ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PHOTOJOURNALISM EDUCATION: BRINGING THE BLUE-APRON GHETTO TO AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF JOURNALISM

Stanton M. Paddock, Doctor of Philosophy, 2017

Dissertation directed by: Dr. Ira Chinoy
Philip Merrill College of Journalism,
University of Maryland

As journalism educators wrestle to keep programs up-to-date in an evolving news landscape, there is value in understanding how education in an early form of multimedia journalism — photography — came to be. Little attention has been paid to the intersection of journalism education and photojournalism. This subject furnishes a unique perspective on photojournalism's professionalization. This dissertation examines the history of university-level photojournalism education in the early and mid 20th century by asking what influenced the creation, diffusion, and adoption of photojournalism pedagogy in American higher education and what the consequences were.

Neo-institutional theory's focus on legitimacy supports exploration of evolving organizational norms in photojournalism education. Contemporary writings on higher education, journalism education, and photojournalism reveal important environmental conditions. Shifting educational principles are tracked via records of

journalism education groups. Analysis of textbooks elucidates evolving practices and opinions. Archival case studies of journalism programs at the University of Maryland and the University of Georgia provide detailed examples of evolving approaches to photojournalism education.

Illuminated are deep-seated issues: the struggle for legitimacy, tension between practical skills and critical thinking, and the relationship between textual and visual journalism. Efforts to establish photojournalism education occurred well after the establishment of textual journalism education. Both faced similar challenges, including concerns about skill-based learning in higher education. But photojournalism education's acceptance was initially hindered because it clashed with journalism education's hard-won image as suitable in liberal arts institutions. Later, rapid expansion of interest in providing photojournalism courses promoted homogenization. The changing environment featured constant uncertainty. This perpetuated isomorphism in which the initial range of approaches narrowed and photojournalism offerings became more alike.

This dissertation concludes that choices at both the local and national levels in photojournalism education were made to project outward legitimacy. The resulting curricula were not necessarily the best, most useful, efficient, or practical. Local factors — staffing, accreditation, location, mission, school type, and receptivity to innovation — were influential. Wider environmental factors also played a role as journalism education was institutionalized. Today, in facing the challenge of incorporating new reporting methods, journalism educators must recognize the wide variety of factors and influences that may be involved.

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF

PHOTOJOURNALISM EDUCATION:

BRINGING THE BLUE-APRON GHETTO TO

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF JOURNALISM

By

Stanton M. Paddock

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2017

Advisory Committee:

    Professor Ira Chinoy, Chair
    Professor Kalyani Chadha
    Professor Helene Cohen
    Professor Linda Steiner
    Professor Daryle Williams

Preface

Nearly two decades have passed since my first step into the world of photojournalism. I was hooked from day one and I spent the next ten years as a photojournalist. This took me across the country and around the globe. As the love affair began, I was unsettled by the normalcy of the newsroom pecking order which placed photographers subservient to writers. I ruffled feathers more than once pushing back against the justification for the hierarchy of "that's just how it's done."

After my time as a working professional, I spent next decade, leading up to the completion of this dissertation, trying to do something about the hierarchy. As a journalism teacher, I sought to improve photojournalists' professional status by coaching visual journalists and teaching visual literacy even to those who would not be visual producers. And as this dissertation is a testament, this work also drives my scholarly life.

Like Aristotle's quest in *Metaphysics* to trace cause and effect to the fountainhead, as a cub graduate student I set out searching for the basis of modern newsroom practice and behavior regarding photojournalism. After the requisite false starts, this eventually led me to photojournalism education. I located university-level photojournalism education's starting point, sometime between 1930 and 1932 — dependent on how the practice is defined. This was preceded by informal and makeshift photography education with a journalistic slant going back to the late 1800s. This is where trail grew cold. I suspect the correlation in status between word and image goes all the way back to ancient Egyptian scribes, who wrote and

created objects of beauty. Status is relative — it can only be expressed in relation to something else — and zero sum — the gains of one party mean an equal loss from another party. The moment that creating beauty and conveying information separated is when the unequal positioning between words and visuals began.

I have done my best to connect the dots of available sources in the following chapters. The past is complex and sources limited. In the process of this dissertation I have come to realize histories ought to be written in the conditional verb tense. Explanations of the data *could* be correct, or they *might* not be. This is a far cry from the definitive statement I thought I was looking for when I began the project. Tracking my changing line of thought through the dissertation process provides insight into varying perceptions of what history is and what history can do.

I began with the popular impression of history: it is the full past, it is concrete, it is fully knowable if only we can trace the chains of causes and effects. My first revelation was that a "first mover" does not exist — or at least is buried so far in the past as to be essentially non-existent. Cause-and-effect chains cannot be traced back to a beginning. Rather, they just get thinner until no longer visible. The more one digs, the more one finds, ad infinitum. Looking back on my thought process over years past, I see my initial narrow focus seeking *the* thing that created photojournalism education held me back.

This realization was a slow process. I began with the idea of investigating journalism education's role in forming newsroom behaviors and beliefs. After some time and effort, I realized this was not a one-way flow. The journalism industry and journalism education mutually influenced each other. I thought this light-bulb

moment would carry me through, but I was frustrated when I still could not get all my available pieces to fit into this bidirectional model. It was only when I gave up on finding the definitive answer that this project moved forward. Eventually, I recognized a multitude of interlocking explanations and became content that I could never know them all. Like a biological species, photojournalism education developed organically in its ecosystem. There are reasons for every aspect of its being, but these reasons are not completely knowable.

An argument could be made that the reason there is no full answer to explaining the development of photojournalism education is because the topic is too broad. Conceivably, I could have bitten off a smaller chunk and taken less time in researching and writing this dissertation. But a more narrowly aimed thesis would not have worked. There is so little work on photojournalism education history that a new small piece of research cannot be attached to a larger tapestry. I believe this dissertation provides a rough-drawn map for future and more detailed work on the topic of photojournalism education history. Hopefully future scholars will not be faced with quite the same dilemma.

The More Things Change…

1889 — "This is essentially an age of pictorial journalism."[1]

1934 — "This is the age of stories in pictures."[2]

1950 — "We live in a visual world."[3]

2013 — "We live in a visual age: an age of pictures."[4]

---

1   Thomas Campbell Copeland, "Newspaper Illustrations," in *The Ladder of Journalism. How to Climb It* (New York: Allan Forman, 1889): 73.

2   Lewis W. Hunt, *Displaying the News: A Desk Manual in Newspaper Technique, with Practice Sheets in Copy Reading and Headline Writing* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1934): 69.

3   *Complete Book of Press Photography* (New York: National Press Photographers Association, 1950): 8.

4   Klaus Sachs-Hombach and Klaus Rehkämper in James Elkins, *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013): 130.

Dedication

In memory of David Schneider Paddock, a great believer in education,

whose favorite quote is inscribed above the west entrance of

Norlan Library at the University of Colorado Boulder:

"Who knows only his own generation remains always a child."[5]

---

5   This phrasing is original to former president of the University of Colorado Dr. George Norlin, but it echoes classical authors of past millennia. For example, Marcus Tullius Cicero's Orator (Chapter XXXIV [section 120], 46 B.C.E.) reads, "Nescire autem quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Quid enim est aetas hominis, nisi ea memoria rerum veterum cum superiorum aetate contexitur?" Which translates as, "To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child. For what is the worth of human life, unless it be woven into the life of our ancestors by the records of history?"

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to my parents for encouraging me no matter what, even if that included becoming a permanent student. This dissertation began long ago when my father told me I might like being a professor. In the intervening years, I tried other professions yet here I landed. I owe a special debt to Ibu, who gave me my first camera, as well as the second and third!

The librarians and archivists at the Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and the Special Collections Library at the University of Maryland helped me find what I was looking for and pointed me to materials I had not considered. The Library of Congress librarians kindly hid me in cold storage so I could photograph old textbooks. Kirsten Bryan Carpentier gave permission to open Jack Yeaman Bryan's personal papers. Former University of Maryland photojournalism professors Al Danegger and Philip Geraci provided invaluable hours of interviews.

The first years of graduate school would not have been possible without the support and comradery of my colleagues: Jing, Andrew, Ray, and Rich of the "mighty fine oh nine"; Michael, Kim, Stine, Merrilee, Jeff, Woody, Jim, Elia, Klive, and Jacqueline. I am grateful that my first experience as a journalism educator was with the other two thirds of the "slice" triumvirate, Nina Pino and Tim Jacobsen and our no-nonsense leader Steve Crane. A special thanks to Lee Thornton who inspired all her students to be better teachers.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AASDJ — American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism

AATJ   — American Association of Teachers of Journalism

ACEJ   — American Council for Education in Journalism

AEJ   — Association for Education in Journalism

AEJMC — Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

ANPA   — American Newspaper Publishers Association

ASJSA   — The American Society of Journalism School Administrators

ASNE   — American Society of Newspaper Editors

CEJ   — Council on Education for Journalism

DJPR   — Department of Journalism and Public Relations, University of Maryland

NPPA   — National Press Photographers Association

UGA   — University of Georgia, Athens

UMD   — University of Maryland, College Park

Chapter I

Introduction

The first step in this dissertation was pure happenstance. My senior year of high school required a short internship to graduate. Being young and unfocused, I was unable to come up with my own ideas, so my advisor flipped open the phone book at random. His finger landed on an ad for the local newspaper. Could I write? No. Could I sell advertisements? No. Could I take pictures? Yes! I had two photography classes under my belt and knew the basics of cameras and darkrooms. A few phone calls later and I had a two-week internship in the photo department of the *Longmont Times-Call* in Longmont, Colorado.

The energy and hum of the newsroom was intoxicating. The first day I shadowed the chief photographer, Patrick. We made a quick portrait of a longtime local restaurateur, spent a few hours hunting for a feature photograph, and had a cinnamon bun at a truck stop. On the way back to the office, a car swerved across the median, through incoming traffic, hopped the curb, and came to rest against a tree. Patrick told me to get out and check on the driver. He went up the block call for help at a pay phone. As he pulled away, Patrick tossed my camera bag out the window, "you might need this," he said.

So, there I was, a seventeen year old on my first day out of school, and I was alone at the scene of a car accident. The driver was unhurt but shaking uncontrollably from what turned out to be diabetic shock. He pointed to a plastic bag of sugar pills

on the passenger floor, and by the time I heard the sirens approaching he was already back to normal.

Patrick returned, picked me up and we headed back to the newsroom. His first question was, "did you get a shot?" I was so full of adrenaline that I had completely forgotten about the camera! On my first piece of spot news I came back empty-handed. It was not an auspicious start to a career in news photography. However, the job hooked me from the very first day.

I have another memory from those two weeks at the *Times-Call* of which I took little note at the time. It would, more than a decade later, push me to begin this dissertation. I was shadowing a staff photographer named Jeff. We picked up our daily assignment sheets and drove just outside of town to meet a writer working on a profile of a rancher selling his land to developers. The writer introduced us to the rancher: "this is my shooter, Jeff, and his intern." Jeff rolled his eyes, and got down to work. On the drive back to town he was grumbling about "What did that writer mean by 'my' shooter? I don't work for him. And 'shooter'? No, I'm a *photojournalist*."

Although I did not realize it at the time, this was my first exposure to an unwritten newsroom hierarchy. The writers — and by extension the editors, who by and large rise through the ranks on the text side — viewed themselves as elite, educated professionals. Photographers inhabited a different space. They were closer to tradespeople than professional equals. They were to be used and directed. Physical

representation of this divide was the separation between the newsroom and the darkroom, affectionately known as the "blue-apron ghetto."[6]

This inequity exists despite more than a century of the acknowledged importance of images to news. Decade after decade since at least 1889, cultural observers noted that the present moment was a visual age.[7] Yet despite the centrality of images, photojournalists continue to inhabit a second-class position. There is a disparity between the importance of the visual news content — photojournalism images — and the importance of the visual news content producer — photojournalists.

A version of this paradox also exists outside of newsrooms in the wider culture. The public image of news photographers is at once celebrated and derided. On one hand, the profession is romantically imagined paralleling the life of the *National Geographic* photographer played by Clint Eastwood in *Bridges of Madison County*. At the same time, a general anti-media sentiment lumps all news photographers under the derogatory heading of "paparazzi."

Over the years, I found several responses from photojournalists to this incongruity. Some ignored it, some accepted and believed it, and others fought back. This last group was unwilling to have their hard work, and thus their value in the

---

6   Kevin G. Barnhurst, "Curriculum and Instruction in Visual Communication," *Journalism Educator* 46, no. 1 (1991): 5.

7   Thomas Campbell Copeland, "Newspaper Illustrations," in *The Ladder of Journalism. How to Climb It* (New York: Allan Forman, 1889): 73; Lewis W. Hunt, *Displaying the News: A Desk Manual in Newspaper Technique, with Practice Sheets in Copy Reading and Headline Writing* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1934): 69; *Complete Book of Press Photography* (New York: National Press Photographers Association, 1950): 8; Klaus Sachs-Hombach and Klaus Rehkämper in James Elkins, *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013): 130.

newsroom, set on a lower rung. Bristling at the language used by reporters toward photographers may seem petty. But the hierarchy played out in a much more serious way in the mid- and late-2000s when media organizations began shedding jobs and making cuts. Photo departments were routinely the first on the chopping block. Why? First, photography is expensive. And second, photographers were deemed to be less important. It is cheaper to put consumer-grade cameras into the hands of reporters than pay salaries for photojournalists. The financial consideration is coupled with the belief that a reporter can easily be trained to do a photojournalist's job, but the reverse is not true. The ubiquitous camera-enabled smartphone in the hands of reporters and the public has only further exacerbated this trend.

Why does this hierarchy exist? Where did it come from? Is it the best way to organize a newsroom, or is it just how it has always been done? Ten years after my first internship at the *Times-Call*, these were the questions that brought me back to graduate school. This remains a subject of personal interest to me as I seek to better understand my own experiences in the news business. And while I am no longer a working photojournalist, I want to see a better work environment for my photography students.

Within the domain of formal journalism higher education in America, this dissertation asks what forces and influences shaped the creation, diffusion, and adoption of photojournalism education. Further, this dissertation questions the consequences for photojournalism education of this shaping. I have found appreciable direction in the development of this pedagogic area came from the changing uses of photographs, professional status, outside opinions, and large-scale

educational trends. The pressures put on photojournalism education induced miscellaneous photojournalism education practices to become homogenized and institutionalized.

Impediments to the creation, diffusion, and adoption of photojournalism education are just as meaningful as positive factors. Together, the forces of advancement and constraint have the potential to provide clues to newsroom and classroom hierarchy. This hierarchy is still evident today.

Armed with the results of this research, it is my hope readers can see current developments in journalism and journalism education in a brighter and fuller light. While the technology of the moment is new, the challenges and issues raised by incorporating new sorts of reporting into journalism education are not recent developments. Therefore, mapping the path taken by an early form of multimedia reporting — photojournalism — is beneficial to the modern educator and administrator.

This dissertation is a peregrination through the past with the purpose of better understanding the present. I am a believer in the power and immediacy of photojournalism and the importance and insight of history. Usually, it is photojournalism that is used to preserve and illuminate historical events. I will reverse this and use the practice of history to look at photojournalism.

To look at photojournalism, one must first delineate exactly what is meant by the term. Photography is a tool woven so deeply into today's news products that it is inseparable from the whole. The Parisian daily *Libération* drove this point home in November 2013. To mark the opening of the Paris Photo Exhibition, an edition was

printed with empty boxes where the photos would have been.[8] Brought to the

forefront by its absence, the daily contribution of photojournalism was highlighted.

Ask a room full of eager young undergraduate journalism majors what

photojournalism is and the answer routinely comes back as something like "pictures

that tell a story or capture the news." This view equates photojournalism with its final

product, the photojournalistic image. But there are also photojournalism ethics,

photojournalism history, photojournalists, photojournalism equipment,

photojournalism laws, photojournalism education, photojournalistic composition, and

so on. Photojournalism is the sum of these things. Photojournalism is photojournalists

with an understanding of photojournalism history, perhaps gained from

photojournalism education, using photojournalism equipment, abiding by the

standards of practice and ethics of photojournalism, employing photojournalistic

compositions to create photojournalistic images. In other words, photojournalism is a

practice guided by a philosophy.

Contrary to popular belief, a photograph cannot capture an event. An event

takes place in three dimensions and flows through time. A picture can do none of this.

Yet a news photo often comes to represent a news event. How is this possible? The

credit belongs to the keystone in the photojournalistic process, the photojournalist. It

is a person who uses the camera-tool to translate the real-life happening into a two-

dimensional image of a moment plucked from the stream of time. The

photojournalistic image — that element which most people associate with the term

---

8   "Aujourd'hui, un « Libé » sans photo." *Libération*, Nov. 14, 2013. The exception to the missing
     images is in the advertisements. The eye is drawn immediately to the advertising images when
     there is only text elsewhere on the page.

photojournalism — hinges completely on one photographer's interpretation of the news event. Yet, the active role of photojournalists is often overlooked by scholars, the public, and sometimes photojournalists themselves.

Ignoring or disregarding the human practitioners of photojournalism leaves research on photojournalism incomplete. Critical study of photojournalists is deficient without a historical understanding of the evolution in purpose, place, and perception of photojournalists. This dissertation addresses the historical evolution of photojournalists by examining one training ground of photojournalism practitioners: photojournalism education. For the profession of photojournalism to grow and sustain itself, there must be a steady supply of journalists ready, willing, and able to do the work required. While not the only source, the most reliable producer of future professional photojournalists is journalism education.

The purpose of this dissertation is to take the reader back to a time before photojournalism education was part and parcel of journalism education. This dissertation is about the institution of journalism education grappling with how, or even *whether*, to teach an early form of multimedia journalism. This dissertation investigates how journalism education — the parent field to photojournalism education — responded to the changing purpose, status, and practice of news photography within the larger ecosystem of American journalism. The industry-education street moves both directions. Therefore, the consequence of photojournalism education had on the photojournalism profession is also probed. Neither journalism education nor photojournalism education began or developed in a vacuum. The way this dissertation seeks to answer what shaped photojournalism

education is by deeply exploring context. This means, for example, what was happening in journalism education before photojournalism education existed. And this context includes what was happening in the photojournalism industry, higher education at large, and the nation in general at the time photojournalism education took root.

My aim is to hit the target set up by John Thelin, a well-known chronicler of the academy. He writes, "The historian of higher education, then, is both an umpire and an analyst. Given scholarly license and latitude, historical writing can enhance the significance and appeal of contemporary policy issues associated with higher education." Like the styles of journalism and photojournalism education we are accustomed to today, Thelin says, "[it is believed] prestigious disciplines and fields have been long established in their familiar settings — when such is not the case at all."[9] In other words, what is conventional and normalized in higher education today was not always so, whether in journalism departments, physics departments, or any other area of universities. Scrutinizing how current practices became the norm breaks the spell of praxis.

The teaching of photojournalism is solidly entrenched in journalism education in the same way the photojournalistic product is an established and essential part of news production. But my research detailed in the following chapters reveals this core area of journalism instruction was integrated neither easily nor quickly. The teaching of photojournalism lagged the growing importance of the photojournalism field. The

---

9   John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004): 20.

perceived disconnect between the physicality of photojournalism and the intellectualism of the liberal arts made photojournalism education difficult to defend and vulnerable to elimination.[10] Often, the choice came down to changing the way photojournalism was taught or its removal from the curriculum.[11] Photojournalism education must constantly evolve to match the profession it serves.[12] Photojournalism education literature is completely absent of calls to return to fundamentals. This contrasts sharply with its parent field of journalism education where such calls permeate the history of the field.

In academic and popular circles, photojournalism history has been painstakingly traced. It is a small, but well-established, subfield of journalism history.[13] However, the history of photojournalism education is spotty at best. By looking at photojournalism education history, this dissertation contributes to photojournalism history, and by extension to journalism history.

The history of photojournalism education contributes to journalism history in three pivotal ways. First, many photographers and reporters passed through journalism education programs on their way into the journalism industry. While there, they picked up ideas that they carried into the industry. This dissertation traces

---

10 C. Zoe Smith and Andrew Mendelson, "Visual Communication Education: Cause for Concern or Bright Future?" *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 51, no. 3 (1996): 66–73.

11 Sandra Eisert, "Commentary," *Visual Communication Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1995): 3.

12 Sherre Lynne Paris, "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication in American Schools of Journalism, with Attention to the Universities of Missouri and Texas, 1880s–1990s." (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2007): 3.

13 Michael L. Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Michael L. Carlebach, *American Photojournalism Comes of Age* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Tim Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York: Macmillan, 1973).

certain ideas about photojournalism and photojournalists to their educational

headwaters. Second, journalism education reflects the profession it serves. The needs

of the journalism industry have a large influence on the practices of journalism

education. This is often to the chagrin of journalism scholars and educators who prize

their academic independence. The likeness between education and industry resembles

a circus mirror: clearly patterned after the referent but containing vast distortions.

Notwithstanding these distortions, the profession is not fully understood unless its

scholastic counterpart is scrutinized. Third, the teachers and administrators of

journalism programs overwhelmingly had previous careers in the industry. For this

reason, the ideas and norms present in the working world are perpetuated in the

academic world.

Studying the history of photojournalism education does more than illuminate

one small corner of journalism history. It provides a window into deep-seated issues

in journalism and journalism education. By looking at the place of photojournalism

education inside of journalism education, one can see the struggles for acceptance as

an academic subject, the always-present tension between teaching practical skills

versus critical thinking, and the relationship between textual journalism and visual

journalism. This brings understanding to the continuous struggle journalism

educators face in designing curricula that balance the competing forces in journalism.

It may also improve understanding of current curricular impediments faced by

journalism educators.

At the present moment in the evolution of journalism, it is particularly

important to look back at the process of integrating photojournalism into journalism

education. By doing so, this dissertation's conclusions have the potential to be useful to modern journalism programs. Today, journalism educators are unsure how to react to the uncertainties in the field of journalism. A historical account of a significant, and successful, evolution in journalism can be of great value to modern journalism education policy makers.

History invites questioning of present practice by showing alternative forms or processes of development. At a time in journalism when technologies and business models are changing, when the whole concept of news is up in the air, it is vitally important to ground discussions about the future in historical understanding.[14] This historical dissertation demonstrates that innovation can occur at times of uncertainty, at the margins, and is slow to work itself into the mainstream. If we recognize that contemporary journalism education is in a moment that calls for fast-paced innovation, then this dissertation's lesson is to sound a note of caution when looking at standardized, mainstream journalism education for the answers. Today, journalism and journalism education emphasize journalists who can perform multiple tasks and report across multiple platforms.[15] But an emphasis on cross-platform multimedia reporting has forced a greater inclusion of once-peripheral areas of journalism. Based

---

14 Barbie Zelizer, "History and Journalism," in *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2004).

15 Serena Carpenter, "An Application of the Theory of Expertise: Teaching Broad and Skill Knowledge Areas to Prepare Journalists for Change," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 64, no. 3 (2009): 287–304; Brian Massey, "What Job Advertisements Tell Us about Demand for Multiplatform Reporters at Legacy News Outlets," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 65, no. 2 (2010): 142–55; Debora Halpern Wenger and Lynn C. Owens, "Help Wanted 2010," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 67, no. 1 (2012): 9–25.

on my findings from historical period I studied, it should be asked whether similar

institutional momentum could be slowing adaptation today.[16]

Journalism programs are adjusting to include a broader range of topics as they

prepare students for a shifting media landscape.[17] This has brought a greater focus on

forms of visual journalism, including photojournalism.[18] But the changes are not

happening fast enough for some. In a 2012 open letter to university presidents, the

heads of grant-making foundations took journalism education to task for being

unwilling or unable to innovate for the changing media landscape.[19] These funders'

voices are powerful because they are connected to the purse strings. The historically

informed reader of this letter will hear, based on the research presented in this

dissertation, the call for "reform of journalism and mass communication education"

as an echo that has reverberated since the earliest days of journalism education. In a

thinly veiled threat, the signatories call on the Accrediting Council on Education in

---

16 Mark H. Masse and Mark N. Popovich, "Accredited and Nonaccredited Media Writing Programs Are Stagnant, Resistant to Curricular Reform, and Similar," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 62, no. 2 (2007): 141–60.

17 Paul S. Voakes, Randal A. Beam, and Christine Ogan, "The Impact of Technological Change on Journalism Education: A Survey of Faculty and Administrators," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 57, no. 4 (2003): 318–34.

18 Robin Blom and Lucinda D. Davenport, "Searching for the Core of Journalism Education: Program Directors Disagree on Curriculum Priorities," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 67, no. 1 (2012): 70–86.

19 "An Open Letter to Americas University Presidents," John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, Aug. 3, 2012. Originally posted on the Knight Foundation website at http://www.knightfoundation.org/press-room/other/open-letter-americas-university-presidents. The letter is no longer accessible at the Knight website. It is archived by the Internet Archive Wayback Machine at https://web.archive.org/web/20120803135401/http://www.knightfoundation.org/press-room/other/open-letter-americas-university-presidents.

Journalism and Mass Communication to develop "standards that spotlight the importance of technology and innovation."

A historical understanding of how such calls played out in the past would allow current decision makers to make more fully informed decisions. Rather than simply reacting to calls for change made by others or trying to play catch-up with other journalism programs, local leaders could take a long view into account. As this dissertation will show, the desire for legitimacy combined with conscious and unconscious pressures urge journalism programs to become more similar. This is amplified in moments of uncertainty such as we are living through in journalism education today. An awareness of prior struggles and historical calls for change in journalism education has the potential to reduce uncertainty by boosting confidence.

This dissertation probes the struggle to teach the hot, new technology of a half-century ago. The cautious historian is wary of making simplistic associations between past and present, but the parallels are striking. I have found that early on journalism education was resistant to accepting the new technology of news photography into the curriculum for a host of reasons. Everything from a lack of intellectual content, to unavailability of qualified teachers, to the price tag of the darkroom was cited. Yet, eventually news photography was an accepted and central part of journalism education. This research uncovers a multitude of explanations for the change from outsider to insider. One of these reasons was pressure on journalism education from the journalism industry. One cannot help but wonder what the future holds as once again powerful outside groups put pressure on journalism education to adjust curriculum to include new means of reporting.

At its inception, photojournalism education was perpetually in a precarious position. Its place within journalism education was not secure, as this dissertation will show. To gain and maintain legitimacy, it needed to project legitimacy in multiple directions within its institutional environment. The early plurality of systems for incorporating and teaching photojournalism contracted until it became an institutional routine. Journalism programs adopting this established routine gained easy legitimacy and did not have to defend curricular and pedagogical decisions beyond invoking best practices. As photojournalism education institutionalized, the precipitating factor was not the search for the most effective means of teaching and organizing photojournalism courses. Rather, the unintentional object was fitting into the already established field of journalism education.

As with any work of history, the links between past and present shown in this dissertation are not meant to be directly predictive. The careful historian and the wise reader will never fully equate the experiences of the past with those of the present. There are simply too many independent variables between past and present to make unequivocal claims. What history *does* provide is the range of possible responses. By asking questions of the past, the reader and historian are encouraged to ask questions of the present in new ways and with new perspectives. Knowing how photojournalism struggled and was eventually integrated into journalism education does not tell us what will happen next. But it does show one example in which new tools and practices were incorporated into an existing journalism education structure.

There is anxiety present in discussions of journalism education today. This anxiety is a hindrance to productive discussion and action. History can be a salve for

those who feel they are walking a new and uncharted path alone. History provides the comfort of knowing a similar path was navigated before and knowing we are not as lost as we may feel. Understanding that this is not the first time journalism education faced issues with new practices and approaches to the field may alleviate some anxiety.

That no single "right" way to practice journalism education was found in the past suggests we are unlikely to find one today. It could be that a lack of consensus provides the greatest hope for modern journalism education. Questioning what is and what could be is likely to be more useful than simply accepting the status quo. Therefore, it should not cause concern that different journalism programs are moving in vastly different directions. Perhaps the lone wolf journalism program has as much chance of surviving as those that follow the pack.

Plan of Chapters

Following this opening chapter, Chapter II encompasses a review of the literature, theory, and methodology. Chapters III and IV provide context and synthesis for the textbook discourse analysis in Chapter VI and the case studies in Chapter V. Chapter VII brings together all the evidence to formulate conclusions aimed at contemporary journalism educators.

The literature review in Chapter II includes what little work exists on the history of photojournalism education. There is a greater quantity of scholarship on the historical development of journalism education and higher education. This establishes the area of photojournalism education history as largely open and

unexplored. This chapter invokes institutional theory as the framework for this dissertation. This sociological perspective is well suited to investigate interior and exterior influences acting upon photojournalism education. The varied primary source materials are identified. The methodology for interrogating these sources combines historical analysis and grounded theory methodology.

Chapter III sets out the important historical developments in the journalism and photojournalism fields that precede and parallel the events in photojournalism education history which this work covers. This exploration reveals that the beginning of photojournalism education is associated with the advent of a new style of picture reporting: magazine-style news photography, later to be known as photojournalism. The growth and expansion of photojournalism education is associated with another large change in the field: the movement to professionalize photojournalism and photojournalists.

Chapter IV assembles historical context from the area of higher education. The first half of the chapter examines the development of professional education in general. This reveals that photojournalism education was part of a larger shift in educational priorities. Following World War II there was nationwide trend toward professional education. The second half of Chapter IV brings together relevant threads from the history of journalism education. This shows how photojournalism education ran contrary to the early dominant form of liberal arts journalism education. Photojournalism education also was contrary to the push for more academic heft in journalism programs. However, as pre-professional, rather than

liberal arts, journalism education eventually came to dominate. Photojournalism education took advantage of this opening.

Following identification of the professional and educational environments of photojournalism education, Chapter V delves into the origins and early development of photojournalism education. This chapter documents the changing rhetoric in and around photojournalism education from its genesis to maturity. Using photojournalism and journalism textbooks along with other primary source material, Chapter V uncovers three periods: the proto-phase, the inaugural phase, and the postwar phase. Photojournalism education's parent field of journalism education resisted adding photography based on photojournalism's trade and vocational stigma. This stigma was something journalism education was just beginning to shake. Photojournalism education was both a cause and a result of the push to professionalize news photography. Once its professional credentials were established and once outside forces pressured for more trained photographers, the field of photojournalism education grew beyond a novelty to an established element in journalism programs nationwide.

Chapter VI transitions from the macro view provided by the previous chapter to a micro perspective with two case studies. The photojournalism programs of the Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia and the Department of Journalism at the University of Maryland reveal vastly different approaches to photojournalism education. The preceding chapter shows that on the national stage, photojournalism education was a unified and homogeneous institution. However, this close look at individual journalism programs reveals that a universal consensus did

not exist. Localized factors were as influential, if not more so, than larger currents. Especially influential in the development of photojournalism education were the college or university that housed the journalism program and non-academic influences such as local demand for reporters. The Department of Journalism at the University of Maryland appears to have closely followed national trends and is an example of the mainstream approach. The Grady College of Journalism was an outlier in two ways. It was a leader as one of the earliest schools to offer photography classes in a journalism context. However, bucking the later national trend, Grady never offered more than two photo classes and did not make them requirements for graduation. This can be attributed to priorities of Dean John E. Drewry, who reigned from 1932 to 1969. His interest was in television rather than still photography.

Chapter VII brings together the evidence set forth in this dissertation to reveal that photojournalism education developed organically in the educational ecosystem of the time and was not guided by some seen or unseen hand. Bringing together the details from all the preceding pages, this last chapter concludes that at the macro level, photojournalism education began and expanded because of a national trend toward vocational training, a cultural shift toward the visual, and the professionalization of photojournalism. The vocational aspect disguised itself in a mantle of professionalism and later patterned its crown of academic heft after that of journalism education. The cultural influences of picture magazines, television, color photography, and printing created an interest in the visual and the need for trained visual producers. The professionalization of photojournalism meant the respect and

shared values of a common educational experience was needed. Photojournalism education provided this.

On the micro level — looking at individual schools — a myriad of factors were in play. These included the degree of openness of administrators and faculties to curriculum change; the availability of academically and professionally qualified instructors; location near a center of visual culture production; status as an accredited or unaccredited school; status as a state or private school; and the educational mission of the school.

Chapter VII closes with a cautionary note for today's journalism educators. As the aphorism states "all news is local news," so too are all curriculum decisions local decisions. Even when a journalism program intentionally moves to the center to meet national accreditation imperatives, the motivation for doing so is close to home. Journalism education is not monolithic. Each facet is pushed in multiple directions by multiple forces, big and small. In short, this dissertation argues from history that there is not likely to be a simple or universal solution to questions of journalism curriculum. This is a critical understanding that decision makers should bring to the table when planning journalism education now and into the future.

*   *   *

Chapter II

Literature, Theory, Methods, and Sources

While the histories of journalism education, journalism, and photojournalism are each the subject of a robust body of literature, the history of their intersection — photojournalism education — has received little consideration. Photojournalists are charged with the important task of showing the world to millions of viewers.[20] One might expect the education of photojournalists to receive more attention.[21] This is despite the increasing attention to visual media skills in journalism schools. To ignore the background of any facet of what is taught to pre-professional journalists is to miss a frame of reference. Any of the established areas — journalism education, journalism, and photojournalism — could lay claim to the history of photojournalism education, so it is surprising this area has seen little investigation.

This chapter begins with a review of what little work has been done on the history of photojournalism education. Finding existing research inadequate, this review then zooms out to include the literature of journalism education history, photojournalism history, journalism history, and the history of higher education. These four areas comprise the purlieu of photojournalism education. Given the approach the institutional theory used in this dissertation calls for, it is vital to understand what sits directly adjacent to the sector directly under investigation.

---

20   Carlebach, *Photojournalism Comes of Age*.

21   Paris, "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication": 1.

Sitting as it does at the nexus of several fertile fields, a solid foundation will be built for photojournalism education despite little direct work on the subject.

The gap in the literature also means there is no established theoretical lens nor preferred methodological approach for examining photojournalism education history. I hope this research yields a starting point future work. Having no arrow nor target ready in hand, this dissertation will use diverse methods and sources employed under the ample room provided by institutional theory. Institutional theory is useful for providing a framework for understanding change narrowly from the individual level all the way out to broad institutional environments. This is needed when there is little existing scholarship on a field. Lacking a roadmap, institutional theory — when combined with multiple data sets, as this dissertation does — permits a study of the forest and the trees. If only a single perspective and single data set is used, it is entirely possible a key change agent could be missed. It allows for complex and interrelated explanations of events. Additionally, it permits the researcher to chase down any potential leads without veering outside the theoretical boundaries.

The struggle for organizational legitimization is highlighted by institutional theory as a key force shaping organizations.[22] Organizational theoreticians encourage researchers to see institutional pressures, including hiring practices, wage and benefit practices, and performance evaluations as main ingredients shaping organizations.[23]

---

22   John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 2 (1977): 340–63.

23   John C. Lammers and Mattea A. Garcia, "Exploring the Concept of 'Profession' for Organizational Communication Research: Institutional Influences in a Veterinary Organization," *Management Communication Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (2009): 357–84.

The methods and data used in this dissertation are selected to give insight at the multiple focal lengths made possible by institutional theory. Case studies of the evolution of photojournalism education at two journalism programs provide a high-resolution perspective. Period photojournalism and journalism textbooks provide a wider perspective and the possibility of longitudinal comparisons. Finally, condensed histories of the photojournalism profession and professional education supply context by showing large-scale metamorphoses.

Before going further, it is necessary to pause for a moment and explicate the all-important word, "photojournalism." Over the years, the act of using a camera to document news to provide a visual record to an audience has held many names. This practice is best known today as photojournalism. This word, originally spelled "photo-journalism," did not enter the lexicon until the mid-1940s. The term "pictorial journalism" was popular in the 1920s and 1930s. "News photography" came into use in the first decade of the twentieth century and continued until "photojournalism" came to dominate the lexicon. In some ways, these expressions are interchangeable and throughout this dissertation they will be interspersed as a way of avoiding repetition of the same phrase over and over. This dissertation will use the term "camera reporting" as the most generic and time-period independent way of referring to the practice. This term never saw wide use, and so it does not have embedded meanings. For example, it is technically incorrect to refer to photojournalists in 1920, while news photographers — the nom de jour — or camera reporters — the generic name — are both correct. Photojournalism, news photography, and pictorial

journalism are all types of camera reporting. But as we shall see later, the practice denoted by each was different enough to warrant new names.

It has been said that history is to society as memory is to the individual. Without memory or history we are cut off from our identity. Although the terms are often conflated, "history" and "the past" are not the same. The past is what came before the present. Paleontologists study creatures that lived in the past, epidemiologists may trace the spread of a disease through time, but these are not historians. History is a way of knowing focused primarily on the actions of humans that took place in the past.

History is a discipline that first grew out of the positivist paradigm which asserts truth exists and that it can be discovered and described through appropriate application of method. This assertion is challenged by post-positivism which holds that while an external reality may exist, it is only observed through the human instrument, making a full account impossible. While causes may be inaccessible, effects are observable, describable, and patterned. The interpretivist paradigm goes a step further and holds that no single external reality exists. Rather, realities are plural and socially constructed. Research is by definition biased and incomplete.

History cuts a diagonal line through the positivist, post-positivist, and interpretive paradigms. From positivism, history pulls the notion of search for the truth. In the historical research process the historian is looking for something, most commonly historians ascribe this as the search for historical truth. From post-positivism comes the understanding that a complete truth is unreachable. Archives are limited and much has been lost to the dustbin of history. The full truth is

unrecoverable and different historians will take different meanings from the material that remains.

Historians who take history itself as their subject find its beginnings in different times, locations, and cultures. Some have pointed to Homer's Iliad and Odyssey — the first recorded work in the western tradition — as the loci of the practice of recounting the actions and deeds of past generations. Ancient Greek writers Herodotus and Thucydides have also been credited with first practicing history. But one could go further and see the cave paintings at Chauvet as humans recounting the deeds and actions of other humans. The age of professional history as an academic field of study began in the German universities of the early nineteenth century.

Professional history was built on the idea that many small threads of inquiry would eventually weave together in a great tapestry of historical knowledge. This grand narrative theory allowed historians to avoid larger epistemological issues by holding to the artículo de fe that through persistence, knowledge would build itself. But history does not have its own agency, does not exist a priori, and cannot self-assemble. Grand narrative theory was discredited once it became apparent that the threads remained on the loom and the great tapestry never emerged. John Nerone places this realization concurrently with the rise of postmodernism.

A premise of professional academic history has been that there is truth to be found through the process of doing history. In a sense this is correct. There are events that occurred in the past, they occurred in a certain order and were performed by certain people. While the evidence may or may not exist to discover these events and

actors, it is theoretically possible to uncover them. But history is more than just

creating a timeline and cast list. The narrative process of history necessarily includes

and excludes facts. We do not dump raw material on our readers. The historian

should strive for *a* reasonable truth, with an understanding by historians and audience

that *the* truth is out of reach.

What is called history, the ends to which it has been put, its subjects of

inquiry, and its mode of practice have not remained constant through time. As with

all human constructed activity, the practice and understanding of history is in a

constant state of flux. The epistemological understanding of history has left grand

narrative behind, but the practices of professional historians have not undergone a

significant shift. Archives and evidence are still used to spin the thread of historical

narrative. However, there is no longer an expectation that this will amount to

anything more. Instead, historians have been forced to find meaning in their

individual works of history. According to John Nerone, this is occurring through the

practice of contextualization.[24] This shift has forced historians not only to defend the

importance of their individual works, but also to justify the practice of history

writ large.

A replacement for the grand narrative paradigm has not been forthcoming and

different historians ascribe different uses to history. Some historians see history as

valuable unto itself while others see practical uses for history. The practical uses fall

into two categories: history as useful to the present and history as useful to the future.

---

24   John Nerone, "The Future of Communication History," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 3 (2006): 254–62.

The former has historians examining the past to find the genesis of present practices while others believe mistakes of the past can be avoided by bringing them to light. The latter puts the historian on a precarious intellectual limb. The physical or social sciences make predictive claims through theory, but a cautious historian does not claim that a study of the past can allow prediction of the future. At best, history traces the outlines of human potential by setting a framework of possibilities. Prophecy is beyond judicious intellectual reach.[25] History does not, and cannot, provide conclusive answers, only a "more intelligent muddle."[26]

Within the field of journalism history, improving the current professional practice has often been cited as rationale for doing history. By looking at the practices of the past, scholars of journalism history hope to illuminate what was valuable and learn from mistakes to improve current journalism practice. A value is also seen in teaching journalism students not just the history of their profession, but also to do historical practice. Sloan and Stamm argue the critical thinking and the level-headedness needed to do history is beneficial for future journalism professionals, even if they do not become historians.[27]

History can be a form of cultural self-reflexivity. Barbie Zelizer asserts the holy grail of historical purpose is to challenge normative practices and ideas of the past. Historical inquiry illuminates present day journalism practices. Journalism, like

---

25 Wm. David Sloan and Michael Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication* (Northport, Ala: Vision Press, 2010): xi.

26 John Nerone, "Approaches to Media History," in *A Companion to Media Studies*, ed. Angharad N. Valdivia (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003): 111.

27 Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication*: x.

history, is a constructed practice without a universal form. But in the journalism trenches, norms are infrequently questioned. History, by showing alternative forms or processes of development, brings questioning of present practice. Any study of contemporary journalism is incomplete without the context of historical grounding.[28]

A view contrary to Zelizer's holds that useful history is not pure history. If the meaning or purpose of history is defined from outside, then another master is served and it can no longer be called history. History should stand on its own, according to some authors. The goal is to understand the past as fully as possible, and that is all.[29] The problem with this view is it sets unenforceable limits on the historian and the reader. Understanding the past changes our understanding of the present. Whether this is an appropriate or intellectually defensible position, it is the way humans think. It is impossible not to view the present considering the past. A historian may manage to keep reflection on the present off the page, but the mind of the reader will surely make connections.

Gordon Wood cautions against directly applying the past to the present. Zeroing in specifically on the relatively new practice of cultural history, he believes useful history, "threatens the pastness of the past." In his view, exploiting the past for the present commits the sin of anachronism, a four-letter word to historians. Wood points to the difference between historical storytelling through narrative and historical problem-solving in the tradition of the social sciences.[30]

---

28   Zelizer, "History and Journalism."

29   Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication*: xi.

30   Gordon S. Wood, *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008): 6.

On the topic of individual historians, Sloan and Stamm walk the line between Zelizer on one side and Wood on the other. They acknowledge that many historians, especially early in their careers, approach history present mindedly. This is understandable. The historian resides in the present and is in the forefront of our minds. But over time and through practicing historical scholarship, Sloan and Stamm believe the historian will find that history has value on its own and a modern purpose is not necessary. History has to accept a limited role in understanding. While our minds may make jumps that intellectual logic cannot back up, the carefully written history must stay within boundaries. History should not be used to justify past action or make simple analogies with the present. The limited scope of history is to furnish a well-reasoned narrative of some corner of the past.[31] I hope my readers use the knowledge gained here to see their present in new light. This could be in the form of asking new questions or gaining new context for the present.

Literature Review

No matter the period, past or present, research on photojournalism education tends toward the present-minded and focuses on achieving better teaching outcomes. These studies fall into three broad categories: numerically descriptive, technological, and observational or commentary. Rarely has photojournalism education history been a topic of study.

---

31   Sloan and Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication*: 6.

Photojournalists are charged with the important task of showing the world to millions of viewers.[32] One might expect the education of photojournalists to receive more attention than it does.[33] The history of photojournalism education sits at the nexus of a number of other, more fertile fields. The following sections bring together literature on journalism education history, photojournalism history, journalism history, and higher education history in order to provide a solid foundation for framing this inquiry.

The tension between individuals, institutions and external factors surfaces in all four related areas of historical scholarship. Biographies of people and institutions are popular topics of study in all four. In photojournalism history and journalism history, technology plays a large role. This can be through periodization based on technological change. In journalism history, technology has been studied independently to those who wield it. On the contrary, technological developments are almost always linked with the person who first used or popularized them. There are institutional histories of journalism programs and journalism education associations that do not mention photojournalism. Because photojournalism is not a standalone entity, there are few institutional histories of photojournalism itself. The exception is historical research on professional organizations, specifically the National Press Photographers Association.

The literature of higher education history only addresses journalism education as an example of growing professional education. Despite this, higher education

---

32   Carlebach, *Photojournalism Comes of Age*: 4.

33   Paris, "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication": 1.

history provides critical context, allowing journalism education and photojournalism education to be seen in light of larger cultural swings in the university.

Photojournalism Education

The history of the teaching of news photography is the subject of a single monograph, an unpublished dissertation from 2007 by Sherre Lynne Paris. It focuses on two institutions, the University of Missouri at Columbia and the University of Texas at Austin, from the 1880s to 1990s.[34]

This work falls into the first level of journalism history as described by Barbie Zelizer in *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy.* Works of journalism history at the first level focus on individuals, single organizations, and institutional histories.[35] Paris provides an in-depth and highly descriptive narrative. Her goal is "to gather, record, and thereby preserve the efforts of teachers who did grapple," with questions of photojournalism education.[36]

Paris focuses on the people who shaped news photography education at Columbia and Austin. She details the efforts of these personalities to make news photography education not only accepted, but also respected within the journalism profession and the academy. Paris concludes that there was a stigma associated with news photography, which could be traced to its earliest interactions with textual journalism, with photography seen as "a mechanically based, lesser intellectual

---

34   *Ibid.*

35   Zelizer, "History and Journalism."

36   Paris, "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication": 4.

endeavor."[37] By tracing the history of this legacy to the present, Paris suggests that this view of news photography will continue into the foreseeable future.

Paris ties photojournalism education exclusively to the photojournalism profession. Other factors in journalism education, universities, and wider society are not examined for their contributions to the shape of photojournalism education. The histories of the two journalism schools she profiles are informative, but do not delve into the context of wider changes in the worlds of journalism education and photojournalism education.

Professional Photojournalism

Paris found the conflict between photojournalism and print journalism expressed in the setting of higher education. Other scholars have found the same tension in the journalism industry. The conflict between word and image, and between writer and image-maker, stretch back to the era of the illustrated press, in the nineteenth century, and remain unresolved today.[38] Journalism historians are not the only ones who have taken note of this friction. Professional associations, such as the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA), and photojournalism industry's trade publications, also comment on the disparity.[39]

---

37   *Ibid.*: viii.

38   Robert Sidney Kahan, "The Antecedents of American Photojournalism." (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1969); Gisèle Freund, "Press Photography," in *Photography & Society* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980); Marianne Fulton and Estelle Jussim, *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, in association with the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1988); Carlebach, *Photojournalism Comes of Age*.

39   Stanley N. Tess, "Press Photography," in *The American Annual of Photography, 1941*, eds. F. Frapie and F. Jordan (New York, N.Y.: Tennant and Ward, 1941); Claude Hubert Cookman, *A*

In *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, Zelizer presents a grassroots history of photographic news workers in a chapter entitled "Words Against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography." While utilizing a different perspective than the majority of photojournalism historical scholarship, she finds similar patterns of tension between word reporters and camera reporters and discrimination against the latter.[40]

There is a rich tradition in photojournalism history scholarship of exploring, explaining, and interpreting the origins of camera reporting. An early example is a dissertation written in 1969 by Robert Kahan. In his forward, Kahan observes that the practice of news photography was so concerned with covering the present moment that it neglected its history.[41]

In the years since Kahan's dissertation, a handful of comprehensive works and numerous papers and chapters have looked closely at photojournalism history. Michael Carlebach's two books, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America* and *American Photojournalism Comes of Age*, trace the prehistory and early history of photojournalism. He begins in 1839 with the invention of the camera and continues to the early 1930s with the widespread use of camera reporting.[42] Both of Carlebach's works contain the in-depth research of strong academic history while remaining

Voice is Born: The Founding and Early Years of the National Press Photographers Association Under the Leadership of Joseph Costa (Durham, N.C.: National Press Photographers Association, 1985).

40   Barbie Zelizer, "Words Against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography," in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, eds. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennan (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

41   Kahan, "The Antecedents of American Photojournalism,": iv.

42   Carlebach, *Photojournalism in America*; Carlebach, *Photojournalism Comes of Age*.

accessible to the lay reader. Through both works, he uses two themes commonly found in photojournalism histories: evolving technology and professional development.

Photojournalism cannot exist without the camera, lenses, film, and other technologies that make it possible to capture, transmit, reproduce, and distribute photographs. For this reason, studying technological change is necessary and a significant aspect of photojournalism history. But nuance is required. While technology cannot be ignored, it is not the sole, or even leading, determinant in the evolution of photojournalism. While the changing technologies employed by photojournalism are relatively easy and accessible to study, the development of the photojournalism profession is a more difficult historical task.

Histories of camera reporting are structured in a fashion similar to histories of journalism, in particular using the "developmental model" for journalism history.[43] This approach sees history as a progression toward the manifest destiny of the present. It criticizes or applauds earlier eras in relation to the gold standard of the present.[44] In photojournalism history, this means believing photojournalism is the best or only approach to camera reporting, and that its development was inevitable. This is a common thread in photojournalism history.[45] This anachronistic practice is

---

43   Timothy Roy Gleason, "The Development of a Photojournalism Historiography: An Analysis of Journalism History Approaches." (Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 2000): 42.

44   Nerone, "The Future of Communication History."

45   Michael Griffin, "The Great War Photographs: Constructing Myths of History and Photojournalism," in *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography*, eds. Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

especially troubling when "photojournalism" is "discovered" before the word, practice, or concept was developed.

Claude Cookman takes a more nuanced approach to the history of photojournalism. He is careful to point out there was a time before which photojournalism cannot be said to have existed. However, his book reaches back beyond that point, where he finds "proto-photojournalism." Like any new practice or idea, photojournalism did not emerge from a vacuum. It developed from, combined with, and evolved out of other ideas and practices. Cookman wields four themes in his journey through photojournalism's past — the act of witnessing, a commitment to social justice, embracing humanism, and the evolution of photographic technology. This historical framework combines history with a critical perspective into one of the more mature works on photojournalism and camera reporting history.[46]

Timothy Roy Gleason acknowledges the contribution that the developmental model made to early works on photojournalism history, but he argues that adding political economy and critical/cultural approaches provide a depth of understanding not available from the developmental approach alone. In the years since his dissertation was published in 2000, his call has yet to be answered in any significant way. Gleason argues news photography historians ought to study more typical, everyday news photographers rather than reverting to the canon of established shooters most often covered by news photography history.[47]

---

46   Claude Hubert Cookman, *American Photojournalism: Motivations and Meanings* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2009).

47   Gleason, "Development of a Photojournalism Historiography,": 166.

This canon includes photographers such as Robert Fenton, Mathew Bradey, Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, Arthur "Weegee" Fillig, Margaret Bourke-White, Robert Capa, Joe Rosenthal, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and W. Eugene Smith. Histories of these photographers follow a vein of photojournalism history that Barbie Zelizer calls the "journalism writ small" approach to biography.[48] In recent years, this approach has moved beyond biographies of "great men," and it has opened to include great women and other groups previously excluded from historical inquiry. Nevertheless, these types of histories have limited value because they do not look at larger issues, and they rarely address each other. Even when they do include minority individuals, they are previously well-documented individuals. Leaders of the field receive by far the most attention.[49] Within individual biographies, a photographer's education is covered, but no systematic investigation of photo education at large exists. Additionally, news photography institutions have not been studied, as journalism institutions have. For example, there are plentiful histories of *The New York Times* but not of the *Times'* photo department.

Photojournalism and photojournalism education are linked by more than sharing a common word. In a vocational field, such as journalism, an educational area cannot exist without its associated profession. And a part of what defines the existence of a profession is a dedicated educational area. Profession and education necessarily inform, rely, depend, and influence each other. Any understanding of

---

48   Zelizer, "History and Journalism": 92-96.

49   Chris Daly, "The Historiography of Journalism History, Part 1: 'an Overview'," *American Journalism* 26, no. 1 (2009): 141–55.

photojournalism education requires knowledge of the contemporary happenings in the profession to be complete and contextual.

Professional Journalism

Journalism history is a difficult field to define, not having set borders, an agreed-upon subject of study, or a cannon with unanimous consent. Journalism schools have laid claim to journalism history. This has partly been an attempt to lend an academic side to journalism education and to gain respect in the university. Cordoned off in professional journalism schools, some approaches to journalism history have been criticized for being behind the times and for serving a professional master.[50] The review of approaches to journalism history presented in this chapter here finds a tension between focusing on in individuals, institutions, and a variety of factors: technological, economic, societal, and cultural. The practice and profession of journalism is part of photojournalism education's environment. This alone is reason enough to look at journalism historiography. Add in this dissertation's venture to build a foundation for photojournalism education history and including journalism history becomes imperative.

Sloan and Stamm see a range of approaches to journalism history that have surfaced over the years, often in response to the perceived shortcomings of earlier approaches. These include the need for new interpretations of old material, the discovery of new material, and availability new methodologies.[51] There can be

---

50   Zelizer, "History and Journalism,": 96.

51   Wm. David Sloan and Michael Stamm, "Interpretation in History," in *Historical Methods in Communication* (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2010).

numerous volumes on the same topic, but each one unique. The multitudinous biographies of Lincoln or histories of the Civil War are examples. John Nerone's insight is that the plurality of approaches means there is no single field of media history or journalism history. In his view, this leaves journalism history's status as a discipline in question. He observes that the various schools of journalism history perfectly illustrate the constructed nature of history in general.[52]

Scholars have seen various patterns in journalism historiography. Zelizer used three frames for journalism history: a focus on individuals and single organizations through biographies, autobiographies, and institutional histories; a focus on periods or themes; and a focus on journalism's contribution to the development of nations. Zelizer's "journalism writ small" began with the "great man" approach. In recent years, it has opened to include great women and other groups previously excluded from historical inquiry. Christopher Daly has concluded that biography and other "journalism writ small" histories do not build one another, but rather are self-contained and rarely address each other.[53]

There is a growing focus on telling the histories of previously ignored groups. Patrick Washburn, for example, explores African American newspapers through important publishers, editors, and writers, and through institutional histories of several papers.[54] Linda Steiner uses autobiographies of women journalists from the

---

52   Nerone, "Approaches to Media History,": 95.

53   Daly, "Historiography of Journalism History, Part 1,": 145.

54   Patrick S. Washburn, *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2006).

first half of the twentieth century to paint a picture of their working conditions.

Despite their important contributions, female reporters are rarely acknowledged.[55]

Maurine Beasley examines women's professional aspirations in journalism with a

case study of the Women's National Press Club in Washington, D.C. [56] A small, but

growing body of research on women journalists exists. Much of this history to the

late 1990s was synthesized in a chapter by Carolyn Kitch.[57] The interest in under-

researched groups extends to their role in journalism education. A 2004 compilation

takes a 30-year-long look at the evolving status of women in journalism and mass

communication education.[58]

In Zelizer's "journalism writ midway" the focus is on key events, the

historical periods in journalism, and themes. In *Getting It Wrong: Ten of the Greatest*

Misreported Stories in American Journalism, W. Joseph Campbell takes 10 iconic

episodes in journalism history and explores their larger context. He finds in these

episodes that the journalism involved was less influential than portrayed in the

mythology surrounding them.[59] Steven Knowlton takes the key journalistic idea of

objectivity, and traces its origin and development. Rather than having a fixed

---

55   Linda Steiner, "Gender at Work: Early Accounts by Women Journalists," *Journalism History* 23, no. 1 (1997): 2–15.

56   Maurine H. Beasley, "The Women's National Press Club: Case Study of Professional Aspirations," *Journalism Studies* 15, no. 4 (1988): 112–21.

57   Carolyn Kitch, "Women in Journalism," in *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices*, eds. Wm. David Sloan and Lisa Mullikin Parcell (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

58   Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrop, and Pamela J. Creedon, eds. *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education: A 30-Year Update* (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).

59   W. Joseph. Campbell, *Getting it Wrong: Ten of the Greatest Misreported Stories in American Journalism* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010).

meaning, Knowlton finds several distinct periods in which the concept of objectivity has had different meanings.[60]

The "nationalistic" view in journalism history is often associated with journalism schools and the teaching of journalism. This approach highlights the power and importance of journalism. Presented to future journalists, it is part of the professionalization process.[61]

With its varying levels of granularity, made possible through a diverse set of sources, I position this dissertation at the intersection of three influential thinkers in journalism historical scholarship. By closely detailing the institutional environment for journalism education, the door opens to the cultural understanding advocated by James Carey. Cultural understanding requires a vast look beyond the actual subject of study in order to see the relativity and interpretive frames. David Paul Nord reintroduced and defended the value of institutional histories, which Carey had attacked. This dissertation is an institutional history, but takes a different frame for "institution." Rather than being an individual organization, like a school or newspaper, it treats the entire field of photojournalism education as an institution. And so, the relevance of institutional history advocated by Nord is applied here. Chris Daly softens Nord's position by reminding us it is history we are doing and not sociology. The present work acknowledges this and does not try to position itself within other disciplines often used in journalism scholarship, such as psychology,

---

60   Steven R. Knowlton and Karen L. Freeman, *Fair and Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity* (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2005).

61   Zelizer, "History and Journalism,": l05.

sociology, or political science. This is a work of journalism historical scholarship, which the author believes to be a field unto itself.

John Nerone points to two major arteries running through studies of journalism history. The first is the previously mentioned developmental model, which views American journalism from the standpoint of democracy and the freedom of the press. This "Whiggish" approach sees a constant forward progression toward the manifest destiny of the present. It sees the present state as the best and only possible outcome of history, and it points the way through the past in terms of the present. This view sees the content of the news as chiefly important. This model is written from the standpoint of the journalism industry and criticizes or applauds earlier eras in journalism in relation to the gold standard of the present.[62]

The second artery, according to Nerone, belongs to the so-called Canadian school. It sees journalism in light of communication technologies. The form of delivery of the news is deemed to be the determining factor for what is covered and how it is covered. In the extreme, Marshall McLuhan's notable claim that "the medium is the message" holds technology is of such high importance that other factors are not even considered. Content is irrelevant.[63] Journalism history texts that attempt to cover long swaths of time are commonly arranged around technological development. Textbooks that teach journalism history frequently use this

---

62   Nerone, "The Future of Communication History,": 254.

63   *Ibid.*

periodization technique.[64] A critique of this approach has been that attention to human agency is lost and technological determinism is prominent.[65]

Institutional histories of journalism have been popular for many years, but their usefulness has been called into question, dating back to a groundbreaking critique of journalism history by James Carey in 1974. His famous essay, "The Problem of Journalism History," offers an alternative to the established methods and approaches to journalism history. Carey critiqued much of the journalism history being produced as Whiggish. Carey borrowed this phrase and from Herbert Butterfield's *The Whig Interpretation of History*. Whig history finds a line of progression through the past to the glorious present. Butterfield finds this objectionable because it sees the past in terms of the present rather than in its own terms.[66]

In response to the Whiggish approach to journalism history, Carey proposed cultural histories of journalism be undertaken. He called for historians to look into the minds of historical actors to try to understand what they were thinking and why they did what they did. Rather than looking at the history of institutions, he wants to look at the people — and not just the leaders — inside those institutions. It is human agency that animates history after all, so looking at and trying to understand these

---

64 Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite* (New York, N.Y.: Viking, 1988); Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2007); Patricia L. Dooley, *The Technology of Journalism: Cultural Agents, Cultural Icons* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2007); Wm. David Sloan, ed. *The Media in America: A History* (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2008).

65 Daly, "Historiography of Journalism History, Part 1": 144.

66 Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1931).

people brings a more robust and well-rounded account. This approach is compatible

with the use of neo-institutional theory — discussed later in this chapter — which

does examine institutions and organizations but recognizes these are comprised of

individual actors. Neo-institutional theory also posits that the structure of an

organization affects the thinking of the individuals within it. As Carey argues,

understanding the individuals leads to a better understanding of the organizations,

and theory holds that understanding organizations can help in understanding the

individuals. Exploration can flow both directions.

Carey calls for an understanding of events as not predetermined. Events and

actors should be understood in light of their own time and surroundings, rather than

in light of the present. This is a call for a study on historical consciousness. Not just

what people did, but why they thought they did those things.[67] It is more difficult to

find concrete truths through cultural history than through the developmental model.

The inner thinking of another person is not fully knowable in the present, let alone

when we cannot access them directly and must rely on documents and archives.

In a conscious turn away from Carey, David Paul Nord questions whether

cultural studies can investigate power. Nord disagrees that institutional histories have

run their course. Taking a sociological view, Nord is interested in the power of

journalism, and he finds that power comes from institutions, not individuals. To

Nord, it is the structure of journalism's institutions that defines the content, message,

and to some extent the medium.[68] He makes a clear distinction between Whiggish

---

67   James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1, no. 1 (1974): 3-5, 27.

68   David Paul Nord, "A Plea for Journalism History," *Journalism History* 15, no. 1 (1988): 8–15.

celebratory institutional history criticized by Carey and the brand of institutional histories of power that Nord favors. It is not institutional history itself that is the problem with journalism history, according to Nord, but rather the present mindedness of such histories.[69] If institutional history can be performed without cheerleading, he argues, it can be valuable.

A criticism of Nord's approach comes from Chris Daly, who points out that journalism history is a separate discipline and should not be subsumed by sociology, whose tools are not focused on charting historical change. Sociology looks at groups and institutions, but it does not craft narrative, the lifeblood of history.[70]

Journalism Education

Like histories of journalism, histories of journalism education see wide use of biographies and institutional histories. The institutions under scrutiny are individual journalism programs and associations, specifically associations with the goal of accrediting journalism education. The biographies and institutional histories tend to focus on leaders, innovators, and "firsts." Many of the struggles faced by journalism education reflected larger issues in higher education.

Some scholars mark 1908 and the founding of the first standalone school of journalism at the University of Missouri as the genesis of journalism education.[71] Sutton points 40 years earlier, to 1869, at Washington College, and a series of classes

---

69   *Ibid.*

70   Daly, "Historiography of Journalism History, Part 1,": 146.

71   G. Stuart Adam, "The Education of Journalists," *Journalism* 2, no. 3 (2001): 315–39.

on newspaper editing and printing.[72] This and similar programs sprouting around the country in the mid to late nineteenth century taught the skills of printing and running a paper, not reporting.[73] Still other historians see publisher John Fenno as the first to call for journalism higher education.[74] In 1799, he linked the ideals of the new democracy with quality journalists. And to produce such journalists, he wrote, "to well-regulated colleges we naturally look for a source whence such qualifications might in proper form be derived...."[75]

While such early examples of journalism education can be found, they are the exception rather than the rule. Journalism education lagged far behind other forms of professional education, according to Mirando. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that departments and schools of journalism became commonplace.[76] At all points, debate has been constant around the position and fit of journalism within the

---

72 Albert Alton Sutton, *Education for Journalism in the United States from Its Beginning to 1940* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1945).
    Washington College was renamed to Washington and Lee University in 1870 following the death of the college president, Robert E. Lee.

73 Joseph Andrew Mirando, "Journalism Education: Early Views of Training Influence Pedagogy in Today's Schools," in *The Media in America: A History*, ed. Wm. David Sloan (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2008): 500.

74 Jean Folkerts, "History of Journalism Education," *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 16, no. 4 (2014): 228.

75 John Ward Fenno, *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia, Penn.: March 4, 1799).

76 Joseph Andrew Mirando, "Training and Education of Journalists," in *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices*, eds. Wm. David Sloan and Lisa Mullikin Parcell (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2002): 76.

academy.[77] This debate notwithstanding, journalism higher education became established, set down roots, and spread widely.

A discussion of journalism education is not complete without examining the history of accrediting journalism education because of the role of accreditation in the contours and evolution of the journalism curriculum. Much like the beginning of journalism education, there is a disagreement over when journalism accreditation started. Charles Duncan suggested it began in the 1930s when the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism had adopted minimum curriculum standards in a new constitution.[78] At this same time, AASDJ began classifying — but not officially accrediting — journalism programs in three tiers. Other scholars look to the vote founding the American Council on Education for Journalism (ACEJ) in 1945 as the start of journalism accreditation.[79] Still others use 1948, when the first list of accredited schools was published.[80] Accreditation was not universally accepted by educators and other journalism education associations. A separate journalism education professional association, the American Society of Journalism School Administrators (ASJSA), disagreed with the entire philosophy

---

77 James A. Crook, "1940s: Decade of Adolescence for Professional Education," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 50, no. 1 (1995): 4–15; Mirando, "Training and Education of Journalists."

78 Charles W. Duncan, "Accreditation Issues Debated at 1983 AEJMC Convention," *Journalism Educator* 38, no. 4 (1984): 4.

79 Earl Lewis Conn. "The American Council on Education for Journalism: An Accrediting History." (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1970); Churchill L. Roberts, "ACEJMC Accreditation," *ACA Bulletin* 66 (1988): 17–19.

80 Gale A. Workman. "The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications: A History, 1970-1985." (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1988).

behind ACEJ accreditation. ASJSA went so far as to protest to the National Commission on Accreditation, which forced a three-year hiatus in accrediting. That hiatus ended in 1953 with ACEJ reorganizing to be more inclusive, with representatives from the academy and industry as well as academia.[81]

Journalism education history mirrors journalism history in the type of subjects selected for study. In both cases, the most common approaches are biographies and institutional histories. Biographies, true to Zelizer's "journalism writ small," can be interesting and informative, but run the risk of being celebratory and insular.[82] The biographies of important characters from journalism education's past are self-contained. That is, they generally do not reference each other. The exception is when they place the subject within a certain school of educational thought. Wm. David Sloan edited a compilation of journalism educator biographies in 1990 — *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas*. The 33 educators are divided into six categories: the practitioners, the historians, the philosophers, the legal scholars, theorists, and the methodologists.[83]

Institutional histories in the journalism education context focus on individual schools, departments, or colleges of journalism. Like biographies which tend to choose leaders and innovators as their subjects, institutional histories use "firsts" as a

---

81 Conn, "ACEJ: An Accrediting History"; Crook, "1940s: Decade of Adolescence for Professional Education"; Workman, "The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications: A History, 1970-1985."

82 Zelizer, "History and Journalism": 92-96.

83 Wm. David Sloan, ed. *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990).

common method for selecting the subject matter. Conn covers the early history of ACEJ, the accrediting arm of AEJMC.[84] Whitmore picks up the thread and carries it forward, looking at the impact of ACEJ on curriculum changes from 1986 to 2003.[85] Edwin Emery traces the long and convoluted history of the various professional groups and associations which would eventually coalesce into AEJMC. While the groups were comprised of many members, in Emery's work, each group is synonymous with the educator or administrator who led it in a sense making institutional history into biography.[86]

Jean Folkerts wrote the most recent and up-to-date history of journalism education. Published in 2014 and bringing together the leading histories on the subject, her monograph provides a concise overview. In the most recent years of journalism education, Folkerts explores the challenges facing journalism education during the digital revolution. She ends with a hopeful note and a handful of general prescriptions to reinvigorate the field.[87]

A third vein takes a shallow view of journalism education history. These works present themselves as authoritative. They do not ask questions and simply relate a tale of how events unfolded. These overviews combine biographies and

---

84   Conn, "ACEJ: An Accrediting History."

85   Evonne H. Whitmore. "An Historical Perspective on the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications From 1986–2003: Examination of the Impact on Curriculum." (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2004).

86   Edwin Emery and Joseph P. McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making: A History of Organizing for Journalism and Mass Communication Education in the United States* (Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1987).

87   Folkerts, "History of Journalism Education."

institutional histories. Rather than featuring original research, they tap secondary sources instead for anecdotes and basic facts to assemble a picture of the development of journalism education.[88]

Less common than in works of journalism history, autobiographies by journalism educators are not typically a feature of journalism education history. An exception is James Carey's 2000 article in *Journalism* in which he recounts his experiences and impressions from a long career as a journalism educator.[89]

Higher Education

In writing the history of higher education, scholars begin at vastly different times. Some reach back to the gymnasia of ancient Greece, others to the University of Bologna, some stay in North America and start with the founding of Harvard. The most widely cited are the five "eras" of higher education laid out by Arthur Cohen in 1998 in *The Shaping of American Higher Education*.[90] While the exact beginning and ending years of the various eras are quibbled over by historians, the general layout of the eras is accepted. They are: the colonial era, delineated from the founding of Harvard in the 1636 to the founding of Georgetown University in 1789; the emergent nation era from 1790 through 1869; the university era, roughly 1870

---

88   Betty Medsger, "The Evolution of Journalism Education in the United States," in *Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues*, ed. Hugo de Burgh (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2005).

