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The Exemplary Career of E. O. Hoppé: Photography, Modernism and Modernity

Brian Stokoe

This article critically examines the landscape and cityscape photography of E. O. Hoppé. In *Picturesque Great Britain* (1926), Hoppé presented a vision of the nation refracted through the prism of an older Pictorialist aesthetic, whereas his later works, *Romantic America* (1927) and *Deutsche Arbeit* (1930), offered a more enthusiastic interpretation of the urban industrial world. Indeed the latter volume is very much in the style of *Die Neue Sachlichkeit*. Hoppé's photography is, therefore, characterised by a high level of visual mutability as he shifted styles to suit publication needs, and he appears a particularly adept commercial opportunist. Elsewhere, Hoppé's work appeared simultaneously in contexts that rejected the technological utopianism of the New Objectivity and *Amerikanismus*. In Germany, American *Zivilisation* was often understood to be a threat to a more traditional *Kultur*, and Hoppé's work was also published in contexts characterised by a reactionary modernism that aimed at a reconciliation of the old with the new. This article analyses the cultural, commercial and ideological forces that helped shape Hoppé's work in Britain, Germany and the United States.

Keywords: *Emil Otto Hoppé* (1878–1972), *Kurt Hielscher* (1881–1948), *Charles Masterman* (1873–1927), *Picturesque Great Britain*, *Romantic America*, *Deutsche Arbeit*, *photobook*, *reactionary modernism*, *modernity*, *Amerikanismus*.

The photographer Emil Otto Hoppé is known chiefly for that earlier part of his career when he became the most well known celebrity portraitist of the Edwardian period. Born in Munich in 1878, Hoppé arrived in London in 1902 while en route from Germany to Shanghai where he was to work in his uncle's export business. As a young man enthralled by metropolitan life, however, he remained to take up a position with the Deutsche Bank, in Lombard Street. It was also in London that Hoppé began his serious engagement with photography. Encouraged by such distinguished art photographers as Alvin Langdon Coburn, Furley Lewis and John Cimon Warburg, Hoppé joined the Royal Photographic Society (RPS) in 1903, and became a regular and successful entrant to its exhibitions and competitions. But Hoppé's ambitions reached far beyond the world of high-art amateurism represented by the RPS. A commercially astute amateur, Hoppé turned professional in 1907, after leasing a studio flat in Baron's Court, west London. From such modest beginnings, he gradually built an international reputation as a refined portrait photographer who was both sympathetic to his clients' social aspirations and conscious of his role as mediator of their public image. In 1913, he established his business in the elegant setting of Millais House, in Cromwell Place, South Kensington, the former home of the Pre-Raphaelite painter. Hoppé quickly gained recognition as a skilled chronicler of fashionable London society, and his photographs began to appear regularly in the *Sketch*, the *Graphic* and the *Tatler*, bringing both welcome publicity and important reproduction fees. He also established his own picture agency, *Dorien Leigh*, in order to control publication and distribution. Hoppé's work was widely recognised as the product of a distinctive, creative mind, and

he is credited with having reinvigorated the high society portrait in a modern, commercial setting.¹

By the mid-1920s, however, Hoppé believed he had exhausted the possibilities of professional portraiture, and he longed for a change of direction.² Such an opportunity arose in 1925, when he was commissioned to produce a book of architectural and landscape photographs of his adopted country.³ The resulting volume, *Picturesque Great Britain*, appeared the following year.⁴ Thereafter, Hoppé's practice shifted almost entirely in the direction of topographical and landscape photography. Between 1925 and 1937, he illustrated volumes on the United States, Germany, India and Australia, often with his own written commentary, and he also published half a dozen books on London. However, this shift in his practice is interesting for reasons which extend beyond his career history. Hoppé's work from this period registers the complex and often contradictory nature of the discourses engaged by photographers depicting the modern world. These discourses are characterised, variously, by a positive, enthusiastic response to the visual possibilities offered by the city and industry and, alternatively, by an anti-modernity and nostalgia for a 'disappearing' way of life. Hoppé's work from this period demonstrates a kind of visual mutability, as if it might be the work of two different photographers with variant, even antithetical, ways of seeing the world. Such contradictions abound in Hoppé's photography and reveal much about the tensions and contradictions inherent in the experience of modernity itself.

Hoppé's urban and industrial photographs also point to important shifts in the cultural and commercial status of the medium – to the very modernisation of photography itself – and the anti-modernity of the Pictorialist tradition from which Hoppé emerged requires further definition here. Hoppé entered the profession at a time

of profound crisis for the art of photography. The established hierarchies of Pictorialist societies typified by the RPS, with their repetitive and monotonous displays of stylised genre themes, were becoming anachronistic and increasingly irrelevant. As David Mellor has observed, ‘A good part of modern British photography between 1919 and 1939 was primarily concerned with the erosion of Pictorialism’.⁵ While art photographers were keen to assert the medium’s aesthetic independence, many were also engaging with, and reacting to, the emerging commercial structures offered by advertising and publishing, accommodating or rejecting their new possibilities. Hoppé is an exemplary figure in the way he negotiates a path between the different worlds of Pictorialism and modernism, frequently adapting his working methods to suit publishers’ requirements. A close analysis of his early topographical and landscape work reveals much about his varied engagement with the new picture-making opportunities offered by a modernising world. Beginning with *Picturesque Great Britain* (1926), a publication that inaugurated a fundamental shift in Hoppé’s career, this essay examines his later, very different, urban and industrial photography in the United States and Germany.

Picturesque Great Britain

Picturesque Great Britain was published in Berlin by Ernst Wasmuth AG, in their new and prestigious *Orbis Terrarum* series. Wasmuth had a rising reputation for the production of lavish, large format, photographically illustrated books. Each volume contained over three hundred, full-page photogravure reproductions, with captions in four European languages, indicating the broad audience the publishers envisaged.

Hoppé devoted an entire year to this new project, and he made over five thousand photographs from which were selected the final three hundred and four.⁶

As the flagship product of the Wasmuth publishing house, *Orbis Terrarum* was one of the most successful series to emerge from the enormous expansion in photographic book production in the 1920s. In uniting some of Europe's best contemporary photographers with the latest commercial advances in rotary gravure printing, Wasmuth and the Rotophot AG printing works gave original form to the quality international photographic book market in the interwar period. Hand-pulled photogravure was already by this time the art photographer's favoured method of reproduction, and such preeminent artists as Alfred Stieglitz and Alvin Langdon Coburn had made gravure a cornerstone of their practice.⁷ But newer advances in rotary photogravure methods in Germany during the First World War now made mass-production photogravure a practical reality.⁸ The success of the *Orbis Terrarum* series was based on long gravure print runs that could both satisfy photographers' demands for quality as well as the publishing industry's quest for a commercially viable gravure process. From the very beginning, therefore, Hoppé's landscape work was both commercially defined and associated with the most advanced technical developments that allied photography to an expanding publishing world.

