

Navigating the Photographic Periphery: Vivian Maier and Amateur Photography

by

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the ways in which women are subject to and limited by gendered categorisations of photographic practice. The photography of Vivian Maier (1926-2009) will form a case study arguing that Maier's photographic practice and posthumous recognition is representative of the marginalisation of women in photography, which has in turn led to an erasure of women photographers in photographic histories.

The impetus for the construction of a reputation as a 'street photographer' for Maier is located in the economic imperatives governing the collectors and exhibitors of her work, whilst the necessary attributes of that reputation are determined by canonical values that eschew difference. The thesis will re-think the binaries of inside-outside and amateur-professional using Foteini Vlachou's conceptualisation of centres and peripheries put forth in her article, *Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery* (2016) in order to show that the historiography of American photography is underpinned by sexual difference.

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Introduction

Gracing the cover of Thames and Hudson's 2020 book *Revolutionaries* is a self-portrait of Vivian Maier (1926-2009) [Fig. 1].¹ Holding a twin-lens Rolleiflex camera at chest height clasped in both hands, tall buildings flank Maier as she stands on the corner between the intersection of two streets. The book is the second of a series of three books entitled *Women Photographers*, edited by Clara Bouveresse, providing a survey of a hundred and ninety women photographers spanning the period from 1851 to the present day.² Another self-portrait by Maier had also appeared a year previously, on the cover of Penguin's special edition of Susan Sontag's *On Photography*, which had been published to coincide with the release of a new biography of Sontag, *Her Life* by Benjamin Moser (2020). For the occasion, the paperback livery was re-designed, replacing Don McCullin's *Gypsy watching the police evict his family, Kent, 1963* [Fig. 2] with Vivian Maier's *Self-Portrait, 1954* [Fig. 3]. Maier's biography is now routinely included in bibliographic survey lists (for the general reader) of canonical photographers, 'forgotten' women photographers and potted histories of twentieth-century street photography.³ Maier has thus become the 'cover girl' of photographic history. Based on the above instances, one might expect her to have a significant canonical status. However, it was not until after her death in 2009 that she became known as an iconic and prolific street photographer. As the examples indicate, the widely disseminated image of Maier is at once spatially and ideologically fixed on the American street whilst representing the recuperation of women

¹ The image is undated on the official Vivian Maier website whilst in the 2012 monograph, *Vivian Maier Self-Portraits* the date is given to be *July 24, 1954*. The Howard Greenberg Gallery does not have a title for this image in their database.

² With each entry is a short one-page biography accompanying an image 'from the artist's body of work.' See back cover of Clara Bouveresse, ed. *Women Photographers*, Photofile (Thames and Hudson 2020).

³ See Bouveresse, *Women Photographers*. Boris Friedewald, *Women Photographers: From Julia Margaret Cameron to Cindy Sherman* (Prestel 2018); Zing Tsjeng, *Forgotten Women: The Artists* (Cassell, 2018); Susie Hodge, *The Short Story of Women Artists: A Pocket Guide to Key Breakthroughs, Movements, Works and Themes* (Laurence King Publishing, 2020); Paul Lowe, ed. *1001 Photographs: You Must See before You Die* (Cassell 2018). In many of these biographical accounts, mistakes have been made including, for example in Friedewald's *Women Photographers* an incorrect birth date for Maier— she was born in 1926 not as stated 1929.

photographers more widely. Yet, during her lifetime – between 1952 and the early 2000s – Maier worked as a full-time live-in nanny, inhabiting the gendered space of the domestic home caring for children and elderly women. Despite the newfound visibility of Maier, the literature is characterised by a sense of paradox and mystification.

This thesis is as much concerned with the *discourse* on Maier, as it is about her photographic practice. In analysing the construction of Maier as a photographer (or *function*, in the Foucauldian sense of an institutionally-determined identity that comes to form a ‘principle of unity’ in discourses around a body of work), this is also a thesis about the treatment of women in histories of photography (and art) that still privilege certain spaces, behaviours, statuses, and practices.⁴ She is both visible and invisible. In much the same way that Griselda Pollock rejects the practice of ‘recuperation’, whereby women artists are rediscovered and re-inserted into the canon, I do not agree that including women into a patriarchal canon is beneficial.⁵ Rather, I want to trace to what extent the posthumous construction of Maier as a photographer complicates and reinforces the gendered infrastructure of the art world. Biography has played a crucial role in the posthumous construction of Maier’s reputation as a photographer, which is staged as a story of two halves. The first is Maier’s life, which is routinely broken into three portions: French upbringing, 1950s New York, and the later years working as a nanny in Chicago suburbs. The second is the posthumous (re)discovery of her photographic life. This tension between fame and obscurity, at once a ‘magnificent street photographer’ and yet unknown as such during her lifetime is most notable in the ways in which, in defining Maier as a photographer, she has been assigned to a variety of categorisations including street photographer, commercial photographer, documentary photographer, outsider, amateur and most bafflingly the ‘Mary Poppins’

⁴ Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author " in *Aesthetics, Methods and Epistemology* ed. James D. Faubion, *Essential Works of Foucault* (New York The New York Press, 1998), 307-08.

⁵ Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York: Routledge 1999), 6.

of photography.⁶ The way that Maier has been communicated to the public has led to a host of critical fabulations and gendered fantasies being played out in the name of Maier's photography, particularly in the form of a psychobiography which seeks to explain the last thirty to forty years of Maier's (photographic) life, which is characterised as an artistically weak period.⁷ Underlying many of these accounts is the question of whether a nanny would produce this body of images, a question that operates, I will argue, as a synecdoche for women more broadly. What is missing in the literature on Maier, and what this thesis will focus on, is a contextualisation of the ideological, spatial and material conditions which Maier and women more generally were subject to in mid-twentieth-century America, and the extent to which gender has played a part in the production of this.

The self-portraits with which I introduced this thesis present her (usefully for those constructing her legacy) as a street photographer *par excellence*. In each image, Maier is shown holding a twin-lens Rolleiflex camera at her waist, attached to a cord around her neck. Maier's hands clasp each side of the camera, a finger fixed atop the shutter. In the first image, Maier stands on the corner of a busy junction crossing; cars pass by to the left of her, whilst all around she is flanked by tall buildings. An almost identical scene, *Self-Portrait, 1953* [Fig. 4] is less well known. Again, Maier is holding her Rolleiflex, and is this time accompanied by a girl in a smart white dress, identified as one of the many

⁶ Maier was employed by the Gensburg family between 1956 and 1967 caring for their three boys. In one of the first magazine articles on Maier, they interviewed Lane Gensburg, one of the three children: 'today, Lane Gensburg, a 54-year-old tax attorney, is the citadel of Maier's memory, and he is adamant that nothing unflattering be said about the woman who raised him from birth. When he starts talking about Maier, his eyes soften. "She was like Mary Poppins," he tells me. "She had an amazing ability to relate to children" [...] Maier had answered the Gensburgs' ad seeking a nanny in 1956, and when she arrived, she almost looked the part of Mary Poppins. Under a heavy coat, she wore sturdy shoes and a long skirt with a lace slip, and she carried an enormous carpetbag.' See Nora O'Donnell, "The Life and Work of Street Photographer Vivian Maier," *Chicago-Magazine*, accessed August 1, 2021, <https://www.chicagomag.com/Chicago-Magazine/January-2011/Vivian-Maier-Street-Photographer/>. Since then, she has been referred to as Mary Poppins in the media, see 'Mary Poppins with a Camera: Vivian Maier' (*Photography Life*, 2013), Vivian Maier: A Mary Poppins with an Odd Obsession' (*Macleans*, 2014), 'Vivian Maier: Mary Poppins With A Camera' (*The Trumpet*, 2019).

⁷ Ann Marks argues that whilst Maier was working for (and living with) the Gensburg family her photograph taking was fruitful and prolific citing examples taken on the streets of Chicago. Yet, Marks charts a change in her photograph-taking during the last months living with the family, highlighting the frequency with which Maier was photographing newspaper (and other domestic items) and hoarding. Marks links the termination of Maier's service with the Gensburgs (due to the children growing up and no longer needing her service) as triggering her hoarding disorder. She describes this development in chapters 14, 15 and 16 in Ann Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* (Amazon Publishing 2017).

children on whose behalf Maier worked as a nanny over the course of her working life. The addition of the child is incongruous with the narrative of Maier as a singular, mysterious and somewhat inscrutable street photographer.⁸ This photograph, however, shows Maier balancing her work and photography. We see Maier in the act of taking the photograph at the same time as balancing her duties of care towards the child. This thesis incorporates a historically contextualised analysis of the socio-economic pressures that would have been placed upon Maier as a precariously-employed domestic worker in the post-Second World War United States. From this perspective, I consider the following research questions: How, and to what extent does Maier's gender impact the way she is presented and written? How does her biography create notions of her as a person and photographer? If Maier does not fit into the canon, how does this impact our understanding of the historiography of American photography and the process of canonisation? What does this mean for our understanding of photographic terminology, and of those practitioners who are deemed peripheral? What does the disconnect between collector, institution and public suggest about the way photography is labelled? How does this affect our understanding of the institutional structures of the art world?

I will argue that through the selection, and presentation of the body of images by key players, the construction of Maier as a photographer has been dictated by the commercial market whilst biographical narratives have framed an examination of her photographic practice through the lens of psychobiography. Tropes such as mental illness, sexuality and trauma are components of this narrative, a permutation of which can be found in the official Ann Marks biography where the decline in Maier's later life is attributed to a psychological disorder; similar narratives are reproduced across the popular press. I will argue that this approach more broadly underpins the ways in which women artists and photographers are framed. This thesis will think through how, and to what extent, Maier's gender and employment as domestic carer disrupts the narrative of the male genius figure. More specifically, this thesis will challenge the dichotomy of amateur/professional (inside/outside), to

⁸ Friedewald, *Women Photographers: From Julia Margaret Cameron to Cindy Sherman* 138.

disrupt the marginalisation of women and re-think the terminology designated to the photographic periphery.

Posthumous Discovery

In this section I will outline how biography has been deployed to shore up the narrative of Maier's discovery in ways that are shaped by the pressures of the market, the politics of canon formation, and the desires of particular individual collectors. Whilst a wealth of glossy illustrated catalogues and coffee table volumes are available featuring full-page reproductions of Maier's photography, it is important to note that the commentators providing the essays – Elizabeth Avedon, Geoff Dyer, Joel Meyerowitz, and Colin Westerbeck, to name a few – simultaneously provide a legitimising commentary to the construction of a photographic oeuvre, but also to the story of Maier, with her early collectors as protagonist figures. However, critical offerings are remarkably scant.⁹ Pamela Bannos in *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife* (2017) argues that much of the attention to Maier has focussed primarily on the 'story [my emphasis] of the Vivian Maier phenomenon' which, has led to an over-simplification of her posthumous journey from unknown to recognised figurehead of street photography.¹⁰ In Abigail Solomon-Godeau's short article, 'Inventing Vivian Maier' (2013),

⁹ See Kevin Coffee, "Misplaced: Ethics and the Photographs of Vivian Maier," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29, no. 2 (2014); Clare Brent, "Who Knows Vivian Maier?," *The European Journal of Life Writing* 4, no. C1-C6 (2015); Kyle McDaniel, "Shooting the Shooter: The Image of Professional Photographers in Contemporary Documentary Film," *Visual Communication Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (2016).

For research on the discovery of the photography of Vivian Maier within art-historical scholarship, see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2017); Peter Buse, "Collector, Hoarder, Media Archaeologist: Walter Benjamin with Vivian Maier," in *New Media Archaeologies* ed. Ben Roberts and Mark Goodall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019); Claire Raymond, "Rough Street: Diane Arbus and Vivian Maier" in *Women Photographers & Feminist Aesthetics* (Routledge 2017).

¹⁰ In 2007 Maier did not keep up her payments to Hebard Storage which she rented five containers from with most, if not all of her belongings in. Hebard sold these storage containers to Chicago auctioneer Roger Gunderson to sell in his auction house, RPN Sales. He did not know whose lockers he was buying from. Alongside Maloof, Ron Slattery and Randy Prow bought the vast majority of her belongings. There were private bidders at the Gunderson auction house who have not come forward. Alongside this, Maloof sold 200 negatives and 265 digital prints through Ebay between 2008 and 2009. In 2010 Prow split what he bought and sold half to Chicago-based Jeffrey Goldstein and the other half to Maloof. In 2009 Ron Slattery also sold a

she argues that ‘we are looking at the ongoing labor of many players, with various investments, all engaged in the process of manufacturing a reputation *ab ovo*.’¹¹ The implication of this is that Maier, like her photography, has been assembled, the process of which has been dictated by the market and notions of taste.

Maier’s reputation has been orchestrated over a relatively short period of time by a small number of people; first among them is John Maloof.¹² Whilst the Maloof Collection, represented by the Howard Greenberg Gallery in New York, holds 150,000 negatives (which have since all been printed) and roughly 3,000 vintage prints (including multiples of the same negative), audiotapes, and 150 6mm and 8mm home movies, only a small proportion are street scenes.¹³ The first publication dedicated to Maier and her photography, *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer* features an introduction by Maloof which provides a blueprint for the story of how he acquired the boxes of Maier’s belongings (which

portion of his collection to Maloof and in 2010 he sold more to Goldstein. Slattery owns the vast majority of vintage prints which he does not exhibit or sell. In late 2014, a legal dispute concerning the ownership of Maier’s photography was brought to the attention of the world media. In June of that year, a court case had been filed by lawyer, and former photographer David C. Deal who, acting on behalf of Francis Baille (believed to be a cousin) claiming Baille was the rightful heir to the estate, and thus according to US law the sole owner of the copyright for her photography. Each known owner of Maier’ photography was notified and asked to prepare and maintain their documentation concerning the purchase and sale of her photography. The Estate of Vivian Maier was organised and put in place to co-ordinate this. In December 2014, Jeffrey Goldstein sold the vast bulk of his collection of black-and-white negatives to the Canadian art dealer and gallery owner, Stephen Bulger which was then subsequently sold to a Swiss consortium of investors in 2017. However, Goldstein chose to keep 1,400 silver gelatin posthumous prints, 2,000 vintage prints and 1,700 colour negatives, slides and transparencies. After two years of intense negotiations, in May 2016, John Maloof settled out of court with the administrators at Cook County. The outcome of this settlement is a privately kept agreement between the two parties. Since the Stephen Bulger Gallery sold the entire Maier collection in 2017, the Estate of Vivian Maier have tried to track down its whereabouts, to no avail. This portion of Maier’s photography has been lost, with no documentation available. See, Pamela Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 1.

¹¹ Solomon-Godeau’s essay was originally published on the 16 September 2013 for *Jeu De Paume* online magazine. Solomon-Godeau subsequently updated the 2013 text – ‘Inventing Vivian Maier: Categories, Careers, and Commerce’ - for inclusion in her 2017 collection of essays, *Photography After Photography: Gender, Genre, History*.

See, Solomon-Godeau, *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History*, 147.

¹² Prior to owning the primary portion of Maier’s photography, Maloof worked as an estate agent. As a side-line project, he was researching for a book he was co-writing about the history of Portage Park, a suburb on the Northwest side of Chicago. He was also President of the historical society for Chicago’s Northwest Side. Alongside this, he would sell through Ebay items he had bought at local auctions.

¹³ Maloof owns around 90 percent of Maier’s known photographic output. Les Douches la Galerie have represented Maier’s work exclusively in France since 2013 whilst the commercial gallery, Huxley Parlour is the UK representative for Maier’s photography. Steve Rifkin (based in New York) printed all of the undeveloped negatives contained in the Maloof Collection.

has since been repeated in bibliographic entries on Maier).¹⁴ Bannos argues that much of what has been written about Maier has tended to focus on the *discovery* rather than the images themselves implying that neither the subject matter nor Maier's photographic choices have not been seriously engaged with because the 'abundance of photographs threatened to water down Maier's oeuvre.'¹⁵ In short, it seems that the scale and eclecticism of Maier's oeuvre is suppressed by the over-exposure of a small fraction of her total output. Further, Bannos argues that in only presenting a small proportion of her images (street scenes and self-portraits), The Maloof Collection is in danger of presenting Maier as a one-trick pony. She counters this by mapping Maier's output more fully to highlight the range of styles, genres and compositions contained within including landscapes, portraits, journalistic reportage, and ethnographic studies.¹⁶ Certainly Maier's photographic output was far more diverse than that which has thus far been presented, indeed, existing categories of photographic subject matter do not allow for the bulk of photographs held in the archive that are taken in her (employers') homes [Fig. 5], on (paid) family holidays [Fig. 6], during her shopping trips [Fig. 7], and during her domestic duties [Fig. 8]. The challenge of excavating a history of Maier, for Solomon-Godeau, is in dealing with the 'posthumous reconstruction, if not invention' of a photographer.¹⁷ I aim to engage with this in the first chapter of this thesis. Throughout the thesis,

¹⁴ There have also been two documentaries made about Vivian Maier: one feature-length film produced and co-directed by John Maloof and Charlie Siskel (*Finding Vivian Maier*, 2013) and a BBC Imagine television documentary, (*Vivian Maier: Who Took Nanny's Pictures?* 2013). There have been four coffee table style monographs compiled from the Maloof collection: *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer* (Maloof and Geoff Dyer, 2011), *Vivian Maier: Self Portraits* (Maloof, 2013), *Vivian Maier: Photographer Found* (Maloof and Howard Greenberg, 2014) and, most recently, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work* (Colin Westerbeck, 2018). The essays are separate from the images which are formatted as 'plates' with one image per page. A portion of photographs from what was once the Goldstein collection have been reproduced in the photobooks: *Vivian Maier: Out of the Shadows* (Richard Cahan and Michael Williams, 2012) and *Vivian Maier: Eye to Eye* (Cahan and Williams, 2014). Both *Vivian Maier: Out of the Shadows* and *Vivian Maier: Eye to Eye* include multiple images per page, as well as full two-page spreads. Images are mixed; some have a white border of the page whilst others are expanded across the entire page. *Vivian Maier: Out of the Shadows* is envisioned by Cahan and Williams as a 'photo memoir' divided into thematic chapters including: 'Snapshots'; 'America'; 'Day'; 'Maxwell'; 'Beach'; '1968'; 'Downtown'; 'Walks'; and 'Night.' *Eye to Eye* includes a selection of portraits from the Goldstein collection, particularly from her travels across the United States and abroad.

¹⁵ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 3.

¹⁶ Bannos also includes 'colour' photography in the category of work overlooked, though her text came out a year before *Vivian Maier: The Color Work* (2018) exhibition and subsequent photo-book.

¹⁷ Solomon-Godeau, *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History*, 141.

building on the critique proffered by Bannos and Solomon-Godeau, I will aim to show that associations of gender and banality underscore the disavowal of the ubiquity of Maier's picture-taking – that the character of the version of Maier that has been posthumously constructed is explained by the development and gendering of peripheral photographic practices.

Psychobiography and Gender: Canon Formation

She's a wallflower, the spinster aunt, the ungainly tourist in the big city...except...she isn't! She was a professional nanny, which is a great disguise in itself-because how suspicious or dangerous could a woman shepherding a couple of kids possibly be?¹⁸

Joel Meyerowitz in the foreword to *Vivian Maier: The Color Work* (2018)

In the first wave of interest in the photography of Maier, it was the gendered role of 'nanny' that caused a sensation, saturating the media.¹⁹ In this section I will outline the tensions between masculine and feminine, professional and amateur, public and private, creative and domestic – poles between which Maier is routinely situated – in order to explain the multifarious and contradictory categorisation of her as the 'nanny photographer,' 'outsider,' and commercial 'street photographer', identities in which Maier is repeatedly cast and re-cast. The thesis will analyse how the inclusion of

¹⁸ Colin Westerbeck, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work* (Harper Collins 2018), 8.

¹⁹ 'Vivian Maier, reclusive nanny turned photographer, gets biggest ever show in Paris next year' (*The Art Newspaper*, 2020), 'What the Nanny Saw: Vivian Maier's Street Photography – in pictures' (*The Guardian*, 2019), 'The Big Picture: An Outing with Nanny and Photographer Vivian Maier' (*The Guardian*, 2019), 'Vivian Maier: The Secret Hoard of a Suburban Spy' (*The Financial Times*, 2018), 'The Case Of Vivian Maier: Why Eccentric Introverts Are Awesome' (*The HuffPost UK*, 2016), 'Our Nanny: The Photographer Vivian Maier' (*The Guardian*, 2014), 'Vivian Maier: Nanny, Not Being Nanny' (*The Boston Globe*, 2014), 'One Of America's Greatest Photographers Was A Nanny With A Sadistic Streak' (*Business Insider*, 2014), 'The 'punk rock nanny': John Maloof on his Glorious Documentary, "Finding Vivian Maier,"' (*MinnPost*, 2014), 'Vivian Maier: The Nanny With a Secret Life as a Photographer' (*The Telegraph*, 2014), 'Vivian Maier: The Nanny's Secret' (*The Wall Street Journal*, 2012), 'Vivian Maier: The Nanny with a Flair for Photography' (*The Telegraph*, 2011), 'What the Nanny Saw: Housekeeper's Stunning Images of 1950s Chicago Show Working Class America in a New light' (*The Daily Mail*, 2011), 'Little Miss Big Shot: Fifties America Exposed by a French Nanny', (*Independent*, November 2009).

psycho-biographical tropes in biographical studies – specifically Ann Marks' *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* (2017) - have impacted on the way Maier is understood.²⁰

The method of psychobiography within art history designates an approach to biography that emphasises a close examination of the character of the artist using formalised psychological theories. It has its basis in psychoanalysis as founded by Sigmund Freud, who first applied the theory to an analysis of the art works of Michelangelo (*Moses*, 1914) and Leonardo da Vinci (*Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood*, 1910). In the latter, he combined biographical details with a 'pathographical' approach – studying the influence of a psychological disorder on an individual – to provide explanations for the artist's homosexuality and the use of certain visual imagery.²¹ Pollock characterises the psychobiographical study as 'not merely narrations of the events of [the artists] life and work but psychological interpretations whose main drive is to discover the subjective "truth of the artist."'”²² Nanette Salomon in her essay 'The Art Historical Canon: Sins of Omission' (1991) has shown how the art-historical canon perpetuates patrilineal narratives of masculine creativity. Cementing the predominance of male artists, biography was harnessed by writers, for example in the writings of 'Vasari [who] used the device of biography to individualize and mystify the works of artistic

²⁰ The official biography *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny*, written by Ann Marks was published as an Amazon Kindle e-book only in September 2017. Sometime in 2018, the links to purchasing the Kindle publication were removed from Ann Marks' website and it was no longer available to buy on Amazon. There have been no paper copies of the text published. In 2019 Amazon updated the webpage with the title for a new publication date of 2020. The book title remained the same, although it was publicised as being sixty-five pages longer and published in hardback with PowerHouse Books. The title later became available for pre-order with a publication date of April 2020. However, this was cancelled and delayed until December 2020. Currently, as of September 2021, the title has changed to *Vivian Maier Developed: The Untold Story of the Nanny Photographer* and is expected to be published by Simon & Schuster.

²¹ See Sigmund Freud, "Leonardo Da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood," (London Standard Edition of the Collected Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Hogarth Press, 1957), 80.

²² Griselda Pollock, "Artists Mythologies and Media Genius, Madness and Art History," *Screen* 21, no. 3 (1980): 62. See also Griselda Pollock, *Psychoanalysis and the Image: Transdisciplinary Perspectives* (Blackwell Publishing 2006); Griselda Pollock, "The Politics of Theory: Generations and Geographies in Feminist Theory and the Histories of Art Histories," in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* ed. Griselda Pollock (London and New York Routledge 1996); Elisabeth Bronfen, "The Knotted Subject: Hysteria, Irma and Cindy Sherman" in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*, ed. Griselda Pollock (London and New York Routledge, 1996).

men.²³ This has inculcated narratives of male artistic genius and heightened a preoccupation with the individual artist which is, for Griselda Pollock, 'symptomatic of the work accomplished in art history – the production of an artistic subject for works of art.'²⁴ The source of meaning for a work of art has its basis in the construction of the artist so much so that the artwork is solely the expression of its creator forever 'bound into an unbreakable circuit.'²⁵ Salomon argues that the 'the same [biographical] device has a profoundly different effect when applied to women,' however: the biographies of men are mined for universal principles; the biographies of women are used to find 'exceptions'.²⁶ For a woman artist, her 'art is reduced to a visual record of her personal and psychological make-up'.²⁷ Indeed, I will argue in chapter one that the informal psychobiographical approach employed by Marks and others is not limited to Maier, and invites comparisons with the ways in which women photographers more widely have been presented. Notably this methodological approach is used to 'explain' Maier's practice in a reductive way, separating analysis from the socio-historical context within which she was photographing and, particularly, glossing over the ways in which women were marginalised within the photographic periphery.

There is a tendency in the literature to compare Maier to established photographers and artists – individuals whose cachet is lent to Maier through the act of comparison, whether or not that comparison is truly apt. Laura Lippman's essay 'The Matron Stays in the Picture' (2014), published as the foreword to *Vivian Maier: A Photographer Found*, sought to clarify Maier's position in terms of her photographic practice. Lippman first encountered her photography 'through that most un-Maier-like

²³ The debate over the problematics of recuperation as a valid feminist strategy is long-running, as is the feminist citation of (modernist) men, see Nanette Salomon, "The Art Historical Sins of Omission" in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1991), 351. For a feminist discussion of the art-historical canon, see Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*; Griselda Pollock, "Women, Art and Ideology: Questions for Feminist Art Historians" *Woman's Art Journal* 4, no. Spring/Summer (1983); Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, ed. *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* (New York Icon 1992). See also Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (Bloomsbury Academic 2013); Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," in *Women Artists: The Linda Nochlin Reader*, ed. Maura Reilly (Thames & Hudson 2015).

²⁴ Pollock, "Artists Mythologies and Media Genius, Madness and Art History," 58.

²⁵ Pollock, "Artists Mythologies and Media Genius, Madness and Art History," 59.

²⁶ Salomon, "The Art Historical Sins of Omission" 350-51.

²⁷ Salomon, "The Art Historical Sins of Omission" 351.

venue, Facebook.²⁸ In an online space where anyone (with access to a computer and the Web) can upload pictures, the distinctions between users and photographers become harder to define. Lippman makes this tension clear by suggesting 'Maier's work and life have echoes of two other artists [...] Helen Levitt (1913-2009), known for her streetscapes, is an obvious comparison. And so, in a different way, is Henry Darger (1892-1973).²⁹ Chicago born and raised, Darger gained posthumous success as an Outsider Artist with the discovery of his 15,145-page manuscript *In the Realms of the Unreal* with accompanying paintings and drawings. Whilst Lippman observes the similarities – falling ill shortly before dying, losing ownership of their belongings, gaining posthumous success that is rooted to their psychological connection with place and space – she is careful not to draw too close a comparison with Darger:

It's important to note, however, that Maier was not an outsider artist like [Henry] Darger, but an artist who was canny and intentional in her work. I write this sentence, then walk around it, consider it. Why is it important to make such distinctions? ...I flinched when I found one essay that described her photographs as a hobby.³⁰

This tendency speaks to the tensions and pressures of categorising Maier according to the established hierarchical canon: she is at once Walker Evans and Henry Darger, street photographer and outsider artist, masculine and feminine. In order to render Maier comparable to these photographers, she has to be reduced to a fragment. Lippman finds it illogical that Maier can be categorised as an amateur or hobbyist, though Maier was not paid to be a photographer, Lippman understands terms such as hobbyist to carry negative connotations associated with inferiority. This is indicative of how the work of the amateur is set in opposition to that of the 'serious photographer'; the former is viewed as a derogative categorisation.³¹ She makes the claim that whilst Maier's photography was housed in

²⁸ Laura Lippman, "The Matron Stays in the Picture," in *Vivian Maier: A Photographer Found*, ed. Howard Greenberg (Harper Design, 2014), 8.

²⁹ Lippman, "The Matron Stays in the Picture," 8.

³⁰ Lippman, "The Matron Stays in the Picture," 8.

³¹ I briefly discussed Lippmann's text in my article, Lucy Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery," *Revista de História da Arte* 9 (2021): 64.

boxes, she took the care and time to bring these with her wherever she was employed. That Maier's cache of photographic materials was stored with her other general belongings, however, suggests that one cannot ascribe such assumptions of a practice to her photographic output. Due to the very nature of her job as a live-in nanny, Maier would naturally have to bring the entire contents of her belongings with her, or as she did in certain cases, store it in lockers.

The Amateur: The Centre-Periphery Paradigm

The etymological root of the word 'amateur' is the Latin *amator*, meaning simply a lover of something, though this more archaic meaning has fallen out of use.³² According to the Oxford English Dictionary, an amateur in the more familiar, modern sense is someone who participates in an activity out of enthusiasm for it, as distinct from someone who pursues that activity for a living.

³³However, the usage of the term in this regard has depreciated over time such that the 'amateur' is 'a person who is completely inexperienced or inept at a particular activity.'³⁴ Within the context of the visual arts, the amateur is a marginalised creator, producing work that is artistically and technically weak, inhabiting a delayed version of the art world *proper*.

Art-historical scholarship on the subject of amateur photography has been conducted in several fields of study outside of discourse on photography: histories of craft, outsider art, or part of a middlebrow culture.³⁵ Indeed, with regards to the example of Maier, she has been posthumously described in a variety of different, often seemingly contradictory ways which I argue is redolent of the passivity that amateur photography is ascribed by art historical scholarship, and of the general slippage between

³² "Amateur," *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6041?redirectedFrom=amateur&>.

³³ "Amateur," *Oxford English Dictionary*.

³⁴ "Amateur," *Oxford English Dictionary*.

³⁵ See Stephen Knott, "Amateur Craft as a Differential Practice" (Royal College of Art in collaboration with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 2011); Victoria Grieve, *The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture* (University of Illinois Press, 2009); Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (University North Carolina Press, 1992).

categories of artistic production. Building on my discussion above, while Lippman may have rejected the terms 'outsider' for Maier, that position has routinely been ascribed to amateur practices in histories of art and photography.

The next section of the introduction will set out the existing scholarship on outsider art which has since the 1980s debated amateur art's inclusion in the category. Much of the literature on the amateur in art history has continued to promulgate outsider art as a catch-all for marginalised phenomena that exist outside the dominant historiography. The term outsider art was first coined in 1972 by the British writer Roger Cardinal as an English language equivalent for the French term *Art Brut*, originally formulated by the painter Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985) in the mid-1940s.³⁶ From the original notion of art made by those on the periphery of society – prison inmates, children, those suffering from mental illness – sociologists and art historians have expanded the boundaries of outsider art to include amateurs. In their introduction to *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture* (1994), Michael D. Hall and Eugene W. Metcalf, Jr. highlight the transatlantic differences in the meaning of outsider art: Europe continues to stick closely to the definition of *art brut* whilst scholars in the United States have included folk, self-taught and amateur art, rethinking outsider art as 'othered.'³⁷ Hall and Metcalf argue that categories help establish and define humankind, arguing that outsider art can be understood as visual signs marking 'the boundaries of culture and preserve the nature of the cultural self. They demonstrate to cultural insiders who they are by reminding them of who and what they are not.'³⁸ However, this theoretical framework continues to measure artistic work by difference, without the possibility of challenging the dominant structures that perpetuate social, class, gender and racial inequality. A canon is by its very nature exclusionary: the very existence of an inside is predicated upon the existence of an outside and vice versa, and thus the dominance of inside is dependent upon the existence of art made on the outside. Even if the canon were to be expanded to include amateur art,

³⁶ Roger Cardinal, *Outsider Art* (Studio Vista 1972), 7.

³⁷ Michael D. Hall and Jr. Eugene W. Metcalf, eds., *The Artist as Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture* (Smithsonian Books, 1994), xiii.

³⁸ Hall and Eugene W. Metcalf, *The Artist as Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture*, xiii.

the canon's foundations are still built upon the existence of the superior artist and the social structures and institutions that underwrite this superiority.³⁹

Discourses on the amateur as a separate category to the domain of the outsider artist reinforce the opposition of insider and outsider realms. This tendency to polarise the role of the amateur, according to Henry C. Finney in his essay 'Art Production and Artists' Careers: The Transition From "Outside" to "inside,"' oversimplifies the 'process of "admission" to the inside by reducing it to an outcome of a power struggle between the powerful and the powerless.'⁴⁰ Finney avoids the opposition by positing multiple, potentially overlapping, art worlds with their own distinct hierarchies.⁴¹ Ranging from lowest (outsider) to highest (insider) status, Finney includes hobbyists, serious amateurs, aspiring pre-professionals and, in the highest category, professionals.⁴² There has, however, been a growing move towards rejecting the all-encompassing terminology of 'outsider art.' In *Outsider Art: Spontaneous Alternatives* (2000), Colin Rhodes is cautious of this flexibility and warns against outsider art's inclusivity as a cause of an endless circle of meaningless activity. Rhodes clarifies further by stating, 'there is no place here for the struggling would-be professional artist attempting to find his or her way into the mainstream, but currently languishing outside the system.'⁴³ Similarly, Rhodes excludes the amateur artist from the category of insider art since the discourse would eventually be rendered meaningless but cannot qualify where he/she should sit within or outside the art world. Within the discourse of outsider art, photography as a creative medium has been generally ignored until as recently as 2013, with the arrival of the category (made by self-taught outsiders who can be

³⁹ See Vera L. Zolberg and Joni Maya Cherbo, *Outsider Art: Contesting Boundaries in Contemporary Culture* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3; Vera L. Zolberg, "Marginality Triumphant? On the Asymmetry of Conflict in the Art World " *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 23, no. 2/3 Arts and Politics: A French-American Perspective (September 2010): 105-10.

⁴⁰ Henry C. Finney, "Art Production and Artists' Careers: The Transition from 'Outside' to 'Inside'," in *Outsider Art: Contesting Boundaries in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Vera L. Zolberg & Joni Maya Cherbo (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86.

⁴¹ Finney, "Art Production and Artists' Careers: The Transition from 'Outside' to 'Inside'," 73.

⁴² Finney, "Art Production and Artists' Careers: The Transition from 'Outside' to 'Inside'," 77. I have discussed the extant literature on Outsider Art to explore the problems of categorisation in my article, Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery," 65.

⁴³ Colin Rhodes, *Outside Art: Spontaneous Alternatives* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 14.

categorised in the framework put forth by Dubuffet and Cardinal) of 'Outsider Photography,' a separate category from Outsider Art.⁴⁴ Peripheralised within the discourse of Outsider Art, photography is marginalised and separated from other forms of art.

Studies on amateur photography tend to evaluate the practice as a form of leisure and as such further the binary opposition of professional photography as a part of work. Leading the way in analyses of amateur practices and leisure hobbies is the sociologist Robert Stebbins, who has since the 1970s sought to define, describe and analyse the procedures and practices of amateurism.⁴⁵ Stebbins states that the activities and parameters of the amateur are constantly evolving, and that an evolution took place between 1880 and 1920 has been marked by significant shift in meaning.⁴⁶ Interestingly, Stebbins using his Professional-Amateur-Public Relationships (P-A-P) system to highlight the interrelationships between amateurs and professionals. Whilst this reinforces the notion that the amateur is conditioned by the actions of so-called professionals, I will analyse the interactions between different practitioners in order to not only destabilise the binarism, but also to show that information was exchanged between practitioners and as such the narrative of amateur photography as an imitation of the work of named photographers is shown to be a fallacy promulgated by the existence of the canon.

Maier troubles the work/leisure binary since she conducted her photographic practice alongside her full-time work as a nanny. However, as the posthumous presentation of Maier shows, her employment status is an anomaly. Whilst many leading photographers worked part-time as educators or freelance photo-journalists to facilitate their pursuit of the medium, the narrative of the modernist art

⁴⁴ The American photographer John Brill is widely credited with the formation of the category Outsider Photography.

⁴⁵ See Robert A. Stebbins, "The Amateur: Two Sociological Definitions," *The Pacific Sociological Review* 20 (1977). Robert Stebbins, *Amateurs: On the Margins between Work and Leisure* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1979); Robert Stebbins, *Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Robert Stebbins, *Leisure and Consumption: Common Ground, Separate World* (Palgrave Macmillan 2009).

⁴⁶ Stebbins, "The Amateur: Two Sociological Definitions," 582.

photographer is based on the notion of the singular (male) photographer who dedicated all *his* time to photography, though not in a deliberate attempt to ascertain a career.

The amateur is often regarded as functioning in a local social and educational circle: a provincial set-up that is a smaller, inferior emotionally and artistically and technically delayed version of the art world *proper*. For Michael Owen Jones in his essay, 'How do you get Inside the Art of Outsiders?', many who appear 'self-taught' are not, in fact, untutored.⁴⁷ Indeed, it is, for Jones a 'sense of communion' that often motivates artistry, rather than a personal expression of innate artistic sensibility that often characterises both discourse on the outsider (encompassing multiple groups of people) and the professional.⁴⁸ This similarity is, ostensibly, derived from the desire to ground a discipline in mystery, to evoke the traditional romantic ideal of the Western artist. Following on from this, the thesis will re-evaluate the subject matter chosen by amateurs, the collegiality of the amateur practice, and the circulation of images via photography magazines.

It is important to note that Stebbins' sociological analysis removes any understanding of the material conditions of the practitioner. Indeed, Stephen Knott makes the point that his sociological system is a foil for 'capitalist notion[s] of productivity and profit' which has been a prominent part of photography scholarship on the amateur as a way to understand the differentiation between photographic practices as encompassed within the term.⁴⁹ Julian Stallabrass provides the most scathing attack on the amateur photographer in his book *Gargantua* (1997). Stallabrass advances a four-tier photography system that comprises 'The Professional (who takes pictures to make money), The Snapper (spends money to take pictures for social reasons such as family occasions), The Amateur (who lacks a social context and possibility of financial gain), The Artist (who is again not tied to any social demands but

⁴⁷ Michael Owen Jones, "How Do You Get inside the Art of Outsiders?," in *The Artist as Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture*, ed. Michael Hall & Eugene Metcalf Jr. (Washington DC Smithsonian Institute Press, 1994), 317.

⁴⁸ Jones, "How Do You Get inside the Art of Outsiders?," 319.

⁴⁹ Stephen Knott, "The Amateur State," *Either/And*, accessed December 1, 2020, <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/the-amateur-state/>. See also, Knott, "Amateur Craft as a Differential Practice."

who still hopes to make money).⁵⁰ In a similar vein to Pierre Bourdieu in *Photography: A Middle-brow Art* (1965), Stallabrass describes conformity as epitomising amateur practice.⁵¹ Amateur photography, in contrast both to art photography and to snapshooting, is characterised by a po-faced seriousness, a preoccupation with rules, and consumerism; it is a photographic impulse that is no more than a 'dot-to-dot' game – following the rules to get a perfectly formed image, but one that can be replicated.⁵²

Bourdieu, Stallabrass and Don Slater express a contempt for amateur photography as a consumerist excrescence of the commercial mass production of camera equipment.⁵³ Democratisation as masquerade for the mass production of camera equipment is the very function of an economic system. Whilst they acknowledge the social fragmentation of amateur practice, neither examines the changing definition of the term beyond it simply being a response to industrialism and the boom in commodity culture. Dave Kenyon's *Inside Amateur Photography* (1992) includes a chapter on popular photographic magazines, though, its central focus is British photography. Similarly to Slater, Kenyon claims that amateur photography is about consuming.⁵⁴ Yet, Kenyon explains that photography publications provide readers with a format (or blueprint) from which to learn about the medium, for example, what a 'good' picture is, how to take them and most importantly, who can take them.⁵⁵ In contrast, I will highlight the socio-economic matrices that existed to limit Maier, and women more broadly. Photography is gendered, with men seen as the fanatic amateurs who join camera clubs whilst women are either occasional amateurs or more likely, 'snapshooters' whose subject matter is the family.⁵⁶ Therefore, this thesis will demonstrate that amateur photography is underpinned by sexual difference. I will argue that the amateur is feminised due to the associations with the family

⁵⁰ Julian Stallabrass, *Gargantua* (Verso, 1996), 14.

⁵¹ Stallabrass, *Gargantua*, 14-16.

⁵² See chapter two of Stallabrass, *Gargantua*. I briefly discuss Stallabrass's scathing attack on amateur photography in Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery," 65.

⁵³ See Don Slater, "Marketing Mass Photography," in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, ed. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (London Sage Publications 1985).

⁵⁴ Dave Kenyon, *Inside Amateur Photography* (Batsford Ltd, 1992), 65.

⁵⁵ Kenyon, *Inside Amateur Photography*, 70.

⁵⁶ See specifically Chapter 2 from Bourdieu's *Photography: A Middle-brow Art* and Chapters 2-4 in Stallabrass, *Gargantua*.

and as such emphasis on the technicity of the camera was a method by which male amateurs could re-inscribe their masculinity into their picture-taking.

Recently, there has been a surfeit of scholarship on amateur photography to account for and re-think the ambivalence towards the expansion in photographic practice and subsequent attempts to extrapolate the differentiation of the amateur practice.⁵⁷ A recent and thorough overview of the scholarship on amateur photography was undertaken by Annabella Pollen in the essay 'Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously', in *The Handbook of Photography Studies* (2020). In it, Pollen engages with historical and theoretical discourses to provide an overview of photography through the lens of the 'serious amateur' in order to shed light upon the difference between the 'reality and fantasy of the amateur.'⁵⁸ However, I will argue that it is the gendering of amateurism – female snapshotter and male serious amateur – through which terminology such as 'banality,' 'ubiquity' and 'disorder' have been designated as feminine. From an examination of this, it will become clear that the erasure of the familial and domestic photography in the posthumous

⁵⁷ Annabella Pollen has written extensively about amateur photography, co-organising the 2012 project *Reconsidering Amateur Photography* at the University of Brighton and with funding from the National Media Museum in Bradford, and in collaboration with The Photography Research Network a publishing research project that took the form of a website *Either/And*. These online texts were later revised and updated for inclusion in the publication *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture* (2018) edited by Ben Burbridge and Pollen. *Photography Reframed* uses the concept of 'aspirational amateur' in order to discuss the differentiation in the amateur practice, particularly to examine the strand of self-improvement located in popular photography magazines.

Recent scholarship challenges the view (put forth by Stallabrass among others discussed above) that amateur photography is banal, ubiquitous and uninteresting, see, Annabella Pollen, "When Is a Cliché Not a Cliché: Reconsidering Mass-Produced Sunsets," in *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture*, ed. Annabella Pollen & Ben Burbridge (London: I.B.Tauris, 2018); Lynn Berger, "The Authentic Amateur and the Democracy of Collecting Photographs," *Photography and Culture* 2, no. 1 (2009); Lynn Berger, "Snapshots, Or: Visual Culture's Clichés," *Photographies* 4, no. 2 (2011); Gil Pasternak, "Popular Photographic Cultures in Photography Studies," in *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture*, ed. Annabella Pollen and Ben Burbridge (I. B. Tauris, 2018). There is an interesting discussion of these themes in Tomás Dvorák and Jussi Parikka, "Introduction," in *Photography Off the Scale: Technologies and Theories of the Mass Image*, ed. Tomás Dvorák & Jussi Parikka (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021).

⁵⁸ Annabella Pollen, "Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously," in *The Handbook of Photography* ed. Gil Pasternak (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020). Prior to *The Handbook of Photography*, there have been a number of critical introductions to the study of photography, yet they have provided a limited understanding of amateur photography, see Liz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (Routledge 1996); Liz Wells, ed. *The Photography Reader* (Routledge 2002); Stephen Bull, *Photography* ed. Paul Cobley, *Introductions to Media and Communications* (Routledge 2010); Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (Laurence King Publishing 2002); David Bate, *Photography: Key Concepts* (Routledge 2019).

construction of Maier's reputation is founded in the broader institutional disavowal of women as creative practitioners.

In the introduction to *Reconsidering Amateur Photography*, Juliet Baillie argues that literature on amateur photography has tended to focus on family photography, and how this is associated with identity formation as well as memory and nostalgia.⁵⁹ Research on the amateur photographer conducted by historians and art historians has often focused on the Eastman Kodak Company, the invention of the roll film and the popularisation of photography.⁶⁰ Kodak presented itself as having widened (democratised) access to cameras and, by extension, picture-taking.⁶¹ For Bourdieu, the family function of photography represents the worst outlet for the practice 'which has no traditions and makes no demands' because it has been given over to the collective recording of social memory rather than to 'the anarchy of the individual improvisation [...] it appears that there is nothing more regulated and conventional than photographic practice.'⁶² Gillian Rose, in *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and The Politics of Sentiment*, questions Bourdieu's cynicism:

... why is the limited subject matter of family snaps seen to be such a problem? Does their repetitiveness really deserve to be described as stultified and stereotyped, and as banal and trite? Do family photos really become invisible to their owners? [...] And, if according to Bourdieu, "ordinary practice seems determined...to strip photography of its power to disconcert," why should we assume that the inability to disconcert somehow constitutes a failure on the part of "ordinary practice," as Bourdieu seems to do?⁶³

⁵⁹ "Introduction," *Either/And*, accessed 29 January 2021, <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/reconsidering-amateur-photography-annebella-pollen/>.

⁶⁰ See Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990). For research on Kodak and the ways in which women were depicted as amateurs and the strategy to sell to a female market, see Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville and London University Press of Virginia, 2000).

⁶¹ See A. L. Pakkala, "The Market for Amateur Photography," *Financial Analysts Journal*, 33, no. 5 (1977). Pakkala sets out the prospects for the growth of photography in America and for the international market. Although written in 1974, Pakkala examined data taken between 1960 and 1970. From this, three conclusions are drawn about the growth in photography in America: firstly, picture taking was at an all-time high rate, the percentage of colour photography taken was expanding and that, most interestingly, 98% of U.S. households owned a still camera.

⁶² Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Polity Press, 1996), 7.

⁶³ Gillian Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*, ed. Dr. Mark Boyle, *Re-Materialising Cultural Geography* (New York and London Routledge 2016), 12.

However, both agree with the summation that family photography is subjugated to visual conventions that, as Bourdieu claims, reinforces the 'integration of the family group.'⁶⁴ For Pasternak, the scholarship fails to account for 'these *conditional* relationships between the nation-state (i.e., capitalist ideology) and the nuclear family' and continues to adhere to the 'perception that [as Bourdieu put forth] the nuclear family uses photography to increase social integration.'⁶⁵ Chapter three will demonstrate that camera advertising constructed family photography as attached to the ideology of the nuclear family as a happy, socially integrated unit, isolated from the public sphere.⁶⁶ I intend to trouble the boundaries that exist between terms such as amateur, serious amateur, hobbyist, snapshotter and so on, to examine the role gender played in the formation of these positions. Whilst chapter four will show that, using the example of Maier, women were actively using the camera to document their labour in the domestic household. I will seek to highlight the gendering of photographic practice to understand the ideological and spatial feminisation of the (photographic) periphery. It is important to outline the scholarship on women's involvement in photography to-date in order to establish the ways in which have been written about. In 1975, Anne Tucker's *Woman's Eye* was the first major attempt to provide an overview of women's contribution to the history of twentieth-century American photography. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, interest in establishing women's involvement in the history of photography was growing as can be seen in the variety of material published.⁶⁷ In 1990 Constance Sullivan provided the first historical overview of women's contribution to photography (*Women Photographers*) from the early pioneers in the 1840s to contemporary photographers in the 1980s. Four years later Naomi Rosenblum wrote *A History of*

⁶⁴ Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*, 19.

⁶⁵ Gil Pasternak, "Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs," in *Photography, History, Difference*, ed. Tanya Sheehan (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2015), 223.

⁶⁶ Pasternak, "Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs," 224.

⁶⁷ Val Williams's *Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present* (1986), Andrea Fisher's *Let us Now Praise Famous Women: Women Photographers for the US Government 1935 to 1944* (1987) - reclaiming the title from the 1941 book *Let us Now Praise Famous Men* - Peter Palmquist published a bibliographic list of Californian women photographers (*Shadowcatchers: A Directory of Women in California Photography Before 1901*, 1990) and an anthology of writings on photography by women (*Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865*, 2000).

Women Photographers (1994) which is currently (2020) in its third reprint. *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States* (1997) by Sheila Rowbotham provides biographies of four hundred women photographers.

Whilst surveys or histories of women's contribution to photography are limited to the above, there has been considerable scholarship on family photography and domestic album making.⁶⁸ Whilst there is a vast literature concerning family photography, particularly examining the gendering of domestic photography, notably addressing the notion of women as recorders of familial memories, besides a vast literature on the Eastman Kodak company, very little has been written that at once challenges how and why women have been conditioned into this role in photography magazines and acknowledges that women actively negotiate the external and internal pressures placed on them using the medium of photography. Whilst Val Williams argues that the taking of snapshots is a meaningful process for women to capture the everyday, family photography is nonetheless tethered to the notion that women record the family for social (personal) reasons.⁶⁹ However, texts such as Jo Spence and Joan Solomon *What Can a Woman Do with a Camera? Photography for Women* (1995) and Gil Pasternak's 'Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs' (2015), contend that photography taken within the home can be a political act contesting the dominant

⁶⁸ For scholarship on general family photography, see Deborah Chambers, *Representing the Family* (SAGE Publications 2001); Marianne Hirsch, ed. *The Familial Gaze* (Hanover and London University Press of New England 1999); Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Remembrance* (London Verso, 2002); Jo Spence and Patricia Holland, eds., *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography* (London Virago, 1991).

For literature on women and family album making, see Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Ashgate Publishing 2007); Deborah Chambers, "Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. J. and Ryan Schwartz, J. (London I.B. Tauris, 2002); Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*.

For literature on family album making using digital media, see Don Slater, "Domestic Photography and Digital Culture," in *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture*, ed. Martin Lister (London: Routledge 1995); Susan Murray, "New Media and Vernacular Photography: Revisiting Flickr," in *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture*, ed. Martin Lister (London and New York: Routledge 2013); Gillian Rose, "How Digital Technologies Do Family Snaps" in *Digital Snaps: The New Face of Photography* ed. Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye (London and New York Routledge 2013).

⁶⁹ Val Williams, *Women Photographers: The Other Observers 1900 to the Present* (Virago, 1986), 77.

ideologies of nation-state, gender roles and discourse separate spheres.⁷⁰ The implications of this for re-reading Maier's vintage prints are manifold: a documentation of her labour as nanny that acknowledges the spatialised mapping of gender and class divisions. In providing an examination of the gendering of photography, I wish to avoid the inculcation of women in photography in the patrilineal history of American photography. Rather I intend to illuminate the interrelationships between these peripheral clusters and between centres and peripheries in order to understand how women grapple with and identify with the histories of photography and their position as amateur therein.

Methodological Approach

There has been considerable ambivalence towards the figure of the amateur in photography, their place within the historiography of American photography and status within the photographic art world. Cast to the margins of the photographic art world, amateur photography is often portrayed as a homogenous mass of repetitious and unartistic output. Historical analyses continue to equate personal or domestic photography with amateurism without recourse to an understanding of the gendered dynamics that are play within this discourse. My thesis has feminist underpinnings, such that it highlights how historically photography has enabled women to capture their labour.

Given that this thesis is concerned with the photography conducted within the margins of the art world, my approach has been informed by research and methodological models investigating concepts of peripheries and how these relate to established centres of photographic praxis. In

⁷⁰ Pasternak has also written about family photography in Israel, see Gil Pasternak, "Posthumous Interruptions: The Political Life of Family Photographs in Israeli Military Cemeteries " *Photography and Culture* 3, no. 1 (2010). See also Val Williams, *Who's Looking at the Family*, Barbican Art Gallery, 1994. Recent publications on women photographers (*Firecrackers: Female Photographers Now*, 2017) have developed from a series of activities including conferences and action groups such as Fast Forward: Women in Photography (Tate Modern, 2017, 2018, 2019 and the 2021 conference will take place in Georgia) and the recent exhibition Let us Now Praise Famous Women (Oxford, 2020) organised by PhotoOxford.

Western art historical discourses on centres of art movements, the periphery has been bound to the concept of provincialism.⁷¹ Terry Smith's article 'The Provincialism Problem' (1975) counters this concept of the periphery as inherently producing provincial art using an analysis of how modern art movements developed in postwar Australia. Smith argues that the concept of provincial art and culture is a construct that 'appears primarily as subservience to an externally-imposed hierarchy of cultural values.'⁷² More recent scholarship on the centre-periphery framework has been particularly useful in establishing both an analysis of amateur photography as distinct from comparisons with the professional, and the institutions and infrastructures of the centre alongside establishing the structure of the photographic periphery as inhabiting multiple, often competing peripheries distinct from definitions accrued from the centre.⁷³

In her article, 'Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery' (2016), Foteini Vlachou eschews the extant discourse on the periphery as a singular entity with its geographical association with the centre, to instead consider multiple peripheries each with their own hierarchies and characteristics distinct from the centres.⁷⁴ She advocates moving away from a spatial or temporal analysis of a periphery in order to relinquish the gendered and unequal centre/periphery dichotomy. Following on from this, within a

⁷¹ For a sociological discussion, see key texts Edward Shils, "Centre and Periphery," in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi*, ed. Paul Kegan (Routledge 1961); Liah Greenfeld and Michel Martin, eds., *Center: Ideas and Institutions* (The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

For art historical scholarship specific to the centre-periphery nexus, see Kenneth Clark, "Provincialism" in *Moments of Vision* (London John Murray, 1981); Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography in Italian Art History," [Domination symbolique et géographie artistique dans l'histoire de l'art italien.] *Art in Translation* 1, no. 1 (2009); Terry Smith, "The Provincialism Problem" *Artforum* 13, no. 1 (1975); Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "The Uses and Abuses of Peripheries in Art History," *Art@s Bulletin* 3, no. 1 Peripheries (2014). For reading on the geography of art, see Thomas DaCosta Kauffman, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London Chicago University Press, 2004).

Within the field of photography studies, there has been a number of scholars who have been influenced by the discourse of the 'expanded field.' See, George Baker, "Photography's Expanded Field" *October* 114, no. Autumn (2005).

⁷² Smith, "The Provincialism Problem" 1.

⁷³ See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, eds., *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham Ashgate 2015). Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Circulation and the Art Market," *Journal for Art Market Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017). Foteini Vlachou, *The Disappointed Writer. Selected Essays* (Lisbon Edições do Saguão, 2019); Joyeux-Prunel, "The Uses and Abuses of Peripheries in Art History."

⁷⁴ See Foteini Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," *Visual Resources* 32, no. 1-2 (2016).

periphery, a centre can be located.⁷⁵ This framework has been influential to my thinking in this thesis as a way of re-thinking the amateur and professional binarism and instead describe the amateur space as made up of multiple different photographic groups forming loose and permeable hierarchies, the development of which can be traced through moments in the history of photography.

For Pasternak, the study of amateur photography has the potential 'to sprout an exploratory methodological model that would equip photographic historians, perhaps for the first time in the historiography of photography, with the ability to scrutinise systematically any photographic-related practice and environment, regardless of its ongoing or absent analysis within the various discourses about photography and the discursive fields that they have already germinated.'⁷⁶ In short, Pasternak is arguing for an inclusive history of photography that incorporates the 'uses and experiences' of anyone who has used photography.⁷⁷ In order to highlight the complexity of the photographic peripheries (encompassing amateurs, serious amateurs, hobbyists and women amateurs etc) and the autonomy of the photographers who inhabit the peripheries, I engage in this thesis with photographic publications, particularly editorial departments dedicated to amateur photography including literary spaces that fostered communication between reader, writer and editor. Whilst historical and sociological studies on amateur practices have utilised qualitative research approaches (notably communicating with camera club members), this approach is less common in art historical research.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 17. Vlachou's research was influenced by her supervisor and Greek scholar Nicos Hadjinicolaou who used discourses on the geography of art to formulate a centre and periphery conceptualisation. See Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "Art Centers and Peripheral Art" (paper presented at the Lecture, University of Hamburg, 2020 1982); Terry Smith, "An Introduction to Nicos Hadjinicolaou's "Art Centers and Peripheral Art" (1982)," *Art Margins* 9 no. 2 (2020).

⁷⁶ Gil Pasternak, "Photographic Histories, Actualities, Potentialities: Amateur Photography as Photographic Historiography," *Either/And*, accessed December 12, 2020, <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/photographic-histories-actualities-potentialities-/>.

⁷⁷ Pasternak, "Photographic Histories, Actualities, Potentialities: Amateur Photography as Photographic Historiography."

⁷⁸ For literature on camera clubs, see Dona Schwartz, "Camera Clubs and Fine Art Photography: Distinguishing between Art and Amateur Activity" (University of Pennsylvania 1983); Dona B. Schwartz and Michael Griffin, "Amateur Photography: The Organizational Maintenance of an Aesthetic Code," in *Natural Audiences: Qualitative Research of Media Uses and Effects*, ed. Thomas R. Lindlof (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex 1987). A brief, but interesting discussion of interwar camera clubs is Juliet Baillie, "Camera Clubs, Interwar Amateurs

Moreover, the historical recovery of amateur practices has been fraught since the spaces which amateurs inhabit and the tools with which they communicate are viewed – within the art historical canon – as middlebrow, and therefore not worth recording. Furthermore, as Pollen points out, within the photographic art world, the amateur has historically not been able to recount textual histories of photography, due to their marginal status within a rigid classification system.⁷⁹

This thesis will use an image-text approach grounded in Peter Buse's concept of the amateur/reader as set out in his article 'The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo-Magazines' (2017).⁸⁰ Buse has suggested that we consider the amateur practice by viewing them, 'not as a photographer, but as a reader, and sometimes even, a writer.'⁸¹ For this reason, in this thesis I frame marginalised practitioners as reader-photographers whose textual traces are just as important as their visual output. I do not want to continue to propagate the use of the terms aspirational, serious or hobbyist unless directly referring to statements made by reader/photographers. Instead, I want to use this methodological framework to highlight the interchangeability between categories and the negotiation of power that takes place between reader/photographer and the editorial.

Maier, it is noted, had a collection of photography manuals, monographic books on leading photographers such as Henri Cartier-Bresson, and photographic magazines, notably *Popular Photography*, copies of which were found in the storage lockers which were subsequently sold on at Roger Gunderson's auction house.⁸² While the literature on Maier references these bibliographic

and Photography for Profit," *Either/And*, accessed December 12, 2020, <http://eitherand.org/reconsidering-amateur-photography/camera-clubs-interwar-amateurs-and-photography-pro/>.

For an analysis of American photography publications in the late nineteenth century, see Paul Spencer Sternberger, *Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America 1880-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

⁷⁹ Pollen, "Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously," 293.

⁸⁰ Peter Buse, "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo Magazines," in *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture*, ed. Ben Burbridge and Annabella Pollen (London I.B. Tauris 2018), 49.

⁸¹ Buse, "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo Magazines," 49-50. See also Peter Buse, *The Camera Does the Rest: How Polaroid Photography Changed Photography* (Chicago Chicago University Press, 2016).

⁸² It is well established that Maier was a regular reader of *Popular Photography* magazine (a collection of back issues was found among the contents of her lockers though they have since been sold via Roger Gunderson's

resources, it does so in an attempt to highlight her historiographical knowledge of photography and the compositional similarities between her and the canonical photographers who make up this linear history. Instead, in this thesis (particularly in chapters two and three), I will refer to these sources in order to situate Maier as a reader/photographer. My aim in doing so is to suggest that in reading (amateur) photographic magazines, Maier was in communication with, not in opposition to, other practitioners. This will provide a nuanced re-interpretation of the centre-periphery relationships that shows the collegiality of the peripheries rather than the negative narratives of competition and gadgetry. As I have outlined, previous engagements with Maier and her photography have most frequently concentrated on providing a biographical exegesis. This thesis is not a biography nor an attempt at a recuperative monograph; rather Maier will serve as a case study from which to think through how women have often been marginalised within the discourse of photography, the reasons for this, and the impact this has had on women entering the art world.

I have drawn on a wide range of primary and secondary sources in the course of my research. As I have demonstrated in this introduction, analyses of amateur photography have often overlooked amateur publications and community groups outside of the traditional camera club format (aside from Buse and Kenyon who looked at both British and American popular photography journals). I have undertaken an examination of the biggest circulating photographic magazines during the mid-twentieth century period including *U.S Camera*, *Minicam* (in 1949 it became *Modern Photography*), *Popular Photography* and *Petersen's Photographic*. To analyse the extent to which reader-photographers have engaged with the label 'amateur', women in photography, the photographic output of other so-called amateurs, and the structures and institutions of the photographic art world, I have chosen to focus on particular sections that repeat across each magazine such as letters from

auction house) among other publications. She also had a book collection which including monographs on photographers ranging from Cecil Beaton, Henri Cartier-Bresson to Thomas Struth. See John Maloof, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer Found* (Harper Design, 2014). Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*. The John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier archive at the University of Chicago Special Collections contains eight folders of undated receipts and paper ephemera, many of which are for books bought by Maier at local bookshops and thrift stores.

readers, amateur-specific departments, readers pages (photographs sent in to a magazine by amateur/readers), editor pages (responses to readers' letters), articles written about women in photography, and letters and articles written by women reader/photographers.

In order to disentangle the posthumous narrative of Maier from an analysis of her photographic practice, I have consulted primary material in the John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier at the University of Chicago Special Collections. The collection contains photographic prints (both vintage prints and photographs/postcards taken by other people and found in Maier's belongings), ephemera (paperwork, letters, receipts, and bound albums containing newspaper clippings), and artifacts (cameras, and clothing). These vintage prints have rarely been made public, in terms of their inclusion in the four monographs, exhibitions and as part of the Maloof Collection's online presence (although a handful have been included in Ann Marks's biography).

However, I would like to draw attention to the pitfalls of conducting research on the photography of Maier. Firstly, it is difficult to build up a complete overview of Maier's photography (that was found in her storage lockers) because since being stored in the rental lockers, it has been separated and sold to various people, some of whom have not come forward to announce publicly their ownership. Inventories were not taken at either stage of the sale at Hebard Storage (where Maier rented five lockers to store her belongings) and Roger Gunderson's auction company, RPN Sales (who bought the entire contents of the five lockers) and as such it is difficult to map the exact contents with what was alleged to have been in the possession of Maier. Secondly, I have not been able to gain access to either Ron Slattery's collection of vintage prints or John Maloof's private archive in Chicago which contains to my knowledge (there is no list of inventories of the Maloof Collection that is made public) vintage prints, selected posthumous prints, audiotapes, 8mm and 16mm home-movies and ephemera.⁸³

⁸³ In a conversation with the collection Manager for the Maloof Collection at the Howard Greenberg Gallery, I was told that the gallery does not know the contents of Maloof's own private collection. There is no communication between the Howard Greenberg Gallery and the University of Chicago Special Collections and so neither institution holds a complete inventory of the Maloof Collection (as bought since the original auction

Finally, Maier did not actively organise her photographic output separately to her personal and lifelong belongings, and thus notions of 'archive' and 'repository' are problematised in this instance and as such I have tried to steer away from using such terminology.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The chapters are not to be considered as separate entities, but rather the key themes, and analysis of Vivian Maier as I have outlined above will recur throughout.

Chapter one will outline the various contradictory conceptualisations of Maier as a photographer, and how these have been promulgated over time since her photography was first introduced online in 2008. To this end, chapter one argues that the ways in which Maier is labelled and written about as a photographer (street, commercial, outsider etc.) are symptomatic of the narrow definitions which are used to write a history of photography, and furthermore, the essentialisation of experiences. Ultimately, the aim of this first chapter is to interrogate the narratives and systems in which she has posthumously risen from obscurity. In doing so, I intend to point to a re-orientation of photographic history to show the permeability of the centres and peripheral practices. I will question the role of recuperation, particularly in a canon that is built upon the subordination of women as Other. In the last section of chapter one I will situate the reconstitution of Maier within the broader context of artist construction. I will engage with the broader critical and theoretical literature on the posthumous construction of artist identity, the recorporealisation of the (dead) artist through archival traces, and the role of biography and gender in this. I will ask how the psycho-biographical narrative of Maier's struggle with a supposed hoarding disorder has complicated the way in which she, and her photography are perceived.

sale). And neither does John Maloof or the Howard Greenberg Gallery know the full details (or its whereabouts) of what was contained in the original Goldstein and the current Ron Slattery collections. The Howard Greenberg Gallery sells vintage prints to private commercial collectors, thus, making it harder still as a researcher to track down and map the full extent of the images Maier chose to develop in her lifetime.

Chapter two will provide a historical analysis of the gendering of photographic practice in order to cast light on women's involvement with photography, and the gendered dynamics inherent within the peripheral status of women photographers. Using primary source material from the Peter Palmquist Women in Photography archive (held at the Beinecke Library) – early photography journals and twentieth-century magazines, photographs of women working in commercial studios and small factories, and commercial carte de visite advertisements – I contend that the photographic periphery has been and continues to be drawn along class, gender, racial and spatial lines. Chapter two addresses the manifold reasons as to why amateurs are cast as technology driven, unoriginal thinkers who seek fulfilment through ownership rather than honing their *photographic eye*; namely through their choice of subject matter, type of camera used and the outlets in which they choose to share their images. In countering the cynical theorisation of the figure of the amateur, this chapter provides an alternative discourse by examining the fluidity between practices of photography. Thus, Vlachou's concept of peripheries will decouple the amateur from the binarism of centre and periphery. As such, chapter two will reveal, using primary source material, that terminology – encompassed within the photographic peripheries – was far more expansive and flexible than has previously been established in the extant scholarship on the amateur. I argue that within the photographic peripheries, communication existed between centres and centres, centres and peripheral centres, peripheral centres and peripheral communities and between many different peripheral communities. This, I show, was modulated by a variety of conduits including literary formats (magazines, journals and photo-books), the camera club, postal exchange and studio spaces. My aim here is to reveal the extent to which practitioners in the peripheries including so-called amateurs were involved with debating issues that have since been embedded in the modernist photographic discourse.

From an analysis of the peripheral dynamics at play within the way America is conceived geographically, socially, temporally and historically, chapter three argues that a gendered spatialised mapping of the city and suburb can inform a study of photographic peripheries. Using primary source material such as advertisements for camera equipment, in-house camera manufacturing journals and

manuals, and lastly, photographic magazines chapter three will determine how women's role in photography was perceived by manufacturers, writers, the photographic readership, photographers who defined themselves as amateur, and within the context of the art world *proper*. In postwar America, women's bodies became physical and literal stand-ins for the American body politic, and the country as manufacturing super-power. Photography manufacturers harnessed this ideological rhetoric to position women as consumers of photography for the recording of the family unit. During the 1950s, the demarcation of the suburb from the city entrenched and re-imagined the Victorian discourse of masculine public realms within private feminine space. I set out that the result of this feminisation of commodity culture was a deliberate masculinisation of domesticity, which I will argue was incorporated in the way the discourse of serious, or aspirational amateur photography was thought through.

Maier is often described as a Chicago photographer, the photographs made public from this period are invariably a selection of street scenes and very little mention is given to her working status as domestic carer. Many of the street scenes were taken around the suburban neighbourhoods where she lived and worked for middle-class families. Not only, as I suggest in chapter one, is her working life and photographic life kept separate (except in the biographies by Bannos and Marks), chapter four argues that this is a result of the way the American landscape is shaped and conditioned to inhabit male and female spaces, for instance in the way the suburb is domesticated in order to strengthen the city as creative centre. Chapter four continues to examine the ways in which women are straightjacketed into taking personal photography, however I shift emphasis onto specifically engaging with the way the collection of Maier's photography has been segregated according to its value as an asset in the canon of modernist photography. That which does not fit is kept in the archive (for interested researchers). Much of this is photography capturing the daily work of life as a live-in carer witnessing the rituals of a family – celebrations, family portraits, cooking, cleaning, supervising children, attending family holidays, organising events – which has, as I demonstrated in the literature review section, been referenced in the story of Maier's fifteen-year period working for the Gensburg

family, and subsequent emotional breakdown that supposedly fuelled a hoarding disorder. Whilst Marks has written that this extensive length of time working for one family was a happy one personally for Maier, she has also suggested that it was concurrently an uncreative period in her photography. This line of argument has the effect of strengthening the narrative of creative discernment and its connection to an artistic centre. Chapter four, therefore seeks to challenge the notion that Maier's photographs of the domestic and familial are seen as both unimportant and examples of a loss of skill or interest in the photographic practice. Going further, I offer a positive case for familial photography made by women to challenge the marginalisation of women in all walks of life. The obscuration of Maier's work and labour within the domestic setting of the private home has re-affirmed her as a singular figure in the canonical history of street photography, emphasising notions of originality, spontaneity, and creativity. In this sense, any sense of disorganisation, eclecticism and mundanity of subject matter is categorised as amateur.

Overall, this thesis aims to show how notions of gender impact categorisations of photographic practice and how in turn these have generated a host of assumptions concerning women's role in photography which have, therefore impacted the way Maier, and more broadly women have, or have not been written about in the histories of photography.

Chapter One

The Many Faces of Vivian Maier: Destabilising the History of Twentieth-Century

Photography

Collectors prospect flea markets the world over, hoping to strike gold with the next Vivian Maier. Whilst the discovery of a 'Spanish Vivian Maier' and 'Russian Vivian Maier' have been declared by the international media, neither have attained the level of posthumous success that Maier has accrued since her photographs left her possession in 2007.¹ I am not concerned, however, with the particularity of Maier's success; rather, I aim to show how the construction of Maier's photographic oeuvre – the identification of a version of Maier with a selection of images heavily curated and adapted from those she left behind – has been built upon the interplay of *centre* and *periphery* – that is, the interplay of the *inside* and the *outside* of the canon of art history.

In ascribing these found photographers the persona of Maier, they are inserted into a historical ordering with her at the fore – independent from the actual chronology of their lives. They become

¹ In 2001, an American tourist, Tom Sponheim bought a collection of negatives (for \$3.50) at a market in Barcelona. Sixteen years later, the name of the photographer was identified as Milagros Caturla. See, Alex Q. Arbuckle, "Lost Photos of Barcelona," *Lonely Planet*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://mashable.com/2017/04/15/lost-photos-of-barcelona/>; Glib Savchenko, "Spanish Vivian Maier: Photographs by a Talented Author Discovered at a Flea Market in Barcelona," *Bird in Flight*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://birdinflight.com/news/industry/20170419-barcelona-lost-photos-milagros-caturla.html>; Chantel Da Silva, "Mystery Photographer Behind 'Lost Photos of Barcelona' Discovered," *The Independent*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/photography/the-lost-photos-of-barcelona-a7698271.html>; Staff writer, "Milagros Caturla, the Spanish Response to American Vivian Maier," *Exibart*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://www.exibartstreet.com/news/milagros-caturla-the-spains-response-to-american-vivian-maier/>. In 2018, daughter of Masha Ivashintsova found a box of negatives and undeveloped film in the attic of the family home in Saint Petersburg, Russia. See, Kate Brown, "Is this the Russian Vivian Maier? 30,000 Negatives by an Unsung Street Photographer Turn up in a St. Petersburg Attic," *Art Net*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/masha-ivashintsova-1251347>; Amos Chapple, "'Russian Vivian Maier' Discovered after 30,000 Photos Found in Attic," *PetaPixel*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://petapixel.com/2018/03/12/russian-vivian-maier-discovered-30000-photos-found-attic/>; Julissa Treviño, "Found 30,000 Photographs by the 'Russian Vivian Maier,'" *Smithsonian Magazine*, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/30000-photographs-russian-vivian-maier-found-180968520/>.

echoes.² Further, as I noted in the introduction to the thesis, the history of art is predicated on the stories of male artists in such a way as to construct a linear trajectory of artistic succession.³ Individuals are connected in a chain-like system that places the emphasis on locating attributes common amongst each artist.⁴ Salomon has pointed out that the inclusion of women into this matrix leads to a comparative analysis between the work of male and female artists – where ‘one side be master, the other side pupil; one major, the other minor’.⁵ The effect of this is to set ‘before’ and ‘after’ in opposition, implicitly designating women’s output as mundane, retrograde, or lacking originality.

In this chapter, I will argue that in building a reputation for Maier following the template of modernist photographers, the collectors, galleries, and essayists have reinforced gender ideologies. Since her photography has posthumously received public and commercial recognition, Maier troubles the parameters of the canon. As a result of the need to work around this problem, to establish the figure of a modernist street photographer from a disparate set of photographs, her biography has been harnessed to ascribe her mythical qualities of artistic genius – ‘Maier’s strange and riveting life and art’ – such that her *actual* life has been dislocated from the realities of blue-collar work in suburban Chicago.⁶ This material and economic context in which Maier was working as a nanny will be fully explored in chapter four; chapter one will focus on the argument that, not only has this psychobiographical approach severed an awareness of the materiality of photograph-taking, it also upholds sexist tropes that have recurred in the literature of other women photographers.

² I am building on an argument I first put forth in an article for the special issue *Life outside the canon – Hommage to Foteini Vlachou (1975-2017)*. See Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery."

³ I have found the following text useful for thinking through canon formation, see Griselda Pollock, "About Canons and Culture Wars," in *Differencing the Canon: Feminism and the Writing of Art's Histories*, ed. Griselda Pollock (London and New York: Routledge 1999).

⁴ See Griselda Pollock, "Trouble in the Archives," in *Looking Back to the Future: Essays on Art, Life and Death*, ed. Saul Ostrow (London Gordon and Breach Arts International 2001), 31.

⁵ Salomon, "The Art Historical Sins of Omission " 351.

⁶ Quoted in the press website for the film *Finding Vivian Maier*, see "Finding Vivian Maier," accessed August 17, 2021, <http://findingvivianmaier.com/>.

I am concerned with the temporal and ideological shift between Maier's career as a domestic nanny and her posthumous photographic recognition; the aim being to understand why such binary descriptions that separate Maier's life from, as Bannos succinctly put it, her afterlife, are invoked in the literature, their impact on how we perceive Maier and how such polarised positions on Maier-as-photographer have been interpreted and confounded during the years since the contents of her storage lockers were sold.⁷ To this end, I will outline the various and equally contradictory conceptualisations of Maier the photographer: amateur, hobbyist, outsider artist/photographer, commercial photographer, and street photographer. An analysis of the multiple ways in which Maier has been categorised raises a number of research questions: how has this categorisation manifested itself in relation to how she is perceived in the public eye? How has this changed during the years proceeding her elevation into the public eye? What are the implications of Maier's biographical and photographic development in how continuing research is dealt with by both official representatives of the Maloof collection, the Estate of Vivian Maier, public agencies, and individual members of the public? How has the categorisation and stratification of the photographic field determined the approach to which the collectors of Maier's work were subject? How has the photographic art world influenced the way in which Maier and others have been labelled and their photography scrutinised? In what ways has Maier's posthumous breakthrough impacted upon the structures of the art world and how photography is institutionally recognised?

This chapter is as much about the relationships between centres and peripheries and the institutions that control communication as it is about Vivian Maier. Indeed, the case study of Maier makes clear a number of oppositions inherent within the art world: vernacular/art photography, commercial/institutional, online/the museum space, amateur/professional, centre/periphery, public/private. I will examine these binaries further in the chapter using Maier's photography to illustrate the ways in which gender underpins these perceived oppositions. Claire Raymond, in her

⁷ See "Introduction" in Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 1-4.

essay, 'Rough Street: Diane Arbus and Vivian Maier' (2017), makes the interesting point that the excoriation of Arbus as a person (as occurs in Sontag's essay 'America, Seen through Photographs, Darkly') to 'condemn her art [...] shaped the way that the photographer's estate responded to critics seeking to write about her photographs.'⁸ In short, not only did this impact upon the way the estate solicited commentary on Arbus and her photography, it also resulted in tighter restrictions being placed upon those wanting permission to write about, and/or publish material from the estate. Although Raymond does not make a comparison with the Maloof Collection, there are obvious similarities. Having spent three years researching Maier, I would like to draw on my experience navigating her estate to emphasise that the contradictory narratives, and labels of Maier as photographer are grounded in the unequal gender dynamics of the institutional art world.

Maier is treated as an empty signifier: a vessel on which external values could be imposed. Carol Armstrong in her article 'Biology, Destiny, Photography: Difference According to Diane Arbus' (1993) argues that the subject of the Aperture monograph (1972) 'is "Diane Arbus" and Diane Arbus's project, rather than this or that or those documentary topics per se.'⁹ In other words, not only do the photographs represent Arbus's notion of photography – they represent Arbus.¹⁰ In much the same way, I will argue Maier has become an American brand, one that has been utilised to serve multiple competing agents: as a tourist device, as media catnip, to promote the commercial photographic art market and to bolster the fame and standing of the collectors who own her photographic material. These forms are not mutually exclusive; a combination of them is often enacted by the same institution when one or more fail to convince. These interactions reveal the divisions of the art world, the impermanence and discontinuity of the terms that exist to police the boundaries between centres and peripheries. Therefore, this chapter seeks to highlight, and by extension decouple the

⁸ Claire Raymond, *Women Photographers & Feminist Aesthetics* (Routledge, 2017), 75. See also Susan Sontag, "America, Seen through Photographs, Darkly" in *On Photography* ed. Susan Sontag (Penguin Books, 1977).

⁹ Carol Armstrong, "Biology, Destiny, Photography: Difference According to Diane Arbus," *October* 66 (1993): 35-36.

