LEWIS HINE: FROM "SOCIAL" TO "INTERPRETIVE" PHOTOGRAPHER

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What determines the possibility of being affected morally by photographs is the existence of a relevant political consciousness.

—Susan Sontag[1]

THE THEATER OF POLITICS CHANGES AT TIMES MUCH MORE RAPIDLY THAN ITS CAST of characters. Before a character is given a chance to make an exit, he or she may be surrounded by a new scene which transforms the meanings of the old lines. Lewis Wickes Hine's photographic career spanned the years from Progressive reform through the Depression of the 1930s. While his photographic themes and purposes maintained a considerable consistency over the course of his life, the uses to which his photographs were put changed dramatically. This change was more a consequence of the altered environment in which Hine worked than of any major revision in his own outlook.

Recent historians have generally emphasized the unity of Hine's career; those who do point to change see it only in terms of a seeming lack of spirit or inspiration in Hine's post-World War One photographs. To comprehend fully the import of this specific body of work, however, it is necessary to examine not only the photographs themselves, but the political-economic context in which they were produced and used. Throughout his life, Hine's work demonstrated the dignity of the worker, but the uses to which his vision was put by his employers and publishers changed fundamentally. And because Hine was a photographer for hire, usually on the brink of insolvency, his work was particularly vulnerable to changes in the outlooks and purposes of those who paid for it.[2]

Hine was born in 1874, in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. In 1901, he traveled east and arrived in New York City. Fresh in the minds of urban Americans was the extreme social turbulence of the 1890s. The Homestead Strike, the Pullman Strike, and Coxey's Army brought public consciousness of the divisions between labor and capital to a new height. Unprecedented levels of immigration posed the threat of an unassimilable horde within American borders. And in the West, according to the 1893 paper of Frederick Jackson Turner, the frontier was now "closed," no longer able to act as a safety valve and a stimulus for democracy in America.[3]

Hine, however, did not encounter a hopeless New York—far from it. He later recalled

that "the air was full of the new social spirit." As a teacher at the progressive Ethical Culture School, Hine was surrounded by and infused with the optimism of New York's vibrant reform movement. Within a few years he had made contact with Felix Adler, founder of the humanist religion of Ethical Culture and head of the National Child Labor Committee; with John Spargo, author of *The Bitter Cry of the Children*; with Florence Kelley, head of the National Consumers' League; and with Arthur Kellogg, editor of *Charities* magazine.[4]

These people, and the Progressive movement of which they were leaders, explicitly expressed faith in the ability of Americans to solve social problems. If the basic social order was sound and human beings were fundamentally good, then public opinion, they believed, guided by the rational hand of scientifically trained technical experts, was a key to reform: class conflict and poverty might be eliminated by publicizing the plight of the poor. Yet, *The Commons* mourned in 1899, there was no one "from below, equipped by suffering at first hand, and by natural genius of power to communicate feeling, to voice for the world the cry of the people."[5] So middle-class muckrakers, reformers and social workers with some firsthand contact with the poor took it upon themselves to present the conditions they saw to a larger public. Through charity organization societies, books (both fiction and non), through illustrated magazine and newspaper articles, through the work of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and in publications like *The Commons* and *Charities*, the American middle and upper classes were made aware of "how the other half lived."[6]

With the important exception of Jacob Riis, photographers had remained largely outside this movement during the 1890s. Newspapers were only beginning to reproduce photographs for mass distribution, and magazines' photographic portrayal of the poor remained voyeuristic, compassionless, and romanticized. In 1892, for example, *Demorest's Family Magazine* published Frances Benjamin Johnston's typical "Through Coal Country with a Camera," in which Johnston pictured child labor more or less as a curiosity. Jacob Riis, however, pioneered documentary photography for social reform as a police reporter for the New York *Tribune* and *Evening Sun*. Riis believed his photographs of tenement housing would ameliorate the brutal conditions he observed by ending public ignorance. His national prominence, gained in part through his close relationship with president of the Board of Police Commissioners, Theodore Roosevelt, helped to pave the way for the photography of Lewis Hine.[7]

Frank Manny, Hine's superintendent at the Ethical Culture School, first suggested to Hine that he take students to the Battery at the southern tip of Manhattan to photograph immigrants arriving from Ellis Island. Soon thereafter, and often accompanied by Manny, Hine began photographing immigrants on Ellis Island itself. When later asked why, Hine replied, "Hard to say. Perhaps a wave of humanitarianism? News sense?"[8] Apparently, he wasn't sure.

On Ellis Island Hine grappled with technical, logistical, and human problems. The bulky equipment and dangerous flash powder he had to employ in the low light made the job difficult. Yet the images he produced reveal genuine, if fleeting, relationships with his non-English speaking subjects. In *Climbing into America,* for instance (Figs. 1, 2), baggage-laden immigrants ascend a staircase handling the papers they will

Fig. 1. Lewis Hine, *Climbing into America,* 1908. *Courtesy,* International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House. All photographs reproduced here are the work of Hine.

soon present to officials, but turn, nevertheless, to face Hine's camera. In the midst of the personal challenges of the immigration process, they show a tentative curiosity, neither hostile nor submissive, about Hine's project. Their interest, evident in their

AMERICA INTO CLIMBING

"TOILING PAINFULLY UPWARD FROM THE MOMENT THEY REACH ELLIS ISLAND."

Photos by Hine

The report of the New York Immigration Commission, appointed five months ago "to make full inquiry, examination and investigation into the condition, welfare and industrial opportunities of aliens in the state of New York," comprises a well-grounded argument for the establishment of a state department of industries and immigration "specially charged with duties which shall tend best to secure to the state the economic advantages derivable from an intelligent utilization of the alien in industrial, agricultural and other employments, and which shall at the same time protect the alien from exploitation, fraud and oppression, and facilitate his development into intelligent and useful citizenship for the ultimate advancement of the state. Such a bureau or department could act as a clearing house, and as a medium of communication with the several agencies and activities with which the alien may come in contact, or with which it is desirable that he should be enabled to communicate. It would serve as a means for abating abuses, remedying wrongs, and studying conditions, with an eye to their amelioration, and of preventing economic and moral waste."

Difficulty in securing work, schooling and justice is shown to be almost inevitable for the immigrant of these days. The commission pictures him as, typically, a man, young, unmarried or coming before his wife; a laborer, strong, willing, unskilled; a peasant, used to outdoor labor, to repression, oversight, obedience; a "foreigner" in the completest sense of the word, speaking an alien tongue, wearing outlandish clothes, uneducated, unused to voting, violating city ordinances and customs by some of the commonest acts of his rural life—a man, nevertheless, who "has become a constituent force in every field of American endeavor—on the farm, in the factory, in the mine. In the construction of railroads and other public works he has become indispensable." He is the stuff we are made of. "He has

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Fig. 2. *Climbing into America.* Reprinted from *The Survey* (April 1909): 111.

gaze at the camera, becomes a bridge to the viewer without which their foreign paraphernalia, their kerchiefs, straw bags and duffel coats might seem more alien. This human connection allows the viewer to transcend the ethnic and class differences between him/herself and the subject. These are people, not faceless hordes.[9]

This photograph appeared in the new social work weekly, *The Survey*, in 1909 to accompany an article on the New York Immigration Commission entitled "Climbing into America." The photograph's caption, "toiling painfully upward from the moment they reach Ellis Island" amplified the crude metaphor of the title.[10] But stair-climbing as social struggle was in fact only a secondary message in the *Survey* publication of the picture. The article highlighted the Commission's recommendation for a bureau of industries and immigration "as a medium of communication" between the alien and American agencies and activities; Hine's photograph graphically demonstrated the possibility of communication with aliens, even those "just off the boat."