Picturesque Great Britain, subtitled *The Architecture and the Landscape*, was the first of two volumes Hoppé produced in this series, and it marked a major turning point in his career. But *Picturesque Great Britain* was also implicated in contemporary debates concerning the nation's very identity in the modern world. In his collaboration with Charles Masterman, who wrote a lengthy prefatory note, Hoppé found himself allied to one of the most important cultural commentators on Edwardian Britain; one

who had been a longstanding and vociferous critic of urban industrial ‘progress’. Hoppé’s late Pictorialist aesthetic fully complemented the nostalgia and cultural pessimism of Masterman’s text. In its foregrounding of the rural and simultaneous denigration of the urban and industrial, *Picturesque Great Britain* aided in sustaining a highly partial perspective on Britain that continues to haunt the nation.

To begin with, the work is misleadingly entitled, for it is mostly to England that Hoppé and Masterman attend. Indeed, the view seems still more partial when one considers the rather elementary map, inserted immediately prior to the pictorial section, which details the names of those locations represented. To the south of an imaginary line drawn between the rivers Severn and Trent, the map is dense with locations; to the north and west, however, it remains conspicuously underemployed. But such a line is hardly the stuff of imagination, since it indicates a topographical division between the southern downlands and the northern uplands. Yet its additional significance is as a cultural division between northern and southern England: one bearing with it all manner of implications of a north/south divide in the distribution of wealth and power. The clear inference to be drawn from this selection was that much of northern England was unsuited to Hoppé’s picturesque purpose or, indeed, to Masterman’s politics.

The partiality of *Picturesque Great Britain* was further emphasised by Hoppé’s neo-Pictorialist aesthetic. The Pictorialist tradition in photography from which Hoppé emerged in the early 1900s had been defined largely in anti-modern and anti-technical terms, adopting the genres of conservative painting. It encompassed the portrait, the still life, the nude (usually female) and the landscape (almost exclusively rural). Conceived in pointed opposition to scientific, documentarist and emerging amateur practices, the art of photography was constructed in terms of a late nineteenth-century craft

technology allied to a Symbolist or Pictorialist discourse that equated atmosphere with aesthetic emotion.⁹ An overall softness of rendition was widely favoured, since a high level of precisionism was considered the field of scientific rather than aesthetic enquiry. While Pictorialists celebrated the individual and handicraft aspects of photography and printmaking over and above potential mass production and distribution, they also repeatedly concerned themselves with features of the handicraft and the pre-industrial that lingered on in the modern world. For example, in London there developed a nostalgic interest in the multiple variations of horse-drawn transport that had, by 1926, almost entirely disappeared from the streets of the capital. Similarly, in a nautical context, there was a preference for sail over steam, and the first image of *Picturesque Great Britain* shows a view of the Thames, with a distant dockside seen through the bowsprit rigging of a sailing ship (figure 1). Hoppé's photograph is remarkably similar in concept to a better-known picture by Coburn, made of the Thames, at Wapping, while the latter was under the influence of James McNeill Whistler's *Nocturnes*.¹⁰ Both Coburn and Hoppé depict a slow-moving and tranquil city of soft mists, gentle dawn light, or dreamlike dusks. Hoppé's photographs were given an additional Pictorialist inflection by being reproduced in sepia inks. He also frequently photographed against the light, a technique that softened form and added atmosphere. Hoppé's was a commercially driven, attenuated version of Pictorialism – one more capable of rapid adjustment to the requirements of commercial publishing. His vision derived from an earlier age, and *Picturesque Great Britain* is pervaded by this sense of a late Victorian eye at large in a modernising England that the photographer appears reluctant to acknowledge. Hoppé's apparent difficulties with the contemporary were important, too, in that they tended rhetorically to reinforce the message of Masterman's text, since his

essay is imbued with that same sense of alarm and cultural anxiety that had permeated his writings for over twenty years.¹¹

By the time he came to write his introduction to *Picturesque Great Britain*, Charles Masterman was well known as a Liberal commentator on the state of the nation. His most famous text, *The Condition of England*, appeared in 1909.¹² The title derives from Thomas Carlyle, for whom the Condition-of-England question was ‘the alpha and omega of all!’, and there is something of Carlyle in Masterman’s urgent tones.¹³ Masterman’s was a decidedly pessimistic assessment, however. He despaired of ‘the crumbling and decay of English rural life’ that had resulted from the demographic transformation of the countryside, and he greatly feared the impact of increasing urbanisation:

The cities have sucked in the healthy, stored-up energies of rural England; with an overwhelming percentage today of country upbringing. Must they ever thus be parasitic on another life outside, and this nation divide into breeding-grounds for the creation of human energies and consuming centres where these energies are destroyed?¹⁴

In Masterman’s eyes, urbanisation and industrialisation worked together, parasitically feeding off and debilitating the countryside, destroying the social stability and continuity of rural life. With urban expansion came squalor, decadence, social injustice, and the long-term corruption of the nation’s genetic bloodstock. *The*

Condition of England was infused with a Social Darwinist perspective that had come to dominate such discussions since the 1870s. According to Gareth Stedman Jones:

Social Darwinism added a cosmic significance to the struggle between the country and the town. Biologism provided a framework for a comprehensive theory of hereditary urban degeneration. [...] In the eyes of the urban middle class, the countryside had symbolised the forces of simplicity, strength, phlegm, loyalty and deference.¹⁵

For Masterman, much of urban Britain functioned as the terrible, antithetical ‘other’ to rural England, with the latter conceived in pastoral terms. By 1925, when he came to consider the visual spectacle offered by Hoppé’s photographs for *Picturesque Great Britain*, there may have been stirred in him some recollection of the earlier despair of *The Condition of England*. In its first chapter, entitled *The Spirit of the People*, Masterman had suggested that there were some fundamental difficulties besetting any contemporary assessment of the nation:

One of these is the difficulty of ascertaining where the essential nation resides. [...] A few generations ago that difficulty did not exist. England was the population of the English countryside. [...] But no one today would seek in the ruined villages and dwindling population of the countryside the spirit of an ‘England’ four-fifths of whose people have now crowded into the cities.¹⁶

Masterman was clearly drawn to the powerful myths of the pastoral. In England, the pastoral lies deep within the national consciousness, providing a dominant and enduring image of our relationship to the land. Therein, the country is defined in opposition to the city, with the former a place of leisure and repose where Man and Nature are imagined to coexist without much effort, in contrast to the regulated ‘industry’ of the latter. The pastoral is frequently invoked in periods of accelerated social transformation. It combines an intense nostalgia for a ‘traditional’ rural England deemed to be under threat, as well as a resistance to change, expressed in the desire to return to the imagined stability of the social order of the past. It is a discourse structured, therefore, upon a social as well as a geographical division between the country and the city.¹⁷ As Martin Wiener has argued, there had developed by this time a predominant version of Englishness that actively disavowed the nation’s industrial identity.¹⁸ Within this polarising ideology, England was ‘the country’, a term which implicitly ignored urban, industrial Britain, located principally in the north.