¹⁰ Armstrong, "Biology, Destiny, Photography: Difference According to Diane Arbus," 38.

machinations that control Maier from our understanding of the materiality of the production of images.

Defining Maier's Body of Images: Collection, Archive or Obsessive Hoard?

The last six slides are from a street photographer named Vivian Maier. I don't know much about her. From the images, I can tell she mostly shot in New York and Chicago 1950s and 60s [...] Part of what I got was 1200 rolls of her undeveloped film. They sit in boxes next to my desk. Everyday, I look at those boxes and wonder what kind of goodies are inside...¹¹

Ron Slattery, 2008

I don't think she ever made a penny from her photographs, but she certainly was no amateur.¹²

Howard Greenberg, 2011

In the film [*Finding Vivian Maier*] we explore some of the darker sides of Vivian's past, her personality, the memories that people have of her, and obviously when we came across these stories, it colours this kind of perfect [...] sort of fairy tale story of the discovery of a lost artist and it turns out she was a nanny and I am sure on some level people would love to believe everything about her was perfect and that's just not the case.¹³

Charlie Siskel, 2014

What did Maier expect to happen to her work once she was gone? Some hoarders believe they leave a legacy, and some build their collection only for themselves.¹⁴

Ann Marks, 2017

Her earliest known photographs reveal a confident and informed photographer—not a “street photographer” or a “suburban nanny photographer.” Maier and her photography were all of that and much more.¹⁵

Pamela Bannos, 2017

¹¹ Ron Slattery, “Story,” BigHappyFunHouse, accessed August 1, 2021, www.bighappyfunhouse.com/archives/08/07/22/12-30-34.html.

¹² *Daily Mail* reporter, “What the Nanny Saw: Housekeeper’s Stunning Images of 1950s,” *Daily Mail*, accessed August 1, 2021, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2075228/What-nanny-saw-Housekeepers-stunning-images-1950s-Chicago-working-class-America-new-light.html>.

¹³ See, Philipp Schmidt, “Interview John Maloof and Charlie Siskel 'Finding Vivian Maier,’” Youtube, accessed August 17, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAO8X2Jm9IE>.

¹⁴ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 166.

¹⁵ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 4.

The epigraphs above show the different ways in which Maier, and her photography have been described. On a superficial level, they highlight the development of how her photographic material have been perceived variously: as vernacular cache, the hobby of a nanny, the work of a street photographer, the contents of an obsessive 'nanny photographer' and so on. Whilst I could provide a thorough trajectory of the posthumous process by which she has come to be known as a photographer (this work has already been done by Bannos), pin-pointing the moments she was ascribed these photographic terms, it would only reinforce the narrative that the principal collectors rescued Maier's photography from 'oblivion,' or in other words, from the periphery.¹⁶

Before I engage specifically with the ways in which, using the example of Maier, centres are legitimised by the disavowal of certain groups of people (creating peripheries), I will briefly discuss the implications of the extant binarism of centre-periphery/inside-outside. The concept of a temporal and geographical delay between centre and periphery has problematised the way in which the production of photography has been understood. Vlachou, using Louis Althusser's 'The Errors of Classical Economics: Outline of a Concept of Historical Time' (translated from *Lire le capital*, published in French in 1965) deconstructs the notion of a delay making the following observations: firstly, art of the periphery is notionally recognised if it takes on canonical values such as originality and innovation furthering the 'established periodization' to maintain a linear history.¹⁷ Secondly, there is an implication that the periphery operates on a different temporality ('asynchronous, non-contemporaneous, even ahistorical') to the centre.¹⁸ Thirdly, the discourse of the periphery takes on notions of speed – measuring the (lengthy) time it takes for information to get from centre to periphery which ultimately manifests in qualitative assessments (where the value of a peripheral art work is measured by how long it took for concepts from the centre to reach the practitioner in the

¹⁶ See John Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer* (Brooklyn & New York: Power House Books, 2011), 3.

¹⁷ Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 15-17; Louis Althusser, "The Errors of Classical Economics: Outline of a Concept of Historical Time," in *Reading Capital* ed. Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar (London Verso, 1987).

¹⁸ Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 16-17.

periphery).¹⁹ Temporal notions of periphery carry with them assumptions of place as Smith makes clear, non-Western art is seen as provincial since it is geographically dislocated (distance is equated with time) from the centres of art practices, for example, New York and Paris are seen as modernist centres of artistic progress.²⁰ However, scholarship on centres and peripheries does not consider the extent to which the binarism is underpinned by sexual difference. Whilst feminist scholars such as Lucy Lippard state that the 'idea of aesthetic "progress," the "I-did-it-first" and "It's-been-done-already" syndromes' is classist and ultimately sexist, it will be useful to use the framework put forth by Vlachou since the concept of the canon as Pollock has testified privileges (white) men.²¹

Archive, Collection or Hoard: Maier the Commercial Street Photographer?

In this section of the chapter, I will outline the various ways Maier's output has been written about to make clear that her liminal status troubles the categorisation of photography, and furthermore, the construction of the canon as predicated on the marginalisation of others. In the early writings on Maier's photography, the contents of the collection as a whole were continually emphasised (over a 100,000 images), yet since Maier has accrued commercial legitimacy, only a portion of her output is discussed and made public. Of course, photographers do not have all their work shown, and neither is every image taken of a saleable (publishable) quality. Yet, in the case of Maier, her images are curated posthumously and as such, they have been subject to conditions placed upon them by art-world doctrines. As the epigraphs (and introduction to the thesis) show, those who have a vested interest in Maier's photography (collectors, gallerists and in some ways biographers) have disavowed her as an amateur, making clear claims for her consideration as a street photographer. Yet, when her

¹⁹ Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 17.

²⁰ See Smith, "The Provincialism Problem"; Smith, "An Introduction to Nicos Hadjinicolaou's "Art Centers and Peripheral Art" (1982)."; Harry Harootunian, "Remembering the Historical Past," *Critical Inquiry* 33, no. 3 (2007).

²¹ Lucy R. Lippard, "The Pink Glass Swan: Upward and Downward Mobility in the Art World," in *The Pink Glass Swan: Selected Feminist Essays on Art*, ed. Lucy R. Lippard (The New Press, 1995), 120.

belongings were sold at auction, they were disbanded and bought by people who knew nothing about Maier, in fact Maloof assumed the negatives he had purchased were taken by different people.²² Therefore, I contend, in defining Maier's body of images, it is the tension between the ubiquity, banality and repetition present within the body of images – first viewed as disparate vernacular collection and subsequently the photographic obsession of an amateur – coupled with the street scenes which has led to the obfuscation of both the complete narrative of her discovery, and those photographs that cannot be categorised using the conventions of photographic genres, for example, the self-portrait.²³ Within art-historical discourse, as Rosalind Krauss observes in her article 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View' (1982) there is a tendency to (inappropriately) subject photographic material to art historical discourse resulting in imposing concepts like the 'artist,' 'oeuvre,' and 'authorship' on what should more properly be thought of as an 'archive.'²⁴ In the next section, I will analyse the change in terminology to describe Maier's photography in order to not only show the construction of an oeuvre based on canonical precedents, but also to subvert the binarism of centre and periphery. Pollock, in 'Trouble in the Archives' (1993), makes the important point that 'if we do not see the history of art in terms of the Olympic torch theory of a chain of great individuals, we can use the term archive to suggest a more ramshackle, heterogeneous record' which in the example of Maier, allows this section of the chapter to destabilise the classification system of canonised archives and to re-think the relations between the seemingly disparate parts of Maier's photographic practice.²⁵ In examining how Maier's photography has been classified, this section will shed light on representation and interrogating the

²² See Charlie Siskel and John Maloof, "Finding Vivian Maier " (UK: SODA Pictures, 2014).

²³ I have been influenced by Solomon-Godeau work on artist-construction, see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, ed. Abigail Solomon-Godeau (Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Harry Callaghan: Gender, Genre, and Street Photography " in *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History* ed. Sarah Parsons (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017 (2007)). I have quoted Geoffrey Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (The MIT Press, 2002), 59.

²⁴ Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," *Art Journal* 42, no. 4: The Crisis in the Discipline (1982): 312-17.

²⁵ Pollock, "Trouble in the Archives," 33.

archive as a site underpinned by modes of sexual difference. To go further, I will show that it is the banality (and typically feminine subject matter) of much of Maier's photography that has been rendered invisible (chapter four will trouble this categorisation further). I do not want to indulge in making comparisons, which is a substantial aspect of the literature on Maier, between her and canonical photographers, rather, I intend to examine the interface between inside and outside of the canon, using the framework of centres and peripheries in order to deepen our understanding of the construction of a historiography of photography that is underpinned by difference.

Once Maier's photography gained traction in the popular press, the story of discovering Maier the street photographer became a shortened version of what really happened, erasing the other buyers at the auction, the subsequent purchases and communication with other vernacular photography collectors, selling her negatives on Ebay and the conversations with leading photography writers, including Allan Sekula.²⁶ I do not intend to go into detail regarding what actually happened after Maier could not keep up the payments to her storage lockers since Bannos has re-told this story more fully, filling in the gaps of Maloof's official narrative. Rather it is important to examine the implications of this contradictory narrative, and the ways in which her photography has been subject to different conditions from a number of interested parties. Maier is continually labelled in different, often contradictory ways in the popular press, notably because of the way her posthumous career has been played out across 'Web 2.0' (the participatory internet which is structured such that text-image information can be endlessly reproduced and recombined).²⁷ The ways in which Maier has been categorised and conceptualised over time are often mutually unreconcilable. This is due in part because her photography was discovered as part of her possessions.²⁸ The next part of the chapter

²⁶ Maloof sold around 200 negative frames on Ebay, two of which were sold to Sekula who began corresponding with Maloof via email beginning in April 2009. See chapters one to three in Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*.

²⁷ For literature on Web 2.0, see Martin Hand, *Ubiquitous Photography*, Digital Media and Society Series (Polity Press, 2012); Alexandra Moschovi, Carol McKay, and Arabella Plouviez, eds., *The Versatile Image: Photography, Digital Technologies and the Internet* (Leuven University Press, 2013); Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye, eds., *Digital Snaps* (New York & London I.B. Tauris 2014).

²⁸ I have been influenced by Buse's study of collecting using the example of Maier, see Buse, "Collector, Hoarder, Media Archaeologist: Walter Benjamin with Vivian Maier."

will consider a number of questions: Can we separate Maier's photography from her belongings? Can we call Maier's belongings a 'collection' (in that she kept them together throughout her life) when they have now been placed in an archive? What are the implications of the removal of the Maloof Collection vintage prints to the archive? To what extent has the physical scale of her possessions impacted the way her body of images is categorised? Within the contents of her belongings, there are instances that trouble the categorisation of Maier's photography, and particularly the boundaries between collecting and hoarding, as according to Maloof, 'there were hoards of newspapers.'²⁹

The first ever exhibition of Maier's photographs, *Vivian Maier*, opened in March 2010 in Aarhus, Denmark and the first exhibition to take place in the United States was at the Chicago Cultural Centre in January 2011 entitled, *Finding Vivian Maier: Chicago Street Photographer*.³⁰ The first exhibition at the Howard Greenberg Gallery took place between December 15, 2011, and January 28, 2012. Entitled 'Vivian Maier - Photographs from the Maloof Collection,' the exhibition was the first in collaboration with the Howard Greenberg Gallery including prints that were first made available to the public in the first photobook which was published in the United States in November 2011. Displaying framed prints at eye-level [Fig. 9] across a stark white wall echoes the modernist exhibition aesthetic championed by John Szarkowski at MoMA during the mid-twentieth century. This period marked photography's ascension into the American mainstream coinciding with the emergence of the notion of 'street photography' and the deployment of large-scale photographic exhibitions to consecrate work by a very limited number of male art photographers - Garry Winogrand, Lee Friedlander, Joel Meyerowitz and Robert Frank are archetypal examples.³¹ Christopher Phillips in 'The Judgment Seat of Photography' proffers – from an examination of MoMA's photographic exhibitions from the early 1960s to the present – that photography was

²⁹ Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer*, 5.

³⁰ Richard Cahan & Michael Williams, *Out of the Shadows* (City Files Press, 2012), 15.

³¹ See also Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Inventing Vivian Maier," 147.

undergoing a 'cultural repackaging' whereby as Edwards notes 'under Szarkowski, [Edward] Steichen's "hyperactive, chock-a-block" exhibitions gave way to single prints, simply framed, on white walls.'³² Furthermore, Szarkowski also formulated a 'photographic tradition' that legitimised photography by providing a definitive way of thinking about the medium using a breakdown of its essential characteristics (modernist formalism).³³ In 1964, Szarkowski organised the exhibition, *The Photographer's Eye* at MoMA, which alongside the catalogue discussed the attributes specific to photography – 'The Thing Itself,' 'The Detail,' 'The Frame,' 'Time Exposure,' and 'Vantage Point' – that 'like an organism' was 'born whole' in the nineteenth-century.³⁴ Rather than being indebted to the history of art (painting and sculpture), Szarkowski argues that art-photography is rooted in the vernacular as the 'flood of images' from 'journeymen' and 'hobbyists' 'conditioned our [modernist photographers] sight, our language, and our imagery.'³⁵ By including the vernacular images taken by amateurs in his history of photography, Szarkowski, implies that whilst artists and photographers 'could use [...] borrow from, they could steal and expand, use to their own advantages,' contemporary amateur photographers cannot be seen to 'evolve' since, for Szarkowski they are purely 'functional' as mnemonic tools.³⁶ Furthermore, whilst his 'version of formalism' stabilised the ubiquity and banality associated with amateur photography, as scholars such as Respini and Sawyer

³² Christopher Phillips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography " *October* 22 (1982): 34.

See also Steve Edwards, "Vernacular Modernism " in *Varieties of Modernism* ed. Paul Wood (New Haven, CT Yale University Press, 2004), 246. In 1947, the photographer Edward Steichen (1879-1973) succeeded Beaumont Newhall (1908-1993) as the Director of MoMA's Department of Photography continuing in this capacity until 1961 when Szarkowski took up the role.

³³ See John Szarkowski, "The Photographer's Eye," ed. Museum of Modern Art (New York Museum of Modern Art 2007).

³⁴ See Szarkowski, "The Photographer's Eye," 11.

³⁵ Szarkowski, "The Photographer's Eye," 11.

³⁶ Szarkowski is quoted in Maren Stange, "Photography and the Institution: Szarkowski at the Modern " *The Massachusetts Review* 19, no. 4, Photography (1978): 698; Szarkowski, "The Photographer's Eye." See also Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies."; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Mandarin Mondernism: "Photography until Now", " *Art in America* 78, no. 12 (1990).

point out, besides legitimising particular movements such as Conceptual art, amateur photography is rarely exhibited.³⁷

Now I would like to turn to the example of Maier in order to think through the implications of this 'tradition' propounded by Szarkowski on the way Maier has been curated and written about, it is necessary to examine it in order to show, using the framework of peripheries, that it is predicated in the same way as the art-historical canon to bolster the 'master' photographer whilst at the same time, exclude others.

Amongst Maier's photographic possessions in the storage lockers [Fig. 10] were clothing, hats, wallets, bags, keys, toiletries (toothbrushes), suitcases, paper ephemera [Fig 11.] (receipts, letters, envelopes, leaflets, drawings, and handwritten notes), political buttons, stamps, paperwork (tax returns and so on), ornaments, books, paintings, magazines, and newspapers (framed newspaper clippings [Fig. 12] and ten ring-binder albums of newspaper cuttings [Fig. 13]) – she subscribed to the *New York Times* and read the *Chicago Tribune* and *Christian Science Monitor*.³⁸ The auction owner, Roger Gunderson (who bought the contents of her five rental lockers) 'weeded through' the boxes he bought from Hebard Storage removing 'boxes and boxes of paper' choosing to keep what he thought he could sell.³⁹ He separated the books and other literary material (he made the most money from this) from her photographic belongings yet he most kept boxes intact which resulted in a mix of her general possessions and photographic material. Gunderson did not know whose rental lockers the contents belonged to and, therefore, the buyers at auction were under the impression

³⁷ Eva Respini and Drew Sawyer, "A "New Prominence": Photography at Moma in the 1960s and 1970s," in *The Photographic Object 1970*, ed. Mary Statzer (The University of California Press, 2016), 59. Allan Sekula has also written that 'formalism neutralizes and renders equivalent, it is a universalizing system of reading. Only formalism can unite all the photographs in the world in one room, mount them behind glass, and sell them.' See Allan Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)," *The Massachusetts Review* 19, no. 4, Photography (1978): 866; Geoffrey Batchen, *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 110. Peter Galassi, "Before Photography", ed. exh cat The Museum of Modern Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981), 17.

³⁸ Boxes 23-53, 'John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier circa 1900-2010,' University of Chicago Special Collections, University of Chicago.

³⁹ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 9.

each lot contained a variety material from anonymous local photographers. The implication of this is that, not only was her photography separated from the wider belongings, but also the photographic material was purchased by vernacular photography collectors such as Ron Slattery and John Maloof. Whilst Maier has since been known for her street photography, Linda Abrams claims that vernacular photography collectors look for 'informality' in snapshots and 'poorly framed photos, even one in which the top of a subjects head is stripped can be worth buying.'⁴⁰ Choices made as to what to purchase from Gunderson's lots were based on criteria upheld by vernacular collecting.

With the expansion of digital media, vernacular collectors share the contents of their hauls on photo-sharing sites such as Flickr, on personal blogs as well as selling items through Ebay. In February 2008, five months after the contents of Maier's storage lockers were sold and three months since Maloof had purchased boxes at the auction, Maloof began selling prints (that he was developing), negatives (also from film he was developing) and undeveloped film (he also offered the opportunity to purchase the entire lot of undeveloped film) on his Ebay account which he established in 2003 to sell items he purchased at auction.⁴¹ To be clear, Maloof was contacted by Sekula who had been purchasing negatives from him since 2007.⁴² Concurrently, in November 2007, Maloof set up a Flickr account. In 2004 Flickr.com was launched as an image hosting and online community website. Flickr was a popular social networking and image sharing site enabling a user to create a page on the site to upload photographs which then can be tagged, arranged and commented on by a wider community of Flickr users.⁴³ Prior to the dominance of social media

⁴⁰ Linda Abrams, *Collecting under the Radar* (Red Rock Press, 2009), 52.

⁴¹ Maloof created his Ebay account in 2003 and had been selling various items bought at actions. Bannos has been told by one person that they negotiated \$15,000 for the sale of the entire collection of negative, and undeveloped film. However, they could not raise the funds and the exchange fell through. Prints were priced between \$7.99 and \$8.99 each. Negatives sold for between \$10 and \$20 each. Interestingly, Maloof would include 'images that seemed less compelling' with the transactions made on Ebay. As told to Bannos by Ebay buyer Philip Boulton, see Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 96.

⁴² To be clear, Maloof did not know anything about the identity of the photographer until he was contacted by Sekula who had been purchasing negatives from him through Ebay. Upon finding that Maloof did not have any more information, Sekula started contacting the other buyers as well as visiting *Central Camera* who informed him that Maier was a nanny. See Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 99-101.

⁴³ Daniel Rubenstein and Katerina Sluis, "A Life More Photographic: Mapping the Networked Image " *Photographies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 11.

applications such as Facebook, Flickr was used as a repository for personal photographs, familial celebratory occasions and the mundane everyday imagery 'resulting from the careful attention and framing of daily moments in a person's life' (an extension of the family album) making the amateur and professional divide imperceptible.⁴⁴ Digital media is synonymous with the ubiquity of the snapshot (chapter two will show that this is not unusual in the history of photography) since there is seemingly no limit to the amount of images you can upload.⁴⁵ Thereby, Flickr is used as both a repository for a group of photographs (an event or digitised album) and as a blog-like resource where user's update their photo-stream daily.⁴⁶ As users can 'tag' images (so that they appear in other groups image streams), Martin Hand has argued that the viewfinder of a digital camera '[...] enables the *collective* (Hand's emphasis) viewing of images, regardless of whether they go on to be deleted, stored or distributed.⁴⁷ Whilst personal photography is added to Flickr, the 'tagging' system allows images to accrue different meanings. With regards to Maloof's Flickr post on January 1, 2009, he uploaded a black-and-white image (from a scan of the negative) of two smiling women facing each other sitting on the edge of a bridge which he titled '1950s – Vivian Maier' [Fig. 14].⁴⁸ What appears to be a photograph taken of a couple of friends posing in front of city landmarks does not fit with the current understanding of Maier's output. The image was tagged by administrators of groups— 'Time & Place,' 'Black & White Chicago,' 'Vintage Chicagoland,' 'B&W Chicago,' 'I Love Chicago' that specifically share images that engage with cultures and modes of remembrance typically associated with the nostalgia and therefore, cliché.⁴⁹ Svetlana Boym describes the term nostalgia as a 'symptom of our age, a historical emotion' whilst Susannah Radstone connects it with

⁴⁴ Murray, "New Media and Vernacular Photography: Revisiting Flickr," 166.

⁴⁵ For an overview of the discussion of photography and ubiquity, see Hand, *Ubiquitous Photography*; Michelle Henning, "'New Lamps for Old: Photography, Obsolescence and Social Change'," in *Residual Media*, ed. C. Acland (Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, 2007); José Van Dijck, "Flickr and the Culture of Connectivity: Sharing Views, Experiences, Memories," *Memory Studies* 4, no. 4 (2011).

⁴⁶ Martin Lister, "Introduction" in *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture*, ed. Martin Lister (London and New York: Routledge 2013), 11.

⁴⁷ Hand, *Ubiquitous Photography*, 116.

⁴⁸ See, "John Maloof," *Flickr*, accessed December 15, 2020, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ragstamp/3155991381/>.

⁴⁹ Murray, "New Media and Vernacular Photography: Revisiting Flickr," 179.

the romanticisation of the past.⁵⁰ Nostalgia is seen as the antithesis of progress as Fred Davis states that the perceived negativity of 'nostalgia' is intimately linked to popular culture.⁵¹ As Andreas Huyssen has noted, although mass culture is associated with the feminine and 'real, authentic culture remains the prerogative of men,' nostalgia is viewed as a form of 'invented tradition' - the commodification of the past – which is seen to homogenise meaning.⁵² Photography and blogging, are for Kris Cohen, 'interarticulated [...] the photoblog bifurcates one's sense of time' as photobloggers upload 'photographs of what they call "the everyday," the "banal" or the "mundane"' yet, these are often vernacular images made by someone else.⁵³ Therefore, digital snapshots are, like family albums, seen as feminine and therefore, as Slater claims, 'trite.'⁵⁴ Therefore, with regards to Maier, the photograph is subject to notions of time and nostalgia, which as I argue, have impacted the way her photography is continually written about in popular discourse as showing us 'what the nanny saw.'⁵⁵ In May 2009, Maloof created a Blogspot account under the title, 'Vivian Maier – Her Discovered Work,' where he frequently posted images he had scanned from her negatives.⁵⁶ Sekula, having found Maloof's Blogspot account, emailed him to reiterate that he would like to see her photographs in an exhibition ('though it would require some institutional support').⁵⁷ Bannos has confirmed that Sekula was intending to display prints from his Ebay purchases in an exhibition of

⁵⁰ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (Basic Books 2001), xvi; Susannah Radstone, *The Sexual Politics of Time: Confession, Nostalgia, Memory* (Routledge 2007), 120.

⁵¹ See Smith, "The Provincialism Problem " 56; Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York The Free Press, 1979), 73.

⁵² Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernisms Other " in *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* ed. Andreas Huyssen (Bloomington and Indianapolis Indiana University Press, 1986), 47.

⁵³ Kris Cohen, "What Does the Photoblog Want?," *Media, Culture & Society* 27, no. 6 (2005): 895.

⁵⁴ Slater, "Domestic Photography and Digital Culture," 141.

⁵⁵ See, Unknown author, "What the Nanny Saw: Vivian Maier's Street Photography – In Pictures," *The Guardian*, accessed December 15, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2019/jul/24/what-the-nanny-saw-vivian-maier-street-photography-in-pictures>.

⁵⁶ By April 2011 he had uploaded 237 images to the Blogspot site. For the next two years he did not post anything except in 2013 a trailer for *Finding Vivian Maier* and the cover for *Vivian Maier: Self-Portraits*. In November 2007 Maloof opened a Flickr account, see, "johnmalooof," Flickr, accessed December 17, 2020, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ragstamp/>. John Maloof's blog was archived in 2013, see "Vivian Maier – Her Discovered Work," accessed December 17, 2020, <http://vivianmaier.blogspot.com/>.

⁵⁷ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 108-09.

Chicago street photography he was organising.⁵⁸ Whilst Maloof continued to sell physical negatives and digital scans, he asked Sekula about the possibility of publishing a book, to which the latter replied that whilst it was a good idea, he was warned that editors would be concerned about Maier not developing those images Maloof had posthumously developed – ‘it will take a photo publisher with an unusual interest in the mystery of her work.’⁵⁹ Whilst Bannos cites these instances in an attempt to highlight the discrepancies in Maloof’s version of Maier’s posthumous recognition (and to some extent the importance of Maier’s photography), I am making the point that, regardless of who initiated the posthumous construction of Maier, the systems that uphold the infrastructure of the art world are historically determined such that they do not recognise the plethora of peripheries each with their own rubric and hierarchy.

In October 2009, Maloof contacted the ‘Hardcore Street Photography’ Flickr group (he briefly mentions this in *Finding Vivian Maier*).⁶⁰ The group was established in February 2005 and, as of December 2020, has 84,775 members with a repository of 3,678 photographs.⁶¹ According to Bannos, at the time of Maloof’s contact with ‘Hardcore Street Photography,’ the group contained 37,000 members, a large audience who she argues would have been a factor in Maloof’s communication with them implying that since his conversation with Sekula, Maloof was in the process of promoting Maier’s photography.⁶² Furthermore, scholars such as Murray, Bronwen Colquhoun, Areti Galani, Jean Burgess, Carol McKay, and Arabella Plouviez have shown that a change

⁵⁸ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 109.

⁵⁹ Sekula’s email to Maloof on June 10, 2009 as noted in Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 109.

⁶⁰ At the time of posting in the Flickr group, Maloof had uploaded 124 images to his Blogspot including on the day he contacted the group.

⁶¹ Maloof commented in the group, Hardcore Street Photography with the following: ‘I purchased a giant lot of negatives from a small auction house here in Chicago. It is the work of Vivian Maier, a French born photographer who recently past [sic] away in April of 2009 in Chicago, where she resided. I opened a Blogspot blog with her work here; www.vivianmaier.com. I have a ton of her work (about 30-40,000 negatives) which ranges in dates from the 1950's-1970's [sic]. I guess my question is, what do I do with this stuff? Check out the blog. Is this type of work worthy of exhibitions, a book? Or do bodies of work like this come up often? Any direction would be great.’ See, “Hardcore Street Photography,” Flickr, accessed December 12, 2020, <https://www.flickr.com/groups/94761711@N00/discuss/72157622552378986/>.

⁶² Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 125-26.

had taken place in the way Flickr was perceived by the public around 2010, becoming known primarily as repository of vernacular photography (and part of a commercial photographer's practice) and a network for associated communities of collectors.⁶³ Interestingly, in the comments to his original post to the 'Hardcore Street Photography' group, it is evident that Maloof is beginning to think about recognition beyond the domain of photo-sharing sites:

Here's a kicker. I had 1000 rolls of her 120 film that were never developed. I have been successfully developing this film which is from the 1960's! I have about 600 rolls left to go. This maybe a sign that she was obsessed with photography so much so that she just liked to take the picture and nothing more. I'm not going to donate them unless her work will be exposed and not just stored. I really would like to get this stuff out there but it seems difficult due to the medium...just negatives. Although I believe much of Atget's work was found after his death in the form of glass negatives.⁶⁴

Clearly, it would seem that the volume of photographic material that Maier produced in her lifetime is in opposition to the material reality of most institutionally recognised photographers since they have been curated in such a way as to present a unified oeuvre. Indeed, Krauss highlights the procedures by which photographers, such as Atget have been constructed such that the fullness of their lives and practice is elided in order to better align them with a modernist conception of the photographer.⁶⁵ Similarly, Solomon-Godeau, in her writings on Atget, has drawn attention to the way in which he has been included in books of nineteenth century photographers despite photographing mostly in the twentieth century. He is 'set among the dead' in an attempt to enhance

⁶³ Flickr partnered with the Getty in 2008 enabling the Getty to use photo-sharing site as a pool for stock images offering payment to users. See Susan Murray, "Digital Images, Photo-Sharing, and Our Shifting Notions of Everyday Aesthetics," *Journal of Visual Culture* 7, no. 2 (2008): 158-59; Murray, "New Media and Vernacular Photography: Revisiting Flickr," 167; Jean Burgess, "Vernacular Creativity and New Media " (Queensland University of Technology 2007), 127-29; Carol McKay and Arabella Plouviez, "Are We All Photographers Now? Exhibiting and Commissioning Photography in the Age of Web 2.0," in *The Versatile Image: Photography, Digital Technologies and the Internet* ed. Carol McKay & Arabella Plouviez Alexandra Moschovi (Leuven University Press, 2013), 128; Bronwen Colquhoun and Areti Galani, "Flickr the Commons: Historic Photographic Collections through the Eyes of an Online Community of Interest " in *The Versatile Image: Photography, Digital Technologies and the Internet* ed. Carol McKay & Arabella Plouviez Alexandra Moschovi (Leuven University Press, 2013), 171.

⁶⁴ It is important to note that at this point, Maloof owned negatives from the 1950s, and undeveloped rolls of film from the 1960s and 70s. "What do I do with this stuff (other than giving it to you)?" Flickr, accessed January 15, 2021, <https://www.flickr.com/groups/onthestreet/discuss/72157622552378986/>.

⁶⁵ Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," 315.

the importance of a photographic history, as a forefather of modernist photography.⁶⁶ The canonical timelessness flattens out the specificity of Atget such that, like other canonical photographers, the oeuvre is predisposed to map neatly like tracing paper atop each generation of photographer.⁶⁷ Szarkowski has stated that his 'photographic tradition' is 'the great genetic pool of possibilities out of which the next combinations can be made out of will, imagination, choice [...].'⁶⁸ Certainly, if Berenice Abbott had not bought the bulk of Atget's estate, then he would surely not have found the fame his photography has since accrued. This private act of 'choosing one's ancestor' is not the same thing as canon formation, but it can be argued to have shaped the process in the case of Atget, since Abbot purchased the 5000 prints and negatives from Atget's studio when he died.⁶⁹ This was, according to Solomon-Godeau a necessary factor (among other necessary factors, such as the rise to primacy of modernism) in his success in America, which in turn is what made him a canonical figure and facilitated Abbott in inventing her 'author/authority to legitimate her own creative imperatives.'⁷⁰ Bannos has highlighted that since Sekula's conversations, Maloof had been educating himself on the history of photography, and whilst he mentioned Atget, he can also be seen manoeuvring himself into the role of collector.⁷¹ In the second image Maloof uploaded (January 3 2009) to his Flickr account (just months before he discussed the example of Atget) was one of his own - a narrow alleyway set back from high rise office blocks - entitled 'homage to Vivian Maier' [Fig. 15].⁷² Embedded in the comments, Maloof uploaded an almost identical image attributed to Maier [Fig. 16] with the caption 'here's what it looked like in the 50s.'⁷³ One user commented that the alley 'still looks the same [in Maloof's photograph]' whilst another suggested that the images should be

⁶⁶ Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," 29.

⁶⁷ Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," 29.

⁶⁸ Szarkowski quoted in Stange, "Photography and the Institution: Szarkowski at the Modern " 700.

⁶⁹ Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," 30.

⁷⁰ Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," 32.

⁷¹ Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," 32.

⁷² "Dark alley 2009 - Homage to Vivian Maier," Flickr, accessed January 15, 2021,

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/ragstamp/3166390731/>.

⁷³ The post was tagged with the following: 'sonya100,' 'Chicago,' 'winter,' 'blackandwhite,' 'John Maloof,' 'John,' 'Maloof.' See, "Dark alley 2009 - Homage to Vivian Maier," Flickr, accessed January 15, 2021, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ragstamp/3166390731/>.

added to the Flickr 'Then + Now' group.⁷⁴ Three days later, Maloof posted Maier's photograph separately in his photo-stream. This time, he included his photograph in the comments to which one user asked whether he had more information on 'the original photographer.'⁷⁵ Maloof replied by saying 'not really but I have a ton of their work.'⁷⁶ Although, one could argue that, in comparison with Abbott, Maloof is legitimising his work as collector and photographer by framing Maier as his influence, and therefore, imbricating Maier in the established periodisation of modernist photography. Whilst, on the one hand Solomon-Godeau observes there is clear desire on the part of institutions for there to be an 'Atget the author,' on the other there is also a sense of anxiety – evidenced by attempts to 'manage, smooth over, and rationalize the objective facts of Atget's career' so that 'Atget presents as a coherent and unified subject.'⁷⁷ Insofar as Bannos has clarified the transition from online curation of images to Maier's photography being represented by the Howard Greenberg Gallery, it is important to think about how the terms to describe Maier's body of images have changed since being represented by the New York gallery, particularly in light of the comparisons with Atget. Whilst Anne Wilkes Tucker has remarked that 'each [Lyons and Szarkowski] avoided separating photographs into categories such as fine, commercial, and vernacular art, with the differences those labels imply,' the 'pictorial syntax' of his 'tradition' is selective since that which is unfocused and varied in style, in the words of Vlachou, is understood as relegated to the margins of the art world - reinforcing the notion of peripheral 'eclecticism.'⁷⁸ Whilst Heifermann observes Maier 'felt no need to rein herself in or to specialize. The archive she left behind suggests that over the four decades she was active, she worked in, but didn't create hierarchies among, various

⁷⁴ It has since been added to nine groups including 'Time & Place,' 'Concrete Jungles,' 'Chicagoland,' 'Gotham Cities,' 'Inner City Life,' 'Black and White Chicago,' 'B&W Chicago,' 'I Love Chicago' and 'B&W.'

⁷⁵ These are 'lifetime' numbers – not clear if it received more attention at the time of posting.

⁷⁶ "Dark alley original 1950s - Vivian Maier," Flickr, accessed January 15, 2021, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ragstamp/3170168459/in/photostream/>.

⁷⁷ Solomon-Godeau, "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," 30. Szarkowski offers a number of reasons for the inconsistency in Atget's body of images, for instance, he was making money from the sale of prints, he was learning and therefore as he got older, the quality improved. See, Maria Morris Hambourg and John Szarkowski, "The Work of Atget: Volume 1, Old France, Exh Cat," ed. The Museum of Modern Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, The New York Graphic Society, 1981), 18-19.

⁷⁸ Anne Wilkes Tucker, "Lyons, Szarkowski, and the Perception of Photography " *American Art* 21, no. 3 (2007): 27. See also, Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 22.

photographic genres – family pictures, portraits, self-portraits, landscapes, industrials, street photography, and paparazzi shots,' I will show that the Maloof Collection has deliberately consigned a large portion of Maier's photography to the *archive* in an attempt to present one view of Maier.⁷⁹ Bannos contends that Maier's body of images is more varied than what is presented as part of the Maloof Collection simplifying the history of her picture-taking (taken between 1952 and the early 1960s) to fit the history of twentieth-century photography.⁸⁰ Reviews of the exhibitions of Maier's photography, for example by Roberta Smith - art critic for the *New York Times* - in her review of 'Vivian Maier – Photographs from the Maloof Collection,' struggles to, as Szarkowski devised, find her 'forebears' since 'they [Maier's photographs] may add to the history of twentieth-century street photography by summing it up with an almost encyclopaedic thoroughness, veering close to just about every well-known photographer you can think of, including Weegee, Robert Frank and Richard Avedon, and then sliding off in another direction.'⁸¹ Smith implies that Maier's street images document the evolution of street photography from its documentary photography traditions in that they are, like Caturla's photographs, echoes of an earlier generation whilst, at the same time they are not direct copies. Maier problematises the canon since critics struggle to pin-point Maier's immediate contemporaries, and thereby her place in the history of photography as she references tropes from a variety of photographers across different time periods. Indeed, Geoff Dyer in *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer* acknowledges, there is a 'discovery-lag' whereby 'Maier's work has not played its part in shaping how we see the world in the way that Arbus has (even if she seems occasionally to have chanced on Arbusian subjects before Arbus).'⁸² Dyer seems to be suggesting, using the term 'discovery-lag,' that there has been a temporal delay in Maier being recognised as a

⁷⁹ Martin Heifermann, "Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier," in *Vivian Maier: A Photographer Found*, ed. John Maloof (Harper Collins, 2014), 23.

⁸⁰ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 33.

⁸¹ Roberta Smith, "Vivian Maier: Photographs from the Maloof Collection," *New York Times*, accessed January 18, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/20/arts/design/vivian-maier.html>.

⁸² Geoff Dyer, "Introduction," in *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer*, ed., John Maloof (PowerHouse Books, 2011), 19. I am building on an argument I made about the concept of temporal and artistic delay with regard to the narrative of periphery as a provincial spatialisation. See Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery," 67.

photographer which has impacted on how we understand her photographs. Due to this delay, Dyer makes clear that in finding Maier's place in the linear canon and history of photography, she is compared with others. In doing so, he highlights the instability of the canon since he claims that whilst Maier photographed similar subject matter, rather than acknowledging Maier took these a decade before Arbus and thereby nullifying the latter's legitimacy, he suggests that it was by 'chance' reinforcing the notion that peripheral work is given attention only through the institutional structures of the centre if it conforms to the template of previously championed work and that ever-so-slightly deviates from its precursor.⁸³

As the example of Atget showed, the term 'oeuvre' confers a singularity of vision on a body of images. Solomon-Godeau questions the construction of Maier's voluminous output (since being represented by the Howard Greenberg Gallery), particularly 'the definition of an oeuvre as expressing the preferences and choices – the presumed "vision" – of its maker.'⁸⁴ Indeed, much of what we know about Maier (and the extent of her photograph taking) has come via biographers, the popular press, and from Maloof himself. Whilst I have shown that, far from simply *authoring* Maier as a street photographer since purchasing her work from auction, the process of her posthumous presentation has developed over time as a response to economic pressures, input from photography commentators such as Sekula, and from dialogues with vernacular collectors and photographers in online-photo sharing sites. This has culminated in contradictory assumptions about what to do with her photography, and how it should be described and used.

Maier problematises the distinctions made between terms such as 'oeuvre,' 'collection' and 'archive' since the photographs were found as part of her collection of belongings. In the first monograph, *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer*, Maloof claims that her 'iconic images (read New York street

⁸³ Kenneth Clark writes 'The history of European art has been largely the history of a number of centres, from each of which a style has spread out. For a time, whether short or long, this style, dominates the art of the period, turning in effect into an international style, while remaining metropolitan at the center and becoming more and more provincial as it reaches the periphery. A style does not develop spontaneously over a large area. It is the creation of a center, a single unit that provides the impulse.' See Clark, "Provincialism " 3.

⁸⁴ Solomon-Godeau, *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History*, 143.

scenes) would have been scattered across storage lockers stuffed to the brim with found items, art books, newspaper clippings, home films, political tchotchkes, and knickknacks' if it were not for her belongings being repossessed.⁸⁵ This narrative casts Maloof as the hero figure and in a way separates Maier the person from association with the 'iconic' photographs, thus highlighting the construction of Maier the photographer.⁸⁶ Furthermore, a distinction is made between Maier's photographic material (the street images presented in the exhibition and monograph) and her other possessions ('stuff') contained within the lockers.⁸⁷

For Marks, pictures of newsprint confer a periodisation on Maier's practice. The first photobooks contained images from the 1950s and early 1960s and showcased Maier's interest in photographing people with newspapers [Fig. 17], newspaper stands [Fig. 18] and of discarded newspapers such as in *Chicago* [Fig. 19]. Her later period of photographing in the 1970s is generally characterised by repetition (of pictures of stacked newsprint [Fig. 20]) and domesticity. Without biographical details of Maier, these images were simply footnotes in the early literature (just enough information to show she continued photographing after moving from New York). Following interviews with people who knew Maier, discussions of her hoarding problems began to feature in the literature.

Subsequently, terms such as 'hoard' and 'hoarded' were used to describe her photography (and possessions) accrued in the later years of her life. This raises a number of interesting questions concerning the term 'hoard' as applied to the example of Maier: would it be a hoard if it were stored in a bigger space (and thus not pathological)? What is the difference between the 'good' sense of a hoard (Buse provides the example of King Tut) and a 'bad' hoard (newspapers piled from floor to ceiling)?⁸⁸ The implication of Maloof's statement is that her domestic everyday items obscure her

⁸⁵ Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer*, 3.

⁸⁶ I have been hugely influenced by Peter Buse's essay 'Collector, Hoarder, Media Archaeologist: Walter Benjamin with Vivian Maier' (2019).

'Adventure literature' according to Carol Duncan is the re-telling of how an art object or artist has been discovered, casting the collectors or curators as 'sleuths or heroes.' See Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (Routledge: London and New York, 1995), 1.

⁸⁷ Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer*, 3.

⁸⁸ Buse, "Collector, Hoarder, Media Archaeologist: Walter Benjamin with Vivian Maier," 145-50.

photography, and moreover, rendering a large part of her photographic material as unimportant. This is problematic for several reasons; first, if she had owned her own home, she would not be subject to the same degree of judgment. Second, it offers only one reading of her photography and ignores the structural challenges Maier faced instead placing the emphasis on her as an individual. The term 'hoard' categorises the excess of photographic material and the banality of the contents. Recently, the Maloof Collection has included Maier's photography in Outsider Art Fairs which I suggest is an attempt to tie these two aspects of Maier's identity together.⁸⁹ This is evident in the way Marks makes a correlation between Maier's inability to secure a career due to a 'hoarding disorder' and work made by those on the 'periphery' who have now received recognition through the category of outsider art.⁹⁰ Howard Becker in *Art Worlds* (1982) explains that great art will always be recognised and therefore, that which hasn't is unexceptional and unworthy of public consumption.⁹¹ Tapping into the language of the periphery and exhibiting her photography at outsider art fairs means that Maier can be retroactively canonised without questioning her posthumous fame, or whether indeed she wanted to be employed as a photographer.

Whilst currently, the Maloof Collection is split between different locations, - John Maloof's personal 'archive,' the University of Chicago Special Collections archive of vintage prints and the Howard Greenberg Gallery (contains photographs for display at commercial exhibitions) – as I have shown this was not always the case. In 2017 the Maloof Collection gifted 500 vintage prints to the University of Chicago Special Collections, adding a further 2,700 in 2019 creating the 'John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier' archive. As I will demonstrate, Maloof has been disparaging about the

⁸⁹ The Howard Greenberg Gallery included a solo stand for Vivian Maier at the Outsider Art Fair (New York) in January 2020. Prior to this, in 2019, the Outside Art Fair (Paris) included photographs from the Maloof Collection in their 'Solo Focus: New Galleries / New Artists' exhibition. The latter was organised to 'highlight two new galleries with solo presentations of artists who have not, for the most part, been previously associated with the field of outsider art/art brut.' See "Outsider Art Fair," Howard Greenberg Gallery, accessed January 21, 2021, <https://www.howardgreenberg.com/art-fairs/outsider-art-fair>; "Solo Focus: New Galleries/New Artists," Outsider Art Fair, accessed January 21, 2021, <https://www.outsiderartfair.com/program-paris/oaf-solo-focus-new-galleries-new-artists?view=slider>.

⁹⁰ Ann Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Nanny Photographer* (Amazon Publishing, 2017), 163.

⁹¹ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (University of California Press, 1982), 370-71.

quality (and to some extent the quantity) of the prints he selected for the archive. Whilst not everything a photographer does is of a saleable quality, the example of Maier highlights how the function of the archive is shaped by systems of power. Moreover, the difference between the ways in which Maier's photography is constructed for public consumption and for archival use highlights, not only the tension between the 'popular' and 'institutional' notions of archives, but also the tension between the ways in which photographs taken in the suburban milieu are viewed as texts (pertaining to Maier's domestic life) and not pictorial (artistic) records.⁹² An 'archive', writes Mike Featherstone is a 'system of ordering, identification, classification,' whereby 'potentially anything can become significant.'⁹³ Thereby, an archive is not limited by its contents, but this can be sorted and classified according to an external set of rules.⁹⁴ Therefore, in the case of Maier, the Maloof Collection archive is the product of a gendered classification system that has been shaped by the inter-play between centres and peripheries.

I would like to highlight an interesting conversation between Maloof and Marks that took place in the Q&A session after a presentation at the Howard Greenberg Gallery in 2017 to show the extent to which Maier's body of images trouble both centre-periphery dynamics and the function of terms such as 'collection', 'oeuvre,' and 'archive' that underpin the extant historiography of American photography. Although the questions are inaudible, it can be inferred from the answers given that they pertain to Maier's vintage prints. It is important for many reasons; firstly, it poses questions about the relationship between biography, research, and artist-construction ('author-function'); secondly, it strengthens my argument that it is Maier's gender and gendered occupation as nanny that underpins the extent to which the volume of her output is a concern in the posthumous

⁹² See, Joan M. Schwartz, "'Working Objects in Their Own Right": Photographs in Archives " in *The Handbook of Photography Studies*, ed. Gil Pasternak (London and New York Routledge 2020), 514-15.

⁹³ Mike Featherstone, "Archiving Cultures " *The British Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 1 (2000): 168.

⁹⁴ For further literature on the meaning, and formulation of the archive, see Schwartz, "'Working Objects in Their Own Right": Photographs in Archives "; Thomas Osborne, "The Ordinarity of the Archive," *History of the Human Sciences* 12, no. 2 (1999).

construction of her *oeuvre*. At one point in the Q&A, Maloof notes that the vintage prints that Maier developed herself are:

Bad. Very bad. Not all of them. She had somebody print her early work in New York and they were very good. Some of the street photographs are well printed by somebody else. If she had a good negative its easy to print, its kinda hard to mess it up. But I don't think she used a light metre a lot of times. So you have to do a lot of work in the darkroom and I think she was impatient, some of her prints look very faded, like she didn't develop it too long. And I would say a half of the work that she actually printed herself looks a little bit like that. Not enough time in the darkroom with the print.⁹⁵

Another audience member then asks Maloof, what type of images Maier chose to be printed:

What she selected, I mean there's been overlaps in what has been selected in her work versus what she selected which is nice to see but there's also a lot of stuff that she selected [...] why are you printing this stuff, unless its for somebody else.

[...]

[Maloof responds]

Right. Right. What is the end. What is the point of it. So its like, we have a lot of questions why she selected certain things because its not necessarily images I would associate with her best work.⁹⁶

Recent archival findings have revealed that Maier did sometimes receive money for prints, copies of which were given to her employers, friends of those she worked for, and people she photographed in public. This has been taken as evidence that Maier began to work commercially in the mid-to-late 1950s – an implication she was imbricated in the business of photography, selling her work, and building up a portfolio to gain more commercial work as a photographer.⁹⁷ Marks elucidates this

⁹⁵ "Vivian Maier Discussion 11/17/18," filmed on November 17, 2018 at The Howard Greenberg Gallery, New York, YouTube video, accessed January 18, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n3m1YuFkcj8&t=5150s>.

⁹⁶ "Vivian Maier Discussion 11/17/18."

⁹⁷ Bannos has intimated that in 1960 Maier assembled eleven-by-fourteen-inch prints for a series of portfolios: 'Maier was editing and enlarging work from tens of thousands of negatives, and her selections included photos dating back to 1950, during her yearlong stay in France. The pictures included New York street photographs,

scenario further by presenting an image of Maier working in a web of monetary exchange: 'There is evidence that Maier shared, gifted, and sold photographs to her employers and acquaintances throughout her life, many of whom still own these prints.'⁹⁸ However, according to Marks these forays into selling her photography remained at a low level because of the 'debilitating hoarding disorder further compounding her difficult existence.'⁹⁹ Indeed, Marks postulates that 'in reality, she [Maier] seemed to prefer spending her time shooting' which, she argues, was a misguided way to pursue a career.¹⁰⁰ Bannos has pointed out, instead of focussing on how, and what Maier chose to print, the 'first interpretation and articulated impression of Vivian Maier's photography process and persona [...] [was to] understand Maier through what she saved, how she looked, and what she chose to share of herself.'¹⁰¹ From an analysis of the processing envelopes (for enlargements), it would seem that Maier preferred matte-surface prints instead of a gloss or silk finish.¹⁰² She was particular about how she wanted the negatives to be printed; often the comment 'nice work appreciated' [Fig. 21] would be scrawled across the envelope, presumably written by an employee for the developer on behalf of Maier. She would send work back for reprinting if she was not happy with tone ('too dark, print lighter') [Fig. 22] or cropping, for instance written on the back of a 'Kodak color finishing envelope,' [Fig. 23] the operative has written: 'One enlargement. 5x7 horizontal. Customer very unhappy with this cropping – please make one enlargement 5x5. Matte Finishing. No charge.' In some cases, Maier would give specific instructions as to what to crop [Fig. 24], for instance, 'crop part of the hair on top

shots from her 1959 world travels, tightly cropped images of children, and an assortment of candid and posed portraits, including several from 1960 of the Gensburg boys. It's impossible to know Maier's intentions in putting together at least four albums, but typically these types of books would be shown to prospective employers, presented as part of a school application, or submitted for exhibition purposes.' The previous owner Kathy Gillespie (bought at Roger Gunderson's auction) has since lost the four portfolio albums. See Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 197. Marks cites numerous examples of Maier developing copies of prints in exchange for money, specifically in the chapters 'Commerce' and 'Commerce continued.' See Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 99,98,111.

⁹⁸ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 98.

⁹⁹ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 156.

¹⁰⁰ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 82.

¹⁰¹ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*.

¹⁰² However, there are instances where she asked for 'silk full frame w/border', 'print darker. Silk frame w/border, 'full frame, silk border.' Box 24, folder 10, 'John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier circa 1900-2010,' University of Chicago Special Collections.

of his head and a little on the side of the leg.’ In another was written [Fig. 25], ‘use only glossy [only and glossy are heavily underlined] paper but remove gloss [again underlined] to get matte [underlined] finish – w/bds [border] 2 - 8x10 of 38 - Don’t cut the boy [underlined] 1 -8x10 of 6.’¹⁰³ Although as this interview demonstrates, her printing choices are viewed negatively, such instances are invoked in order to show that she was a forceful personality reinforcing her eccentricity. Coming back to the interview, an audience member clearly intrigued by the new gamut of information provided about her vintage prints, asks whether Maloof intends to publicise the material. He responds thus:

Publicise the entire work? No, you don’t want to see, its for people who want to do research [...] you have a 140,000 or so images, like most photographers, if not all of their work is not good, but a fair percentage is. So you are looking at you know children, in the back yard, playing around [...] like prints of the family [...] even with the street stuff there’s a lot she tried to do and it didn’t work. That’s why there’s a lot of people involved to try and edit the work and find the images that really show her well.¹⁰⁴

For Maloof (and to a larger extent, the gallery representatives), Maier’s choice of images printed from the negative is at odds with the work he (with Steve Rifkin and the Howard Greenberg Gallery team) has chosen (namely the street work). This conversational exchange exposes the extent to which certain groups of prints have been ignored for their eclecticism and domesticity distorting the narrative of Maier. Commentators, such as Juliet Hacking have questioned Maloof’s intentions in seeking posthumous commercial recognition for her photography arguing that ‘the market for Maier’s work developed swiftly and exponentially: for one major New York [Howard Greenberg] gallery that represents her work, together with that of many twentieth- and twenty-first-century greats, she became their best seller.’¹⁰⁵ With the legal battle over copyright that took place between

¹⁰³ Box 24 folder 10, ‘John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier circa 1900-2010,’ University of Chicago Special Collections.

¹⁰⁴ “Vivian Maier Discussion 11/17/18.”

¹⁰⁵ Juliet Hacking, ed. *Photography and the Art Market*, Handbooks in International Art Business (London Lund Humphries 2018), 55. In 2010 Maier’s photography became attached to the Howard Greenberg Gallery to represent the photography of Maier. The Howard Greenberg Gallery represents the following photographers:

2014 and 2019 – as discussed in the introduction to the thesis – scholars have questioned whether ‘making Maier’s photography collectible necessarily honours her achievement as a photographer?’¹⁰⁶ Contemporary commercial exhibition practice balances commerce with culture in an attempt to legitimise the space, conferring it with a cultural capital associated with a public museum.¹⁰⁷ Maloof stated in the 2013 film that his aim for Maier’s photography, prior to collaborating with the Howard Greenberg Gallery was to ‘get it recognized by major museums.’¹⁰⁸ Yet, he noted that MoMA had rejected his inquiries as to whether they would be interested in purchasing her photography, therefore, implying that the commercial art market was a secondary option.¹⁰⁹

As such, it is important to highlight the different ways in which her images have been presented such that they not only present Maier as a saleable photographer in the vein of other recognised twentieth-century photographers, but also to balance the portrayal of her as a person and photographer. *New York, March 27, 1953* [Fig. 26] is a modern print from the Maloof Collection that shows a black carriage centre right of the frame. Sitting in the back are two smartly dressed figures – a man and a woman. The woman has her head down towards her lap whilst the man has his left arm wrapped round her and his body is slightly angled inwards emphasising their tight embrace. It is clearly a staged photograph which is evidence by Maier’s written note on the negative, ‘Vendredi le

Berenice Abbott, Bob Adelman, Erwin Blumenfeld, Margaret Bourke-White, Frédéric Brenner, Bill Burke, Edward Burtynsky, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Simon Chaput, Bruce Davidson, František Drtikol, Morris Engel, Walker Evans, Louis Faurer, Martine Franck, William Gedney, Allen Ginsberg, Frank Gohlke, Philip Jones Griffiths, Sid Grossman, Harry Gruyaert, Dave Heath, Lewis Hine, Kenro Izu, Yumiko Izu, Steve Kahn, James Karales, William Klein, Jacques-Henri Lartigue, Jungjin Lee, Arthur Leipzig, Saul Leiter, Leon Levinstein, Alex Majoli, Mary Ellen Mark, Don McCullin, Ray K. Metzker, Joel Meyerowitz, Gjon Mili, Sarah Moon, Martin Munkácsi, Arnold Newman, Marvin E. Newman, Ruth Orkin, Homer Page, Gordon Parks, Marc Riboud Bruno V. Roles, Ken Schles, Peter Sekaer, W. Eugene Smith, Edward Steichen, Dennis Stock, Paul Strand, Josef Sudek, Ed Van Der Elsken, James Van Der Zee, Roman Vishniac, Weegee, Minor White.

¹⁰⁶ See Hacking, *Photography and the Art Market*, 56; Solomon-Godeau, *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History*, 143.

¹⁰⁷ See Park Chan-Ung, "Diversification and Status Signals in the Art World and the Art Markets: A Case of the Fine Art Photography Galleries of New York," *Development and Society* 38, no. 1 (2009): 104. See also Olav Velthuis, *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art* (Princeton and Oxford Princeton University Press, 2007), 6.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Maloof, see Siskel and Maloof, "Finding Vivian Maier".

¹⁰⁹ Siskel and Maloof, "Finding Vivian Maier".

27 Mars [Friday 27 March] \$1.00.¹¹⁰ Marks describes ‘a 1953 sale relate[d] to a shoot of models posed in a buggy in Central Park’ acknowledging the above picture was sold for a dollar.¹¹¹ However, she includes the wrong photograph – 1953, New York, NY [Fig. 27] (a modern print from the negative) Maier concomitantly took of the couple.¹¹² Whereas in the previous figure the couple are central to the frame, this photograph captures the carriage driver hovering overlooking the embracing couple, his hands resting on the lip of the hood as if about to pounce at any minute. Maier has moved the position of the camera in order to capture another carriage driver attending to a horse, squeezing out the city and speeding taxi cabs from the frame. The scene is tense, we do not know whether to laugh or be fearful – the off-centre angle gives a menacing and odd atmosphere to the image. Whereas the latter image is far more recognisable having been included in the monograph *Vivian Maier: Street Photographer* and in the digital sequence ‘street’ on the Maloof Collection website, the former has come to represent Maier’s intentions to work professionally. Whilst both images are available for the public to view, the former has been invoked to show that, during her time in New York, she was committed to a commercial career, and the latter, therefore, shows her own vision for as a street photographer. Both sides to Maier are important in the presentation of her since the former image validates her authorial voice (and alleviates fears that she did not want her photography made public) and reinforces Marks’ argument that, due to her mental health she could no longer pursue a photography career.

Heifermann has quite rightly acknowledged that the shifting categorisation of Maier reveals ‘fantasies’ held by the public about artists, and how Maier’s story became ‘media catnip [...] [that]

¹¹⁰ In the Q&A session featuring Ann Marks and John Maloof at Howard Greenberg Gallery on November 17th, 2018 Marks briefly claims that the two figures in the carriage were models posing for an independent photography shoot by another photographer (unknown) for which Maier joined in on taking pictures of the scene. She was then paid for the single posed image. Marks does not discuss this in her biography.

¹¹¹ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 100.

¹¹² To be clear, Maier frequently photographed in Central Park. There is also a vintage print [Fig. 28] showing a different (to figure 27) couple in a New York Central Park horse and carriage enroute down the main thoroughfare of Central Park. However, Maier is photographing from a distance and the couple are not distinct. It is clear not whether Maier was commissioned to photograph the scene, yet she still produced a print from the negative. As such, this example highlights the unsuitability of rigid categories of photographic production.

piqued interest in no small part due to the waves of nostalgia they evoke in many viewers' fusing together 'time travel and tourism.'¹¹³ However, this produced a tension between the way in which her biography produces notions of her as a person and photographer, on the one hand, and how she is co-ordinated as a saleable entity, on the other. Indeed, the collecting of photographs during and after the photo boom is concerned with monetary value – collecting as a capital investment in a group or series of pictures by the same photographer.¹¹⁴ For instance, Vera L. Zolberg states that 'no matter how glamorous [commercial photography] [...] it is fine art that retains centrality and the arts of culture industry that remain marginal to it.'¹¹⁵ As Olav Velthuis argues that 'culture simultaneously restrains and enables action on the art market' since 'cultural life' (popular culture) determines what is sold and at the same time facilitates the legitimisation of these artworks, in the case of Maier, I have demonstrated that the selection of her images is predicated on managing this balance between popular culture and the dogma of the fine art institution.¹¹⁶ This chapter has thus far situated the curation of her within the broader institutional framework of modernist photography which has highlighted the instability of the boundaries that delineate categories of picture-taking. I have illuminated the extent to which the dynamic of centre and periphery continues to determine who gets recognition and the implications of this on how her body of images is curated, and thereby perceived by the public. I will subsequently consider the implications of this process.

¹¹³ Heifermann, "Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier," 26.

¹¹⁴ Molly Kalkstein, "The Discerning Eye: Materiality and the 1970s American Market for Photographs," in *AHAA 2020 Research Fellowship*, ed. Dr. Sarah Greenough (Virtual event 2020).

¹¹⁵ Zolberg, "Marginality Triumphant? On the Asymmetry of Conflict in the Art World" 101.

¹¹⁶ Velthuis, *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art*, 4.

The Impact of Maier's Posthumous Construction

As the last section highlighted, the jigsaw puzzle of Maier's biography has been pieced together gradually, and this has happened in public view with the periodic release of images and nuggets of information online. Yet within the networked structure of the internet, users can upload and re-post information about Maier running parallel to the official channels of the Maloof Collection. Therefore, claims that were once made about Maier continue to resurface online in confusing ways, creating difficulties for conducting new scholarship. As Vlachou in her study of peripheries did not consider the impact of the formation of Web 2.0 and social networked sites on the centre-periphery binary, as Maier is an internet phenomenon, it is important to understand how technology facilitates both the deconstruction and maintenance of the dichotomy.

This is evident in the way Maier has been compared with the other women photographers whom she supposedly knew including Jeanne Bertrand (1880-1957).¹¹⁷ In an article in the *Boston Globe* dated 1902, it is clear that Bertrand operated as a commercial portrait photographer - 'one of the eminent photographers of Connecticut.'¹¹⁸ In the early literature on Maier, particularly before discussions of a hoarding disorder were introduced, it is made clear that Bertrand was a 'notable figure in Vivian's life,' (the current website for the Maloof Collection has a section dedicated to Bertrand's influence on Maier) which was an attempt to evoke a photographic milieu of which Maier may have been a part.¹¹⁹ However, little is known about Bertrand's photographic practice, besides the references to her in the newspaper article. However, biographers of Maier (Marks and Bannos) have

¹¹⁷ See, John Maloof, ed. *Vivian Maier: Self-Portraits* (PowerHouse Books, 2013), 11.

¹¹⁸ "From Factory to High Place as Artist," *The Boston Globe* 23 August 1902, 4.

¹¹⁹ See, "About Vivian Maier," Maloof Collection, accessed 12 August 2021, <http://www.vivianmaier.com/about-vivian-maier/>.

conducted research on Bertrands life (connection with Maier's family) revealing similar struggles with her mental health.¹²⁰

These loose threads connecting both women together have arguably caused a daisy chain of (mis)information that sets up Bertrand as a possible early teacher and lasting influence on Maier's photography. 'Jeanne Bertrand looking at negatives (1954) by Vivian Maier' is a label given by the *New York Times* to an image [Fig. 29] taken by Maier for their article 'A Peek into Vivian Maier's Family Album' (2016) (a two-part 'report' with the first article entitled 'Digging Deeper into Vivian Maier's Past') by Kerri MacDonald.¹²¹ The image in question shows an older woman looking at several sleeves of negatives in what appears to be a studio darkroom. Showing Bertrand supposedly engaging with her photography highlights, for Marks, that Maier was actively involved with a group of 'professional photographers.'¹²² Whilst Bertrand operated a commercial portrait studio in the early twentieth century, Marks uses her as an example with which to situate Maier in the professional commercial milieu of the mid-twentieth century. Therefore, not only are assumptions made about the history of commercial photography, the terms by which Maier is described are not fully engaged with and as such Marks reinforces the binarism of amateur and professional (chapter two will provide a breakdown of the differentiation of the photographic practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). Yet, in the publication of her biography, Bertrand is mentioned in passing (her family knew Maier's mother). However, the same figure from the *New York Times* article reappears, though in a different photograph [Fig. 30] - '[...] German photographer, Carola Hermes, [who] had a studio at 987. Her speciality was celebrity and bridal portraits, and, if Maier had a

¹²⁰ Bannos argues that 'her story [Bertrand's] both foreshadows and shadows aspects of Vivian Maier's.' She provides an overview of the decline in press coverage for Bertrand during the early 1900s – 'stories about Bertrand's mental health.' See, Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 18,19,20, 28.

¹²¹ The article is a collaboration with Marks who was researching for *Vivian Maier Developed*.

¹²² See, Kerri MacDonald, "A Peak into Vivian Maier's Family Album," *New York Times*, accessed January 20, 2021, <https://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/01/13/a-peek-into-vivian-maiers-family-album/?mtrref=www.google.com&gwh=D55F38509D53EA6A9A2ADBCC44988816&gwt=pay&assetType=REGI WALL>; Kerri MacDonald, "Digging Deeper into Vivian Maier's Past," *New York Times*, accessed January 20, 2021, <https://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/01/12/digging-deeper-into-vivian-maiers-past/>. Bannos has also noticed the mistake with the *New York Times* article. See, Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 315.

mentor, it was likely she.¹²³ Again, this reinforces the assumption that without a prominent connection to a proponent of the photographic centre, she would be an anomaly and as such be defined by her difference rather than similarity to other photographers.

In much the same way canonical photographers such as Arbus and Winogrand are invoked in media coverage (of exhibitions) to bolster the reputation of Maier as belonging in the centre[s], discoveries of new photographers are shown to replicate Maier's story, but in a delayed, peripheral form – positioning Maier in the centre of photographic history. Whilst photography made by those on the periphery is perceived as a mutation of that which is produced in the centre, Nicos Hadjinicolaou, for an example, argues that autonomy of the periphery can strengthen the centre.¹²⁴ Indeed, this has been acknowledged by Ginzburg and Catelnuovo as providing the competition with which the centres thrive upon, kickstarting new waves of innovation.¹²⁵ The implication of this is that whilst the centres maintain supremacy, it acknowledges that they are ultimately sustained by the innovation of the peripheries. Yet, this is complicated by existence of Web 2.0 since people are globally connected and as such any sense of time and place is collapsed. Deeming Caturra ('Spanish Vivian Maier') an embodiment of Maier, not only controls, but sustains the notion of delay between centre and periphery.¹²⁶ Yet, by invoking Maier's name either in the headline or within the text itself, online media sites at once situate her in the centre of a new wave of photographic discoveries and at the same time create a cyclical and constantly evolving flow of photographic news.

With the ability to reproduce information, online spaces are structurally organised in such a way as to establish multiple temporalities that function with fluctuating aims and objectives and yet, coalesce creating a web of connections steeped in misnomers. In short, Maier is a product of *both* centre and periphery, since she has been co-opted posthumously into the centre, her photography

¹²³ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 80.

¹²⁴ Hadjinicolaou, "Art Centers and Peripheral Art," 122.

¹²⁵ See Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, "Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography in Italian Art History," 18; Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 20.

¹²⁶ For a more sustained engagement with the concept, see Joyeux-Prunel, "Circulation and the Art Market."

can mean anything galleries, collectors, and the popular press want it to mean. Therefore, thinking about the replication of artistic tropes between canonical and non-canonical photographers is unnecessary since it re-affirms the dominance of the canon as a historical, and therefore, legitimising timeframe of artistic output. For example, in 2016, the article 'Move Over Vivian Maier, Hyde Park Has Its Own Obscure Photographer' was published online for DNAinfo, an online news source providing information connected with the city of Chicago.¹²⁷ The headline would suggest that Charles Cushman's photography has been newly discovered, Maier an earlier precedent of posthumous recovery. Cushman's photography, was however, bequeathed to Indiana University Archives in 1972, arriving four months after Cushman had died.¹²⁸

With this in mind, why would the local Chicago news site refer to Cushman as if he were a new addition to the Chicago photography scene? Martha Buskirk in *Creative Enterprise: Contemporary Art Between Museum and Marketplace* (2012) argues there is an entwinement between art institutions and commercial demands such that there is an impetus to 'discover' new talent – as evidenced by the decline in prestige of the 'retrospective.'¹²⁹ With demand so high, commercial art galleries are in search for underappreciated names that can be used without too much input from the photographers themselves.¹³⁰ 'Discovered' photographers such as Maier are, therefore, raw materials for this endeavour.

¹²⁷ Sam Cholke, "Move Over Vivian Maier, Hyde Park Has Its Own Obscure Photographer," *DNAinfo*, accessed January 22, 2021, <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20160414/hyde-park/move-over-vivian-maier-hyde-park-has-its-own-obscure-photographer/>.

¹²⁸ Bradley D. Cooke, "Charles Cushman Biography," Indiana University Archives, Charles W. Cushman Photograph Archives, accessed February 25 2021, <http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/cushman/overview/cushmanBio.jsp;jsessionid=C2AED5B37FE1DC05CF566AA696DBD40F>.

¹²⁹ Martha Buskirk, *Creative Enterprise: Contemporary Art between Museum and Marketplace* ed. Francisco J. Ricardo, International Texts in Critical Media Aesthetics (Continuum 2012), 1-5 and see chapter two 'The Collection'.

¹³⁰ Buskirk, *Creative Enterprise: Contemporary Art between Museum and Marketplace* 1-5 and see chapter two.

Psychobiography and Women in Photography

Woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his phantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning.¹³¹

Laura Mulvey
'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (1975)

To understand the woman artist's position in this complex situation between the art world and the real world, class, and gender, it is necessary to know that in America artists are rarely respected unless they are stars or rich or mad or dead.¹³²

Lucy Lippard
'The Pink Glass Swan: Upward and Downward Mobility in the Art World' (1995)

Despite this, she [Vivian Maier] left a secret archive of masterful photographs behind – something which, for Fox, is typically female. "It's a common story that only small amounts of photographic work by women gets out into the public," she adds. "Despite the vast female majority of photography teachers and students, it's still a male-dominated profession. Exhibitions and publications hardly reference women photographers. It can change, it will have to change."¹³³

Leah Borromeo quoting Anna Fox
'Vivian Maier – Secret Photographer, Oscar Contender'
(*British Journal of Photography*, 2018)

The pathologisation of the photographer's life is not unusual and indeed, the lives of photographers, both male and female, have been plundered for clues as to the meaning of their photographs. By comparing the discourse of Maier with that of other (deceased) women photographers, it will enable a reflection on the ways in which gender underpins the discourse of art history and the photography market. While narratives of Maier's mental state are predicated on the use of her possessions as diagnostic evidence, this narrative of mental trauma is also deeply embedded in gendered discourse.

¹³¹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 7.

¹³² Lippard, "The Pink Glass Swan: Upward and Downward Mobility in the Art World," 123.

¹³³ Leah Borromeo, "Vivian Maier – Secret Photographer, Oscar Contender," *British Journal of Photography*, accessed January 23, 2021, <http://www.bjp-online.com/2015/02/vivian-maier-secret-photographer-oscar-contender/>.

In the drive to 'know' Maier, her photographs have been viewed as the keys to unlock the mystery of her life, as well as the meanings behind her desire to photograph. Then there is the competing need for these photographs to be considered important and part of a canon. Raymond proposes that, for women, success is rewarded only by chance due to the high risk of invisibility women face apropos a securement of culture and social power.¹³⁴ To go further, women are hidden from the means by which power is accredited.

As I have shown, in the instances of compositional and practice-based comparisons between Maier and other photographers, those between other women are rare though on such occasions, it is the photography of Diane Arbus that receives most of the attention. Whilst aesthetic debates often focus on subject matter, it is, in the words of Carol Armstrong, the 'thematics of gender' that grounds much of this literature.¹³⁵ Furthermore, the way that Maier has been presented as a photographer – the discourse of her posthumous reconstitution – is grounded in sexual difference. In this section, I will show that comparisons between women on the basis of their biographical similarities invariably implies an essentialist view of women's experience: artistic women share essential characteristics that mark them apart as other to their female peers. Yet, as Wolff has argued, and as I demonstrated earlier, when comparing women with men in an attempt to locate their status within the history of art, women tend to be seen as a female counterpart, or as I argue, producing a delayed (weaker) *version* of the *real thing*. Rather than re-capitulating these gendered narratives, I will underscore the processes by which women are positioned in this way.

As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, Maier is invoked in the stories of newly discovered (female) photographers. Of course, much has been made about the similarities in how their photography was *found* posthumously, yet a prominent comparative analysis between the two focuses on trauma and mental health. In the example of Masha Ivashintsova (1942-2000), her life

¹³⁴ Claire Raymond, "After and in the Fracture: Claude Cahun, Lee Miller and Surrealism," in *Women Photographers and Feminist Aesthetics* ed. Claire Raymond (Routledge 2017), 49.

¹³⁵ Armstrong, "Biology, Destiny, Photography: Difference According to Diane Arbus," 33.

story is likened to Maier's describing bouts of poor mental health and economic insecurity culminating in her death at the age of 58.¹³⁶ Whilst stories of Maier focus on her secretiveness, particularly regarding the sharing of her photography with others, in contrast, 'diaries left by Ivashintsova reveal a woman who saw her own talents as trivial in comparison with the men of her life. Her daughter says she "sincerely believed that she paled next to them and consequently never showed her photography [...] to anyone."¹³⁷ Whilst the media attention given to Ivashintsova has likened her to Maier, the statement made by her daughter highlights the cultural position of women as, in the words of Mulvey, 'bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning' which arguably the psychobiographical approach in the writings of Maier is an attempt to suppress.¹³⁸ We can draw several parallels between the ways in which biographers mine the lives of photographers such as Arbus and Francesca Woodman with Maier to inform their photography and vice versa.

Much of the literature on Maier focuses on her physical appearance – masculine clothes, unsmiling face, broad shoulders – resulting in assumptions being made about her as 'a difficult person: odd, complex, living in her own head.'¹³⁹ In interviewing the now grown-up children who Maier was employed to care for, clues as to the meanings behind her photographs were gleaned from discussions of her appearance, as well as her role as nanny:

The sturdy lace-up shoes she favored earned her the nickname of "Army Boots" from neighborhood kids. Recollecting the distinctive figure she cut, some of those same children, once they had grown up, as well as others who knew Maier, said that she looked like a nun, a Soviet factory worker, a female prison guard, or a lesbian [...]¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Brown, "Is this the Russian Vivian Maier?"

¹³⁷ Chapple, "Russian Vivian Maier."

¹³⁸ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" 7.

¹³⁹ Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Self-Portraits*, 8. Pollock has debunked the tendency to read the artists self-portrait for clues as to their psychology in art-historical scholarship in Pollock, "Artists Mythologies and Media Genius, Madness and Art History."

¹⁴⁰ Heifermann, "Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier," 18-20. 'That's me in the picture: Robert Glaser, aged 8, in New York with his father in Vivian Maier's 'Untitled, 1956' (*The Guardian*, January 2015), 'Living with Vivian Maier by Linda Mathews' (*The London Review of Books*, October 2015) and 'Our Nanny, The Photographer Vivian Maier' (Susanna Rustin, *The Guardian*, July 2014). Oddly, this last

From these interviews, it is made clear that Maier's masculinity is at odds with the familiarism of the suburbs. On the one hand, her 'masculine' appearance is seen to be antithetical to the feminine role of carer, whilst, on the other, it is this that is perceived as enabling her to break from traditional gender norms and expectations. Judith Butler makes clear that notions of gender 'are not simple fact or static condition,' rather gender identity is subject to social conditions ('gender performativity') in society.¹⁴¹ However, during the Victorian period, male and female sexuality were delineated, with the former being aggressive and active whilst the latter was supposed to be passive and submissive.¹⁴² To counter fears of effeminacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, male sexuality was emphasised, since public discourse on the figure of the bachelor was predicated on his effusion of feminine qualities.¹⁴³ Similarly, spinsters were denigrated as degenerates whose stance on motherhood proved them to be unwomanly; commentators at the time argued that spinsters had been deserted by nature, leaving them barren, resulting in their anger and resentment towards the institution of marriage.¹⁴⁴ In turn, sexologists connected spinsters with 'female homosexuality' which was viewed as either an innate condition, hereditary, constitutive of a third or intermediate sex, or evolving from childhood trauma.¹⁴⁵

interview piece was filed under the family sub-section of the newspaper. Raymond describes suffering from physical and emotional abuse from Maier as she told Rustin "She would hold me down, she would shove the food in and she would choke me until I swallowed – and she would do that over and over again." As well as Raymond, Rustin spoke Joe Matthews who told her 'his brother's only memory of their nanny is of being spanked for spilling a glass of milk.' See, Susannah Rustin, "Our Nanny, The Photographer Vivian Maier," *The Guardian*, accessed January 23, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/jul/19/our-nanny-vivian-maier-photographer>.

¹⁴¹ See, Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York and London Routledge 1993), 3; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London Routledge 1999), vii-xxvi.

¹⁴² See, Lucy Re-Bartlett, *Sex and Sanctity* (London: Longmans 1912), 26.

¹⁴³ See, Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating the American Subculture* (Princeton, New Jersey Princeton University Press, 1999), 114.

¹⁴⁴ Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880-1930* (North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1997), 108.

¹⁴⁵ See Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, "Sexual Inversion," in *Nineteenth-Century Writings on Homosexuality: A Sourcebook*, ed. Chris White (London and New York Routledge 1999 (1987)), 104; Mark Blasins and Shane Phelan, *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook in Gay and Lesbian Politics* (London Routledge 1997), 63-64; Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880-1930*, 112. See also chapter three, John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, Third ed. (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Discourses on sexuality can be seen to have filtered through to popular myths of spinsterhood and current assumptions of Maier. The discourse of 'genius' highlights the instability of the concepts of gender as the rhetoric of 'madness' re-orientates stereotypically feminine characteristics (emotion, intuition) in the narrative of the male artist.¹⁴⁶ Christine Battersby describes a 'double bind' whereby women 'either to surrender her sexuality (becoming not masculine, but surrogate male), or to be feminine and female, and hence to fail to count as genius.'¹⁴⁷ It is clear from my overview of Maier's posthumous construction that her gender and gendered employment as nanny has problematised the categorisation of her as a photographer. Indeed, the prefix, 'nanny photographer' that has been attached to Maier's name in the popular press reiterates both the fascination with, and distrust of women as artists, and reveals the loaded meaning of photographer. By this, I mean that the concept of the genderless 'artist' or 'photographer' is, as Tamar Garb explains in *Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (1993), an oxymoron.¹⁴⁸

Discussions of Maier's hoarding and cruel behaviour towards her young charges have been viewed by those who knew her and scholars alike, as reinforcing the narrative of her as unsuited to the feminine role of nanny. Inger Raymond's account of the time with Maier is the most damning of the stories of her cruel behaviour towards the children in her care and is often mined by the popular press to convey the contradictions in the 'persona' of Maier. Susannah Rustin in her article 'Our Nanny' contends that the mental and physical abuse suffered by the children at the hands of Maier 'combined with her isolation, estrangement from her family [...] hostility to men, make Joe Matthews [now grown-up child] suspect some trauma in Maier's own past and possibly abuse.'¹⁴⁹ A friend of Raymond, Sarah Ludington spoke to Rustin about the time she met Maier in the 2000s, the

¹⁴⁶ See Sigmund Freud, "The Aetiology of Hysteria " in *The Standard Edition Three*, ed. Sigmund Freud (London Hogarth Press, 1896), 191-97.

