The Narrative Document:

Lewis Hine and 'Social Photography'

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Abstract of "The Narrative Document: Lewis Hine and 'Social Photography'" by Kathy A. Quick, Ph.D., Brown University, May 2010

Lewis Hine employed a variety of narrative strategies to create a persuasive and moving 'social photography' in the early twentieth century. Despite the longstanding supposition within the history of photography that the categories of documentary and narrative are incompatible, this investigation looks at how Hine cultivated, rather than suppressed narrative in his documentary work. Documentary has often been associated with unmanipulated authenticity and with the unmediated transcription of reality. Unlike the concept of narrative which is virtually inseparable from that of fiction, documentary is tied to a belief in the camera's ability to present empirical evidence or facts. The idea of storytelling itself would seem to undermine the documentary goal of an unmediated presentation of fact, and yet, it was Hine who coined the term "photo story" to describe his work. This study examines how Hine constructed pictorial narratives by adopting a number of cinematic devices. In many of the photographs that he produced for the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), Hine utilized a melodramatic mode of narration. Melodrama offered not only a means through which he could tell the story of child labor, but it was also a means through which he could attempt to 'move' his viewer emotionally. For Hine, the most effective images were the ones that tugged at the viewer's heartstrings and aroused sympathy for his subject. This study looks at how narrative functions in both the internal composition of the image and the viewer's apprehension of the image. This study also looks at how Hine moved his viewer visually and conceptually through space in his photographic series by using the editing techniques of early filmmakers. Although photographic and cinematic histories have emphasized

photography's effect on film, Hine reverses this tendency. This investigation provides a critical and long overdue analysis of the narrative aspects of Hine's work and the impact of film on his documentary photography.

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I am also indebted to Professor Mary Ann Doane who generously stepped in as my head advisor. This dissertation is the result of her willingness to let me pursue questions that bridge traditional photographic and cinematic histories. Professor Doane's knowledge of film history and criticism has been instrumental in shaping this study from its inception. It has been a privilege to work with her and to draw on her expertise. I am also indebted to Professor Dian Kriz for her thoughtful criticism at every stage of this project. She always added a new perspective to the discussion. I am grateful too for her kindness in helping me reconfigure my dissertation committee after Champa's passing. Although he signed on a bit later, Professor Douglas Nickel contributed greatly to my understanding of Hine and his place within photographic histories. I appreciate the clarity and insight with which he approached my topic.

During the preliminary stages of this project I looked at a number of photographic collections including those at the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film in Rochester, New York, the New York Public Library on Fifth Avenue, as well as the Museum of the City of New York. I would especially like to

thank Anne Morra, the Assistant Curator in the Department of Film at The Museum of Modern Art in New York for allowing me to have framed enlargements made from Edison's *Children Who Labor*. This required shipping the film to Washington D. C. I would also like to thank Margaret Kieckhefer, the Senior Search Examiner at the Library of Congress for processing my request so quickly.

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INTRODUCTION

The early twentieth-century documentarian, Lewis Hine, employed a variety of narrative strategies to create a persuasive and moving 'social photography.' Despite the longstanding supposition within the history of photography that the categories of documentary and narrative are incompatible, this investigation will look at how Hine cultivated, rather than suppressed narrative in his documentary work. Documentary has often been associated with unmanipulated authenticity and with the unmediated transcription of reality. Unlike the concept of narrative which is virtually inseparable from that of fiction, documentary is tied to a belief in the camera's ability to present empirical evidence or facts. The idea of storytelling itself would seem to undermine the documentary goal of an unmediated presentation of fact, and yet, it was Hine who coined the term "photo story" to describe his work. For Hine, the narrative essay was a more convincing essay. It would be impossible to understand the narrativity in Hine's photographs without first attempting to understand the systems of signification in which they operated. This study begins with an analysis of the cultural conditions that existed during Hine's tenure at the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC). Chapter one outlines some of the key historical factors that frame Hine's narrative essays. There is an examination of his role within the Progressive Era; specifically, his involvement with the Ethical Culture School and the NCLC, as well as his participation in the Pittsburgh Survey, a major sociological investigation, and his contribution to the social reform journal, *Charities and the Commons*. Here we explore how the newly emerging discipline of sociology coincides with Hine's formative years as a reformer and

photographer. Chapter two looks at his use of melodrama as a mode of narration in a singular photograph. We consider how narrative functions in both the internal composition of the image and the viewer's apprehension of the image. While melodrama provides Hine with the means to 'move' his viewer emotionally through narration, it provides us with a rare opportunity to examine the relationship between early cinema and still photography. Hine's image of a doffer boy working in a mill is compared to an early cinematic melodrama titled, *Children Who Labor* (Edison, 1912). Chapter three continues the inquiry into cinema with a focus on the formal aspects of each medium. In a series of photographs published in his essay, "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh," Hine utilizes a number of early filmmaking techniques. Although both photographic and cinematic histories have emphasized photography's effect on film, Hine reverses this tendency by adopting cinematic devices to construct his pictorial narratives. What this study provides is a critical and long overdue analysis of the narrative aspects of Hine's work, as well as the impact of film on his documentary photography.

In most photographic histories Hine is firmly positioned within the documentary genre. Before I begin my investigation of Hine's photographic narratives, I will briefly trace the historical development of documentary as a category within photographic histories and consider some of the more influential works that have been written about Hine thus far. While Hine is usually recognized within the documentary tradition as a 'pioneer,' documentary is both a term and a category that is difficult to define. According to Elizabeth Cowie, "Documentary is the re-presentation of found reality in the recorded document, its truth apparently guaranteed by mechanical reproduction of

that reality in what has come to be known as its indexical relationship to the original."[1] In his late nineteenth-century semiotics, Charles Sanders Peirce defined the index as a particular kind of sign that has a physical connection to its object. Peirce famously states, "A photograph, for example, not only excites an image, has an appearance, but, owing to its optical connexion with the object, is evidence that that appearance corresponds to a reality."[2] Although the concept of indexicality has been vehemently debated in recent decades, historically it has been at the center of documentary's truth claims.[3] For critics such as Andre Bazin, Rosalind Krauss, and Roland Barthes, among others, the photograph, like a footprint or a death mask, is an index. As Barthes claims in *Camera Lucida,* "The photograph is literally an emanation of the referent."[4] Yet, for critics such as Alan Sekula and John Tagg, the denotative aspect of the photograph is a myth. In their view photographs are meaningless without a specific historical context. Tagg asserts:

> Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. It history has not unity. It is a flickering across a field of institutional spaces.[5]

Certainly arguments over the indexicality of the photograph are far more complex than my brief summary allows. However, I would suggest that regardless of whether one

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[1] Elizabeth Cowie, "Specters of the Real: Documentary Time and Art," in *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies.* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2007), 89.
[2] Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce.* Ed. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss. Vol 4. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931-1958), 359.
[3] According to Mary Ann Doane, the concept of indexicality has been "subjected to a massive attack from the 1960s on –by structuralism in its centering of Saussurian linguistics, poststructuralism in its emphasis upon textuality, and cultural studies with its notions of social and cultural constructivism." In *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies.* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2007), 6.
[4] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida.* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 80.
[5] John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 63.

believes that the concept of the index is simply a cultural construct, or that the photograph adheres to its referent, what is most important here is that Hine believed in the truthfulness of the photographic image. Despite current disputes on the matter, in the early twentieth century the evidentiary force of the documentary photograph was inextricably bound to the idea that it was a trace of the 'real.'

The notion of the photograph as a document began with the inception of the medium in 1839. The adjective 'documentary' was coined in English in 1802, and its source word 'document' dates only from 1727. The modern meaning of this word is "something written, inscribed, etc., which furnishes evidence or information."[6] As Brian Winston explains, "The contemporary use of 'document' still carries with it the connotation of evidence. This sense of document provided the frame, as it were, into which the technology of photography could be placed. The photograph was received, from the beginning, as a document and therefore as evidence."[7] Although the photograph's status as a work of art was debated throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, the photograph's status as a document was more widely accepted. A photograph was thought to provide an accurate visual record and was believed to carry a trace of its referent. According to Geoffrey Batchen, "Photography's plausibility has long rested on the uniqueness of its indexical relation to the world it images, a relation regarded as fundamental to its operation as a system of representation. As a footprint is to a foot, so is a photograph to its referent."[8] It was precisely this notion of the photograph's indexical "truth" that appealed to early twentieth-century social reformers

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[6] Brian Winston, *Claiming the Real: The Griersonian Documentary and Its Legitimations.* (London: British Film Institute, 1995), 11.
[7] Ibid., 11.
[8] Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1999), 212.

such as Hine, as well as to his audience. The photograph, with its reality of "*having-been-there,"*[9] allowed Hine to claim the critical position of eyewitness.

The emergence of documentary as a separate category within the history of photography took place in the 1930s. This was also a decade in which Hine's work was 'rediscovered.' The year before his passing in 1940, Hine was honored with a retrospective exhibition at the Riverside Museum in New York. This exhibition reflected the growing interest within the photographic community to establish documentary as a genre. It also provided an opportunity to celebrate Hine as one of documentary's founding fathers. In her essay, "Who Is Speaking Thus? Some Questions about Documentary Photography," Abigail Solomon-Godeau claims that the "late arrival of the category of documentary into photographic parlance implies that until its formulation, photography was understood as innately and inescapably performing a documentary function."[10] The articulation of documentary as a genre can be seen in part as a response to the dominance of the Pictorialist movement in the first decades of the twentieth century. Although documentary and Pictorialism argued that photography had expressive potential and both challenged the prevailing notion that it was nothing more than a transcriptive medium, documentary set out ultimately to distinguish itself from the Pictorialist discourse of symbolism and aestheticism. As this investigation will demonstrate it was through a dialogue with the powerful new medium of film that the documentary genre was able to formulate pictorial priorities of its own.

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[9] Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text.* Translated by Stephen Heath. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 44.

[10] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Who Is Speaking Thus? Some Questions about Documentary Photography," in *Photography At The Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991), 170.

Still photography developed its understanding of 'documentary' through the example of the cinema. By most accounts it was the British filmmaker, John Grierson, who was the first to apply the word 'documentary' to this specific type of film. Grierson used the phrase 'documentary value' in his review of Robert Flaherty's *Moana*, published in the *New York Sun* in 1926. Often considered the founder of the documentary film movement, Grierson has been described as "the documentary's Adam."[11] As Ian Aitken states, "Many of the debates over the documentary film movement revolve around the role played by Grierson, and around the ideas, personality and actions of this unusual, strange and difficult individual."[12] One of Grierson's first and most enduring definitions of documentary was "the creative treatment of actuality."[13] This proved to be a problematic definition that has brought more confusion than clarity. "For one does not have to be too much of a sceptic to spot the obvious contradiction in this formulation," Winston asserts, "the supposition that any 'actuality' is left after 'creative treatment' can now be seen as being at best naïve and at worst a mark of duplicity."[14] Grierson even challenged his own use of the term 'documentary' in his manifesto of 1932 when he wrote, "Documentary is a clumsy description, but let it stand."[15] For Grierson, documentary films were meant to be contrasted with the artificiality of Hollywood feature films which used studio sets and employed professional actors. Beaumont Newhall, the photographic historian explains, "He [Grierson] urged filmmakers to take their cameras on location and photograph the environment itself, not its replica; its

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[11] Winston., 8.
[12] Ian Aitken, *The Documentary Film Movement: An Anthology.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 52.
[13] Winston., 11.
[14] Ibid., 11.
[15] Aitken., 81.

inhabitants, not 'stand-ins.'"[16] Grierson's call for "creative treatment" or "dramatization of fact" also set the documentary film apart from the seemingly more objective newsreel or travelogue. Aitkin summarizes, "Grierson's first definition of documentary film was based on the revelation of the real through the manipulation of documentary footage by formative editing technique."[17] Grierson's impact on documentary film, and by extension photography, cannot be underestimated. Many of Grierson's ideas informed the work of still photographers who adopted his term 'documentary' to describe their own pictures.

Shortly after Grierson began elaborating his theory of documentary film in the late 1920s, photography began its entry into the museum as an accepted art. The recognition of photography as a museum art was due in large part to the work of Beaumont Newhall, who joined the staff at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York as a librarian in 1935, and was promoted to Curator of Photography in 1940 (a first for MoMA or any museum at this time). Newhall was responsible for the exhibition *Photography 1839-1937* and its accompanying catalogue which traced the history of the medium's technical innovations, but with particular attention given to the aesthetic consequence of each. In his essay, "The Judgment Seat of Photography," Christopher Phillips examines how the MoMA's assimilation of photography "has indeed proceeded, on the one hand, through an investing of photography with what Walter Benjamin called the 'aura' of traditional art," and by "revamping older notions of print connoisseurship, transposing the ordering categories of art history to a new register, and confirming the

[16] Beaumont Newhall, "A Backward Glance At Documentary," in *New Documentary Photography, USA.* (Cincinnati: Images, Inc., 1989), 8.
[17] Aitken., 40.

workaday photographer as creative artist."[18] The MoMA's program entailed treating the photograph as a rarified object of study. According to Christopher Phillips, Newhall was responsible for promoting "the isolation and expert judging of the 'aesthetic merit' of photographs - virtually any photograph, regardless of derivation."[19] Despite his attempts at inclusiveness, Newhall's work ultimately added to the distinction between fine-art photography and the medium's other applications.

The aestheticisation of photography, including documentary, was made official when Newhall wrote his now famous, *The History of Photography.* This book was based on the text first published in the illustrated catalogue of the exhibition *Photography 1839-1937* from 1937. In 1938, the text and illustrations were reprinted with minor revisions as *Photography: A Short Critical History*, and in 1949, the book was entirely rewritten as *The History of Photography.* Newhall's book provided *the* model for any future photographic history to be written. Geoffrey Batchen offers a critique of this model when he argues:

> Most histories of photography are in fact art histories, faithfully following the ruts of Beaumont Newhall's influential *The History of Photography*. . . In emphasizing art photography above all other genres and practices, these histories tend to privilege the most self-conscious photographs, those that appear to be in some way about their own processes of production. In this sense these histories – and I refer here to almost every recent publication that has attempted to cover the history of the medium – all contribute consciously or unconsciously to the general formalist project.[20]

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[18] Christopher Phillips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography.* Richard Bolton, ed. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992), 16.
[19] Ibid., 19.
[20] Batchen, 15. Batchen cites a few examples of texts that have followed Newhall's lead: Peter Pollack, *The Picture History of Photography* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969); Ian Jeffrey, *Photography: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981); Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984); Jean-Claude Lemagny and Andre Rouille, eds., *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Michel Frizot, ed. *Nouvelle Histoire de la Photographie* (Paris: Bordas, 1994), to name just a few.

It is important to note, however, that Newhall was not a formalist in the strictest sense. Although he definitely preferred images that had a sharp focus clarity, Newhall he did not preach the gospel of medium specificity. On this issue there is a sharp contrast between him and the more extreme position of critics like John Szarkowski and Clement Greenberg. Certainly it can be said that formalism flourished under the direction of Alfred Barr, but for Newhall it was never simply aesthetics for the sake of aesthetics, but it was always aesthetics in the service of communication. In the preface to his *Short Critical History*, Newhall explicitly states his intentions, "The purpose of this book is to construct a foundation by which the significance of photography as an esthetic medium can be more fully grasped."[21] A few years later, in an essay titled, "Photography as a Branch of Art History (1942)," Newhall laments: "Only a few attempts have been made to treat the history of photography from art-historical viewpoints," and he claims that the "very qualities which are distinctive to photography and which are pointed to in all discussions of photography's aesthetic potentialities have seemingly stood in the way of an art historical appraisal."[22] Newhall's *History of Photography* was an attempt to rectify this neglect. Ultimately, he focused his attention on the so-called masterworks of a particular genre or process, and on the biographies and stylistic developments of individual photographers. Photographic genres such as advertising or snapshots (that may have been the largest in terms of production), were overlooked altogether or given scant attention.

Despite the inclusion of a small section on news photography, documentary was all but excluded from Newhall's exhibition catalogue of 1937 as well as his *Short Critical*

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[21] Beaumont Newhall, *Photography: A Short Critical History* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1938), 9.
[22] Newhall, "Photography as a Branch of Art History," 89 & 86.

History of 1938. It was not until the 1949 version of *The History of Photography* that the documentary genre was awarded a chapter of its own. Photographic examples by Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and Berenice Abbott, among others, were highlighted in this chapter, and they were all praised not only for their ability "to persuade and to convince," but also for their adherence to the "straight" photographic approach. The straight approach was championed by formalists at this time who believed that it could best express the inherent characteristics of the medium. Straight photography required the direct use of the camera to produce clearly focused, highly detailed pictures, and forbade the use of soft focus, cropping, or retouching. Newhall defines the straight approach as "the esthetic use of the functional properties of the photographic technique, the appreciation of both the camera's potentialities and its limitations, and the divorce of photography from the canons guiding the esthetic principles of other types of graphic art . . ."[23] In a letter to Hine in 1938, Newhall offers the following remarks, "Your work strikes me of excellent quality, possessing that straightforward, clean technique which I believe to be the only valid photographic style."[24] Even members of the Photo-Secession in the 1920s would abandon the impressionistic style of pictorialism in favor of the straight approach. Paul Strand echoes Newhall's sentiments when he states that the "photographer's problem therefore, is to see clearly the limitations and at the same time the potential qualities of his medium. . .The fullest realization of this is accomplished without tricks of process or manipulation,

[23] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949), 143.
[24] Daile Kaplan, ed. *Photo Story: Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 107.

through the use of straight photographic methods."[25] It should also be noted that Strand was a student in Hine's photography group at the Ethical Culture School in New York in 1907. Hine advocated a straight photographic approach, and in his role as teacher at the Ethical Culture School and later at the Photo League, he influenced a number of younger photographers. The acceptance of the straight approach enabled Newhall to incorporate the work of practitioners as disparate as Eugene Atget, Mathew Brady and Nadar into his canon of 'masters.' It also made possible the creation of 'documentary' as a separate category. In his chapter entitled 'Documentary,' Newhall claims that "the quality of authenticity implicit in the sharply-focused, unretouched 'straight' photograph often gives it special value as evidence or proof."[26] Hine too made a specific reference to the importance of the straight photographic approach in his work when he writes, "All along, I had to be doubly sure that my photo-data was 100% pure-no retouching or fakery of any kind. This had its influence on my continued use of straight photography which I had preferred from the first."[27] Clearly, the straight approach bolstered a photograph's evidentiary force. It bolstered a photograph's moral force as well. In a straight photograph visual clarity is often conflated with moral clarity; scientific truth is equated with ethical truth. Although many photographic practitioners may have used the "straight" approach, for the documentarian it was an absolute necessity.

Recognition of Hine's work in the late 1930s coincided with the introduction of documentary as a separate category within photography. The year after the MoMA's groundbreaking exhibition *Photography 1839-1937,* Hine visited Newhall and brought

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[25] Paul Strand, "Photography," in *Classic Essays on Photography.* Alan Trachtenberg, ed. (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 142.
[26] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949), 167.
[27] Kaplan, 124.

along a portfolio of his photographs of child laborers, immigrants, and work portraits. According to Daile Kaplan, "Newhall, who had been unaware of Hine's work, was deeply impressed by the photographs."[28] As the result of this visit, Newhall was inspired to write two important articles on documentary. In his article entitled, "Lewis Hine (1938)," which was published in the *Magazine of Art*, Newhall examined the artistic value of Hine's images and popularized the term coined by John Grierson when he referred to Hine's photographs as "documentary." Newhall states, "These photographs were taken primarily as records. They are direct and simple. The presence in them of an emotional quality raises them to works of art. 'Photo Interpretations,' Hine calls them. He might well have called them 'documentary photographs.'"[29] The other article was entitled, "Documentary Approach to Photography (1938)," and was published in *Parnassus*. Here Newhall refers to Hine's photographs of child labor conditions as "sociological propaganda" and describes them as "poignant in their stark and direct seizure of the emotions of both photographer and subjects."[30] While Newhall's article was one of the first to distinguish documentary from other types of photographic practice, he emphasizes the "esthetic function" of the documentary approach throughout. The documentary photographer was positioned somewhere between a recorder of fact and a 'fine artist.' According to Newhall, "The documentary photographer is not a mere technician. Nor is he an artist for art's sake. His results are often brilliant technically and highly artistic, but primarily they are pictorial reports."[31] For Newhall, the documentary picture must reveal some aspect of the photographer's own "emotional" or "sympathetic"

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[28] Ibid., 105.
[29] Beaumont Newhall, "Lewis Hine," in *Magazine of Art.* 31(November 1938), 636-637.
[30] Beaumont Newhall, "Documentary Approach to Photography," in *Parnassus.* Vol. 10, No. 3 (March 1938), 4.
[31] Ibid., 5.

response toward his subject. To make this distinction, Newhall explains, "But he will not photograph dispassionately; he will not simply illustrate his library notes. He will put into his camera studies something of the emotion which he feels toward the problem, for he realizes that this is the most effective way to teach the public he is addressing."[32] The publication of Newhall's articles marked the inauguration of documentary as a photographic genre and brought newfound attention to Hine's work. It was Newhall's acceptance of Hine that ultimately led to his inclusion in the art historical canon of photographic 'masters.'

After reading Newhall's "Documentary Approach to Photography," the photographer Berenice Abbott and the art critic Elizabeth McCausland contacted Hine at his Hastings-on-Hudson home and shortly thereafter organized the first major retrospective of his photographs, which opened in January 1939 at New York City's Riverside Museum. In preparation for the exhibition McCausland shared several conversations with Hine that resulted in an article published in *Survey Graphic*, "Lewis Hine: Portrait of a Photographer (October 1938)." This was the first in a series of articles on Hine that McCausland would publish in the *Springfield Republican, Photo Notes*, and *U.S. Camera Annual.* As Susan Dodge Peters notes, McCausland was an important newspaper critic who "became an outspoken advocate for the social potential and responsibility of the arts. . .By the middle of the 1930s, however, in response to the economic devastation of the depression, McCausland turned to photography as the ultimate democratic and social art."[33] In fact, McCausland's articles were responsible in large part for the revival of interest in Hine's work. In "Portrait of a Photographer,"

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[32] Ibid., 5.
[33] Susan Dodge Peters, "Elizabeth McCausland on Photography," in *Afterimage,* Vol. 12 (May 1985), 10.

McCausland claims that "Hine's early social photographs are recognized as vanguard masterpieces for the contemporary documentary movement."[34] Yet, despite this praise, McCausland was patronizing in her overall treatment of Hine. While Hine was seen as technically proficient, he lacked the artistic ingenuity of an Alfred Stieglitz. McCausland explains that with "Hine the sociological objective was paramount; the esthetic attributes seem to have occurred almost casually."[35] For McCausland, Hine was sincere but unsophisticated, and her articles played a critical role in establishing the long accepted view that Hine's camerawork was naïve, folksy, or even primitive. Although McCausland's efforts to resurrect Hine's career were unsuccessful (he died penniless in 1940), the extensive notes she compiled during her interviews, along with the articles she published, are important contributions to the early scholarship on Hine's photography. Unfortunately, after the official embrace by Newhall, Abbott, and McCausland in the late 1930s, Hine's photography was largely ignored for several decades.

The next major exhibition of Hine's photographs was held at the Brooklyn Museum in 1977 and its accompanying catalogue, *America and Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940*, claimed a central place for Hine in the history of reform photography. With a foreword written by Walter Rosenblum, a friend of Hine's from his days at the Photo League, and an essay written by Alan Trachtenberg, this catalogue provides much needed historical context for Hine's photographs. Rosenblum paints a completely different portrait of Hine than the one offered by McCausland almost forty years earlier. Hine was no longer the simpleton from Oshkosh, but as Rosenblum explains, "Hine was a cultured man with a wide range of interests. He was versed in the

[34] Elizabeth McCausland, "Lewis Hine: Portrait of a Photographer (1938)," in *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 102.
[35] Ibid., 103.

natural sciences and had earned a Master's Degree in education. He had studied arts, even wrote on photographic aesthetics, and followed the Photo-Secessionist movement in photography with interest if not in agreement."[36] Trachtenberg's essay traces Hine's work from his formative years as a photographer at the Ethical Culture School in New York, to his years at the National Child Labor Committee and the Pittsburgh Survey, and finally to his later project titled *Men at Work*. By the 1970s many of Hine's images had become well known and had appeared in a variety of different contexts, usually with no credit given to Hine. What Trachtenberg attempts to do is connect the photographs to the photographer and to his historical moment. Trachtenberg states, "We have seen them in history books and taken them as facts, unaware of the man who made them, . . .Much remains to be seen: these pictures are not illustrations but visions of a man for whom the camera was an instrument of truth."[37] The years that followed the publication of this essay saw a wave of renewed interest in Hine that once again brought him out of relative obscurity.

During the decades of the 1970s and 1980s photography underwent a contemporary critique that included a variety of new theoretical approaches. Hine's camerawork received a great deal of critical attention from scholars as diverse as Allan Sekula, George Dimock, and Maren Stange. Sekula's "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" has been influential not only on our understanding of Hine's work, but on the production of photographic meaning in general. Sekula is among a group of contemporary critics (along with John Tagg, Victor Burgin, and Abigail Solomon-

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[36] Walter Rosenblum, "Foreword," in *America and Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940.* (New York: Aperture, Inc., 1977), 15.
[37] Alan Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," in *America and Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940.* (New York: Aperture, Inc., 1977), 119.

Godeau) who believe that photographic meaning is contingent. In this view there is no one photography, or photographic "essence," as Geoffrey Batchen explains: "Sekula thinks of photography as the vehicle of larger outside forces. . . Never neutral, the photograph always finds itself attached to a discourse (or, more accurately, a cacophony of competing discourses) that gives any individual photograph its meanings and social values."[38] In his essay Sekula employs semiotic concepts in his critique of the photograph which he argues "is an utterance of some sort, that it carries, or is, a message."[39] However, the photographic message "depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability. That is, the meaning of any photographic message is necessarily context-determined."[40]

To demonstrate these ideas Sekula compares two well known photographs, Hine's image titled, *Immigrants Going Down Gangplank, New York* (1905), and Stieglitz's *The Steerage* (1907). Both photographs are depictions of immigrants, but each was produced in very different social and historical circumstances. Hine's print originally appeared in the social work journal *Charities and the Commons,* and *The Steerage* was first seen in Stieglitz's own fine art publication, *Camera Work.* Because each of these publications represented a different discourse, each photograph was inscribed with different sets of meaning. Discourse is defined as "a system of information exchange.[41] According to Sekula, "A discourse, then, can be defined in rather formal terms as the set of relations governing the rhetoric of related utterances. The discourse is, in the most general sense,

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[38] Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999), 9.
[39] Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in *Thinking Photography.* Victor Burgin, ed. (London: MacMillan, 1982), 85.
[40] Ibid., 85.
[41] Ibid., 84.

the context of the utterance, the conditions that constrain and support its meaning, that determine its semantic target."[42] *The Steerage,* or any Stieglitz photograph for that matter, became synonymous with the discourse of Fine Art and aesthetics, while Hine's *Immigrants* became synonymous with documentary. Sekula states, "The original discourse situation around Hine is hardly aesthetic, but political. In other words, the Hine discourse displays a manifest politics and only an implicit aesthetics, while the Stieglitz discourse displays a manifest aesthetics and only an implicit politics. A Hine photograph in its original context is an explicit political utterance."[43] Basically what Sekula does is break down the "binary folklore" that an opposition exists between 'art photography' and 'documentary photography,' or 'expressionism' and 'realism.' For Sekula, these two levels of connotation can coexist in any single photographic image. "Hine is an artist in the tradition of Millet and Tolstoy, a realist mystic," Sekula explains, "His realism corresponds to the status of the photograph as report, his mysticism corresponds to it status as spiritual expression."[44] Sekula's essay takes us beyond the aesthetic priorities promoted by Beaumont Newhall and his followers. What Sekula examines is the question of how photographs mean. If, as Sekula contends, a photograph is an utterance or a message, how then is that message altered when it is accompanied by text? or, by other photographs? These are just a few of the questions that are central to my own investigation of narrative in Hine's work. The study of narrative in visual art is largely based on semiotic theory. Like Sekula, narrative analysis argues that looking is part of a dynamic process that involves a complex set of relationships between the producer, the work, and the viewer, and occurs within a historically and socially specific situation.

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[42] Ibid., 85.
[43] Ibid., 103.
[44] Ibid., 107-108.

