

# General Introduction

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**Figure I.1** J. De Hoij, *Willem van de Velde Sketching a Sea Battle*, Oil on canvas, 91 x 118 cm, 1845. Courtesy of Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.

J. de Hoij's 1845 history painting, *Willem van de Velde Sketching a Sea Battle* (Fig. I.1), would appear to depict a Dutch master from an earlier century sketching a dramatic naval subject from life, yet its central allegorical drama asserts a more topical problem from its own mid-nineteenth century moment. De Hoij's

picture issued from his studio just as history painting came to be challenged by the lowly-illustrated press as the privileged platform for pictorial reportage. To the extent that we might consider it a history painting, the history it contends with is that of the news picture itself.<sup>1</sup> Painted six years after the announcement of photography's invention and three years after the launch of the first illustrated news weekly, the *Illustrated London News*, de Hoij's picture is, like this book, a meditation on the history of the practice of picturing the news, essayed at a moment when that practice is in a pronounced state of flux.<sup>2</sup>

De Hoij draws our attention to many of the major issues concerning the modern art of pictorial reporting. With sketchbook in hand, his subject, van de Velde, is intrepid as he gets close to the eventful scene. The two sites of action before him—the distant conflict of state powers figured in the background and the human-interest scenario that is its product advanced in the foreground—underscore the reporter's choice concerning what and how to observe and visually report a news item. De Hoij shows how the news is formed and selected rather than merely transcribed, while also suggesting a now familiar ethical critique of those who have pictured the news and favored observation over intervention.<sup>3</sup>

More interesting for our purposes, he also takes on the less-considered questions of medium and process and their appropriateness to a given subject in time. If de Hoij's tableau acknowledges the challenges of the "speed limits" of painting in the face of the onslaught of the news, it also recasts the painter as a sketch reporter. The viewer may be taking stock of the painter's work, but by depicting van de Velde drawing the news at a moment when lithography, wood-engraving, and photography were reshaping the public sphere, de Hoij also draws attention to the always historically specific means by which any artist figures the world outside the frame. At a moment of media transition characterized by the development of new modes of mechanical reproduction and dissemination, de Hoij flagged the question of a medium's historical suitability to its subject and thereby generated the kind of layered, historicized reflection about the production of news pictures taken up by this volume.

## Defining the subject

This collection of essays poses and attempts to answer the questions, "What is a news picture and how does it work?" These deceptively simple inquiries are motivated by our recognition of the extraordinary powers of this understudied visual field and of the complex cultural assumptions which structure and enable it. News pictures—simply, those pictures that *report* within the orbit of journalism—are predicated upon the difficult idea and desire that a picture's immediacy and ability to condense and concretize knowledge might offer its viewer a privileged relationship to an otherwise unknowable world. The essays in this volume scrutinize such claims, consider how they came to be naturalized, and ask how that naturalization bears upon the function of images within public life up until today. But our concern is not only epistemological. We are interested in how visual journalism has worked as a practice in different moments: what were its procedures of production, dissemination, and reception? How did each of these relate to ever-shifting technologies and ideas about time, space, and social relations as key vectors in defining the social formation we have come to call modernity? We believe that in our present moment we have so integrated news pictures into our everyday access to the world that we hardly pause to understand their operations, both as points of entry onto the present and as windows into the past. Because we employ news pictures as orienting tools, we rarely set them down and look more closely at their workings.

The twenty-first century decline of print journalism, the rise of the Internet, and the advent of digital photography suggest that our current moment presents an obvious turning point in the history not only of the news but also specifically of the news picture. A volume such as this one, accounting for its history until now, could thus not be timelier. We are experiencing major shifts in the organization of this field of activity without the advantage of any clear accounting for how it used to be. It is not unrelated that we also have now arrived at a moment of critical mass in the production of outstanding scholarship treating questions and issues relating to news pictures which this volume represents. Although the essays here address different periods, places, and subjects, they each address an overarching question that has, rather astonishingly, not yet been satisfactorily answered: how does a person with a sketchbook or a camera in one place work with the support of an enormous, highly sophisticated, and global infrastructure to offer both the visual evidence of and the explanation for the goings-on of the contemporary world to another person hundreds or even thousands of miles away?