Though few of the Ellis Island photographs were published at the time, these pictures marked the beginning of a photographic career built around a portrayal of the humanity and dignity of workers and the working class. These were promising themes for a photographer in the 1900s, for, as British Ambassador James Bryce observed in 1905, the problems of labor—and its relation to capital—were "the most insistent and the most discussed" of all problems in America.[11] Yet Hine's themes did not in themselves guarantee political consistency in the dramatically shifting constellation of forces between labor and capital. The confrontational upheavals of the early twentieth century stimulated not only the Progressive campaigns for protective legislation but also increasingly sophisticated managerial strategies—including scientific management, welfare capitalism, and human relations management—to contain worker discontent and opposition and to stimulate productivity. Hine's labor photographs played a part in the latter as well as in the former; the photographer who aided reform before the war was enlisted by management afterwards.[12]

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Hine's early studies of the Pittsburgh steel industry are representative of the role his photography played in the prewar reform movements. Changes in the steel industry typified some of the most important changes in industrial relations and industrial life early in the century.[13] In 1906, the recently formed Russell Sage Foundation employed Paul Kellogg to head a pathbreaking investigation of life in Pittsburgh, to explore and to publicize the nature of employment in the steel industry and the conditions faced by workers and their families. Kellogg hired Hine as the staff photographer.[14]

Immigrant labor helped to fuel the rapid growth of the industry. More than four out of five of the common laborers in Carnegie's Allegheny County steel plants were Eastern Europeans. Usually arriving from peasant backgrounds, without families, and with intentions of returning to their native lands, these workers' expectations dovetailed comfortably with the needs of the steel industry's management. The immigrants were willing to work long hours for low wages. Their view of the standard twelve-hour day

in the seven-day week was typically, in their words, "a good job, save money, work all time, go home, no spend [*sic*]."[15] The immigrants' inexperience with wage labor, their vulnerable position, and their isolation from native workers made them unreceptive to unionism.

Under Paul Kellogg's direction, a sympathetic view of immigrants was made central to the Pittsburgh Survey. If the working and living conditions exposed by *The Survey* could be dismissed as affecting only the brutish alien, then there would be little impulse for reform. Kellogg's text presented the immigrants as "middle-European stock . . . the bulwark which obstructed the march of the Hun and Goth and Turk and Tartar, sweeping in from the East."[16] These people were no threat, he was saying: they were the sturdy folk who protected American's European ancestry from the real threat from the East.

In choosing Hine to do the Pittsburgh Survey photographs (and Joseph Stella to do the drawings), Kellogg provided for the appropriate graphic supplement to his sympathetic portrait of the immigrants. The photographs were published in *Charities and The Commons*, in the popular magazine literature derived from the Survey, and in the six-volume final report. While the steel companies supplied the photographs of machinery, either with or without attendant workers, Hine focused on the workers themselves. His subjects were typically posed facing the camera, head and shoulders framed by the photograph's edges. Thus captured apart from the context of work, they were identified as workers only by their clothing and by the captions. "The twelve-hour day" (Fig. 3), for example, depicts a strong but worn young worker confronting the camera with a cocked head and intelligent stare. He is dignified, and, if tired, certainly not crushed.[17] Even more typical of Hine's captions, however, are the identifications by nationality, such as "a young millworker: Slav." Indeed, "Immigrant types in the steel district," a photo-essay which appeared in *Charities and The Commons*, listed all the photos by nationality alone.[18] While this portrayal of individual workers may have had some efficacy in establishing the image in readers' minds of the workers' humanity, the captions express a certain replaceability: none has a name, not even "a leader in the Homestead Strike."[19] At best they are "types": their individual identity is not relevant (Figs. 4, 5).

Hine further revealed his attitude toward the relationships among the photographic image, the living subject and social reform in his response to an accusation made by Margaret Byington, one of his Pittsburgh Survey coworkers. She had been troubled by the publication of photographs of families who had received charitable aid in another project. Byington claimed that such photographs revealed identities, and thus constituted a "breach of confidence." Hine responded, however, that Byington's was "superficial and sentimental reasoning." The important thing, he felt, was to make a case to the public of the importance of the charitable work; since the photographs were helpful in doing that, they should be published. If necessary, he suggested, various cities could swap photographs: Boston's might be exchanged for Milwaukee's, for instance; they would produce the same effect and guarantee the anonymity Byington sought. The prospect of a story on Milwaukee's poor illustrated with unidentified photographs of Boston apparently did not trouble Hine, as long as it aided the reform campaign.[20]

AN ARM GONE AT TWENTY
This young brakeman when last seen was studying telegraphy in order to stay in the service

Photo by Hine

THE WOUNDS OF WORK
When a man's hand is mutilated he keeps it out of sight

Fig. 3. *The Twelve-Hour Day. Courtesy,* International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House. The photo appeared as the frontispiece of Volume 4 of *The Pittsburgh Survey* (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1909-1914).

Hine's rejection of "retouching or fakery of any kind" must be seen in this context.[21] For him, truth meant the portrayal of social conditions in such a way that the appeal for reform would be effective. Apparently, even the workers' actual nationality was of secondary importance as long as the photographs made an impact: historian

Fig. 4. Reprinted from *The Pittsburgh Survey,* Volume 2, facing page 144.

Fig. 5. Reprinted from *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Jan. 2, 1909): 581.

Jonathan Doherty has noted that Hine wrote captions on several occasions indicating different national origins for different prints of the exact same person.[22]

The results of the Pittsburgh Survey were widely disseminated, first, through three special issues of *Charities and the Commons* in 1909. The journal was subsequently renamed *The Survey*, an indication of the profound significance of the Pittsburgh study for reform thought: the "survey" had become the model for virtually all Progressive reform activity. The Russell Sage Foundation also published six volumes of the Pittsburgh findings, all with photographs by Hine. Public speeches, press releases, and articles in popular magazines spread the information further, and set the stage for dramatic public reaction to the McKees Rock Strike in 1909 and the Bethlehem Steel Strike in 1910. By 1912, with several Congressional and government commission investigations underway, public outrage reached a peak. The Senate Committee on Labor and Education denounced U.S. Steel's "brutal system of industrial slavery"[23] and sped legislation for an eight-hour day on all government contracts. State governments responded similarly, while U.S. Steel instituted reforms in machinery safety, safety committees, accident compensation plans and an end to the seven-day week.[24]

The years after the Pittsburgh Survey were among Hine's most prolific and successful. He had been interested for some time in the problem of child labor, perhaps originally through association with Ethical Culture's Felix Adler. He began free-lance work for the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) in 1906. In the summer of 1908, he left his teaching position to do "social" (i.e. reform-oriented) photography full-time, ignoring a warning from an established philanthropist that he did not have a sufficiently "broad sociological background." In his new position as staff photographer for NCLC, Hine toured the United States for the next ten years, investigating, photographing and publicizing the issues which surrounded the problem of child labor. Unlike the Pittsburgh Survey work, this project entailed frequent encounters with hostile employers, forcing Hine to obtain information and photographs surreptitiously. Also unlike the Pittsburgh Survey, Hine did a major portion of the information gathering himself. He talked to the children, learned their ages and work histories, and presented what he found in the caption, lectures, and poster displays which accompanied the photos.[25]