The comparison between Hine and Stieglitz is a common, if not overused one in much of the literature on Hine. In *Reading American Photographs,* Trachtenberg even claims that Hine "cannot be seen and grasped except in light of Alfred Stieglitz."[45] Perhaps none have been as explicit as Trachtenberg, but most photographic histories do grant Stieglitz a privileged position. Having achieved a monumental reputation, Stieglitz has been held as the standard by which all others, especially Hine, have been measured. Repeatedly cast in the role of the 'naïve primitive,' Hine has been a convenient foil to Stieglitz the 'artist genius.' Ultimately this produces an ahistorical account of their work that overemphasizes aesthetic differences. Trachtenberg later explains, "The pigeonholing of Hine as a 'documentary' photographer exemplifies the reductive simplifications of the Stieglitz line in criticism and history. The polarized vocabulary of art and document cannot account for the originality and force of Hine's pictures."[46] For Trachtenberg, as for Sekula, photographic meaning is context-determined. Trachtenberg urges that "we recognize 'art' and 'document' as arbitrary terms that describe a way of looking at photographs, rather than qualities intrinsic to them."[47] Instead, the definition of these terms is "extrinsic and institutional," and as Trachtenberg states, "It all depends on where and how we view the image."[48]

In his essay, "Children of the Mills: Re-Reading Lewis Hine's Child-Labour Photographs (1993)," George Dimock argues that we should read Hine's child labor photographs "within" rather than "against" the shortcomings of Progressive reform's

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[45] Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 165.
[46] Ibid., 176.
[47] Ibid., 176.
[48] Ibid., 176.

political program and affiliations.[49] Similar to both Sekula and Trachtenberg, Dimock also offers a comparison between Hine and the Pictorialist photographers of his day. However, for Dimock the contemporary photographic genres of pictorialism and social documentary were basically two sides of the same coin and shared "mutually reinforcing cultural codes aligned together on the privileged side of the social divide separating an ascendant middle class from a growing and increasingly problematic, industrial proletariat."[50] While Trachtenberg may have been on the left politically, he remained far more sympathetic to Hine than Dimock who takes a much harder stance against the Progressive agenda overall. Dimock's analysis, like Sekula, is class-based and has clearly been informed by Marxist cultural theory. The strength of his essay is in his "re-reading" of Hine's photographs of working children. For example, Dimock contrasts Hine's *East Side Mother and Sick Child* to Clarence White's *Miss Grace* and then provides a counter-argument that "these two photographs can be seen then to act in concert. As representations produced by the dominant culture, they construct an image of the child worker as the pathologized victim of an outmoded social and industrial order."[51] Dimock attacks the prevailing sentiment that Hine's pictures "do justice to their subjects," and he explains, "The fact that Hine worked to represent and to oppose the economic exploitation of children does not support the claim that his photographic practice was exemplary with respect to his working-class subjects."[52] Dimock positions Hine's child labor photographs squarely within the dominant ideology, an ideology of paternalism and class privilege.

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[49] George Dimock, "Children of the Mills: Re-Reading Lewis Hine's Child-Labour Photographs," in *Oxford Art Journal,* Vol. 16, No. 2 (1993), 37.
[50] Ibid., 37.
[51] Ibid., 41.
[52] Ibid., 37.

Another class-based approach is found in Maren Stange's *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America 1890-1950,* where she argues that Hine's survey photographs were meant to alleviate the anxieties of the middle class who feared social upheaval by the working class. Stange states, "Embedded in survey ideology was a pro-corporate orientation that ensured that the project would only display, and never help to resolve, the tensions it discovered between working people and the business system,. . ."[53] Her discussion draws on Trachtenberg's analyses of photography within American cultural institutions, as well as other revisionist critiques of the documentary tradition, including John Tagg and Allan Sekula. Stange claims that "documentary, a central mode of communications, has assisted the liberal corporate state to manage not only our politics but also our esthetics and our art."[54] It is in chapter two that she concentrates on Hine and the work he did for the Pittsburgh Survey. Done in the fall of 1907, and funded primarily by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, the Pittsburgh Survey was the largest sociological investigation of its kind. The survey findings were first published in *Charities* in 1908 and 1909, and as Stange explains, "Even as Hine went about recording the complex circumstances of working-class life in Pittsburgh, his photographs were increasingly regarded and used as *publicity* – as manifest emotional and intellectual symbols of a powerful, nationally coherent reform coalition, rather than as the graphic records of people in a particular time and place."[55] Unlike earlier studies, Stange's investigation focuses on the interaction of image, caption, and text within lantern slides, articles, brochures and posters of the survey project. She argues that the

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[53] Maren Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America 1890-1950.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 65.
[54] Ibid., xv.
[55] Ibid., 63.

documentary mode is "not the photography alone, then, but the image set in relation to a written caption, an associated text, and a presenting agency (such as the reform agency, or, later, the museum)."[56] Like Dimock, Stange contends that while these kinds of social investigations appealed to the humanitarian impulses of the middle class, they "collaborated with corporate capitalism by providing a theory of benign social engineering that helped to mask the facts of class exploitation."[57] Although Hine accounts for only one of the four case studies in *Symbols of Ideal Life*, Stange's book offers a critical examination of the social and political ideologies that created a documentary mode of photography.

Each of the scholars mentioned above has added to our understanding of Hine as a reformer and a photographer, although none have directly addressed the narrative component of his documentary work. Newhall was among the first to recognize his contribution to the medium and to label his photography 'documentary;' however, most of the early commentary on Hine focuses primarily on aesthetic concerns. In the exhibition catalogue from 1977, Trachtenberg takes a closer look at his biography and the historical moment in which he worked, but it is not until the revisionist critique of scholars such as Sekula, Dimock and Stange, that Hine's work is subjected to more intense analytical scrutiny. Dimock and Stange use Marxist cultural theory to raise important questions over Hine's ideological position, as well as the reform movement in general. Sekula uses semiotic concepts to consider how photographs mean; in particular, how Hine's photographs function within a specific historical discourse. This approach has been influential on my investigation as narrative studies has drawn extensively from

[56] Ibid., xiv.
[57] Ibid., 87.

semiotic theories. Looking at a narrative is part of a dynamic process that involves the object and the viewer's apprehension of that object. My aim is not simply to identify one original context as a basis for interpretation, but rather, to untangle the complex web of social, cultural and political factors that are embedded within each of Hine's photographs. This is essential if we are to understand how his pictures can be read as narrative.

While the topic of narrative is not new to traditional art histories, it has been completely overlooked by photographic histories. This project raises the question of what it means for a photographic image to tell a story. Further, it raises the question of what it means for a photograph to be melodramatic. Here we look beyond the established conventions of painting to find a new variation of melodrama in early cinema. Although it might first appear to be an unlikely pairing, photography and film each share a similar kind of stylization that challenges earlier notions of what pictorial melodrama can look like. In most art histories the medium of film is ignored entirely, and only briefly mentioned in photographic histories, but this investigation begins to remedy that omission. Hine produced narrative images and essays by adopting cinematic devices. We will look critically at the range of narrative strategies that Hine used to achieve his documentary goals. There will be analysis of Hine's involvement in the Ethical Culture School and the NCLC, as well as the impact of sociological discourse on the production of knowledge at this time. We will also restore some historicity to Hine with regard to his actual connections to Progressive figures. Hine often stressed his role as a 'social photographer,' a title he gave himself and used in his advertisements as early as 1908. Sociology and the survey movement were instrumental not only in the construction of

Hine’s self-conception as a photographer, but more importantly, in the construction of his narrative documents.

CHAPTER ONE - A 'SOCIAL' PHOTOGRAPH

Lewis Hine composed a number of highly narrative photographic essays that were intended to communicate the reform message of the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC). While there were a range of social problems that reformers sought to address during the Progressive Era, perhaps none was more pressing than the abolition of child labor. Hine was officially drafted to the cause in 1908 when he became the salaried photographer for the NCLC. For the next decade he traveled around the country recording the horrendous conditions that children endured in factories and mines toiling for long hours and low wages. The work that resulted appeared in publications for the NCLC as well as the early twentieth-century social reform journal, *Charities and the Commons.* Hine's essays were meant not only to expose the conditions of child labor, but more importantly, to persuade. If we are to undertake a serious analysis of Hine's narratives it is crucial to first understand the institutional framework in which they functioned. In this chapter we will examine the political discourse of the Progressive Era and the social reform magazine, *Charities and the Commons.* We will also look at the rise of sociology as an academic discipline, particularly the development of statistical analysis by Franklin Giddings at Columbia University. There is a critical link between the discourse of science and its relation to sociology and photography. For many social reformers the camera was considered an invaluable scientific tool which allowed them to objectively gather data. However, for Hine photography was never simply a presentation of data. Like the muckraking journalists of his day, he sought to reach his audience through a melodramatic mode of narration. In many of his essays Hine fostered a

collaborative relationship between the photographic image and text. The photograph was not subordinate to the text but was treated instead as a coequal partner. It is that relationship that I wish to explore, along with any parallels that existed between Hine and contemporary muckraking journalists who created their own version of narrative documents. Ultimately, reformers believed that an informed public would demand the abolition of child labor through federal legislation. Although many of the images that Hine produced for the NCLC have achieved an iconic status, there has yet to be a study dealing with the narrative aspects of his work. Hine's documentary essays circulate within a range of political and scientific discourses. In order to comprehend his narratives we must also comprehend the specific historical circumstances in which they were conceived.

The Progressive Era is generally thought to have lasted from the mid-1890s until the end of World War I. This was a period of "social change and political ferment," as Lewis Gould states: "In response to diverse pressures of industrialization, urban growth, and ethnic tension, American society embarked on a myriad of reform movements that, taken together, set the terms for debate on public policy for the succeeding half century."[58] Like most historical periods, the Progressive Era is full of contradiction. Not surprisingly, there has been much scholarly disagreement over the degree to which "reform" was actually achieved. Some have even questioned whether or not this was a period of change. Gould asks, "Were the progressives forward-looking, socially constructive agents of needed change, or elitist, cautious instruments of capitalism whose

[58] Lewis L. Gould, "Introduction," in *The Progressive Era*, Lewis L. Gould, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1974), 1.

mild improvements prevented a more drastic transformation of the United States?"[59] The answer to this question certainly depends on which of the progressive causes you choose to look at. Reformers tackled a range of economic, urban, environmental, and political issues with varied results. The other point of contention among historians of this period is in defining who the progressives actually were. No longer simply identified as white, Protestant, middle-class professionals, more recent studies have shown that there was great ethnic, religious, and occupational diversity in many progressive groups and programs. Perhaps the only area that scholars have found agreement is in the range of problems that existed in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Some of the issues at the forefront of the progressive agenda included: government regulation of corporations; the safety of consumer products such as medicines and foods; the abolition of child labor; the rights of labor unions to organize, bargain, and strike, and protecting the nation's natural areas from environmental abuses. It is important to remember that no singular issue was dominant during the Progressive Era, and as Gould explains, "majority of the population probably supported, at one time or another, one or more of the individual causes that historians associate with progressivism. But there was never a solid consensus behind the whole range of reform ideas, and vigorous critics contested every step in the march of change."[60]

In terms of national politics, the Republican Party had majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. They also controlled the White House from 1897 to 1913 under the administrations of William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. By contrast, the Democratic Party was fractured as the result of

[59] Ibid., 8.
[60] Ibid., 9.

sectional and ideological disputes and would not mount a successful presidential campaign until Woodrow Wilson in 1912. It should also be noted that there was a fairly vigorous Socialist movement at this time. The presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs, went from 94,000 votes in 1900 to nearly 900,000 in the election of 1912.[61] There were Socialist mayors in some of the industrial states as well as in state legislatures, and a few members were even elected to the House of Representatives. There was an intense interest in political reform throughout the Progressive period. Reformers viewed corporate influence on the political process as corrosive. They worked to empower voters with a greater public voice through direct primaries and the direct election of senators. Reformers pushed for initiatives that would allow voters to propose legislation. Overall there was a growing dissatisfaction with party politics and a desire to make the political process more open.[62] Reformers also challenged the old laissez faire approach of letting the economy run its "natural" course. One of the hallmarks of the Progressive Era was the call for more government intervention- municipal, state, and federal- in addressing the problems of social inequity.

Perhaps the most profound change to occur during the Progressive period was the change in attitudes about poverty. Through the better part of the nineteenth century there was a focus on the individual as the cause and on charity as the solution. There was a distinction made between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. Those deemed "deserving" might be "feebleminded" or victims of bad luck such as sickness, accident, or personal catastrophe. According to Clarke Chambers, "If such folk, so the older postulate ran, did for themselves what they could, sought out the assistance of public

[61] Ibid., 7.
[62] Ibid., 5.

alms or private charity only as a last resort, and continued to live upright and moral lives . . . they were entitled to the support and counsel of their betters."[63] By contrast, the "undeserving" poor were thought to be living immoral lives filled with drunkenness and promiscuity, among other things, and were responsible for their own plight. Although the "deserving" and "undeserving" labels would be dropped from official social reform rhetoric in the twentieth century, Chambers points out that to some extent "the assumption pattern remained."[64] With limited resources at hand charity workers had to "discriminate among different classes of the dependent . . . to provide a better chance for those who still maintained their moral fiber."[65] However, with the emergence of the social sciences in the 1890s, there was a fundamental shift in terms of understanding poverty and its root causes. Walter Trattner argues, "Discarding traditional shibboleths about the poor, pioneer social workers set out to gather the facts. In light of their findings, the dominant public view of poverty as natural, inevitable, and a penalty for individual faults was no longer tenable. Poverty was revealed as a social condition, the result of circumstances beyond the individual's control."[66] The focus now turned toward the ill effects of industry where working in excess of sixty hours a week for pitiful wages and in dangerous conditions was not uncommon. Instead of moral judgments being leveled against individuals, social reformers sought to challenge the abuses of unrestrained capitalism.

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[63] Clarke A. Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey: Voices for Social Welfare and Social Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 8-9.
[64] Ibid., 9.
[65] Ibid., 9.
[66] Walter I. Trattner, *Crusade for the Children: A History of The National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 46.

While the general tendency was toward "scientific" inquiry, there were two divergent paths that developed within the social sciences beginning in the 1890s. The first was the academic discipline of sociology and the second was the survey movement. The first Department of Sociology was established at the University of Chicago in 1892. Its founder was Albion Small, who had "some informed ideas about the new discipline" and according to Steven Diner:

> These ideas stipulated that sociology should study contemporary society; that the study of modern society should be conducted first – hand, as well as through the study of documents; that it should be centred upon practical problems; and that it must be an intellectual discipline which drew on comprehensive theory and used methods as rigorously scientific as the material allowed.[67]

One area that was of particular interest to Small was statistics and its application to the analysis of urban social problems. For Small, social science was an aid to social reform, a means to improving society. Yet, despite Small's achievements as a teacher and as the creator of an institutional setting, his accomplishments as a sociologist are much less significant. Small had very little effect on the types of research that were actually carried out. Martin Bulmer notes that academic sociology and the survey movement began "with investigators sharing their observations of these urban social conditions but approaching their study from different standpoints and in a different spirit."[68] Although there were contacts between Jane Addams and her Hull House workers and the University of Chicago professors, Bulmer states that "social surveys such as *The Hull House Maps and Papers* and *The Philadelphia Negro* were usually carried out apart from, or on the

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[67] Steven J. Diner, "Department and Discipline: The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1892-1920," in *Minerva*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 1975), 521.
[68] Martin Bulmer, "The Social Survey Movement and Early Twentieth-Century Sociological Methodology," in *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century.* Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 22.

margins of, academic social science as it was constituted from the late nineteenth century on."[69] The University of Chicago's sociology department was by no means the only one in existence, but from 1915 to 1935 in particular, it was the dominant department in American sociology. In the 1920s, the university created the School of Social Service Administration. Diner states that with "a separate school devoted to social work, there was less need for such work in sociology" and "there developed some intellectual hostility between the two parts of the University, which in the past had been so closely and sympathetically connected."[70] What this departmental split reflects is the larger division that existed between the sociologists and the survey movement. Sociology was seen primarily as an intellectual pursuit confined to the hollows of academia, while social work was a hands-on practice that involved direct contact with its subjects.

The Pittsburgh Survey was part of the survey movement. As mentioned earlier it was the largest sociological investigation of its day. It began in 1907 and was sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation. Pittsburgh was the center of the iron and steel industries and this investigation was an attempt to study the entire social life of a community with a research team. Paul Kellogg of the New York Charity Organization Society was dispatched to Pittsburgh along with several dozen researchers to direct the investigation. There were seventy-four in all including some of the leading names in social reform such as, Florence Kelley, John Commons, Margaret Byington, and Robert Woods. Lewis Hine would join the staff for three months in 1908. Researchers were sent into the field to document local conditions: an exploited labor force, a degraded physical environment,

[69] Ibid., 22.
[70] Diner, 544.

and corrupt civic institutions.[71] The results of the study first appeared serially in *Charities and the Commons.* The full results were published in six volumes between 1909 and 1914. The research reports were a combination of written, visual and tabular information. There was a great deal of pictorial material including photographs and sketches, maps, charts, graphs, tables, and diagrams.

The Pittsburgh Survey marks the transition from nineteenth-century philanthropy to twentieth-century social engineering. The charts and diagrams, not to mention the photographs, reflect the seemingly objective nature of the research. Trachtenberg explains:

> A survey, like a map, assumes that the world is comprehensible to rational understanding and that understanding can result in *social* action. It assumes, too, that once the plain facts, the map of the social terrain, are clear to everyone, then change or reform will naturally follow. . . To see was to know, and to know was to act.[72]

For Kellogg and his team the Survey investigation was science, pure and simple. Maren Stange claims, "The survey was intended to connect the reformist purpose with all the newest methods of scientific inquiry, enlisting and coordinating a variety of methodologies and academic disciplines in the quest for the totality of social fact."[73] The leaders of the survey movement also shared a new self-conception as the social worker was now seen as an expert and social work was recognized as a profession. As Stephen Turner explains, "Whereas *social work* was often applied indiscriminately to charity and reform activities, such as Social Gospel-oriented religious work and implied no special training, Kellogg used the term to mean comprehensive reform and conceived of the

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[71] Margo Anderson and Maurine W. Greenwald, "Introduction: The Pittsburgh Survey in Historical Perspective," in *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Sciences and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century.* Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 1.
[72] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 126.
[73] Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life,* 49.

social worker as an engineer."[74] The task of the new social worker as engineer was to identify the problems in the community, specifically the structural elements of the community, and to recommend steps to take to fix or improve it.[75] According to Chambers, "The Survey was not designed merely as a criticism of existing institutions or as a social inventory, but as a new point of departure for social action."[76] Using Kellogg's model it was the social worker who played the crucial role of facilitating and directing community leaders in reaching consensus on reforms. "Kellogg had no doubts about the ability of social work experts to establish standards," Turner explains, "but he says nothing about how the standards are to be established and what 'science' should be 'applied' to social problems."[77]

Despite the enormity of the project, the Survey produced little change for the people of Pittsburgh. Greenwald argues that "the Survey failed to arouse Pittsburghers – either influential citizens or the middle class- to improve the everyday life for workers in Pittsburgh, solve the environmental problems of the area, or meet the immediate 'needs of the poor' at the time."[78] And according to Bulmer, "The overview of the community as a whole lacked focus and tended to produce a variety of unintegrated material on public health, sanitation, housing, libraries, . . .in addition to the monographs."[79] Yet, the Survey was important as publicity for the investigation of social conditions and it did bring a wider range of concerned professionals, as well as supporters and activists into the orbit of social investigation. Chambers explains, "It is difficult to assess the impact

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[74] Stephen Turner, "The Pittsburgh Survey and the Survey Movement: An Episode in the History of Expertise," in *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Sciences and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century.* Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 37.
[75] Ibid., 37.
[76] Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey,* 38.
[77] Turner, "The Pittsburgh Survey and the Survey Movement," 42.
[78] Margo Anderson and Maurine W. Greenwald, "Introduction," 9.
[79] Bulmer, "The Social Survey Movement," 18.

the Pittsburgh Survey made upon events, although the number of references to it in the generation of sociological and economic scholarship that followed testified to the surpassing influence it had on the course of social research."[80] The Pittsburgh Survey certainly had an enormous impact on Kellogg's career as well as in the shaping of the journal. Although Kellogg was advised by a committee of leading social investigators, Bulmer claims that the Pittsburgh Survey "was closer to investigative journalism than to academic social science."[81] This is not at all surprising when one considers that Kellogg's other job was as the managing editor of *Charities and the Commons.* What started out as a bulletin for charity workers would eventually become the most respected national social service journal of its day. In fact, at the conclusion of the Pittsburgh project in 1909, *Charities and the Commons* was renamed *The Survey.*

The proliferation of national magazines during the Progressive Era allowed investigative journalists and social reformers to bring a range of issues to the public's attention. Louis Filler reminds us that it "became the task of pioneer sociologists and social workers, as well as muckrakers, to gather information basically necessary to a government operating for the people."[82] The importance of their work cannot be overstated, as they exposed social ills and government abuses that might otherwise have been ignored. *Charities* was launched as an organ of the Charity Organization Society of New York in 1897. Initially it was intended to merely inform a small clientele of charitable and philanthropic workers. In 1901, it absorbed the welfare journal, *Charities Review,* and by 1905 it merged with *The Commons,* which was the national organ of the settlement movement in Chicago run by Graham Taylor. This merger produced not only

[80] Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey,* 39.
[81] Bulmer, "The Social Survey Movement," 18.
[82] Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 261.

a new title, *Charities and the Commons*, but according to its new masthead it was now "A Weekly Journal of Philanthropy and Social Advance." As Chambers notes, "The tone of the magazine became ever more pragmatic . . . it was rarely sentimental, rarely shrill, rarely sensational; it did not fall into slipshod empiricism . . . Sound research and analysis were to inform and guide both practice and reform."[83] The journal's main function was to educate and there were a number of important contributors on staff. Some of the leading topics were housing reform, child labor, the battles against tuberculosis, and other diseases, temperance, unemployment, penology, playgrounds and recreation, settlement work, and labor organizations. In the early years circulation was limited to a thousand or two but it increased to over twelve thousand by 1909.[84]

Clearly, the most important undertaking for *Charities and the Commons* was the Pittsburgh Survey described above. Not only would the name change, but according to Frank Luther Mott the social survey of Pittsburgh would also change "the whole course of the magazine."[85] *The Survey* would enlarge its page size to quarto, increase the subscription price from two to three dollars, and as Mott claims it would publish "many valuable and comprehensive social studies."[86] For Kellogg the new direction of *The Survey* meant "straight reporting and clear-cut presentation of facts and of interpretation close to the facts."[87] Kellogg had complained as early as 1906 in a memorandum about the name "Charities" which he felt appealed to "spinsters and society ladies," and if the journal were to succeed it must appeal to all those who come to welfare from "a sense of

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[83] Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey,* 28.
[84] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1885-1905* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 743 & 745.
[85] Ibid., 744.
[86] Ibid., 745.
[87] Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey,* viii.

wrong, of justice, of religion, of democracy, or charity."[88] The new name of the journal was reflective of the new sociological approach being promoted by Kellogg and his staff - one based on expertise and a faith in scientific inquiry.

Along with the change in approach came an increased use of photography by social reform magazines. *Charities* began to include more illustrations and more photographs as early as 1902-3. When it became *Charities and the Commons* in 1905 photographs began to appear regularly in the first weekly edition but not in the remaining three. While this pattern was not strictly enforced, it was fairly consistent for the next decade or so.[89] Hine's photographs were first published (uncredited) in February of 1907 in an article entitled "The Newsboy at Night in Philadelphia." The assignment was probably in response to the urging of Arthur Kellogg (Paul's brother), who Hine had met in 1904. At the time Hine was working as a teacher at the Ethical Culture School in New York City. It was the school's principal, Frank Manny, who brought Hine with him from Oshkosh, Wisconsin to teach in 1901. It was also Manny who appointed Hine school photographer in 1904. Having never handled a camera before Hine basically taught himself how to take pictures. For most of his career Hine avoided darkroom work, relying instead on assistants whenever possible. As the school photographer, Hine was responsible for documenting school activities as well as teaching photography to his students. The Ethical Culture School was known as the "Workingman's School" when it was established in 1877. Its founder, Felix Adler, stressed that "the primary religious ideal is to improve the quality of human relations," or as he put it "the deed over the

[88] Ibid., 42.
[89] This assessment is based on my own study of the journal from 1905 until 1918. Articles with corresponding photographs were usually published in the first edition of every month.

creed."[90] The Ethical Culture School pioneered industrial education and manual training. As Daile Kaplan asserts, "The effect of Hine's Ethical Culture School experience on his personal and professional development cannot be overestimated."[91] Hine and Adler would cross paths again when Adler was the chairman of the National Child Labor Committee from 1904 to 1921.

During Hine's tenure at the Ethical Culture School, he took classes at New York and Columbia Universities where he met a number of prominent members of the social welfare community. Among them were Florence Kelley, John Spargo, and both Arthur and Paul Kellogg who worked at the then fledgling social reform magazine, *Charities and the Commons.* Hine's early work for the magazine and for the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) was on a freelance basis. By 1906, Hine began to seriously consider a career as a professional sociological photographer and in a letter to Manny he writes:

> I just hauled up Mr. Kellogg, editor of *Charities*, & have started him thinking over the advisability of hiring a man (good-looking, enthusiastic, & capable, of course) to do the photog. for his magazine & for the various committees & societies in the building, part time to be spent in writing for *Charities.* As they have all been in the habit of paying $2.00 a print for photos they use, the economy of money & effort appeals to them and Kellogg is greatly interested.[92]

Clearly this shows a degree of self confidence on Hine's part which is remarkable considering that he had earlier been criticized by Felix Adler. As Hine recalls, Adler expressed doubts about whether he had "the broad sociological outlook that would prevent too much scattering of effort."[93] Eventually Hine's persistence led him to an

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[90] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 121.
[91] Daile Kaplan, ed., *Photo Story: Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), xxv.
[92] Ibid., 3-4. Hine's punctuation is used here. Kaplan notes, "his letters do not reflect stylistic conventions associated with modern epistolary form."(xi).
[93] Ibid., 2.

assignment on the Pittsburgh Survey in 1907. Hine was one of several photographers working on a team directed by Paul Kellogg, but he was the only one whose photographs would be credited. It was at this time that Hine and Kellogg began to develop a "mutually enhancing collaborative relationship between photographer and editor," as Kaplan states, "selecting, sizing, cropping and arranging photographs for reproduction."[94] Hine created a new graphic language that centered on the photographic image. Kaplan explains that throughout his career "Hine continued to disassemble the social photograph into syntactical units of picture and text. By arranging a group of images in multipage graphic designs, he recognized the latent power of the iconological image (along with authoritative text) as an effective and compelling communications tool."[95] In 1908, Hine quit teaching to join the staff of the NCLC for $100 per month plus expenses. Indeed, this was a life changing event for Hine as he entered an incredibly productive as well as promising period in his career. Hine believed in the potential of photography to effect real social change; when describing his move from teacher to professional photographer, Hine claimed that he was merely "changing the educational efforts from the classroom to the world."[96]

Hine's own experience in the classroom at Columbia University played a pivotal role in shaping his sociological perspective. He enrolled at Columbia's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1907 to study sociology. There he came in contact with a number of important social reformers as well as some of the foremost thinkers in the field at the

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[94] Daile Kaplan, *Lewis Hine in Europe: The Lost Photographs* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1988), 34.
[95] Daile Kaplan, "'The Fetish of Having a Unified Thread': Lewis W. Hine's Reaction to the Use of the Photo Story in *Life* Magazine," in *Exposure.* Volume 27, Number 2 (1989), 10.
[96] Naomi Rosenblum, "Biographical Notes," in *America & Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940*. (New York: Aperture, Inc., 1977), 17.

time. Under the leadership of Franklin Giddings, Columbia's sociological tradition was based on statistical method. Unlike the University of Chicago, the sociology department at Columbia was unique in that it had developed a concrete theoretical framework for research and provided more training in statistical methods than other sociological centers. According to Dorothy Ross, "He [Giddings] stands as founder of what became 'Columbia sociology' in a way that Small cannot stand for 'Chicago sociology.' Giddings' straightforward evolutionary positivism proved easier to transmit and transform in the American academic environment than Small's ambiguous and ambivalent historicism.[97] Giddings' theories were informed by Karl Pearson, a pioneer in statistics who "emphasized that the reliability of such concomitance was always measured by degrees of probability," Ross explains, "It was precisely its accuracy in determining concomitance and probability that made quantification so important to science and that suggested statistics as a central tool of social science."[98] What statistical research provided was a sense of control and certainty in the midst of a rapidly changing cultural landscape. For Giddings and his fellow sociologists, the number of newly arriving immigrants to New York Harbor must have seemed overwhelming. At its peak in 1907 there were more than one million immigrants who passed through the gates of Ellis Island. Like most sociologists of his day, Giddings formulated his own theory of social selection and hoped to "find statistical evidence that racial and social characters showed increasing conformity to type," Ross states, "Giddings' index numbers of social homogeneity remained exotic productions. But they were indicative of the deep fear among American sociologists of social fragmentation and of the growing impulse to

[97] Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 227.
[98] Ibid., 228.

quantify social experience."[99] The steady flow of eastern European immigrants created new opportunity for statistical analysis. Although most early studies were largely descriptive, the main goal of the sociologist was to analyze how individuals varied around a statistical norm.

Hine never commented directly on the statistical theories put forth by Giddings, but they clearly had an impact on his work. Perhaps the most extreme example is found in a series of composite images that Hine produced of girl mill-workers in 1913. These were discussed in Allan Sekula's well known essay titled, "The Body and The Archive (1986)," and must be seen as an "attempt to trace the general effects of factory working conditions on young bodies."[100] Composite portraiture was invented by the English statistician and founder of eugenics, Francis Galton, who described his process as a form of "pictorial statistics." Galton's intent was to use photographic evidence "to construct a *purely optical* apparition of the criminal type."[101] As Sekula explains, Galton's "interest in composite imagery should not be regarded as a transparent ideological stunt, but as an overdetermined instance of biopositivism."[102] Although the composite image was a rarity in Hine's work, it provides one of the more direct links between his photography and sociology. Giddings's statistical sociology was not at all interested in the singular or unique fact, but instead, relied on reoccurrence in order to ascertain general laws. Roscoe Hinkle examines some of Giddings's theoretical contributions as he explains:

> In Gidding's view, sociology as a general science is 'a study of the universal and fundamental phenomena of societies' (1901, p.8). It is to be concerned with 'permanent and essential relations' (1896, p.63). It

[99] Ibid., 228 & 229.
[100] Allan Sekula, "The Body and The Archive," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*. Richard Bolton, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), 372.
[101] Ibid., 353.
[102] Ibid., 367.