As Andrew Pettegree has suggested in his recent history of the news, on the heels of the revolution in print from 1450 to 1530, the news became part of popular culture for the first time. By the age of the American and French Revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century, news began to play a role in shaping unfolding events. Pettegree concludes that “the age of mass media lay at hand.”<sup>4</sup> Yet, like so many histories of the news and the press that have preceded this recent volume, Pettegree does not really account for the key role played by the news picture in the development of news and mass media. We argue that verbal and visual journalism developed in tandem. Yet the advent of the penny press in Europe and America in the 1830s advanced the link between the two as never before. The speed of the presses extended the audience of the newspaper who sought information in both modes, while the “industrialization” of the presses made it possible to reproduce images in a timely manner and eventually alongside words. This volume seeks to properly historicize the media of visual journalism in their particulars as a material and a cultural practice. We consider news pictures as a class of images, chart its history, and define its attributes. By so doing, the essays collectively help account for—and thereby denaturalize—the way photography has come to dominate the visual culture of the news.

This investigation contributes to the rapidly expanding scholarly literature treating the informational and communication-oriented quality of modern visual experience, prompted by the consolidation of the field of “Visual Studies.”<sup>5</sup> Such a project assumes that it is important to focus on institutionalized and normative visual materials and practices, particularly where it has been the seemingly exceptional (or “avant-garde”) ones—typically those that disrupt or refuse the very possibility of instrumental communication—that have generally drawn the sharpest analytical attention.<sup>6</sup> Informational images, often bound up in commercial culture, have frequently been understood as being nothing if not always already banal and repetitive. Yet visual practices committed to the possibility of communication—and news pictures are more than emblematic here—have played too central a role in the organization of modern visual experience to be overlooked.

The news picture as an object of study operates across the boundaries that have traditionally divided the fields of art history, history, communications, and media studies. As such, understanding news pictures requires a willingness to work collaboratively across these fields, taking the lessons of each seriously and seeking to bring their respective strengths to bear on the subject rather than attempting to identify their particular blind spots. This volume therefore offers a fully interdisciplinary and intermedial approach.

At the heart of our undertaking, then, is an investment in the news picture on its own terms, as an important means of communication and information. This is a view which sits quite uncomfortably within

the history of art, the discipline conventionally held to be most competent in its engagement with the pictorial, but which often holds journalism at bay as mass culture at its very worst: a simple, compromised, and misleading form—precisely the very kind of thing to which art offers a corrective. Nonetheless it is our conviction that, as an object of study, the news picture has a great deal to offer art history. With surprising frequency, modern art history's most sanctioned artists have cut their teeth in journalism, and where they have not, they have structured their practice either in refusal of its terms or through sophisticated strategies of appropriation and parody. But for the terms of modern art's complex engagement with the world of news pictures to be properly understood, the very real complexity of that latter field must be brought into fuller view than disciplinary habit has so far allowed. Indeed careful study of the news picture often reveals cases where the very distinction between two categories is challenged.

Called “the storehouse of history” by one nineteenth-century pressman, news pictures provide an archive of unmistakable value to cultural historians. As scholars in all fields become more attendant to the importance of vernacular visual forms, they will no doubt turn to the image-archive of the past, made increasingly accessible through digitization and through the transfer of vast print collections to research centers. More scholars outside art history recognize that pictures must never be treated as open windows. This volume provides examples where the full complexity of these ostensibly and ideally “transparent” pictures is not only addressed, but also fully foregrounded. It thus offers a model for and a means by which current scholars might fruitfully approach news images as evidence. The essays consider the mechanisms and history of news pictures as objects of historical scrutiny themselves rather than merely as vehicles for the transmission of knowledge about the events depicted. It is undoubtedly the case that we could understand a nation's or an era's ideas of heroism and sacrifice, or notions of crime or celebrity, by using the news images as sources. But when we do, we will need a context through which to evaluate the material support and practices that engendered the creation of the evidence as visual evidence rather than merely as a vehicle to transmit past lived experience. Such an approach locates the news image in the history of image-making as well as in the history of the press and its practices. Images stand as evidence of a practice whose history included the construction of the very objects and subjects they claimed to merely represent. But we do not hold that this construction obscures an evidentiary worth; it simply shapes it. This book's perspective holds in view both the news seen through the lens *and* the refraction built into that lens in the process of its very making. We needn't refuse the one in order to intelligently consider the other.