¹⁴⁷ Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (The Women's Press, 1989), 3.

¹⁴⁸ See, Tamar Garb, "Gender and Representation " in *Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Nigel Blake Frances Frascina, Briony Fer, Tamar Garb, Charles Harrison (New Haven and London Yale University Press, 1993), 230-31. See also Martha Rosler, "The Figure of the Artist, the Figure of the Woman " in *Decoys and Disruptions: Selected Writings, 1975-2001*, ed. Martha Rosler (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 90.

¹⁴⁹ Susannah Rustin, "Our Nanny, The Photographer Vivian Maier."

latter asking for work whilst in her 80s, “with so many difficult and unusual creative people there are trade-offs. But she did what she thought was important.”¹⁵⁰ Art is at once treated as diagnostic tool and read as a form of therapy for women artists. Raymond in her essay ‘Rough Street: Diane Arbus and Vivian Maier’ compounds this view of the artistic genius as she suggests that ‘it is only because Maier rebelled (in what must have been rather small ways, because she generally maintained employment) against gendered and class pressures to give up her desires and individuality to fit the class and gender-based mold of the ‘good’ nanny that she produced her photographic oeuvre.’¹⁵¹ In other words, these ‘imperfections’ and ‘sharp temper’ as Raymond puts it, can be forgiven because they provided a way to challenge the gender normativity which inherently produces sexist female roles. To be clear, in emphasising Maier’s unsuitability in the role of nanny, Raymond reinstates the binary of separate spheres such that photography is seen to be masculine and caring as feminine. Chapter two and three will highlight how, within this dialogic, photography conducted within the private sphere of the home is also further demarcated by sexual difference rendering women in the role of passive recorders of the family home.

Clues are mined from textual, visual and oral sources to situate her state of mind at various stages, thereby effectively mapping the decline (psychologically) with the photographic output – ‘had a history of railing against men or keeping more than an arm’s distance from them. A few of the children she cared for said that Maier repeatedly cautioned against men’s aggressive and inappropriate behaviors. As adults, they came to speculate that Maier might have been a victim of early abuse.’¹⁵² For instance, her photographs of the poor or homeless are, according to Rob Nelson from *Variety*, visual indicators that she empathised with people who, like her, had suffered abuse as a child.’¹⁵³ Marks frames her discussion of Maier’s hoarding by [psycho]analysing her immediate

¹⁵⁰ Rustin, “Our Nanny, The Photographer Vivian Maier.”

¹⁵¹ Raymond, *Women Photographers & Feminist Aesthetics*, 85.

¹⁵² Heifermann, “Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier,” 20.

¹⁵³ Rob Nelson, “Toronto Film Review: ‘Finding Vivian Maier,’” *Variety*, accessed January 25, 2021, <https://variety.com/2013/film/markets-festivals/finding-vivian-maier-review-toronto-1200611497/>

family, particularly her brother Carl (Bannos uses the other spelling of the name calling him 'Karl').¹⁵⁴ Four chapters detail Maier's ancestral family, her parents' union and separation, Maier's early years and youth until her 20s when she returned to New York in 1951 describing a childhood riddled with 'conflict' and 'abuse.'¹⁵⁵ Weaved throughout *Vivian Maier Developed* is a biography of her brother. As if to validate her informal diagnosis of Maier's hoarding disorder, Marks makes connections between Carl's mental health struggles – 'diagnosed "Schizophrenia, Paranoid Type"' – with Maier inferring that his admittance to 'Ancora Psychiatric Hospital' in New Jersey in 1955 'caused her [Maier] to flee' New York and by extension, lose momentum with her photography.¹⁵⁶ As I have demonstrated, Marks believes that Maier would have been able to make a living from her photography (citing monetary exchange for prints) if she had not suffered from a hoarding disorder impairing her ability to navigate society effectively. In terms of the implications of this on her picture-taking, it is the vastness and eclecticism of her photography taken from the mid-1970s onwards that is indicative of her spiralling mental illness.¹⁵⁷ However, insofar as her hoarding retroactively offers an explanation for her invisibility during her lifetime, it is grounded assumptions about her private life that pathologise her.

Whilst Ariella Budick, in her article 'Vivian Maier: The secret hoard of a suburban spy' (*The Financial Times*, November 2018), observes that 'a violent alcoholic father, an unstable mother, and a drug-addict brother with a criminal record and a history of psychiatric problems [are] not great resume-builders for an aspiring caregiver,' she concludes that they are 'essential to her nature,' and more to the point, as an artist.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Lord concludes that Arbus's photographs 'are "explained" by constructing Arbus herself as a freak, and their power, from which derives their value as art, is

¹⁵⁴ See chapter three for a detailed biography of 'Karl' and their upbringing, Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*.

¹⁵⁵ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 35.

¹⁵⁶ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 119-24. Bannos has confirmed that in the last months of her life, Maier was diagnosed with dementia. See Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 269.

¹⁵⁷ Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Self-Portraits*, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ariella Budick, "Vivian Maier: The Secret Hoard of a Suburban Spy," *The Financial Times*, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://www.ft.com/content/efb46306-f3c3-11e8-938a-543765795f99>.

legitimated by her suicide.¹⁵⁹ Her subject matter is, therefore, viewed as perverse in relation to the existing criteria of 'great' photography, and in this sense, it is this marginalisation that is being negated in the construction of her psychological perversion. Not only is Arbus's photography established as personal explication of her 'madness,' Woodman's body of images are continually seen as diaristic and narcissistic embodiment of her psychological malaise.¹⁶⁰ Lord suggests that if Arbus the 'freak' was not artistically gifted and from a 'middle-class' background then she might be deemed pathological, or simply fall through the cracks entirely which is arguably what happened to Maier. Furthermore, Maier problematises this since she inhabits a liminal zone between unknown working-class domestic carer (pathological) and posthumously known (troubled photographer).

At the root of this liminality is her gender, class, and status as precariously employed – if Maier had not produced the street images, she would have simply been seen as an obsessive woman whose pictures were a manifestation of that compulsion. Indeed, rather oddly, commentators in the popular press occasionally criticise those who, like Raymond, have spoken about the abuse they suffered at the hands of Maier. For example, Ella Taylor in her review of *Finding Vivian Maier* contends that 'you'd think one or two of them [children] might have been entranced — even enhanced — by jaunts that took them into more exciting terrain than their safe suburban

¹⁵⁹ Catherine Lord, "What Becomes a Legend Most: The Short, Sad Career of Diane Arbus," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* ed. Richard Bolton (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992), 119.

¹⁶⁰ Much of the bibliographic or general-interest literature concerning Arbus's photography focuses upon her as a highly sexualised eccentric – nymphomania, incest, mental illness. See, Patricia Bosworth, *Diane Arbus: A Biography* (London Vintage Books, 2005); Arthur Lubow, *Diane Arbus: Portrait of a Photographer* (London Jonathan Cape, Penguin Random House 2016). She has also been the subject of psychoanalytical studies, see Susan Adler Kavalier, "Diane Arbus and the Demon Lover " *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 48 (1988). For a similar literature on Francesca Woodman, see Jen Budney, "Francesca Woodman ", ed. Moderna par la Fotografia (Milan Moderna par la Fotografia 1996); Sloan Rankin, "Francesca Woodman: Voyeurism among Friends " in *Scopophilia, the Love of Looking* ed. Gerard Malanga (New York Alfred van der Marck Editions 1985).

Carol Armstrong and Harriet Riches have specifically engaged with this psycho-biographical interpretation of Woodman's photography. Carol Armstrong, "Francesca Woodman: A Ghost in the House of the "Woman Artist", " in *Women Artists at the Millenium* ed. Carol Armstrong and Catherine de Zegher (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006), 364; Harriet Riches, "Skin, Surface and Subjectivity: The Self-Representational Photography of Francesca Woodman " (Univesity College London 2004); Harriet Riches, "A Disappearing Act: Francesca Woodman's *Portrait of a Reputation* " *Oxford Art Journal* 27, no. 1 (2004).

habitats.¹⁶¹ This statement reinforces the binary spatial opposition between the city and suburb, implying that great art is made only in the space of the city and at a cost to the maker, as Taylor claims that Raymond and others should accept that they suffered for the good of Maier's photography. To this end, 'vision' is constructed along racial, class and gender lines and as such; as a concept, it is a fabrication.

In a similar way that the deaths of Arbus and Woodman are seen to have foreclosed them from attaining institutional and public recognition, it is the narrative of disorder (the hoarding illness that manifests in the qualitative decline in her photography) that has been engaged with as a way to show why Maier was unable to navigate the spaces of the centre. Indeed, Joel Meyerowitz is quoted by Arthur Lubow as saying, 'If she [Arbus] was doing the kind of work she was doing and photography wasn't enough to keep her alive, what hope did we have?'¹⁶² Here, her photography is intimately linked with her death, and by extension her reason to live. In quoting from Arbus, for example, biographers attest to her foreknowledge of the eventual suicide. For instance, Patricia Bosworth portrays Arbus as prophetic in her childhood, quoting her as saying she would grow up to be a "great sad artist."¹⁶³ Indeed, Marks maintains that Maier 'knew she was talented,' other commentators quote from Maier's audiotapes – 'nothing is meant to last forever. We have to make room for other people. It's a wheel. You get on, you have to go to the end, and then someone else has the same opportunity to go to the end [...] - to show she was aware of her eventual death.'¹⁶⁴ Maier's mental health and last years before her death in 2009 have become the subject of media fascination, often framing her as suffering for her photography.¹⁶⁵ Curt Mathews, who employed Maier as a nanny in 1982 has written that whilst she 'knew of course that she was a gifted artist—

¹⁶¹ Ella Taylor, "Finding Vivian Maier Brings Nanny Photographer's Life Into Focus," *NPR*, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2014/03/27/294218864/-vivian-maier-brings-nanny-photographer-s-life-into-focus?t=1629651336413>.

¹⁶² Lubow, *Diane Arbus: Portrait of a Photographer* 596.

¹⁶³ Bosworth, *Diane Arbus: A Biography* 51.

¹⁶⁴ See, Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 164.

¹⁶⁵ Edward McClelland, "Private Eye (Letters from Chicago)," *The Morning News*, accessed February 1, 2021, <https://themorningnews.org/article/private-eye>.

the geniuses know who they are,' she could 'not get past' her 'deep paranoia' and 'fear [...] people would have stolen or misused' her photographs prompting her to 'keep them secret.'¹⁶⁶ Of course, commentators have used pronouncements such as this to suggest she would not have agreed to having her photographs made public, yet conversely, Mathews contends that, although misplaced, her paranoia enabled her photography to be found at the right time by the right people.¹⁶⁷

Statements such as this imply Maier is a martyr which parallels Lord who argues that Bosworth's biography of Arbus 'takes the romantic construction of the artist well past the point of absurdity: true aristocrats (read "artists") must die.'¹⁶⁸

In showing that women have a kind of second-sight, mental illness is framed as a gift which needs protecting. Indeed, according to Bosworth, Arbus set about isolating herself from society in an attempt to "'protect her art."¹⁶⁹ A similar biographical approach is taken by Marks, and to some extent Maloof in the film *Finding Vivian Maier*, establishing Maier as a private person who used different pseudonyms and revealed very little about herself to those who employed her. The implication of this is that in the same way Meyerowitz likened the role of nanny as a 'mask,' Maloof and Marks suggest that Maier's eccentricities were performative. Ultimately, this has the effect of isolating Maier from the context of her (domestic) employment (and the socio-economic milieu). As I demonstrated earlier, the gendered language used to describe the physicality of Maier not only masculinises her, thereby circumventing a discussion of her experiences as a woman, it also reinscribes the notion of gender roles. Therefore, the varying terms used to describe Maier's photographic practice are a product of the gendered classification systems of the art world.

I have demonstrated in this chapter, that biographical texts on Maier have used genealogical and psychological frameworks to set up a correlation between her (her psyche) and the body of images

¹⁶⁶ Curt Mathews, "Vivian Maier & Independent Publishing," Independent Publishing Group, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.ipgbook.com/blog/vivian-maier-independent-publishing/>.

¹⁶⁷ Mathews, "Vivian Maier & Independent Publishing."

¹⁶⁸ Lord, "What Becomes a Legend Most: The Short, Sad Career of Diane Arbus," 118.

¹⁶⁹ Bosworth quoted in Lord, "What Becomes a Legend Most: The Short, Sad Career of Diane Arbus," 120.

she produced. Not only does the name 'Vivian Maier' represent a notion, or set of notions, of photography, so too has her body been ascribed with and 'structured in sexual difference.'¹⁷⁰ Instead, in the words of Pollock, the artist is 'neither heroic individual nor seer, the artist is a creator and producer but also a specific kind of subject, the artistic subject – signifying body, socially acculturated to that creative labor through the internalization of projected, mythic identities, the ideal ego of the artist.'¹⁷¹

Conclusion

Street scenes and self-portraits make up the vast majority of Maier's published body of images. Whilst these are predominantly the only material available, Maier's output has been subject to temporal and spatial construction such that the time she spent in New York in the 1950s is viewed as a golden period for her artistically. Whilst the last fifty years of her life were spent in, and around the North Shore of Chicago, it is the smaller collection of New York photographs that have taken centre stage in the commentary on Maier, rather than the familial and domestic scenes that make up much of her output. These images, I have argued, better conform to the conventions of modernist street photography, the better to construct a photographic reputation. We have thus seen that the image of Vivian Maier has become an American brand. This has been facilitated both by the dynamics of social media, and by the conscious decisions of collectors – which themselves have fed and harnessed the social media dynamics. A curated drip feed of information on the part of the principal collectors drums up interest on social media and determines broadly which images and stories enter circulation. In the circuits of social media, a principal concern with the accrual of attention and repetition has resulted in a fracturing and truncation of Maier into a series of digestible anecdotes

¹⁷⁰ Armstrong, "Biology, Destiny, Photography: Difference According to Diane Arbus," 38.

¹⁷¹ Pollock, "Trouble in the Archives," 38.

and images that can easily be liked, shared and reproduced, thereby driving the need for more information, securing new fans and maintaining a mystery element to their cache.

Maier is located *both* in the centre *and* in the periphery in a manner that maintains the binary opposition between those two positions. Rather than analysing her in the tradition of Cartier-Bresson and Atget as others have done, in this chapter I have deconstructed the formation of a photographic tradition in order to show how commercial processes have driven the invention of Maier as a respected photographer and her eager adoption into the canon, yet canonization of Maier into an unequal system reinforces and reproduces the authority of those structures and continues the marginalization of photographers who do not fall into format of the centre.

Lastly, I set out the ways in which Maier's biography has been mined for clues about her character, particularly in relation to the uncovering more about her mental health which has sustained much of the recent literature on her. Maier's photographic practice has been described as that of a hobbyist, very often in conjunction with representations of her as a 'nanny photographer' which, as I have shown, feminises her. Very rarely has Maier been called an amateur which in chapters two and three, I will show stems from the photographic periphery being underpinned by sexual difference – the amateur is codified as male. Chapters two and three will deconstruct how and why this is the case, destabilising the temporal and spatial binarism of male public and female private spheres using Vlachou's framework of centres and peripheries. This will show that, rather than the dichotomy of masculine centre and feminine periphery, there are multiple centres and peripheries upheld by a gendered hierarchy of photographic practice.

Chapter Two

The Gendering of Photographic Centres and Peripheries: Re-Thinking Amateur

Photography

In this chapter, I aim to situate the mid-century amateur photographic milieu within the longer history of photography. This will show how not only has photographic practice continued to morph and fracture, but also that the centres of contemporary photographic practice, which I outlined in chapter one, formed from, and gained authority from earlier peripheral practices.

During the 1860s, photographic journals began to showcase the work of amateur photographers, most notably the *Philadelphia Photographer*, which was formed in 1864 and became one of the foremost publications for photography in the United States.¹ How was the amateur discussed in photography magazines? How did the readership interact with and interrogate the way editors, contributors and selected photographers discussed photography? This chapter will set out the history of the gendering of amateur photographic discourse. However, it is important to stress that the readership was not an easily defined mass of *amateurs*. Readers self-identified in different ways; some opposed the terminology applied to them and others embraced it. The meaning and make-up of amateurism has been debated in American photography magazines and journals since the mid-to-late nineteenth century.² Photographic publications act as a forum, allowing for cross pollination of ideas on the nature of photography; questions are posed and answered by those engaging in photographic practice. Whilst scholars point to Kodak's invention of the No.1 roll-film camera as the moment in which the terminology and practice of amateur photography fractured, such that a 'tripartite system of professionals, amateurs and snapshooters' (with art-photography as a fourth

¹ For information on photography magazines during the nineteenth century, see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene; a Social History 1839-1889* (New York: Dover Publications, 1938); Sternberger, *Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America 1880-1990*.

² See also the introduction in Sternberger, *Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America 1880-1990*.

category) was codified, the extent to which women were marginalised prior to, and after this technological development has yet to be considered.³

I will begin by examining how women photographers have been written about during the development of the medium of photography. Using photographic journals and magazines, I will chart the ways in which women's involvement in photography was discussed (by both men and women alike) and how this developed over time, particularly alongside debates surrounding the figure of the amateur. In the last section of this chapter, I will consider the impact of the way this history of amateur differentiation on reader/photographers in the mid-twentieth century. Furthermore, I will show how a photographic literary culture both stimulates collegiality and controls it. To do so, I will focus on the classification of photographic material; the interrelationship between different types of camera users and photographic subject matter; the format of the photography magazine as a forum for debate and experimentation; and the collegiality of the amateur practice. John Raeburn in his *Cultural History of Thirties Photography* has argued that photography magazines opened up a window for readers to offer their opinions on not only the content of the editorial, but also on the leading photographers of the day – and on the process of canonisation that was beginning to take place in America in the 1930s.⁴

Mid-twentieth century photography magazines followed similar conventions to one another, dividing their content into two categories: 'departments' and features – standalone articles. A department was a regular column or page, typically written by a recurring individual, on subjects such as amateur home movie making, darkroom guides, how-to guides, colour photography, camera clubs, or camera equipment. Departments would change (topic and editor) periodically based on

³ I have quoted 'tripartite system of professionals, amateurs and snapshotters' from Pollen, see Pollen, "Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously," 294.

⁴ John Raeburn, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography* (University of Illinois Press, 2006), 106. See also Peter Buse, "Vernacular Photographic Genres after the Camera Phone," in *Genre Trajectories: Identifying, Mapping, Projecting*, ed. Natalia Rulyova and Garin Dowd (Palgrave Macmillan 2017); Buse, "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo Magazines." Buse in his study of letters pages uses the concept of 'historical reader' as put forth by Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Women's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

various factors: for instance, direct reader feedback, subscription numbers, content in other photography magazines, changes in camera manufacturing and technology, and wider societal trends both nationally and internationally.⁵ In writing about images, magazines were inculcating in their readership ways to think about photography – how to look, talk, and write about photographs. As Steve Edwards has argued, ‘attempting to write an introduction to this dispersed field feels like a vain task’ since ‘photography runs in all directions.’⁶ As such, this is not an exhaustive history of photography. Rather, the chapter will illuminate, in the words of Pollen, ‘clusters and gaps’ in the historiography of American photography in which difference has been manifested along class and gender lines.⁷ Ultimately, I will situate women within this complex history analysing their roles within the medium: photographers, consumers and subjects in advertising the practice of photography to both men and women.

Photographic Terminology and the Formation of Centres and Peripheries

In the first part of the chapter, I will examine how, and why the formation of centres and peripheries has occurred in order to situate the mid-century peripheral photographic practice in its historical

⁵ Besides regular monthly columns written by the editorial staff, individual articles were published by amateur photographers of all sorts, commercial photographers, as well as educators and critics. Not only were how-to articles written by staff writers, but many were also penned by individuals whom we now think of as named photographers: for example, ‘W. Eugene Smith Talks About Lighting’ (November 1956), ‘Brassai Makes a Movie [By Brassai]’ (April 1957), ‘Arnold Newman on Portraiture- a Tape Interview’ (May 1957), ‘Weegee’s Caricatures of Four Famous Photographers’ (September 1956), ‘How Weegee Made his Caricatures’ (September 1956), ‘Weegee’s Kaleidoscope’ (1956).

Magazines would also cease trading and the name (branding) would be bought by a similar competing photography publication. For example, *The Camera: A Practical Monthly Magazine for Photographers* ceased publication in 1953 and was incorporated into *Popular Photography*. In the same year, Ziff-Davis Publishing Company (who owned *Popular Photography*) bought *American Photography*. Prior to this *The Camera* had merged with *The Photographic Journal of America* (which had formerly been *Wilson’s photographic magazine*). *American Photography* began in 1908 through the merger of three other magazines, *American Amateur Photographer* (1889-1907), *Camera and Dark Room* (1898-1907), and *Photo-Beacon* (1889-1907). Throughout its publication, *American Photography* absorbed the following: *Camera Notes* (1897-1909), *Popular Photography* (different to the Ziff-Davis *Popular Photography*) (1912-1917), *Amateur Photographer’s Weekly*, in 1920 *Photo-craft*, in 1932 *Photo-Era Magazine*, in 1939 *The Photo Miniature*, in 1942 both *Photo Technique* and *Camera Craft*.

⁶ Steve Edwards, *Photography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2006), xi.

⁷ Pollen, "Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously," 295.

context. I will examine the shift in meaning of the nomenclature of photography that has occurred from the mid-to-late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century; furthermore, I will consider how photographic magazines have interpreted and written their own schemas for the medium of photography. With each designation and classification of photographic practice, a set of codes and conventions is created. This, I argue, can happen within ‘peripheral spheres of photo activity’ – indeed, at the time of photography’s invention it was peripheral to the practices of art.⁸

To begin, I will demonstrate, using archival material, the ways in which women’s involvement in early practices of photography was debated by readers and writers who participated in photography journals. Furthermore, by exploring how the reader was brought into the debate, it will become clear the contradictory ways in which women were portrayed as both incongruous to photography – for example in the idea of the exasperated wife married to an amateur husband (discussed below) – and as possessing an innate predisposition to working within particular fields of photography. This will highlight the construction of peripheries outside the well-established schema of art-photographer – professional – amateur – snapshotter. To note, I will be analysing the period between the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, whilst chapter three will provide a nuanced examination of the postwar period.

Much of the literature on early amateur photography contends that practitioners were ‘generally male, relatively well educated, often extremely wealthy, and eager to justify his leisure time through a conspicuous demonstration of seriousness of purpose.’⁹ Whilst it is not within the scope of this thesis, it is important to note that, although a relatively disproportionate ratio, there were early women photographers who were often married, or related to early proponents of the medium, for instance Constance Talbot.¹⁰ They were called ‘lady amateurs’, making photography an acceptable

⁸ Michael Griffin, "Between Art and Industry: Amateur Photography and Middlebrow Culture," in *On the Margins of the Art World*, ed. Larry Gross (New York: Routledge, 1995), 184.

⁹ I have quoted from West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 1.

¹⁰ Rose Teanby is conducting ground-breaking research on the first women photographers. I have attended many papers given by Teanby which has informed my thinking about the history of women in photography.

domestic pastime akin to music, sewing and other craft-like practices that upper-class women undertook in the private sphere of the home.¹¹ Since, as Robert Taft states in the chapter 'Real Amateurs' from his *Photography and the American Scene* (1938), many early male amateurs were teachers of science who maintained that photography was primarily a 'scientific curiosity'; it was difficult for women to gain access to the accoutrements of the medium since they were the mainly the preserve of men.¹² Male amateurs gave lessons in photography to upper-class women in their homes; according to Taft, 'the society lady must have looked with considerable disfavor upon the sticky collodion, and with still greater dismay at the dark stains produced on lily-white hands when they came into contact with the silver bath.'¹³ In some instances, women were taught by their spouses or family members, and would accompany them on photographic excursions.¹⁴

Interest in the lady amateur was piqued in photography journals and a succession of articles were printed on various aspects of the phenomenon: husband-and-wife amateur partnerships ('Photography for Ladies,' *Liverpool Photographic Journal*, 1855); the difference between the lady and gentleman amateur ('Photography for Lady Amateurs', *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 1884); profiles of leading women photographers including Lady Hawarden, and Julia Margaret Cameron ("Employment of Women in Photography," *The Photographic News*, 1867). For Taft, it was the introduction of the collodion process which was responsible for the first tangible expansion of the amateur ranks in America between 1858 and 1864.¹⁵ As a consequence of this, a burgeoning middle-

See, Rose Teanby, "Early Women Photographers Archive," accessed March 20, 2021, <https://roseteanbyphotography.co.uk/early-women-photographers/>.

¹¹ Harriet Riches, "Busy Hands, Light Work: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Hand-Made Photography in the Era of the 'New Materiality'," in *A Companion to Feminist Art*, ed. Hilary Robinson and Maria Elena Buszek (Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 285.

¹² Taft, *Photography and the American Scene; a Social History 1839-1889*, 204.

¹³ Taft, *Photography and the American Scene; a Social History 1839-1889*, 209. However, little has been written about the interaction between these 'professors' and female students. I have found one letter in *The American Journal of Photography* from 'anon' warning other women from a 'professor' who has deceived five women thus far, promising to teach them and instead taking the money and never returning. "Betrayal of Five-score Women -Escape of the Deceiver," vol.3, no.13 *American Journal of Photography* (1860), 190-191.

¹⁴ See Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 46.

¹⁵ Taft, *Photography and the American Scene; a Social History 1839-1889*, 204. For a recent study of women working as commercial photographers in America during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, see Katherine Manthorne, *Women in the Dark: Female Photographers in the U.S., 1850-1900* (Schiffer Publishing 2020).

class began to take up photography as amateur photographers, setting up commercial studios and operating as itinerant photographers (women also participated in this).¹⁶

With the growth in amateur photographers, journals published a mixed selection of responses to the idea of women in photography more generally – often written by women. During the 1860s, the first photography journals regularly published letters from women lamenting being married to amateur photographers.¹⁷ Written in the form of an article, *The Philadelphia Photographer* published the serial 'A Sufferer. The Trials of the Wife of an Amateur Photographer 1865' (April 1865) which was written in response to an article about the developments of the collodion process. The 'sufferer' recounts having assumed she had gained a husband, only to find she had 'married a camera', with her 'best china-closet converted into a dark den for the preparation of "plates."' ¹⁸ She despairs at the abundance of photographic equipment on which her husband spends the housekeeping money, and her repeated attempts at cleaning their domicile go unnoticed by him; he continues to spill *his* chemicals.¹⁹ Whether or not this article was written by a real wife of an amateur photographer or not, it does emphasise the disruption engendered by the collodion process in the spatial dynamics of the household since the process allowed more people to practice photography in their homes. As a consequence of this, amateur photography began to be associated with the function of the home.

Editor Edward L. Wilson (1838-1903) wrote in the first issue (for 'novice, experienced artist or

¹⁶ For scholarship on the travelling itinerant photographers and commercial studios, see Todd Alden, "And We Lived Where Dusk Had Meaning: Remembering Real Photo Postcards " in *Real Photo Postcards: Unbelievable Images from the Collection of Harvey Tulcensky*, ed. Laetitia Wolff (Princeton Architectural Press, 2005). Additionally Rachel Snow has pointed out that scholarship on the travel postcard and photo album has tended to 'situate vernacular production into the art historical canon and over emphasize formal interpretations, which is to say they treat commercial view photographs as fine art...most of which was produced anonymously for the mass market (and by itinerant photographers) and not as individual works of art.' See, Rachel Snow, "Snapshots by the Way: Individuality and Convention in Tourists' Photographs from the United States, 1880-1940," *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, no. 4 (2012): 2019.

¹⁷ The *Philadelphia Photographer* published a series called 'A Sufferer. The Trials of the Wife of an Amateur Photographer.'

¹⁸ A Sufferer, "A Sufferer. The Trials of the Wife of an Amateur Photographer 1865.," *The Philadelphia Photographer* April 1865, 57.

¹⁹ Sufferer, "A Sufferer. The Trials of the Wife of an Amateur Photographer 1865.," 58.

Peter Palmquist has published extracts from the Women in Photography International archive held at the Beinecke Library, Yale University in his Peter E. Palmquist, *A Bibliography of Writings by and About Women in Photography, 1850-1950* (self-published 1990); Peter E. Palmquist, *Camera Fiends & Kodak Girls li: 60 Selections by and About Women in Photography, 1855-1965 · Volume 2* (Midmarch Arts Press, 1995).

amateur’) that there could be ‘no centre table [...] without its album, and no parlor wall entirely bare of photographs. Yet how few know how they [photographs] are made.’²⁰ Here, Wilson establishes the domain of the amateur within the private family home, photographing relatives and displaying the results on parlour walls.

Therefore, the emerging ranks of amateur photographers were associated with domesticity, the feminine space of the private home, and the developments of photography making it easier for people to produce their own photographs. To go further, whilst Grace Seiberling and Carolyn Bloore make clear, with regards to photography in Britain, that earlier photographers had a ‘shared interest in making good pictures – photographs that not only conformed to the principles of art which people brought up looking at engravings and paintings would take for granted,’ the pictures displayed *in* the family home often showed the family (and the accoutrements of the middle-class home) *as* the subject of the photograph.²¹ Patrizia di Bello in her study of women’s photograph albums collected between 1850 and 1870 has shown that albums were a common format for ‘storing, displaying and circulating’ prints by both male and female amateurs.²² Yet women’s albums, she explains, have been ‘doubly marginalised’ in the histories of photography as a form of conspicuous consumption of commercial prints, and also as an anachronism, employing ‘redundant handicrafts.’²³ Therefore, the ‘traditional meaning of the term “amateur” – as one who undertakes an activity for love not for money – became a badge of honor to the minority of photographers interested in the medium’s

²⁰ Edward L. Wilson, "Editorial " *Philadelphia Photographer* January 1864, 10. For more information on Edward L. Wilson and how he set journal up, see John Hannavy, ed. *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography Vol.1* (New York and London Routledge 2008). Sternberger notes that the journal began to reflect the tension between art-minded amateurs and popularity of the hand camera in the period between 1880 and 1890. See Paul Spencer Sternberger, "Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America, 1880-1900" (Columbia University, 1997), 3. Tanya Sheehan has written about Wilson and his attempts to create an educative literary photographic culture and the confluence of this with the beginnings of medicine, see Tanya Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 21-22.

²¹ Grace Sieberling and Claire Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 91.

²² Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts*, 3-4.

²³ Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts*, 4 and see chapter one Riches, "Busy Hands, Light Work: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Hand-Made Photography in the Era of the 'New Materiality'," 285.

artistic and scientific potential, and who sought to distinguish themselves from both “trade” and from the emerging mass practitioner to which the associations of *making* with the feminine – ‘gendered language of hand-making, craft, manipulation and reproduction’ – underpins the negative connotations of the amateur.²⁴ The increasing industrialisation of photography required more workers, and so women entered the factory. Industrialisation, according to William Leach ‘increasingly subverted the older sexual division of labour [...] [and] created conditions favorable to the emergence of women into the public realm with men.’²⁵ Whilst women entered roles previously only the domain of men, they were however, continually viewed as subordinate to men and the emergence of a mass production of photography defined this further.

In the early period of the commercial studio in the 1860s and 1870s, women were involved with all aspects of the commercial process. Some owned photographic studios, others were photographic assistants whose work included welcoming visitors to the shop side (gallery) of the studio, ‘cracking eggs for albumen prints,’ hand-coating photographic papers, retouching prints, and hand-colouring.²⁶ In the census records for 1870, 452 women were employed in photographic establishments in twenty-eight states, 228 of whom were recorded as daguerreotypists or photographers.²⁷ Whilst journals published articles advocating photography for upper-class ‘lady amateurs’ – with photography described as a ‘sealed book to any but those of wealth and leisure or making it their profession’ – in the same publications, articles detailed the importance of the employment of working and lower-middleclass women in the manufacture of mounted images: (Madame) Una Howard, ‘Female Employment in Coloring Photographs,’ (*Humphrey’s Journal of*

²⁴ Pollen, “Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously,” 294. Riches, “Busy Hands, Light Work: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Hand-Made Photography in the Era of the ‘New Materiality,’” 285.

²⁵ William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York Basic Books, 1980), 123.

²⁶ I have quoted from Riches, “Busy Hands, Light Work: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Hand-Made Photography in the Era of the ‘New Materiality,’” 285. See also Riches, “Busy Hands, Light Work: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Hand-Made Photography in the Era of the ‘New Materiality.’”

²⁷ Census reports are not a complete data set since women worked for their husbands and often did not declare this. Peter Palmquist Collection of Women in Photography archive, Box 139, Vol.1 Series I. Biographical Materials 1971 -2003, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

Photography and the Allied Arts and Sciences, May 1865), anon, 'Female Photographers,' (*Humphrey's Journal*, October 1866), 'Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women' by Jabez Hughes (*Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 1873), 'Work for Women in Photography' by George J. Mannon (*The Philadelphia Photographer*, 1883).²⁸ Harriet Riches describes employment in photography studios as 'arduous manual labour.'²⁹ Despite this laboriousness, commentators in photography journals were ambivalent towards women's involvement with photography; though ultimately emphasising the feminine notions of touch in roles such as retouching and hand-colouring which were viewed as appropriate feminine activities.³⁰ Women were often seen to inhabit different working conditions as well as needing to follow alternative formulas for developing prints, as such developments in technology have been and continue to be linked with the ability of women to undertake the medium.³¹ 'Photography in Boston' (*American Journal of Photography and the Allied Arts & Sciences*, January 1864) provides an interesting account of the differences between the conditions for the sixty 'male and female' employees for James Wallace Black, one of Boston's most

²⁸ Howard discusses the importance of teaching 'destitute ladies' how to colour photographs. 'Female Photographers' is a short article concerning the opening of a gallery by a Mrs. Kemp under the sanction of the charity, Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (SPEW) to encourage women to take up employment in photography. SPEW (since renamed to Futures for Women) is a British charity created in 1859 by Miss Jessie Boucherett (1825-1905) for the encouragement and advancement of employment for women. The articles discussed above are from the Peter Palmquist Collection of Women in Photography archive, Box 140, Women Photographers: Miscellaneous Articles 1850-1995, Beinecke Library, Yale University. I also found Mannon's article (which was clipped from the journal so I do not have any further information as to the volume it originally appeared in) in the Peter Palmquist Women in Photography archive, see Box 140 Women Photographers: Miscellaneous Articles 1850-1995. See also William Culp Darrah, "Nineteenth-Century Women Photographers" in *Shadow and Substance: Essays on the History of Photography* ed. Kathleen Collins (The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990).

²⁹ Harriet Riches, "Picture Taking and Picture Making: Gender Difference and the Historiography of Photography," in *Photography, History, Difference* ed. Tanya Sheehan (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2015), 285.

³⁰ Although Tanya Sheehan in *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-century America* (2011) argues that on the whole, journals ascribed the role of retouching to men because of a need to professionalise production in the 1870s. She does acknowledge that women worked as retouchers yet were very occasionally discussed in this way. Contrary to Sheehan's rather simplistic analysis, as I have shown, in a variety of texts, women were corralled into the workforce emphasising gendered notions of feminine and masculine qualities, men did the bulk of the laborious work whilst they advocated women use their innate sensitivity (touch) in the role. Of course, they were paid disproportionately. See Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* 169.

³¹ See, Professor Towler, "Chapter of Recipes for Photographer's and Photographer's Wives," *Humphrey's Journal of Photography and the Allied Arts and Sciences* June 1867.

active photographers during the 1850s and 60s. Black owned one of the largest factories of its kind in the country, and employed a mixed workforce of men and women:

'60 hands, male and female, employed in the establishment. One room is devoted to copying, one to groups, one to ordinary card work. One operator coats the plates, another exposes them, Mr. Black himself attends to the positions, and another assistant develops...nearly twenty tons of glass (negatives) must be stored away in this single establishment. Mr. Black also has [additional portrait] rooms at Cambridge, near is residence.'³²

However, commentators at the time acknowledged the gender imbalance in the type of photographic employment offered. Mannon explains that 'women of late years, have obtained employment in four branches of the photographic art: retouching of negatives, colouring of photographs, crayon work, and retouching in Indian Ink.'³³ He argues that colouring and retouching are good ways to make money in photography – yet he makes clear that a man's wage was higher than a woman's since women's 'insufficient knowledge' was a barrier to employment. As a solution to this, Mannon recommends education institutes that cater to women. Postal education services offered instruction in photographic processes for both men and women (courses were for a specific female client) and publications offered informal guidance.³⁴ These educative options enabled men and women to work whilst learn part-time, though of course these were an expensive endeavour for working class men and women. Alongside these, publications written by both men and women were dedicated to providing a bibliographic account of work for women. *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work* (1863) by Virginia Penny is one such example of encyclopaedic accounts of the different fields of work available to women. Under the heading, 'Artistic Pursuits, and Employments Connected with the Fine Arts,' Penny includes working in Daguerrean photography. Perry quotes Prof. Draper: 'the fair sex may engage without compromising a single

³² James Wallace Black, "Photography in Boston " *American Journal of Photography and the Allied Arts & Sciences* January 1864, 321.

³³ Black, "Photography in Boston " 322.

³⁴ Katherine Manthorne has written about retouching and the types of manuals made available for women, see chapter four ('retouchers') Manthorne, *Women in the Dark: Female Photographers in the U.S., 1850-1900*.

delicate quality of woman's nature.³⁵ She goes on to highlight the ways in which women can become involved with the Daguerreotype process. She cites a 'lady daguerrean and photographer', who recounts:

Ladies are employed in the business as operators, and to superintend; also to repaint and retouch photographs. With care in the use of chemicals, I do not consider it particularly unhealthy; less so, I think, than sewing by hand or machine. No person will do well for himself, herself, or patrons, who commences business without a good knowledge of it. The time of learning will depend upon the individual's knowledge of the sciences bearing of photography, and their talent for the business.³⁶

Herein lies the problem; whilst these opportunities were open to women, they were not provided with the education or training to accompany the role, and as such businesses paid more to men.³⁷ Since women had to find a job on the proviso that they had already received instruction, entering even the industrial factory required some form of education which thereby limited white working class and black men and women.³⁸ The number of women photographers reported by the United States Census was 228 in 1870, 451 in 1880, 2,201 in 1890, and 3,580 in 1900; the ratio of women to men increased from three percent of the total in 1870, to five percent in 1880, to twelve percent in 1890, to thirteen percent in 1900.³⁹ By the late nineteenth century, although more women worked as commercial photographers, the advent of the mass-produced camera arrogated women to the history of the invention of the Kodak camera thereby making invisible the female workers who facilitated this technological development. Riches argues that the '*making* [Riches' emphasis] of the photographic print was an important as the taking of the image with the camera: it was a form of

³⁵ Virginia Penny, *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work* (Boston: Walker, Wise, & Company, 1863), 53–55.

³⁶ Penny, *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work*, 53–55, 90–94.

³⁷ A Mr. F says he would employ 'good lady artists', however, he claims 'ladies do not succeed so well, because they do not have such an efficient course of training—do not go through the same gradations in a preparation for the work.' *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work*, 90.

³⁸ Census records for 1890 show 6 black women were employed in photographic establishments. 17 black women were employed in 1900. Peter Palmquist Women in Photography International archive, Box 144, Series I Women Photographers: Regional Listings, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

³⁹ Census records found in the Peter Palmquist Women in Photography International archive, Box 144, Series I Women Photographers: Regional Listings, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

printmaking until George Eastman's commercialisation of the dry-plate process.⁴⁰ Sternberger has observed, that whilst overt denials of photography's status as an art form came from a variety of different groups (of amateur photographers) during the 1880s, most were united in the assertion of photography's 'creative distance from the hand of the operator.'⁴¹ In short, for these commentators, photography could not be art since in contrast with painting, the photographer's hand was disconnected from the (chemical) image-making process. Indeed, Kodak placed the emphasis on the simplicity of the camera - 'you press the button, we do the rest'- with which commentators in photography journals compared with the emerging mass (female) consumer.⁴² Whilst Reese V. Jenkins mistakenly surmises a transition from professional to amateur (without acknowledging the complexity of the amateur practice) took place with the invention of the Kodak No.1, he does make an important point about Kodak's contribution to the transformation of the social role of photography which I will discuss further in the last part of this section of the chapter.⁴³

The *American Amateur Photographer* is an interesting example through which to analyse the change in the definition of the term 'amateur' because the first issue of the journal was published a year after the introduction of the Kodak No.1 camera in 1889. The mission statement in the first issue sets up tensions between the amateur photographer and the art-minded reader-photographer:

We very much fear that in some respects photography is being belittled by its friends. Such has been the competition among manufacturers that a fairly serviceable set of apparatus may now be purchased for a song. It has become a popular belief that all the difficulties have been removed, and that anyone can take pictures. Photography has been degraded to the level of a mere sport, and many take it up as they do lawn tennis, merely for an amusement, without a thought of the grand and elevating possibilities it opens up to them. The making of pictures is fast becoming merely an episode in a day's pleasure, not the earnest and untiring search for the beautiful. We submit that our art has a higher

⁴⁰ Riches, "Busy Hands, Light Work: Toward a Feminist Historiography of Hand-Made Photography in the Era of the 'New Materiality'," 285.

⁴¹ Sternberger, *Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America 1880-1990*, xii.

⁴² For example, "The Photography Fad Increases", *The American Annual of Photography and The Photographic Times* August 1891, 57.

⁴³ Reese V. Jenkins, "Technology and the Market: George Eastman and the Origins of Mass Amateur Photography" *Technology and Culture* 16, no. 1 (January 1975): 2.

side than is apparent to him who uses only a detective or a small box, which, whatever their value, are far from representing all that is best and highest in photography. Indeed, were this all, amateur photography would soon die of its own too-muchness.⁴⁴

The statement above indicates that the notion of leisure was changing during the late nineteenth century since photography, for the editorial is reduced to an amusement. The last line of this quote points to the locus of the debate concerning the scale of amateur photography, not only in terms of the abundance of images, but also with regard to the number of people photographing. In 1889, the Eastman Company is reported to have been printing six to seven and a half thousand snapshots per day.⁴⁵ Richard Chalfen describes snapshot photography as 'Kodak Culture.'⁴⁶ The 'too-muchness' of amateur photography is also referred to in the indexicality of the image itself – the self-referentiality of the amateur image will result in, for the editors, its demise.

With the establishment of portable hand cameras, photographing outdoors became easier, with many photographers taking snapshots of people on the street unawares. This not only reinforced divisions between commercial studio practices and amateur photographers (in the early sense of the word), it also made the general public aware of photography as a public concern. Robert E. Mensel has demonstrated in his article "'Kodakers Lying in Wait': Amateur Photography and the Right of Privacy in New York, 1885-1915,' that as a result of the growing numbers of 'amateurs' on the streets of New York during the Victorian period, the common law right of privacy was established.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ "The Present Aspect of Amateur Photography," *The American Amateur Photographer* 1, no.1 (July 1889), 5

⁴⁵ This statistic is quoted in Sternberger, "Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America, 1880-1900," 285.

⁴⁶ Richard Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 10.

⁴⁷ Robert E. Mensel, "'Kodakers Lying in Wait': Amateur Photography and the Right of Privacy in New York, 1885-1915,'" *American Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1991): 24-25. In the March 1906 edition, an article was published entitled 'What Is To Be Done About The Camera Fiend' which, in connection with the privacy law's as described by Mensel refers to the growing ranks of press photographers who not only take up space on the streets of American cities, but also upset those dignitaries they desperately seek to photograph - 'this, of course, is bad, as bad as bad can be, and must be stopped. But how? That is a somewhat important question, as the worse a thing is the more zealous are those whose duty it is to effect a cure; and in this case especially, care should be taken, in case, in the effort to prevent that which is undoubtedly wrong, those whose work is quite legitimate may be brought into trouble.' Clearly, the author castigates the rank-and-file press photographer for giving photography a bad name, though, ultimately, the article warns against law makers punishing all photographers on behalf of those who disregard the privacy of others.

In 1893 the creation of the 'Kodak Girl' was inaugurated with 'the Kodak Girls At The World's Fair' advertisement for the World's Columbian Exposition [Fig. 31] (1 May 1893 – 30 Oct 1893) held in Chicago to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's expedition to America.⁴⁸ Since women were viewed as natural consumers, a woman was, therefore, the natural figure for advertising photography as a leisure activity to the masses. For example, in the April 1893 issue of *The American Amateur Photographer*, the editors (F. C Beach and Catherine Weed Barnes) noted that Kodak had presented them with a 'pretty framed picture of a good-looking young lady [...] it is stated that it is the way she will appear when ready to go to the World's Fair.'⁴⁹ Here, it seems that Kodak is suggesting the figure of the 'Kodak Girl' is a real person who will attend the fair on behalf of the Eastman Kodak Company. Shown outdoors standing in front of the 'Court of Honor' administration building, the figure on the left holds a parasol in one hand whilst her companion carries the Kodak No.4 which was re-named the 'Kolumbus Kodak' especially for the World's Fair.⁵⁰ Another advertisement [Fig. 32] featured in *Scribner's* for the 'Kolumbus Kodak,' informed the reader that 'What's worth seeing is worth remembering. There will be so much worth seeing and remembering at the World's Fair that you'll forget the best part of it. But you can faithfully preserve each scene if you'll just "press the button."' In naming the camera after Christopher Columbus, Kodak is implying that not only, if you purchase the camera, will you be able to take photographs of the exhibitions, you will also be photographing part of history (and indirectly learning) whilst also making your own memories.⁵¹

⁴⁸ For literature on Kodak and World's Fairs, see Peter J. Kuznick, "Losing the World of Tomorrow: The Battle over the Presentation of Science at the 1939 New York World's Fair," *American Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1994); Ariane Pollet, "The Cavalcade of Color: Kodak and the 1939 World's Fair," *Études photographiques* 30 (2012).

⁴⁹ F.C Beach and Catherine Weed Barnes, "Editorial Table," *The American Amateur Photographer* April 1893, 184.

⁵⁰ On the back of the advertisement, it offers information on how to 'send postal for Kolumbus Kodak.'

⁵¹ For the Fair, Kodak was asked to produce a special souvenir booklet illustrated with photographs of each exhibit, partly in an attempt, as Collins believes, to discourage competition with the official fair photographers. In the end, the organisers charged \$2 per person with a camera entering the fair. In retaliation, Kodak set up darkrooms that could be used for free by those with a Kodak camera. See Collins, *The Story of Kodak* 78-81.

Although men, to a larger extent, visited the World's Fair with a camera, journals blamed women for, as Mensel describes provoking 'outrage among the editorial commentators, judges, and legislators' about the 'Kodak fiends' who according to Stephen Somerville in his article 'Popular Photography' (*The American Amateur Photographer*, 1900) abuse their cameras by photographing everything and who trust 'others to "do the rest."' Somerville is describing his stay at a 'popular resort in "The Mountains"' whereby he was staying with people photographing with roll-film cameras. Amateur photography is therefore intimately linked with leisure something that was undergoing cultural change during the late nineteenth century. Prior to the 1870s vacationing was reserved for those recovering from health problems. Resorts typically included social and religious activities that aided physical and spiritual recuperation. Cindy Aron observes that the expansion of the railroad led to a shift in travel between the 1850s and 1870s allowing 'the American middle class to assume the privilege of vacationing – something that had once been reserved primarily for the elite.'⁵² However, cultural anxieties concerning the morality of leisure – fears that it inculcated self-indulgence for which the working classes were viewed as being prone to - for the middle classes pervaded the late nineteenth century.⁵³ World's Fairs were an attempt to allay existing anxieties about leisure by blending popular culture with high culture such that it offered both working class and middle-class men and women the possibility of vacationing around America without the costs and the upheaval of travel whilst re-affirming leisure as educative since many states were able to erect exhibitions to reflect their culture, history and architecture.⁵⁴ Whilst in some respects Martha West is right that the World's Fair 'conditioned visitors to see the act of viewing as a form of consumption, and thus to identify leisure with an abundance of visual sensations, distractions, and

⁵² Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (Oxford and New York Oxford University Press, 2001), 67.

⁵³ Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* 65-70.

⁵⁴ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1984), 83. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* 151. James B. Gilbert estimates that around ten percent of the American population visited the Chicago fair in 1893, see James B. Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1991), 121.

mobility,' this was contained by the virtues of middle-class respectability.⁵⁵ Indeed, the historian John Sears claims that World's Fair were advertised as 'sacred places' in order to avoid comparisons with entertainment activities typically associated with the working classes.⁵⁶

Beneath an advertisement for the 'Kolumbus Kodak' in *Life* magazine (the original weekly version) is another for 'Chicago by Day and Night' [Fig. 33], a three-hundred-page book (complete with illustrations) about Chicago marketed as a guide for visiting the city of the World's Fair. Underneath the headline 'Post Yourself on the World's Fair City, Chicago by Day and Night' is a photograph showing a figure of a young woman standing with her back facing the reader. Her head is turned towards us so that we see her face side-on. Her left arm is obscured by the long coat draped over the side of her shoulder, whilst her right is stretched behind her back, reaching round to the edge of coat tucking her hand in its folds. Appearing in front of a studio backdrop, an image of a tree is shown to the left of her evoking the impression that she is outside, casually taking a walk, suggesting that, once in possession of 'Chicago by Day and Night,' we too will be as relaxed as her. However, the city (and amateur photography) was viewed as a dangerous place for women to walk alone and whilst women did vacation, they did so with either a male or female companion. Indeed, Warren Susman argues that guides such as the one discussed above thrived because 'they provided an easy and terror-free way to proceed in the city' for those who were moving to urban areas as a result of industrialisation and the growth of commerce.⁵⁷ This spatial displacement of peoples facilitated the cultural construction of the 'tourist' which, put together with Kodak's promulgation that their cameras facilitate the exploration and memorialisation of place reiterates Somerville's denigration of the snapshotter. Concerns were raised over the morality of men since prostitution was on the rise

⁵⁵ See also West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 61.

⁵⁶ John Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 4-5.

⁵⁷ Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (Smithsonian Books, 2003), 244. See also Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Richard Wightman and T. J. Jackson Lears, *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American Culture* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1993).

during this period.⁵⁸ However, companies harnessed women's increasing freedoms in their advertisements which is evident in the way in which the female figure is posed reiterates the fashioning of women as subject, consumer and photographer. This example reinforces my argument that not only were women associated with the increase in amateur photography in the public sphere, but also leisure was delineated by sexual difference and this example shows that whilst pictures of women were used to advertise to both men and women, their experiences were inherently different.⁵⁹

Whilst the extant literature on the consumption of mass-produced cameras focuses on women's role in the expansion of the market, I will argue that men were inculcated in the marketing of the rituals of shopping. Furthermore, whilst women were viewed as natural consumers, mass culture was seen to pose a threat to the morality of men since it represented the invasion of women in the public sphere and with it the commodification of rituals of manhood.⁶⁰ In the late nineteenth century, Anthony E. Rotundo claims a transformation took place in the meaning of middle-class American manhood – from a man's identity being defined by his function in his family and the wider community to 'a man defined his manhood not by his ability to moderate the passions but by his ability to channel them effectively' that determined his manhood in the late nineteenth century-observing this change in the way men were written about and depicted in literary culture.⁶¹ Therefore, undertaking amateur photography in the late nineteenth century was viewed by many to be a deviation on the part of the man from his duties to his family (even though he photographed

⁵⁸ See chapter three of Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore and London The John Hopkins University Press 1992); Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* 65.

⁵⁹ Michael Kimmel has written that whilst women were increasingly pervasive in the public sphere, roles were changing in the home such that the workplace and household were demarcated. Motherhood was professionalised and fathers were distancing themselves from family life. See Michael Kimmel, "Men's Responses to Feminism at the Turn of the Century" *Gender and Society* 1, no. 3 (1987): 265. Ruth Oldenziel argues that this divide led to the masculinisation of manufacturing and white collar work as a response to the influx of women in employment. See Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women and Modern Machines in America, 1870-1945* (Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 10-12.

⁶⁰ Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernisms Other" 46.

⁶¹ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (Basic Books 1994), 3.

the family). In a similar format to 'A Sufferer', the *American Journal of Photography* published a letter with the title 'A Woman's View of the Art that can Immortalize' (1890) wherein the anonymous author complained that 'my unfortunate husband was stricken with the amateur photographic plague about two years ago' – this was the year George Eastman first introduced the Kodak No.1. She continues: 'up to that time I always considered him reasonably sane.' In contrast to letters from previous 'sufferers', this one is far more damning of the amateur photographic practice – a 'so-called recreation' that is not, as she expected, a relaxing hobby, but serious drain on time, expenses, and household duties. For her, amateur photography is an inappropriate pursuit for a household to manage; the characteristics of photographic practice are at odds with domestic duties. The long-suffering wife is the serious partner: managing the spending of the household, the upkeep of the domestic space and embodying a matronly figure since her husband has been reduced to child-like enthusiasm.⁶² As with all such letters and articles, it is not clear what proportion of them represent real individuals writing in, and which have been fabricated by the editors to poke fun at a popular stereotype. What is important here is that the stereotype was ubiquitous in the discourses of the time, and so it played a role in producing and reproducing negative connotations of amateur photography. In the case of *The American Journal of Photography*, for instance, the supposed female author was particularly scathing of the *amateur* practice, which would have been welcomed by their readership as evidence of their superiority. Indeed, Sternberger has argued that although it reached an amateur and professional (commercial studio) audience, throughout the 1880s and early 1900s journals such as this one 'became the forum for discourses on photography as art, and the body of literature on art photography increased yearly, providing the art-minded amateur American photographer with an ever-growing variety of devices to incorporate in the quest for photography as art.'⁶³ Representations of women as either long-suffering housewives or unskilled amateur photographers enabled journals to manipulate the view of both women as photographers and the

⁶² Anon, *American Journal of Photography*, vol. 11, no.2 February 1890, 40.

⁶³ Sternberger, *Between Amateur and Aesthete: The Legitimization of Photography as Art in America 1880-1990*, xi.

male amateur photographer (who does not strive for artistic pictorial photography) which in turn also reinforced women's place in the home.

Photography journals are embedded in the gender discourses of the nineteenth century, and by the second decade of the twentieth century, editors and readers became acutely aware of the wider societal changes in masculinity and the burgeoning role of man in patterns of consumption which was reflected in Kodak advertising.⁶⁴ The targeting of women in purchasing mass-produced cameras can be considered in the context of the wider societal feminisation of industry. In an advertisement from 1920 [Fig. 34] – 'If it isn't an Eastman, it isn't a Kodak' – a man and woman greet each other at the 'baggage checked' stand, presumably at a railway station. Whilst the male figure has his back to the viewer, the woman's face is visible. In between them is what looks to be a small carry bag, though it is hard to tell who is passing it to who as they each have a hand placed on either side. At the beginning of the 20th Century, the camera underwent a transmutation from tool to fashion-object, with photography itself being almost incidental to this new purpose. Department stores began to display cameras as lifestyle accessories, and camera designs became more highly aesthetised in response to fashion. The notion of the camera as a gift became more prevalent, and advertising played up to (and thereby reinforced) a particular conception of the fashion-conscious, frivolous man or woman.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ See chapters four and five, Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia and London University of Missouri Press, 2000).

⁶⁵ In a recent article published in the photography journal, *Transbordeur*, I examined Walter Dorwin Teague's relationship with the Eastman Kodak Company, specifically in creating the four 'fashion' cameras targeted for a female audience- Vanity Kodak, the Kodak Petite, the Vanity Kodak Ensemble, and the Kodak Ensemble and Kodak Coquette. See Lucy Mounfield, "'Little Gems of Color': Kodak, Camera Design as Fashion, and the Gendering of Photography," *Transbordeur* 5, no. Photography and Design (2021). See also chapter four, 'Proudly Displayed by Wearers of Chic Ensembles': Vanity Cameras, Kodak Girls, and the Culture of Female Fashion' in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*; Rebecca Arnold, "The Kodak Ensemble: Fashion, Images and Materiality in 1920s America," *Fashion Theory*.

For scholarship on the role of department stores in promoting women as consumers, see William R. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," *The Journal of American History* 71, no. 2 (1984).

Since the figure of woman was associated with the Kodak camera ('The Kodak Girl'), and by extension the mass production of photography, therefore, women were viewed as reducing the medium to, in the words of Alfred Stieglitz, a 'fatal facility.'⁶⁶ Whilst in the 1920s men were shown to take photographs of their partner documenting their lifestyle, Kodak advertising in the 1930s, according to Risto Sarvas and David M. Frohlich reorientated snapshot photography towards spatialising and recording the home – 'the *home* as the location of snapshots; *leisure* as the time of snapshots; and *family* as the people in the snapshots.'⁶⁷ By the 1930s photography was viewed as a 'hobby' for women and an amateur pursuit for men. For Pasternak, this was solidified in Kodak's monthly magazine *Kodakery: A Magazine for Amateur Photographers* which was first published in 1913 as a subscription service.⁶⁸ Pasternak shows that through *Kodakery*, Eastman Kodak encouraged readers to tell stories with their pictures in an attempt to illustrate the memorialist properties of the snapshot, whilst contradictorily showing them how to stage these supposed instantaneous moments occurring in everyday life.⁶⁹ Concurrently, the re-orientation of traditional gender roles (women in the private home as opposed to being depicted on a 'Kodak adventure') strengthened the narrative of women as family recorders (general snapshot taker) and men as amateurs photographers. Chapter three will continue chronologically to discuss the ways in which the definition of amateur photography developed in response to societal changes in gender roles. It will focus specifically on the mid-twentieth century in order to situate Maier in the social milieu of the period to examine the way women were written about in photography magazines and the impact of this on contemporary understanding of women photographers.

⁶⁶ Stieglitz quoted in Sarah Burns and John Davis, *American Art to 1900* (University of California Press, 2009), 929.

⁶⁷ Risto Sarvas and David M. Frohlich, *From Snapshots to Social Media - the Changing Picture of Domestic Photography* ed. Richard Harper, Computer Supported Cooperative Work (London Springer, 2011), 48. See also Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life*, 25; Chambers, *Representing the Family*, 75-80.

⁶⁸ For just one magazine, the price was 5 cents. A one -subscription cost 60 cents and a dollar for a two-year subscription. See Collins, *The Story of Kodak* 343.

⁶⁹ Gil Pasternak, "Taking Snapshots, Living the Picture: The Kodak Company's Making of Photographic Biography," *Life Writing* 12, no. 4 (2015): 437.

Advertising Women

Whilst previously I have demonstrated the complex relationship between women, manufacturers, journals and other practitioners, this next section of chapter two will situate women in a longer, much understudied history of using, not only the image of woman, but also the female body in selling photography to middle-class men and women. Whilst scholarship has been undertaken on the history of advertising in America, including women's role within this and the ideological positioning of women as consumers, very little has been written about in the scholarship of photography, except in relation to the Eastman Kodak Company and their marketing of photography to women (and the general male population) using the image of the 'Kodak Girl.'⁷⁰ I will show that, whilst women were weaponised in the competition between commercial photographers from the 1870s onwards, since women photographers used their own bodies to advertise their business, the relationship between women as object, subject, photographer and consumer is far more complex.⁷¹ Stuart Ewen points out that advertising served as 'the great Americanizer,' engaging the nation in common cultural values and aesthetics and since women were seen as natural consumers, the image of woman was used to convey particular messages.⁷² Martha Banta in *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (1987) analyses the ways in which the image of the American Woman (in the literary and visual form) was constructed to represent the 'values of the nation and

⁷⁰ See chapter five for a discussion of Kodak advertisements and a broader contextualisation of the feminisation of manufacturing advertisements, Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Michele H. Bogart provides a brief discussion of the incorporation of photography into advertising and the impact this had on the distinction between amateurs and commercial photographers, see Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising and the Borders of Art* (Chicago and London University of Chicago Press, 1995), 171-99. For a general scholarship on advertising and commercial culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York Vintage Books, 1993); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (Basic Books, 1994).

⁷¹ Riches does discuss the harnessing of the image of women in the marketisation of commercial studios in the 1870s, though she does not situate this with its cultural context which I endeavour to do.

⁷² Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 64. Discourses during the mid-to-late nineteenth century disparaged women by claiming that they are natural consumers. See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

codify the fears and desires of its citizens.⁷³ Martha West has already engaged with the ways in which Kodak advertisements changed the way women and to a large extent, men understood photography as enabling them to memorialise their lives. She traces the changes in the marketing employed by Kodak by examining motifs such as leisure, childhood, fashion, remembrance concluding that women were arrogated in the pursuit of the popularisation of photography.⁷⁴ Yet, I will situate this mobilisation of the female body in the earlier history of commercial photography in order to emphasise the change in the way women were encouraged to engage with photography. Before I specifically examine the ways in which women were used in advertising commercial photography studios, it is important to provide a socio-historical context in which the female body began to be seen as a method of display. As early as the 1850s women were employed as 'banner ladies,' where merchants would solicit women to advertise the goods purveyed by asking them to visit a commercial studio, have their portrait taken whilst wearing dresses, bonnets and accessories with the items stitched to the fabric of clothing [Fig. 35]. Many of them would 'march [prior to having their picture taken] in "merchants' parades," carrying their banners, and sporting their wares.'⁷⁵ Merchants parades were organised by local businesses who utilised the increasing importance of national holidays in attracting patronage to their stores. The resulting cabinet card would be placed in store-fronts as part of elaborate window displays [Fig. 36] or sold as postcards [Fig. 37] for those who had attended the carnival. Leigh Eric Smidt has argued that 'through advertisements, show windows, trade cards, circulars, interior displays, trade-journal campaigns, and store-sponsored parades and floats, nineteenth-century merchants developed an influential and lasting repertory of celebration.'⁷⁶ Women were imbricated in the memorialising of the calendar

⁷³ Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (Columbia University Press, 1987), 2.

⁷⁴ See, West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 135.

⁷⁵ "Cabinet Card, Advertising," *Luminous Lint*, accessed October 20, 2020, http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/vexhibit/ THEME_Cabinet_cards_Advertising_01/6/7/1765482331359802955897360/.

⁷⁶ Leigh Eric Smidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton University Press, 1995), 209.

seasons, and more to the point, the growing commercialisation of public holidays.⁷⁷ Purchasing goods was inculcated into a middle-class understanding of refinement.⁷⁸ Indeed, Aron notes that attaining the 'accoutrements of middle-class refinement required arduous labor – not only to earn income sufficient for the purchase of amenities, but to acquire the education and knowledge demanded by middle-class respectability.'⁷⁹ The rising popularity of portraiture amongst the expanding middle class cemented their status as a little bourgeoisie.⁸⁰ Advances in technology made portraiture increasingly accessible and as cartes de visite represent a codification and in some ways a standardisation of social roles, playing a part in their naturalisation.⁸¹ Whilst women's bodies were mobilised in the selling of goods, both men and women were the intended purchasers since a wide array of items were displayed including metal tools (hammers), medicine, and flowers.

With the invention of the carte de visite, commercial photography studios were imbricated in the ritual of selling and advertising local goods by photographing the 'banner ladies' and selling the images as part of a local tourist trade. According to the *New York Historical Society*, the woman in Mrs. G. M. Bowen's cabinet card [Fig. 38] is 18-year-old Emma Hackett who is posed advertising the local newspaper, the *Waterloo Courier* on the occasion of their parade for the Waterloo Merchants' Carnival on May 21 and 22nd, 1889.⁸² Holding a copy of the *Waterloo Courier* in one hand, her other hand props up a banner in the shape of a shield, the writing cannot be discerned except for the name of the newspaper. The pleats at the bottom of her dress mirror the folds of multiple overlaid

⁷⁷ See Simon J. Bronner, ed. *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920* (W.W. Norton & Co. for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, New York, 1989), 7.

⁷⁸ See Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York Vintage Books, 1993), xii.

⁷⁹ See also Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* 8; Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 80; Geoffrey Batchen, "Dreams and Ordinary Life: Cartes De Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination " in *Image and Imagination* ed. Martha Langford (Montreal McGill Queen's University Press, 2005), 82.

⁸⁰ Andrea Volpe, "The Middle Is Material: Cartes De Visite Portrait Photographs and the Culture of Class Formation " in *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class* ed. Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston (New York and London Routledge 2001), 165-66.

⁸¹ Volpe, "The Middle Is Material: Cartes De Visite Portrait Photographs and the Culture of Class Formation " 166.

⁸² Admin, "The Mysterious Mrs. G. M. Bowen," *New York Historical Society*, accessed October 20, 2020, <https://www.nyhistory.org/mysterious-mrs-g-m-bowen>.

copies of newspapers, every other pleat has the Waterloo Courier stitched to the fabric. Pencils act as hair sticks, spliced through the middle of her bun. A white sack is pinned to the skirt, presumably for her to keep copies of the latest edition of the paper which I imagine she might throw to those watching the Merchants Carnival. As well as acting as an advertising tool for the maker of the goods displayed on the women's dress, the cabinet cards, by the very nature of their materiality stamped the image with the name of the photographer's studio who produced the card. Indeed, many commercial photographers would use these photographs in their window displays or as postcards that function as local souvenirs commemorating the carnival just like Julius Paul Frederick Leschinsky who operated a gift shop [Fig. 39] alongside his photography studio.⁸³ Simone Natale has made the connection between the development of the postal system with the circulation of photographic portraits inculcating notions of identity and familial attachment which resulted in the popularity of photographic portraits.⁸⁴

Photographers in the 1870s and 1880s faced stiff competition for custom which resulted in the diversification in methods of advertising.⁸⁵ To advertise these new facets of the studio practice, I argue that the commercial photographers used the convention of banner lady. Coming back to Bowen, not only did she photograph 'banner ladies' as part of the commemoration of, and advertising for the merchant's parade, she also employed her own banner lady (perhaps a female assistant) [Fig. 40] who was photographed holding a processional banner in her right hand with a handkerchief in her left. The sign reads 'Mrs. G. M. Bowen Banner Gallery.' Underneath the text are paper cut-outs of a half moon, a star, and a camera on a tripod. The star is cut out from a portrait of a young child. Pinned to the pleats in the skirt of her dress are rows of prints, all of which are

⁸³ A number of newspaper clippings show the Leschinsky studio had a gift shop attached, see "Julius Paul Frederick Leschinsky," *Cabinet Card Photographers*, accessed December 2, 2020, <http://cabinetcardphotographers.blogspot.com/2017/09/julius-paul-frederick-leschinsky.html>.

⁸⁴ Simone Natale, "A Mirror with Wings: Photography and the New Era of Communications," in *Photography and Other Media in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Nicoletta Leonardi and Simone Natale (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 37.

⁸⁵ See Riches, "Picture Taking and Picture Making: Gender Difference and the Historiography of Photography," 134.

portraits. Around her neck, she wears a collar of photographic portraits clipped in place by a brooch-like pin of portraits collaged together. The cuffs of her dress are also trimmed with portraits. Emphasising the tactile nature of the portable portrait, these advertising cabinet cards invoke associations with feminine craft and the family portrait implying that women are the desired customers.⁸⁶

In much the same way local businesses displayed cabinet cards in the window of their shops, many commercial photography studios installed a gallery space showing examples of the portraits commissioned for patrons. Not only did studios have physical gallery spaces, many of them, including the 'G. M. Bowen Gallery', produced albums for male and female clients. Publications of celebrities similarly encouraged the public to collect and utilise the album format alongside the personal family album which as I outlined earlier were made by amateurs.⁸⁷ For example, the San Francisco studio of Thomas Houseworth, prior to the 1870s, sold stereoscopic landscape views. However, with the increase in studio practices, Houseworth's business began to struggle. As a result, in 1874, he began to advertise his 'Celebrities'.⁸⁸ He maintained a catalogue of nearly 3,000 cabinet cards, which depicted theatre actors, as well as athletes and politicians from which one could request a commercial reprint.⁸⁹ *The Masquerade* [Fig. 41] shows a woman standing in front of a studio backdrop – a panelled wall – facing leftwards whilst holding a fan in her left hand, which covers her face, only her eyes visible. Multiple photographic portraits of varying sizes are attached to her dress and a headdress in the shape of a camera sits atop her head. The large portraits at the bottom of the dress have the words 'Houseworth's Celebrities' stitched to the hem of each print. This banner advertisement would have been circulated locally and in the premises of Houseworth &

⁸⁶ See Di Bello and Edwards for a discussion of the carte de visite and its association with women and the middle-class home.

⁸⁷ Steve Edwards writes that 'in establishing continuities between the public narratives of grand and powerful and the private world of the family, the carte [...] made authority intimate. Closing the distance between the middle-class and their heroes, these small pictures brought power home.' See Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* 83.

⁸⁸ Frances Kathryn Pohl, *Framing America: A Social History of American Art, Volume 1* (Thames & Hudson, 2017), 314.

⁸⁹ Pohl, *Framing America: A Social History of American Art, Volume 1*, 315.

Co since multiple commercial studios operated in San Francisco.⁹⁰ Advertising, making use of photography itself, became a weapon in the heated competition between urban commercial photographic studios. More to the point, customers were able to choose from a wide variety of different portraits which promoted repeat custom.

Photography was conflated with the female body in the active marketisation of goods.⁹¹ Whilst female photographers, like Bowen used women to advertise their studios, women who owned (or ran) companies, perhaps economising on the cost of a sitter, photographed themselves to produce advertisements. A cabinet card for the T. A. Ley 'Palace Gallery' shows [Fig. 42] a woman wearing a dress and bonnet replete with photographic adornment clutches in both hands a print attached to a stick. Whereas Michelle Smith argues that the image is a 'literal display case' for someone else's photographs, Sylvia Moore identifies it as a self-portrait dated from 1893.⁹² As I discussed in this chapter, women who were married to commercial photographers tended to assist in the work, and if they died, most often the wives would continue to operate the established business under their late

⁹⁰ See Peter Palmquist, *Shadowcatchers: Directory of Women in California, Photography before 1901* (Arcata, California Published by the author, 1990).

⁹¹ Similar to the costume worn by the banner lady in Houseworth's cabinet card, Jane Bara has very briefly noted an instance of an upper-class woman dressed as 'the personification of Photography' at a Parisian society masquerade ball [Fig. 43]. Whilst Shawn Michelle Smith in chapter three of her book *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (1999) notes the 'strange' existence of women covered in portable portraits (she does not link them with the existence of banner ladies) suggesting woman 'becomes a maniken [sic] draped in the identities of others', she also separately makes a connection, like Bara (though she does not reference Bara's article) with the phenomenon of the society lady dressing as the personification of Photography. Smith references a 'Godey's Fashions for October 1866' plate [Fig. 44] suggesting that 'fashion reflects here an image in which woman sees herself embodying the whole of the photographic process, symbolically occupying at once all of the positions engendered by photography: photographer, photographed, and viewer.' Smith argues that the fashioning of the woman as camera in Godey's plate reverses the nexus of viewer and viewed such that the reader is the object of the woman's gaze. Smith makes a compelling argument that 'Fashion as photographer might overwhelm a masculine observer presuming to watch unnoticed.' Yet, she does not consider whether these figures are allegorical representations of photography, and if the gendering would relate to allegorical conventions. However, it is not within the remit of this thesis to consider these questions, though it is important to point out the wider implications of this on the way women were perceived in relation to the medium outside of photography specific journals. Indeed, fashion and photography are intimately linked in the history of photography design for women which can be seen in the Kodak 'fashion' cameras for women beginning with the Vanity Kodak in 1927. See, Jane Bara, "Photography Personified," *History of Photography* 13, no. 3 (1989): 141. Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1999), 107.

⁹² For identification of the T. A. Ley cabinet card, see the backnotes of Sylvia Moore, ed. *Yesterday and Tomorrow: California Women Artists* (New York Midmarch Arts Press, 1989). See also, Smith, *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture*, 107.

husband's name.⁹³ Stitching the portable portraits to the pleats of the dress creates a fabric of faces – a collage of portraits. Whilst advertising banner ladies were initiated because of notions of feminine craft and the mobilisation of the female body in the fashioning of a consumer body, female run studios destabilised these gendered associations. I have shown that photographers like Ley were actively fashioning their business using both their actual bodies and the body of their photographic work – archiving women's labour and claiming photography as their own.⁹⁴

Not only was the female body harnessed in the marketisation of goods, it was also used to highlight the importance of portrait photography as a tactile means of expression – as incorporated in clothing, jewellery and in albums - reinforcing the commercialisation of photography as an integral part of the everyday.⁹⁵ By the time Kodak was established as the principal photographic corporation in the 1880s, women's bodies, as I have shown, were being harnessed in many different ways in the marketing of the photographic portrait.

⁹³ There are a number of examples of women undertaking commercial photography as an economic necessity, see 'My Experiences as a Photographer' by Mrs. Bayard Wooten (*St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, Vol.33 No.12 December 1909).

⁹⁴ An interesting example is Mrs. S. J. Young who owned her own studio (she was divorced). She photographed herself using the same conventions as previously outlined [Fig. 45], yet she deliberately let the ground floor of her house (top floor was her photography studio) throughout the years to shop keepers, including a grocer which enabled her to imbricate her business in the rituals of the community, and similarly to what I discussed previously, situating photography as an essential in the marketisation of the town. See Lisa Ungin Baskin Collection, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (North Carolina), accessed August 12, 2021, <https://exhibits.library.duke.edu/exhibits/show/baskin/item/4479>.

⁹⁵ For a discussion on the photographic print and the relationships between vision, the body and touch, see Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies."; Geoffrey Batchen, "Ere the Substance Fade: Photography and Hair Jewellery," in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London Routledge 2004); Geoffrey Batchen, "Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance," ed. Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum (New York Princeton Architectural Press, 2004). For a discussion of the ways in which women used prints as a means of self-representation, see chapter six, "Photography, Vision and Touch" in Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts*.

Pin-Money, Women and Photography

Whilst in the previous two sections I showed that women were inculcated in the practice of commercial photography and as amateurs (in all the different conceptualisations of the term), yet as a result of the mass-production of cameras, women's position in the category of amateur photography began to shift such that practice was re-aligned with the feminine associations of pin-money which I will argue was as a result of the increase in camera users. The term 'pin-money' was in use to mean 'money for a woman's personal expenses' as early as 1532 (money 'to by her pinnes withal') and since became generalised to mean 'a small amount of money.'⁹⁶

The activity of making pin-money is embedded in the feminine history of craft. Pin-money, historically, was seen as a means for upper-class women to occupy themselves whilst providing the money to purchase the necessary equipment with which to continue the activity being conducted.⁹⁷ Susan Luckman in *Craft and the Creative Economy* argues that '[...] all craft practice continues to suffer from the long shadow cast by stereotypes of middle-class domestic labour being "not a real job," but rather something done for "pin-money."' ⁹⁸ However, since production took place in the home, the records of transactions have historically been ad hoc and as such been poorly kept, further contributing to the erasure of women's place in the history of artistic production, and thereby devaluing it.⁹⁹ Therefore, pin-money has historically been coded as feminine, trivial and an uncommitted activity.¹⁰⁰ Whilst, as I have shown, women were corralled into working in fields of

⁹⁶ 'Pin-money' (n), *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed October 12, 2020, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/144258?redirectedFrom=pin-money#eid>.

⁹⁷ Catherine Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 30.

⁹⁸ Sarah Luckman, *Craft and the Creative Economy* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015), 48.

⁹⁹ Luckman, *Craft and the Creative Economy*, 49. See also Kathy McCloskey, "Part-Time Pin-Money: The Legacy of Navejo Women's Craft Production," in *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternate Trade in the Global Economy*, ed. Kimberley M. Grimes and B. Lynne Milgram (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2000); Glenn Adamson, *Thinking through Craft* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007); Glenn Adamson, *The Invention of Craft* (London Bloomsbury, 2013); Sheila Allen and Carol Wolkowitz, *Homeworking: Myths & Realities* (London & New York: distributed for Macmillan by New York University Press, 1987); Peter Dormer, ed. *The Culture of Craft: Status and Future* (Manchester University Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁰ See Adamson, *Thinking through Craft*, 5.

photography production, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, pin-money making guides were published, often specifically for women. *Pin-Money*, I argue was employed at the turn of the twentieth century to instigate distinctions between male and female amateur practices and also within categorisation of photography made by women.

Whilst pin-money encouraged women to take up photography independently, it would do so in a limited way that re-inscribed their practice in the domestic home. For instance, *Pin-Money Suggestions* by Lillian W. Babcock is an interesting example of a money-making guide written for women and by a woman. Although Babcock advocates women earn money, they are told to do so from their own home and, therefore, the type of work suggested is limited by what can be done in the confines of the domestic space.¹⁰¹ Alongside information on 'Clay Modeling', 'Pyrography,' 'China Painting' and 'Rug-Making as a Home Industry' to name a few pin-money activities Babcock describes, there are prescriptions for 'Pin-Money Photography,' 'How to Color Photographs' and a separate section for 'Amateur Photography.'¹⁰² The book collates disclosures from women about each form of activity, alongside Babcock's own experience and personal knowledge. Testimonials are provided for pin-money and amateur photography whilst Babcock informs the reader of her own experience colouring photographs.