This self same cultural polarisation resulted in *Picturesque Great Britain* including only five images of the industrial landscape. In Manchester, Hoppé photographed canals surrounded by darkened mills and warehouses, seen in a watery, perhaps early morning light (figure 2). These were reminiscent of contemporary paintings of Lancashire made by Charles Holmes (1868–1936), in which industry was given a primitive, pastoral treatment, devoid of people and activity, and these photographs evoked an earlier industrial age before the coming of the railways. Such images were temporally dislocated, making industry appear marginal to contemporary life in Britain. In Sheffield, Hoppé photographed the interior of a steelworks and

showed the smoking exterior of another, but his was a restrained enthusiasm for the industrial world. Here was the industrial landscape refracted through the nostalgising lens of a Pictorialist sensibility, made either unthreateningly picturesque or, occasionally, terrifying in its sublimity. But this was an aesthetic clearly more at home in a rural setting. Indeed, the primary focus of *Picturesque Great Britain* was upon quaint village churches, stately homes, castles, cathedrals and ancient bridges – an architecture that betokened continuity, tradition and the legitimacy of the social order. Some of the smaller towns were included but it was rural England that predominated; a land of manor houses, thatched cottages and village pubs collectively untouched by modernity (figure 3). Hoppé's images demonstrated a kind of pastoral topophilia, in that they offered reassuring subject matter in an equally reassuring pictorial form.

At the same time, *Picturesque Great Britain* managed to avoid any engagement with the active social and economic life of the countryside. On the rare occasions when they do appear, figures in the landscape are deployed as just so much picturesque *staffage* – compositional devices that helped to achieve pictorial asymmetry (figure 4). This subordination of figures also had the extended effect of seriously limiting the roles they could play, and consequently there are no individualised social actors at work in Hoppé's landscape; rather, it appears a land upon which little work is done at all. *Picturesque Great Britain* therefore offered a comforting view of Britain in the throes of urbanisation.¹⁹ For Masterman, the problems of Britain's future were written in the landscape itself, and he believed that Hoppé's photographs bore timely witness to a way of life under siege by the forces of modernity:

How far this England will endure under the influence of the new mechanical transport, which is sprawling the new town dwellers into dismal architectural erections set in the heart of the old country side, remains conjectural. Mr. Hoppé has seized the period before the change which is coming; and which some dread and others desire.²⁰

Whereas *The Condition of England* has been assessed as ‘the classic description of the tensions and tribulations of Edwardian England’, here Masterman’s essay appears a valedictory tribute to that era’s social stability.²¹

While it undoubtedly marks a successful interweaving of Hoppé’s Pictorialist aesthetics with Masterman’s cultural anxieties, *Picturesque Great Britain* is also important as an early example of a commercial renovation of landscape photography. Apart from signalling a significant change of direction for the photographer himself, its publication marked the beginnings of the national photographic book within the idiom of ‘refined’ tourism. The extensive *Orbis Terrarum* series permitted both domestic and foreign places to be comfortably viewed at home, without the trouble and expense of travel. As in his earlier portrait photography, Hoppé again showed himself an astute judge of a new commercial outlet for his work.

Orbis Terrarum’s most prolific photographer was Kurt Hielscher, whose earlier volume, *Picturesque Germany*, appeared in 1924.²² Mellor and Jeffrey have suggested that Hielscher may have provided Hoppé with the essential model for *Picturesque Great Britain*.²³ Like Hoppé, Hielscher focused overwhelmingly on an unpopulated, rural landscape and on the ancient architecture of the small towns, participating in a

similar sidelining of the urban and the industrial. Of some three hundred images, only three of the port of Hamburg showed much evidence of modernity, while the short introduction by the dramatist, Gerhart Hauptmann, demonstrated a cultural pessimism remarkably akin to Masterman's. In Hielscher's photographs, Hauptmann discerned an older, traditional Germany as yet untouched by 'the prosaic spirit of mere utility', but one under threat by modernising forces from across the Atlantic.²⁴ Germany's historic architecture, he believed, endured as a physical testament to its very soul, and Hauptmann feared that, 'when American steel structures have replaced the last Romanesque, the last Gothic, and the last Renaissance building, secular or sacred, then indeed will everything have perished that with a throbbing heart we now call Germany'.²⁵ From its inception, therefore, the market profile of *Orbis Terrarum* was characterised by an explicit, cultural conservatism. The example of *Picturesque Germany* would have given Hoppé a clear indication of themes that were both commercially and ideologically viable.

But if industrialism was not natural to the 'spirit' of either Britain or Germany, to whose was it? As Wiener has accurately observed, for an answer to this question one would have been directed, from the latter part of the nineteenth century, toward America. In the minds of European cultural commentators, America and industry were understood to intermesh quite naturally, so long as its unrestrained commercialism and idolatry of technological progress could be held at a distance. In his *News from Nowhere* (1890), William Morris had derided America as a wasteland and 'a stinking dust-heap' and, as Wiener notes, '[by] the turn of the century, such sentiments had become clichés of educated opinion'.²⁶ For Morris, America was a warning of what might befall a nation that offered little resistance to what he regarded as the

dehumanising and homogenising tendencies of industrial capitalism. Later, Antonio Gramsci's analysis of Americanism drew parallel attention to the economic and cultural tensions between, 'on the one hand the old, anachronistic, demographic social structure of Europe, and on the other hand an ultra-modern form of production and of working methods [...] the biggest collective effort to date to create a new type of worker and of man'.²⁷ In Britain, attitudes were broadly summed up by C. E. M. Joad in *The Babbitt Warren* (1926), which depicted America as a land obsessed by work, money and the machine.²⁸

Romantic America

Within the overarching context of such dominant European attitudes, Hoppé was commissioned, in 1926, to produce an *Orbis Terrarum* volume on the United States. In that year, he travelled extensively across the continent, taking eleven months to make several thousand images in a variety of settings where the urban, industrial and commercial themes, so diligently disregarded in *Picturesque Great Britain*, could hardly be resisted. *Romantic America*, subtitled *Picturesque United States*, was published the following year.²⁹ The nostalgic sepia of *Picturesque Great Britain* was now replaced by a neutral monochrome more suggestive of contemporary actuality.