89   James W. Carey, "Some Personal Notes on US Journalism Education," *Journalism* 1, no. 1 (2000): 12–23.

90   Arthur M. Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998).

to 1944; the era of American hegemony from 1945 to 1975; and the contemporary era from 1976 onward.

The period of this dissertation cuts through the university era and era of American hegemony. It coincides with an explosion of professional education and a general democratization of higher education started by the G.I. Bill. The changes in journalism education and photojournalism education cannot be understood without some knowledge of larger trends in professional and higher education at the time. Higher education welcomed professional education to a greater extent in the post-World War II years. Journalism education rode the wave of the growing acceptability of professional education to expand entrench.

The accepted view of scholars of higher education history in the last quarter of the 19th century marked the rise of the universities. Roger Geiger points at the first half of the 1890s as the moment the American university overshadowed its older cousin, the liberal arts college. This marks the moment of ascendancy, but Geiger contends that the university did not arise without precedent. He points to the relatively unsuccessful multipurpose college as a precursor to the university.[91]

There is a perception that the university system emerged suddenly and fully formed — and in fact several universities did just that, including Johns Hopkins and Cornell. Contrary to this view, according to historian John Thelin, the typical American university of the late nineteenth century was a reorganized liberal arts

---

91   Roger L. Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850-1890," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann (Boston: Pearson Custom Pub., 2007).

college with a new, broader mission and new departments.[92] If it was a state college, it also likely had an influx of new funds from the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, which put into place the land-grant educational funding system. Under the 1862 act, eligible states (excluding the Confederacy) were granted 30,000 acres of federal land for each member of Congress the state had as of the census of 1860. Profit from the sale or development of this land went into trusts to be used to establish or expand state higher education institutions. The 1890 act expanded the eligibility to the Southern states in rebellion when the original act was passed, adding the requirement that admission not be limited based on race.

In historical research on professional education, law and medicine have received the most attention. Ellen Lagemann points to a specific event that contributed to the demise of the standalone medical school and its incorporation into the new university system — a pattern that would be repeated for other professions. She argues it was the 1910 Abraham Flexner report on the state of medical training across the country. Lagemann argues it was this scathing report that sounded the death knell for standalone medical schools, the triumph of university medical schools, and the critical moment in all of professional education. While the report was focused exclusively on medicine, other professions used it as cover to standardize their own training.[93]

In the university era, occupations began to professionalize, and the established professions sought to enhance and defend their reputations. A place in

---

92   Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*: 104.

93   Ellen Condlffe Lagemann, "Surveying the Professions," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann (Boston: Pearson, 2007).

higher education was a key element in professionalization. Thelin notes another transformation: the stratification of education. The university, and especially professional graduate education within the university, became the top rung on a linear "educational ladder." Universities and colleges required high school diplomas. Professional schools increasingly became graduate education as they began requiring a bachelor's degree as an entrance requirement. Institutions that had once been competitors of the college either disappeared — in the case of apprenticeships — or were subjugated to the university juggernaut — in the case of private professional schools, academies, normal schools, etc.[94]

Many of the criticisms and challenges faced by professional education are detailed by Herbst.[95] As professional education became a mainstay of the university frictions and controversies developed. Faculty and staff in professional schools were, and still are, pulled in two directions. On one end is the internal expectations set by the membership in the university: the requirement for faculty research and publication. On the other side are the external demands of the professions. At the core, this is the difference between meeting the immediate utilitarian needs of society or expanding the core knowledge of a profession for knowledge's sake. As the newly appointed gatekeepers to the professions, university professional educators faced a second struggle between maintaining strong professional standards or opening access to a more diverse population. This included lower social classes, ethnicities, and

---

94 Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*.

95 Jurgen Herbst, "Rethinking American Professional Education," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann (Boston: Pearson Custom Pub., 2007).

women. None of whom had previously had significant access to universities or the professions.[96]

Many of the struggles faced by journalism education reflected larger issues in higher education. The very purpose of the university was up for debate and under intense scrutiny from all directions. Some believed the traditional liberal arts education, which had been the hallmark of colleges in the preceding era, had been lost in the noise of the modern, large university. Others argued the university's umbrella should not shelter so widely and its components ought to be returned to separate and competing institutions with the university focusing exclusively on knowledge building. In the mid-1930s, the president of the University of Chicago argued that professional schools, and the vocational job training they represented, should be situated in technical institutes because the schools' mission did not fit with the rest of the university. While ultimately these calls were not heeded, they represented the pressures universities were facing. Others argued exactly the opposite, that the university should be chiefly concerned with transmitting high culture, training, and preparing professionals for society, and research should be moved elsewhere.[97]

Daniel Clark argues that beyond the well-known growth in enrollment, the G.I. Bill's most significant outcome was an acceleration of the vocational shift in higher education which began in the university era. Higher education became more attainable and desired by a larger population. It was becoming more democratic for

---

96   *Ibid.*

97   Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education*: 72-3.

individuals, but the purpose of educating individuals shifted. Where once higher education had served to socialize and educate future members of society, the vocational shift made it a tool of an increasingly corporate society. It provided standardized education for workers in the professions, providing the necessary raw ingredients for bureaucratization.[98]

Marvin Lazerson comments on the unprecedented cultural power held by higher education in the postwar years. Colleges and universities had by now vanquished competitors and achieved a virtual monopoly on higher education. By virtue of society's view of higher education and its graduates, this monopoly was extended to guardianship of middle-class membership. Acting as a granter of access to professional licenses, the university held a powerful place in the American social fabric, as licensing boards required college education or professional degrees. While the sons and daughters of the middle-class were the largest constituency of the student body, entrance was open to anyone who could afford it. If you could not afford it, you could serve in the military and receive education through the G.I. Bill. This made higher education a relatively open and available tool of social mobility.[99]

In summary, I have shown a gap in the literature relevant to exploring the contours, curricular decision-making, and trajectory of photojournalism education. In fact, photojournalism education history has minimal literature. The one exception is

---

98   Daniel A. Clark, "The Two Joes Meet Joe College, Joe Veteran: The GI Bill, College Education, and Postwar American Culture," *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1998): 165–89.

99   Marvin Lazerson, "The Disappointments of Success: Higher Education after World War II," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann (Boston: Pearson, 2007): 792-3.

a 2007 dissertation.[100] The present study is thus intellectually situated at the four-way junction of closely related fields: journalism history, photojournalism history, journalism education history, and higher education history. One day photojournalism education history may be a field unto itself — although this researcher believes this in unlikely. Even if this were to occur, photojournalism education history cannot be properly understood without the context of both the historical events and historiography of these events of the related fields.

Theory

Neo-institutional theory is useful for explaining causes and change processes in organizations and institutions. It allows photojournalism education to be examined at varying levels of granularity. This dissertation treats photojournalism education as an institution that interacts with other institutions, its environment, and within itself. Leading theorists in neo-institutionalism see change in institutions driven by three factors. These are the quest for legitimacy, the problematic belief that decisions are made rationally, and isomorphic forces.

The sociological perspective of neo-institutionalism is well suited for the present research because this theory focuses on the influence that an institutional environment has upon organizations. Photojournalism education lives within the environments of journalism education, academia, professional journalism, and professional photojournalism. Neo-institutionalism is flexible enough to be useful in exploring such a plurality of organizational influences, thus allowing for a varied and

---

100 Paris, "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication."

nuanced view of agency within organizations or fields. A central tenant of neo-institutionalism is that given a similar environment, similar organizations will behave analogously. One branch of neo-institutionalism centers on issues of legitimacy and perceived legitimacy. Another branch illuminates the homogenizing effects of professionalization, environmental uncertainty, and other isomorphic forces on organizations and organizational practice.

In a 2006 article, communications scholars John C. Lammers and Joshua B. Barbour describe institutions as "constellations of established practices guided by enduring, formalized, rational beliefs that transcend particular organizations and situations" and, to some extent, periods.[101] Institutional theory is useful to explain the "elaboration of rules and requirements to which organizations must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy," according to W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer.[102]

Organization theory is the umbrella paradigm for neo-institutionalism. This broad theoretical perspective sees the structure of an organization affecting organizational behavior. Organizational structure is a general term encompassing the formal and informal aspects of an organization's cultural, cognitive, and its interorganizational relationships. Each organization is examined as a collective

---

101 John C. Lammers and Joshua B. Barbour, "An Institutional Theory of Organizational Communication," *Communication Theory* 16, no. 3 (2006): 357.

102 W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer, "The Organization of Societal Sectors," in *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*, eds. John W. Meyer and W. Richard Scott (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1983): 140.

entity.[103] The goal of organizational theory is to explain how and why organizations come into existence, how they change over time, and ultimately why they behave in the way that they do.[104]

Today, organization theory is widely used across several disciplines and fields, but its roots grew from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sociological thought.[105] German sociologist Max Weber wrote in the early twentieth century and was widely considered to be the father of organization theory. He defined organizations as structures that rely on systems of authorities. Weber identified three kinds of organizational authority each of which attempts to cultivate legitimacy in its own way.[106] Traditional authority flows from established patterns of behaviors passed down over time, for example monarchy or patriarchy. Charismatic authority is linked to an individual's ability to influence others, for example election by popular vote. To Weber, the most interesting and least understood form of power is rational-legal authority, more commonly known as bureaucracy. In this form, authority is given to individuals based upon a set of rules which layout the qualifications for authority.[107]

---

103 The influence of individuals and small groups within the collective entity is the purview of organizational-behavior theory.

104 Rich DeJordy and Bradley A. Almond, "Organization Theory," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr. (Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference, 2008): 68.

105 John C. Lammers and Mattea A. Garcia, "Institutional Theory," in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Communication*, eds. Linda L. Putnam and Dennis K. Mumby (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2013): 195.

106 Nathan W. Harter, "Bureaucracy," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr. (Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference, 2008): 389.

107 DeJordy and Almond, "Organization Theory": 68.

Bureaucracy, as Weber saw it, is the defining characteristic of modernity. Bureaucracy grounds organizational authority and legitimacy in reason. In practice, organizational individual authority is conditional upon the fit between an individual's qualifications and the specific skills and conditions of a position. These specific conditions and skills are set through the bureaucratic process. In a sense, a bureaucratic organization is self-replicating and self-healing, making it resilient. The position is privileged over the person who fills it. This ensures the continued function of the organization regardless of the individual members of the organization.[108]

This organizational form displaces, although does not completely replace, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. Weber credits bureaucracy for allowing great social advances, but its dangers are significant. They allow for formalized control by the elite. The bureaucratic process is comprised of two elemental parts — setting goals or substantive rationality, and measurement of progress or formal rationality. Substantive rationality determines how a group, organization, or society identifies its goals, values, and ideals. Formal rationality determines how progress is evaluated, and thus how resources are allocated toward said goals, values, and ideals.[109] The two components of bureaucracy can easily become unbalanced. To have formal rationality without substantive rationality leads to dehumanizing bureaucracy, or as Weber saw it, society builds an "iron cage" around itself.[110]

---

108 Harter, "Bureaucracy": 390.

109 DeJordy and Almond, "Organization Theory": 68.

110 Harter, "Bureaucracy": 390; Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978).

Significant to the work at hand, bureaucracy can make it difficult for an organization to adapt and change direction. A bureaucrat's loyalty to the organization and desire for self-protection can outweigh the dedication to the organization's larger mission.[111] Bureaucracies function to make the individual replaceable, a cog in the machine. Yet, once that cog is in place, inertia works to keep the organization turning and pointed in one direction.

While still drawing on Weber, organization theorists in the 1960s began to add more nuance than the universal organizing principles, which ascribed authority to rationality alone. Scholars moved away from Weber's formal rationality, preferred by those with a positivist approach, to a focus on substantive rationality, more closely linked with post-positivism. Berger and Luckmann argue that "knowledge" and "reality" are not objectively discovered, but instead are subjectively created, and thus subject to change and interpretation.[112] This new school argued that organization structures were neither universal nor rational, but rather highly influenced by other, non-rational, factors inside and outside the organization.

Among the first in the family of these so-called environmental theories was contingency theory, put forward in 1967 by Lawrence and Lorsch. They argued that organizations' environments vary widely, and that organizations come to reflect this variety by rationally adopting structures best suited to those varied environments. Every environment was different, and therefore every organization was different. Organizational differences could be explained by logically interrogating the

---

111 Harter, "Bureaucracy": 391.

112 Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York, N.Y.: Penguin, 1966).

environmental factors. Lawrence and Lorsch noted the importance of the degree of volatility and uncertainty in an organization's environment in shaping its decision-making.[113]

The organization-environment theories come in two veins. The "strong form" of the hypothesis holds that organizations are capable of controlling their external environment. Laws, rules, or guidelines supposedly put in place to control organizations are influenced, if not outright controlled, by the organizations they are meant to keep in check. The need for environmental control is explained by resource dependence theory, which functions something like a corporate version of Darwin's survival of the fittest. Organizations are in direct competition with one another for resources within their environments. To increase their chance of survival, organizations manipulate their environment to maintain and grow external resources.[114]

The "weak form" of the organization-environment hypothesis sees the agency flowing in the opposite direction as the "strong form." Rather than the organization influencing its environment, it is the environment that influences the organization. Like the "strong form," the "weak form" also borrows from the ideas of natural selection in biology. Instead of individual organizations adapting, organizational aggregates or fields must adapt to the environment. The unit of analysis is broader in the "weak form." The process of adapting an organization or organizational field to its environment is known as structural isomorphism. There are two somewhat

---

113 DeJordy and Almond, "Organization Theory": 69.

114 Harland Prechel, "Organizations," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr. (Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference, 2008): 72.

contradictory notions in this perspective. The first is that organizations must adapt or die. The second is that adaptation is constrained and directed by inertia — in other words, by bureaucracy. Other factors will be discussed below.[115] Following the logic of these two statements, it would be predicted that all organizations will eventually cease to exist because while they can and do adapt, they cannot perfectly or quickly change. Eventually there will come a time when the change, either in scale or speed required for survival, cannot be achieved.

Institutional theory falls under the "weak form" organizational-environment hypothesis. Institutions are conceptualized in several different ways. Institutions transcend individual organizations. However, individual organizations such as government agencies can become institutionalized.[116] Of particular interest to this study of photojournalism is the conceptualization of professions as institutionalized occupations.[117] Lastly, there exists the idea that a practice or way of doing something, for example teaching photojournalism, can become institutionalized.

To be institutionalized, according to Lammers and Garcia, is to possess "an established and taken-for-granted pattern of practices and communication."[118] Institutionalization, in the view of Meyer and Rowan, is the process by which "social

---

115 *Ibid.*: 71.

116 Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949); Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration a Sociological Interpretation* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957). cited in Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 196.

117 Andrew Delano Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

118 Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 196.

processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule-like status in social thought and action."[119] This is by definition the opposite of innovation. Not only does institutionalization shape the formal structures of an organization, it also shapes the logic of individual actors within the organization. "… [W]hat makes sense to organizational members is," they wrote, "a function of institutional logics."[120] This displaces true rational logic and hampers the possibility of Weber's substantive rationality, or rationally driven goal setting, thus tipping the bureaucratic process dangerously to the side of formal rationality and inviting the "iron cage."

Simply put, the purpose of institutional theory is to explain how taken-for-granted practices and patterns come into being, and to explore the results these patterns have on organizations. One of the intriguing factors about institutions is that given the taken-for-granted aspects that define them, participants or organizations within the institutions are not conscious of their own central values.[121] To be in an institution or to be institutionalized is to lack self-awareness.

Lammers and Garcia cite three processes which cause institutionalization: the quest for legitimacy and recognition, the "rational myth" that decisions are made for rational reasons, and isomorphism, which is change based on the herd mentality of safety in numbers.[122]

---

119 Meyer and Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations": 342.

120 Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 202.

121 Lynne G. Zucker, "Organizations as Institutions," in *Research in the Sociology of Organizations: volume 2*, ed. Samuel B. Bacharach (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1983): 5.

122 Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 196.

Neo-institutional theory, or new institutionalism, at one time sharply contrasted with institutionalism, or old institutionalism, but the two have since grown nearly indistinguishable. Both theories posit that organizations change to fit their environments. The difference lies in whether the change is driven internally to the organization — old institutionalism — or externally to the organization — new institutionalism. Old institutionalism was criticized for assigning all agency to single individuals, organizational leaders, or small groups within an organization. New institutionalism formed in reaction to this view, but it swung the pendulum so far in the opposite direction that it was criticized for removing all internal agency and positing the organization as passive in the hands of its environment. Over time, both veins of institutionalism have been refined and moved toward the center. Neither now denies that some agency lies in the opposing perspective.[123]

Neo-institutional theory considers organizational structure to arise not only from functional requirements of production, but also from external pressures to be seen as legitimate.[124] The shaping force of organizations is at the intersection of authority within an organization. The legitimacy is given to the organization by its institutional environment.[125] Lammers and Garcia write, "social acceptance that results from adhering to regulative and normative organizational policies as well as cognitive norms and expectations."[126] Actual legitimacy is important, but so is the

---

123 DeJordy and Almond, "Organization Theory": 70.

124 Meyer and Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations."

125 *Ibid.*; Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots*.

126 Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 197.

appearance of legitimacy. Appearing legitimate is especially important in regulated environments such as the university setting.[127]

The shaping process of institutional legitimization begins with observation. Organizations absorb information from their institutional environment and, to achieve legitimacy, then mirror this information back to the institutional environment. This mirroring often expressed in an organization's structure.[128]

Meyer and Rowan encourage scholars to look at the struggle for legitimacy as an important driving force in shaping organizations.[129] They write, "thus in the area of legitimacy, organizational scholars should consider the influence of institutional pressures, including hiring practices, wage and benefit practices, and performance evaluations."[130]

Lammers and Garcia single out universities, along with hospitals and multinational firms, as examples of organizations participating in multiple institutions. They go on to state, "[t]his type of analysis — examining the multiple entities that constrain or shape an organization — represents an opportunity for communication scholars who are concerned with organizational identities, organizational change, and symbolic transactions."[131]

---

127 John W. Meyer and W. Richard Scott, "Centralization and Legitimacy Problems of Local Government," in *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*, eds. John W. Meyer and W. Richard Scott (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1983).

128 Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 197.

129 Meyer and Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations."

130 Lammers and Garcia, "Exploring the Concept of 'Profession'": 200.

131 Lammers and Garcia, "Institutional Theory": 199.

The theory of institutional isomorphism posits that institutions and organizations tend to become more similar over time rather than different. Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell argue that changes in organizations do not take place to achieve efficiency. Decisions may seem rational, but they lead to homogenization.[132] In their seminal 1983 work, DiMaggio and Powell suggest that a common environment shared by organizations leads to homogeneity within the organizations. The process of homogenization is termed isomorphism. When the same environmental conditions are faced, constraining isomorphism causes one organization to resemble other organizations facing the same environmental conditions.

Within such environments, individual organizations compete with one another. In addition to the obvious competition for money, resources, and customers, organizations also jockey for political power and institutional legitimacy. The means for studying the changes within organizations caused by the rivalry for power and legitimacy is institutional isomorphism.[133] Aldrich writes that "the major factors that organizations must take into account are other organizations."[134]

There are three means by which institutional isomorphism occurs. These three isomorphic forces are: coercive isomorphism — for example a common regulatory

---

132 Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147.

133 *Ibid.*: 149-50.

134 Howard E. Aldrich, *Organizations and Environments* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979): 265.

environment, mimetic isomorphism — when uncertainty causes organizations to copy one another, and normative isomorphism — stemming from shared values and experiences like professionalization and professional education.[135]

Coercive isomorphic pressures emerge from political and cultural influences. This neo-institutional perspective assumes that the environment exists wholly outside the organization, that the organization does not influence the environment, and that the environment enforces its regulations on the organization.[136] This is in contrast to the strong organization-environment hypothesis discussed earlier, which holds that the external environment is not autonomous, but rather influenced by the organizations they are meant to regulate. There are also informal pressures that a dominant organization places on subordinate organizations, for example a college on a department, a university on a college. Together the formal and informal coercive isomorphic pressures, "may be felt as force, as persuasion, or as invitations to join in collusion."[137]

Risk, uncertainty, and doubt are strong isomorphic forces. When organizational technologies are poorly understood, when organizational goals are ambiguous, or when there is an environment of uncertainty, subordinate organizations tend to pattern or model themselves on the dominant organization. This can be a conscious or unconscious act by the subordinate organization. Intentional modeling can be diffused through professional connections and other formal channels in an

---

135 DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited."

136 Prechel, "Organizations": 71.

137 DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited": 150.

organizational field. Unconscious modeling patterns may move from organization to organization as workers transfer and bring ideas from their former organizations with them to the new organization.[138]

Mimetic isomorphism primarily causes homogenization, but it can be the spark of unintentional innovation when the model is imperfectly copied by the adopting organization. This is innovation through mutation.

> In their imperfect attempts to imitate others, [organizations] unconsciously innovate by unwittingly acquiring some unexpected or unsought unique attributes which under the prevailing circumstances prove partly responsible for their success. Others, in turn, will attempt to copy the uniqueness, and the innovation-imitation process continues.[139]

The advantage of mimetic isomorphic behavior to an organization is the time, energy, and expense of developing an in-house solution to a problem, is much greater than simply adopting a solution that was created at another's expense.[140] As the saying goes, there is no need to reinvent the wheel. However, unlike the wheel, which enhances the efficiency of transport and movement, mimetic isomorphism does *not* require that the adopted behavior or structure be more efficient (as rational adoption would require). Subordinates adopt the models set by their superiors to enhance the appearance of legitimacy, and not to improve efficiency.[141]

Mimetic isomorphism is summed up by DiMaggio and Powell:

> The more ambiguous the goals of an organization, the greater the extent to which the organization will model itself after organizations that it

---

139 Armen A. Alchian, "Uncertainty, Evolution, and Economic Theory," *Journal of Political Economy* 58, no. 3 (1950): 211–21. cited in DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited": 151.

140 *Ibid.*

141 *Ibid.*: 152.

perceives to be successful. There are two reasons for this. First, organizations with ambiguous or disputed goals are likely to be highly dependent upon appearances for legitimacy. Such organizations may find it to their advantage to meet the expectations of important constituencies about how they should be designed and run … in most situations, reliance on established, legitimated procedures enhances organizational legitimacy and survival characteristics.[142]

Professionalization is the driving force behind normative isomorphism. Professionalization is the work of an occupational group as it defines its occupational scope. It is the act of self-demarcation and of getting others to recognize the boundaries.[143] DiMaggio and Powell's insight here is that "professions are subject to the same coercive and mimetic pressures as are organizations."[144] Professionalization functions in two distinct ways to transfer models of organizational structure and behavior: education and networking. The former applies to entrants to the profession, the latter to those already in the profession.

The most effective method professionalization is to control the supply of new members of the occupational profession. New members of a profession acquire the specific skills defined by the profession "through a relatively long process of training in monopolistic centers for the 'production of producers.'"[145] It is more than just skills these trainees are receiving. They are being legitimized in the eyes of their

---

142 *Ibid.*: 155.

143 Prechel, "Organizations": 71.

144 DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited": 152.

145 Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1977): 210.

future colleagues and the outside world. In this respect, it is as important to *say* you went to law school as it is to acquire the actual information learned in law school.[146]

Professional associations, especially those with entrance requirements (for example the bar exam or medical boards) create a pool of interchangeable workers. This is highly beneficial in a bureaucratic organization, as some of the selection process has already been accomplished. The homogeneity in skills and thought in members of a professional can outweigh differences in organizational traditions and practice.[147] This makes one organization resemble another. Their constituent parts and professional workers are similar.

In addition to creating a pool of interchangeable workers, professional associations also serve to make influential individuals even more influential. Influence in an organization can lead to influence in a professional association, which in turn can lead back to an increased influence in the original organization. This feedback loop makes it difficult for new ideas, practices, or individuals to enter into positions of influence.[148]

A feedback loop not only exists for individuals, but between institutions and other institutions compromising the environment. While this dissertation takes journalism education as the institution under scrutiny, thus making the journalism industry part of the institutional environment, it would be possible to flip this

---

146 As a cultural aside, this idea is so widely accepted by society that it acts as the storytelling lynchpin in the popular television drama, *Suits*. In the USA Network's hit show, the main character possesses a brilliant legal mind, but he did not attend law school. He is doomed to work in the shadow of less capable, but properly credentialed, partners.

147 DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited": 152.

148 *Ibid.*: 153.

relationship and see journalism education as part of the environment for the journalism industry. It is not the intent of the current research to study the relationship from this angle, but it is worthwhile mentioning alternative possibilities. In the reversed relationship, journalism education plays an important role in professionalization and professional socialization. When socialization occurs on the job — as is the case with the apprenticeship model that predated formal journalism education — differences between organizations can grow larger. However, normative isomorphism would suggest that when professional socialization occurs outside of the workplace — for example at universities, during workshops, and in trade magazines — it acts as a strong isomorphic force, making organizations more similar.[149]

To recap, neo-institutional theory is useful for exploring causes and change processes in organizations and institutions. It allows photojournalism education to be examined from different elevations and angles. At individual schools, photojournalism education existed within the organizational units of a journalism program and a university. In turn, the individual university is one organization within the institution of higher education comprised of multiple universities and of multiple journalism programs. With the addition of the journalism industry and professional photojournalism, there were at least four institutions having influence upon photojournalism education. This created a vast universe of possible shaping forces. Neo-institutional theory provides a structure for working through and understanding these forces.

---

149 *Ibid.*

Decisions and changes in a bureaucratic organization are not always made in the best interest of the organization, and therefore cannot be fully explained with rationality. The environment external to an organization is vital to explaining its behavior. The institutional and neo-institutional theory which attempts to explain organizational change has been widely applied and tested in a variety of fields and professions. Journalism education, and even more specifically photojournalism education, has not previously been seen through this framework.

Methods and Sources

Although the existing research on photojournalism education history is inadequate, the closely related areas of photojournalism history, higher education history, and journalism education history are flush. Each of these areas is part of photojournalism education's environment. Given institutional theory's use of environments to explain change in organizations and institutions, these three spheres will be explored before looking at photojournalism education directly.

The birth, growth, and evolution of photojournalism is the subject of the first section of Chapter III: The Professional Environment. Here I use existing historical writings as the sources to build a condensed history of photojournalism. While such histories abound, using the development of the profession to explain the development of photojournalism education is novel. I build upon existing definitions of photojournalism by adding a new test. This reduces ambiguity about the subject of study.

The second section of Chapter III, "The Professionalization Movement,"

closes in on a narrower part of photojournalism history in terms of time and subject

matter. Here, an assortment of published works is used to look closely at the

campaign that moved camera reporting from a trade to a profession. Both the actual

benefit and the perceived benefit that leaders in photojournalism saw from having a

rigorous educational path quickly become clear.

Similarly, Chapter IV: The Educational Environment constructs a view

photojournalism education's environments of higher education and journalism

education. I write abridged histories of both using well-known existing books and

articles with an eye to the elements of these histories relevant for understanding the

development of photojournalism education. The last section of the chapter,

"Changing Standards, Changing Values," analyzes changes in official journalism

accrediting standards to track evolving principles in journalism education. This is

accomplished by collecting and comparing the yearly pamphlets listing accredited

journalism programs published by the Association of Education in Journalism

beginning in 1948. Each pamphlet contains the benchmarks required for

accreditation. The complete collection of pamphlets was found in the Accrediting

Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records, 1942–1987

collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Society archive in Madison.

Chapter V Photojournalism Education makes use of journalism and

photojournalism textbooks to reveal changing attitudes about photojournalism

presented within photojournalism educational settings. Journalism textbooks have a

long history as source material for journalism scholarship. I will build upon and

extend work already done with this type of source. Textbooks reveal the received knowledge of the field, showing how photojournalism was taught, how this changed over time, and where photojournalism fit within textual journalism education. Additionally, textbooks reflect the self-image of photojournalism, where the journalism industry saw the place of photojournalism, and the ideal skill-set of graduates of photojournalism classes.

The textbooks were analyzed through a discourse analysis beginning with close readings to give general impressions. This was followed by extracting telling quotes into a master list. This list was combed over, reordered, and sorted into topical categories such as definitions of photographic news value, skills required of the news photographer, psychology required of the news photographer, descriptions of news photography practices, newsroom roles holding photographic agency, the relationship between photographer and technology, and the relationship between photographer and text reporter.

The textbooks were found using the Library of Congress catalog, other database searches, and from book lists in the archival material for the case studies discussed in the following section. They were published between 1889 and 1950. These textbooks are broken into two categories: books teaching photojournalism and textual journalism textbooks that mention photographs or photojournalism. In the case of the textual journalism textbooks, I searched each book's index to locate references to keywords. These included photographs, photojournalism, cameras, images, cuts, and many more. Also included were derivatives of the search words, for example, photojournalism, photo-journalism, and photo journalism. The found

passages were then evaluated against the previously developed topical list from the preceding paragraph.

I developed five tests to separate photojournalism textbooks from other kinds of textbooks. First, the textbook should take photography as its primary topic. This precludes textbooks which mention or even have entire chapters on camera reporting. To pass the second test, the book must have some discussion of the technical aspects of photography, such as basic photographic how-to instructions and camera equipment lists. Discussing the editorial uses and implications of photographs is not sufficient. The book must help the reader learn the basic skills of news photography. Thirdly, the book should be written with college journalism students as the intend audience. This rules out volumes for aspiring amateurs and books not specifically aimed at journalism. Fourth, it should give some sense of what makes a "good" journalistic image. And finally, fifth, the book should present the contemporary philosophical underpinnings of camera reporting. This excludes photography textbooks which do not cover journalistic uses of the technology.

The final set of sources, explored in Chapter VI, zooms in from the wide-angle perspective of textbooks to a narrow focus on two individual journalism programs that had distinct approaches to news photography. This was done using archival research into the Department of Journalism at the University of Maryland, College Park, and the Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia, Athens. From this data set, I sought specific influences on photojournalism education within and surrounding each journalism program, the college or university that houses the program, and non-academic influences like local demand for reporters.

These two case studies reveal smaller-scale influences, such as personality, not shown in the other sources in this study. Neither of these schools had a photojournalism major. Both of these programs fit the profile of being situated in land-grant universities with the journalism programs at some point accredited by AEJ.

UGA was chosen for its profile as a top-tier journalism program and early adopter of news photography education. The Grady School was in the very first batch of AEJ accredited school in 1948 and offered a pictorial reporting class since 1937. Top tier is defined as an American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) member "Class A" program with a curriculum based on the Wisconsin liberal arts journalism education model. The importance of these two characteristics is discussed in the "Journalism Education" section of Chapter IV.

The Department of Journalism at UMD was chosen because it represents a very different program profile. It began in a time of tremendous growth — and thus uncertainty — in higher education, and it went from unaccredited to be accredited. Maryland's Department of Journalism was founded in 1948 and first accredited in the mid-1950s. In the years leading up to accreditation, the department made significant changes to come in line with accrediting standards and the general "best practices" in journalism education. The department showed a desire to assimilate into the larger world of journalism education, and as such gives a snapshot of what the "average" program was like.

The department was reorganized into a college in 1972, at which point the records of the preceding 25 years were archived. The materials, around 16 linear feet,

give an intimate and unfiltered view of the major struggles and daily minutiae in the department. The documents are wide ranging, covering items such as faculty communications, meeting minutes, the departmental correspondence and memos, curriculum, job openings, teaching loads, enrollment reports, class syllabi, exams, and budgets. Together, they provide detailed insight into the actions and behind-the-scene decision-making from one school during an important period of growth in the area of photojournalism education.

The University Archive at the University of Maryland, College Park houses several other collections that provide additional material related to journalism education at the university. These include the Board of Regents records; the records of the Office of the President — specifically the Harry Clifton Byrd series, the Thomas B. Symons series, and the Wilson H. Elkins series; and the donated collections from two of Maryland's longtime photojournalism teachers, Al Danegger and Philip Geraci.

<div align="center">*   *   *</div>

Chapter III

Professional Environment

Photojournalism education history is closely tied to photojournalism history. Therefore, the profession's evolution is essential contextual background for this study. This dissertation's focus on photojournalism education's environment makes this even more true. Chapter III uses the best-known texts on the development of photojournalism to produce a condensed history of the practice.

This chapter demonstrates the beginning of photojournalism education is contemporaneous with a new kind of picture reporting. This was magazine-style news photography, which only later held the name photojournalism. As will be shown in the following pages, the movement to professionalize photojournalism is closely associated with the establishment, acceptance, and growth of photojournalism higher education. The importance of technology should not be overlooked. But neither should it be considered the only, or even most important, factor in the progression of photojournalism. It was how photographers chose to use the technology that was the true driver of change.

The first lesson photojournalism history teaches is the word itself did not appear until decades after the practice began. "Photojournalism" first appeared in the late 1940s to describe a new approach to news photography. The confluence of several evolving factors gave birth to professional photojournalism. Mid-century was not the first time photographs were used to display news, nor was it the first time the

core principles of photojournalism were found. It was, however, the first time these principles were found together.[150]

The term "photojournalism" is often credited to Clinton "Cliff" Edom, a professor at the University of Missouri School of Journalism and founding force of its news photography sequence. But the true origins are disputed.[151] Also credited are Frank Luther Mott, Edom's dean, and Henry Luce, publisher of *Life* magazine. The word's first wide use in print was in Wilson Hicks' 1952 textbook, *Words and Images*.[152] The exact origin is less important than what the term represented. Hicks wrote in his opening paragraph that photojournalism "confers on the photograph an importance as a journalistic medium at least as great as that of the word."[153]

Today, the terms "news photographer" and "photojournalist" are used interchangeably. The concept of a photographer as an individual practitioner of photojournalism did not always exist. Until the early 1950s, the photographer was a camera operator. It was the picture editor who practiced photojournalism. While Hicks elevates and promotes photojournalism in his textbook, in all 171 pages, the individual who makes the images is referred to as a cameraman or a photographer, but never a photojournalist.

---

150 Fulton and Jussim, *Eyes of Time*: 2.

151 James Colvin, "Photo-journalism is Here to Stay," *Quill* 40, no. 2 (1952): 10.

152 Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Harper, 1952).

153 *Ibid.*: xiv.

Photojournalism historian Claude Cookman identifies four "streams" — basic philosophical elements — which define photojournalism and separate it from other kinds of camera reporting. These, he writes, are "traditions of practice: bearing witness to history, promoting social reform, and embracing humanism." The fourth is "the evolution of photographic technology."[154]

To Cookman's four elements of photojournalism, I would add a fifth requirement to define photojournalism: self-awareness. This is the self-awareness of acting as a photojournalist and a personal, motivational belief in Cookman's four streams. Photojournalism cannot happen by accident or coincidence. It is an intentional act. To practice photojournalism — to be a photojournalist — one must consciously strive for Cookman's four goals and be aware of doing so.

Looking back through the canonical history of photojournalism, Cookman's four philosophical streams can be found at different times, in different places, and in different combinations. Yet none of these instances can be called photojournalism. These historical moments each produced a thread. Later actors would weave these threads into photojournalism.

That the term "photojournalism" has come to be conflated with camera reporting of any kind is a testament to the remarkable success the philosophy has achieved. The word "photojournalism" will, therefore, be employed in this dissertation only when referring specifically to the kind of camera reporting which began to take hold after World War II. The general terms "news photography," "press

---

154 Cookman, *American Photojournalism*: 3.

photography," or "camera reporting" signal the more blanket concept of using images in a journalistic context.

News photography and photojournalism are both located inside the larger field of documentary photography. Photojournalism methodology can be used in news photography. Despite its name, photojournalism can also exist outside of a journalistic context. Books and gallery shows are two such examples. The converse is also true: news photography can be non-photojournalistic. Over the last 60 years, the photojournalistic approach to news photography has become the dominant model, and in modern parlance they are nearly interchangeable. To see how this confluence occurred, the terms, and ideas must not be considered synonyms. Their relationship has been fluid and has changed over time.

To look at the origins of photojournalism, this chapter will first provide an overview of the canonical history of camera reporting. Through this history, the four streams of photojournalism have evolved, intertwined, and eventually converged. This history forms the first section of the chapter.

The second section focuses in on the moments, events, and people who brought the four streams together in a purposeful manner. Photojournalism did not just happen. It was made through the concerted effort of several key individuals, and it was spread by practitioners of news photography who adopted the new model. The movement to professionalize news photography and the emergence of photojournalism are the same story.

Development of Photojournalism

News photography history has a tradition of focusing closely on lenses, cameras, film, flash, transmission, and printing technologies.[155] Periodization of news photography history frequently revolves around technological developments in these areas. There is more to news photography history than technological determinism, but the importance of technology cannot be discounted. While technology made certain innovations possible — smaller and faster cameras allowed for more spontaneous use — technology did not make such innovations inevitable — staged and posed images can still be made with small and fast cameras.

The canonical history of photojournalism has five periods. Each is largely defined by technological shifts, important practitioners, and generalizations about the use of images in news contexts.[156] The first period opens with the invention of photography with the daguerreotype and continues to the 1860s, when photographs were first used to purposely capture news events. From the 1860s through the 1880s, photographers in the second period set out with the intention of photographing news scenes. Due to technological limitations, only the aftermath of an event made it onto the photographic plate. More importantly, there was no way of mechanically reproducing these photographs for mass distribution. Engravers used photos as reference to make the cuts by hand that were used on printing presses.[157]

---

155 Gleason, "Development of a Photojournalism Historiography."

156 *Ibid.*: 34.

157 "Cuts" was an industry term used to describe any image to be inserted into a newspaper. Originating as woodcuts, the term remained as technologies advanced. It was used to refer to hand-etched plates and plates engraved chemically in the halftone process.

This changed in the third period with the arrival of the halftone process, and later many other photographic printing processes. From 1880s onward, photographers had access to technology that captured fast-paced action. It became routine to photograph news events themselves rather than their aftermath. These images could be mechanically reproduced for mass audiences.

The principles and practices of photojournalism emerged in the fourth period, also called the magazine era. This era began with the German picture magazines in the mid-1920s. The period was anchored in America by the founding of similar magazines such as *Life* and *Look* in the mid-1930s. The style of camera reporting used in picture magazines was new, and involved more attention to the shooting and editing of picture stories. It also required the audience to undertake a more nuanced reading of images. The word photojournalism did not yet exist. The phrase "pictorial journalism" was most often used. This style of camera reporting was confined to magazines for most of the fourth period. Daily newspaper photography did not keep up with the changes.

A key element marking the transition to the fifth period was the adoption of the pictorial journalism approach by newspaper photographers. A concerted effort began just before World War II to professionalize news photography. The pictorial coverage of the war had a large impact on the kinds of images audiences came to expect. Following the war, the professionalization effort continued and the practice was rechristened "photo-journalism." By the late 1950s or early 1960s, the transformation was complete. The fifth period — the golden age of

photojournalism — saw intimate and heart-stopping photography from the battlefields of Vietnam to the neighborhood lemonade stand.

The following sections take a more detailed look at each period in news photography history.

First Period, 1839–1860s

All applications of the photographic medium, including photojournalism, can trace their origins to Monday, January 14, 1839. The second page of the Parisian broadsheet *Le Moniteur Universel* announced a new process "Discovered by Mr. Daguerre."

> After fourteen years of research and tests, he has managed to collect and to fix natural light on a solid surface, to give substance to the furtive, impalpable shadow, the object reflected in the retina of the eye or in a mirror, using a black box apparatus.[158]

This was the first public report of the daguerreotype, the first practical process of photography. The word "photograph" — from Greek meaning "writing with light" — appeared later. The daguerreotype was a one-off. The polished mirror-like surface was the final product. There was no negative from which other copies could be made.

People were amazed by the infinitely accurate detail on the photographic plate. The seeming lack of human interpretation of the scene was a never-before experienced phenomenon. For the entirety of human history to this moment, every image was the work of artistic interpretation and representation. It appeared that

---

158 "Découverte de M Daguerre." *Le Moniteur Universel*, Monday, January 14, 1839. Books on photography history often cite this article. I suspect many authors refer to other history books rather than the original article. The full text is difficult to obtain. There is also the language barrier for those who do not read French. To make this foundational article more easily accessible to future researchers, I include the full original text and my translation in Appendix 6.

Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's invention removed the human hand, and thus human limitations, from the process. Today, the photograph is taken for granted. It is difficult to overstate how fundamentally different the photograph was from anything else people had seen in the entire history of mankind.

Daguerre received a pension from the French government in return for making the patent on his process open to the public. A second photographic process that used a paper negative was invented around the same time by William Henry Fox Talbot in England. The talbotype, also known as calotype, was considered by some to be a superior process. Multiple prints could be made from the same negative, thus ushering in the age of mechanical reproduction of images. Unlike his contemporary, Talbot licensed his process for a fee. It was not taken up as widely as the open-sourced daguerreotype.

Several of the characteristics we associate with photography today did not yet exist for technical reasons. We think of a photo as a fraction of a second frozen in time. When it was first invented, exposure times were minutes long because the photographic emulsions were not very sensitive. Any camera or subject movement would blur the image. This made photographing action impossible. Even the basic portrait was difficult. Subjects often had their heads strapped in place to prevent movement during the exposure.

The idea of using pictures to report news was not yet established. Technical limitations meant shooting a news scene was nearly impossible. Even if news was photographed, there would only be one copy of the image. There was no way of sharing this image with a mass audience. Pictures were private mementos.

Second Period, 1860s–1880s

The next period ran from the 1860s through the 1880s. The best-known photographers from the era were the trio of American Civil War photographers, Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan, and Mathew Brady.[159] Publications such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* were immensely popular.[160] In this period, news was captured on glass negatives. This allowed for multiple prints to be made at a higher quality than with paper negatives of the talbotype. Still, these visual reports could only circulate via individually produced copies. It was a slow, labor intensive, and a potentially dangerous task.[161]

The technology for mechanical reproduction of photographs on a printing press did not yet exist. Audiences came to the photograph rather than the photograph to the audience. Mathew Brady's memorable images of the Civil War battle scenes were put on display in his studio in New York City. Visitors paid an entrance fee to view the images. The viewership was limited to the finite audience which could shuffle through his gallery.

For newspapers or magazines, skilled engravers would work from a photograph to create a plate to be used on the printing press. Often, a cutline would

---

159 Carlebach, *Photojournalism in America*: ch. 3.

160 *Ibid.*: ch. 4.

161 Many of the chemicals used in the various photographic and print process were highly toxic, often containing mercury, and potentially explosive. For example, see the excellent description of the tintype process in:
Floyd Rinhart and Robert W. Wagner, *The American Tintype* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999).

inform the reader if the handmade image was "from a photograph" or simply "a photograph." The best engravings were detailed and lifelike, but the translation through the human hand meant they could never match the detail of the original photograph.

Photographers in this period set out with the intent to pictorially illustrate news. But, while exposure times were by now a minute or less, it was still not possible to capture moving objects. Although Brady and his team would no doubt have liked to photograph the battles themselves, the result would have been nothing but a blur. Instead, the visual memory of the American Civil War consists of troops standing at attention, generals seated at camp, and the horrible, motionless bodies of the dead.

Third Period, 1880s–1920s

The third stage in the history of photojournalism, running approximately from the 1880s to the 1920s, saw the arrival of news photography. There were advances in cameras, film, and printing technologies, and the use of images for socially conscious documentary work was common.

The halftone process, invented in the 1880s, was the first of many methods of mechanically reproducing photographs in print. By re-photographing a photograph through a fine-mesh screen onto a light sensitized metal plate for the press, the image was transformed into a series of tiny dots. The series of tiny dots was seen as an image at arm's length and could be set next to type on a printing press. Photographs were now able to be mechanically reproduced for mass audiences. Due to the

enormous cost of retooling a printing plant, these processes spread slowly at newspapers. Universal adoption did not happen until after World War I. Concurrently, major developments in film technologies made capturing photographs easier. Rather than using glass plates or paper negatives, it was a light-weight, flexible, and dry celluloid film that held the photographic emulsion. These films were engineered to be more sensitive to light. Exposure times dropped to a fraction of a second. It was now possible to freeze movement. Lens technology was also improving, making it easier and quicker to capture images in low-light situations.[162]

Photography came to the masses at the turn of the century. No longer did one have to be a specialist photographer to take photographs. The Kodak Brownie camera was cheap, easy to shoot, and did not require a personal darkroom. The entire camera was sent to Kodak to process the exposed film, and then the reloaded camera, and prints were returned to the owner.

These technological changes meant that for the first time spontaneous moments could be photographed rather than only static or posed scenes. Innovators put these new tools to new uses. For example, social activist Jacob Riis famously photographed a groundbreaking documentary, *How the Other Half Lives*, which looked at the living conditions in the tenements of New York City. Many of his photographs were made at night with flash powder. This dangerous means of lighting a scene was not new. However, its use to illuminate spontaneous rather than posed moments was. Riis' work provided a literal and figurative look into the dark corners of the American experience and in the process showed the privileged the lives upon

---

162 *Ibid.*: ch. 5.

which their comfort was built. Another social crusader using photography was Lewis Hine. He exposed child labor practices in the United States through his documentary images. This attention was instrumental in the creation of anti-child labor laws. The work of Riis and Hine has been cited as a kind of proto-photojournalism.[163]

Only the largest newspapers had staff photographers in the first and second decade of the twentieth century. Smaller papers, if they printed photos, used freelancers and dedicated photographic agencies as the primary suppliers of news images. This was partially for logistical reasons and partly because photographers were not considered to hold any agency in the newsgathering process. Rather they were seen as laborers, no different than factory workers operating a specialized machine. Thus, they did not belong in the newsroom or directly on the payroll.

Fourth Period, 1920s–1950s

The fourth period, often known as the magazine era, began in the mid-1920s with German picture magazines. The style and format was soon replicated in America. The best-known American examples were *Life* and *Look* magazines, which both began publishing in the mid-1930s. Long-form picture stories were a weekly occurrence. Picture stories had a narrative arc, instead of being merely collection of loosely related images. The stories, and the pictures needed to tell them, were planned by picture editors. Shot lists or photo-scripts were given to photographers to fulfill. There were well-known photographers, but the creativity was credited to the photo editors.

---

163 Cookman, *American Photojournalism*.

During the Great Depression, the Farm Security Administration expanded the social documentary style of news photography which had begun in the previous period.[164] Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother" burned itself into the collective visual memory of the nation and is still immediately recognizable today.[165] It is among a handful of images from the era that became icons, images which speak to issues larger than their literal content. "American Gothic, Washington, D.C." by Gordon Parks shows a black cleaning woman in the F.S.A.'s Washington headquarters.[166] Ella Watson stands in front of an American flag, stone-faced, holding a broom, and a mop. This portrait symbolizes more than a single woman. This image has come to represent racial injustice and prejudice in the United States.

Over the course of the fourth stage, newspaper photographers became established as ubiquitous and indispensable members of the newsroom. By and large, newspaper news photography did not follow the new pictorial journalism model used in magazine photography.

The workhorse of the news industry was the large and slow Speed Graphic camera. Each exposure required the photographer to insert a sheet-film holder, to remove the dark slide, to focus the camera, to cock and release the shutter, to replace the dark slide, and then to remove the film holder. Each film holder contained two pieces of sheet film and had to be preloaded in complete darkness. A photographer

---

164 Lynn Lopata Lewis. "The FSA Photographic Project: Its Effect on Photojournalism in the Sixties." (MA thesis, Ohio State University, 1969).

165 Dorothea Lange, "Destitute Pea Pickers in California Mother of Seven Children Age Thirty-Two Nipomo, California (Migrant Mother)," 1936.

166 Gordon Parks, "Washington, DC Government Charwoman (Ella Watson)," 1942.

had to be sure to get the shot. It could take almost a minute before the next image could be made.

This era saw the introduction of the 35 mm format, but not its widespread use for news. It required more exacting technical mastery than the larger Speed Graphic. The smaller negatives and more sensitive emulsions had less leeway for error. On the other hand, the cameras were smaller, less obtrusive, easier to use, and faster. A photographer with a fast winding thumb could take a picture every second. Later in this stage, color film came into widespread use.

The transition to the fifth stage in photojournalism's history was a gradual evolution. A key feature was the adoption of pictorial journalism practices at newspapers. The spread of photojournalism went hand in hand with the professionalization of news photography. Leaders and educators in the news photography field pushed the regular members to take their job more seriously, to behave in a manner befitting professionals, and to produce images in a magazine photography style. Professionalization is explored in a following section. The evolution was complete by the late 1950s, concurrent with the rise of television as the primary visual news medium.[167]

At the transition from the fourth to fifth stage, the term "photojournalism" came into use. Defining photojournalism is not a simple task. Photojournalism developed as a practice over the years, bringing together four key ideas. First is the desire to witness and record historical events and important people. The photographer must personally be there to witness an event to make a picture. Second, the use of

---

167 Gleason, "Development of a Photojournalism Historiography": 38.

photographic technology is necessary: the camera, film, and all the rest must exist

and be operated skillfully. These two elements are required of any camera reporting,

and of any kind of photography. The next two items separate photojournalism from

other kinds of documentary photography. The third element is the belief in

photography's power to advance social justice. Photographic proof has the power and

authority to counteract hegemonic ideas. It also transports audiences into places and

situations they themselves did not experience. Finally, the fourth idea defining

photojournalism is the embrace of humanism.[168] The three central elements of

philosophical humanism form the keystones in the philosophy of photojournalism.

Despite their centrality, these three items are often unexamined by the practitioners of

photojournalism. The humanistic aspect of photojournalism, according to Claude

Cookman, is:

> the belief that, at an essential level, every subject is on an equal plane as
> the photographer; the belief in the dignity and worth of each individual
> and in that person's right to self-fulfillment; and the belief that
> photography can help achieve a world in which every person is allowed to
> realize her or his dignity and self-worth.[169]

The preceding four elements of photojournalism relate to making of images.

The next element relates to how images are read by the audience. Photojournalistic

images can become more than a hyper-detailed visual description of a scene. The best

images, those that stick in the collective visual memory of a society, contained the

literal content of the frame and iconic content. The iconography represents larger

---

168 Cookman, *American Photojournalism*.

169 *Ibid.*: 224.

90

topics or ideas. A classic example is Joe Rosenthal's "Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima"

taken atop Mount Suribachi on February 23, 1945. It depicts U.S. Marines and a Navy

corpsman raising an American flag over a battle-scarred landscape.[170] The image

came to represent the struggle, triumph, and group effort of the entire nation in World

War II. The photograph won Rosenthal the 1945 Pulitzer Prize for Photography.

Photojournalistic images can evoke a reaction in the viewer by inviting them

to be part of the scene, rather than just a passive witness. In the late 1950s George S.

Bush, a highly regarded photojournalism professor at the University of Minnesota,

wrote photojournalism's "impressionistic documentation" was,[171]

> capable, at its best, of capturing the essential feeling of the moment …
> [the image conveys] what it was like to be alive at this time at this place
> and to see this and feel this.[172]

For example, consider Robert Capa's series known as the "Magnificent Eleven."[173]

These images, taken in the second wave of D-Day landings on Omaha Beach, are not

of the action, they are *in* the action. The anticipation, fear, heroism, and fog of war

are felt when looking at these images. "If your pictures aren't good enough, you

aren't close enough," Capa was anecdotally famed for having quipped to his

---

170 Joe Rosenthal, "American Marines Raising American Flag on Mount Suribachi, Iwo Jima 1945," 1945.

171 "Photographers Honor 'U' Journalism Prof." *University of Minnesota News Service*, June 19, 1959.

172 George S. Bush, "Needed: A New Look in Photojournalism Courses," *Journalism Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1958): 216–20.

173 Robert Capa, "Beachheads of Normandy," *Life* 16, no. 25 (1944): 25–37.

colleagues at the Magnum photo agency.[174] If the photographer is intimate and involved with the subject, the immediacy of the situation passes to the viewer.

Paradoxically, the more iconic a photojournalistic image is the less journalistic it becomes. The image takes on additional meaning and is thus no longer based purely in fact. When photography was first invented, people were amazed at the detail captured. Images were considered perfect copies of the original objects. Having a photograph of an object was almost like having the object itself, and there was a direct reference between sign and signifier. Magazine photography of the fourth stage, the direct predecessor of photojournalism, began to use images to stand for ideas much larger than the objects portrayed. The distance between sign and signifier became greater and more abstract. Understanding the full implication or message of an image required a cultural understanding outside the frame. The best photojournalism is un-journalistic because the who, what, when, where, and why of the news event are overshadowed by the implied meaning.

Photojournalism also represented a repositioning of the relationship between text and images. Previously, the image had been a supporting element to the text. In photojournalism, text and images worked hand in hand to tell a richer, fuller story. Neither was subordinate to the other. Text can reprint an interviewee's words, deliver facts and figures. Photographs bring an emotional understanding of a scene, delivered right to the heart. Together, the product provides a better understanding for the audience. In his 1952 textbook *Words and Pictures*, Wilson Hicks states:

---

174 Russell Miller, *Magnum: Fifty Years at the Front Line of History* (New York: Grove Press, 1997): introduction.

This particular coming together of the verbal and visual mediums of communication is, in a word, photojournalism. …

The intent of photojournalism is to create, through combined used of the dissimilar visual and verbal mediums, a oneness of communicative result … A fusion does occur, but not on the printed page. It occurs in the reader's mind.[175]

Photojournalism was a new way of seeing the printed news product in a holistic manner. In a sense, it was an early precursor to modern multimedia journalism. In both, several storytelling media are combined, each playing to its strengths, complementing the others, and adding to a story greater than its parts.

Fifth Period, 1950s Onward

The next stage in news photography history was marked with the spread of the photojournalism approach beyond magazines and the rise of other visual media, especially television. Photojournalism became the dominant model for practicing news photography, even at newspapers. Stylistically, the newspaper photographer posed fewer subjects and sought spontaneity in images. This was made possible by the widespread adoption of the 35 mm camera.

A high-water mark of the era was the visual coverage of the Vietnam War. Photographers had virtually unfettered access to the battlefields and the raw human emotions of war. The visual culture spread and promoted by photojournalism may have been its own undoing. The medium of television exploded in the 1950s, taking advantage of the existing visual culture. The famous picture magazines lasted until

---

175 Hicks, *Words and Pictures*: 5.

the early l970s when they no longer could compete for advertising dollars with the mass audiences drawn to TV.

Photojournalists sought new channels for their work. They found this in books, gallery shows, and other non-mass media outlets. This was a return to formats used in the early stages of photojournalism history. The lines delineating photojournalism, documentaries, and art became less stark. A classic example was the l955 photography exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, titled *The Family of Man*. The curator, Edward Steichen, attempted to capture the entirety of human experience thematically and emotionally. Perhaps this was a hubristic goal, nevertheless the show and the associated published works were immensely popular. Following its four-month exhibition in New York, the show toured the world for eight years. A book containing all 503 images sold over four million copies.

Professionalizing Photojournalism

Preceding the transition from the fourth to the fifth stage, there was a concerted effort by some forward thinkers within newspaper news photography to professionalize. Even though the use of photographs in newspapers grew tremendously in the fourth stage, it is called the magazine era. The practices of newspaper photography had not changed drastically.

Through most of the fourth stage, newspaper news photographers had a well-deserved poor reputation. Photographers were known to be rude, pushy, and backbiting. The stereotype of the news shooter was not flattering and it was based in a certain amount of truth. The stereotypical "photog" wore a two-day stubble and

stained tie, chomped cigars, kept his hat on indoors, and left used flashbulbs on the floor in his wake. The news shooter was not a gentleman. The news editor of the *Akron Times-Press*, Ralph Burkholder, told a room full of news photographers in 1938 that the picture man "must abandon the old idea of reporting for an assignment dressed like a bum."[176]

In addition to their behavior and presentation problems, photographers were considered technicians and laborers, not as journalists. The practical and economic advantages of having photographers on staff began to outweigh objections to allowing these ruffians into newsrooms. The picture agencies continued, but increasingly papers added photographers to their payrolls as the fourth stage progressed.

While they came to share the same office, and drew their checks on the same employer, there was no parity between reporter and photographer. By the start of the magazine era in the 1930s, the journalism professionalization movement had been underway for more than 20 years. Attitudes were just beginning to change about the trade status versus professional status for reporters. A growing number of reporters received their education from colleges and journalism schools. News photographers, by and large, did not have higher education.

As with any occupation looking to professionalize, the first step was to build unity and a shared sense of purpose among news shooters. Only with the backing and support of a broad-based membership could national news photographer associations

---

176 "Day of Hackneyed Photos Is Over, Bellamy Says," *Editor and Publisher* LXXI, no. 10 (1938): 36.

have the legitimacy to fight battles on behalf of a news photography profession. The snowballing use of news images meant professional news photography had practicality on its side. It was a bloc growing in size and prominence. But other obstacles stood in the way.

The education issue was slowly being addressed. A handful of journalism programs offered a class or two in pictorial journalism starting in the mid-1930s. By 1947 there were at least two pictorial journalism sequences offering a major. As young news photographers entered the industry, it was increasingly likely they had a college education, just like their text-reporter colleagues. All of these changes in the fourth period of news photography history created an environment in which the professionalization of news photography was possible. With the transition to the fifth stage, that is exactly what happened.

The way newspaper news photography — as opposed to magazine news photography — was practiced prior to World War II would be unfamiliar to photojournalists today. Setting up, posing, and recreating news events for the camera was a common and accepted practice. Today, punishments for such practices could range from rebuke to firing to complete blackballing from the business.

Not so in the past. An anecdote printed in *Journalism Bulletin* in June 1944 told how news photography was formerly practiced. A scrum of photographers missed the shot of an important arrest and were scooped by a *Chicago Daily News* photographer.

> the fuming, beaten cameramen raised such a fuss over the scoop … that [the arrested man] returned to his office, the two [police officers] held

their arms out, [the man] climbed back into their grasp, flash bulbs popped, and the rest of the picture services got their picture.[177]

Such competition led to little sense of unity or shared purpose between news photographers. The demands of the job left each man to fend for himself. Photojournalism historian Claude Cookman summarizes the environment of the day:

> Their business was fiercely competitive. Their bosses refused to accept excuses in lieu of pictures. There personal pride and economic security demanded that they get the shot … In the fray of shooting shoulder-to-shoulder against competitors from a dozen newspapers, photographers sometimes left personal ethics at home.[178]

It was not unheard of for photographers to sabotage the work of the competition in order to gain a scoop or beat. This could mean intercepting a courier transporting exposures from the scene to the newsroom and directing him to a rival newspaper. Camera bags left unattended could have film exposed to light and rendered useless. There was intra-newsroom competition as well. Veteran photographers, worried about their positions and paychecks, would not teach new photographers the tricks of the trade.[179]

The news photography occupation did not have the characteristics of a group ready to work together to define and defend its occupational boarders. In 1947, the first president of the National Press Photographs Association, a newly inaugurated

---

177 Journalism Bulletin, vol. 1, no 3, June 1944, folder 3-5, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1912-1997, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records (U.S. Mss 154AF), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 3.

178 Cookman, *A Voice is Born*: 3-4.

179 *Ibid.*

professional group, pointed out it was news photographers themselves who were the biggest obstacle to professionalization.

> The most difficult job we have is to impress the press photographer with his own importance and with the importance of the work he is doing. To be convinced of one's own dignity is to contribute toward the respect to which one's craft is entitled. Only by taking ourselves seriously can we compel the world to do so.[180]

Visual Coverage of World War II

Marshall McLuhan was famously quoted in the *Montreal Gazette* on May 16, 1975:

> Television brought the brutality of war into the comfort of the living room. Vietnam was lost in the living rooms of America — not on the battlefields of Vietnam.

McLuhan may have been correct about the television aspect, but World War II was the first war with systematic visual coverage. Unlike Vietnam, this visual coverage was highly censored. The value and impact of news photography was demonstrated to the nation by the strong and extensive coverage by cameramen working for individual news outlets, the wire services, and the military. Blanket statements such as McLuhan's are difficult to prove, but given the purposeful shaping of visual coverage in World War II, news photography helped win the war by bringing a faraway war to the home front, and provided a rallying point.

Thousands of still and moving cameramen were trained in the U.S. Army Signal Corps' Army Pictorial Service, the U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command

---

180 Joseph Costa, "Ethics in News Photography," in *News Photography Short Course Digest*, ed. Alfred A. Crowell (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947): 50.

Photograph Section, and their equivalents in the Marines, Air Corp, and Coast Guard. Fighting, photographing, and dying alongside the frontline troopers, combat photographers were foot soldiers in the information war. There were many other important photography jobs in the Signal Corp, including producing training films, aerial and reconnaissance photography, and Victory Mail technicians.[181] Of these, it was combat photography that was closest to news photography and helped pave the way for the spread of photojournalism.

The official history of the Signal Corps in World War II states that in the first two years of the war there was "considerable dissatisfaction with the manner in which combat photography was being handled."[182] Despite a great quantity of work, the quality left all parties unsatisfied. Officials in Washington believed the photos lacked the spectacular reality of war the public expected. Field commanders felt the photos did not reflect the gallantry of their men's sacrifices. Conversely, the Signal Corps felt their photographers were not given opportunities from commanders to make such images.[183]

Reasons for the unsatisfactory photo coverage can be partially traced to structural problems. The photographic officers were directly under the unit commander and were originally intended to be used for strategic purposes

---

181   Letters from home were photographed in bulk, the developed negatives shipped to theater of war, the negatives were printed, and the letters delivered to the troops on the frontline. For an extensive description of the process see:
Christopher H. Sterling, ed. *Military Communications: From Ancient Times to the 21st Century* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2008): 489.

182   George Raymor Thompson and Dixie R. Harris, *The Signal Corps: The Outcome (Mid-1943 through 1945)* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1966): 569.

183   *Ibid.*

(photographing enemy positions, for example), and had no official tie to the public relations officer. Yet it was the public relations officer who issued most photo requests. Commanders, not really knowing how to direct the photographic officer, often gave vague orders such as "cover the operation." Officially, Signal Corp photographic units were companies, approximately 200 to 300 men, and were attached to each field army. Having 200 photographers in one place was, obviously, wasteful. In practice, small units of six enlisted men were overseen by an officer, and were assigned when and where they were needed. This provided flexibility, but lacked a field chain of command as the photo teams were not responsible to local officers.

In May 1943, the War Department issued a general order establishing photographic officers at all organizational levels from the division on up, each responsible to the next, creating a chain of command. This change, along with improved and lengthened photographic training and the establishment of specialized combat cameraman infantry schools, led to a rapid uptick in the quality, as well as the quantity, of photographic material produced.

In 1944, photographers from the Signal Corps shot one half of the still pictures published in U.S. newspapers, magazines, and books.[184] At the height of the war, more than 800,000 feet of newsreel film and 10,000 combat pictures a month passed through the Signal Corps Photographic Center in Astoria, Long Island. The Pentagon's Still Picture Library was very selective about which pictures it retained,

---

184 *Ibid.*: 565.

but still took in 142,264 photographs in 1945, and a total of half a million for the entire war.[185]

As in many other areas, World War II was a transformative event in the field of news photography. Systematic and effective photographic training programs were established. Nearly 100,000 photographers had been trained during the war. This is an astounding number considering there were estimated to be only 2,000 news photographers in the country in 1940.[186]

Despite the seeming oversupply of photographers in the postwar years, the demand was high and growing. The job prospects as a news photographer were quite good. One report found that 1,200 of the nation's 1,875 daily newspapers did not have photographic facilities or staff photographers, and with 20,000 weeklies there were even more opportunities.[187] Former G.I.s with photo training could easily slip into jobs as news photographers or photo instructors.[188] The public had a glimpse into the war zone — albeit censored — and had come to expect dramatic images to accompany dramatic news.

General Dwight Eisenhower wrote an open letter to the attendees of the Kent State University News Photography Short Course, the principal gathering of news shooters, the year after the war ended. He thanked the combat cameramen who,

---

185 *Ibid.*: 563.

186 Hud Robbins, "Announcement Regarding News Photographers' Association," in *News Photography Record, vol. II* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1939).

187 Jack Price, "Opportunities for the News Photographers in the Postwar Era," *Short Course Digest 1946*: 46.

188 The University of Maryland's first news photography teacher, Al Danegger, is one example. His experiences are discussed in Chapter VI.

"played a magnificent role by portrayal for all time and all people the grim realities of the battlefield."[189]

The NPPA and the Quest for Status

"We're no longer going to permit ourselves to be relegated to the position of unwelcome, but necessary, stepchildren of the Fourth Estate."[190] These words, from the first issue of *National Press Photographer*, capture the mood in the photojournalism profession in April of 1946. The changes in news photography begun a decade and a half earlier with the coming of the magazine era had snowballed and reached a critical mass. The search for status and recognition for news photographers was no longer the obsession of a few visionaries, but of the entire profession. These words, written under the headline, "Hello, Everybody! This is the Voice of the Press Photographer," signaled the profession saw itself as just that, a profession.[191] There was still work to be done in convincing others of this, but internally at least the evolution from trade and vocation to profession was complete. Founded several months earlier, the launch of the National Press Photographers Association was the final step in this evolution. Joseph Costa, a photographer for the *New York Daily News* and first president of the NPPA, informed the membership and readers, "We've got a voice, finally, and we're going to make use of it."[192]

---

189 Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Letter to Michael Radock, Director of Kent State University News Bureau," *Short Course Digest 1946*: 15.

190 "Hello, Everybody! This is the Voice of the Press Photographer," *National Press Photographer* 1, no. 1 (1946).

191 *Ibid.*

192 *Ibid.*

The quantity and quality of images advanced following the war, but the professional status of the producers of these works did not rise with the tide. News photographers continued to be relegated to second-class status in the newsroom. Costa gave insight into this second-class status of news photography as he described the NPPA's chief raison d'être:

> Heretofore we've been all too mealymouthed about it. We've only discussed it in low tones among ourselves, like halitosis. It's this; EQUAL RIGHTS FOR PHOTOGRAPHERS! … When we say 'equal rights for photographers' we mean as compared with our best friends and severest critics — the reporters.[193]

An important step toward this goal took place in Atlantic City, N.J., on June 15, 1945, when a group of 17 press photographers formed an Organizing Committee and a Constitution Committee for an as-yet unnamed association dedicated to press photography.[194] The following day, June 16, the first order of business established the name: National Press Photographers Association. The NPPA officially came into existence on February 23, 1946, at the New Yorker Hotel in Manhattan when the constitution was adopted and officers elected. As a longtime advocate for working photographers, Joseph Costa was elected president and remained chairman of the board for the next 16 years. He also edited the association's trade publication *National Press Photographer* for 21 years.[195]

---

193 *Ibid.*

194 For chronological reference, this was in the closing days of World War II. The Germans had surrendered the month before, and the Japanese would surrender two months later.

195 Cookman, *A Voice is Born*.
National Press Photographer was renamed to *News Photographer* in 1974

The NPPA did not spring out of a vacuum. There had been city, state, and regional press photographer associations as early as 1914 with the establishment of the New York Press Photographers Association. The White House News Photographers Association, still active today, began in 1921. Major metropolitan areas also had news photographer groups, but these were primarily social groups and did little advocacy or education. The proliferation of such groups stood in the way of larger regional and national photo associations because the smaller groups tended to protect their membership turf and were not interested in affiliating.[196]

The need for advocacy groups for press photographers began to gather steam in the late 1930s. Press photographers had poor working conditions and little respect among from their journalistic colleagues or from the public, and government bodies began restricting camera access. Individual photographers were unable to fight these larger battles and they needed to group together.

One association, the Southwestern Association of Pictorial Journalists, was founded in 1937, but it evaporated during World War II. While in existence, the association stated that its purpose was "to raise the status of the news cameraman to a high professional level."[197] Interrupting all aspects of life, the war put plans for a national association on hold. The closing days of the conflict saw a dedicated group of press photographers working to start a national advocacy organization.