As this chapter has illustrated, in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century women were encouraged to work as hand-colourers, re-touchers or as assistants to studio photographers as women's femininity was thought to be integral to the intricateness of these roles. Yet, during the early twentieth century, women colourers and retouchers moved back to the family domicile. *Pin-Money*

¹⁰¹ Babcock in her foreword offers a stringent list of parameters for the woman who desire to work: 'A woman wishing to earn money at home should first carefully consider many things: aptitude for certain lines of work; her strength; the amount of time she can afford to devote to this new work daily, etc. She should also consider her surroundings, and the needs and purses of her neighbors. It is the purpose of this book to encourage the thousands, and hundreds of thousands of women who desire to take up some remunerative line of work during their leisure hours, either as a means of self-support, or to enable them to earn pin-money, which will warrant their taking some long desired trip, some course of study or to spend on the thousand and one little things which bring so much pleasure into one's life.' See the foreword to Lillian W. Babcock, *Pin-Money Suggestions* (Little, 1912).

¹⁰² Babcock, *Pin-Money Suggestions*.193-194 pin money, 194-195 amateur, 196-205 for colour.

photography is typified as an easy first-stage option for making money from photography. An anonymous female photographic pin-money advocate is quoted saying 'everybody likes pictures of the people and things which interest them the most. I have found that if a person can take good pictures with the little hand camera, she can always sell them.'¹⁰³ As another anonymous picture-seller admits, if you have a camera and it 'does not bring you in pin-money, it is because you do not wish to earn money, not that you cannot do so, because very young children of my acquaintance are earning all their spending money in this way.'¹⁰⁴ Pin-money photography is characterised as quick, relying on the mechanical and automatic nature of the camera using an external firm to develop the images. In this way, pin-money photography is an ad-hoc practice: the exchange of pictures for money is a trade made as and when required by the user. Babcock inserts a short text on 'amateur photography' in a sub-section of the 'Arts and Crafts at Home' chapter separate from 'pin-money' photography whereby women are expected to develop their own photographs selling them to 'your local paper, or to the big dallies if the scene is one of more than local interest.'¹⁰⁵ This comparison between pin-money and amateur photography (for money) illustrates that within the different designations of photographic practice, women are marginalised.

Photography magazines in the first half of the twentieth century included articles (often written by women) encouraging female readers to make money from photography.¹⁰⁶ Janet Murray in her article 'For Women Only' (*Popular Photography*, September 1940) describes the 'smart woman' whose 'budget-wise [...] supplementing her pin-money' with photography. She offers a number of examples from which to take pictures, all found in the family home and garden. She suggests taking 'before and after' photographs of 'home improvements' which can be sold to trade magazines such as *Wallpaper*, or to magazines such as *Better Homes* or *House Beautiful*. In much the same way pin-money has been associated with the history of women's craft, Murray contends that women should

¹⁰³ Babcock, *Pin-Money Suggestions*, 193.

¹⁰⁴ Babcock, *Pin-Money Suggestions*, 193-94.

¹⁰⁵ Babcock, *Pin-Money Suggestions*, 194.

¹⁰⁶ See, 'Pin Money for the Girl Amateur' by Jessie B. Dixon (*American Photography*, June 1912)

not 'specialize' and instead combine photography with feminine 'handicrafts' such as knitting [Fig. 46] to be included in advertisements or women's magazines. Children are another source of photographic material since they form part of a woman's daily routine and can be informally incorporated into her picture-taking.¹⁰⁷ This example shows that whilst photography 'for women' was given a place in general popular photography magazines, it was segregated such that photography was delineated by sexual difference. Photography for women, as discussed earlier was integrated with other feminine hobbies such as sewing. Therefore, pin-money evokes the history of feminine domestic craft, yet, within photography magazines this was separate from the male pursuits which reinforces photography for women as a hobby separate to the male amateur practice.

Whereas chapter three will deepen this contextualisation of pin-money by showing how, and why in the mid-twentieth century, it was masculinised in popular photography magazines, chapter four will analyse the implications of this historical and gendered narrative of pin-money on the organisation of women's work in the home in the twentieth century in order to access the limitations placed on Maier as a nanny, and more specifically, how these generated a host of assumptions about familial photography. The next part of chapter two will explore how photography publications mediated between the peripheries and centres (manufacturers, leading photographers in different photographic movements, curators and educators).

Letters to the Editor: The Negotiation Between Centres and Peripheries

As I have demonstrated thus far, different labels and understandings of photographic practice underpin the history of photography reflecting different, often contradictory concerns about the

¹⁰⁷ 'For Women Only,' *Popular Photography*, September 1940, words and photographs by Janet Murray, Peter Palmquist Women in Photography International Archive, Series: Writings By and About Women in the History of Photography, 1851-1990, Box 158, Folder 446, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

medium, and more specifically women's role in photography. In the next and final section, I will consider the impact of this historical differentiation of photographic practice on the readership of amateur photographic magazines and journals, encompassing both men and women, focusing primarily on the mid-century context, though I will isolate instances of continuity with earlier photographic practices. In the following section I will show the confusion and ambiguity embedded in the way photography was written about in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is manifested in the photographic milieu of the mid-twentieth century. I will grapple with a number of questions: What does this mean for our understanding of the centre-periphery dynamic? There is a hierarchy of practice among the peripheries which replicates the earlier historical splintering of the amateur photographer. What is the impact of this on the way magazines and camera clubs are used? How do camera users experience and respond to the multitude of centres and peripheries, each with their own set of rules and guidelines? Vlachou comments that peripheral work is traditionally viewed (by the centres and other peripheries) as negatively classified, narrowly defined, and understood as encompassing an eclecticism and variety that is ultimately unoriginal.¹⁰⁸ The photographic periphery, as discussed in the introduction to the thesis, is defined (from the outside) as encompassing a homogenous mass of general camera users, taking banal (amateurish) and repetitious photographs that are arrogated to the personal that which is ubiquitous. How has amateurish subject matter become redolent of conformity, valuelessness, uselessness, a deficit of learning? What is the relationship between the amateur readers/photographers and the editors/educators/photographers working for the photographic magazines and how does this communication complicate how we interpret amateur spaces, amateur subject matter, and the amateur self? Whilst magazines reinforce the negative stereotypes of amateurism (by comparing photographic work), they conversely acknowledge and provide a space for amateur picture making.

¹⁰⁸ Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 21.

To be clear, the institutional structures of training and education toward professionalisation, have for the medium of photography been more flexible and commonly based upon knowledge and the sharing thereof than that of the conventional and restricting conditions of the traditional fine arts. Prior to the 'photo boom' – a period of expansion commonly acknowledged to have taken place during the 1970s – photography as a discourse was being debated; its shape, context and audience was being re-thought and written down for the first time in photography magazines. As there was little to no market for photography until at least the 1980s, leading photographers of the era supported themselves with paid commercial assignments, workshop tutorials, writing for photographic magazines and filling lecturer positions in American colleges.¹⁰⁹ The 'small pockets of photographic education' that were concerned with training students for the broad field of photographic professionalism were for Jessica McDonald 'in no way unified in theory or function.'¹¹⁰ Whilst McDonald postulates that each group of photographer had 'no ideological foothold in museums and or art journals' so sought to promote photography in 'alterative educational settings,' I suggest this included photographic magazines since many of these photographer/educators wrote for the leading publications.

Before I focus on the photographic literary culture of the mid-twentieth century, it is necessary to highlight how communication between readers and editors was facilitated by the letters pages and 'pictures from our reader' sections in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Alongside the growth in sending photography through the postal system in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, developments took place in the halftone printing process which enabled a greater interaction between journal and reader/photographer.¹¹¹ Indeed, during the mid-1840s, since the 1845 Postal

¹⁰⁹ The diversity of photography courses across America during the post-war period is reflective of the myriad ways in which photography was being applied and considered as an ancillary medium in the application of scientific and technical apparatus. See Jessica S. McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s" (University of Rochester, 2014), 62.

¹¹⁰ McDonald, "Centralizing Rochester: A Critical Historiography of American Photography in the 1960s and 1970s," 62.

¹¹¹ See Simone Natale, "Photography and Communication Media in the Nineteenth Century," *History of Photography* 36, no. 4 (2012): 454; David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern*

Reform of America, the cost of adding a daguerreotype to a letter was free.¹¹² In the mid-1840s, Congress updated the postal system so that letters would be paid for on the basis of weight (five cents per half ounce for a distance up to three hundred miles) and six years later, in 1851, the distance was altered to over three thousand miles which according to David M. Henkin affectively eliminated 'distance as a determinant of cost.'¹¹³ In short, the rate at which sending a letter using the postal service was standardised and the cost drastically reduced which led to an increase in people using the system as a means of communication. Between 1845 and 1855, the circulation of letters across the United States tripled, reaching 132 million in 1855.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the postal system facilitated the direct communication between photographers.

Readers could not agree on the form and content magazines should take; though Raeburn argues that through writing letters was a way to offer their opinions on the direction of the publication, readers 'confidently arrogated to themselves the public evaluative function that is ordinarily delegated to the professional critic.'¹¹⁵ Through sharing opinions, images and knowledge both on a national and internationally scale, a collegiality was developed within and between centres and peripheries. There are antecedents of correspondence pages in amateur photographic journals as early as 1858 with the first volume of the *Photographic News for Amateur Photographers* which included a section called 'Photographic Notes and Queries.' Readers would have their letters published and the editor would publish brief replies. Questions were often asked in the queries page such as: 'could not some instrument be devised for the purpose of indicating the different degrees, or amount, of light existing, and then, by a corresponding scale of seconds, might not the exposure

Communications in Nineteenth-Century America (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 21; Mathew Fox-Amato, *Exposing Slavery: Photography, Human Bondage, and the Birth of Politics in America* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹¹² From an analysis of inventories during the 1840s onwards, Natale confirms that daguerreotypes and later mass-produced photographs on paper were consistently being sent through the postal service. See Natale, "Photography and Communication Media in the Nineteenth Century," 454; Natale, "A Mirror with Wings: Photography and the New Era of Communications," 37-39.

¹¹³ Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America*, 22.

¹¹⁴ See Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America*, 31.

¹¹⁵ Raeburn, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography*, 110.

be always correct, and the process conducted with certainty?¹¹⁶ *The American Amateur Photographer* reproduced more closely the framework of 'letters to the editor' in the 'News and Queries' section whereby correspondents offered advice, asked for guidance, talked about their achievements in using a technique to reproduce a particular image, and offered criticism towards specific articles and directives given by the editorial content. The journal also included an 'Our Portfolio' section to which, for one dollar, readers could send their images (one picture per month) for feedback.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the editorial relies on the readership to send images as these are also used as visual demonstrations of what is being said in the text. For example, in volume thirteen (1901) of *The American Amateur Photographer*, the journal reproduced six (two images sent from one reader) from the thirty-four images discussed. Number 1098 by C. S. Luitweiler called 'Cobweb' is given the following praise: 'This is an example as rare as it is beautiful, and the most perfect that we have ever seen of the value of photography in the reproduction of the works of nature. We reproduce it on page 12.'¹¹⁸ Some readers submitted more than one item of photographic material, and occasionally the journal received entries from the same photographer with each publication. Carl. C. Distler submitted a picture with almost every issue and was steadily gaining a reputation among the editorial staff. Yet, 'In the Harbour' was deemed not up to scratch:

the shadows on the left are unnaturally dark, and the detail is just a little too pronounced; one hardly likes to be able to read the names on the boats, as it is distracting; at least we find the eye, willy nilly wandering from the truer pictorial distance to the bold and commanding lettering on the nearer boats. Coming from most of our correspondence, we should have said it was fairly good, but we want something better from you.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ "Orientalis", "Photographic Notes and Queries" *Photographic News for Amateur Photographers* September 1858, 10.

¹¹⁷ Previous iterations of this form were imageless, containing instead short paragraphs of no more than three or four sentences. These would not describe the image, but rather, provide a title and outline the thoughts of the editors on composition, style, and technique. When reproducing images became easier and financially viable, journals would duplicate, as the editors perceived, only the most successful. See Sarvas and Frohlich, *From Snapshots to Social Media - the Changing Picture of Domestic Photography* 48.

¹¹⁸ Dr. John Nicol, "Our Portfolio- Cobweb," *The American Amateur Photographer* January 1901, 34.

¹¹⁹ Dr. John Nicol, "Our Portfolio- in the Harbour," *The American Amateur Photographer* January 1901, 34.

It was, however, reproduced on page eight illustrating an article on 'Carbon or Pigment Printing' by H. Burn-Murdoch. The images were not reproduced as plates, with their own dedicated section; instead, they were inserted alongside the text. In this way, the readers' photographs were chosen not only for their stand-alone merit, but because they illustrated the journal's key points about photographic practice. In naming the journal department, 'Our Portfolio,' *The American Amateur Photographer*, highlights its dual purpose as a repository for readers images and as a curated selection of photographs sent to them by the readership. Reflecting on the progress made in the first year (1900) as a monthly photography journal, the editors of *The American Amateur Photographer* are somewhat less positive when describing the value gained from reviewing readers pictures: 'it is the hardest of our editorial work, but we have evidence that it is doing good, and so do not grudge it. But it might be lessened by at least one-half, and the space occupied by that given to something more important. At least one-half of all the prints that come are such as should not be sent, simply because they bear unmistakable evidence of their lack of at least one essential of a passable photograph, gradation.'¹²⁰ From this, it is clear that not only is the quality of the submissions a cause for concern, so too is the volume at which these 'poor' quality images are sent to the editors which disheartens them. *Camera and Darkroom* was one of the first journals to reproduce images from each reader chosen for publication and 'Picture Criticism' was first introduced to the *Camera and Darkroom* journal in the fifth issue of its seventh volume (May 1904). Sadakichi Hartman was appointed to discuss the readers' images and he does not hold back; he calls one photographic offering 'a trite subject and not very well done.'¹²¹ In issue eight of the seventh volume, one of the letters states in a similar vein to Netzel that they were learning more about photography since following the guidance from Hartman, in particular, not to use repetitious subject matter. In the next copy of the journal, the editorial asks readers to now pay a dollar and send their images to Hartman for private correspondence and evaluation.¹²² Indeed, in 'looking back' Nicol and Beach outline their

¹²⁰ Dr. John Nicol and F. C. Beach, "Looking Back " *The American Amateur Photographer* January 1900, 3.

¹²¹ Sadakichi Hartman, "Picture Criticism " *Camera and Darkroom* June 1904, 335.

¹²² "Private Criticism ", *The Camera and Darkroom* September 1904, 303.

desire for the journal to encourage 'progress,' in other words, facilitate the education of their readers.¹²³ Manley Miles in his 1894 article 'Hints for Amateurs' (*International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*) explains that:

Camera clubs and photographic periodicals must be looked at upon as indispensable agencies for the increase and diffusion of knowledge relating to the principles and practice of photography, and amateurs who wish to keep abreast of the progress of the times should not fail to avail themselves of these incentives and guides to improvement in the practical details of the art.¹²⁴

In the statement above, Miles makes clear the function of the camera club and journal are mutually exclusive (since many journals were affiliated with camera clubs), acting as educative sources for photographers. Whilst scholars, particularly Dona B. Schwartz and Michael Griffin have suggested camera club members 'simultaneously occupy the roles of creator, viewer, and critic' they also maintain (together and independent of each other) that the club structure perpetuates both a conventional understanding of the medium and an insularity of thought since the camera club favours pictorial photography.¹²⁵

In providing an outlet for feedback to readers images, one could contend that journal was shaping and moulding the readers' photographic output creating photographers who could illustrate their text, and in turn, become a manual of photographic literacy creating amateurs, in Beach's words, 'grounded in the theory and practice of his art.'¹²⁶ Whilst this implies a standardisation of practice, the fact that readers also felt inclined to send letters, sometimes in response to editorial feedback, highlights the extent to which the scope of the photography journal was modified as a result of, and to suit the needs of the readership. It is interesting that Nicol and Beach do not accord as much importance to the 'Our Portfolio' section as they do with the letters page – 'send on whatever occurs

¹²³ Nicol and Beach, "Looking Back " 3.

¹²⁴ Manley Miles, "Hints for Amateurs " *International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 1894, 60.

¹²⁵ Schwartz and Griffin, "Amateur Photography: The Organizational Maintenance of an Aesthetic Code," 199-200. Griffin, "Between Art and Industry: Amateur Photography and Middlebrow Culture," 199. See also chapter four in Schwartz, "Camera Clubs and Fine Art Photography: Distinguishing between Art and Amateur Activity."

¹²⁶ Nicol and Beach, "Looking Back " 3.

to you, no matter how imperfectly stated or written, trusting to us to put it in proper shape' – since letters enable readers to reply to the feedback offered by the editorial.¹²⁷ Letters act as a barometer to gauge opinions regarding the journal from the readership, and in turn reflect the status of the journal within the photographic community. The 'letters to the editor' sections became a forum for debate which often continued outside of the formal sphere of the publication in the form of postal exchange. Although Sara Dominici in her article 'The Postal Service, Circulating Portfolios and the Cultural Production of Modern Networked Identities' (2020) specifically examines postal clubs in Victorian Britain, her arguments relating to the way the developments in communication impacted on photographers' self-perception can be keenly appreciated in the context of the United States.¹²⁸ Whilst Dominici echoes Schwartz and Griffin in the assertion that camera clubs constrained their members with protocol, she argues that postal groups suffered no such hierarchical format, and instead, rather than simply acquiring the prerequisite knowledge to succeed in the dominant photographic hierarchy, those who exchanged written feedback as part of postal clubs were participants whose role transformed the 'production of photographic knowledge, and hence what gave it value, depended entirely on the idiosyncratic and kaleidoscopic experiences of the individual.'¹²⁹ In short, not having to be physically present in the company of camera club members enabled people to speak freely. Indeed, those who solicited advice or feedback for their pictures

¹²⁷ Nicol and Beach, "Looking Back " 3.

¹²⁸ Sara Dominici, "The Postal Service, Circulating Portfolios and the Cultural Production of Modern Networked Identities," *History of Photography* 44, no. 2-3 (2020): 112. Dominici shared her early research on photography postal clubs in her presentation, Sara Dominici, "Circulating Portfolios and Education by Correspondence: Co-Producing, Sharing, and Remixing Photography," in *Photographic History Research Centre Annual Conference* (De Montford University 2020).

¹²⁹ Dominici, "The Postal Service, Circulating Portfolios and the Cultural Production of Modern Networked Identities," 124. Though, of course, postal clubs were initiated for particular reasons, and as such they were guided by strictures (such as Pictorialism) though the individual feedback was not restricted because each participant writing their criticism was not in physical company of the secretarial members who would mediate the discussion that which would normally take place in the camera club. Dominici quotes from an anonymous writer (using a pseudonym) 'Waverley' who says he 'has no particular tendency to mould a worker – to mould its member into a narrow-lined school, as has the ordinary society, so that if a member has original ideas, he has full play, and room to work them out [in a postal club].' 'Postal Clubs', *Amateur Photographer* (17 July 1902), 52.

were not under pressure to conform to a particular theme or convention (stylistic or compositional) as the exchange was necessitated by the individual subscriber.¹³⁰

Using the example of the Camera Club of New York, I would like to turn my focus to the United States in the mid-twentieth century in order to show that camera clubs facilitated communication, rather than as Griffin maintains, 'an adoption of aesthetic tropes.'¹³¹ It is not in the remit of this thesis to provide a historical analysis of the network of, and exchange between local, national and international camera clubs; rather, I will briefly discuss the touring exhibition schedule in order to show the collegial motivations behind sharing photographic material.¹³² On 8 August 1951, the Camera Club of New York was approached by Philips FotoClub in Eindhoven, The Netherlands to share photographs taken by members. The Fotoclub comprised 150 employees who worked for the Philips' Gloeilampen and Radioworks. In a letter the club complained of a difficulty in securing regular supplies of print collections for their exhibition program. In reading the *Encyclopaedia of Photography* by W.D Morgan, published by the National Education Alliance Inc. the Fotoclub wrote to several leading amateur camera clubs including that of the Camera Club of New York.¹³³ In their letter that 'you will readily understand that the possibility of showing our members prints on an international level would be most attractive and highly appreciated as this is bound to stimulate the interest of the individual members enormously.'¹³⁴ In response, the Camera Club of New York

¹³⁰ Dominici, "The Postal Service, Circulating Portfolios and the Cultural Production of Modern Networked Identities," 124.

¹³¹ Griffin, "Between Art and Industry: Amateur Photography and Middlebrow Culture," 185.

¹³² President, Marshall Dickman contacted the Union of Chinese Photographers, Peking (People's Republic of China) taking advantage of the warming relations between the U.S. and China proposing photography as a further continuation of the global pursuit for peace: 'In a world where man is searching for peace within himself and among nations, understanding is the key [...] What better way to convey the feelings of people and a nation than by the photographs of non-professional photographers who pursue their hobby in the search for self-expression and art.' Dickman proposes the creation of a dialogue by exchanging photographic exhibits and delegates from the respective camera clubs. Letter dated May 12 1971 from The Camera Club of New York to the Union of Chinese Photographers (Peking, People's Republic of China), Folder 9: General Correspondence 1971-1975, Camera Club Of New York Records, 1889-1983, New York Public Library.

¹³³ The Camera Club of New York also sent a touring exhibition to Italy in October 1953, beginning in Rome Camera Club. Publicity from the exhibition was included in the club's member publication, Camera Notes. Box 5, Folder 4: Print Committee Correspondence, Camera Club Of New York Records, 1889-1983, New York Public Library.

¹³⁴ Letter dated 8 August 1951 from Philips FotoClub to The Camera Club of New York, Box 5 Folder 3: Print Committee Correspondence, Camera Club Of New York Records, 1889-1983, New York Public Library.

arranged an exhibit of twenty-six photographs from the Club's collection of 'exhibition material' by twenty members to be sent to the Philips camera club.¹³⁵ The exhibition was sent to Eindhoven on 15 October 1951 and was held at the Philips factory, it was also circulated to camera clubs around The Netherlands.¹³⁶ Moreover, club secretaries who co-organised the exhibition exchange individually wrote to the Camera Club of New York with their feedback. For instance, W. G. Verhoef, the secretary of the camera club of Nederlandse Handelmy, Amsterdam sent a letter thanking the Camera Club of New York for the 'photograph-collection.' Although Verhoef congratulated the club for contributing to 'broadening our outlook on photography,' the secretary relayed general criticisms made on behalf of Nederlandse Handelmy suggesting that 'there are some things we would handle differently but even in seeing faults of other people as well as ours we learn.'¹³⁷

Through mutual criticism, what constituted photography and particularly amateur photography fluctuated according to the individual and the group. Rather than simply acquiring knowledge of the dominant discourse prevalent at the time of the exchange (of images and written notes), participants commented on, and modified the classifications prevalent at any given time. Thus, we can begin to think about the autonomy of the camera user as negotiating the different stratifications of photographic value. Indeed, images were exchanged between photographers (periphery –

¹³⁵ The following is a list of photographs (by twenty of the club members) that were shipped to the Philips Fotoclub: 1. Miss Ella Appele, Bromoil Transfer 2. C. Balen, Calimaya Palace 3. George B. Biggs, (1) Kerchief and Sunshade (2) Winter in Woodstock, Vt. 4. Louis Davidson (1) W. Hunt Hall (2) Summer Afternoon 5. Boris Dobro (no title) 6. Robert Dunn (1) Manhattanville Melting Pot (2) (no title) 7. Georgia Englehard, Alfred Stieglitz 8. Joseph E. Foldes, (no title), 9. Carlos C. Goetz (1) (no title) (2) (no title) 10. Robert V. Harry, Organ Pipes 11. Judson Hayward (1) Silhouette (2) Three of a Kind 12. Henry Henderson, A Spot in the Sun 13. Gustav Laumont, (no title) 14. Michael H. Lievy, Sonata in Black and White 15. Otto Mayer, (no title) 16. Dr. D. J. Ruzicka (1) Pennsylvania Station (2) The Magic City of NY 17. Joseph E. Sherman 40 Days on a Troopship 18. Smith, On Steam 19. John L. Spence, Mountain of the Frightened Pig 20. Raymond Vorst, The Air Age.

¹³⁶ The itinerary for the exhibition in The Netherlands is as follows: 9 January 1952 (Eindhoven, Philips Fotoclub), 22 January (Deventer, D.A.F.V), 4 February (Bussum, T Brandpunt), 14 February (Koog aan de Zaan, Zaanland), 19 February (Aimelo, A.A.F.V), 25 February (Leiden, L.A.F.V), 28 February ('s Gravenhage, Foto & Filmclub for 'Shell' oil and gas company), 3 March (Voorburg, Fotovrienden), 6 March (Arnhem, Gelria), 10 March (Amsterdam, Fotoclub der Nederlandse Handelmy), 14 March (Baarn, Baarnse Fotoclub), 19 March (Huizen, A.F.C. Flevo), 26 March (Rotterdam, A.F.V. Rotterdam), 27 March (Rotterdam A.F.C. De Maastad), 1 April (Haarlem, Kennemer Fotokring), 9 April (Zwolle, Z. A. F. V)

¹³⁷ Letter dated 13 March 1952 from A. G. Verhoef (secretary to the camera club of the Nederlandse Handelmy Amsterdam) to the President of the Camera Club of New York, Folder 3 Print Committee Correspondence, Camera Club Of New York Records, 1889-1983, New York Public Library.

periphery), in the letters pages of photography magazines. In the July 1950 issue of *Modern Photography* magazine, a letter was published from Henry Wilcox who responded to a previous article 'English Photographers Want to Exchange Snapshots with You' (May 1950) which provided a list of individuals willing to exchange prints via airmail. In the same vein, Wilcox also contacted people from a previously printed list of French amateurs willing to write to American readers.¹³⁸ A year later, Dr. Iso Yoshima wrote from Tokyo to inform the magazine that he had received 'six letter [sic] from American from photographers who read my name in your list of Japanese friends. I am indeed glad for this correspondence will expand my view of the world, which I think if all photographers would do could help hold "peace" to all of us wearied from wars.'¹³⁹ This was for Yoshima, a 'memorable day' and one that he clearly felt obliged to tell the editors about.¹⁴⁰

Magazines offered readers an opportunity to set out exactly what they wanted from the experience of a postal club. For instance, in the September 1974 issue of *Petersen's Photographic Magazine*, the editors printed a letter from John Fitzgerald (from Dublin, Ireland) asking for readers to 'exchange slides' citing his 'objective would be to learn a little more about each other's country and way of life through photography.'¹⁴¹ By soliciting correspondence and providing an overall aim made it clear to readers what they intended from the exchange.

For Raeburn, dialogue between staff, writer and fellow reader-photographers hints at 'the certainty they [amateurs] felt about being full members of photography's art world.'¹⁴² On the contrary, as I have demonstrated, people were uncomfortable with individual peer-to-peer communication for fear their correspondence would be ignored or provoke unkind or unsolicited feedback. Indeed, Wilcox expressed dissatisfaction from the attempts he made to elicit responses from contacts on the French list, observing that 'it is one thing to add your name to a list of possible photographic pen

¹³⁸ Henry Wilcox, "The English Lists," *Modern Photography* July 1950, 30.

¹³⁹ Dr. Iso Yoshima, "Memorable Day " *Modern Photography* February 1951, 32.

¹⁴⁰ Yoshima, "Memorable Day " 32.

¹⁴¹ John Fitzgerald, "Slide Exchange " *Petersen's Photographic* September 1974, 2.

¹⁴² Raeburn, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography*, 111.

pals, it is quite another to write a detailed letter of enquiry.¹⁴³ Not all correspondence proved fruitful; much depended upon the individual, the time and effort they gave to producing, selecting, and posting images, and their expectations from it. Indeed, letters soliciting exchange often made it quite clear what kind of feedback they wanted. In the February 1975 issue of *Petersen's Photographic*, Dr. A. G. Nedelko from Donetsk, Russia (then, the U.S.S.R) wrote a letter asking 'to exchange photographs with people in the United States. I'm 31 years old and interested in all types of photography. If anyone is interested in my offer, I assure them that I will answer all letters and review all materials sent to me. Incidentally, I first learned of Photo-Graphic [*sic*] through a photo-pal in Japan.'¹⁴⁴ This last line highlights the inter-connected network of amateurs that operated globally which photographic magazines contributed to and in some instances helped set up.

Despite the fact magazines facilitated external postal club and one-to-one communication, departments dedicated to amateur topics were prevalent in *Popular Photography* and *Modern Photography* during the 1950s and 60s. I now will investigate how amateurs interacted with set topics of photographic subject matter and how these 'pictures from our readers' sections can be useful to understand how magazines provide a space for amateur communication whilst upholding standards set by the editorial board (and leading photographers of the day). In the same way journals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provided feedback to reader on their submissions, mid-century photography magazines not only published feedback, they also set monthly challenges and themes with the incentive of monthly prizes: 'Amateur's Workshop: Let's Talk About Your Pictures' (*Popular Photography*), 'Pictures from Our Readers' (*Popular Photography*), 'Pictures from our Readers' (*Modern Photography*) (the editors award cash prizes for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd best images from the selection printed each issue), and 'Amateur Report' (*Modern Photography*). Within a magazine, there might be more than one outlet for the readership to have their pictures printed and surveyed. For instance, *Popular Photography's* 'Amateur's Workshop'

¹⁴³ Wilcox, "The English Lists," 30.

¹⁴⁴ Dr. A. G. Nedelko, "Foreign Correspondent " *Petersen's Photographic* February 1975, 4.

reviewed pictures sent in by the readers, of which the editor chose a favourite each issue, paying \$25 for each colour picture and \$15 for each black-and-white print. 'Amateur's Workshop Challenge!' (*Popular Photography*, April 1957) was a feature of the regular 'Amateur's Workshop' section. Each issue would give a photographic assignment, which the readership could pursue, sending in their pictures for publication in the next issue when a selection of images would be printed. Before, the amateur selection, a 'pro' would describe an image that for them captured the assignment. For example, Ansel Adams was chosen as the 'pro' element for assignment six: 'The River' challenge. The caption to Adams's 'Merced River' photograph reads thus: 'Pro Ansel Adams saw "The River" like this.' For the editors, it is not framed as a challenge but rather, a 'study' that balanced the technical aspects of picture making and his eye for capturing 'tranquillity.'¹⁴⁵

Whereas the editors have accompanied the photograph with a quote from Adams, the readers' pictures have captions that simply state the location, camera and film used, and technical details such as exposure and focal lens. From two thousand images sent in by eight hundred readers, only seven images were chosen for print. Adams's image takes up half a page whilst the amateur output covers two pages, the size varying for each photograph. As a consequence, the amateurs are framed as responding to the 'pro,' aping *his* photograph taking whilst reinforcing the notion of the amateur as delayed.¹⁴⁶ Whilst Adams maintained links with popular photography magazines (he was a member of the Photographic Society of America), writing articles on the Zone System ('My Camera in Yosemite Valley,' *Modern Photography*, January 1950 and 'The Print,' *Modern Photography*, June 1950), he also taught photography, and co-founding the group, f.64 in 1932 committed to the straight approach. Whereas Schwartz and Griffin (and independent of each other) make the case

¹⁴⁵ "Amateur's Workshop Challenge ", *Popular Photography* April 1958, 5-6.

¹⁴⁶ Whereas 'Amateur's Workshop' offered constructive advice championing images that, for them best represented the theme stipulated the previous month, 'Print Clinic's' (*Popular Photography*) remit was ostensibly to offer remedies for problems encountered by readers (identified in their images and letters). In the October 1956 issue of the aforementioned magazine, the reader, N. J. Netzel wrote a letter of congratulations to the editorial staff for the 'new feature [Print Clinic] *What's Wrong with My Pictures?* I am sure it will save us neophytes much time, film, money, and disappointment by correcting errors before they occur.' See, N. J. Netzel, "Print Clinic Plaudits " *Popular Photography* October 1956, 10.

that since photographers like Adams and Edward Weston oscillated 'between art worlds,' amateur photography was a middlebrow arena of cultural production (existing 'between art and industry'), as I have shown, the boundaries between centres and peripheries are permeable and the fact that reader/photographers wrote to publications to offer their opinions shows the impact of amateur photography on the formation of the centres.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, the letters pages show that readers understand this framing and sought to modify or change the direction of the editorial. There are numerous examples from readers criticising the extent to which Adams's writings on photography, notably the Zone System ('Use a Zone of Focus,' *Modern Photography*, February 1950), 'Ansel Adams Formulas-Photo Data,' *Modern Photography*, June 1950, *Petersen's Photographic* May 1973, August 1974, April 1975 issues) are repeated in photography magazines with readers seemingly vexed by the framing of it as a 'guide' for amateurs. For example, responding to an August 1974 article, R. Bartlett pronounces:

For goodness sake, one more Zone System article and I'll go back to Modern Photography- no, no not that please! Seriously, though, please no more Zone garbage. Every photo mag has whipped it to death over the past year so heavily that you have the photographic public wandering around mumbling in their gadget bags. Let's face it, it all boils down to an incident light metre. R. Bartlett San Diego, California.¹⁴⁸

Alongside this is a letter from Adams himself. In it he talks of his 'distress over the comments on the Zone System [...] I have written perhaps too "carefully" for a general-reader capability and have also made logical errors of statement and definition (especially in earlier days).'¹⁴⁹ Adams goes on to reconsider the Zone System in light of the new advancements in camera technology, film and paper developments suggesting that:

¹⁴⁷ Griffin, "Between Art and Industry: Amateur Photography and Middlebrow Culture," 193,96. For a case study on Adams, see Griffin, "Between Art and Industry: Amateur Photography and Middlebrow Culture," 193-99.

¹⁴⁸ R. Bartlett, "Zoned Out," *Petersen's Photographic*, September 1974, 2.

¹⁴⁹ Ansel Adams, "Pro Talk," *Petersen's Photographic*, August 1975, 7.

Without visualization, the Zone System is just a lot of chatter without meaning. Many of us find it important to “tune” our instruments -and that is just what the recommended tests are for [...] But almost everyone overlooks the basic fact that the Zone System enables individual concepts to be realized with due consideration for the limitations of the medium used.¹⁵⁰

In other words, the system is used at the discretion of the camera operator and therefore, any faults in using it lie at the feet of the photographer. Meaning is brought to images via the photographer, not the system. Although Adams counters the claim that the system is training people to take standardised images for repeat satisfaction each time it is followed, he attributes the blame for poor results to the reader thereby implying that without the vision of the photographer, the system will not produce good results. Yet, the fact that Adams replied to the complaints from readers shows how important popular photography magazines were for the leading photographers of the day.

Each amateur had their own, sometimes wildly differing opinions on the nature of amateur practice, and it is important to bear this in mind. The December 1949 selection of letters in *Modern Photography* contains three that highlight a dissatisfaction with the way, not only *Modern Photography*, but also the general category of popular photography magazines use terminology to describe photographic practice and the comparative articles that distinguish amateur photography from the ‘pro.’ The first letter, ‘And Our Amateurs,’ provides an insight into the self-awareness possessed by readers of the hierarchy of photographic practice.¹⁵¹ Written by Shelby Tapps, the letter reads thus:

I know that a magazine composed of items by amateurs would be a ghastly nightmare, but more for the amateurs in *Modern* would please me greatly. Pictures by big name photographers are fine to look at, but I am an amateur and I love my hobby with a passion even though I know little about it technically. Can't you devote more space to those who are really amateurs?¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Ansel Adams, “Pro Talk,” 7.

¹⁵¹ A shortened version of this section appeared in Mounfield, “Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery,” 66.

¹⁵² Shelby Tapps, “And Our Amateurs,” *Modern Photography*, December 1949, 108-109.

The letter from Tapps highlights the disinterest felt by many reader/photographers in the comparative articles between 'pro' and 'amateur.' It also shows he is aware of the negative assumptions about the 'amateur,' which have clearly shaped the way he interacts with the magazine. It is interesting that Tapps asks for further content for 'those who are really amateurs' which shows that, put together with his claims that he does not know about photography 'technically,' his understanding of the 'amateur' outlined in the magazine is based on automation. Clearly, this example reinforces my argument about the differentiation of the amateur practice and, more specifically, the awareness on behalf of reader/photographers of the hierarchies at play within each type of photographic practice. Whilst he does not conform to the category of 'aspirational amateur' put forth by Buse since the letter highlights his disinclination to learn how to produce 'professional standard' photographs, this example is invaluable for its emphasis on the authority of reader expectations.¹⁵³ However, in contrast, the second letter written by Jack Phelan highlights the expectation of the magazine acting as an interface between camera shop, manufacturer and reader:

As a run-of-the-mill amateur, I don't want sweet, routine how-to-do-it articles written for a hypothetical reader who doesn't know a lens from a viewfinder. I like definitive articles that tell me why the cheap IkoFlex I has a "T" coated Tessar lens while the Super I Konta doesn't; I want to know why the IkoFlex III and the Kodak Electra haven't been issued since the war, and what is the real dope on the new Contax. I want to look at ads that list cameras, lenses, and prices. These are some of the wants I expect Modern to fulfil for me. I hope you people keep in mind that those who own box cameras out of preference don't shell out the price of a subscription to a photo magazine.¹⁵⁴

The implication here is that if the magazine wants to continue charging subscription fees, maintain a readership and its profitable links with manufacturers, then it has to provide content for those amateurs who are committed enough to pay. Phelan's letter suggests that he is a 'run-of-the-mill' amateur, whereas by his definition, Tapps would be a 'hypothetical reader.' Whilst it could be said that Phelan is the gadget-driven consumer as written about by Stallabrass and Slater, I suggest that

¹⁵³ Buse, "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo Magazines," 51.

¹⁵⁴ Jack Phelan, "Sirs," *Modern Photography*, December 1949, 108.

these examples show the complexity of the photographic practice. The third letter 'All for the Pros' is an interesting reference point in the debate about amateur quality and homogeneity:

[...] you never miss a chance to print blurry, overexposed pictures by "name" photographers. Do you suppose an amateur could get away with stuff like that? If so, any amateur in this country can show you thousands of them. Actually your whole attitude is "Everything for the professionals, and to hell with the amateur."¹⁵⁵

Pankrac's letter demonstrates the impact of the contradictory messaging on readers. Whilst Pankrac may be unclear about tenets of pictorialism, it is clear that there is a divide between the increasing reification of name photographers. Twenty years later, this was more pronounced as Robert Routh in his 'Camera on Campus' editorial for *Petersen's Photographic* ('Are Students Being Put Down', 1977) describes the problems of measuring standards of photography by the principle comparing with what has gone before:

We imply trite things are bad, and we insist on some kind of novelty in photographs: that anything that has been done before is not fit to be touched again. Nobody can photograph a redwood, for example, because Ansel Adams has done it so thoroughly, and according to a lot of critics, it simply can't be done again.¹⁵⁶

Citing author of the 'popular textbook, *Photography*' and lecturer in photography at the University of Michigan, Phil Davis, Routh in the above quotation makes an interesting point about novelty.

Copying is seen negatively, as reinforced in the example of Adams's redwood image – students can take influence from Adams (his mentality), but not the particular subject matter depicted – notions of psychology come into play as the photographer is revered in a quasi-mystical way. Before long you will run out of original material and as such musings on the psychology or thinking of a photographer takes precedence as I outlined in chapter one.

¹⁵⁵ Fred Pankrac, "All for the Pros," *Modern Photography*, December 1949, 109.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Routh, "Are Students Being Put Down," *Petersen's Photographic*, June 1977, 126.

The preceding, and final section of chapter two has shown that whilst photography courses were being established in the college system post-Second World War (both technical and experimental courses), there was far more fluidity between the institutional structures and the domains of the amateur than have been previously surmised in the literature on the amateur photographer. As I have demonstrated, many who were subsequently canonised as great photographers wrote for photography magazines as well as working part-time as educators to pay for their picture-taking. Whilst education is structurally organized from the centres rippling out across marginalized groups that form peripheries, education or knowledge is exchanged by the centre to maintain the dominance and power structure. This ultimately reveals the fragility of the centres – they are counter-balanced by the peripheries.

Conclusion

As I demonstrated in the first half of chapter two, women's place in photography was debated on the pages of early photography journals by both men and women. Whilst I have provided an overview, using articles and letters from male and female readers (and the wives of amateurs) in photography journals, of the developments in the way the amateur was perceived by other practitioners and by the public throughout the first hundred years since the invention of the medium, in doing so, the chapter has made clear, the ways in which changes in gender roles impacted upon, not only those who undertook photography, but also the formation of other categories of practice. During the nineteenth-century, men and women's roles in photography were varied, and yet at the same time, conditioned by assumptions of innate masculine and female qualities (hand skills and patience) that predisposed them towards certain photographic work. Rather than portrayed ambiguously, as Stebbins has observed, the meaning and form of the practice of amateur photography was written about and debated in photography magazine such that each practitioner had her or his definition. The fact that journals published competing narratives implies

that, far from simply a binary between art photographers and snapshoters as Sternberger has argued, there exists numerous amateur categorisations. Whilst, the splintering of factions of the amateur created peripheries and centres of practitioners, these fissures have been underscored by narratives of gender, class and race though the latter this is not within the remit of this thesis to discuss in more detail.

I have expanded upon the ways in which the image of woman was used as an advertising incentive from the beginnings of a commercial studio practice (portrait photography) prior to the expansion of the market of photography in the late nineteenth-century. Whilst mass production created more affordable and simpler photographic equipment, it conversely reduced women's access to clubs, education, photography magazines and the means by which to display and make money from photography. Concurrently, the re-orientation of traditional gender roles (women in the private home as opposed to being depicted on a 'Kodak adventure') strengthened the narrative of women as family recorders (general snapshot taker) and men as amateurs.

Photographic exchange via the postal system fostered an atmosphere of learning and debate and, more to the point, enabled communication between the multifarious amateur groupings. The second half of the chapter has demonstrated how communication of progress was a fundamental aspect of the magazine and journal culture with many individuals and, or groups of people exchanging information with publishing outlets acting as conduits between readership, editorial, photographers and critics. Although letters were printed at the discretion of the magazine, I have demonstrated the importance of having a photographic literary culture. Insofar as they show the scope of a photography publication, they also highlight the ways in which these leading magazines were subject to pressure from the readers. The relationship between camera users and magazines was a complex interplay. Not only have I outlined a full account of mid-twentieth-century American amateur photographic culture, but I have also shown through examination of textual traces in photography magazines of the time, a lively, and participatory atmosphere. Readers were not

passive consumers; they actively engaged in a dialog with writers and editors, who in turn responded and sometimes changed course. The reach of these magazines, and their communities of letter writers, even extended internationally. Therefore, highlighting amateurism as multifarious. I do not want to suggest that photography journals and magazines are independent and subsist without influence. Rather, my intention has been to identify a mode of transference that takes place between the readership, editorial and external agencies (manufacturers, institutions, and photographer/educators). Without people taking up photography, there would be no consumers for camera equipment and, therefore, no readership. Magazines work as agents between centres and peripheries, acting as both repository and space for amateur exchange whilst proliferating the idea that the space between the two forms can be navigated with, of course, the correct characteristics. Photography publications form infrastructures of knowledge transfer – between centres and peripheries, peripheries and peripheries and centres and centres – such that the letters pages act as a space for people to discuss the constraints of the perceived parameters of photography, reflecting the frustrations with the way the amateur is written about, labelled, and organised in such a way so as to police the boundaries of photographic production and consumption. At the same time, magazines also played a role in reproducing negative associations such that the amateur practice is seen to be homogenised.

Insofar as this chapter has re-situated amateur photographic practice in the history of photography in order to show not only the centralism of the amateur to the history of photography, but also highlight the formation of photographic categories is underpinned by notions of sex and gender, chapter three will look closely at the mid-twentieth century with an intention to examine the confluence between the feminisation of the amateur practice, as shown in this chapter, and the changes in gender roles during and after the Second World War impacted on women's access to, and place within the photographic milieu.

Chapter Three

Mid-Twentieth-Century Photography Magazines: Gender Roles, Photography and the Amateur

A black-and-white print [Fig. 47] is framed by a bathroom door slightly ajar. A man perches on the edge of the family bath, balancing a developing tray on his knees with one hand, whilst the other holds tongs clasp photographic paper. The space is cramped, a fact accentuated by the half-open door. Not for this man the luxury of a dedicated darkroom. There is another photographer in the scene, but not in the image: the person taking the picture. That both are squeezed into this small space suggests they took an interest in one another's photograph taking, perhaps exchanging information and images. In 1954, Vivian Maier began working for the McMillan family in Stuyvesant Town, New York City. Dr. McMillan was an amateur photographer, and it is he who is sitting developing his negatives in the family bathroom. Taking the picture is Maier, who also took pictures of the McMillan children playing in the same bathtub [Fig. 48]. Maier accompanied the McMillan family on outings, sharing the picture-taking with Dr. McMillan, who asked Maier to take a picture of him cutting down a large Christmas tree, and subsequently of him hauling his conquest back with the rest of the family [Fig. 49].¹

Maier and Dr. McMillan produced and shared photographs with one another, but they were subject to different conditions. She was employed in his household, and therefore subject to his authority, as well as to the implicit expectations placed on women. Chapter two provided a historiography of American photography through the lens of the amateur as a way to re-examine the ways in which photography has developed since the beginnings of the medium in 1839. Within the photographic

¹ I do not have access to the picture of Dr. McMillan cutting down the tree. For a biographical breakdown of where Maier was living and working and the families for whom she worked for during the 1950s and the photographs she took during the period see, Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 49-197. For a less rigorous mapping of her whereabouts, see chapters seven to twelve in Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Nanny Photographer*.

periphery, women have been, and continue to be marginalised as casual (family) shooters. This designation of a woman's practice has, I argue, not only made it difficult for women to undertake photography, but has also produced gendered associations of the practice of photography. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the gendered hierarchies within which Maier was taking pictures, which have shaped her posthumous construction and subsequent framing. Whilst this will not be an exhaustive treatment, it will offer an account of women's involvement in photography that has thus far been neglected in the scholarship of both amateur and canonical histories of the medium. Rather than try to combine linear historiographies of amateur and professionalised photographic practice, I aim to continue to theorise photography through the methodology of centres and peripheries.

Martin Heifermann argues that figure 47, among others, is a reference to the learning process Maier must have undertaken in order to produce such assured photographs. For him, the image is suggestive that 'she was engaged in a dialogue with others about picture-making.'² Maier subscribed to *Popular Photography* and read other photography magazines, as well as books on (and biographies of) prominent artists and photographers. Magazines were not necessarily arbiters of taste; rather, they facilitated communication and debate. Whilst it is generally acknowledged that postwar photography magazines tended to solicit a male audience since they often depicted male photographers taking pictures of female models and prominently discussed male leisure time, it is important to note that both men and women read the magazines, with editorial space often carved out specifically for female readers. Although very little has been written about the gendering of photography magazines, except from Buse who has framed his analysis of photography publications by looking at the camera as gadget, this chapter will consider the impact of this on the way women

² Heifermann, "Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier," 17. Bannos references the Maloof print included in the monograph *Vivian Maier: A Photographer Found* as being presented with a 'misleading caption, "An acquaintance of Maier's making photographic prints. New York, 1954.'" See, Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 134-35. Perhaps, Bannos is acknowledging the difference in the way Dr. McMillan's photography is categorised. Not only is his self-proclaimed amateur status eradicated, so too is the class dynamic between them – employer with employee. Chapter four will go further to think through this unequal status, whilst chapter three will set out the gender differences inherent in the photographic periphery.

interact with photography publications, their photographic practice, on the way women perceive their involvement with photography and more to the point, in the way written histories of women, for example in the case of Maier, have been constructed.

Although the United States is viewed as a global centre, as Vlachou has highlighted, within centres we can locate multiple peripheries. In the context of the history of photography, New York is the epicentre of artistic practice, most notably as a physical, visual, and ideological referent of street photography – in the same way that Maier’s New York images are the focus of the construction of her photographic identity. Within the dichotomy of centre-periphery, if the city is a centre, then the suburb has generally been constructed as the (feminine) opposite. As chapter two has shown, within the amateur periphery, multiple centres and peripheralised spaces have been, and continue to be constructed.³ Due to the cultural and institutional negative connotations of the amateur, and the ways in which women’s involvement with photography has been seen to accrue a passivity to amateur photography, there is a cultural falsity persistent within society that photography taken by women is confined to the home. As such, chapter three aims to challenge this view by shedding light on the agents (publications, manufacturers, advertising) that have, and continue to promulgate this narrative. I intend to situate photography within the socio-historical context of the mid-twentieth century in order to highlight the ways in which the medium was, and continues to be imbricated in the gendered debates of leisure and the commercialisation of American society.⁴

³ Whilst I am ascribing Vlachou’s theory of peripheries to the medium of photography, contemporary photography scholarship has detailed the multiplicity of the medium’s uses, users, and the difficulty with which to write a historiography of photography with this in mind. For a general overview of the different threads of photographic practice, see Ben Burbridge and Annabella Pollen, eds., *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2018); Gil Pasternak, ed. *The Handbook of Photography Studies* (London Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020); Pollen, "Objects of Denigration and Desire: Taking the Amateur Photographer Seriously."

⁴ For an overview of the academic study of ‘male panic’ in postwar America see Bruce Traister, "Academic Viagra: The Rise of American Masculinity Studies " *American Quarterly* 52, no. June (2000).

Postwar Mass Culture: Gender, Domesticity and Technology

Maier photographed the family with whom she lived and worked as both a condition of being employed and as part of her everyday photographic practice. However, whilst images depicting the former have been cited in monographs and in the biography by Marks as evidence that she was interested in cultivating a career in photography, the latter has rarely been written about except as part of a general background overview on Maier's life. Furthermore, the subject matter photographed by Maier is typical for the category of family photography. In this chapter I will ultimately argue that the reason why it is rare for this body of images, distinct from street scenes, to be discussed and publicly acknowledged is that much of the material is from the periods of her employment in the 'suburbs,' thus complicating the modernist narrative of the (male) photographer unencumbered by external domestic pressures. As I discussed in chapter one, Maier's photographs from the 1960s onwards, when she was working for middle-class families in the suburbs of Chicago, are generally seen to be representative of a psychological malaise. John Hartley contends that 'scholars rarely venture into suburbia except to pathologize it.'⁵ I argue in this chapter that Maier's geographical move from city to suburb is viewed negatively because it establishes her in the ideological domain of the middle-class woman, thus neutralising her creativity by constricting the scope of *artistic* subject matter. Moreover, it is the domestication of her photography that is seen to be a primary factor in why she did not succeed as a photographer.

Furthermore, as I demonstrated in the introduction to the thesis, the construction of gender in the differentiation of the amateur practice has indirectly, and negatively informed scholarly research on amateur photography. For instance, Slater describes the amateur photographer as 'conventionalized, passive, privatized' which I argue is evocative of, in the words of James Gilbert 'the mass culture debate of the 1950s [which] generated a host of fears and recriminations about

⁵ John Hartley, "The Sexualization of Suburbia " in *Visions of Suburbia* ed. Roger Silverstone (London Routledge 1997), 186.

the creeping feminization of American society.⁶ As chapter two demonstrated, whilst women are seen to be natural consumers, the relationship between masculine production and feminine consumption is not entirely straightforward; indeed, Kodak in the late nineteenth century pursued this complex relationship as a conscious strategy to expand its market. Moreover, since being 'passive' is viewed as a quintessentially feminine quality, I argue that Slater is criticising (male) amateur photographers for, not only taking on the role of women, as consumers of camera products, but also condemning camera manufacturers for initiating a market for amateur photography (widening access to women).⁷

Not only is the ideological and spatial division between public and private upheld by sexual difference, so too are the boundaries between photographic centres and peripheries (and between different peripheries). In this section of the chapter, I will frame my discussion of the gendering of photographic practice using scholarship on gender, consumption and technology during the postwar period in order to argue that, as Roger Silverstone contends, suburban culture is seen to represent the middlebrow ('despised middle').⁸ In short, as Maier and other women lived within the spaces of the suburb, they have been constricted by the ideologies of the spatialisation of gender.

Furthermore, I will show how this ideological construct was both complicated by and enacted in photography magazines.

Mid-twentieth-century photography magazines did employ women writers, far more than ever before, though still a relatively small proportion compared with the male staff. Women were also paid much less than their male counterparts.⁹ Typically, female contributors in *Modern Photography*

⁶ Slater, "Marketing Mass Photography," 289; James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago Chicago University Press, 2005), 189.

⁷ A key text on the way society is mapped by sexual difference, see Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson, eds., *The Gendered Society Reader* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2013 reprint, Fifth).

⁸ See Roger Silverstone, "Introduction," in *Visions of Suburbia* ed. Roger Silverstone (London Routledge 1997). I have quoted 'despised middle' from Stallabrass, *Gargantua*, 31.

⁹ Margaret Bourke White has noted how she 'was always getting all the tough jobs that the man refused and getting paid half of what any beginning man would have gotten.' Ruth Orkin described 'when I was starting out in photojournalism in the 40s, my boyfriend was getting more money than I was for same work.' Quoted in

were either working as commercial photographers or as freelance photojournalists for magazines such as *Life* and *Look*.¹⁰ Although *Popular Photography* had the largest readership in the mid-twentieth century, they commissioned less work by women than their rivals, though those they did tended to be either readers (who submitted work), child photographers or portraitists in commercial studios and as such they mainly discussed domestic subjects.¹¹ There are several reasons for this and chapter two has gone some way to make this clear. In this chapter I will hone in on the developments in the history of photography that account for this disparity.

Richard Whelan, "Are Women Better Photographers Than Men?," *ArtNews* October 1980. Found in Peter Palmquist Women in Photography Collection, Box 140, Women Photographers: Miscellaneous Articles 1850-1995, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

¹⁰ Between the first issue and November 1950 there were no women on the editorial staff roster. From December 1950 Jacquelyn Judge was employed as an editor. I cannot say when she left the magazine, but she is still in the role until at least 1952. From March 1952 Mabel Schacheri became the editor of a new column 'The Camera Clubs.' This is a list of all the articles written by women for *Modern Photography* between September 1949 and December 1952: 'What Movie Camera' by Edith Shepherd (March 1950), 'Movie Section: Over Dependency' by Edith Shepherd (April 1950), 'Fleeting Moments in Color' by Tana Hoban (September 1950), 'Tempo College Photography' (October 1950), 'Dmitri Kessel: What Makes a LIFE photographer?' by Jacquelyn Judge (December 1950), 'Is There One Best Print?' by Edna Bennett (December 1950), 'Child Photography' by Tana Hoban (February 1951), 'Hurry Up and Wait: The News Photographers Theme' by Jacquelyn Judge (February 1951), 'Arnold Newman Looks Back' by Jacquelyn Judge (April 1951), 'Imogen Cunningham and the Straight Approach' by Christina Berding (May 1951), 'Movie Script: the Family Picnic' by Miriam Raeburn (May 1951), 'Movie-Script: A Day at the Beach' by Miriam Raeburn (June 1951), 'Max Desfor: How a Pulitzer-Prize Winner Gets That Way' by Natalie Whitley (February 1952), ('Photographing Dogs which are Stuffed and Babies which are Not' by Mildred [surname has been erased over time] (March 1952), 'A Paradoxical Parisian Photo Journalist' by Julie Smith (April 1952), 'Edward Weston & The Nude' by Nancy Newhall (June 1952), 'Is Black-and White-Better than Color' by Barbara Morgan and Ivan Dimitri (July 1952), 'City at Dawn' by Diane and Ray Witlin (July 1952), 'How to Plan Wedding Pictures' by Jean Pitcher (July 1952), 'What's Peak Action' by Elizabeth and Ron Partridge (August 1952), 'Shadow Contest Winners' by Jacquelyn Judge (August 1952), 'No Fun for Me: Bright Shade is best for Portraits' by Ruth Orkin (August 1952), 'Picture Section' by Jacquelyn Judge (September 1952), 'Light it With Lamps, Shoot it with Flash' by Cora Alsberg (October 1952), 'Peter Basch: Glamour Portraits' by Jacquelyn Judge (October 1952), 'He Develops 18 Rolls at Once' by Edith Coverdale (November 1952), 'Fritz Henle's First Movie: A Famous Photographer Turns From Stills to Motion Pictures' by Jacquelyn Judge (November 1952), 'Make a Different Card' by Cora Alsberg (December 1952), 'YILLA Again' by Jacquelyn Judge.

¹¹ *Popular Photography* magazine included the following women writers (sample taken between February 1955 to December 1958): 'Ways with Children,' 'Capture a Child's World Indoors'; 'Capture a Child's World Outdoors' by Nell Dorr (March 1955); 'Days With Children: A Window and a Photoflood' by Phoebe Dunn (March 1955); 'Lesson in Lighting' by Josephine Von Miklos (June 1955); 'How to Shoot a Wedding' by Mildred Stagg' (June 1955); 'Need a Natural Setting for Children's Portraits – Try Trees' by Phoebe Dunn (July 1955); 'Six Ways to Darken the Sky' by Pamela Stephens (July 1955); 'Do-It-Yourself Darkroom' by Josephine Von Miklos (October 1955); 'What Happened to the Snapshot' by Dorothy Fields (May 1956); 'How to Make Flixchrome Full Color Prints' by Lynn Rayman (September 1956); 'Teen Age Photographer- photographs by Joan Von Der Keuken' (October 1956); 'Add Colour To Your Prints' by Tamala Stevens (January 1957); 'Problem: Tranquillity Photographs and Captions' by Margery Lewis (February 1957); 'Movies Column: 'For Women Only' by Helen Ainsworth (March 1957); 'Twin-Lens Reflex Ideal for Children' by Phoebe Dunn (July 1957); 'Industrial: Esther Bubley' (August 1957); 'Simple Temperature Controlled Unit' by Tracy Diers (September 1958).

Twentieth-century photography magazines understood the expansion of camera users and the importance of tapping into this as a way to funnel the market for buying cameras into subscribers. Buse argues that 'the word "Popular" in the title of the magazine may signal an ambition to democratise photography, but technological advances that made photography even more popular were clearly considered a threat to the identity of the magazine's core (male) audience, whose aspirations had to be carefully cultivated.'¹² Here, Buse argues that, whilst on the one hand the magazine caters to a certain popularisation (feminisation) of photography, allowing it to build an audience for itself, the acceleration of that popularisation (read feminisation) threatens to dilute the identity of the audience.

During the war years, an advertisement [Fig. 50] for John G. Marshall 'photo-coloring oils' was continually published throughout issues of *Popular Photography*. To the left of the advertisement is an image of a young woman smiling toward the viewer, holding a photographic print in both hands. The male figure in the photographic print is in military uniform and the accompanying text makes clear the link between colouring and memorialising loved ones – 'Try Marshall's Khaki and Navy Blue' – planned especially for photography of men in uniform undertaken by women.¹³ Whilst chapter two demonstrated that women were corralled into working as retouchers and colourers as a way not only to gain independence but also to use their 'feminine' skills in the production of photography, here Marshall's advertisement indicates that such activities have been, for women, domesticated. Whilst women undertook war work in factories and positions traditionally the domain of men, photography advertisements (in magazines) alongside other publications (specifically women's lifestyle), particularly by the end of the Second World War, contradictorily discussed women's prospects for employment whilst also their maternal duties in the home.¹⁴ I would like to

¹² Buse, "The Photographer as Reader: The Aspirational Amateur in the Photo Magazines," 52.

¹³ "It's Easy, It's Fun-Marshall Method of Photo Coloring ", *Popular Photography* July 1944, 99.

¹⁴ See Alex H. Poole, "'As Popular as Pin-up Girls': The Armed Services Editions, Masculinity, and Middlebrow Print Culture in the Mid-Twentieth Century United States " *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 52, no. 4 (2017); Martin Hand and Elizabeth Shove, "Orchestrating Concepts: Kitchen Dynamics and Regime Change in *Good Housekeeping* and *Ideal Home*, 1922-2002," *Home Cultures* 1, no. 3 (2004); Nancy A. Walker, ed. *Women's Magazines, 1940-1960: Gender Roles and Popular Press* (Bedford/St. Martins 1998).

focus on one particular article entitled 'Women with Cameras' – 'is there a camera in your family? Get it off the shelf, turn your kitchen into a part-time darkroom, and have fun' - in the September 1943 *Popular Photography* written by Margaret A. Tucker to show the complex relations between manufacturer, magazine and reader. Tucker directly engages the female reader asking about their 'husband':

So your husband has a camera? And is he a darkroom addict too? Perhaps he has to curtail his photographic activities because of a warden's job, a seat on the ration board, extra hours at the office or bench, or his Victory garden. Or perhaps your Johnny is already in Uncle Sam's army and has laid aside his camera to pick up his gun.¹⁵

The statement above alongside the sub-heading implies that not only is war work carried out by men, the comparison between the 'camera' and the 'gun' reiterates photography as a masculine medium, and a somewhat dangerous one that, in the context of peace-time, women are not suited to, at least not the photography that men are alluded to undertake in the passage above. Tucker goes on to say that whilst men undertake war work, women's leisure time can be used to not only continue work left by their husbands but also use the camera to record the children, describing photography as a 'ideal hobby for women [...] [though] you may never get beyond the snapshot stage but you will get a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction [...] photography a stay home hobby, a patriotic hobby [for women].'¹⁶ This implies that women's war work is essentially conducted in the home, though not as a substitute for men, rather a somewhat less capable stand-in. As chapter two made clear, women were mobilised by manufacturers, primarily Kodak in the role as family recorder which is reinforced by Tucker who suggests that as part the 'homemaker's' patriotic duty they should make an album, one for the children and one for the absent husband. To be clear, Tucker was a reader who had submitted her article to the publication, having also included photographs to demonstrate, one of which was commended – 'housewife takes first honors this month' - in the

¹⁵ Margaret A. Tucker, "Women with Cameras " *Popular Photography* September 1943, 38.

¹⁶ Tucker, "Women with Cameras " 88.

'Pictures from our Readers' section [Fig. 51]. There is a correlation between the rhetoric employed by Tucker and that of advertisements (like the one above) published in photography magazines. In fact, in the September issue, an advertisement for Revere 8 'home-movie' equipment suppliers [Fig. 52] shows a woman filming two children (one boy and one girl) climbing a wooden fence, a scenic countryside view behind them. However, the figure of the woman could easily be missed since she is in the bottom left corner of the advertisement. In the centre of the page, below the children, is a scene showing, presumably the husband in his military uniform, projecting the film (his wife has made) of his children to his army colleagues. Kenyon, writing about photography magazines in the 1930s and 40s, argues that the expansion of images of women did not reflect an endorsement of women as ideal amateurs, but rather broadens 'photography's appeal to women' whilst constructing them as 'partner[s]' to the male husband/amateur 'committed to photography.'¹⁷ Revere are clearly identifying a female consumer ('home-movie'), which is replicated in the regular *Popular Photography* 'Amateur Movie' section. Also within the September issue is an article informing a female readership how to 'Make a Movie for a Serviceman' which not only reinforces women in the memorialist role of recorder, but also separates women from the category of amateur filmmaker since they are advocated as hobbyists undertaking this role as part of their familial duty. I will analyse filmmaking more closely in the later part of the chapter as part of an examination of the masculinisation of mass culture which took place in postwar America.

Not only did camera manufacturers locate women in the home, with the end of the Second World War, magazines debated women's place in the commercial field of photography. In the December 1945 *U.S. Camera* magazine, the editorial carefully gauged the opinions of five 'top-notch women photographers' about whether, since the war in Europe had ended, 'it [is] an advantage or disadvantage to be a woman photographer?' ('The Inquiring Photographer'). Sassa Liveright asserts that her sex has 'never been a handicap,' in fact, she argues that in portrait photography, women are

¹⁷ Kenyon, *Inside Amateur Photography*, 75.

better suited than men since they are 'better at talking with clients'. Similarly, Contance Bannister, a specialist baby photographer reproduces assumptions about women's suitability in particular fields of photography by asserting that women photographing fashion images 'were better fitted to do this type of photography.' Lena Towsley, a child photographer, makes clear the differences between men and women and that ultimately 'a specialist in baby's portraiture should sound like a woman.'

Though Eileen Darby (photographer for a picture agency) maintains there is 'no question of sex when you have a camera in your hand,' she admits that 'maybe some eyebrows do go up when I turn up for the job that has been covered by a man in the past.' However, Toni Frissell is frank in her discussion of women's status within the field of commercial photography, complaining of the difficulty in getting war assignments (particularly being taken seriously by G.I.s) and concluding that 'in camera reporting [...] the advantage goes to the male photographer. Editors seem to think that men are better reporters than women except in fashion work.'¹⁸ Frissell highlights the role magazines and those commissioning projects have in demarcating work according to sex.

Whilst the article provides women with an outlet to convey their experiences, it is important to note that the magazine specifically chose who to interview, and as such the dynamic between the two needs to be considered further. Whilst Stephen Bull, among others notes that clashes in editorial policy led to a number of staff photographers to terminate their employment with magazines during the 1940s and 50s 'seeking greater independence,' little has been acknowledged about how women were often short-circuited from doing so since not only were they understood to photograph particular subject matter, economic stability also necessitated the transformation to freelance work.¹⁹ Although Frissell is perhaps the most well-known today, others are less so to a general audience.²⁰ Commercial and amateur portraits of children and babies made by both men and women have been relegated to the margins of photographic history since the subject matter is

¹⁸ "The Inquiring Photographer: Five Top-Notch Women Photographers ", *U. S. Camera* December 1945, 66-67.

¹⁹ Bull, *Photography* 109.

²⁰ Bannister and Darby are briefly mentioned in recuperative histories of women photographers, see Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, Third ed. (New York & London: Abbeville Press, 2010), 187-88.

deemed the domain of women, and therefore, feminine and trite. Rosenblum notes that 'this obscurity resulted from a number of factors, most notably the pedestrian quality of the images and the absence of an art market for them.'²¹ Yet, whilst scholars such as Martha West point out that the serious (male) amateur was demarcated from the general (feminised) amateur, to go further, during the twentieth century, magazines made subtle divisions (by including female photographers like those discussed above) between photographers in the latter category. This, I argue, is imbricated in the wider societal debate, as discussed in chapter two, concerning the feminisation of mass culture and the cultural anxieties regarding the growth of women in employment.

In, 1944, with millions of veterans due to return from war to uncertain prospects, President Roosevelt passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the G.I. Bill.²² This offered unemployment benefits, access to loans, and payment for college tuition for white male veterans as well as espousing a reaffirmation of domesticity contributing to huge growth in higher education institutions, and a boom in marriage.²³ Whilst, as I will discuss later in the chapter, pin-up photography proliferated in the media (also in photography magazines) during and after the war, veterans were actively encouraged to marry and start a family since, as Elaine Tyler May has outlined, the Cold War rhetoric of the Red Scare engendered anxieties about the stability of the family as an institution such that women's traditional gender roles were intimately linked to national and foreign policy.²⁴ Coinciding with this, 18 million people moved to suburbia between 1950 and

²¹ Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, 188.

²² For a historical study on the impacts of the G.I. Bill, see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 77.

²³ By 1947, veterans made up nearly half of all college enrolments, see May, *Homeward Bound* 78.

²⁴ For example, the 'kitchen debate' is an exchange that took place between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and Vice-President Richard Nixon at the opening of the American National Exhibition at Sokolniki Park in Moscow on July 24, 1959, where Cold War competition took on the rhetoric of the domestic. At an exhibition of American consumer products, Khrushchev extolled the productive labour of Soviet women working in factories, to which Nixon (who pointed at one of the washing machines) retorted 'In America, these [washing machines] are designed to make things easier for our housewives.' Whilst neither could appease the other, Khrushchev suggested 'Let's drink to the ladies' and Nixon replied 'We can all drink to the ladies.' See chapter one in May, *Homeward Bound* 16-20. For scholarship on the impact of foreign and national policy and the coordination gender roles, see Warren Susman and Edward Griffin, "Did Success Spoil the United States? Dual Representations in Postwar America," in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*, ed. Lary May (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1989).

1960.²⁵ Silverstone has argued that whilst in reality the suburb is 'never ideal, never perfect, always contentious, suburbs have nevertheless become models of hominess' and as Lynn Spigel makes clear, they were viewed also as 'antithetical spheres of action.'²⁶ Yet, both spaces were connected since the American dream was seen to be fulfilled in the suburban middle-class home with its abundance of domestic appliances.²⁷ The female/suburban and male/urban dichotomy does not adequately reflect the 'real lives of women' since, simultaneously, by the mid-1950s, rates of women's employment matched those attained during the Second World War.²⁸ Notably, the number of married women in employment rose by forty-two per cent by 1960, thirty per cent of married women were employed, and thirty-nine per cent of all mothers with school-age children were in the labour force.²⁹ As the television set during the 1950s became more accessible to middle-class families, women were informed about themselves via the mass media and subject to, according to Susan J. Douglas, contradictory messaging whereby women were 'pinioned between two voices, one insisting we were equal, the other insisting we were subordinate,' turning women into a pastiche of 'all the good women and bad women that came to us through the printing presses, projectors, and

²⁵ William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War Two*, 7th ed. (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2010), 112.

For scholarship on the history of the geographical formation of suburbs, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York and Oxford Oxford University Press, 1985); Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson University of Arizona Press, 1998); John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (Yale University Press, 2012).

²⁶ Silverstone, "Introduction," 14. Lynn Spigel, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs* (Durham and London Duke University Press, 2001), 4.

²⁷ See, Susman and Griffin, "Did Success Spoil the United States? Dual Representations in Postwar America," 23; Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, eds., *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Technology* (Charlottesville and London University of Press of Virginia 1998), 2-4; Steven Lubar, "Men/Women/Production/Consumption," in *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Technology*, ed. Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun (Charlottesville and London University Press of Virginia 1998), 13-17.

²⁸ There is a vast literature on the suburb/city divide, much of which cites the place of women in the home as gospel, see Barry Schwartz, *The Changing Face of the Suburbs* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1976). For further scholarship that challenges the narrative that women were only located in the private realm of the suburban home, see, Susan Saegert, "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarized Ideas, Contradictory Realities" *Signs* 5, no. 3, Women and the American City (1980); Ann R. Markusen, "City Spatial Structures, Women's Household Work, and National Urban Policy" *Signs* 5, no. 3, Women and the American City (1980); Robert Fishman, "Urbanity and Suburbanity: Rethinking the 'Burbs," *American Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1994); William H. Chafe, "The Postwar Years and the Revival of Feminism" in *The Paradox of Change* ed. William H. Chafe (New York and Oxford Oxford University Press, 1991).

²⁹ Susan M. Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years" in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1994), 86.

airwaves of America' resulting in women simultaneously encompassing a 'host of personas.'³⁰ In contrast, Betty Friedan's *The Feminist Mystique*, published in 1963, describes the 'feminine mystique' as the narrative promulgated in women's magazines that a woman's 'world' is the suburban home, whereby her role of 'house-wife' is at the dominion of men and therefore, unable to express themselves as individuals or attain careers.³¹ Whilst Friedan encouraged women to seek employment, she was also an enthusiastic proponent of marriage (and not emasculating spouses) disparaging overprotective mothers for producing spoilt children and effeminacy in boys tapping into the discourse circulating at the time concerning 'male panic.'³²

Feminist scholarship in the last thirty-years, including Joanne Meyerowitz has reassessed Friedan's text to show that whilst she put a name to the misogyny inherent in society, she also made 'sweeping generalities' that ignored the fact women were actively mobilised to enter to the work force in women's magazines and the impact of this on their roles within the home.³³ Interestingly, the figure of the nanny, according to Anne McLeer, was at the forefront of discussions on gender roles in the mid-twentieth century arguing that films such as *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* (1965) are responses to the cultural anxieties surrounding gender roles whereby the figure of the nanny acts as a filmic device in order to address 'irresolvable contradictions' in the very idea of American femininity; what it represents and how it is performed with the message to American mothers that they should not simply go to work and hire a nanny, rather, 'a woman's chief and most satisfying role in life is in the home, and that their dissatisfactions therein can be solved by

³⁰ Susan J. Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing up Female in the Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1994), 17.

³¹ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (Penguin Classics 2010 (1963)). Three years later, Friedan co-founded the National Organization for Women (NOW).

³² See Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* x. Although the term 'homosexual panic' was coined by psychiatrist Edward J. Kempf in 1920, there was widespread fear of effeminacy in postwar America. Philip Wylie wrote *A Generation of Vipers* in 1942 coining the term 'momism' in which he blamed overprotective mothers (akin to the totalitarian regime of Nazism) for tethering boys to the home, Philip Wylie, *Generation of Vipers* 2nd ed. (Dalkey Archive Press, 2009 (1942)), 88. The concept of 'momism' continued to be circulated by psychologists in the 1950s and 60s.

³³ Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 4 (1993): 1481; Rachel Bowlby, "'The Problem with No Name': Rereading Friedan's *the Feminine Mystique*" *Feminist Review* 27 (1987): 61-75.

rearranging family configurations.³⁴ Indeed, as I have previously noted, texts on parenting during this period suggest that men should reject the Victorian ethic of the distant father since this left women open to coddling their children. In the next sections of the chapter, I will show that these contradictory narratives were not only present in photography magazines, but they were also debated.

During *Finding Vivian Maier*, Maloof incorporates sequences from several 8mm reels including a scene where she follows the route taken by the woman who was subsequently killed (Maier ends by filming the funeral service) [Fig. 53] and another in which she films the child Inger Raymond visiting an abattoir to watch the cattle on their way to the slaughter chamber [Fig. 54].³⁵ For the most part, the 8mm films have been used to bolster the characterisation of Maier as an eccentric photographer. Although, Maier also filmed sequences showing the children playing [Fig. 55] and attending school events [Fig. 56], Marks has described these reels as examples of a time Maier was happy and felt part of a family (living a childhood she never had) which having to leave when she was no longer required as a nanny is portrayed as a deeply traumatic experience, one which she never fully recovers from.³⁶ Interestingly, the (lack of) quality of Maier's films is consistently mentioned by commentators reinforcing the narrative that Maier was a photographer first and foremost.³⁷ Discussion of her audiotape recordings and 8mm and 16mm films in the monographic

³⁴ Anne McLeer, "Practical Perfection? The Nanny Negotiates Gender, Class, and Family Contradictions in 1960s Popular Culture," *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 2 (2002): 85-86. For more scholarship on the way anxieties concerning gender roles are navigated in popular culture depictions of the figure of the nanny, see Chris Cuomo, "Spinsters in Sensible Shoes: Mary Poppins and Bedknobs and Broomsticks" in *From Mouse to Mermaid: The Politics of Film, Gender, and Culture*, ed. Lynda Haas Elizabeth Bell, and Laura Sells (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1995); Susan J. Douglas, "Genies and Witches" in *Where the Girls Are: Growing up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1994).

³⁵ There is a small note, written by Maier on a piece of blue paper that accompanies this reel. It says, "1972 Chicago murder of mother and baby market where she found add for babysitting job which led to disappearance and death." Reel 8, '1972,' The Maloof Collection, Howard Greenberg Gallery, New York. Maier and Inger were at the stock yards in Chicago, Reel 7 January 1, 1975 ('Stock Yards shortly before its death'), The Maloof Collection, Howard Greenberg Gallery, New York.

³⁶ Marks specifically engages with reel 6 showing Maier playing with the Gensburg children during a trip to pick strawberries [Fig. 57]. See Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 135.

³⁷ Maloof owns 150 8mm and 16mm movies – all from the 1960s and 70s. Nine reels have been made available for non-commercial exhibitions (I have been provided with digital recordings of these nine reels) and one

literature presents them as somewhat an anathema given that they do not continue the pattern of street work made indelible in the curation of her photographs.³⁸

Whilst the thesis is primarily concerned with still photography, I want to briefly examine mid-century amateur home-movie making as it makes clear the interstices in technology that at once precipitated access for women practitioners whilst also limiting them. I do not want to generalise about women's involvement with photography: Maier is a testament to the problems that incurs, though neither do I want to ignore the generalisations made in photography magazines. While Patricia R. Zimmermann has shown in her studies on amateur movie-making that during the 1950s, magazines emphasised the ideology of family togetherness primarily making the family the subject of home movies, though her analysis of women amateur film-makers is limited.³⁹ During the 1950s, home-movie making, much like photography, was advertised as the ideal way to capture events taking place in the private family household. More to the point, photography magazines began distinguishing between photography and home-movie making made by women and by men with regular articles published specifically for women in the home-movie department of *Popular Photography* and *Modern Photography*.⁴⁰ One article to do so in *Popular Photography*, entitled 'For Women Only' (March 1957) by Helen Ainsworth, as told to Thomas J. Kramer. It addresses the female reader directly, informing us that 'womenly intuition is often advantageous to a film [...] role as homemakers has

additional reel has been uploaded to the 'Vivian Maier Film' (official page for *Finding Vivian Maier*) YouTube page. Maier also recorded conversations with people using an audio tape recorder (parts can also be heard in the 2013 film) which Marks believes show her role-playing like a child being a 'professional journalist' (she neatly moves on to discussing her employment for television host Phil Donahue in 1976). See Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 142.

³⁸ Siskel and Maloof, "Finding Vivian Maier".

³⁹ Patricia R. Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* ed. Meaghan Morris Patricia Mellencamp, Andrew Ross, Arts and Politics of the Everyday (Blomington and Indianapolis Indiana University Press, 1995), 110. There are very few histories of amateur home-movie making. For a general history of the amateur cine camera, see Alan D. Kattelle, "The Evolution of Amateur Motion Picture Equipment, 1895-1965," *Journal of Film and Video* 38, no. 3/4 (1986); Alan D. Kattelle, *Home Movies: A History of the American Industry, 1897-1979* (Transition Publishing 2000); Karen L. Ishizuka and Patricia R. Zimmermann, eds., *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (Los Angeles and London University of California Press, 2008).