One of Hine's earliest assignments reveals the nature of his contribution to the anti-child labor campaign. In November 1908, Hine was assigned to investigate child labor in the textile mills of the Carolinas. Managers refused him entry into only two of the nineteen mills he visited, but even they were wary. Hine quipped in one caption: "Superintendent Mason (the only man in the picture) consented to making photograph on condition that 'things must be represented as they were.' Here they are." (Figs. 6, 7) The caption tells us that a simple, undoctored look at the conditions will manifestly reveal the social injustice of child labor to which mill managers were blind. The pose in and presentation of the photographs carries the same message. Children are repeatedly lined up outside mills as evidence of who was working, where, and at what age. The unstudied but formally posed group portraits are printed several to a page,

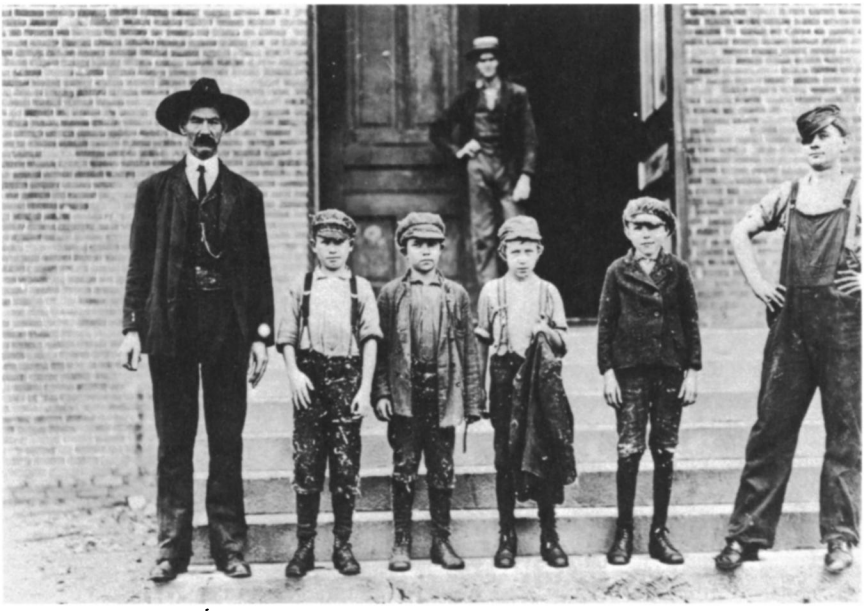

Fig. 6. Gastonia, North Carolina, 1908. *Courtesy* of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

highlighting the photographer's preoccupation with the general social condition. The mills are given names in the caption: Kesler Manufacturing Co., Salisbury, N. C.; Loray Mill, Gastonia, N. C.; Wampum Manufacturing Co., Lincolnton, N. C. As the accused, they must be identified. The children, on the other hand, are nameless. What is important about them are their numbers (thus the repetition), their heights and ages, how long they have been working, and how much they are paid. Thus the caption printed next to the line-up of six boys from Loray Mills testifies, "Closing hour after twelve-hour day. One of the smallest boys said he had been in the mill two or three years. He is now twelve years old."[26]

This straightforward documentation was supplemented by photographs capturing the children at work inside the mills, highlighting their small size and the stultifying monotony of long hours of mill work (Fig. 8). In January 1909, ten pages of these photographs appeared in *Charities and the Commons*—one of eleven periodicals to publish the series. In the same issue, Florence Kelley commented upon the photographs' inclusion. As the most concrete evidence possible to place before the public, Kelly reasoned, the photographs documented persuasively that young children made up a significant portion of the Southern textile labor force. She praised the "ingenuity of a young photographer" who provided knowledge which neither the Department of Labor, the Department of Education, nor the census had revealed.[27]

Although Hine conducted the investigation and took the pictures, he remained in the subordinate position which characterized his entire career. A. J. McKelway, under whose name the final article appeared, actually directed the project. Head of NCLC's

KESLER MANUFACTURING CO.
SALISBURY, N. C.

Superintendent Mason (only man in the picture) consented to making photograph on condition that "things must be represented as they were." Here they are.

LORAY MILL,
GASTONIA, N.C.

Closing hour after twelve-hour day. One of the smallest boys said he had been in the mill two or three years. He is now twelve years old.

WAMPUM MANUFACTURING CO.
LINCOLNTON, N. C.

Photograph taken at noon hour. Investigator not allowed to take pictures inside the mill.

Fig. 7. Reprinted from *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Jan. 30, 1909): 753.

LANCASTER, S. C.
Has worked six months, is forty-eight inches tall. One of many small children at work in Lancaster Cotton Mills. Children may legally work at any age in June, July and August if they have attended school four months that year and can read and write.

WHERE OTHER CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL AT LANCASTER, S. C.
This is a public school.

Southern Committee, McKelway typified Southern Progressive reformers who fought for limited and specific humanitarian changes while being careful not to upset the basic social, racial and economic arrangements which ruled Southern society.[28] At times, the Southern anti-child labor campaign consciously appealed to conservative Southern racism. Florence Kelley remarked that "the most unfortunate of our little fellow citizens" were "the white, English-speaking, native children of the Southern cotton states."[29] Black children were out growing tall in the sun or attending school, reformers claimed, while little white children were slaving in factories. To what degree Hine shared this outlook is difficult to determine and perhaps irrelevant, for he never became a part of the inner circle of reformers, like Kelley, McKelway, Homer Folks, Paul Kellogg, and Owen Lovejoy, for whom he worked. His subordinate position had an important impact on his life's work, however, for it would make him extremely vulnerable to shifts in the ideological winds.

In addition to further investigations of Southern mills, Hine's work for the NCLC included studies of Colorado beet farms, Connecticut cranberry fields, Pennsylvania coal mines, Gulf Coast canning factories, and glass, tobacco, and clothing manufacture. His photographs became a central tool in the campaign to mobilize public opinion against child labor. And in the 1910s the campaign, like the Pittsburgh Survey, met with remarkable success as measured by changes in legislation and public concern. In 1912, the United States Children's Bureau was created; in the same year, Roosevelt's Progressive Party presidential campaign adopted the abolition of child labor as a plank; there were improvements in state laws regulating child labor, and, in 1916, a federal child labor law (ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court two years later) was passed. The prewar years were a high-water mark not only for reform but for Hine's career as a reform photographer.[30]

In 1917, Hine settled in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, with his wife and five-year-old son. He planned to continue photography for NCLC but to stop the extensive traveling investigations he had been conducting. When the NCLC voted to reduce his salary from $275 to $200 per month, Hine quit. The next year he left for Europe where he photographed conditions faced by civilian war refugees. He worked for the Red Cross under the direction of Homer Folks, once again traveling as a subordinate. Folks' interests—the health, hunger, and sanitation problems which confronted the American Red Cross in Europe (rather than the death and mutilation of the front)—dominated the pictures (Fig. 9).[31]

The war proved a turning point not only for Hine, but for many Progressives. No longer feeling the solid social foundation upon which they had built their reform efforts, many shifted ground. Noting the generalized drift toward conservatism, *The Survey* published a series of interviews in 1926, entitled "Where are the pre-war radicals?"[32] The respondents, acknowledging the shift in their own lives and/or the general political climate pointed to a number of reasons. William Allen White explained the change as a result of prosperity: "the reformer's occupation is gone. The radical is unable to appeal to the emotions of the people."[33] In his piece, Newton Baker pointed to the war's destruction as the catalyst for change: "Instead of more destruction of things and faith, [the stricken and terrified world] wanted a chance to build again on its shattered foundation."[34] When Hine himself returned to Paris early in 1919 he decided that he had done his share of "negative documentation." He recalled, in a 1938

"FOUR ITALIAN FAMILIES WITH QUANTITIES OF CHILDREN"

The War and the Children[1]

By Homer Folks

ORGANIZER AND DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL AFFAIRS, AMERICAN RED CROSS IN FRANCE; ON A SPECIAL MISSION NOVEMBER 11, 1918 TO MAY, 1919

Photographs by Lewis W. Hine

Fig. 9. Reprinted from *The Survey* 43 (Nov. 8, 1919): 79.