True to form as technophiles, the photography leaders used an innovative 10 city teleconference-cum-broadcast to make their case to the rank and file. They made

---

196 *Ibid.*: 5-8.

197 *Ibid.*: 5.

the case for a national group. With one hour of donated long-distance time, a highly choreographed and scripted meeting of the heads of 10 municipal and regional associations took place on March 29, 1945. In addition to the 10 men on the phone, the meeting was broadcast through loudspeakers at the local associations' club houses for other members to listen in. A transcript also was later sent to the memberships of the various organizations. The goal was to reach as many working news photographers as possible.

The opening lines of the conference came from Burt Williams, the chief photographer of The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, a leading force for the national organization, and later Secretary of NPPA. He articulated the need for professionalization in the news photography occupation:

> We can be a service for our newspapers and publishers, as well as for ourselves, if we raise up our own standards and set up a yardstick of ability … and stick up for your rights.[198]

The man who would later lead the NPPA, Joseph Costa, was supportive but weary of possible pitfalls. In his allotted six minutes, he listed reasons why a national association would not work. Chief among them was the general apathy of the photographers themselves, who having been the subject of derision at work and in society for so long, had come to hold themselves and their occupation in low regard. "Our biggest problem," he said, "is selling the press photographer on his own importance."

A flurry of correspondence followed the conference call. A face to face meeting was set and took place in Atlantic City on the sidelines of another journalism

---

198   Burt Williams quoted in Cookman, *A Voice is Born*: 9.

convention. This meeting led to forming an Organizing Committee and a Constitution

Committee. The latter was officially comprised of several members, but it fell to

Joseph Costa to work through the constitutions of other press associations, press

photographer associations, professional associations, and even the U.S. Constitution

to take the best features of each and to create the NPPA's founding documents. The

NPPA constitution was approved in December 1945. Seeking to raise the self-worth

of press photographers, the constitution closed with this:

> The practice of press photography, both as a science and art, is worthy of
> the very best thought and endeavor of those who enter into it as
> a vocation.[199]

The timing of the founding of the NPPA shaped the outcome of its character

and mission. The great number of military trained photographers who would soon

flood home looking for jobs and education were still overseas. The founding

members were men who were not in military service, chiefly because they were

beyond draft age. This meant that experienced and longtime press photographers,

presumably with cool heads and a driving commitment, were at the helm as the

NPPA set sail.

Given the fiercely competitive nature of news photographers, it is no wonder

it took so long for them to cooperate and build a national organization. It took some

time for the ideas to sink in and register with news photographers. The principles

behind the NPPA were at the opposite pole of how pictorial journalism had operated.

Presumably the "old timers" were fed up with the old way and were ready to

attempt a change in the direction of a better-organized, more respectable, and

---

199 *Ibid.*: 15.

generally friendlier profession. The legacy of the way pictorial journalism once operated, and the effort to change it, can still be seen today in one of the 16 provisions of the current NPPA code of ethics: "Do not intentionally sabotage the efforts of other journalists."[200]

Contemporary authors recognized new and stricter codes of professional ethics as a hallmark of photojournalism. A 1952 article in *Quill*, the trade journal of the Society of Professional Journalists, summarized the recent changes in news photography for its readership. James Colvin, the author, believed the National Press Photographers Association's code of ethics was ahead of anything text journalists were using. The NPPA code would "astonish, and unfortunately amuse, too many press writers."[201] The code stems from an "admixture of professional determination to see the job done and human conviction that no one should be unnecessarily hurt in the doing."[202] Joseph Costa saw news photographers as public servants:

> As a group, the press photographers have a new awareness of their responsibilities in the public interest. They have become seriously concerned with the new requirements of their craft as technological developments daily enlarge the fields in which they can serve the public. The press photographer of today stands ready to fulfill his role as visual reporter and documentarian of the age.[203]

One important point of contention was settled unequivocally in the constitution. The NPPA was to be an association, and not a union. The constitution

---

200 "NPPA Code of Ethics." *nppa.org* accessed 2014-07-30, https://nppa.org/code_of_ethics.

201 Colvin, "Photo-journalism is Here to Stay."

202 *Ibid.*

203 *Ibid.*

specifically stated it would "in no way be involved in labor relations of any sort."[204] The NPPA would be an organization to promote and spread ideas, not to dictate anything to its members.

From the beginning, NPPA had an educational mandate, but this was not connected with journalism schools. This began with a focus on professional development of existing shooters. Only several years later did education of future journalists, students, become part of the equation. Once it did, the philosophy was technical and professional oriented and lacked any emphasis on liberal arts. This is explained by the kinds of educational activities the NPPA was involved in, which were singular rather than part of a curriculum. For example, there were one-off workshops, short courses, and textbooks. The larger education of students was not in the NPPA's sphere. Whether for professionals or students, the goal of the educational mandate was to raise the overall quality of images and to put an end to the each-man-for-himself mindset of the pre-war years. At the NPPA's second annual convention in 1947, the Education and Technical Committee was formed.

The NPPA continued the regional and national "short courses" where the idea for the association had originally been sparked. These meetings were (and still are) held over a long weekend and provided time for members to socialize, to pass on techniques and tricks, and to attend seminars on more abstract topics, such as ethics and "How to Work With Your City Editor."[205] In 1950, the association published a

---

204 Cookman, *A Voice is Born*: 14.

205 Alfred A. Crowell, ed. *News Photography Short Course Digest, 1947* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947).

press photography textbook.[206] The educational mandate continued in 1955 with the founding of an audiovisual service offering 14 lectures, which could be bought or rented.[207]

The Short Course and the Coming Metamorphosis

The Kent State Department (later School) of Journalism organized and hosted a Short Course in News Photography annually from 1938 to 1962, with a hiatus from 1942 through 1945. The Short Course brought together professional news photographers, amateur enthusiasts, students, journalism educators, and publishing and photography industry representatives. Over the course of three to five days on the Kent State campus in Ohio, a series of speeches and lectures, demonstrations of new technologies, and field trips, provided attendees with the latest information and developments in the field. Perhaps of more importance, the Short Course also provided the time and space for professional networking. It had a reputation for hard-drinking, late-night "bull sessions" where photographers would trade stories and commiserate.

The chronicler of the 21 years of the Kent State University's Short Courses in Photojournalism, Linda Yoder, wrote that the Short Courses had two equally important goals. These were education and information sharing, and "to bring the needed respectability to the profession of news photographs."[208]

---

206 *Complete Book of Press Photography*.

207 Cookman, *A Voice is Born*: 175.

208 Linda Taylor Yoder. "The Operations and Accomplishments of the Kent State University Photo Short Courses." (MA thesis, Kent State University, 1971): iii.

While not the very first short course — that distinction went to The University of Oklahoma in 1937 — Kent was a pioneer of the short course format. It served as a model for other short courses in news photography, such as the Northern Short Course, the Southern Short Course, and the Flying Short Course (all three are still held every year). Under the auspices of Journalism Department Head William Taylor, a number of faculty members took the reins of the Short Course over its 24-year lifespan.[209]

From 1946 to 1949, the executive secretary of the Short Course was Alfred A. Crowell. In late 1949, Crowell left Kent State and moved to the University of Maryland to become chair of the nascent Department of Journalism and Public Relations, a position he held for the next 16 years. Crowell began the practice of publishing the Short Course Digest. The Digest contained the text of the major speeches and other material from the convention. If a photographer could not make it in person, this was the next best thing. The attendance grew every year, but Crowell wanted to ensure the ideas spread as far as possible. It was a popular publication. Librarians, newspaper editors, and journalism programs all requested copies.[210]

The first Short Course at Kent State attracted just over 100 attendees in 1938. The numbers grew steadily each year and paused for a four-year hiatus during and immediately after World War II, resuming in 1947. The 1947 Short Course illustrates just how far press photography had come in a brief time. With nearly 500 in attendance, lectures were given by photographers, photo industry technicians, and

---

209 Finding Aid, Kent State University School of Journalism Short Course in News Photography records (1937-1966), Special Collections and Archives, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

210 Yoder, "Operations of the Kent State Short Courses."

journalism educators. There was a news photography division, a freelance division, and a beginner's division for students. Ohio Governor Thomas Herbert welcomed the guests and the Chief Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court gave a speech on "Integrity in Newspaper Photography." These politicians lent credence to the notion that news photography was no longer a seedy occupation which would tarnish a politician's image, but rather a perfectly respectable profession on the rise. There was a great feeling of hope and satisfaction that the occupation was professionalizing.

The Short Course Digest from 1947 contains numerous articles on technical skills and the latest equipment. Of more interest are the several articles, text of speeches and presentations given at the short course, which fall into two categories. The first could be called "pictures matter," and were intended to arm photographers with the proof they needed to argue for the validity and importance of their work. City editors and photo editors were the chief target of these newly armed photographers. Using reader studies, circulation numbers, citing well-known images, and detailing logical failings in the photo editing process, the first-class value could be used to fight the second-class status.

The second category of article promoted a new kind of press photography, photojournalism. That word was not used, because it had not yet been invented, but the ideas and values advanced were those which would come to define photojournalism. These were not new ideas, but they were new to the world of newspaper photography. These values were those of magazine photography which had developed over the previous two decades.

11

A photojournalist today would not be surprised by the following list. At the time, just after the war and at the transition point between the fourth and fifth periods of photojournalism history, these were colossal changes from contemporary newspaper photography. In the Digest, educators, editors, and top photographers encouraged the Short Course attendees and readers to look for the decisive, storytelling moment rather than posing shots. Natural lighting was promoted over flash photography for its naturalistic look. There were pleas for photographers to take the time to carefully compose their images rather than making snapshots. It was not beneficial to the newspaper or the reader to have point-and-click images. Rather, purposely composed and executed images provide the best and most informative story. There was a link between the quality of images produced and the status of those producing them. If photographers wanted to be taken seriously, they had to take their own work seriously.[211]

G. W. Churchill, the pictorial editor for *Life* magazine, used his speech to address the new National Press Photographers Association, which had only officially incorporated a month prior. He called on the NPPA to do some of the work of selling the importance of photographs to publishers, but said this also was the duty of every individual photographer: "So it's you photographers who are going to advance this profession of ours in the last analysis."[212]

Churchill had words of warning for the established news photographers, comfortable in their positions and uninterested in changing their ways. Change was

---

211 Crowell, *Short Course Digest, 1947.*

212 GW Churchill, "Good Pictures Just Don't Happen," in *News Photography Short Course Digest*, ed. Alfred A. Crowell (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947): 17.

coming, he warned. Get on board or get pushed out of the way. He saw a binary in

news photography: bad photographers and those eager to learn. He began with

the inept:

> there are a lot of bad pictures being made and serviced these days, pictures
> that prove beyond a shadow of doubt that a lot of photographers don't
> even think about the story idea they are trying to report in pictures,
> pictures that prove that a lot of photographers lack a good technical
> knowledge of the elements which go to make up a good picture, pictures
> that prove some photographers don't even know how to operate a camera
> properly.[213]

He could insult such photographers because they were not in the room. Simply

attending the Short Course was proof a photographer was interested in improving

their personal practice and that of the profession as a whole.

> You wouldn't be here trying to learn more about our profession if you
> were a member of [the bad photographer] pack … That type of
> photographer isn't going to last in our business.[214]

Churchill next introduced a third category of news photographers: the young, driven,

college-educated news photographers. It was this third category that would change

the profession for the better. They would either outright replace the complacent

photographers currently in the business, or force the lackadaisical crowd to adjust to

new professional norms.

> There are many eager young photographers coming up, boys and girls
> who want to learn, who think of pictures as a way of expression and a
> medium of information; boys and girls to whom composition means
> something, who think of pictures as stories in themselves, not just as
> illustrations for somebody's text. …
>   They're ambitious. They'll try out the new ideas. I know a couple
> who are picking the brains of every old photographer they run into. They
> are studying composition and how to attain it on the negative. They aren't

---

213 *Ibid.*

214 *Ibid.*

content to make a picture and then hope the darkroom can crop it right. They are going to universities like Kent State.[215]

Churchill's speech to the Short Course issued a challenge. It was a race between a new breed of educated photographers and those who stuck by the practices of a bygone age. This was one of the earliest mentions of the clash of generations in news photography. Churchill's prediction took years to be fully realized, but he correctly foresaw the coming of photojournalism's golden age. And he attributed the agency for the shift to photojournalism higher education.

It was not only what and how news photographers were made which was transformational. Ethics and the underlying values of the proto-profession needed updating as much as any other area. The address from NPPA President Joseph Costa was titled "Ethics in News Photography." As an indication of just how badly photographers were known to deport themselves, he admonished the assembled press photographs to behave with simple, basic manners. He went so far as to explain the Golden Rule and tell photogs to clean up their used flash bulbs rather than leave them on the floor. He told them not to lie to the public or editors, not to sabotage other photographers, not to make promises without the intent of honoring those promises. Clearly, news photography had a self-inflicted image problem.

Costa told photographers they should behave as journalists: know details of the assignment before leaving the office, write captions on a typewriter for legibility, and check names. Most importantly, while he encouraged healthy newsroom and newspaper competition, he argued that the good of the profession must be set above

---

215 *Ibid.*

fleeting individual scoops. The behavior of one photographer, he insisted, reflected

on all photographers:

> Remember, every setback registered in lowered esteem by the public
> results directly in resistance encountered on our daily assignments. If
> people realize that press photographers are decent, honorable, courteous,
> normal individuals, naturally they are going to be more inclined to
> cooperate with us. Let's try to give more dignity to our work.[216]

Engineering Photojournalism in Retrospect

The choice of passive verb tense used in describing the history of

photojournalism is an important one. Photojournalism did not spread, it was spread.

Photojournalism did not develop, it was developed. Having no agency of its own, a

passive verb tense is appropriate. It was people who invented and improved the

photographic technologies by using them in new and innovative ways. It was people

who conceived of new ways of understanding the meaning in images and who

changed the motivations of those who produced the images. The camera does not

photograph a scene. It is the photographer who wields the camera as a tool.

Thus, the evolution of the various ideas and technologies that would come to

define photojournalism is a history of human thought. The photographs and

photographic styles of any period are a visual expression and permanent record of

these thoughts put into practice.

The history of photojournalism, as with any history, can only be seen in

hindsight. With the outcomes of events known to the historian, patterns that

foreshadow the eventual outcome can be found. Claude Cookman's four streams of

---

216   Costa, "Ethics in News Photography": 49.

photojournalism are a case in point. It is the historian's prerogative to define the professionalization of news photography as the "final" outcome to this story and divide the preceding years into five periods. Louis Daguerre could not foresee the future uses of his "black box apparatus," just as we cannot see the ultimate historical impact of the miniaturization of the camera. Today, the ubiquitous smartphone universally includes a camera and fits in a pocket with room to spare. What will this mean for journalism and photojournalism? We have early indications and predictions, but the result is far from clear. Similarly, in the past, the professionalization of news photography was not a goal held by anyone until it was underway.

All the ingredients were present just after World War II that allowed committed individuals in the news photography business to push a professionalization plan. For the previous 15 years, a new style of camera reporting came to be practiced outside of newspaper photography, but it was clearly visible to newspaper photographers. The pictorial style of magazine photography was the blueprint for the style of photography that would define professional photojournalism. A small, but growing community of news photographers became dissatisfied with the current state of affairs and began to express a desire for change. The wartime use of photographs created an expectation in the public of impactful magazine-style images, and a vast pool of photographers were trained to fill the need.

Given these raw ingredients, leaders could create new institutions to serve, promote, and create professional photojournalism. Joseph Costa pushed and pulled the NPPA into existence, and he propelled it on a mission to organize, educate, and empower news photographers. Alfred Crowell organized the postwar Kent State

Short Courses, where photographers could gather with like-minded individuals, share ideas, and create a critical mass in favor of professional photojournalism and its values.

This chapter covered the gradual development of photojournalism practice from the invention of photography in 1839 to the mid-twentieth century and the institution we recognize today. Also covered were the efforts to have the institution recognized as a profession which spanned the decade prior to World War II to a few years after the war. These two streams provide a partial environmental backdrop for photojournalism higher education. As news photography was in the process of professionalizing into photojournalism, major transformations were underway in higher education as well. The following chapter completes the environmental picture of photojournalism education by adding the parallel contextual histories of higher education in general, professional education more specifically, and journalism education in particular.

*   *   *

Chapter IV

Educational Environment

The purpose of this chapter is to characterize two additional environments of photojournalism education. Neo-institutional theory points to the value of such an examination. This environmental context illuminates a source of the early stigma against photojournalism education. The connection between photojournalism education and journalism education is axiomatic. Accordingly, exploring journalism education's maturation is essential to understanding photojournalism education's arc. Journalism education was fighting its own battles for professional acceptance and the trade-like qualities of photojournalism did not fit. To fully comprehend journalism education, one must scrutinize the institutional models it sought to emulate coming primarily from other fields of professional education. In addition to journalism education, higher education at large needed to view photojournalism education as a legitimate educational field before significant steps forward could be taken.

This chapter begins by recounting key moments in the progression of higher education writ large with special attention paid to professional education during the first half of the twentieth century. The second section of this chapter dives deeply into the gestation of journalism education. Three threads run through the journalism education section: competing philosophies of journalism education, the professional associations revolving around each philosophy, and attempts by these associations to accredit journalism programs based on these philosophies.

This chapter reveals journalism education's own quest for legitimacy played an outsized role molding photojournalism education. For nearly thirty years after germination, journalism education fought for validation in the eyes of the journalism profession and the academic domain. All manner of decisions were knowingly or unwittingly made with the status of journalism education in mind. This was apodictically true in regards to photojournalism education.

Journalism educators initially disagreed about whether journalism education should be aligned with the social sciences, humanities, or professions. A hybrid developed in which journalism skills training was placed within a liberal arts curriculum combined with new subjects of journalism law, ethics, and history. Later, fitting photojournalism education within the established liberal arts journalism education model was difficult because teaching photojournalism was highly vocational. It was not until journalism education aligned less with the humanities and more with the professions that photojournalism education was widely accepted.

In the years following World War II, higher education responded to students' demands by providing more practical and professional education in many disciplines. Universities expanded their professional offerings by growing preexisting programs and founding new ones. The professional programs within the universities gained power as they attracted students and federal funding.

As the environment of journalism education adjusted and became more professionally oriented, an opening was created for photojournalism education. This shift was solidified by the early 1950s when journalism accreditation was taken over

by professionally oriented programs. This created an opening into which photojournalism education grew.

<u>Higher Education</u>

Law and medical schools have frequently and repeatedly been cited as models for professional journalism education. This goes back at least as far as Joseph Pulitzer's 1908 essay, "The College of Journalism," in the *North American Review*. In the essay, he carefully set out the argument for including journalism as a subject of study in universities. The media titan and founding benefactor of the Columbia School of Journalism argued that journalists should be professionals like doctors and lawyers. Law and medicine are professions. They have a place in higher education. Therefore, he argued, a significant move toward professionalizing journalism could be undertaken by also including it in colleges and universities.

At the turn of the twentieth century, professional education was only just beginning to enter a form recognizable today. When Pulitzer and his ilk referenced professional education, it had a different meaning than what we might understand today. Consequently, it is vital to explicate what professional training meant at the time.

Forebears of Professional Education

Professional education emerged along with, or shortly after, the sudden rise of universities in the late nineteenth century. Professional education was a rejection of prior educational and training models.

In the so-called colonial era (1600s–1789) and emergent nation era (1790–1869) higher education had a limited purpose in society and limited interaction with the professions. A college degree was not required to practice law, medicine, or theology — the three core professions. A man (and they were almost exclusively white men) could attend a few years of college, obtain a degree or leave early, and then take professional training via an apprenticeship. Or, he could also skip college altogether and go directly to apprenticeship. A college education was just one of many ways to enter society and not required to enter a profession.[217]

Colonial era and emergent nation era colleges provided basic liberal arts education and did not offer specialization. The purpose of a liberal education was not to teach skills or train professionals. Rather, it was a way of socializing graduates for a certain social class.

Through the emergent nation era, the necessity of a college education for professional practice remained optional but gradually grew in popularity. In this period, specific educational institutions for the professions slowly proliferated as alternatives to apprenticeships. These institutions were generally independent and not associated with colleges. They often operated for profit. A pupil could enter a professional school with few prerequisites. Neither a high school diploma nor a college degree was required. Standalone professional schools were alternatives to colleges and not attractions for college graduates.[218]

217 Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*.

218 Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges."

The low bar for entry was for economic reasons. Professional schools needed as many tuition-paying students as possible. College graduates were in relatively short supply and could not fill the professional schools' desks. It was advantageous to accept any paying student into a professional school rather than having strict entrance requirements. Professional school education remained only one way of entering a profession. It was not the most popular method, a position still held by apprenticeships. There was little to no regulation of professional standards, either in standardized training or licensing for practice.[219]

As the professions sought to enhance and protect their reputations — to professionalize — they had to regulate entrance through standardized training and practice through licensing. Requiring professional schooling was one way to accomplish this. As the emergent nation era wore on, professional schools grew in importance and the percentage of professionals who were graduates grew steadily. Yet, these schools were themselves unregulated and decidedly unstandardized.[220] In the years leading up to the university era, the percentage of professionals who had attended colleges, or had been trained in professional schools or apprenticeships, grew.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century marked the rise of the universities. Roger Geiger points precisely at the first half of the 1890s as the moment when American university overshadowed its older cousin, the liberal arts college. This

---

219 Herbst, "Rethinking American Professional Education."

220 *Ibid.*

marks the moment of ascendancy, but Geiger contends that the university did not arise without precedent. He points to the relatively unsuccessful, multipurpose college as a precursor to the university.[221]

The universities became umbrella organizations for vocational, professional, and liberal arts education. Vocational education is training which is directly applicable to jobs in a prescribed field.[222] Professional training provides training *and* basic cognitive skills needed for a specific job. Liberal arts education not only teaches but educates and aims to give the student a wider understanding of the world herself.[223] These educational approaches do not naturally overlap and their adherents tend to be skeptical of each other. The universities sheltered all three. Over the years conflict arose as the balance of power shifted from one to another.[224]

The latter portion of the nineteenth century was a time of explosive growth in America. Legions of immigrants made their way ashore and a burgeoning middle-class developed. The young people in these groups sought to enter the workforce other than as manual laborers and higher education held that promise.

An increase in both working professionals with college educations (with or without professional schooling) and working professionals with professional educations (with or without college) led to the start of the university era. A central element of the new structure of universities was the absorption of standalone

---

221 Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges."

222 Lazerson, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges."

223 Mark R. Nemec, "The Role of Curricular Debate in the University," *The Review of Higher Education* 20, no. 2 (1996): 215–27.

224 *Ibid.*

professional schools or the creation of new ones. Bachelor's degrees became required for entrance into professional schools. As in the previous era, there was an economic incentive for educational institutions to keep full enrollments. The new universities monopolized higher education and could enforce entrance requirements. This also pushed more students into undergraduate education, thus making one individual a student twice. This monopoly was a cause and an effect of the trend away from apprenticeships and enrollment in independent professional schools in the late 1800s.

The university system represented a new organizational structure for higher education. The key elements of the new university format were threefold: research, inspired by the German model, a move away from denominational education, and a broadening of educational paths beyond the liberal arts to include professional education.

Several private universities emerged suddenly and fully formed, including Johns Hopkins and Cornell. However, the typical American university of the late 1800s was a reorganized liberal arts college with a new, broader mission with new departments.[225]

State colleges received an influx of new funds from the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, which put into place the land-grant system. This system allocated federal land in the West to state governments. Any profits from the sale or development were to be used for higher education. Many of the new programs and departments financed by Morrill Act money were instituted at the undergraduate level. This built a large base on which to set professional education. With more people holding B.A.s than

---

225 Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*.

ever, professional education could make an undergraduate degree an entrance requirement and still fill the desks.[226]

Colleges-turned-universities either created new departments from scratch, or as was more often the case, absorbed their one-time competitors. Local vocational schools, normal schools, teachers colleges, junior colleges, and professional schools were all incorporated into the university system, creating a one-stop shop for students. The original liberal arts college remained in place, but it was not, as one scholar described it, the hub from which new departments and programs radiated.[227] The original liberal arts college was forced to share the limelight with its adopted siblings.

The Dawn of Professional Education

The university era was the cradle of professional education as we recognize it today. Inclusion in the university represented more stringent and standardized training and the latest in scientifically derived knowledge. Professors in professional schools were expected to expand this knowledge through research and to pass this growing knowledge base on to pre-professionals. This provided the public with the assurance that their doctors, lawyers, and other professionals had received a trustworthy education and were well versed in the latest techniques.[228] In this era, the established professions sought to enhance and to defend their reputations while what

---

226 *Ibid.*

227 *Ibid.*

228 Herbst, "Rethinking American Professional Education."

had once been considered occupations began to professionalize. A place in higher education was a key element for the new and old professions alike.[229] The chancellor of Stanford University highlighted the paramountcy of higher education to professional practice in 1903. David Starr Jordan wrote, "The value of the college training of to-day [sic] cannot be too strongly emphasized. You cannot save time nor money by omitting it, whatever the profession on which you enter."[230]

The three traditional professions of law, medicine, and theology were joined by business, engineering, education, journalism, and many others. By World War II, there were upwards of a hundred professional degrees available at various universities.[231] This expanded the mandate of higher education to go beyond the liberal arts core of the emergent nation era and include the vocational training that is at the heart of professional schools. The function of college had been, in Jordan's words, "to certify to a man's personal culture … It attested not that he was wise or good or competent to serve, but that he was bred a gentleman among gentlemen."[232] The modern function was more utilitarian: the preparation of knowledgeable professional workers. Higher education now served business in addition to pupils. Students went to college and graduate school to get ahead in a capitalist society.

---

229   W. Bruce Leslie, "The Age of the College," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann (Boston, Mass.: Pearson Custom Pub., 2007).

230   David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Twentieth Century, an Address to Young Men* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1903): 36.

231   Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education*.

232   Jordan, *Call of the Twentieth Century*: 36.

At rapidly growing rates after World War I, professional schools began demanding undergraduate degrees as prerequisites. Outside organizations, such as the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, sought to change professional education and could do this with economic incentives. With the increasing hurdles to enter professional education, the professions were no longer as open to newcomers as they had once been. This suited the professions fine as they sought to define and protect their borders and to raise standards.[233] Employers increasingly hired based on college and professional school credentials. Many more occupations sought to professionalize through higher education.

The stratification of education was another transformation. The university, and especially the professional graduate education within the university, became the top rung on a linear "educational ladder." This ladder led from elementary to secondary to high school to college to professional schools. If one wanted to enter a profession, one had no choice but to climb in the prescribed order.[234] Professional schools increasingly became graduate education, as they began requiring a bachelor's degree as an entrance requirement. Institutions that had once been competitors of the college either disappeared as was the case with apprenticeships, or they were subjugated to the university juggernaut in the case of private professional schools, academies, normal schools, etc.[235]

---

233 Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann, "Part V; Higher Education: 1900-1950," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann (Boston, Mass.: Pearson Custom Pub., 2007).

234 Lazerson, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges."

235 Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*.

Once firmly established, university education, with professional education as a load-bearing pillar, experienced rapid expansion after the World War I. This was driven by demographics, more rigorous standards, and a changing social perception of the value of higher education and professional education. Vocational and professional educations grew adjacent to the older practice of liberal arts education. The liberal arts were not replaced, but augmented.[236] In the 1920s and 1930s, the number of high school graduates skyrocketed. This meant there were more individuals qualified to attend college and university. As professional and other academic standards became more rigorous, education took longer, meaning more students were enrolled at any given moment. Finally, entrance into a profession was seen by the lower and lower-middle-classes as a step up the social ladder. These factors contributed to the growing size and power of the American university.[237]

Faculty members at the new professional schools had to balance the dictates of academia — to research, publish, and create new knowledge — with the mandates from the professional field — to prepare graduates ready to work. Professors and administrators had to ask to what extent the professional school's job was to create workers in a field or teach the theoretical knowledge in the field[238] Prioritization was a difficult balancing act with preserving and enhancing professional education on one

---

236 Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education*.

237 *Ibid.*

238 Donald Light quoted in Herbst, "Rethinking American Professional Education."

side and admitting more diverse groups without prior access to such opportunities on the other.[239]

Criticisms went beyond professional education and encompassed the whole university system. As higher education touched the lives of a growing proportion of Americans, it received closer scrutiny and was the subject of attack. Some believed the traditional liberal arts education had been lost in the noise. Others argued the university's umbrella should not shelter so widely and that its component pieces be returned to separate and competing institutions.[240] In the mid-1930s, the president of the University of Chicago argued professional schools, and the vocational job training they represented, should enter technical institutes because their mission did not match the rest of the university.[241] Others argued exactly the opposite, that the university should be chiefly concerned with transmitting high culture and training and preparing professionals for society while research should move elsewhere.[242]

Taken together, the various criticisms of the university and professional education represented growing pains. The university was a new system in the first half of the twentieth century. It uprooted the status quo in higher education, reorganizing it in an unfamiliar way. As an institution, it had great power and influence in America. The university system was changing and was being changed by society.

---

239 *Ibid.*

240 Cohen, *The Shaping of American Higher Education*.

241 *Ibid.*

242 *Ibid.*

Professional Education at Mid-Century

World War II forms an important periodization boundary in much higher

education historical scholarship.[243] The G.I. Bill reshaped the scale and intent of

university and professional education. Signed into law in June 1944, more than a year

before the end of the war, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act had many provisions.

Education was only a small component. In addition to low-interest home loans and a

year of unemployment benefits, the bill provided a year of educational funding for

each year of military service. Initial forecasts were that less than half a million people

would take advantage of the education portion of the bill. However,

around 2.5 million ex-service members used their educational benefits between 1945

and 1950. Returning G.I.s filled campuses beyond capacity.[244]

They were looking for a practical education that would lead to employment.

Higher education became a tool of an increasingly corporate society. It provided

standardized education for workers in the professions.[245] Universities, which were

already professionalizing before the war, were pushed even faster to provide practical

and vocational education.[246]

This democratizing view of higher education is reflected in a report that was

commissioned by President Truman and published in 1949. The report dispelled the

---

243 *Ibid.*

244 Richard M. Freeland, "The World Transformed: A Golden Age for American Universities, 1945–
1970," in *The History of Higher Education*, eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and
Linda Eisenmann (Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2007).

245 Clark, "The Two Joes Meet."

246 *Ibid.*

former notion that higher education was for the elite only and replaced it with a view that college and university could be for all groups. University and college education, according to the report, was to be both useful and practical, but also to provide education for citizenship. This second part was a return to the societal purpose that college education had held up until the start of the university era. While college education in the colonial and emergent nation eras was to socialize the upper crust, the new college and university education was to socialize a much wider swath of society.[247]

Journalism Education

Journalism education provides basic knowledge, skills, and professional values for future journalists. Ideas about the role and function of the press are instilled through journalism education. There has never been an agreement over how such education should be accomplished. At the most elemental level, the debate boils down to whether journalism is a trade or a profession.[248] Depending on one's view, the way journalism is presented to students changes. If journalism is a skilled trade, then vocational training alone will prepare students to be journalists. Expertise in research, interviewing, writing, and other skills can be taught in a non-academic setting. The rules and skills of journalism are presented to students and they perfect their craft through practice. This is similar to the apprenticeship model, which

---

247 John Dale Russell, "Basic Conclusions and Recommendations of the President's Commission on Higher Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 22, no. 8 (1949): 493–508.

248 Howard Tumber and Marina Prentoulis, "Journalism and the Making of a Profession," in *Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues*, ed. Hugo de Burgh (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2005): 58.

dominated journalism and printing for generations. In this model, there is a definite set of skills to pass on and to be mastered. The difference between apprenticeship and vocational training is the setting. In an apprenticeship, the master and student work together at a publication: on-the-job training. In vocational training, there is a teacher and multiple students in a school setting.

If journalism is a profession, then a limited and prescribed educational route is required.[249] Journalism education has frequently looked to the medical and legal professions as models for professional journalism and they serve as models for professional education as well. A doctor can only become a doctor through one route: an undergraduate degree, medical school, passing the medical boards, and residency. A lawyer must go through law school and pass the bar exam. There are no alternative educational paths for these professions. Journalism education, its supporters argue, should require similar specialized schooling and a specific educational ladder. Where there is a free press, formal journalistic licensing exams are shunned. However, a journalism degree can function as a de facto licensing process, indicating to employers that journalism school graduates have been socialized into the ethos of the newsroom and have minimum basic reporting skills.

Two Philosophies of Journalism Education

Most historians point to 1908 as the beginning of journalism higher education as we know it today. This is the year the first degree in journalism and reporting was

---

249 Beate Josephi, "Journalism Education," in *Handbook of Journalism Studies*, eds. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009): 47.

offered at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. Certainly, this was a significant milestone. It has served as a convenient starting point for a historical narrative. At the same time, it is an arbitrary starting place because journalism education had been underway, in varying forms, for some time. One of the earliest calls for advanced education for journalists came in 1799 from newspaper publisher John Fenno. He linked the survival of the young American democracy to journalism and expressed his hope that colleges could provide a training ground for journalists.[250]

It would be several generations before this early call came to fruition. As president of Washington College (later Washington and Lee) after the Civil War, Robert E. Lee oversaw the first college courses on newspaper topics. The focus was more on the skills of printing and running a paper than on reporting. There were occasional classes at a handful of colleges and universities in the last quarter of the 19th century that dealt with reporting. These were usually housed in English departments and were single classes. They were not part of a major or sequence.[251]

Four years after Missouri's program started, Columbia University in New York began offering graduate journalism education. Willard Bleyer was teaching journalism at the University of Wisconsin at the same time, although the journalism department was created later. Together, these three schools came to represent the basic philosophies of journalism education. Missouri offered a practical journalism education. The school's mission was to train students to become the best reporters

---

250 Fenno, *Gazette of the United States*.

251 Folkerts, "History of Journalism Education."

possible. Columbia at the graduate level and Wisconsin at the undergraduate level both represented a different ideological view of journalism and journalism education. They set journalism education inside a robust liberal arts curriculum. The justification was that reporters must understand the larger issues in the world to give context to their reports. This press-and-society model valued strong reporting skills, but that was not the primary mission. This camp sought to improve journalism by improving journalists, which in turn would improve society. On the other hand, Missouri's intent was to train journalists for the profession.[252]

Following Missouri in 1908, the next two decades saw the number of schools and departments of journalism grow exponentially. These new schools either adopted the Missouri model, the Columbia/Wisconsin model, or a mix of the two.[253] There has never been an agreement on which approach is better or which model better prepares students for careers in journalism. At the most basic level, these two models frame all future debate on journalism education.

Liberal Arts-Based Journalism Education

In 1903, media titan and publisher of the New York World Joseph Pulitzer finally convinced Columbia University to accept a two-million-dollar endowment to start a school of journalism after years of trying. Yet, it would be a decade later, and two years following Pulitzer's death, before the first classes were held. In the intervening years, Pulitzer defended "his" school and his views on journalism and

---

252 Sloan, *Makers of the Media Mind*: 8.

253 Walter Williams, "Journalist Schools," *Editor and Publisher* 10, no. 52 (1910): 20.

journalism education. A back-and-forth between Pulitzer and the editor of the

Chicago Tribune in the pages of *North American Review* established arguments and

counter arguments for and against journalism education.

In the January 1904 issue, Tribune editor Horace White wrote an essay titled

"The School of Journalism." White argued that journalists were made through

experience at a newspaper. A college education could "make a gentleman and a

scholar" of a future journalist, but "leave him to learn journalism afterwards by

practice."[254] White delineated three qualities needed by a journalist and argued that

none of them required dedicated journalism education. Of course, a journalist needed

strong English skills, but this was already taught in college. A journalist or editor

needed "a nose for news," something that "cannot be cultivated at college."[255] Lastly,

a journalist needed some basic technical skills such as typewriting and proofreading,

but "Columbia would no more think of embracing these things in her curriculum than

she would of establishing a chair of head-lines, a chair of interviews, or a chair

of 'scoops.'"[256]

White closed his essay with a lament for the current state of journalism. He

was especially critical of the kind of yellow journalism that brought Pulitzer his

fortune and by extension funded the Columbia journalism school. "No self-respecting

---

254 Horace White, "The School of Journalism," *The North American Review* 178, no. 566 (1904): 28.

255 *Ibid.*: 26.

256 *Ibid.*

youth," wrote White, "will prepare himself for future connection with a yellow journalism."[257]

Joseph Pulitzer responded to White four months later in the pages of the same publication. His essay published in May 1904 and titled "The College of Journalism," set out a position and series of supporting arguments for including journalism education in higher education. He shot down White's argument point by point. On the question of a "nose for news" being inborn, Pulitzer did not deny that some have a natural aptitude. But he argued that this natural ability could be sharpened, focused, and kept in check. He wrote, "One of the chief difficulties in journalism now is to keep the news instinct from running rampant over the restraints of accuracy and conscience."[258] Journalism needed to be reined in and a structured education was the way to do it. Pulitzer presented two main practical arguments. First, "No person in the newsroom has the time or the inclination to teach a raw reporter the things he ought to know before taking up even the humblest work of the journalist."[259] To White's claim that journalism could only be learned on the job, Pulitzer pointed out the flaws in the predominant apprenticeship system of training new reporters:

> the process by which the profession of journalism at present obtains its recruits [is] by natural selection and the survival of the fittest and its failures are strewn along the wayside.[260]

---

257 *Ibid.*: 31.

258 Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," *The North American Review* 178, no. 570 (1904): 644.

259 *Ibid.*: 647.

260 *Ibid.*: 642.

This too, could be remedied through journalism education. Professional training would help cub reporters swim rather than sink. The process of separating the wheat from the chaff would but be outsourced to the journalism school and would no longer be the newspaper's responsibility.

Pulitzer's second argument was for professionalization. If the journalism occupation ever hoped to achieve professional status, a place in higher education was necessary. This would, he wrote, "grow the respect of the community as other professions far less important to the public interests have grown."[261]

These were the utilitarian reasons for a journalism higher education. Pulitzer had a final argument of more consequence and it came to define one philosophy of journalism education. Journalism had a sacrosanct role in a democracy as the Fourth Estate. To live up to and fulfill this high calling in society, proper education was needed.[262] By improving the minds and morals of future reporters, the tide of salacious journalism could be stemmed. This would require imparting a moral sense of duty to society.[263]

Pulitzer's vision of the school of journalism was as an addition to current practice, not a replacement. He agreed with White that some characteristics are innate and some only learnable through experience: "Training cannot create temperament, I admit, nor perhaps radically change it…."[264] He argued that young reporters can

---

261 *Ibid.*: 657.

262 *Ibid.*: 678.

263 *Ibid.*: 646.

264 *Ibid.*: 645.

rehearse the skills of journalism in the college setting even if they do not master them until they start working. He went on to argue that the skills of journalism are also not completed in school, but rather on the job.[265]

Willard G. Bleyer is known as a founding father of journalism education. He was one of the earliest professors of journalism. He started teaching the subject at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1904. His contributions to the first decades of collegiate and university level journalism education were tremendous. He was largely responsible for setting journalism education on the course it followed. As early as 1906, even before Missouri or Columbia opened their doors, he articulated a vision for journalism education based in the liberal arts. He tirelessly promoted the value of cub reporters with journalism degrees to skeptical editors, thus stimulating the demand for journalism education.266

Bleyer's ideas were spread through teaching, publications, and professional association work. Although he had a reputation as a somewhat dull teacher, his journalism school at Wisconsin was the training ground for a number of later journalism educators, including at least five future journalism school deans. These students spread his ideas of social science journalism education around the country. He also wrote a series of widely used textbooks.[267]

---

265 *Ibid.*: 647.

267 Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Types of News Writing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying To Do," *Journalism Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (1931): 35–44; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932).

Bleyer was instrumental in creating two journalism education professional associations. He was the first president of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ). From 1923 to 1934, he chaired the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism's (AASDJ) Council on Education for Journalism.[268] In 1924, the AATJ and AASDJ jointly passed resolutions adopting "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism," a series of guidelines spearheaded by Bleyer, which came to be the defining document in journalism education.[269]

The research-oriented, accredited, liberal arts-based journalism program recognizable today is traceable back to Bleyer. He led the push to structure journalism studies as social science research and to make journalism schools more research oriented.[270] Teaching professional skills to journalism students was not the sole purpose of journalism professors. They, like their peers in the university, should discover new knowledge in their field and pass it on to their students.

Though Pulitzer's 1904 essay made the first persuasive case for liberal arts-based journalism education, it was Bleyer who carried these ideas forward and who put them into practice. Journalism higher education had to do more than just teach professional skills. To perform basic reporting, one did not need a journalism college education. He wrote in 1931:

---

268 Medsger, "The Evolution of Journalism Education in the United States": 208.

269 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 6.

270 Brad Asher, "An Applied Social Science: Journalism Education and Professionalization, 1900-1955," *American Journalism Historians Association* (1993): 11-12.

Much of that technique can be and now is being taught in high school courses in journalistic writing. Even a clever office-boy with no more than a common school education may learn how to get news and how to write a passable news story.[271]

Instead, in Bleyer's view, the purpose of journalism education was to teach students how to apply the knowledge they had gained in the liberal arts portion of their education to journalistic situations. The student should not separately learn liberal arts and the professional skills of journalism. They needed to be linked: general knowledge applied to the interpretation of daily events. Practically speaking, this meant dissecting and deciphering local coverage of news and society. Deciphering required an application of what students learned in their non-journalism courses, like psychology or economics, to the news. The goal was to instill and develop a nose for news.[272]

This educational philosophy and practice was predicated on the idea that a journalism student had significant exposure to the liberal arts and social sciences. To achieve this, Bleyer advocated for 25 percent of a student's time to be devoted to journalism and 75 percent to other liberal arts. This formula for liberal arts-based journalism education became sacrosanct as it was later written into by American Council for Education in Journalism (ACEJ) accrediting standards and remained for decades to come.[273]

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Bleyer's style of liberal arts journalism education was not practiced universally. The top programs of a leading professional

---

271 Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying To Do": 39.

272 *Ibid.*: 40.

273 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 5.

group, the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, followed Bleyer's model. These self-labeled "Class A" schools were few in number. Bleyer's ideas were not necessarily followed at the less prestigious, and more plentiful, AASDJ "Class B" and "Class C" schools. The status of journalism education within the university system was still tenuous. If journalism education was to survive, it would need to prove itself of value to various constituencies, including students, editors, administrators, and the public at large. Leaders in journalism education sought to redouble the efforts to achieve the delicate balance between liberal arts and applied professional education. Founder and dean of the University of Organ's School of Journalism from 1912 to 1944, Eric W. Allen argued in a 1927 *Journalism Bulletin* article that journalism education was woefully under-preparing students. He wrote:

> If journalism means anything more than a mere trade it must be based upon some depth of understanding … The competent journalist must understand the scientific basis of current life, the complex of established principles that underlies any modern, objective, civilized discussion of politics, government, economics, psychology — in general, the art of living.
>
> Schools of Journalism will utterly fail of their deeper purpose if they do not attempt and succeed in producing a graduate who is thoroughly grounded not only in the separate social sciences, but also in the habit of keeping up with the authentic progress of the best current thought and actually applying the most enlightened conception of social science to his work as a reporter and as an editor.[274]

A report by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) was released in 1930, which called upon journalism education to make two changes: "First, that the

---

274 Eric W. Allen, "Journalism as Applied Social Science," *Journalism Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (1927): 1–7.

cultural level of journalistic education 'be kept high'; and second, that the schools develop upon a graduate basis like the schools of Medicine and Law."[275]

Speaking in Boston later that year to journalism educators at the annual AASDJ convention, the association's president cautioned the membership to take seriously the profession's criticisms as outlined in the ASNE report. Eric. W. Allen, AASDJ president at the time, gave a lengthy address detailing ways that journalism education might implement the recommended changes. One of his conclusions was that professional education with an emphasis on cultural understanding — his preferred term for applied liberal arts education — was anathema to technical, skills-based journalism education.[276] The ASNE report was accusatory, saying that journalism education was not doing its job. Allen brushed this indictment aside, claiming instead that it was the journalism profession which was disorganized and dysfunctional.

Allen updated and consolidated the arguments for journalism education made in the years since Pulitzer's landmark essay in the *North American Review*. Allen had three main points. These came to be reused repeatedly as a defense against those inside academia who believed journalism did not belong and those outside academia who did not believe university education was helpful to journalists.

---

275 Medical Schools, Law Schools and Schools of Journalism, 1930, folder American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism 1930-1931, box 3, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 1.

276 *Ibid.*: 8.

The first of Allen's three points was that journalism education should educate students with the essential skills they would need to survive as cub reporters. These were the skills editors demanded right out of the gate.[277] Admittedly, these were basic skills that could be learned through any number of avenues, not only through formal journalism education.

The second purpose of journalism education, according to Allen, was to provide a liberal arts education for the creation of a socially minded journalist. He argued that journalism education could help in bringing about a

> socialized, or socially minded newspaper man, whose economics is sound and accurate, whose views on political science are tough-minded, vivid, consistent and realistic, whose sociology is humane but based on regard for evidence and immune from the contagion of waves of emotionalism, whose history is unsentimental and who has learned the difficult particular technique of the high class Journalists that enables him to keep up with the best scientific and humanistic thought of his time.[278]

Following in Pulitzer's footsteps, this was the antidote to yellow or salacious journalism. If the journalist is educated, there will be gentlemen-scholars seated at the typewriters rather than hacks. Allen admitted that liberal arts education would do little for the cub reporter. At the start of a journalism career, one needed the "technical training that enables him to hold his own."[279] The liberal arts journalism education would help the graduate in the long-run once he or she had moved on from

---

277 This was the first volley used against photojournalism education in pre-World War II journalism education. Photography was simply not a basic required skill of the cub reporter. When editors began demanding photographic skills of new hires (by 1955, 30 percent of all reporter job openings in the Help Wanted section of *Editor & Publisher* listed photography skills as "helpful" or "required") it was much easier to justify including photojournalism education.

278 *Ibid.*: 14.

279 *Ibid.*

the cub stage. The journalist would need to fight in the trenches "until he rises to the positions where he will have a better opportunity to demonstrate the value of the broader [liberal arts education] qualities."[280]

The last argument that Allen made for journalism education was that it should go beyond the traditional liberal arts education. Such liberal arts education provided only an academic understanding of issues and did not give students the tools to apply these principles to the real, ever-changing modern world. On this third point, Allen called out the inadequacy of the basic liberal arts education which, he supposed, most of his audience of educators at the AASDJ convention would themselves have had a generation prior. Journalists who

> were graduated from [basic] liberal arts courses and were then suddenly plunged into the terrible social and ethical turmoil that constitutes the bitter modern struggle between the explanation of public opinion for selfish purposes and our own professional attempt to do justice. Our professors scarcely knew that this struggle existed; but it does and only the right kind of professional (not technical) study of journalism can prepare the young man to face it steadily and effectively, without cynicism and without surrender.[281]

Practical Professional Journalism Education

Although Walter Williams only had a high school education, his life's work was promoting college and university journalism education. Williams rose from reporter to editor at age 20. By 22 he was part owner of the Booneville Advertiser in Booneville, Missouri, and by 25 he was elected as the youngest-ever president of the

---

280 *Ibid.*

281 *Ibid.*: 16.

Missouri Press Association. In the years leading up to the turn of the twentieth century, Williams began lobbying the Missouri General Assembly for funds to start a school of journalism. It took nearly a decade, but in 1905 the bill was passed. Three years later, in 1908, the University of Missouri School of Journalism became the first standalone journalism education institution. Williams was the school's first dean, a position he held until his death in 1935.

Without leaving the deanship, starting in 1930, he was appointed president of the University of Missouri.[282] Williams was a prime example of journalist-turned-teacher. As with Bleyer, he was a founding member of AASDJ. He was not a scholar, instead preferring to spread his ideas through personal contact, speeches, and symposia.[283]

The Williams/Missouri model for journalism education was based primarily on professional education alone. Since it was an independent school within the university, Williams had more freedom to set the curriculum. The liberal arts and social sciences were not required subjects. Still, Williams did encourage students to become grounded in these fields, either in school or on their own time.[284]

The Missouri model has been lauded by some and condemned by others for emphasizing the skills of professional journalism. In this model, journalism education's purpose is to train future workers in the profession. The curriculum

---

282 Unrelated to his work in journalism, with the end of prohibition the Governor called on Williams to write the new Missouri liquor law.

283 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 7-8.

284 *Ibid.*

emphasizes teaching the how-to of reporting. Unlike the Pulitzer/Columbia and Bleyer/Wisconsin models, there was less focus on the role of journalism and the journalist within society. Rather, Missouri's staff focused on the practical aspects of being a good writer and reporter.[285]

A key element of the Missouri model was an in-house, daily newspaper that was reported, edited, and printed by students and overseen by professional editors. This laboratory practice was an evolution from the apprenticeship model.

The Fight to Control Journalism Accreditation

The rapid spread of journalism programs around the nation had the unintended consequence of causing an image problem for the field. The variety and lack of regimentation meant journalism education was dissimilar across the country. The strong journalism school graduates were lost in the flood of their mediocre cohort. James G. Stahlman, publisher of the Nashville *Banner* and president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) from 1937-39, had harsh words for journalism education programs.[286] He said in his address to ANPA's 1937 annual convention:

> Most of these institutions are the bunk. They are not in any sense entitled to be called schools or departments of journalism and their graduates cannot be classified as qualified newspaper men. Most of them are not sufficiently grounded in the fundamentals of English, economics, sociology and history and many of them know less about spelling than they do about the subjects just enumerated. They get a smattering of

---

285 *Ibid.*

286 Edwin Emery, ed. *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association* (1950): 140.

theories and practices of newspapering and are turned out to clutter up news rooms throughout the country.[287]

Leaders inside journalism education wanted a way to distinguish their higher-performing schools from the riff-raff. Leaders inside the journalism industry wanted to know where they could look to find high-quality recruits.

In the audience for Stahlman's address were publishers of some of the biggest papers in the country, as well as Henry Ford and the New York District Attorney, among others. His harsh evaluation of journalism education was heard by some of the most powerful people in the business, if not the nation. They heard him denounce the poor state of journalism education, propose that media organizations lead the charge for reform by demanding under-achieving schools and departments follow a new high set of standards. He said:

> Only in this way will the newspapers of the country be freed from the constant deluge of unfit, so-called journalists that constitute the annual crop of graduates from these lower-bracket institutions.[288]

Stahlman did not believe journalism education was a lost cause, but to succeed it had to be the right kind of journalism education. He was convinced of the value in journalism education, a strong statement when compared to the general lack of interest from editors toward journalism education in the preceding decades. He continued:

> There are a number of schools and departments of journalism, however, that are making an earnest effort to do the job for which they were

---

287   Address of the President Delivered before the Fifty-Second Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1938, folder 3, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 5.

288   *Ibid.*

intended. They are improving their curriculum and raising the general standards in order to fit men and women more properly for a high place in a noble profession.

These are the schools that should be encouraged by the daily newspaper publishers, if the standards of journalism generally are to be elevated. Certainly no one can deny that they need elevation, but they will never be any higher than the requirements placed upon them by the publishers of this country.[289]

Sentiments such as those expressed by Stahlman were the driving force behind efforts to develop journalism accreditation. Accreditation would provide an easy reference point for high school students and hiring editors on the quality of journalism education at a journalism program. However, as with any such endeavor, there would be winners — those schools that were accredited — and losers — those that were not.

Stahlman's call came in the middle of a nearly 25-year effort to create journalism accreditation standards. The first statement of journalism education principles and standards was published in 1924 and widely accepted accreditation standards were put into practice in 1948. Just four years later, in 1952, journalism accreditation was suspended for three years following a challenge from unaccredited schools. After settling differences, accreditation started up again in 1955. The standards had become so broad and unspecific that they could hardly be said to have fulfilled Stahlman's mission.

The first tentative work toward journalism accreditation, through classifying journalism programs into levels A, B, and C, was taken up in 1922 by the Committee on Classification of AASDJ. The committee members did not move beyond the

---

289 *Ibid.*

"tentative" stage before realizing that there were no standards to refer to or by which to classify the journalism programs. Instead of fulfilling its original mission, the Committee on Classification voted to establish the Council on Education for Journalism (CEJ), which pulled members from the two journalism education organizations, American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) and American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ). The council was tasked to develop standards for journalism education.[290]

Willard Bleyer of Wisconsin chaired the council from its first meeting until his death in 1935. Through this work, he left his indelible print on the practice of journalism education. The document the council delivered to the AASDJ and AATJ was titled "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism."[291] The detailed statement was circulated to the organizations' members before their respective meetings in 1924. Both groups voted to adopt the statement of standards for journalism education and it was printed in the first issue of *Journalism Bulletin*.[292]

While the statement of principles and standards was a committee effort, the ultimate approval came from full memberships of both associations. The document was Willard Bleyer's manifesto on liberal arts-based journalism education.[293] The concepts in the document became doctrine in the field of journalism education. It

---

290 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 19.

291 For the reader's convenience, the full text is included in Appendix 1.

292 American Association of Teachers of Journalism and American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism Council on Education, "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism," *Journalism Bulletin* (1924): 30–31.

293 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 6.

guided the revised AASDJ constitution adopted in 1926.[294] Accreditation by ACEJ,

which began in the late 1940s, was also largely based on the document. Modern

accreditation can trace its roots to ACEJ accreditation and therefore to Bleyer. Even

today, 90 years after they were written, the convictions expressed in "Principles and

Standards of Education for Journalism" continue to underpin accredited

journalism education.

The opening paragraph of "Principles and Standards of Education for

Journalism" references the educational philosophies of Pulitzer and Columbia, Bleyer

and Wisconsin, and Williams and Missouri. The betterment and functioning of

government and society are linked to journalism: "No other profession has a more

vital relation to the welfare of society and to the success of democratic government

than has journalism."[295] Writing 20 years earlier in defense of his donation to

Columbia University, Joseph Pulitzer was the first prominent individual to make the

link between better journalism education and a better society.[296]

The manifesto positions journalism education atop a wide liberal arts base, as

Bleyer and his disciples had advocated for the previous two decades. Areas of study

should include:

> such subjects as history, economics, government and politics, sociology,
> literature, natural science, and psychology or philosophy. Not merely
> acquisition of knowledge but encouragement to independent thinking and

---

294 *Ibid.*: 22-23.

295 American Association of Teachers of Journalism and American Association of Schools and
Departments of Journalism Council on Education, "Principles and Standards."

296 Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism."

fearless search for truth should be the purpose of all courses in preparation for the profession of journalism.[297]

Acknowledging the importance of the kind of practical journalism education represented by Walter Williams and the Missouri School of Journalism, the document asserts that "Preparation for journalism should also include instruction and practice in journalistic technique and consideration of the responsibility of the journalist to society."[298]

Lest the support for practical journalism education be overemphasized, the pro-technique language was tempered. Journalism education situated within higher education:

> should not be concerned merely with developing proficiency in journalistic technique. The aims and methods of instruction should not be those of a trade school but should be the same standard as those of other professional schools and colleges.[299]

In addition to outlining curricular philosophy, the "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" specified who should be teaching journalism. There were three basic qualifications. One was a bachelor's degree, but the subject of the degree is unspecified. The others were "practical journalistic experience" and "research and contact with current developments."

Like many arguments in favor of professional journalism higher education, the examples of professional law schools and medical schools were cited as models. But in two critical items, the "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism"

---

297 AATJ and AASDJ Council on Education, "Principles and Standards."

298 *Ibid.*

299 *Ibid.*

set standards well below those of law and medical schools. First, journalism instructors only needed to have a bachelor's degree and there was no requirement for the instructor to have any formal journalism education.[300] Practically speaking, it would not have been possible to fulfill a requirement that journalism educators have journalism degrees or graduate degrees. There simply were not enough journalism school graduates after 15 years of journalism higher education to make this requirement feasible.

The second prescription from the document was that journalism education was by and large given at the undergraduate level. This is contrasts with professional law and medical education, which were graduate-level education. This was not exclusively true, Columbia being the best-known example of a journalism program offering only a graduate degree. But in general, the report concluded, "Under present conditions the best means of acquiring this essential knowledge [of journalism] and of learning its application is a four-year course of study in a college or university...."[301]

Following the general guidelines in "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism," the Council on Education for Journalism arrived at 12 specific standards. To a modern reader with knowledge of AEJMC accreditation or awareness of journalism education, these 12 points will be familiar, as they still underpin journalism education 90 years later. The standards make no reference to the types of journalism skill classes required. In this respect, the standards neither worked for nor

---

300 *Ibid.*

301 *Ibid.*

against photojournalism or any other similar subject. The courses that were cited as justification for journalism belonging in higher education — namely journalism history, journalism ethics, and journalism law — were prescribed along with a limited range of liberal arts classes. Photojournalism education had to compete against all other journalism skills classes for curricular space.

To give journalism education some degree of autonomy within the university system and provide a certain level of legitimacy, a separate academic unit with a dedicated head was required. Journalism education was restricted to four-year colleges or universities, thereby excluding junior colleges and technical schools. The degree awarded to the graduate should indicate in its title that the student studied journalism. A specific set of liberal arts subjects was outlined. Instruction and practice in journalism techniques would be accompanied by classes in journalism history, journalism ethics, and journalism law. Student-teacher ratios should permit individual attention from the instructor. Student work should not be corrected by teaching assistants. Internships or work on the college paper should not be for credit unless "done under the immediate supervision of an instructor in journalism." The teaching load for journalism instructors should not be more than instructors in similar departments, such as English composition. The journalism instructors "shall be encouraged" — but notably not required — to research and publish. Regarding facilities and supplies, students should have access to a "collection of the standard books" on journalism and journalism laboratory equipment should be in sufficient supply for student use. Lastly, to protect itself from becoming a dumping ground for other departments' underperforming students and to keep the quality of graduates

high, the admission and graduation requirements "shall be sufficiently high to prevent students lacking in knowledge, ability, and proficiency from obtaining a degree in journalism."

Journalism Accreditation Organizations[302]

After the opening of the first school of journalism — at Missouri — in 1908, it took 40 years, until 1948, to develop objective means of evaluating schools and departments of journalism. Even then the methods were questionable and controversial. The Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism accredited the first 35 journalism programs on May 15, 1948. This was not the first time schools and departments of journalism were ranked or categorized, but previous iterations lacked any semblance of objectivity.

The development of journalism education was a complicated process, rife with dissent. An alphabet soup of associations formed over the years and committees were built upon committees. Prior to ACEJ accreditation in 1948, classification of journalism programs was criticized for functioning like an old boys' network.

In 1912, the American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ) was founded. As the name implies, this was an organization by and for individual journalism instructors. Journalism education institutions formed the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) in 1917. The

---

[302] A timeline is included in Appendix 5.

administrators of 10 self-proclaimed "Class A" journalism schools founded the AASDJ.[303]

The AASDJ was the beginning of ranking and categorizing journalism education programs, a practice which later culminated in official accreditation. The first 10 schools formed a clique and relegated other journalism programs to "Class B" and "Class C" status. It was only by invitation that a program could reach "Class A" and membership in AASDJ. While the number of schools and departments of journalism skyrocketed to several hundred in the 1920s and '30s, AASDJ membership was just 18 in 1925 and 28 by 1932.[304]

AASDJ became the authoritative journalism accrediting body simply by being the first on the scene. Early on, it started referring to its membership as "Class A" journalism schools. Membership was contingent upon following AASDJ journalism education guidelines, an invitation, and a vote from the other member schools. Written into the AASDJ constitution, these restrictions made it all but impossible for smaller schools to become members and thus achieve a "Class A" status.[305]

Other higher education organizations came to accept AASDJ's designation of "Class A" status.[306] Those journalism programs, which were not "Class A," were

---

303 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 6.

305 Constitution of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism: As Amended December 28, 1941 and December 1943, 1944, folder 1, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

306 Brad Asher, "The Professional Vision: Conflicts over Journalism Education, 1900-1955," *American Journalism* 11, no. 4 (1994): 312-14.

unhappy with their lack of legitimacy. AATJ had a larger membership and represented teachers from many of the "Class B" or "Class C" schools.

The first attempt to bring a degree of impartiality to journalism program classification was AATJ's Committee on Education for Journalism, which wrote the "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism." AATJ's vote to establish and instruct CEJ to develop standards was partially in response to the arbitrary method by which AASDJ accepted new member schools.

Despite the acceptance in 1924 by both AATJ and AASDJ of the "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" and the inclusion of these in the AASDJ constitution in 1926, debate continued over classifying schools as class A, B, and C. In a move to defend its self-appointed position as sole arbitrator of "Class A" status, AASDJ sought legitimacy from the journalism industry for its accreditation program.

In 1930, AASDJ undertook an effort to gain legitimacy and stifle criticism of its membership practices by forming the Joint Committee on Education for Journalism. The Joint-Committee had five members from AASDJ and five members from the journalism industry, one from each of the five main professional organizations.

The work on establishing standards and an accreditation system made little progress during the Great Depression.[307] Momentum returned in 1939. The National Council on Professional Education for Journalism (NCPEJ) replaced the Joint-

---

307 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 22-23.

Committee and was charged with "studying the problem of education for journalism and of raising the standards of instruction in this field."[308]

Its first report, finished in 1940, found 542 institutions in the United States that offered some kind of journalism education ranging from accredited majors at some programs down to single classes at others. Thirty-two were AASDJ members, or what the report called "Accredited Professional Schools and Departments of Journalism."[309] As before, membership was still contingent on acceptance by the existing members and so it was not based on standards achievable by most journalism programs. There were 71 programs offering degrees or majors in journalism but which were not AASDJ members. Only 11 of these 71 came close to meeting the AASDJ standards. This means there were 60 journalism programs considered to be doing a poor job at journalism education. [310]

The report concluded with a statement on the over-saturation in the journalism education marketplace.[311] This provided a rationale for the continued exclusion of most journalism education programs from AASDJ and thus from accreditation. Apart from size and available resources, the dividing line between AASDJ programs and other programs was the underlying philosophy on journalism

---

308 A National Survey of Universities and Colleges Offering Instruction in Journalism: A Report of the National Council of Professional Education for Journalism, 1940, folder 1, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

309 *Ibid.*

310 *Ibid.*

311 Albert Alton Sutton. "Journalism Education in Four-Year, Degree-Granting Colleges and Universities in the United States." (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1943).

education. AASDJ schools held strongly to the model of liberal arts journalism education espoused in the "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism." Other schools took a more practical approach. AASDJ used liberal arts education to provide context to stories, non-AASDJ programs focused on accurate reporting.

In 1939, a new organization grew out of the Joint-Council whose membership was drawn from AASDJ and several newspaper associations. This academic-industry partnership was known as the American Council on Education for Journalism (ACEJ). Due to AASDJ's participation, the Class A schools continued to be privileged. The B and C schools were largely ignored as the ACEJ moved forward with plans to establish formal accrediting guidelines. The industry, or at least the part of the industry participating in ACEJ, wanted a reliable measure by which they could judge graduates entering their newsrooms and have some expectation of their initial skills and abilities.

Albert Alton Sutton wrote a dissertation published in 1943 titled "Journalism Education in Four-Year, Degree-Granting Colleges and Universities in the United States." In it he closely examined and classified journalism programs. Apart from the membership of AASDJ programs having been called "Class A" for years, this was the first time the rest of the journalism programs were considered as anything other than non-Class A. Unsurprisingly, the AASDJ member organizations still comprised the Class A group. Sutton's rankings ran A through D, but he probably should have chosen different group identifiers. The letters imply one is better than another, like grades in the classroom, but Sutton's work was purely descriptive and categorizing. He did not make value judgments about which school or educational approach was

better than another. Journalism programs were grouped based on similar characteristics that did not correspond to quality.[312]

ACEJ's efforts were put on hold with the onset of World War II. Despite the significant opposition, ACEJ pushed ahead with its plans for accreditation in 1945. Another committee was formed, the Accrediting Committee of ACEJ. AASDJ ceded all accrediting work to the Accrediting Committee, which was made up of four AASDJ representatives and three members from the journalism industry. Hoping to keep criticism of its accrediting program in check, AASDJ was no longer directly responsible for accrediting, although it held a voting majority on the group now charged with the task.

AASDJ's relinquishment of accrediting oversight to ACEJ's Accrediting Committee did little to soothe discord in medium and small schools and departments of journalism. This conflict caused a schism. In 1944, 14 of the schools labeled B and C banded together to start a new organization, partially in protest to the way the levels had been assigned. This fracture caused uncertainty in the journalism industry about where to turn for information on student preparation.[313] With the founding of the American Society of Journalism School Administrators (ASJSA), there were now three professional organizations dedicated to journalism education. The ASJSA raised concern over the standards used in accreditation.[314]

---

312 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 1.

313 Crook, "1940s: Decade of Adolescence for Professional Education."

314 Journalism Bulletin, vol. 3, no 1, October 1945, folder 3-5, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1912-1997, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records (U.S. Mss 154AF), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 1.

The AASDJ versus ASJSA conflict was not just over size and resources, although this was an oft-cited dividing line. It also was a clash over teaching and curricular philosophies. The administrators in ASJSA represented practical journalism trade schools that followed the Williams and Missouri model. The more elite AASDJ schools pushed the Bleyer and Wisconsin model of liberal arts-focused journalism education. This conflict would come to a head a decade later when ASJSA forced accreditation to a halt. In the meantime, ACEJ forged ahead unchecked.

The members of the ASJSA were not the only ones feeling marginalized by AASDJ. The oldest journalism education association, the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, felt like "a step-brother of AASDJ."[315] The editor of AATJ's Journalism Bulletin asked, "do we 'just belong' to AATJ? Is the organization a way to help its members as much as possible?"[316] The association's president, Fred Merwin of Rutgers, took this question seriously in the post-World War II period. As AASDJ and ACEJ moved forward on accrediting journalism schools, which would happen in 1948, Merwin formed committees to consider the role of journalism education for the modern media market. He was adamant that educational practices should be based on what worked and what was needed, and not on past precedents.[317]

---

315 *Ibid.*

316 *Ibid.*: 2.

317 Emery and McKerns, *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making*: 2.

Changing Accrediting Standards, Changing Values

The ACEJ pushed through ASJSA resistance and went ahead with its accreditation program at the end of World War II. The standards and procedures for accreditation were established in 1946 and accreditation site visits by small groups of educators and editors took place in 1947.[318] The Accrediting Committee executive secretary was Dr. Earl English of the University of Missouri. Despite working at a school that represented an opposing philosophy, English was a guiding force in the ACEJ accreditation movement. He was given $15,000 by the Carnegie Foundation and additional support by five major newspaper organizations to get the project finished.[319] This was a substantial sum considering it was three to four times the annual salary of an associate professor at the time.[320] He had been working tirelessly for years to get the standards agreed upon, the campus visits made, and the final list voted upon and published.

The Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism approved the first 35 journalism sequences on May 15, 1948. The list of schools was embargoed for a month and publicly released on July 10. Some

---

318 *Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism approved May 15, 1948 by the American Council on Education for Journalism upon recommendation of its Accrediting Committee* (American Council on Education for Journalism, 1948).

   The five organizations were: American Newspaper Publishers Association, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Inland Daily Press Association, National Editorial Association, and Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.

319 Profile Charts, Schools Applying 1949–1950, box 10, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

320 First List of 35 Accredited Schools, 1948, folder 13, box 34, series 1: Original Collection, 1912-1997, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records (U.S. Mss 154AF), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

journalism programs had more than one sequence or track accredited. There were 31 news-editorial sequences approved, 13 in radio, 12 in advertising, eight in community journalism, seven in advertising-management, six in agricultural journalism, five in magazine, four in newspaper management, three in "highly specialized areas" (science, communications and public opinion, and informative writing), two in home economics journalism, and two in pictorial journalism.[321] Of the 35 sequences, 26 were in AASDJ member programs.

Two years later, in 1950, the AASDJ renamed itself by replacing the word "American" with the word "Accredited": The Association of Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism. Membership was now automatic upon receiving ACEJ accreditation and no majority vote from existing members was needed. This opened the door for a handful of new programs to obtain accredited status. But quality journalism programs which subscribed to a different educational philosophy than that underpinning ACEJ were still not permitted. This was not a small group, and it became increasingly vocal for the right to legitimacy through the auspices of ASJSA.