## Defining the object

News pictures are images crafted with a commitment to transmit timely and reliable information held by journalists to be of consequence to a viewing public. News is information thought to be worthy of attention by those reporting it, with the idea that it will be of interest to the public they address.<sup>7</sup> While it has become conventional to categorize such exceptional instances as war, catastrophe, (natural or otherwise), and beginnings and endings (births and deaths) as news, our careful consideration of the press “archive” (the dailies, weeklies, newsreels, television broadcasts) has led us to cast a much wider net. To merely glance at the news is to find that its topics, as often as not, tend toward the commonplace and the everyday in sports, in fashion, and in the human-interest story. But whatever its subject, once generally known, news is thought to make an impact on those who learn about it—the news is a business, but at its best it is also a catalyst generating discourse, dialog, and debate about what matters in the present.

News pictures share with other kinds of images such as those generally considered “art” that they are visual expressions, but they are distinct in at least two important ways, both to do with their status as public images. First, they self-consciously embrace a privileged commitment to bearing some heightened metonymic visual relation to the world outside the picture—those places and occurrences deemed most salient to the framing of public discourse. The news picture’s optimal public is always the most generalized conceivable public; not the “art community” or the “photography community” or any given “counterpublic,” but rather the imagined total “public,” that might, through consensus, operate in the conduct and perpetuation of social life.<sup>8</sup> And second, its relation to its public, unlike that of art, is structured around the temporality of the short-term. Because its purpose is instrumental and timely, the natural life of a news picture (until it transmogrifies into an historical document, an icon and/or artwork, usually much later) inverts the temporal function of such things as museum-pictures. News pictures appear at the fastest possible clip given the historical conditions of circulation at any given moment: they are produced, circulated, and acted upon by their constituted publics as quickly as possible, and then are quickly and necessarily displaced, replaced, and often forgotten.

All news pictures begin with the interaction of an artist-reporter and an editorial team getting an ideally first-hand account in visual form to press. The power of the news image as news inheres in the assumption of the news artist’s presence on the scene. The significance of such presence or immediacy derives from the news picture’s promise to render a transparent account of the reported event. This value is eventually indisputably confirmed through photography where presence is the essential precondition for making the pictures, partially explaining the defining role photojournalism has come to play in the general enterprise of news picturing. Yet the richness of these images depends in surprising measure on the invariably complex nature of their grip on the truth.

Scholarly refutations of documentary veracity are too familiar to trouble with here. We prefer to accept the news picture’s evidentiary instability as a given condition: it is, as they say, not a bug but a feature. This tension inherent in the news picture makes its creation continually interesting to its intended audience who relies on such picturing as a key means of making sense of their own world. This world is one that invites individuals into a global collectivity by assuming the importance of knowing it far beyond the immediately sensible horizon, while also simultaneously constructing ways through which individuals learn to be alert to that same mechanism’s limits in delivering reality and the very partiality of such truth.<sup>9</sup> But that very pressure commands attention precisely because of the news picture’s pronounced informational burden. Indeed, the news picture plays the key role it does because it informs twice: whether photographic or otherwise, it offers news and immediately stands behind its claim by delivering “proof” of the surrounding news narrative through the testimonial power of the visual depiction.

## Picturing and modernity

A particularly important category of image with an enormously complex and unmistakably modern supporting infrastructure, the news picture stands at the crossroads of two elements that form collective identity in modernity: information and mechanical reproduction. It should not be overlooked that Baudelaire’s famous formulation of the modern observer, also described as “*the flâneur*,” is none other than Constantin Guys, whose work as a sketch reporter defined his modernity according to the famous French critic.<sup>10</sup> In considering the news picture, we also suggest that classic sociological accounts, such as that of Chicago School scholar, Robert Park, are important to keep in view since such interpretations

sought to define and describe the key role played by “the news” in what has come to be called “modernity”—however limited and provocative such a term might now be.<sup>11</sup> “Ours is an age of news,” Park wrote, “and one of the most important events . . . has been the rise of the reporter” whose purpose is “to orient man and society in an actual world.”<sup>12</sup> Park began his classic consideration of the social function of the news in the 1920s and 1930s during the key years when the press itself was undergoing profound change, in no small part triggered by an increasing emphasis on pictorial reporting allowed by the proliferation of the halftone in newspapers and magazines in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Park’s view of the news, despite the fact that he did not specifically concern himself with news pictures, was unconsciously inflected by this transformation and thus informs some of his key insights for the long-term power of news. Although transient and particular, news often survives, he noted, “. . . As a ghostly symbol of something of universal and perennial interest, an ideal representation of what is true of life and of human nature everywhere.”<sup>13</sup> This observation is steeped in visual reference. That Park’s discourse was so haunted by “representations” and “ghostly symbols” also reminds us that, during periods of significant media transition, where once a medium was so familiar as to be seemingly invisible, the introduction of new practices (such as the consolidation of the use of the halftone for photographic reproduction in the newspaper) brings such modes of representation at least momentarily into view.