Returning to New York in June, he no longer advertised what he did as "social photography," but rather presented himself as a more nondescript "interpretive photographer."[36]

Thus, between 1917 and 1919 a number of forces converged upon Hine. His loss of the steady NCLC salary led to a search for a new way to make a living. This search only shortly predated his decision to do more "positive" photography. These personal decisions coincided with the general drift away from reform in America and with the emergence of new managerial strategies for dealing with workers. As we shall see, the social circumstances surrounding Hine's fairly subtle personal shift transformed the import of his photography. Though there was to be no major break in his subject matter, the sharp critical perspective which had informed his earlier projects would soon be blunted.

While Hine continued free-lance work for NCLC, he branched out in a new direction. The "work portraits" which evolved during this period formed the core of his

last two decades of photography. In June 1921, he wrote enthusiastically to Paul Kellogg (now editor of *The Survey*) of his completion of a photographic series showing workers in Pennsylvania—"the very best thing I have ever done. The industrial lead I have been following," he continued, "is tremendous and virgin soil."[37]

Kellogg responded enthusiastically, writing Hine that he was "striking a high and far-reaching lead."[38] He published the work series regularly in the new monthly, *Survey Graphic*, for the next year. The publication was crucial, not only as a confirmation of the worth of Hine's new project, but for the pay which it afforded. Hine was devoting most of his time to the work portraits but receiving little remuneration. He wrote Kellogg in August that the *Survey* check was the "first income of any account for nearly a year."[39]

Through the next year, the *Survey Graphic* published Hine's work portraits as a major bimonthly feature. Yet in spite of Kellogg's enthusiasm, he wrote Hine the following summer, "we shall let it stand at that, I think, and not attempt an every other month schedule as we did this past year."[40] Hine had known that he would have to look beyond *The Survey* if he wanted to put his family on a stable financial footing. Indeed, his plan, from the first work portraits on, had been to enlist the support of the corporations whose workers he photographed. "The theme [of work] is fundamental and needs to be emphasized in every form of expression," he wrote to Kellogg, "Whether we can get industry to pay the freight or not—there's the rub."[41] That this approach to his own livelihood put him in a whole new relationship to his subjects seems not to have been readily apparent to Hine. In contrast to the surreptitious photography of child labor in the Southern textile mills, the new projects might actually be sponsored by management.

Perhaps Hine's involvement with his own project deterred him from examining too closely the implications of this hoped-for relationship. His overriding purpose was to celebrate workers by showing their role in the creation of the goods which they produced. A common misconception, he later wrote to Florence Kellogg, was "that many of our national assets, fabrics, photographs, motors, airplanes and what-not 'just happen' as the products of a bunch of impersonal machines under the direction, perhaps, of a few human robots." People forgot, he complained, about the "sweat and service that go into all these products of the machine."[42] In a sense, then, Hine intended to use photographs to educate by probing beneath the surface appearance of things in a complex industrial society. Pictures, he hoped, would foreground the labor that went into products, which appeared otherwise miraculously before people as consumers.

These studies were to be presented not only to schoolchildren, as in Hine's *Men at Work* (1932), but also to the workers themselves. The workers, of course, already knew the sweat that went into the products they produced. Yet Hine's lantern slide shows were to present their work in a more dignified or celebratory light than the workers themselves had ever thought of it. "It is perfectly possible," Hine remarked, "to direct [workers' interest in the finer things of life] to their jobs—to make them see those jobs as 'finer things' too."[43] Would there be enlightened employers interested in hiring Hine to show their workers how important their work was? In 1921,

Hine anticipated hopefully, "As soon as the industrial gears begin to grip again, I am sure there will be plenty of progressive industries ready to pay the freight for this kind of publicity and morale stuff."[44]

In contrast to the educational purpose of his prewar pictures of labor, the goal of which was to change what was, his "work portraits" aimed to celebrate what was. In Hine's postwar vision, there was no problem with the objective position of industrial workers: their problem was simply that their work was not appreciated. The photographs aimed to remedy that: they truly were "publicity and morale stuff." Hine's perspective thus underwent a fundamental political shift, of which Hine himself was scarcely conscious. Where the prewar Hine had been delivering a challenge to the employers of child labor and the managers responsible for the deplorable accident rates in the Pittsburgh mills, he now offered himself for hire to employers.[45]

Hine now had to grapple with the difficult contradiction of the dignified, human worker in the degraded, dehumanized workplace of industrial capitalism. Standardization of tasks, fragmentation of jobs, and increased use of unskilled workers had increased control of the work process by managers, but seriously degraded the role workers played in production. How could Hine portray the dignity and humanity of workers—his stated goal—without being "negative," i.e. making opposition and resistance to these conditions a central theme?[46]

Two different strategies emerged. One was exemplified in his "Hands: Work Portraits by Lewis W. Hine" (1923), in which he celebrated the skill and pride of the craftsman.[47] Appearing in a theme issue of *Survey Graphic*, entitled "Joy in Work," this series comprised a woodcarver, a silversmith, a gem engraver, a stained glass worker, and a hand-loom weaver, among others. In the first image, Hine portrayed a seventy-year-old carver chiseling ornate curves in a block of wood (Fig. 10). His worn wood mallet is the product of pre-industrial technology. He lavishes care and attention on the small piece under his chisel. He evokes skill, dignity and pride, but his work is glaringly atypical of the industrial age. In its concentration on individual artisanal skill, this photograph—and the series—failed to show how most things were actually produced in America in the twenties. The introductory paragraph to Hine's series acknowledged the problem: "outwardly," it conceded, "America is still becoming more industrialized and the rift between design and execution widens with greater division of labor."[48] The series offered itself as an attempt to bridge the gap: "Without these arts and crafts or their translation into modern forms of skill, adapted to modern purposes, there can be no true civilization."[49] The series ultimately celebrated, however, a mode of production which was not being "translated" but rather purposefully replaced by management innovations.[50]

Hine's second strategy for dealing with the alienated role of the industrial worker in America was to focus on the worker as an intelligent human being, as the builder or controller of the modern machine. He wrote in the preface to *Men at Work*, "We call this the Machine Age. But the more machines we use the more do we need real men to make and direct them."[51] In this approach, Hine aimed to show that, as machinery grew larger and more complex, more skill and knowledge were needed to run and control it. In fact, much of the machinery of the developing industrial world

Fig. 10. Reprinted from *Survey Graphic* 49 (Feb. 1, 1923): 559.

was designed precisely so that less skill and training would be required of line workers, so that intellectual work and planning would be separated from the work of execution. Because Hine ignored this trend, it is often difficult to understand "how things work" from these photographs. Hine, himself, was not seeing "how things work."

