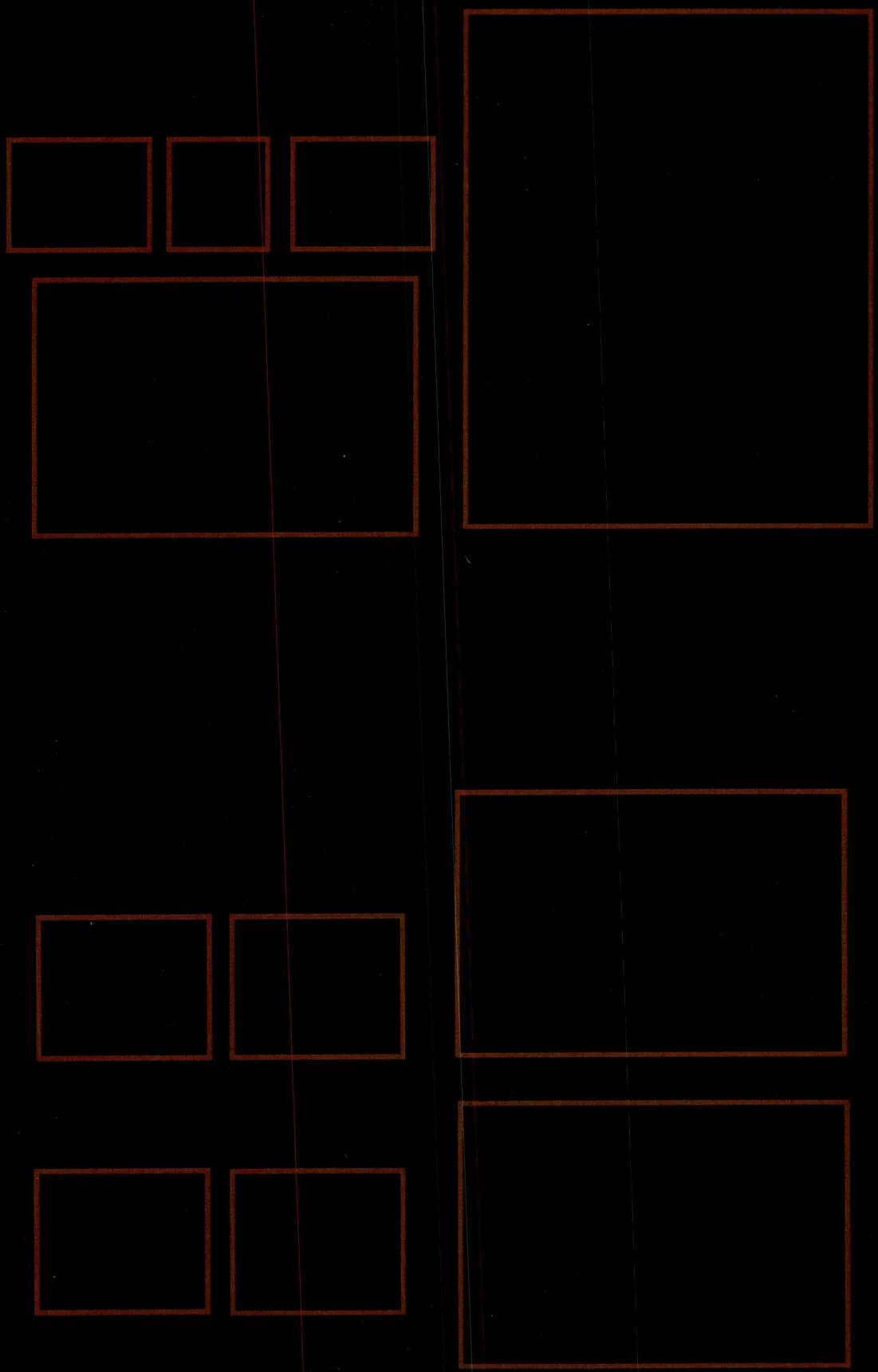
BROKEN RIBS, the result of an accident in which a horse rolled on this patient, are bound with adhesive tape by Ceriani. Many of his hardy patients walk in with injuries which would make city dwellers call at once for an ambulance.

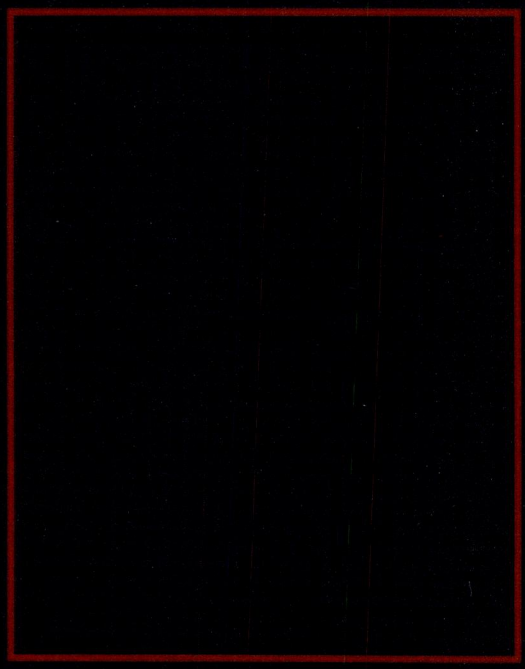
PROBLEMS OF AGE—in this case a slight deafness complicated by deposits of ear wax—are daily brought to the doctor. Here, in an operation chiefly important for its effect on the patient's morale, Ceriani removes the wax with a syringe.

WOES OF YOUTH fill Ceriani's office with noise. Above: he examines stitches in the lacerated hand of a squalling 7-year-old. Below: he uses a rubber tube to remove the mucous which clogs the throat of an infant he has just delivered.

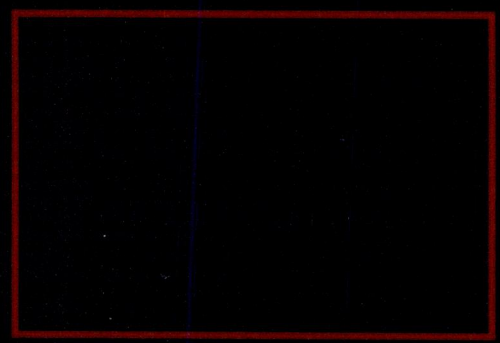
THE DAY'S FIRST OFFICE CALL is made by a tourist guide and his baby, who have come to Kremmling from an outlying ranch. Ceriani's patients are of all ages and income groups and come from districts seven as far as 50 miles away.

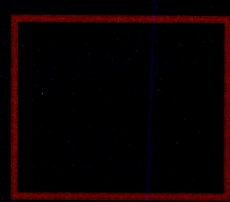
Fig. 25 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 2 & 3.

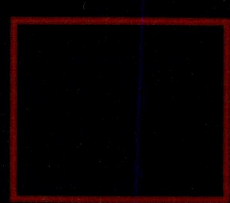


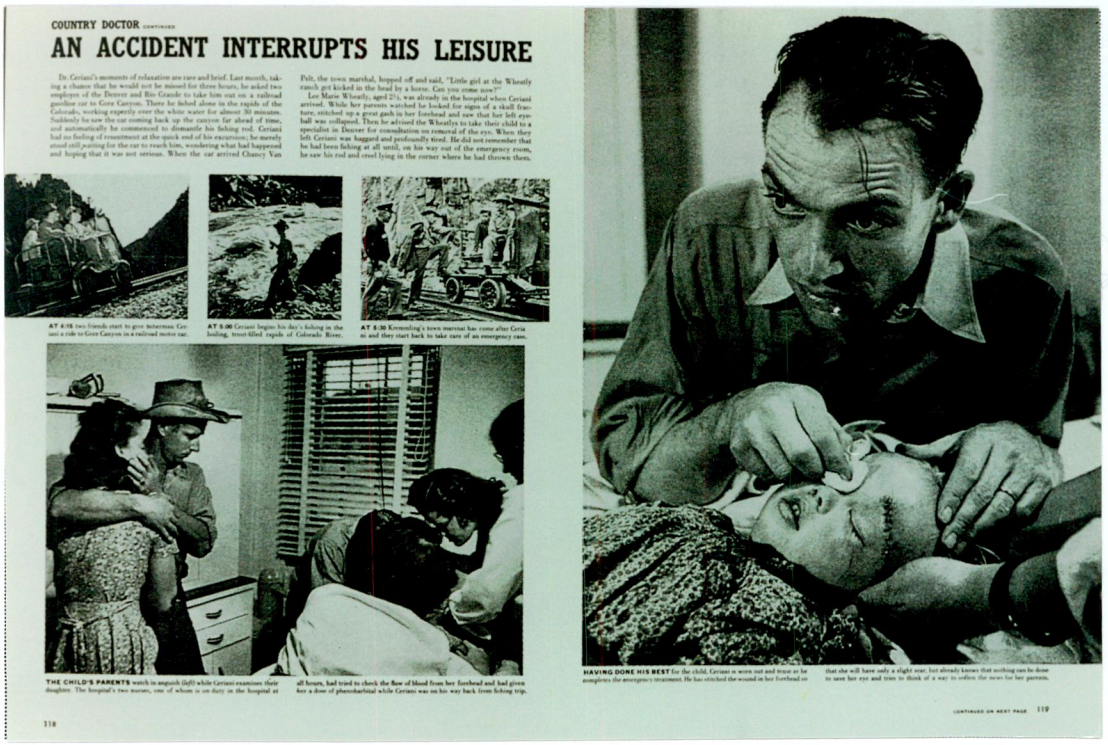








COUNTRY DOCTOR CONTINUED

AN ACCIDENT INTERRUPTS HIS LEISURE

Dr. Ceriani's moments of relaxation are rare and brief. Last month, taking a chance that he would not be missed for three hours, he asked two employes of the Denver and Rio Grande to take him out on a railroad gasoline car to Gore Canyon. There he fished alone in the rapids of the Colorado, working expertly over the white water for almost 30 minutes. Suddenly he saw the car coming back up the canyon far ahead of time, and automatically he commenced to dismantle his fishing rod. Ceriani had no feeling of resentment at the quick end of his excursion, he merely stood still waiting for the car to reach him, wondering what had happened and hoping that it was not serious. When the car arrived Chaney Van Pelt, the town marshal, hopped off and said, "Little girl at the Wheatly ranch got kicked in the head by a horse. Can you come now?"

Lee Marie Wheatly, aged 2½, was already in the hospital when Ceriani arrived. While her parents watched he looked for signs of a skull fracture, stitched up a great gash in her forehead and saw that her left eyeball was collapsed. Then he advised the Wheatlys to take their child to a specialist in Denver for consultation on removal of the eye. When they left Ceriani was haggard and profoundly tired. He did not remember that he had been fishing at all until, on his way out of the emergency room, he saw his rod and creel lying in the corner where he had thrown them.

AT 4:15 two friends start to give fisherman Ceriani a ride to Gore Canyon in a railroad motor car.

AT 5:00 Ceriani begins his day's fishing in the boiling, trout-filled rapids of Colorado River.

AT 5:30 Kremmling's town marshal has come after Ceriani and they start back to take care of an emergency case.

THE CHILD'S PARENTS watch in anguish (left) while Ceriani examines their daughter. The hospital's two nurses, one of whom is on duty in the hospital at all hours, had tried to check the flow of blood from her forehead and had given her a dose of phenobarbital while Ceriani was on his way back from fishing trip.

HAVING DONE HIS BEST for the child, Ceriani is worn out and tense as he completes the emergency treatment. He has stitched the wound in her forehead so that she will have only a slight scar, but already knows that nothing can be done to save her eye and tries to think of a way to soften the news for her parents.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Fig. 26 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 4 & 5.

COUNTRY DOCTOR CONTINUED

HE SETS A BADLY DISLOCATED ELBOW

Young Robert Wiggs had a dislocated left elbow. He had been to a rodeo in nearby Grandy, had a few beers and tried to ride a wild horse. When he was brought by his friends to the hospital, he was in great pain and sweating heavily. "Don't tell my mother," he said.