The book begins, as did Hoppé himself, with New York City. If *Orbis Terrarum* was marked by a conservative cultural politics in fear of what the Germans called *Amerikanismus*, when faced with the landscapes of modernity offered by New York its conservative aesthetic endured, albeit in a more subtle fashion. Reproduced in photogravure, which softened form and generated atmosphere, Hoppé's photographs

resembled images made by Alfred Stieglitz as far back as 1910.³⁰ They also seemed occasionally marked by the hazy atmospherics of Coburn's *New York*, published that same year. Hoppé was, of course, very familiar with both photographers' work. His pictures of contemporary actuality were, therefore, filtered through an older, Pictorialist aesthetic; one that rejected a modernist insistence upon the 'straight' photograph (figure 5). In addition to the softening effects of gravure, Hoppé often photographed against the light, a technique he had usefully employed in *Picturesque Great Britain*. He also photographed the streets of New York at night, and this added further 'romance', an ambiguous catch-all phrase that recurs all too often in his writing. Accordingly, while Hoppé's subject matter might superficially appear to bear the mark of 'the modern', this was the modern seen in terms that were decidedly outmoded. Most of all, Hoppé's conservatism was revealed by what might usefully be described as an emphatic and persistent compositional completeness (figure 6). This was a trope that derived from Pictorialism, which had in its turn borrowed its conventions from conservative genres of painting. In Hoppé's photographs, New York appeared composed, complete and entire, a city fully formed. Yet, as is evident from contemporary films such as Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand's *Manhatta* (1921) or Robert Flaherty's *Twenty-four Dollar Island* (1926), the reality was that New York remained a dynamic, yet incomplete, 'work in progress'. Hoppé's aesthetic also stood in stark contrast to that adopted and developed by contemporary European photographers like László Moholy-Nagy, Werner Gräff and André Kertész. These photographers proposed a new vision of urban industrial iconography that emphasised the role of the photographer as a perceptive, itinerant observer, newly armed with mobile 35mm technology and freed from the constraints of the tripod. Their work derived from a dynamic interaction with the cityscape. Fully

engaged with the transient, they did not take the time, nor would they have comprehended the need, to stand back and compose with such care. Arguably, their work more accurately reflected the impermanence and discontinuities of urban existence. The profound stasis of Hoppé's compositions seemed derived from the aesthetics of another age.

But photographers have frequently looked beyond the world of photography for stimulus, and it is clear from Hoppé's autobiography that there were other influences at work:

From the moment when the late Joseph Pennell showed me his remarkable lithographs of New York, I was attracted to the pictorial possibilities of American cities. Most of the pictures one had seen depicted the pulsating stream of life flowing through them, but I felt more strongly than anything else their static qualities, their loneliness and grandeur. Despite modernistic architecture, their effect on me was one of monumental primitiveness, vividly calling to my mind the communal dwellings of ancient Taos, in New Mexico, but enlarged to a gigantic scale.³¹

Pennell's was a monumentalising aesthetic in which the human figure, if it was included at all, existed only as a vaguely perceived shadow, a figurative generalisation. There was, then, little expressed interest in the city as a problematic, social phenomenon that might require appropriately social solutions. Pennell's influence is additionally curious in that, having defined the whole genre of big-city illustration in the last two decades of

the nineteenth century, the artist was highly resentful of photographers invading his domain. In 1897, he had published a diatribe against photography, fully detailing what he regarded as the medium's aesthetic shortcomings as a mechanical and, he believed, inartistic process.³² Some of Hoppé's New York pictures had been included in his earlier, one-man exhibition at London's Goupil Gallery in 1922, and a selection appeared in *The Studio* magazine.³³ One picture was entitled *Grand Canyon*, a title that appears to have been borrowed from Pennell's earlier work. It showed the modern thoroughfares of New York overshadowed by structures that turned streets into dismal chasms.

On the other hand, from the early 1920s Hoppé was clearly experimenting with compositional methods. *The Studio* had published an innovative view, entitled 'Towards Manhattan', with the island's skyline seen through the cables of Brooklyn Bridge. It is a curious image that combines a modernist viewpoint with antiquated, Pictorialist atmospherics. This technique of looking through one structure to view another was one he was to use time and again, and it represented a useful commercial renovation of a frequently abused Pictorialist technique whereby foliage was used to frame a landscape. In this case, Hoppé anticipated the pictures made of this same scene in 1929 by Walker Evans. A similar image was included in *Romantic America*, with the grid-like composition suggestive of the city's geometric layout (figure 7). Elsewhere, Hoppé focuses less on the locus of industry than on its materiality. An acute instance of this occurs in the photograph he made in Pittsburgh, misleadingly entitled, *Ohio River from the Point* (figure 8). In the distant haze one can just about discern something that might indeed be the Ohio River, and make out the imprecise outlines of a blackened industrial landscape. But onto this dismal scene Hoppé has superimposed a complex matrix drawn

from the interpenetrating diagonals of a bridge structure. In so doing, he partakes of a particularly modernist concern, because not only does Hoppé draw attention to the substance of rivets and steel – to the materiality of industry – he also directs attention to the materiality of the photograph itself, to its superficial qualities. This concentration upon surface, or formal articulations, was a characteristic feature of photographic modernism in the 1920s, but Hoppé was rarely so radical a picture maker, preferring instead a more conventional approach that may have offered a broader commercial appeal.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Hoppé wrote extensively and enthusiastically about the role he envisaged for photography in the industrial age. Indeed, he was clearly aware of new aesthetic developments as photographers responded to an increasing commercial role born of an urbanising society driven by technological progress. In May 1928, Hoppé wrote and illustrated an article for the journal *Engineering Progress*, entitled ‘The Romance of Steel and Cement’, in which he enthused about what he regarded as the symbiotic relationship between the photographic medium and the industrial world: ‘Here is a blending of art and science, or art and mechanism, that can meet the subject on its own ground’.³⁴ The article’s first page purported to show an image of a Pittsburgh steelworks, entitled *Steam and Smoke*. But this photograph had already appeared in *Picturesque Great Britain* as a Sheffield steelworks, and Hoppé routinely reassigned different identities to his photographs. For example, in his later book *The Image of London* (1935), a photograph of Lots Road power station on the Thames, at Chelsea Creek, was given a new, fictitious existence as Battersea power station. This was by no means a new phenomenon. In his portraits of working-class

‘characters’ in London and New York, Hoppé frequently invented new identities for his subjects to suit publication demands.³⁵

Overall, there is also a sense that Hoppé liked to present himself as a more devoted modernist than he actually was. While his writings are full of his avowed enthusiasm for new 35mm technology, the E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection’s files contain an extremely small number of 35mm negatives (indeed, less than one per cent of the total). Again in 1928, Hoppé contributed an article entitled ‘Photography in England’ to the new German photographic annual *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* that, at least superficially, seemed to represent a form of aesthetic revisionism. Hoppé mapped out a neo-modernist programme that rejected ‘the cult of soft-focus work’ and the ‘sham works of art’ resulting from what he saw as the Pictorialists’ conflation of painting and photography. He claimed that a ‘reaction from this delusory attitude is already gathering force’.³⁶ *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* was to become a leading showcase for the vanguardist work known as *Die Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), much of which evidenced an anti-Pictorialist preference for the ‘straight’, unmanipulated photograph that was often allied to a celebration of urban and industrial themes.³⁷ Later, in 1933, in a more domestic context, Hoppé contributed an introduction to *The Studio*’s prestigious *Modern Photography* annual that was gaining a reputation for a similar aesthetic position. In a text reminiscent of modernist declarations by Renger-Patzsch and Paul Strand, Hoppé pointed to a new age of photographic practice. Photography in 1933, he wrote, was vastly different from 1927, as photographers adjusted their practice to other, more commercial criteria. In place of Pictorialist sentiment, he argued, this New Photography had ‘pointed the way to “an adventure of seeing”. [...] Its code is a total absence of sentimentalism’.³⁸

Hoppé's was, nonetheless, a conservative response and he rebuffed the enthusiasms of the more radical adherents to the New Photography: 'To exploit eccentric points of view, take pictures from strange angles, pointing the camera vertically upwards or making dizzy downward shots, is not necessarily proof of an inventive mind. [...] There has been an overdose of this hocus-pocus'.³⁹ As these and other declarations imply, Hoppé's manifest commercial success lay in him being, to borrow Ian Jeffrey's description, 'a Victorian in modern times', and 'an especially adept mediator, able to present the new in traditional terms'.⁴⁰ However, Hoppé's most thorough engagement with the urban, industrial world was still to come.