The pictorial has long been a central metaphor and organizing principal of many accounts of the history of the news, and it is possible to trace a striking degree of continuity in the terms of its analysis across the longer history of the enterprise. Gisèle Freund, a German refugee living in Paris from the 1930s onward and writing in the 1970s, as the news magazine came to be eclipsed by TV news, analyzed the social role of photography in what remains one of the most insightful introductions to the subject:

Before the first press pictures, the ordinary man would visualize only those events that took place near him, on his street or in his village. Photography opened a window, as it were. The faces of public personalities became familiar and things that happened all over the globe were his to share. As the reader’s outlook expanded the world began to shrink.<sup>14</sup>

Freund’s vision of access to the world outside the viewer’s immediate experience summarizes much of the modern investment in the social function of the news, with vision and picturing as its guiding metaphors. She, however, zeroes in on photography as the key technology for effectively expanding the spatial range of what can be seen and therefore understood, whereas we seek a broader pictorial framing in this volume.<sup>15</sup>

We largely concur with Freund’s observations but for her attachment to the primacy of photography rather than to pictorial reporting more generally. For this reason, we turn to Freund’s contemporary across the Atlantic, journalist Walter Lippmann. Lippmann, concerned with the function of the press more generally, well understood the centrality of the visual to journalism’s project. In his landmark 1922 study, *Public Opinion*, written as the halftone and therefore the photographic image came to a point of full blown journalistic saturation, he defined the news as an attempt to mend of the gap between “the world outside and the picture in our heads.”<sup>16</sup> Like Freund, he claimed that news compensated for the lack of direct access to the entire world while also constructing that knowledge as essential. Lippmann wrote of democratic publics, “We shall assume that what each man does is based not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him.” Such pictures then offered distorted lenses rather than perfect ones; people filtered the truths they were offered by their own preconceived

notions and expectations.<sup>17</sup> For this reason Lippmann harbored particular anxiety about the power of news picturing's newly dominant medium, lamenting: "photographs have the kind of authority over imagination today, which the printed word had yesterday, and the spoken word before that."<sup>18</sup>

Directly aggravated by the propaganda cultures of World War I, Lippman's concerns were also a response to the onslaught of the pictorial press that exploded in the fifty years prior. Among the many earlier journalists declaring the power of news pictures, Mason Jackson, art editor at the *Illustrated London News*, described the history of the phenomenon in his influential 1885 work, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress*, written just as the halftone came to slowly threaten the wood engraving with journalistic obsolescence. This journalist, attached to advancing the fortunes of the picture press and those of his own paper, insisted that there existed a "Pictorial Taste Universal." Struck by the takeoff of the "illustrated" in his own era, Jackson's larger purpose in writing his book was to trace the even longer history of the picturing impulse in news, beginning in 1619 with the *Newes out of Holland*. Writing as he did before the common adoption of the halftone, and therefore before the reproduction of photographs in pictorial journalism, his interpretation reinforces that it was not photography as Freund would have it, but rather "the idea of illustrating the news of the day" by whatever means, that drove the expansion of the consumption of news in visual form.<sup>19</sup>

To leave aside the question of any given news form's topical content to attend instead to the relatively more stable news template itself, with its ever streamlining set of institutionalized protocols, is to discover a concentration of the forces associated most readily with modernity's project. From the impulse toward strategic universalization such as might render legible an otherwise inconceivably polyglot world, to the professionalized, globetrotting reporter who is that project's enabling proxy, the news picture trades unambiguously and aggressively in spectacle, contingency, commodification, humanitarianism, novelty, and even the aesthetics of medium reflexivity. These are the qualities that we not only associate with modernity but also which in fact constitute the condition that goes by that name. Mass visual media transmitted to its audiences a form of displacement—a displacement via the image—that paralleled the real-world displacement of the reporter, whose journey, made possible by mechanized transport, lay at the heart of the imperial dreams and myths of the modern world. The news picture and the mechanized transport through which it trafficked functioned as crucial contributing agents to the process that we call globalization today.