Dr. Ceriani X-rayed the arm. Then, because it was necessary to give Wiggs ether, he questioned him about the beer he had drunk. Wiggs said, "Only a few," and the operation proceeded. The boy's friends and a nurse held him while Ceriani set the joint and made a cast for it (*opposite page*).

As the effects of the ether began to fade, Wiggs began groggily to repeat, "Don't tell my mother." At this Ceriani glanced across the table. There stood Mrs. Wiggs, who had been notified of the accident and had rushed to the hospital in time to hold her son's hand during the last of the operation. Ceriani grinned at her, trying to convey two ideas. One was that her son would be all right. The second was that Ceriani himself was a man who might not long ago have had a few beers and tried to ride a wild horse, and therefore did not think this affair was one of the utmost gravity.

CERIANI HELPS LARRY THE PAINFULLY INJURED BOY INTO THE HOSPITAL

HE PULLS AT THE BOY'S ARM TO BRING THE ELBOW JOINT BACK INTO PLACE

THEN CERIANI APPLIES A CAST WHILE THE HALF-CONSCIOUS BOY MURMURS, "DON'T TELL MY MOTHER," NOT REALIZING HIS MOTHER IS HOLDING HIS HAND

...AND AMPUTATES A GANGRENOUS LEG

Old Thomas Mitchell had a gangrenous left foot. He was 85, and when he was brought to the basement emergency room three months ago it seemed unlikely that he would live long. But he survived, and when Dr. Ceriani came to tend him he would say, "I want to see the mayor. When is the mayor coming?" as though such a visit would clear up the trouble.

For a long time Dr. Ceriani postponed the inevitable amputation, afraid that the old man could not survive it. Twice he told the nurses, "Tomorrow I will do it," but when tomorrow arrived Mitchell had grown weaker.

Finally the old man rallied and Ceriani hastily made his preparations. With great gentleness he carried his patient (*opposite page*) up to the operating room, gave him a spinal anesthetic and cut off his left leg below the knee. The old man, conscious but with his vision blocked by a screen, was not aware of what was being done and did not discover that his leg was gone until long after. He continued to say, "My foot hurts," while Dr. Ceriani, busy now with other cases, sighed in relief. Last week the old man was much improved and asking with increased spiritedness to see the mayor.

BEFORE THE AMPUTATION CERIANI CHECKS MITCHELL'S BLOOD PRESSURE

IN THE OPERATING ROOM THE OLD MAN RECEIVES A SPINAL ANESTHETIC

BECAUSE THE HOSPITAL HAS NO ELEVATOR, CERIANI PICKS UP HIS PATIENT IN THE BASEMENT WARD TO CARRY HIM UPSTAIRS TO THE OPERATING ROOM

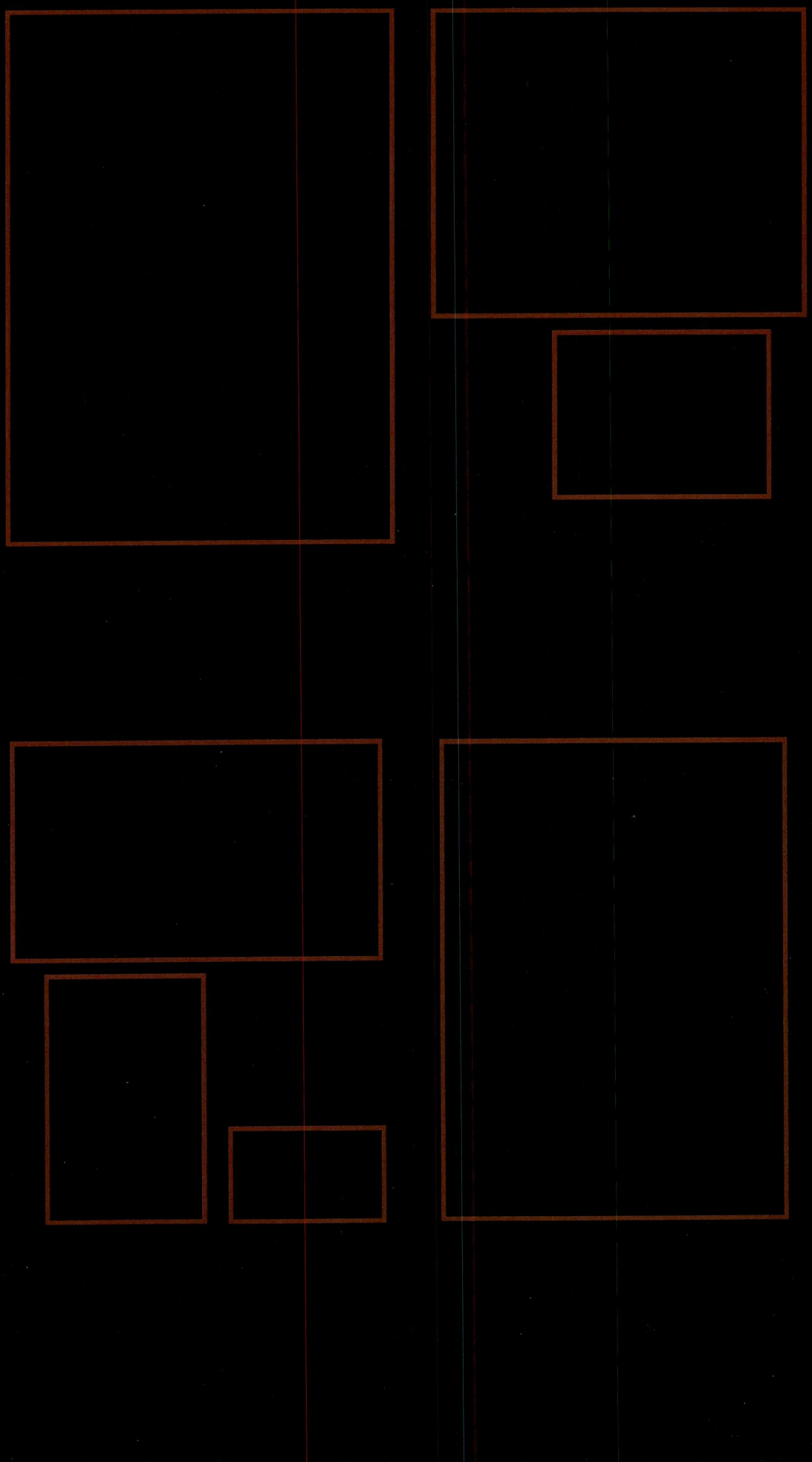
CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Fig. 27 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 6 & 7.

many citizens he is responsible for and how important his practice is. The paragraph is not too lengthy and does not overlap with the photograph's content.

The first double page spread (Fig.25) shows the variety of different cases the Doctor treats. It shows the Doctor's versatility ranging from tonsillitis to delivering a baby. The layout moves from left to right and from top to bottom. It adds action to the pages by using eight small frame photographs, which is similar to a run of negatives. This device gives a single frame shot for each incident, moving the viewer along rapidly and giving the impression that the Doctor is also thrown into each situation at such a quick rate. They are held together on either side by three larger framed prints. Apart from the first photograph the Doctor features in every frame (as does Gwyned Filling (Fig.21) in McCombes essay and Red Jackson (Fig.19) in Parks's essay). His hands are the focal point in all the pictures showing how he is treating the patient. Smith is not concentrating on the Doctor's facial expressions. In some of the frames the Doctor even has his back to the viewer, but still his hands are the centre of the image.

The next double spread (Fig.26) brings the reader closer to the Doctor's work by showing a particular accident in which a small child sustains serious head injuries. The frames get bigger as they move along this double page spread, giving the sensation of getting closer and closer to the emotional side of the Doctor's life which is dramatically shown in a full page picture of the Doctor and the unconscious injured child. For the first time Smith shows a close up of the Doctor's concerned facial expression while at work on one of his patients. By bleaching the girl's forehead and the Doctor's fingers (Willumson, 1992, pg.51) the attention is drawn towards them and connects them together, heightening the drama and tension of the scene. The text is kept to a minimum, explaining the background information of the accident, then letting the photographs pick up the story with the Doctor's involvement in it.



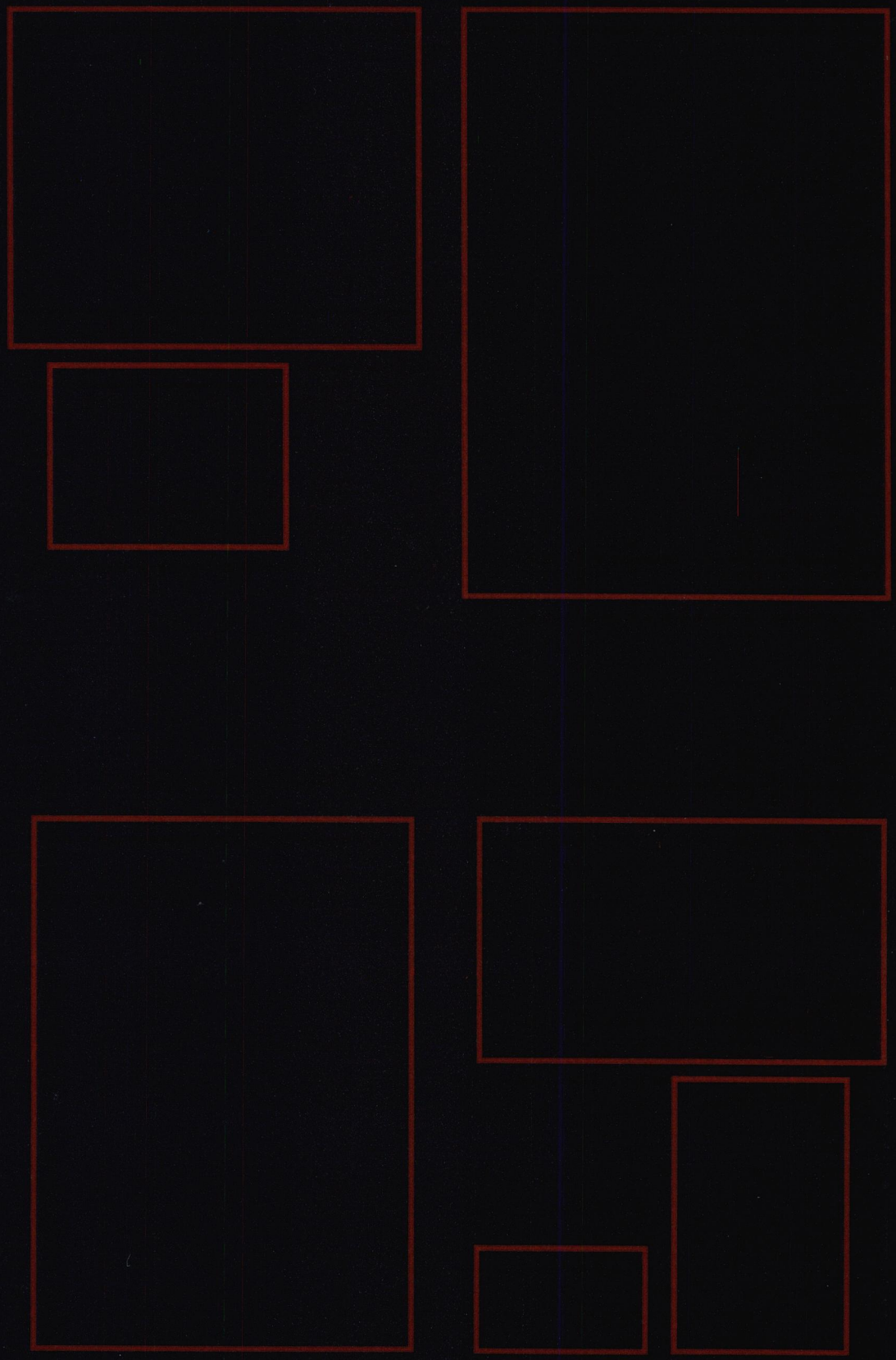


Fig. 28 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 8 & 9.