Deutsche Arbeit

In 1930, Ullstein Verlag published *Deutsche Arbeit: Bilder vom Wiederaufstieg Deutschlands* (German Work: Pictures of Germany's Reascendancy). It is, in many respects, a remarkable book, although one that has received scant critical attention.⁴¹ In the late 1920s, Hoppé travelled extensively through Germany making photographs of its major industrial complexes. *Deutsche Arbeit* presents the reader with a systematic, visual assessment of German industrial progress and processes. Beginning with a series of photographs of power sources (*Quellen der Kraft*) such as coal, oil and gas, *Deutsche Arbeit* moves on to the theme of energy distribution (*Strömende Energie*), and 'Ore becomes Steel' (*Erz wird Stahl*). There is an extensive section on transport, entitled 'Conquering Distance' (*Überwundener Raum*), and a final section on industrial production with the general title 'In the Workshop' (*In der Werkstatt*) (figure 9).⁴² The photographs are reproduced in a deep-toned photogravure that is of an even richer

quality than *Orbis Terrarum* and, despite the depth of tone, a number of the images have luminous, almost metallic highlights (figure 10).⁴³ The influence of Pennell seems persistent, however, in the photographs' overwhelming gloom. Pennell had made hundreds of etchings and lithographs of factories, shipyards, canals and mines. Many of these images presented a view of industrial processes taking place in scenes of infernal misery, with factory workers only vaguely defined. This overall gloom is a persistent feature of Hoppé's photographs of German workshop interiors, combined with a sense of menacing, almost diabolic power.

Deutsche Arbeit is also unusual, perhaps unique, in that it has a reversible dustjacket (figure 11). On one side is a colourful, graphic design featuring an industrial landscape of smoking chimneys; on the other, a monochrome photograph shows a ship's propeller and rudder assembly. This may have arisen through a difference of opinion between author and publisher. While the book begins with a frontispiece portrait of an anonymous, German worker, Hoppé dwells for the most part on impressive industrial structures. These photographs are in some ways reminiscent of *Die Neue Sachlichkeit* imagery to be seen later in Eugen Diesel's well known, *Das Werk* (Work, 1931) in *Die Blauen Bücher* series, as well as in the equally populist *Technische Schönheit* (Technical Beauty, 1929), by Hanns Günther (figure 12). Indeed, a version of the Hoppé dustjacket photograph had already appeared in Günther's earlier volume.⁴⁴ The photography of *Die Neue Sachlichkeit* generally gave a dramatic and monumentalised view of German industry, but its technological utopianism was inevitably cut short by the realities of the Depression.

Still more remarkable, however, is Bruno H. Bürgel's introductory text to *Deutsche Arbeit*, entitled 'The Ode to Work'. It has become something of a

commonplace of photographic historiography to describe the medium's progressive engagement with the technological utopianism of the Weimar period, and to speak of photography's role in the contemporary optimism about technical advance.⁴⁵ However, photographers were also engaged in another, very different, response to urbanisation and the *Maschinenzeit*, one described by Jeffrey Herf as 'reactionary modernism'.⁴⁶ As Herf notes, compared with England and France, German industrialisation 'was late, quick, and thorough. Economic units were large and state intervention extensive. Most important, capitalist industrialisation took place without a successful bourgeois revolution'.⁴⁷ Herf's principal argument seems essential to any understanding of the cultural context in which *Deutsche Arbeit* was produced and understood.

Both before and after the beginning of the Nazi period, Herf suggests, an important current within conservative and National Socialist ideology achieved a successful reconciliation between anti-modernist, romantic and irrationalist ideas and an apparently anomalous enthusiasm for technological advance. The thinkers to whom he refers as reactionary modernists never described themselves as such, but nevertheless:

this tradition consisted of a coherent and meaningful set of metaphors, familiar words, and emotionally laden expressions that had the effect of converting technology from a component of alien, Western *Zivilisation* into an organic part of German *Kultur*. They combined political reaction with technological advance.⁴⁸

If Germany could be both technically advanced and true to its soul, the idea of industrial progress might be disassociated from the *Amerikanismus* that Hauptmann had

so vehemently deplored and turned, instead, into a virtue of German *Kultur*. This reactionary modernism could incorporate modern technology into the thinking of German nationalism, ‘without diminishing the latter’s romantic and antirational aspects. The reactionary modernists were nationalists who turned the romantic anticapitalism of the German Right away from backward-looking pastoralism’.⁴⁹ Some of the writers and intellectuals of the Weimar years, such as Ernst Jünger, are easily identifiable as belonging to Herf’s reactionary modernist circle, along with the likes of Oswald Spengler and indeed, Eugen Diesel, son of the eponymous inventor of the compression-ignition engine. But Ronald Taylor has identified certain working-class, lyric poets who could also be understood to fall within this same group.⁵⁰ These worker poets celebrated a proletarian nationalism, one that avoided the ideals of socialist revolution and instead fetishised the nobility and heroic qualities of labour in an age of mass production. Most prominent of these poets, who went under the name of a proletarian writers’ union known as the *Werkleute auf Haus Nyland*, were Gerrit Engelke, Max Barthel, Karl Bröger and Heinrich Lersch.

Bürgerl’s *Ode to Work* begins with some emotionally charged verse by the boilermaker poet Lersch that effectively sets the ideological mood of *Deutsche Arbeit*:

Open up, gates; spring open, doors!
 What makes people curse and rejoice,
 Why hate and joy awaken,
 I want to see! Want to see what broadens fists and shoulders,
 What makes the soul swell and widens the eyes,
 What bends the back and torments the lung, —

What spoils one person and strengthens the other,

What elevates one and eats up the other:

I want to see, what work is!

The rushing, roaring race of work!

Open up, gates; spring open, doors!⁵¹

Here was an emotive language that stressed individual experience and subjectivity rather than class-consciousness – a language that lent weight to notions of fate, or of a national destiny beyond the individual's control. Its vocabulary derived from a technological romanticism that enthused about the simultaneous threat, and promise, of unrestrained mechanical power; and this was an aestheticisation of politics and the *Maschinenzeit* that was to become characteristic of Nazi ideology. Unsurprisingly, Lersch's cultural politics led him to endorse the new administration and he was promptly appointed, in 1933, to the literature chamber of the Reich's *Kulturkammer*.⁵² Later in his introduction, Bürgel turns again to verse, this time in the form of the Belgian Symbolist poet, Emile Verhaeren:

Here, between the walls of stone and steel

Suddenly, erupts

The elements' fervent force.