In "Feeling Its Pulse," for instance, a coveralled worker squats to place his hand on a large electric generator (Fig. 11).[52] The medical analogy may lend some dignity here—references to skilled but displaced craft workers were more common—but the picture conveys an overwhelming feeling of having been composed by the photographer. The caption reads, "The big machines almost run themselves until 'trouble' begins. Then the electrician functions." The unconcerned worker in this image, however, is not responding to an emergency: his head upright, there is no evidence of the stress of mechanical breakdown. Yet it is not clear that his is genuinely giving the machine a routine check, either. His examination consists of touching the machine with one hand at a point out of sight of the camera. From our line of sight, there is nothing to indicate a hidden element whose tactile examination might reveal malfunction. Nor does the worker look at the gauge, the most visible indicator of the machine's "well-being." He appears to be squatting, in fact, not so that he can reach a special piece of machine, but so that his head lines up with the center of the rotor behind him. This composition—worker at the center of circular equipment—became almost a cliche in Hine's photography of the period. It creates a formal intimacy between man and machine—a pictorial metaphor of the importance of the worker. But it does not come from a real engagement of the worker functioning with the machine, and so cannot illuminate their relationship.

FEELING ITS PULSE

The big machines almost run themselves until "trouble" begins. Then the electrician functions

Fig. 11. Reprinted from *Survey Graphics* 51 (March 1924): 631.

In the "Modern Thor" in *Men at Work* (Fig. 12), Hine constructs another formal composition using a large flywheel and a worker with sledge-hammer, apparently ready to swing.[53] "This modern Thor swings his hammer in a power house that sends driving force out along a great electric railroad line," proclaims the caption. Hine's purpose is transparent: he wants to connect human effort with the accomplishments of the industrial age. The physical strength of the hammer-wielding man is an analogy referring to the human energy behind the generation of power for the railroad. But in the photograph itself, the reference is all wrong: the worker appears to be aiming his hammer at a network of smaller pipes and valves which will be destroyed by a well-aimed blow. This cannot be the way the machinery works: in pursuing his celebration of the worker, Hine has lost a vital understanding of his subject.

Hine's hopes for corporate sponsors for his work photography were not entirely unfounded. In fact, Progressive employers were devising schemes to increase productivity and decrease their conflict with labor through a number of sophisticated management strategies. Some of these emerged from an earlier welfare capitalism which aimed to provide workers with company-sponsored benefits such as housing, recreational

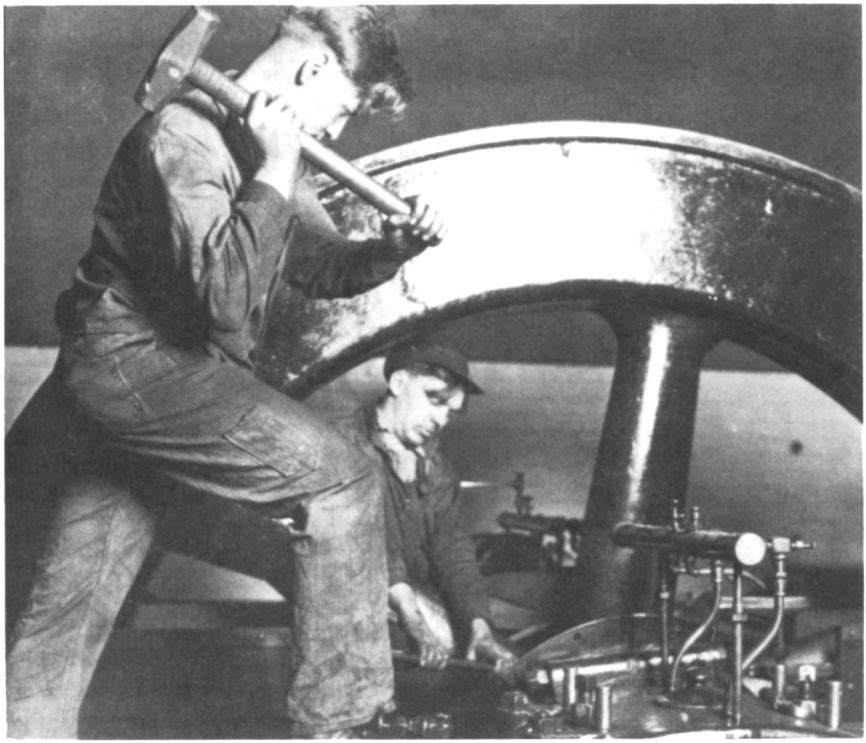

Fig. 12. Reprinted from Lewis Hines, *Men at Work* (1932; rpt. New York: Dover, 1932).

activities, and pension plans. Others grew out of the scientific management movement as attempts to broaden managerial control through bureaucratic measures (personnel managers, seniority benefits, regularized promotion ladders). Through these strategies managers sought to improve workers' morale in order to prevent the development of an effective oppositional psychology.[54]

The active promulgation of a corporate ideology among workers was an important aspect of these strategies. Management attempted to deal with the alienation resulting from the increased plant size, the greater functional specificity of the individual worker's tasks, the deskilling of work, the greater social distance between workers and management, without modifying any of these productive innovations themselves. Indeed, managers tried to imbue the replaceable worker with a sense of his or her importance, the semi-skilled operative with artisanal pride.

A key tool was the employee magazine, which proliferated during and immediately after World War One. A study by the National Industrial Conference Board located 539 of them in 1925. They were introduced, it stated, when the "loyalty and cooperation of those who run the machinery came to be considered an important factor in production."[55] The magazines tried to inspire workers' pride in their own accomplishments as a means to cultivate cooperation and loyalty to the company. As the study explained, "the division of labor has robbed the worker of the old-time pride of craftsmanship. . . . The employee magazine has as one aim the development of individual pride of worksmanship by bringing to each employee the story of the whole process of the manufacture of the company's product . . . and of the place in the final accomplishment of each individual's work."[56]

Hine's photographs, of course, suited these purposes well and from 1923 through 1927, the most regular publisher of Hine photographs, with the occasional exception of the *Survey Graphic*, was the *Western Electric News*. Founded in 1912, *Western Electric News* was one of the earliest and most substantial of the employee magazines. Distributed to 61,500 Western Electric employees, it attempted to overcome the alienation resulting in part from the mammoth size of the corporation. With 31,000 employees at the Hawthorne Works in Chicago alone, Western Electric management could not rely on personal contact to mute class consciousness and promote loyalty, productivity and a sense of "community" within the company. A twelfth anniversary editorial in 1924 explained that the magazine was to "help in teaching us about our products and giving us the spirit of our institution and thus increasing our proficiency."[57] Persistently upbeat, a frontispiece editorial proclaimed, "we know that no one who has been in the telephone field long enough to understand the spirit of service, the joy of working together for the common good—fails to catch the thrill of it."[58]

The editors were delighted to announce, in March 1923, that "Lewis W. Hines [*sic*], the famous photographer has just spent a week at Hawthorne," the Western Electric Works in Chicago.[59] The pictures he took represented a significant innovation in the magazine which otherwise carried pictures of machinery. The premier issue of the series underscored Hine's fame and the fact that he had come to take artful pictures of the employees. "One would have to travel far to find a better composed picture

than this of Miss Stella Piekarski, testing lead covered cable," captioned the *News*. The composition is worth examining (Fig. 13).[60]

