Book Review: 'Down the Bay': Picture Post, Humanist Photography and Images of 1950s Cardiff; Tramp Steamers, Seamen and Sailor Town: Jack Sullivan's Paintings of Old Cardiff Docklands

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nature of his writings, Bourdieu's research also had a therapeutic aspect, an aspect Reed-Danahay hints at without integrating it into the main argument. Bourdieu's work could be read as a way to reconcile himself with the series of ruptures that he considered central to his life. Bourdieu was explicit about this therapeutic twist in his writings, describing sociology as the organization of the return of the repressed (Bourdieu, 2004). As Bouveresse writes, there are two aspects in Bourdieu's process of socio-analysis: 'to reconcile with oneself and with one's social property through a "liberating anamnesis" and to have a precious instrument . . . for the study of the social world' (Bouveresse, 2003: 174; author's translation). These two processes are inseparable for Bourdieu. *Locating Bourdieu* allows us to see the parallels between Bourdieu's life and work, but does not take its conclusion far enough.

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Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Homo Academicus*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
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Glenn Jordan, *'Down the Bay':* Picture Post, *Humanist Photography and Images of 1950s Cardiff.* Cardiff: Butetown History and Arts Centre, 2001. 76 pp. ISBN 1–8983–1708–9

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Published to coincide with exhibitions at the same venue and in consecutive years, these two volumes suggest an intensely reflexive experience: people are asked to look at pictures of their predecessors in the locality and to measure the meaning of the differences that they perceive. This is the stuff of many a community history project, and Jordan's role as go-between in the engagement with theory is played to excellent effect in the expository and critical essays that interrogate the images, their creators and the contemporary commentary with which they are spliced.

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In the strip of land known as Butetown, just one mile long and a quar-ter of a mile wide, lived some 5000 people: no fewer than 45 nations were measured among this population in the 1940s, the children offspring of

male immigrants and mostly local women. It was both cosmopolis and ghetto, rendered Other by the fascination and disgust of a voyeuristic local press yet salvaged by sympathetic treatment at the hands of photographer Bert Hardy, whose portrayals (we are told) today evoke a satisfying glow of authenticity. Stuart Hall's seminal 1972 essay on 'The Social Eye of *Picture Post*', which follows Hardy's 21 images, sets the photojournalism of the 1950s within the context of Grierson's film-making, Mass Observation's 'home-grown ethnography' (p. 71), and Orwell's desire to describe a reality unamenable to conventional prose. These innovators of the documentary style forged a new way of seeing. Neither sociology nor literature, neither art nor *rapportage*, its rhetoric is inherently emergent, a structure of feeling grasping towards cultural politics. Yet where Hardy succeeds emphatically in his quest for veracity, Hall bemoans an absence of political acuity: in defining exploitation and inequality as 'problems', *Picture Post* was reformist rather than dissenting in its outlook. Maybe so, and particularly regarding the tabloid style affected by the magazine in the later-1950s, but this seems rather at odds with the text of 'Down the Bay' written by Bert Lloyd, a card-carrying communist after all:

> If you want to set about insulting people, you can do it in two ways. You can say they're dirty, criminals, and general no-goods. Or you can tell them they're poor things but it's not their fault they're lousy and you'd like to do something for them.

Lloyd condemns the sensationalists who 'luridly' refer to the area as 'Tiger Bay' while revealing the racism felt by many inhabitants: '"Outside here, they believe we've got horns under our hats . . . if I go up into town, say to the pictures, why, man, everybody looks at me as if I'd left some buttons undone"'. 'Down the Bay' conveys an impression 'that most of [Butetown's] people are like most people everywhere', but this commonality is juxtaposed with the travails of those 'trapped in what is the nearest thing to a ghetto we have in this free land' (p. 23), where the 'very un-Welshness of it' frames the exoticism of the view from without.

Although documentary humanist photography might appear to present everyday life with transparent clarity, Jordan's contribution lies in delineating the highly coded way in which these images, like Sullivan's paintings, can be read. On foot-patrol in the docks in the 1940s and 1950s, Jack Sullivan recalls both his days as a local policeman and the 'informed imagining of what it must have been like' in earlier times (p. 12). His narrative realism is driven by a resurrectionist ethic, that not only should art engage with 'real life' (and he is dismissive to the point of crassness of art-school intellectualism), but also 'cause people to remember things they might choose to forget' (p. 12). Untutored, his naive use of oils and busy canvasses inscribing ordinary folk into anecdotal scenes are reminiscent of Lowry. But here there is greater immediacy of expression, the pairs of eyes that direct the viewer in several directions simultaneously, the