

In the Police Wagon, in the Press, and in The Museum of Modern Art

(A Note on Weegee's *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944*)

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On November 9, 1944, the American photographer Weegee made three exposures of Frank Pape, moments after the sixteen year old was arraigned on homicide charges for the accidental strangling death of a four-year-old neighbor and as he was escorted into a police wagon outside the Manhattan Police Headquarters, on Centre Market Place, en route to the 161st Street courthouse in the Bronx.¹ Of these, the third exposure, which pictures the young Pape through the luminously articulated mesh of that police wagon's grated rear window and is the basis for *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944* (fig. 1) in the Thomas Walther Collection, now stands among the photographer's best-known and most widely collected and reproduced works.² This exposure, its negative, its several and markedly varied iterations, and the Walther Collection print in particular, will be our subject here. Among the assured modernist company it now keeps as part of the Walther Collection of interwar photographs, through whose acquisition the picture now enters The Museum of Modern Art, Weegee's *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944* may, in its lowly tabloid origins and in the instrumental, forthrightly topical subject matter so plainly enumerated in its title, seem something of an outlier, the chaff shuffled deep into an otherwise excellent lot. The task of the present essay will be to demonstrate that the Walther Collection *Pape* trades in its own distinctive and vital — if vernacular — modernism, and as such merits pride of place among the collection. If, on its face, this picture appears to fit into the Walther Collection's story of modern photography only by virtue of some shaky morphology we might weave into its captured foreground mesh, an excursion into this picture's inward depths and outward projections as they relate to the press and to the Museum betrays deeper ties to photographic modernism at its most compelling.

But in order to talk sensibly of the Walther Collection *Pape* and its distinctive modernism, it is first necessary to address those first two exposures Weegee made at Police Headquarters, the first and second in what was, after all, a sequence of three: two exposures that resulted in glossy 8 by 10 inch (20.3 by 25.4 centimeter) prints intended for press that, so far as I can determine, were never published and which have since disappeared into obscurity among the photographer's archive at the International Center of Photography. The first of these 8 by 10s (fig. 2), although not without its pleasures (the sad ambivalence registered on Pape's face; the awkward delicacy with which he toys with his cap; the encroaching elbow at right announcing the



fig. 1 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944*. November 1944. Gelatin silver print, 1944–55, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ " (23.8 × 19.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Max Yavno and Nihon Kaizei Shimbun, by exchange (MoMA 1898.2001). © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images

crowdedness of the photographic field here), is utterly banal. It is "photojournalism" as generally understood, an ostensibly uncomplicated document relating the newsworthy event, its composition dictated only by the informational concern of Pape's bittersweet apprehension in the wake of the false accusation of the victim's older brother.³ The second exposure (fig. 3), offering an oblique view onto the scene, with its dense cluster of cops and cameramen peering mainly into the police wagon containing Pape, is rather more compelling, and more recognizable as a Weegee picture. But if this latter image takes on a theme more or less conventional



fig. 2 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *Man Escorting Frank Pape, Arrested for Strangling Boy to Death, New York*. November 10, 1944. Gelatin silver print, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{9}{16}$ " (24.1 × 19.2 cm). International Center of Photography. Bequest of Wilma Wilcox. © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images

fig. 3 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *Police and photographers with Frank Pape, Arrested for Strangling Boy to Death, New York*. November 10, 1944. Gelatin silver print, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ " (19.4 × 24.1 cm). International Center of Photography. Bequest of Wilma Wilcox. © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images

for the photographer in its coupling of some newsworthy event and the spectatorship it has produced—we might think of 1941's *Murder on the Roof* or *Car Crash Upper Fifth Ave.*—there is much that is unusual in it, too.

By 1944 Weegee was, of course, an accomplished chronicler of the peopled interiors of police wagons; six years before, he was already circulating photographs of himself stationed within one, in one case with the caption "my studio" penned by hand into the margin of the print (fig. 4).⁴ Indeed, between 1937 and 1944 Weegee produced no fewer than ten pictures (and surely many more) taking on the subject in all its magnificent variety.⁵ But it is only with this, the second exposure of November 9, 1944, that he opts to forego the wagon's implicated occupant entirely in order to photograph its portal from the side, to picture instead the police and his cohort in the photographic press, who actively constitute the institutional machinery that has afforded him this trademark subject. This second print amounts to a momentary rebellion against the very idea iterated in the first. We observe a withdrawal from the conventional subject of press photography, from the criminal body that is marked as "news," and instead witness a redirection toward the conditions of law, photography, and journalism that, in their cooperation, produce that body as news.⁶ If the first exposure performed photojournalism, the second performed something that—in its analysis of its own mediating procedures and the structures supporting them—we might make sense of as art, even as modern art, at least as that field of activity was so influentially



fig. 4 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *My Studio—A Patrol Wagon*. c. 1938. Gelatin silver print, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ " (21.6 × 18.6 cm). International Center of Photography. Bequest of Wilma Wilcox. © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images

formulated by Rosalind Krauss as the objectification of “the formal constituents of a given medium, making these, beginning with the very ground that is the origin of their existence, the objects of vision.”⁷ But for all this, the picture is still not altogether satisfying as a picture (and *not* topical, certainly not as a news picture); its obscurity, then as now, does not surprise.

If Weegee entertained such modern concerns—and he did—the dilemma then remained: how to synthesize the operations of the first and second exposures, which is to say the operations of those classically incommensurable procedures of journalism and modernism, into a single satisfying and coherent photographic record? The third and final exposure at Police Headquarters that day, which is partly registered in the Walther Collection print, yields Weegee’s solution: to photograph the newsworthy body, Frank Pape’s



fig. 5 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *Teenage Boy Arrested for Strangling a Little Girl*. 1944. Gelatin silver print, 1983, 16 ½ × 12 ¾" (41.9 × 31.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Gift of Aaron and Jessica Rose. © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images. Digital image: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, N.Y.

fig. 6 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *Frank Pape, Arrested for Strangling Boy to Death*, New York. Photographic negative (digitally scanned and inverted), 4 × 5" (10.2 × 12.7 cm). International Center of Photography. © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images

body, such that it, as a subject of journalism, retained its own instrumental visibility, the visibility of the first exposure now heightened by Pape’s unmistakably carceral habitat, but also such that this visibility is obstructed and therefore complicated by that of the organizing triad of law, photography, and journalism that was the subject of the second but still inadequate exposure as well.

In the third exposure all of this is in place, and more than adequate. For insight into this third and last exposure (not any print just yet, just the exposure, the willful chemical capture of focused light that precedes any particular print) and its success on this score, we refer to the 1983 Sid Kaplan print at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, erroneously titled *Teenage Boy Arrested for Strangling a Little Girl* (fig. 5), our most vivid document of Weegee’s negative (fig. 6). What we find there is precisely the convergence of a criminal body and the law mapped and indeed flattened by the reflected glare of photojournalism’s proper work. Weegee, it is clear from the evidence of the second exposure, has waited for the wagon’s mesh door to be shut and for things to settle into place in order to capture the outwardly defiant but obviously scared young Pape pinched at the orthogonal convergence of walls, spare tire, and bench in the wagon’s rear corner, as if reflexively withdrawn from the pinstriped gangster commanding this space at foreground left.⁸ And the foreground mesh guarantees the fact of his incarceration. All of this, on its face, accumulates to provide a more elegant narrative relation of the facts registered in that first exposure. But Weegee’s handling of that foreground mesh accomplishes much more. Weegee was a photographer keenly alert to the properties of flash, and to the extent that the foreground mesh—now coequal with the picture plane—signifies incarceration, in its pronounced whiteness (the mesh itself was anything but white), it must also articulate the burst of Weegee’s own flashbulb and, in its gridded planarity, the radical flatness of the newspaper’s page, which would be—as Weegee well understood—this picture’s primary support, through whose half-toned matrix Pape would emerge as a figure of public interest.