The arrangement epitomizes the relationship of the company and worker which the magazine sought to promote. In harmonious symbiosis, Piekarski is performing an important job for the Western Electric Co., whose name forms an encompassing halo around her body. She—like all of the workers in the series—works alone, happily. Her contribution to the larger task of supplying communications systems to the world comes not through a direct relationship with other workers, but through her work as an individual for Western Electric Company. Each of the photographs in the series portrays an individual worker, "both happy and busy" (as one caption pointed out) at work for Western Electric. Frank Rubinic found himself in a position similar to Piekarski in a picture published five months later (Fig. 14).[62] Unlike Piekarski, who appears to have posed in front of the Western Electric cable spool for the sake of pictorial composition, Rubinic's task more obviously demands that he be positioned where he is, and so the photograph is more satisfying. But the message about his relationship to Western Electric is the same.[63]

In contrast to the pre-War pictures, the captions of these pictures identify the individual workers by name. This might help to create a sense of the concrete reality of the workers' lives if it were not for other problems. Compare Mary Knol (Fig. 15) to the Lancaster child laborer (Fig. 8). Knol is not as immediately overwhelmed by the machines; she certainly does not seem so helpless in the face of the impersonal regimentation of the factory environment. But where we have a feeling for the anonymous child laborer's relation to the factory—and perhaps as well to the world

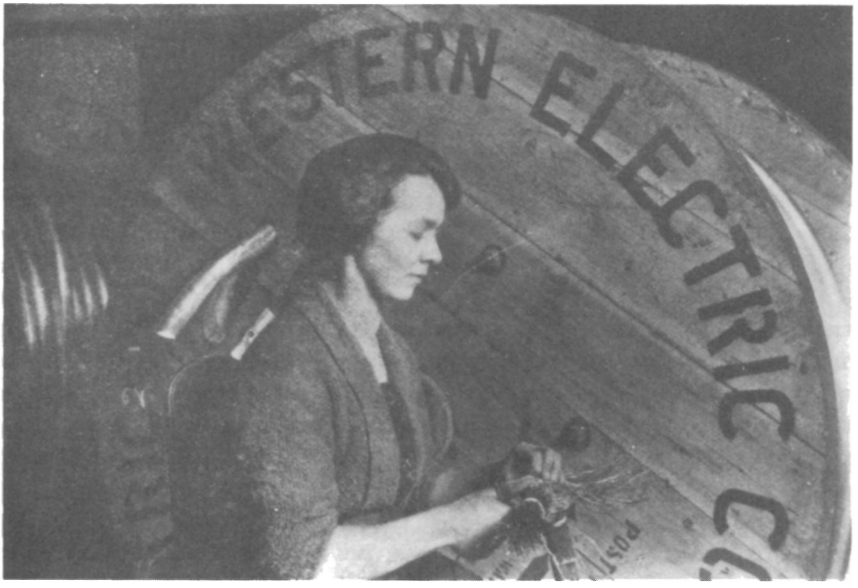

Fig. 13. Reprinted from *Western Electric News* 12 (March 1923), 1.

Fig. 14. Reprinted from *Western Electric News* 12 (Aug. 1923): 23.

Mary Knol, switchboard cable braiding operator, turns out miles of gaily colored switchboard cable at her machine. In operation, this machine looks like a May Pole, surrounded by tiny dancers that move with incredible speed.

Fig. 15. Reprinted from *Western Electric News* 12 (June 1923): 1.

of the school and community outside—Knol resides in a formal, static pose. It is hard to imagine what she is doing, with each of her hands on a spool. The caption heightens the unreality: she "turns out miles of gaily colored switchboard cable at her machine. In operation, this machine looks like a May Pole, surrounded by tiny dancers that move with incredible speed."[64] It seems unlikely that Knol thought of her work in these terms.

In hiring Hine, the editors of *Western Electric News* wanted a photographer who could show workers their contributions to the company, their skill, and their happi-

ness and satisfaction at work. Like the company unions of the era, the pictures were to promote productivity and loyalty by giving recognition to workers in a context totally under the control of the company. In August 1923, Western Electric mounted a display of seventy-six Hine photographs in Hawthorne's restaurant building to increase workers' exposure to them. In describing the exhibit, the *News* editors drew upon a less alienated nineteenth-century artisanal imagery. "He registered the satisfied smile of the mechanic as he viewed the product of his mind and hands," they glowed.[65] With an increasing division of labor, only a minority of Hawthorne workers, as the editors must have known, worked with both "minds and hands." In the same vein, Mary Knol's machine-tending hands became "the slender fingers of the woman artisan as she deftly completed the switchboard cord. . . ."[66] Workers' reaction to the show, if we can believe the *Western Electric News*, was positive and the exhibit was extended a week in response to their interest. As Western Electric was soon to prove experimentally, recognition of workers' contributions, however romanticized, met a real need and therein lay the power of the company strategy.

Western Electric had more than a passing interest in the problems Hine's photographs addressed. Beginning in the same year as Hine's "Makers of the Nation's Telephones," Western Electric hosted three years of inconclusive experiments aimed at increasing the output of telephone assemblers. In 1927, Western Electric began a collaboration with the Harvard School of Business Administration, resulting in the famous Hawthorne Experiments, the pioneer effort in the "human relations" approach to management. Researchers found that variations in such factors as illumination and length of work breaks had much less effect on fatigue and productivity than did worker morale. Furthermore, they discovered that they could boost morale simply by listening to workers' concerns and showing appreciation for their efforts. Personnel counselling, which grew out of the dissemination of the understanding of the "Hawthorne effect," as this phenomenon came to be known, aimed to make the worker feel significant and recognized, without making any basic changes in the organization of production. Its aims thus remained consistent with those of Hine's post-World War I photography.

Hine's work for Western Electric, however, was not enough to bring him financial stability. In December 1923 he wrote thankfully to Kellogg, "your letter and check came just in time to tide over a real financial stringency. . . ."[68] Kellogg continued to encourage him in his "long struggle inch by inch to get a footing in industrial photography"[69] but Hine remained on the brink of insolvency. He obtained a number of other contracts for "work portraits" during the twenties, but never enough to generate a steady income. Recognition resulting from a medal at the Exhibition of Advertising Art in 1924 and showings at the Advertising Club in 1928 and the Russell Sage Foundation in 1929 did not lead to more publication, and the late twenties were lean years for him. Early in 1930, he put his house on the market, discouraged at the "lack of appreciation" for his work.[70] His assignment to photograph the building of the Empire State Building in that year, however, produced a moment of glory.

Hired by Empire State, Incorporated, Hine took pictures of the construction from the lower floors to the topmost pinnacle, suspending himself from the building's

skeleton to execute some of the pictures. To a remarkable extent, the celebration of the worker does succeed in this series (Fig. 16). It is not just the photographs which made this work seem extraordinary. The risks and the accomplishment involved in building the highest building in the world were impressive. Though the *Skyboy* must have appreciated the publication of his picture, as he swung out "a quarter of a mile above New York City," he probably did not need this picture in order to understand the importance of what he was doing. In an age when mass production, like telephone assembly, increasingly characterized the work process, the uniqueness of the work of positioning the mooring mast on the Empire State Building stood out as atypical.[71]

Hine's Empire State series proved but an isolated success. Subsequently, he had several employment opportunities through various New Deal agencies, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the National Research Project of the Works Project Administration. But these were short-lived and full of conflict over policy, purpose, and control over the negatives. Furthermore, the human relations school of management, which might have offered a bright future to a photographer of Hine's outlook, went into temporary retirement on the battleground of Depression-era industrial relations. With the spread of industrial unionism, power confrontations, not worker morale, assumed center stage.[72]

Hine did experience something of a revival in 1938 and 1939. He was "rediscovered" as the predecessor of the documentary photography of the Depression. But it was

Fig. 16. *Skyboy. Courtesy,* Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

his older photographs which created the interest. The memorable Depression photographs were not his. Nor did his rediscovery provide much new income. On relief in 1938, he wrote to his publicist Elizabeth McCausland, "Whattalife. It has been like this much of the time since I gave Felix [Adler of NCLC] the cold shoulder."[73] He remained on the brink of financial insolvency through the decade, struggling with a foreclosure on his home in September 1939, and the death of his wife a couple of months later. Hine himself died less than a year later, on November 4, 1940.[74]

* * *

The meaning of any documentary photograph is strongly dependent upon the context in which it is utilized and viewed. For none is this more true than for those of Hine. One of the most important dimensions of the context of Hine's photographs was the changing relations of production in which the workers he studied were enmeshed. His photography must be judged, in part, through its impact, intended and actual, upon those relations.