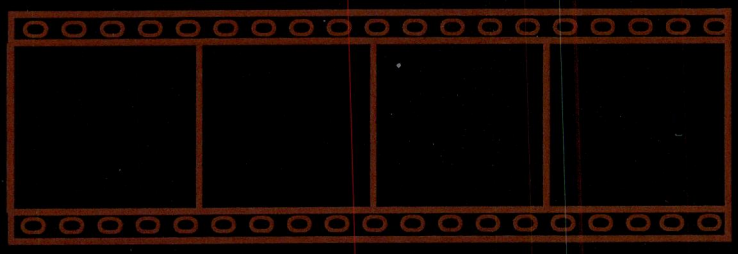
Fig. 29 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 10 & 11.

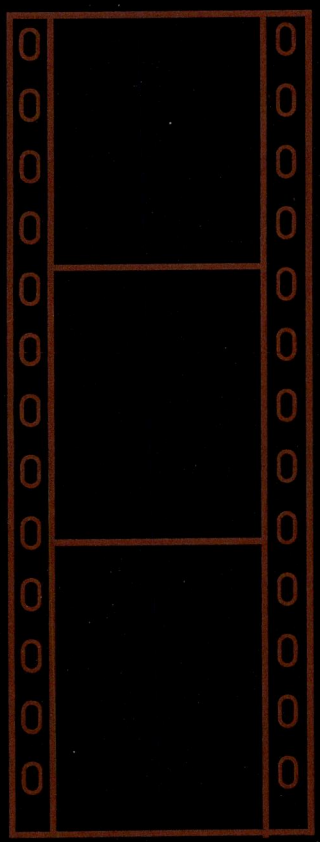
The essay continues with a double spread divided horizontally in two (Fig.27). Here he looks at two more cases, one of which involves an operation on a gangrenous leg. Smith has once again used the bleaching technique to emphasise the frightened expression on the old man's face as he receives a spinal anaesthetic. The readers are reassured that the old man is in safe hands as Dr. Ceriani carefully carries him to the operating room which "leads us out of the picture and invites us to continue further into the body of the photo essay" (Willumson, 1992, pg.51).

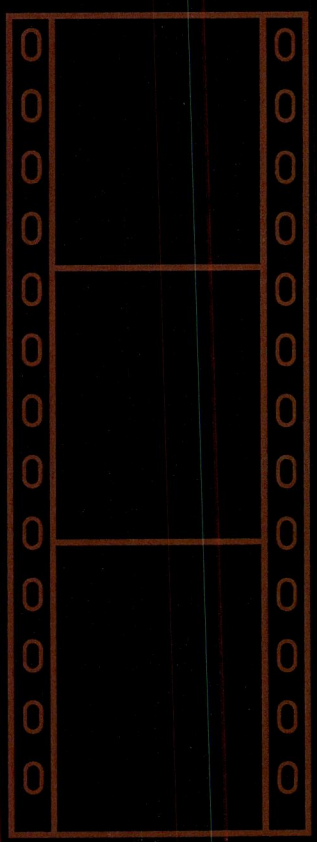
Smith now shows us, in the next spread, the grim realities of being a doctor (Fig.28). The heading reads *An old man dies at night.* He keeps these pictures dark with strong contrasts to portray the gloomy atmosphere of death. The Doctor is still the level headed man in charge of the situation (Willumson, 1992, pg.51). These two pages are given to bring viewers back down to reality. After showing six pages full of the Doctor's great work Smith shows that he is still only human and not a miracle worker. The layout puts the full photo on the lefthand side to show the situation followed by the sobering aftermath.

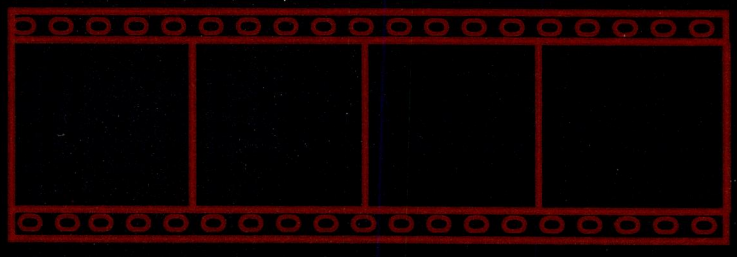
The final double picture spread (Fig.29) shows what may sometimes be seen at the beginning of a photo essay. It shows an aerial view of the town and the Doctor with his family. At this stage the viewer has been exposed to how the Doctor spends so much of his time, they have seen him doing his best for society and they are now interested in seeing him in a happier situation with his family.

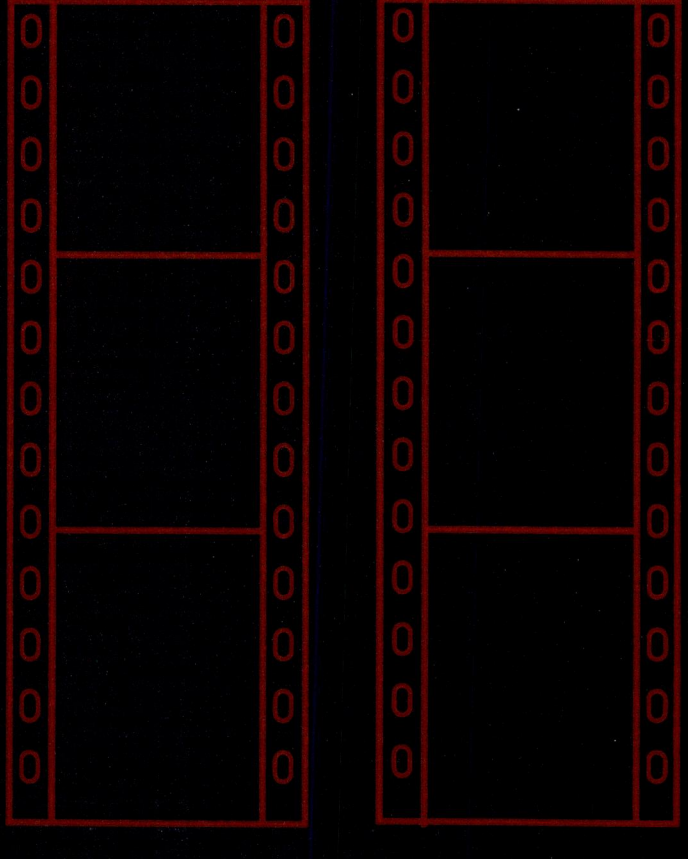
The final image (Fig.29) brings us back to the intense look of concentration on the Doctor's face that we saw in the introductory picture (Willumson, 1992, pg.51), just as a writer would structure the body of text using the conclusion to refect back to the introduction. His shoulders look burdened as he slouches down against the counter. The shadow in the











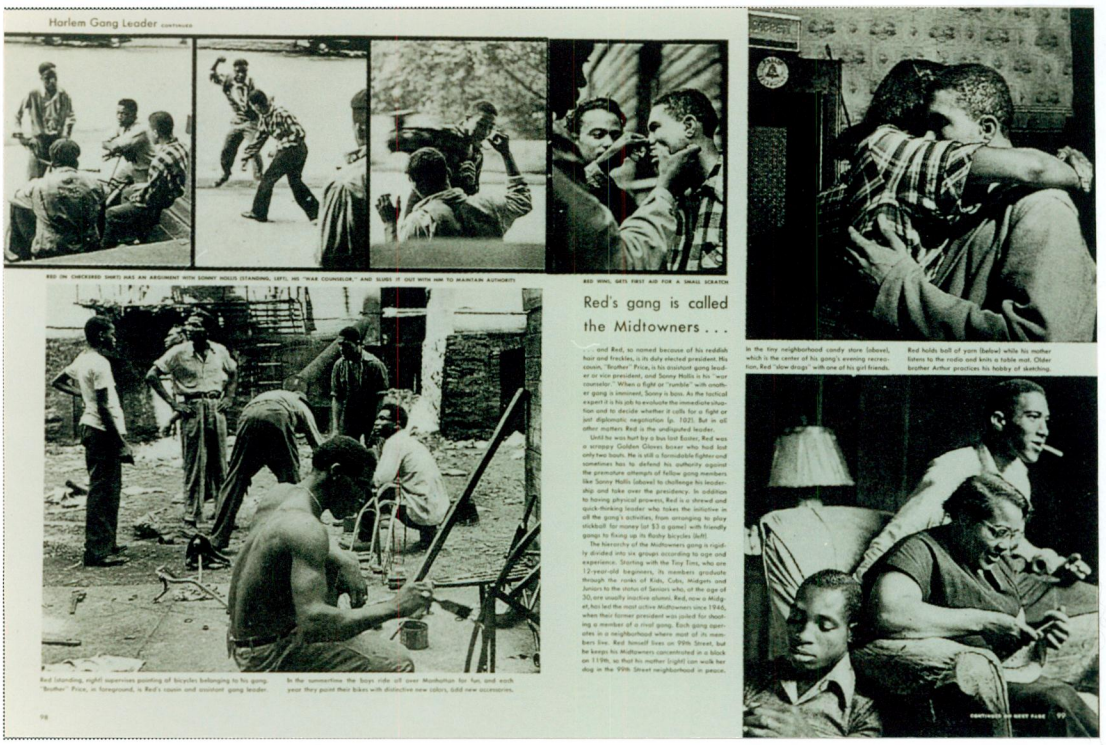


Fig. 30 Gordon Parks's *Harlem Gang Leader*, close up of street fight frames.

Fig. 31 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 2 & 3, close up of small frames.

background might even be symbolising the unfinished work that follows him. His white surgical gown gives him a pure and Godlike appearance (Willumson, 1992, pg.52).

The overall layout of the essay brings the reader gradually into the life of Dr. Ceriani. Each page unfolds a little more about the man himself as well as his profession, it does not neglect the human dimension. By the end of the essay the readers feel that they really know what it would be like to be a country doctor. This is exactly what the editors wanted out of the essay. At the time of its publication there were shortages of doctors which left the rural areas with no medical assistance (Willumson, 1992, pg.12). Smith's essay was meant to promote medicine and make it a worthwhile and attractive professional option (Willumson, 1992, pg.12). The essay wanted to show that having a general practice didn't mean all house calls as Dr.Ceriani also had his own hospital. When the essay is objectively reviewed one can almost see what Smith's shooting script must have been like. He was to show that the doctor's life was hectic and yet very gratifying. Smith shows us twelve cases where the Doctor succeeded in helping his patients and yet had time to spend with his family. The essay very successfully communicates its message using strong facial expressions and gestures.

In looking at three different *Life* photo essays of the late '40s, Smith's *Country Doctor* (1948), Parks's *Harlem Gang Leader* (1948) and McCombe's *The private life of Gwyned Filling* (1948) They show strong similarities in layout, topic choice and photographic technique. All three essays concentrate on one person who features in every frame. The layout is dictated by the content of the images, which works very well compared to the old method of symmetrical used in Margaret Bourke-White's first photo essay (Fig.20). For example, in *Harlem Gang Leader* (Fig.30) Parks uses the same small frame run of images as Smith used in *Country Doctor* (Fig.31),

to portray the fast movement of Red Jackson the gang leader caught in a street fight. These methods proved very successful for *Life's* photographers, they produced some of the best photo essays using these techniques. Smith's *Country Doctor* shows all the characteristics of the *Life* photo essay and is considered one of the best produced. This deems it worthy of analysis and can be taken as a good example of the photo essays of the late '40s.

Chapter 7 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at work*

Due to the unavailability of written material on Raymond Kleboe and his use of the photo essay the analysis on this subject will be restricted to personal opinion through studying the essay. Fortunately an original copy of the *Picture Post* issue which published Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work* was located. This gives the opportunity of putting the essay into the context of the magazine by looking at the other photo essays in the issue which published Kleboe's *Osteopath* essay on 26th February 1949.