> 'investigates only the facts and correlations found in all societies, the types of society, the stages of social development, the general laws of social evolution' (1901, p.8). All the irrelevant, accidental, incidental, or occasional features must be eliminated in preference for the simple, elementary, and persistent (1901, p.9).[103]

Of course the photographic paradox is that both the 'particular' and the 'general' coexist in every image. For Hine this meant that while each photograph was itself representative of a particular set of facts and a particular narrative, sociological analysis would be based on the totality of his photographic work and the reoccurrence of stories. Hine's investment in statistical sociology went well beyond his rudimentary experiments with composite images. Indeed, threads of sociological discourse are woven into Hine's entire photographic project.

While still teaching at the Ethical Culture School, Hine published several articles about photography in *The Elementary School Teacher*, *The Outlook*, and *The Photographic Times*. Although he was aware of the pictorial priorities of the Photo-Secession, and even brought his students from the Ethical Culture School for a visit to Stieglitz's photographic gallery "291," Hine had a very different conception of 'art' photography. For Hine photography was less about poetry and personal expression than it was about social reform. However, this did not mean that Hine ignored the aesthetic aspects of his photographs. He wrote that "in the last analysis, good photography is a question of art . . . a real photograph is not a 'lucky hit,' but the result of intelligent, patient effort . . ."[104] Timing was obviously paramount in Hine's work, knowing exactly when to release the camera's shutter. Although Hine may not have been concerned with

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[103] Roscoe Hinkle, *Founding theory of American sociology 1881-1915* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 90. Citations from *The Principles of Sociology* (1896) and *Inductive Sociology* (1901) by Franklin Giddings (New York, Macmillan).

[104] Lewis Hine, "Photography in the School (1908)," in "Some Uncollected Writings: Reprinted from Early Publications," Mike Weaver, ed., in *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 100.

making fine art prints, he was concerned with making visually pleasing compositions. "The recognition of what is good composition in art never becomes so vital as when one is able to select from the infinite variety of objects about some bit that is pleasing to the eye," Hine explains, "and then transfers to the photograph the lines and groups in the form of an idea of composition."[105] Even before it became popular with photographers of the Photo-Secession, Hine had already used the "straight" approach in his photography. This meant sharp focus images produced with minimal, if any, darkroom manipulations. Trachtenberg explains that the straight approach for Hine was "more than purity of photographic means; it meant also a responsibility to the truth of his vision."[106] Photography was above all else about communication and it was critical that Hine use the straight approach if his photographs were to maintain their evidentiary force. According to Hine, "The photograph has an added realism of its own; it has an inherent attraction not found in other forms of illustration. For this reason the average person believes implicitly that the photograph cannot falsify."[107] At one point Hine even states that his photos have "already set the authorities to work to see 'if such things can be possible.' They try to get around them by crying 'fake,' but therein lies the value of data & witness. My 'sociological horizon' broadens hourly."[108] For the most part there was a good deal of optimism within the social welfare movement at this time. It was in this spirit that Hine approached his photography. By capturing the day to day reality of poverty and factory work Hine felt that he could make the invisible visible. According to

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[105] Lewis Hine, "The School in the Park (1906)," in "Some Uncollected Writings: Reprinted from Early Publications," Mike Weaver, ed., in *History of Photography,* Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 96.
[106] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 120.
[107] Lewis Hine, "Social Photography, How the Camera May Help in the Social Uplift (1909)," in *Classic Essays on Photography.* Ed. Alan Trachtenberg. (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 111.
[108] Kaplan, *Photo Story,* 7.

Trachtenberg, Hine "came to define his task as that of showing the world of consumers exactly what the world of makers was like. This task became a ripping aside of the veil that disguised and mystified the brutal system of production."[109] Ultimately what Hine wanted was that his photographs change public opinion and be a call to action.

Hine's photographs became a vital part of the NCLC's propaganda machine. Not only would his pictures appear in NCLC publications, but they also appeared in newspapers, on posters, and stereopticon slides as well. As a staff photographer for *The Survey*, Hine also arranged for the magazine to publish his NCLC work. The social documentary photography that Hine did for the NCLC took him around the country (traveling as much as 30,000 miles a year) recording conditions in the cotton mills, canneries, coal mines, glass-making factories, and tenement sweatshops. Eventually his salary would be raised to $150 per month, and in 1913 he would be promoted to director of the NCLC's exhibits department. Hine was considered the most successful photographer of social welfare work in the country.[110] In his effort to obtain information along with the photographs he became very resourceful. He later described his photographs as "detective work," and when necessary to gain entrance to a workplace, would assume a variety of personas including, Bible salesman, postcard salesman, and industrial photographer making a record of factory machinery.[111] According to Trattner, Hine used "any pretext he could get away with" to enter factories, mines, or homes in order to photograph and interview working children. "He secretly measured children's height according to the buttons on his coat, and scribbled notes while keeping his hand in his pockets. When he could not get into the factories and mines, he stayed outside until

[109] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 129.
[110] Kaplan, *Photo Story*, 5.
[111] Ibid., xxvi.

closing time and took pictures of the youngsters as they left work."[112] He also photographed birth certificates and family records when possible. At NCLC board meetings Hine would often have to explain the background and use of his photographs, but by 1911 it seems that the new medium was firmly embraced as the committee claimed: "No anonymous or signed denials can contradict proof given with photographic fidelity. These pictures speak for themselves, and prove that the law is being violated."[113] In fact, many of the laws that we now take for granted did not exist at this time. It was Hine's pictures that helped arouse public sentiment against child labor. Arguably the most disturbing legacy of the country's industrial surge was the more than a million and a half children under the age of sixteen that were forced to work long hours in wretched conditions.[114]

Child labor was not really seen as a problem until the latter part of the nineteenth century. This was a period when the notion of an "ideal" childhood began to take hold with the middle class. As James Martin explains, "Although only a minority of American children could enjoy it, the optimistic, nurturing, and child-centered ideal became a powerful model to which many Americans aspired."[115] The "child-nurture" philosophy of child rearing became a centerpiece of reform ideology. Leading advocates for children at the turn of the century asserted that Americans must mobilize to protect "a right to childhood."[116] While Progressives targeted most aspects of children's lives, including the issue of children's health and juvenile justice, the largest effort was directed toward the

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[112] Trattner, *Crusade for the Children,* 105-106.
[113] Rosenblum, "Biographical Notes," 19.
[114] Gould, *The Progressive Era,* 3.
[115] James Martin, "Introduction: The Child in the City," in *Childhood and Child Welfare in the Progressive Era: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Marin's, 2005), 5.
[116] Ibid., 13.

campaign against child labor. Despite the arguments put forth by reformers about the "rights" of children, many did not see child labor as a pressing issue. Many more viewed child labor as good. There is no period in history where children have not worked. Child labor was even written into the English Poor Law in 1601 in an effort to banish idleness. Trattner claims that "child labor thus assumed the stature of a righteous institution. By combating unemployment and vagrancy it embraced a sound measure of social control."[117] While the industrial revolution cannot be credited with creating a child labor problem, it did contribute to the continued exploitation and abuse of children in the work force. Conditions worsened as employment shifted from the home to the factory. Under these circumstances, child labor was closer to child slavery.[118]

The most important body working to regulate child labor during these years was the National Consumers League. It was founded in 1890 as the Consumers League of the City of New York with Florence Kelley as its general secretary. Through publicity and legislation the League sought to influence consumers to improve working conditions.[119] Although protective measures for child workers had been passed in twenty-eight states by 1900, they were largely ineffective. There were also important regional differences that existed between Northern and Southern states. Since the Civil War and Reconstruction, many people in the South were resentful of what they viewed as Northern interference. In addition, the argument that child labor was bad because it deprived youngsters of an education had no standing in the South, because unlike New England, this region had no tradition of free public education. Basically there was an admission that industrial prosperity was more important than the protection of children in Southern mills. Here it

[117] Trattner, *Crusade for the Children*, 22.
[118] Ibid., 22.
[119] Ibid., 34.

was a combination of social customs and economic needs that slowed reform efforts. Despite these obstacles, one of the foremost champions of child-labor legislation was the Episcopal clergyman from Alabama, Edgar Gardner Murphy. It was Murphy and his supporters that established the Alabama Child Labor Committee in 1901, the first of its kind in the United States. Murphy would argue that child labor was not only morally evil, but economically unsound.[120]

Following in Alabama's footsteps, New York would create a Child Labor Committee of its own in 1902. Eventually they would join forces and form the National Child Labor Committee which held its first general meeting on April 15, 1904. Its members were some of the leading reformers of the day including Felix Adler, Florence Kelley, and Edgar Gardner Murphy, among others. The new organization was announced in *Charities.* Although NCLC membership grew from less than fifty people in 1904 to over 6,400 by 1912, the Committee's actual accomplishments were minimal. At its inception the NCLC was against federal child labor legislation, but there was a critical turning point in 1912. With growing frustration over the slow and often uneven process of state regulation, the NCLC decided to pursue legislation at the federal level. The cause was furthered by the creation of the United States Children's Bureau within the Department of Commerce and Labor in that same year. This was the first federal agency in the world dedicated to children. Its primary function was to conduct research on child labor and health issues. The NCLC was also bolstered by the 1912 presidential campaign when Theodore Roosevelt led a Progressive party platform that called for federal measures for industrial and social justice, including the abolition of child labor.[121]

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[120] Ibid., 52.
[121] Ibid., 120.

Unfortunately, the election was won by Woodrow Wilson, who held that federal child labor regulation was illegal. By today's standards the law that the NCLC promoted was fairly weak: a minimum age of fourteen for working in factories, and sixteen in mines; an eight-hour day for fourteen- and fifteen-year-old industrial workers; and no night work for youths under the age of sixteen.[122] In 1916, the Keating-Owen bill was passed and signed into law by President Wilson, who apparently had a change of heart. "I want to say with what real emotion I sign this bill," Wilson remarked, "because I know how long the struggle has been to secure legislation of this sort and what it is going to mean to the health and to the vigor of the country."[123] Only nine months after its passage the Keating-Owen Act was ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. The *Hammer v. Dagenhart* case ruled that the federal child labor law was an unwarranted exercise of the commerce power and, in effect, an invasion of states' rights. It was a five to four decision.[124] The same reasoning would be used in the *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Company* ruling of 1922. Again, the Supreme Court declared a second federal child labor law unconstitutional, this time with an eight to one decision. Federal regulation of child labor would not be implemented in this country until the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

Clearly the NCLC faced an uphill battle in their quest for a federal child labor bill. Despite his grueling schedule, the years Hine spent at the NCLC proved to be among the most creative and inventive of his career. Hine traveled thousands of miles and made over 800 photographs in 1908 alone. While photography was Hine's first priority, he did

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[122] Martin, "Introduction: The Child in the City," 21-22.
[123] Trattner, *Crusade for the Children*, 131.
[124] Ibid., 136.

some writing as well. In an essay entitled "The High Cost of Child Labor," Hine describes his work for the NCLC:

> For many years I have followed the procession of child workers through a thousand industrial communities, from the canneries of Maine to the fields of Texas. I have heard their tragic stories, watched their cramped lives and seen their fruitless struggles in the industrial game where the odds are all against them. I wish I could give you a birdseye view of my varied experiences. Perhaps if I tell you what child labor has cost a few of these children; what it costs their families; what it costs industry; what it costs society (you and me),- you will ask how, in view of the terrible cost, we can afford child labor.[125]

Hine emphasizes the value of his direct observation and first hand experience. In addition to his skill as a writer, Hine had much in common with the muckraking journalists of his day. Like the muckrakers, Hine was committed to exposing the excesses of industrialization. Both were thought to be objective in their approach and as John Hartsock states, muckraking journalism was considered "objective news because they persuade by virtue of the presentation of facts."[126] Yet, it is important to keep in mind that the idea of journalistic objectivity that has dominated since the 1920s is very different from journalistic conventions of the early twentieth century. According to Michael Robertson, "Newspaper reporters and readers of the 1890s were much less concerned with distinguishing among fact-based reporting, opinion, and literature. Readers of front-page reporting on politics expected nineteenth-century journalists to interpret events."[127] In 1906, the editor of *The Independent*, Edwin E. Slosson wrote, "Muckraking literature has taken the tale of facts from the year books and the official reports, from the statutes and decisions. . . and has wrought them into narratives that stir

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[125] Lewis Hine, "The High Cost of Child Labor," in *Child Labor Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May 1914), 63.
[126] John C. Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 139.
[127] Michael Robertson, *Stephen Crane, Journalism, and the Making of Modern American Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 57-58.

the blood. . . they have power to move him who reads or beholds them."[128] Muckraking was a prominent form of journalism from about 1902 to 1912 and has been described as the "literature of argument" or the "literature of exposure." The muckrakers were a diverse group of writers who shared common cause over what they saw as the most pressing problems of the day. There was also a shared sense of obligation to inform the public; this was to ensure that wrongs would be righted. The monthly magazine, *McClure*, was one of the leading venues for muckraking journalism publishing articles by Ida M. Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and Lincoln Steffens, to name just a few. Other popular magazines included *Everybody's, Success, Collier's,* the *American Magazine*, along with the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Hine's work was also published in mass circulation magazines such as, *McClure, Outlook,* and *Everybody's.*

Muckraking journalism has been associated with "yellow" or sensational journalism, but it can be overlap with either sensational journalism or literary journalism. There is no clear dividing line between the various narrative approaches. Muckraking can be either "sensational" or "responsible."[129] The most difficult task for the muckraking journalist was to create an interesting narrative out of a sea of facts. "Writing for popular magazines like *McClure's* imposed a readability burden on the muckrakers that was sometimes at odds with factuality. Statistics, attributions, and laborious explanations," Robert Miraldi explains, "these all hurt the flow of a news story. The challenge for the muckrakers was to stick to the facts and yet still keep their

[128] Edwin E. Slosson, "The Literature of Exposure," in *The Independent*, Vol. 60 (1906), 690
[129] Ibid., 144.

readers."[130] The same challenge existed for Hine. Both Hine and the muckrakers had to strike a delicate balance between objectivity and subjectivity in their work, but Hine had the added pressure of integrating his photographs along with the text.

It is difficult to overstate the role that Hine played in the development of American documentary photography. His sphere of influence was far reaching. Even Roy Stryker, who had previously denied Hine employment on the Farm Security Administration, acknowledged his contribution to the documentary approach. In 1938, Stryker writes to Rexford G. Tugwell, "I look back now, and realize that his photography made much more impression upon me than I had suspected at the time. During the last couple of years, I have had an opportunity to look over a great deal of his work, and find that he had been doing the type of work which we are now doing, back in 1908 and 1912."[131] The popular magazines of the 1930s such as *Life* and *Look* are indebted to Hine and the picture-essay format that he devised while working for the NCLC.

[130] Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 41.
[131] Kaplan, 144.

CHAPTER TWO - THE 'MOVING' PICTURE: MUCKRAKING AND MELODRAMA

Lewis Hine utilized a melodramatic mode of narration in the photographs that he produced for the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) in the early twentieth century. Melodrama was a crucial part of Hine's strategy to construct pictorial narratives. It provided not only the means through which he could tell the story of child labor, but it was also a means through which he could attempt to "move" his viewer. For Hine, the most effective images were the ones that tugged at the viewer's heartstrings and aroused sympathy for his subject. Although melodrama was a dominant mode of narration in late nineteenth-century theater and early twentieth-century cinema, it has rarely, if ever, been discussed in relation to still photography. Here we will look at the narrativity residing in a single image. Hine's photograph of a doffer boy working in a North Carolina mill will be analyzed in comparison to an early cinematic melodrama titled *Children Who Labor* (Edison, 1912). Over the past few decades narrative has undergone a number of reconceptualizations, yet, it remains difficult to define. Most interpretive approaches in narrative studies have either focused on analysis of the 'object,' or on the viewer's apprehension of that 'object.' This chapter will consider both. We will concentrate on how a singular photographic image functions as narrative by looking at its internal composition and the larger narrative that surrounds it - in other words, to look at the existing cultural conditions that enabled the viewer to read a photographic image as narrative. We will begin by tracing some of the recent discussions in narrative studies; in particular, those that have explored the phenomena of narrative through a variety of different media, both verbal and visual. Before looking at Hine's doffer photograph, I

will establish my own conceptualization of what narrative means. Then, I will determine what exactly the narrative was that Hine was depicting in his photographs- what I refer to as the 'story of the working child.' In the early twentieth century, the child labor masterplot was reinvigorated and publicized primarily through cinematic melodramas and muckraking journalism.[132] For progressive reformers, changing public opinion was an important first step toward changing child labor laws. The melodramatic model offered Hine an ideal vehicle of narration. My aim is to examine both the image itself, as well as the viewer's apprehension of the image, and in so doing begin a more serious investigation into the often overlooked relationship that exists between early cinema and Hine's documentary photography.

While scholars rarely agree on how to define narrative, most acknowledge how ubiquitous it is. Narratology, or the formal study of narrative, began in the decade of the 1960s, and was influenced by the linguistic theories of structuralism. Based in large part on the semiotic concepts put forth by Ferdinand de Saussure, structuralism viewed language as a system comprised of signs. According to Saussure, a sign is the relationship between the "signifier" or the sound-image, and the "signified" or concept.[133] As Kaja Silverman explains, this relationship was for Saussure completely "arbitrary," and "no natural bond links a given signifier to its signified; their relationship is entirely conventional, and will only obtain within a certain linguistic system."[134] Yet, Saussure's

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[132] Rick Altman, "Dickens, Griffith, and Film Theory Today," in *Silent Film.* Richard Abel, ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 151-152. Certainly the work of Charles Dickens, among others, set an important precedent. According to Altman, "Of all highly respected nineteenth-century novelists, the most closely allied to popular sensibility and the melodrama is surely Charles Dickens. . . . Dickens retains his importance because he is a pivotal figure-accepted by scholars of the novel, yet shot through with the themes and structures of the popular serial."

[133] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics,*Wade Baskin, trans. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

[134] Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 6.

"semiology" went beyond linguistic analysis to impact other aspects of culture, including the study of narrative. What structuralist narratology sought was to examine the underlying 'system' or 'structure' of a wide variety of narrative texts. In his highly influential essay, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives (1966)," Roland Barthes provides one of the more expansive definitions of narrative:

> The narratives of the world are numberless. . . .Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting (think of Carpaccio's *Saint Ursula*), stained glass windows, cinema, comics, new item, conversation. . . . All classes, all human groups, have their narratives, enjoyment of which is very often shared by men with different, even opposing, cultural backgrounds. . . .narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural; it is simply there, like life itself.[135]

One of the key formulations of the structuralist approach was in deciphering the 'what' of the story from the 'how' of the narration - what the Russian Formalists called the *fabula* (story) and the *sjuzet* (discourse). Although structuralist narratology promoted the universality of narrative, it was firmly rooted in literary theory. Structuralists did bring attention to a much broader range of texts, including advertisements, comic strips, and folk tales, but as Marie-Laure Ryan points out, "For many literary critics the quintessential narrative text is the novel," and an aesthetic approach "regards narrativity, fictionality, and literariness (or aesthetic appeal) as inseparable features."[136] While structuralist theory argued that narrative transcended all disciplines and media, in practice structuralist narratology was primarily a linguistic exercise. What resulted was a

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[135] Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," in *Image, Music, Text.* Stephen Heath, trans. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 79.
[136] Marie-Laure Ryan, "Introduction," in *Narrative across Media: The Languages of Storytelling.* Marie-Laure Ryan, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 4.

privileging of the verbal over the visual. Further, the structuralist approach was ahistorical and sacrificed cultural context. As Rosalind Coward explains:

> The aim of the structural analysis of the narrative is to construct a kind of grammar for the narrative which could contribute to a (structural) linguistics of the discourse. Linguistics itself only deals with the sentence as its largest unit. This analysis therefore aims to demonstrate that vast numbers of narratives are constructed from basic rules. It is a transhistorical analysis, taking no account of the specificity of the language of the texts it analyses.[137]

Saussure's emphasis on the 'sign' was challenged by those who focused instead on the 'subject.' The subject is part of a process of signification in which meaning is produced. "Attention is reoriented towards discursive work," Coward states, "to the productivity of meanings, to meanings being cut out, articulated, from the signifying system."[138] As concentration shifted from 'sign' to 'subject', structuralism underwent a critical reexamination. In fact, a number of structuralist theorists, including Roland Barthes, would later make important contributions to post-structuralist narratology.

The structuralist concept of the sign became a source of contention for a number of post-structuralist theorists. Meaning was no longer thought to be produced through the arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified. Instead, meaning exists through an endless chain of signifiers. Silverman points out that for "Peirce, Barthes, and Derrida, the signified is endlessly commutable; . . . one signified always gives way to another, functions in its turn as a signifier."[139] As a result of the active function of the signifier, "the identity of the subject of the text (i.e. the space necessitated by the meanings of the

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[137] Rosiland Coward and John Ellis, *Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject.* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 41.
[138] Ibid., 6.
[139] Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics,* 38. See also: Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers.* Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), Vols. I-VIII. Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology.* Annette Lavers and Colin Smith, trans. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968). Jacque Derrida, *Of Grammatology.* Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

text) is dissolved."[140] According to Coward, "In this way, textural practice makes it felt that meaning and subject are only produced in the discursive work of the text, and the subject is only experienced in process."[141] In post-structuralist terms, the subject is associated with the first person of discourse. Moreover, this new emphasis on the subject destabilized the privileged role of the author in the creation of a work. In another of his seminal essays, "The Death of the Author (1968)," Barthes radically undermines the traditional notion that the author (or artist) is *the* source of a work and that its meaning is tied to the author's intention, conscious or unconscious. In addition, Barthes proposes an entirely new understanding of what constitutes a text when he claims, "We know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture."[142] Not only did this put a new emphasis on the reader, or more broadly the viewer, but it expands the concept of the text to include visual as well as verbal objects. Eleanor Heartney explains, "In the end, the Text is created, not by the author, but by the reader who engages with it and puts it to work."[143] Or, as Barthes famously states, "the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author."[144] This new stress on the reader/viewer opened a range of interpretive possibilities for the study of narrative. No longer consigned to the realm of literary studies, narrative has become a truly interdisciplinary topic entering fields such as psychology, law, and social

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[140] Coward, *Language and Materialism,* 6.
[141] Ibid., 6.
[142] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text.* Stephen Heath, trans. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 146.
[143] Eleanor Heartney, *Postmodernism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 10.
[144] Barthes, "The Death of the Author," 148.

science, among others. Narratology clearly benefited from the ongoing post-structural revision of structural narrative poetics, and Suzanne Keen notes that an important distinction emerges between "narrative as a kind of object" and "narrative as a kind of behavior."[145] Narrative was now seen as a dynamic process in which the reader/viewer played a central role.

My analysis of Hine's narrative essays will draw from both the structuralist and post-structuralist narratological models. Hine used a melodramatic mode of representation to create his narrative images and essays. As a dominant mode of narration in late nineteenth-century theater and early twentieth-century cinema, melodrama provided an ideal framework through which Hine could compose his child labor stories. Although it can be just as ambiguous a term as narrative, melodrama is generally associated with emotion and morality; two of the defining characteristics of Hine's work. My assertion is that because the melodramatic storyline involving both victim and villain was so pervasive at this time, it allowed Hine to construct narratives that were moralizing as well as 'moving.' Ultimately the goal was to persuade so that effective reform could be brought to bear on the issue of child labor.

Although the names and ages varied, the story of the working child was one that remained unchanged throughout Hine's tenure at the NCLC. To understand how it was possible for Hine's images to be read as narrative, we must first understand the "masterplot" around which his photo stories were structured. According to H. Porter Abbott, the term "masterplot" is preferred over "master narrative" because a "narrative is a particular rendering of a story," and masterplots "are much more skeletal and adaptable

[145] Suzanne Keen, *Narrative Form.* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 5.

and they can recur in narrative after narrative."[146] Much of Hine's work, as well as that of the muckraking journalists and early cinematic melodramas, drew from the same masterplot. As Hine describes in an essay published in the *Child Labor Bulletin*: "The children start off with happy hearts and faces for work is fun at first. And they end-in the Human Junk Pile, before their lives are fairly well started. A lad makes a misstep, falls into a machine, loses his fingers and 'ain't good for work no more.' . . . he may simply be added to the pile of human junk."[147] Abbott explains, "There are some masterplots, very loosely conceived, that would appear to be universal: the quest, the story of revenge, seasonal myths of death and regeneration. But the more culturally specific the masterplot, the greater its practical force in everyday life."[148] For Hine, the only thing that child labor produced was an endless retelling of the same tragic tale. A tale of healthy young lives being destroyed in a factory system that overworks and under educates. In his NCLC poster entitled, "Making Human Junk" (c.1908) (Fig.1), Hine depicts this tale in the starkest of terms. Just under the title heading he situates a photograph of a group of children alongside a caption which reads, "Good Material At First"; just below that is a photograph of a factory with "The Process"; and near the bottom are three photographs placed side by side showing the ill effects of factory work on children with the corresponding caption, "No future and low wages – 'Junk.'" Below that reads the following question: "Shall Industry Be Allowed To Put This Cost On Society?" There are even lines drawn from image to image with miniature photographic cut-outs that trace the child's journey from "Good Material" to "Junk." The usual details

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[146] H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43.
[147] Lewis Hine, "The High Cost of Child Labor," in *Child Labor Bulletin*. Volume 3, Number 1 (May, 1914), 63.
[148] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 43.

such as, names, ages, and occupation, are deliberately not included here so that Hine's "Making Human Junk" poster can provide a graphic summary of the underlying child labor masterplot.

The exclusion of specific details in Hine's NCLC poster (as well as in the doffer photograph to be discussed later) was designed to universalize the child. Paradoxically, this allowed the image to play on the viewer's deepest fear- that any of these children could be their children. In "Making Human Junk," Hine depicts his narrative of industrialization with the child replacing the raw material and the product. At a time when the structure of the economy was fundamentally changing, Hine offers a fairly scathing critique of capitalism and the industrial process. This was also a moment when the social valuation of the child was undergoing a radical transformation. According to Viviana Zelizer, this was a moment when "the price of a useful wage-earning child was directly counterposed to the moral value of an economically useless but emotionally priceless child."[149] Along with a growing interest in the family, there was increasing awareness of 'childhood' as a separate stage of life. In 1903, the prominent American sociologist Charlotte Perkins Gilman observed, "There is no more brilliant hope on earth today than this new thought about the child . . . the recognition of the child, children as a class, children as citizens with rights to be guaranteed only by the state."[150] For progressive reformers, 'child-saving' was a top priority that included improvements in education, public health, the juvenile justice system, and above all else, the abolition of child labor. Zelizer explains:

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[149] Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing The Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children.* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1985), 57.
[150] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Home: Its Work and Its Influence.* (New York: McClure, Phillips, 1903), 165.

> Thus, the conflict over the propriety of child labor between 1870 and 1930 in the U.S. involved a profound cultural disagreement over the economic and sentimental value of young children. While opponents of child labor legislation hailed the economic usefulness of children, advocates of child labor legislation campaigned for their uselessness. For reformers, true parental love could only exist if the child was defined exclusively as an object of sentiment and not as an agent of production.[151]

Even beyond the verbal cues, Hine's photographs are intended to show these children as the helpless cast-offs of a destructive factory system. They are all frontally posed and stare directly out at the viewer. The three photographs at the bottom of the poster are aligned and similarly framed so that the children look as if they are standing side by side in the same space. The young boy at the far left has an angry expression, while one of the girls on the right shrinks back timidly. They all seem to have a slight slouch to their shoulders which gives them an uneasy, vulnerable appearance before the camera. Clearly, the supposedly "useful" child is quickly turned into "junk" in this factory.

What we see in the NCLC poster is Hine constructing a narrative through the combination of image and text, and by adopting a simple 'before' and 'after' strategy with more than one photograph. The question that I would like to pursue here is: How was Hine able to construct a readable narrative in a single photographic image? To answer that question I will look both inside and outside the bounds of the photographic frame. First, I will consider the image, or 'object,' and then I will consider the viewer's apprehension of that image within the larger context of the "masterplot" discussed above. One particularly striking example is Hine's photograph of the "doffer boy" (Fig.2) that was published in an article titled "Child Labor in the Carolinas (1909)," in *Charities and The Commons.* This article was written by A. J. McKelway, the Secretary for the NCLC

[151] Zelizer, *Pricing The Priceless Child,* 72.

in the Southern States. It chronicles an investigation done by A. E. Seddon, A. H. Ulm, and Lewis Hine, in the cotton mills of North and South Carolina. Hine's photographs figure prominently as they fill ten of the fifteen pages in this article. In fact, in the opening paragraph McKelway acknowledges Hine's contribution to this investigation:

> Lewis W. Hine, well-known to readers of this magazine by his photographs of social conditions in New York city and elsewhere, was sent by the National Child Labor Committee to investigate conditions in North and South Carolina and record the results with his camera. In November, 1908, he went to Charlotte, N.C., the center of the cotton mill region of the South. Over fifty per cent of the cotton spindles and looms of the South are within one hundred miles of Charlotte. Mr. Hine visited nineteen and investigated seventeen mills, taking 230 photographs.[152]

McKelway reaffirms the documentary value of Hine's pictures when he later claims that the "testimony of these witnesses of standing and character, corroborated by the photographic fidelity of the camera, is unassailable."[153] The image of the 'doffer' depicts a young boy working at a loom. Photographed at an angle, the loom creates a dramatic perspectival pull from left to right. Our vantage point is at about eye level with the doffer who stands in the foreground of the picture before an endless row of spindles and bobbins. Two other figures recede toward the background as well. The caption that accompanies this photograph simply states, "Mellville Manufacturing Company, Cherryville, N.C., Doffer, says he has worked two years. One of the many below the legal age." Hine clearly stresses the mismatch in scale between the small child and the enormous spinning machine. As seen here, most children wore no protective gear when they entered the mills. Usually they wore as little as possible because of the heat. What cannot be overstated is the constant threat of injury, like the loss of a finger, or illness,

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[152] A. J. McKelway, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," in *Charities and The Commons*, 21 (January 30, 1909), 743.
[153] Ibid., 757.

along with the devastating psychological impact that this kind of work must have had on these children.