In his early years, Hine's major goal was to transform those relations in at least one aspect by removing children from wage labor altogether. In the later years, Hine focused narrowly on the individual worker on the job, largely blocking out precisely what he had once claimed most interested him: the problem of labor in its social dimension. He concluded that the industrial worker in the twentieth century was degraded because he was seen as degraded. All that it would take, Hine was saying through the later photographs, was a change in perception of the worker and the degradation would vanish. He did not understand that the degradation of the worker had been constructed in order to ensure managerial control over the work process. Having subscribed to the tenets of Taylorism, managers' increasing awareness that worker dissatisfaction itself posed a threat to productivity and profits led them to seek strategies which would reduce dissatisfaction while maintaining managerial control. Corporate welfare policies, company unionism, and, by the late 1920s, personnel management, addressed these threats. Hine was so concerned with perceptions of the dignity of the worker that he did not see the historical significance of workers' control. Aiming only at changing perceptions, his later work failed to address the underlying problem. Subsequent historians have focused on Hine's concern with the dignity of workers without seeing that, by the twenties, a sophisticated managerial strategy could use that concern for corporate ends. Thus Alan Trachtenberg sees Hine's photographs of the twenties and thirties as the "affirmative summation" of his work: "the new character of industrial labor became Hine's major theme after World War One, and it is noteworthy that in pursuing that theme he in effect set his camera against that of management—against the camera of the time-study man." On the contrary, by this time Hine's camera was that of management, albeit a more sophisticated management than the Taylorist time-study men.[75]

Another aspect of the context of Hine's photography was his own social situation. Doherty reminds us that Hine was essentially a photographer for hire. He worked for clients or as part of a larger team. His whole life was a struggle to stay employed;

he never developed the economic security which would have made him more independent. His strong moral sense and a sense of his own mission were not sufficient to ensure a consistent politics in the complex and evolving world of twentieth-century industrial relations. When the prewar reform climate gave way to business as the business of America, Hine found a way to adapt his earlier themes to new purposes. Other than announcing his shift from "negative" to "positive" themes, he scarcely seemed aware of the divide he had attempted to cross. Almost tragically, Hine's own genuine sympathy for workers left him stranded. His photography had inadvertently become "a way of . . . encouraging whatever was going on to keep on happening." When Hine aimed to change conditions of work, he helped to transform American consciousness. When he aimed merely to transform consciousness, he changed nothing.[77]

NOTES

1. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York, 1977), 19.

2. The starting point for research on Lewis Hine should be Walter Rosenblum et al., *America and Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940* (New York, 1977). In addition to the flawless selection of Hine prints, it includes biographical notes, an essay by Alan Trachtenberg, and a thorough bibliography. Trachtenberg, though acknowledging the weakness of Hine's post-World War I photographs, emphasizes Hine's enduring humanism and the underlying unity of his photographic career. Also see Judith Mara Gutman, *Lewis Hine and the American Social Conscience* (New York, 1967), and idem, "Lewis Hine's Last Legacy," *New York Times Magazine* 17 April 1983: 50ff. Gutman, too, emphasizes the unity of Hine's career, while searching for the strengths in Hine's later work. *Lewis Wickes Hine's Interpretive Photography: The Six Early Projects*, ed. Jonathan Doherty (Chicago, 1978) includes microfiche of the Eastman Collection of Hine prints, with Hine's captions, through World War I. Most other recent work is derivative of the above.

3. Roy Lubove, *Progressives and the Slums* (Westport, Conn., 1962), 50. Record numbers of strikes occurred in 1901, and again in 1903; see Bruno Ramirez, *When Workers Fight: The Politics of Industrial Relations in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 9.

4. Lewis Hine, "Notes on Early Influences," ms. in Documents Relating to Lewis Hine, Elizabeth McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art (hereafter McCausland Papers).

5. Clarke A. Chambers and Andrea Hinding, "Charity Workers, the Settlements, and the Poor," *Who Spoke for the Poor?* (New York, 1968), 20-25.

6. Henry May, *The End of American Innocence* (New York, 1959), 29; Lubove, *Progressives and the Slums*, 186, 187; Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1820-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 220-83. The problems in characterizing Progressive thought have been perceptively reviewed in Daniel Rodgers, "The Progressive Era," *Reviews in America History* 10:4 (Dec. 1982): 113-32. For an example of the political role of reform campaigns in New York at this time, see Richard L. McCormick, *From Realignment to Reform: Political Change in New York State, 1893-1910* (Ithaca, 1981). Robert Bremner, *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1956).

7. M. Szasz and Ralph S. Bogardus, "The Camera and the American Social Conscience: The Documentary Photography of Jacob A. Riis," *New York History* 55 (Oct. 1974): 425. Szasz and Bogardus treat not only Riis and his work, but the photographic milieu in which he worked. The voyeuristic attitude also predominated in Britain where one might view a stereoscope show entitled "Slum Life in Our Great Cities, Photographed Direct from Life." See G. M. Martin and David Francis, "The Camera's Eye," in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (London and Boston, 1973), plate 91.

8. McCausland notes from an interview with Hine, McCausland Papers. The interview notes are not dated, but probably were taken in 1938.