The modernity of the news derives in one key respect from its dependence on novel mechanisms of information-gathering and dissemination that were deeply tied to more general demands of the "modern mind." Writing for a new generation—really the first generation—of photographic news professionals in 1939, news editor Laura Vitray, photographer John Mills, Jr., and journalism professor Roscoe Ellard defined the newspaper's quintessential modernity: "The development of modern photographic and engraving processes might not have been so rapid and so amazing if what they had to offer had not so well answered the demand of the modern mind . . ." which they cast as an insatiable desire for fast knowledge at a distance.<sup>20</sup> Of course in the mid-nineteenth century, photography was anything but fast. Rather, sketching and engraving set the pace and were (almost) as fast as the modern mind might require.

Yet, there is little doubt that steam-powered, electric, and digital reproduction methods have provided the material support for the constitution of an "imagined community" through cheap and easy image production and distribution.<sup>21</sup> The shared consumption of such images forged and continues to forge a new basis of community made among strangers. Bluntly: images have always instructed and informed, but the period from the nineteenth century forward in the Western world finds their role fundamentally transformed. Where once the audience had to go to the image (to see a fresco by Giotto, for example) the image now

arrived at the neighborhood saloon, at one's doorstep, or eventually on a laptop. The support through which the news is communicated not only determines its relative social force but it also contains within it its own particular sense of temporality that defines an event as being in the present and even comes to define what the "present" might mean. Indeed, news pictures might be understood to visually construct every notion of contemporaneity that we might presume to enjoy.<sup>22</sup> Breaking stories streaming through our smartphones operate in a different temporal register than long-form investigative pieces in the pages of weeklies and monthlies. All these temporalities, however, stand for "news time," which also stands for what we can know of our present moment. Form structures the meaning and content of the news.<sup>23</sup>

The pictorial reporter's conduct raises issues about modern ethics: his and ours. On the one hand, the reporter is our professional voyeur and parasite whose commitment to reporting transcends the obligation to act in a newsworthy situation with anything other than the act of making a picture. The reporter's pursuit of the seemingly spontaneous and unstaged image stands in complex relation to his service in assuring democratic transparency. Additionally, the news depends on speed as a guarantor of transparency. How fast and how fully news pictures circulate is dependent on both the material limits of technology as well as on the social investment in either their dissemination or occlusion. Censorship can act as a powerful drag just as the velocity of a mode of transport can hinder or hasten the production and reception of an image.

In the mid-twentieth century, Daniel Boorstin observed the invention of the "pseudo-event"—experience performed in order that it be observed and pictured.<sup>24</sup> This formulation, however, overemphasizes the way modern life is contrived when really what delivers a newsworthy image is the pseudo-event rendered spectacular by fortune, good and bad, in which timing and luck frame the perfect news picture. In Boorstin's planned and organized world, contingency becomes thrilling. Clothing manufacturer Abraham Zapruder, who filmed John F. Kennedy's assassination, is the exemplar of pointing a camera in the right direction at the right time. Contingent events become narratives in the news whose unfolding assures their following by a loyal audience eager to see how things will turn out. This can develop in short and long temporal arcs. Soon after the event, *LIFE* magazine published the original amateur film slowed down as a photo essay so that readers might linger over that remarkable instant. Likewise, this moment has been indefinitely extended, most familiarly by the on-camera murder of Lee Harvey Oswald at the hands of Jack Ruby. Subsequently, it has been sustained by an obsessive investigation into the material condition of the film itself (there are claims that the film as developed is missing certain frames), which has kept these news pictures in view, and still news.<sup>25</sup>

Zapruder's status as an amateur, a reporter by happenstance, introduces the question of the specific competencies of professional makers of news pictures. From the artist to the editor, to the engravers, to the darkroom staff and now the IT team and web designer, a host of professionals have come on the scene to attend to the endless demands of the production of news pictures. Despite all efforts to professionalize, however, from guild memberships, journalism schools, and concepts such as the decisive moment held by professionals as their special competency, news picturing will always also require an access to the contingent and unexpected that cannot be anticipated. So much news picturing, whichever the pictorial technology in play, rests on a lucky shot.

The professionalization of the press is also part of its commercial logic. The news media is in the business of selling information, and news pictures have been one of its most valuable commodities. Capitalism demands new products and so the news, like fashion, runs on built-in obsolescence. The press constantly replenishes its supply of novelty, which is cut from the same old cloth. Newness also comes through the spectacle of technological change in the forms of such developments as wire transmission, rotary presses, innovation in cameras, faster film, color printing, and digital processing.