In 1952, ASJSA launched a last-ditch effort by appealing to the National Council on Accreditation. NCA was founded in 1950 with the blessing of about 1,200 college and university presidents who felt an effort was needed to reign in professional education. The NCA sought to make accreditation an institution-wide rather than program-specific consideration, thus limiting the power of the numerous independent accrediting agencies.

---

321 Asher, "The Professional Vision": 312-14.

AASDJ, representing journalism schools and departments, and promoter of liberal arts journalism education, refused to come under NCA. Thus, NCA announced it was halting journalism accreditation altogether until it could work with the ASJSA schools, which preferred professional education in the Missouri model, to form a more legitimate journalism accrediting standard. AASDJ was faced with losing journalism accreditation altogether and was forced to capitulate to ASJSA demands for recognition of practical professional education in accrediting. This was accomplished by relinquishing two of the four educator seats on ACEJ to ASJSA. The accrediting body for journalism education now had equal representation from journalism programs falling in the Missouri model of professional education and the Wisconsin model of liberal arts education. ACEJ's accrediting structure remained in place, but the power base had shifted.[322] In the long-run, this would prove to be a boon to photojournalism education. The professionally oriented journalism education philosophy of the Missouri was more welcoming to subjects like photojournalism. Accrediting activities resumed in 1955 once new standards were established. AASDJ dropped the "Accredited" from its name after lost the battle with ASJSA, reverting to "American." In a rearguard action to protect itself from being flooded with newly accredited schools, AASDJ membership reverted to approval by voting members.

AASDJ's powerful hold on legitimacy within journalism education was broken. The ASJSA schools which had previously been denied the legitimacy of calling themselves "accredited" gained new status. Many of these programs were more welcoming to practical professional journalism education, which in turn was

---

322 *Ibid.*: 19.

more welcoming to photojournalism education. ASJSA's quest for legitimacy was a critical factor in how photojournalism journalism education gained wide acceptance.

The history of journalism education associations through mid-century in the United States is a history organized through institutionalization. Over the decades, the once-diverse philosophies of journalism education consolidated into a common standard. For those who valued diverse educational approaches, who desired the freedom to experiment, and who wished to remain nimble, such consolidation was lamentable. For others, the solidification of journalism education requirements enhanced rigor and oversight, thus improving educational outcomes. It also meant a graduate could be expected to have the same competencies regardless of where they went to school.

The "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" was the starting point for all future efforts at establishing benchmarks. Through multiple revisions of accrediting standards, and even to present ACEJMC accrediting, the ghost image of the 1924 document remains. These standards were first written into a revised AASDJ constitution in 1926 and thereafter served as entrance requirements — along with a two-thirds majority vote and no more than two no-votes by the existing members — into AASDJ. This made the standards the de facto accreditation standards. Strife and ill-will erupted when AASDJ, citing the standards, denied membership to most journalism programs. AATJ and ASJSA members and leaders were unhappy because much of the membership worked at the so-called Class B and C schools that did not necessarily subscribe to the same liberal arts-based philosophy.[323]

---

323 *Ibid.*

As the pendulum of influence in journalism accreditation swung between the practical journalism education camp and the liberal arts journalism camp, the standards of accreditation changed. In 1946, ACEJ approved the standards by which the first cohort of schools would be evaluated for accreditation. These standards were updated in 1955, following the power play by ASJSA and NCA, and included a more practically oriented approach. The standards were updated a second time in 1960, following a series of reports. These reports showed how poorly accredited journalism programs were doing and highlighted the many loopholes that schools and departments of journalism used to become accredited, even if they were not strong programs.

After all the years of wrangling over the standards by which journalism programs would be judged, there was no agreement. There was no way that a relatively large, well-funded college of journalism could be compared on the same standards as a small department at a liberal arts college. Therefore, the guidelines ACEJ would use were directional rather than specific, aimed at constant improvement rather than specific content. They closely resemble the general principles set out 25 years earlier in "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism."

The official accrediting guidelines explicitly stated that the purpose of journalism accreditation was not to standardize journalism or journalism education. Instead, accreditation was to describe characteristics of journalism programs worthy of public recognition as professional schools. The preamble to the accrediting guidelines stated that the list of accredited schools would benefit the journalism

industry, namely the editors who did the hiring of new staff, by identifying which schools were "professional and worthy." The preamble continued by saying the accreditation list was also to help high school students and their guidance counselors choose programs "that will meet their needs." Thirdly, the preamble fixed the hope that the process of accreditation — especially the site visits — would bring the journalism industry and journalism schools closer. Representatives from industry and education came together for the visits. Next, the preamble stated the goal of giving schools information on the success of their graduates. Finally, the overall intention was presented, the hope accreditation would "stimulate constant improvement of journalism education by applying principles of accreditation."[324]

To be eligible for accreditation, a journalism school or program had to be part of a four-year institution and that institution had to be accredited by one of the main college and university associations. The purpose of the journalism program should be professional journalism training, with a degree of specialization allowed. The journalism curriculum must lead to a degree, and a major must be offered, and the program must have been "in operation long enough to judge success of graduates."

Journalism programs were not to be judged against other journalism schools or any specific set of standards other than those in the previous paragraph. Rather, each journalism program would be evaluated by comparison to its parent institution, other programs within the same institution, and the journalism program's own stated goals. This meant the journalism programs of large universities were not compared with programs in small colleges.

---

324 *Ibid.*

In a purposeful departure from the prior AASDJ de facto method of accreditation, which privileged large, well-funded, Wisconsin model journalism programs, the 1946 standards were very clear that diversity was encouraged.

> The American Council on Education for Journalism expressly denies any desire to standardize schools and departments of journalism. It recognizes that many institutions of higher learning wish to maintain and perpetuate characteristics of their own choosing … Uniformity is not sought because the needs of individual employers and regional and local needs vary widely.[325]

Accrediting was not meant to standardize journalism education. Differences were recognized as valuable and inevitable due to resource availability.[326]

Final judgment would be based on comparison of the objectives in a pre-visit report compiled by the journalism program itself and sent to the accreditors prior to their campus visit. In other words, the question was: is the school doing what it says it is doing?

To assess a track within a program, the sequence's adherence to its stated goals and eligibility requirements, a strict set of factual data was collected in the pre-visit reports, prepared by the programs seeking accreditation. This was combined with evaluations of intangible elements by the accreditors during the site visits. The hard, factual data looked at faculty quantity, quality, and experience; journalism library offerings; curriculum; labs and classroom space; makeup of the student population; financial support from the parent institution or other sources; and the

---

325 *Ibid.*

326 Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism, 1956, box 9, series Part 2 (MCHC83-014): Additions, 1946-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC83-014), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

success of graduates. The intangibles evaluated were student morale, teaching effectiveness, school prestige, regional validity, student-faculty relations, personality and achievement of the faculty, effectiveness of the administrative setup, and unspecified "other qualitative measures."[327]

As previously discussed in the earlier section on journalism education associations, in 1952, journalism accrediting activities came to a screeching halt. ASJSA, the one remaining major journalism education association that was not on board with ACEJ accrediting, appealed to the National Council on Accreditation (NCA). This forced a negotiated agreement in which ASJSA would have two seats on ACEJ. The ACEJ guiding principles and standards reflected this change. The service role of journalism education to the journalism industry was emphasized.

Accrediting resumed in 1955. Added to the original 1946 objectives was a new guideline. Accreditation should enhance the professional status of journalism by stimulating quality journalism education. The industry was set as the institutional leader. Journalism education should work to meet the needs of the industry. This was a clear kowtow to ASJSA values. The definition and group acceptance of minimum standards for journalism education was highlighted and it was clearly pointed out that accreditation was voluntary. Additionally, accreditation of journalism programs would be more closely coordinated with regional college or university accreditation and the NCA.[328]

---

327 *Ibid.*

328 Critique of Twenty Journalism Education Units by ACEJ Accrediting Teams, 1957, folder 4, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 21.

There were seven key characteristics in the 1955 revision that a journalism program should possess to be accredited. The program should lead to a Bachelor of Arts degree or more advanced degree in journalism. It should provide training for general journalism practitioners and provide services to the profession and to research. Each program should serve both national and more local regional media needs. It should be committed to a liberal arts-based journalism education. There should be close relationships between teacher and student. Students should have practical laboratory experience. Lastly, the programs should "have been developed in response to public and professional needs and have many successful graduates."

These guidelines encompassed both the Missouri model schools and the Wisconsin model schools. Accreditation was to be everything to everybody. There remained no quantifiable or directly calculable standards. These were general guidelines to be interpreted by journalism programs and the accrediting committee.[329]

The updated 1955 accrediting guidelines had a strong echo, if not direct reflection, of Bleyer's "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism." The notable difference is that the balance tipped toward the Missouri/Williams model of practical journalism training and therefore somewhat, but not completely, away from liberal arts. Pulitzer and Columbia's philosophy that journalism education would, could, and should lead the journalism industry into a more professional practice was gone. Instead, it was the journalism industry directing journalism education on what was needed from new workers. Economics had triumphed over ideals.

---

329 For the reader's convenience, the full text is included in Appendix 4.

Walter Wilcox, the Accrediting Committee Executive Secretary of ACEJ, circulated a report and soon after published a booklet on the state of journalism accrediting. In 1957, the meta-analysis titled "Critique of Twenty Journalism Education Units by ACEJ Accrediting Teams" found inconsistent reporting by the programs and evaluation by the accreditors. He pointed out serious loopholes in the accreditation process.

There were numerous mentions in the 20 sampled reports that added up to the "Goals and objectives [being] vague and indefinite, creating some doubt as to whether students and the faculty were accurately informed of the sequence's purpose and as to whether the student was misled."[330] Another finding was that the 25–75 ratio of journalism to liberal arts class was being flouted. Student credit hours in journalism crept on average toward 40 percent, rather than the advised 25 percent. This significantly cut the liberal arts courses a student could take. For those who believed in liberal arts journalism education, it was clear this founding principle was being trampled and that something had to be done.

Because of these findings, ACEJ voted in new, stricter accrediting standards in October 1960.[331] The reverberations from "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" were still present. However, there was a significant departure from the dictums of the original 1948 standards and the revised 1955 standards. That

---

331 Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism, 1961, folder 15, box 2, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 6.

revisions were needed, the changes that were made, and the language of the updates all pointed to failures in journalism accreditation. Accrediting proved to be an unreliable reference for high school students looking to study journalism and editors looking to fill cub reporter positions. The flood of journalism graduates of varying skill and ability, from accredited and non-accredited programs, had not been stemmed.[332]

In the early 1940s, the concern that accreditation would homogenize journalism education and freeze out smaller programs had led to the founding of ASJSA and in the early 1950s to the temporary shutdown of ACEJ accreditation. Language and procedures were put in place to ensure diversity in the field of journalism education. Nevertheless, this idealistic stance was not working — as evidenced by the need to change the acceding guidelines. A more predictable, practical, and transparent approach was put in place.

The 1960 revisions stepped away from the policy of weighing a program's goals against its actions. This standard was easily hijacked as schools set and met low goals. Instead, a more regimented and specific set of universal standards were implemented. The preamble paid lip service to different kinds of education and past philosophies on journalism accreditation. It espoused a more standardized and homogenized journalism education:

> The traditional American system of higher education is one that provides for a variety of approaches toward a common educational objective. Education for journalism should follow this tradition. At the same time, diversity should not be a defense for incompetency. The public as well as

---

332 *Ibid.*: 7.

professional interests call for a broad evaluation of performance based upon acceptable minimum standards.[333]

The new rules were reactionary and gave an idea of how previous iterations of ACEJ accreditation were being manipulated or failing. For example, under previous standards, programs were evaluated against their own stated objectives. This left a large loophole: Programs could give vague and easily obtainable objectives. The new revision dictated that a journalism program should state its objectives in a form as concrete as possible and that these objectives should be published in the program's public promotional literature. Further, "A school should claim to educate students only for those areas of the broad field of journalism for which it has competent faculty, adequate library facilities, and appropriate equipment." Rather than general guidelines, as in the past, specific requirements on who should teach journalism were given, "A faculty should have a balance of adequate academic preparation and sound professional experience. A faculty should average at least four years of professional experience."[334] The size and shape of the program was outlined: "No schools should be accredited with fewer than two full-time faculty members or their equivalent. No school should offer a specialized sequence without one full-time faculty member who is a specialist in this area."[335]

---

333 *Ibid.*

334 *Ibid.*: 6.

335 *Ibid.*: 7.

The 25–75 rule — one quarter journalism credits to three-quarters liberal arts credits — was now put into enforceable language.[336] The very smallest journalism programs were weeded out with the minimum requirement of five graduates per year.[337]

Prior to 1948, the only way to join the Class A club was through invitation and approval. Accreditation was opened to all schools and programs, but most schools were still excluded because they did not adhere to the strict liberal arts vision for journalism education. Challenges from the practically oriented journalism programs forced a shutdown and revision of accrediting from 1952 to 1955. The revised 1955 standards opened the accrediting doors to schools in both the liberal arts Wisconsin model and practical Missouri model. The doors had been opened too wide and journalism accreditation had lost its intended purpose of being a useful guide for students and hiring editors. The 1960 accrediting revisions sought to remedy this by making standards more stringent. This had the outcome of making journalism education more uniform. This was directly in contrast to the original purpose of journalism accreditation.

The 1946 ACEJ guidelines and standards for journalism education specifically stated the intended goal was not to homogenize journalism education. This sentiment is conspicuously absent from the 1955 and 1956 revisions. In its place, more specific standards were given with each update. The variety of journalism education, at least

---

336 Managing Editor's views on Journalism Training, 1947, folder 16, box 2, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 10.

337 Yoder, "Operations of the Kent State Short Courses": 7.

accredited journalism education, was lessening and journalism programs were forced to become more similar if they wanted to achieve accreditation.

<u>Pedagogical Patterns for Photojournalism</u>

The neo-institutional theory used in this dissertation points to the sway photojournalism education's environment had on its progression. This chapter surveyed one portion of this environment, namely professional education and journalism education. This environmental context illuminates a source of the early stigma against photojournalism education. Journalism education's campaign for acceptance as a worthy academic subject set the boundaries of photojournalism education.

As a new academic subject in the first quarter of the twentieth century, journalism education was keen to prove it was more than vocational training. This was done in two ways. First, classes on journalism history, journalism law, and journalism ethics added a scholarly angle. This was true for students and their professors engaged in research in these areas. Especially in the case of journalism history, but true of all three, these were not courses a journalist would need to practice journalism, strictly speaking. These classes worked to delineate the profession's boundaries and thus were instrumental in the process of professionalizing journalism. Secondly, the philosophy of liberal arts-based journalism education developed to justify journalism's place in academia. Best exemplified by the 25–75 rule, liberal arts journalism softened the skills-only look of journalism education. Even if all the journalism classes a student took were skills

174

classes (and they were not because of the journalism history, law, and ethics courses), this was only one quarter of his or her education.

The climate of professional education had considerable influence on journalism education across more than forty years. Just as photojournalism strove to gain legitimacy from journalism education, so too did journalism education seek to acquire the assent of the broader sector of higher education. Therefore, to analyze the impact the institutional environment had upon photojournalism education one must look several rungs up the ladder of influence.

Journalism education began in the early twentieth century concurrent with many other fields of professional education. For journalism, a place at the university table was a central element of its move from trade or vocation to a full-fledged profession. Neither its professional status nor its university membership were initially a given. It had to work hard to gain legitimacy. The solutions to secure legitimacy for journalism education eventually hindered photojournalism education when it sought entry to higher education about two decades later.

The circumstances of photojournalism education in the early and mid 1930s were akin to those of journalism education twenty years earlier. The field was in the process of professionalizing and the practicality and legitimacy of a place in higher education was a keystone. And yet, like journalism education before it, its inclusion in the university and professional standing were far from certain. Despite having just run a similar gauntlet, it was journalism education that pushed back the hardest against the inclusion of photography. The following chapter presents evidence drawn from journalism and photojournalism textbooks that news photography had long been

looked upon as a skilled trade and neither a profession nor creative endeavor. This is attributable to photography's considerable physical requirements and a belief the camera performed all the photographic work. The conventional image of news photography did not fit the image of legitimacy journalism education was projecting to its own institutional environment through adherence to liberal arts-based curricula.

This chapter's survey of journalism education provides a partial explanation of what eventually allowed widespread acceptance of photojournalism education. Wrangling over what philosophy ought to underpin journalism accreditation ultimately resulted in a position friendlier toward practical-professional journalism education. In turn, this Missouri model had less issue granting legitimacy to photojournalism education.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

Chapter V

Photojournalism Education

Initially, photojournalism education taught photography only — focusing, exposing, developing, printing, et cetera. As this chapter will show, it became consciously less vocational over time. This brought it in line with both journalism education and the academy. Photojournalism education is inextricably tied to photojournalism practice. Therefore, the entire profession had to escape vocational opprobrium before photojournalism education was academically palatable on a broad scale. This chapter tracks this progression in the profession and in education by means of rhetoric and communal thinking which was preserved in amber by in journalism and photojournalism textbooks.

The textbook rhetoric about photojournalism began when photojournalism education was an inconceivable idea and progressed to a point when visual education was commonplace and unquestioned. Neither the points of genesis nor maturity have fixed dates. That is because implementing photojournalism education occurred in individual journalism programs and was not centrally controlled. However, in the aggregate, three temporal phases emerged in the developing rhetoric of photojournalism education.

I refer to these phases as proto-, inaugural, and postwar. These phases and their lines of separation became apparent during this research. They are not taken or adopted from other scholars, except insomuch as they overlapped with common periodization in higher education, journalism, photojournalism, and society at large.

The dividing lines between the periods are based on significant changes in the practice and the related textbook discourse on photojournalism.

Simply put, the proto-phase was all time before the start of the inaugural period, which began in the early 1930s. Dedicated pictorial journalism classes and photojournalism textbooks did not exist in the proto-period. In the inaugural phase, the first photojournalism textbooks were published and the first formal classes in photojournalism education began to spread through journalism higher education. The proliferation was slow and resistance was strong from within journalism education itself. The value and importance of pictorial journalism education was hotly debated in the pages of academic and trade journals. With the end of World War II, the postwar phase saw photojournalism gain a permanent place in journalism education. In a change from the preceding periods, photojournalism education became the rule rather than the exception. Majoring in photojournalism became an option at a growing number of schools. The number of textbooks dedicated to visual reporting skyrocketed. Although more textbooks were available, the ideas and presentation formats became more similar.

To scrutinize the meta trends in photojournalism education across the three periods. A variety of sources are employed, each lending a unique perspective. Formal photojournalism education in the proto-period was non-existent. That was the period's defining characteristic. Therefore, sources directly related to photojournalism education did not exist. Using journalism textbooks from the 1890s through the end of the 1920s, the first section of this chapter aims to uncover the prevailing sentiments toward photojournalists and photojournalism. One revelation is

the paradox of the valued image but undervalued image makers. The tone of the photographer-writer and photo-text relationship was established in the proto-phase. These relationships set the stage for disagreement in the inaugural phase when photojournalism education began to appear in earnest.

The second section of this chapter deals with the inaugural phase in photojournalism education. The first hesitant steps were taken toward including photography in journalism education. A new message promoting photojournalism's professionalism was espoused. But the ideas and conceptions about photojournalism and photojournalists that carried over from the proto-phase made photojournalism education a hard sell. To make direct comparison with the previous phase, textbooks are used in this section as well. Because the chief characteristic defining the inaugural phase was the availability of photojournalism textbooks, these are closely examined. The quantity of such textbooks was small enough that a nearly complete sample is used. Added to this were mentions of photojournalism in textual journalism textbooks.

The third and final section of this chapter probes the postwar phase in photojournalism education. As part of professionalization efforts following World War II, photojournalism textbook authors sought to remake the image of the photojournalist. Shooters were depicted as specialized experts, playing essential roles in newsrooms. As the 1950s progressed, photojournalists were presented as social activists, exposing visual truths of an unjust world.

The common "photography is too vocational to be part of higher education" argument is represented by a 1947 quote from *Houston Press* editor J.B. Stephens. Regarding photography education for journalism students, he wrote:

> We'd rather have a man or woman soundly based in politics, history, sociology, the sciences in part and in the proper use of English words than any experience in photography.[338]

To parse Stephens' meaning, he wanted his paper produced by employees with a traditional liberal arts education. He did not believe photojournalism training provided any intellectual content, and therefore he deemed it non-important.

The counterpoint to this is illustrated in a 1971 thesis written by Linda Yoder that chronicled the history of a professional training program for photojournalists known as The Kent State University "Short Course." She wrote: "The profession needed the respectability of collegiate recognition in order to make professional inroads."[339] For those who wished to see photojournalism become a respected profession, photojournalism education was dogma. In the thematic space between Stephens' and Yoder's quotes sits the institutionalization of photojournalism education.

---

338 Managing Editor's Views on Journalism Training, 1947, folder 2, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 10.

339 Linda Taylor Yoder. "The Operations and Accomplishments of the Kent State University Photo Short Courses." (MA thesis, Kent State University, 1971): 7.

Proto-phase in Pictorial Journalism Education

Compared to text reporting, camera reporting was a latecomer to journalism education. And it was slow to bloom once underway. After the University of Missouri introduced the first degree in journalism in 1908, departments and schools of journalism expanded rapidly around the country. By 1911, 35 colleges and universities in the U.S. had journalism programs and this grew to nearly 700 by 1938.[340] It was not until about 25 years after textual journalism education began, in the 1930s, that "pictorial journalism" and "news photography" were offered as standalone courses.[341] This means photojournalism education was not entering a vacuum, but a field already in the process of establishing itself.

I define the proto-phase in photojournalism education as everything earlier than 1932. As the name implies, the structures of formalized photojournalism education did not yet exist. But the foundation was poured. In this period, the relationship between text and photo, and between writer and photographer, was set. The origin of this relationship is critical to understand because it would be a major influence as photojournalism education took shape in the inaugural phase.

A smattering of journalism classes incorporated the camera for an assignment or two in the 1910s and '20s. However, these were limited in scope and never gained

---

340   James E. Pollard, "Journalism and the College," *The Journal of Higher Education* 10, no. 7 (1939): 356-62.

341   Charles Flynn, "News Photography Teaching in Schools of Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1943): 50.

a foothold.[342] Passing mentions in course advertisements appeared "regarding 'the news values of pictures'" at the University of Missouri as early as 1928. However, such classes were not listed as separate, dedicated courses, and were part of either an advertising illustration class or industrial printing class.[343]

While formal education for camera reporting did not exist in the proto-period, to begin examining photojournalism education only with its first class or textbook would be to ignore a vital frame of reference. A careful look at the proto-period is essential. The lack of photojournalism textbooks was a defining feature of the proto-period. But camera reporting, and to lesser extent camera reporters, are discussed in general journalism textbooks. Initially, these mentions were sporadic and thin, but by the mid- to late-1920s entire sections and chapters were dedicated to news photography. Similarly, there were no standalone news photography classes. But news photography education was taking place. It was a sub-topic in other journalism classes or taking place outside of journalism higher education.

Depictions of photojournalists and photojournalism in journalism textbooks evolved over the course of the proto-phase. The closer to the end of the period, the descriptions of pictorial journalists and their job became longer and fuller. This was not happenstance and corresponded with the increasing use of photographs and growing prevalence of staff news photographers. Broadly speaking, earlier accounts required camera skills alone of the photographer. No journalistic expertise or creative

---

342 Sherre Lynne Paris. "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication in American Schools of Journalism, with Attention to the Universities of Missouri and Texas, 1880s–1990s." (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2007): 82.

343 *Ibid.*: 85.

prowess was expected. Later portrayals gradually began assigning some journalistic sense and personality requirements such as artistry, fearlessness, diplomacy, and an enterprising spirit. Although mentions grew in number and length over time, the status of photographers did not always grow at the same pace. Only a minority of textbooks presented photographer and reporter as equals.

Photography in Journalism Textbooks

Three primary themes emerge when examining references to photography in journalism textbooks: the relationship between photo equipment and photographer; physical and psychological descriptions; and the perception of photojournalists held by others. Within each of these themes, several threads materialized. Each theme or thread did not appear in every textbook. But weaving these threads together it becomes apparent what was consistent about the presentation of photojournalists and what changed with time.

In the proto-period, no courses in news photography were offered and thus no need existed for textbooks devoted exclusively to the subject. As the period wore on, it became more common for journalism textbooks to dedicate a section or even several chapters to the visual aspects of journalism. This included, but was not limited to, photography. This increase was relative, as throughout the proto-phase most journalism textbooks only briefly mentioned photography, if at all. Of the 65 journalism textbooks examined with publication dates before 1933, only 33, or a fraction over 50%, had any reference to photography. Of these 34, only 18, about 27% of all the journalism textbooks, included more than cursory mention. Such short

mentions often ran like, "It is always desirable that the 'feature article' should be

accompanied by photos, drawings, or sketches, as its value is greatly enhanced

by illustration."[344]

When it was touched upon, the purpose was *not* to teach how to practice

camera reporting. Rather, the intention was to provide just enough information for a

student to have a general grasp of news photography's place within the larger news

product. This was true at least as far back as 1889, when, for instance, a journalism

textbook's chapter on newspaper illustration described the various technological

tasks and the process of getting images into newspapers. It was an overview and did

not teach students to perform the tasks. Rather, the chapter would allow cub reporters

to walk into a newsroom or printing plant and recognize what was happening. The

chapter did not include any commentary on the editorial considerations involved in

shooting or printing of images. The opening statement of the same chapter read,

"This is essentially an age of pictorial journalism."[345] As we have seen in earlier

sections of this dissertation, this "pictorial journalism" was a very different practice

than later periods.

As early as 1891, textbooks were recommending freelance writers would

improve their chances of publishing if they included drawings or photographs with

their submissions. One author advised:

> Nearly all newspapers that are of consequence enough to pay contributors,
> now print illustrations. Not all sorts of articles permit them, of course, but

---

344 Edwin H. Hadlock, *Press Correspondence and Journalism* (San Francisco: United Press Syndicate, 1910): 29.

345 Thomas Campbell Copeland, "Newspaper Illustrations," in *The Ladder of Journalism. How to Climb It* (New York: Allan Forman, 1889): 73.

anything of a descriptive nature can usually be illustrated to advantage, and the article accompanied by sketches or photographs stands the better chance of acceptance therefor [sic], whether it is sent to newspaper or magazine.[346]

Between photographs and drawings, photographs were preferred because they took no special skill, like drawing did. The engraver at the newspaper or magazine would have an easier time engraving the cut from a photograph than from a sketch.[347]

The message in these early journalism textbooks became a common refrain for decades to come. Students learned that photographs were a desired *adjunct* to text reporting and that it was beneficial for a text reporter to have basic photographic abilities. But, while highly recommended, the textbooks provided *no* photo instruction whatsoever. For example, the basic advice from 1891 appeared again in 1894:

anything of a descriptive nature, whether for a newspaper or a magazine, will stand a better chance of acceptance if it be accompanied with sketches or photographs — preferably the latter.[348]

And again, four years later in 1898, the advice given to freelance writers was the same: include photographs and improve the likelihood the story will be picked up. A newly added element was that photographs could *lead* the writing because the text could be shaped to fit the photo. But, as in textbooks before it, while photographs were valued, the considerations and process of making them are glossed over.[349]

---

346 Luce, Robert, *Writing for the Press; a Manual for Editors, Reporters, Correspondents, and Printers* (Boston: Writer Pub. Co., 1891): 87.

347 *Ibid.*: 89.

348 Edwin Llewellyn Shuman, *Steps into Journalism; Helps and Hints for Young Writers* (Evanston, Ill.: Correspondence School of Journalism, 1894): 194-95.

349 Bennett, Arnold, *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (John Lane: London & New York, 1898).

The basic outline had not changed significantly by 1910 even though the halftone process was available and its use was spreading. Reference to handmade illustrations and drawings disappeared and photographs were the only kind of illustrations mentioned. And, while only two sentences long, the first photographic editorial advice appeared in a 1910 textbook. With this photographic editorial advice, the first small step toward one of the five requirements of photojournalism textbooks was taken.

> There is always a great demand for photographs and biographical sketches of people before the public eye. This is especially true when anything extraordinary happens to them.[350]

It was not only portraits of famous or newsworthy people that were in high demand. The growing use of photographs in the context of news is seen in a 1911 textbook. This book was aimed at correspondence work. Strategies are given for getting photographs to the newspapers quickly. This involved informing the papers ahead of time by telegram to expect photos and ensuring the negatives went off by rush mail.[351] Photographs were not just for important or spot new: "A story unimportant in itself may be spread over an entire page if it is adaptable to a big, colorful illustration."[352] Photo coverage of sports could also be planned.[353]

In a section on freelance and correspondence work in a 1915 textbook by Dudley Glass, photographs are presented as moneymakers:

---

350 Hadlock, *Press Correspondence and Journalism*: 29.

351 Charles G. Ross, *The Writing of News: A Handbook with Chapters on Newspaper Correspondence and Copy Reading* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1911): 162.

352 *Ibid.*: 105.

353 *Ibid.*: 162.

Correspondents who depend solely upon "big news" overlook the most profitable part of their work. There is a big field in the Sunday papers which publish "magazines" or special supplements of pictures and feature stories. You can often sell a column story with photos to a dozen papers.[354]

Despite his talk of the profitability of pictures, Glass did not think the average correspondent could or should take the photos themselves. Rather, they should contract with local professional (but non-journalistic) photographers.

> Good papers clamor for pictures.… Make friends with the local photographer; … make him go to the scene of stories with you and take photographs. But see that he takes good ones, not stiff, palpably "posed" pictures. Study the pictures in the papers — that's worth a ton of description. Papers will pay from two to five dollars each for good photographs. ….
>   Some correspondents who have a camera have learned to use it successfully and profitably, but unless you can take really good pictures don't depend on yourself.[355]

Glass's advice on getting good pictures was thin — study what is already published and do not pose stiff portraits. This approach was in line with other textbooks of the preceding 30 years. While telling students that pictures were important, he failed to provide any useful guidance except to hire someone else and find good examples somewhere other than his textbook.

Up to this point, all the references to photo reporting in textbooks have been directed at correspondents and freelancers. These kinds of news workers had to provide the full package of news. This contrasted with newsrooms where labor was divided and compartmentalized. The first discussion of the intra-newsroom procurement of photographs came from Walter Williams. Williams was the instrumental force in launching the first journalism program in 1908, the dean of the

---

354 Dudley Glass, *Writing for the Press* (Atlanta, Ga.: Webb and Vary, 1915): 12.

355 *Ibid.*: 13.

University of Missouri School of Journalism for almost 30 years, and the author of multiple journalism textbooks.

The first textbook to specifically mention the existence of newspaper news photographers was Walter Williams and Frank L. Martin's 1911 *The Practice of Journalism, a Treatise on Newspaper Making*.[356] The mention was only a single sentence, "[The reporter's] task of getting pictures is distinct from that of the newspaper photographer or artist who works on assignments much as the reporter does."[357] Like those before, the textbook's photo-related guidance is directed at reporters, not photographers. Like freelancers in the previously mentioned textbooks, newsroom reporters often had to provide photos for their stories. However, unlike the jack-of-all-trades correspondents, reporters did not shoot these photographs. Instead, they were responsible for tracking down existing photographs, usually portraits, of newsmakers. Williams and Martin likened hunting down a photograph to chasing any other fact. They wrote:

> But in obtaining any story the reporter should keep in mind the matter of pictures and obtain them whenever possible. If the news is at all important, or the persons or places concerned are generally known, pictures are desirable, so much so in fact, that the reporter will do well to work on theory that his story is not complete unless he obtains them.[358]

---

356 Walter Williams and Frank L. Martin, *The Practice of Journalism, a Treatise on Newspaper Making* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens Pub. Co., 1911).

357 *Ibid.*: 203-04.

358 *Ibid.*

This practice was mentioned in textbooks for years to come, an indication of industry standard procedure. This is borne out by another mention in a 1912 textbook. It gave the same advice, although more succinctly.

> Don't stop working on a good story when you have all the facts; if there are photographs to be obtained, get the photographs, especially if the principals in the story are persons of standing, and more especially if they are women.[359]

The reasons why photographs of women of standing were so prized were not explained. But this was the first of many references over the decades to the priority of printing photographs of women. By the 1930s this type of photo had garnered the name cheesecake, and it is still practiced today in the form of page three girls.

While the text reporter could be trusted to collect existing photographs, when a news event was of sufficient importance the city editor dispatched a photographer to get the picture. In this context, Williams and Martin also made the first mention of deadline news photography.

> But if views of crowds, scenes of accidents, murders, and other similar events are desired, a photographer or artist is immediately assigned to get them. In such cases, they must work without delay, often accompanying the reporter assigned to the story, for the time in which scenes of this character may be procured is extremely limited.[360]

Another leading personality in early journalism education acknowledged the presence of news photographers in his textbook, but he did not discuss them beyond a brief reference. Willard Grosvenor Bleyer of the University of Wisconsin and chief proponent for liberal arts journalism education also was author to a series of widely

---

359 Grant Milnor Hyde, *Newspaper Reporting and Correspondence: A Manual for Reporters, Correspondents, and Students of Newspaper Writing* (New York; London: Appleton, 1912): 13.

360 Williams and Martin, *The Practice of Journalism, a Treatise on Newspaper Making*: 248-49.

used textbooks. In one of his earliest, published in 1913, he acknowledged the usefulness of staff photographers. Like Williams and Martin, he stopped there and discussed the reporter's duty to hunt down existing photos. He did take the additional step of advising reporters to carry and know how to use a camera. Students who followed this advice would have to look elsewhere. Bleyer's textbook gave no photographic instructions of any kind. The idea of a multimedia journalist is over one hundred years old!

> Every reporter and every correspondent should have a camera and should learn how to take pictures to illustrate the stories that he writes, even though he may not have occasion to take such photographs frequently.[361]

The first textbook to take steps beyond simply mentioning camera reporting was Nathaniel Fowler's 1913 *The Handbook of Journalism: All About Newspaper Work*. This book was the first to explain the special skill that made a staff photographer necessary: their technical mastery of cameras. At the risk of applying modern standards to the past, it is notable that it was not special photographic creativity or journalistic abilities that made the staff photographer necessary. If the photographer knew how to use the camera, that was good enough to qualify as a news photographer. This contrasts sharply with the minimum requirements for text reporters at the time: know how to write and have a nose for news. Fowler's tone hints that, while needed, it was not entirely a welcome development to have staff photographers: "The use of illustrations has become epidemic with more than half of the metropolitan newspapers, and the photographer is a necessary attaché."[362]

---

361 Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913): 49.

362 Nathaniel C. Fowler, *The Handbook of Journalism: All About Newspaper Work* (New York: Sully and Kleinteich, 1913): 107.

Fowler's use of the words "epidemic" to describe photos and "attaché" to describe photographers allude to his underlying opinions. Further underlining his view of photographers as less important than text reporters, he told his readers that shooters were not journalists, but tools. They "do the work designated by the editors and reporters."[363]

Other textbook authors also revealed the low priority, low position, or outright absence of discussion of photographers. A newspaper organizational chart in one 1923 textbook literally listed it as the lowest position in the newsroom.[364] A 1917 textbook used several pages to detail all the roles and positions at a newspaper. The author treated photographs as a literal afterthought, addressing them only in the very last sentence. And, even then, he glazed over their role: "Finally, there are the photographers, subject to the city editor, who rush hither and thither to all parts of the city and state, taking scenes valuable for cuts."[365]

Although the more common approach, not all textbooks gave short shrift to camera reporting in the proto-phase. The middle of the second decade of the twentieth century saw photographs and photographers begin a slow climb in importance and respectability. The changing perception of news photographers is reflected in a handful of journalism textbooks. An extract from Don Carlos Seitz's 1916 work presented photographers on an equal footing with text reporters. In addition to the technical skills mentioned by other authors like Nathaniel Fowler,

---

363 *Ibid.*: 105-06.

364 Henry John Brockmeyer, *Practical Course in Journalism* (New York: 1923).

365 M. Lyle Spencer, *News Writing, the Gathering, Handling and Writing of News Stories* (Boston; New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1917): 11.

Seitz held that photographers must also possess certain personality traits, roughly the photographic equivalent of a text reporter's nose for news. These included fearlessness, "enterprise and perspicacity," diplomacy, and speed. He depicted photographers as journalists and creatives: the photographer must "be certain of his subject and the most striking view to be had."[366]

Substantial image-making advice finally came in a 1921 textbook. The recommendations are echoed in nearly all textbook references to camera reporting thereafter. This also was the first mention, in textbooks at least, of one of the distinctive features of photojournalism: visual storytelling.

> In the selection of photographs for newspaper or magazine illustration, the aim is to secure pictures that tell their own story without explanation. The reason why the picture is printed — its news value or basis of interest — should be clear to the reader at first glance. The objects in the picture should be so grouped that the reader's eye will immediately be drawn to the important details. … The value of a picture can best be judged by asking whether the reader will understand its message without reading a caption. … The caption, then, may be devoted to giving further details that do not appear, rather than merely to explaining the picture's message.[367]

This textbook's author, Grant Milnor Hyde, went beyond just telling students to get good photos, which was the crux of advice in previous textbooks. He provided actionable strategies on how to do it. This was one step closer to fulfilling one test for photojournalism textbooks by giving a sense of what made a "good" photograph. One of Hyde's tips was cropping to reduce "a confusing background and other details not

---

366 Don Carlos Seitz, *Training for the Newspaper Trade* (Philadelphia; London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1916): 134-35.

367 Grant Milnor Hyde, *Handbook for Newspaper Workers: Treating Grammar, Punctuation, English, Diction, Journalistic Structure, Typographical Style, Accuracy, Headlines, Proofreading, Copyreading, Type, Cuts, Libel, and Other Matters of Office Practice* (New York, London: D. Appleton and Co., 1921): 193-94.

related to the story."[368] A second pointer recommended photographers and photo editors seek out pictures of people. This was because they "give human interest to the picture, supply a basis of comparison of sizes (since every reader knows the size of the human figure), and make the picture's message immediately evident."[369]

Beginning with Hyde, and growing as the inaugural phase drew near, the descriptions of news photography practices grew richer and more detailed. The guidance provided to student-reporters began to include how to direct news photographers. The unwritten presumption in William Shipman Maulsby's 1925 textbook, *Getting the News,* was that the photographer could not and should not make visual-editorial decisions. The cameraman was the muscle, while the reporter was the brain.

> A reporter who has to tell a camera man what to take should know that if he tells the photographer the effect he wants, the photographer can get it, either by posing the persons in the picture or by combining two or more photographs in one. [370]

Maulsby used most of his discussion on visuals to instruct reporters how to obtain existing photographs. Even though the reporter did not usually shoot photos — "staff of the paper or commercial photographers who are hired for the occasion" did this — photographs were supposed to be at the forefront of the reporter's mind.[371]

Although not common, according to Maulsby reporters who could shoot their own photos were in great demand. This harks back 30 years to the earliest textbooks,

---

368 *Ibid.*: 194.

369 *Ibid.*

370 William Shipman Maulsby, *Getting the News* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and company, 1925): 228-30.

371 *Ibid.*: 228.

which told freelancers and correspondents that knowing how to shoot photos

was helpful.

> It is a help to a reporter to be able to take his own pictures when necessary. The reporter who can manipulate his own camera or one that belongs to the paper often gets desirable assignments that otherwise would not come his way. This is especially true in regard to stories that necessitate sending a reporter out of town. If one man can get the story and take the pictures, it is more economical to send him instead of sending a photographer and a reporter.

> In 1930 at the cusp of the proto- and inaugural phases, John H. Sorrells' *The Working Press: Memos from the Editor About the Front and Other Pages* heralds the

coming change in discourse on camera reporting in textbooks. In his view, the use of

pictures was paramount and trumped text stories.

> Leave out a news story if necessary to get a picture on every page of your paper. The story you left out won't be missed, for if you have a flat, dull page full of gray type with no lift or color, nobody will read what is there anyhow.[372]

The trend begun a decade earlier was continued by Sorrells when he

recommended photographers and editors strive for storytelling photographs.

Photographs were portrayed as a serious piece of the overall news product and as

such should not be compromised. He wrote, "Do not print a poor picture just to be

first with it — a picture is supposed to tell a story."[373]

Sorrells' definition of a poor picture or a storytelling picture was vague. Hard

news images were a given, but strict news value was not the only consideration for

---

372 John H. Sorrells, *The Working Press: Memos from the Editor About the Front and Other Pages* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1930): 51.

373 *Ibid.*: 50.

printing photographs. A tasteful amount of titillation was recommended to boost

reader interest.

> There is little excuse for printing the picture of an ugly woman. The picture of a pretty woman needs no justification. Don't go in for pornographic stuff, but don't be squeamish about printing pictures of pretty legs. At the same time, let the legs, or the shoulder, or the back be incidental — not the main purpose of the picture.[374]

It was not just photographs that received more thought and attention. Staff

photographers were more common as the end of the proto-period approached.

In 1930, the same year which saw the first news photography class offered, Stewart

Robertson linked the growing stature of news photographers with the expanding

prominence of news photographs. In his textbook titled *Introduction to Modern*

Journalism, Robertson wrote:

> News is no longer confined to the chronicle or printed report. Much information is effectively brought to the newspaper reader by means of pictures. In modern journalism, the news photographer has an important place, for pictured news has rapidly been growing in favor with the newspaper public.[375]

Status was relative, and for camera reporters the reference point was text

reporters. According to Dix Harwood in his 1927 book *Getting and Writing News*, it

was at the picture-heavy tabloids that the news photographer reached parity with the

text reporter.

> Even the most conservative metropolitan papers use photographs daily, sometimes whole pages of them; and within the last few years there has been developing, first in Great Britain and then in America, the tabloid newspaper, such as the *New York Graphic*, the *News*, and the *Mirror*, which try to tell most of the news through pictures. That means that the photographer has become a newspaperman just as officially connected

---

374 *Ibid.*: 52.

375 Stewart Robertson, *Introduction to Modern Journalism* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1930): 16.

with the staff as any of the writers or editors. His tools are a camera and plates, of course, instead of a pencil. He tries to be first on the scene, works hard to get the best possible pictures, and is just as proud of news beats as any other member of the staff.[376]

Other indications attested to an ascending reputation. Until the late 1920s, photographs routinely appeared without bylines or credit lines. A 1929 textbook advised layout editors to change this practice and give credit where credit was due: "Do not forget to add the photographer's credit line."[377] In this way the hard work of the photographer was acknowledged. This may seem a small change, but it was an important step along the ladder of professionalization. If a photographer was considered only a tool, a byline would not be needed. But if a photographer was a photojournalist, they needed to be acknowledged in print. The characterizations of staff news photographers in journalism textbooks took 10 years to move from a tool and necessary evil to fully fledged newsroom members.

Complete Course in Photographic Journalism in Twenty-Two Practical Lessons, 1921

All the textbooks cited so far had only brief reference to news pictures and camera reporters. They were textbooks on text reporting, and any discourse on photo subjects was secondary, if not tertiary. But a small handful of textbooks from the proto-period devoted significantly more attention to photographic topics. While they did have much larger discussions of camera reporting than contemporary textbooks,

---

376 Dix Harwood, *Getting and Writing News* (New York: George H. Doran company, 1927): 21-22.

377 Perley Isaac Reed, *Applied Writing by the Journalistic Method* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929): 288.

these still cannot be considered photojournalism textbooks because they did not pass all five tests.

The early 1920s saw the first textbook dedicated entirely to news pictures. But it was written for owners of photo agencies — businessmen — and not for students hoping to be camera reporters. As such, it did not meet all five requirements of a photojournalism textbook. The existence of such a textbook testified to the state of the news picture practices of the time. Having photographers on staff was still a novel idea and photo agencies were the primary supplier of news images. Despite the wide use of photographs in newspapers, "few, except the 'picture' dailies keep their own camera men."[378]

The textbook *Complete Course in Photographic Journalism in Twenty-Two Practical Lessons* was published in 1921. It claimed, "This course is very thorough, and to our knowledge is the first and only complete course in Photographic Journalism ever published."[379] The textbook fully passed the first test of photojournalism textbooks by taking photography as its primary topic. It failed the second test owing to the absence of the technical aspects of photography. Because the textbook was for the photographer's boss, the photo agency owner, no discussion occurred of photographic practicalities. The book could not be used to learn the practice of news photography. It is unclear if college students were the audience of the textbook, so the third test is ambiguous. The fourth and fifth tests were passed

---

378 Low Warren, *Journalism* (London: C. Palmer, 1922): 155.

379 Walter Clement Moore, *Complete Course in Photographic Journalism* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Walhamore Company, 1921): 21.

because the book gave a sense of what makes a "good" journalistic image and presented the contemporary philosophical underpinnings of camera reporting.

In one of the book's "practical lessons," the idea of combining photographs with writing is introduced.[380] This combination came to be a defining quality of photojournalism in the early part of the postwar phase, which would come 30 years later. The author gave two approaches to making a profit from combining words and pictures. In the first, an existing photo inspired the writing, which told the story of where and how it was taken.[381] In the second method, an idea or story was written first and a photograph made to illustrate it: "[W]rite about anything in which you may be especially interested … and then take photographs to fit in at various intervals."[382]

Twenty-Two Practical Lessons captured an early stage in the intellectual and philosophical development of news photography. This textbook covered the first and most important aspect of photojournalism: the desire to witness and record historical events and important people.[383] *Twenty-Two Practical Lessons* championed bearing witness through news photography. However, the motivation was profit and not informing society: "Railroad accidents, murder cases, or anything of this nature should be photographed at once…. You will be well rewarded."[384]

---

380 *Ibid.*: 2.

381 *Ibid.*

382 *Ibid.*: 3.

383 Claude Hubert Cookman, *American Photojournalism: Motivations and Meanings* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2009).

384 Moore, *Complete Course in Photographic Journalism*: 5.

194

The textbook went to great pains describing what made a newsworthy, and thus profitable, photograph. The tragedies mentioned above were sought after, as were "curiosities," such as the "'tallest Man in America,' or the 'Heaviest Woman in the World.'"[385] Photographic documentation is highlighted as a means of preserving history: "Roads will be changed, new railways built and thousands of other minor changes, all of which will give you a chance to get the 'before and after' pictures which will be of such great cash value after a year or so."[386]

The textbook presumed the readers of the book would hire workers, not take the pictures themselves: "You will need a man who is active and able to manage a film camera taking a picture about 4x5 [inches], or somewhere near that size."[387] The value of camera workers is presented similarly to factory line workers: all that matters is output quantity: "If your man has an auto or motorcycle … he will be able to get five or six pictures a day, netting [you] $12 to $15 daily."[388] The owner of this hypothetical photo syndicate could hire "local photographers throughout the State" and pay them 75 cents to shoot a photo and forward it to the client newspaper, which will pay the agency owner $1.50. "Your profit," the author noted, "is about 60 cents per picture this way without a stroke of work."[389]

---

385 *Ibid.*: 8.

386 *Ibid.*: 11.

387 *Ibid.*: 1.

388 *Ibid.*

389 *Ibid.*

Journalism, 1922

A second textbook from the early 1920s gave more than passing mention to news photography. Titled simply *Journalism* and published in 1922 by Low Warren, its principal topic was textual reporting. But it also included chapters titled "The Genesis of the Illustrated Press" and "The Press Photographer and the Reporter-Photographer." The treatment of news photography was longer and more in-depth than the journalism textbooks that preceded it. But the purpose of the presentation was the same. It is written to familiarize student-reporters with non-reporting areas of the news process. The goal was not for the student-reporters to learn how to perform the non-reporting tasks. As part of their reportorial tasks, reporters oversaw and directed photographers. Therefore, the textbook's readers were taught how to interact with photographers and how to use photographs. The recommendations included maintaining relationships with outside photo agencies because "Few, except the 'picture' dailies, keep their own camera men, and when they require a photograph … [they] must rely on the services of such agencies as exist for the purpose of supplying illustrations to the Press."[390]

Warren's *Journalism* was written for college journalism students and had limited discussions of the technical aspects of photography. News photography was not the main subject, even though the textbook did discuss what makes a "good" news photo and presented the contemporary philosophical underpinnings of camera reporting.

---

390 Warren, *Journalism*: 155.

An entire chapter was dedicated to the history of the British illustrated press, reaching as far back as 1587. In a first-of-a-kind for a journalism textbook, it provided an overview of the important events and developments leading up to the modern practices of camera reporting. Starting in the inaugural phase, including chapters on the history of visuals in journalism became a conventional aspect of photojournalism textbooks.

The eleventh chapter of *Journalism* is titled "The Press Photographer and the Reporter-Photographer," and it opened by justifying why such a chapter was necessary. The rationale was simple: journalism education must tackle the growing number of staff photographers in the industry.[391] Continuing the refrain from journalism textbooks dating back over thirty years, Warren encouraged text reporters to have photographic abilities because they made the reporter more valuable.

> we strongly counsel every reporter who has the opportunity presented to him to take full advantage of it, and to master the various intricacies of photographic work. Such knowledge is certain to enhance a man's professional value; promotion to a more responsible sphere may follow; and in some cases, it is likely to result in the adoption of a new profession.[392]

Warren reiterated the point again when addressing freelance reporting. Combining the skills of writing and shooting was invaluable. "The man who will do best [as a freelancer]," he wrote, "must be able to write an interesting story as well as picture it."[393]

---

391 *Ibid.*: 229.

392 *Ibid.*: 230.

393 *Ibid.*: 236.

Even though it devoted a full chapter to news photography, the textbook does not enter the arena of preparing students to be photographers. Instead, Warren wrote, "provincial experience is by far the best way of obtaining an all-round knowledge of press photography."[394] Parsed, this revealed that photojournalism practice was not envisioned as part of a student's journalism education. Like other physical trades, photography was learned on the job or via apprenticeship, not in school or from a textbook. "Nothing but experience can teach him [photographic technique]," he wrote, "but once such knowledge is acquired, the rest is comparatively easy."[395] Warren continued his reasoning regarding why his book did not teach the practicalities of news photography:

> In a book such as this it is quite out of the question to go into details concerning press photography. To study the subject thoroughly, and to acquire a really workable knowledge of all its ins and outs, the press man would be well advised to seek the acquaintance of a local photographer who specializes in outdoor work. From him a [great] deal of valuable knowledge may be acquired both in regard to exposures-a subject full of pitfalls-and to developing and printing. Having served a brief apprenticeship in this way, the next thing to do is to obtain, if possible, a camera for one's own exclusive use.[396]

Interestingly, Warren's approach to teaching press photography was similar to his treatment of textual reporting. Neither photographic technique nor how to read and write were covered. Instead, basic photo and writing skills were expected prerequisites before taking up the specializations of camera or textual journalism. Though his book did not teach basic skills, Warren was adamant about the

---

394 *Ibid.*: 229.

395 *Ibid.*: 231.

396 *Ibid.*: 230.

importance of technical mastery. This means spelling and grammar in the case of text, and for photography it was developing, printing, and enlarging.

> if the beginner wishes to be regarded as anything more than a dilettante, he must make up his mind at the outset to rely upon his own unaided efforts from start to finish. To take a picture and then depend upon someone else to develop and print it for him, is no good whatever. To do anything that is really worthwhile in press photography one must be able to complete the job thoroughly and well, and the sooner the beginner learns to load up his slides, take his pictures, mix his chemicals in bulk, develop plates and make prints or enlargements from them, the better for his peace of mind, and that of the editor of the paper employing him.[397]

While Warren's approaches to teaching textual journalism and camera journalism were similar in philosophy, the text reporter and the camera reporter were not portrayed as equals. The photographer was presented as a doer not a thinker. Although the photographer skillfully manipulates the camera, he or she did not think like a journalist or have news judgment. An exception to this rule was when a writer became a photographer. In this case, "his 'news nose' was more likely to lead to the selection of the 'live' subject than one whose experience has been confined entirely to the camera."[398] The implication was a textual journalist could become a camera reporter, but a photographer could not become a journalist.

Despite this, Warren gave great credit to capable news photographers for their ability to capture what would later be termed "the decisive moment."

> [A photograph's] subject must be full of life, movement, and interest at just the psychological moment that conveys the most complete idea of it through the eye of the camera to the minds of those unable to be present. That is where the judgment of the press photographer is tested, and where he either shines or fails. He alone can decide this point, and as a rule he

---

397 *Ibid.*: 232.

398 *Ibid.*: 229-30.

has only a fraction of a second in which to decide it. The moment arrives; the press photographer must seize the opportunity; the camera clicks and the image is impressed upon the ready plate.[399]

The preceding quote illustrates a second important point. The understanding of photographic agency — who or what is considered to have created an image — was evolving. Since Daguerre announced his invention some 80 years prior, the commonplace understanding was that the photographic process created the image. After all, the word "photograph" literally means light-writing.[400] In this supposition, the photographer merely operated the machine. The photographic work was accomplished by the technology itself. Warren discarded this postulate by shifting some, but not all, of the photographic agency to the photographer. He presented photographs as the product of human decision-making and actions. Photographs were not assumed to be fully accurate representations of a scene. By choosing angles, compositions, subject matter, and moments a photographer interpreted the scene.

The ability to interpret a scene in such a way that the reproduced photograph could communicate a story to the viewer/reader was, in Warren's view, what singled out news photographers. By assigning photographic agency to the photographer, Warren elevated the status of news photographers. News photography was presented as requiring something beyond basic photographic prowess.

Today, it seems obvious photographic agency belongs to the photographer, but this was not always the case. The shift of agency toward the photographer was part of other changes as photojournalism matured. The fact that perceived

---

399 *Ibid.*: 231.

400 This is not to be confused with writing with light, which gives the agency to the photographer. But it is the light itself which does the writing.

photographic agency moved from one locale to another indicates that it is a constructed concept and not tied to actual photographic agency. In turn, this underscores the fact that photojournalism and journalism are both subject to change over time and should not be considered static practices.

Warren described the physical and mental requirements of a staff photographer position:

> knowledge of flashlight photography. … a good deal of hard work, and calls for a robust physique. … on a paper that has only a limited staff, a man must be able to turn his hand to every sort and kind of job that comes along, and this naturally makes for self-dependence and initiative, two invaluable qualities in topical camera work.[401]

Warren advised consideration of the needs of the "Art Editor." According to Warren, this editor required two things from a photograph. The first was high technical quality to permit easy reproduction. This means, for example, balancing light and shadow for good contrast and fully washing prints to prevent chemical stains. Second, art editors expected images to be lively and engaging: images that tell a story.

Journalism discussed at length what made for good news photos and provided practical advice on achieving those goals. The criteria presented was in line with other textbooks of the time: good photos tell stories. However, unlike contemporary textbooks, which failed to explicate what a storytelling image was, Warren elucidates the concept.

> The trained journalist will recognize [sic] the news picture at a glance, but it is one thing to recognize it when one sees it in the pages of an illustrated paper, and quite another to go out with one's camera and secure it. … every picture of a topical event must tell a story at a glance. If you analyse

---

401 *Ibid.*: 229.

[sic] the photographs in the illustrated dailies, you will find that in nine out of every ten cases they answer to this primary test. To do this a subject must be full of life, movement, and interest at just the psychological moment that conveys the most complete idea of it through the eye of the camera to the minds of those unable to be present.[402]

Continuing his actionable advice, Warren provided concrete advice on how to make photos "full of life, movement, and interest." Standard compositions ought to be avoided and visual creativity encouraged. In so doing, Warren advised a style of photograph that was different than the standard type at the time. This begins to draw a distinction between the professional image maker — later known as a photojournalist — and other newsroom workers and the public. Delineating boundaries was a vital move in the professionalization process.

> The point of view should, when possible, be free from conventional or formal arrangement. In the treatment of figure or portrait groups the usual studio arrangements should be avoided and the pictorial interest should be preferred. Objects associated with the figures, such as military men with their arms, or angler with rod and reel, etc., should be made the most of in posing.[403]

The second edition of *Journalism* was published in 1931, at the beginning of the magazine era.[404] For the most part, the new edition was an update of the 1922 textbook. Regarding photography, the largest change was the addition of a discussion of the new technologies of the past decade. The chapter on the history of the illustrated press was a clone of the previous edition until it reached the early 1920s. Here, the chapter switched entirely to the techno-logistical processes of reproducing photos. This included printing and transmission techniques. Warren went in-depth on

---

402 *Ibid.*: 231.

403 *Ibid.*: 235.

404 Low Warren, *Journalism, from A to Z* (London: H. Joseph, 1931).

the latest processes like hiring private aircraft to transport negatives, and the innovative technology of electromechanical photo transmission by telegraph wire. Like other textbooks of the period, the descriptions of technology were detailed enough for a student to understand the general principles of how they operate, but not practical enough to teach the student to use any of the technologies. Interestingly, no discussion of camera technology or techniques was found in this chapter. The third and fourth editions from 1935 and 1947 had no revisions regarding photography.[405]

Inaugural Phase in News Photography Education

Photojournalism higher education took its hesitant first steps as the inaugural phase got underway. The preceding section of this chapter demonstrated that journalism educators professed the importance of visual reporting and encouraged journalism students to obtain photography skills throughout the proto-period. Yet, the textbooks written by journalism educators rarely went beyond recommending that students learn these skills on their own. Only in the early 1930s did educators begin to breach this dam and provide photographic educational opportunities for journalism students through classes and textbooks.

Once the dam cracked, the opportunities remained only a trickle. Moreover, concerted effort was made by some to plug the breach. Those who disapproved of photojournalism education believed it eroded the hard-won gains of journalism education over the preceding twenty-five years. It had been no small feat to secure a

---

405 Low Warren, *Journalism from A to Z* (London: H. Joseph, 1935); Low Warren, *Journalism from A to Z* (London: Banner Books, 1947).

place in the academy and the respect of the industry. As a highly manual profession, photography did not conform to the intellectuality that journalism education sought to project.

Opposition to photojournalism education was ultimately unsuccessful, as evidenced by its prevalence in journalism curricula in the later postwar phase. Studying the intervening period between when no photojournalism education happened and when it was mainstream yields an avenue to decipher change agents in journalism education. By probing the who, what, when, where, why, and how of those who demurred or buttressed photojournalism education, larger patterns can be extrapolated. In other words, the evolution of photojournalism education in the inaugural phase provides a small window into the complex, many-faceted environment to which journalism education belongs today and in years past.

The segue from the end of the proto-period to the beginning of the inaugural period fell between 1930 and 1932. The first documented college-level photography class dedicated solely to its journalistic use was given in 1930. In 1932, the first photojournalism textbook was published. It had all five requisite attributes — photography as the main topic, technical aspects included, audience of college journalism students, discussion of photographic and editorial merits, and the philosophical footing of camera reporting.[406] The inaugural phase concluded at the

---

406 As discussed in detail in the "Methods and Sources" section of Chapter II, I use five tests to determine whether a textbook can be labeled a photojournalism textbook. First, the textbook must take photography as its primary topic. This precludes textbooks that mention or even have entire chapters on camera reporting. The second test is the book must have some discussion of the technical aspects of photography, such as basic photographic how-to instructions and camera equipment lists. Discussing the editorial uses and implications of photographs is not sufficient; the book must help the reader learn the basic skills of news photography. Thirdly, the book should be written with college journalism students as the intended audience. This rules out works

end of World War II, in 1945. The intervening years were seminal in the formation and proliferation of photojournalism education.

The inaugural period of photojournalism education understandably overlapped with major changes in the field of photojournalism. The magazine era in photojournalism history was getting underway and a new form of pictorial journalism was taking shape, soon to be represented by the founding of magazines such as *Life*, *Look*, and *Fortune*. Beginning service on January 1, 1935, the photo-wire exponentially compressed the time frame of dissemination of photos. Now, image transmission speed matched the pace of text newswires. Distant breaking news photos could be printed next to accompanying text stories from anywhere in the country or world. This fundamentally changed the relationship between news photographers and the larger news product. A nationwide cadre of fast, reliable, and visually literate news photographers was as important to the success of the photo-wire as the transmission technology itself. Local newspaper photographers now worked on a national stage. The later years of the inaugural period saw other far-reaching changes in photojournalism. The professionalization movement began and gathered steam. Audience expectations were altered by events like the visual coverage of World War II. Higher expectations created a demand for specialized practitioners. Lastly, the notion that a news photographer could benefit from a university journalism degree began to spread.

---

for aspiring amateurs and books not specifically aimed at journalists. Fourth, it should give some sense of what makes a "good" journalistic image. In other words, it discusses the photographic and editorial merits of photographs. And, finally, the textbook should present the contemporary philosophical underpinnings of camera reporting. This excludes photography textbooks that do not cover journalistic uses of the discipline.

Like this chapter's previous section, the following uses journalism textbooks as primary source material. Added to this are photojournalism textbooks, which were now available. Continuing to use textbooks allows for direct comparisons to be made between the proto- and inaugural phases. This section also employs the periodicals of journalism education and the journalism industry. Textbooks provide the establishment view of a topic. Journalism education periodicals provide topical arguments while they are still under debate and not yet settled. Journalism industry publications preserve the thoughts of news workers, from beat reporters and photographers all the way to managing editors and owners. Largely opinion-based, the news workers' writings were unencumbered by academic limitations, and they therefore present vital viewpoints.

The first college-level photography class was given at the State University of Iowa in 1930. Photojournalism classes would not see the same meteoric rise as textual journalism education had in the preceding decades.[407] By 1937, the trade publication *Editor & Publisher* reported that there were "about a dozen universities presenting courses in pictorial journalism."[408] Compared to news writing classes — which expanded to 131 schools within twelve years of the first journalism program — this was a snail's pace.[409] It was not until after World War II that news photography became anything close to a regular part of many journalism programs.

---

407 Pollard, "Journalism and the College."

408 Jack Price, "Courses in Pictorial Journalism Now Given by Dozen Universities," *Editor and Publisher* no. 70 (1937): 35.

409 James Melvin Lee, *Instruction in Journalism in Institutions of Higher Education, Bulletin 21* (Washington: Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, 1918).

The early photojournalism classes were rudimentary, covering only the most basic practicalities of news photography. The core of such classes was the photographic process alone, with journalism occupying a secondary role. Early classes were taught by adjunct instructors — non-permanent members of the faculty usually considered of a lower social rank within academia — or co-taught by a journalism professor and a professor from the sciences, most often chemistry or physics. In these co-taught classes, the journalism professor provided editorial instruction while the science professor provided the technical know-how. Photojournalism education was hamstrung by the need to look outside of journalism departments for instructors. It meant no permanent voices around the table advocating for the needed resources. Full-time photojournalism advocates within journalism programs would not come until tenure-track professors specializing in camera reporting were represented.

The earliest textbook to meet all five photojournalism textbook requirements was *News Photography* by Jack Price, published in 1932. It was pioneering for this reason alone, but it was significant for a few other reasons as well. Instructors charged with teaching photojournalism classes no longer had to conceptualize and build the courses from scratch. The textbook provided a pattern. This made the work of teaching photojournalism easier, but it was also the first step in regimenting the process. The existence of a textbook dedicated solely to the subject provided cover for photojournalism education advocates in the face of skeptical administrators. Lastly, this book set the pattern for photojournalism textbooks in years to come. But in some noteworthy particulars it was also an outlier among early photojournalism

textbooks and was decades ahead of its time. This book is discussed in detail in a following section.

Like the proto-phase, textbooks from the inaugural period highlighted the need for physical strength. But added to this requirement were personality traits such as initiative, self-reliance, and versatility. Photojournalism textbooks presented photographers in a favorable light, but portrayals in popular culture and regular journalism textbooks were far from universally positive. This era debuted the popular image of vulgar, tobacco-spitting, indoors hat-wearing, boisterous news photographers. It was thought they did not take assignments seriously, were sullen, held their bosses in contempt, and did not even read their own papers. Such negative representations are not directly acknowledged in news photography textbooks. Rather, the unpleasant elements are included by setting up photographers who bucked these clichés as role models.

Early sound motion pictures turned to such tropes often, especially in Pre-Code Hollywood before the enforcement of the 1934 Motion Picture Production Code censorship guidelines. In 1928 Buster Keaton played a bumbling motion picture cameraman in MGM Studios' "The Cameraman." James Cagney was an ex-con turned news photographer in the racy 1933 "Picture Snatcher" by Warner Brothers films. Also from 1933, "Headline Shooter" by RKO Radio Pictures integrated real news reel footage into the romantic adventure film.

Beginning in the late 1930s and early '40s, the push to professionalize photojournalism got underway. More on this movement can be read in Chapter III of this dissertation. Those advocating for professionalization saw the crucial role

education would play. College-educated photographers were central to gaining respect for photographers in newsrooms. As an increasing number of writers and editors had college degrees, it was believed that photographers who shared a similar background would be treated as equals. It was a question of social class and comparable educational experience. *Editor & Publisher* reviewer Jerry Walker reported from an American Press Institute seminar for picture editors that:

> Some of the difficulty encountered in teaming reporters and photographers might be overcome … if the photographer were as well educated as the reporter; Hence the recommendation for a B.A. degree. It also was the opinion that journalism schools might put more stress on press photography.[410]

This attitude was far from universal in either the industry or academia. For those with the opposing view, the professional boost implied by holding a B.A. was not deemed appropriate for a "trade" like news photography. One professor was reportedly overheard stating, "around [the department] it seems to be regarded as more a trade than a profession."[411] Journalism education was just beginning to gain its own professional and scholarly credentials. The manual work of news photography did not fit with the budding image of professional journalism. This was just one of many arguments used against photojournalism education that bear a striking resemblance to arguments directed against journalism education some three

---

410 Jerry Walker, "Day is Coming When Photographers Will Have BA," *Editor and Publisher* no. 79 (1946): 16.

411 Jack Price, "Journalism Schools Doing Good Job Training Photographers," *Editor and Publisher* no. 72 (1939): 26.

decades prior. Another recycled position was that photojournalism could only be learned on the job as an apprentice and not in a classroom.[412]

Reasons for the slow integration and expansion of news photography education went beyond professional arguments and turf battles. It was difficult practically and logistically to teach. Scholar George S. Bush cited insufficient time as the problem inherent in photojournalism education: the sheer amount of time needed to master the basics before moving on to more complex issues. "The perpetual dilemma of photojournalism education," he wrote in *Journalism Quarterly,* "takes too much time and something has to give."[413] General reporting classes assumed a basic mastery of language and the typewriter, but "beginning photography courses are still mired in elementary mechanics."[414]

Infrastructure and money were other limiting factors. Photojournalism education was expensive to start and maintain. More than a chalkboard and a couple of desks was needed. Unlike a regular classroom, which could be used for a wide variety of class types, the darkroom served only photography classes. It was a significant investment for a limited use. Expensive equipment in the form of cameras and darkroom hardware had to be purchased. Photojournalism courses needed specialized instructors. These factors made photography classes some of the costliest to journalism programs. Respondents to a 1951 survey on photojournalism offerings

---

412   *Ibid.*

413   George S. Bush, "Technique vs Meaning in Photojournalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1960): 97.

414   *Ibid.*: 98.

pointed repeatedly to lack of funds as the chief limiting factor.[415] One respondent

wrote with tongue-in-cheek that "an appropriation to install darkroom facilities and

equipment, [is] about as easy to come by at many schools as financing for a seminar

in Communism."[416]

News Photography, 1932

A *Time* magazine blurb from 1935 introduced the author of a new weekly

column on news photography titled "Eyes of the Press" in *Editor & Publisher*, a

news publishing industry trade journal. Its opening line reads, "The distinction of

bespectacled, imperturbable John Jay ('Jack') Price is that he is a news photographer

who can also write English."[417] Intended as a commendation for the former chief

photographer of Pulitzers' famous *New York World*, this praise was a condemnation

of news photographers as a whole. The insinuation was that the average news

photographer is not capable of writing English. The backhanded compliment was an

echo of an earlier one from Price's boss at the *World*, who set him apart by his unique

ability to "cover an assignment from the reporting side as well as the picture side."[418]

During the inaugural period, which lasted 15 years, Price published three

photojournalism textbooks. These drew heavily on his experiences, which went as far

---

415 Gibbon quoted in Dwight Bentel, "Survey Shows Need of Photo Training," *Editor and Publisher* no. 84 (1951): 40.

416 *Ibid.*

417 "Cameras for Reporters," *Time* 26, no. 9 (1935): 47.

