

The Clarence H. White School of Photography

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Clarence Hudson White (1871–1925) is remembered today as a gifted Pictorial photographer whose talent was recognized and promoted by Alfred Stieglitz at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1906, White moved from Ohio to New York to work more closely with Stieglitz, but the two men parted ways in 1910, when Stieglitz turned his back on Pictorial photography to promote modern art. In New York, White began teaching photography, and his own art foundered. In 1923, he told a colleague, “I still have a thrill when I think I am on the right road, and a little envy when I see a beginner who appears to have arrived.”¹ White’s legacy, however, leaves no cause for regret. His vision of photography’s future was prophetic; his social and aesthetic philosophy was consistent; and his program for training young photographers, which extended far beyond the classroom, was effective.²

By the time of his death, at age fifty-four, White had succeeded in establishing an institutional network to support the artistic and professional ambitions of his students. The 1920s were a heady time, when an avowed socialist like White could launch his students’ art careers in the pages of Condé Nast magazines. That moment passed with the Depression, which deflated the artistic pretensions of publishers, focusing their attention on the bottom line, and marked the collapse of the delicate balance of art and commerce for which White had worked so tirelessly. But his efforts did not go unrecognized at the time. In 1938, the cultural magazine *Coronet* published profiles of twenty-two famous photographers. The first article was devoted to Stieglitz, whom the magazine dubbed a “man with a cause”; the second went to White, whom it called the “peaceful warrior.”³

As a young man in the small town of Newark, Ohio, White worked as bookkeeper for a grocery firm. At age twenty-two he married Jane Felix and they honeymooned at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where he first encountered a wide array of international art. Soon thereafter, White took up Pictorial photography, creating evocative tableaux with Jane and her sister Letitia as his muses. Photography linked him to the world beyond Newark: his photographs earned him international recognition in Pictorial exhibitions and publications; he provided photographic illustrations for books of fiction and poetry; and through home portrait commissions, he befriended prominent Midwesterners, such as Walt Whitman’s biographer Horace Traubel and legendary lawyer Clarence Darrow. Those early successes



fig. 1 Gertrude Käsebier. *Family Portrait (Clarence H. White and Family)*. 1902. Gum platinum print, 13 5/16 × 9 3/4" (33.8 × 24.8 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Mrs. Hermine M. Turner

convinced White to move his family to New York and to become a professional photographer (fig. 1). Soon after his arrival, he opened a studio, a block away from Stieglitz’s gallery on Fifth Avenue.

Almost immediately White began to teach. In 1907, he was offered a job teaching Pictorial photography in the art department of Columbia University’s Teachers College.⁴ The following year, he also began teaching at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences (now the Brooklyn Museum). Teachers College and the Brooklyn Institute were founded to educate the working class, and both grew dramatically

at the turn of the century in response to the huge swell of European immigrants. Because both programs trained art teachers, many of White's students were women. The political agenda of those institutions reinforced White's belief, based in his own experience, that art education could deepen one's appreciation of life and foster upward mobility.⁵

The chair of the Teachers College art department was Arthur Wesley Dow, a natural mentor for White, whose formal education had ended with high school. An accomplished printmaker and amateur photographer, Dow had studied painting in Paris and at the Pont-Aven artist colony in Brittany, and was a leading American expert on Japanese prints. Dow's textbook *Composition*, first published in 1899, wedded Eastern and Western art principles and asserted the expressive value of formal qualities such as spatial arrangement and tonal variation. Drawing on a wide range of examples from the history of art, Dow isolated design principles, including repetition, symmetry, and opposition, that he hoped would form the basis of a national art and elevate public taste. Espousing the Arts and Crafts critique of the separation of fine and utilitarian art, Dow insisted that art students master a set of principles applicable to all art forms, from furniture and fabrics to painting and sculpture. That Dow found a place for Pictorial photography in his utilitarian theory fortified White's belief that photographers could find a productive use for their art.

When White was hired by Teachers College, he entered the eye of a storm over educational reform. Inspired by Columbia philosopher John Dewey, the college's faculty believed that the citizenry of a stable democracy must be capable of purposeful thinking and that education must be active and experimental, not passive and imitative. Central to their philosophy was Dewey's "project method," which asked students to solve problems derived from their immediate experience rather than master a roster of required subjects.