If in the negative’s full field as encountered through the Kaplan print Pape is shown to be framed by photography within the material entanglements of the legal system, the picture’s focal point, the diamond-shaped portrait at its core, isolates and reinforces as its central concern the convergence of Pape’s body, the steel cage that houses him, and explosive flash. The isolation of that focal point at once mitigates the determinant force of Pape’s neighbor and, more importantly, eliminates surplus data about the material character of that incarcerating steel mesh, in a sense transubstantiating it into something closer to incriminating flash light, the glare by which Pape is to enter into public (rather than simply institutional) life as a criminal. And it is this focal point—again at the convergence of criminal body, police steel, and flash—and, thus, this theme, that is isolated in the negative’s cropping as it appears in the print

now held by The Museum of Modern Art. But can this selective privileging of what seems to be the most “modern” focal point—the focal point that permits this reading that fuses journalistic narrative efficiency and modernist concern with the technological, material, and social conditions structuring criminality and its photographic mediation—be said to enjoy any kind of interpretive priority? Prints reflecting virtually every conceivable cropping of the negative can be readily located in American museums, and based on the evidence gathered through a survey of those prints, it would seem that each printing was informed by a totally distinct sense of what most matters in this picture (see Appendix 1). Is the present reading merely a misreading that suffers from an anachronistic sensibility corrupted by the picture’s proximity to its resolutely modernist photographic neighbors in the Walther Collection?

It must be observed that Kaplan’s print (or Weegee’s negative) will not be our best guide to this picture, certainly not when we are dealing with photographs produced for the press. The first and clearest measure of the complications that arise in reading the negative as an indication of photographic purpose can be seen in the “AF58” holding its upper left corner. This is the proprietary record—a sort of meta-data—burned into the negative by the film holder provided to Weegee by its publishing newspaper, the 1940s progressive *New York* tabloid *PM*. It is a trace of journalism’s system of accounting for its material investment in the production of its photographers. *PM*, we can surmise, had provided Weegee (a.k.a. Arthur Fellig, “AF”) with some number of film holders containing (in this case) Eastman Safety Kodak 110 film. This exposure was AF’s fifty-eighth.⁹ While this datum is of clear value in tracing the history of press-photographic procedure, in terms of any given picture its presence tells us more about what the photographer intended to exclude than include. Weegee would have been conscious of where the mark would appear on the negative as he observed his subject through his viewfinder, and thus we can surmise that he intended for some significant portion of the top, left, or top and left of the exposed field to be excluded from the print and its subsequent post-reprographic presentation. Weegee, this is to say, was framing his image not at the limit articulated by the viewfinder but by some narrower limit internalized by professional habit.

This business of framing within the viewfinder was, of course, in itself not in any way unusual. But it is worth considering the question of how that limit was determined—of what conditions shaped this habit. Weegee’s connection to *PM*, the newspaper that had provided the film holders that etched their accounting system into his work, was more than casual, and *PM*—a newspaper launched in 1940 as an explicit argument against the reactionary (visual) politics dominating the New York media landscape—was anything but an ordinary New York tabloid.¹⁰ Published without advertising, *PM* championed the New Deal and the CIO, and promoted such untimely causes as the integration of the U.S.

military and the improvement of mental health facilities and public schools in New York, its crusading activist journalism taking advantage of sophisticated visual argumentation in the vein of such Popular Front illustrated periodicals in interwar Europe as *Arbeiten Illustrierte Zeitung*, *Vu*, or *Ce soir*, or closer to home, serving as a daily iteration of the ethos animating more local, short-lived leftist American magazines such as *Direction*, *Ken*, or *Photo-History*. Whereas, for example, visually innovative publications such as *Vanity Fair* or *Harper’s Bazaar* may have promoted the fashions sold at the Gimbels department store during these years, *PM* would opt instead to mobilize its own pictorial innovation in the promotion of the interests of the young women staffing Gimbels’s sales counters and to challenge otherwise naturalized expectations about gender and dress.¹¹

Arthur Fellig came into existence as Weegee, as an author and maker of photographic meaning, in this tabloid’s pages, where for the first time his work was routinely credited by name and where he routinely wrote about his work under his own byline. *PM* was also the newspaper to which his work was dedicated by a contract granting the tabloid priority, beginning in June 1940.¹² To whatever extent we can know that Weegee produced his third exposure of Pape with the fact of *PM*’s notational system (that “AF58”) as a framing system in mind, then we can also say that he produced this picture with *PM* itself as a framing system in view. In *PM*’s case this meant more than it might with other periodicals of the era: this was a publication with an unusually nuanced engagement with the complexities of the social relations upon which it reported. It was also a tabloid with a clear commitment to Weegee as a complex authorial voice, to the larger creative authority of its photographers, and to the programmatic critical analysis of press photography as a communicative (rather than simply documentary) technology.¹³ Evidence in support of these commitments—the commitments framing Weegee’s view—pervades *PM*’s archive, but for the sake of brevity I advance four documents from 1941, the moment of this tabloid’s maturity: one published and speaking directly to Weegee’s case; another an internal document circulated among *PM*’s editors and speaking to that newspaper’s photographic culture in general; and a third and fourth treating the paper’s analytical attitude toward the procedures of press-photographic argument and the nexus of photography and criminality more generally.

1. Outwardly, *PM*’s support of Weegee as a distinct and careful framer of press-photographic meaning was expressed most forcefully in the paper’s March 9, 1941, feature on the photographer, whose prolific six-year relationship with *PM* began with the publication of a car-wreck picture in the tabloid’s second official issue, June 19, 1940. In “Weegee Lives for His Work and Thinks Before Shooting,” weekend photo editor Ralph Steiner emphasized Weegee’s refusal to privilege the objective recording of newsworthy events over the pictorial registration of his own interpretive transaction

with those events (see Appendix 2). At four pages—the first two a portfolio of Weegee’s crime pictures; the latter two Steiner’s lengthy essay accompanied by three of Weegee’s self-portraits—it was the longest feature ever printed by the paper on any individual photographer, and the only of Steiner’s many columns to exclusively feature a regular *PM* contributor (others treated photographers from Lewis Hine and Jimmy Hare to Marion Post and Helen Levitt).¹⁴ Troubling an entrenched interwar understanding of press photography as a disembodied, virtually automatic record of events and refuting Jeff Wall’s subsequent, similar, and highly influential claim that the form of photojournalism’s provision is dictated solely by pro-photographic incident, Steiner’s text labors to emphasize Weegee’s ambivalent negotiation with journalism’s temporal and topical imperatives, imperatives for which, readers are told, “Weegee has very little respect.”¹⁵ The pictures that Weegee “brings up” out of his incidental encounters within the licentious world that he inhabits, Steiner explains, “do not depend entirely on the drama of the event. They are good because Weegee adds a little of himself, and a little of Weegee is really something.”¹⁶