The term doffer was used to describe the job that young boys had in the textile mills. This required that they climb up onto the machinery to replace the bobbins. Typically this was lower paying than the job of 'spinner' which was reserved for the girls. A doffer could be promoted to spinner, but generally it was done by young girls who were thought to have a bit more patience for this kind of tedium. Although doffers had more time to play in between jobs, there was also real danger involved in their work. Hine informs us that in one mill "a twelve-year-old doffer boy fell into a spinning machine and the unprotected gearing tore out two of his fingers. 'We don't have any accidents in this mill,' the overseer told me. 'Once in a while a finger is mashed or a foot, but it don't amount to anything.'"[154] Russell Freedman explains, "The hot, steamy air was filled with dust and lint that covered the workers' clothes and made it hard to breathe. Mill workers frequently developed tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis, and other respiratory diseases. A boy working in a cotton mill was only half as likely to reach twenty years of age as a boy outside the mill. Girls had even less chance."[155] Despite the fact that a North Carolina Child Labor Law prohibited children under thirteen years from working in factories, doffers such as the one seen in Hine's photograph could be seven years or younger. The Child Labor Law in South Carolina prohibited children who were under twelve years from factory work, but this too was largely ignored. Hine reports:

> In general, I found conditions here considerably below those of North Carolina both as to the age and number of small children employed . . . an overseer told me frankly that manufacturers all over the South evade

[154] Russell Freedman, *Kids at Work: Lewis Hine and the Crusade Against Child Labor.* (New York: Clarion Books, 1994), 35.
[155] Ibid., 35 & 38.

> the child labor law by letting children who are under age 'help' older brothers and sisters. The names of the younger ones do not appear on the company's books and the pay goes to the older child who is above twelve years.[156]

The investigation also claims that a number of mills were running at night, especially in North Carolina. McKelway states, "The children work twelve hours on the night shift and say that they have no special time off for lunch, that they 'eat-a-workin.'"[157] The long hours, the low wages, were intolerable conditions for any adult worker let alone a small child. While McKelway's essay makes a forceful argument for the enactment of stronger child labor laws, or at the very least, enforcement of the laws already on the books, it is Hine's photographs that provide the most compelling testimony against the ongoing abuses of child labor. I would like to now take a closer look at the narrative aspects within Hine's doffer photograph. At one point even McKelway remarks, "The pictures tell their own story . . ."[158]

As noted earlier, scholars rarely agree on how to define narrative. Perhaps the most often repeated of definitions came from the literary theorist, Gerald Prince, who described narrative as "the representation of at least two real or fictive events or situations in a time sequence, neither of which presupposes or entails the other."[159] Although this formulation seems fairly flexible, it is rather limiting. One of the problems with Prince's approach "is his almost exclusive focus on verbal narratives," Werner Wolf argues, "and his one-sided text-centredness."[160] When narrative is thought to exist only within the privileged sphere of language, it does so at the exclusion of all other forms,

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[156] A. J. McKelway, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," 744.
[157] Ibid., 743.
[158] Ibid., 744.
[159] Gerard Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative.* (Berlin: Mouton, 1982), 4.
[160] Werner Wolf, "Narrative and narrativity: a narratological reconceptualization and its applicability to the visual art," in *Word and Image.* Volume 19, Number 3 (July-September 2003), 181.

including the visual arts, among others. As Marie-Laure Ryan plainly states, "This position is incompatible with the study of narrative across media."[161] Instead, what is needed is a new conceptualization of narrative; one that views narrative as a "medium-independent phenomenon."[162] While I disagree with Ryan's claim that "no medium is better suited than language to make explicit the logical structure of narrative," a statement that falls back on an outdated narratology, I do agree with the second half of her argument that "it is possible to study narrative in its nonverbal manifestations without applying the communicative model of verbal narration."[163] The linguistic view of narrative has been challenged by a number of different approaches. Some of these approaches view narrative as a speech act, or a kind of behavior. Suzanne Keen explains, "It is often conceived as a universal human trait, even, in the arguments of some cognitive scientists, a habit of mind that precedes language."[164] Rather than see narrative as a completed 'object' comprised of a finite set of traits waiting to be identified and interpreted, these approaches view narrative as a cognitive construct. "On the other hand, narrative is a mental image," Ryan states, "built by the interpreter as a response to the text."[165] My conceptualization of narrative incorporates elements of the earlier structuralist approach that emphasizes the 'object,' as well as some of the later approaches that focus more on the role of the 'reader.' Clearly, these positions are not mutually exclusive. I see them as complementary and mutually reinforcing, and in my analysis of Hine's doffer photograph will look at the narrative aspects that reside both

[161] Marie-Laure Ryan, "Introduction," in *Narrative across Media,* 15.
[162] Ibid., 15.
[163] Ibid., 15.
[164] Keen, *Narrative Form,* 5.
[165] Ryan, "Introduction," 9.

inside and outside the picture frame. In fact, it would be impossible to consider the viewer's apprehension of an image without first examining the image itself.

One of the key ingredients of narrative is time. For the still picture, the temporal dimension is usually cited as its main narrative limitation. The seeming inability of a static image to convey a sense of time lapse has kept it from narrative consideration. However, I would contend that Hine's photograph of the doffer boy does represent a narrative time. Indeed, it is here that most discussions of pictorial narrative trace their roots back to the concept of the "pregnant moment" first proposed by the eighteenth-century philosopher, G. E. Lessing. In his famous work entitled, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766), "Lessing's essay offers the first detailed comparative study of the narrative power of artistic media," and according to Ryan, "represents a watershed in aesthetic philosophy."[166] Lessing explains, "Painting can use only a single moment of an action in its coexisting composition and must therefore choose the one which is most suggestive and from which the preceding and succeeding actions are most easily comprehensible."[167] Basically, the "pregnant moment" allows for the compression of time into a single image. It is a concept that has been at the heart of a number of debates over the narrative potential of still pictures. In Abbott's discussion of narrative perception he illustrates Lessing's idea in an example that is particularly instructive. It is the depiction of a ship turned on its side (Fig.3), or as Abbott argues:

> We may not see a full, clear story in abundant detail (a storm arises, a ship founders, and runs aground). But we do see more than a ship; we see a ship *wreck.* In other words, included in the present time of the picture is a shadowy sense of time preceding it, and specifically of

[166] Ibid., 24.
[167] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry.* Edward Allen McCormick, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 78.

> narrative time – that is, comprised of a succession of necessary events that leads up to, and accounts for, what we see.[168]

Further, Abbott claims that this "human tendency to insert narrative time into static, immobile scenes seems almost automatic, like a reflex action."[169] In the doffer photograph we experience the same kind of narrative time. Hine's 'pregnant moment' shows the boy extending his right arm toward the spinning machine. His gaze is focused (as is ours) on his tiny hand clutching one of the spindles. We grasp this scene as a story in progress. What is conveyed in the present time of this picture is the unending repetition of the child's movement. In "Social Photography: How the Camera May Help in the Social Uplift," Hine lays out his aesthetic ideals, and more importantly, directly addresses the narrative capacity of the medium. He argues, "For us older children, the picture continues to tell a story packed into the most condensed and vital form. In fact, it is often more effective than the reality would have been, because, in the picture, the non-essential and conflicting interests have been eliminated."[170] In the doffer photograph it is clear that all 'non-essential' and 'conflicting interests' have been eliminated.

The talk on "Social Photography" was first delivered at an annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1909. Alan Trachtenberg describes this paper as Hine's "personal manifesto."[171] In it he discusses photography as an instrument of publicity, how it can best be used by "Servants of the Common Good to educate and direct public opinion."[172] For Hine, it is the photographic image that most

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[168] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative,* 6.
[169] Ibid., 6.
[170] Lewis Hine, "Social Photography," in *Classic Essays on Photography.* Alan Trachtenberg, ed. (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 111.
[171] Alan Trachtenberg, Ever-the Human Document," in *American and Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940.* (New York: Aperture, Inc., 1977), 132.
[172] Lewis Hine, "Social Photography," in *Classic Essays on Photography.* Alan Trachtenberg, ed. (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 110.

effectively uses its narrative capacity to persuade. Within the compressed time of the doffer image is a story about the daily grind of life in the mill. We could easily imagine an accident occurring in the next instant. It is not surprising that Hine chose to emphasize the boy's hands considering how frequently children would maim or lose their fingers in the machinery. The doffer boy is slightly hunched over, while his right hand grasps a spindle, his left hand is highlighted against his dark overalls at the very center of the composition. In one NCLC essay Hine describes the repetitive nature of this work and its damaging physical effects on children:

> Mill and factory processes involve the muscles in endless repetition of a few motions and are far removed from the varied activities craved, and needed, by the growing child. From repeated fatigue there results, according to physicians, a weakening and an ultimate degeneration of the muscles and of general health.[173]

Unfortunately, if our doffer becomes injured or ill, there is always another child ready and willing to take his place. There is an endless supply of young lives wasted in the mill, each child as replaceable as the spindles and bobbins on the spinning machine. "Where does it start and where does it end? It is a vicious circle indeed," Hine laments, "The little child working at the manufacturer's machine is the one who becomes industrially inefficient."[174] The story of the doffer boy is the story of the working child. Hine conveys his narrative in the doffer photograph by capturing a singular, but critical moment. It is a 'story packed into the most condensed and vital form,' one that expresses the repetition of the boy's motion as he stands before the endless row of spindles.

Along with his selection of the ever crucial 'pregnant moment,' Hine relies on viewer foreknowledge of the child labor story to ensure that the doffer image is

[173] Hine, "The High Cost of Child Labor," 26.
[174] Ibid., 34.

apprehended as narrative. As we have already seen in the example of his "Making Human Junk" poster (Fig.1), the story of the working child was a well established masterplot. Just as Biblical and mythological narratives were known through centuries of retelling, the child labor story was familiar to its audience. In his essay "The Storyteller," Walter Benjamin claims that "storytelling is always the art of repeating stories," and the storyteller can listen "to tales in such a way that the gift of retelling them comes to him all by itself."[175] Similarly, the child labor story was learned through repetition. The role of viewer foreknowledge was essential in the creation of Hine's photographic narratives. As Abbott explains, "We have many narrative templates in our minds and, knowing this, an artist can activate one or another."[176] In the early twentieth century, the child labor story was established and publicized primarily through muckraking journalism and cinematic melodramas. These were the two main avenues through which reform propaganda flowed, and from which Hine drew in order to construct his photo stories. According to Linda Williams, "Melodrama is the fundamental mode of popular American moving pictures. It is not a specific genre like the western or horror film; . . . Rather, melodrama is a peculiarly democratic and American form that seeks dramatic revelation of moral and emotional truths through a dialectic of pathos and action."[177] Melodrama was the means through which Hine could not only tell the story of child labor, but it was also the means through which he could attempt to stir feelings of compassion, and maybe even sorrow, within his viewer. While it is difficult to measure the emotional impact of

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[175] Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," in *Illuminations.* Hannah Arendt, ed. And Harry Zohn, trans. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.,1968), 91.
[176] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 7.
[177] Linda Williams, "Melodrama Revised," in *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory.* Nick Browne, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 42.

any single photograph on a viewer, for Hine, the most persuasive images were the ones that could be felt on a visceral level.

The critical reevaluation of melodrama began in the 1960s and 1970s. No longer thought of as "a derogatory concept, associated with cheap effects, quick entertainment, and distraction from weighty moral questions," Frank Kelleter explains that instead "melodrama is now increasingly invoked as a serious and central category to assess the modern cultural imagination in general."[178] Melodrama has held a prominent position in film studies, but it was a work of literary criticism that has been credited with reviving interest in the topic. In 1976, Peter Brooks published *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess,* often cited as one of the most significant contributions to the study of melodrama. Brooks claims that "melodrama becomes the principal mode for uncovering, demonstrating, and making operative the essential moral universe in a post-sacred era."[179] While his focus is on the fiction of Honore de Balzac and Henry James, Brooks finds the origins of melodrama in the work of the eighteenth-century French playwright, Guilbert de Pixerecourt, who "did more than anyone else to establish, codify, and illustrate the form."[180] According to Brooks, "We might, finally, do well to recognize the melodramatic mode as a central fact of the modern sensibility . . ." that "exists to locate and to articulate the moral occult."[181] Stuart Cunningham notes that although "Brooks's thesis may overly privilege the French 'boulevard' melodrama of Pixerecourt," what is crucial is that "the origins of or models

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[178] Frank Kelleter and Ruth Mayer, "The Melodramatic Mode Revisited. An Introduction," in *Melodrama! The Mode of Excess from Early America to Hollywood.* Frank Kelleter, Barbara Krah, and Ruth Mayer, eds. (Heidelberg: Universitatsverlag, 2007), 7.
[179] Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 15.
[180] Ibid., 24.
[181] Ibid., 21 & 5.

for melodrama occur in periods of intense social and ideological crisis and that melodrama remains extraordinarily transparent to, or mimetic of, those crises."[182] The early twentieth century was certainly a period of intense social and political struggle, if not 'crisis,' in America. It was a moment when Hine and his fellow reformers sought to address the problems of industrial society, and it was melodrama that provided the vehicle through which they could best express their Progressive ideology. As Richard Maltby states, "the rhetoric of Progressive reform used the discursive conventions of melodrama as a means of maintaining clear moral distinctions when describing an urban environment where the bourgeois certainties of a Victorian moral order no longer obtained."[183] The flexibility of the melodramatic mode allowed progressives to tackle a range of problems from poverty to political corruption to child labor. Indeed, "all the afflictions and injustices of the modern, post-Enlightenment world are dramatized in melodrama," Williams reminds us that "part of the excitement of the form is the genuine turmoil and timeliness of the issues it takes up and the popular debate it can generate when it dramatizes a new controversy or issue."[184] Brooks's *Melodramatic Imagination* became a touchstone for a number of important studies that followed. The strength of his study is that he connects the rise of melodrama to a specific historical moment. Yet, Brooks's work has often been criticized for focusing too narrowly on the novel at the expense of the theatrical and cinematic melodrama found in popular culture. I would like

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[182] Stuart Cunningham, "The 'Force-Field' of Melodrama," in *Film and Theory: An Anthology.* Robert Stam and Toby Miller, eds. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 192-193. On this point Cunningham credits the work of Thomas Elsaesser. He also mentions that "there are a variety of origins of, and political-historical contexts for, melodrama – the eighteenth-century sentimental novel of Richardson and Rouseau, the French *romans noir*and *romans frenetiques* of the same century, and the German romanticism of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller.

[183] Richard Maltby, "The Social Evil, The Moral Order and The Melodramatic Imagination, 1890-1915," in *Melodrama: Stage, Picture, Screen.* Jacky Bratton, Jim Cook, Christine Gledhill, eds. (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 217-218.

[184] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 53.

to highlight a few of the more recent studies on popular cinematic melodrama that have enhanced my own understanding on this topic and its relationship to Hine's work.

In her essay "Melodrama Revised," Linda Williams argues forcefully that melodrama is central to popular American moving pictures. It should not be viewed as "an excess or an aberration."[185] According to Nick Browne, "Linda Williams's assertion of the foundational status of melodrama amounts to a statement of a new ontology of cinematic form and signification by marking out an absolute reference point prior to 'realism' for the consideration of any genre treatment."[186] Although Williams acknowledges that "Brooks's study works hard to give melodrama its due," she ultimately disagrees with his view of "melodrama as a mode in excess of a more classical norm."[187] Williams is also critical of his exclusive focus on the "higher art" of the nineteenth-century bourgeois novel, arguing that Brooks needed to instead trace the "importance of theatrical melodrama in popular culture where it has most powerfully moved audiences."[188] Further, Williams takes issue with film studies for reinforcing this "rigid polarity" between a classical realist "norm" and melodrama. In her opinion this undermines any serious attempt to analyze melodrama as a cinematic mode and ensures its status as nothing more than an oppositional excess. "We must study melodrama as melodrama, not as a form that wants to be something else. . . More importantly," Williams explains, "this so-excessive-as-to-be-ironic model rendered taboo the most crucial element of the study of melodrama: its capacity to generate emotion in

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[185] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 50.
[186] Nick Browne, "Preface," in *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory.* Nick Browne, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), xi.
[187] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 52-53.
[188] Ibid., 53.

audiences."[189] Melodrama cannot be understood as a system if it is only seen as an *excess;* a term she would like to eliminate from the discussion altogether. Melodrama is more than excessive emotionality and theatricality. "Theatrical acting and Manichaean polarities are not the essence of the form," according to Williams they are a means to achieving a "felt good, the merger- perhaps even the compromise- of morality and feeling."[190] Despite their critical differences, Williams and Brooks both emphasize the moral dimension of melodrama. This was a crucial aspect of Hine's work as well, and many of his images exhibit a "merger" of morality and feeling. In fact, the entire social reform agenda of the Progressive Era was fueled by a sense of heightened moral clarity and purpose.

Ben Singer is another film studies scholar who cites "moral polarization" as a fundamental aspect of melodrama in his book, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Context.* Like Brooks, Singer sees melodrama as inextricably tied to the modern experience. However, unlike Brooks who dealt with literary works, Singer deals with melodrama in American popular theater and film between 1880 and 1920, which he sees as a "product and a reflection of modernity--of modernity's experiential qualities, its ideological fluctuations, its cultural anxieties, its intertextual cross-currents, its social demographics, and its commercial practices."[191] In claiming melodrama as a "historical object of study," Singer is less willing (than Williams) to view it as a "nearly all-encompassing narrative mode."[192] Instead, he argues that we "need to situate melodrama somewhere between a specific, fixed, coherent single genre and a

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[189] Ibid., 56 & 44.
[190] Ibid., 55.
[191] Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 1.
[192] Ibid., 7.

pervasive popular mode spanning many different genres."[193] In an attempt to create a definitional scheme for melodrama, Singer introduces his notion of the "cluster concept" which is comprised of five key constitutive elements: strong pathos, heightened emotionality, moral polarization, nonclassical narrative mechanics, and spectacular effects.[194] Singer explains that the features on this list can be, and have been, configured in a variety of different combinations. He also acknowledges that there is some overlap between pathos and overwrought emotion, but he clarifies that "while the representation of pathos generally involves this kind of dramatic intensity, not all instances of highly charged emotion necessarily involves pathos."[195] He claims it is possible to have melodrama without pathos, and pathos without melodrama. Singer's main priority is basically to understand popular theatrical and cinematic melodrama as a modern phenomenon.

Brooks was the first to describe melodrama as a "mode of excess" and used it in the title of his 1976 publication. He writes in the preface, "This is a book about excess, about a mode of heightened dramatization inextricably bound up with the modern novel's effort to signify."[196] The "excess" of melodrama usually refers to emotional states. As Brooks explains, "States of being beyond the immediate context of the narrative, and in excess of it, have been brought to bear on it, to charge it with intenser significances."[197] And according to Singer, "The essential element perhaps most often associated with melodrama is a certain 'overwrought' or 'exaggerated' quality summed up by the term

[193] Ibid., 7.
[194] Ibid., 44-49.
[195] Ibid., 45.
[196] Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination,* ix.
[197] Ibid., 2.

excess."[198] The typical melodrama is based on the victimization of an innocent by an evil villain. This kind of storyline is ultimately designed to move the viewer. In this context, emotional excess is not confined to the characters on the stage or in the film, but extend to the spectator as well. "Melodrama is by definition the retrieval of an absolute innocence and good in which most thinking people do not put much faith," Williams argues, "We go to the movies not to think but to be moved. In a postsacred world, melodrama represents one of the most significant, and deeply symptomatic, ways we negotiate moral feeling."[199] It is precisely this quality of emotional excess that Hine sought to capture through his photographs of working children. The intention was to move the viewer by depicting injustice. As Brooks states, "The melodramatic imagination needs both document and vision, and it is centrally concerned with the extrapolation from one to another."[200] Melodrama is not antithetical to the realism of the photograph, but rather, is embedded within it. While earlier film studies have tended to oversimplify the relationship between melodrama and realism, Thomas Postlewait was among the first to examine its complexity. He writes:

> Our initial task, then, is to get beyond the pervasive dichotomies: melodrama distorts, realism reports; melodrama offers escapism, realism offers life; melodrama is conservative, realism is radical; melodrama delivers ideologies (as false consciousness), realism deconstructs ideologies. The neat polarities multiply rapidly in our historical and critical analysis. In fact, both melodrama and realism distort and report, conserve and criticize. And both articulate and challenge ideologies of the time.[201]

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[198] Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity,* 38-39.
[199] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 61.
[200] Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination,* 9.
[201] Thomas Postlewait, "From Melodrama to Realism: The Suspect History of American Drama," in *Melodrama: The Cultural Emergence of a Genre.* Michael Hays and Anastasia Nikolopoulou, eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 56.

The same can be said of Hine's documentary work. The veracity of the photographic image combined with what were intended to be gut-wrenching scenes of children at work was meant to elicit a strong emotional response from the viewer. Although it is still an open question as to whether this was an effective strategy overall, it is clear that Hine set out to create the most highly charged images possible. According to Singer, "Melodrama triggers another variety of agitation . . . the agitation that comes from observing extreme moral injustice . . . of being profoundly disturbed or outraged when we see vicious power victimizing the weak, usually involving some kind of bodily violence."[202] What could be more disturbing than witnessing the victimization of an innocent child?

One early cinematic melodrama produced by the Edison Company in cooperation with the NCLC was *Children Who Labor* (1912). Intended to dramatize the problems of child labor, it reflects the larger effort by progressive reformers to promote educational films. As the motion picture industry grew, reformers became increasingly concerned about films that they felt were far too vulgar and inappropriate for the masses. By supporting films like *Children Who Labor,* not only could they make movie going a more respectable activity for the middle class, but they could educate and bring moral uplift to the poor and the working class as well. Although these kinds of films may not have been as popular, Eileen Bowser explains that "determined producers bent on uplift learned to sugar-coat the educational pill by enclosing the lesson in a drama with a moral.[203] Movie studios often teamed with welfare organizations and institutions to make films with an educative goal. The Edison studio was responsible for films such as, *The Red Cross Seal* (1910), done for the American Red Cross campaign, *The Awakening of John Bond*

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[202] Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity,* 40.
[203] Eileen Bowser, *The Transformation of Cinema 1907-1915.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990), 45.

(1911), on slumlords and tuberculosis, and *Suffer Little Children* (1909) along with *Children Who Labor* on the subject of child labor, to name just a few. The Thanhouser studio also produced *The Cry of the Children* (1912), based on a poem by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and endorsed by Theodore Roosevelt. According to Bowser, "The popular melodrama, or everyday drama, preaching a moral, became the most successful genre of film for satisfying the needs of uplift. The more it became expressive, the more it could draw on the emotions of the audience, the more successfully it could fulfill the function of a teacher or a preacher."[204] While the issues may have varied, what each of these films shared was the use of a melodramatic mode of narration to sell their cause. They have been described as 'working class' films because they often deal with ordinary problems such as, how to earn a living. As we shall see, this issue was closely tied to the child labor problem and figures prominently in Edison's *Children Who Labor.*

The basic plotline of the child labor story usually traces the journey of a healthy child, who when forced to work in a factory or mill, becomes physically and emotionally unhealthy; or, as Hine put it, "they end- in the Human Junk Pile." Although *Children Who Labor* was a one reel film that lasted only thirteen minutes, it made a powerful political statement about class, capitalism, and government indifference to the plight of working children. It opens with a scene that depicts "Uncle Sam" perched in the upper left corner looking away from a procession of children as they file in through a factory gate. (Fig.4) We see them only from behind, but like Hine's doffer boy, the children are shabbily dressed and all have heads turned downward with their hands raised. Even the word "GREED" is outlined clearly in the skyline above a cluster of factory buildings. This scene is similar to Hine's NCLC poster as it too offers a sharp rebuke of the

[204] Ibid., 45.

industrial process. However, we should not assume that just because reformers were highly critical of capitalism that they wanted to replace it. "Films were made by capitalists, after all, even if they were progressives," Bowser contends, "Improvements in labor relations, they felt, was to be brought about by education and reform, and certainly not by a change in the system."[205] What made this topic particularly difficult was that children working in mines and factories usually did so with parental consent. For many working-class families a child's income was an economic necessity. Rather than demonize the parents, or "condemn the system," Kevin Brownlow explains that instead filmmakers would often blame "the grafting politician or the selfish mill-owner."[206] Even then there are examples where mill-owners have been depicted as victims of circumstance; at the mercy of the same economic conditions as the laborer. In the Edison montage, the figure of "Uncle Sam" is clearly meant to symbolize a government that ignores the most vulnerable of its citizens. By the end of the film we return to this scene, but now the lesson has been learned and "Uncle Sam" looks with concern at the upraised arms of the children.

In the film's second scene a group of adult males stand at the entrance to the factory. To the left hangs a sign that reads, "Small Boys and Girls Wanted," while on the opposite side hangs a sign that reads, "No Men Wanted." This illustrates the dilemma that poor and working class families faced, to either go hungry or to send their children to work. Later in the story we read an intertitle that plainly states, "Her pay their only income," referring to the eldest daughter who works in the factory. Throughout *Children Who Labor* we see the manufacturer's family contrasted with a working, most likely

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[205] Ibid., 188.
[206] Kevin Brownlow, *Behind The Mask of Innocence.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 433.

immigrant family. This was typical in uplift melodramas. The main character in this tale is Mabel, the daughter of a wealthy manufacturer. Through a strange turn of events she finds herself lost, is eventually taken in by a working family, and ends up as a laborer in the factory. At one point we are actually taken inside the spinning room of the factory. (Fig.5) The scene opens with a young doffer sweeping the floor in the foreground in front of the spinning machine. There is also a girl standing to the right of the machine and a man working in the background. Despite the attempt to show the harsh conditions of factory work, this spinning room is a much cleaner, more sanitized movie version than the one in Hine's image. Yet, for the movie going audience at the time this kind of scene provides a rare glimpse into the realities of working class life. Later on in the film we even witness a foreman trying to fondle one of the young girls. (Fig.6) Although this scene is fairly tame by today's standards, perhaps even a bit contrived, it does provide a dramatic moment. Mabel looks horrified as she leans away from the man's advances. Unfortunately, along with the long hours and hard work, many factory girls had to contend with the added burden of being sexually harassed. Progressive reformers were generally weary of explicit content in films, but they were accepting of this kind of scene if it could shed light on abusive behavior.

The priority for reformers was to ensure the safety of every child. This would certainly include the protection of a young girl's innocence. Peter Brooks points out that in melodrama "virtue is almost inevitably represented by a young heroine."[207] In *Children Who Labor* it was a teenage factory girl, and ironically not an adult, who bravely steps in to save the vulnerable young Mabel from the man's advances. After she pulls the man away, the two girls then stand together, sharing an embrace. Each looks off

[207] Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination,* 32.

to the side with a distraught expression on her face. (Fig.7) For some audiences this entire scene might looked contrived and poorly acted. However, for all its perceived failures, the emotions are clearly conveyed. According to Brooks, in the theatre "actors could exercise a histrionic style of emphatic and striking proportions. Melodramatic acting is almost inconceivable to us today, though we detect many of its elements in the silent cinema, an equally expressive medium."[208] Here we have a key difference between Hine's photography and other mediums such as painting and theater. The doffer boy in Hine's photograph is every bit as much a pathetic victim as the factory girls in the Edison film, but his gesture does not quite rise to the level of a "histrionic style." While certain generic conventions were common in painting or theatrical melodramas, that kind of stylization is not possible in photography. Yet, like his cinematic counterparts, Hine did have to strike a delicate balance between realism and melodrama; between showing the most fragile or wretched subjects without losing credibility as a documentarian. Paradoxically, it is the realism of the photograph that enhances its shock value. I would also add that there is a slightly posed quality to the doffer boy which is not surprising since Hine worked with a 5x7 view camera and it would be virtually impossible for him to go unnoticed. This is similar to the girls in the film who stand arm in arm during a long pause. This gives the viewer a moment to comprehend the scene. A kind of critical contemplation that has more in common with the viewing of a still photograph than either a theatrical or cinematic work. Brooks explains that "there tends throughout melodramas, and most especially at the end of scenes and acts, to be a resolution of meaning in *tableau*, where the characters' attitudes and gestures, compositionally arranged and frozen for a moment, give, like an illustrative painting, a visual summary of the

[208] Ibid., 47.

emotional situation."[209] With this high level of exaggeration, we cannot help but respond to the worried, fearful expression on the girl's faces. Melodrama excels is in its legibility, in what Brooks says is its "primordial concern to make its signs clear, unambiguous, and impressive."[210] As the story progresses we watch the harsh realities of child labor take its toll on Mabel. Even after this difficult first day, she was so overcome with exhaustion that she could barely walk, and had to be carried home by the other children.