⁴⁰ *Popular Photography* regular had a monthly 'Movies' section. In *Modern Photography*, Miriam Raeburn contributed to the 'Movie' department with regular articles about documenting family activities 'Movie Script: The Family Picnic' (May 1951), 'Movie-Script: A Day at the Beach' (June 1951).

much to its advantage.⁴¹ A sequence of images (filmed by a man) showing a small child making popcorn is, for Ainsworth, an example of what a 'homemaker can do' during the 'working day' since men were seen to work nine-to-five in the city and therefore women could combine photographing the children alongside her domestic tasks.⁴² Contrary to popular discourse, during the mid-twentieth century, working hours began to rise, culminating in tensions between leisure and work time.⁴³ Insofar as suburbia's cultural status as middlebrow has focused on the spatial, ideological and temporal associations of leisure, since leisure time itself was carved out from family time, I argue that women were invoked in the role as familial recorder to facilitate their husband's leisure.

To make my point clearer still, each magazine department on amateur film-making was called 'Movies', highlighting the gendered division between films made by women and men since women were ideologically tethered to the family home and thereby making home-movies.⁴⁴ The acts of filming (with a movie-camera) and photographing (with a still camera) are invoked simultaneously reinforcing the standardised subject matter for women. However, Ainsworth emphasises that the movie camera is the domain of the husband and, therefore, use of it is dependent on having 'permission.' Indeed, whilst magazines actively encouraged women to take part in making films, as the example above highlights, this was in practice, a secondary role aiding men in their *vision*. These examples exemplify the construction of the role of the woman as adjunct to the male home-movie maker: they advocate women (since they presume women don't work outside the home and thus have more time) to prepare a 'shooting script.' Ainsworth noted that in acknowledging the camera

⁴¹ Helen Ainsworth, "For Women Only " *Modern Photography* March 1957, 66.

⁴² Ainsworth, "For Women Only " 68. See also Gary Cross, "The Suburban Weekend: Perspectives on a Vanishing Twentieth-Century Dream," in *Visions of Suburbia* ed. Roger Silverstone (Routledge 1997).

⁴³ Juliet B. Schor makes the argument, using an economic 'conflict model' whereby 'leisure exists in spite of rather than as a result of capitalism.' See, Juliet B. Schor, *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure* (Basic Books 1992), 7. Historians have noted the rise in working patterns (and less leisure), though generally to show the ways in which women were asked to perform two roles as employee and housewife, see Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992).

⁴⁴ Although prior to the mid-1950s, the 'Movies' department was titled 'Amateur Screen Notes.' Zimmermann has written that early amateur movie making in the 1920s was influenced by Hollywood and this title change could reflect the change in the meaning of amateur movie making. See chapters two and three in Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*.

as the domain of the man, women should prioritise taking photographs of their husbands to flatter them and at the same time visually reinscribe them into their wife's practice.⁴⁵ Although Zimmermann notes that for travel films, commentators observed that shooting scripts removed the chance of spontaneity, thwarting the person filming from 'reaching beyond the boundaries of leisure as a potent antidote to worker boredom,' I have shown that women were used to facilitate men relinquishing the pressures of work and enjoying their leisure.⁴⁶

Modern Photography makes gender divisions even clearer in the article, 'Photographing Your Christmas' (December 1950) as the husband takes the photographs and, afterwards, it is implied that the wife will paste the photographs in the 'family album with suitable commentary.'⁴⁷ Whereas men and women were advised to share the parental roles during the 1950s and 60s in an effort to build a friendly relationship with children (and avoid women smothering them), I have shown that in terms of leisure activities, women facilitated the men's ability to gain fulfilment from *his* leisure, and by extension, foster this same principle in his (boys) children. Whilst prior to the Second World War, as I demonstrated in chapter two, magazines advocated men to pursue their leisure in the pursuit of photographing the family, in postwar America and throughout the mid-twentieth century, photography magazines replicated a wider societal trend towards male self-indulgence whereby their leisure was separate to the family unit (not including wife). Women, therefore, in many cases were not designated as 'amateur' or 'hobbyist' since they were facilitating their husbands in the role as 'homemaker.'

These concerns for male leisure are grounded in cultural anxieties prevalent during the 1950s and 60s which manifested, as I have shown in the construction of women as subordinate. With the decline of public services and more emphasis on the role of men in the patterns of consumption, Gilbert observes that masculinity was reformulated in popular culture as an expression 'within the

⁴⁵ Ainsworth, "For Women Only " 66.

⁴⁶ Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* 120.

⁴⁷ Rus Arnold, "Photographing Your Christmas " *Modern Photography* December 1950, 41.

expanding leisure and consumer worlds.⁴⁸ As I demonstrated in chapter two, during the 1920s and 30s, men's lifestyle magazines (*Esquire* for example) encouraged men to 'identify themselves with leisure, good reading, stylish clothes, fashionable accessories [...] a fascination with sexuality.'⁴⁹ From the 1950s onwards, magazines located masculinity in the domestic and work space. Between the 1950s and 70s, male lifestyle magazines such as *Esquire*, *Playboy* and *GQ* published articles (and short stories) about men who accumulated household domestic appliances, audio and visual technology, and various other products to enhance social interaction in the form of dinner parties, transportation, telephony and written communication.⁵⁰ Bill Osgerby notes that men's magazines 'located [the bachelor] within the feminine realm of commodity culture' with the spatial and ideological mapping of the 'Playboy Pad' a 'leitmotif in the magazine's wider celebration of [male] consumer pleasure.'⁵¹ In showing the reader how to accumulate domestic goods through the lifestyle guides, the 'Playboy Pad' showed the reader how to display, and use the household products in such a way that would negate concerns of effeminacy.⁵² Therefore, as Elizabeth Fraterrigo argues that *Playboy* in their blueprint for the 'Playboy Pad,' 'retrieved men from the "feminized" suburbs and relocated them rhetorically in the "masculine" space of the city. Drawing on popular depictions of technological ease and affluence, the magazine attempted to "masculinize" the domestic sphere, which it also located in the city.'⁵³ A tension between the 'pursuit of material pleasure and the quest for simplicity' pervaded public discourses on the role of men in the private sphere of the home.⁵⁴ Furthermore, to reinforce my point, I would like to draw attention to the claim

⁴⁸ Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s*, 18.

⁴⁹ Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950*, 206.

⁵⁰ See, Spigel, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs*, 20-25.

⁵¹ Bill Osgerby, "The Bachelor Pad as Cultural Icon: Masculinity, Consumption and Interior Design in American Men's Magazines, 1930-65," *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1: Publishing the Modern Home: Magazines and the Domestic Interior 1870-1965 (2005): 100-01.

⁵² Chapter one analysed the fascination with psychologising Maier's spinsterhood and the historical masculinisation of the single woman.

⁵³ Elizabeth Fraterrigo, *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 82. Whilst *Playboy* constructed the narrative of the 'bachelor pad,' Fraterrigo contends that the vast majority of the readership was married.

⁵⁴ Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York Columbia University Press, 2000), 112.

that Friedan makes about men being ‘fellow victims [to the feminine mystique] suffering from an outmoded masculine mystique that made them feel unnecessarily inadequate when there were no bears to kill.’⁵⁵ In short, those men who adhere to tenets of traditional masculinity, described by Rotundo as ‘communal manhood,’ are upholding not only women, but also men from choosing their own identity.⁵⁶ Ridgely Hunt, in his article ‘The Masculine Mystique’ (*The Chicago Tribune*, July 1963), argues that, rather than women being trapped in suburban domesticity, it was actually men who were constricted by the endless abundance of leisure time.⁵⁷ As Coontz makes clear, concerns for men becoming ‘trapped in their basements because magazines like *Popular Mechanics* had persuaded them to fill their time building plywood commodes and motorized ice sheds.’⁵⁸ Whilst Coontz’s analogy is rather crude, it does exemplify the anxieties regarding the commercialisation (and thereby domestication) of traditionally male activities.⁵⁹ Indeed, Hunt argues that the modern man should earn ‘a living’ ‘supporting’ *his* family and cannot because their wives won’t let them since they ‘are off to a painting lesson so she can express her inner self.’⁶⁰ Hunt’s article is indicative of the ‘male panic’ I discussed earlier concerning effeminacy coupled with the fear of women leaving the domestic home in search for the freedom which Friedan (and women’s activist groups) campaigned for. Since men were spending increasing amounts of time in the family home whilst, women were beginning to enter the public sphere, albeit in a limited capacity.

Camera technology troubles the ideologically constructed division between masculine city (production) and feminine suburb (consumption). During the mid-twentieth century, Kodak made more money from film than from cameras: deliberately designing cheap cameras as vehicles for film

⁵⁵ Levine, Jo Ann. “Betty Friedan.” *The Christian Science Monitor*. April 1 1974.

⁵⁶ Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, 3.

⁵⁷ Extracts of the article (Ridley Hunt, “The Masculine Mystique,” *Chicago Tribune* 1963) is quoted in Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s* (New York Basic Books 2012), 31.

⁵⁸ Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s*, 31.

⁵⁹ See chapter five, Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950*.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s*, 31.

marketing to families.⁶¹ Albert Renger-Patzsch in his short history of photography, 'On Photography's Significance and the Photographer's Responsibility' (1965) stated that 'the amateur photographer is coddled by the industry [at the whim of manufacturers].'⁶² For Patzsch the significance of photography has been diminished since everyone has access to a camera.⁶³ These statements emphasise the history of amateur photography as encompassing the dialectic between production and consumption and a fear of the value of photography being estimated by market worth dictated by camera manufacturers. In order for amateurs to distinguish themselves from the general point and shoot camera user, a number of techniques were employed by photography magazines, for instance, a disavowal of automation, the collecting of 'vintage' cameras, and DIY strategies. Following the Second World War, photography magazines began to publish articles about 'vintage' cameras produced between the mid-to-late nineteenth-century and the inter-war period (Our Photographic Past: How Many of These Historic Prints and Objects Can You Identify,' *Modern Photography*, December 1949 and February 1950; 'This was 1900 when Amateur Photography was Young,' *Modern Photography*, January 1950; *Petersen's Photographic* included the regular monthly column 'Vintage Viewfinder' – written for 'collectors of antique camera gear' – February 1974; 'They Don't Build Them Like They Do Now,' May 1974; 'It's Hard Being Original,' August 1974. Whilst Hand sets out how the 'serious amateurs' in *Popular Photography* during the 1950s rejected the automation of the mass-produced camera and instead promulgated the prioritisation of the hand-made and thereby providing an understanding of how the camera was made, he does not consider how this was motivated by contemporary discourses on gender roles.⁶⁴

The collegiality of the amateur practice facilitates the possibility of exchange between collectors, whilst, concurrently implying the market value inherent in the collecting (trophism) of old cameras

⁶¹ Slater, "Marketing Mass Photography," 294.

⁶² Albert Renger-Patzsch, "On Photography's Significance and the Photographer's Responsibility (1965)," *History of Photography* 21, no. 3 (1997): 222.

⁶³ Renger-Patzsch, "On Photography's Significance and the Photographer's Responsibility (1965)," 223.

⁶⁴ Hand, *Ubiquitous Photography*, 114-16. A certain suspicion towards digital was maintained even up to the turn of the millennium, whereafter the magazine was split to cater to both film and digital, becoming *Popular Photography and Imaging*.

increases their saleability and the commercialisation of photography whereby cameras become the items to collect. Yet the collecting of objects is drawn along gender lines, as Lawrence Levine notes, the first collectors in America were influenced by the European tradition of the Grand Tour.⁶⁵ However, with the mass-production of goods, collecting became easier to undertake and was marketed towards children.⁶⁶ In discussing cameras made prior to industrialisation, amateurs aligned themselves with the early gentlemen amateurs, distinguishing from a feminised mass-market. Victor Keppler in his article 'I Was an Amateur' (*Popular Photography*, April 1958) describes his transition from being an amateur to a working photographer. He recalls, as a nine-year old 'nagging' his father for a camera and being given a 'cigar box' with which to pretend. *The Camera and Darkroom* journal published an essay reflecting on the changes in 'Photography for Boys' (December 1903) from having to make a pretend camera to being able to purchase a cheap one.⁶⁷ The article signals a shift in the audience for photography and the types of leisure – from the gentlemanly pursuit for knowledge to a mode of play that was established with Eastman Kodak.⁶⁸ The Kodak Brownie (1900) was first marketed as kind of toy that emphasised photography as a fun activity. Magali Sarfatti Larson in *Rise of Professionalism* (1977) states that with industrialisation a growth in the 'differentiation in the division of labor' occurred.⁶⁹ Relating this to the medium of photography, the earlier pre-industrial notion of play as an educative activity was supplanted by the notion of leisure time that was the opposite of work. Whilst Keppler used a cigar box, he emphasises it as a photographic apparatus – a version of the real thing – rather than a performance as such. Later, when Keppler was in high school, he drilled a hole in a box, fitted it with a photographic plate, and took his first picture of the

⁶⁵ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Harvard University Press, 1990), 50.

⁶⁶ Steven M. Gelber, *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America* (New York Columbia University Press, 1999), 60-63.

⁶⁷ "Photography for Boys," *The Camera and Darkroom* December 1903, 425.

⁶⁸ For more information on Kodak's marketisation of photography as a mode of play during leisure time, see West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 12.

⁶⁹ Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (University of California Press, 1977), xvi. See also Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, xvii. Bronner, *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, 3-4.

Woolworth building. He received comments that his image showed the building at an 'alarming angle' – with a touch of sarcasm, he observes that 'today It might be called a modern masterpiece'. Moreover, rather than purchase a Kodak Brownie (the first camera marketed to children), Keppler not only made his own (re-inscribing early processes of making) as a ten-year old he purchased a camera from a 'pawnshop' with money he had saved. Keppler makes the point that whilst his contemporaries were taking pictures using film, he had purchased an 'old but professional' camera that required plates. This story not only highlights the class and gender distinctions regarding notions of play and craft, it also emphasises a distinction Keppler makes between the modernist photographer (unprofessional) and the pre-film camera user (professional).

However, commentators also noted (with concern) the increasing production of camera manufacturing making connections with a growing interest in the collecting of devices ('Pick a Camera-Any Camera!' *Petersen's Photographic*, April 1973; 'Something New in Consumerism,' *Petersen's Photographic*, October 1974; 'Hobby of collecting...the more things change,' *Petersen's Photographic*, March 1977; 'Yikes -\$2,600 for an old folder,' *Popular Photography*, January-March 1988).⁷⁰ Articles such as these highlight the fatigue felt by commentators and readers alike concerning the frequent manufacturing of camera and equipment. Moreover, letters written by readers would be published either asking for help saving money or providing techniques for making camera equipment using household items. Articles would also discuss camera rentals, second-hand or cheaper iterations of new cameras, DIY fixing of cameras and how-to guides and manuals for making equipment out of unwanted household materials. Indeed, regular department columns dedicated content to new photographic products and the market for photography – 'Trade Notes and News,' 'Contents and Markets,' 'New Home Movies,' '35mm Today,' 'Books About

⁷⁰ Collecting was not simply reserved for products made by photographic manufacturers, the collection of magazines was also becoming a prevalent feature of amateur photographic exchange. In the October 1977 edition of *Petersen's Photographic* magazine, the 'Other Voices' page contained a letter from M. Waktiendienk who wanted to 'say goodbye to old friends. My "old friends" include my voluminous collection of back issues of PhotoGraphic.'⁷⁰ Whilst earlier in the year, the June 1977 printed a letter from 'some friends and I are willing to sell back issues of PhotoGraphic. We have several sets of all issues. Any two issues postpaid are \$5, any five are \$10.'⁷⁰

Photography,' 'New Products,' 'Photo Data,' 'Photo Markets,' 'Specification Sheets' – whilst, at the same time featured articles, for instance, detailing ways to make a camera from household objects, and repair equipment 'at home'.⁷¹ *Petersen's Photographic* published several 'how-to make photo equipment' articles during the 1970s and 1980s.⁷² Interestingly, Parry C. Yob published a series of books entitled 'Photo Equipment You Can Make' with *Petersen's Publishing Company*.⁷³ The peripheralised family home during the 1950s was mapped into masculine and feminine domestic spaces. Darkrooms (and studio spaces) were a rarity even among so-called professional photographers, and as I outlined in chapter two, male and female amateur photographers in the mid-to-late nineteenth century constructed darkrooms in the family home. During the 1950s and 60s, photography magazines provided information as to how to conceive of and create a personal darkroom within the home. Most often than not, the bathroom (feminine space), not the male space of the suburban garage was advocated (with the urban sprawl flats were being built on the edges of cities) as a suitable place to be converted into a makeshift darkroom ('Lazyman's Darkroom,' *Modern Photography*, October 1949).

Returning to figure 48, Maier took photographs of the families for whom she lived with and worked for whilst also imbricating them into her photographic practice. The relationship between women and photography during the mid-to-late twentieth century in which Maier was practicing was not straightforward. The example of the McMillan family highlights the tension between Maier's ideological and economic status as employee and her photographic practice. From information told

⁷¹ 'Is Your Camera Shabby' by Arthur Bleich, January 1957; 'Make it Yourself Reflector' by Murray Zinn, April 1957; 'Darkroom for a Dollar,' by Robert H. Bartholomew, April 1957

⁷² 'Build Your Own Slide Copier', February 1974; '10 Things You Can Make Almost for Free,' September 1974; 'How to Construct a Wallet Printing Easel by Richard Bunnell,' August 1975

⁷³ The first four are from the 1950s monthly publications of *Popular Photography*. The last four are a list of the departments written specifically for amateurs that *Modern Photography* published in their October 1949 issue. The last three articles are all from *Popular Photography*.

See Parry C. Yob, *Petersen's Photo Equipment You Can Make Vol.1*, vol. 1, Photographic Basic Series (*Petersen's Publishing Company* 1973); Parry C. Yob, *Photo Equipment You Can Make Vol.2*, vol. 2, Photographic Basic Series (*Petersen's Publishing Company*, 1979). Besides writing about the DIY culture of making your photographic equipment, Yob also wrote Parry C. Yob, *The Y. O. B. Exposure System: Precise Exposure Control in Color and Black and White* (New York American Photographic Book Publishing Co., 1980).

to her by the eldest daughter of the McMillan's, Marks recounts a conversation between Mrs. McMillan and Maier whereby the former asked for extra prints of the picture of the McMillan children naked in the bathtub only to be refused. Marks concludes that 'the nanny was either protecting the embarrassed pre-teen or just being difficult, but her employer was annoyed by the inconvenience of having to make a copy negative and additional prints. She complained to her daughter, "Mademoiselle must be mentally ill. Why else would she refuse to make copies? Making copies is how to make money with photography."⁷⁴ However, I argue that Mrs McMillan was not insinuating that making copies – in other words selling prints - would offer a significant wealth or career from photography since her husband was a self-proclaimed 'amateur photographer' and she presumably understood the economic incentives to making copies, simply as a way to subsidise the outlays involved in pursuing photography.

Post-Second World War, photography magazines produced articles advocating people sell, and/or exchange prints in their local context with family, friends and work colleagues by covering events such as weddings, parties and other celebratory occasions: 'How to Sell Your Pictures' (*U.S. Camera*, 1949), '20 Pin-Money ideas' (*Modern Photography*, 1950), 'Making Money Ideas' (*Popular Photography*, 1957).⁷⁵ Those willing to pay for such images exist in a local network including neighbours, friends, and family whose connection to the image produced is familial rather than consumerist. Indeed, the image would not serve a wider public other than a local domestic setting which is reflected in the prices often discussed in the articles. It was not uncommon for amateurs to seek payment for their images within the communities; it was advocated, however, as a way to recoup equipment costs and costs incurred in the social aspects of joining a community of amateur photographers (camera club membership, attending lecturers, social events and covering travel

⁷⁴ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 94

⁷⁵ Whilst magazines advocated making money by selling work to local family, friends and neighbours, conversely, they printed lists of magazines, photo agencies and camera shops that might be willing to pay for an image to be included in their repository, or as promotional advertising material ('Cash For Your Vacation Pictures' by Etna M. Kelley [*Popular Photography*, May 1942], '500 Places to Sell Pictures' [*Modern Photography*, 1950], 'Where the Action Is. Update: How Much to Charge?' [*Petersen's Photographic Magazine*, 1977]).

expenses). Articles often addressed the problem of expense (frequently discussing the marketisation of photography).⁷⁶ Whilst magazines advocated making money by selling work to local family, friends and neighbours, conversely, they printed lists of magazines, photo agencies and camera shops that might be willing to pay for an image to be included in their repository, or as promotional advertising material ('Cash For Your Vacation Pictures' by Etna M. Kelley [*Popular Photography*, May 1942], '500 Places to Sell Pictures' [*Modern Photography*, 1950], 'Where the Action Is. Update: How Much to Charge?' [*Petersen's Photographic Magazine*, 1977]). The commercial photo market was not yet fully initialised and, thus, was not an area that was focussed upon in any direct sense. In actuality, the photographs that might be accepted for use by these agencies would invariably be shown to a general public who had grown accustomed to photographic imagery on television, and in print magazines such as *Life*, *Look* and *Time* magazine.

Coming back to Maier, whilst the anecdote about Maier refusing to print copies of figure 48 serves, for Marks, to detach Maier from the community of amateur practice, and to some extent affirm her obstinance (conversely affirming for Marks that Maier could not sustain any form of professional commercial ventures), I would argue that it instead proves that Maier's photograph-taking was dependant on multiple factors, sometimes outside of her control; time and the amount she could afford to dedicate away from her employed domestic work, being located in the house with her employers would have resulted in impromptu and somewhat flexible working conditions (in favour of the family, not Maier), economic pressures (would Maier always be reimbursed for making copies). Taking photographs was not always for the benefit of her employers, and therefore it is quite understandable her need for privacy; if she did not want to expend the energy (or money) on subsequently reproducing pictures (that in most cases her employers had asked her to take) at their

⁷⁶ 'The Superwide Syndrome' (*Petersen's Photographic*, March 1977); 'Where the Action Is: Market Research' (*Petersen's Photographic*, June 1975); 'Where the Action Is: Is the Price Right?' (*Petersen's Photographic*, March 1977). This is not an exhaustive list, but it provides an insight into how magazines balanced covering their own costs (including advertisements and articles explaining the latest camera equipment with the occasional content sponsored by manufacturing companies), marketing their magazines in the hope of gaining new subscribers whilst recognising the expense of keeping up with an expanding photography market.

behest then it was up to her. Much has been made about Maier being a patron of Chicago's landmark Central Camera, yet she visited numerous places; independent and global brands, downtown Chicago and small pharmacy branches located in the suburbs.⁷⁷ Maier often paid using coupons [Fig. 58], she was rigorous and methodical in her approach to using developing counters in camera shops, mostly, it would seem, because she needed to keep costs low and could not afford to give her time to printing, or indeed, her money if she, or the external developer produced mistakes. As chapter one demonstrated, comments and instructions regarding how Maier wanted the negatives to be printed were frequently added to the envelopes before being sent to be developed. Mistakes were frequently flagged by in-house operatives and by Maier herself and instructions were again sent.⁷⁸ In as much as the stories about Maier's printing directives have demonstrated her forceful character, they also show she was on a budget and could not afford to pay again to get it how she wanted it. Printing, the choice of external company, the materials and how they were used

⁷⁷ Numerous interviews have been conducted with staff at Central Camera (the BBC's Horizon documentary *Vivian Maier: Who Took Nanny's Pictures?* and John Maloof and Charlie Siskel's *Finding Vivian Maier* are the most well know examples besides local Chicago news reports) As Central Camera is the oldest camera shop in Chicago and still in operation it is not surprising that the business was targeted by journalists, Maloof and Allan Sekula in the hunt for traces of Maier. Consulting the John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier held at Special Collections, The University of Chicago, I was given access to a vast collection of ephemera including receipts for camera equipment and for her negatives to be developed. The places she visited include: *Earl W. Gsell & Co.* (Pharmacists, Highland Park), *John Ott Pictures* (Winnetta, Illinois), *Central Camera Company* (Wabash, Chicago), *Powell's Camera Mart* (Randolph Street, Chicago), *JeRon Camera* (Evanston, Illinois), *Standard Photo* (Chicago Avenue), *Helix* (various locations), *Photo Towne* (Burlington), *Kodak Color Processing & Finishing* departments, *Wolk Camera Company* (North Wabash and South Dearborn Street, Chicago). These locations reflect the changes in Maier's employment and her living arrangements. Bannos has also tracked Maier's whereabouts using the various printing labs she frequented. See Chapter eight, 'The Missing Picture.'

⁷⁸ Bannos quoting Pat Velasco who has worked at several camera shops including Hoos Photo Center (1967-1977) recalls Maier bringing her two Rolleiflex cameras in for repair, 'one had been dropped in sand at the beach and the other had gotten wet. He said Maier was nearly in tears, and during that time, she used her Baby Rolleiflex, a scaled-down version that took a smaller format film. But she found that camera frustrating and stopped shooting with it after fifteen or sixteen rolls. Velasco suggested that Maier's "big catastrophe in life" occurred in the late 1960s when the lab that Hoos used to develop film stopped cutting the rolls into sections and instead returned the Rolleiflex negatives in a rolled-up strip with eight-by-ten-inch contact sheets. She was upset by the change in the way things had been done.' See, Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 254.

by Maier was not simply a matter of personal choice, it was dependent on her financial status (throughout her lifetime).⁷⁹

Consequently, the differences between Maier, and an amateur like Dr. McMillan are manifold: gender, status, class, the fact that he was photographing for himself, or at least subject matter that was personal to him (unless he took commissions to offset his expenditure). Furthermore, re-thinking figure 47 in light of the previous discussion of postwar gender roles, Maier is photographing on the border between feminine space and a newly-masculinised domain, the bathroom-darkroom. As this chapter has thus far demonstrated, the mid-century home is a site of conflict where gender roles and spaces were contested. In a photograph taken by Maier of the McMillan family dining room [Fig. 59] is a row of framed prints on the wall whilst another in their living room according to Bannos shows, 'South and East Asian subjects, including a view of the Taj Mahal and a portrait of a Chinese man with a flowing white beard.'⁸⁰ Whilst Bannos provides a detailed breakdown of her picture-taking during her employment with the McMillan family to show that Maier shared her photography with others, I argue that the example is indicative of the masculinisation of the domestic interior, photography is ornamental complementing the décor. Indeed, it is important to note, that according to Bannos, these photographs on the wall do not depict his family, or local landscapes.⁸¹ They are framed and hung on the wall in places one would naturally expect family

⁷⁹ Marks and Bannos have both suggested that Maier was not proficient at developing processes. See Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 200. Marks, however, emphasised Maier's preference for spontaneous photography: 'Eager to learn, Maier stalked working photographers as they shot portraits, advertisements, and films. Most experts agree she didn't develop a proficiency for printing, with time, money, and accessibility constraints. In reality, she seemed to prefer spending her time shooting and always gave processors strict printing and cropping instructions.' Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 82.

⁸⁰ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 136. Bannos describes the exact same scene as mentioned in figure 47, yet she points out that she found the bathtub print in the collection of Ron Slattery. In 1959, Maier spent five months travelling to Southeast Asia and parts of Europe including Saint-Julien-en-Champsaur. Whilst I do not want to go into detail here, I do want to make the point that Maier may well have been influenced to take this trip abroad after seeing, and hearing about Dr. McMillan's photographs that were displayed on the walls of the family home. Or, more broadly speaking, from the articles in popular photographic magazines that covered travel. Travel and photography have been interrelated since the 1850s, and as such amateurs documented their picture-taking in publications.

⁸¹ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 136.

photographs to be placed. Whilst McMillan photographed the scenes outdoors, he has chosen to display them in the private family home.

Whilst, as chapter two showed, both male and female middle-class amateur photographers displayed family prints on the walls of their home in the 1860s and 1870s, Dr. McMillan is representative of the mid-century amateur who photographed non-familial subjects in *his* leisure time whilst Maier (and wife) was instructed to take pictures of the family unit. Of course, as Bannos points out, Maier photographed both the domestic and street scenes, yet she makes clear the differentiation between McMillan the amateur, and Maier the street photographer. However, the obscuration of the domestic in the Maloof Collection reinforces the invisibility of women and the narrative promulgated by advertisements and magazines. Whilst men's magazines masculinised the ornamentation of the domestic, fears concerning the effeminacy of men persevered in popular culture which with regards to photography magazines, as I have shown, led to a contradictory array of narratives, and more to the point, the subjugation of women which emphasised amateur photography as the domain of men thus dislocating photography from cultural associations of the feminine mass market whilst also providing a space for commerce. Yet, in photographing in the public sphere of the city, I will argue that amateur photographers (and families) were subject to a host of assumptions about work, leisure and mobility which I will explore in the next section of the chapter.

Technology, Mobility and Gender

It is important to understand how the gender dynamics at play within the postwar spatial and ideological formulations of city and suburb impact the way visual technologies are written about and codified in order to understand how women were marginalised within the photographic periphery.

Here, I will examine the ways in which Maier troubles the binary of public (city) and private (suburb) and the implications of this on our understanding of the amateur/professional binary.

The opening of an 8mm reel shows a stationary side-on view of railway sidings [Fig. 60], a second later, the scenery is blurring into one, momentarily we catch a glimpse of railway station signs, though the train does not stop. Against the train tracks are different sized buildings, built up high, one after another. We follow the train into the tunnel, pitch black except for the luminous warning lights of the railway signals. Cut to a busy street, neon lights of a cinema look down upon the sidewalk whilst people pass by below. This is the opening of an 8mm film reel that describes Maier's commute to the centre of Chicago (from her employers' home in the suburbs). Piecing together photographs and film footage, Bannos has shown that Maier during her trips to the city carried with her several still cameras alongside her Cine-Kodak camera.⁸² Maier troubles the narrative of the 'spatial division of market work and residence' since she not only photographed in both city and suburb, but also between these two places.⁸³

During the 1950s, increased rail infrastructure and automobile manufacture facilitated the expansion of the city boundaries such that the distances between suburbs and cities increased further emphasising the importance of male leisure time.⁸⁴ The developments in transportation not only affected how movement from outside the city, but it also impacted on the way the city was navigated and organised. The spatialising of the city was understood in popular discourse to have transformed from a 'walking city' to a 'riding city'.⁸⁵ With the developments in the transportation networks coupled with visual technologies, a new conception of mobility emerged. Raymond Williams in his 1974 text *Television, Technology and Cultural Form* coined the phrase 'mobile privatisation' to describe the 'at-once mobile and home centred way of living' that characterised

⁸² Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 215-16.

⁸³ Cross, "The Suburban Weekend: Perspectives on a Vanishing Twentieth-Century Dream," 113.

⁸⁴ Cross, "The Suburban Weekend: Perspectives on a Vanishing Twentieth-Century Dream," 109.

⁸⁵ See Cross, "The Suburban Weekend: Perspectives on a Vanishing Twentieth-Century Dream," 109; Max Kozloff, "New York: Capital of Photography," ed. Jewish Museum (New York and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 10.

modern society, and which was made possible by (and which spurred the development of) technologies such as the motor car, refrigerators, portable radio sets, television, and broadcasting.⁸⁶ Williams argues that the technologies of the visual centred in the domestic home, as part of a general picture of improved amenities and conveniences, 'connect' it in particular and limited ways to the 'outside.'⁸⁷ Although Williams does not specifically mention photography, I argue that the alongside improved rail infrastructure, the camera (and movie camera) engendered anxieties concerning the 'mobility of domesticity' whereby the city as artistic centre would be subject to an influx of visitors. David Delaney has astutely observed that 'human mobility implicates *both* (emphasis Delaney) physical bodies moving through material landscapes *and* categorical figures moving through representational spaces.'⁸⁸ In short, the spatialising of place is a construct which implies that culture has not simply travelled from the centre into the suburban periphery.⁸⁹ Indeed, Stephen Crofts Wiley and Jeremy Packer make the vital point that 'once we take mobility into account as a fundamental feature of human life (and indeed, nonhuman life), we can no longer accept the sedentarist assumption that culture, identity, belonging, and agency are anchored in a single place.'⁹⁰ To link back to Vlachou's discourse on the periphery, Wiley and Packer's observation acknowledges the movement between the centres and peripheries as contingent to the manifestation of the meaning of space and place. To be clear, it is both the mobility of transportation (train travel) and visual technologies – television, still-camera, movie-camera – that are seen together to destabilise the binary of public (masculine) and private (feminine) thereby troubling the model of masculine production and feminine consumption. An interesting example from which to understand the impact of this on the interrelationship between photographic centres

⁸⁶ Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (Routledge 2003), 19.

⁸⁷ Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, 21.

⁸⁸ David Delaney, "Laws of Motion and Immobilization: Bodies, Figures and the Politics of Mobility," in *Mobilities* (Gregynog, New Town, Wales 1999), 3.

⁸⁹ Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York and London Routledge 2006), 16.

⁹⁰ Stephen B. Crofts Wiley and Jeremy Packer, "Rethinking Communication after the Mobilities Turn " *The Communication Review* 13, no. 4 (2010): 264.

and peripheries and, more specifically, on the way the photographic periphery is gendered is the *Modern Photography* article '3 Hours in Chicago' written by Robert Farr (February 1950). The first in a series of 'articles designed to point out subjects that will make interesting pictures to take home from visits to America's gateway cities.'⁹¹ Farr's guide to Chicago includes a map at the top right corner of the page; underneath is list of places that correspond to the markers on the map [Fig. 61]. The map is provided by the Chicago Welcome Centre, with the places to visit being prescribed by 'Chicago's tourism board.' The landscape of the city of Chicago is divided into categories – 'Public Buildings,' 'Railroad Depots,' 'Stores,' 'Theatres, Hotels and Radio Stations' – that serve to itemise the navigation of the geographical plan of the city. Inevitably, the guide is constrained by having to link each stop on the route and for expedience of time (only three hours allotted), walking, is therefore, overlooked in favour of travelling by train (metro) which reinforces the image of the 'riding city.'⁹² A connection can be made with the way Williams in describing the continuous transmission of programming through the television set, theorised the concept of 'flow' whereby the unit of analysis becomes not the individually scheduled program, but the continuous stream of audiovisual stimuli resulting from various channels competing to grab and hold attention.⁹³

Commentators in the 1950s argued that these new modes of mobility (transportation) reduced human perception of place and as such places were seen to lose their distinctiveness since people were continually caught in the 'structure of sensations' of everyday life, experiencing places in a 'continuous blur.'⁹⁴ Whilst I do not intend to suggest that amateur photographers only enacted photography in this way, rather I want to show that, with an analysis of '3 Hours in,' magazines constructed how they should photograph, not only in an attempt to control the 'flow' of information between centre and periphery (and vice versa), but also as a way to promote the nation's cities.

⁹¹ Robert Farr, "3 Hours in Chicago..." *Modern Photography* February 1950, 74.

⁹² Farr, "3 Hours in Chicago..." 74.

⁹³ For an overview of the concept of 'flow', see Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, 97-113.

⁹⁴ Susan G. Davis, "Time Out: Leisure and Tourism " in *A Companion to Post-1945 America* ed. Jean-Christophe Agnew and Roy Rosenzweig (Oxford Blackwell Publishing 2006), 70.

The reader is asked to find 'panoramic viewpoints' (Board of Trade building) which draw the eye away from the cityscape towards: '[...] on a clear day: Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Good pictures have been taken from Chicago's highest viewpoint using a fast speed panchromatic film at 1/25th second, with a lens opening of F:8.'⁹⁵ Here, the incentive is photographing as much as possible in a short space of time, whilst an emphasis on distance and remoteness is maintained. A birds-eye view landscape and architectural pictures accompany the text that maps the places to see the landscape of the mid-west. Mapping landmarks as photographic sites, not only co-ordinates photographic subject matter by location, type, architectural and cultural importance, it tethers the amateurs to prescribed destination points whilst reinscribing them with the limited parameters of the tourist. To go on, representations of mobility are gendered, structuring how people navigate space. In the case of the '3 Hours in' article, as I outlined in chapter two, women are seen as natural consumers. In categorising department stores as places to photograph not only institutes the marketisation of the city of Chicago as a place of consumption (for amateur photographers), it also codifies the vision of the amateur as feminine.

From what I have argued above, I contend that one of the reasons why Maier's output from the 1960s is largely invisible in the curation of the Maloof Collection is because it is at the interface between suburb and city as embodied in the mobility of the camera. In another reel of 8mm film, Maier walks through a tornado-ravaged street [Fig. 62]. The pavement and the road are completely indistinguishable; houses stand abandoned, roofs partially caving in with trees resting across the shingles, broken windows and debris piled up in what would have been the front garden [Fig. 63]. In the next scene, in front of one dilapidated structure is an upended car sinking into the muddy ground [Fig. 64]. Cut to the next scene, and children are playing with the piles of wood and parts of the interior of the house – they are using a mattress to slide down a large piece of wood [Fig. 65]. A woman in a red coat is taking pictures of the same house [Fig. 66] – Maier slightly behind her. Using

⁹⁵ Farr, "3 Hours in Chicago..." 76.

a twin-lens Rolleiflex (like Maier) to take pictures, she stands directly in front of the remains of the windows of the ravaged house -pointing the camera at what is left of the façade. Who is she? Does she know Maier – is she using Maier’s camera? Have they come together, or separately with the same purpose of taking pictures of the destruction from the tornado? Whilst I cannot confirm who the woman seen with Maier is, this example highlights that women, during the mid-twentieth century were active photographers, and as chapter four will reiterate, women used photography to capture their experiences in suburbia. In a 2012 *New York Times* article ‘Vivian Maier’s Muse,’ Stacey Baker referring to Maier as an ‘amateur photographer’ interviews Richard Cahan who claims, “there were times when you could tell that she wanted to be a photojournalist [...] She self-assigned herself to lots of different news events. There was a tornado in Crystal Lake, a suburb, and she took the train to spend the day photographing the rubble there.” Her photos are not in a photojournalism style, Cahan added, but are clearly influenced by the news.⁹⁶ For Cahan, photographing in this way is a performative role reiterating her eccentricity. In short, her eccentricity is founded in the fact she was traversing both masculine and feminine spaces albeit without the social status of photographer such as Winogrand and Friedlander who routinely photographed the monuments of the suburban sprawl.⁹⁷

Whilst Maier in actuality travelled *from suburb* to city, Friedlander and Winogrand are always portrayed as moving *from city* to suburb or continuously between. As I have demonstrated, suburbia was codified as feminine and therefore, amateur photography was imbricated in the ideological division of space. Whereas Green makes clear that Friedlander’s excursions to the suburbs are part of a ‘metaphorical journey’ aligning with *his* notion of photography as a ‘psychological odyssey of self-definition,’ since the city is ideologically the centre of artistic practice, travel between suburb

⁹⁶ Stacey Baker, “Vivian Maier’s Muse,” *New York Times*, accessed December 15, 2020, <https://6thfloor.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/16/vivian-maiers-muse/>.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of Winogrand and Friedlander’s photographs taken in the American suburbs, see April M. Watson, “On the Streets and in the Suburbs: Photographs of the American Social Landscape, 1963-1976” (University of Kansas 2013). See, Lee Friedlander, *The American Monument* (New York Eakins Press, 2017 (1977)).

and city by amateur photographers is, therefore, understood as an attempt to define their photography against the cultural markers of the city.⁹⁸ This is reiterated by Bannos, who claims that whilst ‘in some ways, Maier was doing the legendary photo road trip of Walker Evans, Robert Frank, and Garry Winogrand,’ these latter excursions were an intentional part of their photographic practice.⁹⁹ To be clear, the road trip Bannos is referring to was a holiday road trip by the Raymond family on which Maier accompanied them in the capacity of nanny.

Thus far, I have demonstrated that women were peripheralised within the margins of photographic practice in such a way that reinscribed photography made by women as a copy of earlier versions of male amateur practice. Furthermore, the practice of photography is gendered, and more to the point, men and women are subject to a host of assumptions, that disproportionately affect women. The next section of chapter three will identify the ways in which female photographers were written about by both editorial staff and reader-photographers in photography magazines during the mid-twentieth century.

The Sexual Objectification of Women in Mid-Century Photography Magazines

During the 1950s, Maier took hundreds of photographs of women, many of which she printed multiple times, often photographing the same woman several times, posing in different scenarios: sitting on a park bench [Figs. 67-68], posing with a bouquet of flowers [Figs. 69-70], lying down on a bed with her head on a pillow [Fig. 71], looking out from behind a shower curtain, towel round her waist [Fig. 72].¹⁰⁰ It is clear from the way the women are standing – photographed side-on, their heads tilted to one side and immaculately dressed – that they are being posed by Maier for specific

⁹⁸ Jonathan Green, *American Photography: A Critical History 1945 to the Present* (Harry N. Abrams, 1984), 108.

⁹⁹ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 148.

¹⁰⁰ Maier continued to photograph women in this way during her later years living with families in Chicago, often posing the elderly patients with cut flowers [Fig. 73] or the mother of a family she was working for [Figs. 74-75]. Chapter four will examine more closely Maier's photographs taken during her employment as a nanny to think about the way women have been and continue to be conditioned by their ideological role as caregiver.

reasons. Marks calls these pictures ‘beauty shots’ arguing that they form a portfolio that Maier was putting together for prospective commercial work.¹⁰¹ Bannos dismisses these pictures – “‘cheesecake” photographs of stereotypically feminine women had clearly influenced the women’s affectations’ – as ‘strange and a bit silly,’ instead, comparing them with a ‘panorama of the western [New York] skyline’ arguing the latter ‘more indicative of Maier’s work.’¹⁰²

Glamour images such as these were a common sight in photography magazines between 1940 and the 1960s. With the inclusion of photographers such as Peter Gowland (1916-2010), photography magazines began circulating the terms ‘glamour photography’ and ‘fashion photography’ during the 1940s, often interchangeably throughout the next three decades.¹⁰³ Although Kenyon analyses photography magazines from the perspective of a presumed male readership, women did read, whether passively or not, complicating our understanding of the impact this had on women who read the magazine. Whilst I have shown that advertisements and magazine articles affirmed women as casual picture-takers or subjects of familial celebration, concurrently, magazines discuss women’s beauty photographing them as ideal subjects for the edification of men (whilst within the boundaries of the familial). Yet, as I have shown with the example of Maier above and will discuss further in this chapter, women were not only subjects; they were active participants navigating the contradictory spaces available to them, and this included magazines. Whilst women were photographed for their physical appearance alone – or as models to demonstrate a photographic

¹⁰¹ Marks has interviewed the Randazzo family whom Maier made acquaintance with and asked to photograph in 1951. The three surviving sisters have spoken to Marks about having their photographs taken by Maier: ‘In complete command of the sessions, she instructed each member on where to sit and how to pose. Asking to shoot each sister separately, she sought to capture their different personalities, which Anna agreed she did effectively; Beatrice was reminiscent of a beautiful model, Sophie a dramatic jokester, and Anna shy and demure. Vivian made and kept prints of more than a dozen images and the family remembers they were given copies.’ However, Marks concludes that accounts such as this show Maier’s ‘secretiveness, and aversion to physical contact.’ See Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 77, 96, 99.

¹⁰² Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 89-91.

¹⁰³ Gowland’s July 1948 cover image [Fig. 76] in *Popular Photography* showed a bronzed brown-haired woman wearing a striped bathing costume holding onto thin metal bars, her back to the viewer with her head turned round facing the camera. Although *Popular Photography* did not describe the cover image as a ‘glamour’ picture, they did describe Gowland’s career as a glamour photographer in that same issue in the ‘We Introduce ... Peter Gowland’ article. See, Eugene Hanson, “We Introduce...Peter Gowland,” *Popular Photography* July 1948, 59, 123.

technique or process – during the postwar years, ‘glamour’ encompassed different forms in photography magazines and meant different things for different people: it could mean a metaphor for adding something special to an image, photographs of pin-up girls, or art photography.¹⁰⁴

Therefore, it is important to contextualise how the genre of ‘glamour photography’ was inculcated into photography magazines giving rise to the tension between art and pornography in the 1960s and 70s and the debates therein.¹⁰⁵

With the growing numbers of women workers (as I made clear earlier in the chapter), the ideological position of man as producer was thrown into question to such degree that a host of government social policies were enacted to reinstate the male breadwinner whilst acknowledging women workers were required to fulfil the demand for labour. The GI Bill led to a boom in photography – federal funding for training and tuition was allocated for photography classes, and photography magazines were quick to capitalise on this new market by including advertisements for veteran college courses [Fig. 77].¹⁰⁶ In the advertisement for G.I. training at the Progressive School of Photography [Fig. 78] – the veteran is encouraged to take up photography as an opportunity to take pictures of women. The pin-up image at the top left corner of the page apes the pose made famous by Betty Grable, Bettie Page, Jayne Mansfield and others. By invoking the pin up, the school are offering the veteran a chance to fulfil his American Dream, fostered during the Second World War. Pin-up girls were widely disseminated among American servicemen attaining a veneer of patriotism

¹⁰⁴ In the 1948 article ‘We Introduce...Peter Gowland,’ Hanson clarifies that ‘Gowland has become such a glamour specialist that he even adds a touch of glamour to the children’s pictures which he shoots.’ Hanson, “We Introduce...Peter Gowland,” 123.

¹⁰⁵ For key texts on the study the history of ‘glamour’ as a cultural phenomenon, see Carol Dyhouse, *Glamour: History, Women, Feminism* (London Zed Books 2010); Stephen Gundle and Clino T. Castelli, *The Glamour System* (Palgrave Macmillan 2006); Stephen Gundle, *Glamour: A History* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2008). Dyhouse does briefly discuss glamour photography in photography magazines, though as part of a wider discussion of glamour in the postwar magazine culture.

¹⁰⁶ Veterans also wrote to the magazine to ask for further help with securing G.I. funding for training in photography, see J. B. Brown, “Home Study Courses for G.I.’s?,” *Modern Photography* November 1949, 4.

using femininity to offer veterans an image of home worth fighting for.¹⁰⁷ Hollywood studios and popular magazines accelerated the distribution of nude photography sending 'pin-up' images to soldiers overseas. Joanne Meyerowitz clarifies that by the 1940s, the American public hailed 'pin-up' girls as patriots who, by their bodily display, boosted the morale of soldiers.¹⁰⁸ Andre Bazin in his 'Entomology of the Pin-Up Girl' (1971/2004) described the pin-up as a 'weapon of war,' incorrectly locating its genesis in the 'accidental sociological situation of the war.'¹⁰⁹ However, Bazin suggests that with the end of the war, the pin-up 'lost her raison d'être' since presumably, as figures 77 and 78 show, the G.I.'s fantasy of having his woman was realised in the form of job security. However, as historians have noted, the pin-up continued to proliferate in peacetime. *Modern Photography* regularly included advertisements of pin-up photography, for example, a small advertisement [Fig. 79] appeared in the top left corner of a page next to the continuation of the article, 'New Low-Cost Speedlight' (April 1950) for an album of 'Pin-Up' photographs by the agency run by Irving Klaw – the self-proclaimed 'Pin-Up King' – and his sister Paula Klaw.¹¹⁰ The album comprises 500 photographs of models in 'attractive poses' and is called the New York Cheesecake Series. The American slang term 'cheesecake' first appeared around 1915 as a term for 'publicly acceptable' mass-produced images

¹⁰⁷ To be clear, sexualised images existed before the Second World War, for both a male and female audience. For scholarship on images of the nude in art history, see Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (Taylor & Francis 2002); John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London Penguin Books 1974). For scholarship of pornographic photographs, see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "The Legs of the Countess" *October* 39, no. Winter (1986); Raisa Adah Rexer, *The Fallen Veil: A Literary and Cultural History of the Photographic Nude in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021); Beth A. Eck, "Men Are Much Harder: Gendered Viewing of Nude Images," *Gender and Society* 17, no. 5 (2003).

Scholarship on the history of the pin-up is somewhat limited, see Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham and London Duke University Press, 2006), 5. Richard Dyer, "Don't Look Now: The Male Pin-Up" in *The Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality* (Abingdon Routledge 1995), 265-76; Joanne Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S.," *Journal of Women's History* 8, no. 3 (1996); Ellen Wright, "Female Sexuality, Taste and Respectability: An Analysis of Transatlantic Media Discourse Surrounding Hollywood Glamour and Film Star Pin-Ups During World War Two." (University of East Anglia, 2014).

¹⁰⁸ Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S.," 12. See also Joanne Meyerowitz, ed. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, Critical Perspectives on the Past (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1944).

¹⁰⁹ Andre Bazin, "Entomology of the Pin-up Girl," in *What Is Cinema* (London University of California Press, 2004), 161.

¹¹⁰ Klaw ran a mail-order pin-up business. For more information on Klaw and his mail-order agency, see Alison J. Clarke, *Victor Papanek: Designer for the Real World* (MIT Press, 2021), 40-60; Richard Pérez Seves, *Eric Stanton & the History of the Bizarre Underground* (Schiffer Publishing 2018), 28.

of semi-nude women.¹¹¹ Both as a play on the slang terminology for sexual acceptability and the iconic American dessert, the photographic series has connotations of edibility – making the nude a consumable epitome of New York. The tactility of the print aids the consumption of the female figure. Photography is harnessed to transform the body into an iconic American commodity.

Klaw makes explicit that he is selling nude pin-ups as pinnacles of Americanness, trading on the solidification of the image of the female body as a patriotic American symbol. As these magazines circulated in America and parts of Europe, the idea of the American woman was exported throughout the world. As sexual mores changed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, advertising, magazines, film, and photography regulated sexuality by codifying and disseminating new definitions of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ behaviour.¹¹² Furthermore, cheesecake imagery helped define certain bodily images as clean, healthy, and wholesome and conversely, widened the gap between those images seen as taboo or grotesque.¹¹³ Indeed, this technique was used by photography related companies: for instance, a ‘Saratoga Color’ [Fig. 80] advertisement for their colour printing service. The figure of a woman stretches the length of the page – surprisingly covering half of the promotion. Her legs are comically long; the figure appears to be on stilts wearing large stiletto boots. She is dressed as a ‘cow-girl’, complete with Stetson, holsters, and a gun in each hand; the strap on one side of her top is ripped, the fabric hanging down past her breast. At the side of this is an image of a plank of wood with the words: ‘WANTED. Your Color Transparencies.’ Yet the full text differs markedly from the image:

In color photography, it's the print that counts! Our highly skilled technicians are color craftsmen with years of experience in the art of developing and printing

¹¹¹ See Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S.," 10. For a deeper analysis of the agency of women in the ‘cheesecake’ pictures, see Wright, "Female Sexuality, Taste and Respectability: An Analysis of Transatlantic Media Discourse Surrounding Hollywood Glamour and Film Star Pin-Ups During World War Two.," 23.

¹¹² Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S.," 10.

¹¹³ See Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century U.S.," 10.

color film. Your transparencies receive prompt, careful attention in our modern laboratory devoted exclusively to color photography.¹¹⁴

Whilst the image of the 'cow-girl' resembles the pin-ups of the Klaw agency and the image of the femme fatale – her 'aggressive,' 'imperious attitude and frightening physique' reminiscent of Klaw's photographs of Bettie Page [Fig. 81] – the prospective customer is ambiguous.¹¹⁵ Rather than representing a cultural rejection of the women's increasing visibility in the public sphere, Ellen Wright has noted that the femme fatale character is indicative of 'the increasing acceptance amongst both men and women of women's (non-domestic) presence in the public domain.'¹¹⁶ Indeed, Mark Jancovich has argued that films in which the femme fatale appeared were constructed for a female, rather than male audience.¹¹⁷ The fact that images such as these entered mainstream popular magazines, suggests that the binary between private (feminine) and public (masculine) is far more complex.

Whereas I demonstrated earlier in the chapter a correlation between the way domestic space was masculinised in photography magazines and men's lifestyle magazines in the 1950s, it is important to note that images of women were less overtly eroticised in photography magazines during this period. Whilst historians have argued the inclusion of pin-up photography in men's magazines assured the reader that the magazine was unmistakably masculine (and heterosexual) in its content, in the case of photography magazines, the division is less clear cut as I will demonstrate in the first part of this section.¹¹⁸ Before I discuss how readers responded to the inclusion of photographs of women, I will first provide an overview of the way female models were used by editors and writers in photography magazines. As I demonstrated earlier, prior to the Second World War, women were

¹¹⁴ Saratoga Color, "Wanted. Your Color Transparencies " June 1951, 3.

¹¹⁵ Buszek, *Pin-up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* 3.

¹¹⁶ Wright, "Female Sexuality, Taste and Respectability: An Analysis of Transatlantic Media Discourse Surrounding Hollywood Glamour and Film Star Pin-Ups During World War Two.," 255-57.

¹¹⁷ Mark Jancovich, "Phantom Ladies: The War Worker, the Slacker and the 'Femme Fatale' " *New Review of Film and Television Studies* 8, no. 2 (2010): 166.

¹¹⁸ See Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (Oxford Berg, 2001); Osgerby, "The Bachelor Pad as Cultural Icon: Masculinity, Consumption and Interior Design in American Men's Magazines, 1930-65."

often the cover subject for photography magazines, yet postwar, a shift began to take place in the way women were photographed whereby they were no longer shown in the act of taking pictures, instead they were either posed with props such as flowers [Fig. 82], or in a variety of scenarios including 'at the beach' [Fig. 83], swimming [Fig. 84], 'in cowboy country' [Fig. 85], skiing [Fig. 86], performing gymnastics [Fig. 87], at a costume party [Fig. 88], and being photographed by a male photographer [Fig. 89]. Publications actualised this relationship between photographer (male reader) and model in articles such as *Modern Photography's* 'Shoot Your Girlfriend Outdoors' (June 1952) by Gowland.¹¹⁹ In the article, Gowland and reader/'amateur photographer' Gerald Burns take turns in photographing the model, Joan Gilbert. Their conversation during the process is summarised and Gowland's comments on the final images (taken by himself and Burns) are reproduced. Although clearly Burns is a foil for emphasising the differences between amateur and professional, the article prominently makes clear that the difference in the way the model was posed is the important point of departure:

For highly obvious reasons, Peter Gowland asked one of his prettiest models, 19-year old Joan Gilbert, to pose for the pictures you see on these pages. But let's be realistic about this. If you are like most of us, the "girlfriend" who appears in your viewfinder this summer isn't going to look too much like Joan. Instead, she'll probably bear an uncanny resemblance to your wife, three-year-old daughter, or even grandma - if she can find her upper plate [...] So be it. The camera problems involved will still be much the same as those amateur Gerald Burns faced in photographing Joan.¹²⁰

Both Gowland and Burns use the same photographic equipment and the article makes clear that Burns did not make the 'usual amateur mistakes' of having the model squint into the sun or stand against a distracting background.¹²¹ However, Gowland instructed Burns in how he 'shot' models in his 'professional' day-to-day employment, with the main aim being to 'fill the negative area with *what is important* to the personality and composition of the final picture'. This is much the same as

¹¹⁹ Peter Gowland, "Shoot Your Girlfriend Outdoors " *Modern Photography* June 1952, 48.

¹²⁰ Gowland, "Shoot Your Girlfriend Outdoors " 48.

¹²¹ Gowland, "Shoot Your Girlfriend Outdoors " 50.

how Marks describes Maier when photographing the Randazzo family.¹²² Whilst the article assumes the reader is male, other such instances were far more ambiguous catering to both a male and female audience. For example, in the article by Gowland, 'Bikini Suits' (July 1950), the focus is on how to replicate the 'scarf bikinis' that Gowland's assistant (his wife) makes, rather than on how to take a photograph of a female model.

The reasoning behind making the bikini by hand stems from Gowland's dislike of mass-produced swimwear citing the fact they do not aid 'striking pin-ups.'¹²³ In contrast to the previous article, Gowland makes clear that his wife Alice 'takes care of everything' except pressing the shutter; this statement reinforces the gendered division between (feminine) hand and (masculine) eye (emphasised by the photograph of his wife pinning a bikini top in place [Fig. 90]). Sometime later, though, a letter was published by Mary Suominen (February 1951) in which she expressed her pleasure at reading articles such as Gowland's 'Bikini Suits' giving 'readers a chance to combine other hobbies with photography' which she demonstrated in her self-portrait [Fig. 91.] showing Suominen wearing her own handmade 'scarf costume.'¹²⁴ Insofar as the article was published as a guide for how men could include their wives or girlfriends in their photographic practice, Suominen reconfigures this binary controlling the way she looks and is looked at by asserting herself in the role of photographer. However, the editors of *Modern Photography* may have chosen Suominen's letter so they could reproduce her self-portrait for the pleasure of the presumed male readership since they received letters from (male) individuals offering their opinions on the cover images of women, often asking for further information (and more pictures) on the selected model. For example, two letters published in the October 1949 issue of *Modern Photography* highlight the magazine as operating in the same arena as general lifestyle magazines. The first letter from Virgil Scott asks for a reprint of the photograph used for the last Minicam cover page: 'I think you laid MINICAM [editorial

¹²² Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 74.

¹²³ Peter Gowland, "Bikini Suits," *Modern Photography* July 1950, 22.

¹²⁴ Mary Suominen, "Bikini Suits" *Modern Photography* February 1951, 32.

emphasis] to rest with the best cover it could ever have (Jul-Aug issue – Ed). Jean Brown, the girl in the pool, is exceptionally lovely. Could we please have another picture of her?’¹²⁵ By including that he was a new subscriber to *Modern Photography* in his letter, Scott implies that it was his attraction to Brown that made him purchase the magazine since she was on the cover and was therefore, his first indication of what the magazine would contain. The editors duly complied with his request and printed a small portrait [Fig. 92] of her beneath with the following words: ‘Here it is – and for good measure we’ll include photographer Bob Hemmig’s answer to the many letters from readers asking for more information about model Jean Brown.’¹²⁶ Below Scott’s letter, Hemmig – who worked on the photo shoot – provides a short biographical note on Brown – ‘she is 5’3”, weighs 110, and her measurements are 34,24,34’ – clearly objectifying her female body for male consumption.¹²⁷

Perhaps in response to letters from readers, publications such as *Popular Photography* and *Modern Photography* sometimes published follow up articles describing the ‘cover-shoot’ in more detail – ‘Models Make the Picture: How Seven Leading Photographers Choose Their Models’ (*Modern Photography*, May 1950), ‘Bikini Suites’ (*Modern Photography*, July 1950), ‘Do’s and Don’ts of Model Direction’ (*Modern Photography*, September 1950), ‘Beauty Around the World: First of A Series on Exotic Beauty by Famous Photographers’ (*Modern Photography*, December 1950 onwards), ‘Peter Basch’s Glamour Portraits’ (*Modern Photography*, October 1952).¹²⁸ *Modern Photography* conducted a semi regular section called ‘This month’s cover’ wherein the photographer for the cover shoot would describe the production of the image. These focused on the presentation of the female model, her ‘look,’ the clothing and make-up preparations, as well as a detailed breakdown of the model’s physical statistics and measurements.

¹²⁵ Virgil Scott, "Long Live the King!," *Modern Photography* October 1949, 139.

¹²⁶ Bob Hemmig, "Long Live the King!," *Modern Photography* October 1949, 139.

¹²⁷ Hemmig, "Long Live the King!," 139.

¹²⁸ Note Henri Cartier Bresson wrote an article about photographing Burmese women for the series (March 1951).

Whilst one could argue that Suominen took the self-portrait in an attempt to align herself with this image of woman as object for consumption, the fact that she stated clearly her opinions on the content of magazine, I would argue shows she was participating in the collegial culture that, as a showed in chapter two, was concurrently fostered in the letters pages. Ultimately, these examples show the ambiguity of the place of women in photography in postwar America. However, photography magazines during the 1970s were far more explicit in their inclusion of erotic images often showing photographs of nude women [Fig. 93] clearly denoting female sexuality. I do not intend to provide an overview of the ways in which photography publications objectified women, rather the last part of this chapter will specifically engage with *Petersen's Photographic* magazine to consider how readers (both male and female) responded to the increasing sexualisation of the female body in the advertisements for camera equipment and as visual explications of the written text in photography magazines. Furthermore, the letters pages will reveal readers' concerns regarding the inclusion of portfolio work by women photographers.

***Petersen's Photographic* and the Women's Liberation Movement**

The image of the nude was as a site of tension for both men and women; this was directly expressed in the pages of American photography magazines. This next part of the chapter will also draw attention to the relationships and debates between male and female editorial staff of *Petersen's Photographic* which played out in the pages of the magazine during the 1970s at the time of the women's liberation movement. Whilst there is scholarship on the women's liberation movement and its impact on the format and reception of male magazines during the late 1960s and 70s, very

little has been written about photography magazines and the ways in which publications regarded the movement as a threat to photographing the female figure.¹²⁹

Petersen's Photographic magazine was launched in May 1972, nine years after Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* and during the same year *Playboy* reached a peak of seven million subscribers.¹³⁰

Petersen's Photographic is, therefore, an interesting example from which to examine the impact of the continued confluence of the commercialisation of the accoutrements of a male lifestyle, as discussed earlier with men's magazines and photography magazines on the way women's bodies are mobilised to, not only legitimise art photography using the conventions of Western art history, but also use this convention to sanction the masculinisation of photography.

The letters pages such as the 'Other Voices' section of *Petersen's Photographic* highlights the tension between public and private, and debates concerning the politicisation of the nude which impacted on the way women in photography were written about. For example, the July 1973 'Other Voices' section printed two letters complaining about the nudity on display in the previous issue. The first was written by Paulette Knupp Jones from Albuquerque, New Mexico, who made the following appeal:

[...] I am a serious photographer. I am a woman who appreciates nude photography which glorifies the beauty of the human nude form (of man and woman). I am not asking for male nudes. Rather I am expressing a lack of approval of the photos on pages 38 and 39 of your May issue. Those that were used to illustrate your "Retouching" article. I am not one among fanatical women's libbers, but I am one who would like to ask what reaction (seriously) a male photographer would have to viewing a "Retouching" article using the male penis for illustration. In my opinion, not all photographers who may read your magazine are male. I hope you realize that you do not have to compete with *Oui*

¹²⁹ For a general overview of the Women's Liberation Movement during the 1960s and 70s, see Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (Penguin Books 2006). For literature on the Women's Liberation Movement and its impact on men's magazines, see Beatriz Preciado, "Pornotopia" in *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture from Cockpit to Playboy* (New York Princeton Architectural Press, 2004); Carrie Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies: The Sexual Politics of Playboy* (Chicago Chicago University Press, 2011); Fraterrigo, *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America*; Carrie Pitzulo, "The Battle in Every Man's Bed: Playboy and the Fiery Feminists" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 2 (2008).

¹³⁰ Pitzulo, "The Battle in Every Man's Bed: Playboy and the Fiery Feminists" 260.

and *Playboy*. I do believe you have the potential for being the best U.S. photographic magazine. I ask for reassurance and the use of that potential.¹³¹

The passage is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, Knupp highlights the tension between the art-historical nude figure and pornography. The importance in the 'acceptability' of a nude image to a given person is, according to Beth A. Eck, not so much to do with how they feel about nude images or 'freedom of expression' in general, but is actually more to do with the context – and whether they think the image belongs to a category that fits the context it is in.¹³² Throughout the 1970s, readers debated the propriety of the nude in a photography magazine, questioning the boundaries between obscenity and art. Feminist art historians, including Lynda Nead have shown how the eroticism of the nude has been historicised using modes of aesthetic contemplation as a way to mask the penetration of the male gaze.¹³³

Petersen's Photographic oscillated between invoking tenets of art photography and tropes of men's magazines. Secondly, Krupp makes clear she is not one of the 'fanatical women's libbers' and, thirdly, the passage highlights the masculinisation of photography magazines – as I demonstrated earlier, photography magazines expanded their remit by including the sort of lifestyle elements that were pervasive in men's magazines. In conjunction with men's magazines, *Petersen's Photographic* offered a masculine lifestyle to accompany the practice of photography. For instance, the editors often reviewed men's magazines and books in the monthly 'Light Reading' column including *Playboy* ('Pinning Down the Pin-Up,' February 1975) as well as including advertisements for domestic and lifestyle products such as 'Green Chartreuse' (October 1977) [Fig. 94], 'Sebulex Shampoo' (October 1977) [Fig. 95], 'Tudor Watches' (October 1977) [Fig. 96] to name a few. By including these advertisements, the magazine is crafting a masculine readership where photography is a lifestyle choice that defines a man. Kenon Breazeale, in his study on the history of *Esquire* magazine, notes

¹³¹ Paulette Knupp, "Art and Its Beholders " *Petersen's Photographic* July 1973, 2.

¹³² Beth A. Eck, "Nudity and Framing: Classifying Art, Pornography, Information, and Ambiguity," *Sociological Forum* 16, no. 4 (2001): 604.

¹³³ See, Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, 85.

that the boundary between acceptable and pornographic images in the 1960s and 70s blurred depending on whether the reader is 'moved to contemplation or sexual activity,' noting that whilst the majority of *Esquire's* images were intended to provoke 'aesthetic contemplation,' it was the pin-up that was explicitly coded as a 'masturbatory aide.'¹³⁴ Therefore, in discussing the 'beauty' of the image of woman, the magazine, according to Breazeale, communicated enough 'highbrow associations' to make it desirable for a (male) middle-class audience to 'displace that archetype of consuming femininity' erotising images of women for male readers to consume (both visually and haptically) – 'contrast of serious, verbal masculinity versus frivolous, mute femininity.'¹³⁵ Moreover, Gail Dines argues that articles on cultivating a bachelor lifestyle (as discussed earlier) functioned 'to cloak the magazine in an aura of respectability' since their *modus operandi* was to legitimise masculine pleasure.¹³⁶

Whilst Knupp references both *Oui* and *Playboy*, it is interesting to note that *Oui* was launched as a challenger to *Penthouse* magazine in September 1972 under the same publisher as *Playboy* providing a more sexually explicit arm of the company. However, by 1973 it began to rival *Playboy* arguing that the reader wanted to be 'men-of-the-world' rather than the now provincial 'man-about-town.'¹³⁷ This view of the latter magazine is evocative of the provincialising of suburbia, and highlights the tension at play within photography magazines.

The second letter, from Lloyd Welburn of Newman Grove, Nebraska complained about the content of the magazine, citing he feared for the morality of his young children:

¹³⁴ Kenon Breazeale, "In Spite of Women: "Esquire" Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer," *Signs* 20, no. 1 (1994): 11.

¹³⁵ Breazeale, "In Spite of Women: "Esquire" Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer," 9,10,11.

¹³⁶ Gail Dines, "Dirty Business and the Mainstreaming of Pornography " in *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality*, ed. Robert Jensen and Ann Russo Gail Dines (London Routledge 1998), 46.

¹³⁷ Fraterrigo has written about *Playboy's* move to the suburbs during the 1970s: 'additionally, by the 1970s, many clubs once imagined as the epitome of hip urbanity now stood in declining urban areas. *Playboy* managed to extend the life of the clubs by moving them to suburban locales.' Fraterrigo, *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America*, 172.

...look at pages 74,50,38 and 39. I don't believe I need anymore issues. Clean up your magazine or keep it! If you think you are too big for it, look at what happened to *Life*, *Look*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Redbook* and now *Glamour* is becoming trash [sic] also.¹³⁸

The editor's reply was blunt. 'Seems to us we've heard this before. Unfortunately, there are those individuals who insist that nude and naked are interchangeable. We don't.'¹³⁹ A month after publishing the letters from Krupp Jones and Welburn, the editor Paul F. Farber in the 'On the Scene by the Editors' column formally responded to the complaints of nudity which, in his view, were sent by women 'who subscribe to the principles of the Women's Liberation Movement, and from men who share in and fervently believe in their cause.'¹⁴⁰ The column was entitled 'Sexism vs. Photographic.' Whilst Farber clarified that whilst he did not 'deny' the Women's Liberation Movement, choosing not to 'argue against their beliefs,' he subsequently went onto say that he did not think the aims of the movement had any place in a photography magazine, noting that the female nude is exempt from castigation in the context of a 'creative' medium:

We believe far too many of those overzealous people would not only emasculate our society, they would cheerfully sterilize it [...] Ours is a magazine devoted to photography, and to the dissemination of photographic information, and if we use an occasional nude, so be it! We can't have that type of censorship in a

¹³⁸ Lloyd Welburn, "Art and Its Beholders " *Petersens Photographic* July 1973, 2.

¹³⁹ Welburn, "Art and Its Beholders " 2.

Reading through *Petersen's Photographic* magazine at the New York Public Library in May 2019, I came across several instances where pictures of women had been cut out. The first instance can be found in the October 1974 issue. Upon closer inspection, it was clear that these slits had been made with a pen knife or sharp instrument rather than scissors or torn by hand as the sharp staccato slices of the paper have gone through several pages' underneath. From the text inscriptions, it can be established that the lost images were nude photographs. On the right-hand side, the text reads: 'Full figure nude, left, is illuminated by window light and four reflectors positioned so a set of two reflectors is on each side of the camera to direct light onto the subject.' Leafing through the obliterated pages, it would seem all the pictures scratched out depicted nude women. This practice of slicing out the images of women continues throughout 1974 and 1975 monthly issues of the magazine. As the magazines were originally made available to New York Public Library members through the reading room and then later bound for archive repository, it would seem that the maker of these marks came to the library whilst the magazine was available to the public. Also, a librarian note in pencil is written on the contents page of the July 1975 issue: 'mutilators noted 9/11/81.' Arguably, the reader was intent on snatching the bodies of women for personal purposes sometime after the original publication date.

¹⁴⁰ Paul F. Farber, "On the Scene by the Editors: Sexism Vs. Photographic " *Petersen's Photographic* August 1973, 4.

creative situation. Let's hope this is the end of it and let's get on with the business at hand.¹⁴¹

Calling these 'imagined complaints' by 'highly emotional individuals,' the editor makes explicit the divide between masculine and feminine spaces, and the binary between rational men and hysterical women. The naturalisation of the nude female figure as subject and object of photography was continually debated by both men and women.¹⁴² One reader, an 'amateur photographer,' wrote to the section editor of 'The Pro Shop' column in *Petersen's Photographic* in August 1973 to ask his advice as to what might happen if he sent his nude images to be processed. In his letter, he confesses to being worried about whether his 'nude shots' would be confiscated, having been informed by other readers that this was a danger to be wary of.¹⁴³ This epitomises the deep concern for the preservation of the boundary between art and pornography which reflects on the multifarious designations for the uses of photography. As Knupp made clear in her letter, concerns were being voiced by readers who felt that male photographers claiming photography as an art form were using this as a pretence to take explicit and sexually overt pictures of women. Whilst Knupp made it clear she was not one 'of those libbers,' the statement does show that fears of exploitation of the female body were embedded in wider political and feminist campaigns.

However, I would like to reiterate that the editorial staff members chose which letters would be published and provided a title for each one. In some cases, they even wrote fictional letters parodying a female audience in overt attempts to shift the emphasis from debates concerning

¹⁴¹ Farber, "On the Scene by the Editors: Sexism Vs. Photographic " 4.

¹⁴² In the March 1977 'Other Voices' column, a letter was published written by Scott Anderson who decried the continued inclusion of advertisements for camera manufacturers using the female figure. In the following June (1977) issue, the 'Other Voices' column featured two letters, one from Peter Morse (Chicago, Illinois) and the other from John Jensen H. (Portland Oregon) who were replying directly to Anderson's March missive. Morse directly addresses the readership whilst acknowledging Anderson and others like him are guilty of spoiling people's appreciation of 'beauty.' Jensen, whilst he admonishes Andersen for disrespecting the female figure, makes clear that the 'human body – male and female – is a beautiful work of art when photographed by a sensitive individual.' He is clear, that in this instance the photography on trial by Anderson does not exploit the female body for commercial gains, though in principle he makes clear he is against the commercialisation of the female body.

¹⁴³ Mike Laurence, "The Pro Shop: The Great Kop-Out," *Petersen's Photographic* August 1973, 14.

photography's status as art to blaming 'militant feminism.' In the May 1974 edition of *Petersen's Photographic*, the 'Light Reading' department editor Jim Cornfield responds to a fictionalised letter which he himself has written. It reads thus:

Dear Sirs: Your repeated use of the female subjects in the photographs which illustrate your articles is 'sexploitation' of the most blatant sort. And the predominance of men among your contributing writers and photographers does nothing so much as attest to the heinous role you have so enthusiastically chosen to play in the subjugation of women everywhere. Wishing you a slow death by fire, I remain, disgustedly, Barbara "Butch" Thorndyke.¹⁴⁴

Here, Cornfield is attacking what he perceives to be a 'militant feminist' branch of the women's liberation movement. Links can be made between the way photography and lifestyle magazines interacted with the complexity of the different strands of the women's movement. Cornfield's sham letter moves beyond simply rebuffing the women's movement, and instead attacks what he perceives to be a masculine faction of women activists. With the 1968 Miss America protests, the women's liberation movement entered popular culture and was vilified by the mainstream media.¹⁴⁵ Bonnie J. Dow in her article 'Feminism, Miss America and Media Mythology' (2003) analyses the way mass media reacted to the 1968 Miss America protests – highlighting the fact that in the infamous 'bra burning' incident, no bras were actually burned.¹⁴⁶ Initially stemming from a comparison with the anti-war protests of the time, where symbolic burnings were a common feature, the idea was seized upon and embellished by the mass media in order to construct a stereotype of the Women's Liberation protester as a 'jealous' woman whose bitterness about being less attractive than the so-called 'feminine' women exemplified by Miss America enabled them to distract from discussing the motivations and aims of the movement.¹⁴⁷ Dow attributes this both to a political desire to attack the

¹⁴⁴ Jim Cornfield, "Light Reading: Distaff Gaffs," *Petersen's Photographic* May 1974, 8.

¹⁴⁵ See, Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*, 96.

¹⁴⁶ See Bonnie J. Dow, "Feminism, Miss America, and Media Mythology," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 6, no. 1 (Spring) (2003): 128.

¹⁴⁷ Dow, "Feminism, Miss America, and Media Mythology," 134.

women's movement, and to a general 'individualising' tendency in the media, resulting in simplified binary narratives: the shrewish feminists versus the innocent Miss America.¹⁴⁸

Indeed, an article by Julie Baumgold in *New York* magazine, 'You've Come a Long Way, Baby' (June, 1969) ridiculed the organisers of the Boston Female Liberation Movement as 'damaged women' – wearing 'denim workshirts' – who hate men and advocate the 'destruction of the family.'¹⁴⁹ Carrie Pitzulo states that *Playboy's* condemnation of 'militant feminism' 'shunned traditional femininity and heterosexual seduction and included organizations like the Female Liberation Cell-16, whose members were noted for their masculine clothes, heavy boots, and short hair and who were ridiculed by *Playboy* for "[demonstrating] the karate blows and kicks designed to keep objectionable men in their place.'¹⁵⁰ Whilst *Playboy* publicly supported women's rights, such as the legalisation of abortion, they championed the notion of feminine women.¹⁵¹

In a similar way to *Playboy*, Cornfield mockingly replies to his strawman misogynist fantasy by 'reminding our readers that we quite often publish the work of women photographers, and we also use male models [...] and if this isn't enough forty-plus percent of the Photographic staff consists of ladies -none of whom have been particularly shy about expressing their opinions when a possible case of male chauvinism is at issue.'¹⁵² He condescends to inform the reader that a female staff member (Kruse-Smith) pointed out that during his time editing the 'Light Reading' column he had yet to review a book written by a woman. Rather than rectifying this in his own hand, he claimed to have quipped 'if you want women talked about in my column, do it yourself.'¹⁵³ What follows is

¹⁴⁸ Dow, "Feminism, Miss America, and Media Mythology," 128-29.

¹⁴⁹ Julie Baumgold, "You've Come a Long Way, Baby," *New York* June 1969, 27.

¹⁵⁰ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies: The Sexual Politics of Playboy* 270.

¹⁵¹ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies: The Sexual Politics of Playboy* 268-72.

¹⁵² Cornfield, "Light Reading: Distaff Gaffs," 8. To note that four members of staff were women: Karen Sue Geller (Managing Editor), Joan Yarfitz (Associate Editor), Markene-Kruse Smith (Editorial Assistant), and Natalie Carroll (Administrative Assistant). Neither of these women wrote a column for a department, and as I have noted, it was rare for a female staff member to write a feature article until the mid-1970s. In the September 1974 issue it was announced that Kruse-Smith would join David Blatter's 'Sidelights' and contribute to the 'Focus' column.

¹⁵³ Cornfield, "Light Reading: Distaff Gaffs," 8.

Kruse-Smith's book review of Anne Tucker's *The Woman's Eye* (1973) though under Jim Cornfield's 'byline', which he has turned over to her in an oddly and ironically progressive move, albeit as something of a joke.¹⁵⁴ Kruse-Smith draws attention to the statistic that in a recent survey conducted by the magazine, it was revealed that ninety percent of *Petersen's Photographic* readers are men. Of course, as Kruse-Smith implies, more women may be reading the magazine, though they may not be subscribers or feel able to acknowledge their interest or, have the time to complete the survey.¹⁵⁵ Insofar as women were working in variety of different fields of photography, as I have shown throughout this chapter and in chapter two, there were and continue to be a number of structural boundaries, firstly, there was and continues to be a wage gap between male and female photographers, for example, in 1970 'the American male photographer's median income was more than twice that of the female photographer.'¹⁵⁶ Secondly, since the average income was lower for women than for men, being able to gain entry into a full-time position as a photographer proved more difficult for women (in 1970 the U.S. Census reported the median age for female photographers was 38.5 years; for black female photographers the median age was 48.5).¹⁵⁷ Thirdly, as I have thus far demonstrated in this chapter, magazines and advertisements contradictorily showed women in a variety of, albeit derogatory roles, whereby they are constructed as objects for the consumption of a male readership.