9. *The Survey* 22 (April 1909): 111. Also see Rosenblum, *America and Lewis Hine*, 29.
10. *The Survey* 22 (April 1909): 111.
11. Bryce, quoted in George Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America 1900-1912* (New York, 1958), 99-100.
12. For the nature of labor management conflicts and the Progressive response, see David Montgomery, *Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology and Labor Struggles* (Cambridge, Eng., 1979); Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York, 1963); Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1979).
13. On changes in the steel industry, see David Brody, *Steelworkers in America: The Non-Union Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).
14. John M. Glenn, Lilian Brandt, and F. Emerson Andres, *The Russell Sage Foundation 1907-1946* (New York, 1947).
15. Brody, *Steelworkers in America*, 100 and *passim*.
16. Paul Kellogg, "The Pittsburgh Survey," *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Jan. 2, 1909): 517-26; quotation, 522. Kellogg was managing editor.
17. *The Pittsburgh Survey*, ed. Paul Kellogg (New York, 1909-1914), vol. 4, frontispiece.
18. Ibid., facing 238; *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Feb. 1909): 581-88.
19. *The Pittsburgh Survey*, vol. 4, facing 120.
20. *The Survey* 24 (April 30, 1910): 187.
21. Hine quotes from "Notes on Early Influence" (1938), McCausland Papers, quoted in Trachtenberg, "Ever the Human Document," in Rosenblum, *America and Lewis Hine*, 120.
22. Doherty, *Lewis Wickes Hine's Interpretive Photography*, 2.
23. Brody, *Steelworkers in America*, 159-63.
24. See *The Pittsburgh Survey*, Vol. 6. Volumes 5 and 6 were published in 1914; they explore improvements in conditions since the survey itself had been completed.
25. Elizabeth McCausland, "Portrait of a Photographer," *Survey Graphic* 27 (Oct. 1938): 502-5.
26. *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Jan. 30, 1909): 753.
27. A. J. McElway, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," ibid., 743-57; Florence Kelley, ibid., 742. Hine made similar points about the effectiveness of photography in social uplift campaigns in an address to the National Conference of Charities and Correction later that year. Lewis Hine, "Social Photography: How the Camera May Help in Social Uplift," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1909), 355-59.
28. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 397-419.
29. Kelley, *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Jan. 30, 1909): 742.
30. Walter I. Trattner, "The First Federal Child Labor Law (1916)," *Social Science Quarterly* 50 (Dec. 1969): 507-24; Stephen B. Wood, *Constitutional Politics in the Progressive Era* (Chicago, 1968).
31. Homer Folks, *The Human Costs of the War* (New York, 1920).
32. Fred Howe, ed., "Where Are the Pre-War Radicals?", *The Survey* 55 (Feb. 1, 1926): 556-66.
33. Ibid., 556.
34. Ibid., 557.
35. McCausland, "Portrait of a Photographer," 503.
36. Rosenblum, *America and Lewis Hine*, 21. See also advertisements in *The Survey, passim*.
37. Hine to Paul Kellogg, 26 July 1918. The Hine/Kellogg correspondence is located in the Minnesota Social Welfare History Archives, Survey Associates Records, SW-25, Folders 614-615: Lewis Hine Correspondence (hereafter MSWHA).
38. Kellogg to Hine, 6 July 1921, MSWHA.
39. Hine to Kellogg, 6 Aug. 1921, MSWHA.
40. Kellogg to Hine, 21 Aug. 1922, MSWHA.
41. Hine to Kellogg, 7 July 1921, MSWHA.
42. Quoted in Alan Trachtenberg, "Ever the Human Document," in Rosenblum, *America and Lewis Hine*, 120.
43. "Treating Labor Artistically," 32.
44. Hine to Kellogg, 6 Aug. 1921, MSWHA.
45. This interpretation, which is developed below, runs diametrically opposed to recent attempts to revive Hine's later work. See Trachtenberg, "Ever the Human Document," in Rosenblum, *America and Lewis Hine*, and Judith Mara Gutman, "Lewis Hine's Last Legacy." Trachtenberg and Gutman focus on Hine's humanism, but either ignore or misinterpret the political context of his photographs.

Others, like George Cruger, "Lewis Hine," *Arts in Virginia* 16:1 (Fall 1975): 16-18, note the decline in artistic power of the post-World War I work, but similarly fail to see the context.

46. The degradation of work formed a central theme in the Pittsburgh Survey. Kellogg noted that the "subdivision of labor . . . has multiplied product, and set unskilled labor to busy itself at a thousand stints; but it has foreshortened trade knowledge and ousted much craftsmanship." "The Pittsburgh Survey," *Charities and the Commons* 21 (Jan. 2, 1909): 523. Harry Braverman's book, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974) has stimulated further debate on the issue. Much of it revolves around the question of the degree to which management used the division of labor consciously as an instrument of control. See Edwards, *Contested Terrain*, 97-104, and note 54 below for additional references.

47. *Survey Graphic* 49 (Feb. 1, 1923): 559-63.

48. Ibid., 559.

49. Ibid., 559.

50. Hine's evocation of the skills of the craftsman might be read as a variant of the problematic antimodernism explored in Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981).

51. Lewis Hine, *Men at Work* (1932; rpt. New York, 1977), preface.

52. "Feeling Its Pulse" appeared in *Survey Graphic* 51 (March 1924): 631.

53. Hine, *Men at Work*, n.p.

54. *Employee Magazines in the United States* (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1925), 13. Also see Stuart Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism 1880-1940* (Chicago, 1979); David Gordon, Richard Edwards and Michael Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers* (New York, 1982); Sanford Jacoby, *Employing Bureaucracy: Managers, Unions, and the Transformation of Work in American Industry, 1900-1945* (New York, 1985); Daniel Nelson, *Managers and Workers: Origins of the New Factory System in the United States 1880-1920* (Madison, 1975), 101-21; Ramirez, *When Workers Fight*, chap. 8; James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State* (Boston, 1968), *passim*; Brody, *Steelworkers in America*, 80-95; and Gerald Zahavi, "Negotiated Loyalty: Welfare Capitalism and the Shoeworkers of Endicott-Johnson, 1920-1940," *Journal of American History* 70:3 (Dec. 1983): 602-20.

55. *Employee Magazines*, 3.

56. Ibid., 5.

57. *Western Electric News* 12:1 (March 1923): 1.

58. Ibid., 13:1 (March 1924): 3.

59. Ibid., 13:1 (March 1924): 1.

60. Ibid., 12:1 (March 1923): 1.

61. Ibid., 12:1 (March 1923): 6.

62. Ibid., 12:6 (Aug. 1923): 23.

63. David Nye, in his analysis of the photography in General Electric *Works News* (founded in 1917), notes the carefully selected—and atypical—work situations, in which individual workers are immersed in interesting, skilled jobs. Through these, says Nye, "the magazine offered an essentially nineteenth-century vision of workers and their place in a laissez-faire economic system." In Hine's photography for Western Electric, there is the same concentration on the individual worker and, as I note below, reference to nineteenth-century work processes. Nye claims further that "nowhere did the worker see his or her part in a larger effort" (89). If Nye is correct about General Electric, it differed both from Western Electric and from the findings of the NICB study. Western Electric and the NICB stated explicitly that they wanted workers to see themselves as part of a larger effort: this was part of the strategy to blunt the alienation of industrial work. David Nye, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric, 1890-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 71-92.

64. *Western Electric News* 12:4 (June 1923): 1.

65. Ibid., 12:6 (Aug. 1923): 30.

66. Ibid.

67. Elton Mayo, *Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (New York, 1933), *passim*.

68. Hine to Kellogg, Dec. 1923, MSWHA.

69. Kellogg to Hine, 6 Sept. 1923, MSWHA.

70. Hine to Kellogg, 25 Oct. 1930, MSWHA.

71. The Empire State photographs were reproduced widely. They make up the bulk of Hine's *Men at Work*.

72. See Gutman, "Lewis Hine's Last Legacy," 50, for a positive assessment of some of this work. For the impact of the Depression on human relations management, see Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 144-45.

73. Hine to McCausland, 25. Aug. 1938, McCausland Papers. The correspondence is full of references to Hine's financial plight.

74. McCausland, "Portrait of a Photographer"; Marks, "Portrait of Lewis Hine," *Coronet* (Feb. 1939): 147-57.

75. Trachtenberg, "Ever the Human Document," in Rosenblum, *America and Lewis Hine*, 127, 133. For the relationship between welfare capitalism and scientific management, see Daniel Nelson and Stuart Campbell, "Taylorism versus Welfare Work in American Industry: H. L. Gantt and the Bancrofts," *Business History Review* 46 (Spring 1972): 1-16.

76. Doherty, Lewis Wickes Hine's Interpretive Photography, viii.

77. Sontag, *On Photography*, 11, 12.