Iron jaws grabbing and gobbling,

Giant hammers grinding and breaking

Bars of gold on anvils.

And over there, in that far corner, we seek

To force back into shape
 The white, hissing minerals,
 Which are pouring into the open unleashed
 And giving the room a fiery glow.⁵³

Such an emotionally fiery discourse appeared to be devoid of an explicit politics but its implicit message was one of an industrial and cultural renewal born of violence and rupture with the past. Here was a nation in a white-hot crucible, able to be forged anew, perhaps by a new politics. Hoppé's images of workshops and furnaces only added further weight to this emotive, elemental language. In this same context, there is also *Deutsche Arbeit*'s subtitle to be considered. The term *Wiederaufstieg*, translated earlier as 'reascendancy', carries further connotations that would not have been lost on contemporary readers. Its additional nuances suggest 'resurrection', and such a term inevitably implies an earlier 'crucifixion'. For many Germans, especially those who had lived through the inflation years after the First World War, any hint of crucifixion might reasonably have brought to mind the punitive terms of the Versailles *Diktat*, the treaty by which Germany was obliged to take both moral and financial responsibility for the war. Accordingly, Hoppé's photographs were to be interpreted through Bürgel's quasi-expressionistic, nationalist agenda that saw salvation in industrial power. The world was again taking notice of Germany:

A world which once held a deep grudge against us, is today full of admiration and respect for our diligence, our initiative which has, in difficult times, allowed us to move mountains. [...] Machine! Cleverly thought-out steel

monster, created by man's brains, you are both his slave and his master, both liberator and oppressor. You stamping, striding, gliding, rolling, droning colossus, you are the rhythm and tempo of the new age, lapsing time and space, force and matter. Machine! You giant both idolised and cursed.⁵⁴

The publication of *Deutsche Arbeit* was badly timed, however. It appeared immediately after the economic crash of late 1929, which then inaugurated the Great Depression. As unemployment climbed to its peak in 1932, the machines would slow and grind to a halt.

Yet this was not the only publication in which Hoppé's photographs were framed by a reactionary, nationalist discourse. In 1932, his work appeared (along with that of Renger-Patzsch, Dr Paul Wolff and others) in Max Jungnickel's *Volk und Vaterland* (People and Fatherland), and its overall discourse tends to confirm Herf's analysis of reactionary modernism's ability to integrate the traditional with the new.⁵⁵ The book's picture editor, Heinz Schnakenburg, made extensive use of already well established themes, such as gothic architecture and the medieval buildings of the small towns, that had been the stock in trade of earlier volumes. But intermingled with this, by now, somewhat clichéd selection, one finds a surprising number of photographs that point to the widespread integration of modern, urban industrial subjects into what had hitherto been a more obviously *völkisch*, ruralist agenda. Schnakenburg also includes images of radio towers, modernist architecture, aerial photographs of the great cities and, yet again, Hoppé's shipyard image from the cover of *Deutsche Arbeit*. The clear message is one of a reconciliation or synthesis of the old with the new. In his introduction, however, Jungnickel directs his readers' attention to what he perceived to be an imminent change in the German social order:

Liberalism is dying. [...] Tomorrow it will be gone. [...] The “I”
has become “We”. The nation is on the move. The secrets
of a new era are intriguing us. Storm birds have risen. [...] slogans are rising like eagles. The nation wants to build a new Germany.⁵⁶

In Schnakenburg’s editorial hands the photographs in *Volk und Vaterland* were subtly organised in support of a reactionary modernist vision of Germany’s future that could successfully unite contemporary industrial expansion with a more traditional, rural image of the nation. In this connection, one therefore questions whether Hoppé was fully aware of the contexts in which his images were beginning to appear, and whether he exercised much editorial control over his work, beyond that of supplying appropriate images on demand.

In their expressionistic passion and nationalistic fervour, respectively, both Bürgel’s and Jungnickel’s discourses offered a worrying foretaste of things to come. By the late 1930s, Hoppé must surely have been aware of the rapid Nazification of German photographic culture. Even a cursory examination of editions of the photographic annual *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* reveals major shifts of emphasis after 1933: a pronounced return to *völkisch*, peasant themes, a new enthusiasm for images of troop formations, airships and military aircraft, with Nazi insignia much in evidence, and likewise, portraits of Hitler and his acolytes. In photographic book production, there was a general and sudden return to gothic *Frakturschrift*, and this rapidly replaced the modernist, sans-serif typefaces that had become characteristic of the New Objectivity style.

Given this profound shift in German photographic culture one is more than a little surprised to find that, in August 1938, Hoppé permitted some of his Austrian landscape photographs to appear in the overtly Nazi publication, *Freude und Arbeit* (Joy and Work).⁵⁷ This was the official magazine of the international *Freude und Arbeit* movement by which the National Socialists, ‘sought to reassure the world that, all appearances to the contrary, the new Germany intended to make German work a factor for peace between nations’.⁵⁸ While *Freude und Arbeit* celebrated the movement’s international range, it also gave prominence to images of Nazi success stories in areas as diverse as industry and sport, with uniformed Nazi officials frequently overseeing proceedings. The publication of Hoppé’s images in this context seems still more surprising in that they appeared only some five months after the *Anschluß* of March 1938, whereby Germany annexed Austria. As a young man, Hoppé had spent much of his life in Vienna, and he was enthusiastic about the cosmopolitan life of what had been the heart of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Hoppé also maintained an Austrian country home well into the 1930s: a farmhouse called ‘Edhof’, located in the remote village of Molln, in the valley of the river Steyr. The four photographs included in *Freude und Arbeit* are, themselves, typical of his rural landscape work, but here they were presented in terms of an Englishman celebrating the tourist possibilities of what was now known, in the Greater Germany, as the *Ostmark*, or Eastern March; an archaic term that was to replace the centuries old *Österreich*. Hoppé wrote the commentary to his photographs and, while the English translation makes passing reference to Austria’s previous name ‘before the Anschluss’, his text is an enthusiastic celebration of how an English traveller might enjoy a tour around the country. A typical passage reads:

An excellent train leaves London at 3 p.m. en route for Bucharest. One should alight at Linz, for centuries a quiet townlet [sic] nestling at the foot of mighty hills, but now developing into an important centre of commercial and cultural activity. While at Linz, one should not fail to take coffee at the Postlingberg, an open-air café high up on the mountains.⁵⁹

Here was a depoliticised discourse that could find charm and ‘romantic atmosphere’ at every turn. The suggestion of a leisurely life of high-class tourism was further underlined by the inclusion of an image of the headed notepaper of Hoppé’s private club, *The Savage*, on London’s Carlton House Terrace.⁶⁰ With Austria now redefined as *Europas Ferienland* (The Playground of Europe), the bland language of travel and tourism was quite incapable of acknowledging Austria’s contemporary political problems. There is no suggestion here that Hoppé had any sympathies for the new regime, and no evidence to suggest otherwise. In retrospect, however, his decision to sanction the publication of these photographs in this context seems surprising, inopportune and ill judged.