There is a pathos that builds throughout the film as each scene alternates from family to family, from rich to poor. An interesting plot twist occurs when Mabel's father, Mr. Hanscomb, unknowingly buys the very same factory in which she is employed. While Mr. Hanscomb is inside surveying his new property, Mrs. Hanscomb, who is waiting outside, is 'moved' by the sight of a young girl being carried out on a stretcher. The story comes to a climax when the Hanscombs' follow the girl home and soon discover that she is their missing daughter, Mabel. A conversion takes place as Mr. Hanscomb finally realizes the error of his ways. This was another common feature of melodramas. At the urging of his daughter, Hanscomb ends up hiring the immigrant father. Before the last scene the intertitle proclaims, "The Better Way," as only men now enter the factory gate and children carry books on their way to school. By wrapping the lesson in a melodrama, *Children Who Labor* evokes an emotional reaction from its viewer. The goal is to first ensure that we are as 'moved' as Mrs. Hanscomb at the sight of a suffering child. Then, after a moment of conversion, the hope is that we follow Mr.

[209] Ibid., 48.
[210] Ibid., 48.

Hanscomb's example and turn our pathos into action. The film's message is a call to end child labor.

Another famous child labor melodrama that contrasts the mill owner's home life with that of the poor working family is Thanhouser's *The Cry of the Children* (1912). This film is comprised of two reels and lasts about twenty five minutes. As stated earlier, its title and outline were taken from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poem which is quoted throughout the intertitles. In this story, the mill workers wage an unsuccessful strike. We watch as conditions worsen, the mother becomes ill, and can no longer work. Eventually they are forced to send even their youngest child to the mill to help support the family. However, little Alice is so frail that she collapses on the mill floor and dies. Unlike the Edison film where Mabel is ultimately saved and Mr. Hanscomb stops his immoral hiring practices, there is no such conversion for the mill owner in this film. This story ends with the loss of a young life. As Hine reminds us in the title of one of his NCLC essays, this is "The High Cost of Child Labor." "The child laborer pays dearly for his earnings," Hine explains, "The factory child comes first to mind as the child worker who pays with health, education and efficiency for the wages he earns . . ."[211] From the photograph of the doffer boy to the film stills, each example conveys a sense of the severity of the mill environment. By most accounts, the inside of a mill was an incredibly unhealthy place. Loud noise and unbearable heat were the two constants. According to Russell Freedman, "The machinery made such a racket, workers had to shout to be heard above the din. And because the heat and moisture helped keep the cotton threads from breaking, the mill

[211] Lewis Hine, "The High Cost of Child Labor," Reprint of Exhibit Handbook in *The Child Labor Bulletin.* Volume 3. Number 4 (February, 1915), 25 & 26.

windows were always kept closed."[212] The spinning room scene from *Children Who Labor* conveys the bustling movement of the factory. While the young doffer boy sweeps in the foreground, a young girl works at the spinning machine. To the right is another young boy walking by the window, and a group of men gather in the background. This is similar to a scene in *The Cry of the Children* which also captures a flurry of activity. Here the spinning machine extends diagonally to the back of the room as in Hine's doffer photograph. There is a group of girls in the foreground standing over a barrel, but most of the children, along with a few adults work at the spinning machine. During the course of the film we see foremen moving in and out of the frame. They are usually pointing or pushing or scolding some unsuspecting child. The toll of this work, not just physically, but emotionally and psychologically as well, was incalculable. Under these conditions it seems inevitable that Alice would suffer such an awful fate. The film insists on a tragic ending. "Even the shorter working day cannot save the children," Hine exclaims, "child labor in factories must be abolished."[213]

The idea of saving the child was a central tenet of reform propaganda. Despite their differing outcomes, the storyline in *Children Who Labor* and *The Cry of the Children* revolve around the potential rescue of a child from the horrors of the factory. To understand the urgency of this matter for reformers, one must first understand the growing "sacralization of child life."[214] As Viviana Zelizer explains, in colonial America parents were "never indifferent to the death of their children," but they were more "aloof" and "detached" from the child. This changed in the nineteenth century when "among upper-and middle-class families in England, Europe, and the United States, the death of a

[212] Freedman, *Kids at Work,* 35.
[213] Ibid., 26.
[214] Zelizer, *Pricing The Priceless Child,* 22.

young child became the most painful and least tolerable of all deaths."[215] Eventually the private loss of parents and the mourning for an individual child came to be seen as a public concern. The death of a child whether rich or poor "emerged as an intolerable social loss," Zelizer states, "the romantic cult of the dead child was therefore transformed into a public campaign for the preservation of child life."[216] As public commitment to child welfare expanded, progressives would often use infant and child mortality rates to measure the success of their programs. The death of a child was "not only a painful domestic misfortune," but Zelizer argues it was now defined as "a sign of collective failure."[217] Protecting the health and well being of the child was increasingly seen as a responsibility to be shared by all. In an essay published in the *Child Labor Bulletin,* Josephine Eschenbrenner asks "How do you calculate your standard of a child's value?"[218] For those that have had a "happy childhood," Eschenbrenner contends, "childhood is something precious beyond all money standard," but to the child labor employer "the value of the child lies in the immediate net profit his employment brings over that of the adult. The child is simply a producer, worth so much in dollars and cents, with no standard of value as a human being."[219] The concept of the child as a "sacred" and "emotionally priceless asset" is embedded within each of Hine's child labor photographs.[220] As in the early uplift films, melodrama served as a vehicle of narration for Hine. Moreover, melodrama ensured audience involvement by including a suspenseful, last minute rescue. Linda Williams reminds us that this was a crucial feature

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[215] Ibid., 25.
[216] Ibid., 27.
[217] Ibid., 32.
[218] Josephine Eschenbrenner, "What Is A Child Worth?," in *Child Labor Bulletin.* Volume 3. Number 1. (May, 1914), 159.
[219] Ibid., 159.
[220] Zelizer, *Pricing The Priceless Child,* see Introduction.

of melodrama which always "involves a dialectic of pathos and action-a give and take of 'too late' and 'in the nick of time.'"[221] Saving the child meant less time on the streets and in factories, and more time in the safety of the home or in the classroom. Child labor was antithetical to the emerging conception of 'childhood.' In fact, child saving was seen as a moral imperative by progressives; what they sought was a well timed intervention.

This notion of the "Rhetoric of the Too Late" was first explored by Franco Moretti in his intriguing essay entitled, "Kindergarten." Although melodrama is not the primary subject of his work, Moretti deals with tears and the phenomena of crying in response to 'moving' literature. He claims that unlike the 'comic,' the 'moving' is a topic that is all too often ignored.[222] In order for a work to be 'moving,' or to make a reader cry, it must combine two essential elements: point of view and timing. While a reader/spectator often knows more than the character of a story, it is when the point of view of the characters coincides with that of the reader/spectator that a moving moment is possible. It is not just that a shift in perspective occurs, to be poignant or moving ultimately depends on exactly when it takes place within the narrative. Moretti explains:

> This mechanism of retraction and re-establishment of points of view has in fact always been familiar to literary theory under the name of 'agnition.' And agnition, in and by itself, is a neutral rhetorical procedure: it can serve just as readily to make the world collapse about Othello as to bring *Tom Jones* to a perfectly happy ending. What makes it produce a 'moving' effect is not the play of points of view in itself but rather the *moment* at which it occurs. Agnition is a 'moving' device when it comes *too late*.[223]

The most extreme example of the 'too late' moment would certainly be the death of a character. As we saw with young Alice in the Thanhouser film, the death of a child

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[221] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 69.
[222] Franco Moretti, "Kindergarten," in *Signs Taken For Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs and David Miller, trans. (London: Verso, 1983), 157.
[223] Ibid., 160.

creates a heightened pathos. Moretti states that "to express the sense of being 'too late' the easiest course is obviously to prime the agnition for the moment when the character is on the point of dying."[224] Death can be the most tear inducing event of all, and "plays an indispensable part in 'moving' literature."[225] We may want the "flow of time to halt," but according to Moretti:

> …time does not stop, and it does not heed anyone's bidding. Still less does it turn back and allow us to use it differently. This is what the protagonist's death is for: to show that time is *irreversible.* And this irreversibility is perceived that much more clearly if there are no doubts about the *different direction* one would like to impose on the course of events.
>
> This is what makes one cry. Tears are always the product of *powerlessness.* They presuppose two mutually opposed facts: that it is clear how the present state of things should be changed – and that this change is *impossible.*[226]

What Moretti advances is a fairly scathing indictment of melodrama. If it is 'too late' and time is 'irreversible,' it seems futile to hope for a different future. To accept Moretti's entire argument makes it difficult to understand what melodrama offered Hine beyond narration. It is hard to imagine how his larger objectives could be met and his photographs used to motivate, if moving the viewer to tears only produces 'powerlessness.' Instead, I would contend that this was not the case for Hine who was hoping to energize and empower his viewer. Although Moretti's essay opens a provocative and long overdue dialogue on the subject of tears, film scholars Steve Neale and Linda Williams question some key aspects of his thesis.

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[224] Ibid., 160.
[225] Ibid., 162.
[226] Ibid., 162.

In Neale's analysis on "Melodrama and Tears," he looks at the "pleasure" that "giving way to tears" can bring.[227] He argues, "Crying is thus fully compatible with- indeed perhaps the fundamental mark of –the kind of paradoxical structure of fantasy, satisfaction and pleasure that melodrama fundamentally involves."[228] In his summary of Moretti's essay he also reminds us that the issue of point of view "comprises a number of related but distinct, meanings. It does not just refer to what one might call a moral or ideological opinion or position of judgment. It refers also to a position of knowledge in the sense simply of information, of awareness and unawareness as a function of access to narrative 'facts.'"[229] Further, it could refer to the literal or technical point of view with regard to the camera angle. Each of these relates to Hine's work as well. While most of his viewers were fellow reformers, it is fair to assume that there was a shared ideological opinion or position of judgment. It is equally fair to assume that Hine's viewers were aware of the narrative 'facts' of what was described earlier as the 'story of the working child.' Lastly, Hine effectively uses the vantage point of the camera to draw his viewer into a scene. In his doffer photograph, he lowers the perspective to correspond to the eye level of the child. Although Neale agrees with Moretti's explanation of the coincidence of knowledge in a melodrama, he disagrees with his explanation of timing. For Neale, the coincidence of points of view "are indeed crucial- not that the coincidence is always too late (though it may be, of course), but rather that it is always *delayed.* Tears can come whether the coincidence comes too late or just in time, provided there is a delay, and the possibility, therefore, that it *may* come too late."[230] Despite this difference Neale

[227] Steve Neale, "Melodrama and Tears," in *Screen.* Volume 27.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1986), 6.
[228] Ibid., 22.
[229] Ibid., 8.
[230] Ibid., 11.

upholds Moretti's position that "tears in either case are 'the product of powerlessness,'" regardless of whether or not a change is possible.[231] The spectator is powerless in relation to the course the narrative will ultimately take. I would note that there is an important distinction here between the fixed ending found in a literary or cinematic work, and the open-ended possibilities of a pictorial narrative. A still image affords the viewer a measure of control over the narrative outcome that is quite different than the spectatorial 'powerlessness' that Neale describes. This is critical for Hine who wants his viewer to *feel* for his subject, but then expects an intervention to save the child before it becomes *too late.* Provoking tears is essential if the viewer is going to participate in the campaign against child labor.

The notion that tears are the product of powerlessness was also challenged by Linda Williams. She claims "that because tears are an acknowledgment of hope that desire will be fulfilled, they are also a source of future power, indeed they are almost an investment in that power."[232] This is in stark contrast to the position taken by Moretti and Neal. Moreover, it highlights an important aspect of Hine's use of melodrama: to convince the viewer to invest in the future through action. According to Williams, "Mute pathos entitles action."[233] Of course, there was no guarantee that Hine's photographs would produce the desired outcome. There was always the risk that they could have the opposite effect. Instead of being inspired to join the fight against child labor, a viewer could become angry, or worse, indifferent. While I agree with Williams' general claim that "tears can be a source for future power," it is also true that a happy ending is never assured. Whether or not his viewer was actually 'moved' to tears, or just simply

[231] Ibid., 11.
[232] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 71.
[233] Ibid., 71.

'moved,' what mattered most to Hine was that they took an active part in the political struggle. The hope was that they would be 'moved' enough to join the NCLC, to contribute money, pamphleteer, or at the very least ensure a vote for those legislators committed to the abolition of child labor. In a speech given to the NCLC by its chairman, Dr. Felix Adler, the abolition of child labor was deemed a "national duty."[234] Adler claims, "The nation's life in many palpable ways, and certainly the nation's worth, depends on the degree to which the citizens are educated. . . .And child labor must be abolished because in the most critical, plastic age of the future citizen, it hinders his education."[235] In a similar appeal, Josephine Eshenbrenner writes:

> The effort to preserve the treasure of childhood to the American working child, is no less the concern of the 88,241,522 American people who have not yet allied themselves to the National Child Labor Committee than it is of those who now make up its membership. . . –do your share, not only in contributing yourself, but in causing others to contribute , always remembering that 'He who helps a child, helps humanity with a distinctness, with an immediateness which no other help given to human creatures in any other stage of their human life can possibly give again.'[236]

The rhetoric of the NCLC makes inaction on the part of the viewer seem inconceivable, even immoral. The NCLC's General Secretary admitted that he considers it "a disgrace that the American people need to have a Committee to tell them that they should abolish child labor, and the one aim of the Committee is to work itself out of a job."[237] For Hine, the challenge was to create pictorial melodramas that would have a strong affect. A tearful reaction was fine as long as it had a positive result, and was "an acknowledgement

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[234] Felix Adler, "The Abolition of Child Labor, A National Duty," in *Child Labor Bulletin,* Volume 3. Number 1. (May, 1914), 20.
[235] Ibid., 20.
[236] Eschenbrenner, "What is a Child Worth?," 163.
[237] Owen R. Lovejoy, "Present Needs and Activities," in *Child Labor Bulletin.* Volume 1. Number 3. (May, 1914), 166.

of hope that desire will be fulfilled," as Linda Williams states, "a source of future power."

Not surprisingly there are repeated references to tears in muckraking essays and cinematic melodramas. After little Alice collapses on the mill floor in the Thanhouser film we see people weep over her death, including her mother and family, as well as the mill owner's wife. Not only is the word 'cry' in the title of the film, but there are also several references to weeping and sobbing in the intertitles. The film begins with the first lines of Browning's poem:

> Do Ye Hear The Children Weeping,
> O My Brothers,
> Ere The Sorrow Comes With Years?

Again, it is Browning's work at the end of the film:

> But The Child's Sob In The Silence
> Curses Deeper
> Than The Strong Man In His Wrath.

We also see Mabel cry when she is forced to go to work in Edison's *Children Who Labor*. According to Williams, "It is this feeling that something important has been lost that is crucial to crying's relation to melodrama. . . .What counts is the feeling of loss suffused throughout the form. Audiences may weep or not weep, but the sense of a loss that implicates readers or audiences is central."[238] While Hine uses loss to play on the viewer's emotions, it is not necessarily about the actual loss of a life. Certainly the ultimate loss is the death of a child, but for Hine, it can refer to the loss of a child's potential due to the lack of an education, the loss of a limb, or more generally, the loss of a childhood.

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[238] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 70.

Just as filmmakers used melodrama to moralize and educate their audience, muckrakers developed their own version of 'moving' journalism to sway public opinion. Muckraking journalism began in 1902, and popularized the idea of the 'human interest story' which was used in several NCLC articles including those done by Hine. According to Arthur and Lila Weinberg, muckraking "hit a militant stride in 1903-4" and "took on a sensational tinge in 1905-6."[239] Although today this kind of journalistic approach might be viewed as questionable, the retelling of these kinds of stories was common practice for the muckrakers. Robert Miraldi points out, "The ideal of reporter objectivity or neutrality is called into question and challenged by muckraking. When a reporter crusades on an issue and decides to expose what he sees as evil, he sheds the objective stance."[240] The examples are numerous, from William Hard's "De Kid Wot Works at Night (1908)," to John Spargo's "The Bitter Cry of the Children (1906)," and Edwin Markham's "Spinners in the Dark (1907)," among others. Like their cinematic counterparts, they relied on the tragic stories of individual children to tug at the reader's heartstrings. In Robert Hunter's essay titled, "The Children Who Toil (1905)," we learn the story of Mary Jensen. Hunter describes Mary's life as the "most pathetic" and writes:

> She was a poor, weak, frail little thing, seemingly with almost bloodless veins. . . her little fingers were taught to twist papers and wires into artificial flowers. . . Mary's eyes grew tired and blurred, her little body was shaken-first with a bronchitis-and then came a more stubborn cough that racked all her little frame. . . .during the following year the life which had meant for this child but little else than hunger and toil slowly ebbed away.[241]

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[239] Arthur and Lila Weinberg, "Introduction," in *The Muckrakers,* Arthur and Lila Weinberg, eds. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), xx.
[240] Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions.* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 6.
[241] Robert Hunter, "The Children Who Toil (1905)," in *Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers*, Harvey Swados, ed. (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), 157 & 158-159.

By today's standards this may seem a bit too sentimental, but as the Weinberg's note, "There was a need for aggressive and sensational measures. This is where the muckrakers were important. . . . the muckrakers furnished the facts and made them alive for a reading public."[242] Clearly, it is easier for a reader/viewer to invest emotionally if they are able to connect to the suffering of an individual rather than an entire group. Muckrakers basically drew their readers into their cause one sad story at a time. However, the sheer repetition of this type of narrative had a cumulative effect on the public. It helped to establish the child labor masterplot that became a critical part of the cultural discourse.

The specific details mattered less than the general story of a child that was overworked, and physically and mentally underdeveloped. This narrative was ingrained in public consciousness. As Alan Trachtenberg explains, "While each picture, then, had its own backing of data, its own internal story, it took its meaning ultimately from the larger story."[243] It is essential that Hine's written, as well as his photographic work be read within the context of this larger narrative. His style of writing is similar to that of the contemporary muckrakers weaving a mixture of fact, argument, and appeal throughout. He also combines local dialects with his own investigative voice, and he incorporates portions of interviews done with child laborers, parents, and employers in several of his essays. In "Baltimore to Biloxi and Back (1913)," Hine recounts the following:

"What is your name, little girl?"
"Dunno."
"How old are you?"
"Dunno."

[242] Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers,* xxii.
[243] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 130.

"How many pots do you shuck in a day?"
"Dunno."[244]

Along with his photographs, he offers equally graphic descriptions within the text of his essays. Trachtenberg notes that Hine's "prose is as exhaustive in its recital of details, of photographic facts, as the pictures."[245] In one firsthand account he writes:

> Come out with me to one of these canneries at three o'clock some morning. Here is the crude shed-like building, with a long dock at which the oyster boats unload their cargoes. Near the dock is the ever present shell pile, a monument of mute testimony to the patient toil of little fingers. It is cold, damp, dark. The whistle blew some time ago, and the young workers slipped into their meager garments, snatched a bite to eat and hurried to the shucking shed.[246]

In this passage he utilizes two essential components of narrative: spatial description and temporal narration. Overall Hine depicts a rather bleak image of this place and of the grueling nature of the work. "The muckrakers were, in the end, reporter-reformers who liked to tell stories, albeit with a social significance," Miraldi explains, "The turn-of-the-century muckrakers, many of whom hoped to become novelists, were adept at telling stories. Their exposes, serialized each month in national magazines, had soap-opera qualities."[247] Or, you could say melodramatic qualities. Hine's writing is often as emotional and stirring as his photographs. "When they are picking shrimps, their fingers and even their shoes are attacked by a corrosive substance in the shrimp that is strong enough to eat the tin cans into which they are put," he states, "The workers are thinly clad, but like the fabled ostrich, cover their heads and imagine they are warm."[248] As in the "Making Human Junk" poster, Hine fosters a collaborative relationship between

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[244] Lewis Hine, "Baltimore to Biloxi and Back," in *The Survey.* Volume 30 (May 3, 1913), 171.
[245] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 129.
[246] Lewis Hine, "Baltimore to Biloxi and Back," in *The Survey.* Volume 30 (May 3, 1913), 169-170.
[247] Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity*, 9.
[248] Hine, "Baltimore to Biloxi and Back," 170.

image and text in his work. Photographs and their accompanying text function interdependently in many of the posters, pamphlets, and essays that he did for the NCLC. While his "true labor was photography," according to Trachtenberg, his writings are "often moving and acute in their own right," and "deserve our attention; they express Hine's feelings about his labor in the cause of a better life for working people, as well as his ideas about the cause."[249] Similarly, Beaumont Newhall discusses the importance for the documentary image to reveal some aspect of the photographer's own "emotional" or "sympathetic" response toward his subject. As mentioned in chapter one, Newhall states, "He will put into his camera studies something of the emotion which he feels toward the problem, for he realizes that this is the most effective way to teach the public he is addressing."[250] What Hine sought was to transform that emotion into readable, 'moving' stories that had the potential to persuade his viewer. By adopting a melodramatic mode of narration, he could both convey his own feelings toward the subject and stir the viewer's emotions as well.

One of the signature elements of melodrama was its moral legibility. According to Peter Brooks, melodrama was "the principal mode for uncovering, demonstrating, and making operative the essential moral universe in a post-sacred era."[251] It is a world where good and evil are highly polarized, and where the roles of victim and villain are clearly distinguished. Usually the melodramatic play would open with "a presentation of virtue and innocence," or as Peter Brooks claims, "virtue *as* innocence."[252] The suffering of an innocent victim was a typical feature in melodrama. It is a central feature in Hine's

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[249] Trachtenberg, "Ever-the Human Document," 129.
[250] Beaumont Newhall, "Documentary Approach to Photography," in *Parnassus.* Volume 10, Number 3 (March, 1938), 5.
[251] Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination, 15.*
[252] Ibid., 29.

work as well; particularly in his photographs of working children. For progressive reformers, the child labor problem was a question of morality. It was often presented as a simple choice between good and evil, or as the title of Hine's essay suggests, "Children or Cotton?" In this investigative piece he writes, "Many of the worst crimes against childhood are not physically evident until later years. The dreary stretch of deadening toil on the road ahead; the stunted mind and shriveled spirit are not always reflected in the physique of the child who is just opening the door into the world of overwork."[253] His words here are deliberately excessive. Each one carefully chosen for maximum impact: "dreary," "deadening," "stunted," "shriveled." Through text and image Hine pulls his reader through a range of emotions from sympathy to anger. The final goal is always to inspire action. "One of the most pitiful things about the situation is the indifferent acceptance of the conditions by people in general," and Hine tells us that in several newspaper clippings there is "a certain local pride in the exploitation of even the youngest children."[254] For most reformers, child labor was not only ethically wrong, but it was the most damaging of social ills because it preyed on the most helpless of victims. While it is clear that in Hine's melodrama the doffer boy is the victim, it is less clear who he intended as villain. On some level the image of the doffer indicts us all. The viewer is the villain. There is a sense that anyone who knowingly participates in this system, a system that destroys lives, a system that abuses and exploits innocent children, bears responsibility. However, Hine also leaves open the possibility for his viewer to be the hero. In this melodrama, the viewer has the potential to alter the ending. If the ending is to be a happy one, then pathos must be put into action. Brooks claims that in melodrama

[253] Lewis Hine, "Children or Cotton?," in *The Survey*, Volume 31 (February 7, 1914), 590.
[254] Ibid., 590 & 591.

there is a "moment of astonishment" or "a moment of ethical evidence or recognition."[255] I would argue that this moment occurs when the viewer confronts the doffer image. The 'ethical evidence' is the photograph itself. The viewer then realizes that in order to right this wrong, the immoral practice of child labor must be abolished. Hine concludes his "High Cost of Child Labor" essay by listing the child labor provisions in each state. He also includes a photograph of the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. with the caption: "Children's Rights vs. States Rights." Finally, he makes the following plea, "8,300 men and women have already joined the National Child Labor Committee, but we need ten times this number if the citizens of tomorrow are to have their chance."[256] To be the hero in this story requires active participation in the democratic process. To stop child labor requires the passage of new legislation.

Although the role of villain is left open in Hine's work, the role of innocent victim is certainly not. Christof Decker argues that "the vulnerable yet morally uncontaminated figure of the child has been a staple of American cinema from D.W. Griffith to Steven Spielberg," but has "received surprisingly little scholarly attention even though it has engendered crucial melodramatic scenarios . . ."[257] It was during the Progressive Era that the notion of an 'ideal' childhood began to take hold among middle-class reformers. Their focus was on better parenting and education which they believed would improve the lives of children, as well as solve social problems. According to George Dimock, the "priceless child" is an "ideologically powerful concept of young people, ranging in age from infancy to adolescence, as being endowed with an emotional worth beyond all

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[255] Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 26.
[256] Hine, "The High Cost of Child Labor," 45.
[257] Christof Decker, "'Unusually Compassionate': Melodrama, Film and the Figure of the Child," in *Melodrama! The Mode of Excess from Early America to Hollywood.* Frank Kelleter, Barbara Krah, and Ruth Mayer, eds. (Heidelberg: Universitatsverlag, 2007), 310 & 305.

materialist reckoning."[258] That ideology is embedded within Hine's NCLC photographs where the figure of the working child is equated with virtue and innocence. Progressive reformers believed there was a "fundamental 'right to childhood'" which they "understood as a fragile state of grace incompatible with the conditions of wage labor."[259] Decker claims that for the melodramatic imagination, the figure of the child represented three primary qualities: it is exceedingly vulnerable and thus easily victimized; it signifies a specific form of innocence, lacking the knowledge, prejudice and preconceptions of adults; and, it has been regarded as the promise of a different less painful and depressing future.[260] Hine's doffer boy represents all three melodramatic functions. First, he looks particularly vulnerable because of his small stature. Decker explains that the "physical weakness of the child's body" makes him more helpless and "in need of protection together with the susceptibility to being fooled and misled all create a sense of exceptional vulnerability."[261] Second, the child's lack of knowledge, (especially sexual knowledge), is another aspect of innocence often featured in the melodramatic mode. (One example would be the scene in Edison's *Children Who Labor* where a foreman attempts to fondle one of the young girls. Fig.6) While children are particularly susceptible to this kind of victimization, this is only one "element of injustice which is complemented by the emotional and psychological treatment or rather mistreatment of the child."[262] The doffer boy is helpless and represents the virtuous victim. Yet, at the same time the doffer can also represent the potential for a "more

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[258] George Dimock, "Priceless Children: Child Labor and the Pictorialist Ideal," in *Priceless Children: American Photographs 1890-1925.* (Greensboro, NC: Weatherspoon Art Museum, 2001), 7.
[259] Ibid., 8.
[260] Decker, "'Unusually Compassionate,'" 311.
[261] Ibid., 311.
[262] Ibid., 312.

humane and harmonious world."[263] This is the third function of the melodramatic child. Decker claims that the utopian dimension has the potential to "enrich" or "complicate" the story. Hine can only represent the child from the perspective of an adult. The depiction of the innocent child "appears in many cases to be a mere projection of the hoped for development of the adult world," Decker even suggests that it may even be "seen as a kind of injustice committed in the name of humanity, . . .designed for the pleasure and healing of adults."[264] The new cultural space now occupied by the figure of the child served Hine well. His figure of the doffer boy embodies all of the qualities described by Decker. The doffer is meant to signify a loss (or potential loss) of innocence, and to arouse within the viewer a sense of pity and compassion.

Among the many and varied interpretations in the field of melodramatic studies, there are those who insist that melodrama "always sides with the powerless," and further, "that to take the side of the powerless is by definition to take the side of morality and truth."[265] This equation is built into all of Hine's photographs and is at the core of his entire project. In "Social Photography," he adopts the voice of an evangelical preacher when he proclaims: "The dictum, then, of the social worker is 'Let there be light;' and in this campaign for light we have for our advance agent the light writer – the photograph."[266] Beyond the obvious reference to the light used in the making of a photograph, there is also the Christian association between light and God, or light and goodness. Hine even includes a selection by George Eliot that "suggests" the need for

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[263] Ibid., 313.
[264] Ibid., 314.
[265] Frank Kelleter and Ruth Mayer, "The Melodramatic Mode Revisited. An Introduction," 12. In their review of current literature in the field of melodramatic studies, they credit Martha Vicinus and David Grimsted for elaborating this position.
[266] Hine, "Social Photography," 112.

the social photographer, ". . .let us always have men ready to give the loving pains of life to the faithful representing of commonplace things, men who see beauty in the commonplace things, and delight in showing how kindly the light of heaven falls on them."[267] Hine also references Victor Hugo when he claims "the great social peril is darkness and ignorance."[268] The light of his photographs were meant to erase darkness and ignorance; to see was to know, to know was to be empowered.

As the official photographer of the NCLC, Hine's primary goal was to first enlighten, and then to 'move' his viewer to take action. Although it is fairly easy to assess his intention, it is far more difficult to assess the impact of his work on an individual viewer. Hine's use of melodrama was certainly convincing as a mode of narration, but it may not have 'moved' every viewer in the way he intended. While some felt compassion for the child laborer, others may have felt disdain, or indifference. According to Linda Williams, "Virtuous suffering is a pathetic weapon against injustice, but we need to recognize how frequently it has been the melodramatic weapon of choice of American popular culture."[269] It is hard to measure how "pathetic" a weapon Hine's photographs were in the battle to end child labor practices. A viewer's response to his doffer photograph, for example, would undoubtedly reflect their attitude toward children, immigration, or capitalism; all complex and highly controversial issues in their own right. Moreover, most of his NCLC viewers were sociologists and social workers, who probably found reassurance in his child labor images. How one measures the success or failure of Hine's project ultimately depends on how one measures the success or failure of the Progressive era. Although a federal law banning child labor would not be passed

[267] Ibid., 113.
[268] Ibid., 112.
[269] Williams, "Melodrama Revised," 80.

until the 1930s, the Progressive era did make some legislative gains in housing regulation, public health, and child welfare. Reformers also set up an institutional network establishing agencies like the US Children's Bureau and the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, among others. Robert Harrison summarizes, "For all their limitations, the social reform of the Progressive Era left an important legacy. . . . in probing the limits of a particular tradition of negative regulation, it pointed the way to more positive uses of government power during the New Deal."[270] Hine too left an important legacy for later generations of documentary photographers. As we have seen in his "Making Human Junk" poster and his NCLC photograph of the doffer boy, Hine utilized a melodramatic mode of narration which allowed him to not only tell the story of child labor, but to 'move' his viewer along the way. Hine's pictorial narratives force us to reconsider the assumption that the categories of documentary and narrative are incompatible, and raise a new set of questions over the relationship between early twentieth-century cinema and still photography. In my next chapter I will continue to explore the question of narrative in Hine's work by examining a series, rather than a single photograph.