418 Jack Price, *News Photography* (New York, N.Y.: Industries Publishing Company, 1932): 1.

back as World War I when he was a front-line military photographer.[419] The textbooks went into great depth on the practice of news photography from the photographer's perspective. This contrasted with the clear majority of examples from the proto-period, which took the writer or editor's standpoint. Although Price concentrated on photographers, all his books emphasized that shooters were just one link in the chain of pictorial reporting.

His first of three textbooks, *News Photography*, was also the first photojournalism textbook in history. It was published in 1932. A significantly updated edition was released just five years later in 1937. He felt the update necessary to account for major changes in the technology and practice of camera reporting.[420] His last book was published in 1944 at the height of World War II and focused specifically on military news photography. Unlike his other three textbooks, *A Guide for Military and News Photography* was not aimed at photographers or students hoping to become photographers. Instead, it covered the use and usefulness of images in the war effort.[421] While not explicitly stated, its audience was those who oversaw military photographers but had little journalism experience, such as field commanders.

Price noted in the forward to *News Photography* that it was a one-of-a-kind book and that there were no others like it at the time. "In the library of books on photography," Price wrote, "the references to press photography are uniformly

---

419 *Ibid.*: 81.

420 Jack Price, *News Pictures* (New York: Around Table Press, Inc., 1937).

421 Jack Price, *A Guide for Military and News Photography* (New York, N.Y.: Falk Pub. Co., 1944).

incidental and insufficient. He continued, "There is no one volume exclusively devoted to the subject of newspaper photography."[422] As was shown in the proto-period section of this chapter, this claim was accurate.

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see this first textbook set some of the patterns for similar works in the years to come. More surprising were the items that were not copied. The very first photojournalism textbook had some unique characteristics that were not used in future books, even by Price himself. For example, an entire chapter was devoted to the psychology of the news photographer. Such focus on the inner workings of the photographer and subject's minds was not seen in textbooks before or after.

Unlike other photography textbooks of the time, Price not only taught how to be a photographer, but a news photographer. He wrote, "It discloses not only how to take acceptable pictures but how to proceed in getting them."[423] With this statement, Price declared that photojournalism demands something more than merely photographic talent. He articulated the philosophy — which would be built upon later in the professionalization process — that a distinct body of knowledge separated photojournalism from other areas of news work and that this was more than simple technical proficiency.

News Photography began on an odd note and revealed a lack of consensus associated with teaching camera reporting at that early moment. In the introduction, Price's former boss and *New York World* city editor James W. Barrett argued for

---

422 Price, *News Photography*: 3.

423 *Ibid.*: 8.

learning by doing. He advocated the apprenticeship model as the best means of

learning photojournalism. He saw the purpose of a news photography textbook as

providing background knowledge alone. It is peculiar that the opening pages

contained an argument against the importance of the material presented in the rest of

the book!

> Personally, I don't think you can train a man to be a good news photographer through the medium of a book. … Experience is the only competent newspaper teacher; books help, if they illumine experience, and do not try to substitute themselves for it. A young man seeking to become a good news photographer learns by hard knocks and severe bawlings-out from editors.[424]

In Price's forward, he rebutted Barrett and affirmed his belief that the book

holds all the information a novice news photographer needs to avoid "severe

bawlings-out." He acknowledged that angering editors was common, but insisted it

was not the only way a student can learn to be a better news photographer. Price

maintained that education through avenues like his textbook and journalism programs

can replace the school of "hard knocks."

> [This textbook] reveals every angle and every subterfuge employed to circumvent personal hostility and official interdiction of the cameraman.[425]

In a roundabout way, the competing introduction and forward to this first

photojournalism textbook revealed the opposing sentiments about news

photographers. In describing what made Price a credible author, Barrett's

introduction deliberately sets his former staffer apart from stereotypical news

---

424 *Ibid.*: 1.

425 *Ibid.*: 8.

photographers. Therefore, the positive qualities credited to Price were the inverse of a

typecast photojournalist.

> He has always regarded an assignment as a sacred command, to be accepted with cheerfulness and to be executed with zest. He never conveyed to the city editor the intimation that he, the city editor, was just a stupid fellow who didn't know anything about pictures, and therefore was to be humored but not taken too seriously. ….
> Most of all, Price deserves a good endorsement for his book because he is one of the few photographers in the business who habitually and carefully reads the papers for which they are working.

On the flip side of this praise, Barrett insinuated that many news

photographers did not take assignments seriously, were sullen, and generally

disdained their bosses. And by not reading their own papers, stereotypical news

shooters demonstrated a lack of editorial interest and pride in their work. Further

reading between the lines, it is a reasonable supposition that Barrett subscribed to the

prevailing view of the day and ranked text reporters above camera reporters.

Price unmistakably maintained a differing opinion. Throughout the textbook,

photographers and reporters were presented as equals, each respecting and relying on

the talents of the other. At some points Price exposed a bias for the visual. This was

expected coming from a long-time news shooter. For example:

> [The experienced photographer] bags the dramatic climax of a news story and brings to its narrative presentation a pictorial touch and aid to visualization that not even the most realistic tale can convey.[426]

In a sentiment ahead of its time — especially as regards news photography

education — Price stated that journalism education could replace the apprenticeship

model. He set the bar used to make this judgment low by arguing that the traditional

---

426 *Ibid.*: 12.

model of on-the-job learning was not very effective. By pointing out the shortcomings in the current system, he justified — quite compellingly — the need for a textbook such as his. He wrote that it was taboo to ask advice in a newsroom, as it implied a lack of knowledge and would lead to a lack of respect. Instead, it was a "better policy to blunder through the assignment" than to ask superfluous questions. Therefore, in the existing apprenticeship system, observing others from afar was the only means of learning.[427] Playing off this idea, Price judged reading his textbook to be akin to learning from "other cameramen on the same assignment."[428]

> [This textbook] discloses not only how to take acceptable pictures but how to proceed in getting them. The text is a summary of twenty-five years of practical experience. The author feels that the embryo photographer may learn much from its study, and in absorbing what he reads may rest secure in the knowledge that sound learning is written into its various chapters. To provide sage counsel and sane guidance is its only purpose.[429]

Price reiterated his position on photojournalism education one last time on the final page of the textbook: "The text of the preceding chapters fully covers all that can be said of press photography … This work may therefore be accepted as a complete summary of newspaper photographic routine and technique."[430] The next few sentences added subtlety to his thinking on photographic education. While his textbook and formal photo education were better teachers than the old model of on-the-job training, experience was still an important component.

---

427 *Ibid.*: 7-8.

428 *Ibid.*: 8.

429 *Ibid.*

430 *Ibid.*: 166.

The uneasiness that besets the cub, the fear of failure, the hesitation to approach and the doubt as to editorial requirements, will all in good time be dispelled. These are no more common to the newcomer in journalism than they are to the beginner in any other sphere of work. Experience will develop familiarity, and, from this, proficiency follows. The amateur's prime need is confidence in himself.... [431]

Unlike textbooks of the proto-period, which ruled that reporters could become photographers but not vice versa, *News Photography* suggested it was natural for a photographer to step into the role of reporter. This, wrote Price, was especially common when covering murder mysteries. The photographer "assumes the dignity of a trinity — reporter, sleuth, photographer, and the focal point of all his talents is the crime and its solution."[432] This dovetailed closely with the few textbooks from the proto-phase that presented photographer and writer as equals. In such books, it was cited that the more salacious and picture heavy tabloids was where parity was achieved. Price wrote that parity was most evident on more salacious stories. It was important to recall at this point that Price spent most of his career working for the tabloid *New York World,* known for its propensity for titillation. This coequality was directly related to the newfound belief that photographers could also gather news. Price wrote:

The reportorial inquisitiveness of the cameraman will ferret [out the news] when he is at the scene and with his professional instinct for news will handle them to the best advantage. … He knows what to choose and what to disregard.[433]

---

431 *Ibid.*

432 *Ibid.*: 33.

433 *Ibid.*: 12.

The textbook was divided into two sections. The first covered the

ramifications of press photography, its editorial uses, and technological training for

cameras, film, developing, and printing. Creative techniques for visual

communication were given, such as the tricky idea of conveying speed and motion

through a frozen moment. The key, it turns out, was panning with the subject so that

it remains sharp while the background becomes blurred.[434] The second section

covered numerous specific types of assignments.[435] These range from breaking news,

such as murders or fires, to the more mundane, like the arrival of ocean liners. In the

case of the latter, photographers were advised to show up many hours early and catch

a ride to the liner with the customs boat, then hand the negatives to a motorcycle

courier immediately when the ship docked.

While the textbook touched on innumerable aspects of news photography, one

theme appeared repeatedly. Price continually reiterated that editorial sense —

storytelling — was a photographer's most important talent, above simple technical

camera abilities.

> Sensing the underlying drama in a story is perhaps of greater importance
> than the ability to photograph with theoretical precision, for therein lies
> the essence of the incident.[436]

While many proto-phase textbooks dwelled on physical strength and technical

prowess, a handful presented the concept of visual communication. Price continued

this tradition and went into far greater detail on exactly what this meant and how to

---

434 *Ibid.*: 116.

435 *Ibid.*: 99.

436 *Ibid.*: 16.

accomplish it. This was a central thread connecting modern visual journalism with the introductory phase and earlier. In fact, the ideas have transformed so little that this dissertation's author uses passages from the 1932 textbook to introduce concepts to present-day students.

As opposed to the textbooks of the prior period, Price placed the full measure of photographic agency in the hands of each individual photographer. While the news shooter was responsible to an editor, it was the photojournalist in the field who made editorial choices about who, what, when, where, why, and how to shoot. Other books put photographers at the behest of writers and editors, but Price depicted them as autonomous news gatherers. He wrote that the cameraman must possess or develop "reportorial inquisitiveness" and a "professional instinct for news." The cameraman's photographic choices were "influenced solely by news values, and this, reduced to an understandable term, embrac[ing] only the unusual and dramatic in a dramatic incident."[437]

Although they were in full possession of photographic agency, Price was adamant that newspaper photographers not behave like freelancers or lone wolfs. Instructions from higher-ups, while at times vague, were to be followed religiously. The photographer's "whims, his desires, his pleasures and privileges" were to be set aside in favor of serving the newspaper. This even went so far as to blur the lines between personal time and work time. Wrote Price, "He must have no hours. His duty is to stick until he is called in, irrespective of any personal inconvenience."[438]

---

437 *Ibid.*: 12.

438 *Ibid.*: 19.

In addition to having a strong news sense, knowing the ins and outs of camera technology and chemistry, and dedication to the cause, photographic creativity was highly valued in Price's brand of news photography. In fact, he went so far as to say, "Technical nicety of photography is submerged by the editorial itch for heroic realism."[439] This was a stark contrast to mentions of news photographers in general journalism textbooks of earlier decades. Technical know-how, strength, and speed were the sole qualifications to be a news photographer in years past. Price gave a fuller picture of the diverse set of skills needed for the job. Creativity was no easy task:

> substantially the same pictures are made each year [at the World Series]. The exceptional photographer will employ his creative talent to devise new-type pictures, mindful of the fact that papers are always demanding them, and that the photographer who can make them will be justly recognized.[440]

In a related piece of Zen-like wisdom, Price counseled budding news shooters to avoid the obvious: "Every newspaper cameraman tries for something different. To obtain it he must exercise his ingenuity. The unusual is seldom in the obvious; it is in the unlooked for."[441] By definition, the unusual was not something that can be written into a textbook. The best advice he could give was, "Knowing the importance of his assignment, he must 'feel' the aspects of it that will appeal to the popular imagination. The work is difficult in the extreme and taxes his ingenuity."[442]

---

439 *Ibid.*: 16.

440 *Ibid.*: 43.

441 *Ibid.*: 25.

442 *Ibid.*: 54.

It was not only ingenuity that was required of photojournalists. A whole host of non-technical and non-journalistic talents were presented in a chapter titled "Psychology and the News Photographer." As stated earlier, such a chapter or in-depth look at the inner thought processes of photojournalists was not found before or after. The same sentiments were echoed in other textbooks but with far less exegesis. Therefore, the chapter is useful as a window into the collective mind of photojournalists of the early 1930s. As a textbook, this window was intended to directly influence the practices and behaviors of pictorial journalism students. Thus, Price was making an argument that photojournalism education needed to include instruction in how to read and manipulate subjects. In addition to all the other skills required of a cameraman, "If [the student] will bring to that work an understanding application of psychology he will rate well as a press photographer."[443]

The four most useful mental traits for a successful photojournalist were, according to Price, aggressiveness, confidence, resilience, and curiosity. Layered onto these four was the ability to read a situation and to know when to employ certain approaches to people. In other words, a photojournalist required a high degree of social intelligence.[444] Price's approach began with the assumption that there were generalities to human nature and that archetypes could be applied to everyone. Each situation and every person needed to first be "read" and then approached accordingly.

---

443 *Ibid.*: 89.

444 *Ibid.*: 87.

Photographers should "attempt to penetrate the subconscious in your subject, and play with the reaction until you get the solution."[445]

What Price described was related to empathy but lacked the shared feeling with others. The emotions of others were understood so the subjects could be manipulated to the photographer's advantage in getting the needed photographs. In Price's words, "This ability to understand men and motives and to mold them to your advantage is priceless."[446] Often, this took the form of flattery and social niceties. If the photographer determined the subject or situation would respond best to honeyed words or gentlemanly behavior, these were the preferred approach. Price advised that cajolery is a useful tool:

> When you address an alderman do it with a reverence becoming the mayor. If a captain in the army call him Colonel. If a cop call him Commissioner. … Thus are the miracles of press photography wrought![447]

If diplomacy did not work, a sharp tack in approach was required. Setting aside charm, the photographer needed to employ aggressiveness and disregard for social convention. This aggressiveness was not blind force. Rather, it was a single-minded, don't-take-no-for-an-answer tactic. This was born of the understanding that returning to the newsroom without an image was unacceptable. This rule carries forward to the present, but not backward to the proto-period. Proto-period textbooks acknowledged that photographers would often return empty-handed due to technical limitations — achieving a good exposure with the equipment of the day was

---

445 *Ibid.*

446 *Ibid.*

447 *Ibid.*: 88.

immensely difficult. If a photographer missed a shot, he faced no substantial consequences because photos were accessories to stories. As photography became an expected and integral part of the news product in the inaugural phase, an un-illustrated story was considered wanting. The pressure on photographers to produce under all circumstances increased with the growing importance of news pictures.

Price advised photographers to do whatever necessary to get the picture. Once tried and failed, social niceties and conventional behaviors were set aside.[448] For the photojournalist "The 'noes' of his subjects must be disregarded, and strategy employed to overcome them. If access is denied him at the front door, there is always the back door."[449] Whatever the reason, the photographer would either return with an image or take it on the chin and must "Make no excuses, offer no alibis."[450] But, he cautioned, never go beyond what was absolutely necessary. Aggressiveness did not overrule the maxim to be well-mannered. "No news photographer," wrote Price, "embryo or veteran, can afford to disregard the injunction to be polite."[451] That such admonitions were required was indicative of the generally poor behavior of news photographers at the time. Price preemptively chastised his student-readers:

> Do not be careless of your personal appearance. You, as a stranger, are judged by exteriors. Don't be slovenly. … You are a professional man and should preserve, in appearance and attitude, the professional traditions.[452]

---

448 *Ibid.*: 70.

449 *Ibid.*: 10.

450 *Ibid.*: 70.

451 *Ibid.*: 10.

452 *Ibid.*: 70-71.

Reading between the lines, Price's edict indicates that rude and brash behavior was the norm, or at least the stereotype, for photojournalists. If the collective behavior of news shooters was not a problem, it would not need to be corrected. In another passage, Price tackled the negative typecasting of photographers and provided a simple repudiation:

> To [the social climbers at society events] the photographer is a plebeian person from a world from which they have emerged-and wish to forget.
>   The address and general conduct of the press photographer are most important. The news cameraman must be a gentleman. No over-emphasis can be put upon this requirement. Too many have disregarded it to their sorrow.[453]

According to Price, the skills of a successful news cameraman were partially learnable, such as those discussed above, and partially inborn. "It is an axiom," he wrote, "that the successful news photographer must be made of stern stuff. The work automatically eliminates the weakling."[454] This survival-of-the-fittest mentality was in line with the journalism education philosophy of the day. It held that students not cut out for the journalistic life will be weeded out of journalism programs. Unlike today, yearly tapering enrollments were seen as a sign of pride rather than as a failure of a program.

Price's "stern stuff" referred to several items, such as a willingness to accept danger and the possibility of physical harm. He wrote, "The willingness to 'take a chance' becomes as much a part of his professional instinct as the quick calculation

---

453 *Ibid.*: 29.

454 *Ibid.*: 9-10.

of shutter speeds."[455] "Stern stuff" also manifested as self-assurance, but not arrogance. He wrote, "The capable braggart is often as ineffective as the shrinking violet. A happy compromise between these extremes constitutes the successful psychological attitude."[456]

The publication in 1932 of *News Photography* indicated the budding professionalization movement in camera reporting. Some of the most oft-repeated refrains about professional photojournalism were first presented by Jack Price. One such example was the concerted attempt to convince students and practitioners that the work of news photographers was valuable. And, as it was discussed in Chapter III, this was most famously done by Joseph Costa and the fledgling NPPA. Price preceded this by fifteen years! While Costa aimed his message of self-respect and photographic importance at working news photographers, Price addressed students through his textbooks. This was an important distinction. Costa had the task of changing minds; Price sought to shape the minds of students, imparting the message before students were inculcated into the existing newsroom prejudices.

Price spoke to professionalization in terms of relationships. These were the relationships between photographers and subjects; between photographers and news consumers; between photographers and the rest of the newsroom; and lastly between photographers and other photographers. To show that professional photojournalism was not only in his imagination, Price pointed to the changing place and treatment of photographers in newsrooms. Price wrote:

---

455 *Ibid.*: 19.

456 *Ibid.*: 86.

[The news photographer] has evolved from a mere necessary staff evil to a factor of importance in the matter of news gathering, and his work is looked upon as an important adjunct to the serious business of presenting the news.

The competent news photographer is an expert and commands compensation in keeping with his standing, and in recognition of his importance his exclusive pictures carry his name, just as an author is identified with his work. There is an ever-increasing demand for his services as the practice of liberally illustrating the daily press is growing.[457]

The respect and proper treatment of peers was an aspect of professionalization. Journalism was a competitive business, and a photographic scoop was just as valuable as any other kind. But a scoop was not more important than respecting the competition and should not be had at all costs. As noted elsewhere in this dissertation, photojournalists were known to sabotage their rivals. Price supported healthy journalistic competition for a scoop or beat, but precluded all-out war. Other photographers could be both rivals and professional peers. Proper behavior toward confrères was expounded in passages such as, "When operating, don't crowd other photographers. Don't obstruct their shots."[458]

Not only should news photographers not obstruct or hinder each other's work, but also in some circumstances active cooperation was demanded. A sense of common cause was another hallmark of professionalization. An example of teamwork was staking out a location with multiple doors. An everyman-for-himself approach left one photographer with the scoop and the rest with nil. But:

When newspaper men work in concert like this they sometimes cover every entrance to a building. This necessarily means that but one

---

457 *Ibid.*: 6.

458 *Ibid.*: 72.

photographer will get the desired photograph. In these instances copies of it are always given to the other cameramen.[459]

News Pictures, 1937

If the 1932 *News Photographer* indicated a rapidly changing landscape for photojournalism and photojournalism education, Price's second textbook reflected the results of this transfiguration. *News Pictures*, published in 1937, was not a revision of his first textbook. The field of news photography had changed so much in the intervening five years that Price believed an entirely new book was needed. The "Author's Note" provided the three-part rationale for the complete overhaul. First, new and changing photographic technology "disturbed the old order and relegated to oblivion equipment and practices that once represented perfection." This led to a dramatic increase in speed: "One has but to compare the newspapers of twenty years ago with the papers of today to note this accelerated pace of news portrayal."[460] Second, non-photographic technological advances changed larger news production procedures. Lastly, formal training in news photography had begun in universities.[461] While taking note of the second, Price did not dwell on the non-photographic technological changes. Price's first textbook from 1932 was published more or less on speculation. No courses existed that would need such a textbook. But by 1937, he wrote, "Quite capable news cameramen are being developed in increasing numbers

---

459 *Ibid.*: 74.

460 Price, *News Pictures*: 3.

461 Price, *News Photography*: vii.

by American universities and colleges, some of which have established separate departments or created special courses for instruction in this type of photography."[462] Certainly this was a welcome development for those peddling news photography textbooks. But more importantly, this proved Price's justification for publishing his first photojournalism textbook in 1932.

> The trial-and-error school of instruction, the rugged old school of experience, and education by hard knocks must inevitably surrender to the dawning era that demands scholastic as well as practical training from the beginner.[463]

While in the earlier *News Photography* book Price held that it was his textbook alone that would give the scholastic element, *News Pictures* attributes this to "institutions of higher learning." The photojournalism textbook now assumed its proper place as a classroom support item rather than the full measure of a student's photographic education. Price only saw the role of photojournalism education expanding in the future.

> The prediction is warranted that at no distant day the newspapers will requisition these schooled graduates to the exclusion of the self-taught cameraman, just as many industries now preempt the services of promising technical students even before they graduate.

But lest he be accused of overselling the importance of news photography in higher education, he tempered his view with the concession that a student's education was not fully complete without on-the-job training.[464]

> Those students who find positions with papers will discover (as all graduates do) that the working newspaper world does not any too closely

462 Price, *News Pictures*: 7.

463 Price, *News Photography*: vii.

464 Price, *News Pictures*: 7.

follow the scholastic formula. Their post-graduate work starts with the first job, and they progress precisely according to the manner in which they apply their school acquired knowledge to the highly practical business of interpreting and photographing news.[465]

Of the three reasons for the complete textbook overhaul, he put the most emphasis on the first — new and improved photographic technology. All this technology was in the service of one thing: speed. Throughout the book, he asserted the hallmark of modern news photography was the immediacy with which visual news was delivered to audiences.

> Until wire and wireless transmission of news pictures were introduced, prints from points beyond a limited radius seldom appeared in conjunction with the news dispatches to which they related. Arriving late, they were reproduced in later editions. Sometimes those from the remoter points arrived so much later than the dispatches that the events they illustrated were almost forgotten incidents, and the papers published them in a better-late-than-later-still spirit solely as a concession to some surviving public interest. Now the arrival of dispatches and pictures is so synchronized that their publication is routine procedure.[466]

It was the simultaneous delivery made possible by new transmission equipment that, more than anything else, narrowed or eliminated the gap between text and photo, and thus between reporters and photographers. In hindsight, historians may find Price's argument overly dependent on technology and absent of human agency. Nevertheless, Price credited the simultaneous arrival of words and photos in newsrooms, made possible by advances in telecommunications, as the factor raising the stature of news photography in the middle 1930s.

> [The vastly shorter times of getting photos into print] is the factor that erased the once prevailing inequality between news and pictures and established the present parity of both. As a result, the cameraman has automatically attained a stature second to none in the reportorial scheme

---

465 *Ibid.*

466 *Ibid.*: 15.

of things. His pictures are now considered spot news, and he is delegated to cover an assignment just as the reporter is. Sometimes he works with the reporter; more often alone. In the reporter-cameraman combination he is theoretically under the direction of the reporter. When operating independently he is sole judge of what should be photographed, and alone responsible to the city desk for the manner in which the assignment is pictorially covered.[467]

If the root of accelerated visual dispatches was planted in the soil of technology, it follows that it was the technology itself — or the scientists and engineers who designed it — that caused changes in photojournalism. Applying this logic, photographers had little to no credit for modern news photography. Price acknowledges the absurdity of this logical outcome and tried to give credit to photographers by including them in the technological innovation process.[468] He summarized this argument as follows:

> To observers who have followed the evolution of news photography it must seem euphemistic to stress "scientific" development when so much of the major work in photographic research has been performed by unscientific news cameramen. Their contributions have resulted from tireless thinking and tinkering, and have been the admitted inspiration of many important inventions and numberless improvements of existing devices and formulas. …
>
> To the unity of purpose that inspired [photographers, scientists, and engineers] must be credited every step in the big parade of progress to which the journalism of today owes the technical perfection of its pictures and its high-speed facilities for receiving and reproducing them. And keeping these miracles in mind it is easy to believe that we may yet witness other phenomena that will make the amazing speed of the present appear just as much of a plodding pace as the once thundering speed of the pony express.[469]

---

467 *Ibid.*: 14-15.

468 Price, *News Photography*: 1-3.

469 Price, *News Pictures*: 3.

The structural differences between Price's 1932 and 1937 textbooks reinforced the emphasis on speed and technology in the heart of the magazine era. In the 1932 textbook, chapter one was devoted to the news photographer and how the position developed over time. The book literally put the photographer first. Next came a chapter on news photography ethics, one on the general outline of editorial relevance of images, and the remainder of the book was dedicated to specific assignment types and equipment. The 1937 textbook shook up this sequence. The opening chapter covered the impact of technology and equipment on news photography. Only in the second chapter was the user of the technology — the cameraman — introduced. Dropped were standalone chapters on news photography ethics and the psychology of the news photographer.

In another departure from his first textbook, in *News Pictures* Price embraced the opinion of *News Photography*'s introducer — a point of view with which Price had previously disagreed. Five years before, Price believed a textbook could replace on-the-job experience. James W. Barrett, who introduced *News Photography*, held that a textbook could teach theory but was no replacement for newsroom experience. Now, five years later in *News Pictures*, Price had come around to Barrett's way of thinking. Gaining the theoretical understanding of photojournalism from the textbook was an important first step for the would-be photographer. Textbook learning augmented, but did not replace, practical experience.

> To record [breaking news events] requires a fine coordination of mind and hand, and this the amateur must develop if he ever hopes to find a berth on the photographic staff of a paper. It would be misleading to state that anyone can acquire this dexterity without serious study of theory of the subject and close application to its practice. No treatise, no matter how

painstakingly planned and soundly written can give to the student more than that clear exposition that helps to an easy understanding.[470]

Textbooks from the proto-phase by and large saw only a one-way evolution possible in which a journalist could learn camera skills and become a pictorial reporter, but the reverse was not true. Indicating just how much the mentality surrounding news photography had changed, Price believed the opposite: teaching a photographer to report was far easier than teaching a reporter to photograph. He wrote, "it is less of a job to train a man in newspaper routine than to instruct him in the complexities of a camera or the diabolism of the darkroom."[471] Once upon a time, it was a truism that journalism writers were a superior breed to news cameramen. Departing drastically from the past, *News Pictures* turned this on its head. The cameraman was photographer and a reporter, while the reporter performed only one task. A photograph "is more descriptive than any written narrative. [The photojournalist] is restricted to cold realism. … His shots are sketches that he cannot, as the reporter sometimes can, retouch with a rhetorical stroke."[472]

Like nearly every journalism textbook that mentioned photography since 1889, *News Pictures* addressed the practicality of equipping text reporters with cameras. Unsurprisingly, like the earlier textbooks, the practice was encouraged if for no other reason than "With no camera and no cameraman available to record it any such [news] morsel is a lost item … any picture, good, bad or indifferent is better

---

470 *Ibid.*: 6.

471 *Ibid.*: 5.

472 *Ibid.*

than no picture at all if it covers an item of news."[473] Price used the prevalence of this

custom to illustrate "the entrenched position of photography in today's

journalism."[474] He built on this point to further argue that there was no difference in

journalistic skill or importance between writers and photographers.

> both [are] in pursuit of news, the one reportorial and the other pictorial. News being well defined it logically follows that there should be no difference in either's interpretation of it, and consequently no difference in their psychological approach to a story despite a divergence in the nature of the work of each.[475]

The textbook received a weighty endorsement in the introduction from a

preeminent publisher of the day. At the time, Roy W. Howard was president of the

New York World-Telegram and chairman of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

Howard acknowledged the hard-fought battles for photography in newspapers over

the preceding generation.[476] But these battles were over. News photography "has

become as essential an ingredient of today's newspaper, as is cable news [telegraph]

or the local news coverage."[477] As the standing of news photographs ascended, so too

did the station of the news photographer. Howard, a preeminent titan of journalism,

gave full journalistic ability to photographers. He regarded photographers as more

than technicians and as the equal of news reporters.

---

473 *Ibid.*: 29.

474 *Ibid.*

475 *Ibid.*

476 *Ibid.*: 1.

477 *Ibid.*: xi.

> Because the news sense and photographic technique are so interdependent the competent cameraman must be able to judge news as expertly as he can time an exposure or guess-focus distance.[478]

In Howard's opinion, the growing pains of the field were over. Photography was embedded in newspapers as deeply as any of "the mechanized departments." And he considered being a news photographer was a legitimate and respected career.[479]

Despite Howard's general backing of the textbook, like *News Photography* before it, *News Pictures* contained vastly different viewpoints between author and introducer. Price, a working news photography foot soldier, and Howard, a publishing generalissimo, held differing beliefs regarding the origin of the changing media landscape. In his view from the frontline, Price saw the major and rapid advances in photographic technology as the force reshaping news photography. Howard attributed changes to the economics of the mass audience. The news, wrote Howard, had to compete with all manner of modern entertainment.:

> the reader demands not only that his news be served quickly, but he wants the printed word amplified and expanded with the accompanying visualization that is inherent in a spot-news picture of the event.[480]

Rather than addressing students, the presumed textbook readers, Howard directed his comments to fellow publishers. He encouraged those with immediate decision-making power to see the success of the wildly popular picture magazines as an indication of audience interest. Pleasing the audience improved the financial bottom line, and photographs sell.

---

478 *Ibid.*: 7-8.

479 *Ibid.*: 5.

480 *Ibid.*: xi.

The recent flock of news picture magazines with their promises of financial success, have awakened newspaper publishers to a realization of the extent to which they have been sleeping on their opportunities for development of a branch of their public service which has long been treated like a poor relation. America is news picture-conscious, and the alert newspaper publisher is no longer blinking at the undeniable fact.[481]

Although the public's opinion of photographs was rapidly changing, photographers' opinions of their own positions remained colored by past prejudices. Therefore, in one of the telltale signs of professionalization, Price undertook to convince student-photographers that their work as news photographers would be valued. Expanding this undertaking to also include working photographers, this chore became something of a constant refrain for the next two decades among leaders in the field. And, as discussed in Chapter III, it was most famously done by Joseph Costa and the fledgling NPPA. Price freely told students that even if photographers were looked down upon in bygone years, this was no longer the case.

[The news photographer] has evolved from a mere necessary staff evil to a factor of importance in the matter of news gathering, and his work is looked upon as an important adjunct to the serious business of presenting the news.

The competent news photographer is an expert and commands compensation in keeping with his standing, and in recognition of his importance his exclusive pictures carry his name, just as an author is identified with his work. There is an ever-increasing demand for his services as the practice of liberally illustrating the daily press is growing.[482]

While Costa aimed his message of self-respect and photographic importance at working news photographers, Price addressed students through his textbooks. By imparting the message before a student had been inculcated to the existing newsroom

---

481 *Ibid.*

482 Price, *News Photography*: 6.

thoughts and practices, the cycle of low opinion of news photographers could be interrupted.

Regarding what I have previously called photographic agency, Price placed it squarely on the shoulders of photographers. Once the news photographer had received his assignment from an editor it was up to the photographer to figure out how to get it done, from start to finish. This was the first time the full measure of photographic agency was conferred upon the shooter and not shared with writers or editors. This signified that photojournalists were considered just that: journalists. They were now more than camera technicians and could be trusted to find the visual news. Photographers had to be inquisitive to be able to ferret out where the visual news lay. He wrote:

> Only by sensing news in his surroundings, analyzing the commonplace incidents of daily life, inquiring into the who, why and wherefore of happenings and then taking pictures of what he believes to be the news in all of this, can he perfect himself in pictorial reporting.[483]

With this expanded role came greater responsibility within the newsgathering process. To meet this challenge, the book not only taught how to be a photographer, but a news photographer: "It discloses not only how to take acceptable pictures but how to proceed in getting them."[484]

Many of the points and themes seen in earlier textbooks from the proto-phase and in *News Photography* were seen again in *News Pictures*. The physical and psychological strength needed to succeed in the profession were tripartite. Price

---

483 Price, *News Pictures*: 26.

484 Price, *News Photography*: 8.

wrote, "The cameraman assigned to general news must be sturdy of leg, stout of heart and nimble of wit to do it."[485] Throughout the textbook, more detailed explanations and examples appeared. As we have seen in this chapter up to this point, these three characteristics slowly developed in textbook descriptions of news photographers. These three appeared in all photojournalism textbooks throughout the inaugural and postwar periods. In this way, again we see Price set the model for those to come. Looking back at the profession's history, Price related that in the opening decades of news photography, it was muscle that a photographer needed. Like his other arguments in the textbook, he attributed this to camera technology.

> The news photographer of the tin type era was a sturdy lad who carried around a dog house facetiously called a camera. He also toted a trick tripod, a supply of window-size dry plates, some heavy hardware known as a flash gun, and enough high-explosive magnesium powder to blow his whiskers off — whiskers being the vogue during the era when he flourished.
>
> After a day on assignments, he turned up in the city room with broken arches and a dozen exposures. And not until he developed the plates did he know whether or not the results justified the physical misfortunes that he suffered. If he was an ace technician and abundantly endowed with luck, a fair proportion of his plates revealed some hits. The off-shots were written off against allowable error — the error being allowed because there was no known way of preventing it.
>
> This is not a thrust at the news cameraman of the [eighteen] Nineties but a brief of him as a much handicapped and misunderstood grown-up in an infant department of journalism that was just beginning to look at life through the lens of a camera. With his primitive equipment it was natural that there should be some faults in his work, and, considering his undefined place in news, more than a little editorial indifference to his shortcomings.[486]

---

485 Price, *News Pictures*: 38.

486 *Ibid.*: 4.

As camera technology slowly became smaller and lighter, the emphasis put on physical strength slowly waned. This was not to say that photographers of later times did not carry heavy loads, just that it was no longer considered a requirement. Some *National Geographic* photographers will work with little more than a small 35 mm rangefinder, while others are known to check upwards of 30 bags when heading out on extended assignment.

But, no matter if traveling light or heavy, it was the photographer's mental makeup that ultimately determined success or failure. The ability to plow through obstacles required the never-say-die outlook needed to always return to the office with the — or at least a — picture. Referring to the minefield of challenges on every assignment, Price wrote, "The press photographers who survive are those who can 'take it' and produce results."[487]

Unlike some of the descriptions of mental toughness from textbooks of the earlier period, Price expounded on what the ability to "take it" required. While perhaps learnable with time and experience, these abilities were by-and-large inborn qualities: a "newspaper cameramen should bring to his work a good reserve of adaptability, affability, self-confidence, determination and enthusiasm."[488]

Speaking of the Hindenburg disaster, Price portrayed photographers as unflappable, even in dire situations. This fell somewhere between the requirement to be "stout of heart and nimble of wit." He praised the speed of their unconscious reflexes.

---

487 *Ibid.*: 11.

488 *Ibid.*

> While still transfixed with the horror of it and not fully comprehending the epic drama being enacted before their eyes these trained photographers instinctively went into action and with poised cameras and nerveless fingers made some classic shots during the few seconds intervening between the first burst of hydrogen fire and the air liner's drift to earth, a flaming sarcophagus.[489]

Not included in Price's three meta traits was what would in later decades be a photojournalist's foremost ingredient: creativity. This is not to say that creativity was not important to photojournalists of the day. It was. But it was not a necessity as were the meta traits, and it was not as important as it is today. The ability to find a picture in a scene where one is not immediately obvious was needed if a photographer was to always return from any assignment with a picture. Price put it like this:

> Covering general news requires of the man on the assignment a power of penetration that frequently enables him to see a picture where no picture is visible to the naked eye.[490]

It is worth pausing here to consider Price's view on women in news photography. In the "Cameraman" chapter he made passing reference to women photographers.

> Once considered the sole prerogative of men the field has to some slight extent been invaded by women. The feminine idea of news and the peculiarly feminine angle from which to shoot it have developed some interesting departures from the standard type of man-made photographs.[491]

Price was correct that within the world of newspaper news photography it was very much a man's game. What he failed to note was not only the presence of, but also the leadership by women in the field of magazine photography. For example,

---

489 *Ibid.*: 17.

490 *Ibid.*: 38.

491 *Ibid.*: 5.

Margaret Bourke-White shot the cover story of the very first issue of *Life* magazine in 1936. Henry Luce certainly wanted to put forward the strongest visuals possible in that first issue to make an impression on the public. The choice of Bourke-White's photo documentary on a rural town booming with Works Progress Administration money during the Great Depression set the tone for the most famous of the picture magazines.[492] She would go on to have many more firsts, not just for women, but for all pictorial journalism.

Jack Price's first textbook, published in 1932, was the first of its kind and a trailblazer for a host of reasons. Aspects of the textbook are still familiar to photojournalism teachers and students today. But significant portions also seem peculiar to a modern reader. *News Pictures*, published just five years later, was a thoroughly modern textbook. Subtracting the technology of the day, it could have been published today. In addition to being a pattern for future textbooks, it also was a harbinger of changes underway in the field of pictorial journalism. Many of the ideas that would come to define photojournalism, even though the word had not yet been coined, were apparent in *News Pictures*. Price's textbooks were highly reflective of his experiences as a big-city news photographer. They went into great depth on the practice of news photography from the photographer's perspective. His aim was to provide a tool so that student-photographers would not be beginning from nothing at their first newspaper jobs. They would have a grip on the technological, conceptual, and practical ingredients of news photography.

---

492 Margaret Bourke-White, "Boom Town Fort Peck," *Life* 1, no. 1 (1936).

Pictorial Journalism, 1939

  Pictorial Journalism, published in 1939, considered a wider perspective on pictorial reporting of news. The photographer was just one of many links in the chain. The role of the picture editors and other non-photographer visual staff was closely scrutinized. This was not surprising, given the authors' pedigrees. Laura Vitray had worked as a high-ranking editor at *McCall's Magazine*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Evening Graphic*. John Mills, Jr. spent time as chief photographer for *The New York Woman Magazine* and staff photographer for *The Washington Post*. Roscoe Ellard was a professor of journalism at the University of Missouri.

  Pictorial Journalism covered the full swath of getting interesting and timely photographs into print. It included the entire chain of pictorial reporting, beginning with considering what stories were image worthy. It continued with the assignment process, shooting, developing and printing, electronic transmission, photo editing, the halftone process, engraving, page layout and type treatment, and finally printing processes. In the pictorial chain, the two roles given the most attention were photo editor and news photographer. The book discussed the general ideas motivating these positions and then dove into detail on the practicalities of each. Fully half of the book was devoted to various aspects of news photography. Of note was the highly-detailed discussion of the camera and photographic chemistry. Even color photography, then in its infancy, received some ink. A student needed to have no prior camera or journalism experience whatsoever before embarking on this read. It was truly written to move the student all the way from tyro to ace. One chapter covered the legal and ethical considerations in shooting and publishing photos. The remaining chapters

provided a holistic look at the visual process and presented news photography's contribution to the larger news product.

Of everything *Pictorial Journalism* did, one component heralds the approach of the postwar phase more than others. The magazine style of pictorial reporting, which would become the calling card of photojournalism, was presented and promoted. It was, per the authors, "a new and modern approach to newspaper planning and production."[493]

Reminiscent of Roy W. Howard's introduction to *News Pictures*, the preface to *Pictorial Journalism* examined the growing importance of pictures to newspapers by looking at the larger media marketplace. Recognizing the increasing importance of non-newspaper forms of journalism such as radio, newsreels, and picture magazines, the authors argued that newspapers must find a new purpose to remain relevant. The days of newspapers dominating breaking news were past, but publishers were somewhat reluctant to change their modus operandi. The authors continued by linking survival to the "widespread use of news photos" and "modern page treatments which combine the visual units of which the page is composed — headlines, body type, photos, and on inside pages advertising."[494]

Like *News Pictures* before it, *Pictorial Journalism* placed heavy emphasis on the changing technologies of journalism. But unlike Price — who saw technology as the agent of change — the authors of *Pictorial Journalism* argued that the advance of

---

493 Laura Vitray, John Mills, and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York; London: McGraw-Hill Co., 1939): xi.

494 *Ibid.*: x.

technology is driven by human desires. Put another way, technology was in service to

people, rather than people in service to technology.

> Newspaper executives, many of whom still regard journalism as uniquely
> a writing profession and photography as an unwelcome interloper in the
> field, are apt to believe they have been forced to the more pictorial
> presentation of the news by the competition of radio reporting, with
> television in the offing, and of the newsreels.
>   The truth goes much deeper. 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 for a quality best described as "instantaneousness."[495]

The idea of the "modern mind" was unique among the textbooks surveyed.

One of its defining features was the generational gap between those who see

opportunity in new technologies and the fuddy-duddy editors and publishers in

positions of power. This is evocative of a similar rift in the late 1990s and early 2000s

with the coming of the internet and digital media to the news business. Vitray, Mills,

and Ellard put forward the hypothesis of a unique connection between a new way of

experiencing the world made possible by recent changes in the mass media and the

unique properties of a photograph.

> [The modern mind] has cast off all the curlicues of olden days and insists
> on arriving at beauty, at fact, and at knowledge by the shortest route.
>   That is the surest reason why picture reporting, the "instantaneous"
> route to realization of the world's events, has succeeded in pushing
> column after column of mere words out of the daily paper. So inevitably
> has the transition taken place that it may be said to have happened in spite
> of the reluctance and opposition of men of the old newspaper school,
> rather than with their cooperation.[496]

Simply tossing more photographs into each edition was not an adequate

solution. Pictures were no longer an accessory, to be used or not dependent on an

---

495 *Ibid.*: 4.

496 *Ibid.*

editor's whim. Camera reporting was a central part of the news product and needed

the same investment as other kinds of reporting. "News photography that does a

reporting job…." was needed.[497] Instead of using the full potential of news

photography, "Many editors still regard news pictures as illustrations rather than as

reporting…."[498] The mindset of the early years of the 20th century — when many of

those now in the most powerful newsroom positions were initiated — still prevailed

at many newspapers. Photographs were collected rather than made, and "The Sunday

paper gives half its column space to dull cabinet photographs sent in by subscribers,

each of which has interest for only a small group of readers."[499]

The problem firmly established, *Pictorial Journalism*'s first chapter closed

with a diagnosis and prescription for the underuse and misuse of photography in

newspapers. What was an editor or publisher to do if he finds "none of his desk men

is picture-conscious…."?[500] In answer, Vitray, Mills, and Ellard wrote:

> If he is wise, he will remodel his organization to take care of the pictorial
> phases of journalism. He will expect of his editorial staff that they
> reeducate themselves in the new techniques. And he will turn to the
> journalism schools for graduates who have technical training as well as
> writing ability and who are possessed of a sense of the modern values in
> newspaper production.[501]

One hundred and thirty years earlier, John Fenno made a similar appeal as he linked

the survival of a new society governed by democracy to the availability of quality

---

497 *Ibid.*: 5.

498 *Ibid.*: 6.

499 *Ibid.*

500 *Ibid.*: 8.

501 *Ibid.*

journalists. To produce such high-quality writers, he wrote, "to well-regulated

colleges we naturally look for a source whence such qualifications might in proper

form be derived."[502] The crucial distinction between Fenno in 1799 and Vitray, Mills,

and Ellard in 1939 was the viability of their proposals. Depending on how one counts,

it took nearly a century for schools and editors to respond to Fenno. But in 1939 a

small number of colleges and universities offered majors in news photography, while

other journalism programs had minors or even just a few classes.

The best-educated photographer can do little without equipment. Jack Price in

Pictorial Journalism expressed his belief that it was the vastly accelerated speed of

transmission that allowed photography to take a prominent role in the newsroom.

Vitray, Mills, and Ellard, writing just two years later, arrived at much the

same conclusion.

> The modern technical advance which has made it possible for pictures of
> news events to flash across the wires with the same speed as verbal
> messages, from one side of the continent to the other, has counted for
> more than any other single factor in making photographic news
> reporting practical.[503]

This was another example of the ever-quickening tempo of news. At the time, it was

equally amazing as live television from the moon or the world at the touch of a hand-

held screen was to later generations. To those who had known the speed limitations

imposed by the physical movement of prints and negatives, it was nothing short of a

---

502 John Ward Fenno, *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia, Penn.: March 4, 1799).

503 Vitray, Mills, and Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism*: 19.

miracle that "Pictures are taken and flashed across the continent in less time than used to be required to get them from a few blocks away."[504]

Such was the impact of technology according to the authors of *Pictorial Journalism*. They attributed the impetus for modern news photography to a combination of consumer desire and technological innovation. Once the metamorphosis was realized, it fell to the news photographers to do the labor, day-in and day-out. It was "the photographer's tools, experience, common sense, and intuition (his accumulated judgment) [that] combine to produce his working method."[505] This was more easily said than done, as each of these required considerable time and attention to master.

Shifting now from scrutinizing news photograph*y*, we turn to news photograph*ers*. Regarding the who, what, when, where, why, and how of those practitioners, Vitray, Mills, and Ellard had much to say — some of which was a clear repetition from earlier textbooks, some of which was similar but evolved from earlier textbooks, and some of which was entirely new. The following sections will consider, in that order, how *Pictorial Journalism* presented news photographers.

Characteristic of all photojournalism and journalism textbooks that mention photography, *Pictorial Journalism* sustained the mandate to students to practice, practice, practice. This may have served to limit student expectations as beginners.

---

504 *Ibid.*: 7.

505 *Ibid.*: 123.

They would be sorely disappointed if the novice expected his or her work to be on

par with the experienced professional photographer.

> To the greenhorn the hurdle is high. The reasons are chiefly mechanical. Only actual repetitive practice gives assurance. Many problems, psychological and photographic, pile up on the tyro to confuse him.[506]

But what exactly was news photography experience made of, and what did it teach

that a class or textbook could not? Vitray, Mills, and Ellard write:

> This experience is a combination of various factors: of learned motor reflexes; of habits of response; of manipulative skill; of penetrating observation — this last is a "must"; and of good old common sense.[507]

Although using different phrasing, these five items were the same as those presented

in Jack Price's two earlier textbooks. Remembering that textbooks reflect the

accepted wisdom of the day, and having seen these characteristics set forth by

multiple authors in multiple textbooks over multiple years, it is a reasonable

conclusion that these traits lie at the core of a news photographer's temperament.

When mixed, the "motor reflexes" and "habits of response" mentioned above

create speed. Speed and news have always gone together. And now that

photographers were essential members of the newsroom, they had even more

pressure to "work rapidly if they are to survive as newsmen."[508] "[I]n as little time as

it would take the old-fashioned amateur … to focus his camera and expose one film,

our newsman will have half a dozen exposed plates under his belt."[509] In commenting

---

506 *Ibid.*

507 *Ibid.*: 118.

508 *Ibid.*: 119-20.

509 *Ibid.*

on how this speed was realized, the authors used phrasing that presents photographers

as both tradesmen and professionals.

> His is the experience of the man who repeats daily a series of operations which differ from occasion to occasion but are made up of the same mechanical actions. He uses equipment built for speed. His mental approach is conducive to speed; through experience he has acquired mental work habits which exclude from the forefront of his consciousness all but a pantomimic impression of the action in which he is interested. In other words, he is concentrating, somewhat as a cat would upon its prey.[510]

> Another element enabling speed is subconscious reaction. Like Price before

them, the authors espouse "complete, automatic familiarity."[511]

> As the actions unfold he knows instinctively — that is, without benefit of a complex train of logic — when to expose the film. In fact, he anticipates, so that at the correct moment his hand has squeezed the trigger without having received conscious orders to do so.
> Perhaps it is only necessary to say that the photographer is functioning rather like the automobile driver or airplane pilot. The pilot is continually called upon to meet new situations where his unconscious reactions — his learned motor responses, if you will — meet the problem more quickly than could conscious thought. For although the problems may be new, they are composed of familiar elements in a new arrangement, and this arrangement will be competently dealt with before the conscious mind has begun to study the problem.[512]

How then was one to gain experience that allows for such automaticity? The answer

came in two parts. The first was familiar: the apprenticeship. The second was new for

the inaugural phase and raised only once in the proto-phase: studying daily

news photos.

> Apprenticeship is the best form of experience for the news photographer.
> Lacking it, the student may have recourse to observation of actual news

---

510 *Ibid.*: 121-22.

511 *Ibid.*: 126.

512 *Ibid.*: 121-22.

pictures. Much may be learned in this manner, and even more if the student actually tries his own hand at covering an assignment....[513]

Looking at good examples may seem an obvious step to the modern reader. But we cannot take any aspect of photojournalism education for granted. For example, a major step forward in the mid-1950s was the introduction of overhead projectors. For the first time, more than just those who could crowd around a table could see the same picture.

Held up against *News Photography* — which contained an entire chapter on the inner workings of a successful news shooter's mind — *Pictorial Journalism* spent significantly less time on personality. The topic did appear on several occasions, but it was not with nearly the same depth as the first photojournalism textbook. For example, *Pictorial Journalism* wrote that, "Ingenuousness and resourcefulness, of course, count heavily in facing new situations."[514]

Less attention to personality made the profession more accessible to beginners and students. It was understood that by writing a textbook, Jack Price believed news photography could be taught and learned. Yet, as noted earlier in this chapter, he felt that while the needed personality traits could be honed and perfected, they were most often inborn. This barrier to entry for the profession was not accentuated nearly as much in *Pictorial Journalism*, possibly with an eye to not driving away students who did not already fit the personality type of a news shooter. The textbook had one exception, and that was the instinctive news judgment shown

---

513 *Ibid.*: 126.

514 *Ibid.*

by some individuals. While news judgment could be learned, according to the authors, first-rate photographers came by it intuitively.

> This ability to evaluate the events of life in terms of news value can, of course, be learned. Nevertheless it is undoubtedly true that the greatest newspapermen come by their "nose for news" instinctively. The news photographer who consistently turns in pictures with a punch — the pictures which need no caption but tell the whole story at a glance — may have studied rules, but he has in addition to experience a special way of looking at things. Not only was his eye trained to look for significant points of view, visual counterparts of the reporter's who, where, when, why, how, but he has a naturally curious nature; he has an inborn visual inquisitiveness. He has a natural tendency to judge news value correctly. How he came by these traits is another story; in part they must be the result of what values the person has been exposed to throughout youth.[515]

The last sentence is intriguing and was not further explained. Could it be that a student's college years were considered part of youth? And, therefore, exposure to news values in journalism education could go beyond the second-rate skill of learned news values to the first-rate skill of subconscious news values. Or did youth end before university, and therefore journalism education was useful but still no match for those born with "it"? The authors were unclear on this point, but it raises interesting questions for consideration.

Visual creativity continued to be promoted in this textbook. The demand for a variety of images from which the editor could choose arose from photographers' new ability to produce more images more quickly. It was no longer acceptable to return with just one or two exposed plates. This demand promoted visual experimentation on the photographers' part. Once a "C.Y.A." (cover your ass) shot was "in the bag" the pressure was somewhat relieved because at least one photo could work. Given

---

515 *Ibid.*: 128.

this, photographers could then attempt compositions that might or might not work. The news photographer:

> takes a picture as the action gets underway. He takes another for insurance. Then he may change his location to obtain a different viewpoint. If he was down low in front of a platform, he may search a chair, a mound, a building, and shoot again from an elevation. The light may be varying; he shoots again to allow for this….[516]

Like many aspects of visual journalism, the photographer's purpose was in the process of being redefined in the inaugural phase. Where once photographers were expected to "document" a news scene, they were now called on to "interpret" the visual news. This restyling put more power and agency in the hands of the photographer. They were not only present to operate the camera while the camera did the work. Instead they were tasked with deciphering and translating a complex event to present it in the most digestible and most complete storytelling images. In the authors' view, the cameraman's task had two main components. He first had to feel or sense the situation, grasping the news value. In other words, he had to be a journalist. Second, he had to wield the camera in such a way to make a simple yet dramatic image standing for the larger whole. This was an act of interpretation and creation.[517]

A milestone along the road to professionalization was in the interrelations between competing news photographers. In contrast to the dog-eat-dog world presented by Jack Price, the word "competing" was no longer the right description. Vitray, Mills, and Ellard write, "The advantages of collusion [with photographers of

---

516 *Ibid.*: 119-20.

517 *Ibid.*: 131.

other papers], in general, are great."[518] Unlike in years past, cooperation was the rule and cutthroat was the exception.

> The news photographer who wants to play the lone wolf must first make certain that he will be able to get his material and also be reasonably sure he can scoop his coworkers.[519]

Notice the use of the word "coworkers." Even if employed by a rival news organization, fellow photographers were not the competition but rather working after the same goal.

Of the three periods in photojournalism education, the inaugural phase was the shortest, lasting less than a decade and a half. Nevertheless, a great deal of change occurred, and perhaps the period could be further subdivided. This would be difficult, however, because changes were happening so quickly that the number of sub-periods, and their starts and ends, would be impossible to nail down. Instead, it is more useful to simply say quick transformations were the norm. Take, for instance, the following passage from *Pictorial Journalism*. It incorporated not fewer than five statements about news photography and news photographers that are radically different than those found at the end of the proto-phase or beginning of the inaugural phase.

> It is evident that a great new organization for news coverage has sprung up, virtually overnight, the twin to the organization which existed for written news coverage. Such a pictorial news gathering machinery requires men who know a great deal more than how to snap a picture. They must be trained to take pictures and to judge pictures, for their news values and as copy to be reproduced by photoengraving processes and printed; they must have executive ability and writing ability. They must have a thorough knowledge of all the uses to which news photos are put, so as to be able to supply all existing needs. In other words, they must

---

518 *Ibid.*: 125.

519 *Ibid.*

know something about all departments of the newspaper, all methods of reproduction, and the kind of pictures which are appropriate in every instance.[520]

For the first time the system set up to get photos into print was now considered the twin — an equal — to the textual editorial system. Never had such unequivocal parity been described in a textbook. The multi-skilled, journalist-photographer was presented as the norm rather than an exception. Gone were the days when a photographer, such as Jack Price, was praised simply for reading the paper for which he worked. Now, visually literate journalists were expected to know their publication inside and out, from the editorial side to the production side. This was, indeed, a sweeping evolution from only a handful of years earlier.

Camera Reporting in Journalism Textbooks

Divergent representations in journalism textbooks and new photojournalism textbooks shows attitudes toward photos and photographers did not progress at the same speed within all journalism subgroups. The inaugural phase in photojournalism education saw a new kind of textbook available to teachers and students. With the advent of pictorial journalism classes came the need for pictorial journalism textbooks. News photography textbooks, like news photography itself, matured rapidly and distinctive features of modern photojournalism appeared. However, because these classes had not taken root in most journalism programs, most journalism students were exposed to ideas about camera reporting from general journalism textbooks. Mentions of photojournalism in journalism textbooks slowly

---

520 *Ibid.*: 25-26.

evolved but did not see a sudden or drastic change, as was the case in photojournalism textbooks.

Two years after Jack Price's landmark *News Photography*, Lewis Hunt published *Displaying the News* in 1934. It took news editing as its subject and was intended to be used in editing and copyediting classes. Despite the proximity of their publishing dates, the two textbooks presented news pictures and camera reporters in a different light. *Displaying the News* took a traditional outlook on visual reporting reminiscent of portrayals from the proto-phase in pictorial journalism education. This dichotomy indicates progression was not uniform across all journalism at the same moment.

Hunt presented photographs as a critical element in the news product. However, even in a chapter titled "The News in Halftones," photographers were only mentioned in a single paragraph. Readers were introduced to the various tasks and problems of the photo editor — such as writing captions, determining display size, and choosing photographs. All the visual problem solving was done by the picture editor who, therefore, held all the visual agency.[521] While not explicitly stated, by handing all the visual agency to the picture editor, none remained for the photographer. Like many of his predecessors from the proto-phase, Hunt did not link the importance of the photograph with the importance of the photographer. The single reference to cameramen centered solely on their ability to work quickly. Once again,

---

521 Lewis W. Hunt, *Displaying the News: A Desk Manual in Newspaper Technique, with Practice Sheets in Copy Reading and Headline Writing* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1934): 69.

the attributes needed by a news photographer were limited.[522] Seen in this and other

textbooks of the era was the stereotype first seen in the forward to Jack Price's first

news photography textbook: photographers were taciturn and difficult to

work with.[523]

Displaying the News made no mention of creativity on the part of editor or

photographer, nor of news judgment by the photographer. Hine's treatment of

photography and photographers paled in comparison to any of Jack Price's textbooks.

But this is a flawed comparison; the chapter was not written for photographers, but

rather for those who would be dealing with the finished images.

Some inaugural phase journalism textbooks patently stated that photographers

"work" for reporters. Only in the rarest of occasions were photographers able to act

as reporters.[524] Not only were cameramen not seen as journalists, they were

unflatteringly rendered as mosquito-like, hovering around and pestering people when

they were least wanted.[525] Despite the undeniable importance of images to

newspapers, photographers were not even needed in many circumstances. As in prior

decades, reporters were advised to collect existing photographs.[526]

---

522 *Ibid.*: 73.

523 Philip Wiley Porter and Norval Neil Luxon, *The Reporter and the News* (New York; London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935): 324.

524 Curtis Daniel MacDougall, *A College Course in Reporting for Beginners* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932): 41; Carl Nelson Warren, *Modern News Reporting* (New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1934): 31-32.

525 Benson, Ivan, *Fundamentals of Journalism* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932): 236.

526 Warren, *Modern News Reporting*: 31-32.

Characteristic of the proto-phase, freelancers and correspondents were counseled that they ought to know how to shoot photos. And for reporters, a "simple hand camera" was good enough. Photography was consumer-oriented enough by this time that the authors of *Modern Feature Writing* believed, "The feature writer requires no diploma as a professional photographer in order to take acceptable pictures for his articles. … All that is necessary is that the scribe be as feature-minded in taking pictures as he is in writing his article."[527]

Coming as it did in the middle of the magazine era, *Modern Feature Writing* referenced the changing photographic style. The authors represented action photographs, legible typefaces, and reduced headline sizes as the hallmarks of modern journalism presentation.[528] Only the first — action photographs — was an editorial change. The other two were purely stylistic. By deduction, the most important editorial change to modern journalism revolved around photojournalism. In a small section devoted to "News in Picture," the authors described the important elements of modern picture use. While the word "photojournalism" did not exist yet, their descriptions touched on elements such as the decisive moment and the picture story.[529]

The textbook's appendix provided creative advice for novice shooters and shows a variety of successful image compositions that could be emulated.[530] The

---

527 H. F. Harrington and Elmo Scott Watson, *Modern Feature Writing, Including Topics for Discussion at Sessions of the Blue Pencil Club* (New York; London: Harper & Bros., 1935): 39.

528 *Ibid.*: 149-50.

529 *Ibid.*: 160-61.

530 *Ibid.*: appendix V.

candid style of magazine photography — which would mature into photojournalism

— was advocated as a simple matter once camera operation was mastered.

> And, editors point out, the most interesting photographs are those that tell a story in themselves — photographs that have live human appeal: photographs in which people are doing something.
>   … There is no need for professional experience, expensive equipment. In many instances the less studied the pictures are, the more valuable they become in helping to market articles.[531]

Paralleling the pictorial journalists of the period, the feature writer who made

photographs was not trusted to fully understand which picture told the best story.

They were advised to "always take snaps of everything" and "let the editor select the

ones he thinks are best adapted to give realistic setting for the story in question."[532]

A more mature rendering of the quickly evolving position of photographers at

newspapers came from Philip Wiley Porter and Norval Neil Luxon in their 1935

textbook *The Reporter and the News*. Photographs were not afterthoughts and they

were not begrudgingly accepted by editors. The authors introduced the topic

by saying:

> Today no city editor on a big paper would think of sending out a reporter on a story of potential importance without sending a photographer also. Many city editors keep a picture schedule … [which] is as important to the city desk as the reportorial assignment schedule.[533]

The reason presented for the increased importance of photographs patronizes

the idea of images as equal partner to words by tying the growing use of pictures to

illiteracy. If a newspaper sought to expand its readership, it "reaches down into the

---

531 *Ibid.*: 521-24.

532 *Ibid.*

533 Porter and Luxon, *The Reporter and the News*: 253-62.

population strata rather than up." The members of the lower classes, it was presumed, could not or did not want to read. "But there is no one with eyesight who can't recognize a picture," wrote Porter and Luxon. The tabloid papers, heavily reliant on images and photographs, had been capitalizing on this audience in big cities for decades. The practice had by the mid-1930s penetrated smaller markets.[534]

Whatever the reasons, photographs were here to stay and editorial routines had to adjust. In its simplest form this meant "more photographers and closer cooperation between the reporters and photographers."[535] As presented in *The Reporter and the News*, this "cooperation" was somewhat one-sided. While the two were sent out together to the same story, "the photographer gets his instructions from the reporter."[536]

Because the textbook was written for students in textual reporting classes, as would be expected, the lessons regarding photography focused on reporters' responsibilities. They were not far off from those dating back several decades. For example, "it is as much a part of the reporter's job to keep the city editor informed on possible pictures as it is to cover the story."[537] Also, following the lead of past textbooks, reporters were encouraged to "carry small pocket cameras with them and shoot their own pictures."[538] While certain assignment types would always require a

---

534 *Ibid.*

535 *Ibid.*

536 *Ibid.*

537 *Ibid.*

538 *Ibid.*

trained photographer, "some papers have already provided reporters with the tiny cameras, and it has been demonstrated that they can be used for a large percentage of pictures."[539]

The journalism textbooks of the proto-phase routinely advised would-be journalists that they would do well to learn photography. Frequently, this recommendation was the end of the photographic discussion with students left to find that path on their own. Porter and Luxon in the inaugural phase expressed the same conviction, as discussed in the preceding paragraph. Noting that the photography was not the point of their textbook, the authors recommend *News Photography*.

> No complete description of the work of a news photographer can be attempted in these pages, for it is worth a volume in itself. The most complete thing of its kind, something every aspiring reporter as well as every photographer should read, is Jack Price's book, *News Photography*.
>   It not only describes in detail the mechanical processes of getting pictures, but the psychological ones, and gives a breadth of treatment to the scope of the work.[540]

By providing this recommendation to their student-readers, Porter and Luxon painted a picture of a field now legitimized in mainstream journalism. Photojournalism and photojournalism education were essential elements of journalism and journalism education. This was very different from the early days of the proto-phase in journalism education. It was also the foundation on which the postwar period in photojournalism education was built.

---

539 *Ibid.*

540 *Ibid.*

Postwar Phase in Photojournalism Education

The inaugural period ended and the postwar period began with a dramatic increase in the quantity of photojournalism education available around the country. This was accompanied by a discursive shift in newly published photojournalism textbooks. The explosion of new textbooks presented the position, product, and producers of camera reporting in a new light: as a profession, as photojournalism, and as photojournalists. News photography education — now rightly called photojournalism education — spread rapidly and reached maturity in this period.

Not coincidentally, the boundary of the postwar phase paralleled the emergence of many fundamental changes to American society. As presented in previous chapters, the years following World War II saw substantial changes in the field of photojournalism, journalism education, and higher education. The end of the war marked the transition from the magazine era to the golden age in photojournalism history.

A 1945 survey by the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) found that photo course offerings plummeted during the World War II years. The universally cited reason was reduced availability of teaching personnel. Those who did not themselves enter the services were forced to teach other journalism courses for colleagues who were in uniform. As journalism programs looked for ways to support the war and function with reduced staff, photography was not considered a top priority. However, when asked about the future, the survey respondents predicted a postwar boom in photojournalism

instruction. It was anticipated that canceled courses would be reinstated and photographic offerings would expand.[541]

While generally correct, these predictions took longer than anticipated and were not as cleanly accomplished as forecast. Floyd Arpan — associate professor in charge of photography at the Medill School of Journalism and guest editor of the September 1947 issue of *Journalism Quarterly* that was dedicated exclusively to photojournalism — criticized many schools for offering only basic training in shooting and printing. He wrote in the beginning of the postwar phase, "While many schools list basic press photography courses in their catalogs, these courses are little more than campus amateur camera clubs."[542] The practicalities of offering photojournalism education had yet to catch up with aspirations.

Changes in the profession that began before World War II accelerated in the postwar years. The term "news photography" grew out of style. It was replaced by "photojournalism." This new phrase denoted a move away from simple visual documentation to something more akin to "impressionistic documentation" that invited the viewer to be part of a scene rather than a passive witness.[543] Photojournalism "is capable, at its best," wrote George S. Bush, "of capturing the

---

541 Albert Alton Sutton, "Photography Courses in AASDJ Schools: A Survey of Trends," *Journalism Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1945): 49, 50, 96.

542 Floyd G. Arpan, "Can Press Photography Be Taught?" *Journalism Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1947): 239–42.

543 George S. Bush, "Needed: A New Look in Photojournalism Courses," *Journalism Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1958): 216–20.

essential feeling of the moment … [the image conveys] this is what it was like to be alive at this time at this place and to see this and feel this."[544]

What had been a recommendation to students for more than half a century crept toward becoming a mandate. Demand grew for writer-reporters with photographic prowess. By 1955, 30% of all job openings in the "Help Wanted" section of *Editor & Publisher* specifically listed photography skills as helpful or required.[545] Photo reporting was not just for news photographers anymore. It was a skill all reporters were expected to have. While the very earliest textbooks recommended this skill beginning in the late 1800s, it was only in the middle 1900s that a large quantity of reporters-in-training had access to the classes, books, facilities, and teachers needed to make this possible. A tipping point in photojournalism education had arrived. Similar points can be found throughout the history of journalism and journalism education. A skill or form of reporting has become part of the institution when hiring editors specifically request applicants with said skills. The last 20 years, for example, have seen job requirements call for digital skills, multimedia skills, social media skills, and so on. The cycle from first mention to job requirement is much shorter now — years rather than several decades — but the stepping stones along the way are the same as with photojournalism education.

The notion that the well-trained print reporter should have basic photojournalism skills was a growing trend among hiring editors as well as educators,

---

544 *Ibid.*

545 Walter Wilcox, "Trends in the Demand for Photographic Skills," *Journalism Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1957): 498–99.

but few educators ranked it important enough to offer a full degree.[546] Two

nationwide surveys of journalism educators, one conducted in 1943 and the other

in 1961, showed the intent of photojournalism instruction was providing print

reporters with basic training in photography. The goal was not to produce working

photojournalists. Rather, the intention was to provide a basic understanding of

shooting and editing news photographs which would inform students' work as

text journalists.[547]

A third survey confirmed the growing availability of news photography

classes in journalism programs. Results revealed eight press photography textbooks

in widespread use. This equaled the highest number from any of the surveyed

subjects, including news writing and editing. However, this large number did not

indicate a strong selection. Rather, it showed little agreement on what texts to use and

no canonical news photography textbook yet existed. Some schools used basic

photographic manuals that lacked discussion of the editorial use of photos. One such

manual was the *U.S. Army Air Corps Basic Photography Manual*. The responding

schools indicated that more and better news photography textbooks were a

high priority.[548]

---

546 *Ibid.*

547 Albert Alton Sutton. "Journalism Education in Four-Year, Degree-Granting Colleges and Universities in the United States." (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1943).; George S. Bush, "Survey Shows New Needs for Photojournalists," *Journalism Quarterly* 38 (1961): 216–17.; C. William Horrell, "The Status of Education For Photojournalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1961): 213–17.