The photo essays in *Picture Post* put more emphasis on the photographer/journalist combination. Their essays had more text and in most of the article the journalist's name is credited. This can be seen in Bert Hardy's *The Struggle for Indonesia* written by Woodrow Wyatt and Raymond Klebeos *An Osteopath at Work*, written by Fyfe Robertson. The Robertson/Kleboe combination was obviously considered a successful one. On the 19th November, nine months after they published the Osteopath essay, they ran a photo essay on *The Tanganyka Groundnut Scheme* which these two men had worked on together (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.16). In Hopkinson's book Picture Post 1938-50 he says that it was "too long to include", but he also says that the essay was an "impressive exposure of the disastrous Tanganyka Groundnut Scheme" (Hopkinson, 1984, pg.16). With a photo essay the more impressive the work, the more room was allocated to it, which suggests that Kleboe's essay was as impressive as Hopkinson says.

Picture Post did not choose to examine the ordinary people as frequently as *Life* did and they also published photo essays on the rich and famous. On April 16th 1949. they ran a photo essay on *The Life of Charlie Chaplin*. On November 29th 1952 they published a colour photo essay on Zsa Zsa Gabour by Bert Hardy and a three page essay on Prince Philip. The subject of "*An Osteopath at Work*" was chosen to educate *Picture Post's*

Fig.32 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, front cover of Picture Post.

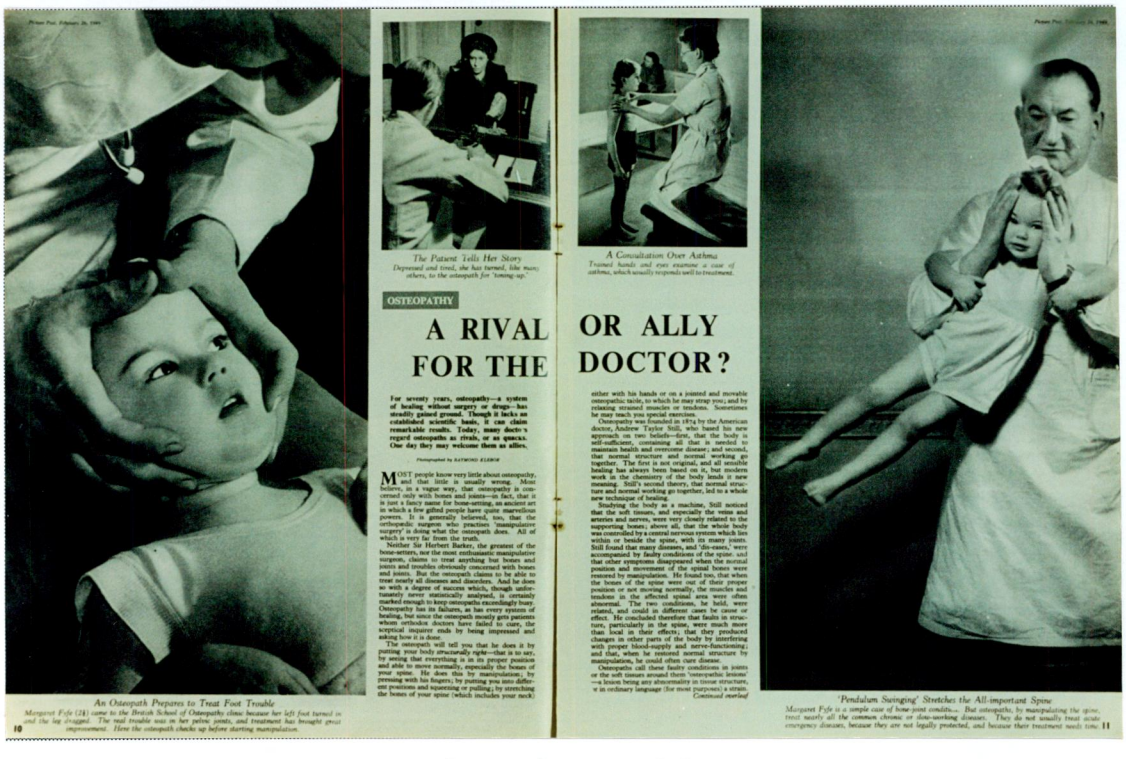
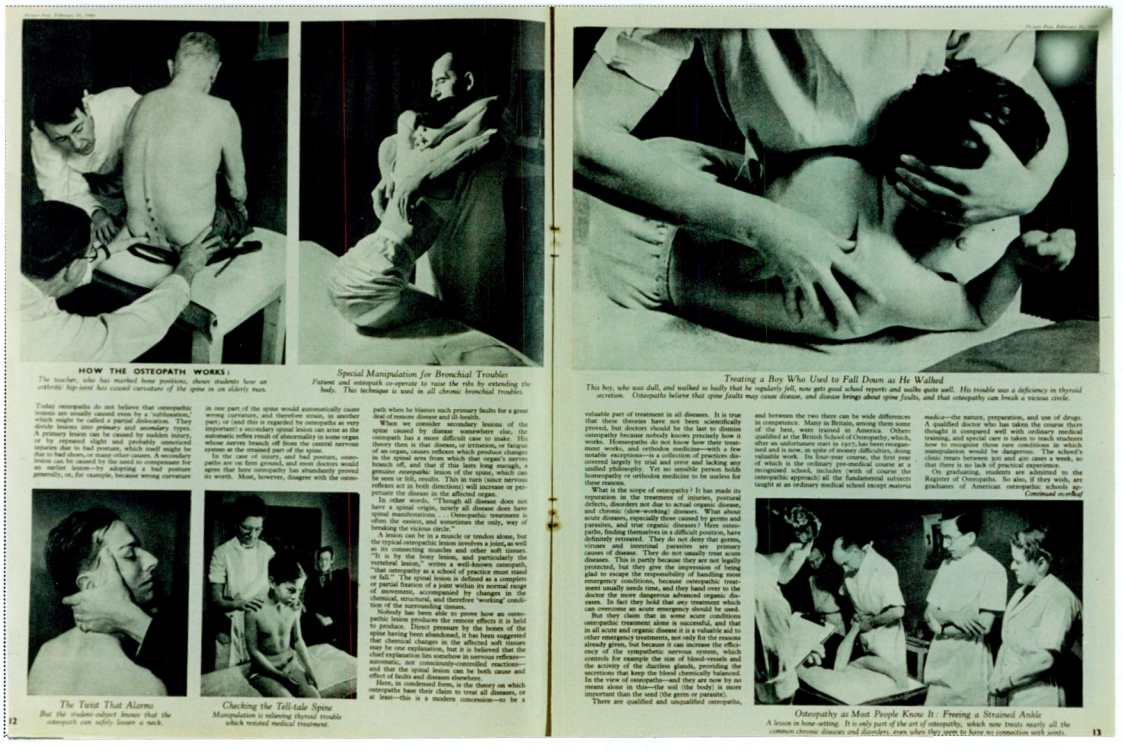


Fig.33 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, pages 1 & 2.

readers as Lorant meant the magazine to do. With closer examination of the text it can be seen also as a promotional piece for a career in Osteopathy. It shows photos of the students who are studying to be Osteopaths in addition to the shots of trained Osteopaths treating patients. The aim of this essay may seem to be more difficult to achieve than those involved in showing the career of an orthodox doctor. In general the public would all have a fair idea about the work of an orthodox doctor but, as the introduction explains, not many people know exactly what an osteopath does and what his methods are based on.

The essay does not look at one particular osteopath but at the practice in general, putting an emphasis on communicating what the profession entails, not the life of the osteopath. The essay runs over five pages starting with a double spread and ending with a single. Not only did Kleboe get the prime position in the magazine, he also got the front cover which as mentioned before, was very important to the promotion of the photographer. It was considered to be an important achievement for him to get the cover and essay space. The cover shows the clinically dressed Osteopath treating the back of a small child (Fig.32). The contrast between the Osteopath's large hands and the child's back gives the doctor a powerful healing credibility. Kleboe uses the innocent look on the child's face to entice the readers to look inside and see what happens to the child. The Osteopath's facial expression is not important to the photo, it is his hands that are the focal point of the image (in Smith's essay the Doctors face is the focal point). The picture does not seem to have been retouched or altered in any way. As Picture Post demonstrated in its first issue they did not like to retouch their images. The whiteness of the surgical gown and the pure skin of the child naturally contrast with the dark background of the room.

The first and opening double page spread (Fig.33) shows the same child and Osteopath so that the reader will make the connection with the



HOW THE OSTEOPATH WORKS:
The teacher, who has marked bone positions, shows students how an arthritic hip-joint has caused curvature of the spine in an elderly man.

Special Manipulation for Bronchial Troubles
Patient and osteopath co-operate to raise the ribs by extending the body. This technique is used in all chronic bronchial troubles.

Treating a Boy Who Used to Fall Down as He Walked
This boy, who was dull, and walked so badly that he regularly fell, now gets good school reports and walks quite well. His trouble was a deficiency in thyroid secretion. Osteopaths believe that spine faults may cause disease, and disease brings about spine faults, and that osteopathy can break a vicious circle.

The Twist That Alarms
But the student-subject knows that the osteopath can safely loosen a neck.

Checking the Tell-tale Spine
Manipulation is relieving thyroid trouble which resisted medical treatment.

Osteopathy as Most People Know It: Freeing a Strained Ankle
A lesson in bone-setting. It is only part of the art of osteopathy, which now treats nearly all the common chronic diseases and disorders, even when they seem to have no connection with joints.

12

13

Fig.34 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, pages 3 & 4.

They Study for Four Years
Students at a pathology lecture. Their training includes all the fundamental medical subjects, except the use of drugs.

The Good Osteopath Uses Every Aid
A teacher checks diagnosis in the school's X-ray room. Some osteopaths were trained in America, some in this British school. Some have not had any recognised training at all.

When Knowing How Is Important
His feet are strapped to the table. His neck joints are gently stretched and released.