[270] Robert Harrison. *State and Society in Twentieth-Century America.* (London: Longman, 1997), 136.

CHAPTER THREE – NARRATIVE SPACES

Lewis Hine did not coin the term "photo story" until 1914 but he had produced photographic narratives as early as 1908. It was during these years that Hine worked to establish himself as a documentary photographer and began to explore the possibilities of narrative in his work. My argument is not only that Hine created highly narrative photographic images and essays, but that he did so by adopting a number of cinematic devices. While it is true that pictorial narrative is not exclusive to either film or photography and can certainly be found in a range of other mediums from painting to comic strips, it is also true that Hine's work is most closely linked to the formal strategies used in film and that his formative years as a photographer coincide with the emergence of narrative cinema. Although the labeling of this period has been controversial in cinematic histories, most film scholars agree that between 1908 and 1917 cinema underwent a period of rapid change and transformation. A variety of new filmmaking techniques were introduced that enabled filmmakers to create more complex and comprehensible narratives. In this chapter I will outline a few key discussions on the development of early cinematic narrative and the growth of the film industry. As movies began to reach mass appeal they began to establish a new way of seeing. Before we can look at Hine's use of narrative strategies, we must first understand some of the methods used by contemporary filmmakers, in particular the development of editing techniques. Then I will undertake a comparative analysis between one of Hine's first photographic essays, "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh," and early film form. By focusing on form we ensure that the work itself remains central to our investigation. Most

photographic histories have been fairly one-sided in their treatment of the relationship between film and photography. The emphasis has been almost exclusively on the effect of photography, both historically and technologically, on the newly emerging medium of film. This study offers a rare opportunity to reverse that order and examine the impact of film on photography.

Although the subject of narrative has received a great deal of attention by film historians, it has seldom been discussed by photographic historians. When the subject of narrative is addressed in photographic histories, it is usually within the context of much broader debates concerning art photography. Since the medium's official inception in 1839, there have been numerous practitioners who sought to legitimize photography as a 'fine art.' This often meant adopting both the picturesque effects as well as the established subjects of painting. A variety of techniques were devised to deliberately mimic painterly effects. Some photographers also began to incorporate the narrative subjects of painting into their work. It is here that the relationship between art photography and narrative is forged. Painting already had a well established hierarchy of genres that privileged narrative subjects whether biblical, mythological, or historical. Narrative subjects were considered to be the most important and even required the largest canvases. For photographers such as, Julia Margaret Cameron in the mid-nineteenth century, and F.Holland Day in the early twentieth century, to name just a few, emulating the Old Masters by depicting scenes taken from literature and the Bible allowed them to create 'fine art' photographs. My intention is not to argue for or against the narrativity of any particular photograph produced by Cameron or Day, but it should be noted that the conflation of art and narrative first occurred within this genre of photography.

By contrast, documentary photography has generally been thought of as an unmediated transcription of reality, and unlike its artistic counterpart, is considered non-narrative and therefore not art. Documentary has been described as a style, a movement, and a concept, and is just as difficult to define as the concepts of either art or of narrative. The category of documentary photography is as problematic as art photography and its relationship to narrative is equally complex. As mentioned earlier, most photographic histories raise the issue of narrative only within the context of art photography. It is not surprising then, that in discussions about documentary the issue of narrative is not usually addressed directly. However, the distinction between narrative and non-narrative is implicit within the larger debates over art and documentary. Documentary photography was considered non-narrative in much the same way that *actualities* were in film. In his classic text *The History of Photography*, Newhall even proposes words such as "historical, factual, realistic," to be used as substitutes for the word documentary.[271] Further, Newhall's discussion of documentary is significant because it makes a connection between photographers and filmmakers. Both use the camera in similar ways and both struggle with aesthetic questions. Newhall writes, "As social photographers they shied away from the word 'artistic,' and the voluminous literature of the movement is full of insistence that documentary film is *not* art."[272] And, in his essay "The Documentary Idea (1942)," Grierson famously writes, "Documentary was from the beginning . . .an 'anti-aesthetic' movement" and that the "penalty of realism is that it is about reality and has to bother for ever not about being 'beautiful' but about being

[271] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: from 1839 to the present day.* Revised and enlarged edition. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1964), 150.
[272] Ibid., 144.

right."[273] In the years since Grierson and Newhall there have been numerous critical writings on the documentary film movement as well as documentary photography in general. Indeed, the distinction between art and documentary has been oversimplified but it does provide some insight into the relationship that narrative has had with photography. Just as art photography became associated with narrative, documentary photography became associated with non-narrative. In fact, Hine's position as a pioneer documentarian is all the more remarkable when one considers his use of narrative strategies to communicate his message of social reform. Hine's "photo story" undermines the perception that the concepts of narrative and documentary are in opposition.

Narrative has held a privileged position in most film histories. While cinema's commercial origins date back to 1894, the dominance of narrative is usually thought to begin around 1907-08. Because change was so rapid during these first few decades periodization is not stable. Yet, there are some generally acknowledged sub-periods within film. The years between 1894 and 1917 have been deemed "early cinema." This period has been further divided into a "primitive" phase (1894-1907) and a "transitional" phase (1907/8-1917). Cinema's later "classical" period begins in 1917 and by some accounts lasts until 1960. The transitional phase is one of the more difficult periods to pin down. Both Charlie Keil and Tom Gunning, two noted film historians, mark the end point for the transitional phase at 1913 largely because the single reel format begins to

[273] John Grierson, "The Documentary Idea," in *The Documentary Film Movement: An Anthology*. Ian Aitkin, ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 105.

give way to the longer multiple-reel feature film.[274] For Gunning the term "transitional" is problematic as he explains that "the term seems to indicate that this period's significance lies less in itself than in the eras it comes from and leads to. Serving as a bridge between an earlier cinema that was somehow different and a later classical cinema in which difference was repressed . . . the transitional era would serve mainly as a way station, a pit stop on the course of history."[275] Gunning even proposes calling this period "the single-reel era" instead of calling it "transitional."[276] And Keil states, "In effect, to define the transitional period is to define a process of change. As industrial conditions shifted and the single-reel format gained primacy, filmmakers faced the prospect of filling a thousand feet with intelligible, compelling narrative."[277] The transitional phase is generally recognized as the moment when narrative cinema begins. Gunning defines this period as one of "narrative integration" in which the "various devices of the cinema were worked over with an eye to creating narratives that were not only easily comprehensible but also fully engaging."[278] It was during the transitional period that filmmakers worked to clarify temporal and spatial relations between shots by developing such editing techniques as parallel editing, reverse-angle cuts, and point of view shots.

Attempts at periodization in any field usually generate controversy and film is certainly no exception. The decade of the 1970s ushered in a range of new theoretical approaches that challenged the hegemony of classical cinema and brought about a

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[274] Charlie Keil, *Early American Cinema in Transition: Story, Style, and Filmmaking, 1907-1913.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001); Tom Gunning, *D.W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years of Biograph*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).
[275] Tom Gunning, "Systematizing the Electric Message: Narrative Form, Gender, and Modernity in The Lonedale Operator," in *American Cinema's Transitional Era: Audiences, Institutions, Practices.* Charlie Keil and Shelley Stamp, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 16.
[276] Ibid, 17.
[277] Charlie Keil, *Early American Cinema*, 4.
[278] Gunning, "Systematizing the Electric Message," 16.

rediscovery of early cinema. This new era of research is said to have begun at a 1978 conference held by the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) in Brighton. Andre Gaudreault recalls:

> There, our examination of 'early cinema' privileged, and this was novel for the first time, a highly *documented* approach: more than five hundred films of the period were brought together, loaned for the occasion by some fifteen film archives around the world. The screening of these films to a small group of international specialists . . . was a true revelation.[279]

It was at the Brighton conference that Noel Burch introduced his essay "Porter and Ambivalence." Burch's work would influence a generation of scholars and according to Thomas Elsaesser, "marked for many in film studies their first encounter with a decisively different way of conceptualizing the origins and early forms of cinema."[280] This was also a time when the archives of the Library of Congress and the Museum of Modern Art made a number of early films and material available for study. Rather than perpetuating traditional accounts of this period, scholars took the films of early cinema on their own terms and in the context of their own historical moment. Tom Gunning, Andre Gaudreault, and Marshall Deutelbaum, to name just a few, were among those whose theoretical insights prompted a critical rethinking of early cinema. Each has informed my understanding of early cinema's relation to narrative as well as my analysis of Hine's photographic series.

In his essay, "Non-Continuity, Continuity, Discontinuity: A Theory of Genres in Early Films," Gunning provides a conceptual model that defines not only early cinema but classical cinema and the avant-garde as well. His theory of genres allows for the

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[279] Andre Gaudreault, "From 'Primitive Cinema' to 'Kine-Attractography,'" in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded*. Wanda Strauven, ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 85.
[280] Thomas Elsaesser, "Early Cinema: From Linear History to Mass Media Archaeology," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative*. Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 2.

discovery of early films on their own terms rather than simply as a prelude to an art form. Gunning builds on the work of the Russian Formalists who in the 1920s articulated a distinction between *fabula* ('story') and s*yuzhet* ('plot'). Basically, 'story' refers to the event or sequence of events and 'plot' refers to how the story is conveyed. David Bordwell explains: "The plot is, in effect, the film before us. The story is thus our mental construct, a structure of inferences we make on the basis of selected aspects of the plot."[281] Moreover, Gunning stresses that "the most important aspect of the concept of cine-genres is that it does not define genres simply in terms of content . . . but also in terms of its actualization as expression through the specific stylistic devices of film."[282] Gunning's definition of genres was primarily dependent on their relation to the articulation between shots in terms of space and time. To summarize: the first genre consists of narratives completed within a single shot; the second genre, or the genre of non-continuity, consists of a narrative in at least two shots, in which the disruption caused by the cut(s) between shots is used to express a disruption on the story level of the film; the third genre, or the genre of continuity, consists of multi-shot narratives in which the discontinuity caused by cuts is de-emphasized by being bridged through a continuity of action on the story level; and finally, the fourth genre, or the genre of discontinuity, in which a multi-shot narrative conveys action which is continuous on the story level through a disruption caused by editing on the plot level.[283]

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[281] David Bordwell, "The classical Hollywood style, 1917-1960," in *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960.* David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 12.
[282] Tom Gunning, "Non-Continuity, Continuity, Discontinuity: A Theory of Genres in Early Films," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 88.
[283] Ibid., 89.

Until about 1903, the genre of single-shot narrative was dominant. This would include any film in which some narrative action is developed within a single shot, such as the Lumiere's *Eloping by Horseback* (1898). Usually these films were comic and depicted some sort of gag or prank being played on an unsuspecting victim. The genre of non-continuity is more complicated and emphasizes, rather than minimizes, the move from one shot to another. There are many techniques that were used to mark the transition between shots and the disruption in the story. For example, the use of blurring effects and dissolves were fairly common in dream sequences. These devices drew attention to the shift between shots as well as the rupture within the story between dreams and life. The genre of continuity came a bit later than the previous genres and is best exemplified in the form of a chase film. "In this genre the disruption of the cut is naturalized by a continuity within the story," Gunning explains, "Specifically this continuity is the actual movement of a character(s) that bridges the cuts. The end of one shot is signaled by characters leaving the frame, while the next shot is inaugurated by their reappearance."[284] Typically in the chase film one character is pursued by a group of characters as the action moves from one location to the next. Each shot shows the character being chased with the mob in the distance. The shot is held until all the characters exit the frame. This is repeated until the pursued character is eventually captured. "This approach to continuity established by the chase film also allows a series of variations in which continuity of action over a series of cuts establishes a coherent synthetic geography."[285] The development of continuity editing was critical for Hine as well. In his Pittsburgh article, he incorporates the basic principles of continuity editing to

[284] Ibid., 91.
[285] Ibid., 91.

create his own version of a "coherent synthetic geography." What results is a photographic series in which Hine is able to bring his viewer, visually and conceptually, on a tour of a working-class neighborhood.

Gunning's fourth genre, or the narrative of discontinuity, reintroduces the disruption of the cut, but on the level of plot (the actual assembly of shots) rather than story. The genre of discontinuity is tied to the development of one of cinema's most important narrative devices, parallel editing. Parallel editing appeared as early as 1907 in such films as *The Runaway Horse* (Pathe, 1907) and *The Hundred to One Shot* (Vitagraph, 1906), but it is most closely associated with the work of D.W. Griffith. By 1909, parallel editing becomes a dominant technique used to create suspense in rescue situations. It emphasizes the physical separation of two conflicting groups that will eventually meet at a single moment in a single location. Typically the shots alternate from one location, or group, to another, which indicates that the actions are occurring at the same time. Gaudreault maintains that parallel editing has been a "useful, if not indispensable" device in the construction of narratives and in the creation of "a strong identification between the screen and audience."[286] With its specification of temporal and spatial relations between shots, the technique of parallel editing heightens the level of audience involvement in a story. Like many of the early filmmakers, Hine faced similar spatial and temporal challenges when structuring more than one photograph in his narrative essays. In general, Gunning's theory of cine-genres has particular relevance to my analysis of Hine's work. Although Gunning acknowledges that his "sketch of a succession of genres needs further investigation in terms of the recognition of such

[286] Andre Gaudreault, "Temporality and Narrativity in Early Cinema, 1895-1908," in *Film Before Griffith.* John L. Fell,ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 327.

genres by film-makers and audiences,"[287] it provides an important model with which to analyze the articulation between shots.

The chase film is considered the original truly narrative genre of cinema. The chase film appeared around 1903 during the earliest period of film history. This period has been described by Gunning and Gaudreault as a "cinema of attractions."[288] The concept of the cinema of attractions had little to do with fiction versus non- fiction films, instead it was about the address of the audience and about a display of events more than a narration. Gunning relates this form of exhibitionist cinema to a wider set of cultural practices from amusement parks to vaudeville, as he explains "the cinema of attractions directly solicits spectator attention, inciting visual curiosity, and supplying pleasure through an exciting spectacle – a unique event, whether fictional or documentary, that is of interest in itself."[289] In this mode of cinema theatrical display takes precedence over narrative absorption, it emphasizes "direct stimulation of shock or surprise at the expense of unfolding a story or creating a diegetic universe."[290] Although narrative integration is said to begin in 1908, the chase film shows that a synthesis of attractions and narrative was already underway before then. Keil explains that the chase film "enjoyed a fairly extensive vogue, lasting at least until 1908. Undoubtedly the most popular of early story films, the chase was also the most influential model of narrative construction."[291] Clearly the notion that early cinema is non-narrative and later cinema is narrative is far too

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[287] Gunning, "Non-Continuity," 93.
[288] Andre Gaudreault and Tom Gunning, "Le cinema des premiers temps: un defi a l'histoire du cinema?," in *Histoire du cinema. Nouvelle approaches.* Jacques Aumont, Andre Gaudreault and Michel Marie, eds. (Paris: Sorbonne, 1989), 49-63.
[289] Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: *Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde,"* in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 58.
[290] Ibid., 59.
[291] Keil, *Early American Cinema,* 47.

simplistic. Gunning asserts that the contrast between attractions and narrative "should never be seen as mutually exclusive but they need to be dialectically interrelated."[292] While there were many early films that functioned strictly as attractions and lacked narrative structure, there were also many early films that showed interaction between the two. Indeed, the chase film illustrates Gaudreault's claim "that attraction and narration can work well together."[293]

With the increase in demand for story films during this period, filmmakers developed a range of new forms and techniques. Keil writes that "filmmakers during the transitional era abandoned previously accepted notions of address and opted more consistently to focus on the narrative for its own sake. . .This shift-from direct address, with an emphasis on attractions, to a distinctly different fluctuating mode of narration-helps define the nature of transition."[294] Films made before 1907 prioritize spatial over temporal concerns. Typically this meant that each scene of the action was shown in one shot as in Edwin S. Porter's *The Kleptomaniac* (Edison, 1905). Here Porter contrasts the treatment of a two women after they are arrested for stealing. He first shows the rich woman's actions and then the poor one's, but he never alternates between them.[295] According to Bowser, "The development of new ways to connect shots, or editing, was probably the most important change in film form to take place during the 1907-1909 period. Creating a spatiotemporal world, a kind of geography made of separate shots

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[292] Tom Gunning, "Early American Film," in *American Cinema and Hollywood: Critical Approaches.* John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 37.
[293] Gaudreault, "From 'Primitive Cinema,'" 96.
[294] Keil, *Early American Cinema*, 81.
[295] Kristin Thompson, "The formulation of the classical style, 1909-28," in *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960.* David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 210.

related to one another, was crucial in the construction of a complex narrative."[296] In the early chase film the shots were linked by the direction of the pursuit in relation to the camera position. Both the pursued and pursuer could enter a shot from the distance and exit in the foreground. The action could appear to move directly from one shot to the next. Keil reminds us that the chase film is an example of what Gunning calls the "genre of continuity" where a sustained and extended narrative action linking diverse spaces supersedes the status of the individual shot.[297] There were a number of different editing methods that emerged during the transition period. Editing was not only the relation of one space to another, but it could involve the dissection of a singular space through a change in perspective or camera distance. Bowser explains that in 1908 editing was referred to as "alternate scenes" and terms such as, "parallel editing" and "crosscutting" were only applied later.[298] In *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, Kristin Thompson defines "'crosscutting' as editing which moves between simultaneous events in widely separated locales. 'Parallel editing' differs in that the two events intercut are not simultaneous."[299] A rare early example of this type of editing can be found in D.W. Griffith's *A Corner in Wheat* (AB, 1909). A cause and effect is suggested by alternating between scenes of the Wheat King and the poor people in the bakery. However, because the time scheme is unclear, it could be either crosscutting or parallel editing.[300] Overall these filmmaking devices were not immediately widespread but they would later become the basis for the continuity system of the classical era. During the transition period, "when all kinds of editing were new and not yet established as conventions," Bowser

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[296] Bowser, *Transformation*, 57-58.
[297] Keil, *Early American Cinema*, 86.
[298] Bowser, *Transformation*, 58.
[299] Thompson, "The formulation of the classical style, 1909-28," 210.
[300] Ibid., 210-211.

states that "the distinctions were not always articulated clearly in the films or in the language."[301] The lack of established conventions was actually a great benefit for filmmakers as well as for Hine. This was a moment full possibility for the new medium. One that offered tremendous opportunity and a level of formal experimentation that would be hard to duplicate in later years. It was a moment for Hine to take full advantage of the technical achievements in editing.

An early example of editing in film that is both instructive and controversial is Edwin S. Porter's *The Life of an American Fireman* (Edison, 1903). There are two versions of this film, a copyright version from the Library of Congress and a cross-cut version from the Museum of Modern Art. In his essay "Detours in Film Narrative: The Development of Cross-Cutting," Andre Gaudreault argues that the cross-cut version is a "counterfeit" and that the "unedited negative was years afterwards recovered and the film reassembled by someone unfamiliar with the original version."[302] Gaudreault believes that the cross-cut version has been privileged because it conforms to later modes of continuity editing. The authentic version of Porter's film is thought to be the copyright version. In this version Porter uses temporal overlap which according to Gaudreault was "in an effort to resolve problems of spatial contiguity. As we will see, filmmakers in most cases have repeated action through editing so as to implicate characters displaced between two adjoining spaces, most often spaces separated by a wall."[303] The first half of the film was the same in both versions, but its second half, the rescue scene, was presented in just two shots. First the interior scene from start to finish, and then, going

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[301] Bowser, *Transformation*, 58.
[302] Andre Gaudreault, "Detours in Film Narrative: The Development in Cross-Cutting," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 141.
[303] Andre Gaudreault, "Temporality and Narrativity in Early Cinema, 1895-1908," in *Film Before Griffith.* John L. Fell, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 316.

back in time to the beginning of the rescue, the exterior scene from start to finish [304] What Porter shows first is an interior of a burning house where a fireman enters to rescue a mother and child. He throws the woman over his shoulder and exits by the window, and then reappears at the window to take the child and again climb out. Two other firemen enter to hose the flames and the shot cuts to black. The next shot is of the exterior of the building and we see the woman imploring the fireman to rescue her child who is still in the room. Gaudreault explains:

> This shot runs more or less as long as what has just been described and permits us to witness, once again, *the same action,* this time from the exterior of the building, probably from an onlookers point of view. Our systemic analysis of the film convinces us that the simple copresence of two different points of view toward one single event justifies their successive presentation, which produces a repetition of the action and finally temporal overlap that today can only astonish.[305]

In pre-1907 cinema there are many examples of film sequences that show overlap in time or repeated action, from interior to exterior shots. Bowser claims that by 1907 "few films other than Porter's could supply examples of repetition like that of *The Life of an American Fireman*" and a few years later "such editing would simply look like a 'mistake.'"[306] The Porter case was more than a simple question of attribution, it was about determining exactly when and how filmmakers began to show the simultaneity of two actions.

The development of new editing methods allowed the spectator to become more involved in the film experience. According to Bowser, "In earlier days, moving pictures were accepted as spectacle, a magic show, an amusing entertainment," but during the transition period "most people assumed that movies aspire to reality, for reasons having

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[304] Robert Sklar, *A World History of Film.* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002), 36.
[305] Gaudreault, "Temporality," 317.
[306] Bowser, *Transformation,* 61.

to do with the new emphasis on the story film."[307] Spectators could now become more invested emotionally in a film. They wanted to maintain a state of suspended disbelief and expected a film narrative to be comprehensible without previous knowledge of the story. The move from one shot to the next was also expected to be as seamless as possible without breaking the illusion of reality. To achieve this, filmmakers began to adopt what critics have referred to as the analytical editing style. Robert Sklar states that analytical editing "describes the way that an action or several actions that occur as continuous movements without interruption are 'analyzed' or broken up into a series of discrete images."[308] The techniques of cross-cutting and shot-countershot were considered elements of the analytic style. Cross-cutting is when a scene is characterized by a series of shots moving between two or more separate spaces, while shot-countershot is the term for shifting between positions within the same space. This can imply a relation between the camera setups in the sequence, such as two persons in the same room whose viewpoints are alternately presented. Sklar reminds us that the "shift to the new narrative mode was not an inexorable progression. It was perhaps most apparent in contemporary genres like comedy, crime, and domestic melodrama."[309] A distinct formal system emerged during the transitional era as filmmakers increased control over cinematic time and space. As Keil explains, "Filmmakers had to abandon the spatiotemporal principles animating cinema's first decade in order to extend story duration, manipulate temporal order, and clarify spatial relations within the confines of the single-reel format."[310] It was often the critical reaction in the trade press and

[307] Bowser, *Transformation,* 55.
[308] Sklar, *A World History of Film,* 49.
[309] Ibid., 51.
[310] Keil, *Early American Cinema,* 123.

audience acceptance that determined which cinematic strategies were the most effective. Some of the new techniques would last for only a few years, while others such as, crosscutting, would continue well beyond 1913 into cinema's classical phase.

As a spatiotemporal medium, film has often been compared to the novel or the theater, but perhaps its strongest affinity is with the medium of photography. Both have been thought to have an indexical relation to the real and share in a technology defined by its capacity for reproduction. Keil states that film and photography both have the "ability to record a truth from the past and reproduce it in the present."[311] At a moment when Hine was beginning his career as a photographer for the National Child Labor Committee, cinema was beginning to develop its narrative potential. What follows is an examination of the structure and sequence of Hine's photographs as they appeared in original essay form.

One of the first essays to include Hine's photographs was titled "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh," published in the March 7, 1908 issue of the social reform journal *Charities and The Commons.* At this time Hine was working on a free-lance basis for the magazine and this was one of his first assignments for the Pittsburgh Survey, a pioneering sociological study. It was shortly after the "Pittsburgh" article was published that Hine was hired by the NCLC as a full-time photographer. According to Daile Kaplan, by 1905 "Hine had already begun experimenting with the display of sequential photographs and captions on a single page."[312] Much of Hine's early work, including the "Pittsburgh" article, was uncredited (and sometimes untitled) when it was first published. Although the "Pittsburgh" article was written by F. Elisabeth Crowell,

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[311] Ibid., 84.
[312] Daile Kaplan, *Lewis Hine In Europe: The Lost Photographs.* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1988), 33.

Hine was responsible for each of the twelve photographs interspersed throughout the text. This essay was sixteen pages in length and included a graphic chart on the last page. Hine was one of several photographers working on a team for the Pittsburgh Survey but he was the only one whose photographs would eventually be credited. It was at this time that Hine and his editor, Paul Kellogg, began to develop a "mutually enhancing collaborative relationship," Kaplan explains, "selecting, sizing, cropping and arranging photographs for reproduction."[313] Hine created a new graphic language that centered on the photographic image. Kaplan states that throughout his career "Hine continued to disassemble the social photograph into syntactical units of picture and text. By arranging a group of images in multipage graphic designs, he recognized the latent power of the iconological image (along with authoritative text) as an effective and compelling communications tool."[314] As mentioned earlier, Hine saw his move from teacher to professional photographer as "merely changing the educational efforts from the classroom to the world."[315]

The "Pittsburgh" article is not only one of the first, but I believe it is also one of the best examples of how Hine used cinematic devices to arrange his photographs. Like the filmmakers of his day, Hine's photographs take the viewer on a spatial and even temporal journey through this Pittsburgh neighborhood. We are brought in and around the streets, and eventually inside one of the city's seedier tenements. The first image is located just above the title of the article on the first page. *Saw Mill Run* (Fig.8a and 8b) depicts a row of houses set on an angle in the distance. In the foreground there is a

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[313] Ibid., 34.
[314] Daile Kaplan, "'The Fetish of Having a Unified Thread': Lewis W. Hine's Reaction to the Use of the Photo Story in *Life* Magazine," in *Exposure.* Volume 27, Number 2 (1989), 10.
[315] Naomi Rosenblum, "Biographical Notes," in *America & Lewis Hine: Photographs 1904-1940.* (New York: Aperture, Inc., 1977), 17.

partial view of a road which has been photographed on a diagonal to create a perspectival pull into the space. The road brings the viewer into the scene and directly toward the three large row houses just behind it to the left. The "backyards" are littered with garbage and even sewage. Obviously this scene of tenement squalor was meant to shock, and through its placement at the beginning of the essay Hine was able to establish a sense of the surrounding space for the viewer. Kristin Thompson discusses the role of establishing shots in early cinema and their impact on the formulation of the classical style. She explains, "The long framing was the earliest device for creating and maintaining a clear narrative space. When other spatial devices were introduced – cut-ins, multiple spaces – the long shot ceased to present virtually all the action. Instead, it acquired a more specific function, that of establishing space."[316] Hine's *Saw Mill Run* photograph fulfills the function of establishing a whole space before he begins to move in at closer angles. Filmmakers usually placed long views at the beginning of a scene. Hine not only placed a long view on the first page of his essay, but he uses another longer view to re-establish space at the end of this essay as well.

As we examine each of the photographs in Hine's article we confront the inevitable question of whether or not they constitute a narrative. While Hine's photographs are far more dependent on accompanying text than some early cinematic works, there is an instructive comparison to be made between the still photograph and some of the earliest films that were made up of only one shot. An example would be the Lumiere brother's *Dejeuner de bebe* (1895) which is a simple depiction of a small child eating porridge. The question of whether or not one shot films constitute a narrative has been the subject of much debate within cinematic histories. In his discussion of the

[316] Thompson, "The formulation of the classical style, 1909-28," 196.

Lumiere brother's works Gaudreault asserts "that any film comprising one shot is a narrative, whatever the level of narrative development. In fact, 'if a statement relates an event, a real or fictitious action (and its intensity and quality are of little importance), then it falls within the category of narrative.'"[317] Gaudreault asks if each isolated shot of a film can constitute a narrative then does "this means that a film of 700 shots comprises 700 narratives? If so, what becomes of the filmic narrative as a whole?"[318] I would extend this question to include Hine: Does this mean that the twelve photographs in Hine's article comprise twelve narratives? Gaudreault's explanation is as follows:

> There are two types of narrative in the cinema: the micro-narrative (the shot), a first level on which is generated the second level of narrative; this second level more properly constitutes filmic narrative in the generally accepted sense. . . For even now, every shot tells a story merely by means of iconic analogy (and will continue to do so for as long as the cinema exists). This is the first level, or first layer of narrativity, produced by a machine which is doomed to tell stories 'for ever.'"[319]

The distinction between the two levels is essentially between showing and telling, or what Gaudreault calls "monstration and narration."[320] Narration involves an edited sequence while monstration displays a single shot. It should be noted that the concept of monstration is similar to the concept of a 'cinema of attractions,' however, the concept of 'attractions' was focused on the address to the spectator, while 'monstration,' at least as Gaudreault used it in this essay, was more concerned with the differences between the single shot and the edited sequence. Yet, both emphasize the spectacle and display found in the earliest cinematic works.

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[317] Andre Gaudreault, "Film, Narrative, Narration: The Cinema of the Lumiere Brothers," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 71.
[318] Ibid., 71.
[319] Ibid., 71.
[320] Andre Gaudreault, "Showing and Telling: *Image and Word in Early Cinema*," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 276.