548 Textbook Survey, 1947, folder 2, box 2, series 1: Original Collection, 1912-1997, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records (U.S. Mss 154AF), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

Textbooks were not the only limiting factors. George S. Bush noted a basic

problem inherent in all photojournalism education: the sheer amount of time needed

to master the basics before moving on to more complex issues. "The perpetual

dilemma," he wrote, "of photojournalism education [is] training takes too much time

and something has to give."[549] General reporting classes assume a basic mastery of

language and the typewriter, but "beginning photography courses are still mired in

elementary mechanics."[550] Given only a semester, or at best two, students could not

be expected to emerge with more than a passing familiarity. Acknowledging the time

constraints, educators sought ways to combine news-editorial practice with

photographic practice to achieve the most with limited time. A 1952 survey

recommended basic news photography classes use laboratory practice as their

cornerstone. Picture editing and difficult or infrequently used techniques should be

held for advanced classes and not included in the basic course.[551] As the postwar

phase kicked off, news photography textbooks changed to reflect the new realities of

photojournalism education.

Photography is a Language, 1946

Published in the opening months of the postwar phase, *Photography is a*

Language, by John R. Whiting, responded to the new uses and expectations of news

photography. The 1946 textbook introduced magazine-style photography to the

---

549 Horrell, "The Status of Education for Photojournalism."

550 Bush, "Technique vs Meaning in Photojournalism."

551 Truman Pouncey, "Basic Photo-Journalism Policy Agreement Needed," *Journalism Quarterly* no. 30 (1953): 226–29.

classroom. It was the first textbook to use the word "photo-journalism." Whiting detailed how the practice differed from existing newspaper news photography practices. The opening sentence of the book hit the core distinction between the two: "The lens can suggest emotional meanings, as well as objective facts."[552]

On its own this was a strong initial sentence. When taken in the context of decades of journalism and photojournalism textbooks, this sentence demonstrated an evolving awareness of the camera, the photograph, and the photojournalist. Beginning with the second clause, nothing much has changed. Photographs can and did still capture truth. The first clause was laden with meaning. It was still the "lens," the camera, which was recognized as performing the photographic work. The photographer was not mentioned. However, machines were incapable of "suggest[ing] emotional meanings." Therefore, the photographer was recognized to have some photographic agency in the process. And photographs were capable of communicating more than bare facts or highly detailed descriptions. These updates were a noticeable change from the proto-phase and inaugural phase understanding of how photography works. This was a large step toward the principles and ideas that would come to define photojournalism.

Whiting cited the growing importance and power of visual imagery as the rationale for writing the textbook. Of course, using images and photographs in a news context was a well-established practice by 1946. But the ends to which news pictures

---

552 John R. Whiting, *Photography is a Language* (Chicago; New York: Ziff-Davis Pub. Co., 1946): 8.

were put had changed.[553] He wrote, "the new use of pictures is so recently developed that technical photographic books and technical journalism texts leave a gap."[554] This implicitly recognized that no dominant understanding of photojournalism had yet developed, which was somewhat antithetical to the way textbooks are supposed to work. But the process used to write the textbook brought considerable weight to its statements and assertions.

While Whiting was the sole listed author of the textbook, he had input from a veritable who's who of photojournalism. He worked closely with Roy Stryker, the influential head of the Farm Service Administration photographic project; Wilson Hicks, the executive editor of *Life*; Alfred Eisenstaedt, a pioneering documentary photographer; and others of similar renown. *Photography is a Language* was the collective wisdom and insight from top players in the field of photojournalism.[555]

This first textbook of the postwar period treated the history of the field in a new way: as a history of visual communication. The history, people, developments in related fields, and technology are blended into a history of pictorial language. The major outlines of this history would become a staple component of photojournalism textbooks ever since. For the first time, a canon of famous photographs and influential photographers was presented. Rather than individual points, these dots were connected to form an easily digestible systematic narrative leading up to the present moment.

---

553 *Ibid.*

554 *Ibid.*

555 *Ibid.*: 8-10.

Providing a blueprint for textbooks that followed, *Photography is a Language* presented photographs as vitally important and radically distinct from other formats of news delivery. Whiting and his team of collaborators set photography on par with textual communication. The idea of photographic agency was also profoundly different than in textbooks of the previous phases. The camera and the photographs it produced are presented simply as tools. Like text, the photo communication tool could be put to a multitude of uses. Text can be used abstractly for poetry or literally for technical manuals, and everything in between. It is the writer who creates and makes meaning. In the same way, Whiting presented photography as a tool for many uses. It is not a thing unto itself but rather conscripted into the service of other fields such as journalism, art, or forensics. Like writers, photographers were given the full measure of photographic agency. It was the photographer — not the camera, not the editor, and not magic — who created meaning using the apparatus. This was a departure from notions of the past. Writes Whiting:

> Photography is a skill in the hands of a person who may be primarily something else. The photographer who is only a photographer is not a photographer. The magazine photographer is first a journalist.[556]

This was no small change. It was a complete revision of how news photographers were seen. This provided photojournalists a respectability heretofore unknown. This was a different understanding of exactly what it took to be a photographer. Physical strength was not brought up. Neither was technical knowledge nor speed. Certainly, all three of these were still needed, but they were not

---

556 *Ibid.*: 10.

the defining characteristic of a photojournalist. Rather, being a journalist was the defining characteristic. Whiting wrote:

> The cameraman cannot work alone, solely on a technical plane of lenses, films, and chemicals. If he digs deep, he must know his subject matter and its implications.[557]

Knowing the subject matter was necessary but not sufficient. Photojournalists were charged with translating their understanding of an event into photographs that delivered a clear and unambiguous message. In addition to transmitting ideas and facts, the photojournalist's job was "to put reality, believability, interest, and drama into his photographs."[558]

Contrast this complex and nuanced job description with the older versions in which photographers were considered laborers or at best technical workers. Gone were the days one could walk into a newspaper office with some camera skill and expect to be successful as a photojournalist. Specialized training was now needed. For this Whiting prescribed:

> The equivalent of a college education, a good deal of traveling, working with different kinds of people, and a wide background of reading are certainly requisites for magazine photography. So many magazine photographers have had editorial training as writers, researchers, or artists that it should be put down as one of the highly desirable elements of background. This editorial training helps build the oft-noted sense of inquisitiveness, the "nose for news."[559]

At the same time that the "who" of photojournalists was being redefined, the ends to which pictures were put was also becoming more complex. The new, the

---

557 *Ibid.*: 8.

558 *Ibid.*: 36.

559 *Ibid.*: 104.

exciting, and the extraordinary had defined news photography. In other words, pictures had to be newsworthy. The documentary approach of photojournalism has less emphasis on novelty and sought instead to examine everyday life. The lives of kings and presidents were still of interest, but so too were those of dustbowl farmers and industrial factory workers. *Photography is a Language* described the new photojournalism as "the sociological investigation of facts by the camera."[560] Along with subject matter, traditional aesthetics and methods were altering. The idea of "candid photography" in which subjects were unaware of the camera was believed to be more truthful than posed compositions.

Complete Book of Press Photography, 1950

A textbook published by the fledgling National Press Photographers Association in 1950 followed the pattern set four years earlier by *Photography is a Language*. Written by Joseph Costa, the text began by positioning the profession in a long and storied historical context. Photojournalism was presented as the latest and most modern in a lineage of visual storytelling stretching back to Spanish cave paintings 25,000 years ago.[561] But far from being antiquated, news photographs were presented by Costa as the perfect embodiments of contemporary news. They were easily digested and understood, thereby delivering the key news elements quickly and efficiently. As such, wrote Costa, "press photography exerts an ever-increasing

---

560 *Ibid.*: 18-19.

561 *Complete Book of Press Photography* (New York: National Press Photographers Association, 1950): 8.

269

influence over our sources of information."[562] He continued, "The only true report, it seems to me, short of witnessing a scene oneself, is a combination of both picture and written report."[563]

The growing power of news images put a "grave responsibility on today's news cameraman."[564] Above all was a duty to serve the public interest. This was a change from earlier textbooks, notably Jack Price's *News Photography*, which placed the photographer's ultimate loyalty with their news organization. The difference between carrying out one's work for a commercial organization and contributing to society at large is one of the major hallmarks of professionalization.

But what exactly should a photojournalism class or textbook teach? The mechanics of photography were finite and, given time, masterable. However, the issue of too much to learn in too little time, first raised in the prior period, had not been resolved. Added to the old problem was a new one. Costa wrote, "photo-reporting involves many intangibles that cannot be brought into the classroom."[565] He did not provide answers to either of these key questions. It was, therefore, left to individual teachers to decide where the emphasis of a photojournalism class lay. Instead, the textbook proceed "by presenting some of the many aspects that set off news photography as an art in itself."[566]

---

562 *Ibid.*: 4.

563 *Ibid.*: 21.

564 *Ibid.*: 4.

565 *Ibid.*

566 *Ibid.*

Given Costa's leadership responsibilities in the NPPA, the professionalization of photojournalism was certainly at the forefront of his mind. This is evidenced by his writing of the *Complete Book of Press Photography*. In it, he makes similar arguments to Joseph Pulitzer's defense of the Columbia School of Journalism in *North American Review* from 1906. Costa was interested in raising the status of photojournalists in the eyes of the public, and he saw the way to do this by improving the abilities and behavior of photojournalists. By addressing students and forming their thoughts and behaviors before they entered the news industry, the textbook was aimed at raising the professional profile of photojournalism. He was thinking beyond the immediate needs of his student-readers and took the entire field into consideration. He noted, "This book's impact on the public acceptance of press photographers as a whole has been a major consideration throughout this entire project."[567]

The introduction to *Complete Book of Press Photography* applauded the strides made by photojournalists. The introduction was by Basil "Stuffy" Walters. He was the executive editor of the Knight Newspaper chain, one of the most esteemed editors of his day, and a pioneer in modernizing news, design, and content. The belief in the critical contribution of photojournalism to the news had made it to the very tip-top of the industry.

> There is no professional group in the world that had done more to improve its service to the public and the nation in recent years than the photographers. …

---

567 *Ibid.*: 5.

[This] has been promoted through a constant effort to improve craftsmanship and through winning greater respect from the public.[568]

Along with its acceptance and maturation, photojournalism faced new obstacles. For the first time in a textbook, the dilemma of photojournalism's competing directives to be at the same time truthful and compelling was raised. The author of the chapter "The Social Significance of Press Photography," Edward Stanley, presented the quandary:

> The profession asks that photography be accepted as candid, factual, unbiased. Yet, due to the necessity of selecting dramatic incidents to give the photographs greater emotion and news interest, they are forced to make a selection of emphasis which often is distorting. Some way must be found to overcome this handicap, without losing the interest-holding quality which is one of the press photographs' special characteristics.[569]

In the 65 years since, no solution has been found to this question. It is still a matter of debate in the profession. Stanley framed photographic agency as lying entirely with the photographer. There was no intimation that it was the camera which recorded a scene. It was the photographer's decisions alone. And, he acknowledged, once photographic agency belonged to humans, errors and distortions were possible. It had taken over a century for photography and photojournalism to lose the claim of unbiased visual recording. Now, like all human undertakings, photography was a process of creation and interpretation.

If photography was a tool in the hands of a photographer, then it made sense that photography could be put to any use desired by the photographer. Stanley pointed to the trend over the previous 20 years in which photojournalism is used "to

---

568   *Ibid.*: 7.

569   *Ibid.*: 12.

illuminate obstinate social problems."[570] The reader will recall that promoting social reform is one of photojournalism historian Claude Cookman's four defining elements of photojournalism.

The characteristics of photojournalists were working closer to those we would recognize today. Stanley presented photojournalists as a tripartite amalgamation: skilled craftsmen, artists, and reporters.[571] Antecedent textbooks concentrated on photographers as laborers, later promoted to craftsmen. Eventually photojournalists gained status as reporters. This was the first time a textbook added artist to the list. This was significant for several reasons. First, an artist was considered the sole creator of a work. Thus, the photojournalist was the sole creator of an image, and therefore had full photographic agency. Second, artists were not considered unbiased. To the contrary, it was widely recognized that artists interpret and present their own personal view of a scene. The notion of fully realistic and objective visual records of news events, which once predominated, was no more.

This was not to say that photojournalistic images were not to be trusted. Trust no longer emanated from the technology, but rather now came from the photographer. By treating photojournalists as reporters, Stanley also required the ethics and responsibilities of journalism be practiced by photographers. The audience had to trust the people responsible for the images, not the technology. This was more responsibility than news photographers of the past had to bear. He wrote:

---

570 *Ibid.*: 10-11.

571 *Ibid.*

there is an insistent pressure in the very character of today's news which demands not merely technical brilliance, but intelligence and a desire to rise above shock values.[572]

Gardner Soule — who contributed a chapter titled "Pictures Tell Stories" to

Complete Book of Press Photography and was managing editor of *Better Homes and*

Gardens — assigned photographic agency to the joint team of photographer and

editor. He understood it took more than one person to get images into print. Their

contributions were different, but the goal of photographer and editor was the same.

Two-way communication was the key to achieving this goal. Gone were the days of

photographers simply following editors' orders. Soule put it like this:

> One great development during the last 10 years has been that pictorial journalists have learned that their profession is a team job. … The editor is a man who wants to tell facts by pictures, to show events happening. … The photographer is a man who wants to tell facts by pictures, to show events happening. … As they work together the editor and photographer learn to think alike. Both editor and photographer learn to think in pictures. Pictorial journalism becomes for the two men what it always fundamentally was: A team job.[573]

Further illustration of the newfound editorial agency of photojournalists came

from a chapter on editing written by documentarian and retired U.S. Navy

Commander William C. Park. Whereas previous textbooks portrayed the news

photographer as simply carrying out orders from editor or reporter, Park described a

collaborative decision-making process with photojournalists possessing

news judgment.

> Editing begins with the camera staff. From his assignment desk, the cameraman receives the order, by wire, telephone, and rarely, by letter; four times out of five, the order is not, "Cover," but rather, "Look it over;

---

572 *Ibid.*: 12.

573 *Ibid.*: 9.

shoot if you think it will make a story." No staff man could long survive if his editors could not rely on his judgment of a story potential.[574]

Continuing the new trend of characterizing photojournalists as thinkers, *Complete Book of Press Photography*'s author Joseph Costa identified the eye and mind — not the camera — as the principal tools.

> on these past breaking stories, the cameraman, in almost every case, improved the storytelling quality of his pictures, by having used his head.
>   One of the most important attributes of good press photography is the power of observation.[575]

To those familiar with present day photojournalism and photojournalism education, these points may seem obvious. They are now engraved in photojournalism's professional identity. But, looking back at textbooks before the postwar period, this was not always the case.

What Textbooks Reveal

This examination of journalism and photojournalism textbooks revealed three distinct phases in the depictions and descriptions of photojournalism and photojournalists. Within these phases, treatments of photojournalists fall into three broad categories: features that were ever-present and unchanging, those that were ever-present but evolved, and those that were transitory. The need for strength and speed were ever-present, while the need for artistry only appeared in later periods. The perceived journalistic abilities of photographers evolved — going from non-existent to highly present. The newsroom's opinion of photographers improved with

---

574 *Ibid.*: 13.

575 *Ibid.*: 23.

time. The relationship between photographer and camera went from one extreme to the other. At first, the photographer belonged to the camera as its mechanical operator. This reversed and the camera was seen to be used by the photographer as a communication tool.

A dialogue surfaced that aimed beyond the individual student textbook reader. One such discourse was aimed at improving opinions of news photographers by reporters and others in the newsroom, by the public, and surprisingly by photographers themselves. Journalism schools, their photojournalism courses, and the textbooks for these courses were a place where the cycle of low opinion of news photographers could be broken. Teaching future photojournalists to be better behaved would improve their public interactions. Teaching future reporters the contribution of photographs and photographers improved future newsroom relations. Generating photojournalists with college degrees created parity between photographer and writer, thus shrinking the newsroom pecking order. Teaching future photojournalists to respect each other and their own work reduced the cutthroat daily competition and fostered a sense of professional unity.

A certain critical mass of photojournalism education needed to occur within journalism education before the major changes listed in the previous paragraph came to pass. But, like much in the history of photojournalism education, these lofty ideas were slowed by logistical practicalities, as will be seen in the next chapter. Even in the beginning of the postwar phase when a journalism school did provide news photography classes, they did not always live up to the standards hoped for by textbook authors. The quantity of available courses increased, but many remained

mired in basic shooting and printing, never progressing to editorial issues. The practical knowledge needed to practice photography was finite but was larger than could fit into three courses, let alone two or even one class. Unlike writing, which was taught from the earliest ages, photojournalism students started from scratch, and therefore a great deal of time was needed to cover the basics before moving on to more complex issues. This problem became a feature of many new forms of reporting to enter journalism education in the coming decades.

Journalism and photojournalism textbooks were finally in lockstep regarding the essential role played by photographs in the news product. Yet, the dialogue surrounding photographers was not. Mentions of photojournalism in journalism textbooks slowly evolved but did not see a sudden or drastic change, as was the case in photojournalism textbooks. Just because photojournalism educators were making a strong case for parity in a rapidly evolving news landscape did not mean that the same case was being made in general journalism textbooks or general journalism education. Photojournalism textbook authors made the case for their curricula by saying their students would help lead the industry where the industry needed to go. It took time, but by the postwar phase this argument had made it to the top of the news publishing world. When the executive editor of Knight Newspapers laudingly introduced a photojournalism textbook, the rest of the industry and journalism education had to take note.

By the postwar phase, an institutionalized presentation of news photographs had emerged. Like textbooks from the previous phases, news images were vitally important to the news products. The seemingly disjunctive means by which they

communicated was new. Photojournalism images were the perfect piece of journalistic evidence by providing incontrovertible proof. At the same time, the best and most memorable photos represented larger issues than what was contained in the frame. This duality not only set photography on par with textual reporting but pushed it to an even higher plateau. Far from the repetitive skill needed to be a photographer in the proto-phase, by the postwar phase the mythology of the photojournalist became ingrained. The photojournalist was a witness, reporter, artist, visual storyteller, sociologist, and activist. No question remained whether such a practice belonged in higher education. Photojournalism education had institutionalized and normalized.

The details presented in this chapter constitute a powerful lens through which to view the case studies reported in the next chapter. Chapter VI presents two illustrative case studies of journalism programs grappling with the integration of photojournalism education.

<p style="text-align:center">*　　*　　*</p>

Chapter VI

Case Studies of Photojournalism Education at the
University of Georgia and the University of Maryland

This chapter reports two journalism program case studies. The photojournalism education offerings at the Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia and the Department of Journalism and Public Relations at the University of Maryland reveal divergent outcomes in their respective quest for legitimacy. The case studies function as local-level examinations of wider trends uncovered in previous chapters. A curious dualism emerges in which both institutionalized pedagogy and a lack of one-size-fits-all solution to photojournalism education are simultaneously present. While the photojournalism offerings at each university ended up looking quite different, they were propelled by the same mechanism: the pursuit of legitimacy. This chapter buttresses the case for legitimization's animating force and shows that small differences in institutional environments can create contradictory effects. At both UGA and UMD, photojournalism education was not evaluated and implemented on its own merits, but rather as part of wider strategies. Its success or failure was almost entirely tied to larger questions of legitimization.

The preceding chapter shows that on the national stage, photojournalism education was a unified and homogeneous institution. However, this close look at individual journalism programs reveals that a universal consensus did not exist. Localized factors were as influential, if not more so, than larger currents. Especially

influential in the development of photojournalism education were the college or university that housed the journalism program, the format and style of leadership, and non-academic influences such as local demand for reporters. The Department of Journalism at the University of Maryland began with plans for photojournalism education that were outside the institutionalized norm. Within the span of a decade the DJPR actively sought ways to bring its photojournalism offerings, and the rest of the curriculum, into line with national standards with an eye to accreditation. On the other hand, the Grady College of Journalism was an outlier in terms of photojournalism education in two ways. It was an early adopter of photography classes in a journalism context. However, once established, the courses stagnated.

Grady was on the vanguard of journalism education in the late 1930s and early 1940s. It was an early adopter of education in photojournalism, radio, and later television. The school and its dean firmly subscribed to the leading philosophy of liberal arts-based journalism education. It was one of the lucky few American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) "class A" programs and was one of the first 35 programs accredited by the American Council for Education in Journalism (ACEJ). This leading-edge journalism school froze at its high point in a pre-World War II mentality for the following quarter century. This was especially true of photojournalism education. All the above, both good and bad, can be traced to John Drewry, the long-ruling dean of Grady. As the sole power broker in the school of journalism, once he felt legitimacy had been won there was no longer a driving force to innovate or change.

The case study of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia begins with its founding in the late 1920s and continues to 1963, when the school was accredited for the third time by the American Council for Education in Journalism. Photography education was adopted early, in 1940. The Grady School was in the very first batch of ACEJ accredited programs. Prior to accreditation, it was an AASDJ "Class A" program. As an early entrant to the field of journalism education and as an independent school within UGA, Grady had enough legitimacy to not feel the need to follow every trend in journalism. The quest for legitimacy happened earlier at UGA than it did at UMD. UGA journalism, with photography as a part, was pushed and pulled in the quest for legitimacy. And journalism education at UGA did become institutionalized and relatively stagnant. This happened early in the development of photojournalism education.

The case study of the Department of Journalism and Public Relations at the University of Maryland begins in 1947, with the founding of the department, and continues through 1961, when the department was accredited for the first time by ACEJ. UMD was a latecomer to journalism education. The decisions made as it went from unaccredited to accredited exhibit all the hallmarks of institutionalization. This includes the department generally and photojournalism education specifically. Environmental legitimization was accomplished through intentional and unintentional isomorphism — the ongoing process of adaptation to the external environment. This led to institutionalization — conventionalization and standardization — of photojournalism education practice.

There was just one leader of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism over the period of this case study. John Drewry was affiliated with Grady first as a professor, then as the school's director, and finally as dean for a total of 47 years. Forty-two of these were in the leadership position. Archival records reveal that his approach to governance was top-down. His beliefs, interests, and ideals were the biggest influence on the curriculum. The records suggest that this inhibited adaptation over time as the school did not keep up with changes in the wider field of journalism education. By the time of his retirement in 1969, the school lagged its peers.

Although the Grady School of Journalism was early in having a photojournalism class in the curriculum, the way the course was offered and its unchanging place in the curriculum over decades speak to Drewry's personal interests alone. He had an aversion to classes he believed to be overly technical. His interests lay in other phases of journalism, such as radio and television, rather than photography. He belonged to a group of journalism educators who advocated for non-technical, or minimally technical, liberal arts-based journalism education.

His long tenure at the helm is not necessarily a testament to his leadership. Internal memoranda immediately following his retirement in 1969 and the confidential accrediting committee visit reports paint a dismal picture of the last 10 to 15 years of his leadership. The school was so poorly run that it just scraped by, being reaccredited in 1962. It was only reaccredited in 1970 based on the plans for change put forward by a new dean.

While the University of Missouri claims the title of first independent school of journalism, education for journalism at the University of Georgia was not far behind. The founding father of UGA journalism was Steadman Vincent Sanford, who would go on to lead the university and the University System of Georgia later in his career. Sanford came to UGA in 1903 to teach English. Ten years later he was made a full professor and given an honorary doctorate. In 1921, he founded the Department of Journalism. He served as the chair and the first director when it was renamed the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, a position he held until 1927. He left the School of Journalism to become president of UGA's Franklin College and Dean of the University. He served as president of the university from 1932 to 1935 when he became chancellor of the University System of Georgia, a position he held until his death in 1945.[576]

Despite its beginnings and a powerful ally in Sanford, journalism at UGA faced possible demise in 1933 when Georgia Governor Eugene Talmadge visited the university and made a surprise announcement: he planned to recommend that the Board of Regents close the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism. His reasons had more to do with a general disdain for higher education and a play for rural votes, but he used language taken from those who opposed journalism education on a national stage.[577] "Writers are born, not made," he said. "I have never seen any worth-while products of this school. As for myself, I can write anywhere and even with telephone

---

576 Charles Stephen Gurr, *The Personal Equation: A Biography of Steadman Vincent Sanford* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1999).

577 Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785–1985* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1985): 225.

bells ringing."[578] Ultimately, these threats came to nothing, but they do emphasize the

pressure that journalism education was under early in Drewry's tenure.

John Drewry

To make sense of journalism education at the University of Georgia from the

mid-1920s through 1969, one must look at John Eldridge Drewry. As an instructor,

director, and finally dean, Drewry spent 47 years at the Grady School of Journalism.

This does not even include time as dean emeritus. It takes little imagination to realize

he was influential in shaping journalism education at the University of Georgia, but

comprehending the shape and scope of this influence in general and specifically on

photojournalism education takes closer examination.

John Drewry was a Georgia native with relatively little journalism experience

but a lifetime in journalism education. He went directly from high school to the

University of Georgia. He was the second graduate from the newly founded

journalism program, and upon graduating in 1922 he was made an instructor of

journalism. Over the next few summers he earned an MA in journalism from

Columbia University. He was named director of the School of Journalism in 1927,

and he became the dean when that position was created in 1940. In 1950, he fought

Omer Clyde "O.C." Aderhold, dean of the College of Education, to a stalemate for

the UGA presidency, a battle he ultimately lost.[579] Some have attributed this to his

---

578 "Journalism School is the Bunk, Says Conceited Editor." *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 30, 1933.

579 Dyer, *The University of Georgia*: 263.

sordid personal life. The year before, his ex-wife, Kathleen Drewry, shot him and his

fiancée, Miriam Thurmond. Both survived and eventually married, but the shooting

and subsequent trial left a mark on his reputation.[580] He continued as dean until the

end of the 1968-69 school year, when he became dean emeritus. Drewry died in 1983

at the age of 80.

During his time as director and dean, Drewry helped to establish educational

and professional programs for working journalists. Among these were the Georgia

Press Institute, the Georgia Radio-Television Institute, the Southern Industrial

Editors' Institute, the Georgia Scholastic Press Association (for high school

journalists), and the Collegiate Press Association. Another significant and lasting

achievement was his founding role in the George Foster Peabody Awards in

broadcasting, which began in 1940.

Drewry helped to open the door a crack to women professors at the University

of Georgia. In 1928, the School of Journalism was the first unit, outside of Home

Economics or Education, to hire a woman professor. Mrs. M. H. Bryan was

appointed assistant professor in an end-run around the board of trustees, who had

until then blocked such appointments. Due to the sudden resignation of another

journalism professor, director Drewry had to fill the position quickly. He

recommended Bryan, who had already been an instructor in the School of

Journalism. The dean and chancellor agreed, and a new precedent was set.[581]

---

580 "Drewry Will Continue at Post Despite Rumors." *The Red and Black*, April 28, 1950.

581 Dyer, *The University of Georgia*: 187.

Beyond his influence at UGA, Drewry also was a player in the wider field of journalism education in America. Over the years, he was secretary-treasurer, vice president, and president of American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ), the professional association of journalism educators.[582] He also served as a representative of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, the association of journalism programs, to the American Council for Education in Journalism, the accrediting organization, in the critical two years leading up to the first 35 school accreditations by the group.[583]

Drewry was actively engaged in the early 1930s in the liberal arts journalism education movement. He was present in 1930 in Boston, representing AATJ as president, for the AASDJ meeting at which the association's president, Eric. W. Allen, spelled out the value of and arguments for liberal arts journalism education. These principles would come to underpin Grady's curriculum, and 18 years later these principles were enshrined in ACEJ-accredited journalism education.

Drewry was certainly aware of the push for liberal arts journalism education, and he seems to have subscribed to Allen's three principles. These were: just enough technique to survive the cub stage, liberal arts to create the socially-minded journalist once beyond the cub stage, and practical and professional application of liberal arts knowledge to the real world. Following the December 1930 AASDJ convention, Drewry struck up a three-way correspondence on the subject with Harold B. Johnson,

---

582 "School of Journalism Faculty," *Georgia Alumni Record* XVII, no. 5 (1938): 158.

583 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1947–48, 1948, folder College of Journalism Annual Report 1947-1963, box 1, The Grady College of Journalism Estrays (UGA 85-036), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 17.

chair of the ASNE committee on schools of journalism, and Willard Grosvenor

Bleyer, director of the School of Journalism at the University of Wisconsin at

Madison, who was widely considered the father and chief proponent of liberal arts

journalism education.[584]

Although he did not cite them by name, Drewry employed Allen's three

principles of liberal arts journalism education when describing Grady's curriculum to

UGA's president Harmon W. Caldwell in the late 1930s. Drewry proclaimed, "we

have tried to keep our requirements from being narrowly technical or vocational, but

rather to provide a four-year course which will be of value to the consumers of

tomorrow's journalism as well as its producers."[585] Grady's curriculum "successfully

combines the basic elements of a liberal education and of professional training."[586]

He explained that enrollment was growing without the help of advertising or

promotion because of the recognition among students of the value of liberal arts

journalism education.[587]

---

584 Harold B. Johnson to John E. Drewry, Jan 9, 1931, 1931, folder American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism 1930-1931, box 3, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer to John E. Drewry, Jan 15, 1931, 1931, folder American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism 1930-1931, box 3, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

585 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1938–39, 1939, folder 1939, box 3, Annual Reports Georgia University, 1931-1941 (97-105:32), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 1.

586 *Ibid.*

587 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1939–40, 1940, folder Annual Reports-School of Journalism 1940-1955, box 1, The Henry W. Grady School of Journalism Annual Reports (05-054), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 2.

There was another, less frequently made, argument in Drewry's justification for liberal arts journalism education. He held that there was a non-professional reason for journalism education: the education of news consumers. Today this is known as media literacy. "Journalism is a consumer's subject," wrote Drewry, "as well as a producer's tool. … [Liberal arts journalism education is] not without value to those who expect merely to be the readers of tomorrow's newspapers, magazines and books."[588]

First News Photography Class

While not the first to offer a photojournalism class, the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia was on the leading edge of this curricular innovation. In the spring semester of 1940, Grady offered its first class in news photography.[589] This was 25 years after the first journalism classes were offered at the school, and 10 years after the first documented photojournalism class in the country. This also was the same year that the position of dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism was created by the university and filled by Drewry.

The year before, director Drewry actively sought information from other universities on structuring a class in photojournalism. He looked to Louisiana State University, a peer institution of approximately the same size and standing, for a model. Tucked away in his personal correspondence, the year before UGA gave its first photo class, is a copy of LSU's syllabus for Journalism 166 from Spring 1939.

---

588 *Ibid.*

589 *Ibid.*: 6.

LSU's class was co-taught by a journalism professor and the faculty editor of the student newspaper. The class mixed technical instruction in camera and darkroom work with editorial instruction, such as the fourth week's topic, "Emphasis on Central Theme," or week nine's "Portraits and Character Studies." The class was geared toward producing weekly content for the student newspaper, *The Daily Reveille*.[590]

There is other circumstantial evidence of growing interest in photography leading up to the School of Journalism's first photography class. In the year prior, the Georgia Press Institute, an annual conference held at Grady and sponsored by the Georgia Press Association, had news photography on the program for the first time in its 12-year history.[591] Other evidence is found in the growing collection of photography books in the UGA journalism reading room.[592] The majority were technical in nature, focused on the mechanics of photography. But a small handful were dedicated to applying photography to journalism.[593]

UGA's first photojournalism class, Journalism 370, was held in Spring 1940. Consisting of five credit hours, the course was cross-listed between the School of

---

590 Syllabus for (LSU) Journalism 166 in Second Semester, 1938–1939, 1939, folder Journalism Classes 1936-1940, box 4, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

591 Georgia Press Institute Twelfth Annual Program, 1939, folder College of Journalism- Press Institute 1929-1965, box 1, series 2, The Grady College of Journalism Estrays (UGA 85-036), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

592 List of Journalism Books Available to Students in the Department of Journalism at Kent State University, 1939, folder Journalism Classes 1936-1940, box 4, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 5-6.

593 *Ibid.*

Journalism and the physics department. Assistant Professor Willett Main Kempton taught two classroom periods under the auspices of the journalism school and three lab periods were led by Associate Professor Dr. Rufus Hummer Snyder from the physics department.

For the previous seven years, Snyder had taught Physics 481: Advanced Light. This class emphasized theoretical aspects of the behavior of light and included some experimental spectroscopy, but was not, strictly speaking, a photo class. Drewry hired Kempton in 1937 after the younger man receiving an M.A. in journalism from the University of Wisconsin. His professional qualifications were varied: several internships in college, a stint freelancing in Europe, and work as state editor for the *Madison State Journal*, "which pioneered in the extensive use of pictures, new typographical devices, and the so-called 'streamline makeup'...."[594]

A student registering for Journalism 370: News Photography or Physics 370: Principles of Photography attended the same class. However, the two departments did not have the same educational goals. Where the course is listed in the journalism section of the general catalog, the journalistic aspect predominates and the technical aspect is secondary:

> A study of the photographic requirements of newspapers and magazines and the technique of news photography with elementary training in the use of various cameras, developing, printing, and enlarging.[595]

---

[594] As an undergraduate, "he was encouraged to go to Hollywood. While there he knew Clark Gable who remained on the West coast to become famous after Mr. Kempton returned to the University of Wisconsin."
"School of Journalism Faculty.": 159.

[595] *General Catalog (1940-1941)* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1940): 184.

In the physics department, this view was reversed with the technical aspect coming

first and the journalistic aspect added as an afterthought:

> An elementary approach to the problems of cameras, exposures, developing, contact printing, enlargements, and some introduction to color photography; also a study of the photographic requirements of newspapers and magazines.[596]

With the structure of Journalism 370, Drewry, and by extension Grady, were

applying the common sentiment in the wider field about the location of photographic

agency. It was not the photographer, the image maker, who held photographic agency,

it was the photo editor who directed, cropped, edited, and laid out the photograph

who had agency. The actual making of the image was considered purely technical.

Kempton had some experience dealing with photographs in his professional career as

an editor, not as a shooter. He could teach the use of images, but he had to bring in

help to teach the making of images.

Equally important as Kempton's deficient qualifications was Drewry's lack of

interest. The beginning of the Journalism 370 course was mentioned in his 1940

report to the university president. This yearly wrap up of the School of Journalism's

accomplishments and notable events written by Drewry did not mention

photojournalism education at UGA again for 20 years. And even then, in 1960, it was

only in the context of expanded physical darkroom space also used by the television

sequence.[597] While student demand for photojournalism may have been high,

---

596 *Ibid.*: 207.

597 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1959–60, 1960, folder Annual Reports-School of Journalism 1940-1955, box 1, The Henry W. Grady School of Journalism Annual Reports (05-054), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

Drewry's interests lay elsewhere. In allowing the class at all, he seems to have bowed

to students' pressure rather than having seen it as important himself.

> Another phase of journalism which is increasingly attracting student interest is that of news photography. To meet a demand for instruction in this field, the School of Journalism and the physics department this past spring offered jointly a course in news photography for the first time.[598]

This reluctance and indifference on Drewry's part to photojournalism

education can be partially explained by his strong belief in liberal arts journalism

education. In describing Grady's method for educating young journalists to visiting

members of the working press, the technical aspects of journalism — which would

include the highly technical news photography — were explicitly downplayed.

> The curriculum leading to a Bachelor of Arts in Journalism degree is not narrowly vocational or technical, but is designed to combine the essential elements of a liberal education and of professional training, both of which are useful and desirable in journalistic work.[599]

Cross-listing Journalism 370 let Drewry continue to claim that vocational

work was not part of the Grady School. The technical parts of the class were

outsourced to the physics department.

---

598 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1939–40, 1940, folder Annual Reports-School of Journalism 1940-1955, box 1, The Henry W. Grady School of Journalism Annual Reports (05-054), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 6.

599 Georgia Press Institute Twelfth Annual Program, 1939, folder College of Journalism- Press Institute 1929-1965, box 1, series 2, The Grady College of Journalism Estrays (UGA 85-036), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

Curricular Stagnation

In the days following the Pearl Harbor bombing on December 7, 1941, Drewry wrote to the university president to "enumerate the possible contributions of the School of Journalism to defense education."[600] In addition to proposing including FBI investigative methods in reporting courses and expanding public relations courses to include creating and analyzing propaganda, he pointed to Journalism 370, which could "be adapted, modified, or expanded" to meet wartime needs.[601] He was not specific about what that would look like in practice. His offer was not acted upon. The setup of cross-listing the news photography course remained the same for just over 10 years. In the 1951-52 school year, the course was split into two independent classes.

The technical aspects of photography, without any reference to journalism, remained in Physics 376. This was a basic photography class alone. It provided an elementary approach to the factors involved in the choice of a camera, the exposure and development of the film, the production of contact prints, the enlargement of prints, and color photography.[602] Physics 376 was still cross-listed as Journalism 376, so it was open to journalism students, but a journalism professor was no longer involved and journalism topics were no longer covered. The technical and vocational

---

600 John E. Drewry to Harmon W. Caldwell, 1941, folder Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, box 5, The Jonathan Clark Rogers Papers (UGA 97-099), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

601 *Ibid.*

602 *General Catalog (1951–1952)* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1951): 346.

aspects of photographic creation had been completely removed from the School of Journalism.

The editorial work in photography was moved into a new class, Journalism 377, which dealt with "selection of photographs for publication, including editing, scaling to size, the engraving process, and caption writing."[603] In their junior year, students in the news-editorial sequence had the option, but not requirement, to take Journalism 377. And even though the basic class was offered, it was not a prerequisite for Journalism 377. A student could enter 377 with no photographic technical knowledge, learn the editor-level decision-making and practices of news photography, and graduate without knowing how to make a picture.

This was the way news photography education would remain at Grady until Drewry retired. The only change was in name, evolving from New Photography to Journalistic Photography to Pictorial Journalism and finally to Photojournalism.

The Grady School of Journalism was among the first 35 schools and departments of journalism to receive ACEJ accreditation in 1948 and was accredited for the second time in 1957. But by the third go around in 1962, the accreditors began to have serious reservations. In a confidential report to the university president, the accrediting body expressed concern over the way the school and curriculum operated. They raised a red flag that nearly 40 percent of a graduating student's credits were in journalism. The ACEJ standard was 25 percent. The accreditors also noted the lack of faculty involvement in decision-making about curriculum or day-to-day operations and the "unduly slow … promotion policies." Referring to Drewry, the report

---

603 *Ibid.*

observed that running a successful journalism school "requires the leadership and mature judgment of more than one full professor."[604] On a somewhat positive note, the report gave photography instruction a "B," defined as "median high." Despite the accreditors' reservations, Grady was reaccredited. But the changes recommended in 1962 would not be implemented until after July 1, 1969, the day Drewry retired following 43 years at the helm of the Grady School of Journalism. Through the 1950s and 1960s, photojournalism courses were part of this increasingly dysfunctional curriculum and school. A lack of development in photojournalism education at Grady is not surprising considering the larger context of happenings at the school.

It was not until 1971, amid sweeping changes at Grady, that technical training in a basic photography class was brought into the School of Journalism and made a prerequisite for the higher-level photojournalism course.[605] The previous academic year, 1969-70, Grady was accredited for a fourth time, the school moved into a new building, a general overhaul in curriculum took place, and shared governance between the dean and the faculty was established. Perhaps most importantly, all of this happened in Dr. Warren K. Agee's first year as the new dean.[606]

Agee, in his first annual report as dean, maintained a positive tone. Reading between the lines, he paints a picture of a mismanaged and dysfunctional journalism

---

604 Journalism Accreditation Report, University of Georgia, Nov 19, 1962, 1962, folder School of Journalism, box 34, Frederick C. Davison Papers (UGA 97-101), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.: 3.

605 *General Catalog (1971–1973)* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1971).

606 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1969–70, 1970, folder Annual Reports-School of Journalism 1940-1955, box 1, The Henry W. Grady School of Journalism Annual Reports (05-054), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

program under Drewry's reign.[607] The faculty was not self-governing. There were no

assistant or associate deans to assist in the running of the school despite a faculty

of 37 and almost 1,000 students. The curriculum was bloated and outdated.[608]

Drewry had a hard time letting go of the reins. In the days following his

retirement he offered "to make a contribution, in any suitable and proper way, to the

future success of the School of Journalism."[609] Agee minced no words in his

response. Drewry was out, his educational ideas and ideals were outdated, and the

only way Grady could mend and move forward was if Drewry's overbearance

was lifted.

> I am sure that you concur in my belief that, in view of the dominant
> position which you have assumed in the school's affairs, it would not be
> fair to the members of the faculty to ask you to participate in the
> determination of policies and procedures; I am confident that some of
> them would feel intimidated, or somewhat reluctant to express their views,
> under such a circumstance. Further, whether for good or bad, the future
> course of the school's educational and service programs must be carefully
> rethought against the stringent demands of the 1970's.[610]

As a consolation prize, or at least something to keep Drewry busy, Agee asked

that the former dean spend his time cataloging and writing editorial introductions to

the vast catalog of Peabody Awards entries that had accumulated over the previous 30

---

607 *Ibid.*

608 Journalism Accreditation Report, University of Georgia, March 26, 1970, 1970, folder School of
    Journalism, box 34, Frederick C. Davison Papers (UGA 97-101), Hargrett Rare Book &
    Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

609 Warren K. Agee to Dean Emeritus John E. Drewry, July 29, 1969, 1969, folder Drewry
    Materials 1965-1969, box 4, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry
    Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia
    Libraries, Athens, Ga.

610 *Ibid.*

years. Drewry politely declined, but he did acknowledge Agee's main point about the need for some distance between Drewry and the faculty. Drewry wrote: "You may be sure that I understand fully the implications of the second paragraph of your letter and do not intend to be presumptuous in any way."[611]

John Drewry's career at the Grady School of Journalism ended on a low note. But his leadership is remembered for more than the last chapter. Even today he is a larger-than-life figure. During my time at the UGA archives I struck up a conversation with a fellow researcher. He turned out to be the current dean of Grady and was working on a history of the school with an emphasis on Drewry. The mythological nature of Drewry's memory is testament to his longevity and influence on journalism education, at UGA and in the nation as a whole. He is an almost perfect example of old institutionalism's theoretical postulate, which holds that organizational change is driven internally by powerful individuals. When control is consolidated centrally, the sway of certain people is amplified. Looking within such an organization alone, in this case the Grady School of Journalism, it does appear that the change agent is an individual person. However, if the camera both zooms in on the individual and pulls back to look at his outside influences, it becomes apparent that the environment still plays a large role in shaping the organization.

It was Drewry's personal environment that ended up shaping journalism education at Grady. Drewry's decision-making at Grady was shaped by his early

---

611 Dean Emeritus John E. Drewry to Dean Warren K. Agee, July 31, 1969, 1969, folder Drewry Materials 1965-1969, box 4, series 1: Drewry Correspondence 1920-1983, The John E. Drewry Papers (UGA 04-026), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

embrace of the curriculum comprised of 75% liberal arts and 25% journalism, his involvement in the development of accredited journalism education, his committee leadership roles in nationwide journalism education associations, and his use of journalism education patterns taken from other journalism programs. The correlations between curricular decisions and Drewry's personal environment were close. It is a reasonable conclusion that the isomorphic forces and quest for legitimacy which Lammers and Garcia pointed out can be expressed through individual actors if those actors control the organization. In this case, the individual was Drewry, and he not only led Grady, but controlled it. Isomorphism and legitimacy pushed him to shape Grady into an early leader in journalism and photojournalism education. However, later, another force, that of institutional momentum, took over and further changes were retarded.

University of Maryland

After a decades-long hiatus after the offering a few journalism courses between 1919 and 1924, journalism education returned to the University of Maryland, College Park, in 1948 with the founding of the Department of Journalism and Public Relations (DJPR). Originally housed in the College of Arts and Sciences, in 1950 the DJPR moved to Business and Public Administration. The public relations aspect was removed in 1966. The department was reorganized in 1972 to form the College of Journalism within the division of Arts and Humanities. When the division was abolished in 1986, the college retained its name. In 2001, it was named after a

benefactor and Washington, D.C., publisher, becoming the Philip Merrill College of Journalism.[612]

From the department's inception, photojournalism education was an integral part of the new department. From opening its doors in 1948 to the first time the DJPR was accredited by ACEJ in 1962, photojournalism education went through three phases at the DJPR. It was envisioned as one of five tracks when the department was first proposed, but this did not survive the approval process. Nevertheless, photojournalism had an important place in the first curriculum. But this was only on paper, because the facilities and equipment needed to teach photojournalism took five years to materialize. So, in the first of the three phases there was no photojournalism at the DJPR despite a desire by students, teachers, and administrators.

The second phase, from 1952 through 1957, saw an overcorrection for the years of no photo classes. Once darkrooms were built and equipped and cameras purchased, the department gave three photojournalism classes, two of which were required for graduation. This relative abundance lasted for three years until the department head and the faculty realized this was a far-from-normal setup for accredited journalism programs. And with the goal of being accredited by ACEJ, the curriculum was reined in. In the third phase, from 1958 to 1962, photojournalism education was reduced to match the accepted pattern of the time.

Journalism education at Maryland can trace its roots to well before 1948. In 1919, a department of journalism was created within the School of Liberal Arts.

---

612 Maryland State Archives, "University of Maryland, College Park: Origin & Functions." *Maryland Manual On-Line: A Guide to Maryland Government* (2010): accessed March 31, 2011, http://www.msa.md.gov/msa/mdmanual/25univ/umcp/html/umcpf.html#journalism.

That year the course catalog declares that journalism education at the Maryland

State College:

> not only gives the student an excellent knowledge of English and subjects coincident with general education, but provides courses wherein direct application of such knowledge is shown in actual publication of the modern newspaper. Besides taking up in a general way practically all phases of newspaper work, some courses in the curriculum are designed to give the student a knowledge of the specific conditions that apply to the development of trade journals, periodicals, magazines, and the weekly country paper.[613]

This era saw the opening of journalism schools at universities around the

country. Maryland was not unique in this respect. The chief of the Division of

Publications was appointed as professor of journalism, and a rich curriculum covered

the sophomore through senior years. The classes were hands-on, designed to teach

the practice of journalism. There was one class in journalism history, but no law or

ethics courses. A variety of general education and liberal arts courses were

required.[614] The course catalog for 1919, and again in 1920, promised:

> A newspaper plant is to be installed at the College in the summer of 1920, and students will get actual experience in almost every phase of newspaper creation and production. Conditions in the modern newspaper plant are to be duplicated in every detail possible.[615]

But this promise would not come to fruition. The vocational nature of the

journalism classes made it a target as the Maryland State College was reorganized

into the University of Maryland. The regents and University President Albert F.

---

613 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1919–1920*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 170.

614 *Ibid.*: 171.

615 *Ibid.*: 173.

Woods pushed hard to make the new university more scholarly and less vocational. The Department of Journalism only lasted for a single academic year before it was absorbed into the Department of English Language, Literature, and Journalism.[616] While the journalism department was gone, the major remained, but only for two more years, the time to work already-declared majors through the system.[617] Once the major was gone, the once-extensive curriculum was compressed to just three one-credit classes, English 122, 123, and 124.[618] These, too, were quickly canceled. By 1925, just six years after journalism was first offered, there were no journalism classes at Maryland.[619]

The first attempt at journalism at Maryland was a microcosm of the struggle for legitimization that journalism education faced nationwide early in its history. Unlike other journalism programs, Maryland State College's Department of Journalism was not able to weather its critics. Perhaps given more than one year, the department could have adopted the same strategies that made journalism education viable elsewhere, namely adding journalism history, ethics, and law classes and embedding itself within liberal arts-based curriculum. Even without photojournalism in the curriculum, journalism at Maryland faced criticism as overly vocational. This

---

616 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1921–1922*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 83.

617 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1920-1921*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 124.

618 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1921–1922*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 95.

619 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1925–1926*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

is representative of the challenges confronting the wider field of journalism education through the middle to late 1930s. Other journalism programs around the country had to fend off similar criticism and were therefore at first reluctant to add photography because of its non-scholarly nature.

A smattering of journalism courses returned to the English department in 1941, with six credits of "Introduction to Journalism" and four of "Graphic Design."[620] While still in the catalog, journalism classes were not actually held until two years following World War II.[621] Presumably this hiatus was due to a wartime lack of students, lack of instructors, or both.

The first professor of journalism and chair of the short-lived 1919-20 department was Harry Clifton Byrd, who also was a professor of physical education. The demise of the department of journalism did not interrupt his career. In fact, he was promoted. The following year he was made assistant to the president (what might be termed provost today) and director of athletics. This put him second in command on the governing university council.[622] Whether Byrd's promotion was the cause of closure of the journalism department, a conciliatory gesture, simple opportunism, or something else, he remained an advocate for journalism education later in his career. In 1935, he became president of the University of Maryland, a post he held for 20

---

620 *Ibid.*

621 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1942–1943*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.; *University of Maryland Catalogue, 1947–1948*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

622 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1920-1921*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 6.

years. In that time, he oversaw the re-establishment of the department of journalism in 1948. It is certainly possible that his time teaching journalism, and perhaps more importantly the experience of shuttering the original department, played a role in Byrd's decision-making. It must have been with a certain sense of satisfaction that it was under his tenure as president that journalism resurrected. Byrd's legacy at the University of Maryland is complicated and far from spotless. His promoters remember him as the modernizer of the university and campus. His detractors point to his "active resistance to efforts at integration and his advocacy for continued segregation."[623]

Notwithstanding its fits and starts over the previous three decades, journalism education began in earnest in the fall of 1947. Dr. Jack Yeaman Bryan was hired on a one-year contract to teach a four-class "focus" in journalism within the English department.[624] Within a few months, Bryan was pushing for a separate department of journalism. He was successful in this endeavor before the start of the next academic year. But despite this quick victory, he left the university in the middle of a semester after just a year and a half on the job. While it would be other department chairs who carried the Department of Journalism and Public Relations forward, it was Bryan who was responsible for articulating its initial shape and mission. As Bryan

---

623 "President Harry Clifton 'Curley' Byrd: Biographical Notes." Office of the President (University of Maryland, December 4, 2015). president.umd.edu/sites/president.umd.edu/files/documents/president-byrd-biographical-notes.pdf

624 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1948–1949*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md. This was Bryan's second time working at Maryland. He had spent six years in the English Department before World War II.

formulated first a journalism major within the English department and then a separate

department, he and others involved in the project actively sought models in other

schools of journalism.

Jack Bryan had been a member of the English department for six years before

World War II, but he left to work in various war-related press and publication roles.[625]

When he returned to the University of Maryland, he served on the Publications

Board. Other members were: Professor James H. Reid, chairman and professor of

business administration; Adele H. Stamp, Dean of Women; and William Hottel, the

student publication advisor.[626]

Journalism was not welcomed by Bryan's English department colleagues, and

he found the deliberative pace of academic decision-making frustrating. In

December 1947, after just a few months on the job, he sent a letter proposing a

separate journalism department to President Byrd.

> My own feeling is that a full four-year curriculum providing a major is
> indispensable. … I do not believe I could, without it, perform the
> functions for which I was hired. I would consider it the entirest [*sic*] of
> follies to remain at Maryland another year unequipped to reach the more
> advanced students as a teacher rather than as a censor.[627]

---

625 University of Maryland College Park, *Maryland: The Alumni Publication of the University of Maryland* (College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1948).

626 Byrd to Bryan, Reorganization for the Board and Its Activities, 1947, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

627 Bryan to Pyle, on Being Hired Last Summer, I Was Given to Understand by Dr Byrd That the Student Publications Were Badly Out of Hand, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

Byrd had sent the proposal for input and review to his deans, but when Bryan had not

heard back after three months, he sent an ultimatum. He demanded a department be

set up by the following fall (six months away), that he be put on a three-year contract

at $5,000 a year, and that he be given discretion in selecting staff. [628] If these items

were not done, Bryan indicated that he would not return in the fall.

Byrd's response is lost to history. He invited Bryan to a face-to-face meeting,

and notes do not exist. But a department was formed, Bryan ended up settling on a

lower salary, and responsibility for staffing was ambiguous. These last two items are

what eventually drove Bryan from the university.[629]

In an August 1, 1948, letter to Byrd containing his final case for a department

of journalism, Bryan added two additional statements asking for resolution of other

pressing issues. In the first, he again asked for Byrd to reconsider his offer of $4,800

and grant a salary of $5,500 for the coming year to cover his higher-than-expected

living expenses. The second attachment addressed an issue that had been simmering

under the surface since Bryan had rejoined the Maryland faculty. William Hottel was

"advisor to student publications," while part of Bryan's duties was to "oversee

student publications." Neither man was willing to serve under the other, and both

claimed to be responsible only to the university president. While the men maintained

a cordial relationship, behind the scenes each was trying to undermine the other.

629 Byrd to JY Bryan: Resignation of Jack Yeaman Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

Their disagreement came to a head at an open meeting of the Publications Board in early summer 1948. In front of the board and an audience of students, Hottel denounced Bryan and vowed never to work for Bryan. Bryan said nothing, but instead wrote to President Byrd that Hottel "is a useful man within certain limits. … [His] chief fault is that in meetings an impulsive streak makes him quite apt to forget long range considerations." In this letter, Bryan again threatened to leave the university if he did not get his way. He insisted that Byrd "clarify the matter in some way so that it is beyond any cavil or future misapprehension," or Bryan "would object strenuously to a situation in which faculty advising to the publications is treated as something apart from supervision over them."[630]

These issues were not resolved to Bryan's satisfaction. On December 6, 1948 — a year and a day since he first laid out a vision for a journalism major — he submitted a letter of resignation, effective February 1, 1949. Citing primarily a low salary and a lack of permanence, Bryan made it clear his "resignation should not be considered in any sense a criticism of you or of Maryland."[631]

Bryan left the University of Maryland in February 1949. He took a position with the U.S. Department of State as the head cultural officer of the United States Information Service and was posted to the Philippines.[632]

---

630 Bryan to Byrd, Your Request for a Thorough Statement of the Case for a Department of Journalism, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 8.

631 Letter of Resignation, J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

632 University of Maryland College Park, *Terrapin, 1949* (College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1949).

Bryan had presented his rationale for journalism education at the University of Maryland in at least two formal letters to the university president and several presentations to various committees. The first letter was written shortly after he was hired in December 1947. In this letter, he made the case for a major in journalism within the English department. The major was approved six months later in June 1948. Shortly thereafter, in a report dated August 1, 1948, he extended his original argument. He called for journalism education to be removed completely from the English department and for a new journalism department to be created. This, too, was successful. In presenting his case for the journalism major and the journalism department, Bryan employed a string of arguments. They show isomorphic pressure in action as he sought to craft a curriculum acceptable to many audiences. His arguments reveal the current state of photojournalism's professionalization process. In the same arguments, presented below, the tension between journalism and traditional academic subjects was clear.

He reasoned that a separate department of journalism could lift the visibility of the university in the eyes of the press and nearby government agencies. The incongruity of having professional journalism within academic English was part of the justification. A separate major and department could attract students to the university. And, somewhat cynically, Bryan argued that having journalism education could keep student publications in line without the need for censorship.[633]

---

633 The Case for a Department of Journalism, By J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 1.

Bryan argued that a major and a department of journalism would help the university in two ways. The first was to raise the profile of the university, thereby attracting better students and the attention of important members of the media. The second benefit was to provide a stabilizing force for the student publications. Rather than using outright censorship, the administration could rely on journalism education to reign in unruly student journalists. "Journalism is taught in the biggest and best high schools in Maryland," Bryan wrote, "but graduates of these institutions have nowhere in-state to continue their education, so they are lost to other areas of the country."[634]

Bryan lamented this loss because it left only the chaff behind. As proof, he pointed to the low quality of student publications in terms of writing, photography, and editing. Not to belittle all students, he noted the few strong student journalists had little guidance, became overworked, and quickly burned out.[635]

A department of journalism could create important ties between the university and the media industry, and "producing a personal interest in the University among people who directly influence public opinion is easier through a Department of Journalism."[636] This could happen through important journalists being invited to

---

634 *Ibid.*: 2.

635 Bryan to Byrd, Outlining Plans Which Would be Executed if a Department of Journalism is Established, 1947, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

636 The Case for a Department of Journalism, By J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 2.

speak on campus, through graduates entering the workforce, and through word

of mouth.

Acknowledging the perennial tension between university administrations and

student publications, Bryan held out a journalism department and major as a

stabilizing force through educational indoctrination. "Student publications are very

much easier to keep in hand," he observed, "if they are operated in conjunction with a

strong program in journalism. … [Student publications] can be guided with much less

obvious effort and difficulty through a Department of Journalism than through out-

and-out direction."[637]

By teaching student journalists how professional journalists operate, Bryan

believed they would act with more reserve on the student publications. In his letter of

resignation, Bryan states this case succinctly:

> Journalism, I feel, has made a sound beginning. Though the program is
> small, it has respect among the students and has helped the publications
> notably without cramming its help down their throats. It has turned
> supervision into a vehicle of stimulation instead of suppression.[638]

Bryan's case for extracting journalism from English was the clash of cultures

that comes from mixing academic scholarship with professional training, an age-old

issue in journalism education.

> We have discovered, meanwhile, a fundamental difference in points of
> view. The English Department is opposed in principle to laboratory credit

---

637 *Ibid.*

638 Letter of Resignation, J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8
addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records,
Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

for work on the publications; for us, our entire hope of fulfilling Dr. Byrd's request hinges upon it.[639]

The English Department, according to Bryan, should not house journalism because the goals of each were too different. He pointedly stated, "The universal experience at other schools is that journalism can never gain respect so long as it is a step-child of the English Department."[640] The mismatch of journalism being placed in English was not a unique situation to Maryland.[641] English was a single liberal arts subject, while "students of journalism ought to be free to develop any of several possible interests."[642] Further, the very narrow subjects — like news photography — needed for journalism training "cannot logically be given in the English Department as credit for a major in English."[643]

The deans of the various colleges, having read and heard Bryan's recommendations, agreed that journalism's future home should not be English.[644]

---

639   Bryan to Pyle, on Being Hired Last Summer, I Was Given to Understand by Dr Byrd That the Student Publications Were Badly Out of Hand, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

640   The Case for a Department of Journalism, By J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 1.

641   *Ibid.*

642   Bryan to Byrd, Outlining Plans Which Would be Executed if a Department of Journalism is Established, 1947, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

643   *Ibid.*

644   The Case for a Department of Journalism, By J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President

They recommended to President Byrd that journalism be broken off into a separate

department within Arts and Sciences.[645]

Bryan did not ignore the potential benefit of a major and department of

journalism to students, but neither did he make it his primary argument. He cited

anecdotal evidence of high schoolers clamoring for a journalism major. He argued

that a shared professional identity between hiring editors and job applicants would be

beneficial to both parties. By this time, an increasing number of editors were college

graduates, and they, contended Bryan, wanted to hire reporters with the same

background. He argued that "a student who is only in a position to say that he

majored in English has very little to work with in getting a job as anything but

a teacher."[646]

Lastly, he played on institutional pride, pointing to universities that Maryland

considered peers, or rivals, and their journalism programs. He took special note of the

University of West Virginia's attraction to talented Maryland high school students.

And while they did not yet have journalism programs, he pointed to George

Washington University and American University as potential rivals. Whichever could

(94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 1.

645 Cotterman to Bryan, New Courses Approved, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

646 The Case for a Department of Journalism, By J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 2.

get a program in place first would dominate the Washington, D.C., journalism education market.

It was not only Bryan who was lobbying the university president for more journalism education. The presiding officer of the Del-Mar-Va (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia) Press Association petitioned him as well.[647] Ralph Grapperhaus offered his member newspapers as internship providers for journalism students. This was self-serving. A journalism department, wrote Grapperhaus, "would also serve the newspapers and a means of experienced workers reservoir, and would provide placements for the graduates."[648] Grapperhaus used the example of the Ohio Weekly Newspaper Association working with Ohio journalism schools as a positive example.

Bryan began reaching out to other established journalism schools to see how they operated and were organized. Sensing that Bryan was trying to create a clone of the bigger and established journalism programs in the country, Wilbur Lang Schramm — the founder of the Iowa Writers Workshop and director of the University of Iowa's School of Journalism from 1943 to 1955 — sent him some frank advice: "You will have a long road to go if you merely follow the path of the big existing schools. Why don't you cut a new track?"[649]

---

647 Grapperhaus to Byrd, I Understand That the University of Maryland is Considering a School of Journalism, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

648 *Ibid.*

649 Schramm to Bryan, I Wish I Could be More Helpful, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

Bryan highlighted Schramm's next comment and forwarded it on to Byrd, to show that Bryan's idea of a journalism department was not without merit. There also was the implication in the text that if Maryland did not do it, a competing university would.[650] Noting that government agencies in nearby Washington, D.C., were in constant need of such graduates, he pointed to Schramm's observation that no other regional school was using "… Washington as the basis of journalism training." Doing so, Shramm had written, would:

> draw on a great many practical newsmen in Washington … it would prepare men in a way they are now nowhere being prepared for government information service, for correspondence jobs, for foreign news service, and for writing about and understanding the major problems of today.[651]

Byrd, not yet convinced, fired back with a forward of his own, a clipping from page A1 of the *Wall Street Journal* printed on May 3, 1948. The article gave an outlook on the job prospects and earning potential of new college graduates. The implication of the forwarded article seemed to be asking, "is a new journalism department really a good idea for graduates?" In the article, among other tidbits, such as veterans being preferred over nonveterans, was an indication that there was a glut of journalism majors hitting the market and graduates were having a hard time finding positions:

---

650 Bryan to Byrd, Your Note Containing a Quotation from the Wall Street Journal, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

651 Schramm to Bryan, I Wish I Could be More Helpful, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

If you hold a B.A. degree (bachelor of arts) you'll be able to get a job, but you may have to scratch a little harder than last year to get it. This will be especially true in the journalism, advertising and radio professions.

Dr. D. G. Edgar, placement director for the College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio State University, says there are 61 journalism students to fill 11 job openings, and 28 radio students — announcing, management, writing — for five jobs. Some sciences seem in surplus too. There are 28 graduate biological scientists for 12 job openings.[652]

Bryan's response was the oft-used argument justifying the value of journalism higher education, which could be paraphrased as "journalism is the new English major." The rationale was journalism education, like a major English once had, provided a broad grounding that prepared graduates for wide-ranging work. Journalism was the quintessential liberal arts degree combined with strong writing skills. In Bryan's words:

we are not solely, or even primarily, training people to be newspaper reporters. We are trying to turn out educated men and women who can convey information lucidly through the written word. Their training should have value to any firm, organization, civic group, or publication — all of which need people who know how to write in a way that will make sense to a lot of people.[653]

Bryan made this case for a curriculum leading to a journalism major before the Administrative Board on June 2. Two weeks later, Bryan was notified that the journalism curriculum had been approved and three new classes (Journalism 174, 175, and 176) were added to the schedule.[654] Bryan wrote of the new program, "It

---

652 "College Grad Crop." *Wall Street Journal*, May 3, 1948.

653 Bryan to Byrd, Your Note Containing a Quotation from the Wall Street Journal, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

654 Byrd to Bryan, If You Could Attend the Meeting of the Administrative Board, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the

represents a type of program which certainly receives hearty respect from the major schools of journalism throughout the U.S., judging by the reaction of several of them in advance discussion about what we propose."[655]

All the pieces were in order, but University President Byrd was still not convinced a separate department of journalism was the right decision. Byrd tossed around the idea of a unified school of communications, bringing together English, journalism, and speech. He took this idea from a new organizational structure at the University of Illinois. But facing staunch resistance from members of each of the three areas, this plan was not taken up. So shortly before the start of the 1948 school year, Byrd asked Bryan for a final pitch for a separate journalism department.[656]

Bryan responded with a detailed report that included the following: "(1) the considerations favoring establishment of a new department, (2) some comparison with other schools on the question of size, (3) what we hope to accomplish, and (4) the probable cost."[657] In order to compare a future University of Maryland journalism

President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

Cotterman to Bryan, New Courses Approved, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

655 Bryan to Byrd, Your Request for a Thorough Statement of the Case for a Department of Journalism, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 3.

656 *Ibid.*

657 The Case for a Department of Journalism, By J Y Bryan, 1948, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.: 1.

department with those of nearby universities, Bryan researched journalism offerings

at American University, George Washington, Temple University, and the University

of West Virginia. In all cases, but to varying degrees, he found that, while they

technically had journalism departments, these existed in name only. All but West

Virginia were understaffed, having one faculty member or two part-time teachers at

best. Bryan's proposal for two full-time faculty and a lab assistant "is not at all out of

line" with other universities' journalism organizational structures, he argued. He also

pointed inward, to Maryland's English department, which, according to Bryan, had

only two full-timers and one part-timer in 1920. Other once-small departments that

flourished when given a chance at Maryland were, according to Bryan, speech,

psychology, foreign languages, and chemistry.[658]

> We must make a beginning somewhere. Now that we have an approved
> curriculum leading to a degree; now that the English Department, the
> deans of the various colleges, and the students affected are strongly urging
> the establishment of a department, we have surely reached the proper time
> to get it done.[659]

On the question of a budget for a new journalism department, Bryan pointed out the

cost would be the same, whether the choice was to have a separate department or

continuing under English.

In its first year as a department, 1948, the environmental factors that allowed

and promoted institutional isomorphism were present at the Department of

Journalism and Public Relations at the University of Maryland. Specifically, these

factors promoted the memetic variety of institutional isomorphism — risk,

---

658 *Ibid.*: 3.

659 *Ibid.*: 4.

uncertainty, and doubt. In such circumstances organizations tend to copy one another. Opening a new department of any kind would be a risk on the part of a university. The field of journalism education did not yet fully understand itself as the struggle between the professionally oriented and the liberal arts oriented journalism programs was coming to a head now. Moves were just getting underway to define professional journalism education through the accreditation process. In short, what a department of journalism should look like was an uncertain proposition. Thus, the conditions were ripe for the forces of mimetic isomorphism to play a large role in shaping the new department. To mitigate some of the uncertainty, or at least to avoid appearing vastly different than its peers, many of the decisions made about the DJPR mirrored other journalism programs.

While he finally signed off on the new DJPR, Dr. Harry Byrd was keenly aware of the uncertainty surrounding his new journalism department and the field of journalism education in general. Institutional isomorphism theorizes that times of uncertainty lead organizations to emulate other existing organizations. Byrd did just this as he looked to other established universities for models to emulate and increase the chance of success for the DJPR.

One example came in the months before the opening of the DJPR in the fall semester of 1948. Byrd began a correspondence with Professor Willis C. Tucker at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. Tucker was the head of UT's Department of Journalism, which had opened just two years earlier.[660] Tucker opened the

---

660 Lesly Brock Landrum, "Loss of Current, Former Faculty Saddens UT Community, Willis C Tucker," *The Volunteer Yearbook* 1052002): 107.

correspondence with a warning, "[having] just passed the first hurdle, I can testify to the hard work and lively problems involved in establishing a new department." Speaking of journalism education in general, Tucker believed it to be a more difficult subject to teach and a more complex department to run than others. He advised Byrd to prepare himself and the department, but that the hard work was worth the effort.[661] Enclosed with the letter was a clipping from *The Tennessee Press* detailing the new department. Byrd immediately dashed off a response requesting additional copies so he could "send it over to the Head of our department in that field."[662] By this action, Byrd was consciously or unconsciously telling his subordinate, Bryan, to look to UT for ideas on setting up Maryland's new department.

Such evidence, when combined with facts on the structure of the DJPR, suggests memetic isomorphism did take place. Maryland's journalism program ended up looking very similar in form and function to Tennessee's. Just a few years after it began, in the spring of 1951, the DJPR was moved to the College of Business and Public Administration. The University of Tennessee placed its journalism program in their College of Business Administration. This was mentioned in the Tucker-Byrd correspondence. Both sought a mix of professors with teaching and newspaper experience. Both departments sprang into being in less than a year. In early June of 1946 the Tennessee Press Association passed a resolution requesting UT to

---

661 Byrd Correspondence on the Founding of the DJPR, 1947, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

662 *Ibid.*

"expand its offerings in the field of journalism to enable youth of the state to specialize in this profession" and also "to undertake research projects and special short courses and other educational programs for the newspaper profession of the state."[663] By the fall of 1946, the department was established.[664] Tennessee, like Maryland, took its model from other established schools.[665] Most telling, perhaps, is simply the shape of the first curriculum that Maryland put forth. It was like a curriculum promoted in scholarly and trade publications — such as *Journalism Quarterly* and *Editor and Publisher* — and at other established journalism programs.[666]

Photojournalism education was large in the minds of administrators, professors, and students of the DJPR in its nascent years. However, photography largely remained only a wish for these years and grand photographic plans did not come to fruition. Not only did photojournalism not live up to initial expectations, but the department got off to a rocky start. By its fourth year, the department had 39 graduates and 278 currently enrolled students. The department head put together "A Preliminary Report on the Department of Journalism and Public Relations." He spoke plainly:

> None of these 278 students is receiving adequate or satisfactory
> preparation here for taking a beginning professional job upon graduation.