In his teaching, White adapted Dewey's project method to assignments based on Dow's design principles. Like Dewey, White asked his students to find their photographic subjects within their immediate environment and emphasized problem-solving experiments. Dorothea Lange, who studied with White in 1917, recalled that he would send students out to photograph "something close by" and that she was "aware, dimly, that there was some kind of underlying wisdom in the man that would choose this utterly banal thing."⁶ Like Dewey, White believed that a teacher's goal was to lead students to self-discovery. Lange found this mysterious: "He would and did accept everything. He was most uncritical . . . [but] you walked into that dreary room knowing that something was going to happen. Now what happened I don't know, but you never forgot it. I can hear his voice still."⁷ Embracing Dow's credo of utilitarian art-making, White arranged to have his students' classroom assignments published in school publications, showing them that their work could and should be shared with the community.



fig. 2 Karl Struss. *Vanishing Point II: Brooklyn Bridge From New York Side*. 1912. Platinum print, 3¹³/₁₆ × 4⁵/₁₆" (9.7 × 11.7 cm). Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth. Image © Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth

White's first important protégé was Karl Struss, who studied with him at Columbia from 1908 to 1912. Struss carried out White's instruction to photograph "something close by" with a vengeance. He created dozens of New York street scenes that demonstrate not only a mastery of Dow's design principles but an understanding of Cubism (fig. 2).⁸ In 1912, White arranged for an exhibition of Struss's New York photographs at Teachers College, and when White opened his own school in 1914, he turned over his studio to Struss, who began a business in photographic illustration.

White's opening a school began as a way for him to escape the heat of New York summers. He spent two summers with photographer F. Holland Day on Georgetown Island in Maine, and in 1910 bought a rundown farmhouse near Day's house and opened a summer school, where Day, photographer Gertrude Käsebier, and painter Max Weber gave student critiques. This working vacation allowed White, his wife, and their three boys to enjoy a luxury they could not otherwise afford (fig. 3). The summer school was the forerunner of the Clarence H. White School of Photography, which White opened in 1914 in a brownstone owned by St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, a historic church on the eastern side of Greenwich Village. With classrooms and darkrooms on the lower floors and White's family living upstairs, the White School provided an environment in which students became part of his extended family.

Meanwhile, the Photo-Secession, an elite corps of Pictorial photographers led by Stieglitz, came apart in the wake of the 1910 International Exhibition of Pictorial Photography at the Albright Gallery in Buffalo, New York.



fig. 3 Clarence H. White. *First Summer School, Five Islands, Maine*. 1910. Platinum print, 9 ¹⁵/₁₆ × 6 ¹³/₁₆" (25.3 × 17.3 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Mrs. B. S. Sexton in memory of her sister, Margaret DeM. Brown

Disputes over payments and unreturned prints veiled deeper dissatisfaction with Stieglitz's unyielding domination of the group at a time when his enthusiasm for Pictorial photography was waning. White, Käsebier, and Alvin Langdon Coburn all defected from the group, but it was White who led the effort to promote Pictorial photography without Stieglitz.⁹

With Stieglitz's gallery off-limits, the group gathered at the Little Book-Shop Around the Corner, in the same neighborhood as Stieglitz's gallery and White's studio. Opened in 1907 by publisher Mitchell Kennerley, the bookshop catered to the tastes of Kennerley's authors and their friends, including typographer Frederic W. Goudy and art critic Temple Scott, who joined White's circle. It featured a section of fine-art photography books and a permanent exhibition of photographs by White, Edward Steichen, Coburn, and other Pictorialists. By 1914, White's friends and students were meeting at the bookshop for bimonthly print critiques by Weber.

White's group also organized exhibitions at the Newark Free Library and several Fifth Avenue galleries, which normally showed American Impressionist paintings and old master prints. In 1913, the group launched *Platinum Print*, which was renamed *Photo-Graphic Art* in 1916; the publication aimed to serve photographers—as had Stieglitz's landmark journal *Camera Work*—but with an emphasis on “the entrance of the pictorialist in the field of illustrative art.”¹⁰ These activities culminated in 1917 with the White group's

founding of the Pictorial Photographers of America (PPA), which sought to draw together the nation's best Pictorial photographers without the political infighting that had surrounded Stieglitz. The PPA's first national initiative was to circulate two exhibitions to sixteen art museums, libraries, and art associations, and in 1918 its annual publication, *Pictorial Photography in America*, replaced *Photo-Graphic Art* as the White group publication. At the same time that the PPA was formed, White's school moved to larger quarters, the legendary “Old Washington Irving House” on Gramercy Park.