2. This commitment to photographic authorship at *PM* was neither unique to Steiner nor exclusive in its purview to Weegee; it was a matter of internal editorial policy that dictated photographers determine the conditions under which their work would be reproduced in print. Consider the language of *PM*’s founder, editor, and publisher, Ralph Ingersoll, a dissident former Time Inc. executive, editor-in-chief of *Fortune* during its Depression-era photographic heyday, and early architect of *Life*, who had parted with the Luce empire over a dispute concerning nothing less than the alleged neutrality of the photographic medium in its engagement with complex truths about the world.¹⁷ In a May 1941 internal memo titled “Announcing a New Deal for Photographers” (see Appendix 3), Ingersoll declared: “No paper ever went in business with more sincere ambition to make itself a place where photographers could get more satisfaction out of their work. They were, they are, not simply an important but a vital and integral part of the very idea of *PM*—that it would *write* stories in photographs as reporters wrote them in words.”¹⁸ This is the language of craft, of the making of things, of work and of “writing stories,” those practices of manual inscription bearing the indelible trace of their maker. More than craft, though, news photography for Ingersoll and his editors was also *art*, at a time when the “art” in a newspaper’s “art department” was generally confined to the anonymous labor of photo-corrective retouching.¹⁹ Recognizing that the fledgling paper had so far fallen short in realizing his photographic ambitions for it, Ingersoll sets out to tackle the problem with military zeal and offers a number of remedies, including the practice of “artistic criticism” and a “monthly meeting” where there “will be a discussion of actual pictures which we will hold up and look at before we

talk about them.”²⁰ The memo further insists that photo editors be called to account in the event that the photographer’s “directions for cropping were not followed.”²¹

3. This press-photographic convergence of authorial designation and creative control can be shown to have been a strategic component in *PM*’s larger and markedly reflexive photo-analytical machinery, whose purpose extended well beyond the celebration of any one individual artistic persona. *PM* was insistent about the photographer’s authority because it understood that any journalistic rhetoric that obscured or ignored the photographer’s role in the construction of meaning presented dire risks to the health of public discourse.²² Often this strategy was advanced with a light touch, as was the case with *PM*’s January 26, 1941, publication of a photograph of a great snow heap under the headline “The Storm Wasn’t Really This Bad” (see Appendix 4). The caption proceeds to explain that, following a predicted but unrealized blizzard, the photographer had been out “after snow pictures,” but finding little in the way of actual snowy mayhem, he had settled instead for a plow-gathered snow bank. “To make it look worse,” the caption continues, “Weegee put his camera on the street and shot upward.”²³ *PM*’s message is clear: press photography’s account of the world is one ineluctably shaped by photographic agency, professional habit, and editorial disposition.

4. But the stakes of this message were frequently much higher than a makeshift snowdrift. Consider *PM*’s critical assessment, published just six weeks earlier, of the marshaling of press photography by the Nazi organ *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* in its reporting on the arrest of so-called “criminal” Jewish potato-hoarders hidden in a “secret . . . cave city” in occupied Poland (see Appendix 5).²⁴ *PM* begins its discussion by noting the *Life*-like circulation of 2.5 million readers for the German illustrated weekly, thereby focusing its own readers’ attention on the extraordinary communicative reach and power of the picture press. *PM* then proceeds to explain that it has reproduced two pages from *BIZ*’s story in order to “show the kind of pictorial reports printed in Germany with the blessings of the Propaganda ministry.”²⁵ In this case, as *PM* explains, *BIZ*’s “presumable purpose is to show how clever the Aryan Nazi soldiers are and how thieving and non-Aryan Polish Jews are.”²⁶ But *PM* reads against this grain to observe the story’s effectiveness instead as a “document of the brutalizing poverty in Nazi-controlled Poland,” carefully parsing the structure of *BIZ*’s tendentious outlay of photographic evidence in the construction of its argument: “The German reader is supposed to believe that the photographer just happened along on this scoop. But all the pictures seem to have been carefully posed. This is quite evident from the picture of the old Jew entering the secret potato store—just at the proper moment to be snapped.”²⁷ *BIZ*’s construction through photography of criminality where there is only “brutalizing poverty” and systematic persecution is shown to

turn exclusively on the evidence of the photographer, the authority of whose unspoken photographic activity is demonstrated by *PM* to be entirely dubious. What *BIZ* presents as an event recorded by photography, as if there had been no intervention on the part of the camera operator, is shown by *PM* to be instead an event produced, in concert with the occupying forces and ultimately *BIZ*'s editors, precisely for photography.²⁸ *BIZ*'s reporting is predicated on its refusal to locate the photographer as an agent in the production of meaning; it is not the photographer but the photographic image that *BIZ* presents to bear the burden of evidentiary proof.

PM's, then, was a heady press-photographic program deftly navigating the complex visual politics of its moment and standing at some real distance from any all-too-entrenched postmodern caricature of midcentury tabloid photojournalism as homogeneous in its naive instrumentality, and one whose commitments can only have inflected Weegee's practice during the years of his involvement with the tabloid. Indeed, his work was central to that program's elaboration.

But *PM*'s was not the only photographic program framing Weegee's view in 1944. Just eight weeks prior to his visit to Police Headquarters that November, five of Weegee's photographs had been proudly on display at The Museum of Modern Art, as part of the photographic section of the Museum's enormously popular fifteenth-anniversary exhibition *Art in Progress* (the exhibition itself ran from May 24 to October 22, with the photography section closing September 17).²⁹ All five exhibited pictures, it must be noted, were by 1944 part of MoMA's collection, and all but one had been previously published in *PM*, three of them topically as journalism and a fourth (whose taking pre-dated *PM*) as part of an essay on emotion in news photography.³⁰ And while this was not the first time that Weegee's work had been exhibited at MoMA (four prints had been presented as part of Nancy Newhall's *Action Photography* show of August-September 1943), it was the first to present Weegee as a major photographer in his own right, rather than as a representative of some generic tendency.³¹

Weegee, a photographer then with the Modern very much in mind in November 1944, had seen plenty at *Art in Progress* that stood to inform the particular cast of his own journalistically idiosyncratic treatment of Frank Pape's incarceration. There Weegee would have encountered the photographic analysis of the proscenium as a screen in Henri Cartier-Bresson's *Woman Leaning Through Door* (1934), in Charles Sheeler's *The Open Door, Doylestown, Pa.* (1932), and, perhaps most saliently (given this photographer's importance to Weegee's own Photo League milieu), in Paul Strand's *Window, Ghost Town, Red River, New Mexico* (1932).³² Weegee would have seen the modern prioritization of shadowy geometry, planarity, verticality, and surface in Man Ray's *Rayograph* (1927), in László Moholy-Nagy's *From*

the Radio Tower 1 and 2 (1928), and in his own editor Ralph Steiner's *American Rural Baroque* (1930). Weegee, demonstrably keen to be considered a MoMA-caliber photographer and in possession of a supremely sharp (if professionally specific) photographic intelligence, would have been likely to note in MoMA's curatorial priorities a tendency toward linear geometry, articulated, high-contrast planarity, and the thematics of the portal as an analogue for the photographic plane—all motifs plainly on view in *Pape*.³³ There is then every reason to believe that MoMA was inflecting Weegee's practice as a press photographer at least as much as his press photography was at this same moment inflecting MoMA. In Weegee's case in 1944, any binary that holds these formations at bay, and any commonsense assumption that Weegee was somehow appropriated to modernism subsequent to his extra-aesthetic journalistic achievement, just doesn't hold water.