---

663 "Tennessee Journalism Program Moves Ahead at Rapid Rate," *The Tennessee Press* no. 10 (1948): 4–5.

664 *Ibid.*

665 *Ibid.*

666 Ray F. Morgan, "Teaching Pictorial Journalism for the Advertising Field," *Journalism Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1949): 64–67; Pouncey, "Basic Photo-Journalism Policy Agreement Needed"; Bush, "Needed: A New Look in Photojournalism Courses."

> The department is inadequate in all significant categories: budget, facilities, students, curriculum, faculty, press relations, employers' appraisal of graduates… They do not meet standards worthy of accreditation or of approval by publishers, in any respect.[667]

This assessment was backed up by the grade-point averages of recent graduates. Of the students graduating in June 1952, the highest GPA was a 2.8, while the majority were in the low 2s, and the lowest a 1.3. Running contrary to Crowell's assertion was the employment status of recent graduates. Graduates from the previous two years were working as reporters for the Associated Press, information officers for the Army, advertising salesmen for newspapers, and editors of small publications, and many were in the military. Of the 39 students graduated since 1949, all were listed as having jobs, most in a journalistic or public relations capacity.[668] Whether these jobs included photography is unspecified.

The department head had his eye set on accreditation. He was organizing the department with this goal in mind. He appealed to the administration for sequential annual budget increases of $10,000 until the budget "reaches the average in the accredited schools and departments of journalism in this country."[669] These additional funds would be put toward items needed for accreditation, such as books for a journalism library and an additional teacher to lower the student-teacher ratio. It would take another nine years. "The department has entered a period of rapid

---

667 A Preliminary Report on the Department of Journalism & Public Relations, University of Maryland, by Alfred A. Crowell, April 18, 1952, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 1.

668 *Ibid.*: 15-16.

669 *Ibid.*: 17.

growth," he wrote, "so as (1) to do a good job and (2) become accredited as quickly as possible."[670]

To this end, Crowell's list of priority action items for the department included a permanent building with space for a darkroom and a printing plant. As of 1952, there was no permanent journalism space, with the department fighting even to get into a leaky, postwar temporary building.[671] "Our people are scattered; their space is inadequate and undesirable," Crowell wrote.[672] As a new building was years away, he also proposed that a darkroom should be outfitted in the old gym building. This was completed over the summer of 1952.

Just three months after his scathing attack on the condition of his own department, his tone had softened. He had received many of the things he had requested in his preliminary report. Plans for a new building were sent to the administration, new temporary quarters were found until the building was to be finished (this would end up being four and a half years later), office staff and graduate assistants were added, and the budget slightly increased. Despite all these

---

670 Annual Report, Department of Journalism & Public Relations, June 1952, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

671 A Preliminary Report on the Department of Journalism & Public Relations, University of Maryland, by Alfred A. Crowell, April 18, 1952, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 17.

672 *Ibid.*: 25.

important steps, it was the installation of the press photography laboratories that headlined Crowell's 1952 annual report.[673]

Architects of Photojournalism at Maryland

After Bryan resigned in 1949, Alfred A. Crowell was brought in to be head of the department. He would lead the department for the next 16 years. Crowell's main industry experience was as a managing editor, first of *The Columbus Inquirer* in Georgia and later of the *Middletown Journal* in Ohio. He became a journalism professor at Kent State in 1944.[674] While at Kent State, he took on the responsibility of organizing and editing the circular of the annual Short Course in news photography from 1946 through 1949, when he moved to Maryland.[675] The leader of the new department had detailed, intimate, and up-to-date knowledge of developments in the field of photojournalism and the movement to professionalize it. Crowell saw every article, even every word, of the *Kent State Short Course Digest* between 1946 and 1949 because he edited the works. And it is quite likely that he kept up with the *Digest* while at Maryland.

Another important service provided by Crowell while at Kent State was setting up the American Association of Teachers of Journalism job exchange to match

---

673 Annual Report, Department of Journalism & Public Relations, June 1952, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

674 Alfred A. Crowell, ed. *News Photography Short Course Digest, 1947* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947): 6.

675 "New Books," *Popular Photography* 25, no. 5 (1949): 141.

open journalism teaching positions with qualified candidates.[676] He used this service himself to learn of the open position at Maryland. This exchange was needed in the postwar education boom, which created a lot of journalism teaching openings. Even qualified candidates were hard to find.

> Under the existing system, a teacher tries to find a new job by using every indirect means possible and never, because of protocol, makes an open announcement. At least, we could … print situations wanted and situations open in *Journalism Bulletin* or the *Journalism Quarterly*.[677]

His interest in journalism accrediting was not only local. He worked on the national stage as well. Even though his own program was not accredited, nor even close, Crowell served on the accrediting committee for the American Society of Journalism School Administrators in the early 1950s.[678] And from 1958 to 1963, he was the ASJSA representative to ACEJ. In 1961, while a member of ACEJ, he successfully shepherded the Maryland department through its first accreditation in the News-Editorial sequence and the Public Relations sequence.[679]

---

676 Journalism Bulletin, vol. 3, no. 1, October 1945, 1945, folder 3-5, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1912-1997, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records (U.S. Mss 154AF), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 2.

677 *Ibid.*

678 Annual Report, June 24, 1953, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

679 Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism, 1958, 1958, box 9, series Part 2 (MCHC83-014): Additions, 1946-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC83-014), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.; Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism, 1963, folder 15, box 2, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

Despite his close links to ACEJ accreditation, which had as its base liberal arts journalism education, Crowell had a more pragmatic view of journalism education. He accepted academic requirements imposed by the university and ACEJ, but he was most interested in preparing his graduates to do journalism. He saw liberal arts journalism education as a passing trend that would be tempered by the demands of employers for graduates who had practical journalism skills. He laid out this belief in a 1959 memo:

> A generation ago we were on a classics education kick. The idea was that everyone should have studies in Latin and Greek. Now we are on a liberal arts kick. The idea is that liberal arts will make a more rounded person. A five-year program in journalism is being recommended, since it is thought that any journalism we may teach be added to the regular four-year liberal arts program. There is just enough truth in all of these fads to make them reasonable to a certain number of people, but of course we all know that employers do not ask us when seeking graduates how much liberal arts our people have had. Instead they want to know can they write a story or shoot pictures. In other words we will have to take into consideration the fads and kicks that are surrounding us and we will have to come up with a program that meets the needs of everyone who is concerned.[680]

Crowell's practical-leaning stance on journalism education was not echoed by everyone in his department. Three years before Crowell articulated his utilitarian outlook, Robert G. Carey who was the faculty advisor to the student newspaper and an assistant professor of journalism, wrote an open letter to his colleagues expressing his strong belief in the value of liberal arts journalism education. He cited the jeopardy attached to being perceived as having a practice-oriented curriculum inside the university:

---

680 To J-PR Faculty from Head of Department, 1959, folder 1957-1964 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 3, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

None of us, I am quite certain, wishes to see this department placed in the "trade school" category. If we cannot offer the student more than just a "techniques" curriculum with primary emphasis on the "practical" application of editorial journalism, then we have no place within the University's academic framework....

The formal study of journalism — its history, inherent problems, strengths and weaknesses, and its proper function in a free society — belongs within the realm of the liberal arts.[681]

The preceding two quotes from Crowell and Carey bring the national debate on journalism education — discussed in Chapter IV — down to the level of individual departments. It must be remembered that manifestos by well-known educators or resolutions by associations have the power to influence but not to directly cause change. Broader ideologies cannot be implemented without local decision making. Crowell and Carey, and the rest of the department's faculty, had to decide where the department stood on the national debate between professional or liberal arts journalism education, which would in turn alter the trajectory of photojournalism education. The question was eventually decided by a faculty vote on the curriculum. Each voting member took the organizational environment visible to them into account and had to decide which path would garner the most legitimacy from the most powerful environmental player.

Another player in the early years of photojournalism education at the DJPR was Alfred "Al" Danegger. He was the official university photographer and part-time photojournalism instructor. He designed and set up the first darkrooms on campus. His methods for teaching photojournalism came from his experience as a combat

---

681 To Faculty, Dept of Journalism and Public Relations Subject: Random Observations Concerning the Present and Future Status of This Department in the Light of Prof Crowell's Letter to the Faculty of Nov 28, 1956 From Robert G. Carey, 1956, folder 1950-1956 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 2, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

cameraman in Europe and the Pacific during his war service. As the first and longest serving photography teacher, Danegger fixed the structure of photojournalism classes at Maryland that was followed for at least a decade. He also advocated for photojournalism education on a national stage. He was the leading voice for creating a student division in the National Press Photographers Association.[682]

His photography experience began at age 14 as a lab assistant for his high school science teacher's moonlighting business as a local photographer. It was not long before Danegger mastered the darkroom and took up shooting. He graduated from high school six months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and took one semester at the University of Maryland before enlisting. This was enough college to let him sit for the officer candidacy test, which he passed. He was eventually sent to the Wisconsin State Teachers College in Oshkosh for six months of math and engineering education. He was commissioned into the Combat Engineers, a position he had no experience in and no interest for. After a posting of several months in New Jersey, Danegger transferred to Louisiana. While on a weekend leave and exploring the state, he stumbled on a 300-man photography company of the Army Signal Corp, none of whom knew how to take photographs.[683] After acing all 16 skills tests — the only one of the 300 to do so — and after the higher ups learned of his photo experience, he was immediately transferred. Following a good deal of photography training, he and the best 30 men in the company eventually packed up the equipment

682 Annual Report, June 24, 1953, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

683 The company had been the Army's last carrier pigeon unit, but was reformed into a photographic company.

for the entire 300-man unit and shipped to England, leaving the other men behind. He

landed on the continent with six months remaining in the war and led a four-man

team in a Jeep, crisscrossing Europe. His unit was immediately sent to the Pacific

after VE day, but upon arrival they learned the war was over.[684] After the war, he

returned to Maryland to finish his degree, graduating in 1950.

At his graduation ceremony, he climbed to the top of Reckord Armory to

make a photo of the event. The university president called him down, asked what he

was doing, and hired him on the spot to manage the new University Photographic

Service.[685] Danegger was the official university photographer for decades to come.

On a part-time basis, he also taught basic photojournalism classes in the DJPR

for 27 years. His philosophy on photography education was simple: learn the method

once and do it the same every time. His assignments were primarily technical and

aimed at mastering the camera. Danegger set the pattern in his first few years

teaching J-181 that would be followed for at least a decade. Final exams from 1953

to 1963 show the main goals of the basic photography class were technical and skills-

based. There was little room for creative experimentation or critical thinking. The

aim was to familiarize students with the vocabulary of photography, to provide a

basic understanding of the film developing and printing process, to teach camera

optics and operations, and to memorize the math equations used to calculate

exposure. While students were required to shoot and develop several prints during the

---

684 Personal conversation with the author on February 6, 2012.

685 Personal conversation with the author on February 7, 2012.

semester, much of the semester's grade was based on written midterms and final

exams.[686] The memorization of the steps and formulas of photography took

precedence over making images. This could have been for practical reasons, as the

large quantity of technical information had to be mastered before competent

photographs could be made. In an introductory course, there simply was not enough

time to cover both. It was a matter of prioritization.

The DJPR was pressured from multiple sides to shape the curriculum in one

mold or another. Crowell's response was to attempt a curriculum that pleased

everyone: ACEJ accreditors, the College of Business and Public Administration (the

parent unit of the DJPR), Maryland publishers and editors, and the

students themselves.

> The fact that we are in a business college will have some unique bearing
> on our objectives, which may not meet with sympathy in some quarters.
> Still, I am told that Columbia and Medill both originated in colleges of
> commerce, and of course the N.Y.U journalism department is still in
> business. [Arts and science] colleges have not been in complete sympathy

---

686 Final Exam, Jan 21, 1954, folder Press Photography/ Photojournalism. JOUR 181. 1952-1961,
box 11, series 1.3, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections,
University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.; Final Exam J-181, 1953, folder Press
Photography/ Photojournalism. JOUR 181. 1952-1961, box 11, series 1.3, College of Journalism
records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries,
College Park, Md.; Final Exam 1, c. 1955, folder Press Photography/ Photojournalism.
JOUR 181. 1952-1961, box 11, series 1.3, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library,
Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.; Final Exam,
Spring 1960, J-181, 1960, folder Press Photography/ Photojournalism. JOUR 181. 1952-1961, box 11,
series 1.3, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections,
University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.; Final Exam Photography J-181, 1962, folder
Press Photography/ Photojournalism. JOUR 181. 1952-1961, box 11, series 1.3, College of
Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland
Libraries, College Park, Md.; J-181 Press Photography, Final Exam, W Noall, 1962, folder Press
Photography/ Photojournalism. JOUR 181. 1952-1961, box 11, series 1.3, College of Journalism
records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries,
College Park, Md.

with journalism objectives as we all know. Even that will have some bearing on the outcomes of journalism curriculum.[687]

The pressure coming from Maryland newspapers had to do with quantity of graduates turned out each year, rather than their quality. Elmer M. Jackson, Jr., the editor, general manager, and vice president of the *Annapolis Evening Capital,* also was the chairman of the journalism education committee of the Maryland-Delaware Press Association. He was a man of great clout in the local journalism market and used his position to influence journalism education at the University of Maryland. In a letter to the department chair, Jackson wrote:

> During the weekend [of the Maryland Press Association meeting] at least twenty people said they wished to concur in my remarks. All of them (20) feel that the Journalism Department at the University of Maryland is not turning out as many newspaper people as it should who are willing to work on newspapers in the State of Maryland.
> … we have a distinct feeling that the University is not at all interested in our efforts or in the fact that we need more journalism graduates… It really seems that the original mission of the Department has been forgotten.[688]

To the Maryland publishers, the purpose of the DJPR was to train future workers, nothing else. This criticism, however, speaks to the quality of the graduates who could take jobs where they wanted.

---

687 To J-PR Faculty from Head of Department, 1959, folder 1957-1964 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 3, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

688 Jackson to Crowell: University of Maryland is Not Turning Out as Many Newspaper People as it Should, 1962, folder BPA- Journalism & Public Adm. 1962, box 553, series 10 addendum: Wilson H. Elkins, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

News Photography at Maryland

From the very beginning, photojournalism education was conceptualized as an important part of the new journalism department's curriculum. An initial pitch in 1946 for a department to the university president, photojournalism was one of five equally weighted tracks. This was not the plan that was ultimately put into place, but it illustrates the value placed on photojournalism education by the department's founding father, Jack Bryan. The second department head had a background in photojournalism education and demonstrated his interest in bringing news photography classes to Maryland. The university president understood the value and importance of images and put money toward university photographic coverage.

All the stars were aligned, but it would take half a decade from when the DJPR opened its doors to when the first student had access to photojournalism education. In the end, logistics were the limiting factor. Regardless of the commitment to teaching photojournalism, if the darkroom space, the cameras, and a qualified instructor did not exist, the course could not run.

The DJPR rode the wave of post-World War II growth in higher education, but this growth left much in short supply. Space on campus was at a premium, budgets were tight, and teaching salaries were not competitive with other local and regional institutions, so attracting talent was difficult.

Once the challenges were solved, photojournalism classes were offered, starting in 1951. Maryland's enthusiasm for photojournalism education should not be overstated. A 1954 letter from the department head to his dean states, "we have considerable demand for the photography course but do not plan on ever offering a

major in this field."[689] Although important for students to achieve basic competency in photography, any steps beyond were not deemed worthwhile. The department head put a firm cap on just how far photography education could expand in his program.

Photography courses were cut back as the department prepared itself for ACEJ accreditation. As part of a larger curriculum overhaul, the department looked closely at the curricula of similar programs which had achieved accreditation. This was a conscious and purposeful move to model the DJPR more closely on already accredited programs. This was a clear case of isomorphic behavior as one organization, the DJPR, took cues from its institutional environment.

In the fall of 1947, before the idea of separating journalism from the English department was on the table, Bryan asked President Byrd for two photography classes. Bryan envisioned a year-long sequence, with students taking News Photography in the fall and Magazine Photography in the spring. Bryan hoped that a "top professional photographer" could be found to teach the classes for $500 per semester. He cited the low-quality photography currently appearing in student publications as the principal reason for the two courses. In the same memo to Byrd, Bryan also asks for a similar sum of money to start up a single advertising course. Perhaps illustrating the difference in demand, status, or industry salary, the photo teacher would only be paid half of the advertising teacher.[690] In a letter dated October 21, 1947, Bryan detailed his reasoning for the two photography classes:

---

689 New Curriculum, Letter to Dean Pyle, February 17, 1954, folder 1949-1970 Curriculum, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 1.

690 Bryan to Byrd, Plans for Increasing the Number of Courses Offered in Journalism, 1947, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the

Many of the university publications in addition to the student publications use photographic material. A study of them shows how much we could all profit by having a great many photos, taken under expert direction, to choose from.[691]

Byrd agreed to this plan and asked that a more formal budget and proposal be drawn up.[692] Despite the interest in news photography by the future journalism chair and the university president, students were not able to take photojournalism classes for several more years. They were eligible, if they so choose, to take an elective photography class in the Practical Arts department, but this was not photojournalism, and it is unknown how many students took this option.[693]

Even with leadership interest, there was no photojournalism education on Bryan's short watch, but his successor picked up the baton. Within a year of becoming chair, Crowell sought input from his faculty on the news photography offerings, or more accurately the lack of news photography offerings. He asked whether there were courses that could be dropped to "offer such essential courses as press photography. …"[694] His own suggestion was to drop Editorial Writing.

President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

691 Byrd to JY Bryan: Plans for Next Year's Courses in Journalism, 1947, folder Journalism Department 1947-1948, box 64, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

692 *Ibid.*

693 *Maryland State College Catalogue, 1949–1950*, University of Maryland Course Catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 424, 426.

694 Memo to Mr Kahla, Mr Wood, Mr Zagoria from Alfred Crowell, 1950, folder 1950-1956 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 2, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

There were no classes dropped to make room for photojournalism. Instead, the department waited until it had additional resources in the form of new budget lines totaling $8,500 for instructors and the physical darkroom space. While a darkroom was opened on campus in 1950 at a cost of $3,000, it was too small to accommodate the university-mandated minimum class size of five students. The primary intended use for the lab was for university publicity photos.[695] Before there was space to teach photojournalism, the university approved Journalism 181, Press Photography, and Journalism 184 Picture Editing in the 1951-52 school year.[696] These were curriculum placeholders until the logistics could be worked out.[697]

Crowell appealed directly to the university president for the $8,500 to be added to his budget so Press Photography could be more than just a theoretical offering. Crowell saw a need for his students to be prepared for a changing media landscape. He saw the environment shifting outside the department and was trying to respond. There was an ever-growing possibility that graduates would be expected to have photography skills at their jobs. In his budget request, his explanations for the class and the large expense illustrated how important he believed photo education

---

695 A Preliminary Report on the Department of Journalism & Public Relations, University of Maryland, by Alfred A. Crowell, Apr 18, 1952, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 2.

696 University of Maryland College Park, *General and Combined Catalog (1952)* (College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1952): 317.

697 A Preliminary Report on the Department of Journalism & Public Relations, University of Maryland, by Alfred A. Crowell, Apr 18, 1952, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 12.

was: "Majors in journalism and public relations need this — not to become professional photographers — but to handle their editorial jobs."[698]

Maryland put the belief in the importance of photojournalism education into practice by making press photography, J-181, a required class in the junior year.[699] Every journalism and public relations major would have at least basic photo education, and for journalism majors J-184, picture editing, was also required. Students in both sequences could elect to take an additional advanced photojournalism course, J-183.

Space was at a premium at the University of Maryland in the decade following World War II. The G.I. Bill flooded campus with students, and the infrastructure could not be upgraded fast enough. The DJPR saw annual double-digit growth rates for years.[700] In the 1952-53 school year alone, journalism enrollments grew a whopping 57 percent.[701] Barracks-like housing was quickly constructed around the outskirts of campus, and temporary instructional buildings were placed in quads and other green spaces all over campus. Two of these tin-roofed "shacks" housed the Department of Journalism from 1947 until a permanent building opened in February 1957.

As construction was underway for the new Journalism building, but still a year from completion, the university photographer and basic photojournalism

---

698 *Ibid.*: 2a.

699 Annual Report, June 24, 1953, folder 1952-1958 Annual Reports, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

700 *Ibid.*

701 *Ibid.*

instructor, Al Danegger, sent a series of 8x10 photographs to the university president.

They showed the dilapidated state of building GG, the journalism temporary quarters.

The paint was peeling, the roof leaked, newspapers were stacked in disheveled piles

in office corners, discarded furniture littered the halls, and graffiti adorned

the walls.[702]

Higher education historian John Thelin notes that such "Quonset huts," while

architecturally poor in comparison with the stadiums and student unions constructed

in the 1920s and 1930s, visually represented the massive boom in higher education.[703]

As with the Department of Journalism, these buildings remained in use much longer

than planned. Thelin quotes Oscar Wilde: "nothing is as permanent as temporary

appointments."[704] With space at such a premium, it is a small miracle that a

journalism darkroom ever opened. Space was found in a dry corner of the

gymnasium basement. Danegger worked up a budget proposal of $8,500 covering the

darkroom equipment and speed graphic cameras.[705]

Danegger's experience in equipping the university publicity lab and the

journalism lab had a large influence on what he eventually taught in his photography

---

702 Danegger to Byrd, Photographs of Temporary Buildings on College Park Campus, 1956, box 90, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

703 John R. Thelin, "Archives and the Cure for Institutional Amnesia: College and University Saga as Part of the Campus Memory," *Journal of Archival Organization* 7, no. 1-2 (2009): 4–15: 9.

704 John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004): 306.

705 Memo to Prof Crowell, Photo Lab Estimate, 1952, folder Press Photography/ Photojournalism. JOUR 181. 1952-1961, box 11, series 1.3, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

classes. In addition to the basics of shooting, developing, and printing, his midterm and final exams invariably had a question asking students to propose the best darkroom that could be had at various price points.

This darkroom, which could accommodate five students, was an achievement for the DJPR, but it did not come close to providing adequate space. Because basic photography was a requirement of all majors, at times there were five sections. With 15 to 18 students per section, there was not enough time in the week for everyone to have access to the lab. Therefore, when plans were made to move the DJPR out of temporary quarters into a permanent building, providing ample darkroom space was a large part of the plan.

The question of what constituted "ample space" held up the planning for some time. It was agreed that the student darkroom should be in the new building, but should the university include space for the university publicity darkroom as well? Could they share the same space? Given the large financial outlay that building a darkroom required, it made sense for the university to build one instead of two. But this did not sit well with the department. The reasoning, per a letter from the dean of the business school to the university president, was that "some of us feel rather definitely that it is not desirable to combine on such intimate terms the teaching aspects with the production activities which in this case practically assume the proportions of a commercial transaction."[706]

---

706 Pyle to Elkins, Follow-Up of My Letter of October 6 With Reference to the Journalism and Public Relations Building and the Allotment of Space, 1954, folder Journalism Building 1954 Construction- College Park, box 125, series 10 addendum: Wilson H. Elkins, Office of the President (94-85), University of Maryland records, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.

The building's final plan included space for the teaching, and not the university publicity, aspects of photography. Two years later, as construction was ending, work on the teaching darkroom was lagging the rest of the building. Crowell set finishing the darkroom on time as "among the basic and most pressing problems."[707]

Once funding for the photography labs was secured, J-181, Press Photography, could finally be held. The first class ran in the fall of 1952. Other new classes offered that year were Public Relations of Government and Community Journalism. The university's publicity photographer, Danegger, taught the basic photography classes. Initially, the picture-editing course was taught by the journalism department head, Crowell. He was well qualified to teach the class, having been steeped in the world of news photography during his time as the director of the Kent State News Photography Short Course.

Once photojournalism education got underway, the DJPR fluctuated between offering one and three photography classes. These were Journalism 181, Basic Press Photography; Journalism 183, Advanced Press Photography; and Journalism 184, Picture Editing. This three-class setup was in line with the configuration of liberal arts-based journalism education advocated in contemporary scholarly literature.[708] A 1952 survey reported in *Journalism Quarterly* recommended that basic news

---

707 Memo to Professors Danegger, Geraci, Crowell from Head of Department, 1956, folder 1950-1956 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 2, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

708 Flynn, "News Photography Teaching in Schools of Journalism"; Pouncey, "Basic Photo-Journalism Policy Agreement Needed."

photography classes use laboratory practice as their cornerstone; that picture editing

should not be included in the basic course; and that difficult or infrequently used

techniques should be held for an advanced class.[709] On all three points, these match

with the DJPR curriculum.

Where the DJPR did not mirror the national trends in photojournalism

education was on the status of the three classes as requirements or electives. Once the

department realized its curriculum was outside the norm, it moved to bring its

offerings into line with other schools and departments of journalism. For three years,

from spring 1952 to spring 1955, the DJPR required journalism majors to take basic

press photography and picture editing. Advanced photojournalism was an elective for

journalism and public relations majors. In 1955, the department sought to be more

conventional, announcing to students that advanced photojournalism was no

longer required.

> We dropped this requirement because a survey showed that only 7 of 48
> schools and departments require it for graduation. In other words, it is a
> specialized course that should not be continued as a requirement for all
> majors. We believe that only general courses, which will be helpful to all
> majors, should be required.[710]

The survey referred to is most likely a 1952 master's thesis at Ohio State

University by William Ross Gibbon titled "A Survey of Pictorial Journalism Courses

in U.S. Colleges and Universities as Disclosed by an Analysis of the Photo-

journalism Offerings of a Majority of the Colleges, Schools, and Departments of

---

709 Pouncey, "Basic Photo-Journalism Policy Agreement Needed."

710 Memo from Alfred Crowell to Majors in this Department, 1955, folder 1951-1973 General
     Memoranda, box 2, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special
     Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

Journalism, with Related Comment of Executives of Representative Newspapers."[711] Gibbon's thesis received press coverage in the trade journals of journalism educators and news photographers, so its results were accessible to a larger audience than the average master's thesis.[712]

Accrediting and Photojournalism

The DJPR did not just rely on published research to find out what other schools and departments of journalism were doing. Crowell, the department head, actively sought to create a mainstream curriculum across all subjects, including photojournalism education. Evidence comes from the mid- and late-1950s as the department twice sought to restructure its curriculum with a view toward accreditation. In 1954, Crowell wrote personal letters to deans at prominent schools and departments around the country inquiring about their curricular structure, what classes they offered, what classes were required versus elective, and how many credit hours were dedicated to each area. He compiled the answers into a list of classes and credit hours for distribution to the voting faculty.[713]

---

711   William Ross Gibbon. "A Survey of Pictorial Journalism Courses in US Colleges and Universities as Disclosed by an Analysis of the Photo-Journalism Offerings of a Majority of the Colleges, Schools and Departments of Journalism, With Related Comment of Executives of Representative Newspapers." (MA thesis, Ohio State University, 1952).

712   Bentel, "Survey Shows Need of Photo Training." This article, incorporating Gibbon's survey results, was published before Gibbon's thesis. Gibbon and his advisor at OSU, Dr. James Pollard, made the results available before Gibbon wrote his own analysis.

713   J and PR Majors in Other Universities, 1956, folder 1949-1970 Curriculum, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

In 1959, Crowell appointed a faculty committee to begin the self-evaluation

portion of the ACEJ pre-visit report. The department saw this as an opportunity to

look internally, which was the intended purpose of the self-evaluation. But he also

wanted his faculty to look externally to see what other schools and departments were

doing and what the industry was expecting of DJPR graduates.

> The committee will want to study what is done in other schools and
> departments of journalism, and survey opinion of our graduates and of
> their employers, as well as others who are interested. …
> Recommendations will have to be justified on the basis of statistics. …
> Our office personnel are sending out a card to each school of journalism
> asking for a copy of the 1959–1960 journalism catalog, and these will be
> here within a short time for [the committee to] study.[714]

Individual instructors, including those teaching photojournalism, sought

inspiration and models from other long-established and highly respected schools and

departments of journalism. Philip G. Geraci, lecturer in photojournalism, proposed

that the DJPR's photo classes follow the University of Missouri School of

Journalism's example. The photo editing class would direct the shooting classes on

what to photograph every week, and would lay out picture pages to be given the

student newspaper, the *Diamondback*. Unlike Missouri, which had a daily paper, the

Diamondback ran less frequently, thereby giving the students time to assign, shoot,

develop, edit, and layout picture pages. Because the paper was not officially

associated with the department, the student editors were under no obligation to run

---

714 To J-PR Faculty from Head of Department, 1959, folder 1957-1964 Memoranda to Department
 Faculty, box 3, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special
 Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

these pages, but they would have the option. Geraci believed this would induce the students to work hard.[715]

<u>Leadership, Legitimacy, and Photojournalism</u>

The quest for legitimacy was a major driving force in the two preceding case studies. The curricular implementation and classroom practice of photojournalism education at the University of Georgia and the University of Maryland were distinct, yet shaped by the same mechanism. This mechanism, institutionalization resulting from the quest for legitimacy, was dependent upon the institutional environment of each journalism program. While each program's environment overlapped, it is to the differences where the outcomes on photojournalism education can be traced. At both journalism programs photojournalism education was just one element in a larger curriculum. As such, it served as an individual cog and had to support the function of the larger wheel to which it belonged. Photojournalism education had to be useful and desired in and of itself, but it also had to fit properly in the curriculum strategy.

Throughout this dissertation, the theoretical concept of an institution is envisioned in several ways. For example, Chapter V takes the entire field of photojournalism education as a single institution. The two intuitions from this chapter's case studies are more concrete. Each journalism program was a distinct unit with sharp boarders and tangible leadership. The clarity of the institutions carries over to the institutional environments as well. Each journalism program's desire to

---

715 Schedule Change for Photo Classes from Philip Geraci, 1956, folder 1950-1956 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 2, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

project a face of legitimacy to the local elements of its environment — such as the parent college or university, and local editors and publishers — was as important, perhaps even more so, as wider trends in journalism and photojournalism education. The key here is that one means of projecting legitimacy locally was to adopt the wider trends if they were already associated with legitimacy.

By acting with near despotic control, long-time dean John Drewry controlled all aspects of decision making. This matches with old institutionalism's theoretical postulate that organizations are controlled, directed, and influenced by individuals or small but powerful groups. It was Drewry who sought legitimacy for himself personally and by extension for the school he controlled.

Grady was on the vanguard of journalism education in the late 1930s and early 1940s. It was an early adopter of education in photojournalism, radio, and later television. The school and its dean firmly subscribed to the leading philosophy of liberal arts-based journalism education. It was one of the lucky few AASDJ "class A" programs and was one of the first 35 ACEJ accredited programs.

This leading-edge journalism school froze at its high point in a pre-World War II mentality for the following quarter century. This was especially true of photojournalism education. The eventual stagnation in curricular evolution at Grady is traceable to Drewry feeling he had obtained legitimacy. As the sole power broker in the school of journalism, once he felt legitimacy had been won, there was no longer a driving force to innovate or change. His position at the top remained unchallenged for decades, he served at the highest levels of the top journalism education associations, and he just missed becoming university president. He lost the

doubt about needing to project legitimacy to the program's institutional environment and thus lost the need to keep up with changes in journalism education, especially regarding photojournalism education. Photography courses remained in the same mode for 25 years at Grady despite large changes in the field of photojournalism education.

Partly because it was younger and less established and partly because it was faculty governed, the Department of Journalism and Public Relations at the University of Maryland never achieved a comfortable state of legitimization. This meant the department was always looking for ways to improve its external image. This resulted in a regularly updated curriculum, including the photography offerings. The DJPR was founded by a single individual, Jack Bryan, whose ideas on the importance of photojournalism education were set in the early curricula, but only on paper. His short tenure combined with the realities of funding, equipping, and staffing meant photojournalism classes did not keep up with his initial plans. While photojournalism was officially in the curriculum, the courses were not held for five years. Here, the exterior environment played a limiting role in the availability of photojournalism education. This finding matches neo-institutionalism's position that environment shapes organizations.

Once the logistical problems were solved, the department overshot the norm for photojournalism courses for the time. Offering three and making two mandatory for graduation was more photography education than what most journalism programs offered, especially accredited journalism programs. At Maryland, external forces continued to shape journalism education, including photojournalism, culminating in

decisions taken in preparation for accreditation. Upon realizing this and setting the

goal of becoming accredited, the department and its new chair Alfred Crowell set

about conforming the curriculum to mirror already accredited journalism programs.

The decisions made as the department went from unaccredited to accredited exhibit

all the hallmarks of institutionalization via environmental legitimization. The DJPR

sought legitimization through intentional and unintentional isomorphism — the

ongoing process of adaptation to the external environment. This led to

institutionalization — conventionalization and standardization — of photojournalism

education practice.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

Chapter VII

Conclusion

Every reader of this dissertation has spent his or her entire life in a period when images are fundamental in presenting the news. None of us has known a time without camera reporting. Given the centrality of news photography in journalism, combined with its present place in journalism education, one can be easily forgiven for unquestionably accepting the current models of both practice and education. The self-evident nature of photojournalism education indicates that it is institutionalized. Taken-for-granted conventions are a hallmark of institutionalized organizations.[716] Yet, as earlier chapters demonstrated, neither photojournalism itself nor the university education of photojournalists were universal or uniform through their respective histories. This dissertation has chronicled the evolution of photojournalism education leading up to its institutionalization and has sought to explain said transformations.

This was done to provide insight into hierarchies in journalism and journalism education. Although the problem was explored in a time long past, current and future readers will gain a deeper appreciation of contemporary journalism and journalism education practices. Despite the distance in time and the great changes in the technologies of journalism, questions of the past remain relevant to journalism education today. Journalism programs have continually been faced with integrating new kinds of reporting methods into their educational structure. This detailed

---

716 Lynne G. Zucker, "Organizations as Institutions," in *Research in the Sociology of Organizations: Volume 2*, ed. Samuel B. Bacharach (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1983): 5.

mapping of one such journey taken by photojournalism may help educational explorers and cartographers plot courses into the future.

This dissertation asked what forces and influences shaped the creation, diffusion, and adoption of photojournalism education within the domain of formal journalism higher education in America. Further, this dissertation asked what consequences these forces and influences had. Chapter II set this question's scope and approach so that chapters III, IV, V, and VI could be built upon solid foundation. The literature review established the history of photojournalism education to be all but completely previously unexplored. With no historiography of its own, the foundational literature of photojournalism education was drawn from four areas overlapping with photojournalism education. These were the profession of photojournalism, the profession of journalism, journalism education, and higher education. Institutional theory allows for complex and interrelated explanations of change. The struggle for organizational legitimization is highlighted by institutional theory as a key force shaping organizations.

Given the leeway permitted by institutional theory, the methods and data used in this dissertation were chosen to examine the topic from multiple directions. Chapter III provided a condensed history of the photojournalism profession. This was one component of photojournalism education's institutional environment. Therefore, it delivers part of the context necessary to understand photojournalism education. Similarly, the histories of professional education and journalism education were vital portions of photojournalism education's environment. These histories were presented

in Chapter IV. The photojournalism and journalism textbooks used in Chapter V were used to track the evolving presentation of photojournalism and photojournalists. Chapter VI employed archival research for two case studies surveying photojournalism education at two journalism education programs.

Chapters III to VI have kept their stories separate. This final chapter places the narratives in parallel and looks for points of overlap. The reported findings are interpreted through the lens of institutional theory, which seeks to explain changes in organizations and institutions. Institutional theory aids the understanding of how seemingly obvious customs came to be. Finally, the closing coda of this chapter answers the all-important "so what?" question.

In the process of relating the history of photojournalism, Chapter III developed insights on the professional environment surrounding photojournalism education. Chief among these is the issue of agency in photography. Through much of the relatively short existence of photography, the technology was thought to have photographic agency. The word photography means the light itself does the "writing." The photographer was a passive operator. It took almost exactly 100 years from the first public mention of photography in 1837 for this belief to begin changing.[717] In the middle 1930s, photographs began developing new communicative uses. In addition to being ultra-detailed visual descriptions of a scene, they came to be used as illustrative icons of larger ideas and events outside the discrete boarders of the solitary photo. With the change, the role of the photographer and photojournalist

---

[717] "Découverte de M Daguerre." *Le Moniteur Universel*, Monday, January 14, 1839. See Appendix 6 for original article and translation.

embarked on a gradual metamorphosis. Perceptions of photographic agency began shifting to the photographer. It was no coincidence that this same moment saw the commencement of the professionalization of photojournalism.

By examining the educational portion of journalism education's environment, Chapter IV sourced the opprobrium of photojournalism education. The campaign for academic acceptance waged by journalism education in its first three decades generated an environment unwelcoming to photojournalism education. A scholarly angle to journalism education came from the new fields of journalism history, law, and ethics. In addition, liberal arts-based journalism education, exemplified by the 25–75 rule that limited how many journalism courses a student could take to 25% of their total college education, softened the skills-only look of journalism education. It was not until mainstream, accredited journalism education reversed course and became more accepting of practical, professional journalism education that photojournalism education went from an anomaly to pervasive.

The photojournalism textbooks and journalism textbooks used in Chapter V revealed three periods in photojournalism education — proto, inaugural, and postwar. I am the first to use this periodization, and I hope others may find it useful. This basic timeline, considering wider societal movements, provides some support for the argument of neo-institutional theory that environments shape institutions. The dates overlap closely with wider events in American history. The boundary between proto-phase and inaugural phase is defined by the first photojournalism class and first photojournalism textbook. But it is also when the Great Depression was reshaping the country, Roosevelt was voted into office, social welfare was on the horizon, and the

specter of Nazism was on the rise. As the name implies, the postwar phase began just after World War II, but the end of the war is not the definition of the phase. Rather, the defining feature is the new treatment and expectations of photojournalism education. The evidence does not draw straight causal lines between events in photojournalism education and its societal environment, but the two are certainly synchronistic.

In Chapter VI, the quest for legitimacy that fuels institutionalization was seen in operation in the journalism programs at the flagship universities of Georgia and Maryland. For nearly 50 years preceding his forced resignation on July 1, 1969, John Drewry *was* the Grady School of Journalism. His intense personal interest in radio and later television lead Grady to have some of the best broadcast faculties in the country. But this came at the expense of other areas of journalism education. Aspects in which Drewry was not interested simply did not get funded. While he added photography in response to student pressure in 1940, the technical aspects remained in other departments during his time as dean. From the first news photography class, Journalism 370 in 1940, through to the end of Drewry's tenure as dean 30 years later, the photographic offerings in the Grady School of Journalism remained stagnant.

Early in his career, Drewry was a staunch defender of the 25–75 rule of liberal arts journalism education in which one quarter of students' credits were in journalism and three fourths in other subjects. By the time he retired, journalism requirements

consumed nearly 40 percent of students' total credit hours at Grady.[718] This was far above what other schools, especially accredited schools, permitted.

Maryland's journalism program repeatedly looked to other programs that it considered leaders in journalism education. It, or the actors within the Department of Journalism and Public Relations, were not just looking for inspiration, but for exact patterns to copy. In 1954 and again in 1959, department head Alfred A. Crowell sent curricular structure inquires en masse to journalism programs across the country. In 1954, he compiled a summary of offerings and forwarded it to his faculty.[719] In preparation for accreditation in 1959, he instructed his staff to update the list. Further, he instructed a faculty committee to make recommendations "on the basis of statistics" from the compilation. [720] In other words, whatever was most common at other journalism programs is how he wanted the DJPR structured. Crowell was not interested in taking chances. Teachers and professors brought instructional ideas from other journalism programs. This included the DJPR's photojournalism teacher who sought to pattern journalism education at Maryland after photojournalism education at the well-known and respected Missouri School of Journalism. The quest for legitimacy and the powers of isomorphic change were powerful actors in the DJPR.

---

718 Annual Report of the Dean of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, 1969–70, 1970, folder Annual Reports-School of Journalism 1940-1975, box 1, The Henry W. Grady School of Journalism Annual Reports (05-054), Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

719 J and PR Majors in Other Universities, 1956, folder 1949-1970 Curriculum, box 6, series 1.2, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

720 To J-PR Faculty from Head of Department, 1959, folder 1957-1964 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 3, series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.

Having summarized the individual findings of chapters III to VI, seeking points of overlap of the separate chapter narratives reveals new insights on photojournalism education. Over the first half of the twentieth century, there were three macro trends that governed the maturation of photojournalism education. First, there were two nationwide waves of professional higher education, each taking place in the years bracketing a world war. Journalism education rode the first wave into universities, and photojournalism education rose with the subsequent wave. Second, there was a decades-long cultural shift toward visual communication. The massive popularity of the early picture magazines, the near-universal implementation of news photos in newspapers, and the rise of television attest to the later stages of this movement. Finally, professionalization — first of journalism and, 30 years later, of photojournalism — played a large part in how and when photojournalism education matured.

Before 1930 or 1932, there was no photojournalism education, at least none that would be recognized as such today. The dates alone are misleading because of the implication that someone flipped a switch and photojournalism education was part of journalism education. Rather, the appearance of photojournalism education was the culmination of a myriad of factors, small and large. This complex contemporary environment made photojournalism education possible, practical, and popular. The environment includes, but is not limited to, the American journalism industry, the professionalization of photojournalism, journalism education, and professional education. Each of these four environments contributed in some way to prepare the ground for photojournalism education.

In the decades leading up to the first photojournalism classes at the university level, the journalism industry used an increasing number of news images. The communication possible with images became increasingly complex. With this came deeper thinking about the purposes of news images and dissatisfaction with the status quo. New means of executing the photographic task surfaced. This style later gained the name "photojournalism." The growth in quantity and quality of news images is most obvious in the rapid start and spectacular success of picture magazines such as *Life* and *Look* in the 1930s. Photographs were no longer a secondary or optional item, and photographers who could reliably produce such images were in demand. The existing structure of apprenticeships and on-the-job learning was unable to produce the quantity and quality of photographers required. Photojournalism education embedded in journalism higher education was one way to balance the supply with the demand.

Another was the retraining and rebranding of existing news photographers. This took the form of professionalizing photojournalism, a process that also begins in the early to mid-1930s. With the moniker of "professionals" came a practical need and a status-driven desire for photojournalism higher education. An essential element of a profession was, and is, a place in higher education. Other professions — most obviously, journalism — were the pattern, or model. Photojournalism could not professionalize without the legitimacy afforded by photojournalism education. Likewise, photojournalism education could not flourish without a profession to serve.

Once set in motion, photojournalism education was dependent upon journalism education. There were some in journalism education who believed the

burgeoning professional image of journalism education in the early to mid-1930s was tarnished by the trade of news photography. There were others who regarded photojournalism education as a beneficial and symbiotic relationship. The latter group judged that the addition of photography made journalism education stronger and more practical. This camp grew as the journalism industry called for more photojournalists and writers with basic photography skills.

Higher education for professionals of all stripes saw two growth spurts in the twentieth century. The first began just at the turn of the century. Many fields sought to join the ranks of medicine, law, and theology. A supply of vetted and trained university graduates was a key feature in becoming a profession. Journalism was among these fields and took a large step toward professionalizing with the introduction of journalism education programs in 1908 and the rapid spread through universities and colleges. The second wave of professional education came in the years following World War II as millions of former service members gained government financial support for higher education. As a group, the users of the GI Bill's educational benefits sought fields of study that would lead to employment. The number of fields seeking to professionalize did not grow as drastically as in the first wave, but the size of the existing professional education programs ballooned. New money and interest in professional journalism education boosted the feasibility and popularity of photojournalism education in the postwar years.

Organizational theory, specifically institutional theory, permits examining of photojournalism education history from an array of distances and angles. The "weak form" of the organization-environment hypothesis — of which neo-institutionalism is

353

a part — posits that organizations are influenced by their environments. Institutions become similar in form and function because of their interactions. This is a survival tool for adapting to their environments. However, environmental acclimatization is retarded by bureaucratic inertia.[721] Three factors drive structural isomorphism: desire for legitimacy, erroneous credence in reasoned decision-making, and isomorphic forces.

To apply institutional theory as a tool for exploring the history of photojournalism education, key constituents must be conceptualized variously as institutions and institutional environments. This means, for example, treating photojournalism education as an institutional unit and journalism education as its environment. Or, in another instance, it means viewing professional higher education as the environment for the institution of journalism education.

To make these conceptualizations, "institutions" must be theoretical constructs rather than physical entities. Looking upon photojournalism education as an institution means disregarding corporeal confines. It was practiced at unrelated and distant journalism programs, with intention as the unifying characteristic. This intellectual tactic is supported by the literature of institutional theory, which deems fields of work or study as institutions and professions as institutionalized occupations.[722]

---

721 Harland Prechel, "Organizations," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr. (Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference, 2008): 71.

722 Andrew Delano Abbott, *The System of Professions: an Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949); Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration a Sociological Interpretation* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957). cited in John

Mimetic isomorphism is the strongest change agent when there is an environment of uncertainty. In such cases, subordinate organizations tend to imitate dominant organizations.[723] The more unfocused or unsure an organization or institution is of its goals, the more it will copy perceived successful peers. This is primarily done in the search for legitimacy in the eyes of external powers and not to improve efficiency.[724] Copying saves time, energy, and expense by adopting exterior solutions to similar problems. It causes homogenization.[725] The purposeful modeling takes place through professional or formal channels. Unconscious modeling transpires as knowledge workers move from one organization to another. There was unconscious modeling in journalism education as professors moved from one school to another, though this was perhaps slowed by the higher education environment. The tenure process inclines individuals to remain for long periods at one institution.

Despite victory in World War II, the end of the Great Depression, and the United States' status as an economic and military leader, the years following the war were a time of uncertainty and doubt. The country may have been changing for the better, but it was still changing. The future, while bright, was unforeseeable. Returning veterans flocked to higher education with different expectations than

C. Lammers and Mattea A. Garcia, "Institutional Theory," in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Communication*, eds. Linda L. Putnam and Dennis K. Mumby (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2013): 196.

723 Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 151.

724 *Ibid.*: 155.

725 *Ibid.*: 151.

students of prior decades. Professional education burgeoned, and it was not business as usual in journalism programs.

Times of uncertainty, risk, or doubt create environments in which organizations tend to model themselves after dominant or established organizations. DiMaggio and Powell call this mimetic isomorphism, and it leads to homogeneity and institutionalization. Evidence of mimetic modeling is visible in the journalism education landscape following World War II. Most of the first journalism programs accredited in 1948 were liberal arts-based members of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. This established the dominant style, and other journalism schools hoping to be accredited in the future modeled themselves in similar ways.

Multiple forces and influences were discovered in this research. Typecasts of photojournalism and photojournalists were of paramount importance. These included the stereotypes held by newsrooms, the public, and photojournalists themselves. Surprisingly, these characterizations were not connected to photojournalism's function in the news product. Instead, separate professional status for photojournalists had to be built based on other criteria. A central component of photojournalism's professionalization was revealed in this dissertation through photojournalism higher education. This, in turn, was shaped by non-photojournalism ingredients, chiefly large-scale trends in journalism education and in higher education. These trends had their own environmental influences, namely, the root purpose of journalism education, local leadership style, and individual school priorities. Thus, we see photojournalism education on a hierarchical ladder of

356

environmental and institutional influences. The forces above and below it eventually led to the institutionalization of photojournalism education.

The photojournalism education that developed was not necessarily the best, most useful, efficient, or practical. It was what could develop given the environments of the time. This does not mean photojournalism education was bad. Rather, as this dissertation has revealed, an overarching goal was the search for legitimacy, not efficiency or practicality. Recognition as a profession on par with textual journalism and a subject worthy of university inclusion were the principal molding forces in photojournalism education. Put in theoretical terms, the quest for legitimacy produced increasingly homogeneous photojournalism education and eventually led to the institutionalization of the practice.

Receiving accreditation is a significant and concrete expression of a journalism program's legitimacy. Therefore, to seek accreditation is to seek legitimacy. Although contrary to the stated accreditation objectives of the Association for Education in Journalism, a long-term outcome of accreditation was homogenization through institutionalization.

Between the publishing of "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" in 1925 and the first list of accredited programs in 1948, the group of self-appointed "Class A" journalism programs created and defended their legitimacy by excluding the "Class B" and "Class C" programs. Not coincidentally, the "Class A" programs overwhelmingly adhered to the Wisconsin model of liberal arts journalism education. This model promoted the intellectual and shunned the vocational aspects of journalism. Among other reasons, the 25–75 rule — requiring

journalism majors take a large majority of their courses outside of journalism — was a defense against branding as anti-intellectual and unworthy of inclusion in universities. Journalism education was new and in the process of adapting to its academic environment. While growing in popularity in the industry, photojournalism education was not a natural fit for the legitimacy-seeking "Class A" programs in the second quarter of the twentieth century. It required hands-on practice that did not fit with the image that journalism education was trying to project to its environments. And therefore, photojournalism education was not desired by programs hoping to reach "Class A" status.

Coming after journalism education was established worked against photojournalism education in another way, too. The initial idea for the 25–75 rule came before photojournalism education was established. And by the time the rule was engraved in stone via accrediting requirements, photojournalism education was weak and nascent. Curricula were already full, with no room for new subjects. Photojournalism education had to rise in importance far enough to replace something else in accredited programs. It could not simply be added on the side.

While not mainstream, photojournalism education did sprout and put down roots in the decade leading up to World War II. In this inaugural phase of news photography education, a great deal of experimentation occurred in what and how to teach camera reporting. The organization of courses differed, the configuration of curricula varied, and the structure and tone of textbooks were mixed. Some programs were cross-listed with science departments. Some only covered photography or photo editing. Some were taught by professional news photographers, while others were

taught by full-time faculty with no photography experience. The initial heavy focus on the psychology of news photography and news photographers in the first photojournalism textbook in 1932 was all but abandoned in later textbooks. The journalistic autonomy and perceived photographic agency of photojournalists grew from essentially none in the early proto-phase to equal to or greater than text reporters by the postwar phase.

This experimentation was made possible by the contemporary state of journalism education. Official journalism accreditation did not yet exist and so there was less shared structure from one journalism program to another. This was generally seen as bad. In 1938, the president of the principal newspaper publishers' association lambasted journalism education as wholly inadequate. His primary reason was that the quality of graduates varied so widely from school to school.[726] But the absence of accreditation and insufficient regimentation was an opportunity for photojournalism education. Of course, there were other obstacles. If a journalism program had the desire to add photography, then curricular restriction was not one of those obstacles.

From the first pictorial journalism class in 1931 to the first list of accredited journalism programs in 1946, a patchwork of pedagogical strategies, textbook architectonics, and curricular mechanisms arose. By 1946, and certainly after, the mélange had become much narrower and a "right" way of doing photojournalism education then existed. In the language of theory, the photojournalism education

---

[726]   Address of the President Delivered before the Fifty-Second Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1938, folder 3, box 1, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.; Edwin Emery, ed. *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association* 1950): 140.

institution had isomorphized. The "right" way was not necessarily the best way. Rather, the "right" way was created by what was supportable in the contemporary environment. Accreditation ensured that these practices remained locked in place. What became standard operating procedure for photojournalism education was the product of a very specific institutional environment over a relatively short time span. Yet through isomorphism, these became the default photojournalism education practices for a long time to come.

This variety and experimentation of the inaugural phase, seen through the neo-institutional lens, is attributable to the young age of the field. Mimetic isomorphism was not possible because a copyable pattern did not yet exist. Journalism programs, news photography teachers, and photojournalism textbook writers were each forced to solve the questions of photojournalism education on their own. Naturally, there emerged a broad spectrum of initial approaches. It was only with the second generation of classes, teachers, and textbooks that mimetic isomorphism began. Once completed by the trailblazers, the schemas to successfully integrate photojournalism courses and publish photojournalism textbooks were readily available for mimicry.

Photojournalism education operated, and continues to operate, within multiple institutions. This institutional pluralism saw photojournalism education seeking legitimization from multiple environments. This made organizational stability unlikely because it is pulled in multiple directions, and organizations must have

multiple "faces" to project to different institutions.[727] Therefore, there was a near-constant state of uncertainty, making institutionalization caused by isomorphism an ongoing process rather than a single event.

Both journalism education and photojournalism education faced resistance and criticism from strong voices in the journalism industry and the academy. Both had energetic proponents. Both covered their internal university vulnerabilities by developing new lines of academic research. The passage of time and the success of graduates in the industry protected the external flank. Despite some obvious similarities, the integration processes for journalism and photojournalism were unique. Each was the product of its contemporary environment. Journalism education rode the first national professionalization wave in the years following the emergence of the modern university. The three traditional professions of law, medicine, and theology gained a regimented educational route. Other fields sought to professionalize by establishing similar educational routes, journalism among them. Photojournalism education surfed the second great national wave in professionalization in the post-World War II years. It began in the decade prior but only achieved widespread adoption and acceptance as the surge crested with demand created by G.I.s returning home.

The results of the professionalization process for journalism and photojournalism were different. Journalism fully realized professional standing. Photojournalism's success was less clear-cut, being a profession in the eyes of some

---

727 Matthew S. Kraatz and Emily S. Block, "Organizational Implications of Institutional Pluralism," in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, eds. Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Kerstin Sahlin, and Roy Suddaby (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2008).

but not others. The uncertainty of photojournalism's position was, and perhaps still is, reflected in the adjunct field of photojournalism education. Like journalism education before it, the primary conflict in the incipient years of photojournalism education was between the physical requirements of photography and the intellectual stance of liberal arts education. It is with a degree of irony that a substantial roadblock to photojournalism education was put up by journalism education and mimicked its own recent experience.

As revealed in the chapters that examined photojournalism education's institutional environment, journalism education had just won a still-tenuous academic position by overcoming its own vocational stigma. At such a delicate moment, journalism education was more interested in self-preservation than experimentation. If photojournalism education could not contribute to the legitimization of journalism education, photography classes would only appear in a few outlier journalism programs. Such programs would need to have factors at work that could counterbalance the legitimization problem. But baring such external factors, there were two ways photojournalism education could possibly win widespread acceptance within journalism education. Either photojournalism education would need to be less vocational or journalism education would need to be more accepting of journalism's vocational aspects. Journalism education became more accepting of journalism's vocational aspects when the prevailing philosophy underpinning journalism education switched from the Wisconsin model to the Missouri model. This boon coincided with the institutionalization and normalization of photojournalism education classroom practice and curricular organization.

The integration of photojournalism education into journalism education was partially tied to the accreditation process, and therefore to seeking legitimization. To different extents, all three of DiMaggio and Powell's institutional isomorphic forces — coercive, normative, and mimetic — were in play. DiMaggio and Powell write that coercive isomorphic pressure, "may be felt as force, as persuasion, or as invitations to join in collusion."[728] Accreditation is an invitation to join in collusion and become part of the "it" crowd. While the word "collusion" has the negative connotation of secrecy and deception, in this context it simply means organizations joining a common cause and supporting similar ideas. While accrediting was voluntary once a journalism program declared its intention to seek accreditation — and legitimization — it had to meet certain requirements. If we accept this theoretical explanation, the initial 1946 accrediting standards were doomed to fail — which they, in fact, did.

The 1946 accrediting standards specifically stated the purpose of journalism accreditation was not to standardize journalism or journalism education. Rather, it was to describe characteristics of journalism programs worthy of public recognition as professional schools. This statement was a concession to the smaller journalism programs that could not hope to compete with or meet the same standards as large well-funded programs. Rather than comparing journalism programs to each other or to a measuring stick, the early AEJ accreditation process tested a program against its own stated objectives. Journalism accreditation was an invitation to collude, but members did not necessarily join in common cause and support similar ideas and

---

728 DiMaggio and Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited.": 150.

practices. This is what led to the collapse of the first accreditation standards. The internal discord provoked by including Wisconsin-model and Missouri-model programs tore the AEJ Accrediting Council apart in 1952 when professional schools revolted. When revamped accreditation returned in 1955, the standards were tighter, measurable, and decidedly in the image of Missouri's professional model.

What does this have to do with photojournalism education? It was not until the banner of legitimacy was attached to a kind of journalism education which could include photojournalism education that the practice could potentially become mainstream. There were other factors that had to align — such as other journalism subjects diminishing in importance enough for photojournalism to take its place in the tight 25–75 curricula. With the greater influence of practical professional journalism education came a greater acceptance of the more physical practices in journalism, including photojournalism.

At the same time, photojournalists were professionalizing and gaining recognition as social and cultural documentarians. They were shedding their old cloak of technicians and donning the wrap of professionals. Combined with the changing bar to entry of journalism education, an environment formed in which photojournalism education could flourish.

Normative isomorphism is visible in accreditation as journalism instructors officially defined the scope of the profession. Recall that normative isomorphism takes place through professionalization as an occupational group defines its boarders and others accept these bounds.[729] Accreditation requirements are a clear definition of

---

729 Prechel, "Organizations.": 71.

what journalism education is and should be. The networking that occurs in the process of setting accreditation standards and in accreditation visits drives organizations to homogenize. Another marker in the professionalization of photojournalism education is a successful petition to form a Photojournalism Division of AEJ in 1966.[730]

Looking at individual schools, a myriad of factors was in play. These included the openness of administrators and faculties to curriculum change; the availability of academically and professionally qualified instructors; status as an accredited or unaccredited school; departmental finances; department leadership style; and the educational mission of the program. The more layers of oversight — theoretically represented as environments — that a journalism program had, the more legitimacy it had to prove, thus making it more susceptible to isomorphism. Once widely accepted and attached to the legitimization afforded by accreditation, photojournalism education experienced structural isomorphism. Subordinate organizations — individual journalism programs — imitated the dominant organization — AEJ accrediting standards and already-accredited programs. Particularly influenced by this environment were programs not yet accredited but hoping to be. The case study of the Department of Journalism at University of Maryland presents examples of both conscious and unconscious mimetic isomorphism where a desire to be accredited directly affected curriculum decisions.

---

730 Association of Education in Journalism, Photojournalism Division, Petition for Division Status, 1966, folder 7, box 4, series 1: Original Collection, 1912-1997, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records (U.S. Mss 154AF), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

The first department chair, Jack Bryan, and university President Harry Clifton Byrd explicitly sought out external curricula from respected journalism programs. This was an act of conscious mimetic isomorphism as they wanted to imitate dominant journalism education organizations. This served two purposes. First, it made the work much easier as preexisting ideas and solutions could be replicated. Second, it made the decisions defensible because they were backed up by other big-name universities. The DJPR's initial curricula ended up looking strikingly like the patterns set by existing programs. These curricula included photojournalism education.

A second example of conscious mimetic isomorphism occurred when the DJPR sought accreditation for the first time. Bryan initially had plans for an entire major sequence in news photography. The university's budgetary environment was the reason this did not come to fruition. Limited funds had to be prioritized, and courses in textual journalism were both cheaper and deemed more fundamental than photography classes. Nevertheless, in the first five years of its existence, the DJPR had several news photography courses on the books. Once the budget caught up with needs, a new building was finished, and qualified staff were recruited, the department offered a larger-than-average quantity of news photography courses.

It stayed that way until Alfred Crowell put the DJPR up for AEJ accreditation. In the process of preparing for accreditation, he and his faculty realized that they offered an overabundance of news photography education and moved quickly to limit what was in line with practices at accredited journalism programs.

Thus, the seeking of legitimacy through accreditation caused structural isomorphism and homogenization in UMD's photojournalism education. The rationale behind this series of decisions was not to provide better journalism or photojournalism education to the student body. Rather, it was to gain the legitimacy of appearing like well-respected journalism programs and to gain the stamp of approval provided by accreditation. The legitimacy, or perceived legitimacy, that was gained provided a defensive wall against attacks from inside and outside the university.

The desire to obtain the legitimacy provided by accreditation became a limiting factor in the possible photojournalism education opportunities for students at the University of Maryland. The constraints tied to accreditation came from the 25–75 rule by which journalism students took only one quarter of their total credit hours in journalism courses. This model had initially been adopted by journalism programs to make their presence more palatable inside the academy. Along with pioneering academically researchable areas of journalism, such as law, ethics, and history, this model had served its original purpose well. Journalism education eventually became an unquestioned part of higher education, and educators were no longer forced to justify their spot at the table. The institutionalization of the 25–75 rule had side effects that limited the adaptability of journalism education for many decades. Photojournalism education was one example of a non-textual form of journalistic reporting that was retarded from gaining widespread acceptance by the unquestioned nature of the 25–75 rule. The rule limited the classes a journalism program could offer, thus prioritizing what was most important for a graduate. It also created an

environment that was generally unwelcoming to skills-only classes, regardless of

how important or useful they might be. Photojournalism education was initially

presented as purely skills courses and therefore had difficulty finding solid footing in

many journalism curricula. The view of photojournalism education as skills-only

evolved with time as the profession gained respectability. Meanwhile, classes and

textbooks gained editorial content that took them beyond simple photography

teaching. In this way, the 25–75 rule shaped what photojournalism education became

by being a chief architect of photojournalism education's institutional environment.

Unconscious mimetic modeling can be seen simply through the presence of

Alfred Crowell at the helm of the young department. He brought ideas and models of

practice with him from his previous journalism education jobs. In advocating for "an

automatic F grade for any paper that contains even a single error in grammar,

spelling, punctuation, or fact," he told his faculty that this is how it was done at

Northwestern and the University of Oklahoma, two places he had previously

worked.[731] His previous job was at Kent State as a journalism teacher and editor and

organizer of the Kent State Short Course in News Photography. He brought to

Maryland the views and experience of one of the leading photojournalism

education organizations.

John Drewry's decades-long leadership of the Grady School of Journalism

gives credence to the old institutionalism idea that it is individuals or small groups

---

731 Memo to Mr Carhart, Mr Danegger, Mr Hottel, Mr Kahl, Mr Sochor, Mr Wood, Mr Zagoria
from Alfred Crowell, 1950, folder 1950-1956 Memoranda to Department Faculty, box 2,
series 1.1, College of Journalism records (77-17), Hornbake Library, Special Collections,
University of Maryland Libraries, College Park, Md.: 2.

which cause change to their organizations and environments. For nearly 50 years, it was his way or the highway at Grady, and he jealously guarded power from his faculty. It took a mutiny and nearly losing accreditation status to eventually force him to step down. Drewry's personal interests shaped photojournalism education at UGA more than anything else. The school was a very early adopter of photo classes. His reasons for this were seeking legitimacy and reputation. He was following the lead of a peer or competitor (depending on one's perspective) journalism program at Louisiana State University, another large southern university. Drewry's interests were much more on broadcasting media, first radio and later television. The broadcasting divisions within "his" school benefited from his golden touch and were large and well-funded. Photojournalism did not receive the same regard and languished until Drewry's removal, even when the larger field of journalism education had embraced the practice.

Drewry was not just influential locally at UGA, but on the national stage as well. His external work had the potential for the outside to influence UGA journalism education and for him to influence journalism education more widely. This is attributable to normative isomorphism. One means of diffusion is through professional connections and other formal channels in an organizational field. The values and ideas of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism and the American Association of Teachers of Journalism — he was a member and leader of both — were simultaneously internalized and influenced by Drewry. Looking at Georgia's journalism curricula and at Drewry's personal correspondence regarding the curricula, his embrace of liberal arts journalism

education is evident. He was present at the seminal 1930 AASDJ meeting when Eric. W. Allen provided three principles of liberal arts journalism education. These were: just enough skill to pass the cub stage, liberal arts for a socially minded journalist later in life, and practical application of liberal arts knowledge to the real world. We know these ideas were on Drewry's mind because after the meeting he continued a long personal correspondence on the topic with journalism education leaders who favored liberal arts journalism. It is therefore not surprising to find these same principles buttressing Grady's curriculum.

Drewry not only ingested, but also exported these values. Again, this can be explained via mimetic and normative isomorphism. He held various board positions, including president, of AATJ. He was an official representative of AADJ to the American Council for Education in Journalism as the latter was defining the first official standards for journalism education. He was, quite literally, in the room as the shape of accredited journalism education first formed. While we cannot say for sure what his direct contribution was, the outcome in the form of the 1946 standards bore more than a passing resemblance to Allen's three principles.

These are analogous to DiMaggio and Powell's explanation of institutionalization through the vehicle of professional associations. Professional associations make already important individuals even more influential. A feedback loop means influence in an organization can lead to influence in a professional association, which in turn can lead back to an increased influence in the original organization. And considering the near 30-year life span of the journalism education principles first put forth in the 1925 "Principles and Standards of Education for

Journalism," we can see that a relatively small handful of journalism education leaders — like Drewry — made it difficult for new ideas, practices, or individuals to become influential.

Having already established the unimportance of photojournalism to Drewry and his influence on the institution of journalism education, these two circumstances can be combined. This provides tangential support for the idea that Drewry's views on photojournalism were absorbed into institutional journalism education.

Coda

Photojournalism education and professional photojournalism mutually fed off the legitimacy provided by the other. To study one without the other fails to consider a fundamental feature. The viewpoint provided by photojournalism education furnishes a novel perspective on photojournalism's professionalization from the inside out. Therefore, given the import of photojournalism education, this dissertation provides a notable contribution to a previously under-examined area of journalism history.

Textbooks both reflect and create the self-image of photojournalists and how they are viewed by the wider journalism profession. Accordingly, they are an excellent source for longitudinal study of photojournalism professionalization. The presentation of news photographers and their profession varies widely across time and textbook type. The maturing representations of photojournalists and photojournalism through the three periods — from tools to tradesmen to professionals — illuminates the non-static nature of journalists and journalism. This

provides insight grounded in history vis-à-vis who is a journalist and what journalism is. These are vital questions in the present day with citizen journalism and the nearly ubiquitous ability to capture and publish through social media platforms.

Through the three phases, and beyond, visual media consumption trended upwards. So too did visual media education in journalism and mass communication programs. Trends, however, are not universal maps. Every school teaching photojournalism had to find its own way to navigate its own unique situation. The first generation of journalism programs and photojournalism textbooks labored independently and experimentally to build their own methods of photojournalism education. The second generation, just a handful of years later, had the choice between beginning from nothing or adopting the best features from the existing tactics. With many journalism programs existing within the same or similar environments, and with the need to project legitimacy to these environments, copying was the common choice. Mimetic isomorphism rather quickly reduced the variety in photojournalism education programs and textbooks. The practice began institutionalizing in the middle 1930s and the process was nearly complete by 1955. Between the middle 1950s and now there certainly have been changes, most notably in technology, but the structural outline is still very much recognizable today. My surprise at the similarities through time was a driving factor in my decision to start this research project. This initial curiosity has been satisfied. The facts and theoretical reasoning of this dissertation provide a convincing explanation of the resilience.

Photojournalism education operated, and continues to operate, within multiple institutions. This institutional pluralism saw photojournalism education seeking

legitimization from multiple environments. This made organizational stability unlikely because it is pulled in multiple directions, and organizations must have multiple "faces" to project to different institutions.[732] Therefore, there was a near-constant state of uncertainty, creating isomorphism that resulted in institutionalization as an ongoing process and not as a unique event.

It ought not to be assumed that the idea of who is a journalist is the same today as it was a decade or a century ago, or that it will be the same a decade or century from now. This dissertation told the story of one example of journalism changing, evolving, and incorporating a new communication medium. The story suggests that journalism is a constructed practice, and so too are its practitioners. "Who" and "what" change over time to meet the needs of the day. Definitions of journalism must remain fluid. No matter how strongly the establishment tries to maintain its power, prestige, and legitimacy through exclusion, the status quo has not lasted forever. Everyone — educators, news producers, and the public at large — will be better served if we are all open to revisiting and revising definitions of journalism.

I credit my dissertation supervisor for always reminding me to ask "so what?" No matter what I brought to the table, the first question was always the same, forcing me to consider relevance above interest. The question applies all the way from the smallest facts up to the fundamental point of this dissertation. A richer understanding of the present — how we find ourselves in the conditions we do — is the "so what" reason for a rigorous study of the past.