The White School's thirty-week course of study consisted of classes in photographic technique and art appreciation. Despite White's personal preference for straight platinum printing, he hired Paul L. Anderson, an electrical engineer and close friend of Struss, to teach the full range of darkroom processes. Anderson's old-fashioned aesthetics—he was opposed to Dow's teaching—proved no obstacle to the open-minded White. Indeed, he hired Max Weber—a painter with no experience in photography, who had studied with Dow before spending five years in Paris absorbing the art of Cézanne, Matisse, and Picasso—to teach art appreciation.

Weber's lectures combined Dow's pedagogy with the high-flying rhetoric of the French café. His approach to art history was pure Dow: he would compare a slide of a Rembrandt painting with that of a Hindu instrument, Chinese rug, or Mantegna canvas, because “design was design.”¹¹ In his essay “The Filling of Space,” he wrote that the photographer's challenge was to use the medium's “concrete aesthetic expression of the visible” to create abstract modern art. He devised still-life studies “made from a choice of objects in which representation is abandoned” to help students “bring as much of the abstract into [their] expression as the photographic means will allow.”¹² The June 1916 issue of *Photo-Graphic Art* featured four intelligent, if unconvincing, attempts at abstract composition (fig. 4). In one of these studies (lower right), Walter R. Latimer attempted a literal translation of Analytic Cubism by placing a window mat in front of partly opened drawers.¹³

These initial still-life design exercises were quickly surpassed by the work of Bernard Shea Horne, who used an overhead viewpoint, odd cropping, and differential focus to obscure his subjects and force the viewer to concentrate on their abstract forms.¹⁴ In *Design* (fig. 5), which appeared in *Photo-Graphic Art* in 1917,¹⁵ Horne propped a glass-plate negative against a strongly backlit railing, creating an abstract stripe pattern of light and shadow.¹⁶

The years 1910 to 1919 represent the first chapter in the history of White's teaching. During this period, many of White's students were middle-aged amateurs whose goal was personal enrichment, not building careers. Three students represented in the Thomas Walther Collection were of this type: Gertrude LeRoy Brown, a librarian; Latimer, an engineer; and Horne, an independently wealthy widower, who

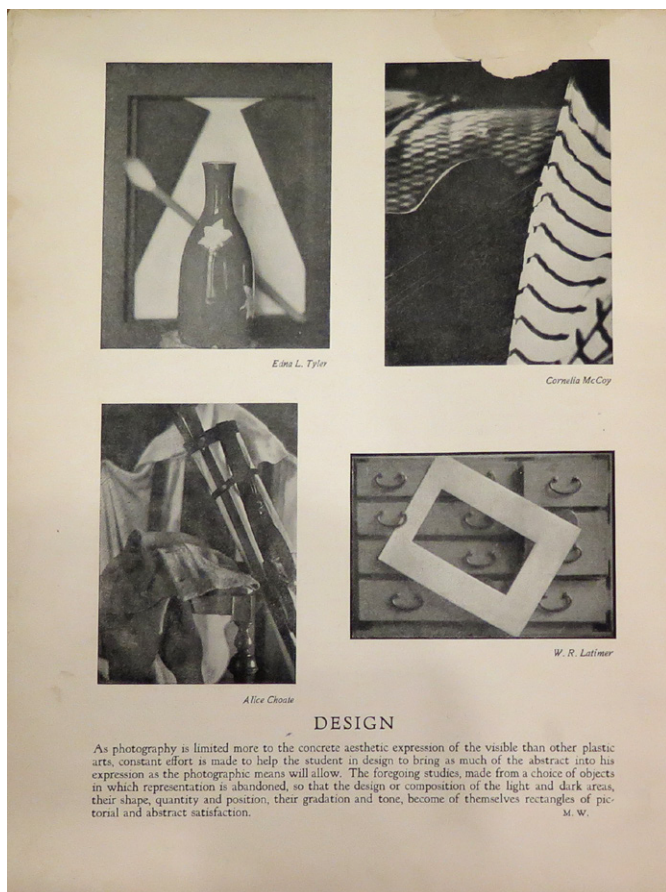


fig. 4 M. W. "Design." *Photo-Graphic Art* 3, no. 1 (June 1916). Courtesy The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library. Clockwise from top left: photographs by Edna L. Tyler, Cornelia McCoy, Walter R. Latimer, Alice Choate