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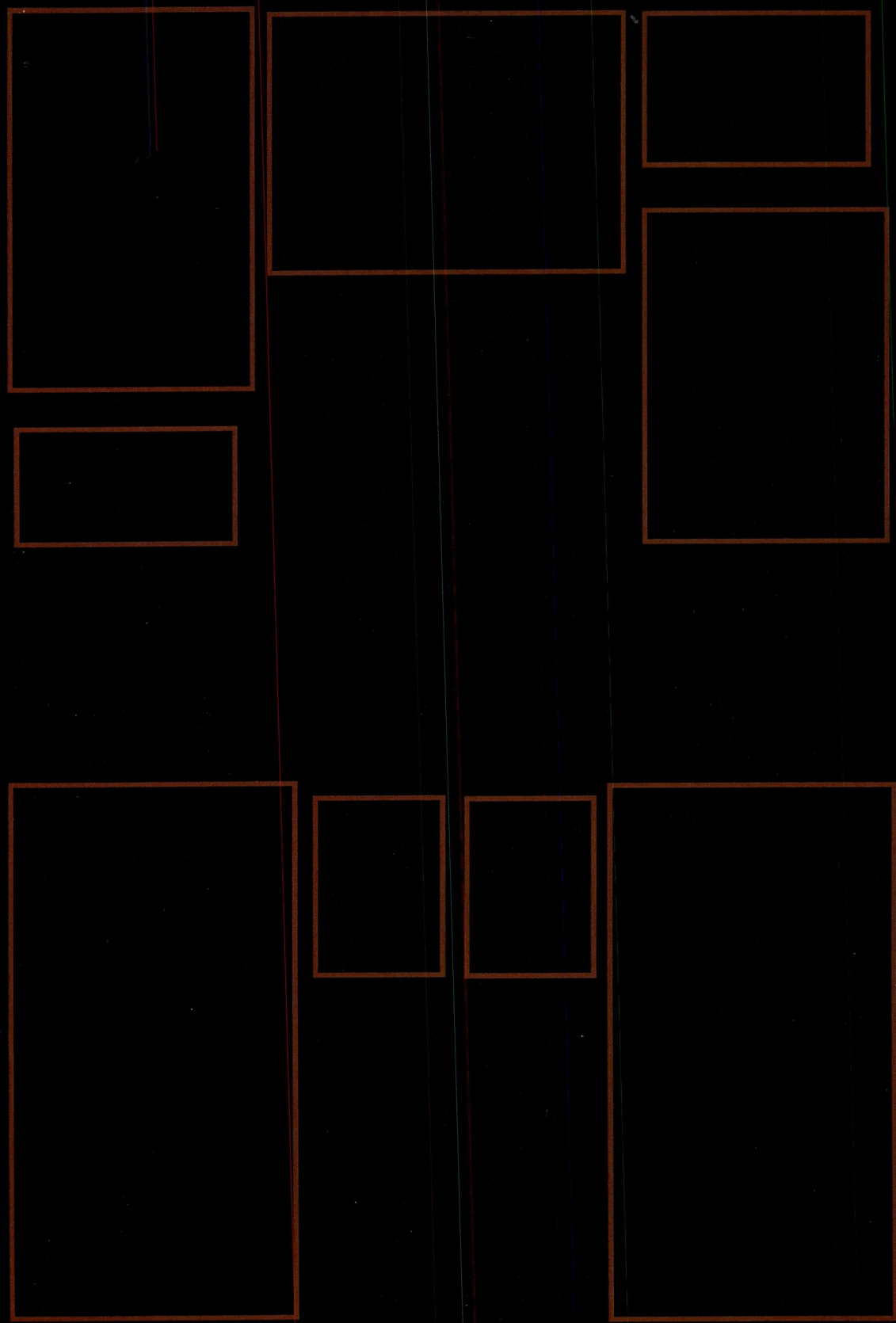
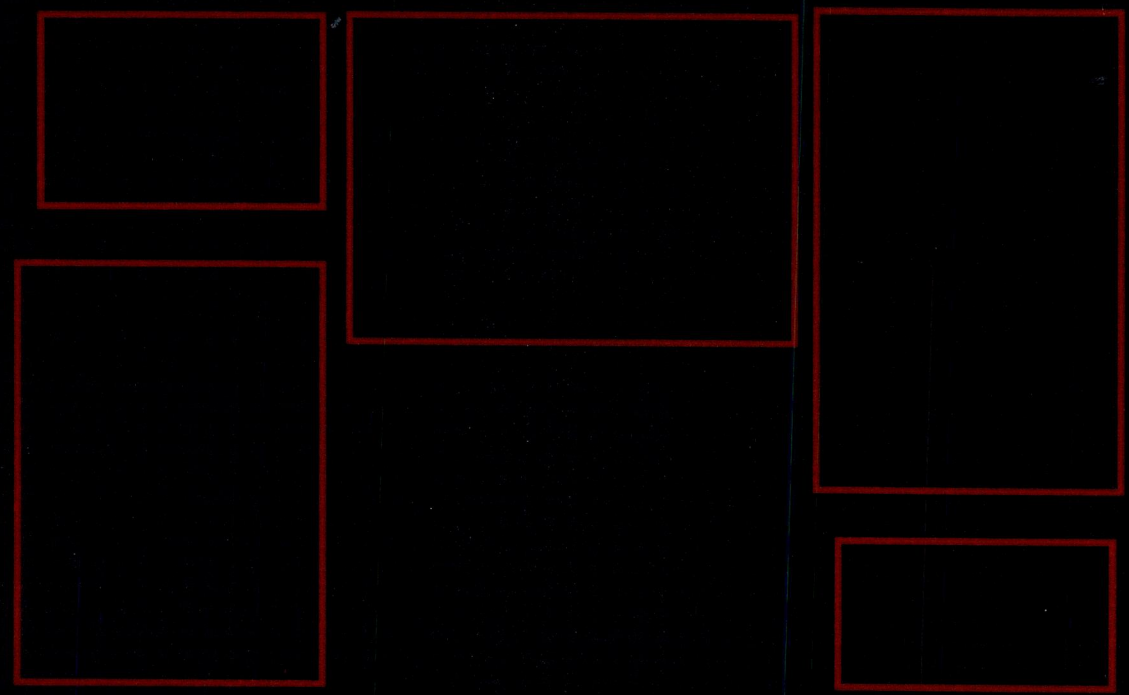
Fig.35 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, page 5.

front cover and the article. The layout is nicely balanced with two main images on either side of two smaller images and two paragraphs of text. The main photographs bleed off either end of the spread giving it a continuous movement. They also feature the young girl from the cover. This use of the child works very effectively in making the Osteopath a strong and reliable figure. The close up of the child's face held in the hands of the Osteopath gives the feeling of trust in the work he is doing. Again, the emphasis in each of the photographs is on the Osteopath's hands and the patient. Robertson's text is essential in this particular essay as he explains the work of the Osteopath in more depth than the photos could achieve no matter how descriptive they were.

The second double spread (Fig.34) shows different patients being treated by different Osteopaths, but always keeping the hands as the main focal point of each image. The Osteopath's hands are his most important instrument, he does not use drugs in his treatment and as Robertson says, "Osteopathic treatment needs time". The layout again shows symmetry and balance. The top half of each page and the bottom outer corners are dedicated to photos, leaving a 'T' shape for the text to run in. The top run of photographs gives the viewer a three step process; two small frames which bring them into the main image. Similarly the bottom photographs give the same movement. The bottom right hand corner and the top left-hand corner bring the students into the essay. Towards the end of the text on this spread Robertson gives information on where Osteopathy is taught, promoting it as a possible career for any interested readers. The lighting in the photos is quite consistent keeping the light areas for the all important hands and contrasting them with a darker background so as not to cause any distractions to the main subject of the photos.

The final single page (Fig.35) wraps up the essay with a less symmetrical layout that does not seem to have a formula like all the other pages





The Past Master Tutors a Yorkshire Hope

Bill Bowes, the Yorkshire and England right-arm bowler, shows John Ashman how to hold the ball at the split-second moment before delivery. Ashman, a spin-bowler, is one of the most promising of Yorkshire's younger players.

The Pre-war Regular Teaches a Post-war Pupil

Ellis Robinson, a right arm spin bowler, known as a specialist on a sticky wicket, imparts his secrets to Ron Smales, an all-rounder who has played for the county.

28

The Experienced Batsman Demonstrates

Gerald Smithson shows Brian Close just how to stand up to team on the 1947-48 tour. He was out of the

Stance to the Youngster With Big Hopes

he bowler. Smithson went to the West Indies with the English County side last season because of an injury.

YORKSHIRE PLAN TO BE CHAMPIONS

INDOOR cricket is not, of course, peculiar to Yorkshire, but the way in which Yorkshire searches out its cricket talent and then trains it during the close season is probably unique among English cricket counties. Yorkshire starts to play cricket early in the new year, four months before the opening of the season. The cricketers play indoors—on wood. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for Yorkshire's great run of success in the county championship, which has been won by them thirteen times since the end of the first world war.

Yorkshire boasts four indoor cricket schools—two in Leeds, one on the outskirts at Rothwell, and the other at Huddersfield. The most important one is at Headingley, Leeds, the headquarters of the Yorkshire County Cricket Club. It is known as the indoor 'shed.' Here the Yorkshire club started their indoor practices in earnest at the beginning of February. Since then, nearly 200 professional and amateur players have had intensified coaching on two nights a week from the former Yorkshire and England players, Arthur Mitchell, and bespectacled fast-bowler Bill Bowes. Most of the players have been hand-picked by the Yorkshire club, and all of them are potential county cricketers.

In addition, Mitchell has been engaged in coaching 120 school-boys every weekday morning since April 4. First-teamers started their practice on the same day.

The floor in the 'shed' is made of special Russian timber and was re-laid nearly 30 years ago. During World War II, the 'shed' was used as an army cookhouse, but the floor stood up well to the heavy wear, and beyond a few repairs it is the same one that was being used for cricket in the spring of '39. The pace of this wooden wicket compares favourably with a good turf wicket, rather faster than easy pace. True, the ball rises sharply on occasions, but not more so than on a fast turf wicket. Years ago, matting was stretched over the wood and this to some extent

rolled to deaden the pace and provide a slightly slower wicket. The famous cricket coach, George Hirst, however, considers that the plain wood provides the best practice.

At Appleyard's cricket school in Leeds City centre, three nets side-by-side are in heavy demand every week-night between October and April. Clubs send along batches of up to 20 players several times a week. Here there is a composition base beneath the wooden wicket covered with matting. A new composition floor cuts up a leather ball too much, and provides too fast a wicket.

Yorkshire-born Somerset County player Johnny Lawrence runs the cricket school at Rothwell. Regular attenders at Headingley indoor cricket 'shed' are local League players, as well as members of the Yorkshire Women's Cricket Team. Next winter, Arthur Mitchell and another Yorkshire and England batsman, Wilf Barber, plan to open their winter cricket school at Headingley, started independently of the Yorkshire club this year, before Christmas. Then it will be a case of Yorkshire cricket all the year round. Other counties, please copy! This is the spirit which is needed to put England cricket back to its old standard and to win the Ashes once again. For our cricket since the war, perhaps because of it, has not been of 'export' quality. Glamorgan deservedly won last year's county championship, but they won it on fielding—they hadn't a batsman or bowler of the international order in their side. They won it with keenness. Some of the same keenness was shown on the South African tour last winter. It needs to be fostered—and indoor practice before the weather breaks or cracks on the English summer can do a lot. Its atmosphere savours of the stories heard about Bradman and the way he practised with a pick handle, a golf-ball and a concrete wall.

Yorkshire have always nursed their native talent, and they're doing it more thoroughly now than ever before. They're showing Yorkshire patience—the only kind that counts in first-class cricket.

Experience Shows How to Treat the Dangerous Ball

Arthur Mitchell was a Yorkshire stalwart in the 1930's. He opened for England in two matches, and now young Ron Thompson, of Leeds University, gets the benefit of his experience in playing a dead bat.

The Regular Wicket-keeper Waits for the Summer's Bag

Don Brennan prepares for his third full season with Yorkshire. Brennan is an amateur, the first who has ever been regular wicket-keeper for Yorkshire.

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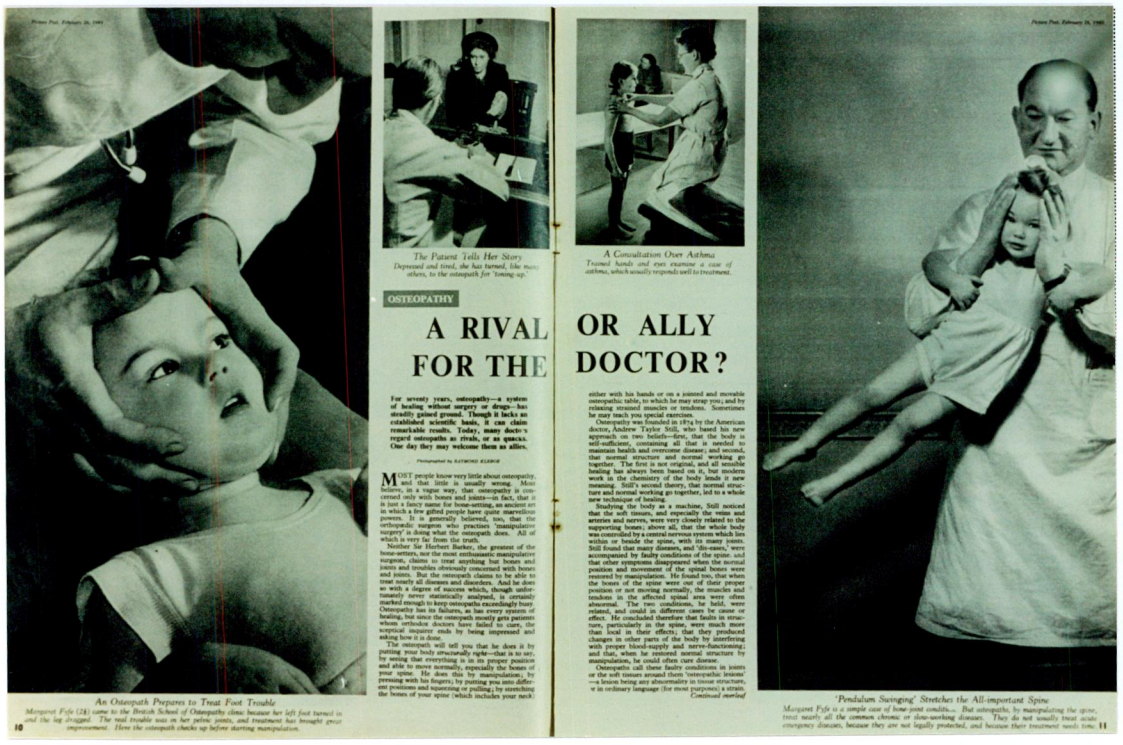
Fig.36 Charles Hewitt's *Yorkshire plane to be champions* (1949).