Before I conclude this chapter, I want to draw attention to an interesting issue of *Petersen's Photographic* which will illuminate not only the importance of female representation for female readers, but also the ways in which popular photography magazines became an important (and often overlooked) forum for discussing the issues of gender and photography. The May 1976 issue of

¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, this colleague then takes over the light reading section and the editor leaves the magazine.

¹⁵⁵ In the February 1975 issue, Kruse-Smith again documented the changing place of women in photography in the regular column 'Focus' with the theme for February being 'Refocus celebrates WomanView.'

¹⁵⁶ Box/Vol 144 Women Photographers: Regional Listings Series I, Peter Palmquist, Women in Photography International Archive, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

¹⁵⁷ The 1980 U.S. Census reported 72,496 male and 22,266 female photographers. Of that number, 840 were black women. Box/Vol 144 Women Photographers: Regional Listings Series I, Peter Palmquist, Women in Photography International Archive, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

Petersen's Photographic was unusual in that each feature article (separate to the regular columns) was written by a woman.¹⁵⁸ Not only that, three of the fourteen regular columns written by men (the 'Focus on Filmmaking' was always written by Associate Editor Markene Kruse Smith) focused solely on women's involvement within photography: women only camera clubs, careers for women and the publication of photographs taken by female readers.¹⁵⁹ In this month's 'One to One' column, a letter written by Ann Wardell (Cleveland, Ohio) with a reply by section editor David B. Brooks was printed. In the letter, high school senior Wardell describes how she began to take photographs after being gifted a camera by her father ('avid amateur photographer') for her birthday. However, her high school did not provide photography classes, and her teachers, including the school councillor, and her father refused to take her seriously: 'they say the field is strictly for men, and it just isn't a realistic choice for me.'¹⁶⁰ Brooks replies, first by saying:

A year or two ago I might have been inclined to agree with your father. From all appearances it seemed that the photographic profession was [Brooks' emphasis] dominated by men. But recent experience has turned me around.¹⁶¹

He goes on to list a number of women working in photography including Lyn McClaren, Lucille Stewart, Ellen Bak, and Chi Chi Mills. In thinking about 'if a list of great American photographers were to be compiled' Brooks could only think of two he would include: Imogen Cunningham and Margaret Bourke-White.¹⁶² Whilst Brooks contends that 'the fact that you are female no longer

¹⁵⁸ The ten feature articles included; 'Clara Petzoldt: Photographic Adventuress: Exploits of an Early Explorer' by Louise Rice, 'Photographing the Wonderful World of Children: A Sandwich that Beats Peanut Butter and Jelly' by Jeannine Mathews, 'Linda Wolfe: Faces in Time – Portfolio', '3M Montage: Put Together Marvellous, Memorable Make-Believe Images' by Ellen Land-Weber, two editions of 'Spec-Sheet' written by Tamron Adaptall, 'Underwater Safari' by Beverley Wertheimer, 'Simplify Printmaking' by Jane Heald, 'Blueprint: How to Light for Texture' by Karen Geller, 'Bas-Relief Printing: A Visual High from the Old Masters' by Joan Yarfitz.

¹⁵⁹ From the sample of issues printed between January 1973 and October 1977, forty feature articles (from 460) were written by women (includes those that were co-written with a male correspondent though I have not included Markene Kruse-Smith's book review as it was published under the section editor Jim Cornfield). There were no more than three feature articles per issue written by women during this period except in the case of the May 1976 issue. In 1975, one regular column on home movie-making was written by Markene Kruse-Smith.

¹⁶⁰ Ann Wardell, "Letter," *Petersen's Photographic* May 1976, 110.

¹⁶¹ David B. Brooks, "One to One " *Petersen's Photographic* May 1976, 110.

¹⁶² Brooks, "One to One " 110.

seems to have much bearing on whether or not you will make it in the photographic field, and that *finally* is as it should be,' he believes that the lack of notoriety for women photographers is due in part because women deliberately prefer 'not to seek distinction among their colleagues.'¹⁶³ Brooks sustains the assumption that, as Nochlin famously noted, there have been no great women which is rooted, as chapters one and two clarified in the notion that women are a passive version of men.

The inclusion of the all-female writing team did not go unnoticed by the readership, many of whom wrote to *Petersen's Photographic* to provide their opinion on the all-female selection. For example, in the August 1976 issue two letters were published offering differing views on the May publication. Mary Lou Dolhancryk (from Columbiana, Ohio) provided overwhelmingly positive feedback on the choice of women writers and photographers:

Every month I look forward to receiving my copy of PhotoGraphic [author's emphasis]. As a novice in photography, I found it a closed field, unwilling to give up basic information to the uninitiated. Then came your magazine! The information I was looking for was at my fingertips. Even now as a professional, I often look to back issues, and what I'm looking for is usually there.

With the May 1976 issue I received more than I had ever hoped for in a photography magazine: "On the Scene," pictured only women contributors; "Club Close-Up" covered women's clubs; Linda Wolfe's sensitive portfolio featured women subjects; careers for women in "One to One" were discussed, and most exciting of all were Clara Petzoldt's fantastic photographs (in my opinion, some of the best you've ever published). All these things by and about women!

But that's not the best part. What makes me want to stand on my head or shout joy is the fact that you didn't splash the obvious all over the cover, lead-in pages and throughout the magazine. You merely published good articles, commentary and portfolios by competent, professional photographers who happen to be women, and that makes me very happy. I will not stand on my head or shout for joy (not to excess, anyhow), but I will thank you from the bottom of my heart. (I will also continue to subscribe to your magazine and continue to broadcast its praise to everyone I meet.) Photography is a natural career for women – the May issue proved that fact.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Brooks, "One to One " 110.

¹⁶⁴ Mary Lou Dolhancryk, "Exuberant Fans " *Petersen's Photographic* August 1976, 4.

Whilst Mary was unanimously in favour of having photography taken by women included in the magazine, Hugo L. Martinez (N. Miami Beach, Florida) thought otherwise. Martinez was a new reader, in fact the first issue he purchased was the May 1976 edition. In his letter he admits that he was 'impressed by its contents' and was willing to subscribe monthly to the magazine until he 'noticed [...] that each of your features was created by a female' ('the same occurred in "Gallery '76"').¹⁶⁵ He ended the letter with the following: 'I, speaking as a member of the male society, demand equal representation in your next issue!' Whereas the editor chose not to comment on Dolhancryk's letter, he replied to Martinez with 'You got it, Hugo – ed.'¹⁶⁶ Readers proceeded to write letters voicing their opinions on the inclusion of female photographers. The May 1976 issue continued to elicit debate long after its publication, for instance in October 1976 George Somers (Matawan, New Jersey) wrote that after reading the 'One to One' (May 1976) column dealing with a 'response to a question from Ann Wardell, who was considering whether or not to pursue a career in photography' he felt compelled to respond to her predicament by highlighting the 'Table of Contents' of the May issue – particularly the 'Features' section. 'I see that eight of eight signed articles or essays [Somers is not counting the two "Specification Sheet" features] are by women [...] I rest my case. Ann, today's valid question is not "Are you a woman?" but rather, "Are you a photographer?"'¹⁶⁷ In the case of Maier, biographers and the popular press emphasise stories (often from those who had only met her briefly) of Maier's secretiveness, 'her disdain for males,' 'liberal feminist views' and 'masculine appearance' – 'recollecting the distinctive figure she cut, some of those same children, once they had grown up, as well as others who knew Maier, said that she looked like a nun, a Soviet factory worker, a female prison guard, or a lesbian' – as revealing interesting psychological insights.¹⁶⁸ Yet given the way women were written about in photography magazines during the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s (and the way Maier is also talked about),

¹⁶⁵ Hugo L. Martinez, "Exuberant Fans " *Petersen's Photographic* August 1976, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Although this did not stop the editorial from soliciting articles by women, the publication did not repeat the inclusion of an all-female contributing team.

¹⁶⁷ George Somers, "Hidden Modifiers " *Petersen's Photographic* October 1976, 4.

¹⁶⁸ See Heifermann, "Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier," 22.

it is hardly surprising that Maier, and other women, chose not to disclose their photographic practice for fear of being ridiculed.¹⁶⁹

Conclusion

As chapter two demonstrated, to consider the amateur grouping as one undifferentiated mass of photographers not only plays into the binary of amateur and professional, it also erases any understanding of how class, gender, sexuality, race and lifestyle affected (limited) who could practice photography, their relationship with other amateurs, the subject matter available to them and the incentive to take up commercial work. By providing a socio-historical context to our understanding of the way photography was gendered, I have shown that the masculinisation of amateur photography is representative of a much larger societal concern of a feminisation of American culture.

This chapter has provided a nuanced understanding of the way mid-century magazines responded to societal developments in gender roles whilst re-framing long established formats of amateur subject matter. With the development of a suburban ideal, the home became a site of conflict in a gendering of space. Women came to represent the – suburban – American home, sited away from the male space of the city. This feminisation of the mass culture was countered by a masculinisation of the domestic, be it by DIY darkrooms establishing a foothold in the home, or by the bachelor lifestyle ideal promulgated by the likes of *Playboy* magazine. Women are thus spatially and ideologically relegated within the photographic periphery. In the second half of the chapter, I engaged with the overt sexualisation of images of women in photography magazines that occurred in conjunction with the men's magazines. Following the end of the Second World War and the mass popularisation of sexualised images of women, exemplified by pin-up and glamour pictures, photography magazines

¹⁶⁹ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 139, 64. Maloof, *Vivian Maier: Self-Portraits*, 8. Heifermann, "Lost, Then Found: The Life and Photographic Work of Vivian Maier," 18.

would often, as a matter of course, feature nude and sexualised images of women. Through doing this, magazines were inculcating the praxis and theorisation of women as secondary in the production of photographic images, and more to the point, as the muse, or subject for the aesthetic appreciation of photography. Therefore, debates of the efficacy of nude photography arose from tensions concerning masculinity, and the role of men in the traditional production/consumption model.

However, rather than amputating women from collaborative and networking systems, the letters pages show that readers understood how wider societal debates concerning women's roles impacted upon notions of who, and what constituted photography. Whilst it may have been braggadocio on behalf of the editor to choose letters that affirmed their stance on the Women's Liberation Movement, the fact that readers aired their views suggests that they noted how *Petersen's Photographic* was straddling the genre of men's magazine, and that this was not the domain of a photography magazine. Indeed, whilst the editors admonished 'women's libbers' as not *real* women, readers continued to grapple with, and in some cases criticise the magazine recognising similarities with *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Therefore, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, postwar male consumption was viewed negatively as a feminine pleasure activity and as such, whilst men's lifestyle magazines understood this, debates continued concerning the meaning of masculinity. As more women than ever before were employed in the mid-twentieth century, male consumption was viewed suspiciously as engendering men in the ideological role women had traditionally occupied. Far from simply re-affirming traditional gender roles, photography magazines and camera advertisements advocated a variety of different roles and genres of photography for women to participate in, many of which men also partook (child photography, for example). Yet, the family album was the domain of the woman, since the pictures were for memorial purposes rather than for gifting as part of special occasions or for sale as pin-money. However, at the same time, I have shown that in practice, reader/photographers (both male and female) were aware of the market expectations from them (in terms of purchasing each new camera iteration) and as such sought to

share information as to how to save money and re-use older equipment. Chapter four will specifically engage with Maier's vintage prints taken with the families she worked for as a nanny in order to engage with, and challenge the extent notion that domestic photography is purely nostalgic.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ See Slater, "Domestic Photography and Digital Culture," 173.

Chapter Four

Re-Considering Maier's Photographic Practice: Women, Labour and the Camera

The previous chapter set out the ideological, social, and cultural factors that simultaneously would have allowed Vivian Maier to take photographs and build up a considerable body of images, yet which would have been barriers to her further progression. As I have shown, the construction of Maier's photographic oeuvre and posthumous recognition are representative of a much larger and systemic issue – the denial of women's photographic practice as an integral part of the history of photography which continues to (re)produce patriarchal narratives. As chapter one demonstrated, conflicting portrayals of Maier's character have produced differing posthumous personas. This, in turn, necessitated that those invested in her (collectors, commercial galleries, biographers) continually modify and update their categorisation of her as a photographer. General media (and photography journals) continue to oscillate between labelling Maier as an eccentric 'nanny photographer' and 'street photographer'.¹ Not only is the categorisation of Maier as a photographer debated, so too is her personal life. This is exemplified by speculation as to how a possible hoarding disorder might have impacted on her capacity to take *good* pictures like her street photographs from the 1950s. Within the biographical literature on Maier, as chapter one has shown, being a single

¹ The popular press (and dedicated online photography sites) continue to use different labels for Maier, for instance in describing a colour self-portrait [Fig. 97] in which Maier's shadow is cast across a wall of billboards advertising the films *Heaven Can Wait* (1978) and *Jaws 2* (1978), Andrew Dickson for BBC Culture (2020) writes 'It's as if Mary Poppins were auditioning for a role as a serial killer.' Writing about the exhibition of Maier's photography at FOAM Amsterdam, Dickson invokes the Poppins trope, though later in his article he states 'instead of regarding her as a nanny who happened to take great snapshots, we should recognise, once and for all, that Maier was the opposite: a photographer who chose to support herself financially, and develop her art, by being paid to look after other people's children (The text was hyperlinked to direct the reader to *The New Yorker* article 'Vivian Maier and the Problem of Difficult Women').' It is as if Dickson retroactively incorporated this statement, since earlier in his article he freely uses the nickname (Mary Poppins). See, Andrew Dickson, "Vivian Maier: The Elusive Genius Who Hid Herself Away," *BBC Culture*, accessed August 2, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20200902-vivian-maier-the-elusive-genius-who-hid-herself-away>. See the latest news coverage for 'Vivian Maier' includes: 'Major show of Vivian Maier – a Chicago nanny who was also secretive street photographer – is heading to the UK' (*The Art Newspaper*, April 2021); 'Vivian Maier the photographer who dressed up as a nanny Exposition' (*Valley Bugler Newspaper*, April 2021); 'New Beijing exhibition reviews life of photographer Vivian Maier' (*Global Times*, March 2021); 'Self-Portraits of Legendary Nanny-Turned Photographer Show' (*CGTN*, March 2021).

woman working in a gendered field of employment has solicited an examination of both her own character, and of the meaning of her photography based on normative notions of sexuality and gender. Therefore, as I have argued throughout this thesis, sweeping assumptions have been made about the way she lived and how she photographed. Whereas chapter three provided a nuanced contextualisation of the changes in gender roles that took place in the mid-twentieth century impacted how women were viewed as photographers by manufacturers and magazines, this chapter will re-emphasise that Maier was a working-class woman who, in her capacity as a carer, worked full-time for middle-class suburban families, providing a gendered form of labour.

The bulk of Maier's vintage prints show her in the domestic space of the family home of her employers, taken either during her paid duties as nanny or simply whilst using her recreational time photographing in and around the suburban home.² Subject matter includes: elderly women in care facilities [Fig. 98], newly born babies [Fig. 99], family gatherings [Fig. 100], staged or posed portraits of both children and employers [Fig. 101], baby pictures [Figs. 102-104], children's parties and family events [Figs. 105-107], television screens and domestic spaces [Figs. 108-109], gardens [Figs. 110-112], indoor theatre and stage events [Figs. 113-115], and domestic scenes that capture the daily routine of the family and nanny [Figs. 116-118]. In trying to avoid labelling Maier an amateur, the Maloof Collection, have sought to segregate her domestic employment from her photographic practice and as such photographs that explicate her in the role and process of her work have been removed since they subvert the modernist narrative of the street photographer.

Raymond clarifies that the posthumous reappraisal of Maier is one characterised by a 'passivity' reflecting her 'social position as a woman who was never the beneficiary of forms of social power such as being male, wealthy, or even middle class.'³ In short, Maier did not have social or cultural power during her lifetime, and this is replicated in the posthumous life of her photographs. To go

² I want to make clear that these images have not been made public. They are stored at the University of Chicago Special Collections in the John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier.

³ Raymond, *Women Photographers & Feminist Aesthetics*, 84.

further, this slippage between Maier's social position as working carer and her posthumous reception needs to be addressed. Therefore, it is important to establish a context surrounding women's domestic employment, the relationship between employer and employee as a way to frame an analysis of how Maier used photography to capture her labour and her shifting role in her employers familial home.

Re-thinking family photography: Working as a Nanny

As Maier practiced photography during her year in the Alps, lifetime themes immediately began to emerge [...] The canvas for Maier's first photos was an Alpine setting as perfect as a movie set, where Julie Andrews could be expected to round the bend.⁴

Ann Marks

She was just an obsessive artist, real artists, they just have to make and it just doesn't matter if they get seen or if they are going to make it. That's how she worked. It didn't matter and honestly, I think because she didn't have somebody close to her life, this was kind of her freedom, her way of expressing herself. She couldn't go and express her inner emotions with somebody else [...] I find it mindboggling that she did not have anybody to give her feedback...There was no community there. That's incredible. It shows how much better you think she is.⁵

John Maloof

Contrary to the Maloof quote in the epigraph to this section, I will argue that Maier participated in and communicated with people in the process of taking pictures. I will share original archival research to show that Maier not only subscribed to photography magazines, she potentially also attended workshops and courses sharing her interest in photography with others, like-minded or not. Indeed, acknowledging that 'part of the legend of the nanny photographer is that she had no social life outside of her work,' Bannos notes that 'it is easy to assume that Maier is alone because

⁴ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 61.

⁵ "Vivian Maier Discussion 11/17/18."

her photographs rarely show an ongoing interaction with others as she traverses city sidewalks.⁶

Yet, whilst Bannos does reveal, using the analysis of Ron Slattery's vintage prints, that Maier was photographing with others, she does in a way that continues the understanding of Maier as a street photographer.

Amongst the photographs taken by Maier, the archive also contains cabinet cards (mostly portraits, though occasionally curiosity scenes) [Figs. 119-121], commercial studio portraits [Figs. 122-124], photographic post-cards [Figs. 125-127] and mid-to-late twentieth-century holiday prints taken from family albums [Figs 128-130]: all found by Maier and kept amongst her own photographs. All in all, there are 203 photographic prints in the archive designated as being 'collected' by Maier.⁷ In contrast with male photographers, Maier's gender tethers her images of the domestic space to the history of women as passive family shooters. Examining Maier's photography of the familial, I do not want to suggest Maier was consciously taking pictures for a physical family album, or in any sense as family photography. However, her photographs do include formal family portraits, baby pictures and images depicting moments that would be included in family albums. These similarities, I argue, have led collectors to avoid publicising these images. I want to challenge the extant notion of family photographs, and images of the domestic, as mundane.

When a male photographer – Lee Friedlander, for instance – takes pictures of his family, the photographs are exhibited and compiled into book form.⁸ These family photographs are viewed as a candid, if somewhat cute view into the personal life of a photographer.⁹ For these male photographers, private family photography is representative of their separation from, and at the

⁶ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 214-15.

⁷ 'In the occasional cases in which photographs were found loose in envelopes or other enclosures, the enclosures were included in this count.' The University of Chicago Special Collections finding aid for 'John Maloof Collection of Vivian Maier circa 1900-2010.'

⁸ Friedlander has published three books (*Family*, 2004; *Family in The Picture*, 2014; *Children: The Human Clay*) showing photographs of his family including his wife, children and grandchildren.

⁹ See, Chris Wiley, 'Lee Friedlander's Intimate Portraits of His Wife, Through Sixty Years of Marriage,' *The New Yorker*, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/photo-booth/lee-friedlanders-intimate-portraits-of-his-wife-through-sixty-years-of-marriage>.

same time indulgence in, the notion of the camera as memorialist tool; framing the photographs as providing a 'candid' insight into the private world of the photographer ensures the familial scenes are short-circuited from the gendered history of family photography. Sally Mann (born 1951) has garnered considerable media and scholarly attention for her photographs of children that are often labelled pornographic. Mann has been accused of exploiting her own children for the success of her career.¹⁰ Her photography book, *Immediate Family* (1992) contains sixty-five photographs of children – most often her own children – taken between 1984 and 1991. Scholars have grappled with a number of contentious issues; the nudity of the children depicted, their adult confrontational expressions, and the implied violence done to them.¹¹ Raymond in her essay 'The Original Experience: Carrie Mae Weems and Sally Mann' (2017) postulates that the inclusion of Mann's children in her photography reflects the combination of both of her roles – mother and photographer – without, as she argues, 'creating art utterly with and among her children.'¹² Anne Higonnet has argued that 'along the way, Mann's work has challenged the histories of artistic, commercial, and amateur photography, as well as the reality effect that impinges on all three of those histories. The reception of those challenges has also been bound up with gender issues.'¹³ In short, for Higonnet, Mann has overcome the gendered assumption that women cannot be artists if they are simultaneously caring for children. Moreover, whilst Higonnet and Raymond both understand Mann's *Immediate Family* as encompassing a representation of 'maternity,' the latter

¹⁰ Mann's photograph *Jessie In the Wind, 1989* [Fig. 131] from *Immediate Family* was on the cover of the *New York Times Magazine* in 1992 in which the article 'The Disturbing Photography of Sally Mann' was included inside.

¹¹ See also Sarah Parsons, "Public/Private Tensions in the Photography of Sally Mann," *History of Photography* 32, no. 2 (2008); James Christen Steward, "The Camera of Sally Mann and the Spaces of Childhood," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 39, no. 2: Secret Spaces of Childhood (Part 1) (2000); Anne Higonnet, "Sally Mann: The High Price of Success," in *The Woman Artist at the Millenium* ed. Carol Armstrong and Catherine de Zegher (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).

¹² Clare Raymond, "The Original Experience: Carrie Mae Weems and Sally Mann," in *Women Photographers and Feminist Aesthetics*, ed. Clare Raymond (London and New York: Routledge 2017), 157. Raymond's comparative study of Weems and Mann reflects ways in which racial violence in the American South is grabbed with in their photography. She argues that 'for Mann's very ability to widely circulate her photographs of her naked children depends on her privileged status as a well-to-do, well-educated, straight, married, and above all- white woman.' See also Raymond, "The Original Experience: Carrie Mae Weems and Sally Mann," 158.

¹³ Higonnet, "Sally Mann: The High Price of Success," 403.

believes the images trace the struggle for Mann to emerge from the relationship of mother as an artist which, although it highlights the relegation of the private domestic sphere in the art world, it also reinforces the binarism of the roles of mother and artist.¹⁴ However, Sarah Parsons goes further by claiming that 'Mann mines her own private sphere and the convention of the private photograph in order to probe between public and private' in order to engage with the ways in which the two domains have been constructed as opposites.¹⁵ Yet, with regards to the case of Maier, she was not a mother, nor did she have a familial connection to the families she lived with.

A portfolio-size black-and-white vintage print [Fig. 132], developed either by Maier or at her behest, shows stacks of plates piled high with half-eaten food are carefully balanced next to an entanglement of cutlery. A large circular tray supports the serveware balanced on the kitchen countertop, the crumpled edge of a drying cloth visible at the tip of a fork. Tin cans are strewn behind the cutlery, whilst next to them stand empty glass tumblers. The wooden handle of, presumably, a serrated steak knife cuts across the bottom right side of the image. The precise date and location are unknown; the folder under which it was archived is labelled 'Chicago and unidentified locations and object compositions, 1956-1970s'. Perhaps this is the aftermath of a dinner party: Maier photographing her involvement cleaning up after her employers. Whilst commentators have suggested that nannying afforded Maier freedom to explore beyond the boundaries of the suburban domestic in which the family is located, little has been done to analyse the spaces within the purview of her employment in the private home. I want to consider how Maier's social and photographic milieu was formulated across class and gender lines, since she was performing her role on behalf of the family, her employers. Moreover, I want to think about the broader history of family photography in order to challenge the narrative of women as culturally, ideologically and spatially separated from the public sphere. Before I engage with a portion of

¹⁴ Raymond, "The Original Experience: Carrie Mae Weems and Sally Mann," 159.

¹⁵ Parsons, "Public/Private Tensions in the Photography of Sally Mann," 130.

Maier's vintage prints, it is necessary to contextualise the suburban milieu of the mid-twentieth century, with particular focus on the employment of women.

It is important to foreground my analysis of the postwar growth in the female labour force by underscoring the racial and class dimensions to this participation. Elisabeth Hagen and Jane Jenson in their essay, 'Paradoxes and Promises: Work and Politics in the Postwar Years,' recognise that work is gendered, that whilst women participate in the labour force, the labour that women undertake is not understood to be as important or as valuable as that of their male counterparts.¹⁶ Full-time contracts were disproportionately given to men, resulting in temporary, voluntary positions where the pay, if there was any, was often low, subject to change and unequally distributed.¹⁷ Yet, within the female labour force, there is racial inequality since the freedom many middle-class white women had attained following the Second World War to become career women led to the outsourcing of childcare and blue-collar work to African-American women, and immigrants from Europe, Mexico, Central and South America.¹⁸ Consequently, domestic work is associated with migration. Women migrate to do housework and receive a precarious immigration status based on this, resulting in low status and pay. As I demonstrated in chapter three, the nuclear family is characterised by a desire to keep women in 'the home', to shore up this notion of a 'traditional family.'¹⁹ Nevertheless, as time goes on, the home is no longer a refuge from commodification; hence the 'double bind' of modern women who are expected to fulfil 'homemaking' responsibilities as well as sell their labour. Homemaking itself is commodified and automated, and re-produces the tension between women 'having it all' and not having enough, as opined by Douglas. To go further, while wage labour takes

¹⁶ Jane Jenson, Elisabeth Hagen, and Ceallaigh Reddy, eds., *Feminization of the Labour Force: Paradoxes and Promises*, Europe and the International Order (Oxford Polity Press, 1988), 3.

¹⁷ Jenson, Hagen, and Reddy, *Feminization of the Labour Force: Paradoxes and Promises*, 3-4. See also chapter eight in Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s*. Although, for the vast majority of working-class women, the roles they performed in the labour force were also associated with family responsibility.

¹⁸ Joan C. Tronto, "The 'Nanny' Question in Feminism," *Hypatia* 17, no. 2 (2002): 37. See also Wenona Giles and Sedef Arat-Koç, eds., *Maid in the Market: Women's Paid Domestic Labour* (Halifax Fernwood Publishing, 1994), 34.

¹⁹ Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946- 1958," 1460.

its toll on the worker (explaining the attraction of 'the home' as a refuge) it also brings with it certain freedoms and control of the money required to maintain the home.²⁰ The *ideal* image of woman becomes an image 'borrowed from aristocratic leisure-life', a woman who 'stays' at home and cares for her family, providing a respite from the competitive world in the public sphere.²¹ Yet this vision is increasingly untenable even for upper-middle-class families – 'the bourgeois housewife qua mistress of her servants was basically abolished by the labour movement' – so during the 1950s and 60s the position of the nanny was crucial in maintaining and reproducing domesticity.²² The role of the nanny is imbricated in racist notions of the outsider as care-giver.²³ Since participation in the household was not viewed as work, more a matter of women's inherent duty of care, female domestic workers were marginalised, seen as adjuncts to the mother of the household, whose activities were also marginalised compared with the man of the house, who was seen as the 'model worker.'²⁴ The nanny, therefore, is a cultural figure who represents the breakdown of the distinction between public and private spheres by existing simultaneously in both.²⁵ This implies that the nanny is an agent of the public sphere who works to monitor and bridge the gap between the two realms. Yet, the nanny has all the expectations of a family member (mother) and none of the autonomy and respect accrued by those who pay her (with temporary contracts, short periods of work, odd hours) such that greater subjective demands are placed upon the role.²⁶ Similarly to Chambers, who although, in describing the state pressures encumbered on mothers in Australia, who were 'treated as a reserve army of labour released after the war to engage in voluntary work to support the

²⁰ Giles and Arat-Koç, *Maid in the Market: Women's Paid Domestic Labour*, 37.

²¹ Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing up Female in the Mass Media*, 283.

²² McLeer, "Practical Perfection? The Nanny Negotiates Gender, Class, and Family Contradictions in 1960s Popular Culture," 99.

²³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Routledge 1995), 30.

²⁴ Jenson, Hagen, and Reddy, *Feminization of the Labour Force: Paradoxes and Promises*, 3.

²⁵ McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, 48.

²⁶ Tronto, "The "Nanny" Question in Feminism," 38.

community,' domestic carer's leisure time also involved accompanying children to, and spectating at, recreational activities since they were imbricated into the rituals of the family.²⁷

Pasternak in his article 'Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs' argues that the histories of family photography continue to inculcate the notion of the nuclear family as a separate apparatus from the public sphere and capitalism.²⁸ Not only does he point out that the image of the American middle-class family was constructed for, and by, political ideology, he goes further by acknowledging the ways in which the site of the home is politicised.²⁹

Maier's photographs of her household working patterns, domestic routines and everyday household items are important to understanding Maier's labour and provide an implicit critique of the nuclear family itself. Family photographs have been ideologically invisible, due to the material nature of how they are stored (in boxes, albums, computers) and displayed within the home. The traditional narrative of women as 'keepers of the past' is complicated since, as nanny and familial outsider within the families she was paid to care for, Maier was not photographing from the position of mother; yet, neither was she employed to photograph the families.³⁰ Although photographs include members of many of the households in which Maier lived and worked, they are not bound in acetate in ring binders or photograph albums (though, as Rose and Van House have made clear, women in the home did not necessarily organise their photographs in such a way).³¹ In the presentation given by Marks at the Howard Greenberg Gallery (as discussed in chapter one), Maloof stumbles awkwardly when talking about the social milieu with which she inhabited:

²⁷ Deborah Chambers, "A Stake in the Country: Women's Experiences of Suburban Development" in *Visions of Suburbia* ed. Roger Silverstone (London and New York Routledge 1997), 100, 03.

²⁸ Pasternak, "Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs," 222-27.

²⁹ See also Spence and Holland, *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography*; Martha Langford, "Domestic Collections," in *The Handbook of Photography Studies*, ed. Gil Pasternak (London and New York Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020).

³⁰ Claire Grey, "Theories of Relativity," in *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, ed. Jo Spence and Patricia Holland (Virago Press, 1991), 107.

³¹ See Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*, 37; Nancy A. Van House, "Personal Photography, Digital Technologies and the Uses of the Visual," *Visual Studies* 26, no. 2 (2011): 130.

Like prints of the family or she has a whole series of like cocktail parties at this wealthy mansion out in North Shore Chicago where they just kind of um, you know, eating and having a good time and its like her kind of being a voyeur looking through the screen, looking down at the people kind of enjoying this party or something like that. But there's like a whole series of them.³²

Ann Marks interjects:

I think she was friends with the Gensburgs. She was photographing the party. But its not something you would want necessarily.³³

Both struggle to square Maier's working relationship as a nanny from a working-class background with the often romanticised conception of artistic and photographic freedom whereby class is either the focus of the subject matter or is neutralised: it is ultimately seen as a choice made by the individual photographer. The invocation of the term 'series', again, reinforces Maier as author and provides a rationale for her preoccupation with something as cliché and amateurish as a cocktail party. Though Marks clarifies that Maier was not, in fact, photographing strangers' parties in a voyeuristic attempt to document middle-class suburban Chicago, she evades the relationship between Maier and the Gensburg family by suggesting it is of no importance to the overall schema of Maier's photographic output. For Marks, Maier was a 'friend' of the family, yet, at the same time she was under their employment, and this complicates the way Maier took images, printed them, and communicated with her employers and their social and professional circle. This, as I have argued, has manifested in the contradictory portrayal of Maier as mysterious and eccentric 'nanny photographer,' which paradoxically reinforces the notion of working-class women bound to their economic position. Exhibiting and making visible the street photographs taken by Maier suggests that her life indoors, at home as a domestic nanny, is at odds with the notion of Maier as street photographer.

³² "Vivian Maier Discussion 11/17/18."

³³ "Vivian Maier Discussion 11/17/18."

This tension operates on the praxis of street photography as masculine occupation and the suburb the ideological domain of the family. As chapter three outlined, the extant ideological and geographical conception of the suburb is delineated by the function of the nuclear family, and, as Bourdieu postulated, photography's 'primary function' is the 'recording of the family [...] continuing to conform to the strained, posed and stereotyped photography of the family album [...].'³⁴ Therefore, the function of photography produced in, and about the matrices of the suburbs has, and continues to be considered by its accuracy in the representation of the ideal (white) American family.

Pasternak makes the important point that this narrative excludes photography made by those who do not conform to the 'ideological model of the nuclear family, or that the production of family photographs within that domain is only one manifestation of this type of photography.'³⁵ The nuclear family has emerged from the re-affirmation of gender roles, and the hegemonic patriarchal social order. The nuclear family is one type of family preferred by the state and excludes all manner of individuals and family units. Indeed, Judith Stacey argues that not only was the contradictory narrative of personal identity and of the collective identity of the white, middle-class image of the American family pervasive in the popular media of the 1950s, adding to our contemporary 'collective nostalgia' for the period, it has also rendered invisible those who did not conform to this ideal model: for example working class, gay and lesbian, single-parent, non-white and mixed-race families.³⁶ Extant scholarship on family photography is not, therefore, always representative of this narrative of Americanness. Crucially, 'family photography' is more diverse than ideological conceptions of the family as formulated by Bourdieu, and therefore family photography cannot be reduced to an expression of that ideology.

³⁴ Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, 30.

³⁵ Pasternak, "Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs," 224.

³⁶ See Judith Stacey, *In the Name of the Family: Rethinking Family Values in the Postmodern Age* (Boston: Beacon 1996), 101.

In a reel dated October 1970, the camera captures a police arrest of a man on a suburban street. Following this, Maier watches the residents walk back to their homes, children playing in their front lawns whilst the neighbours linger on and talk to one another about the preceding event. During this, the camera quickly scans past a teenage boy propped up with crutches holding a movie-camera in his right-hand [Fig. 133]. Stories of Maier's insouciant understanding of privacy have bolstered a characterisation of her as eccentric, anti-social and ultimately more concerned about taking *the* photograph than for the welfare of others [Fig. 134]. Yet, here, in this scene is a young person filming the social unrest and its aftermath. Whilst chapter three showed that home-movie cameras were marketed to women and children as a medium for the recording of social and familial everyday events, these examples, as discussed above, demonstrate the opposite, and more to the point that Maier, was not alone in filming such scenes. The now grown-up child, Inger Raymond has stated that she and Maier 'were co-conspirators,' and Marks has highlighted that 'the Raymond family respected photography and endorsed the pair's excursions. Vivian with her Rolleiflex and Inger with her Instamatic. The young girl learned how to focus and the importance of light and contrast.'³⁷ As chapter one has made clear, commentators, such as Marks reiterate these accounts as moments that capture Maier's incongruity in the role of nanny. Yet, Maier photographed Raymond [Fig. 135], and vice versa, often giving Raymond her Rolleiflex to use, as in [Fig. 136]. The tension between her status as nanny and the street photographs (mainly taken from the period she lived in New York City) is underscored by her gender, and the connotations of womanhood with passive femininity. Therefore, her pictures of suburban families, suburban neighbourhoods and their rituals make clear her obscurant posthumous characterisation. Yet, her complicity in the suburban milieu stems from her economic dependence working full-time for families who could afford to provide live-in accommodation. Therefore, Maier's photographs of her household working patterns, domestic

³⁷ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 137.

routines and everyday household items are important to understanding Maier's labour and, I argue, provide an implicit critique of the nuclear family itself.

I now want to look closer at the images referred to by Maloof in the interview at the Howard Greenberg Gallery - the black and white (there are several small colour slides too) prints currently housed at the University of Chicago Special Collections.³⁸ Box three (folder two) contains a series of images taken at an outdoor garden party [Figs. 137-138] and an indoor cocktail party (also in folder nine) [Fig. 139]. Copies of images reappear throughout the archive, as well as one or two standalone images from smaller indoor dinner parties. Images taken at the outdoor garden party are taken either from above or at a distance from the other partygoers. In two of the images, revellers are below Maier; in fact, the edge of the patio roof (presumably Maier was looking from the window) cuts across the left side of the frame [Figs. 140-141]. She maintains this distance throughout the sequences capturing the people drinking, talking, and eating outside in a paved area of the garden [Fig. 142]. She only moves closer to the paved seating area when the tables and chairs have been vacated [Fig. 143] and again, taking a portrait of the woman in a white housekeeper's suit cooking on a large open grill [Fig. 144]. She does not look up to acknowledge Maier; she is busy tending to a large skillet, pan in one hand and grilling utensil in the other. Photographing the empty outdoor dining area, gingham table dressing flapping in the wind, Maier is simply an observer. Although she takes pictures of the suited men and summer-dressed women from a distance, she is still observable. Not a voyeur hiding in the bushes, but an unacknowledged attendant. The children in bed upstairs in the house, Maier circled the party in her role as paid nanny, an employee of the family recognising in the woman cooking the same duty and role that she herself undertook on a day-to-day basis.

Looking again at figure 140, amidst the group of well-dressed guests is the cook, now serving the food from the grill on a small white platter. What at first seemed to be the focus of the photographs

³⁸ Maier chose to develop these images; however, the negatives are lost.

– the circular paved patio area filled with couples drinking and talking – is on a second glance, not the focus at all. In figure 145 at the top of the steps looking towards the gingham topped tables and grill, is the chef, her back to Maier. Behind her, the semi-circle group of party guests. At first, the viewers eye is drawn towards the centre of the group, two men facing each other, between them a gap. It is this space between them that continues to draw the eye up the scene towards the garden steps to the cook, caught walking back to the grill station from depositing the cooked food. Marks, in stating that these images are ‘not something you would want necessarily,’ is commenting that they warrant little to no commercial value. In other words, collectors would not be willing to pay for the prints, partly due to their grainy overexposed quality (again, cropped with large white borders) and to the problematic and unknown role Maier takes within these scenes. Pasternak quite rightly argues that if we consider the family as constituting a ‘platform for internal and external negotiations’ rather than as a site for conformity and performance of hegemonic values, then the photographs that are taken either outside, or within, the domestic location are ‘politically loaded.’³⁹ In this framework, photographs of the family that are awkward, capturing the mundanity of domestic life, the labour of women, the family dynamic, unhappy faces, and moments that go wrong need not be seen as innocent, unimportant, or products of a dysfunctional family. In the case of Maier, there are a number of photographs that show people posing for her camera [Fig. 146], albeit in an ad hoc manner as indicated in the images of party guests caught grimacing [Fig. 147] as their privacy is invaded by the nanny whose duty lay elsewhere. These are images taken by a working nanny as evidenced by photographs discussed at the beginning of the chapter that show her washing up, organising the children’s mealtimes and putting them to bed. The relationship between nanny and employer is one characterised by class limits and boundaries.

Maier complicates the existing boundaries between public/private, centre/periphery, and inside/outside of the canon. Maier shared her photography and space with others, whether they

³⁹ Pasternak, "Intimate Conflicts: Foregrounding the Radical Politics of Family Photographs," 224.

were acquaintances made in studios or camera shops, or children and family members for whom she worked as a nanny. They cannot be expunged from the narrative. To say that Maier was not engaged in a community, or indeed, that she was reticent to share her photograph-taking with her employers, is a tenuous proposition and one that actively promotes an artificial delineation between amateur local community on the one side, and the individual art photographer on the other who manoeuvres the networks and processes that make up the art world. This notion of the photographic art world confines the photographic medium to a constellation of powerful social groups whose focus is primarily to bolster photography to the realm of high art; therefore, anything that seems remotely different or that impinges upon the canonical history of photography is relegated to the margins of the art world. Therefore, the categorising Maier's body of images into institutionally recognised genres such as street work and the self-portrait, serves only to bolster the recognition of her photography in light of the claim that she had no professional, or indeed, amateur community to provide assistance or knowledge. However, I will argue that, with an analysis of her vintage prints, changes in composition, cropping, printing paper and developing processes evidence Maier's self-education and her engagement with the variety of photographic techniques, opinions and theories that were discussed in both the letters pages, and contents of photography magazines to show a greater complexity of practice between amateurs.

Maier's Photographic Practice

The presentation of Maier promulgates the notion of spontaneous street work where her eye for a good shot obviated the need for multiple exposures. In the rare occasions that commentators have discussed her multiple exposures, they are deemed only 'worthy of study [since] they reveal the workings of her discerning eye. When shooting the same scene twice, she would initially make an uninteresting picture, then quickly adjust distance, angle or perspective, for a much richer second

shot.⁴⁰ The very nature of taking multiple images of a scene surely reveals a complexity of image-taking, a thought process and the potential for self-criticism. She may or may not have posed or otherwise engaged with the people she photographed, but she certainly made multiple exposures of them, far more than the 'spontaneous' narrative would imply. Maier often printed multiple different shots of a scene and, therefore, any comparison of images must take into consideration the afterlife of a photograph: the print. If Maier was ultimately looking for the perfect shot before she developed an image, as Marks implies, then why did she often print a sequence of images from the scene?

What the public sees is a version of Maier that has been curated based on the collectors' notions of taste and worth. Furthermore, the Maloof Collection has separated vintage prints from posthumous prints and those for sale, thereby obscuring any sense of Maier's photographic routine, her decision making, her experimentation with composition and the development process. It has been made clear that Maier preferred to crop her prints, but this has been posthumously jettisoned as an inferior technique, and is elided from the collection of modern and vintage prints made available to the public – as set out in chapter one. Questions such as cropping were regularly debated in photographic magazines during Maier's lifetime. From her vintage prints, it is clear that Maier regularly made multiple exposures of the same image; she often mirrored a scene on the vertical or horizontal axis, used different papers, experimented with light and shadows, border effects and used colour film earlier than has been suggested by the Maloof Collection.

It is necessary to reincorporate the multiple exposures made from a single negative into the recognised body of images produced by Maier in order to re-think the scholarly apparatus used to write about practitioners of photography. Maier used (or requested) various different techniques to develop her images; she often reversed a negative, so that the image was mirrored when printed [Figs. 148-151], she cropped negatives in several ways, she enlarged different figures or parts of an image, she used mirrors to reflect her self-portrait and the portraits of those around her, she used

⁴⁰ Marks, *Vivian Maier Developed: The Real Story of the Photographer Nanny* 82.

different printing papers and borders whilst always using multiple cameras capturing a scene in colour. To go further, box four, folder eight at the University of Chicago Special Collections, holds a black and white photograph [Fig. 152] (date and location unknown) of a group of three women sitting around a small circular restaurant table. Each woman is eating ice cream from a goblet. Two have their backs to the viewer; a younger woman sits slightly to the left whilst an older woman with a hat pinned quite low to her head sits to the right. Each woman sits with one hand on her lap and the other holding the spoon which is resting on the lip of her silver goblet. Opposite them, a woman scrapes out the last remaining morsels of food. Her spoon is caught stuck in her mouth, whilst she gazes down at the goblet in her left hand, a napkin crumpled between finger and thumb. They clearly have not noticed Maier taking their picture as they continue to eat. Whilst the two women with their backs to Maier seem to be eating at a nonchalant pace, their goblets filled to the brim, the third woman has it clutched in her hand. This indulgence is witnessed by Maier as the viewer is guided through the central gap between the two women. The image is a large portfolio-type print with a thin white border around the image. Clearly Maier understood the third woman to be the interesting part of the scene and chose to crop the image to produce a smaller contact-sized print [Fig. 153]. Here, the round edges of the paper brings focus in on the character portrait. However, Maier has cropped it such that the woman is not central in the image; her right hand is cut off with the spoon hovering in mid-air. There is a large black space to the right of the image. The accoutrements of the meal are on the table, though the recipients of them cannot be seen.

Through multiple exposures of a negative, Maier is working out what are, for her, the interesting parts of the composition. She often exposed a negative more than twice, framing different parts of the image. These prints are not kept together in the archive; they are scattered among folders, different parts of a scene broken up, creating an abstract, collage-like quality to them when collected. One such example from box eleven (folder five) shows a smiling female patient lying flat on her back on a gurney [Fig. 154], looking towards the camera, her eyes narrowed as if caught in a drug-addled state. Behind her, posing, are three figures, from right to left: a woman wearing a

blouse with a black blazer; next to her is a female nurse; and directly behind the patient's head is the figure of a man in a white jacket, presumably another medical attendant. Both the patient's legs and the left side of the male attendant are cut off from the frame. Each figure smiles widely, looking out towards Maier: clearly, they have stopped moving the gurney and decided to pose for the camera. It is not known whether Maier knew these people. Perhaps, behind the smiles, is confusion. The same box, folder six contains two other exposures of the same image [Figs. 155-156]. Each have had varying exposure times; the first is the lightest in tone whilst the third is the darkest. Coming to box fifteen, and folder five contains a print [Fig. 157] of the two medical officials; this time they are the focus of the scene, enlarged so as to create a dialogue between the two with the other figures cropped from the scene. These different prints turn the image into a series of jigsaw pieces that slot together. They provide a clue as to how Maier was thinking about her image-taking, and the importance of using these techniques in thinking about tone, composition, and framing.

Such debates were popular in postwar America, having undergone a long historical development. 'Is there one best print?' (*Modern Photography*, 1950) asks five 'experienced photographers' to print an image from the same 35mm negative.⁴¹ The original image was taken by Elizabeth Timberman using a Leica on Super XX film exposed for 1/100 of a second at f.5/6.⁴² She chose to crop the original negative when producing the print. Timberman qualifies her reasoning by saying she 'wanted to throw all possible emphasis on the face, hand and lunch pail. To me, these tell the story of a man going back to work on the first shift after an eight-month mine strike.'⁴³ Each produce different results – angle, size, tone and gloss. All photographers chose to crop the print, with only one producing a landscape view. Rolf Tietgens wanted the face to receive the most emphasis and so, to accomplish this, he 'overexposed all of the print except the face, and then overdeveloped it in undiluted Dektol.'⁴⁴ Each photographer also referred to emphasising the head and face. To do this,

⁴¹ Edna Bennett, "Is There One Best Print?," *Modern Photography* December 1950, 56.

⁴² Bennett, "Is There One Best Print?," 56.

⁴³ Bennett, "Is There One Best Print?," 57.

⁴⁴ Bennett, "Is There One Best Print?," 57-58.

Elizabeth Hibbs cropped the print to a square format with the head compositionally off-centre.⁴⁵ Edna Bennett, the author of the article suggests that each print is unique and testifies more to the individual photographer and their 'pet techniques' than to the original picture taker, Timbermann. For her, the choice of paper surface, compositional choice and developing process 'spotlights the personality, the tastes, the likes and the prejudices of the person who made it.'⁴⁶ Seen in this way, exposing a print combines the context of the scene with the technical monikers of the photographer. To expose the negative in multiple ways, then, would be to understand the vast array of photographic tastes. To this end, the *Modern Photography* article produces an educative framework for the reader to contemplate, helping them practice the multitude of techniques available, as well as matching technical decision making with the style of each individual photographer, creating a roster of personalities that can be recalled.

As the previous two chapters have demonstrated, magazines could be contradictory in their advice; this was the result of competing editors, different trends in photography, competition between magazines and having named and amateur authors provide their views often together in the same article. For instance, in contrast with the *Modern Photography* article outlined above, *Popular Photography* published 'Learn to Select, Organize, Simplify: Strive to Bring Order out of Chaos in your View Finder' (*Popular Photography*, 1957), which aims to advise the reader on obtaining a harmonious image before pressing the shutter:

... omit distracting elements in a composition, or sort out the elements in a picture and put them in meaningful order. That is purely the function of the photographer, and his success can be measured largely by his skill in selecting, simplifying, and organizing the chaos of his subject matter.⁴⁷

The image must be composed so that the viewer can understand the scene, and by extension what the photographer wanted to convey from it. To do this, the author clarifies the photographer can

⁴⁵ Bennett, "Is There One Best Print?," 58-59.

⁴⁶ Bennett, "Is There One Best Print?," 59.

⁴⁷ "Learn to Select, Organize, Simplify," *Popular Photography* October 1957, 80-81.

change camera position and angle by moving around the subject. This is the only instruction given to the reader; the rest of the article is dedicated to examining three photographs that demonstrate this clarity of composition. Of course, we are not provided with the failed attempts and prints from different angles. The article reinforces the premise that photography should strive to produce single images of a scene and move on to the next.

Magazines such as *Popular Photography* chose to publish article formats that provided different, often competing viewpoints which countered the 'how to' guide that directed the reader to *the way* of doing things. One such example is the 'We asked the Pros' monthly section that proposed a question to either three or four working photographers, college lecturers or publicly recognised names, soliciting their opinions. In the December 1957 issue, the question posed was 'Do you Believe in Cropping?' The four commentators were Martin J. Dain, Bob Smallman, Simpson Kalisher and Howard Zieff. For Dain, cropping could be undertaken, though he did not 'believe in reaching in and cutting out a small section of a negative,' though he would 'cut off an edge in order to tighten up the composition.'⁴⁸ He believed that 'the photographer's eye accommodates itself to the shape of the viewfinder, and that he tends to compose according to that format.'⁴⁹ Thus, for him, the only necessary cropping is when shooting suddenly. Smallman, who worked for magazines, cared not for the finished print; rather, he worked toward the image on the page. He did, again, believe in cropping; adjusting when deemed necessary. Kalisher claimed not to have any rules, cropping if it helped the picture. He qualified this: 'if I'm rushed during the shooting I'll try to see and get as many elements into the picture as possible and then try to tighten it up later in the enlarger.'⁵⁰ Lastly, Zieff Flats says he believes in cropping, 'after, all, the negative is just a means of recording an image. I shoot as I feel. I may feel differently or see something entirely new when I get in the darkroom. No

⁴⁸ "Do You Believe in Cropping," *Popular Photography* December 1957, 26.

⁴⁹ "Do You Believe in Cropping," 26.

⁵⁰ "Do You Believe in Cropping," 26.

one but the photographer has to know what is on the negative.⁵¹ He concludes that the theory about cropping is ridiculous and to edit is a natural progression to arrive at the 'final statement.'⁵²

Maier herself commented on, criticised and praised her own photography. Marks and Bannos have both highlighted Maier's self-awareness – writing notes and comments on the backs of envelopes. She would also criticize Kodak developers, independent dealers and camera shop assistants who disobeyed her printing directions. This community cannot be ignored as mere adjuncts to the biographic character portrayal. Maier chose to adapt her images in multiple different ways during the developing process; many of these she made notes on and signed off by pencilling a 'tick' on the back of the prints. Examples of these are present throughout the collection of vintage prints. Box seven, folder fourteen contains an image [Fig. 158] that is dated from her time in France, either 1951 or 1959. A thin white border envelops the black and white image of a female market trader whose wares are festooning a small, enclosed tent. Behind the seated seller is the back of the tent; a gap opens out onto a road opposite the stall; a man can be seen walking between the pavements. The white of the background matches the corsets, undergarments, and evening gowns on display; the sun is penetrating through the top of the sagging roof and through the almost translucent clothing. Maier printed another exposure of the scene [Fig. 159]. Whilst it is the same image, the developing process has been slightly longer; the draped overhanging roof is more defined, the beam of light in the first image is diffused forming a speckled textural grain. The garments in the latter image stand out from each other, yet the darker tones create a duller image. A dark space enmeshes the Persian rugs at the back with the corsets on the left of the stand, drawing the eye away from the woman at the centre of the photograph. The different exposures have created two very different moods to the scene. In printing both images, Maier was clearly interested in the differences made explicit in the printing process. On the back of the first print, she has made a visual statement of intent by scribbling a large 'tick'. Of course, I do not know definitively who made this tag or when, but as these

⁵¹ "Do You Believe in Cropping," 26.

⁵² "Do You Believe in Cropping," 26.

are in the archive that Maloof has explicitly denounced as lacking the quality of the published modern prints, I would argue that Maier herself thumbed through her prints, annotating and marking the ones she preferred [Figs. 160-163].⁵³

In order to reappraise Maier's photographic output with consideration to both compositional arrangement and printing process, it has been necessary in this chapter to focus specifically on images Maier took sequentially and the numerous and varied prints made from the same negative. Therefore the examination of Maier's vintage prints has established positive concepts of self-improvement and experimentation.⁵⁴ By rereading the collection as a whole rather than comparing her photographs with canonical photographers on the basis of finding similarities of compositional tropes, a fuller overview as to how she understood photography and what her practice was has been given: not a biographical dictum or a framework of analysis that prioritises concepts such as originality, authorial voice, and oeuvre, but rather, a consideration of the body of images as whole. Maier does not have control of how her photographs are presented.

Ultimately, having shed light on the assumptions of photography in suburbia in chapter three, this next section of the chapter will reveal how these have impacted the way Maier is constructed as a street photographer. Thereby, I will show that it is Maier's connection with so-called 'amateur' networks (alongside her photographs of domesticity) and the perception of such as 'providing predictable, stable standards of evaluation' that has necessitated her mysterious posthumous persona.⁵⁵ Found among her belongings are hundreds of letters [Fig. 164], postcards [Fig. 165] and

⁵³ I have been told by the University of Chicago Special Collections librarians that the prints have not been altered or written on except for notating the cataloguing system (Box number and folder number in the bottom corners) and the official Maloof Collection stamp and signature of authenticity.

⁵⁴ Bannos briefly discusses the difference between the negatives Maier chose to print and those made by Maloof and The Howard Greenberg Gallery in chapter six of her book *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*. See pages 161-165. Ann Marks also briefly outlines the difference in printing techniques, see pages 20-21.

⁵⁵ Schwartz and Griffin, "Amateur Photography: The Organizational Maintenance of an Aesthetic Code," 199-200.

seasonal (Christmas) cards [Fig 166.] from people she corresponded with over her lifetime.⁵⁶ Written in an undated Christmas card to Maier, signed 'Wilma' is a short message:

Dear Vivian,

Hope this finds you well and happy too. I had a friend drop these articles from some photography magazines. It might be an outlet for some of your pictures. Much love, Wilma.

My little grandson is a darling, such a nice little boy.⁵⁷

This note not only highlights that Maier discussed her photography with others, but also that magazines were a part of her experience of photography. There is no evidence to suggest that Maier followed through on the suggestion to avail herself of the magazine as an 'outlet' for her photographs, yet this was clearly seen by those around her as a natural thing for her to do. Whilst Bannos claims that 'Maier does not seem to have been affiliated with any camera club; membership would have connected her with a community and perhaps access to darkroom facilities' noting that she 'struggled with some aspects of her photography,' she does however highlight instances where Maier cultivated conversations with people equally interested in the pursuit of photography.⁵⁸ For instance, Pat Valesco, who worked at Hoos Photo Center between 1967 and 1977, remembered Maier sharing her photographs with him; Bannos describes it as 'strictly business, dropping off film and asking technical questions. Velasco saw her pictures of streets and portrait subjects in neighborhoods that he felt were "unsafe," and he was afraid that Maier would get mugged, or worse.'⁵⁹ Another such acquaintance was William Eaton who frequently met with Maier during the

⁵⁶ Series 3, Maloof, John. Collection of Vivian Maier [Box 23, Folder 28], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁵⁷ Alongside a perfunctory pre-written message 'to wish you all the gladness that Christmas Day can bring – and a New Year filled with happiness, with joy in everything!' Christmas card from Wilma, Maloof, John. Collection of Vivian Maier [Box 23, Folder 28], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁵⁸ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 134.

⁵⁹ Bannos also includes a story told by Don Flesch who worked at Central Camera in the 1960s as a teenager. Flesch gave Maier a vintage Leica camera as a gift. Bannos argues that this model is the same used by Maier in

summer of 1968. Eaton was working as a lifeguard at Wilmette beach having, studied photography at New Trier High School.⁶⁰ Eaton and Maier had more in-depth conversations about photography, exchanging opinions on exhibitions, photographers and technique.⁶¹ Formal education for the study of photography, as I have discussed, was not fully integrated into the college system until well into the 1970s and 80s. Although, prior to this, as I have shown, male veterans were offered grants to study photography as a technical vocation, most working-class people would not have been able to have studied otherwise, particularly women. Also found amongst Maier's belongings are a number of leaflets and programmes for photography workshops and courses, some of which pertain to the Fort Dearborn Chicago camera club, including a brochure for an 'Evening School of Photography' (March – May 1960) and '1988 Fall School of Photography featuring A Day with The Pros' (October 1988).⁶² There is also a programme for the 'Landscapes, Seascapes and Cityscapes' seminar presented by 'professional photographer Carl E Krupp' (1978) hosted at The Latin School Auditorium and the Theatre of Western Springs. Maier regularly attended lectures, even photographing inside auditoriums [Fig. 167]. Whilst I cannot definitively identify that Maier was a paid member of the Fort Dearborn Camera Club, she may well have attended their educational photography courses. The fact that she has programmes (course sign-up slips) for over a twenty-year period would suggest that she was at least interested in the activities of the club.

Whilst, as I have shown, camera clubs facilitated peer-to-peer interaction, women were often segregated within camera clubs (salons shows) or forbidden altogether from entering clubs.⁶³

her self-portraits in the 1970s and 80s [Fig. 168]. Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 253-54.

⁶⁰ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 227.

⁶¹ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 227.

⁶² The camera club was originally established in 1886 as the Chicago Lantern Slide Club and since 1895 an amateur camera club. It is currently named the Fort Dearborn Chicago Photo Forum. The Chicago Area Camera Club Association (CACCA) lists thirty current members of the Photo Forum.

⁶³ A transcript of 'Photography from a Woman's Standpoint' by Miss Catherine Weed Barnes [Before Society of Amateur Photographers of New York] (*Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 1890) provides an interesting view Barnes' experience of the society and journal format. She highlights how photographic magazines (she references *The Photographic News*) have provided a platform for writers-readers-photographers to condemn women's entry into the club system. She advises the Joint Exhibitions Committee at the Society to abolish the

Camera Craft magazine published an article by reader and photographer Pat Liveright entitled 'For Women Only' (September 1936). Liveright informed the readership of her attempts to join the Orange Camera Club, only to be told about a clause in their constitution declaring 'No Women.' She then contacted the Newark Camera Club and was again told 'No Women.' Consequently, she placed an advert in the newspaper about the formation of a camera club for 'amateur and professional women.' She received thirty letters from women in and around Newark with 18 attending the first meeting in person. As a result of this, the Women's Camera Club of New Jersey was initiated on August 5, 1936.⁶⁴ Interestingly, Marks has intimated that Maier visited a photography studio run by women in Union City, New Jersey during the four years she lived in New York City in the 1950s.⁶⁵ Spaces, such as this, enabled women to undertake the practice of photography and speak freely without fear of being ridiculed or have comparisons made with male members, as I discussed in chapters two and three.

In this second half of this section of the chapter, I will use the concept of 'delay' as outlined in chapter one to reframe notions of peripheral artistic tropes such as banality, repetition and copying as a way to challenge and displace the narrative of the periphery as a delayed version (ideological, temporal, and spatial) of the photographic centre. Moreover, what have, at first, been celebrated as original and central themes in Maier's body of street work, can be traced in photography magazines throughout the twentieth century.

'ladies diploma or prize' since 'good work is good work whether it be by a man or a woman and poor is poor by the same rule. If the work of men is admitted to the same exhibition it should be on equal terms. Do not admit a woman's pictures because they are made by a woman, but because they are made well [...] Can you not offer your prizes simply for certain kinds of work, and allow the questions of sex to be laid aside?' See, Catherine Weed Barnes [[Before Society of Amateur Photographers of New York], "Photography from a Woman's Standpoint" *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* January 1890, Series 1 Women Photographers: Miscellaneous Articles 1850-1995, Box 140, Peter Palmquist Women in Photography International Archive, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

For an over view of women's participation in salons, see, Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, 25-32.

⁶⁴ Pat Liveright, "For Women Only" *Camera Craft* September 1936, 30.

⁶⁵ See MacDonald, "Digging Deeper into Vivian Maier's Past."

The fourth official photobook, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work*, is introduced by an essay from Colin Westerbeck, wherein he traces themes through Maier's colour images:

Maier was a self-invented polymath of a photographer who sometimes seems to have been working in one genre and at other times in a contrary one. That said, in both its essence and its complexity, her career -her essential genre – was street photography [...] Because her visibility when face-to-face with subjects limited the sort of photograph she could make, she developed the ability to make revealing pictures even, or perhaps especially, when her subjects were turned away from her. If she had a favorite subject she liked to sneak up from behind, it was hairdos.⁶⁶

Indeed, throughout *The Color Work* there are many incidences of portraits taken from behind, such as *Chicago, 1977* [Fig. 169], *Miami Florida, 1960* [Fig. 170], and *Chicagoland, June 1976* [Fig. 171].

For Westerbeck, *Chicago, November 1978* [Fig. 172] emphasises Maier's 'eye for more evocative, ambiguous subjects' that balance humour and emotion with formalist aesthetic properties.⁶⁷

Chicago, November 1978 captures a woman from behind whilst sitting on a red fire hydrant.

Westerbeck picks up on the symmetry of the unknown woman's red coat with the hydrant and the heavy shopping bags anchoring her to the spot. Humorous at first, these features, for him, provide a poignant and symbolic representation of Maier's emotional state.⁶⁸ In talking about Maier's 'eye' for subject matter, we are drawn to different conclusions about these images than first might be considered. Although Westerbeck acknowledges the difficulty for women to confront people face-to-face on the city streets, he instead chooses to essentialise this aspect of the photography as enabling Maier to see something of herself in these elderly women. This, for him, enriches the images beyond the banal or superficial formalist approach to image-taking.⁶⁹ Moreover, as chapter three illustrated, photographing on the street was, and is still seen as the preserve of men.⁷⁰

Photographic magazines understood the issues surrounding privacy, and provided readers with

⁶⁶ Westerbeck, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work*, 21-23.

⁶⁷ Westerbeck, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work*, 23.

⁶⁸ Westerbeck, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work*, 23.

⁶⁹ Westerbeck, *Vivian Maier: The Color Work*, 23.

⁷⁰ Solomon-Godeau, *Photography after Photography: Gender, Genre, History*, 147.

techniques to combat the danger of confrontation. 'Let's face it...' – an article in the April 1952 issue of *Modern Photography* – advocates photographing unwitting subjects from behind: 'try backs instead of fronts.'⁷¹ Photographs by Saul Leiter (1923-2013) [Fig. 173], Sanford Roth (1906-1962) [Fig. 174] and images taken by amateur readers are used as examples.⁷² Leiter also offers tips on using this technique effectively: 'one great advantage of backs is that they are seldom camera shy. And you'll probably get away with taking the pictures without asking permission [...] try a new approach to street photography some sunny afternoon.'⁷³ Interestingly, the trope of photographing from behind is now being advocated to amateurs in popular photography magazines (and online) as a Vivian Maierism.⁷⁴

Yet, clearly, readers, like Maier processed information adapting it to suit them. However, in the last and final section of the chapter I will show that readers would share their findings with others via letters pages, camera clubs and personal communication facilitated by the magazine to evince how the readership of photography magazines understood and navigated the contradictory position which the photography magazine (as discussed in chapters two and three) inhabits between representing the readership, strengthening the growth of subscribers, as an auxiliary advertising

⁷¹ "Let's Face it," *Modern Photography* April 1952, 20. See also Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery," 67.

⁷² It is interesting to note that Saul Leiter is currently represented by the Howard Greenberg Gallery.

⁷³ "Let's Face it," 21-22.

⁷⁴ This is the only example I can find referencing 'street photography' in *Modern Photography* between 1948 and the mid-1950s. Ironically, tropes such as the above are being advocated to readers of contemporary popular photography blogs and magazines in the vein of taking photographs like Maier. See Frederick Trovattan 'How to take photos like Vivian Maier' (2020) which was subsequently written about in other online magazines such as *How to take street photos like Vivian Maier*, (*PhotoFocus*, 2020), 'How To Take Photos Like Vivian Maier' (*PetaPixel*, 2020), 'How To Take Street Photos Like Vivian Maier' (*DIY Photography*, 2020), '8 Clues to Better Street Photography in the Works of Vivian Maier' (*Learn Photography*, 2020), 'How to Shoot Like Vivian Maier' (*PhotoCrowd Photography Blog*, 2018). Outside of Trovattan's film and blog piece about taking pictures in the style of Maier, there have also been numerous articles detailing Maier's practice, and how to incorporate her techniques into the readers photography routine: 'The Greats: How Vivian Maier Photographed the Essence of a City' (*Urth Magazine*, 2020), 'Black And White Street Photography: Tips And Techniques From The Experts' (*Amateur Photographer*, 2020), '5 Lessons Vivian Maier Has Taught Me About Street Photography' (*Eric Kim Photography Blog*, 2014). This reinforces my argument from chapter two that the centres and peripheries are permeable.

mechanism for camera manufacturers and as a bridge between amateurs and commercial photographers.

In the 'Last Word' column of the 1952 May issue of *Modern Photography*, there is a letter entitled 'Liberty Angle' which was sent into the magazine by Judith Silverstein, a 'teen age reader of MODERN [emphasis Judith Silverstein] with only one year of camera experience.'⁷⁵ The letter included a picture [Fig. 175] of what Silverstein considered to be one of her 'most successful shots thus far.'⁷⁶ There exists a near-identical vintage print by Vivian Maier, of the Statue of Liberty taken from the same angle – from the base looking upwards [Fig. 176]. In addition to this, uploaded to John Maloof 's blog in 2009, is an image of the base of the flaming torch held aloft by Lady Liberty [Fig. 177]. Unlike the vintage print, this image has been scanned by Maloof from a roll of undeveloped negatives.⁷⁷ Maier printed several versions of the image from the base of the Liberty statue, cropping the image, playing with depth and illusion.⁷⁸ Silverstein wrote in her letter that she was 'interested' in the 'articles on unusual camera angles' published in *Modern Photography*. Photographing the base of the Statue of Liberty was *her* attempt at photographing different angles. This highlights the ways in which readers avoided following by rote the prescriptions of the magazine by photographing subject matter that is ordinarily viewed as banal or ubiquitous.⁷⁹ Indeed, in Vlachou's positive conception of the periphery, the maker actively experiments and chooses the subject matter 'to bypass the static and unidirectional notion of influence that strips the object of

⁷⁵ Judith Silverstein, "Liberty Angle," *Modern Photography*, May 1952, 10. See also Mounfield, "Quite Good, for an Amateur! Vivian Maier, Amateurism and the Photographic Periphery," 68.

⁷⁶ Silverstein, "Liberty Angle," 10.

⁷⁷ See "Vivian Maier – Her Discovered Work."

⁷⁸ In a conversation with Cortney Norman, representative for the Maloof Collection at the Howard Greenberg Gallery that there were other versions of this image (vintage prints) yet these have been sold and there is not a corresponding negative.

⁷⁹ This is true for contemporary perceptions of snapshot photography. Nearly 100 million images are uploaded each day on Instagram. Over 40 billion images have been shared onto the platform since its conception in 2010. The ubiquity of images makes it one of the biggest repositories of photography ever amassed. There have been 2,032,815 (as of December 2020) images uploaded to Instagram with the #Statue of Liberty. As well as images uploaded with the hashtag, The Statue of Liberty National Monument and Ellis Island have a separate official Instagram account, with various fan accounts also made to display images of the Liberty statue.

“agency.”⁸⁰ Using this model of the periphery as a way to examine Silverstein’s image (and Maier’s), I will suggest that contrary to the notion of banal snapshot tourist photography, readers choose subject matter on the basis that it is easier to get to, street work is dangerous (and you need a level of confidence), and landmarks provided the possibility of meeting other-likeminded people who would not dismiss them as provincial tourists.

The Statue of Liberty is a well-known ‘tourist’ hotspot and an often photographed New York landmark. Although I have only found the first – assuming there were more – instalment (Chicago) of the ‘3 Hours in...’ series of articles *Modern Photography* published, I imagine that New York would be included, with The Statue of Liberty being listed as a photographic destination - the national monument providing an ideal vantage point for taking a photograph of the Manhattan skyline. Yet, Friedlander photographed civic monuments (*The American Monument*, 1976) to acclaim. However, as chapter two noted, whilst women were viewed as general or tourist photographer (for the family album), amateur photography is inherently codified as suburban and, therefore feminised. Yet, tourist sites and the domestic space of the home (icons of banality) provide readily available opportunities for photographic practice, particularly for women like Maier who were employed in or spent most of their time within the familial home.

For the collectors and distributors of Maier’s photography, this ubiquity, I would argue, has prevented them from displaying the more *banal* images that she took during her periods of travel. Although the mass-production of cameras has widened the scope for photograph taking, sharing and experimentation, it has paradoxically seen to have produced homogenised rather than unique images. Indeed, as Pollen asserts that the subtext beneath the claim there are too many (snapshots) photographs is that there are too many photographs of the wrong thing, I have shown that it is their

⁸⁰ Vlachou, "Why Spatial? Time and the Periphery," 11-17.

domesticity (and abundance of them) which characterises this negativity toward amateur photography.⁸¹

Throughout the letters pages, a number of readers highlighted how they had photographed a particular subject well before the magazine had described the possibility of doing so. In the October 1956 issue of *Popular Photography*, the editors published a letter entitled 'High Jinks.' Written by Mickey Portillo, the letter accompanies a photograph [Fig. 178] taken by the aforementioned reader in 1954 of 'cheerleader Phil Davenport on the roof of the High School at Mesa, Arizona.'⁸² In the letter, Portillo writes that 'I could not resist the temptation of showing you the amazing similarity (except for sex) to the picture by Martin Inger of a girl jumping in your July 1956 issue accompanying the article 5 ways to Shoot Action.'⁸³ Portillo's photograph captures a male cheerleader caught in mid-air doing the splits with both the arms and legs stretched out in the shape of a star. The figure has been cropped quite close filling the frame, the cityscape of Mesa beneath his feet. The '5 Ways to Shoot Action' article with which Portillo refers, includes five photographic examples produced using different techniques to capture motion, with Inger's image number two of five demonstrating 'peak action' whereby the photographer learns 'to anticipate such peaks, having the camera focused and in readiness, and training your shutter finger to respond without delay to the eye-brain signal that tells it to shoot. Depending on light and the requirements of focus and depth of field, successful shots of peak action can be taken at shutter speeds down to 1/25 of a second.'⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that a second image full frame from the negative [Fig. 179] of the first close up (similar to Portillo's) of the acrobatic dancer accompanies the 1956 text. In contrast to the cropped print, the second image emphasises the 'action' of the scene as the dancer is poised above the edge of the roof overlooking the New York skyline. Not only is she caught doing the splits mid jump, she is also

⁸¹ Annebella Pollen, *Mass Photography: Collective Histories of Everyday Life* (Routledge 2020), 29.

⁸² Mickey Portillo, "High Jinks " *Popular Photography* October 1956, 10.

⁸³ Portillo, "High Jinks " 10.

⁸⁴ "5 Ways to Shoot Action " , *Popular Photography* July 1956, 79.

fixed in place before landing on the precarious ledge. The caption explains 'she was no fake.'⁸⁵ The impact of the photograph is grounded in two principles: the technical readiness of the camera user and the composition of the subject matter. Here, the implication is that action shots require far more than practical know how. Similarly, the '12 ideas for unusual pictures' article in *Modern Photography* (November 1949) posits 'the twelve techniques of experimental photography presented here are guaranteed not to produce a single commonplace photo, if only they are tempered with a little imagination.'⁸⁶

Maier is a prime example of the way in which photography is legitimised (in the linear history of photography) through the idea of uniqueness. For instance, in comparison with Portillo (and Iger's) photographs, Maier took a photograph of a male figure performing the splits, caught in mid-air, his arms and legs horizontally framing the New York City outline from the vantage point of Central Park [Fig. 180]. The leaves from a tree frame the scene, its shadow reaching out towards the horizon, the jumping figure bridging the gap between the white sky and dark shadows of Central Park. Bannos has claimed 'her negatives also reveal experimentation and extensions of her photographic repertoire that includes quick-timed shots and a heightened awareness of her surroundings' with the image representing 'an unusual instance of split-second timing' in the vast collection of images taken by Maier.⁸⁷ Taken in 1952, Maier's photograph predates Portillo's by two years and Iger's by four. I do not wish to make the claim, as so often is the case, that Maier was ahead of the curve in photographic trends, but rather to show how photographers shared material to connect socially, as well as mark their own personal accomplishments. Furthermore, in writing to the magazine, Portillo expresses his self-awareness of his constructed and malleable photographic position as reader/amateur and I would argue his desire to establish the 'amazing similarity' to Iger's picture destabilises the amateur-professional binarism. Whilst, as chapter one demonstrated, Maier has

⁸⁵ "5 Ways to Shoot Action ", 77.

⁸⁶ "12 Ideas for Unusual Pictures," *Modern Photography* November 1949, 43-47.

⁸⁷ Bannos, *Vivian Maier: A Photographer's Life and Afterlife*, 115.

been compared with photographers such as Frank, Winogrand and Friedlander in an attempt to validate her as a street photographer, in discussing the three pictures – from Iger, Portillo and Maier – I have not tried to reinforce a comparison between the three of them (or between centre and periphery) or make bold claims as to Maier’s status. Instead, I have revealed the porosity between different centres and peripheries and between peripheries which, in turn evinces the temporal narrative of artistic progression separate from peripheries.

Conclusion

Maier provided a gendered form of labour for middle-class families, and in the course of this she took photographs – and the bulk of her images were taken in this context. When considering her images, it is important to maintain this context in its fullness, rather than erase it either by focussing on one small set of images, or by constructing a reductive identity such as the ‘nanny photographer.’ When analysing Maier’s photographs, therefore, it is necessary to foreground an understanding of domestic employment during the time when Maier was working. To this end, I have presented original archival research alongside an analysis of the extant scholarship in order to present a more positive appraisal of Maier’s ‘domestic’ photography, one where Maier herself was engaged in a process of experimentation and collegiality. Maier’s gender associates her domestic images with the history of female snapshooters – an association which the principal collectors of Maier’s work have sought to avoid. Yet the domestic is not necessarily mundane; family photography is too diverse to be reduced to a simple expression of the ideology of the domestic. At the same time Maier’s connection to the domestic was not familial; the nanny-employer relationship was characterised by limits and boundaries and these have imprinted themselves on her images. An analysis of Maier’s vintage prints, and her practices and self-education, reveals her as an exemplar of complexity of practice between reader-photographers.

Much is made of Maier's supposed spontaneity, her tendency to find the perfect shot before shooting the image. Yet she often printed sequences of images from the same scene – taking multiple exposures, and experimenting with various prints of the same negative. These are scattered across the archive; I have argued that, when brought together, these reveal a process of experimentation and self-education, evidence of which can be seen in Maier's own notes, which accompany the prints. This is congruent with amateur practices of the time, and with the prescriptions of magazines such as *Popular Photography* – of which Maier was a reader. There is also circumstantial evidence to connect Maier with local camera clubs. All of this points to an imbrication in an amateur periphery – and this aspect of Maier, I have argued, has been downplayed owing to its lack of utility in the bolstering of a reputation for Maier as a modernist street photographer.

Through an examination of existing scholarship on Maier in conjunction with primary source material, I have demonstrated problems and inconsistencies in the recurrent narratives of Maier's life and practice. Discussions of Maier's photographic routine have elided much of the materiality of her existence – life as a woman dependent on wage labour. The reality of domestic work is that it is poorly paid and highly precarious, blurring the boundaries of a professional and personal relationship with the impositions of the latter without the distance and security of the former. This should be seen as crucial to an understanding of her photographic practice, since her life would have been organised around it. Maier's body of images has been curated such that anything that does not fit with the saleable persona of Maier as a street photographer is obscured by the assumptions concerning her mental health and the impact of this on her picture taking. I have shown that Maier's body of photographs is varied and eclectic. Maier has been cast as a lone individual, 'free' of the influence from a (amateur) photographic community. The impetus for this is arguably derived from the need to bolster and legitimise her photography on the part of collectors in order to gain credibility in the art market. Furthermore, this chapter has intimated that Maier sought to use the people around her, the children she cared for, and the locations in which she lived as readily

available subject matter with which to practice her photography. I have shown that through sharing with and educating the children she was employed to care for, Maier was building up her knowledge, expressing it and educating others, whilst, at the same time, being educated. By reconsidering Vivian Maier in the context of the formation of the periphery (amateurism), a relationship between the centres and centres, centres and peripheries, peripheries and peripheries can be discerned, one that is based upon exchange.