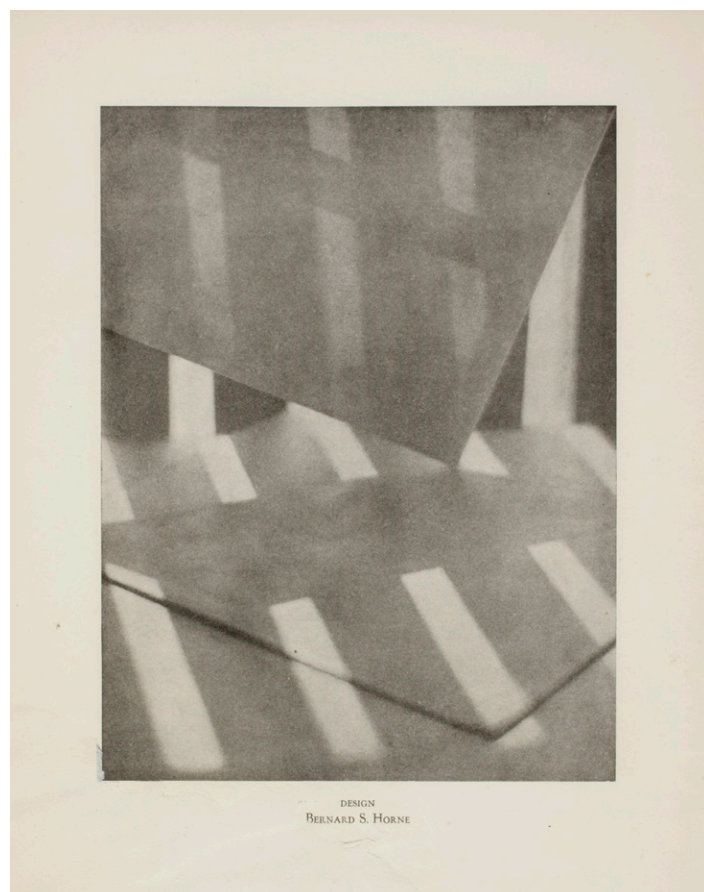


fig. 5 Bernard S. Horne. *Design*. Reproduced in *Photo-Graphic Art* 3, no. 2 (October 1917). Courtesy George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography and Film

stayed on at the school to teach the photographic technique course from 1918 to 1926.¹⁷ Many of White's younger students from those years, however, forged careers in portraiture and photographic illustration and produced work of lasting value. Among them were Dorothea Lange, Doris Ulmann, Laura Gilpin, and Clara Sipprell.¹⁸

In the early 1920s, White's program took final form. When the lease on the Washington Irving house expired in 1920, White moved his family and the school to a four-story brownstone in a pleasant residential Harlem neighborhood not far from Teachers College. With the help of alumni and friends, he purchased the building and renovated it, adding darkrooms and classrooms and removing its Victorian furnishings. White hired new instructors from the ranks of Teachers College and White School alumni, including John P. Heins, a photographer and printmaker who graduated Teachers College in 1919 and joined the faculty of the White School the following year.¹⁹

To expand the students' cultural horizons, White initiated a program of Friday evening lectures, with speakers ranging from Ananda Coomaraswamy on Asian art to

Arnold Genthe on photographing modern dance. Stieglitz and Paul Strand each spoke about straight photography, harshly criticizing White's emphasis on design principles and his belief that modern art and Pictorialism were compatible. Also on the roster were leaders in the magazine field, such as Condé Nast art director Heyworth Campbell, and Edward Steichen, newly hired as Condé Nast's head photographer.

In 1920, White helped establish the Art Center, which occupied twin townhouses in midtown Manhattan, to bring together seven organizations aimed at promoting "art and industry," including the PPA. White was on the center's founding board of directors and initiated the *Art Center Bulletin*.²⁰ A central concern of the Art Center was the nexus among modern art, advertising, and photography. Did the new modern art represent the passing of the old order? Could the formal innovations of modern art fulfill advertising goals? Could art directors mediate between artists' ideals and advertisers' demands? Was photography a suitable medium for advertising? By the late 1920s, the answer to these questions was clearly yes, and White's students were especially well positioned to take advantage of the new field



fig. 6 Margaret Watkins. "Photography Comes Into the Kitchen." *Vanity Fair* 16, no. 8 (October 1921). Courtesy Condé Nast Archive