An Osteopath Prepares to Treat Foot Trouble

Margaret Fyfe (24) came to the British School of Osteopathy clinic because her left foot turned in and the leg dragged. The real trouble was in her pelvic joints, and treatment has brought great improvement. Here the osteopath checks up before starting manipulation.

10

The Patient Tells Her Story

Depressed and tired, she has turned, like many others, to the osteopath for 'toning up.'

OSTEOPATHY

A RIVAL FOR THE OR ALLY DOCTOR?

For seventy years, osteopathy—a system of healing without surgery or drugs—has steadily gained ground. Though it lacks an established scientific basis, it can claim remarkable results. Today, many doctors regard osteopaths as rivals, or as quacks. One day they may welcome them as allies.

Photographed by RAYMOND KLEBOE

MOST people know very little about osteopathy, and that little is usually wrong. Most believe, in a vague way, that osteopathy is concerned only with bones and joints—in fact, that it is just a fancy name for bone-setting, an ancient art in which a few gifted people have quite marvellous powers. It is generally believed, too, that the orthopædic surgeon who practises 'manipulative surgery' is doing what the osteopath does. All of which is very far from the truth.

Neither Sir Herbert Barker, the greatest of the bone-setters, nor the most enthusiastic manipulative surgeon, claims to treat anything but bones and joints and troubles obviously concerned with bones and joints. But the osteopath claims to be able to treat nearly all diseases and disorders. And he does so with a degree of success which, though unfortunately never statistically analysed, is certainly marked enough to keep osteopaths exceedingly busy. Osteopathy has its failures, as has every system of healing, but since the osteopath mostly gets patients whom orthodox doctors have failed to cure, the sceptical enquirer ends by being impressed and asking how it is done.

The osteopath will tell you that he does it by putting your body structurally right—that is to say, by seeing that everything is in its proper position and able to move normally, especially the bones of your spine. He does this by manipulation; by pressing with his fingers; by putting you into different positions and squeezing or pulling; by stretching the bones of your spine (which includes your neck

either with his hands or on a jointed and movable osteopathic table, to which he may strap you; and by relaxing strained muscles or tendons. Sometimes he may teach you special exercises.

Osteopathy was founded in 1874 by the American doctor, Andrew Taylor Still, who based his new approach on two beliefs—first, that the body is self-sufficient, containing all that is needed to maintain health and overcome disease; and second, that normal structure and normal working go together. The first is not original, and all sensible healing has always been based on it, but modern work in the chemistry of the body lends it new meaning. Still's second theory, that normal structure and normal working go together, led to a whole new technique of healing.

Studying the body as a machine, Still noticed that the soft tissues, and especially the veins and arteries and nerves, were very closely related to the supporting bones; above all, that the whole body was controlled by a central nervous system which lies within or beside the spine, with its many joints. Still found that many diseases, and 'dis-eases,' were accompanied by faulty conditions of the spine, and that other symptoms disappeared when the normal position and movement of the spinal bones were restored by manipulation. He found too, that when the bones of the spine were out of their proper position or not moving normally, the muscles and tendons in the affected spinal area were often abnormal. The two conditions, he held, were related, and could in different cases be cause or effect. He concluded therefore that faults in structure, particularly in the spine, were much more than local in their effects; that they produced changes in other parts of the body by interfering with proper blood-supply and nerve-functioning; and that, when he restored normal structure by manipulation, he could often cure disease.

Osteopaths call these faulty conditions in joints or the soft tissues around them 'osteopathic lesions'—a lesion being any abnormality in tissue structure, or in ordinary language (for most purposes) a strain.

Continued overleaf

A Consultation Over Asthma

Trained hands and eyes examine a case of asthma, which usually responds well to treatment.

'Pendulum Swinging' Stretches the All-important Spine

Margaret Fyfe is a simple case of bone-joint troubles.... But osteopaths, by manipulating the spine, treat nearly all the common chronic or slow-working diseases. They do not usually treat acute emergency diseases, because they are not legally protected, and because their treatment needs time.

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Fig.37 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, pages 1 & 2.

Two Men Happy At Their Work. The Paper-Baler...
It's fairly easy to get unskilled work, except in Liverpool. Paper-baler Benson has worked happily for a London Council for two years.

...And the Student of Medicine
William Jarding, from Trinidad, reads medicine in a Colonial Office hostel in Kensington. Students are the aristocrats of the coloured population.

A Marriage That Can Lead to Difficulties
Ilman McKay who, as Alfonso Perez, runs a dance band, is married to an English girl. Such marriages can cause social difficulties on both sides.

Social Segregation That Can Lead to Trouble
In most big towns coloured people live together in close communities. In such communities grievances are brooded on more bitterly.

The British colour bar, one might say, is invisible, but like Wells' invisible man it is hard and real to the touch. (Many coloured people say that they would honestly prefer an official colour bar, such as that which exists in America or South Africa.) And it is when you get lower down the social scale that you find it hits the hardest.

A large number of these seamen, men for the R.A.F. and skilled technicians who came here during the war, stayed on. Many now—especially if they live in a bad area like Liverpool where the total unemployment figure, white and coloured, is nearly 25,000—have difficulty in finding suitable employment. This is partly due to changing economic conditions in England, but this type of coloured man is not likely to be content with a lesson in economics, and anyway, the invisible colour bar is undoubtedly against him in ways which we shall examine. In addition to these coloured workers there has been, ever since the war, a further influx mainly from the West Indies, but also from Africa, of men coming voluntarily—even enthusiastically—either in large self-organized boatloads such as the 'Empire Windrush' of last year or the 'G-negic' of this year, or as stowaways. (There were 500 stowaways to Britain last year.) These have come here partly because of the economic overcrowdedness of their own country (the unemployed figure for Kingstown, Jamaica, alone is 70,000), partly because of the reports they have read in the colonial press of England's labour shortage. Many have had fascinated letters from coloured friends in England about how well they are doing. All are convinced that they will find the streets of England paved with gold.

Because, officially, there is nothing to distinguish them from other British subjects, there is little official machinery for dealing with them. The Colonial Office Welfare Department can give temporary lodging to a stowaway, and he will receive National Assistance Board money, but that is all, and the Welfare Department's official activities could be expanded a great deal in this direction. Unofficially there is some common-table co-operation between the Colonial office and the Ministry of Labour. In midland towns like Birmingham and Wolverhampton there are several hundred coloured workers working happily and successfully in factories, and these areas could absorb more. But it is almost impossible to find accommodation for them. There is little point in telling an unemployed coloured man in Liverpool to uproot himself from there and go and get a job in the Midlands, if you can't guarantee him anywhere to live.

But a more important difficulty still, because it relates to the general social problem, is the initial reluctance shown on all sides to welcome coloured workers. The coloured man meets prejudice in connection with his employment from all classes. It may come from an ignorant Ministry of Labour official who will be reluctant to submit a coloured man for a job. It may come from a reactionary employer who states categorically that he will not take coloured labour, or from an employer, who, as he probably says he doesn't mind himself but a man's like to risk the effect it may have on the other workers. Very often, in fact, it will come from the white workers themselves.

The coloured worker arriving in this country with no illusions will find that he has not only to deal with a different labour situation from that which he enjoyed, but also a threefold prejudice (social, racial, and in employment). It is not surprising if he finds himself turns bitter and fills with prejudice. It will linger, if he lives in a slum, that there is white people who live in one too. He will see the whole social system as a conspiracy against a white.

The prejudice which the coloured man meets, and which is in turn begets counter-prejudice, is almost entirely based on ignorance. A great many people have strong feelings of dislike or mistrust of coloured people have never seen any, and where their feelings are professedly based on experience—as sometimes in the case of employers and factory workers—they have usually been based on the behaviour of an undistinguished coloured man, or of individual trouble such as sex rivalry which gets unfairly attributed to the coloured man's being coloured rather than to his being a man.

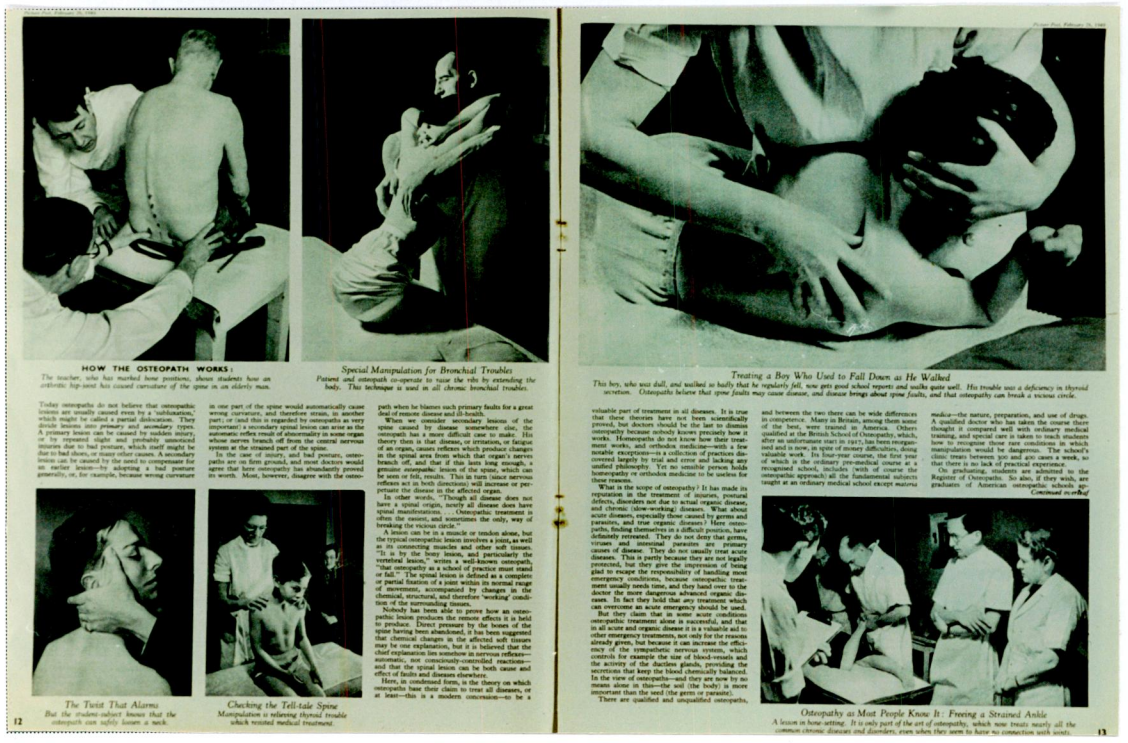
The ignorance which breeds prejudice is caused, not locally, by not knowing the coloured man. A recent survey made during the war estimated that 97 per cent. of Englishmen had no first-hand knowledge of coloured people. In the last few years, as coloured people have begun work in many different jobs and industries, Coloured workers are found in responsible positions in the G.P.O., the Mint, the Ministry of National Insurance, the Museum, British Railways, and in many well-known private firms such as Dunlop and the General Electric Co. Very gradually—much too gradually—they are becoming integrated fully into our working society, and as this happens prejudices dissolve. Wherever in Britain white and coloured people get to know each other and live together on equal terms, the same sort of atmosphere exists as is to be found in the mixed schools—where coloured and white children play and work together, instinctively relegating colour differences to their proper insignificance. But there is still not enough first-hand contact in adult society for the prejudices of the majority to be dissolved, and progress is slow. By a strange emotional leap many coloured people look to Communism to release them from their social humiliation.

One of the most permanent and symbolic obstacles to progress is perhaps the existence of

White and Coloured Share a Problem
In work these Englishmen might have resented the introduction of a coloured worker to their factory. But the common experience of unemployment breaks down colour prejudice.