By briefly considering another photograph Weegee would have seen at *Art in Progress*, one that was in fact hung just inches from his own work in that show's installation, we can see with particular clarity the tenuousness of the commonly held notion that the art museum upgraded press photography to an art at some point subsequent to the fulfillment of its pedestrian journalistic function. Lisette Model's *Nice* (1938; fig. 7), then titled *French Street Scene*, first came to the attention of the New York photography world two years after Model arrived in New York, when she visited Ralph Steiner at *PM*'s office in early 1940 seeking darkroom work there. As Anne Thomas has related, Steiner reviewed the young photographer's portfolio (including *Nice*, a late addition to a series that Model had published in *Regards* as an indictment of the French bourgeoisie), and instantly refused her the job, seeing her as a photographer wildly overqualified for such menial work.³⁴ Steiner proceeded to introduce Model to Alexey Brodovitch at *Harper's Bazaar*, who quickly offered her an assignment, and to Beaumont Newhall, curator of MoMA's newly established Department of Photography, who just as quickly included Model and *Nice* in his department's inaugural exhibition *Sixty Photographs* (December 31, 1940-January 12, 1941) and successfully recommended *Nice* and another print for purchase by the Museum for its collection. Only then, with *Nice* firmly sanctioned as a MoMA work, did *PM* publish the photograph as a work of journalism, including the image in a photoessay on January 19, 1941, offering a visual accounting of "Why France Fell" (fig. 8).³⁵ When that essay became the justifiable target of sharp criticism in *PM*'s letters page the following week ("Only the Nazis up to now," observed one reader, "have used the trick of singling out a few particularly disgusting specimens of humanity . . . and saying: 'Look at these sub-human beasts, such are the Jews.'"), *PM*'s Sunday editor Bill McCleery defended the essay, precisely on the basis of Model's MoMA-sanctioned status as an *artist* and not a documenter of visible facts—as the press photographer might otherwise be conventionally



fig. 7 Lisette Model. *Nice*. 1938. Gelatin silver print, 13 5/8 x 10 3/4" (34.6 x 27.3 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Given anonymously. © 2014 Estate of Lisette Model, courtesy Baudoin Lebon Gallery, Paris, and Keitelman Gallery, Brussels

fig. 8 Lisette Model. Page from "Why France Fell." *PM*. January 19, 1941. Courtesy International Center of Photography. © 2014 Estate of Lisette Model, courtesy Baudoin Lebon Gallery, Paris, and Keitelman Gallery, Brussels

understood: "A Frenchwoman came to us with a set of excellent pictures—one of which is in the Museum of Modern Art's collection," McClery contended. "These pictures were her explanation of why France fell. They were not our explanation. They were not a complete explanation—we don't think anybody has turned up a complete explanation yet."³⁶ Photographs in *PM*, it is clear, were not to be understood as windows onto the world containing their own technologically grounded guarantees; rather, they were arguments whose strengths must be measured on the basis of their maker's intelligence and vision. They were, as John Szarkowski would later have it, as much mirrors as windows. And while Model's picture, which, again, hung just next to Weegee's own at *Art in Progress* in 1944, operates on a very different formal register than *Pape*, we discover in its "social life" as an object—in tracing its circuitous, braided pathway into MoMA and onto the newspaper's page—a model for how *PM*, Weegee, and the museum were working together in these years to cultivate one very messy albeit satisfying variant of photographic modernism that was careful, even calculating, in its bridging of aesthetic and journalistic concerns.

PM and MoMA then can be said with some real plausibility to have been equally present forces in the framing of Weegee's view outside Police Headquarters on November 9, 1944, and the confluence of these forces can be seen in

PM's publication of *Pape* on November 10, where the picture made its debut as a matter of public concern (fig. 9). The tabloid's (and therefore, as we have seen, Weegee's) presentation is striking on a number of levels, but for our present purpose it suffices to note simply the unusually rich quality of the reproduction—it was printed, like all of *PM*'s pictures, through a state-of-the-art process that preserved the tonal quality of the source image to a degree unprecedented in daily news publishing—and, more unusually for *PM*, the image's monumental occupation of four out of five columns of the tabloid's page. This was a picture, *PM* understood, that merited grand display, even if on a Friday, and even on page 15; such presentation has to matter to our analysis of Weegee's photograph. For Weegee, the *PM* page operated as a vital surface for the presentation of his work.³⁷

Consider the photographer's self-portrait (fig. 10) that was published as part of the Steiner feature mentioned above, surrounded as he is by the materials of his work. There we find that Weegee—in his staged-for-print self-presentation—is as likely to surround himself with his photographs as torn from the pages of *PM* as he is with the prints of his work that were produced in the paper's darkroom for exhibition. It is a self-presentation that calls to mind—if only to complicate—A. D. Coleman's important argument about Weegee's peculiar status as a printmaker:



fig. 9 "Neighbor Boy Admits Tying Bobby Drach." *PM*. November 10, 1944. Courtesy New-York Historical Society

For Weegee . . . a photographic print was usually nothing more than a by-product. Weegee's prints served as the matrices from which halftone and gravure printing plates were made (by others) for reproduction in magazines, books, and newspapers. Weegee intended these mass-produced multiples, and not the photographic prints themselves, to be the final forms of his imagery. . . . He did not expect or intend his work to be experienced in the form of photographic prints.³⁸

While Coleman clearly overstates his case vis-à-vis Weegee's attitude toward prints made for exhibition, in certain other fundamental respects, his assessment of just where we might locate interpretive priority in our encounter with Weegee's work holds up as well today as it did when it first appeared with the emergence of this photographer's images on the art market in 1984. It is, as Coleman contends, crucial that we heed more closely than has been the habit the operational, circulatory life of pictures produced by professional press photographers like Weegee. Had Coleman only refused his either/or way of thinking about Weegee's activity as a photographer, which eliminates entirely the possibility that, yes, sometimes Weegee intended his prints to be "more than a by-product," he would be entirely right in his (still novel and necessary) suggestion that the reprographic iteration of the press photographer's work must compel attention in any attempt to understand that photographer's practice. But the case is more interesting than that, since

Weegee himself did not entertain Coleman's binary and instead embraced, where it suited him, both possibilities. As much can be ascertained by reference to that *PM* bedroom self-portrait. There we will note that of the three photographs Weegee has hung as display prints in his bedroom in early 1941, two corresponded to pictures (*Tenement Fire* and *Saloon Brawl*) that, as prints, were exhibited at Weegee's *Murder Is My Business* exhibition at the Photo League that August, would enter the collection of MoMA soon after (as *Tenement Fire* would do in May 1943), or both, while those photographs that hung as page tears may have been understood to function more effectively within their surrounding alphabetic context or page design. Weegee had a more-than-passing interest in his photography's presentation as prints, but not an exclusive one. We might then revise Coleman to read that Weegee intended mass-produced multiples and photographic prints to be the final forms of his imagery.

So where do we position the Walther Collection *Pape* in all this? Beyond the basic attending facts of its relatively clear provenance, the print bears little evidence of its own material history. Modest retouching aspires to the correction of a flaw native to the negative, visible on what would be the lobe of Pape's left ear, but there is no indication of when or for what purpose this correction was introduced. Nothing about the print betrays the date of its printing, but we have seen that Weegee, who routinely produced (or had produced) 8 by 10 inch prints for press, was already making larger prints for exhibition beginning in the early 1940s. He also printed prolifically from his *PM*-era negatives throughout his later life. We do know that the Walther Collection *Pape* was sold by Weegee's widow, Wilma Wilcox, directly to Hendrik Berinson's gallery in Berlin sometime before Wilcox made her bequest of the Weegee estate to the International Center of Photography in 1993.³⁹ According to Berinson, he sold the print to Thomas Walther "sometime in the late 1980s."⁴⁰ Nothing confirms or precludes that it was printed during the period of Weegee's positioning within the museum-journalistic dialogue so far described.