---

732 Kraatz and Block, "Organizational Implications of Institutional Pluralism."

We are, as a species, storytellers. Our ability to relate complex experiences to others means we can learn as groups and societies rather than only as individuals. Imagine if the only way to learn that hemlock is poisonous is to eat it ourselves! Instead, we can report our experiences, absorb those of others, and use this information in future decision-making. Storytelling is an evolutionary survival mechanism. Humans are hard-wired to apply knowledge of the past to experiences in the present.

The highest-order contribution of this dissertation is calling attention to the complexity and range of journalism education. Even using the phrase "journalism education" is misleading because it implies a solitary unit when in fact principles and practices vary. It is more accurate to say, "journalism education as practiced at Maryland" or "UGA's style of journalism education." While AEJ explicitly stated when it first started accrediting that the practice was not meant to standardize journalism education, that is exactly what happened. Yet, even though journalism education has become more homogeneous over the years, it is far from monolithic — even among accredited programs. And there are journalism programs that choose not to seek accreditation. Presumably, one factor in this decision is more autonomy.

The introductory chapter states that "just as 'all news is local news,' so too are all curricular decisions local decisions." The period covered by this dissertation had a different conception of what constituted "local" than we do today. Transportation and communication developments have seemingly shrunk the size of the world. Moving repeatedly from town to town, city to city, or state to state is conventional practice. Nationwide business chains homogenize consumers' experiences. The modern

conception of local is much larger than it once was. Therefore, "local" curriculum decisions are now on a larger scale. It is possible for two journalism programs on opposite sides of the country to have similar goals and isomorphic environments. They may make similar decisions and turn out journalism graduates indistinguishable from one another. Once this was a boon to professional journalism, which needed interchangeable, low-cost, high-skill workers. But, in a time of oversupply of professional journalists due to mergers, downsizing, crowdsourcing, and more, producing more of the same is not advantageous. Homogeny is not conducive to innovation, which can be a driver of meaningful change.

The state of the media today leads to calls for upheaval in journalism education, which fall into two familiar categories. The first champions change based on the need to better prepare students for the realities of journalism practice today. This is essentially the same argument behind the Missouri philosophy of journalism education, first exposited more than a century ago. The second modern category mirrors the Columbia and Wisconsin journalism education traditions — both equally old as the Missouri — in calling for changes in journalism education with the goal of improving journalism at large, and thus democratic society which relies on timely and quality access to information.

Institutional theorists Lammers and Garcia believe times of uncertainty such as exist in the present moment can lead organizations to either standardization or innovation. Convincing journalism educators to forgo the safety of regimentation is a first step toward modernization. The history of photojournalism education suggests that adding substantially new subjects to journalism education is a thorny and

labyrinthine process. This dissertation shows the enterprise is only partially controlled by journalism educators. We must realize the universe of other factors beyond our "will" that affect future outcomes.

For those committed to revamping journalism education, I offer a suggested mindset and specific tasks. We must have dedication, patience, and perseverance. We need to remember to raise our heads out of our immediate surroundings and look at the environmental factors helping or hurting our progress, and ask how things got to be the way they are. At best, we can adjust our approach. At worst, we must accept our limited power.

The process of incorporating any substantially new subject into journalism education is not a one-dimensional or straightforward matter — nothing is obvious when it comes to what should be adopted and how. There are a handful of critical higher-level tasks that substantially increase the chances of success. This study suggests seeking buy-in from the critical power-brokers of journalism education's multiple environments. This means convincing academic and industry leaders, such as editors, publishers, foundations, deans, and university presidents. While buy-in is one thing, finding financial resources is the linchpin in the process. Money is what makes intentions actionable. Having the blessing of critical power-brokers provides legitimacy that, in turn, attracts capital.

A project's backers need to be organized and have a central rallying point. If the political-academic support is separated from the industrial-professional support, there is bound to be friction. These unifying elements are various. The most obvious is strong leadership within the journalism program. This could be in the form of an

individual, such as a chair or dean, or a larger group, such as the faculty body. It is unlikely that the student body, no matter how adamant, can have much influence on their own. Enrolled student demand can be a selling point to power-brokers, but the students themselves are not power-brokers. Prospective students, however, cast their vote with their choice of schools. This puts journalism programs into competition with one another.

The recent addition of coding in journalism parallels photojournalism in many ways. It is an entirely different and specialized skill-set. It is very technical. Newsrooms first relied on outsiders to do this kind of work and later wanted in-house journalist-coders. The industry looked to journalism education for such individuals. With the lessons of this dissertation in mind, several questions present themselves. Is coding a fad? Can it just be ignored or will it become as central to journalism education as photojournalism? Will scholarly-leaning journalism educators fight for it? What about professional-leaning journalism educators? What help or hindrance can be expected from other university sectors? Will coding education be farmed out to other departments? Directly answering these questions is not the purpose of this dissertation, but prompting journalism educators and administrators to ask them is.

Journalism educators should never rest on their laurels or assume an issue is settled. We must continually evaluate our practices, considering the present moment in history with an eye to preparing young journalists as best we can. We must learn to be humble and accept that while we may have large input on the future of journalism education, there are seen and unseen environmental factors. These surroundings can

be stronger than we realize. Comfort, stagnation, and institutionalization ought to be our greatest fears.

Furthermore, we must recognize the individuality of all aspects of journalism education: all programs are not the same, all teachers are not the same, all students are not the same. As journalism educators wrestle to keep journalism education relevant and up-to-date, every case needs to be evaluated individually. What worked at other programs or in other times may not be appropriate here and now. We need to be aware of the institutionalizing forces at play. This provides a greater chance that decisions are made for rational reasons, as opposed to being status-driven. Wide-scale curriculum change is frequently called for in this field. Those seeking to head these calls need to temper their reactions with the understanding that no solution can, or should, be universally applied.

How does this seemingly contradictory statement square with isomorphism? Isomorphic forces are strong and often lead to universal solutions. But they also shift over time and can be resisted, too. A keen awareness of when and how isomorphic forces are strongest allows educators and administrators to either use those forces to their advantage or fight against them, if they so desire. Awareness reveals these hidden or unseen forces, thus making increased agency available to decision makers.

This is a circular argument that is necessary for a pivotal, self-fulfilling prophecy in journalism education to work. Initially, journalism educators believe they have agency and control over their programs. If they did not have this self-actualizing belief, there would be no point in struggling with educational questions. Yet, as this dissertation has shown, there are many forces beyond the will of journalism educators

that guide journalism education. Specifically, a significant portion of educators' agency is removed by the weight of isomorphism and its unseen nature. By making the hidden isomorphic forces visible — as this dissertation has done — the unchecked power of isomorphism is diminished. Thus, a certain amount of agency returns to educators, where they thought it was all along.

I give the last words in this dissertation to Dr. James Lewis Morrill, who at the time he wrote these words was vice president of the Ohio State University. A one-time journalist and journalism educator, in 1938 he penned an article for *Journalism Quarterly* titled "Is There a Place for Instruction in Journalism?" The article, based on a speech given to the American Association for Teachers of Journalism conference earlier in the year, puts this dissertation into perspective. Dr. Morrill wrote:

> The question posed by the title of this article is a fair one: any fundamental question in education is worth asking, because new times and new generations need new answers.… any time you get an educational question settled and all but buttoned up, it probably wasn't worth taking up in the first place. In other words, real educational questions are always open questions. They're never really answered.[733]

–30–

---

733 James Lewis Morrill, "Is There a Place for Instruction in Journalism?" *Journalism Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1938): 28.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism, 1924[734]

Committee members:
>Bleyer, Willard Grosvenor; Cunliffe; Allen; Crawford [*]

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Because of the importance of newspapers and periodicals to society and government, adequate preparation is as necessary for all persons who desire to engage in journalism as it is for those who intend to practice law or medicine. No other profession has a more vital relation to the welfare of society and to the success of democratic government than has journalism. No other profession requires a wider range of knowledge or greater ability to apply such knowledge to current events and problems than does journalism. Adequate preparation for journalism, therefore, must be sufficiently broad in scope to familiarize the future journalist with the important fields of knowledge, and sufficiently practical to show the application of the knowledge to the practice of journalism.

Under present conditions the best means of acquiring this essential knowledge and of learning its application is a four-year course of study in a college or university, including such subjects as history, economics, government and politics, sociology, literature, natural science, and psychology or philosophy. Not merely acquisition of knowledge but encouragement to independent thinking and fearless search for truth should be the purpose of all courses in preparation for the profession of journalism. Instruction in all subjects in the curriculum should be vitalized by research and contact with current developments, on the part of instructors.

Preparation for journalism should also include instruction and practice in journalistic technique, and consideration of the responsibility of the journalist to society. All instruction in journalism should be based on a recognition of the function of the newspaper and other publications in society and government, and should not be concerned merely with developing proficiency in journalistic technique. The aims and methods of instruction should not be those of a trade school but should be the same standard as those of other professional schools and colleges.

Since a liberal education is recognized as essential for the journalist, the amount of instruction in journalistic technique should not constitute so large a part of the four-year course as to exclude courses in other essential subjects. Although courses in the technique of journalism will naturally be concentrated in the last two years of the four-year course, students in these years should also have the opportunity to pursue advanced work in such subjects as economics, government

---

734 American Association of Teachers of Journalism and American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism Council on Education, "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism," *Journalism Bulletin* no. 1 (1924): 30–31.

* First names not provided on original document

and politics, history and literature.

In all courses in journalism, as in courses in other subjects, instruction should be given by teachers with adequate preparation. The requirements of instructors in journalism should include at least a bachelor's degree as well as practical journalistic experience. Moreover, instruction in journalism should be vitalized by contact with current journalistic conditions, on the part of instructors.

II. STANDARDS OF EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM

On the basis of these general principles, which should determine standards of education for journalism, the following specific requirements are considered essential:

1. That instruction in preparation for journalism shall be organized as a separate academic unit; e.g., a department, course, or school of journalism: with a dean, director, or professor at its head.

2. That the successful completion of four years' work in a college or university, consisting of not less than 120 semester units, be required for a bachelor's degree in the department, course, or school of journalism.

3. That the form of the bachelor's degree granted shall indicate that the student upon whom it is conferred has successfully completed the requirements for a degree in journalism; e.g., bachelor of arts in journalism; bachelor of science, course in journalism; bachelor of journalism.

4. That the four-year course required for the bachelor's degree in journalism shall normally include history, economics, government and politics, sociology, literature, natural science, and psychology or philosophy. A reading knowledge of at least one modern foreign language is desirable.

5. That the courses offered in journalism shall afford instruction and practice in reporting, copy reading, editorial writing, and the writing of special articles; and instruction in the history of journalism, and the principles, or ethics, of journalism (with particular reference to the duties and responsibilities of the journalist to society), and the law of the press.

6. That in courses in journalism requiring writing and copy reading, the students shall have the advantage of constant individual criticism of the work by competent instructors, not by student or other assistants; and that as far as possible students shall be given the benefit to be derived from seeing their work in print.

7. That in courses in newspaper reporting students shall be required to cover regular news assignments, and that they shall have the benefit of constant criticism by competent instructors, not students or assistants, on the manner in which they handle such assignments.

8. That students shall not receive academic credit for practical journalistic work unless such work is done under the immediate supervision of an instructor in journalism as a part of a regular college course in journalism.

9. That the number of instructors in journalism shall be sufficient to insure careful attention to the individual needs of the students in the instructor's courses, and that the amount of class and laboratory work required of each instructor shall not exceed that of instructors in similar departments, such as that of English composition.

10. That instructors in journalism shall be encouraged to carry on research work and to contribute to the literature of the subject.
11. That a collection of the standard books on various phases of journalism shall be available for the use of the students, and the students be required to familiarize themselves with these books. Sufficient laboratory equipment shall also be available for use in connection with instruction in the technique of journalism.
12. That the standards of admission to aid graduation from the department, course, or school of journalism shall be sufficiently high to prevent students lacking in knowledge, ability, and proficiency from obtaining a degree in journalism.

Appendix 2

ACEJ Statement of Policy from January 1946[735]

INTRODUCTION

This statement of policy outlines and defines principles followed in accrediting schools and departments of Journalism by the Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism, a committee authorized by the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism at its meeting in Chicago, Illinois, on January 26, 1945, and approved at subsequent conventions in Columbus, Ohio, in January 1946, and Lexington, Kentucky, in January 1947.

Policies are stated in general terms, the specific application of which is made by the Accrediting Committee or one of its authorized committees subject to final approval by the American Council on Education for Journalism.

The American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism consists of thirty-four schools and departments of journalism in American universities and colleges offering a professional course in journalism. The American Council on Education for Journalism consists of ten members. Five members are elected by the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism from representatives of institutions holding membership in the association and one member is chosen by each of the following organizations: American Newspaper Publishers Association, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Inland Daily Press Association, National Editorial Association, and Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.

The Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism consists of seven members. Four members are elected by the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism upon nomination by the Council on Standards of Journalism and three members are chosen by the five newspaper organizations mentioned above.

ACCREDITATION

The Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism will consider for accreditation schools or departments of journalism which are integral parts of four-year institutions of higher learning in the United States and which have been accredited by the Association of American Universities and or by one of the following regional groups: New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Middle States Association of Colleges, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools.

Eligibility for accreditation will be based on the premise that the school or department offers a professional curriculum in journalism, the course content of

---

735 Reprinted from *Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism approved May 15, 1948 by the American Council on Education for Journalism upon recommendation of its Accrediting Committee* (American Council on Education for Journalism, 1948).

which is equal in quality and quantity to similar curricula leading to degrees in the institution in which the school or department is located.

PURPOSES OF ACCREDITING
The purposes of the American Council on Education for Journalism in accrediting schools and departments of journalism follow:

1) To describe the characteristics of schools or departments of journalism worthy of public recognition as professional schools.

2) To guide prospective students in journalism and allied fields in choosing a school or department of journalism that adequately will meet their educational needs.

3) To serve as a guide to newspapermen, magazine editors, and publishers, radio station executives, advertising agency officials, and other interested employers in the mass communication field as to which schools and departments of journalism are recognized as presenting professional programs worthy of approval.

4) To assist secondary school guidance personnel and college and university administrators, especially in the field of guidance, in advising prospective journalism students as to the schools or departments which best meet their potential needs.

5) To stimulate the constant improvement of education for journalism through continuing application of the principles of accreditation.

6) To promote closer relationship between the newspaper publishing, radio, and other mass communication fields and the schools and departments of journalism with the idea of anticipating the educational needs of the areas which the schools serve.

7) To provide accredited schools and departments with detailed information as to the success of their graduates in the various fields in which they serve.

BASES OF ACCREDITING
A school or department will be judged for accreditation on the basis of the objective of the institution of which it is a part. Wide variations will appear in programs and in objectives. The objective of a school or department in a small traditional arts college may be far removed from that of one in a large state university or a well-endowed private institution.

The primary objective of a school or department is to train candidates for the practice of journalism, but it is recognized that some schools and departments may elect to confine that training to one field or area of journalism while others may offer training in several fields such as news and editorial, business management, advertising, radio, magazine production, community journalism, or news photography. The final judgment on a school or department will be arrived at in terms of the objectives which that school has set for itself and in terms of its success in meeting the needs of the clientele it serves.

ELIGIBILITY

A school or department of journalism to be eligible for accreditation, must be an integral part of a four-year institution of higher learning accredited by the Association of American Universities or by one of the regional accrediting agencies listed in the foregoing paragraph on Accreditation or by both.

It must offer a curriculum or several curriculum leading to a degree. The content thereof must follow the established pattern of a major subject in the institution in which the school or department is located. A school or a department or a specialized curriculum within the school or department will not be considered for accreditation until it has been in operation for a sufficient length of time to enable the accrediting committee to evaluate its program on the basis of performance of its graduates.

Because the Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism considers for accreditation only schools or departments in those institutions which already have been accredited by nationally-recognized accrediting agencies, it is not necessary to outline entrance requirements, standards of student performance, or degree requirements of the schools or departments other than to state that such educational requirements of the institution must be fully met by the school or department.

INSTITUTIONAL INDIVIDUALITY

The American Council on Education for Journalism expressly denies any desire to standardize schools and departments of journalism. It recognizes that many institutions of higher learning wish to maintain and perpetuate characteristics of their own choosing. It recognizes that regional and state conditions in the newspaper field and in allied fields may influence the type of program offered by a given school or department. Certain criteria, *e.g.* facilities, financial support, training and experience of faculty, standards for students, laboratory equipment, etc., are basic, but it is clearly understood that superiority in some items may compensate for deficiency in others. Uniformity is not sought because the needs of individual employers and regional and local needs vary widely. The stated objective of the school or department is given proper consideration in determining if that school or department is fulfilling the function it has assumed for itself.

PUBLICATION OF ACCREDITED LIST

The American Council on Education for Journalism will publish a list of accredited schools and departments of journalism. From time to time additions to or deletions from this list will be made by the Council after appropriate recommendations from the Accrediting Committee.

CONTINUING PROGRAM

The American Council on Education for Journalism recognizes that a continuing program of evaluation and visitation of schools and departments must be projected to make effective the policies of the Accrediting Committee. A continuing study with periodic visits to check the operation of the various programs is planned.

As conditions change in the field, accredited schools and departments may be asked to furnish additional information about various phases of their program.

CRITERIA

      A school or department will be judged on factual data which in the opinion of the Accrediting Committee reflects the resources available for journalism education. These items include the readily measurable aspects of faculty, library, curriculum, laboratory facilities, number of students, financial support, and employers' appraisals of graduates.

      Complementing this factual data the Accrediting Committee has established a system of visitation whereby members of the committee and regional representatives chosen by them will visit each school or department applying for accreditation and evaluate such intangibles as student morale, teaching effectiveness, school prestige, regional validity, student-faculty relations, personality and achievement of faculty, effectiveness of administrative setup, and other items of a qualitative nature.

      When a school or department asks for accreditation in curriculum other than news and editorial the visitation committees include representatives from specialized areas for which the schools are asking accreditation. The Council on Radio Journalism and the Newspaper Advertising Executives Association have cooperated in furnishing additional members of the visitation committees.

      The actual accrediting of a school or department will be based upon the weighing of the data drawn from each questionnaire, plus the qualitative information obtained from personal visitation.

Appendix 3

ACEJ Standards and Guidelines, 1955[736]

      The American Council on Education for Journalism, representing both educational and professional organizations in the field of journalism, is the formally recognized agency for the accreditation of programs of professional education in journalism in institutions of higher learning in the United States.

      The Council was incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois in 1945 as an outgrowth of an original Joint Committee of Schools of Journalism and newspaper groups which was organized in 1930.

      The original members of the Council were the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism and the following industry organizations: American Newspaper Publishers Association, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Inland Daily Press Association, National Editorial Association and the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.

      The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters became a member of the Council in 1952, and the Association for Education in Journalism and the American Society of Journalism School Administrators joined the Council in 1953.

The Council is financed by contributions from its constituent members.

Objectives

The objectives of the Council as set forth in its constitution are:

1. To enhance the professional status of journalism by stimulating and encouraging sound programs of education for journalism.
2. To aid in the coordination of education for journalism and the needs of the profession.
3. To further the study and the investigation of problems in the field of education for journalism as these may be referred to the Council by a constituent member or by an individual member on the Council.
4. To define and, in so far as possible, to gain acceptance for minimum standards for professional education for journalism.
5. To act as a voluntary accrediting agency for educational programs in journalism.

Activities

      Among the activities of the Council have been a program of refresher training for teachers of news reporting, a project to present adequate and accurate guidance material to high school students interested in professional journalism, and collection of data on educational programs in journalism.

---

736 Reprinted from *Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism, 1956*, box 9, series Part 2 (MCHC83-014): Additions, 1946-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC83-014), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.

The first accrediting program of the Council was undertaken in 1946 and was financed by a grant of $15,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. A statement of policy was adopted which provided for the accreditation of educational programs in journalism by sequences. A sequence is defined as a group of related courses intended to prepare a student for specialization in a particular area.

Inspection visits of educational institutions offering programs in journalism were begun in October 1947 and by April 1948 forty-one institutions had been inspected. Thirty-five of these institutions were included in the first accredited list issued July 1, 1948. Accreditation activities were carried on through 1949, 1950, and 1951 but were suspended in 1952 pending a study of accrediting organizations by the National Commission on Accrediting.

Accredited Lists

The accredited list for 1952 contained the names of thirty-nine institutions with a total of 106 approved sequences.

In 1954-55 forty-one sequences were inspected. Thirty-one sequences in fourteen institutions were accredited in academic year 1954-55. Of these fourteen institutions, eight were originally accredited in 1948 and re-accredited in 1955, and six were institutions not previously accredited. The 1955 accredited list includes 113 sequences in forty-four colleges and universities.

Sixteen institutions, including fifteen previously accredited, have applied for inspection in 1955-56.

Accrediting Policies

ACEJ engages in the following evaluation activities:

1. Accreditation of one or more sequences in journalism through an inspection requested by the head of the institution with notice to the appropriate regional accrediting agency.
2. Accreditation of one or more sequences in journalism as part of a general inspection of an institution conducted by a regional accrediting agency with participation by ACEJ.
3. An evaluation of one or more sequences in journalism as part of a general inspection of an institution by a regional accrediting agency but without formal accreditation by ACEJ.

The following was adopted as a statement of the purposes of ACEJ accrediting of professional programs in journalism:

1. To stimulate the constant improvement of education for journalism through continuing review of objectives, program, and results.
2. To describe the characteristics of schools and departments of journalism worthy of public recognition as professional schools.
3. To guide prospective students in journalism and allied fields in choosing a school or department of journalism that will adequately meet their educational needs.
4. To serve as a guide to employers in all mass communications fields as to which schools and departments of journalism are recognized as presenting professional programs worthy of approval.

5. To promote a closer relationship among the mass communications media, communications research organizations, and the schools and departments of journalism with the idea of meeting the educational and professional needs of the areas which the schools serve.

Professional Programs

Professional schools and departments of journalism are distinguished by the following characteristics:

1. They maintain a professional program with one or more specialized sequences, leading to a bachelor's degree and/or advanced degree or degrees in journalism.
2. They are carrying on the professional training of general practitioners for the field of journalism while giving due consideration to services to the profession and to research.
3. They strive to serve not only media of national scope but also the media of their own states or sections where regional knowledge and experience are expected in staff workers.
4. They are committed to a liberal philosophy of professional training which places strong emphasis on liberal arts studies as well as on journalism techniques.
5. They provide close relationships between student and teacher.
6. They provide each student with rigorous training in techniques and procedures with maximum laboratory training and individual attention.
7. They have been developed in response to public and professional needs and have many successful graduates.

Appendix 4

ACEJ Accrediting Standards Adopted in October 1960[737]

These minimum standards for accrediting programs in the education for journalism were adopted by ACEJ in October 1960:

Since journalism is one of the most important educational forces in our free society, the educational personnel for this important function is one of the major obligations of institutions of higher learning.

The traditional American system of higher education is one that provides for a variety of approaches toward a common educational objective. Education for journalism should follow this tradition.

At the same time, diversity should not be a defense for incompetency. The public as well as professional interests call for a broad evaluation of performance based upon acceptable minimum standards.

In the statement that follows, the word "school" is used to refer to the educational unit in journalism regardless of the title of the individual unit.

1. Objectives
   a. A school of journalism should state its objectives in as concrete form as possible, and these objectives should be published in its promotional literature.
   b. A school should claim to educate students only for those areas of the broad field of journalism for which it has competent faculty, adequate library facilities, and appropriate equipment.
   c. A school should be evaluated in terms of its stated objectives. A small school that claims to train reporters should be judged on the basis of its claim. A school that claims to offer programs in the various phases of journalism should be judged on the basis of its claims.

2. Background Education
   a. A program of education for journalism should be based on a wide and varied background of competent instruction in the liberal arts and sciences.
   b. The program for education in journalism should be located in an institution with a four-year accredited program in liberal arts and sciences.
   c. The liberal arts and sciences background of the student in journalism should include wide selections as well as depth in such fields as economics, English, history, languages, literature, marketing, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology, speech, and the sciences.
   d. Generally three fourths of the student's program should consist of courses in the area of the liberal arts and sciences and one-fourth in professional courses in journalism.

3. Professional Courses

---

737 Reprinted from *Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism, 1961*, folder 15, box 2, series 1: Original Collection, 1942-1980, Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records (MCHC80-093), Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc.: 6-7.

a. The required professional courses for a program in journalism should vary with the objective of the program or sequence, but all students should be instructed in the basic elements of reporting and editing and theory, history, and responsibility of mass communication.

b. A school of journalism should concentrate its professional courses in the last two years of a four-year program, and should not offer more than two full-year professional courses (or equivalent) below the junior year. The purpose of this standard is to permit the student to acquire a basic background in the liberal arts and sciences.

4. Faculty
   a. The size of the faculty should vary with the journalism student body and with the number of specialized sequences. No schools should be accredited with fewer than two full-time faculty members or their equivalent. No school should offer a specialized sequence without one full-time faculty member who is a specialist in this area.
   b. A faculty should have a balance of adequate academic preparation and sound professional experience. A faculty should average at least four years of professional experience.

5. Facilities
   a. A school of journalism should have facilities adequate for the objectives that it has established.
   b. Library. A school should have available an adequate collection of library materials in professional journalism and in the social sciences and other areas related to journalism.
   c. Special facilities should be available if the school proposes to train personnel for special fields.

6. Graduates
   a. The professional performance of graduates of a school of journalism should be considered as a major item in its evaluation.
   b. To offer an acceptable program in journalism, a school should produce at least five graduates a year. Accreditation of a specialized sequence should not be sought unless at least five graduates a year have availed themselves of the opportunity for specialization.

7. Relationship with the media and with professional organizations
   a. A qualified school of journalism should assume an obligation to maintain a working relationship with the various media in those areas in which it offers educational programs and should cooperate with professional organizations for the maintenance and improvement of standards of journalism.

Appendix 5

Chronology[738]

1899 — Willard Bleyer begins teaching at the University of Wisconsin.

1902 — Columbia University accepts Joseph Pulitzer's $2 million endowment to fund a school of journalism.

1908 — The University of Missouri School of Journalism becomes the first independent journalism education organization.

1912 — The American Association of Teachers of Journalism (AATJ) was founded. The Columbia School of Journalism opens.

1917 — The American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) was founded.

1923 — The Council on Education for Journalism (CEDI) was formed by AATJ and AASDJ. It was charged with "determining standards and classifying schools of journalism."

1924 — The CEJ was continued and its report detailing "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" was adopted by AATJ and AASDJ.

1931 — AATJ and AASDJ voted to make the CEJ joint committee permanent and add representatives with the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The action followed several years of discussion by educators and newspaper practitioners of ways and means to achieve professional status for journalism. The possibility of establishing some system for journalism school accreditation even then was being debated.

1939 — The National Council for Education in Journalism (NCEJ) was formed by five AASDJ representatives and five newspaper organizations: The American Society of Newspaper Editors, The American Newspaper Publishers Association, the National Editorial Association, the Inland Daily Press Association, and the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association. Stimulus for the organization meeting apparently came from the ASNE's Committee on the Schools of Journalism. The Council assumed the responsibility to "act as a recognizing or accrediting agency for the schools of journalism, to give official recognition … to schools that will meet the standards that we think are necessary for effective education."

1940 — The NCEJ chairman appointed a committee to "ascertain ways and means of carrying forward a further intensive qualitative survey of the 145 institutions offering professional programs to determine standards which should be set up for professional recognition." NCEJ's educator membership was limited to representatives of AASDJ, which had been carrying on an intramural form of accreditation prior to the 1939 formation of the joint council. The Henry W. Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia gives its first photography class.

---

738 From J. W. Schwartz, *The Evolution of Journalism Accrediting* (ad hoc Committee on Councils and Committees of the Association for Education in Journalism, 1964).

1944 — The American Society of Journalism School Administrators (ASJSA) was organized, partly as a protest to the accrediting movement. AASDJ constitution sets guidelines for offering photo classes.

1945 — The CEJ's name was changed to the American Council for Education in Journalism. At that time, AASDJ was recognized as the accrediting agency for schools of journalism by the National Association of State Universities, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, and the American Council on Education. In this same year, ASNE's Board of Directors approved a resolution calling for a "more authoritative and comprehensive accrediting system for schools of journalism" and recognizing that the authority for accrediting change rested with "representatives of major newspaper organizations and the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism." AASDJ accepted the new accreditation policy at its 1945 meeting.

1946 — ACEJ's Accrediting Committee held its first meeting and named Dr. Earl English, University of Missouri, as its executive secretary.

1947 — The first round of accreditation visits was made. The Department of Journalism and Public Relations at the University of Maryland opens its doors.

1948 — The first list of 35 accredited schools was published.

1950 — The three major journalism educator groups — AATJ, AASDJ, and ASJSA — joined in organizing the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ). The new constitution designated AASDJ and ASJSA as coordinate association members of AEJ and became effective January 1, 1951. All three groups voted their approval of the new document, AATJ in 1949 and the other two in 1950.

1952 — The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters (now the National Association of Broadcasters) became a member of ACEJ. All accreditation activities suspended pending a review of accrediting organizations by the National Commission on Accrediting.

1953 — AASDJ was joined in ACEJ membership by AEJ and by ASJSA. In 1953, ASJSA was being designated "as the representative of journalism education in relations with the Regional Accrediting Associations" by the National Commission on Accrediting, but the reorganization of ACEJ's educator membership led to NCA's recommendation that ACEJ become journalism's accrediting representative.

1954 — Accrediting activities resume.

1957 — The Magazine Publishers Association became a member of ACEJ. AEJ's representation on ACEJ was increased from two to three. UGA's Grady School of Journalism accredited for the second time by ACEJ.

1959 — ACEJ published its accreditation standards in a pamphlet: "Programs in Journalism Accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism."

1960 — National Press Photographers Association becomes affiliated with ACEJ as an associate member. New minimum standards for accreditation adopted by ACEJ.

1961 — The Department of Journalism and Public Relations at UMD is accredited in News-Editorial sequence and Public Relations for the first time by ACEJ.

1963 — UGA's Grady School of Journalism accredited for the third time by ACEJ.

1964 — ACEJ, through its Accrediting Committee, is the only agency authorized by the National Commission on Accrediting to carry out accrediting procedures for schools and departments of journalism. Accrediting applies to undergraduate programs only, ACEJ having voted in 1956 to leave postgraduate evaluation to the Association of Graduate Schools.

Appendix 6

Le Moniteur Universel, Monday, January 14, 1839

DECOUVERTE DE M. DAGUERRE.

Cette découverte de M. Daguerre est depuis quelque tems [sic.] un sujet de merveilleux récits. L'artiste à qui nous devons les ingénieux tableaux du Diorama s'était livré à l'étude des propriétés de la lumière avec cette ardeur et cette patience qui n'appartiennent qu'au génie. Après quatorze ans de recherches et d'essais, il était parvenu à recueillir et à fixer sur un plan solide la lumière naturelle, à donner un corps à l'empreinte fugitive, impalpable, des objectes réfléchis dans la rétine de l'œil, dans un miroir, dans l'appareil de la chambre noire. Figurez-vous une glace qui, après avoir reçu votre image vous rend votre portrait, ineffaçable comme un tableau et bien plus ressemblant : voilà disait-on, la merveille inventée par M. Daguerre. Là-dessus, les incrédules de sourire ; et les savans [sic.] superficiels de réduire cette miraculeuse invention à une expérience vulgaire de chemin. C'est impossible, c'est absurde, disent les uns. Rien de plus simple, disent les autres ; ne sait-on pas qu'il existe des substances qui subissent sensiblement l'action de la lumière, et qui en conservent l'empreinte ? le sulfate d'argent, par exemple, n'at-il pas la propriété de s'altérer au contact des rayons solaires, au point de retenir la figure des objets qu'il regarde ? Or, les uns et les autres se trompent : les incrédules, d'abord ; car les récits qui ont été faits des résultats de cette découverte, quelque fabuleux qu'ils paraissent, sont conformes à la vérité, hors ce point que les tableaux de M. Daguerre ne reproduisent pas la couleur, mais seulement le trait, les ombres et les claires du modèle. Ce n'est pas de la peinture, c'est du dessin poussé à un degré de perfection que l'art ne pourra jamais atteindre. Quant à l'explication des savans, elle tombe à la première vue. En effet, on sait que le sulfate d'argent noircit au contact de la lumière, de telle sorte que l'image qu'il donne rend en noire les parties éclairées, et en claire les parties ombrées, tandis que l'image obtenue par M. Daguerre répète la nature ombre pour ombre, clair pour clair, demi-teinte pour demi-teinte. Le *facsimilé* est d'une fidélité irréprochable. Ajoutez que le sulfate d'argent est sujet à subir indéfiniment l'influence de la lumière, et qu'il perd en noircissant à la longue la trace des figures, au lieu que les types recueillis par M. Daguerre sont inaltérables. Ajoutez encore que l'impression de la lumière sur le sulfite s'opère avec une extrême lenteur, et que l'appareil de M. Daguerre s'approprie le rayon lumineux en quelques minutes, en quelques seconds, selon l'intensité de la lumière.

Quel est le secret de l'inventeur ? quelle est la substance douée d'une si étonnante sensibilité, que non seulement elle se pénètre de la lumière, mais qu'elle en conserve l'impression, qu'elle opère à la fois comme l'œil et comme le nerf optique , comme l'instrument matériel de la sensation et comme la sensation même ? En vérité, nous n'en savons rien. M. Arago et M. Biot, qui ont fait à l'Académie des sciences des rapports sur les effets de la découverte de M. Daguerre, ont renoncé à en définir les causes. Ces rapports ne ont que des descriptions. Nous avouons sans la moindre honte notre

DISCOVERY BY MR. DAGUERRE.[739]

Mr. Daguerre's discovery has been for some time a subject of great stories. The artist to whom we owe the clever Diorama pictures has engaged in the study of the properties of light with the ardor and patience belonging only to a genius. After fourteen years of research and testing, he has managed to collect and to fix natural light on a flat surface, giving form to the fleeting and intangible objects reflected in the eye's retina, in a mirror, or in a camera obscura. Imagine a looking-glass that after having received your reflection renders your indelible likeness similarly to a painting and even more accurate: this describes the marvel invented by Mr. Daguerre. About this the skeptics laugh; and the superficially wise reduce this miraculous invention to a carnival show. It is impossible and absurd, say some. Nothing simpler, say others; do we not know of substances which react to light and keep the contours? Silver sulfate, for example, does it not have the property of changing when exposed to solar rays, retaining the contours of the things it observes? But both are wrong, first the skeptics, because as outlandish as they seem, the stories of the discovery's results are true, except that Mr. Daguerre's images do not reproduce color, but only the shape, shadows, and luminosity of the subject. This is not a painting, this picture rises to a degree of perfection that art can never reach. As for the explination of the wise, it falls apart at first sight. In fact, we know that silver sulfate darkens in contact with light, so in the image it makes the dark parts light, and the light parts dark, while the image obtained by Mr. Daguerre copies the original dark for dark, light for light, halftone for halftone. The *reproduction* is flawlessly accurate. Also, silver sulfate remains sensitive to light, and eventually darkens thus loseing the subject's contours, whereas those produced by Mr. Daguerre are permanent. Furthermore, the impression of the light on sulfites occurs very slowly, while Mr. Daguerre's device captures the light rays in a few minutes or a few seconds, depending on the light's intensity.

What is the inventor's secret? What substance is endowed with such an astonishing sensitivity, that it not only is penetrated by the light, but retains the imprint, that it operates at once as the eye and as the optic nerve, like the cause of the sensation and like the sensation itself? In truth, we really do not know. Mr. Argo and Mr. Boit, who have made reports to the Academy of Sciences on the effects of Mr. Daguerre's discovery, have given up on finding the explanations. These reports have only descriptions. We admit without the slightest shame our profound

---

739 Translation by author of this dissertation.

profonde ignorance. Nous devons à la complaisance de l'inventeur d'avoir vu ses chefs-d'œuvre où la nature s'est dessinée elle-même. Nous ne pouvons que raconter nos impressions , nous ne répondons que de la fidélité de notre récit.

A chaque tableau mis sont nos yeux, c'était une exclamation admirative. Quelle finesse de trait ! quelle entente du clair obscur ! quelle délicatesse ! quel fini ! que cette étoffe est moelleuse ! quelle saille dans ces bas-reliefs et ces rondes bosses ! Voici une Vénus accroupie, vue sous différens aspects : comme ces raccourcis sont rendus ! c'est la statue elle-même , c'est un vrai trompe-l'œil. Tout cela est admirable ; mais, dison-nous, qui nous assure que cela n'est pas l'ouvrage d'un habile dessinateur ? qui nous dit que vous ne nous montrez pas des lavis au bistre ou à la sépia ? Pour toute réponse, M. Daguerre nous met une loupe à la main. Alors nous apercevons les moindres plis d'une étoffe, les lignes invisibles à l'œil nu d'un paysage. A l'aide d'une lorgnette, nous rapprochons les lointains ; dans cette masse de constructions , d'accessoires , d'accidens [sic.] imperceptibles dont se compose cette vue de Paris, prise du pont des Arts, nous distinguons les petits détails, nous comptons les pavés, nous voyons l'humidité produite par la pluie ; nous lisons l'enseigne d'une boutique. Tous les fils du tissu lumineux ont passé de l'objet dans l'image. L'effet devient plus étonnant encore, si l'on emploie les procédés microscopiques. Un insecte de la grosseur d'un pois, l'araignée fileuse des jardins, portés à une dimension énorme à l'aide du microscope solaire, est réfléchi dans cette même dimension par le miroir merveilleux, et avec la plus minutieuse exactitude. On conçoit combien la découverte de M. Daguerre doit profiter à l'étude de l'histoire naturelle.

Déjà l'artiste a fourni à la science la solution de plusieurs problèmes. Ses expériences sur la lumière de Sirius ont confirmé le témoignage de la physique et constaté surabondamment que les étoiles sont es corps de même nature que le soleil. A la prière de M. Biot, M. Daguerre a soumis son appareil à l'influence jusqu'alors problématique de la lumière de la lune. On sait que les rayons de'emprunt que cet astre nous envoie n'ont point de chaleur appréciable, et que, rassemblés en faisceau par la plus forte lentille, ils ne produisent aucune variation sur le thermomètre. Cependant leur lumière agit sur la substance découverte par M. Daguerre : il est parvenu à fixer sur son appareil l'image de la lune. Nous avons remarqué à la suite de cette image une trainée lumineuse un pue semblable à la queue d'une comète, et nous avons attribué cet effet au déplacement du corps céleste pendant l'opération, opération infiniment plus longue que celle qui se pratique sur la lumière solaire.

Nous avons déjà dit que l'impression de l'image se faisait avec plus ou moins de rapidité, selon l'intensité de la lumière ; elle est plus prompte à midi que le matin ou le soir, par un jour d'été que par un jour d'hiver, sous une latitude rapprochée des pôles. M. Daguerre n'a encore fait d'expérience qu'à Paris, et ses expériences, dans les circonstances les plus favorables, ont toujours éprouvé une lenteur qui ne lui a permis d'obtenir des résultats complets que sur la nature morle ou reposée ; le mouvement lui échappe ou ne lui laisse que des vestiges indécis et vagues. Il est présumable que le soleil d'Afrique lui donnerait des autographies instantanées, des images de la nature en action et en vie.

La découverte, au point oú elle est déjà parvenue, á en juger par les produits que nous avons vus, fait présager des conséquences d'une grande importance pour l'art et pour la science. Quelques personnes s'en

ignorance. We are indebted to the inventor's kindness for having seen his masterpieces in which nature itself has been drawn. We can only relate our experiences, we can only speak to the truthfulness of our story.

For every picture we placed our eyes upon, there was a cry of admiration. What sharp lines! What harmony of light and shadow! What refinement! What an accomplishment! That this material is malleable! What definition in these peaks and valleys! Here is a kneeling Venus, seen from different angles: how its carvings are shown! It is the statue itself, it is a real optical illusion. All this is admirable; but, tell us, what assures us that this is not the work of a skillful draftsman? Who says you aren't showing sketches tinted bister or sepia? In reply, Mr. Daguerre put a magnifying glass in out hand. Then we see the smallest details, the lines invisible to the naked eye from afar. With the help of glasses, we bring close the distant; in this mass of buildings, of accessories, of tiny details which make up this this view of Paris, taken from the Pont des Arts, we see the smallest details, we count the cobblestones, we see the puddles from the rain; we read a shop sign. All the threads of the luminous fabric have passed from the object to the image. The effect becomes even more astonishing if the microscopic method is used. An insect the size of a pea, the spider spinning in a garden, blown up with the solar microscope, is examined at this large size by the marvelous mirror, and with the most minute accuracy. One can imagine how Mr. Daguerre's discovery will benefit the study of natural history.

The artist has already provided science with the solution to several problems. His experiments on the light of Sirius used physical evidence to prove without the shadow of doubt that the stars are made of the same material as the sun. At the behest of Mr. Boit, Mr. Daguerre turned his instrument to the hitherto problematic affect of moon light. It is well known that the reflected rays which this celestial body sends have no appreciable heat, and that, even focused by the strongest lens, they produce no variation on the thermometer. However, its light acts on the substance discovered by Mr. Daguerre: he has succeeded capturing on his material the image of the moon. We have noticed in this picture a trail of light resembling that of a comet, and we have attributed this effect to the movement of the celestial body during the exposure, a longer exposure than is needed in the sunlight.

We have already mentioned that capturing the image impression of the image was made faster or slower, depending to the intensity of the light; It is faster at noon than in the morning or evening, on a summer's day than on a winter's day, near a latitude close to the poles. Mr. Daguerre has not yet done experiments in Paris, and his experiments, even under the most favorable circumstances, have always been slow, this has allowed him to only get results from dead or unmoving things; movement is not captured or leaves only indistinct and vague marks. It is likely that the African sun would give him instant photographs of nature in action and alive.

The discovery, to the extent it is already begun, judging from the products we have seen, foretells important repercussions for art and science. Some people are worried this will leave nothing for sketch-

sont inquiétées en considérant qu'elle ne laisserait plus rien á faire aux dessinateurs et puet-etra un jour aux peintres. Il nous semble qu'elle ne saurait être préjudiciable qu'à l'industrie des copistes. Nous n'avons pas ouï dire que l'invention du moulage sur nature et celle du physionotype aient porté ombrage au génie de la statuaire. La découverte de l'imprimerie a fait grand tort aux scribes, mais non pas aux écrivains.

(*J. du Comm.*)

artists to do and one day possibly painters. It seems to us that it can only be hurtful to the copyists' industry. We have not heard said that the invention of casting nature and of the plaster cast have been a detriment to the art of sculpting. The discovery of the printing press did a great harm to scribes, but not to writers.

(*J. of Comm.*)

Sources and Bibliography

Archival Sources

Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications Records, 1942, collection numbers MCHC80-093; MCHC83-014; M85-296; M92-038; M92-165; M92-275, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mchc80093

Al Danegger Collection, 1946, collection number 2006-161, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/7720

Annual Reports, 1930, collection number 97-105:32, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/collectionguide/browse.html

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Records, 1912, collection number U.S. Mss 154AF; Audio 628A; M2003-034, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisc. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-us0154af

Board of Regents records, 1916, collection number 72-28, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1635

College of Journalism records, 1949, collection number 77-17, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1654

Frederick C. Davison Papers, 1937, collection number UGA 97-101, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/uga97-101.html

Grady College of Journalism estrays, collection number UGA 85-036, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/uga85-036.html

Henry W. Grady School of Journalism annual reports, 1940, collection number 05-054, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University Archives, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/uga05-054.html

John E. Drewry papers, 1920, collection number UGA 04-026, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/uga04-026.html

John Eldridge Drewry papers, 1925, collection number MS 1395, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://hmfa.libs.uga.edu/hmfa/view?docId=ead/ms1395-ead.xml

Jonathan Clark Rogers Papers, 1938, collection number UGA 97-099, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga. http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/uga97-099.html

Office of the President, University of Maryland records, series 8 addendum: Harry Clifton Byrd, 1935, collection number 94-85, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1634

Office of the President, University of Maryland records, series 9: Thomas B. Symons, 1954, collection number 94-85, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1634

Office of the President, University of Maryland records, series 10 addendum: Wilson H. Elkins, 1954, collection number 94-85, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1634

Philip Geraci collection, 1960, collection number 2006-167, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/7706

Records of Sigma Delta Chi, 1955, collection number 89-121, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md. http://hdl.handle.net/1903.1/1641

University of Maryland course catalogs, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, Hornbake Library, College Park, Md.
http://www.lib.umd.edu/univarchives/catalogs

Warren K. Agee papers, 1948, collection number UGA 06-008, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.
http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/uga06-008.html

Bibliography

Abbott, Andrew Delano. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism approved May 15, 1948, by the American Council on Education for Journalism upon recommendation of its Accrediting Committee. American Council on Education for Journalism, 1948.

Adam, G. Stuart. "The Education of Journalists." *Journalism* 2, no. 3 (2001): 315–39.

Alchian, Armen A. "Uncertainty, Evolution, and Economic Theory." *Journal of Political Economy* 58, no. 3 (1950): 211–21.

Aldrich, Howard E. *Organizations and Environments*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979.

Allen, Eric W. "Journalism as Applied Social Science." *Journalism Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (1927): 1–7.

American Annual of Photography, The. New York, N.Y.: Tennant and Ward, 1908.

American Association of Teachers of Journalism and American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism Council on Education. "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism." *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 30–31.

Arpan, Floyd G. "Can Press Photography Be Taught?" *Journalism Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1947): 239–42.

Asher, Brad. "An Applied Social Science: Journalism Education and Professionalization, 1900-1955." *American Journalism Historians Association* (1993).

———. "The Professional Vision: Conflicts over Journalism Education, 1900-1955." *American Journalism* 11, no. 4 (1994): 304–20.

Barnhurst, Kevin G. "Curriculum and Instruction in Visual Communication." *Journalism Educator* 46, no. 1 (1991): 4–8.

Beasley, Maurine H. "The Women's National Press Club: Case Study of Professional Aspirations." *Journalism Studies* 15, no. 4 (1988): 112–21.

Bennett, Arnold. *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide*. John Lane: London & New York, 1898.

Benson, Ivan. *Fundamentals of Journalism*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932.

Bentel, Dwight. "Survey Shows Need of Photo Training." *Editor and Publisher* 84 (1951): 40.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, N.Y.: Penguin, 1966.

Bleyer, Willard Grosvenor. *Newspaper Writing and Editing*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913.

———. *Types of News Writing*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916.

———. *Newspaper Writing and Editing*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923.

———. *Newspaper Writing and Editing*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932.

———. "What Schools of Journalism are trying to do." *Journalism Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (1931): 35–44.

Blom, Robin and Lucinda D. Davenport. "Searching for the Core of Journalism Education: Program Directors Disagree on Curriculum Priorities." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 67, no. 1 (2012): 70–86.

Bourke-White, Margaret. "Boom Town Fort Peck." *Life* 1, no. 1 (1936).

Brennen, Bonnie and Hanno Hardt, eds. *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Brockmeyer, Henry John. *Practical Course in Journalism*. New York: 1923.

Bush, George S. "Needed: A New Look in Photojournalism Courses." *Journalism Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1958): 216–20.

———. "Survey Shows New Needs for Photojournalists." *Journalism Quarterly* 38 (1961): 216–17.

———. "Technique vs Meaning in Photojournalism." *Journalism Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1960): 97–101.

Butterfield, Herbert. *The Whig Interpretation of History*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1931.

Campbell, W. Joseph. *Getting it Wrong: Ten of the Greatest Misreported Stories in American Journalism*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010.

Capa, Robert. "Beachheads of Normandy." *Life* 16, no. 25 (1944): 25–37.

Carey, James W. "The Problem of Journalism History." *Journalism History* 1, no. 1 (1974): 3–5, 27.

———. "Some Personal Notes on US Journalism Education." *Journalism* 1, no. 1 (2000): 12–23.

Carlebach, Michael L. *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

———. *American Photojournalism Comes of Age*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

Carpenter, Serena. "An Application of the Theory of Expertise: Teaching Broad and Skill Knowledge Areas to Prepare Journalists for Change." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 64, no. 3 (2009): 287–304.

Churchill, GW. "Good Pictures Just Don't Happen." In *News Photography Short Course Digest*, edited by Alfred A. Crowell, Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947.

Clark, Daniel A. "The Two Joes Meet Joe College, Joe Veteran: The GI Bill, College Education, and Postwar American Culture." *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1998): 165–89.

Cohen, Arthur M. *The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System*. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998.

Colvin, James. "Photo-journalism is Here to Stay." *Quill* 40, no. 2 (1952): 10.

Conn, Earl Lewis. "The American Council on Education for Journalism: An Accrediting History." Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1970.

Cookman, Claude Hubert. *A Voice is Born: The Founding and Early Years of the National Press Photographers Association Under the Leadership of Joseph Costa*. Durham, N.C.: National Press Photographers Association, 1985.

———. *American Photojournalism: Motivations and Meanings*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2009.

Copeland, Thomas Campbell. "Newspaper Illustrations." In *The Ladder of Journalism. How to climb it*, 73–77. New York: Allan Forman, 1889.

Complete Book of Press Photography. New York: National Press Photographers Association, 1950.

Costa, Joseph. "Ethics in News Photography." In *News Photography Short Course Digest*, edited by Alfred A. Crowell, Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947.

Crook, James A. "1940s: Decade of Adolescence for Professional Education." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 50, no. 1 (1995): 4–15.

Crowell, Alfred A., ed. *News Photography Short Course Digest, 1947*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1947.

Daly, Chris. "The Historiography of Journalism History, Part 1: 'an Overview'." *American Journalism* 26, no. 1 (2009): 141–55.

Darity, William A., Jr., ed. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference, 2008.

de Burgh, Hugo, ed. *Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2005.

DeJordy, Rich and Bradley A. Almond. "Organization Theory." International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (2008): 68–70.

Denzin, Norman K. *Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook*. Aldine Transaction, 2006.

DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147–60.

Dooley, Patricia L. *The Technology of Journalism: Cultural Agents, Cultural Icons*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2007.

Duncan, Charles W. "Accreditation Issues Debated at 1983 AEJMC Convention." *Journalism Educator* 38, no. 4 (1984): 3–8.

Dyer, Thomas G. *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785–1985*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1985.

Editor and Publisher. "Day of Hackneyed Photos Is Over, Bellamy Says." LXXI, no. 10 (1938): 36.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Letter to Michael Radock, Director of Kent State University News Bureau." *Short Course Digest* (1946).

Eisert, Sandra. "Commentary." *Visual Communication Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1995): 3.

Elkins, James. *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013.

Emery, Edwin and Joseph P. McKerns. *AEJMC, 75 Years in the Making: A History of Organizing for Journalism and Mass Communication Education in the United States*. Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1987.

Fenno, John Ward. *Gazette of the United States*. Philadelphia, Penn.: March 4, 1799.

Flynn, Charles. "News Photography Teaching in Schools of Journalism." *Journalism Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1943): 50–53.

Folkerts, Jean. "History of Journalism Education." *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 16, no. 4 (2014): 227–99.

Fowler, Nathaniel C. *The Handbook of Journalism: All About Newspaper Work*. New York: Sully and Kleinteich, 1913.

Freeland, Richard M. "The World Transformed: A Golden Age for American Universities, 1945–1970." *A.S.H.E. Reader Series* The History of Higher Education (2007): 597–617.

Freund, Gisèle. *Photography & Society*. Boston: David R. Godine, 1980.

———. "Press Photography." Photography & Society (1980): 103–14.

Fulton, Marianne and Estelle Jussim. *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, in association with the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1988.

Geiger, Roger L. "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850-1890." *A.S.H.E. Reader Series* The History of Higher Education (2007): 360–76.

Georgia Alumni Record. "School of Journalism Faculty." XVII, no. 5 (1938): 158–159, 168.

Gibbon, William Ross. "A Survey of Pictorial Journalism Courses in US Colleges and Universities as Disclosed by an Analysis of the Photo-Journalism Offerings of a Majority of the Colleges, Schools and Departments of Journalism, With Related Comment of Executives of Representative Newspapers." MA thesis, Ohio State University, 1952.

Gidal, Tim. *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933*. New York: Macmillan, 1973.

Glass, Dudley. *Writing for the Press*. Atlanta, Ga.: Webb and Vary, 1915.

Gleason, Timothy Roy. "The Development of a Photojournalism Historiography: An Analysis of Journalism History Approaches." Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 2000.

Griffin, Michael. "The Great War Photographs: Constructing Myths of History and Photojournalism." *The History of Communication* Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography (1999): 122–57.

Gurr, Charles Stephen. *The Personal Equation: A Biography of Steadman Vincent Sanford*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1999.

Hadlock, Edwin H. *Press Correspondence and Journalism*. San Francisco: United Press Syndicate, 1910.

Harrington, H. F. and Elmo Scott Watson. *Modern Feature Writing, Including Topics for Discussion at Sessions of the Blue Pencil Club*. New York; London: Harper & Bros., 1935.

Harter, Nathan W. "Bureaucracy." International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (2008): 389–91.

Harwood, Dix. *Getting and Writing News*. New York: George H. Doran company, 1927.

Herbst, Jurgen. "Rethinking American Professional Education." *A.S.H.E. Reader Series* The History of Higher Education (2007): 412–20.

Hicks, Wilson. *Words and Pictures: an Introduction to Photojournalism*. New York: Harper, 1952.

Horrell, C. William. "The Status of Education For Photojournalism." *Journalism Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1961): 213–17.

Hunt, Lewis W. *Displaying the News: A Desk Manual in Newspaper Technique, with Practice Sheets in Copy Reading and Headline Writing*. New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1934.

Hyde, Grant Milnor. *Newspaper Reporting and Correspondence a Manual for Reporters, Correspondents, and Students of Newspaper Writing*. New York; London: Appleton, 1912.

———. *Handbook for Newspaper Workers: Treating Grammar, Punctuation, English, Diction, Journalistic Structure, Typographical Style, Accuracy, Headlines, Proofreading, Copyreading, Type, Cuts, Libel, and Other Matters of Office Practice*. New York, London: D. Appleton and Co., 1921.

Josephi, Beate. "Journalism Education." In *Handbook of Journalism Studies*, edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch, 29–41. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Kahan, Robert Sidney. "The Antecedents of American Photojournalism." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1969.

Kerr, Clark, Marian L. Gade, and Maureen Kawaoka. "Higher Education and External History Cannot Escape Each Other." In *Higher Education Cannot Escape History: Issues for the Twenty-first Century*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Kitch, Carolyn. "Women in Journalism." In *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices*, edited by Wm. David Sloan and Lisa Mullikin Parcell, 87–96. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Knowlton, Steven R. and Karen L. Freeman. *Fair and Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*. Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2005.

Kraatz, Matthew S. and Emily S. Block. "Organizational Implications of Institutional Pluralism." In *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, edited by Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Kerstin Sahlin, and Roy Suddaby, 243–75. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2008.

Lagemann, Ellen Condlffe. "Surveying the Professions." In *The History of Higher Education*, edited by Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann, 421–29. Boston: Pearson, 2007.

Lammers, John C. and Joshua B. Barbour. "An Institutional Theory of Organizational Communication." *Communication Theory* 16, no. 3 (2006): 356–77.

Lammers, John C. and Mattea A. Garcia. "Exploring the Concept of 'Profession' for Organizational Communication Research: Institutional Influences in a Veterinary Organization." *Management Communication Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (2009): 357–84.

———. "Institutional Theory." The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Communication (2013): 195–217.

Landrum, Lesly Brock. "Loss of Current, Former Faculty Saddens UT Community, Willis C Tucker." *The Volunteer Yearbook* 105 (2002): 107.

Lange, Dorothea. "Destitute Pea Pickers in California Mother of Seven Children Age Thirty-Two Nipomo, California (Migrant Mother)." (1936).

Larson, Magali Sarfatti. *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1977.

Lazerson, Marvin. "The Disappointments of Success: Higher Education after World War II." *A.S.H.E. Reader Series* The History of Higher Education (2007): 792–800.

Lee, James Melvin. *Instruction in Journalism in Institutions of Higher Education, Bulletin 21.* Washington: Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, 1918.

Leslie, W. Bruce. "The Age of the College." *A.S.H.E. Reader Series* The History of Higher Education (2007): 377–90.

Lewis, Lynn Lopata. "The FSA Photographic Project: Its Effect on Photojournalism in the Sixties." MA thesis, Ohio State University, 1969.

Libération. "Aujourd'hui, un «Libé» sans photo." Nov. 14, 2013.

Luce, Robert. *Writing for the Press; a Manual for Editors, Reporters, Correspondents, and Printers*. Boston: Writer Pub. Co., 1891.

Luxon, Norval Neil. "Professional Education for Journalism in America." *Nieman Reports* 13, no. 1 (1959): 16.

MacDougall, Curtis Daniel. *A College Course in Reporting for Beginners*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.

Maryland State Archives. "University of Maryland, College Park: Origin & Functions." *Maryland Manual On-Line: A Guide to Maryland Government* (2010): Accessed March 31, 2011. www.msa.md.gov/msa/mdmanual/25univ/umcp/html/umcpf.html#journalism

Masse, M.H. and M.N. Popovich. "Accredited and Nonaccredited Media Writing Programs Are Stagnant, Resistant to Curricular Reform, and Similar." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 62, no. 2 (2007): 141–60.

Massey, Brian. "What Job Advertisements Tell Us about Demand for Multiplatform Reporters at Legacy News Outlets." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 65, no. 2 (2010): 142–55.

Maulsby, William Shipman. *Getting the News*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and company, 1925.

Medsger, Betty. "The Evolution of Journalism Education in the United States." Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues (2005).

Meyer, John W. and Brian Rowan. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 2 (1977): 340–63.

Meyer, John W. and W. Richard Scott. "Centralization and Legitimacy Problems of Local Government." In *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*, edited by John W. Meyer and W. Richard Scott, 199–215. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1983.

Milwaukee Journal, The. "Journalism School is the Bunk, Says Conceited Editor." May 30, 1933.

Mirando, Joseph Andrew. "Training and Education of Journalists." In *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices*, edited by Wm. David Sloan and Lisa Mullikin Parcell, 77–86. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2002.

———. "Journalism Education: Early Views of Training Influence Pedagogy in Today's Schools." In *The Media in America: A History*, edited by Wm. David Sloan, 500. Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2008.

Moniteur Universel, Le. "Découverte de M Daguerre." Monday, January 14, 1839.

Moore, Walter Clement. *Complete Course in Photographic Journalism*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Walhamore Company, 1921.

Morrill, James Lewis. "Is There a Place for Instruction in Journalism?" *Journalism Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1938): 28–34.

National Press Photographer. "Hello, Everybody! This is the Voice of the Press Photographer." 1, no. 1 (1946).

National Press Photographers Association. "NPPA Code of Ethics." *nppa.org* Accessed 2014-07-30, https://nppa.org/code_of_ethics.

Nemec, Mark R. "The Role of Curricular Debate in the University." *The Review of Higher Education* 20, no. 2 (1996): 215–27.

Nerone, John. "Approaches to Media History." A Companion to Media Studies (2003).

———. "The Future of Communication History." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 3 (2006): 254–62.

News Photography Record. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1939.

Nord, David Paul. "A Plea for Journalism History." *Journalism History* 15, no. 1 (1988): 8–15.

Paris, Sherre Lynne. "Raising Press Photography to Visual Communication in American Schools of Journalism, with Attention to the Universities of Missouri and Texas, 1880s–1990s." Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2007.

Parks, Gordon. "Washington, DC Government Charwoman (Ella Watson)." (1942).

Pollard, James E. "Journalism and the College." *The Journal of Higher Education* 10, no. 7 (1939): 356–62.

Popular Photography. "New Books." 25, no. 5 (1949): 141.

Porter, Philip Wiley and Norval Neil Luxon. *The Reporter and the News*. New York; London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935.

Pouncey, Truman. "Basic Photo-Journalism Policy Agreement Needed." *Journalism Quarterly* 30 (1953): 226–29.

Prechel, Harland. "Organizations." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by William A. Darity, Jr., 71–74. Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference, 2008.

Price, Jack. *News Photography*. New York, N.Y.: Industries Publishing Company, 1932.

———. *News Pictures*. New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1937.

———. "Courses in Pictorial Journalism Now Given by Dozen Universities." *Editor and Publisher* 70 (1937): 35.

———. "Opportunities for the News Photographers in the Postwar Era." *Short Course Digest* (1946).

———. "Journalism Schools Doing Good Job Training Photographers." *Editor and Publisher* 72 (1939): 26.

———. *A Guide for Military and News Photography*. New York, N.Y.: Falk Pub. Co., 1944.

Pulitzer, Joseph. "The College of Journalism." *The North American Review* 178, no. 570 (1904): 641–80.

Red and Black, The. "Drewry Will Continue at Post Despite Rumors." April 28, 1950.

Reed, Perley Isaac. *Applied Writing by the Journalistic Method*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929.

Rinhart, Floyd and Robert W. Wagner, *The American Tintype* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999.

Robbins, Hud. "Announcement Regarding News Photographers' Association." News Photography Record, vol. II (1939): 22.

Roberts, Churchill L. "ACEJMC Accreditation." *ACA Bulletin* 66 (1988): 17–19.

Robertson, Stewart. *Introduction to Modern Journalism*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1930.

Rosenthal, Joe. "American Marines Raising American Flag on Mount Suribachi, Iwo Jima, 1945." (1945).

Ross, Charles G. *The Writing of News: A Handbook With Chapters on Newspaper Correspondence and Copy Reading*. New York: H. Holt and Company, 1911.

Rush, Ramona R., Carol E. Oukrop, and Pamela J. Creedon, eds. *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education: A 30-Year Update.* Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004.

Russell, John Dale. "Basic Conclusions and Recommendations of the President's Commission on Higher Education." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 22, no. 8 (1949): 493–508.

Sage Handbook of Organizational Communication, The. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2013.

Schwartz, J. W. *The Evolution of Journalism Accrediting*. ad hoc Committee on Councils and Committees of the Association for Education in Journalism, 1964.

Scott, W. Richard and John W. Meyer. "The Organization of Societal Sectors." In *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*, edited by John W. Meyer and W. Richard Scott, 129–53. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1983.

Seitz, Don Carlos. *Training for the Newspaper Trade*. Philadelphia; London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1916.

Selznick, Philip. *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949.

———. *Leadership in Administration a Sociological Interpretation*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957.

Shuman, Edwin Llewellyn. *Steps Into Journalism; Helps and Hints for Young Writers*. Evanston, Ill.: Correspondence School of Journalism, 1894.

Sloan, Wm. David, ed. *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990.

Sloan, Wm. David, ed. *The Media in America: A History.* Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 2008.

Sloan, Wm. David and Lisa Mullikin Parcell, eds. *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2002.

Sloan, Wm. David and Michael Stamm. *Historical Methods in Communication*. Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2010.

———. "Interpretation in History." In *Historical Methods in Communication*, 23–48. Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2010.

Smith, C. Zoe and Andrew Mendelson. "Visual Communication Education: Cause for Concern or Bright Future?" *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 51, no. 3 (1996): 66–73.

Sorrells, John H. *The Working Press: Memos From the Editor About the Front and Other Pages*. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1930.

Spencer, M. Lyle. *News Writing, the Gathering, Handling and Writing of News Stories*. Boston; New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1917.

Steiner, Linda. "Gender at Work: Early Accounts by Women Journalists." *Journalism History* 23, no. 1 (1997): 2–15.

Stephens, Mitchell. *A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite*. New York, N.Y.: Viking, 1988.

———. *A History of News*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Sterling, Christopher H., ed. *Military Communications: From Ancient Times to the 21st Century*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2008.

Sutton, Albert Alton. "Journalism Education in Four-Year, Degree-Granting Colleges and Universities in the United States." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1943.

———. *Education for Journalism in the United States From Its Beginning to 1940*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1945.

———. "Photography Courses in AASDJ Schools: A Survey of Trends." *Journalism Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1945): 49, 50, 96.

Tennessee Press, The. "Tennessee Journalism Program Moves Ahead at Rapid Rate." 10 (1948): 4–5.

Tess, Stanley N. "Press Photography." *The American annual of photography* The American Annual of Photography, 1941 (1941): 42–53.

Thelin, John R. *A History of American Higher Education*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

———. "Archives and the Cure for Institutional Amnesia: College and University Saga as Part of the Campus Memory." *Journal of Archival Organization* 7, no. 1-2 (2009): 4–15.

Thompson, George Raymor and Dixie R. Harris. *The Signal Corps: The Outcome (Mid-1943 through 1945)*. Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1966.

Time. "Cameras for Reporters." 26, no. 9 (1935): 47.

Tumber, Howard and Marina Prentoulis. "Journalism and the Making of a Profession." Making Journalists: Diverse Models, Global Issues (2005): 58–76.

University of Georgia, Athens. *General Catalog (1940-1941)*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1940.

University of Georgia, Athens. *General Catalog (1951–1952)*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1951.

University of Georgia, Athens. *General Catalog (1971–1973)*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia, 1971.

University of Maryland College Park. *Maryland: The Alumni Publication of the University of Maryland*. College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1948.

University of Maryland College Park. *Terrapin, 1949*. College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1949.

University of Maryland College Park. *General and Combined Catalog (1952)*. College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1952.

Valdivia, Angharad N., ed. *A Companion to Media Studies*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003.

Vitray, Laura, John Mills, and Roscoe Ellard. *Pictorial Journalism*. New York; London: McGraw-Hill Co., 1939.

Voakes, Paul S., Randal A. Beam, and Christine Ogan. "The Impact of Technological Change on Journalism Education: A Survey of Faculty and Administrators." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 57, no. 4 (2003): 318–34.

Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin and Thomas Hanitzsch, eds. *Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Walker, Jerry. "Day is Coming When Photographers Will Have BA." *Editor and Publisher* 79 (1946): 16.

Wall Street Journal. "College Grad Crop." May 3, 1948.

Warren, Carl Nelson. *Modern News Reporting*. New York; London: Harper & Brothers, 1934.

Warren, Low. *Journalism*. London: C. Palmer, 1922.

———. *Journalism, from A to Z*. London: H. Joseph, 1931.

———. *Journalism from A to Z*. London: H. Joseph, 1935.

———. *Journalism from A to Z*. London: Banner Books, 1947.

Washburn, Patrick S. *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2006.

Weber, Max. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978.

Wechsler, Harold S., Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann. "Part V; Higher Education: 1900-1950." *A.S.H.E. Reader Series* The History of Higher Education (2007): 409–10.

Wechsler, Harold S., Lester F. Goodchild, and Linda Eisenmann, eds. *The History of Higher Education.* Boston: Pearson, 2007.

Wenger, Debora Halpern and Lynn C. Owens. "Help Wanted 2010." *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 67, no. 1 (2012): 9–25.

White, Horace. "The School of Journalism." *The North American Review* 178, no. 566 (1904): 25–32.

Whiting, John R. *Photography is a Language*. Chicago; New York: Ziff-Davis Pub. Co., 1946.

Whitmore, Evonne H. "An Historical Perspective on the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications From 1986–2003: Examination of the Impact on Curriculum." Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2004.

Wilcox, Walter. "Trends in the Demand for Photographic Skills." *Journalism Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1957): 498–99.

Williams, Walter. "Journalist Schools." *Editor and Publisher* 10, no. 52 (1910): 20.

Williams, Walter and Frank L. Martin. *The Practice of Journalism, a Treatise on Newspaper Making*. Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens Pub. Co., 1911.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History*. New York: Penguin Press, 2008.

Workman, Gale A. "The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications: A History, 1970-1985." Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1988.

Yoder, Linda Taylor. "The Operations and Accomplishments of the Kent State University Photo Short Courses." MA thesis, Kent State University, 1971.

Zelizer, Barbie. "Words Against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography." In *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, edited by Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennan, 139–59. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

———. "History and Journalism." In *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy*, 81–110. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2004.

Zucker, Lynne G. "Organizations as Institutions." In *Research in the Sociology of Organizations: Volume 2*, edited by Samuel B. Bacharach, 1–43. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1983.