Conclusion

Located on the wall of a house at 1651 W. North Ave, Wicker Park, Chicago is the mural of Vivian Maier. Holding her Rolleiflex at chest height, both hands clasped round the centre of the camera, she is wearing a billowy dress with a large hat encircling her head; the curves of the spray paint form a grey halo. Her body, face and arms are formed of multi-coloured inter-locking triangles. Her hair, hat, Rolleiflex and background are rendered in varying tones of grey and white. The location is not discernible, though the thick lines of spray-paint and white highlights confer a sense of motion to the scene. Distorting the original self-portrait, cropping it so Maier is only visible from the waist up, the accoutrements of the street have been lost; the bin, the taxi cabs driving past whilst the proportions have accentuated the stature of Maier so much so the man walking to the left of her is dwarfed in comparison. Maier is monumentalised. Made by Brazilian street artist, Eduardo Kobra [Fig. 181], as a personal appreciation of Maier's legacy, it was finished in 2017, having since become an iconic spot in the Wicker Park neighbourhood and tourist landmark of Chicago positioning Maier on the street, forever taking pictures of passersby.¹

Kobra's mural displays a representation of Vivian Maier which has come to obscure the woman who actually lived in Chicago – a representation of the kaleidoscopic author-function which has been hastily assembled from fragments of her life and work in the space of less than ten years. The image on which the mural is based, the image chosen to memorialise Maier in Chicago, was taken in New York – and it is hard to imagine any of the images she produced in suburban Chicago being used for such a purpose. As has been made clear in this thesis, the vast bulk of the images Maier produced

¹ The template image used by Kobra for the mural is *Self-Portrait, Undated*. Beauty Brawn Art Gallery Sinergia Arts, "Eduardo Kobra Press Release Vivian Maier," accessed October 20, 2020, <https://www.scribd.com/document/351808162/Eduardo-Kobra-Beauty-Brawn-Art-Gallery-Sinergia-Arts-Press-Release-Vivian-Maier>. Kobra collaborated with Lindsey Meyers and Simone Garcia of Chicago based Beauty & Brawn Art Gallery/Sinergia Arts, on a mural of Vivian Maier whom he identified as a Chicago 'mid-century urban photographer.' Chicago Bike Adventures is a group that provides cycling tours of Chicago landmarks. They include the Kobra mural on their tour.

over the course of her life, especially those produced in her later years, were of little use in the construction of a photographic reputation, and so they have been consigned to the archive, hidden from view.

There are two sides to this, as chapter one made clear. First, there was a need to build a photographic reputation for Maier, to construct her as an author. The impetus for this came from the principal collectors of Maier's photographs, and the galleries and art institutions that exhibited her images. This process itself is not novel – famously, Atget's reputation was built posthumously – although its rapidity in Maier's case, and the role of the mass media and internet in promulgating multifarious and contradictory narratives around her are both notable. Second, the constituent parts necessary for that reputation are historically determined – the sorts of narratives that are deemed important, the facts that are glossed over, the sets of images that are deemed canonical, and those that are kept hidden, the sorts of practices and associations that are deemed antithetical to a 'professional' reputation; these all arise from a notion of professionalism that has developed over time, in opposition to notions of 'unprofessionalism' or 'amateurism' which have themselves not remained fixed. I have conceptualised this dynamic using Vlachou's notion of an interplay of centres and peripheries.

The Maier we now know was assembled from traces. These traces were found in anecdotes from those who knew her, and in her accumulation of possessions: an array of photographs, negatives, prints, and ephemera so vast and eclectic as to resist easy classification. The collectors make a firm distinction between a certain subset of Maier's photographs and the general mass of items that she possessed – a delineation that Maier herself did not seem to make. The line between a hoard and a collection is to a significant degree dependent on circumstance – and Maier's limited means were such that her belongings have been read this way, forming a thread in psychobiographical accounts of her life which seek to explain the apparent contradiction between the quality of (some of) her photographs, and her obscurity. The effect of this psychobiographical literature has been to cast and

re-cast Maier in several different moulds: 'nanny photographer', 'outsider', 'street photographer'. Underpinning this, as chapter one has made clear, is the impetus to construct a certain sort of reputation for Maier. The template for a successful photographer, of the sort that galleries would exhibit, in the period where Maier was taking her most exhibitable photographs, is that of a modernist street photographer. Thus, her life and images are curated, sorted and ordered in a way that fits this pattern. Yet, the modernist photographer archetype has certain associations – with masculinity, with singular creativity, with artistic and professional intent – and contradictions between this and Maier's actual life and practice need either to be explained or smoothed-over. This is not to say that all involved in the discourses around Maier form a grand conspiracy to bolster her reputation; rather, the key players are incentivised to promote a certain view of Maier, and their founding assumption – that she was a modernist photographer par excellence – has been widely promulgated and reproduced, resulting, I have argued, in partial accounts which have come to obscure the full picture of Maier.

There is another possible way of looking at Maier: she was a talented and prolific amateur photographer, embedded in a lively photographic periphery. Indeed, this was a common initial response before the effort to build a reputation for her began in earnest. There is a reluctance now, in the official literature on Maier, to categorise her as an amateur: instead, an attempt at a recuperation into the canon of modernist photographers is seen to be more appropriate. Indeed, the category of 'amateur' would seem to reduce Maier, to denigrate her work and relegate her back to the margins. This is seen almost as an insult to her – recall Laura Lipmann who 'flinched' upon seeing Maier's photography described as hobbyism.² That this is the case, I have argued, requires an explanation that is located in the development of photographic centres and peripheries in America. As part of this process, charted in chapter two, the term 'amateur' has evolved over time, gaining peripheral connotations of artistic delay and lack. Following Buse, I have characterised amateur

² Lippman, "The Matron Stays in the Picture," 8.

photographers as readers and writers as much as they are image-takers – forming networks of peripheral hierarchies engaged in dialogue with one another. It is this context, I have argued, which is missing in the extant literature on Vivian Maier.

I have traced the development of the photographic periphery through an examination of how amateurs were written *for* and *about* in photography magazines, in addition to their own contributions, from the 1860s up to the mid-twentieth century. The letters pages of these journals give an insight into how reader-photographers understood and wanted to represent their own practice – albeit mediated by the discretion of the magazine editors. By looking at how these magazines changed over time, key events in the development of the photographic centres and peripheries can be identified. What becomes clear is a splintering of photography into discrete yet permeable centres and peripheries. Key to this was women's involvement in photography: a common preoccupation on the pages of journals was women's place in photographic practice, often precipitated by some event resulting in an influx of women into the field. In the 1860s, following the introduction of the collodion process, magazine articles would discuss the 'lady amateur', so named after the 'gentleman amateur' who previously characterised photographic practice. Later, with Kodak's introduction of cheap easy-to-use cameras marketed to women, amateur magazines would decry hapless snapshotters.

In this schema, 'centres' are institutions and networks that determine aesthetics, notions of taste and worth, rules and guidelines for photographic practice. The primary centre of photography that developed in America is the Museum of Modern Art in New York, with its enshrinement of the aesthetics of modernist art photography. But dependent (yet to some degree competing) centres included 'professional' photographic practice, educational institutions, and networks around photographic magazines. These peripheral centres played host to a periphery of reader-amateurs, photography clubs and networks. This infrastructure was the terrain for a negotiation between centres and peripheries, as set out in chapter two: education and knowledge flows out from the

centre, maintaining its centrality, but this is underpinned by and counterbalanced by the peripheries. A central process in the formation of centres and peripheries is gendering: groups are delineated via inclusions and exclusions, and this is often based on gendered notions of merit – for instance, the ‘serious amateurs’ defining themselves in opposition to the (feminine) Kodak snapshotters. The place of women was a constant topic of debate, with women often seen as incongruous to photography, or sometimes naturally predisposed to (certain aspects or forms of) it. Amateur practice was thus broadly split between male ‘amateurs’ and female ‘snapshotters’, and further split within those categories – yet gendered anxiety still dogged those practitioners who refused the ‘snapshotter’ label. As I argued in chapter three, their practice was seen as embodying a ‘feminising’ consumerism, and a ‘middlebrow’ conformity again associated with the feminine-suburban domestic.

Of particular importance in the gendering of the photographic periphery were developments in postwar mass culture, and the women’s liberation movement. The G.I. Bill provided men returning from the war with unprecedented access to finance and further education. There was a resulting boom in photography courses aimed at returning veterans; these traded on images of women to appeal to a male audience, redolent of the ‘cheesecake’ and pinup photography that had been popularised during the war. At the same time, middle-class Americans were moving out of the cities in order to build suburbia, aided by access to credit and government investment in infrastructure. Women, who had entered the workforce *en masse* to fulfil the needs of war production, were expected to return to the home to embody the new domestic ideal. There were thus two primary representations of women in photography that can be traced through magazines of the time: as models for increasingly sexualised images, and as family snapshotters, keepers of domestic memory. At the same time, the postwar settlement afforded ample leisure time, high wages, and a plethora of consumer goods on which to spend them. Amateur photographers were a target market for a dizzying array of camera equipment and gadgetry, and magazines played their part in instructing them on what to do with it. This is the root of a well-documented association between

amateurism, consumerism and conformity. Since consumption was traditionally within the remit of the domestic, the embroilment of men in consumerism led to anxieties about the feminisation of culture. A corresponding masculinisation of the domestic was necessary in order to render it acceptable – and in the vanguard of this were magazines like *Playboy* and *Petersen's Photographic*, selling a 'lifestyle' to men.

Despite the dearth of representation, women were taking photographs, and not just of their children. They were reading photographic magazines, and they were participating in amateur photographic communities. Centres such as magazines were both a help and a hindrance in this regard: on the one hand they catered to a male audience, published increasingly sexist material and were largely hostile to the women's liberation movement in their editorial stances. On the other hand, they provided an infrastructure enabling women to educate themselves about photography, and access to communities of likeminded photographers. This access was of a limited sort: while women would write into magazines to make feminist arguments, they were as likely to be ridiculed as to be given a fair hearing. Nevertheless, critical letters *were* published; the journals did provide a limited sort of forum, and debates (for instance) about their gratuitous deployment of nudity or their lack of representation for women photographers raged across the letters pages. The emphasis here, though, is on the limitations of this infrastructure: the infrastructure of amateurism granted women access to photography, but only up to a point. Women were thus relegated to the margins, peripheralised within the periphery itself. It is within this context that Vivian Maier subscribed to photographic magazines and practiced photography, and, as I have argued in chapter three, this is crucial to understanding the limitations of her practice: the resources that enabled her practice were barriers to it as well.

This marginalisation of women is an integral part of the history of photography – and has resulted in narratives which have been replayed in the stories put forth about Maier. Her personal life has been scrutinised and reflected back in an array of personas, each reducing the full picture to a fragment.

The foremost of these is the 'nanny photographer' – 'Mary Poppins with a Camera'. The invocation of the fictional character serves to erase Vivian Maier as she actually was, and reinforces a notion that there was some contradiction between how Maier was employed and how she chose to spend her free time. In contrast to this, I have sought to articulate a nuanced conception of amateurism, with reference to the networks and practices of the period in which Maier was taking photographs, and situate her within it – not the 'nanny-photographer', but one of many reader-photographers.

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Fig.90 Detail of 'Bikini Suits' article, *Modern Photography*, July 1950, 22-23, photograph by Peter Gowland.

Fig.91 Detail of 'Bikini Scarves letter, *Modern Photography*, February 1951, 32, photograph by Mary Suominen.

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Fig.168 Vivian Maier, *self-portrait*, 1986, chromogenic print (printed later), 10 x 15 inches, Howard Greenberg Gallery, Estate of Vivian Maier. Maloof Collection.

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Fig.175 Judith Silverstein, 'Liberty Angle,' *Modern Photography*, May 1952, 10.

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Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

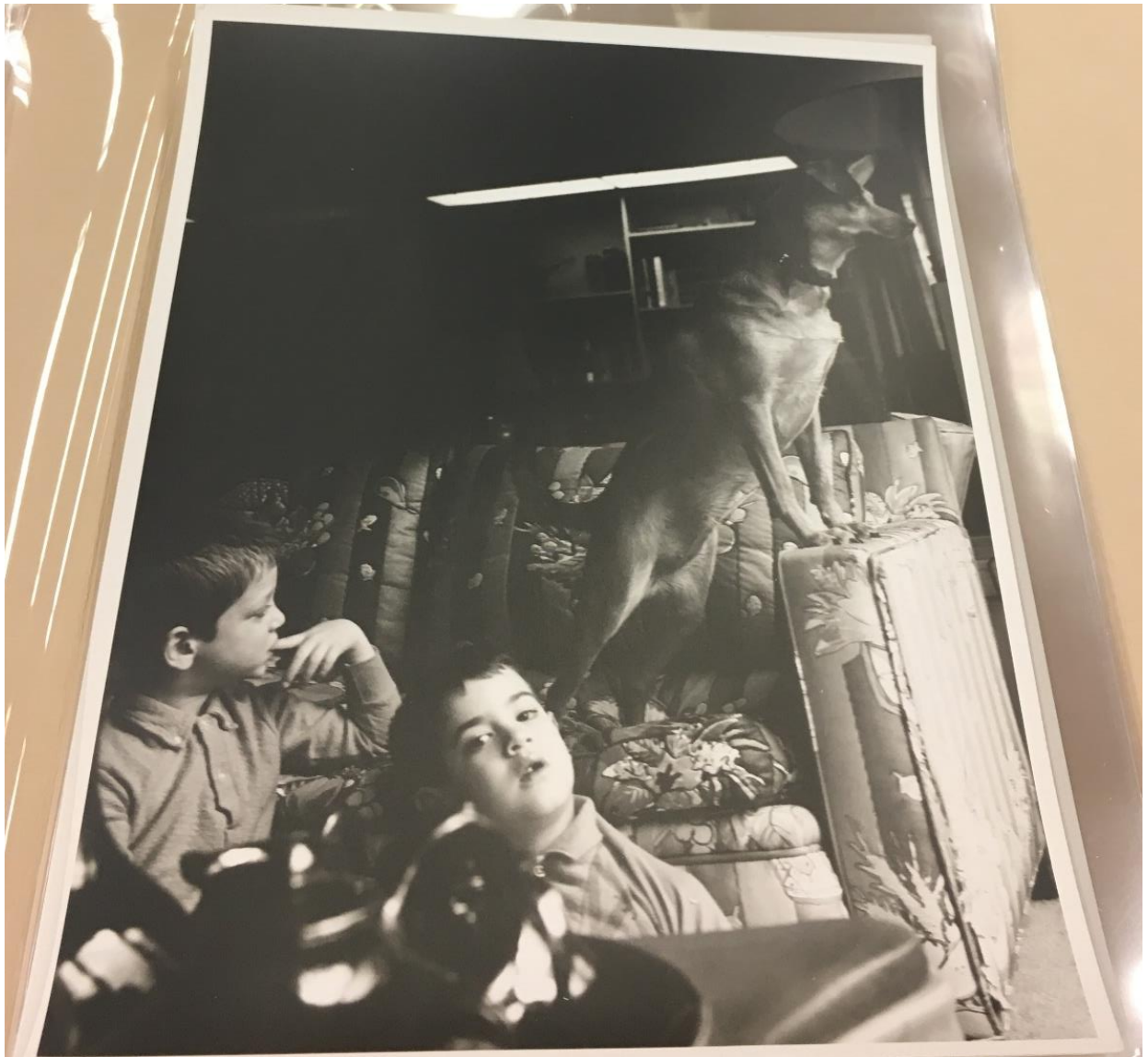


Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

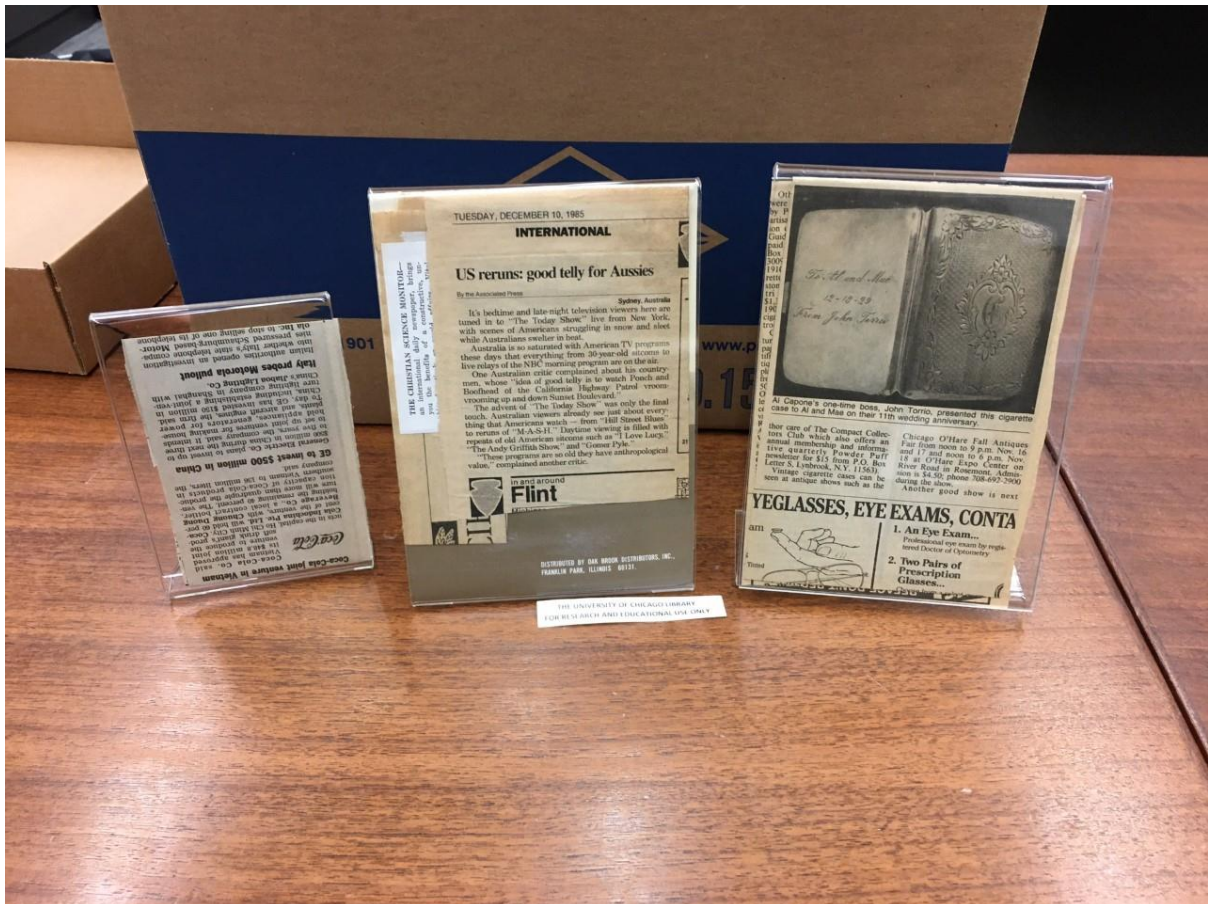


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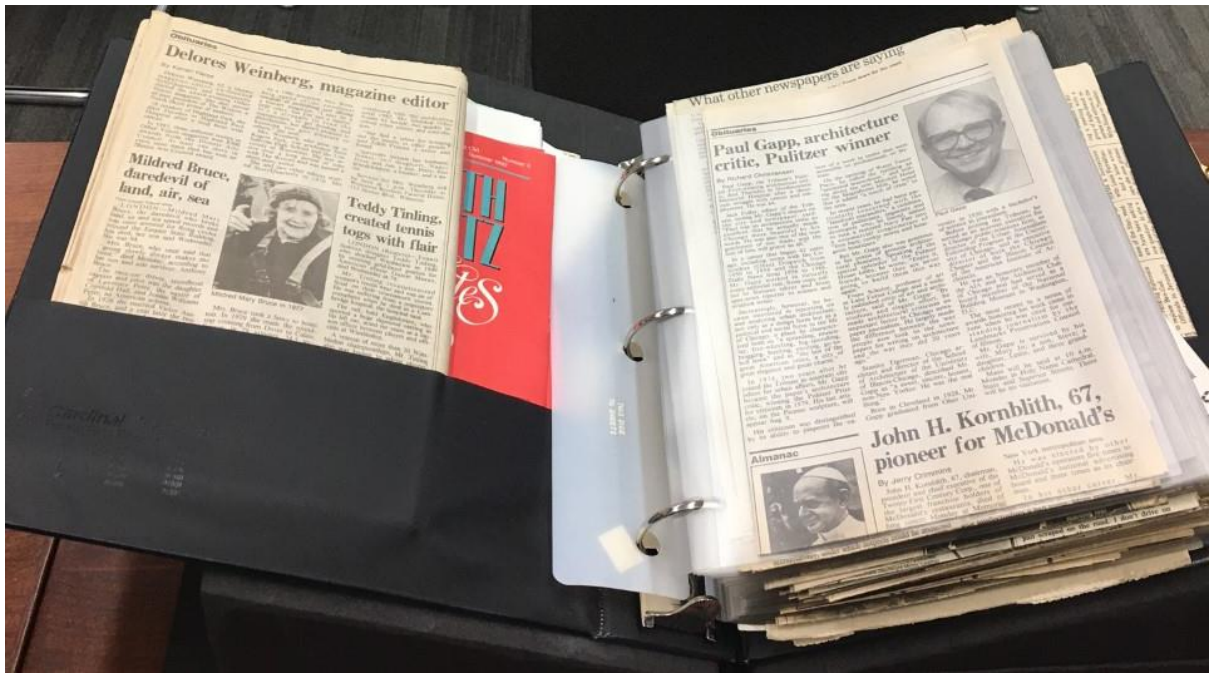


Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21

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PRINT LIGHTEN.
NICE WORK APPRECIATED
PLEASE ~~STAY~~ ^{USE} COUPON
ALSO

Figure 22

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3 - 11x14 PRINTS.
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PLEASE NOT COMPARE

Figure 23

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Figure 24

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Print	Each	Glossy	or	Velvet	

NEGATIVES ENCL
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8x10 - Number (20)
crop part of the
hair on top of his head.
and a little on the
sides of the Neg.

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Figure 25

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Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32

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Figure 33

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Figure 34



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Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39

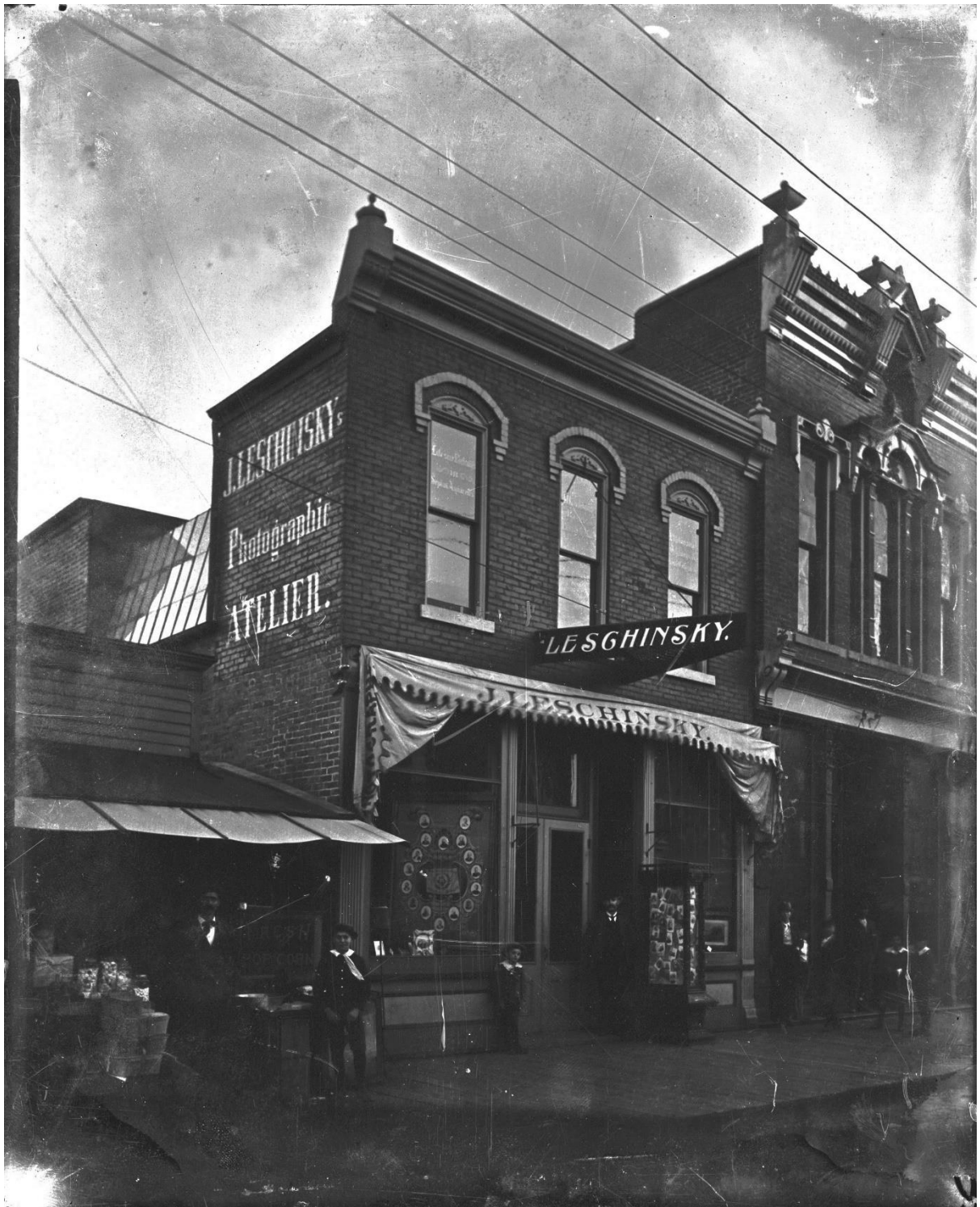


Figure 40



Figure 41



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 45



Mrs. Young, Fayetteville, Ark.

Figure 46



the subject and start from scratch, the subject himself unencumbered by the usual amount of knowledge, and a great amount of knowledge, and you can make it quite a task. Well, you can make it in that way, but there's a method by which you can get many negatives as well as in a very short time. It doesn't even need a darkroom, but in the darkroom. Merely have your photo developer, you a 12-cent worth of hypo crystals and two quarts of water. Then after a printing frame and developer tray from the basement darkroom. If these are not available, two pieces of glass held together with clothespins as shown in Fig. 5 will serve for the printing frame, and a glass or porcelain baking dish from the kitchen will do for the hypo tray.



Fig. 4. Informal pictures of the children can be taken at frequent intervals as they grow up, and you don't need a lot of fancy equipment and gadgets for this sort of work.

Place the negative dull side up in the printing frame, open the paper (this can be done outdoors in deep shade), and place on the negative. Clamp on the back of the frame or put the clothes pins in place as shown. A few minutes exposure of the negative and paper to sunlight, a 3-minute dunking of the paper in the hypo solution, and you have a print like Fig. 3. While you are getting in the hypo solution, and you have a newspaper you can give your prints the half hour and pop them between smooth white blotters to dry. If they curl after drying, merely dampen the backs and iron them flat.

If you wish to make your prints in the regular manner, you can buy one of the inexpensive printing outfits from your photo supply dealer. These sets contain full equipment and complete instructions which make printing as easy and interesting as baking a cake.

How many of you women have invented your own time-savers around the house or originated some knickknack such as a flower pot from a discarded vegetable can? If so, why not reap some harvest from your ideas? Magazines such as *Better Homes and Gardens*, *House Beautiful*, *House and Garden*, *McCall's*, etc., are anxious to obtain pictures of this nature and pay from \$2 to \$5 for accepted photos. So look around the house and see what you might have that would be interesting to other women. Perhaps you have arranged your drapes in an unusual manner, or have designed a tricky door knocker. Fig. 6 shows a table lamp, the base of which was made from a brandy bottle, with a shade knitted from yarn. The woman who originated the idea of a knitted lampshade took this picture with her simple camera and sent an enlarged print to the knitting mills that manufactured the yarn used. It opened up a new use for their yarns and they were glad to buy the photograph and idea.

That's just one suggestion. How about the handicraft of your "better half" around the house? It's a shame to capitalize on his efforts—but after all, business is business. If you can get a

few dollars for a picture of some nice bit of landscaping in the yard, some new type of shelving he designed, or his own invention for sprinkling the lawn, he probably won't mind too much—just be a bit irked to think that he didn't do it himself.

"Before and after" pictures of improvements to the home have a great market. During spring or fall cleaning when the decorators get busy, photograph a room before it has its new wallpaper and again after the new paper has been put on. As a matter of fact, there is a trade magazine called *Wallpaper* that is interested in photographs showing improvements made to rooms through attractive new papering. How about the old-fashioned fireplace that you are going to have painted white? This is good subject material for a magazine like *American Painter and Decorator*, and perhaps the paint company would be interested in a photo showing the way in which their products are used. It's worth a try anyway.

You don't have to confine your picture taking to your own ideas. When you visit Mrs. Jones, keep your eyes peeled for original methods she may use. That cloverleaf salad she serves at luncheons would make a good picture for the home economics department in any of several women's magazines. Above all, don't be intimidated by the technical discourses on photography that you have been hearing. They don't mean a thing. You don't need super-doooper equipment to make the pictures suggested here. The tried and trusty box camera will serve nicely. Just buy a roll of film, follow the instruction booklet and exposure guide that came with the camera, have the film developed by the local photofinisher, and make your prints by the method described above. It's that simple.

How about you young, efficient business women! Did you ever stop to think how you could put photography to work? How often have you wandered through the stores and wishfully longed for hats or dresses beyond the limits of your

(Continued on page 86)

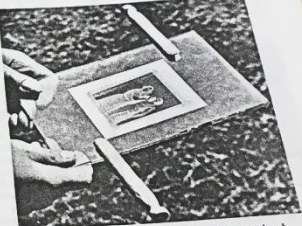


Fig. 5. Simple method of making contact prints in sunlight described by author.

Fig. 6. This picture of a home-made lamp and knitted shade found a ready market.



Figure 47

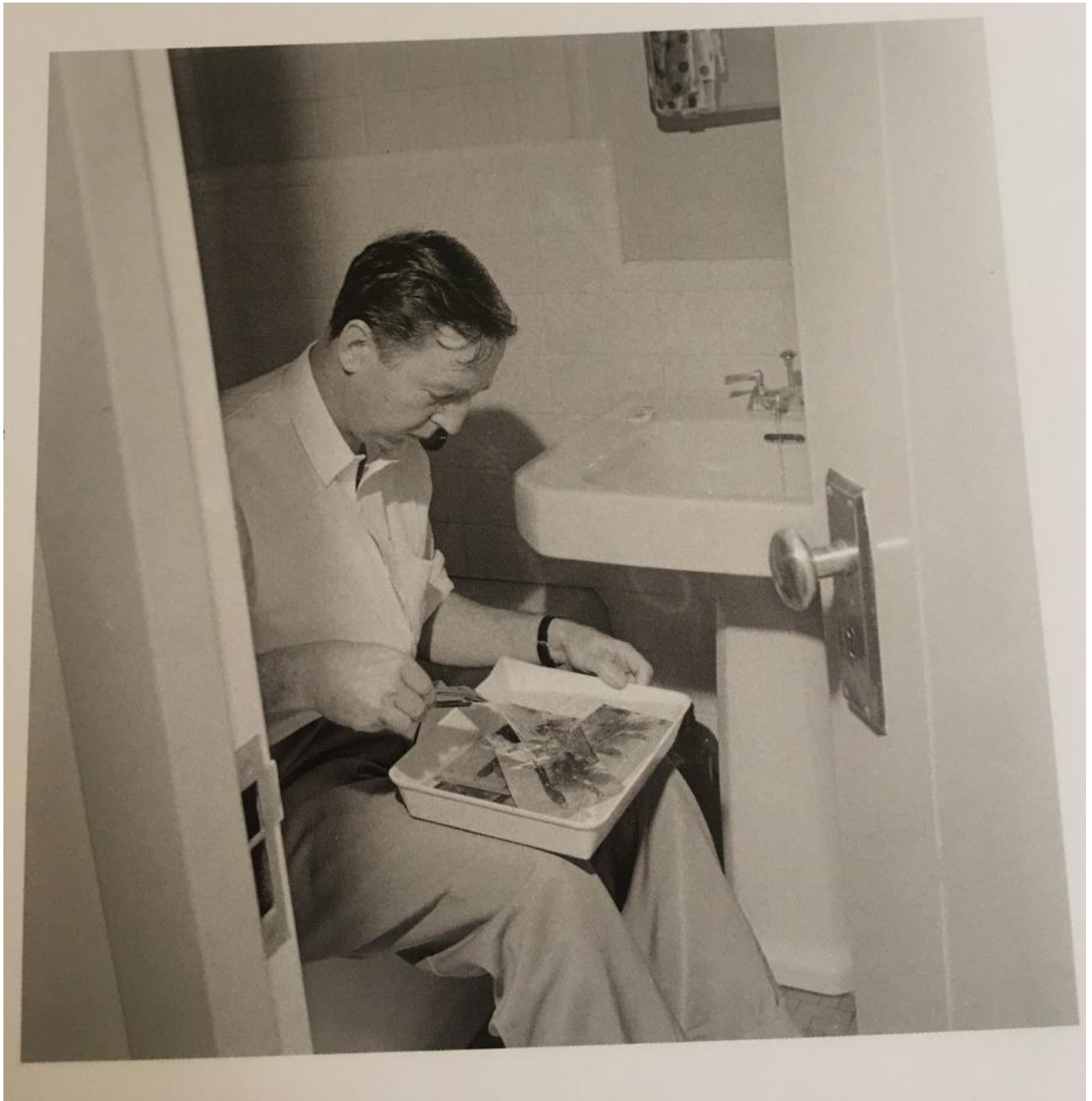


Figure 48



Figure 49



Figure 50

July, 1944

Popular PHOTOGRAPHY 99

Your new... is proving... in helping... balance and... under all... I wouldn't b... without one!

...os
...LACI
...our
...ue
...a
...c

... with
... camera
... support
... speed film
... at black
... focus
... cov

It's unusual from an advertising viewpoint, because the advertisement was built around the photograph. But more unusual still, the photograph was not made by order of J. Burton Stevens, art director at Pedlar, Ryan & Lusk, Inc., the agency which handles the Ipana account. This Akin Langhoff photograph appeared first in POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY [page 90, Dec., 1942 issue]. Ken Fredericks of the same agency drew it to Mr. Stevens' attention; and before you could say "POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHY" it was photostated into an Ipana layout to show the client. The client gave the layout his enthusiastic OK, and that's how this splendid Ipana ad was born. By a lucky accident, Langhoff's photograph fitted into a campaign which had been running successfully for years. The photographer looked on his creation as a charming, storytelling photograph, salon type. This excellent picture proves that when you speak of photography's contribution to advertising, you'd better add "and vice versa," quickly. The copy and headline add greater significance to an already great photograph. If war and children have monopolized the spotlight in this month's ads, it doesn't mean that glamour is a war casualty. It just happened that way—this month. Now next month—Oops, I forgot; that's another issue.—

NEW BOOKS

CORRECT EXPOSURE IN PHOTOGRAPHY,
by Willard D. Morgan and Henry M. Lester.
Published by Morgan & Lester, Publishers.



**IT'S EASY,
IT'S FUN—
Marshall
Method of
PHOTO
COLORING**

- You'll have fun coloring your black and white prints with Marshall's permanent, transparent photo oils. The effect equals direct-color photography.

Try Marshall's KHAKI and NAVY BLUE—planned especially for photographs of men in uniform.

From your dealer or order direct. Free color consultant service will solve any coloring problem. Dept. A.

JOHN G. Marshall INC.
167 NORTH NINTH STREET • BROOKLYN 11, N. Y.

BUY WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

N. 100-
TUM-

Figure 51



Margaret A. Tucker, a Claypool, Ind., housewife, takes first honors this month with this timely, newsy shot of three children studying a globe. She used a Voigtländer Bessa, exposing Plus-X film for 1/75 second with the lens stopped down to f 16. Two No. 2 and a No. 1 flood lighted the scene. (See page 38 for an article by Mrs. Tucker.)

PICTURES FROM OUR READERS



Using a Rolleiflex, Ben A. Eddy, Portland, Ore., made this picture. He exposed Super-XX film through a medium yellow filter.



This photo by Herman Scheible, Bloomfield, N. J., was made with a Super Ikonta B, at 1/50 sec., stopped at f 8, on Super-XX.



Figure 52

MAKE *a movie* for a SERVICE MAN!

Use a REVERE 8mm CAMERA!

If you are not already an owner of a Revere Camera and can't buy one, *rent one from the photographic dealer nearest you!* With a Revere 8 mm camera, you just set the lens, aim through the built-in view-finder and press the button. Camera stores will gladly give you pointers on how to make good black-and-white or full-color Kodachrome movies. They will suggest interesting scenes that friends in the service would like to have.

8 mm movies are not only easy to take but economical — about 10¢ per scene. They make a gift that will bring happiness to a soldier or sailor again and again. Most camps have projectors for projecting home movies. Stop in today and ask your camera dealer about renting a camera this week-end. Revere-Camera Company, Chicago, Illinois

EASY TO TAKE! No skill is required to get perfect motion pictures with modern movie cameras. You will have a lot of fun taking movies of your soldier's or sailor's family or friends.

THRILLING TO SEE! Movies are just like having the folks back home visit the boys in camp. On the screen, they can see their parents and friends waving, talking, laughing and doing the things so often described in letters from home.

EASY TO SEND! A 20 ft. reel of 8 mm movie film can be mailed anywhere in the U. S. Use the same carton in which the laboratory returns the developed film to you.

Some camera stores have Revere 8 mm Cameras and Projectors for rent. No more are being manufactured because Revere cameras are now contributing 100% to the production of precision-built aircraft instruments and other war supplies.

BUY WAR BONDS Every Pay Day!

Revere 8

Quality Home Movie Equipment

Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY
FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL USE ONLY

COLOR FINISHING ENVELOPE
COMPLETED BY KODAK

56093 8

JERON CAMERA, INC.
605 DAVIS STREET
EVANSTON, IL 60201
216-88

No. 0001-8
CONTENTS: 1
ROLL (LIMITS)
NEGATIVE
TRANSPARENT 25
ENCLOSE ONLY 35mm SLIDES
NEGATIVES OR TRANSPARENCIES
DATE 5/13/8

A NAME *Mair, U* (2)
ADDRESS
B CITY ZIP PHONE
CITY ENCLOSED SPACES BELOW)
D PRINTS
E PROCESSES
F ENLARGEMENTS
G DUPLICATES
MOUNTING

THIS ENVELOPE CONTAINS A
SPECIAL NOTICE

06 0004
NO CHARGE

DIS NOTICE: Although film price does not include processing, the return of any film or print to us for processing purpose, will constitute an agreement by you that the film or print is damaged or lost by us or any subsidiary, even though by negligence or other fault, it will be replaced with an equivalent amount of unexposed Kodak film or prints by us for any purpose is without other warranty or liability.

FOR ENLARGEMENT ORDERS REQUIRING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: (CHECK ONE) SQUARE VERTICAL HORIZONTAL
WRITE SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS HERE: Orders with written instructions require First-Class Postage.
CPS-1 7-70

MATTE - not *Yor E*

Coupon enclosed

MATTE - not silk - w/ border - Print 1/11/88
do not use envelope - Print 1/11/88

56093 8

Figure 59



Figure 60



Figure 61

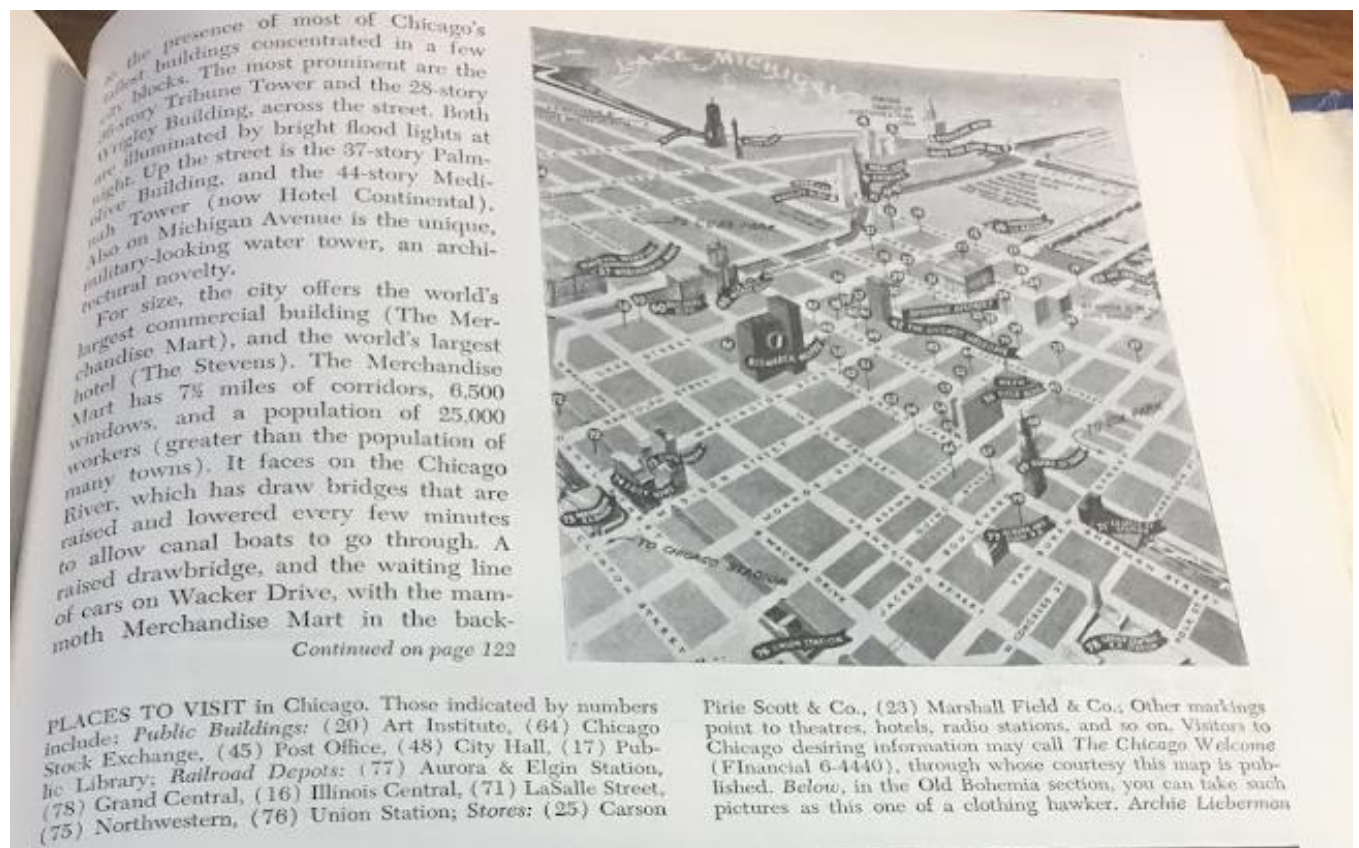


Figure 62



Figure 63



Figure 64



Figure 65



Figure 66



Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71



Figure 72



Figure 73



Figure 74



Figure 75



Figure 76

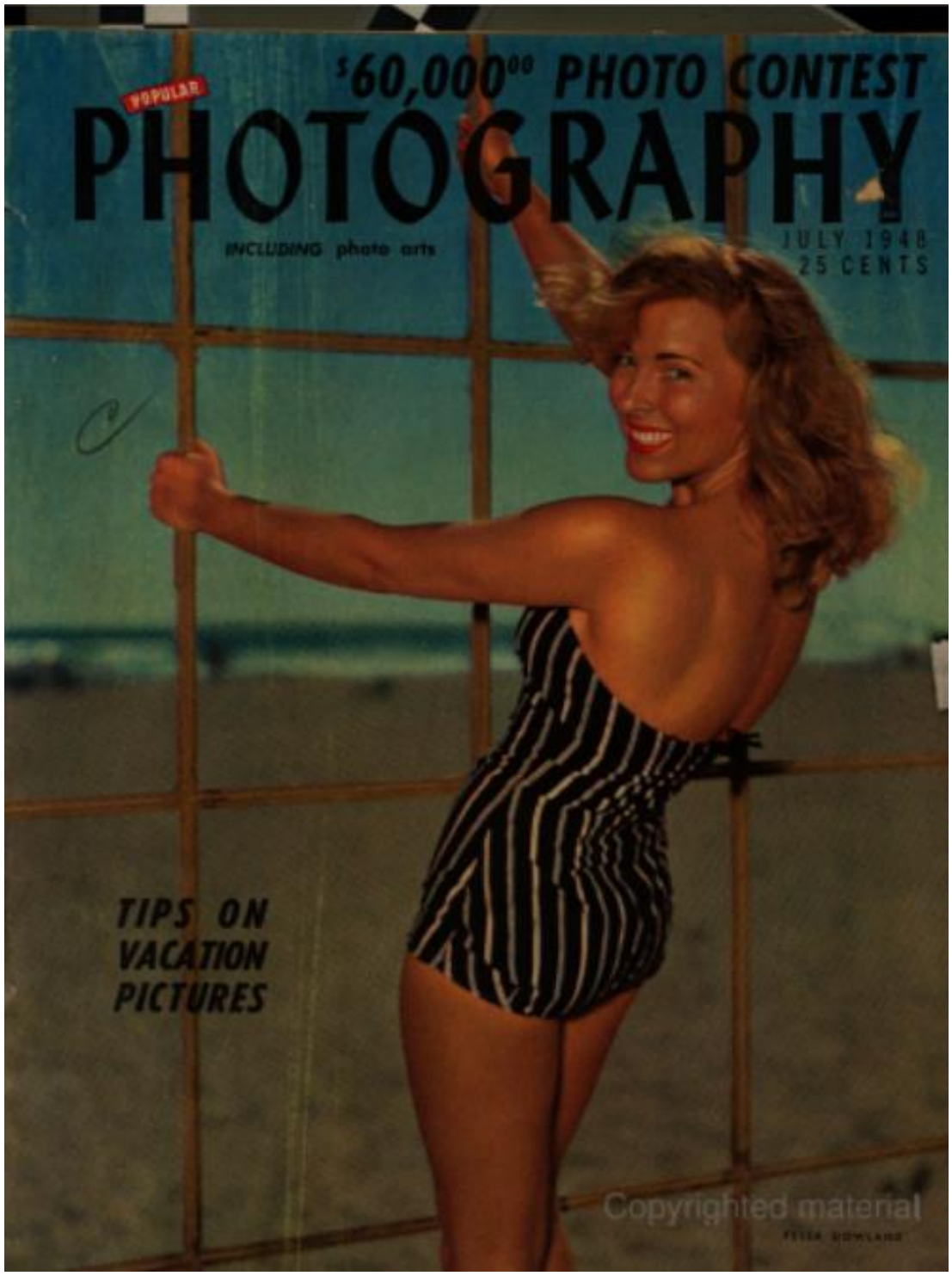



Figure 78



*It's later
than you
think!*

VETERANS
*prepare for a career in
photography before it's too late.*

Training under the G. I. Bill must be started before the middle of next year. Enroll now — before it's too late. Applications still accepted for classes starting in October. The Progressive School of Photography offers you the best — modern equipment, complete facilities, a staff of experts, give you practical training in the latest techniques . . . the kind of training that gets good jobs.

9 out of 10 Progressive graduates are earning livings in photography — proof of what practical training and our free placement service can do for you.

Class buildings and dormitories form a pleasant campus in residential New Haven. Small classes promise personal instruction. A coeducational school, G. I. approved. Courses in Portrait, Commercial and Direct Color Photography, also Camera Repair — all under the G. I. Bill. Write now for registration forms and FREE Catalogue PT 7

SENSIBLE RATES
NO REGISTRATION
FEE
NO LABORATORY
FEES

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL OF PHOTOGRAPHY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

might be in Spain several years ago. The narrow streets suggest beautiful carriage women peeping out. There are really great churches built by Spaniards and their Spanish assistants is the finest city in all Mexico, especially if you want to be transported back 200 years. Then if you return to the present just as the latest movie is being shown, the magnificent opera house where empty boxes. Instead of Mozart—Jane Russell and Howard Cassidy.

Rodin's Kiss
Continued from page 27

the other to the right of the and a 750-watt spot as the formed the basis of the lights

Generally, I used a hard the 1,500-watt spot at the camera and a diffuser across 1,500-watt spot at the righter usually was above or of the statue. The 750-watt about $\frac{1}{2}$ the height of the

I also used a 500-watt the left but close to the accenting.


Sometimes it was n verse completely this the high, strong spot instead of the right many variations, ho impossible to recall

Actually, it make to another photo lights were placed photographers app ject in the same lights in position good picture. Th know what he v strive to achieve

For instance, in adjusting th put the hot s the most good

Figure 79

NEW PIN-UP PHOTOS



NOW AVAILABLE
500 model photos size 4 x 5 showing model in attractive poses. These are specially priced at 15c each pose. You can order as many as you desire at one time, and are called The New Cheesecake Series, and included are:

8 different poses of LILLI DAWN in burlesque costume. 3 poses of ANN CORIO. 6 poses of LOIS DEFEE. 8 poses of LYNN SHERWOOD. 24 poses of JOAN (Eve) RYDELL. 3 poses of ODESSA OTTWELL. 5 poses of MARY SENTILLE. 4 poses of ANITA STEWART. 6 poses of VICKI LYNN. 5 poses of CINDY HELLER. 4 poses of EVELYN BROWN. 2 poses of NEVADA SMITH. 30 poses of BABY LAKE. 6 poses of RUTH MEYERS. 2 poses of BETTYE LIND. 4 poses of BETTY HOWELL. 6 poses of JACKIE JOYCE. 2 poses of GEORGIA SOTHERN. 6 poses of ANN DEXTER. 3 poses of SHIRLEY MAITLAND. 6 poses of KEVIN DALEY. 15 poses of SHIRLEY LEVITT. 6 poses of HELENE GRAYSON. 6 poses of BETTY SHERWOOD.

and many other popular models.

15c each pose, minimum order accepted is \$2.00
RUSH your order to Dept. V-8,

Irving Klaw "THE PIN-UP KING"
212 East 14 Street,
New York 3, N. Y.

35 MM Developed \$1.25

36 Enlargements 1-

20 exp. 75c. • 36 exp. refill 60c, 5 for \$2.50

You can count on us for beautiful finishing at attractive prices. Thirty years of careful service — the finest and latest equipment with exclusive improvements—and a

Make Every Shot Count!

New Low-Cost Speedlight

Continued from page 27
contact with it, unless he deliberately tampers with the outfit.

Powerful and Portable

Specifically, at 100 watt-seconds loading, the FT 110 produces 4400 lumen seconds of blue-white (about 7000° K) light. This is 20% greater than the output of the FT 210 tube when operated at 100 watt-seconds at its maximum potential of 2800 volts, and 75% greater than the FT 210 operated at 100 watt-seconds at 1000 volts on lightweight electrolytic capacitors.

The maximum loading of 100 watt-seconds is supplied to the tube by the basic AC power supply, which is connected to ordinary household current through an extension cord. This means photographically that the FT 110 outfit, weighing only 3 pounds including lamp and reflector, is about as good for picture-making as the SM photo flash lamp, or as the No. 5 flash at a shutter speed of 1/400 second.

The rechargeable, battery-operated power pack has more parts, but at that, one experimental unit weighing only 5½ pounds produced 75 watt-seconds—enough light for good pictures on Super XX at F:11 at 1/100 with normal film development. Increasing the developing time 50% contrast and density of the film were up so that the range of the lamp practically doubled.

Whether the rechargeable power pack or the AC model, which must be connected to house current, appears

TYPICAL CIRCUIT DIAGRAM

Figure 80

WANTED
YOUR *Color*
TRANSPARENCIES

In color photography, it's the print that counts! Our highly skilled technicians are color craftsmen with years of experience in the art of developing and printing color film. Your transparencies receive prompt, careful attention in our modern laboratory devoted exclusively to color photography.

WALLET SIZE
20¢
EACH

2 1/2 x 3 1/2 each.....	.30	4 x 5 each.....	.65
3 1/2 x 3 1/2 each.....	.40	5 x 7 each.....	1.25
3 1/2 x 4 each.....	.50	8 x 10 each.....	2.50

Special

11 x 14 EACH.....	4.95	16 x 20 EACH.....	10.00
-------------------	------	-------------------	-------

35 MM COLOR DUPLICATES..... .25
ANSCO and EKTACHROME
color rolls developed, \$1.00 each

**SARATOGA
COLOR**

155 WOODLAWN AVENUE • SARATOGA SPRINGS, N.Y.

All orders are returned
by first class mail,
insured.

No C.O.D. orders, please.
Minimum order, \$1.00

PLEASE SAY YOU SAW IT IN MODERN
MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY

Figure 81



Figure 82

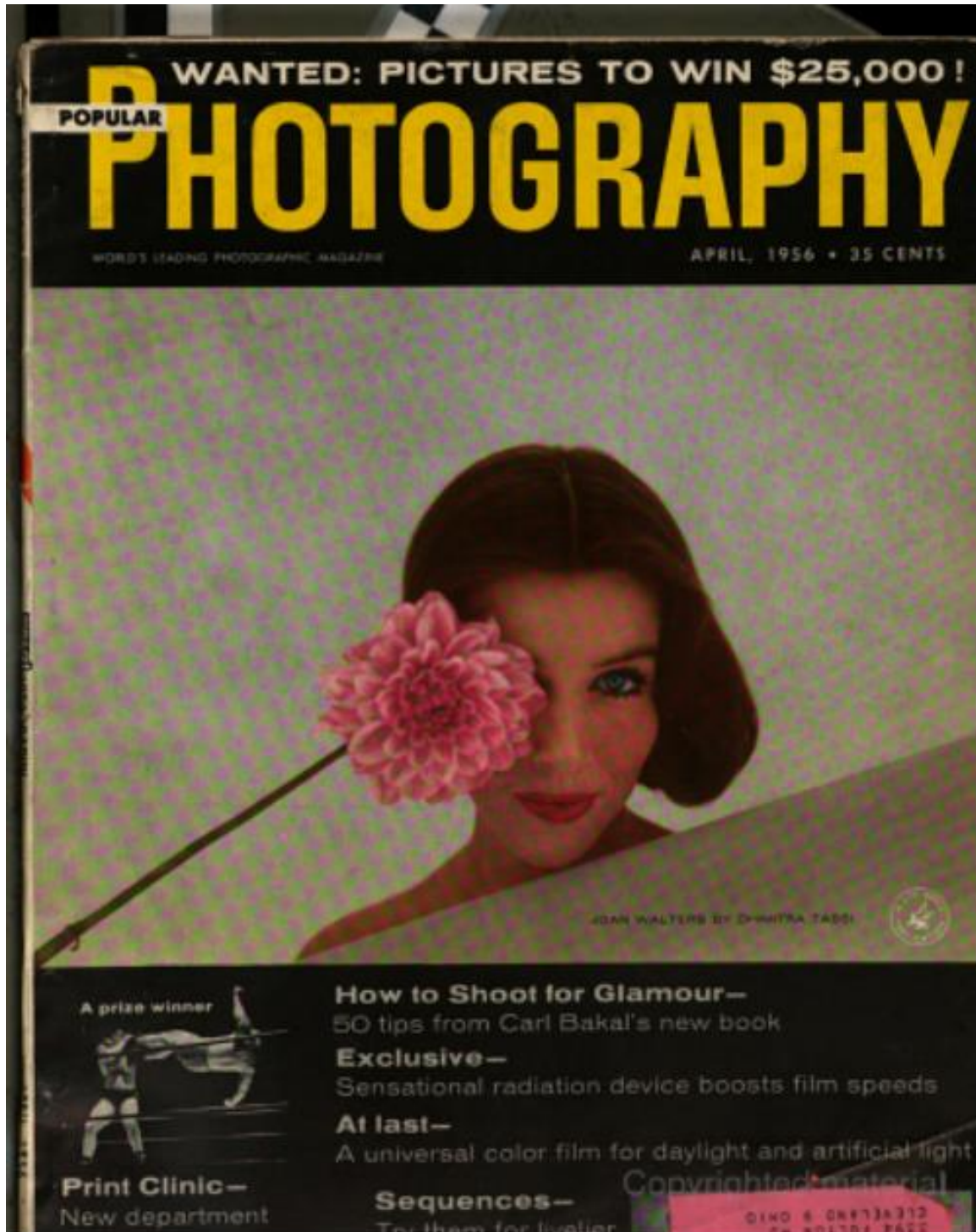


Figure 83

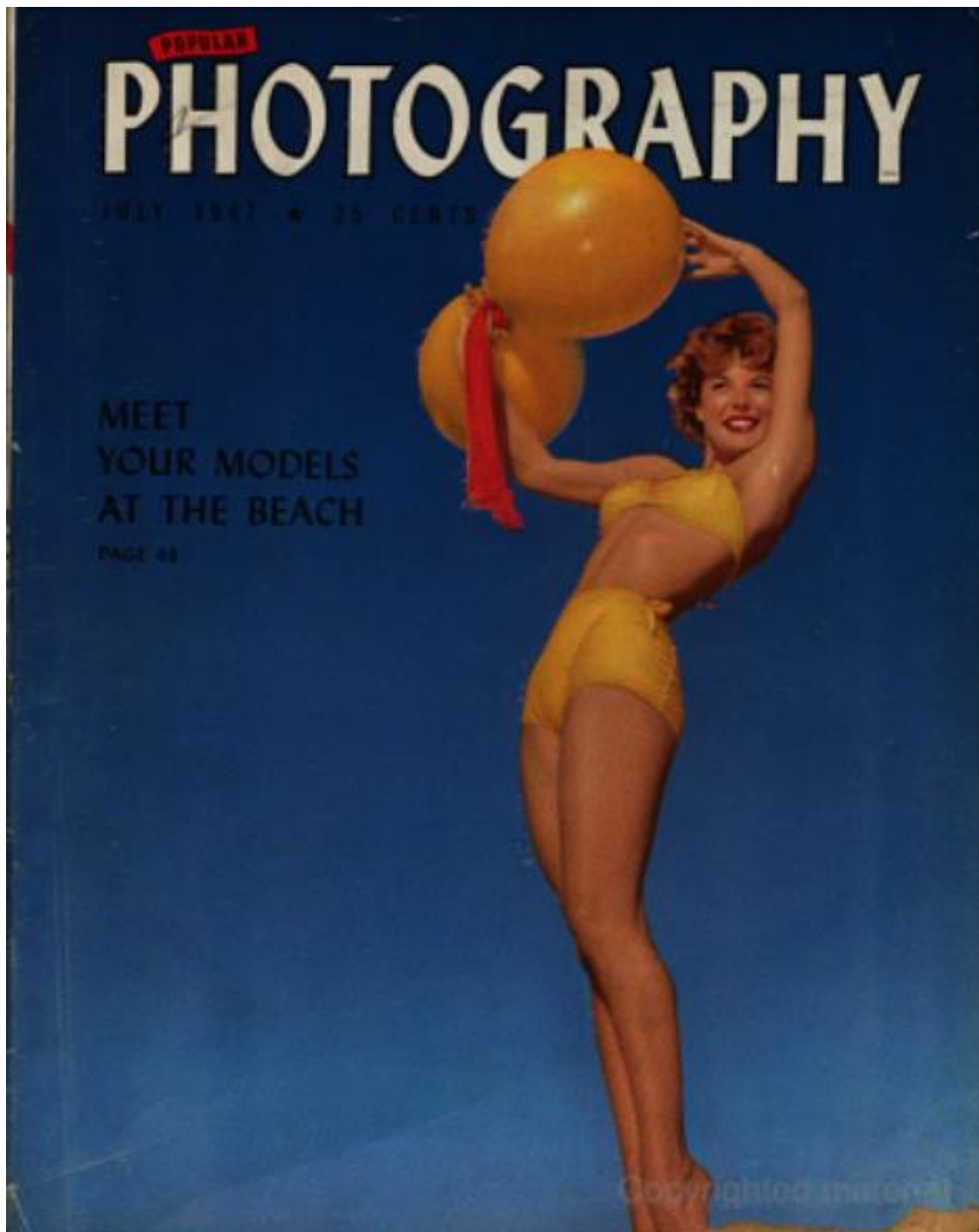


Figure 84



Figure 85

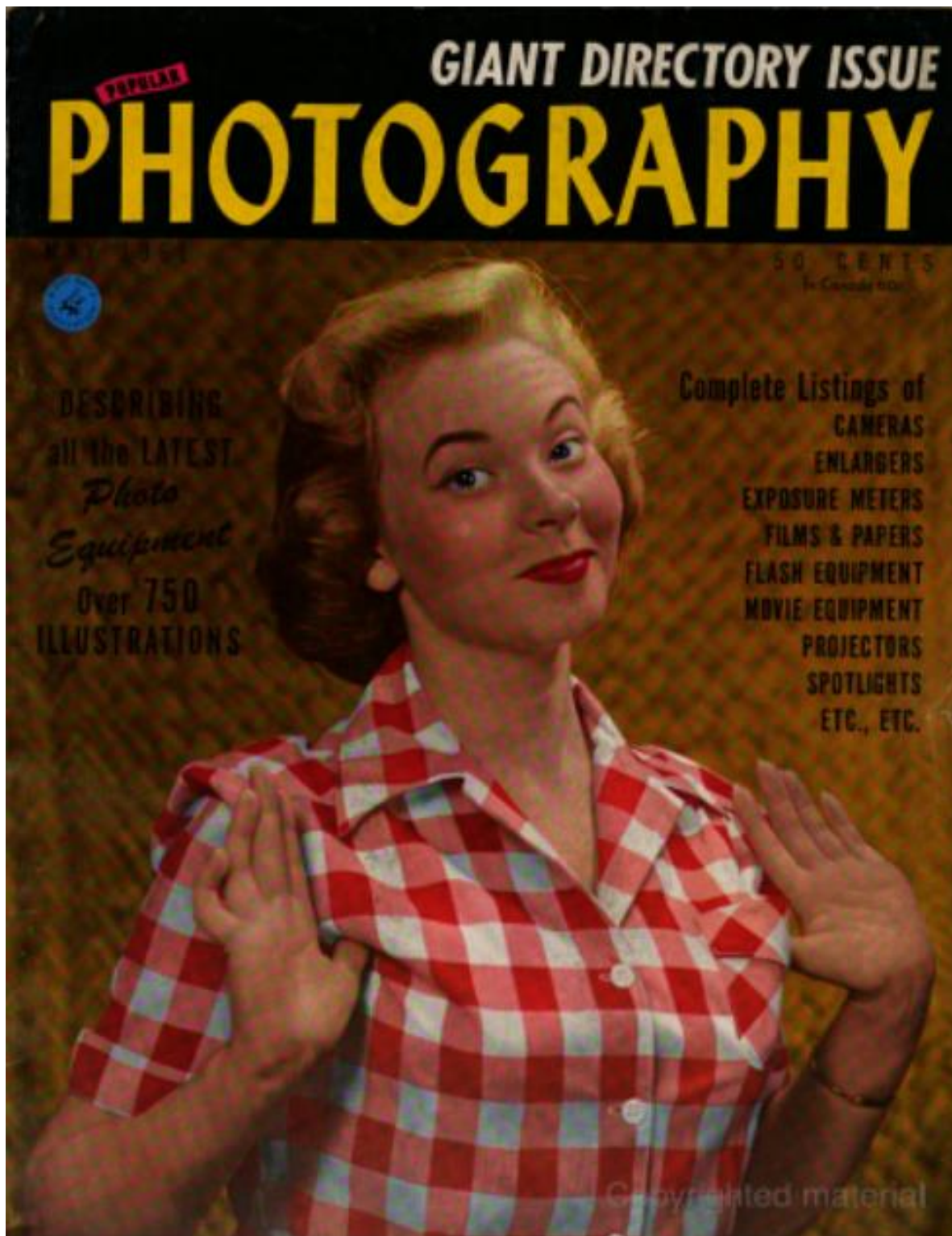


Figure 86



Figure 87

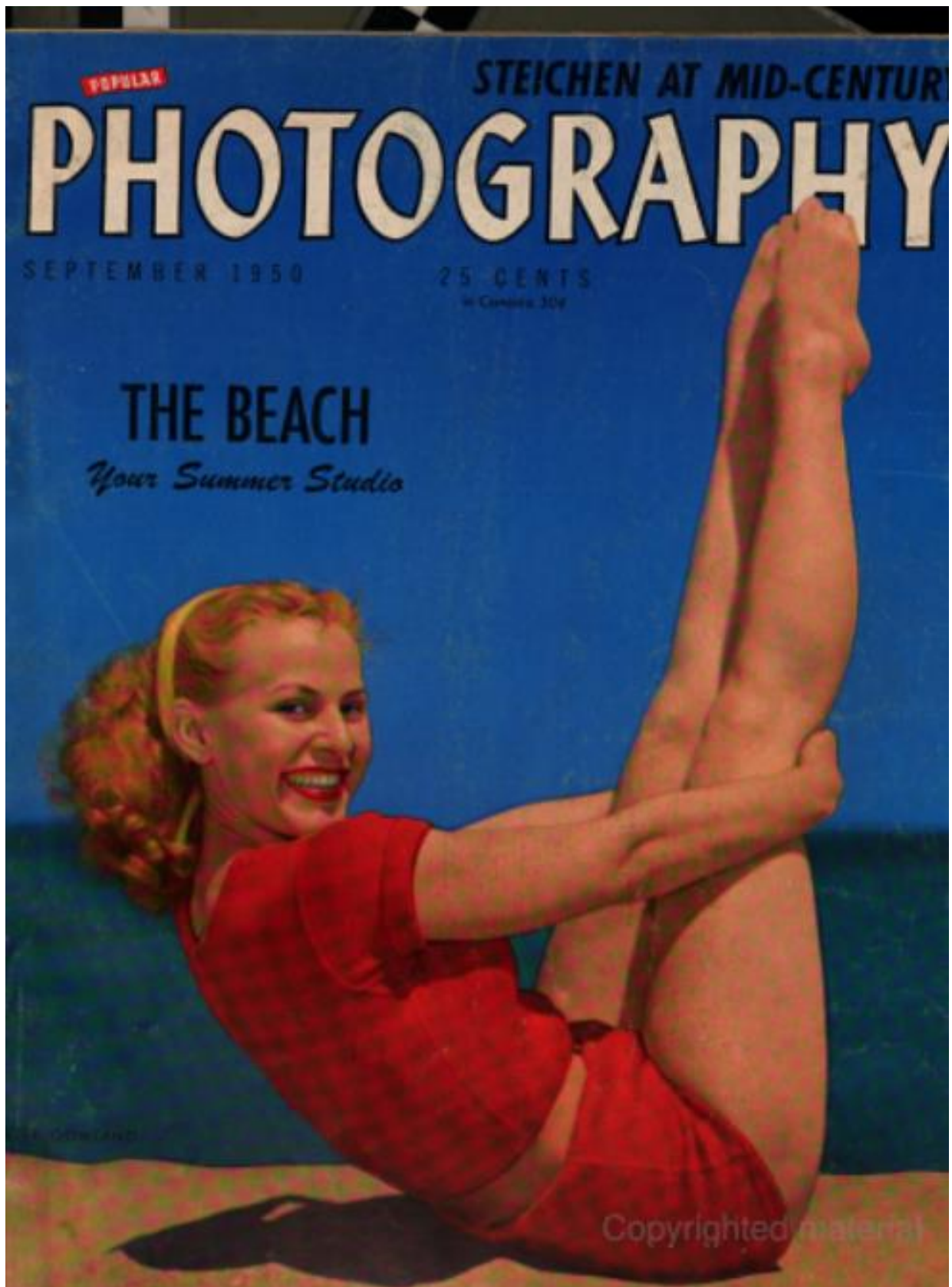


Figure 88

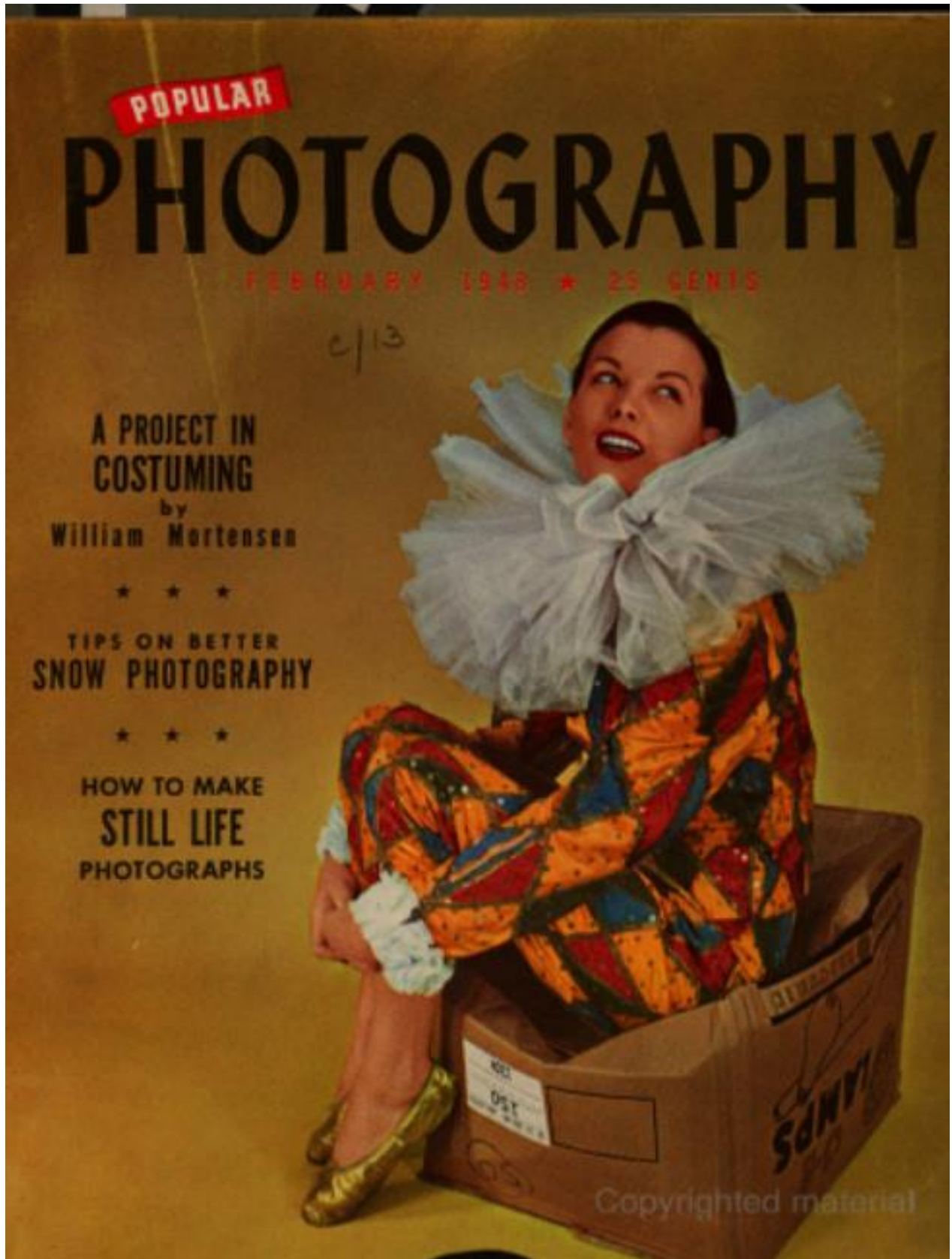


Figure 89

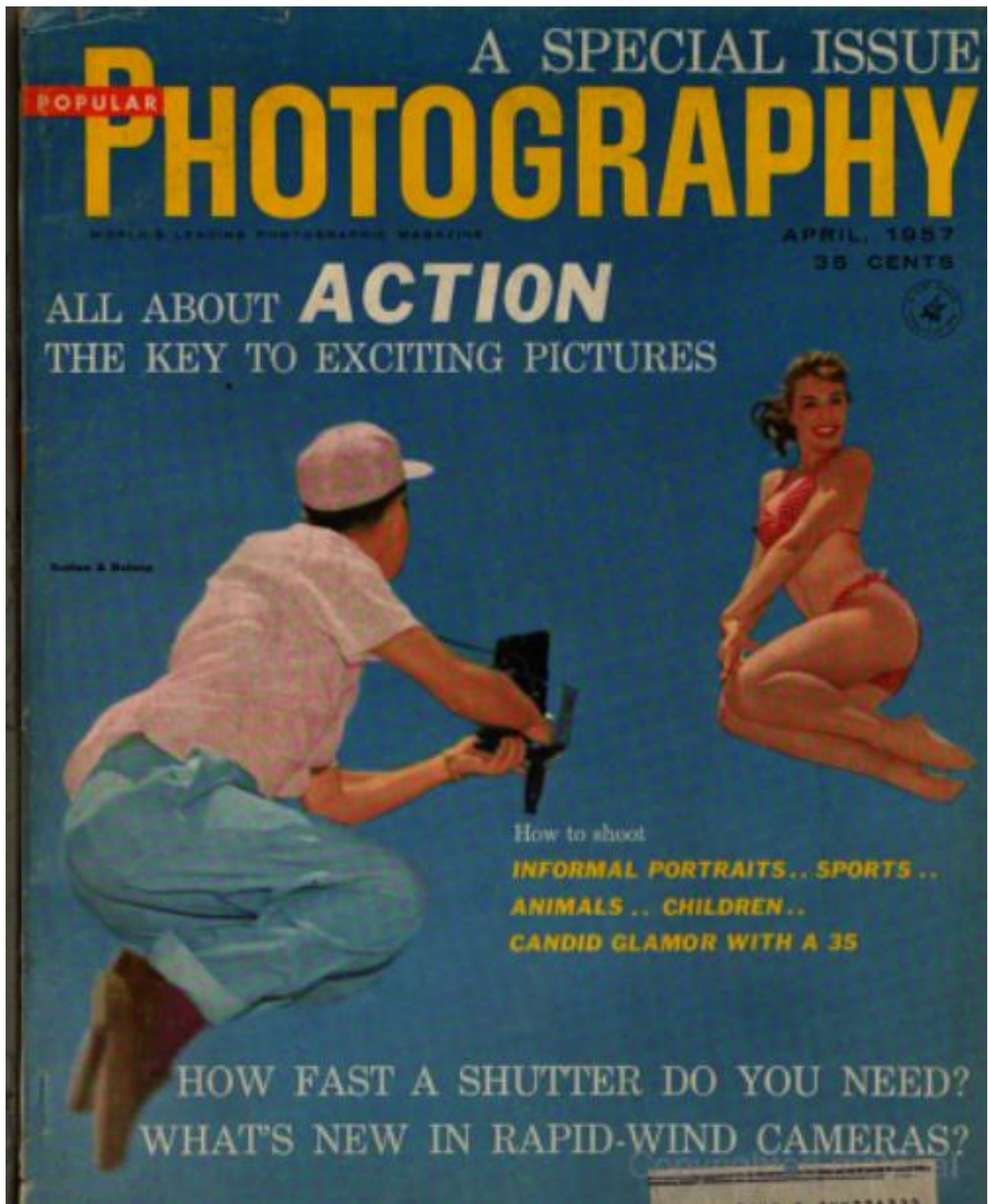


Figure 90

BIKINI SUITS

Two or three scarves are all you need to make these photogenic sun suits says Peter Gowland



Since most of the manufacturers of swim suits never days cling to the quaint notion that bathing suits should be durable enough to swim in, the photographer who wants to produce striking pin-ups has a problem. Magazine editors reflect their reader's demands for fresh, unusual swim suit costumes. But since mass produced outfits necessarily have very little individuality, the trick is to find something in beach costume that looks different—yet has the illusion of being the subject's usual attire.

Custom-made suits are out of the question for most photographers because of their price. One solution, then, is for the photographer and model to cooperate in creating whatever style and color of suit they want. Some of the Bikini styles can be worn over regular two-piece outfits; others do not look well with other garments underneath. This being the case, the need for a place where the model can change and adjust costumes should be kept in mind in choosing a shooting location. And to avoid misunderstanding or embarrassment, the photographer should have a female assistant along. On field trips, my wife Alice takes care of everything except last

FIG. 1, above. The costume on these pages is begun with two lengths of any soft material. In this case, above, two lengths of rayon jersey, each length two yards long and 27" wide, were pinned together. The center of the material is placed at the nape of the subject's neck (Fig. 2, right) so as to drape forward to form the front of the costume. The ends are then brought between the legs to the back where pins in the center hold the material together. The ends then pass around the waist to the front where they are twisted and folded neatly under at the sides or in back—depending upon their length.



Figure 91

Tonyu ...

Bikini Scarves

Sirs:

I especially like articles such as Peter Gowland's "Bikini Suits" (July 1950) which give readers a chance to combine other hobbies with photography. Following his instructions for making Bikini costumes, I found that these scarf costumes were easily constructed and much more attractive




than regular bathing suits. This self-portrait was made with a timer attachment. I used an Argoflex camera and Plus X film for a 1/25 second exposure at f/4.5. The main light was a #2 photoflood; a #1 photoflood served as the fill light.

Ithaca, N. Y. Mary Suominen

Figure 92

Long Live The King!

Sirs:
For be it from me to wail "The king is dead—long live the king!" But with all deference to the elegant first issue of *MINICAM*, I think you laid *MINICAM* to rest with the best cover it ever had, (July-Aug. issue.—Ed.) Jean Brown, the girl in the pool, is exceptionally lovely. Could we please have another picture of her?
Binghamton, N. Y. Virgil Scott



• Here it is—and for good measure we'll include photographer Bob Hemmig's answer to the many letters from readers asking for more information about model Jean Brown.—Ed.