of advertising photography. The school's still-life design exercises translated seamlessly into product display, and White's contacts with editors and art directors gave his students access to potential clients. In 1921 and 1922, for example, *Vanity Fair* published a series of full-page features on modern photography, including Charles Sheeler's "cubist architecture," Man Ray's photograms, and Francis Bruguière's light abstractions. Also featured in the series were works by White School students Ira W. Martin, Paul Outerbridge, Jr., and Margaret Watkins. "Photography Comes Into the Kitchen," which appeared in October 1921, was subtitled, "A Group of Photographs by Margaret Watkins Showing Modernist, or Cubist, Patterns in Composition" (fig. 6). It was a short step from this coverage to editorial and advertising assignments.

In a 1925 essay, titled "The Use of Photography in Advertising" and published in the *Art Center Bulletin*, Temple Scott championed White School still-life design exercises for product advertising. He wrote that if the photographer is an artist, photography can "set forth arrestingly the value or the utility of the commodity."²¹ More tasteful and truthful than the writer's strident copy or the painter's prettified imagery was the "implied opinion" of "presenting the article

itself to the best advantage."²² Scott illustrated his article with still lifes by Horne, Outerbridge, and Ralph Steiner, and a Watkins advertisement for the J. Walter Thompson agency.

Outerbridge's *Ide Collar* (fig. 7), which began as a White School exercise and appeared as an advertisement in *Vanity Fair* in November 1922 (fig. 8), best demonstrates the new style. A sculptural white collar is seen against a grid of black and white squares, as though hovering over a gargantuan chessboard or a Lilliputian linoleum floor. The sharp focus makes legible the trade name inside the collar, as well as the neck size—14 $\frac{3}{4}$ —of the slim imaginary owner. Outerbridge's visual wit provided an image more compelling than the Ide Company's routine advertisements, which portrayed the dapper customer himself.

In July 1925, just as his hope for a new commercial photography was being realized, White died of a heart attack on a student trip to Mexico. The 1926 issue of the PPA's *Pictorial Photography in America*, which was dedicated to his memory, included a section on advertising photography with an introduction by Watkins, who spoke for the new generation that White had nurtured:

In the days of the Photo-Secession . . . no devout pictorialist would have deigned to descend to advertising. In their desire to establish photography as an art they became a bit precious; crudeness was distressing, materialism shunned.

*With Cezanne, Matisse, Picasso came a new approach. Soulfulness was taboo; romance derided, anecdote scorned; beauty of subject was superseded by beauty of design, and the relation of ideas gave place to the relation of forms. . . . The comprehending photographer saw, paused, and seized his camera! And . . . the eye of the advertiser was alert. Here were possibilities.*²³

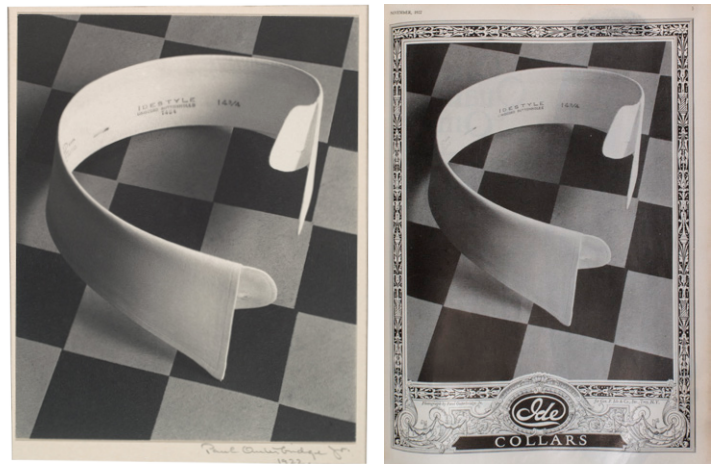


fig. 7 Paul Outerbridge. *Ide Collar*. 1922. Platinum print, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (11.9 × 9.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the photographer

fig. 8 Advertisement featuring Outerbridge's *Ide Collar*. *Vanity Fair* 19, no. 3 (November 1922). Courtesy Condé Nast Archive