Half a Pint That Can Only Lead to Friendship
Wherever white and coloured people live contentedly together, there is little colour feeling. In a Cable Street, Stepney pub, white and coloured customers are on the best of terms.

Fig.38 Bert Hardy's *Is there a British colour bar* (1948).



HOW THE OSTEOPATH WORKS:
The teacher, who has marked bone positions, shows students how an orthotic hip-joint has caused curvature of the spine in an elderly man.

Special Manipulation for Bronchial Troubles
Patient and osteopath co-operate to raise the ribs by extending the body. This technique is used in all chronic bronchial troubles.

Treating a Boy Who Used to Fall Down as He Walked
This boy, who was dull, and walked so badly that he regularly fell, now gets good school reports and walks quite well. His trouble was a deficiency in thyroid secretion. Osteopaths believe that spine faults may cause disease, and disease brings about spine faults, and that osteopathy can break a vicious circle.

Today osteopaths do not believe that osteopathic lesions are usually caused even by a 'subluxation,' which might be called a partial dislocation. They divide lesions into primary and secondary types. A primary lesion can be caused by sudden injury, or by repeated slight and probably unnoticed injuries due to bad posture, which itself might be due to bad shoes, or many other causes. A secondary lesion can be caused by the need to compensate for an earlier lesion—by adopting a bad posture generally, or, for example, because wrong curvature in one part of the spine would automatically cause wrong curvature, and therefore strain, in another part; or (and this is regarded by osteopaths as very important) a secondary spinal lesion can arise as the automatic reflex result of abnormality in some organ whose nerves branch off from the central nervous system at the strained part of the spine.

In the case of injury, and bad posture, osteopaths are on firm ground, and most doctors would agree that here osteopathy has abundantly proved its worth. Most, however, disagree with the osteopath when he blames such primary faults for a great deal of remote disease and ill-health.

When we consider secondary lesions of the spine caused by disease somewhere else, the osteopath has a more difficult case to make. His theory then is that disease, or irritation, or fatigue of an organ, causes reflexes which produce changes in the spinal area from which that organ's nerves branch off, and that this lasts long enough, a pressure osteopathic lesion of the spine, which can be seen or felt, results. This in turn (since nervous reflexes act in both directions) will increase or perpetuate the disease in the affected organ.

In other words: "Though all disease does not have a spinal origin, nearly all disease does have spinal manifestations. . . . Osteopathic treatment is often the easiest, and sometimes the only, way of breaking the vicious circle."

A lesion can be in a muscle or tendon alone, but the typical osteopathic lesion involves a joint, as well as the connecting muscles and other soft tissues. "It is by the bony lesion, and particularly the vertebral lesion," writes a well-known osteopath, "that osteopathy as a school of practice must stand or fall." The spinal lesion is defined as a complete or partial fixation of a joint within its normal range of movement, accompanied by changes in the chemical, structural, and therefore 'working' condition of the surrounding tissues.

Nobody has been able to prove how an osteopathic lesion produces the remote effects it is held to produce. Direct pressure by the bones of the spine having been abandoned, it has been suggested that chemical changes in the affected soft tissues may be one explanation, but it is believed that the chief explanation lies somehow in nervous reflexes—automatic, not consciously-controlled reactions—and that the spinal lesion can be both cause and effect of faults and diseases elsewhere.

Here, in condensed form, is the theory on which osteopaths base their claim to treat all diseases, or at least—this is a modern concession—to be a valuable part of treatment in all diseases. It is true that these theories have not been scientifically proved, but doctors should be the last to dismiss osteopathy because nobody knows precisely how it works. Homeopaths do not know how their treatment works, and orthodox medicine—with a few notable exceptions—is a collection of practices discovered largely by trial and error and lacking any unified philosophy. Yet no sensible person holds homeopathy or orthodox medicine to be useless for these reasons.

What is the scope of osteopathy? It has made its reputation in the treatment of injuries, postural defects, disorders not due to actual organic disease, and chronic (slow-working) diseases. What about acute diseases, especially those caused by germs and parasites, and true organic diseases? Here osteopaths, finding themselves in a difficult position, have definitely retreated. They do not deny that germs, viruses and intestinal parasites are primary causes of disease. They do not usually treat acute diseases. This is partly because they are not legally protected, but they give the impression of being glad to escape the responsibility of handling most emergency conditions, because osteopathic treatment usually needs time, and they hand over to the doctor the more dangerous advanced organic diseases. In fact they hold that any treatment which can overcome an acute emergency should be used.

But they claim that in some acute conditions osteopathic treatment alone is successful, and that in all acute and organic disease it is a valuable aid to other emergency treatments, not only for the reasons already given, but because it can increase the efficiency of the sympathetic nervous system, which controls for example the size of blood-vessels and the activity of the ductless glands, providing the secretions that keep the blood chemically balanced. In the view of osteopaths—and there are now by no means alone in this—the soil (the body) is more important than the seed (the germ or parasite).

There are qualified and unqualified osteopaths, and between the two there can be wide differences in competence. Many in Britain, among them some of the best, were trained in America. Others qualified at the British School of Osteopathy, which, after an unfortunate start in 1917, has been reorganised and is now, in spite of money difficulties, doing valuable work. Its four-year course, the first year of which is the ordinary pre-medical course at a recognised school, includes (with of course the osteopathic approach) all the fundamental subjects taught at an ordinary medical school except materia medica—the nature, preparation, and use of drugs. A qualified doctor who has taken the course there thought it compared well with ordinary medical training, and special care is taken to teach students how to recognise those rare conditions in which manipulation would be dangerous. The school's clinic treats between 300 and 400 cases a week, so that there is no lack of practical experience.

On graduating, students are admitted to the Register of Osteopaths. So also, if they wish, are graduates of American osteopathic schools ap-

Continued on page 8

The Twist That Alarms
But the student-subject knows that the osteopath can safely loosen a neck.

Checking the Tell-tale Spine
Manipulation is relieving thyroid trouble which resisted medical treatment.

Osteopathy as Most People Know It: Freeing a Strained Ankle
A lesson in bone-setting. It is only part of the art of osteopathy, which now treats nearly all the common chronic diseases and disorders, even when they seem to have no connection with bones.

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Fig.39 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, pages 3 & 4.

had. This could have been to bring the conclusion together combining the Osteopath with patient, students and the main focal point of the practice, an x-ray of the spinal cord. This rounds up all the points that Robertson has made in his text.

On a closer study of Kleboe's photography the angle he picked may be seen and his successful communication of it may be appreciated. He was showing how important the Osteopath's hands are. By showing a variety of patients with different complaints and a variety of Osteopaths all using their hands he shows how they treat their patients, through "manipulation, by pressing with his fingers, by putting you into different positions and squeezing or pulling, by stretching the bones of your spine....." (Robertson, 1949. pg.10).

The layout of this essay can be seen as a common formula used in many other photo essays in *Picture Post*. Charles Hewitt's *Yorkshire plane to be champions* (1949), (Fig.36) shows the same symmetry as Kleboe's first double page spread (Fig.37). Again Bert Hardy's *Is there a British Colour Bar* (1949) (Fig.38) shows the same symmetry as Kleboe's second double page spread (Fig.39). Their mathematical use of layout bears no reflection on the content of the images as *Life's* layouts do.

Kleboe's photo essay carries these typical characteristics of the *Picture Post* essay, layout, use of subject, length and extensive use of text. This makes it a viable representative of the *Picture Post* photo essay, giving the opportunity to compare *Life* and *Picture Post's* approach to the photo essay.

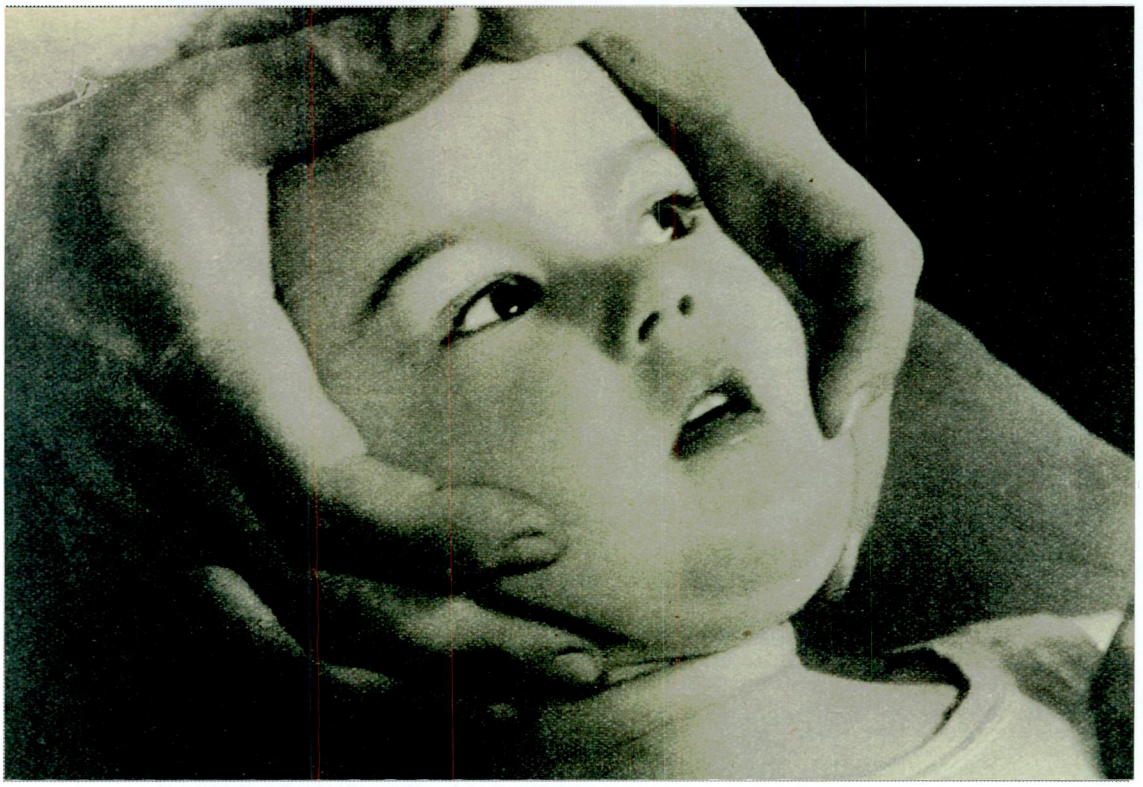

Fig.40 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, page 1.

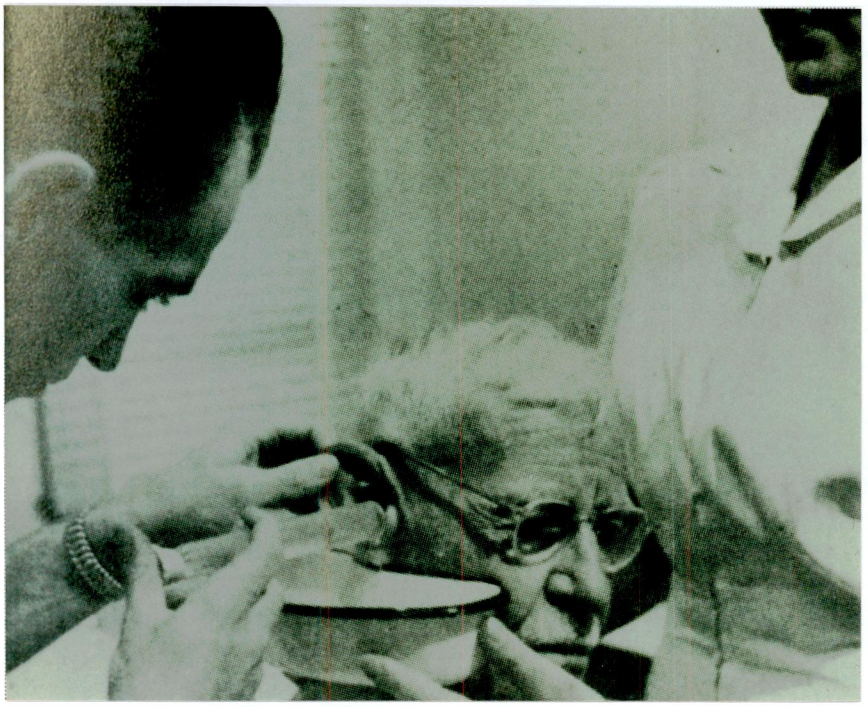

Fig.41 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 3.