Sirs:
Jeannie tells me she was "more or less discovered" at the age of 17½; add 2½ years to that and you have her present age. She is 5'3", weighs 110, and her measurements are 34, 24, 34. For my money, Jean is rediscovered every time a photographer has her on the set. I won't list all the well-known photogs she has modeled for, but her pictures have appeared on the covers of REDBOOK, HIT, PAGEANT, SALUTE, WOMAN, and MINICAM.
I've never worked with her when she hasn't spent her whole rest "break" in knitting, but she also paints and sells floral designs to a greeting card company. On the side she plays the heroine in a Barbary Coast play. All of which make her one of the most flexible photographic models in the business. The helluvit is that Jeannie is heading back east. That is our loss and the eastern boy's gain; I only hope they remember that she is California-trained!
Santa Barbara Bob Hemmig

Figure 93

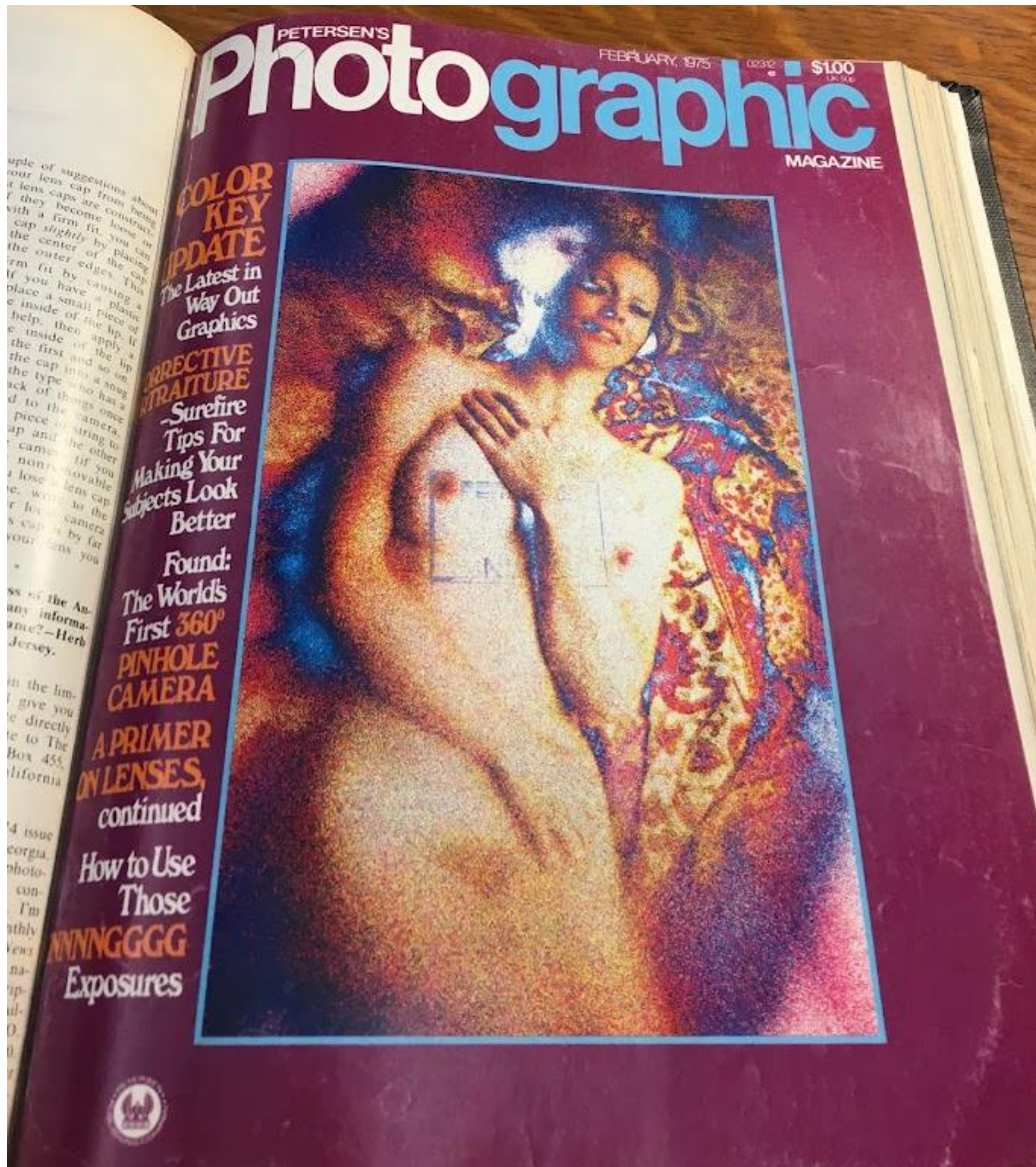


Figure 94

Do you dare ask a date to your SWAMPWATER PARTY?



By all means. Many a match has been made, while nipping our naughty nectar. Just make sure you keep the other guests happy with a steady flow of Swampwater.

By the glass: 1½ oz. Green Chartreuse, 6 oz. pineapple juice, ¼ lime and ice.

By the gallon: 1 bottle Green Chartreuse, 3 quarts pineapple juice, 4½ limes and ice.

P.S. When the party's over, and it's just you and your favorite crocodile, pour yourselves some Green Fire — Chartreuse on the rocks. It's 110 proof and imported from France.

THROW A SWAMPWATER PARTY AT YOUR HOUSE WITH THE SWAMPWATER PARTY KIT:

It comes with 12 Swampwater mason jar glasses, 12 Swampwater party invitations, Swampwater napkins and recipe — \$4.95.

For extra fun, get the floor-sized (3' x 4') Swampwater Party Game to play as you slurp Swampwater. \$7.95. What an ice breaker!

Please send me _____ Swampwater Party Kit and/or _____ Swampwater Party Game

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Fill in above, clip out coupon and mail with check to:
Chartreuse's Swampwater Offer, Dept. G3
P.O. Box 5060, Rutherford, NJ 07070.
Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery. Void where prohibited.



**GREEN CHARTREUSE
110 PROOF**

CHARTREUSE

110 PROOF. IMPORTED BY SCHIEFFELIN & CO., N.Y.

Figure 95

**You've never tried Sebulex.[®]
You still see dandruff.
There could be a connection.**

There's only one way to judge how effective a dandruff shampoo can be...
You've probably tried the leading brands. But, if you haven't used Sebulex,[®] you may have overlooked the one shampoo that works best on your hair and scalp.

Doctors recommend Sebulex for dandruff

When we asked over two hundred skin specialists what product they usually recommend for patients with dandruff or scaling of the scalp, the word came back—Sebulex. Four times more than the leading dandruff shampoo.

Seven times more than the next largest selling dandruff brand.

If you're out to control your dandruff, to help stop the oiliness and itching, use what more doctors recommend—Sebulex.

Sebulex cleans away everything in sight

Extra strength cleaning agents in Sebulex penetrate, peel and float away dandruff. They carry medication down to the scalp and follicles of the hair to quickly relieve flaking and itching.

You come away from a Sebulex shampoo with hair that's fresh and really clean, right down to the roots.

And with regular shampooing, it will stay that way.

consistency of Sebulex right out of the bottle. Sebulex builds to a concentrated, creamy lather that really gets dandruff off your back.

Clean, fresh scent

Some people think that a hard working medication can't smell good. Well, Sebulex has a clean, fresh scent that won't advertise that you're using a medicated shampoo. Even when you're up close.

The real proof

This Sebulex story is only proof for the inside of your head. We'd like to prove it to you on the outside. Buy Sebulex. Shampoo in the Sebulex medicated lather and look at your hair when it's dry. That's where we shine.

A low pH factor

Sebulex has the lowest pH of the leading non-prescription dandruff shampoos. That's because it contains a special combination of medicated ingredients. They could be the key to the dandruff control you're looking for. Try the medicated action of low pH Sebulex.

All you have to lose is your dandruff.

Effective dandruff control, pleasant to use

The first thing you'll notice is the thick, rich

Clean, green sebulex[®] recommended by specialists

©1977 Westwood Pharmaceutical Co.




Figure 97



Figure 98



Figure 99



Figure 100



Figure 101



Figure 102



Figure 103



Figure 104

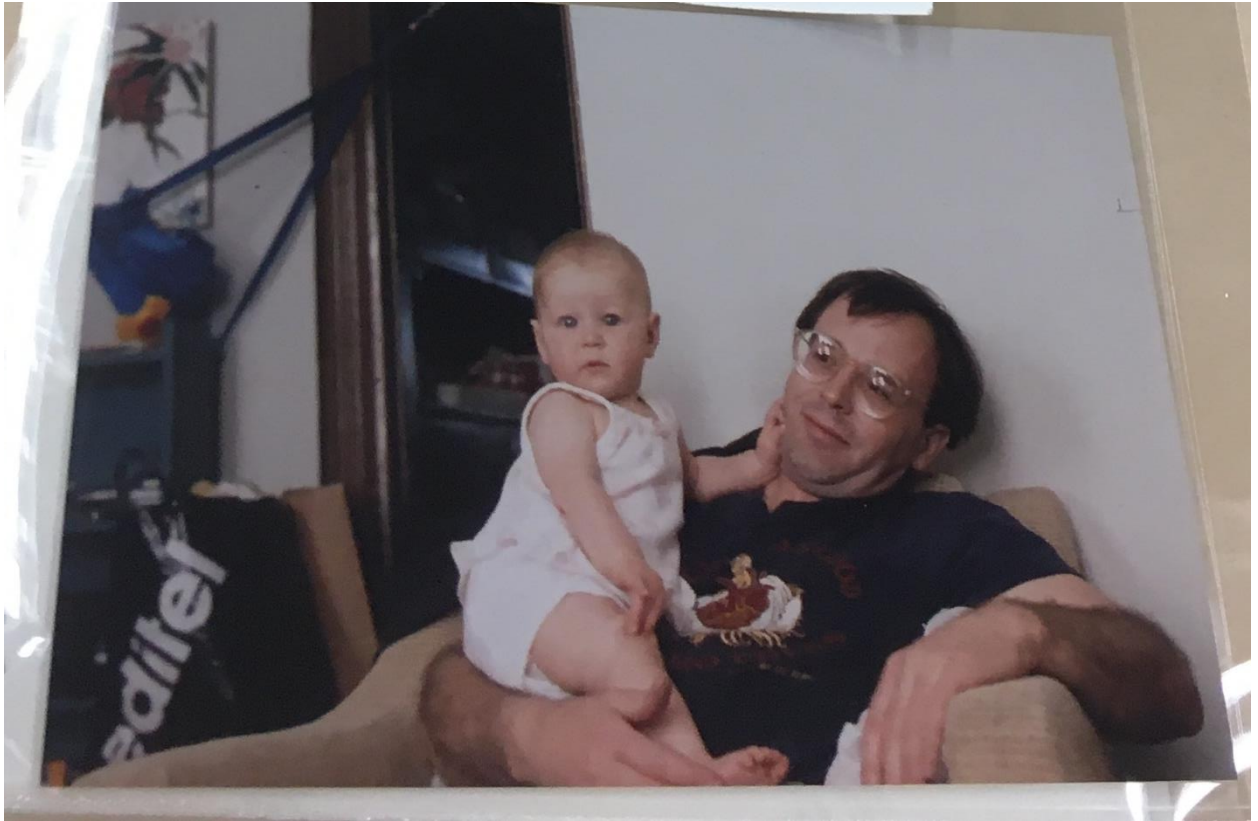


Figure 105

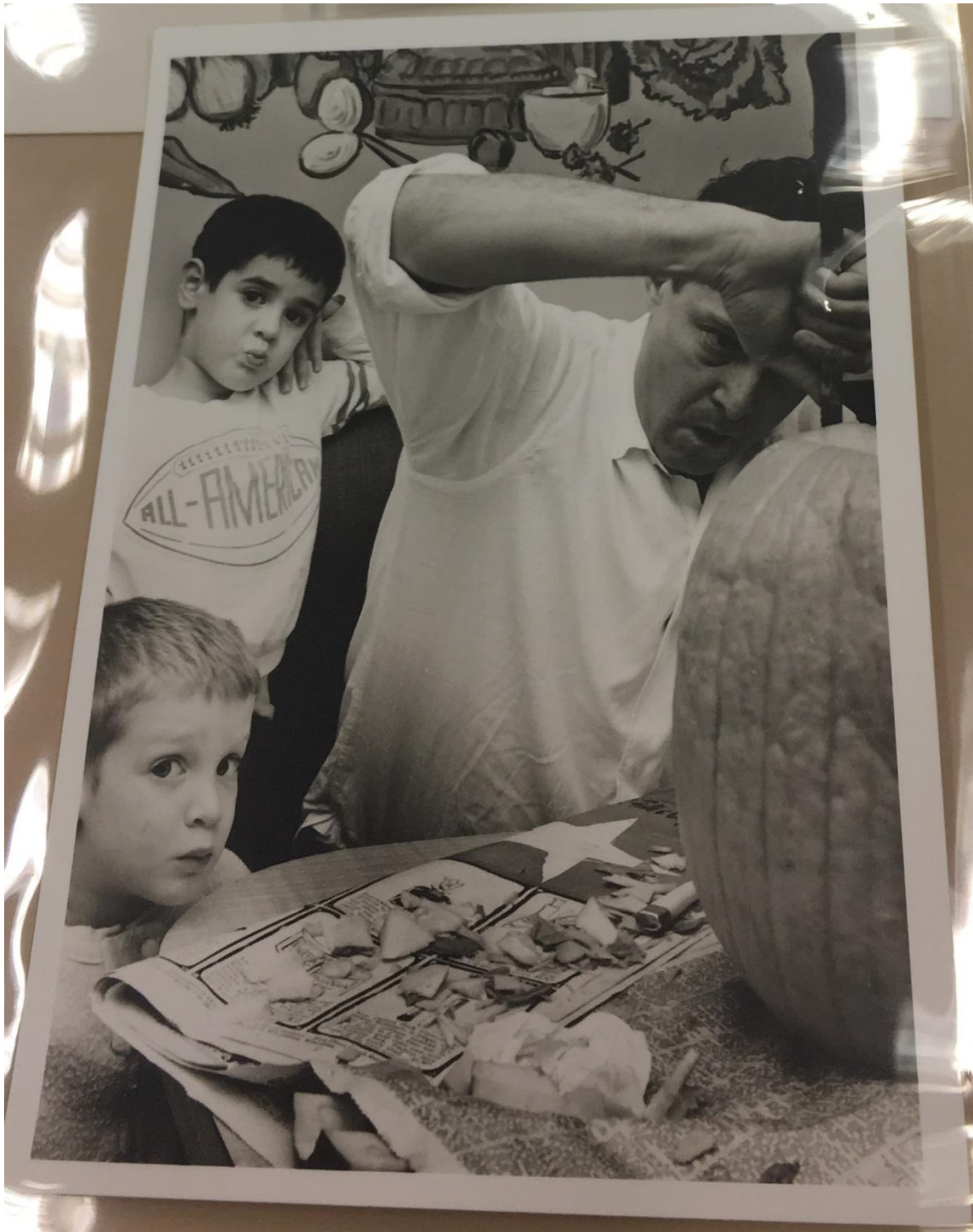


Figure 106



Figure 107



Figure 108



Figure 109

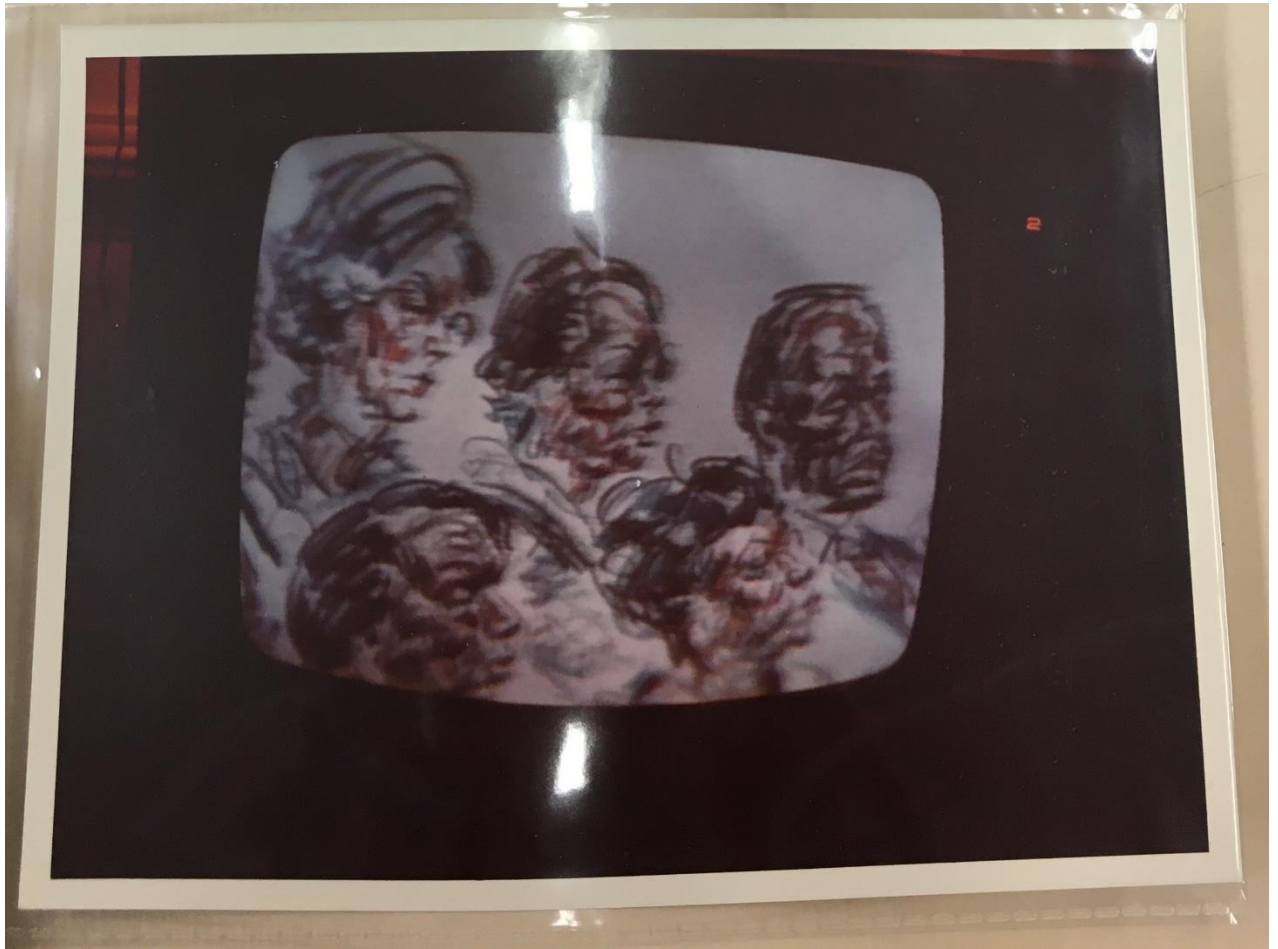


Figure 110



Figure 111



Figure 112



Figure 113



Figure 114

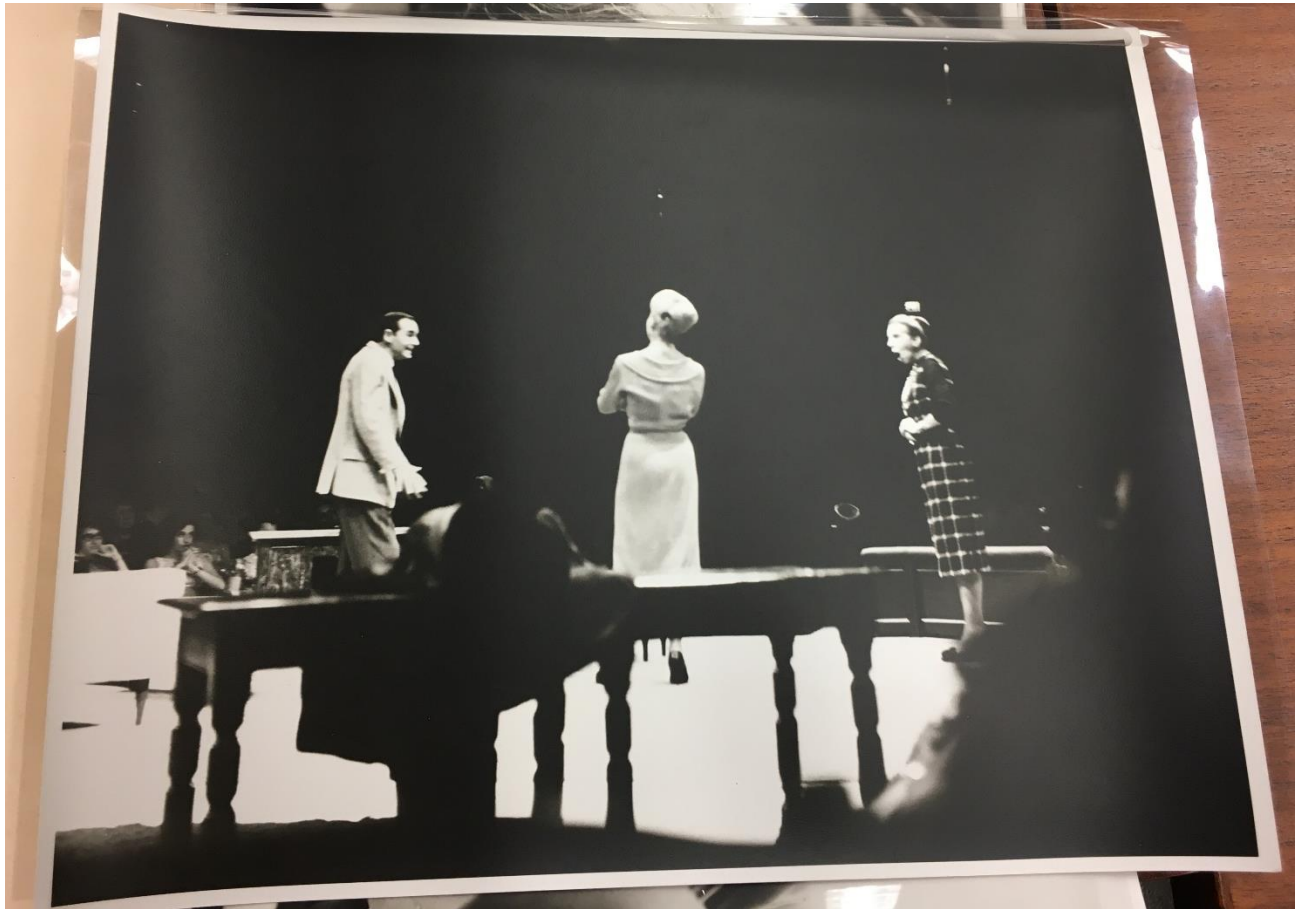


Figure 115



Figure 116



Figure 117



Figure 118



Figure 119



Figure 120



Figure 121



Figure 122



Figure 123



Figure 124



Figure 125



Figure 126



Figure 127



Figure 128

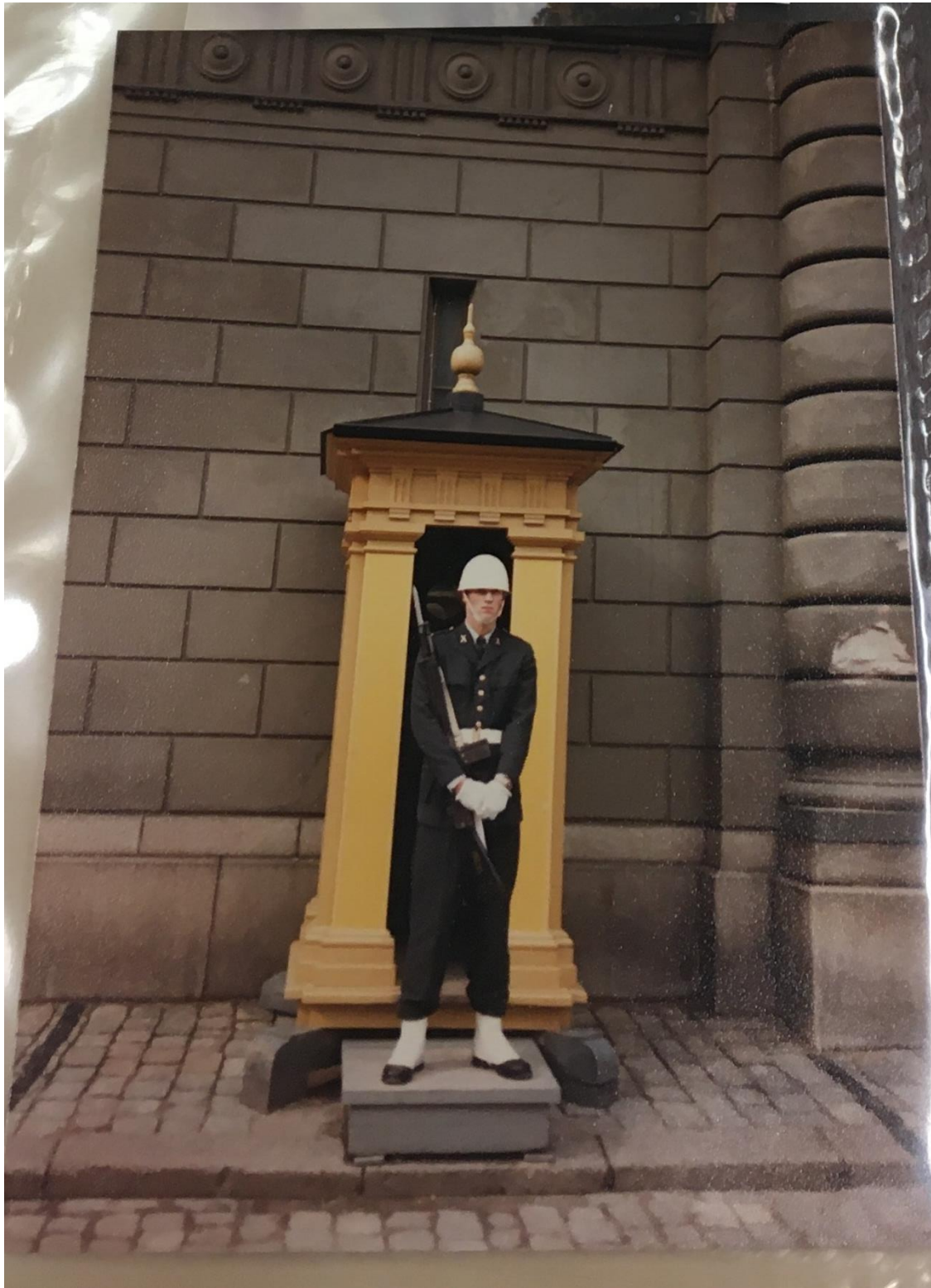


Figure 129



Figure 130



Figure 131



Figure 132

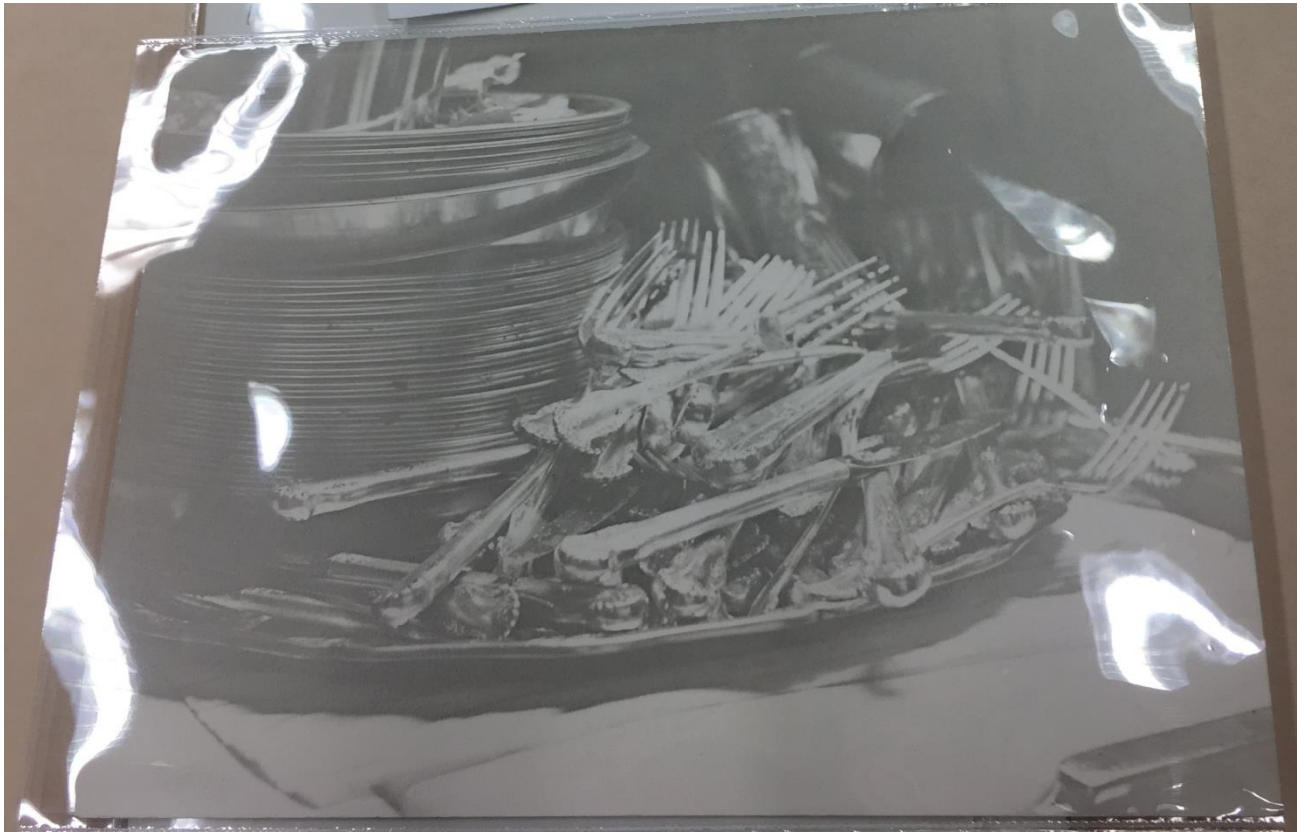


Figure 133



Figure 134



Figure 135



Figure 136



Figure 137

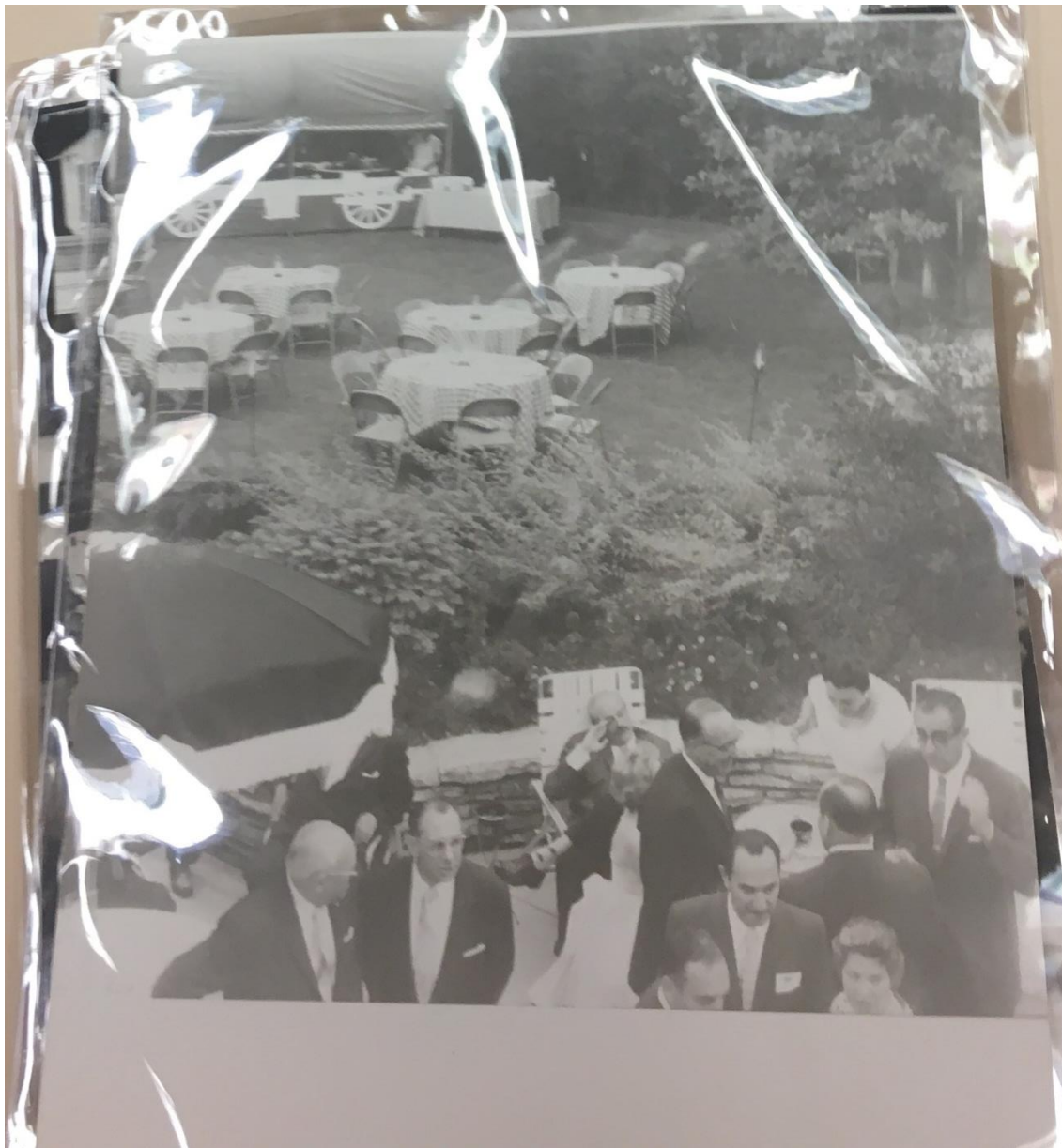


Figure 138



Figure 139



Figure 140



Figure 141

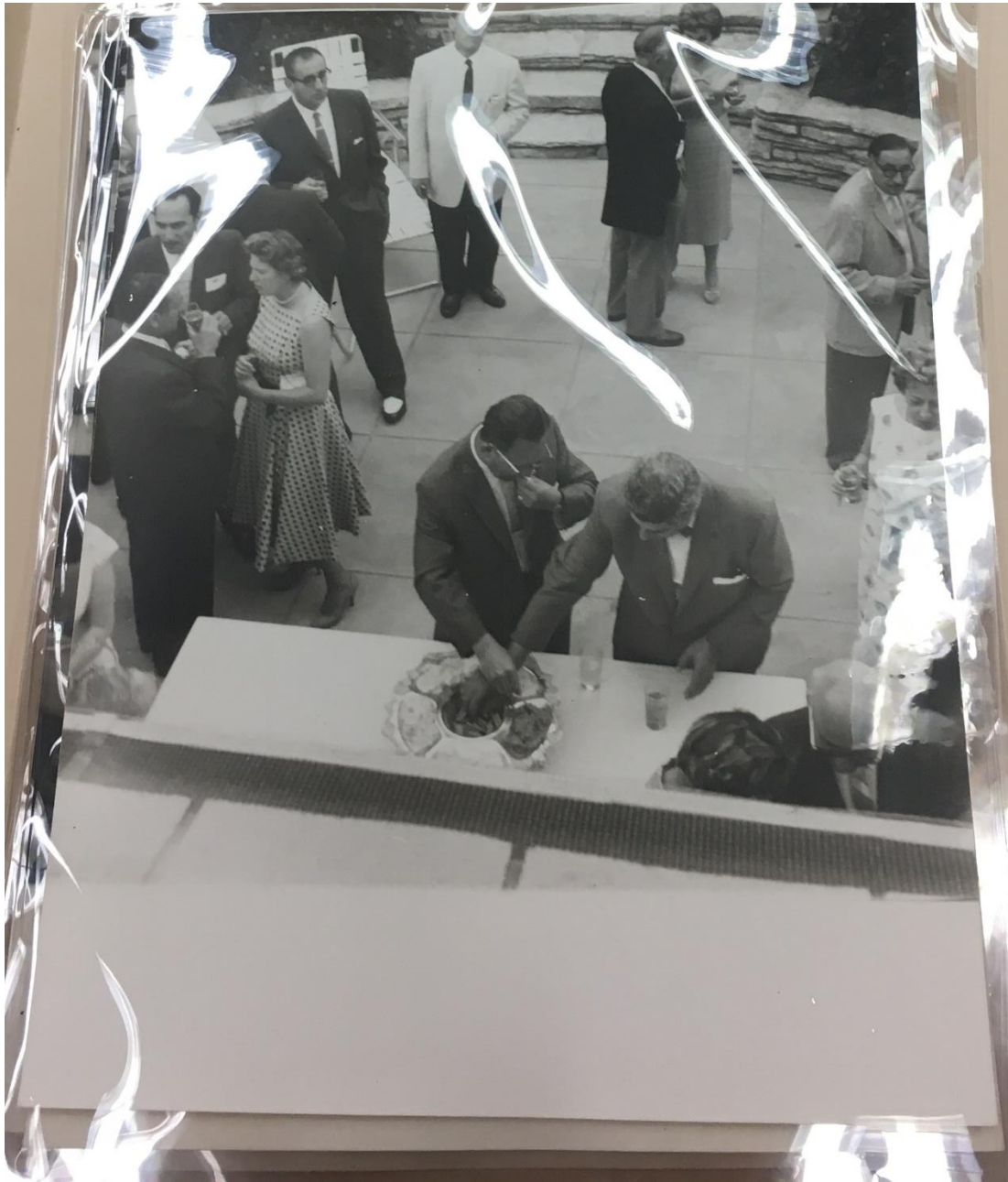


Figure 142



Figure 143



Figure 144



Figure 145



Figure 146



Figure 147



Figure 148

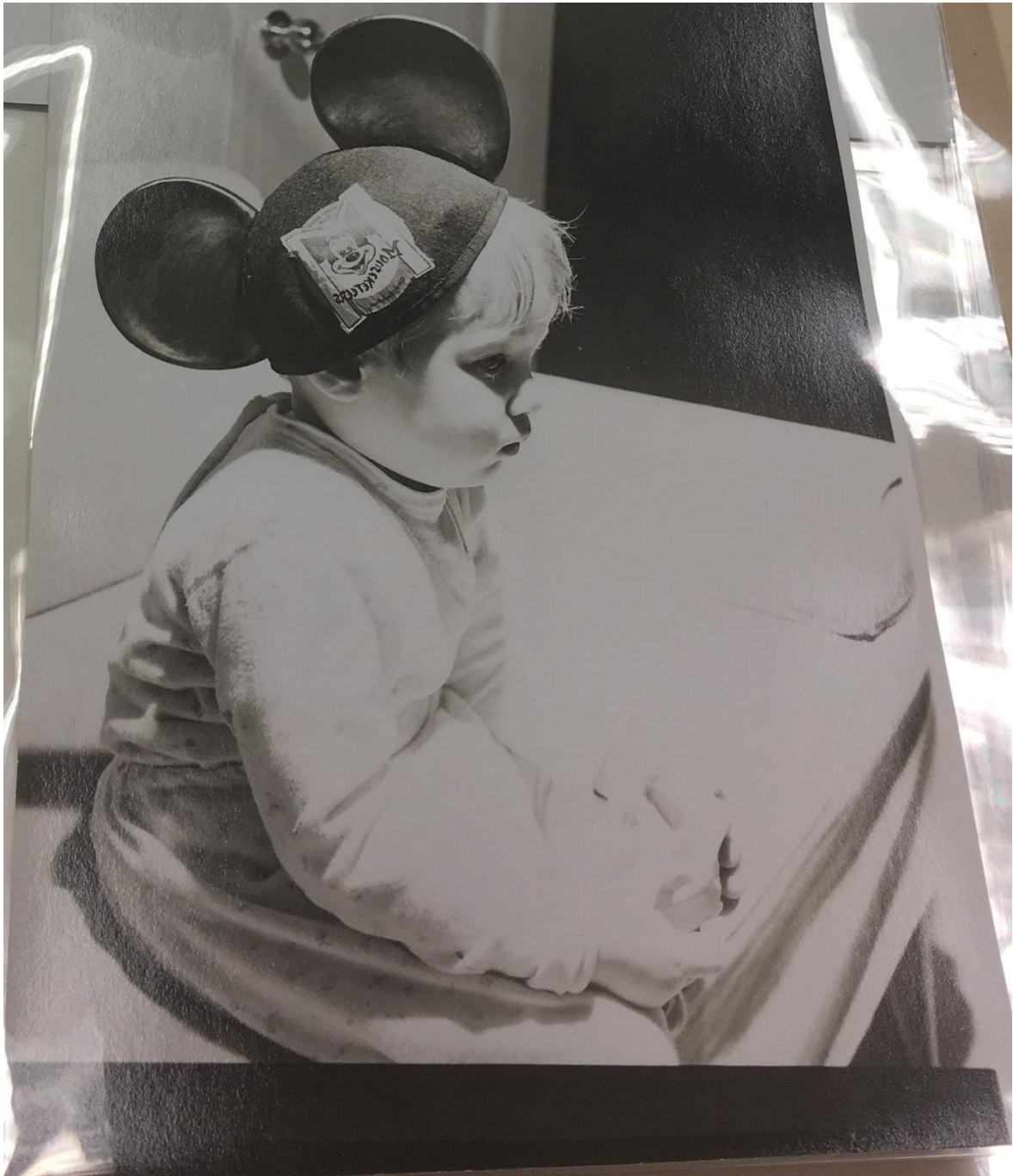


Figure 149



Figure 150



Figure 151



Figure 152



Figure. 153



Figure 154

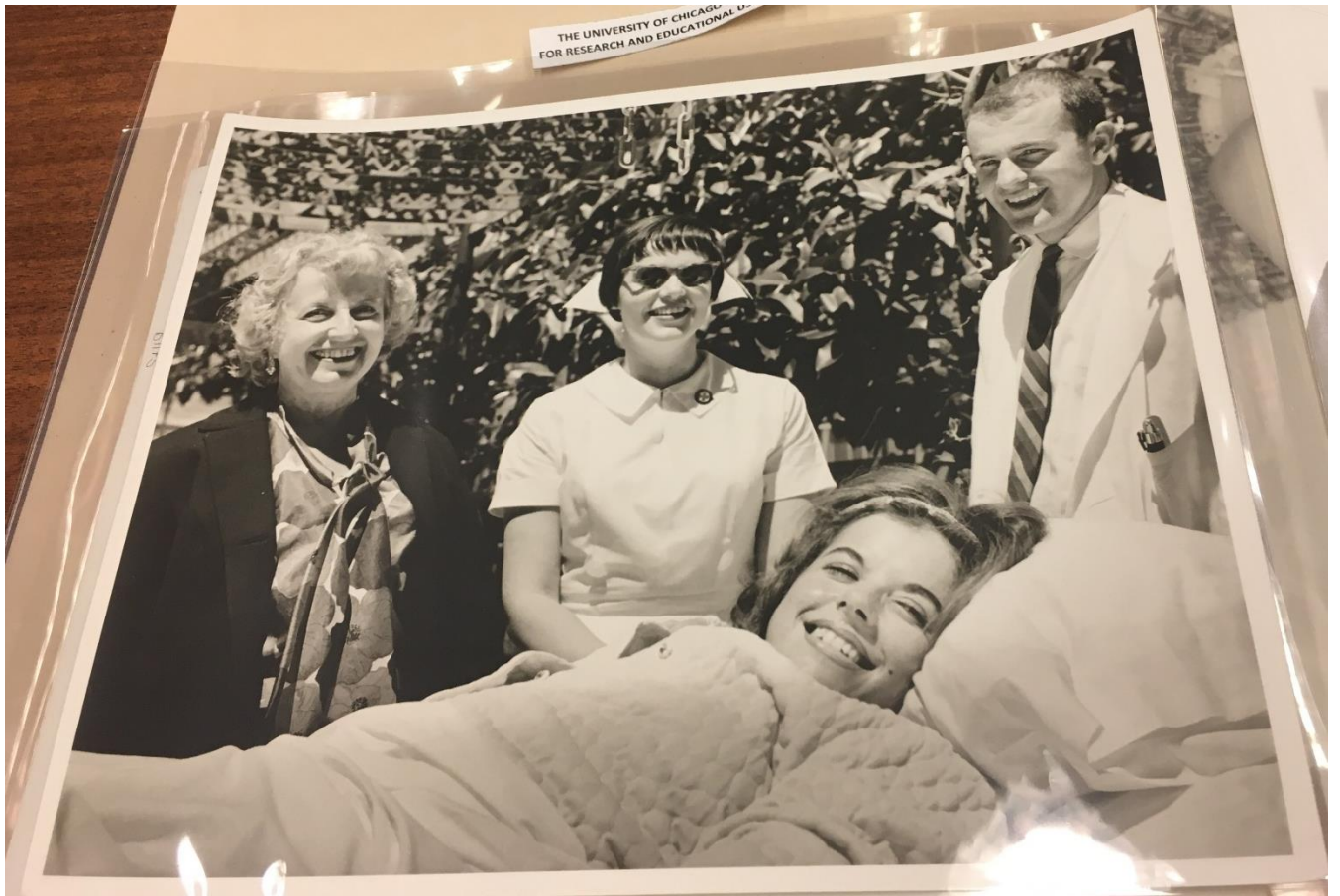


Figure 155



Figure 156

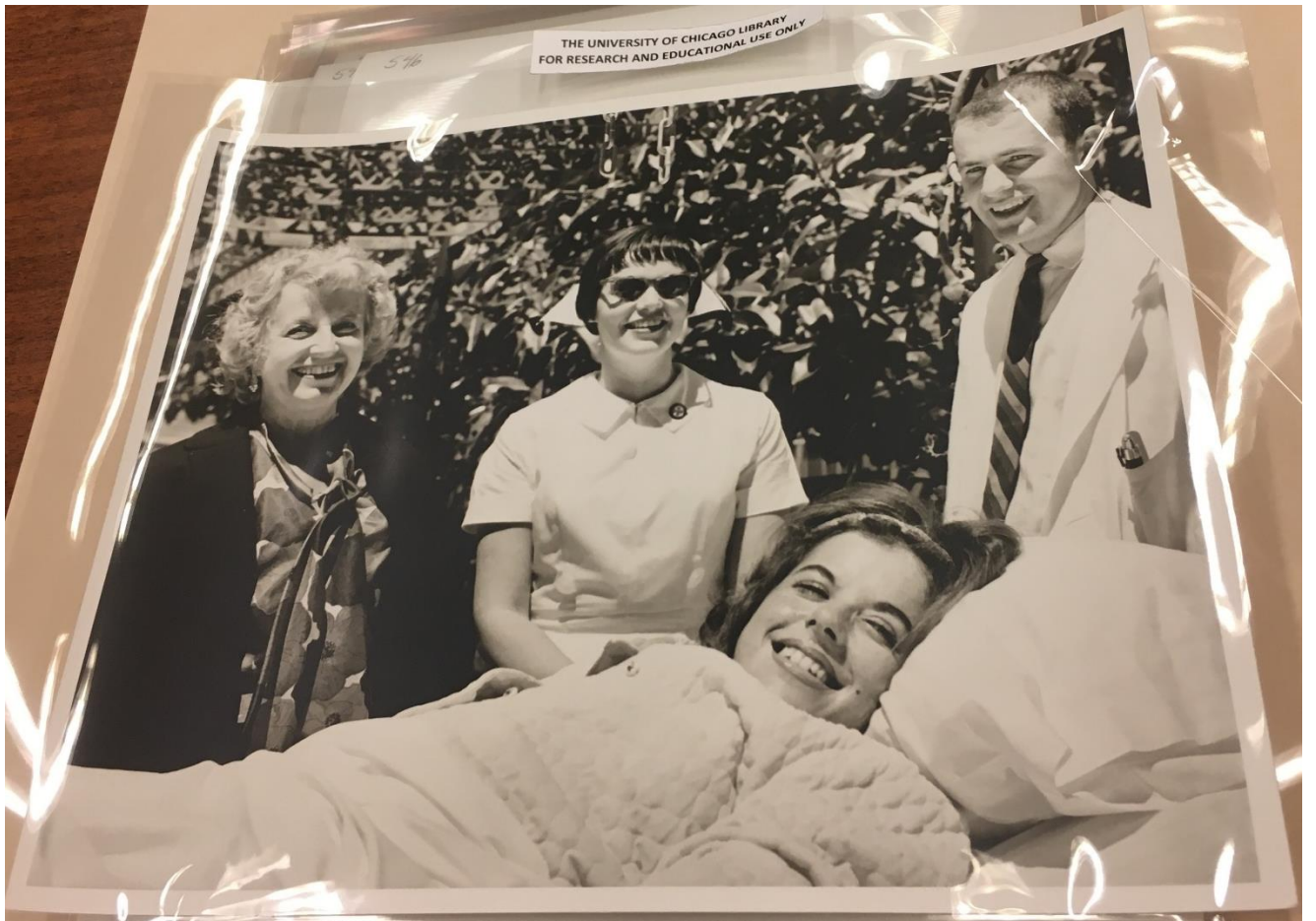


Figure 157



Figure 158

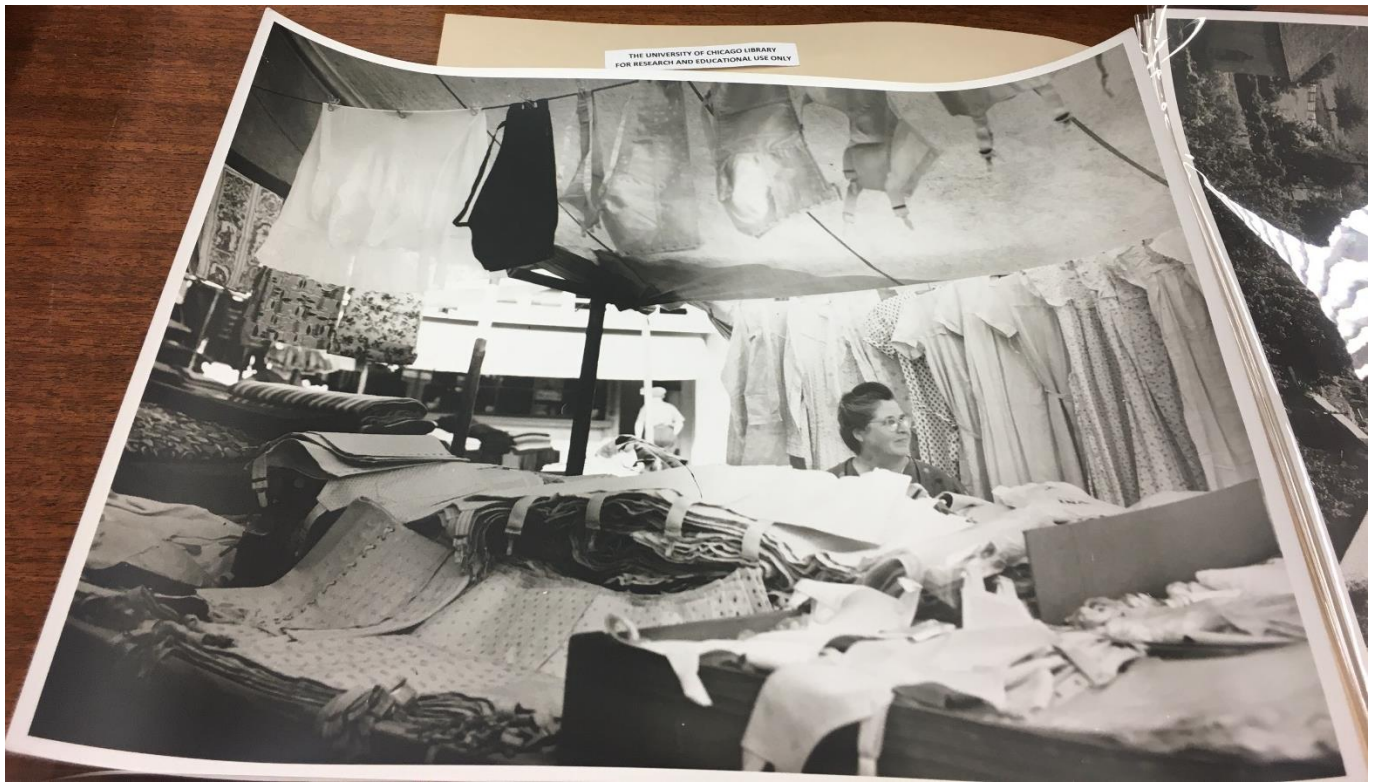


Figure 159

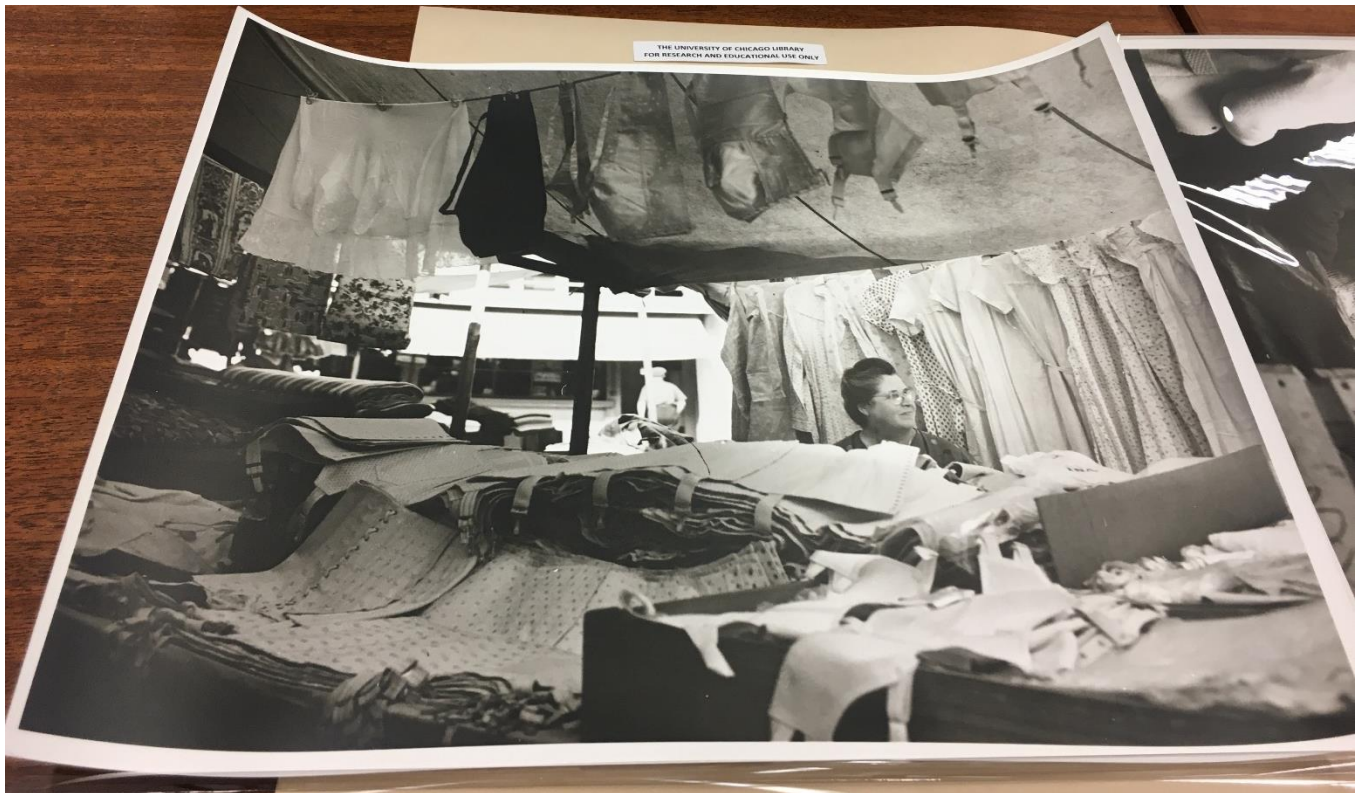


Figure 160



Figure 161



Figure 162



Figure 163



Figure 164

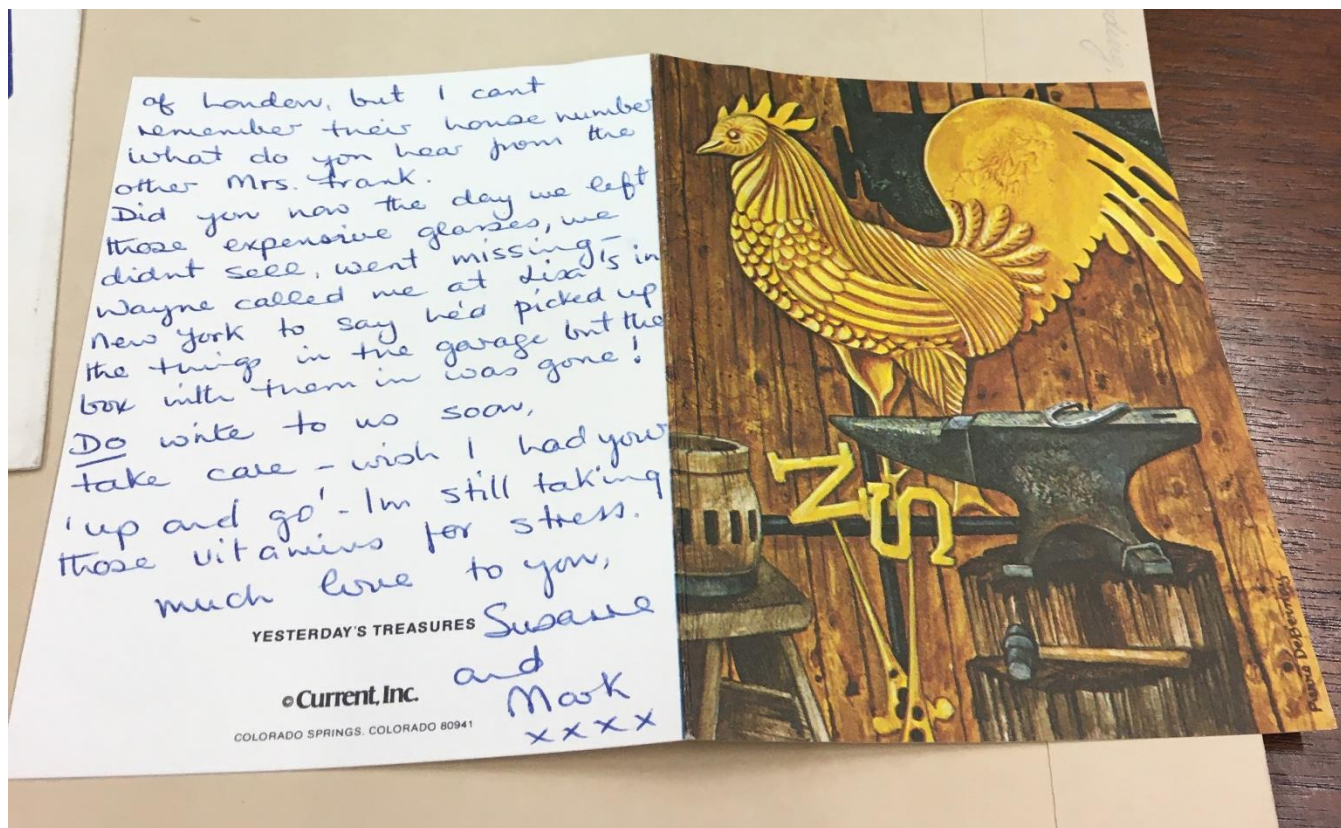


Figure 165

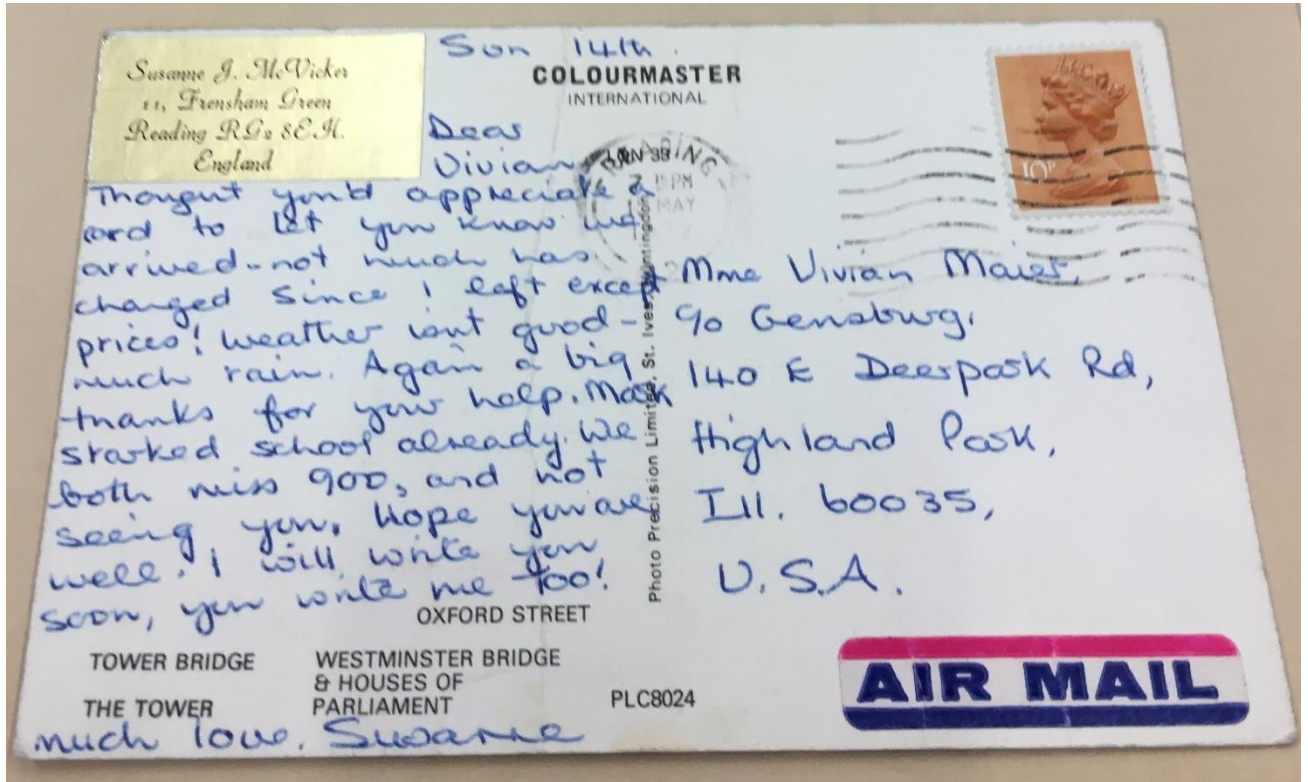


Figure 166

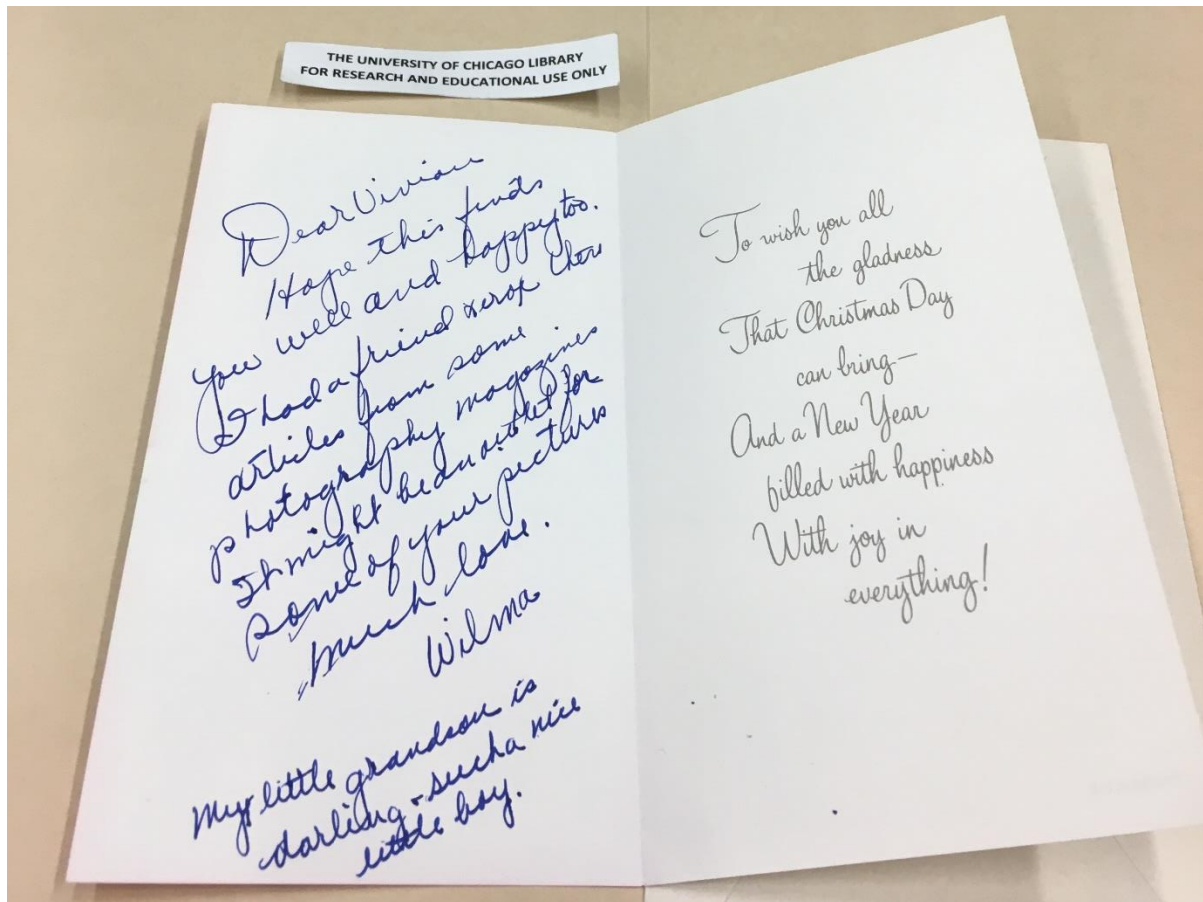


Figure 167



Figure 168



Figure 169

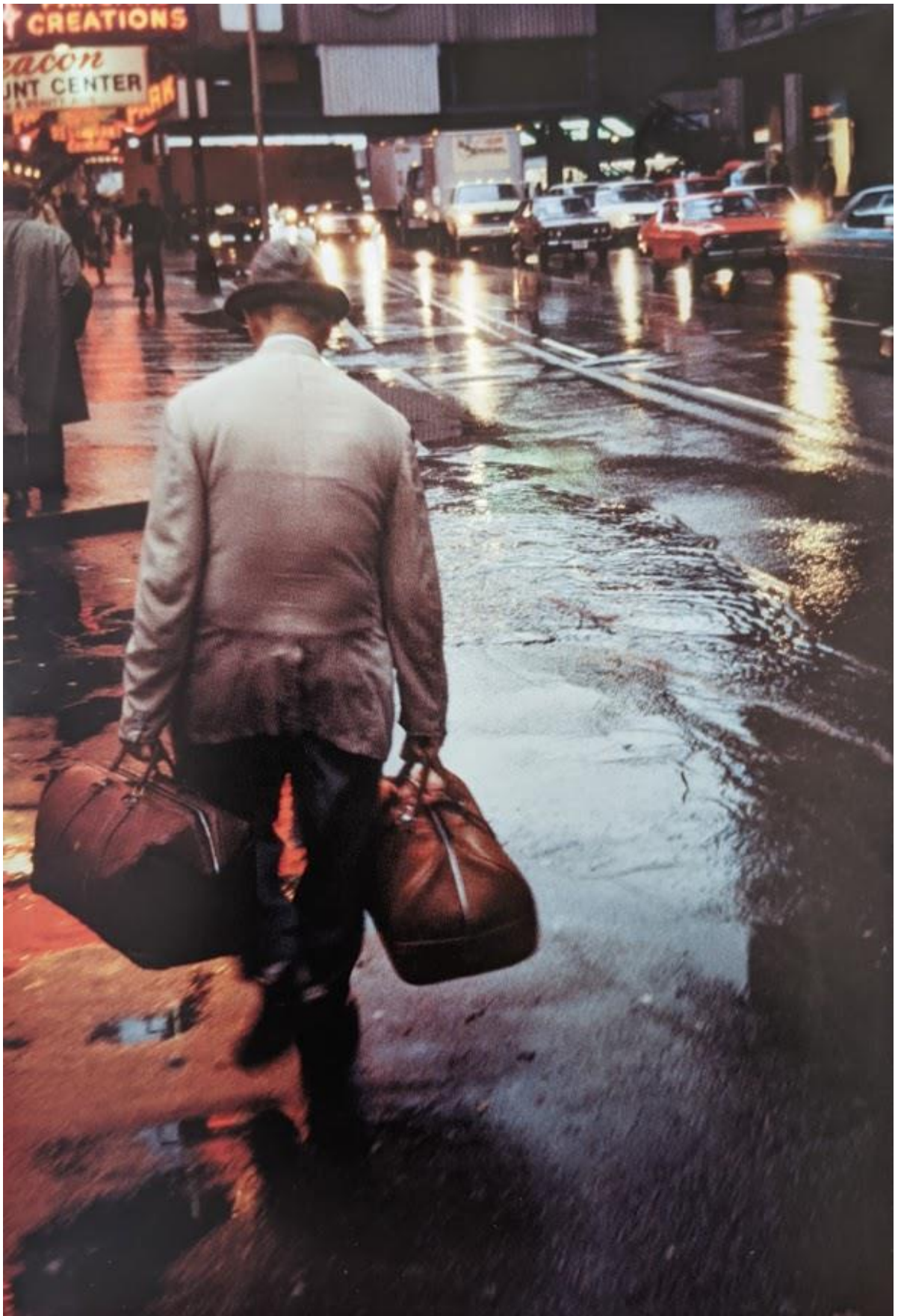


Figure 170



Figure 171



Figure 172



Figure 173



Figure 174



Figure 175

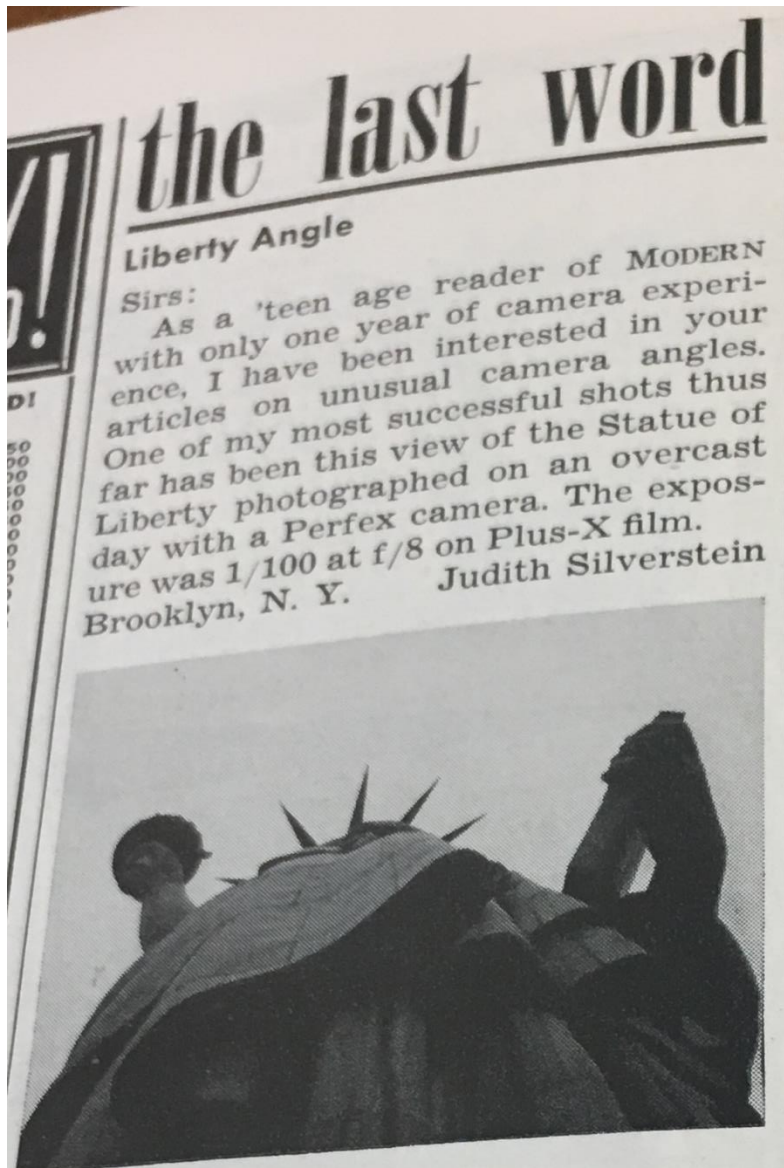


Figure 176



Figure 177



High Jinks

Here is a photograph I took in 1954 of cheerleader Phil Davenport on the roof of the High School at Mesa, Arizona. I could not resist the temptation of show-



Davenport over Mesa

ing you the amazing similarity (except for sex) to the picture by Martin Iger
Popular PHOTOGRAPHY

Figure 179



2 **PEAK ACTION**—the exciting moment of stillness at the height of this daredevil rooftop leap—was caught by Martin Iger at 1/400 second with a 4x5 Linhof and a 90-mm lens.

Figure 180

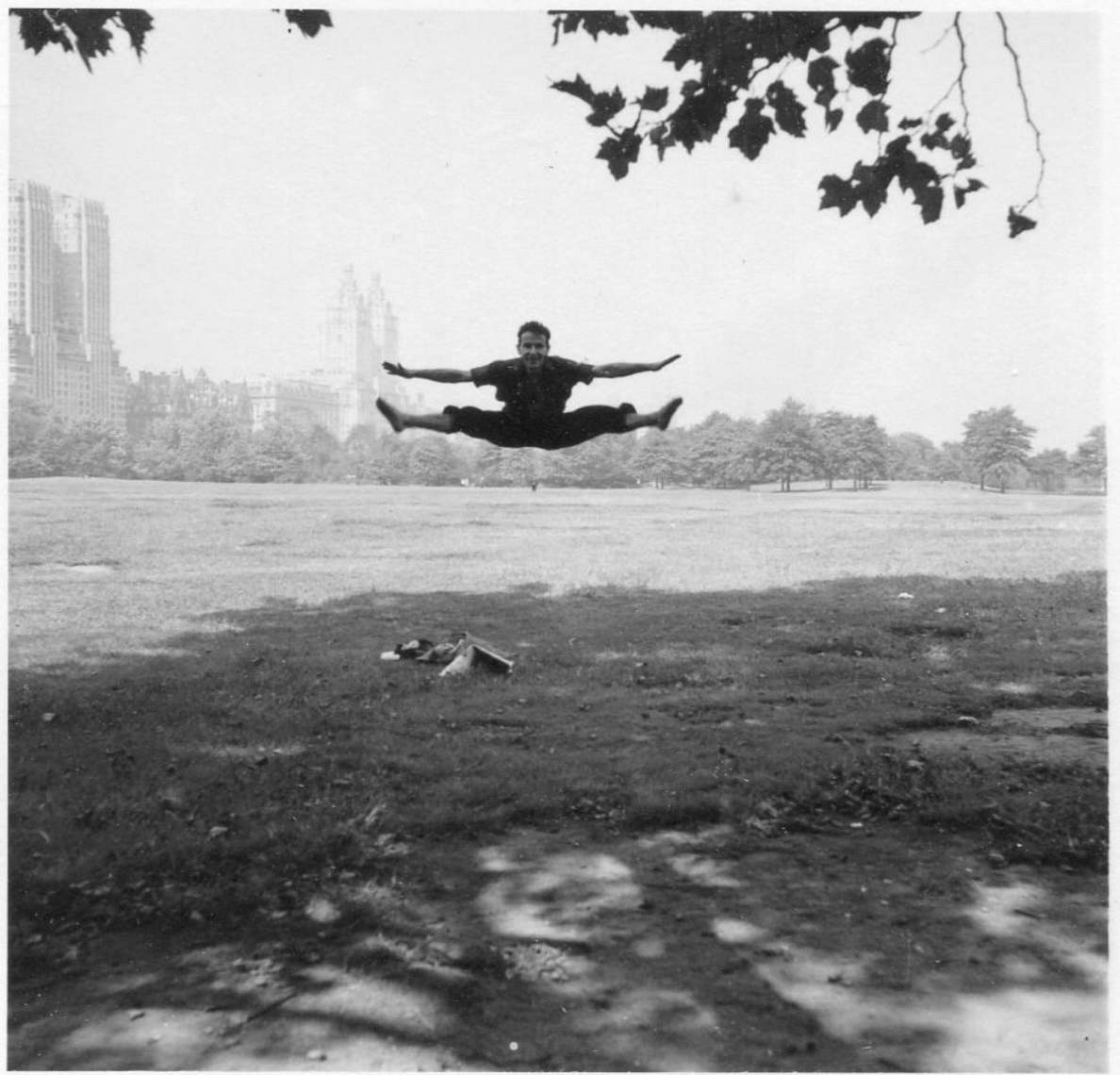


Figure 181