We can, however, and with our revised understanding of Coleman's 1984 argument in mind, entertain one connection linking the Walther print to this particular bridging of journalistic and aesthetic agendas—to MoMA and *PM* as the conditions framing Weegee's view. Should we accept that the *Pape* image that appeared in *PM*'s edition of November 10 holds a position of something like the (or a) "final form" of this photograph, and is the one that most completely crystallizes Weegee's distinctive brand of "modernism" at the moment of its production, then the particular dimensions of the Walther Collection *Pape* take on a notable (if elsewhere untested) significance. Above we observed that *PM* assigned unprecedented authority to its photographers in determining the conditions of their work's presentation within the tabloid's pages, with particular agency granted concerning the question of cropping. We can surmise then that the



fig. 10 Weegee (Arthur Fellig). *Weegee Lying on Bed in His Studio, New York*. 1941. Gelatin silver print, 7 3/8 x 9 3/8" (18.7 x 23.2 cm). International Center of Photography. © 2014 Weegee/International Center of Photography/Getty Images

image as it appeared in *PM* reflected with some precision Weegee's intentions for the picture. The cropping of the Walther Collection *Pape* substantially (if inexactly) mimics the picture's formal organization, and thus its thematic priority, as it appeared in the press—which is to say that the *print*, the Museum's and modernism's privileged object, appears to defer not to the negative but to the ephemeral, topical tabloid page, with its industrially machined reproduction, for its sanction. But there is more: *Pape*, as it was encountered by *PM*'s readers, measures 9 1/4 by 8 5/8 inches (23.5 by 22 centimeters). And while *PM*'s cropping from the negative is a bit tighter, it is not for nothing that the Walther print measures 9 3/8 by 7 7/16 inches (23.9 by 19.2 centimeters), very nearly approximating both the 8 by 10 inch dimensions conventional to the tabloid photoengraver's matrix print but also, and more importantly, the image's dramatic dimensions as it finally commanded *PM*'s page. This print, in approximating

the scale of its image's appearance in *PM*, so, too, approximates that now *primary* image's spatial claim on the news reader's visual field—precisely the presentational scale of a remarkable *PM* news photograph by a MoMA-caliber photographer, circa 1944.

PM's publication of this picture as news, at the level of presentation, restaged its internal, structural synthesis of journalism and modernism by offering it in one and the same stroke as both a document of a young man's arrest and an exceptional formal photographic achievement; both "social work" and "camera work," to borrow Alan Trachtenberg's useful heuristic divide.⁴¹ This shouldn't surprise: that divide wasn't always all that clear. This *Pape*'s present housing at The Museum of Modern Art is more than appropriate, finally, given the institution's own important work muddying these particular and always less-than-clear photographic waters.



Appendix 1 This print, made by Sid Kaplan in 1983, seen as well in figure 5, shows the entire view of Weegee's original negative for the third exposure he took of Frank Pape in November 1944. Colored frames indicate the cropping of prints, now in various collections, derived from the negative: Sid Kaplan's portfolio of Weegee's prints, International Center of Photography, New York (red); *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (blue); *Sixteen-Year-Old Boy Who Strangled a Four-*

Year-Old Child to Death, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (dark green); *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (brown); *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York (orange); *Frank Pape, Arrested for Strangling Boy to Death*, New York, International Center of Photography (yellow); the image as it was first published in *PM* (white); the image as it appeared in Weegee's 1945 book, *Naked City* (light green).



Appendix 2 Ralph Steiner. "Weegee Lives for His Work and Thinks Before Shooting." *PM*. March 9, 1941. Courtesy International Center of Photography

May 6, 1941

To: PM's Photographers
 cc to: PM's Staff
 From: RALPH INGERSOLL

ANNOUNCING A NEW DEAL FOR PHOTOGRAPHERS

WE DON'T THINK PHOTOGRAPHERS HAVE BEEN VERY HAPPY ON PM AND THAT HAS BOTHERED US A LOT. NO PAPER EVER WENT IN BUSINESS WITH MORE SINCERE AMBITION TO MAKE ITSELF A PLACE WHERE PHOTOGRAPHERS COULD GET MORE SATISFACTION OUT OF THEIR WORK. THEY WERE, THEY ARE, NOT SIMPLY AN IMPORTANT BUT A VITAL AND INTEGRAL PART OF THE VERY IDEA OF PM--THAT IT WOULD WRITE STORIES IN PHOTOGRAPHS AS REPORTERS WROTE THEM IN WORDS.

WE NEVER FORGOT THIS AMBITION. WE NEVER CEASED TO BE AWARE THAT WE HAD FAILED TO ACHIEVE IT. LIFE IN THE FIRST YEAR OF PM WAS JUST SO VIOLENT WE NEVER GOT AROUND TO THE HEAD-ON FRONTAL ATTACK WHICH -- WE ARE SURE -- IS THE ONLY WAY REALLY TO LICK THE PROBLEM. AND BY "WE" I MEAN "HE"--THE MANAGEMENT, THE EDITORS, THE WRITERS--AND YOU.

THIS ANNOUNCEMENT IS NOT TO SAY THAT ANYBODY'S FOUND A NORTHWEST PASSAGE WHICH CUTS THROUGH TO A PERFECT SOLUTION. THIS ANNOUNCEMENT IS TO SAY THAT WE THINK WE HAVE ACHIEVED ENOUGH ORDER, ENOUGH CONTROL OVER OUR COMMUNITY LIFE, TO BEGIN THE OFFENSIVE WHICH WILL LICK THE PROBLEM. WHETHER THIS IS GOING TO BE A SIX WEEKS BLITZ OR A SUMMER'S CAMPAIGN WILL BE LARGELY UP TO YOU PHOTOGRAPHERS TO DECIDE--UP TO YOUR ABILITY NOT ONLY TO EXPRESS YOURSELF BUT TO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF THE WRITERS AND EDITORS WHO WORK WITH YOU SO THAT THE REAL AND PERMANENT ROUTINE OF COOPERATION CAN BE DEVELOPED.

TO PREPARE FOR THIS BLITZ, THE EDITORS OF PM HAVE BEEN HOLDING A SERIES OF MEETINGS EXCLUSIVELY DEVOTED TO ANALYZING YOUR PROBLEMS. WE HAVE NOT TOLD YOU ABOUT THESE MEETINGS BEFORE BECAUSE

2.

WE DIDN'T WANT TO COME TO YOU UNTIL WE FELT WE HAD SOMETHING TANGIBLE TO OFFER. NOW WE FEEL WE HAVE.

WE FEEL WE MADE OUR FIRST REAL PROGRESS WHEN WE RECOGNIZED THAT TO GIVE YOU MORE SATISFACTION AND THUS GET BETTER PICTURES INTO PM--WE HAD NOT ONE PROBLEM BUT TWO. AND THAT ONE SOURCE OF OUR CONFUSION HAS BEEN THAT WE HAVE OFTEN GOTTEN THESE TWO PROBLEMS MIXED UP.

PROBLEM 1: A WORKING ROUTINE WHICH WILL INSURE YOUR KNOWING WHAT IS EXPECTED OF YOU ON EACH AND EVERY ASSIGNMENT--A WORKING ROUTINE WHICH WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY EDITOR OR WRITER TO WASTE YOUR TIME SHOOTING AGAINST A HALF-THOUGHT OUT IDEA.

PROBLEM 2: ARTISTIC CRITICISM--DISCUSSIONS LEADING TO "IMPROVING THE BREED" OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN PM.

HERE ARE THE PIECES OF MACHINERY WHICH WE ARE HEREOBY CREATING TO LICK THESE TWO PROBLEMS--SEPARATELY.