Conclusion

Mick Gidley has described Hoppé’s work as ‘protean, and not characterised by any marked individual style’.⁶¹ A high level of visual mutability is very much a characteristic of Hoppé’s landscape and industrial photography as he shifted back and forth from a pictorialist to a neo-modernist approach. Jeffrey and Mellor are more emphatic, regarding Hoppé as:

a classic example of a supremely successful photographer whose entire output derived from successful prototypes in German, French and American photography. This sort of alertness entailed massive alterations in style and subject matter virtually from year to year: in a case like this the picture-maker is nothing more than an efficient function of the market.⁶²

Rather than haphazard mutations, such alterations in style indicate the high level of commercial, aesthetic and technical flexibility that Hoppé brought to these national topographies. When understood within the broader context of Britain in the 1920s, the nostalgia and cultural pessimism of *Picturesque Great Britain* is entirely consistent with a national reserve and, at times, intense discomfort about the impact of the modern. In his choice of subject matter, and in his alliance with Charles Masterman, Hoppé articulated a profound anxiety about the nation's future in a period of accelerated change. In his involvement with *Orbis Terrarum*, Hoppé helped define a whole new market for photographically illustrated books, and such publications would continue to be implicated in questions of national identity. Later, Hoppé's *Romantic America* engaged with that nation's apparently unrestrained passion for the city and industrial progress, with the grandeur of its cityscapes mediated through a kind of urban, industrial sublime. Billed as 'The First Popular Pictorial Presentation of our Country', *Romantic America* drew much of its inspiration from the iconographies of earlier forms, exemplified by the work of Pennell, Stieglitz and Coburn, to name the most notable. All three had a view of the city that was, in different ways, qualified and reserved. In Germany, however, Hoppé at least appeared to be on more established territory.

The photographers of *Die Neue Sachlichkeit* had already created a new industrial iconography that seemed fully at home in the modern world, but Hoppé appears to have drawn freely from the plurality of available iconographies, appropriating styles and genres as he went. He was a nostalgist in the face of the English landscape, a reticent surveyor of American industrial progress, and a reserved New Objectivist in front of German industry. Hoppé has been widely recognised as a consummate commercial and aesthetic opportunist. In this latter case, however, the dangers inherent in such opportunism were becoming increasingly clear as a reactionary modernist discourse began to permeate and eventually dominate German visual culture.

Illustration Captions

Figure 1. E. O. Hoppé, *London's River*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Picturesque Great Britain: The Architecture and the Landscape*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; and London: Ernest Benn 1926, 1. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 2. E. O. Hoppé, *The Canal, Manchester*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Picturesque Great Britain: The Architecture and the Landscape*, Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth; London: Ernest Benn 1926, 218. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 3. E. O. Hoppé, *Cottage at Southery, Norfolk*, gravure plate reproduced from E.O Hoppé, *Picturesque Great Britain: The Architecture and the Landscape*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; and London: Ernest Benn 1926, 187. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 4. E. O. Hoppé, *Old Hostelry, Alfriston, Sussex*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Picturesque Great Britain: The Architecture and the*

Landscape, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; and London: Ernest Benn 1926, 21. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 5. E. O. Hoppé, *New York City*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Romantic America: Picturesque United States*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; and New York: B. Westermann Co. Inc. 1927, 13. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 6. E. O. Hoppé, *New York City, In the East Sixties*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Romantic America: Picturesque United States*, Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth; New York, B. Westermann Co. Inc. 1927, p1. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure. 7. E. O. Hoppé, *New York City, Manhattan*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Romantic America: Picturesque United States*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; and New York: B. Westermann Co. Inc. 1927, 4. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 8. E. O. Hoppé, *Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Ohio River from the Point*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Romantic America: Picturesque United States*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; New York, B. Westermann Co. Inc. 1927, p25. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 9. E. O. Hoppé, *Steel Ingot under the steam hammer*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Deutsche Arbeit: bilder auf wiederaufstieg Deutschlands*, Berlin: Ullstein 1930, 49. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 10. E. O. Hoppé, *High pressure turbine, Klingenberg*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Deutsche Arbeit: bilder auf wiederaufstieg*

Deutschlands, Berlin: Ullstein 1930, 33. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 11. E.O. Hoppé, *Reversible dustjacket to Deutsche Arbeit: bilder auf wiederaufstieg Deutschlands*, Berlin: Ullstein 1930. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

Figure 12. E. O. Hoppé, *Tower crane in dockyard*, gravure plate reproduced from E. O. Hoppé, *Deutsche Arbeit: bilder auf wiederaufstieg Deutschlands*, Berlin: Ullstein 1930, 71. E. O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Curatorial Assistance Inc., Pasadena, CA.

1 – For a comprehensive overview, see Phillip Prodger and Terence Pepper, *Hoppé Portraits: Society, Studio and Street*, London: National Portrait Gallery 2011.

2 – See E. O. Hoppé, *Hundred Thousand Exposures, The Success of a Photographer*, London: The Focal Press 1945, 182–3.

3 – Hoppé became a British citizen in 1912. His naturalisation papers can be found in the National Archives, London. Document reference HO 144/1169/214766. Special Branch of New Scotland Yard briefly investigated him.

4 – E. O. Hoppé, *Picturesque Great Britain: The Architecture and the Landscape*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth; London: Ernest Benn 1926.

5 – David Mellor, *Modern British Photography, 1919–1939*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain 1980, 5.

6 – Hoppé, *Hundred Thousand Exposures*, 182.

7 – In this regard, see Mike Weaver, *Alvin Langdon Coburn, Symbolist Photographer 1882–1966*, New York: Aperture 1986.

8 – In 1916, the editor of the *Penrose Annual* noted the ‘wonderful strides’ made in rotary photogravure, remarking however that progress was ‘not so evident in this country as it is abroad’. William Gamble, ‘Position and Prospects of Process Work’, *The Penrose Annual and the Process Year Book*, 21 (1916), 11–16.

9 – For a useful critique of Pictorialist aesthetics, see Allan Sekula, ‘On the Invention of Photographic Meaning’, in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, London: Macmillan 1982, 84–109.

10 – See *Alvin Langdon Coburn, 1882–1966*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain 1978, unpaginated.

11 – It appears that Masterman’s text was written in response to Hoppé’s final selection of pictures. Masterman had great experience in the use of photographs to influence public opinion. During the First World War he was given responsibility for government propaganda. See Ivor Nicholson, ‘An Aspect of British Wartime Propaganda’, *The Cornhill Magazine*, 70:419 (1931), 593–606.

12 – Charles Masterman, *The Condition of England*, London: Methuen 1909.