The relationship between showing and telling has been central to discussions of narrative discourse and in understanding how different media can convey stories. For example, as a verbal medium literature is thought to *tell* more than it can *show*. Although there are certain literary narratives that have sought to give the impression of "showing." The narrative theorist, Gerard Genette claims that in language "showing can only be a *way of telling.*"[321] By contrast, film and photography are iconic mediums that are thought to show more immediately than they can tell. They each have the ability to record "a world of contingent events and unimportant details."[322] Again we confront the question of how a visual medium such as, film or photography, can "tell" a story? It is here that Gunning's concept of narrator offers a solution. Beginning in 1908 with the work of David Wark Griffith, Gunning writes:

> The *narrator-system* could be described as an interiorized film lecturer. . . However, this narrator was not located off-screen, but was absorbed into the images themselves and the way they are joined. The *narrator-system* seems to 'read' the images to the audience in the very act of presenting them. The narrator is invisible, revealing his presence only in the way he reveals the images on the screen.[323]

Further, Gunning points out that what is unique to film's narrative discourse is its "inherent photographic tendency toward mimesis" and that this aspect of film "defines" rather than "destroys" the concept of the filmic-narrator:

> The primary task of the filmic narrator must be to overcome the initial resistance of the photographic material to telling by creating a hierarchy of narratively important elements within a mass of contingent details. Through filmic discourse, these images of the world become

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[321] Gerard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method.* Jane E. Lewin, trans. (Ithaca: Cornell Universtiy Press, 1980), 166.
[322] Tom Gunning, *D.W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years of Biograph.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 17.
[323] Ibid., 304-5.

> addressed to the spectator, moving from natural phenomenon to cultural products, meanings arranged for a spectator.[324]

I would argue that like the filmic narrator, the photographic narrator must also "overcome the initial resistance of the photographic material to telling by creating a hierarchy of narratively important elements within a mass of contingent details." In both film and photography, narrative discourse involves a "unique transaction between showing and telling," Gunning explains, "The concept of narrativization focuses the transformation of showing into telling, film's bending of its excessive realism to narrative purposes."[325] My analysis here is of Hine's construction of a narrative discourse through the framing, editing, sequencing, and assembly of photographic images. It is Hine's narrativization, or his ability to strike a balance between 'showing' and 'telling,' that enables him to create what I call *narrative documents*.

Two pages after the *Saw Mill Run* photograph, Hine creates a photo montage by stacking three photographs of equal size on the same page. There is a slight overlap between the images as they are positioned diagonally from the upper left to the lower right corner of the page. Only the image in the lower right hand corner is completely visible. Described as *Soho Drainage* (Fig.9), the three photographs are linked not only in terms of their position on the page itself, but more importantly, each of the three scenes is linked spatially. From one image to the next Hine moves us through this space by mimicking the analytical editing techniques invented by contemporary filmmakers. There is also a strong resemblance to the comic strip which emerged alongside the cinema toward the end of the nineteenth century. As Francis Lacassin points out, "In both, the language is composed of a succession of 'shots,' (that is to say, images with

[324] Ibid., 17.
[325] Ibid., 18.

variable framing) in a syntactical arrangement or *montage*. . . The daily comic strip of three or four images is comparable to the cinematic scene."[326] According to John Fell, the comic strip artist and the filmmaker both confront "common problems of space and time within the conventions of narrative exposition."[327] In Hine's montage the entire page can effectively be read as a mini-narrative and like the comic strip each photograph is placed in a deliberate sequential order. Beginning with the top photograph, Hine creates another strong diagonal composition similar to the *Saw Mill Run* photograph described above. He brings the viewer into this scene where railroad tracks, wire cables, and buildings run parallel to one another and converge in the lower right corner. As in the *Saw Mill Run* photograph, Hine selects a vantage point that places us slightly below and looking up, but this time we are set further back at an even greater distance to again establish an overall view of the surrounding environment.

The second photograph in the center of the page provides a much closer vantage point than the first. This photograph depicts a fairly narrow path situated between the side of a building on the left and a wall on the right. There are trees, rooftops and an electrical pole in the background, while debris and sewage fill the space in the foreground. The electrical pole is an important detail in this scene as Hine situates it in almost the exact same position as the pole in the first photograph. Although it may not be the exact same pole as the first, it provides us with an important visual and conceptual link between the two photographs. Hine's strategy here is comparable to the filmmakers in early cinema who would divide a scene into a number of separate shots, cutting into a

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[326] Francis Lacassin, "The Comic Strip and Film Language," in *Film Quarterly.* Vol.26, No.1 (Autumn 1972), 11.
[327] John Fell, *Film and the Narrative Tradition.* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 89.

scene with closer shots. Although filmic cut-ins were fairly uncommon until the mid-teens, there are a few early examples worth consideration. In his discussion of scene dissection Barry Salt explains that in G.A. Smith's *The Little Doctors* (1901), which was reissued in shortened form as *The Sick Kitten* (1903), "there is a cut straight in from a long shot of two children administering a spoonful of medicine to a kitten to a big close-up insert of the kitten with the spoon in its mouth."[328] Additionally, in Edwin S. Porter's *Gay Shoe Clerk* (1903) we see a medium close-up of a shoe salesman fondling a female customer's foot which explains why the clerk kisses her in the third shot. Although the position matching across the cut is not exact, Kristin Thompson states, "In both these cases, the motivation for the cut-in is compositional; for without the closer view, we could not follow the action adequately."[329] It should also be noted that what I am describing here is different from the use of the 'true' close-up which would be used to show an extremely close shot of a letter or part of an actor's body. What Hine constructs here is basically his own version of a filmic cut. Through the repetition of the electrical pole in both photographs, and through the shift from a distant to a medium close view, Hine is already beginning to create continuity between these two scenes.

The third photograph uses the same diagonal pull that we saw in the first two, but in this scene Hine reverses direction. Rather than moving the viewer's eye from left to right, this scene moves from right to left. The railroad tracks in the foreground, along with the large wall and even a small portion of a bridge, all converge on the left. There are also two small boys in this picture that provide a sense of scale as well as spatial depth. One of the boys stands in the center of the image against the wall in the

[328] Barry Salt, "Film Form 1900-1906," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 37.
[329] Thompson, "The formulation of the classical style, 1909-28," 199.

background, while the other is barely visible as he stands in the shadow of an overpass further to the left. With just three photographs Hine is able to create the sensation of movement through space by alternating scenes much like the early comic strip artist. Charlie Keil claims that in early Vitagraph films, "the filmmakers likely found inspiration for their examination of space from such contemporary models as comic strips. The circumscribed nature of the comic strip, wherein panels typically dictate the parameters of the narrative space, allowed for systematic spatial analysis. Comics often used the confines of the panel format to emphasize notions of spatial contiguity or alternation.[330] In the first scene Hine moves us toward the right, in the second scene we move straight back, and in the third scene there is a shift toward the left.

The diagonal orientation found in these photographs is comparable to the diagonal orientation found in many early films created by the actors' movement. According to Eileen Bowser, in *The Mill Girl* (Vitagraph, 1907), "When the actors enter and exit the frame, however, they often move on the diagonal to the axial plane, thus appearing much closer to the camera, in nearly a 'three-quarters shot.' . . .the significant action of the scene takes place only when the actors reach the center of the frame."[331] Further, Bowser explains that this "diagonal entry and exit contributes more than a directional arrow, however; it also serves as a system for linking the shots and outlining a geography for the action."[332] While Hine also directs the viewer's eye and links each shot through the use of diagonals in his pictures, there are some key differences between the way in which the photograph, the comic strip, and the film express duration. In Lacassin's discussion of "static time" and "dynamic time," he explains:

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[330] Charlie Keil, *Early American Cinema,* 90.
[331] Bowser, *Transformation,* 60.
[332] Ibid., 60.

> In the film, the illusion of even the most complex movement is produced not only by change in the pose of the figures, but also by change in position of the camera. In manipulation of the image surface the comic strip has discovered a graphic equivalent to even the most complex adjustments in camera-angle. Instead of reproducing a movement in its entirety, which is denied to it by virtue of its two-dimensional universe, it renders moments of starting and stopping.[333]

Hine's *Soho Drainage* page functions like the comic strip in that he "represents the time span necessary for the unfolding of an action."[334] A time lapse is implied by the shifting from one location to the next. Hine constructs a pictorial narrative on a single page by adopting both the montage format of the comic strip along with the editing devices of early cinema. Most notably the continuity editing found in the early chase film.

Hine repeats the effect created on the *Soho Drainage* page by shifting the location and the direction in the three photographs that follow. First, we must begin with the *Saw Mill Run* (Fig.8b) photograph on the first page where Hine moves the viewer's eye from left to right. This image was comparable to the first photograph on the *Soho Drainage* page. The next photograph which follows *Soho Drainage* is entitled, *Alley Dwellings* (Fig.10), and in this image the viewer's eye is taken directly back in space. In the two photographs that follow *Alley Dwellings,* Hine does a complete reversal and shifts the orientation from right to left. In the *Alley Dwellings* photograph we look straightaway down a tenement alley. We see the tenement buildings on each side and a young boy standing in the center facing us in the foreground. This is another sweeping view that is meant to describe the conditions of the neighborhood as well as orient the viewer within it. In the next photograph, *Yard of Alley Dwellings* (Fig.11), Hine brings us behind the tenements to witness yet another scene of devastating poverty. Two women stand near

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[333] Lacassin, "The Comic Strip and Film Language," 17.
[334] Ibid., 17.

an outhouse on the left side among the rubbish and sewage. With this image Hine completes another perspectival cycle as the direction again shifts from right to left. In each of these photographs Hine maintains a fairly consistent vantage point shooting mostly at mid distance. Through just these few photographs Hine again alternates scenes to construct a virtual tour of the surrounding area.

The first full-page photograph in this essay is *Tammany Hall* (Fig.12). Three pages separate this photograph from *Yard of Alley Dwellings* which signals an important transition into another small grouping of images. *Tammany Hall* is a street scene with a row of tenement buildings converging in the left hand corner of the picture. There is a woman sitting on the step of a doorway to the right, and to the left another woman walks towards us while holding a small child. The buildings in this scene have been photographed at a closer vantage point and occupy more of the picture plane. This creates a sharper, more dramatic spatial recession. With this picture Hine establishes an exterior view of the building before he takes us inside with his next three photographs. Each of these photographs is also titled *Tammany Hall* (Fig.13, 14, & 15) and run consecutively on the following three pages. The first of the three interior views is a long passageway that ends in darkness. In fact, all three of Hine's interior scenes share a simple, straightforward arrangement with a clear vanishing point in the center. In this first image there is a boy standing in the back toward the right alongside two younger children who are seated. Doors and boarded windows appear to run the length of the corridor on both sides. There is only a bit of light which shines through a small window near the ceiling to illuminate the scene. The next *Tammany* (Fig.14) photograph again depicts a dark passageway, but this one ends with the light of a windowed door. In the

foreground we can also see beyond a divide into one of the rooms. This is another fairly compact space illuminated by the flash of the photographer's bulb. In his third photograph of this sequence (Fig.15), one which is full page, Hine presents a claustrophobic view inside one of the tenement rooms. Amidst the harsh glare of the flash we see a man sitting near the back wall surrounded by tables, chairs, beds, and a variety of cooking utensils. These kinds of scenes were intended to show the lack of light and ventilation in tenement housing. There is an ominous, even dangerous feel to the hallway photographs, and much like the crime dramas in early film, Hine builds suspense through his sequencing of these images.

Although the scenes depicted in the three *Tammany* photographs were not meant to be a literal match, it is clear that Hine wants us to move through this building in the same way that we moved around the neighborhood with his exterior shots. No longer does Hine simply shift from location to location or from outside to inside, but he uses this journey down corridors and into rooms as part of a deliberate narrative strategy. Hine takes us on a spatial and temporal journey that has much in common with both the painting of the quattrocento as well as with the one shot films of early cinema. Wendy Steiner argues that in Renaissance painting "the multi-compartmented building becomes so important as a structuring device for narrative, for it is full of discrete simultaneous units, and, with all its right angles, it is also ideal for the virtuoso treatment of perspective, light, and volume."[335] Steiner claims that the painter's depiction of paths, corridors, and multi-roomed buildings is itself narrative. She explains:

> Indeed, the conception of narrative as a procession through the rooms of a building has a long and impressive currency. The word "stanza,"

[335] Steiner, *Pictures of romance: form against context in painting and literature.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 37.

> of course, means room. And one might see in the building the contrast between the spatial and temporal arts themselves. A building is as spatial as anything one can imagine, with its floorplan and facades each present to us in a single moment of perception. At the same time, its perception involves temporality, since one cannot see all of its three-dimensionality in one moment. The experience of walking through a building, of being a participant in it rather than an external observer, is a temporal progression from stopping place to stopping place, these ordered by structures significantly called "passages" and hall-"ways."[336]

Like the viewer of the quattrocento painting, the viewer of Hine's photographs also becomes an active participant in the narrative. Temporality is achieved here through both the literal experience of turning each page, as well as the perceptual experience of "walking" from room to room within the tenement building.

The camera has often been considered the inheritor of Renaissance illusionism. As Abigail Solomon-Godeau states, "While natural vision and perception have no vanishing point are binocular, unbounded, in constant motion, and marked by a loss of clarity in the periphery, the camera image, like the Renaissance painting, offers a static, uniform field in which orthogonals converge at a single vanishing point."[337] The frontality of Hine's compositions and his emphasis on one point perspective creates a staged effect that is also found in many of early cinema's one shot films. Kristin Thompson remarks that "the primitive cinema largely assumed that the spectator was equivalent to an audience member in a theater. Mise-en-scene often imitated theatrical settings, and actors behaved as if they were on an actual stage. The framing and staging of scenes in constructed sets placed the spectator at a distance from the space of action,

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[336] Ibid., 37-38.
[337] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Who Is Speaking Thus? Some Questions about Documentary Photography," in *Photography At The Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991), 180-181.

looking into it."[338] Hine's perspectival compositions offer the possibility of another world. One in which "characters" can act. Although the inhabitants gaze implicates the viewer in the *Tammany* photographs (Fig.13 & 14), Hine generally allows his viewer to maintain a safe distance from the space of action. Hine's images may project a kind of pathos but here the viewer is at a comfortable remove. Solomon-Godeau explains that as a result of the camera's perspectival system of representation the viewer is afforded a "position of visual mastery."[339] "Such a system of pictorial organization, by now so imbued in Western consciousness as to appear altogether natural, has certain ramifications. Chief among these is the position of visual mastery conferred upon the spectator whose ideal, all-seeing eye becomes the commanding locus of the pictorial field."[340] In his well known essay on the "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus," Jean-Louis Baudry offers a sociopolitical analysis of the film-making and film-viewing process. His claim is that the instruments of cinema (the technical base) produce specific ideological effects and that these effects are determined by the dominant ideology.[341] The monocular vision of the camera "contributes in a singularly emphatic way to the ideological function of art, which is to provide the tangible representation of metaphysics."[342] Moreover, Baudry argues: "The principle of transcendence which conditions and is conditioned by the perspective construction represented in painting and in the photographic image which copies from it seems to inspire all the idealist paeans to which the cinema has given rise."[343] The seemingly

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[338] Kristin Thompson, "The formulation of the classical style, 1909-28," 158.
[339] Solomon-Godeau, "Who Is Speaking Thus?," 181.
[340] Ibid., 181.
[341] Jean-Louis Baudry, "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus," in *Film Quarterly.* Volume 28. Number 2. (Winter, 1974-1975), 41.
[342] Ibid., 42.
[343] Ibid., 42.

"natural" perspective of the camera played an important role for Hine not only in the structuring of his pictorial compositions but in his positioning of the viewer/spectator as well. For Baudry, the fixed point of the camera "calls forth a sort of play of 'reflection'" which visually arranges the objects in the composition and "specifies in return the position of the 'subject,' the very spot it must necessarily occupy."[344] Although Hine seemed to prefer, and perhaps was more inclined than not to utilize the position of the 'commanding' or 'all-seeing eye' in his photographs, he would deviate when necessary. As the next example will demonstrate, Hine willingly altered his perspective when the conditions of a scene demanded.

After the sequence of interior scenes Hine skips a page and then takes the viewer outside again with his next photograph, *In The Soho District* (Fig.16). This is a mid distance shot of the back of the tenement houses. Unlike his earlier scenes where there was a strong pull back in space, Hine flattens space here by almost completely filling the frame with the buildings. The buildings themselves are in a state of ruin. We can see stones crumbling off the side of a wall, structural areas exposed, as well as a group of small boys standing on a staircase high above the ground with a missing rail. Our vantage point is at ground level, and just like the three boys in the lower left corner, we are meant to feel overwhelmed by these tower-like structures that loom above. Just as the tenement dwellers are trapped in an inescapable poverty, we find ourselves enveloped by these enormous buildings. The only visual relief is in the tiny sliver of sky at the top left corner. Hine also includes a third grouping of children standing on or against another staircase toward the back. The inclusion of children in this photograph as well as many

[344] Ibid., 41.

others foreshadows the work Hine will later do for the NCLC. It also begins to show the youngest victims of such intolerable living conditions.

The last photograph in this essay is entitled, *Rear Of A Soho Tenement* (Fig.17). While Hine chose to position the viewer at ground level in the prior photograph, in this one we are at an elevated, birds-eye view. We are looking down from a second story window or rooftop onto a platform. There are a group of male figures standing in a line waiting to use the outhouses to the right. Railroad tracks and buildings run parallel to the platform in the background. The platform itself looks dilapidated with many of the floorboards missing. With this image Hine completes his narrative series by pulling us up and away from the scene. Filmmakers would refer to this as the establishing (and re-establishing) shot where the viewer is at a distance and can take in an entire space. "Primitive films often cut together shots done in shallow interior sets with those shot in the unlimited depth of real exteriors," as Thompson explains, "the studios' ideal for authenticity and depth was location shooting itself. With no backdrop to cut off the spectator's view, the location shot could create a considerable sense of depth."[345] Thompson cites the early example of *Rory O'More* (Sidney Olcott, 1911, Kalem), which was filmed in Ireland. There is a location shot where "the camera seems to be picking out one section of an expanse that goes in every direction."[346] The long shot would become a fairly common practice in filmmaking. A story begins with an aerial or distant shot to establish a sense of place, and then moves in more closely with mid distance and close-up views as the story progresses, and finally moves outward again as the story

[345] Thompson, "The formulation of the classical style, 1909-28," 219.
[346] Ibid., 219.

comes to an end. Hine uses this long view as he did with the first photograph to establish, or re-establish the narrative space once again.

The very last image in this essay is not a photograph but a chart (Fig.18). If the function of the last photograph was essentially to end the story by pulling us away, the chart takes that one step further. The information that has been depicted in the photographs is now abstracted, reduced to a geometric black and white grid filled with numbers, text, and symbols. There are numerous examples of social reform articles that incorporate charts, graphs, and even maps. The inclusion of this kind of information directly reflects Hine's training as a sociologist at Columbia University. As previously mentioned, Franklin Giddings established his program on the statistical method. Sociologists used this kind of data, along with photographs, to legitimize their discipline. No longer wanting to be associated with the philanthropic organizations of the past, the newly emerging discipline of sociology wanted instead to be seen as a scientific pursuit. Data presented in the form of a chart or a photograph was thought to be objective. By placing the chart at the end of this essay Hine reinforces his faith in statistical research, as well as in the documentary truth of his photographs, and both are treated as factual, verifiable data to be analyzed.

As we have seen in the example of the Pittsburgh article, Hine adopts numerous cinematic devices to produce his pictorial narratives. Namely the editing techniques found in the genres of narrative continuity and narrative discontinuity. Hine alters his camera position from longer views to mid and even closer distances to signal the beginning and end of his sequence. He also switches the diagonal orientation of each photograph in the same way that actors would enter and exit a scene. With this strategy

Hine is able to link each shot spatially, as well as move the viewer convincingly down streets and pathways, into buildings, and around the neighborhood. Through his deliberate arrangement and sequencing of these photographs Hine takes his viewer on a spatial and temporal journey. Clearly the cinema provided Hine with a working model on how to structure a coherent narrative; however, as we saw in chapter two with his use of melodrama, his interest in the new medium would eventually move beyond mere formal considerations. We cannot overlook the degree to which he may have shared the concerns of many of his fellow reformers over the larger impact of film on society. Hine certainly embraces the narrative strategies offered by the new medium, but there were many in reform circles that feared that an unregulated film industry would be harmful to society. Indeed, there were many others, and I would include Hine here, who believed that there was a potential for cinema to bring moral uplift and instruction on a grand scale. Despite these varying positions, there was no denial that movies were quickly gaining mass appeal. I would like to briefly examine a few of the main reasons for the rise of narrative cinema at this time and its relation to the social reform movement.

Story films can be traced back to 1903 when the first chase films appeared, but it was in 1907 that the demand and production of story films began to show a marked increase. The film historian Charles Musser argues that it was the early story film that attracted audiences to the five-cent movie theaters, or "nickelodeons" as they were commonly known. According to Musser, the rapid growth of nickelodeon theaters "created a revolution in screen entertainment. They would alter the nature of spectatorship and precipitate fundamental shifts in representation. Their explosive demand for product would not only increase film production but force its

reorganization."[347] It was this new audience of movie goers that initiated the demand for more complex narratives and for more clarity in narrative techniques.[348] The extent to which bourgeois or working-class values influenced filmmaking at this time has been hotly debated, although for the most part moviegoing was seen as a working-class activity. Eileen Bowser explains:

> A greatly expanded audience from diverse cultures no longer had the same frame of reference. This explains some of the complaints about lack of clarity that were heard with great frequency in 1907-8. Filmmakers could no longer expect the majority of the spectators to recognize the narrative events of a classic tale, a work of literature, a popular play, a familiar myth, unless they were in some way explained.[349]

Filmmakers were now required to devise new strategies to make narratives comprehensible. Musser claims: "The explosion in film production and the rapidly expanding audience, however, meant that reliance on prescient spectators was becoming outmoded."[350] Very often it was left to the exhibitor to fill in the storyline for the audience through the live sound of a lecturer or even behind-the-screen dialogue. Audience foreknowledge was no longer a given. The priority for filmmakers was to produce self-sufficient narratives that could eliminate the involvement of the exhibitor altogether.

Another important aspect of the increasing demand for narrative during the transition period was the standardization of film production. Before 1907, all films were one reel or less, from three to seven hundred feet in length, and running roughly five to

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[347] Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990), 417.
[348] Eileen Bowser, *The Transformation of Cinema 1907-1915.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990), 53.
[349] Ibid., 54.
[350] Charles Musser, "The Nickelodeon Era Begins: Establishing the Framework for Hollywood's Mode of Representation," in *Cinema, Space, Frame, Narrative.* Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 261-2.

twelve minutes. By 1908 nearly all films were one reel in length, one thousand feet and running for fifteen minutes. Keil explains that the "adoption of the standardized 1,000 – foot-reel length coincided with the producers' thoroughgoing commitment to construct filmic narratives that audiences could comprehend regardless of the extratextual supports exhibitors might provide."[351] With the shorter reels filmmakers relied more on dialogue titles, inserts, and lecturers to convey a narrative. According to Keil, "Scenario writers had to determine what types of stories and narrative structures best suited the one-reel running time. Once directors had these scenarios in hand, they needed to devise appropriate storytelling methods. Increased narrative complexity further challenged filmmakers to develop methods to ensure viewer comprehension."[352] As films became more standardized both in terms of length and genres they could be understood without the aid of a lecturer. With increased narrativization films became more autonomous and meaning was internalized.

Finally, in addition to the growth of the movie going population and the standardization of film production, the social reform movement is yet another reason why an attraction for story film developed during this period. Reformers sought to regulate not only the space of exhibition but film content as well. As indicated earlier, the focus for many reformers, who were mostly middle class women, was the social function of cinema. Censor boards were established to deny screening permits to films deemed obscene, indecent, or immoral. By 1915, a case involving the interstate film exchange Mutual and the Ohio censor board would reach the Supreme Court. Mutual argued that the Ohio board hindered free speech and was unconstitutional. Lee Grieveson explains,

[351] Keil, *Early American Cinema,* 52.
[352] Ibid.,45.

"The Justices denied this argument, though, arguing that cinema was not akin to the press and could not be included in those guarantees. Cinema was, the Justices claimed, a 'business pure and simple' and, furthermore, had a unique 'capacity for evil.'"[353] As a result of this decision the movies became the only medium of communication in the history of the United States to be subjected to official censorship.[354] Social reformers would play a critical role in shaping film form by urging producers to make uplifting films such as *Children Who Labor* (Edison, 1912) and *The Cry of the Children* (Thanhouser,1912), to name just two, that had a clear moral message.

Of course, there was also a financial incentive for producers who had much to gain by reaching a mass audience. In June of 1909, the leading social reform magazine of its day, *The Survey,* (the journal that employed Hine as a salaried photographer) published an article on the subject of motion pictures entitled "The World In Motion." Written by Lewis E. Palmer, this article informs us that, "In New York city alone there are some 350 motion picture theaters with daily audiences of a quarter of a million or more and a Sunday attendance of half a million," and that the "educational and scientific value of moving pictures is just beginning to be realized."[355] Palmer argues that this "infant industry" is of interest to social workers because "the great majority of moving picture audiences are made up of those who have little opportunity for other wholesome recreation."[356] Palmer includes a number of quotes from various sources that warn of the dangers inside the theater as well as the corrupting influence of the films themselves. One example deals specifically with the destructive potential of the motion picture show

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[353] Lee Grieveson and Peter Kramer, "Cinema and Reform," in *The Silent Cinema Reader*. Lee Grieveson and Peter Kramer, eds. (London: Routledge, 2004), 140.
[354] Ibid., 140.
[355] Lewis E. Palmer, "The World In Motion," in *The Survey*. Volume 22 (June 5, 1909), 356 & 358.
[356] Ibid., 356-7.

for children, "The beginnings of crime are developed here and the absence of parents at the shows causes downfall and ruin."[357] According to Grieveson:

> Children were often cast in a synechdochal relationship to an audience and population that threatened disorder in terms mainly of class and ethnicity. Regulatory concerns were expressed about immigrant audiences and about the formation of national identity, linking anxieties about the cinema with broader nativist concerns about the social and cultural values of immigrants.[358]

As censorship became one of the leading issues on their agenda, *The Survey* began to publish and update information on moving picture shows from around the country. In the July 2, 1910 edition, the author explains the need for more censorship because films affect "the classes of people who are most impressionable. The ordinary high-priced theater caters largely to sophisticated adults, while the motion picture theater audience is made up almost entirely of wage earners and children, many of them from our immigrant population."[359] The report encourages the use of high standards and predicts that motion pictures will be used "in schools and playgrounds for both their educational and recreational value."[360] The social reform movement obviously had more than a passing interest in the potential for motion pictures to improve society. Eventually reformers would look at the motion picture in the same way that they viewed Hine's photography, as an important educational tool.

While it appears that Hine never became directly involved in the censorship agenda, like many of his fellow reformers, he too had more than a passing interest in motion pictures. For Hine the new medium offered a seemingly endless supply of narrative techniques from which he could draw. The cinematic structuring of space and

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[357] Ibid., 358.
[358] Grieveson, "Cinema and Reform," 136.
[359] Joseph Lee, "The Rochester Play Congress," in *The Survey*. Volume 24. (July 2, 1910), 563.
[360] Ibid., 564.

time became the blueprint for Hine to build his own narrative essays and to tell his “photo stories” in an entirely new way.

CONCLUSION

The work that Lewis Hine produced for the National Child Labor Committee in the early twentieth century directly challenges the long held assumption that the categories of documentary and narrative are in opposition. In both his singular photographs and his essays, Hine demonstrates that these concepts are not antithetical, and in fact, can be mutually reinforcing. At a moment when early filmmakers were beginning to develop certain narrative possibilities of their medium, Hine too began to discover the narrative potential within photography. Cinema created a new way of seeing. For Hine, it provided a new visual and temporal model from which he could draw to construct his own pictorial narratives.

In his photographic series published in the Pittsburgh article, Hine uses a variety of cinematic techniques to move his viewer in and around an entire neighborhood. To overcome the temporal limitations associated with still photography, he adapts some of the newest achievements in film editing. With this approach the narrative space unfolds visually and conceptually as the viewer glances from image to image. This differs from Hine's approach to the single photograph, where he instead assumes a level of foreknowledge on the part of his viewer. In his photograph of the doffer boy, narrative time is compressed into an instant or 'pregnant moment.' The preceding and succeeding time of the story is collapsed, and the narrative functions through an already established masterplot. The story of the working child as it was known was basically a tale of a healthy child who when forced to work long hours, in unbearable conditions, becomes unhealthy and unproductive. The child labor masterplot is embedded within Hine's

doffer photograph. The narrative is conveyed through the crucial selection of a 'pregnant moment.'

In the years since his death, Hine has been placed at the forefront of the new genre and his photographs have practically become synonymous with the term 'documentary.' Although Hine's work has undergone critical analysis in previous studies, this is the first to consider the narrative component of his photography. This investigation forces a rethinking of the concept of narrative and its place within photographic histories. The issue of narrative can no longer be ignored or confined simply to discussions of subject matter. Instead, Hine's photography moves us into new realms of interrogation. It raises several important and difficult questions on how narrative functions within a still image as well as what it means for a picture to be deemed 'documentary.' From his single images and series to his use of captions and text, there is still much work to be done on Hine's narratives. My hope is that future studies will look more closely at Hine's editorial decisions and the role that he played in shaping the photo stories of the popular picture magazines in the 1930s. Moreover, there needs to be a more serious discussion over the usefulness of genre classification within photographic histories in general and documentary in particular. While there may be something reassuring or even convenient about traditional categorization, there is always the danger of oversimplification; where the inherent complexity of a visual work is sacrificed for the sake of clarity.