TO LICK PROBLEM 1:

A NEW DEFINITION OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND AUTHORITY OF "THE PICTURE DESK".

THIS DESK WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR CLEARING ALL ASSIGNMENTS. IT IS CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NOT ACCEPTING AN ASSIGNMENT FROM A WRITER OR EDITOR UNLESS IT IS CONVINCED THAT THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ASSIGNMENT ARE CLEARLY THOUGHT OUT AND EXPRESSED--SO THAT THE PHOTOGRAPHER CAN REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO UNDERSTAND IT. THIS WILL REQUIRE WRITING DOWN THE ASSIGNMENT IN WORDS--WHICH CAN BE REFERRED BACK TO IN CASE OF ARGUMENT.

THIS DESK IS FURTHER CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NOT LETTING A PHOTOGRAPHER GO OUT ON AN ASSIGNMENT UNTIL AND UNLESS THE DESK MAN IS REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT THE PHOTOGRAPHER UNDERSTANDS IT.

3.

THESE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DESK MEAN, IN EFFECT, THAT YOU PHOTOGRAPHERS HAVE A PROFESSIONAL ATTORNEY REPRESENTING YOUR INTERESTS IN DEALING WITH WRITERS AND EDITORS. HE WILL HAVE NOTHING ELSE TO DO. THIS WILL BE HIS ONLY JOB -- TO SEE TO IT THAT YOUR ASSIGNMENTS ARE CLEARLY THOUGHT OUT, WELL INTEGRATED AND THAT YOU DON'T GO OUT ON THEM UNTIL YOU UNDERSTAND THEM.

RIGHT IN LINE WITH THIS, THE DESK MAN REPRESENTING YOU WILL CONTINUE AS YOUR REPRESENTATIVE CHAPERONING YOUR PICTURES THROUGH LAYOUT AND INTO PRINT. HE WILL BE THERE TO ASK FOR THE KIND OF TREATMENT OF THEM THAT YOU WANT. IT WILL BE ARRANGED SO THAT HE CAN TELL YOU NEXT DAY WHY THE PICTURE YOU TOOK WAS USED; WHY THAT ONE WASN'T USED; HOW COME YOUR DIRECTIONS FOR CROPPING WERE NOT FOLLOWED -- AND TO PASS ON THE PAYS ON THE BACK THAT YOUR PICTURES NOW OFTEN GET WITHOUT YOUR KNOWING ABOUT IT.

TO MEET PROBLEM 2:

THE PROBLEM OF ARTISTIC CRITICISM, OF IMPROVING THE BREED OF PHOTOGRAPHS:

1. HENCEFORTH YOUR PICTURES WILL RECEIVE THE SAME CRITICAL TREATMENT THAT PM'S WORDS HAVE BEEN GETTING FOR THE LAST THREE OR FOUR MONTHS: DAILY CRITICISM ON A MARKED DUMMY POSTED ON THE BULLETIN BOARD.
2. MONTHLY MEETINGS WILL BE INAUGURATED AT WHICH YOU WILL MEET WITH THE EDITORIAL BOARD IN A THREE HOUR SESSION DURING WHICH THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE LAST MONTH'S PICTURES WILL BE DISCUSSED. WE HAVE ARRANGED TO FILE AND ORGANIZE PICTURES CONTINUOUSLY -- SO THAT THIS MONTHLY MEETING WILL NOT BE DEVOTED TO VAGUE GENERALITIES BUT WILL BE A DISCUSSION OF ACTUAL PICTURES WHICH WE WILL HOLD UP AND LOOK AT BEFORE WE TALK ABOUT THEM.

4.

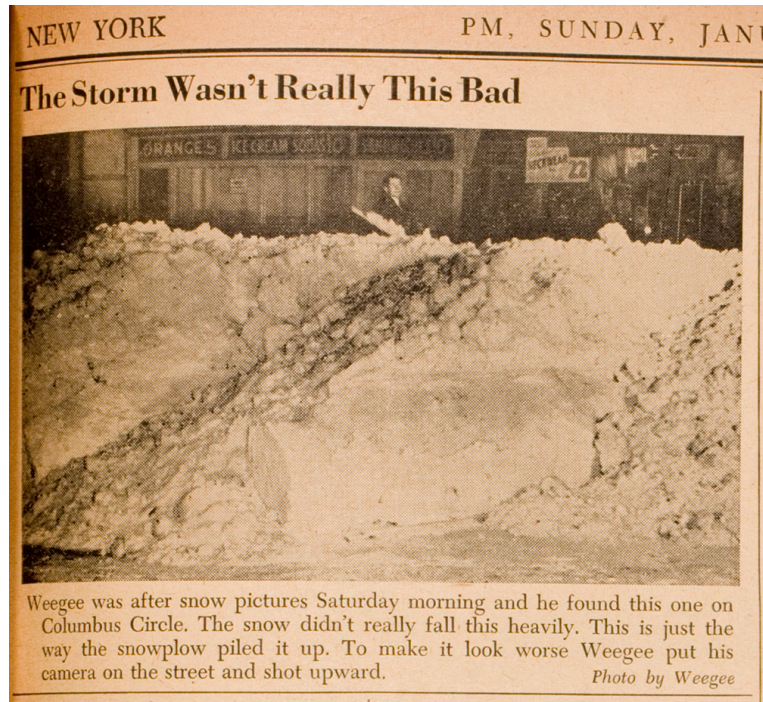
3. TALLY SHEETS ARE BEING INSTITUTED WHICH WILL KEEP SCORE ON

- A) THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH PHOTOGRAPHER'S WORK THAT GETS IN THE PAPER AND
- B) THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH EDITOR'S AND WRITER'S ASSIGNMENTS THAT ARE SUCCESSFUL AND GET INTO THE PAPER.

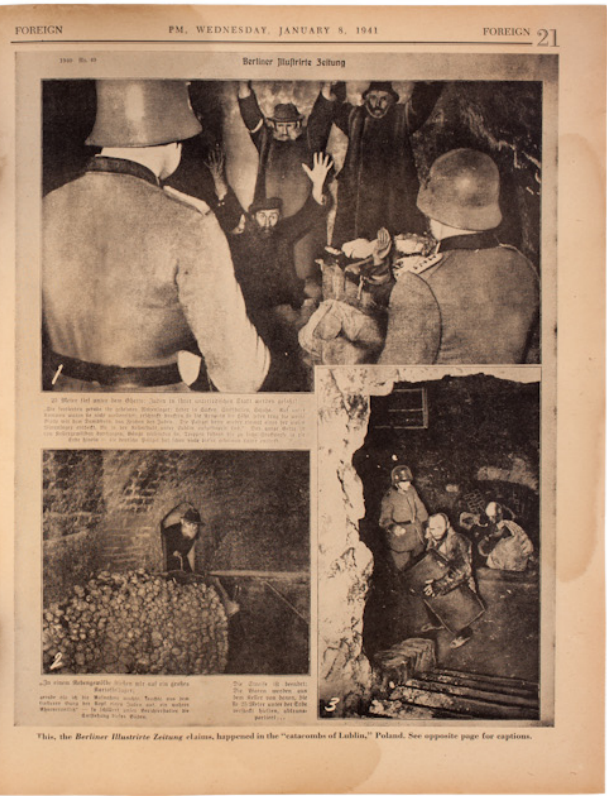
THESE TALLY SHEETS WILL FOR THE FIRST TIME ENABLE US TO BREAK THE BOTTLENECK OF CONFUSION AND MISUNDERSTANDING. WHEN AN EDITOR'S ASSIGNMENTS ARE NOT CLICKING WE WILL KNOW IT QUICKLY AND SO BE IN A POSITION TO SIT DOWN AND TALK ABOUT THEM AND FIND OUT WHY AND FIX IT.