13 – See Thomas Carlyle, ‘Chartism’ (1839), in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, volume 4, London: Chapman and Hall 1899, 121.

14 – Masterman, *The Condition of England*, 86–7.

15 – G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London, A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1984, 130 and 150.

16 – Masterman, *The Condition of England*, 12–13.

17 – See Terry Morden, ‘The Pastoral and the Pictorial’, in *Ten-8*, 12 (1983), 18–25.

Morden draws on the rigorous explication of the pastoral discourse in literature

provided in Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, London: Chatto and Windus 1973.

18 – See Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1985.

19 – Ian Jeffrey and David Mellor note: ‘Photography has been of immense tactical value in periods of accelerated cultural change when its denotational nature [...] has pushed it to the forefront when the problem of the future has appeared to be written in the social landscape itself’. Ian Jeffrey and David Mellor, ‘Style and Ideology in British Art and Photography, 1900–1940’, *Studio International*, 190:976 (July–August 1975), 27–34.

20 – Masterman, introduction to *Picturesque Great Britain*, vi.

21 – Edward David, ‘The New Liberalism of C. F. G. Masterman, 1873–1927’, in *Essays in Anti-Labour History, Responses to the Rise of Labour in Britain*, ed. Kenneth D. Brown, London: Macmillan 1974, 26.

22 – Kurt Hielscher, *Picturesque Germany, Architecture and Landscape*, New York: Brentano’s 1924; and as *Deutschland, Baukunst und Landschaft*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth 1924. Such volumes rapidly replaced the successful series of John L Stoddard’s portfolios of cityscapes published by the Werner Co., of Chicago in the 1890s.

23 – Jeffrey and Mellor, ‘Style and Ideology’, 29.

24 – Hauptmann, introduction to *Picturesque Germany*, vii.

25 – Ibid., vii.

26 – William Morris, *News from Nowhere*, London: James Redmond 1970, cited in Wiener, *English Culture*, 89 and 190.

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- 27 – Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, London: Lawrence and Wishart 1971, 280–1 and 302.
- 28 – C. E. M. Joad, *The Babbitt Warren*, London: Kegan Paul 1926.
- 29 – E. O. Hoppé, *Romantic America, Picturesque United States*, New York: B. Westermann Co. 1927.
- 30 – See, for example, the Stieglitz portfolio of New York photographs published in *Camera Work*, 36 (1911), and reprinted in Alfred Stieglitz, *Camera Work: The Complete Illustrations, 1903–1917*, Cologne: Benedikt Taschen GmbH 1997, 582–7.
- 31 – Hoppé, *Hundred Thousand Exposures*, 187.
- 32 – Joseph Pennell, ‘Is Photography Among the Fine Arts?’ (1897), reprinted in *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*, ed. Vicki Goldberg, New York: Simon and Schuster 1981, 210–13.
- 33 – ‘Mr. E. O. Hoppé’s Photographs at the Goupil Gallery’, *The Studio: A Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, 83:346 (14 January 1922), 28–32.
- 34 – E. O. Hoppé, ‘The Romance of Steel and Cement’, *Engineering Progress* (May 1928), 131–2.
- 35 – See Brian Stokoe, ‘The Image of London: The Metropolitan Photography of E. O. Hoppé’, *The London Journal*, 30:2 (2005), 40–65. For further evidence of Hoppé’s indifference to reliable captions, see Brian Stokoe, ‘Class Tourism and Photography: The Typological Portraits of E. O. Hoppé and J. D. Beresford’, *History of Photography*, 31:2 (Summer 2007), 180–200.

36 – A longer version of this text, included in a supplement at the back of the publication, bears the shorter title ‘Photography’. E. O. Hoppé, *Das Deutsche Lichtbild*, Berlin: Robert and Bruno Schultz 1928–29, unpaginated.

37 – Ibid. As editor Hans Windich remarked, ‘We dwell in towns, our meadows are asphalt, our stars the arc-lamps, our woods the poles of the high-tension wires’.

38 – E. O. Hoppé Introduction to *Modern Photography*, London: The Studio Limited 1933–34, 13.

39 – Ibid., 13–14.

40 – Ian Jeffrey, ‘E. O. Hoppé: A Victorian in Modern Times’, in *Cities and Industry, Camera Pictures by E. O. Hoppé*, York: Impressions Gallery 1978, 8.

41 – E. O. Hoppé, *Deutsche Arbeit: Bilder vom Wiederaufstieg Deutschlands*, Berlin: Ullstein 1930.

42 – These systematic sections anticipate a later publication by Eugen Diesel entitled *Das Land der Deutschen* (The Land of the Germans), Leipzig: Bibliographische Institut AG 1931. Diesel employed mostly aerial photographs by Robert Petschow.

43 – Most of the images for this book derive from sharp and well-exposed, 5 x 4 inch sheet film, so the softness appears to be derived from the gravure process itself and perhaps also from Hoppé’s use of the split-exposure printing technique described in his autobiography. Hoppé, *Hundred Thousand Exposures*, 23. Hoppé often used liquid opaque to paint in highlights on his negatives.

44 – Eugen Diesel, *Das Werk: Technische Lichtbildstudien*, Königstein im Taunus: Karl Robert Langewiesche Verlag 1931, and Hanns Günther, *Technische Schönheit*, Zürich and Leipzig: Orell Füssli 1929.

45 – See, for example, Herbert Molderings, ‘Urbanism and Technological Utopianism: Thoughts on the Photography of Neue Sachlichkeit and the Bauhaus’, in *Germany, The New Photography, 1927–33*, ed. David Mellor, London: Arts Council of Great Britain 1978, 87–94.

46 – Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984.

47 – Ibid., 5–6.

48 – Ibid., 1–2.

49 – Ibid., 2.

50 – Ronald Taylor, *Literature and Society in Germany, 1918–1945*, Brighton: The Harvester Press 1980, 85–6.

51 – Hoppé, *Deutsche Arbeit*, 5. With thanks to Steffi Boothroyd for all translations from this volume.

52 – See Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Consequences of National Socialism*, London: Penguin Books 1973, 323.

53 – Hoppé, *Deutsche Arbeit*, 7.

54 – Ibid., 5–6.

55 – Max Jungnickel, *Volk und Vaterland*, Berlin: Safari 1932. Hoppé contributed twenty-six of the 112 photogravure illustrations.

56 – Ibid., 5.

57 – ‘Ein Engländer fotografiert in der Ostmark’, *Freude und Arbeit*, III:9 (1938), 112 and 115.

58 – Joan Campbell, *Joy in Work, German Work: The National Debate, 1800–1945*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1989, 343.

59 – ‘Ein Engländer fotografiert in der Ostmark’, 112.

60 – Ibid.

61 – Mick Gidley, ‘Emil Otto Hoppé, Autobiography and Cultural Moments’, in *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond*, ed. Patrizia Di Bello, Colette Wilson, Shamoon Zamir, London and New York: I. B. Tauris 2012, 53.

62 – Jeffrey and Mellor, ‘Style and Ideology’, 28.