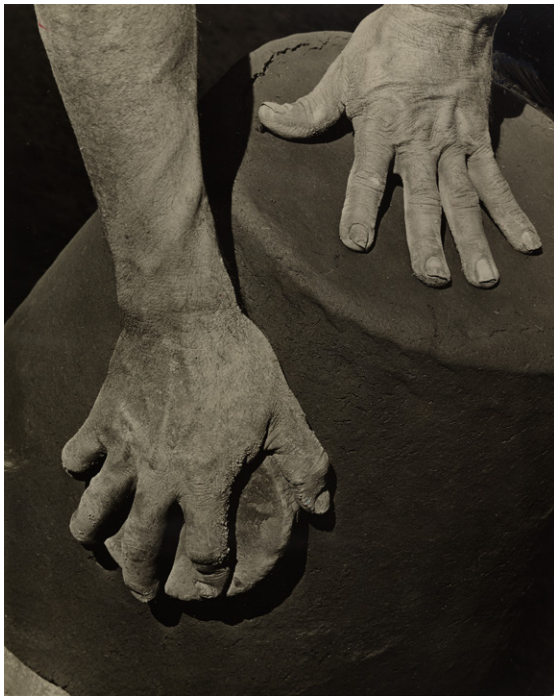


fig. 9 Anton Bruehl. *Potter*. 1932. Gelatin silver print, 1932–55, 9 11/16 × 7 3/4" (24.6 × 19.7 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Paul Outerbridge, by exchange (MoMA 1643.2001). © Estate of Anton Bruehl

Among White's students who pioneered advertising photography were Ira Martin, Wynn Richards, Margaret Bourke-White, Outerbridge, Steiner, Watkins, and Anton Bruehl, who became a giant in the field.²⁴

It is instructive to compare the advertising careers of Struss and Bruehl, two brilliant protégés of White's from, respectively, the early and the late chapters of his teaching career.²⁵ With White providing introductions to magazine editors, Struss secured assignments for editorial illustrations in *Vanity Fair* and *Harper's Bazar* (now *Harper's Bazaar*). Assignments for product advertisements followed, the best of which were dramatic scenes in the style of his editorial work. Struss also experimented with the Hess-Ives process, a complicated and ultimately failed attempt at commercial color photography. After serving in World War I, Struss moved to Hollywood to enter the emerging film business, armed with a letter of recommendation from the editor of *Harper's Bazar*, who called him "one of the most distinguished photographers in the country."²⁶ He quickly became a leading cameraman, winning the first Academy Award for cinematography, in 1924. Struss had arrived on the New York advertising scene too early to succeed.

In 1926, Bruehl opened a commercial studio in New York. Inspired by the publication of Outerbridge's shirt-collar photograph, he showed his student work to advertising agencies, and two art directors immediately hired him. Bruehl's ascent was swift, thanks to a successful campaign

for the Weber and Heilbroner shops, which ran in every issue of the *New Yorker* for two years.²⁷ During the Depression, Bruehl fared well, developing the Bruehl-Bourges color process, which gave Condé Nast a monopoly on color illustration from 1932 to 1935. His commercial success did not preclude recognition as an artist. In 1931, art patron Alma Reed showed Bruehl's work at her gallery and sponsored his travel to Mexico. In 1933, she published *Photographs of Mexican Photographs*, a book of twenty-five collotypes by Bruehl, including *Potter* (fig. 9), as plate 15.²⁸ Bruehl was in the right place at the right time.

After White's death, the school fell into crisis. Financial difficulties abounded, and many supporters left, most notably Horne and Watkins, who were mainstays of the teaching staff. Jane White and Clarence White, Jr., kept the school open until 1942. Even without the creative force of its founder, the school remained a respected organization, far superior to its competitors.²⁹

At the time of White's death, the Art Center was flush with success. The popular embrace of modern art and design in the wake of the 1925 Paris world's fair affirmed its mission. In the late 1920s, the center launched several forward-looking initiatives, including a campaign to improve the design of roadside stands, an "opportunity gallery" for monthly exhibitions by emerging artists, and an annual exhibition by African American artists. Despite these efforts, the center fell victim to the Depression. In 1929, it merged with the New York Regional Art Council, and when the economy hit its nadir the two organizations were dissolved. One of the last exhibitions, however, was historic: *Foreign Advertising and Industrial Photographs*, assembled by art director Abbott Kimball and held in March 1931, was the first of its kind in the United States and included works by Cecil Beaton, László Moholy-Nagy, Florence Henri, Germaine Krull, and Dziga Vertov.