THE FIRST OF THESE MONTHLY MEETINGS WILL BE ON THURSDAY, MAY 15 IN THE NEWS ROOM LIVING ROOM AT 3:30 P.M.

Appendix 3 Ralph Ingersoll. "Announcing a New Deal for Photographers." Internal PM memo, May 6, 1941. Nieman Foundation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.



Appendix 4 "The Storm Wasn't Really This Bad." PM, January 26, 1941. Courtesy International Center of Photography



Appendix 5 "Nazis Picture Raid in Polish "Ghetto Cavern."" PM, January 8, 1941. Courtesy International Center of Photography

NOTES

1. On October 29, 1944, four-year-old Billy Drach was found by his father and eight-year-old brother, Bobby, bound and gagged in the basement of the apartment building where the family lived. Initially Bobby confessed that he had tied Billy up while playing “commando,” and the police ruled the death accidental. The Drach family, however, pressed for further investigation, which ultimately led to the confession of Pape, who lived nearby. Pape said that he had wanted to mimic a scene from a movie he had just seen, had found Billy drawing with chalk on the street, and had asked him, “Want to play tie-up?” As the tabloid story that accompanied the publication of Weegee’s photograph recounts (see fig. 9), Pape claimed he panicked when Billy began to struggle, and he left the younger boy bound with rope in the basement, with a handkerchief in his mouth and a burlap sack over his head. See “Neighbor Boy Admits Tying Bobby Drach,” *PM*, November 10, 1944, p. 15. Thanks to Chris George for his expert help in identifying the correct location of this photographic sequence.
2. The “November 10” in the Walther Collection title refers to the date of the image’s publication. Titles of prints after this negative vary depending on the print and its holding institution. My unscientific survey yielded the following variety: *Teenage Boy Arrested for Strangling a Little Girl* (Metropolitan Museum of Art and the International Center of Photography, both reflecting the title used in Sid Kaplan’s 1982 *Weegee Portfolio*); *Sixteen-Year-Old Boy Who Strangled a Four-Year-Old Child to Death* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide* (J. Paul Getty Museum); and *Frank Pape, Arrested for Homicide, November 10, 1944* (MoMA and the National Gallery of Art). While not all as wildly off the mark as that used in the Kaplan portfolio, none of these are quite accurate: the actual arraignment, and thus the photographic act, occurred on November 9. The first print was likely made that night or early the next morning.
3. For the now-classic postwar statements of photojournalism as viewed from the perspective of critical modernism in the visual arts, see Jeff Wall, “Marks of Indifference: Aspects of Photography in, or as, Conceptual Art,” in Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer, eds., *Reconsidering the Object of Art, 1965–1975* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), pp. 247–67; and Allan Sekula, “Paparazzo Notes,” in *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works, 1973–1983* (Halifax, Canada: NSCAD, 1984), pp. 23–31.
4. On the “pie wagon” as a recurring motif in Weegee’s work, see Elizabeth Jane VanArragon, “The Photo League: Views of Urban Experience in the 1930s and 1940s” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2006). On the paddy wagon’s opened portal as a potentially fluid proscenium, see Richard Meyer, *Outlaw Representation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), pp. 9–12.
5. Eight of these were published in the “Pie’ Wagon” chapter of Weegee’s 1945 book *Naked City* (New York: Essential).
6. On journalism’s partnership with law enforcement in the collaborative construction of criminality, see Stuart Hall, et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978).
7. Rosalind Krauss, “In the Name of Picasso,” in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985), p. 38.
8. For one analysis, see Judith Keller’s insightful discussion of the Getty museum’s Kaplan print, in *Focus: Weegee* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2005), p. 30.
9. These indicators are pervasive in the Kaplan portfolio. Thanks to Claartje van Dijk at the International Center of Photography for her help in determining the function of this notational system. Here is her explanation: “Although not confirmed, it seems that photographers who worked for *PM* would all have this identification on the print with the initials of their name. It might be that the *PM* photographers would pick up a number of 4x5 film holders from the *PM* office before starting their assignment. Each film holder would probably have some sort of a label (perhaps made of film) within the holder with the initial and number of the film. Subsequently, when the photograph would be taken, the number and initials would appear on the image.” Claartje van Dijk, email to the author, September 13, 2012. A number of existing *PM* prints by other photographers bearing similar markings appears to corroborate this proposed system.
10. For one treatment of Weegee’s involvement with *PM*, see Anthony W. Lee, “Human Interest Stories,” in Anthony Lee and Richard Meyer, *Weegee and Naked City* (Los Angeles: University of California, 2007). For an account of *PM*’s unlikely intervention into New York’s journalistic culture and Weegee’s place within it, see my *Artist as Reporter: The *PM* News Picture, 1940–1948* (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2011).
11. See Ray Platnick and Henry Lieberman, “Gimbels Workers Made Own Picket Signs,” *PM*, July 13, 1941, p. 16. For an overview of *PM*’s journalism, see Paul Milkman, *PM: A New Deal in Journalism* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers, 1997). The feminist labor activist and fashion designer Elizabeth Hawes wrote a weekly column for *PM* arguing against the influence of male management over the sartorial choices of the female workforce and against the fashion industry’s complicity in the perpetuation of any sartorial regime antagonistic to the interests of women. See, for example, Elizabeth Hawes, “Miss Hawes Advises Women to Ignore the Brassiere Ads,” *PM*, December 8, 1940, p. 62. For more on Hawes, see Bettina Burch, *Radical by Design: The Life and Style of Elizabeth Hawes* (New York: Dutton, 1988).
12. “In those days,” as *PM* staff photographer Morris Engel recalled at a symposium on Weegee at the International Center of Photography in 1977, “if you worked as a news photographer . . . however good . . . the credit would read ‘photo by [paper title]’ . . . personal credit was contrary to what papers stood for with respect to photography. . . . Photographers were not worthy of receiving credit . . . until *PM* came on the scene.” Morris Engel, sound recording of “Weegee the Famous” (International Center of Photography, October 16, 1977), Weegee Archive, ICP, New York. A September 1944 article in *Architectural Forum* refers to Weegee as a photographer that will be known to those among its readers who “read *PM* with their cornflakes.” *Architectural Forum*, September 1944: 184. While Weegee had appeared by name *before* the camera in *Life* prior to June 1940, his visibility as an author behind the camera would have to wait until *PM*’s intervention.
13. As of June 15, 1941, in addition to Weegee, *PM* could count among its staff and team of regular photographers John DeBiase, David Eisendrath, Jr., Ray Platnick, Gene Badger, Morris Engel, Leo Lieb, Mary Morris, Peter Killian, Morris Goron, Irving Haberman, Hugh Broderick, Steve Derry, Alan Fisher, Martin Harris, Margaret Bourke-White, Bill Brunk, Dan Israel, Feno Jacobs, and Helen Levitt.