Fig.42 W .E. Smith's *Country Doctor*, page 5.

Fig.43 Raymond Kleboe's *An Osteopath at Work*, page 4.

Chapter 8 Smith v Kleboe

Both Kleboe and Smith's photo essays were published within five months of each other, which is important to note when comparing the two photographers techniques of communication. We also know that Smith was "The master of the photo essay" and Kleboe was considered an important essayist by *Picture Post's* editor Hopkinson. What is being dealt with here is the comparison between an American photo-essay and its British equivalent.

The choice of subject in both essays is very similar. *Picture Post's* topic is a more specific type of medicine which pushed their way of dealing with the subject to a different angle than *Life*. To show the career of an osteopath they decided not to zone in on one doctor but many different doctors at work. This makes them more anonymous characters and reinforces the thread that runs through all the photos; the symbol of the healing hands at work (Fig.40). A similar angle is used in Smith's first double page spread which shows the doctor treating many different cases but in each shot his hands are the important subject of the photographs (Fig.41). From here *Life's* essay takes off in a different direction when it goes deeper into the doctor's personality, by showing facial expressions (Fig.42) and close up shots of the doctor. Kleboe keeps his essay on a less personal medical level by continuing to show the treatment more than the osteopath (Fig.43).

The length of the essays plays a large part in this contrasting theme: Kleboe's essay runs over five pages, whereas Smith's spreads over eleven pages. Smith needs these extra pages to give a deeper look into the doctor's life. It gives him space to build up a character, starting as a professional, bringing out the dedicated doctor and, finally, the family man, held together by the two pensive shots of the worn out doctor. Kleboe's essay only runs over five pages which he uses in a more formal way than Smith.

It would appeal to those who were genuinely interested in osteopathy while also educating the public on what osteopathy involves. Smith's essay, also a promotional piece, gives the idealistic view of the career as a country doctor.

The *Picture Post* essays also differ from *Life's* in that they contain much more text. *Life* did not credit their journalists and the text is slotted into the space available after the layout of the photos had been completed. *Picture Post* combines their photographs and text to give them a very symmetrical layout. The text became a design feature of the pages, whereas with *Life* the picture dominates the pages. The contents of the text in Kleboe's essay gives more than just the background information- it explains what osteopathy is. Neither the text nor the photographs could convey the topic on their own. In Smith's essay the text is only there to give place names and lead ups to the point where the narrative photo series takes over. At a glance Kleboe's photographs are more disconnected than Smith's; they do not give a story. Each image stands on its own right but when joined together with all the others, they reveal the theme and show how Kleboe is emphasising the osteopath's hands. Smith's photographs are very narrative. Dr Ceriani features in every frame. The photographs give the impression of starting with his first patient in the morning on the first double page spread and ending on that night with the death of the old man. Smith had spent four weeks working with Dr Ceriani; the photographs selected could not possibly come from one days work but appear that way in the essay.

Initially the symmetrical layout of Kleboe's essay looks aesthetically balanced, but when the design continues in the same manner it becomes slightly predictable. *Life's* layout is different on every double page spread. They use the layout very well; it helps to unfold the doctor's life. Even the size of the images for each page suits the stage of the narrative perfectly.

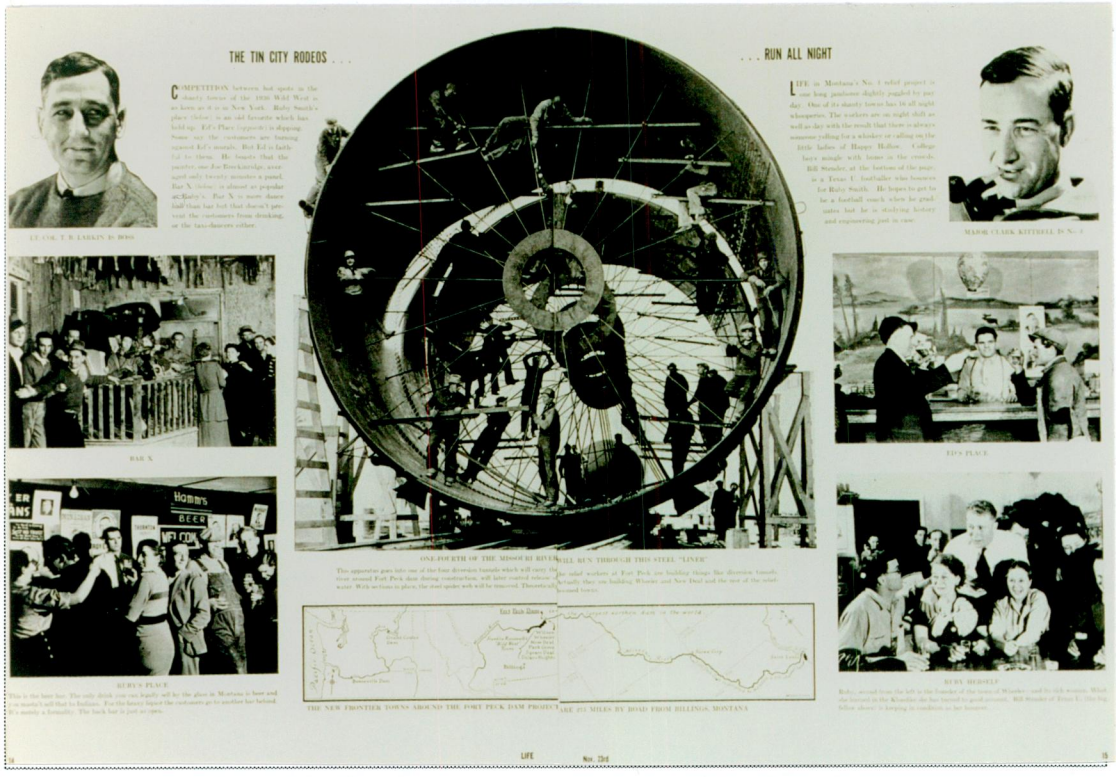

Fig. 44 Margaret Bourke-White's *Franklin Roosvelt's Wild West* (*Life* 1936).

Creation on the Site of Grim Destruction

Stone from devastated buildings all over the area was dumped here. Scotch granite, Bath, Red Mansfield, Bramley Fall—hard stone, soft stone, treacherous stone, stone with every sort of figure imprisoned inside.

BOMB-SITE SCULPTORS

They are students of the Sir John Cass Technical Institute in the City. A nearby bomb-site provides them, free, with all the stone they want.

Photographed by RAYMOND KLEBOE

R.A.F. Regiment Sculptor

The soft Bath stone cracks. So he's washing it before repairing it.

Where Stone is Cheap

Students are mostly ex-servicemen. Normal stone costs would be prohibitive.

'Grief' from a Bombed Building

David Benson studied for a year in Italy before joining the Institute. Now he works in London's winter sunshine.

Fig. 45 Raymond Kleboe's *Bomb site sculptors*, (*Picture Post* 1949).

Kleboe's layout gets too caught up with the symmetry of the photo/text relationship, although in their first double page spread the use of the full bleed photograph and the "Pendulum swinging" child swings the viewer on to the next page. *Life's* first photo essay published in their first issue shows the same formula of symmetry used by Kleboe. Pages twelve and thirteen of Margaret Bourke-White's essay (Fig.44) shows strong similarities to the symmetry of Picture Post.

Life introduces the essay on a single righthand page, which they get away with in this case because of the strong image used of the doctor and the eye catching heading written across the top of the page. *Picture Post* starts on a double page spread (Fig.33). The first image is of the young girl; her eyes jump out at you and attract your attention immediately. We have already had an introduction to Kleboe's essay on the front cover of the issue (Fig.32). The image they chose works very well with the layout of the cover. The logo sits above the child's head and the osteopath's head is to the right of it. The girl's hands are a perfect distance from the red strip at the bottom giving it an all round balanced image. Smith's did not get to the cover of his issue, so to compensate a single page is used for the introduction (Fig.24) to give the feeling that it is the cover of the picture essay itself.

There are other photo essays in Kleboe's osteopath issue that run for the same length of pages, such as "*The Comedy of the Kravchenko trial*" which starts on page twenty-one. Klebeo's work is also published on a single paged article on *Bomb Site Sculptors* (Fig.45). An interesting topic which shows sculptor students of the local technical institute making use of the war ruins. Kleboe's essay is the main feature of the issue, and gets a better position than this other essay, which starts on page ten and more importantly, it features on the cover. Although Smith did not get the cover, his essay was given a considerable amount of pages, which was hard to achieve.

The photographs in *Life's* essay we know are retouched by Smith to add to the atmosphere of the scenes. Kleboe's prints have a very original untouched look about them, but he does use cropping to his advantage. For example, the first image of the essay (Fig.33) is cropped down to emphasise the child's face and in the next double page spread the osteopath's face is omitted, focusing in on the treatment. Smith does use cropping but prefers to focus in on facial expressions to add to the atmosphere of his essay.

On the final page (Fig.35) Kleboe shows a few different elements from his essay with an asymmetrical layout which gives variety. Smith brings the readers back to the first introductory single image showing a similar pose of the exhausted doctor (Fig.29). Both final pages work well as a summing up point, even though they used different methods. It is perhaps preferable for an essay to end on a double page spread as *Life's* does. Kleboe ends on a single page which gives the impression it is missing its facing page. The summing up of the story should preferably be on one double page spread so that the page may be flicked over to a new article.

The overall power of the narrative that Smith uses is stronger than the informative method that Kleboe adapts. Smith's essay would keep the readers attention with its action filled pages and drama, more than Kleboe's medically educational essay. The problem could be in the slight difference in the subject choice, *Picture Post's* topic is more specific, its treatment of the subject is appropriate to this choice. Kleboe has very strong images and his essay does communicate its message clearly, but for a photo essay too much text is used. The reliance on photographs in Smith's essay is what makes it so successful. His images also vary; the patients, incidents and scenery is used. Kleboe's all take place indoors with the same lighting.

Both *Life* and *Picture Post* were trying to appeal to the same readership. They wanted to reach the middle class. With these readers in mind *Life's* approach to their topic is more suitable than *Picture Post's*. *Life's* narrative and personalised view of the Doctor would hold the readers attention more than *Picture Post's* clinical approach. *Picture Post* gave itself an extra obstacle by choosing a specialised area of medicine; perhaps their essay would have communicated better if they had chosen one particular Osteopath and a variety of patients This seems to be one of the strong points of Smith's photo essay.

Conclusion

Life and *Picture Post's* main aim was to communicate to their readers through the medium of photography. The picture magazines were based on visual impact, the objective of the editors was to ensure that they offered a consistently stimulating photographic solution to their readers. Topic choice and vibrant layout played a large role to the success of the picture magazines.

The photo essay became *Life* and *Picture Post's* dominant formula of communication in the post-war years. It enabled the magazine to develop a topic over a number of pages and gave the readers a more extensive look into the subject. Both magazines dealt with the essay admirably from a technical point of view and in artistic merit. However in analysing two essays typical of *Life* and *Picture Post*, it was found that *Life's* Country Doctor presented a more appealing and sensitive approach to the subject.

The key to a successful photo essay is one that holds a strong narrative flow. Smith's *Country Doctor* shows this narrative flow at work, it dictates the layout and brings life to the pages of the essay. *Klebeo's An Osteopath at work* lacks this narrative and as a result his essay is disconnected and cold. The over use of symmetry in the layout does not blend in with the content of the photographs. Kleboe takes a very clinical approach to the Doctor's life. Smith's essay focuses on one Doctor rather than giving a cross section of several Doctors. This helps to give the reader a character whom they can identify with. Smith shows a perfect example of the successful use of topic choice and vibrant layout at work.

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Fig. 45 Raymond Kleboe's *Bomb site sculptors*, (*Picture Post* 1949).