While the Art Center remained open, the PPA thrived. From 1927 to 1937, its president was White School alumnus Ira Martin, who initiated a new bulletin, *Light and Shade*, with architectural photographer Thurman Rotan as its editor. The bulletin proselytized for the "modern school" of straight photography, and it featured works by industrial and advertising photographers. With the closing of the Art Center, however, the PPA waned and became increasingly indistinguishable from local camera clubs.

In a letter written shortly after White's death, Stieglitz ruminated on what he saw as his colleague's fate:

Poor White. Cares and vexation. When I last saw him, he told me he wasn't as able to cope with them as 20 years ago. I reminded him that I warned him to stay in business in Ohio—New York would be too much for him. But the Photo-Secession beckoned. Vanity and ambition. His photography went to the devil—he tried to earn money as a teacher—his pupils—women—half-baked dilettantes—not a single real talent and all for what—a few hellers.³⁰

Stieglitz's grim judgments, partly attributable to his misanthropic temperament and sexism, reveal two misunderstandings about White's career that have stubbornly endured. The notion that New York was "too much" for White is widely held. Even Peter Bunnell, White's champion since the 1960s, has attributed the decline in White's art to his "incomplete knowledge" of life in New York.³¹ Although his manner was unassuming and his art highly personal, White was a sophisticated man who expanded his range of cultural interests in New York. His strength as a teacher was not solely his ability to inspire; he gave his students the benefit of his associations with leaders in art, theater, dance, and publishing. The threat to his art was not New York City but his decision to put teaching first.

That White was a visionary teacher is apparent in an initiative left unfinished at the time of his death. One of the students on the Mexico trip was Stella Simon, whose interest in film had inspired White to schedule a film course for the 1926 school year.³² In the turmoil following White's death, the course was canceled. Simon then traveled to Berlin, where she completed her experimental abstract film *Hands* (1928). At the same time, White School alumnus

Ralph Steiner began work on his film *H2O* (1929). These pioneering works offer tantalizing hints of what White's course might have led to.

The second misunderstanding about White's career, so ungenerously noted by Stieglitz, was that White compromised his art to support himself. In Stieglitz's view, an artist's integrity depended on his remaining impervious to the demands of society, but to White, the choice between art and society was a false one. White sought fulfillment for the artist in society, a goal as demanding, indeed as utopian, as Stieglitz's. White's achievement is more consonant with developments in Europe, where a freer interchange between photography, modern art, and commercialism occurred. The philosophy of the *Bauhaus*, which also grew out of the Arts and Crafts movement, was not unlike White's, and works by White students Outerbridge, Steiner, and Bruehl were included in the exhibition *Film und Foto* organized by the Deutscher Werkbund—the precursor of the Bauhaus—in Stuttgart in 1929. The 1931 Art Center exhibition of advertising and industrial photographs is a pendant to that milestone of European modernism. "Poor White" left a rich legacy behind him.