The most readily apparent technological change may also be the most important one—that concerning the very medium by which the news picture is figured. Like the history of news pictures, then, this volume represents painting, sketching, caricature, and engravings alongside the diverse array of photographic practices that emerge, combine and recombine in a cumulative ensemble of representational strategies. Newsreaders constantly encounter new pictorial media and adjust to them. Old pictorial media never quite die. Such media instability draws attention to the form of news while also continually reinventing what might indeed constitute the news in the first place.

It behooves us as historians to be as attentive to these matters as the consumers of news pictures always have been. We insist that we set aside the catalog of insults hurled in the direction of news pictures which has included charges that they threatened to displace the hallowed literary tradition of the press, that they willfully distorted the facts in favor of formal concerns, that pictures simplified complex narratives, that they were favored by the uniformed huddled masses and, worse, that papers used them as sales tools rather than in the service of providing better information. This prejudice has so endured into our own era that many of the same objections persist even among those scholars interested in both the history of the press and the power of images. In order to challenge such perspectives, we believe we need to free ourselves from the assumptions and values of the divisions of knowledge that have relegated news pictures to the dustbins of history.<sup>26</sup> The essays in this volume do just that.

For too long our scholarship has also advanced based on the assumption of the naïve consumer of news pictures, who has been subdued by an industry responsible for providing those pictures. Newsreaders have been more sharp-eyed than they have been credited with, and the makers of news pictures have always contended with knowledge of audience savvy. Getting the picture requires that we acknowledge the complex relation between image-production and reception and that we fully integrate the historical conditions, values and practices described in this volume into our interpretations of the visual culture of the news.

## Notes

- 1 On contemporary history painting's brief flourishing and its relation to the news picture, see Edgar Wind, "Revolution in History Painting," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2.2 (1938): 116–27.
- 2 On the shifting conditions of visual journalism today, see Fred Ritchin, *Bending the Frame* (New York: Aperture, 2013).
- 3 For one recent discussion of this critique, see Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).
- 4 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of the News. How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014): 2.
- 5 For a cogent overview of the heterogeneous field of "Visual Studies," see Keith Moxey, "Visual Studies and the Iconic Turn," *Journal of Visual Culture* 7.2 (2008): 131–46.
- 6 See Johanna Drucker, "Who's Afraid of Visual Culture?" *Art Journal* 58.4 (Winter 1999): 37–47.
- 7 "News" is notoriously difficult to define. See Bernard Roshco, "Newsmaking [1975]," in ed., Howard Tumber, *News: A Reader* (New York: Oxford, 1999): 32–6.
- 8 On the concept of a "public," see Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics," *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 49–90.
- 9 Public controversies surrounding Arthur Rothstein's notorious skull in the 1930s are suggestive in this respect. See also ed. Mia Fineman, *Faking It: Manipulated Photography before Photoshop* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 2012).

- 10 Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Translated by Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1995).
- 11 Robert E. Park, "The Natural History of the Newspaper," *The American Journal of Sociology* V. XXIX, n. 3 (November 1923): 273–89 and "News as a Form of Knowledge: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology* 45.5 (March 1940): 669–86.
- 12 Park, "News as a Form of Knowledge": 686 and 669, respectively.
- 13 Park, "News as a Form of Knowledge": 681.
- 14 Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: Godine Press, 1980): 103.
- 15 See Christian Caujolle and Mary Panzer, eds, *Things as They Are. Photojournalism in Context Since 1955* (New York: Aperture, 2005) for an excellent survey of photojournalism.
- 16 Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: MacMillan, 1922): 3.
- 17 Lippmann, *Public Opinion*: 25.
- 18 Lippmann, *Public Opinion*: 92.
- 19 Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origins and Progress* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1885): 1 and 284, respectively.
- 20 Laura Vitray, John Mills, Jr. and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939): 4.
- 21 See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991); and James Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Communication and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hymen, 1989).
- 22 See Terry Smith, "Our Contemporaneity," in Alexander Dumbadze and Suzanne Hudson, eds, *Contemporary Art: 1989 to the Present* (Chichester, West Sussex : Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 17–27.
- 23 Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News* (NY: Guilford Press, 2001).
- 24 Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1971).
- 25 David Lubin, *Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- 26 One special challenge to this field of study has been the wholesale pulping of historical newspapers in favor of space-saving but image-destroying microfilm. See Nicholson Baker, *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (London: Vintage, 2002).