14. Ralph Steiner, "Weegee Lives for His Work and Thinks Before Shooting," *PM*, March 9, 1941, pp. 48–51. On Steiner's weekly column for *PM*, see Carol Payne, "Interactions of Photography and the Mass Media, 1920–1941: The Early Career of Ralph Steiner" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1999).
15. Steiner, "Weegee Lives for His Work," p. 51. On the contemporary (i.e., circa 1935) journalistic understanding of photography as disembodied and mechanical, see Barbie Zelizer, "Journalism's 'Last' Stand: Wirephoto and the Discourse of Resistance," *Journal of Communication* 45, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 78–92. For Wall's much later re-tread of that same discourse, see "Marks of Indifference."
16. Steiner, "Weegee Lives for His Work," p. 50.
17. Ingersoll finally broke with Henry Luce and his organization over Luce's decision to put an aggrandizing photograph of Adolph Hitler on the cover of *Time*'s 1938 Man of the Year issue. Ingersoll subverted this plan and, without Luce's knowledge, replaced the photograph with a devastating caricature of Hitler as a mass murderer. Reflecting on the importance of this episode to his conceptualization of *PM*, Ingersoll later wrote: "My feeling that the Nazi state was a challenge to everything we believed in was so forthright that I felt *objectivity itself partisan*. . . . It was the problems that Hitler posed the world, then, that first interested me in the limits of journalistic objectivity." See my "On the Efficacy of Artifice: *PM*, Radiophoto, and the Journalistic Discourse of Photographic Objectivity," *Études photographiques* 27 (2010): 76. (Emphasis added.) However unsung, Ingersoll's centrality to the culture of American photographic magazine journalism in the 1930s (and, therefore, since) simply cannot be overstated. As editor of *Fortune*, Ingersoll played a key role in the invention of the American journalistic photoessay, advancing the careers of both Walker Evans and Margaret Bourke-White and introducing the groundbreaking Weimar photojournalist Erich Salomon and his cohort to American audiences. On Ingersoll at *Fortune*, see John Stomberg, "A Genealogy of Orthodox Documentary," in Mark Reinhardt, Holly Edwards, and Erina Duganne, eds., *Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic in Pain* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007), pp. 37–56; and Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century* (New York: Knopf, 2010).
18. Ralph Ingersoll, "Announcing a New Deal for Photographers," internal *PM* memo, May 6, 1941 (*PM* Collection, Box NT0007: "Policy & Objectives 1941/Ingersoll Memos April-June" folder, Nieman Foundation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.). (Emphasis original.) On Ingersoll and the origins of *PM*, see my "On the Efficacy of Artifice," pp. 71–85.
19. On the role of the art department in newspaper publishing during these years, see Laura Vitray, Roscoe Ellard, and John Mills, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939).
20. Ingersoll, "Announcing a New Deal for Photographers."
21. *Ibid.*
22. See my "On the Efficacy of Artifice."
23. "The Storm Wasn't Really This Bad," *PM*, January 26, 1941, p. 13.
24. "Nazi Picture Raid in Polish 'Ghetto Cavern,'" *PM*, January 8, 1941, pp. 20–21.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. For one treatment of this episode of *BIZ*'s reporting and of the weekly's wider photographic program, see Hanno Loewy, "' . . . Without Masks': Jews through the Lens of 'German Photography,' 1933–1945," in Klaus Honnef, Rolf Sachsse, and Karin Thomas, eds., *German Photography 1870–1970: Power of a Medium* (Cologne: Dumont, 1997), pp. 106–109. Loewy, who is almost certainly unaware of *PM*'s report, nevertheless concurs with *PM*'s conclusions regarding the constructed nature of the photographed events: "There is much to suggest," she writes, "that the 'underground' raid showing smugglers being 'tracked down' is staged."
29. The five prints displayed in the exhibition were: *Tenement Fire* (1939), *Brooklyn School Children See Gambler Murdered in Street* (1941), *My Man* (1941), *Woman Shot from Cannon* (1943), and *Opening Night at the Opera* (1944).
30. The fifth, *Opening Night at the Opera* (now known as *The Critic*), was first published in *Life*. *PM* would also publish this photograph, but as an illustration for a story photographing by Weegee treating that picture's popularity with visitors to the *Art in Progress* exhibition. Weegee, "A Weegee Gets Attention at Museum of Modern Art," *PM*, June 2, 1944, p. 12.
31. Weegee's work entered the Museum's permanent collection in May 1942 with James Thrall Soby's gift of *Brooklyn School Children See Gambler Murdered in Street* (1941).
32. Titles and dates listed here for the works that appeared in the show are taken from the checklist that was published in the exhibition catalogue, and these perhaps do not reflect subsequent changes made by the various collecting institutions that hold the images today. See *Art in Progress: A Survey Prepared for the Fifteenth Anniversary of The Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Plantin Press, 1944), pp. 225–29.
33. Weegee's self-alignment with modernist trends in photography is also acutely in evidence in the report he filed with *PM* in May 1944, several months before shooting Pape, in which he laments (in the third person) the declining fortunes of the photographer who would be his unlikely role model: Alfred Stieglitz. The report reads, in part: "'This is Stieglitz, Alfred Stieglitz,' said Weegee. 'He's a great photographer. . . . For me he is the answer to a question I ask myself sometimes. . . . Hundreds of photographers, amateur and professional, including myself, are trying to get recognition. It's so tough and impossible it makes your heart ache. This Alfred Stieglitz, he became famous both in Europe and America—one of the three, four greatest photographers.'" "Weegee Meets a Great Man," *PM*, May 7, 1944. A month later Weegee would manage his own publicity, reporting on his opening at MoMA for *PM*; see Weegee, "A Weegee Gets Attention at Museum of Modern Art." *Popular Photography* editor Bruce Downe's introduction to Weegee's 1961 memoir *Weegee on Weegee* begins: "Weegee, by name Arthur Fellig, began his odd-ball career as a plodding freelance photographer who by his imagination and showmanship bootstrapped himself to eminence. For the obtuse he stamped his prints 'by Weegee, the Famous,' and it wasn't long before this rubber-stamp propaganda bore fruit. Soon Weegee (pronounced by the master himself, Weechee) was admitted to the sacred mausoleum of the Museum of Modern Art. His flashbulb pictures had been accepted alongside those of such untouchables as Hill, Atget, Stieglitz, and Cartier-Bresson in the Museum's permanent collection of photographic art. A lowly (though not meek) news photographer, who at the time shot straight from the shoulder without benefit of subtle lighting nuances, thus crashed the gates of art where Picasso reigns supreme." Downe, introduction

to Weegee, *Weegee by Weegee* (New York: Ziff-Davis, 1961), p. 1. Thanks to Mitra Abbaspour for directing me to this remarkable bit of autobiographical table-setting.

34. "Côte d'Azur," *Regards* 28 (February 1935): n.p. See Ann Thomas, *Lisette Model* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1990), p. 50.

35. Lisette Model, "Why France Fell," *PM's Weekly*, January 19, 1941: 33-40.

36. William T. McCleery, "Letters to and from the Editor," *PM*, January 26, 1941: 2.

37. A second, presumably afternoon edition tightens the cropping of Weegee's picture in order to accommodate an additional contextualizing photograph by *PM* staffer John DeBiase. This edition now exists, as far as I can determine, only on microfilm and is virtually illegible. Microfilm precludes visual access to all but the most blunt pictorial information, and so this staging's status as an iteration of Weegee's picture must remain unresolved here. Such is the interpretive thicket posed by daily newspaper photography.

38. A. D. Coleman, "Weegee as Printmaker: An Anomaly in the Marketplace," in *Tarnished Silver: After the Photo Boom* (New York: Midmarch, 1996), p. 28. (Emphasis added.)

39. Berinson must be considered a major collector of Weegee prints, and his collection, which at one time included 223 prints, shows a clear commitment to Weegee as a journalist charged with covering the grislier aspects of New York's social life.

40. Hendrik Berinson, email correspondence with Mitra Abbaspour, Associate Curator, Department of Photography, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, August 23, 2012.

41. See Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History—Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), pp. 164-230.

Citation:

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