NOTES

1. Clarence H. White, quoted in John W. Gillies, ed., "Statements by Pictorialists," in *Principles of Pictorial Photography* (New York: Falk, 1923), p. 21; reprinted in Peter C. Bunnell, ed., *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography, 1889–1923* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1980), p. 206.
2. See Bonnie Yochelson, "Clarence H. White Reconsidered: An Alternative to the Modernist Aesthetic of Straight Photography," *Studies in Visual Communication* 9, no. 4 (Fall 1983): 24–44; and Bonnie Yochelson, "Clarence H. White, Peaceful Warrior," in Marianne Fulton, ed., *Pictorialism into Modernism: The Clarence H. White School of Photography* (Rochester, N.Y.: George Eastman House, 1996), pp. 10–119.
3. Robert Marks, "Man With a Cause," *Coronet* 4, no. 5 (September 1938): 161–70; and "Peaceful Warrior," *Coronet* 4, no. 6 (October 1938): 161–71.
4. Fellow Ohioan O. Walter Beck, who taught composition at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, recommended White to his colleague Arthur Wesley Dow, who had left Pratt in 1904 to chair the art department at Teachers College.
5. White continued to teach at the Brooklyn Institute until 1922 and at Teachers College until his death.
6. Dorothea Lange, quoted in Maynard Pressly White, Jr., *Clarence H. White: A Personal Portrait* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1975), p. 193.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 193–94.
8. Struss worked closely with Max Weber and A. L. Coburn, both of whom were applying Cubist strategies to urban subjects at the time. See Bonnie Yochelson, "Karl Struss' New York," *New York to Hollywood, The Photography of Karl Struss* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. 90–143.
9. Karl Struss, who was the last photographer Stieglitz asked to join the Photo-Secession, straddled the divide between Stieglitz and White and played a leading role in White's organizational activities from 1910 to 1917.
10. *Platinum Print* 1, no. 1 (October 1913): 13.
11. "The Reminiscences of Max Weber," interview by Carol S. Gruber (New York: Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 1958), p. 38.
12. Max Weber, "The Filling of Space," *Platinum Print* 1, no. 2 (December 1913): 6.
13. The Thomas Walther Collection includes a much more successful modernist work by Latimer, *Concourse, Jersey City Station* of 1915 (MoMA 1756.2001).
14. Four of Horne's still life designs are in the Walther Collection: MoMA 1702.2001, 1703.2001, 1704.2001, and 1705.2001.
15. *Photo-Graphic Art* 3, no. 2 (October 1917): n.p.
16. For a comparison of this photograph and Paul Strand's *Porch Shadows*, and for Strand's attendance at White circle events, see Bonnie Yochelson, "Paul Strand's Not-So-Revolutionary Photographs of 1916," in Patricia G. Berman and Gertje R. Utley, eds., *A Fine Regard: Essays in Honor of Kirk Varnedoe* (London: Ashgate Press), pp. 154–65.
17. For more information about each of these students, see biographical reports by Bonnie Yochelson in the Thomas Walther Collection research files, Department of Photography, The Museum of Modern Art.
18. Dorothea Lange (Teachers College, 1914–15); Doris Ulmann (Teachers College, 1915; and White School, 1915–18); Laura Gilpin (White School, 1916–17); and Clara Sipprell (White School, 1916–17).

19. For more information about Heins, see biographical report by Bonnie Yochelson in the Thomas Walther Collection research files.
20. The three most active of the seven organizations were the PPA; the American Institute of Graphic Arts, of which Goudy was a founder; and the Art Directors Club, which was founded in 1920.
21. Temple Scott, "The Use of Photography in Advertising," *Art Center Bulletin* 3, no. 7 (March 1925): 172.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
23. Margaret Watkins, "Advertising and Photography," *Pictorial Photography in America* 4 (1926): n.p.
24. Ira Martin (White School, 1918–19); Wynn Richards (White School, 1918–19); Margaret Bourke-White (Teachers College, 1921–22); Paul Outerbridge (White School, 1921–22); Ralph Steiner (White School, 1921–22); Margaret Watkins (White School, 1917; staff 1919–23); and Anton Bruehl (White School, 1923–24).
25. For more information about Bruehl, see biographical report by Bonnie Yochelson in the Thomas Walther Collection research files. Also see Gael Newton, ed., *In the Spotlight: Anton Bruehl Photographs, 1902–1950s* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2011); and Bonnie Yochelson, *Anton Bruehl* (New York: Howard Greenberg Gallery, 1998).
26. Letter from John Chapman Hilder "To Whom It May Concern," February 6, 1919, Stephen White Collection of Karl Struss Papers, Amon Carter Museum of American Art Archives, Fort Worth, Tex.
27. The Walther Collection includes a Bruehl print (MoMA 1641.2001) that appeared in a 1929 Weber and Heilbroner campaign.
28. Anton Bruehl, *Photographs of Mexico* (New York: Delphic Studios, 1933).
29. The two other photography schools in New York in the 1920s were the New York Institute of Photography, a mere trade school, and the Studio School, run by Benjamin Rabinovitch, an old-fashioned Pictorial portrait photographer.
30. Letter from Alfred Stieglitz to Heinrich Kuhn, August 25, 1925, Stieglitz Collection, Beinecke Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
31. Peter C. Bunnell, *Clarence H. White: The Reverence for Beauty* (Athens: Ohio University Gallery of Fine Art, 1986), p. 17.
32. Lillian Sabine, "Mrs. Stella F. Simon, New York City," *Abel's Photographic Weekly* 50, no. 1293 (October 1, 1932): 235. Coincidentally, Simon was accompanied on the fateful trip by her son Louis and his Harvard classmate Julien Levy. It was Simon who first introduced Levy to the photography scene, and in 1931, Levy borrowed White prints from her for *Retrospective of American Photography*, the inaugural exhibition of the Julien Levy Gallery in New York. See Julien Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p. 55.

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