Although my focus in this study was primarily on cinema, there is plenty of room for narrative painting to be addressed in later works. Certainly this would add to the general discussion over medium specificity and would enhance our understanding of how

narratives function in still images. A comparison between Hine's NCLC photographs and nineteenth-century depictions of melodrama has the potential to provide new insights into how each medium handles time and how each is able to convey a 'moving' and emotion-laden story. As Hine's work bridges the divide between still photography, painting, and cinema, it creates not only an instructive inter-media comparison, but it also creates an opportunity to examine visual material from both high and low culture. Beyond just a formal analysis, Hine's pictorial narratives signal a more sophisticated mode of cognition with lens-based imagery. For example, in photography and film a scene is already fully formed at the time of creation and waits to be framed. This involves a very different kind of intentionality from that of an artist working in painting or drawing who is ready to fill a blank canvas. These differences are crucial as they have an effect on the compositional choices made by the artist and ultimately impact the viewer's comprehension of a scene.

One key advantage for Hine was that he worked in a moment when 'documentary' was a generally accepted feature of photography, but had yet to be formally recognized as a separate genre. This afforded him a level of experimentation he might not have enjoyed in later decades. He was able to engage freely with the new medium of cinema and construct his pictorial narratives without the burden of preset expectations. As I have shown in this investigation, Hine's images and essays initiate a rethinking of the relationship between the still photograph and narrative. Further, his work forces us to reconsider 'documentary' as both a category and a concept, and its place within the history of photography. This study has also demonstrated that Hine's work requires the use of an interdisciplinary approach. My methodology here

incorporates aspects of photographic and cinematic histories, as well as Progressive era politics, social reform, and narrative theory. Hopefully this approach will be adopted by future scholars investigating Hine. An interdisciplinary methodology allows us to move beyond the traditional boundaries of photographic history and to look more broadly at the field of visual studies. This is critical if we are to continue our inquiry into concepts as difficult to define as narrative and documentary.

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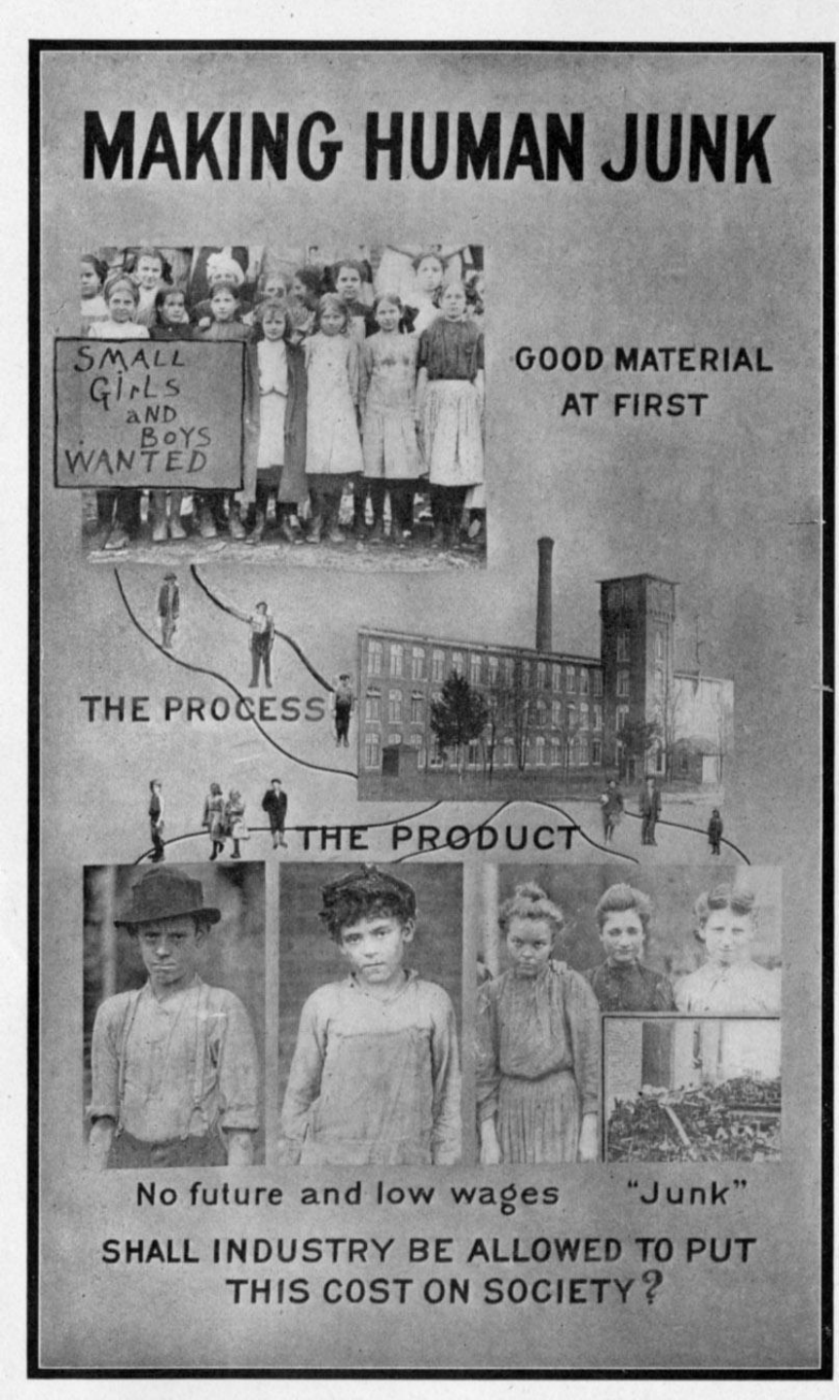


Fig.1 – "Making Human Junk" poster

Fig.2 – Doffer photograph

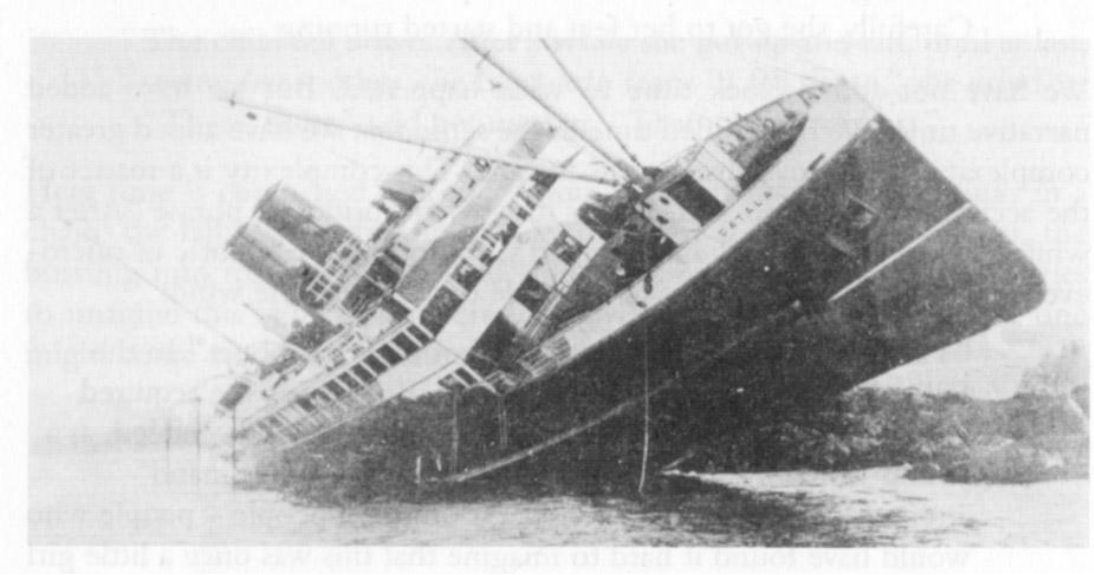


Fig.3 – "Shipwreck"

Fig.4 – opening frame from *Children Who Labor* (Edison, 1912)

Fig.5 – film still from *Children Who Labor* (Edison, 1912), (Image courtesy The Museum of Modern Art, New York)

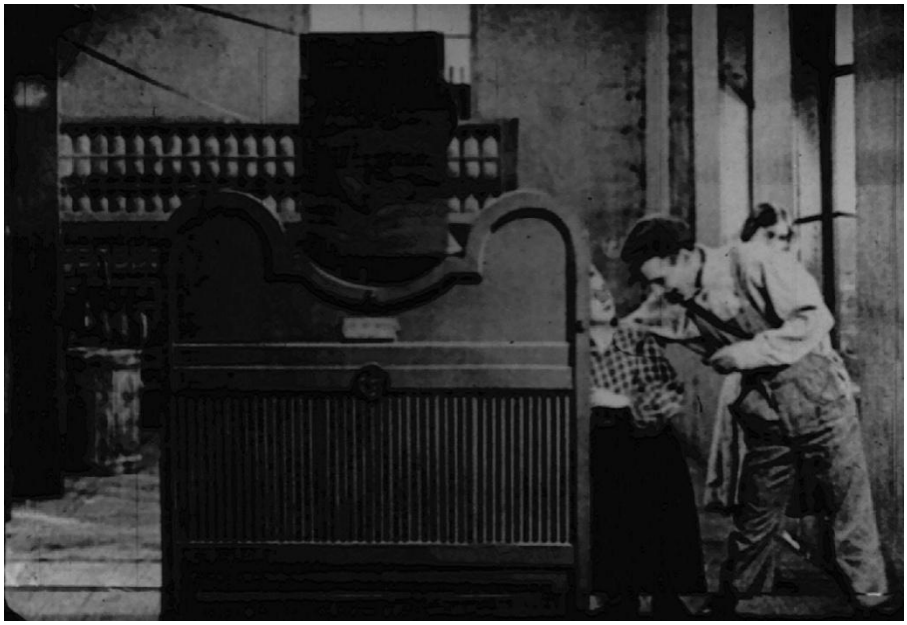


Fig.6 – film still from *Children Who Labor* (Edison, 1912), (Image courtesy The Museum of Modern Art, New York)

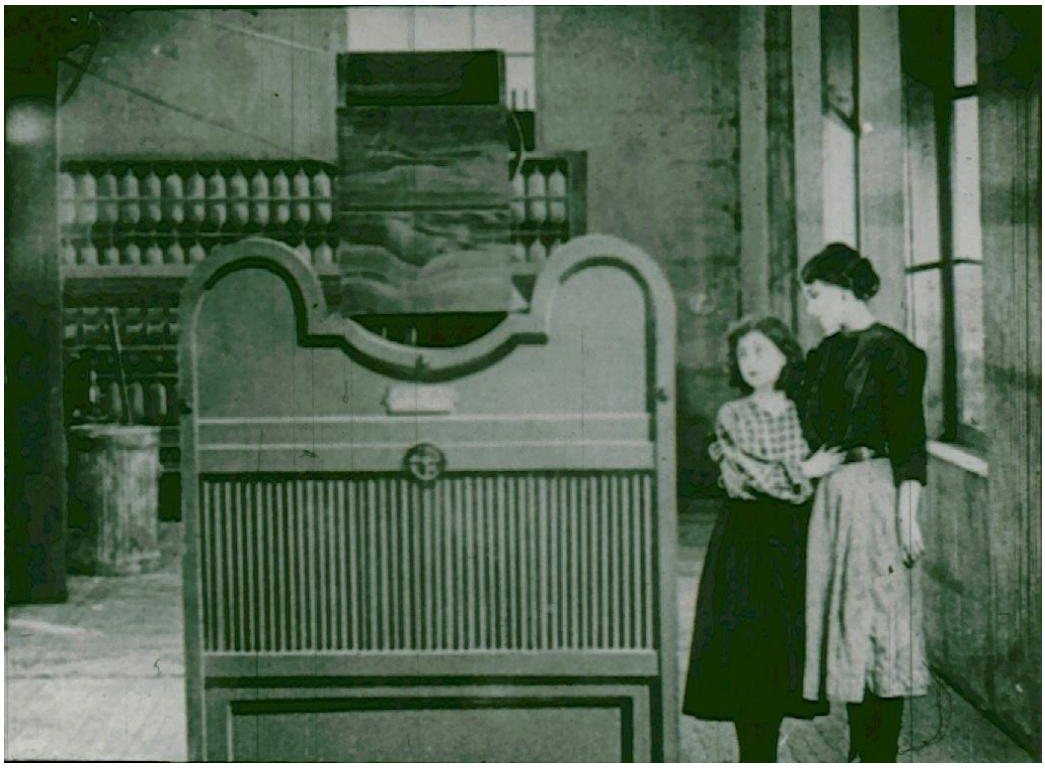
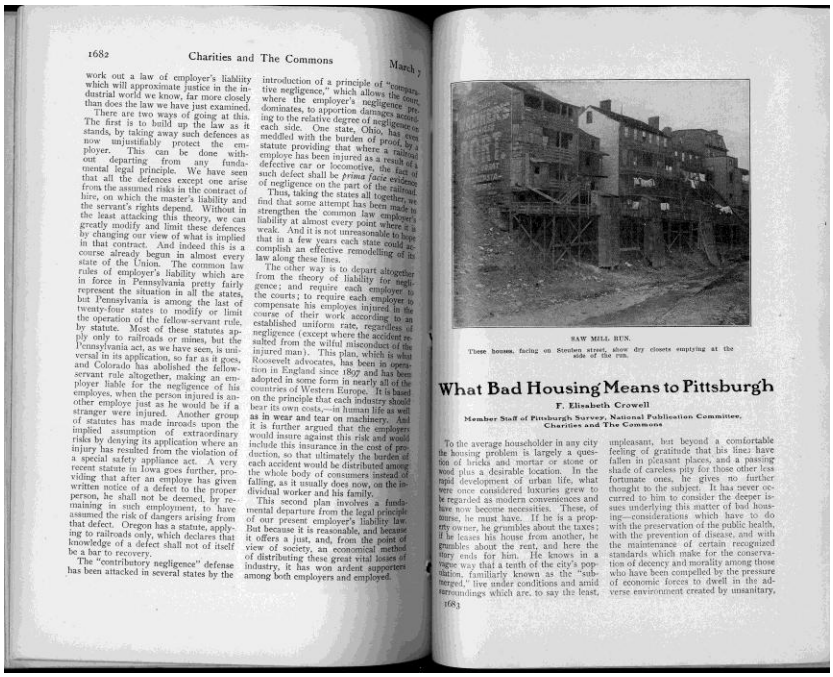


Fig.7 – film still from *Children Who Labor*, (Edison, 1912), (Image courtesy The Museum of Modern Art, New York)



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work out a law of employer's liability which will approximate justice in the industrial world we know, far more closely than does the law we have just examined.

There are two ways of going at this. The first is to build up the law as it stands, by taking away such defences as now unjustifiably protect the employer. This can be done without departing from any fundamental legal principle. We have seen that all the defences except one arise from the assumed risks in the contract of hire, on which the master's liability and the servant's rights depend. Without in the least attacking this theory, we can greatly modify and limit these defences by changing our view of what is implied in that contract. And indeed this is a course already begun in almost every state of the Union. The common law rules of employer's liability which are in force in Pennsylvania pretty fairly represent the situation in all the states, but Pennsylvania is among the last of twenty-four states to modify or limit the operation of the fellow-servant rule, by statute. Most of these statutes apply only to railroads or mines, but the Pennsylvania act, as we have seen, is universal in its application, so far as it goes, and Colorado has abolished the fellow-servant rule altogether, making an employer liable for the negligence of his employes, when the person injured is another employe just as he would be if a stranger were injured. Another group of statutes has made inroads upon the implied assumption of extraordinary risks by denying its application where an injury has resulted from the violation of a special safety appliance act. A very recent statute in Iowa goes further, providing that after an employe has given written notice of a defect to the proper person, he shall not be deemed, by remaining in such employment, to have assumed the risk of dangers arising from that defect. Oregon has a statute, applying to railroads only, which declares that knowledge of a defect shall not of itself be a bar to recovery.

The "contributory negligence" defense has been attacked in several states by the introduction of a principle of "comparative negligence," which allows the court, where the employer's negligence predominates, to apportion damages according to the relative degree of negligence on each side. One state, Ohio, has even meddled with the burden of proof, by a statute providing that where a railroad employe has been injured as a result of a defective car or locomotive, the fact of such defect shall be *prima facie* evidence of negligence on the part of the railroad.

Thus, taking the states all together, we find that some attempt has been made to strengthen the common law employer's liability at almost every point where it is weak. And it is not unreasonable to hope that in a few years each state could accomplish an effective remodelling of its law along these lines.

The other way is to depart altogether from the theory of liability for negligence; and require each employer to the courts; to require each employer to compensate his employes injured in the course of their work according to an established uniform rate, regardless of negligence (except where the accident resulted from the wilful misconduct of the injured man). This plan, which is what Roosevelt advocates, has been in operation in England since 1897 and has been adopted in some form in nearly all of the countries of Western Europe. It is based on the principle that each industry should bear its own costs,—in human life as well as in wear and tear on machinery. And it is further argued that the employers would insure against this risk and would include this insurance in the cost of production, so that ultimately the burden of each accident would be distributed among the whole body of consumers instead of falling, as it usually does now, on the individual worker and his family.

This second plan involves a fundamental departure from the legal principle of our present employer's liability law. But because it is reasonable, and because it offers a just, and, from the point of view of society, an economical method of distributing these great vital losses of industry, it has won ardent supporters among both employers and employed.

SAW MILL RUN.

These houses, facing on Steuben street, show dry closets emptying at the side of the run.

What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh

F. Elisabeth Crowell

Member Staff of Pittsburgh Survey, National Publication Committee, Charities and The Commons

To the average householder in any city the housing problem is largely a question of bricks and mortar or stone or wood plus a desirable location. In the rapid development of urban life, what were once considered luxuries grew to be regarded as modern conveniences and have now become necessities. These, of course, he must have. If he is a property owner, he grumbles about the taxes; if he leases his house from another, he grumbles about the rent, and here the story ends for him. He knows in a vague way that a tenth of the city's population, familiarly known as the "submerged," live under conditions and amid surroundings which are, to say the least, unpleasant, but beyond a comfortable feeling of gratitude that his lines have fallen in pleasant places, and a passing shade of careless pity for those other less fortunate ones, he gives no further thought to the subject. It has never occurred to him to consider the deeper issues underlying this matter of bad housing—considerations which have to do with the preservation of the public health, with the prevention of disease, and with the maintenance of certain recognized standards which make for the conservation of decency and morality among those who have been compelled by the pressure of economic forces to dwell in the adverse environment created by unsanitary,

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Fig.8a – *Saw Mill Run*, full page sample

Fig.8b – *Saw Mill Run*

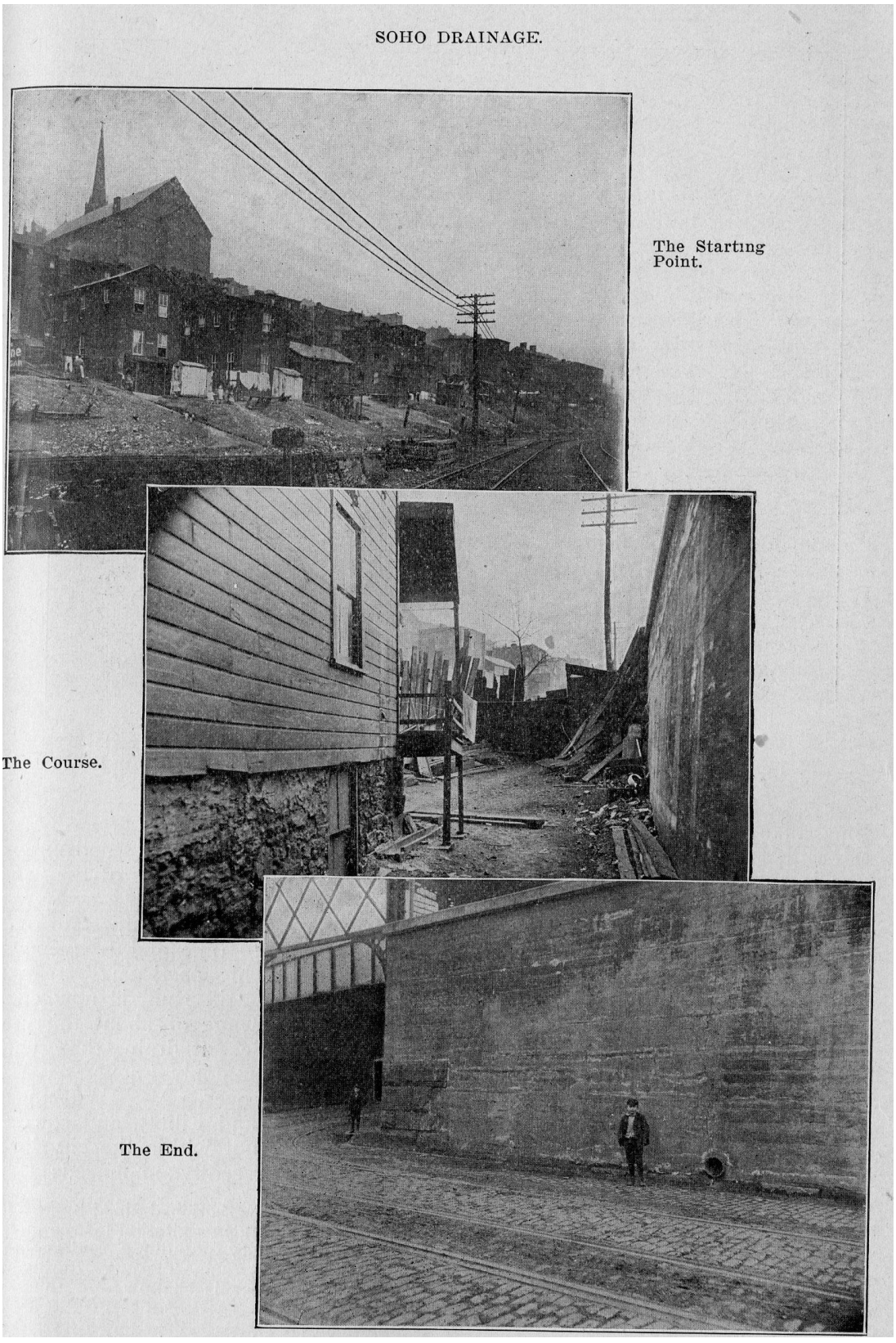


Fig.9 – *Soho Drainage*

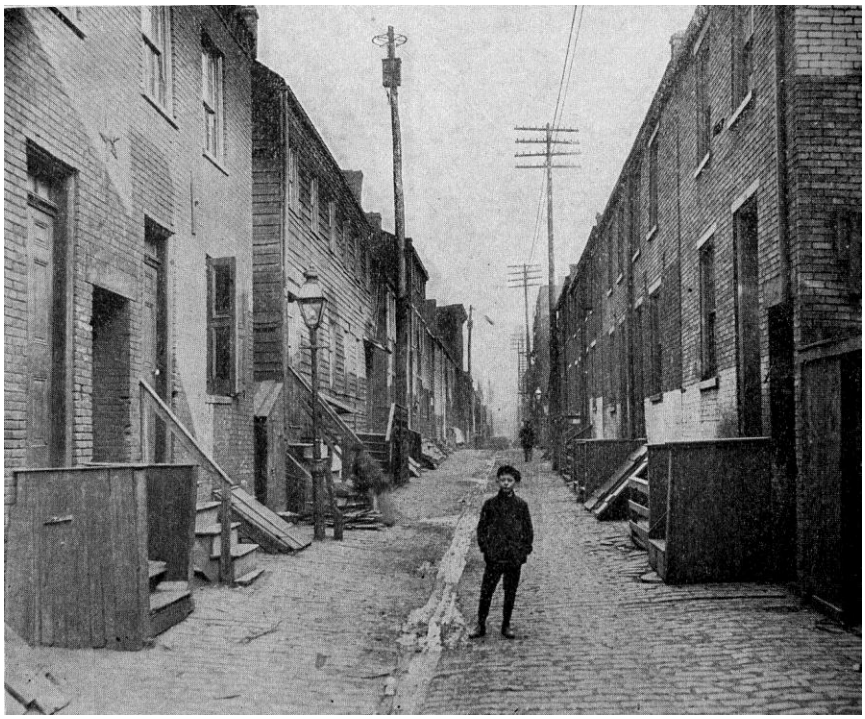


Fig.10 – ***Alley Dwellings***

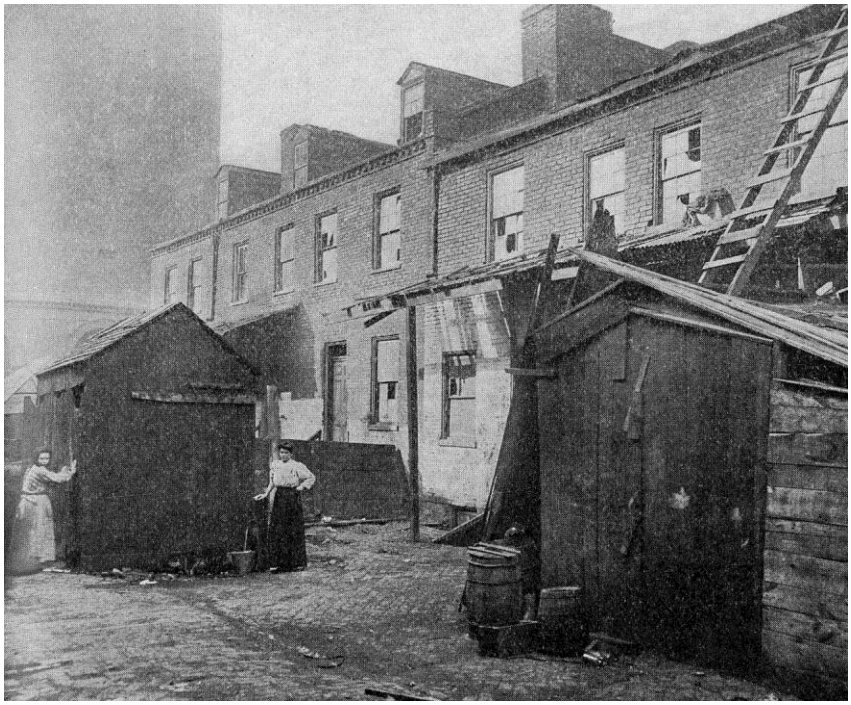


Fig.11 – ***Yard of Alley Dwellings***

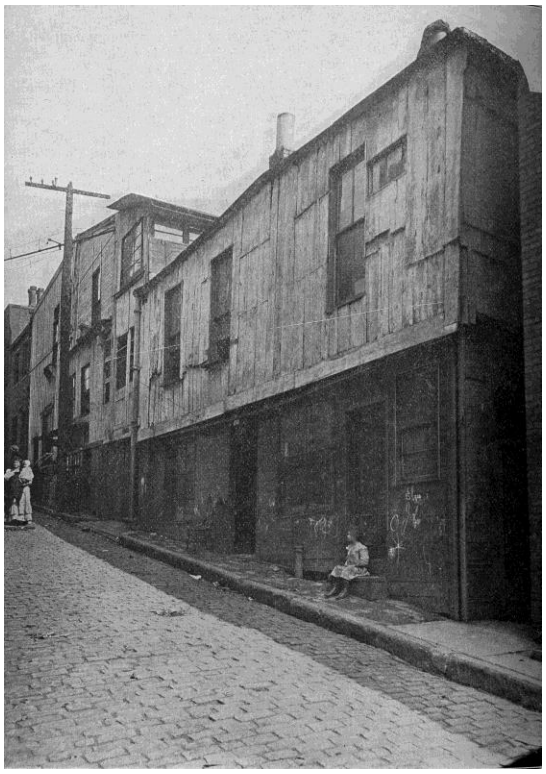


Fig.12 – *Tammany Hall*

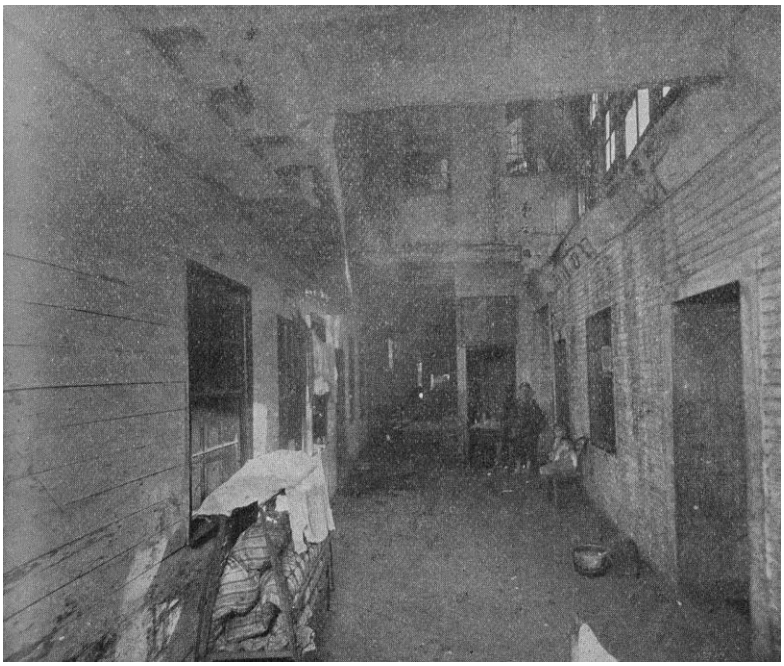


Fig.13 – *Tammany Hall*

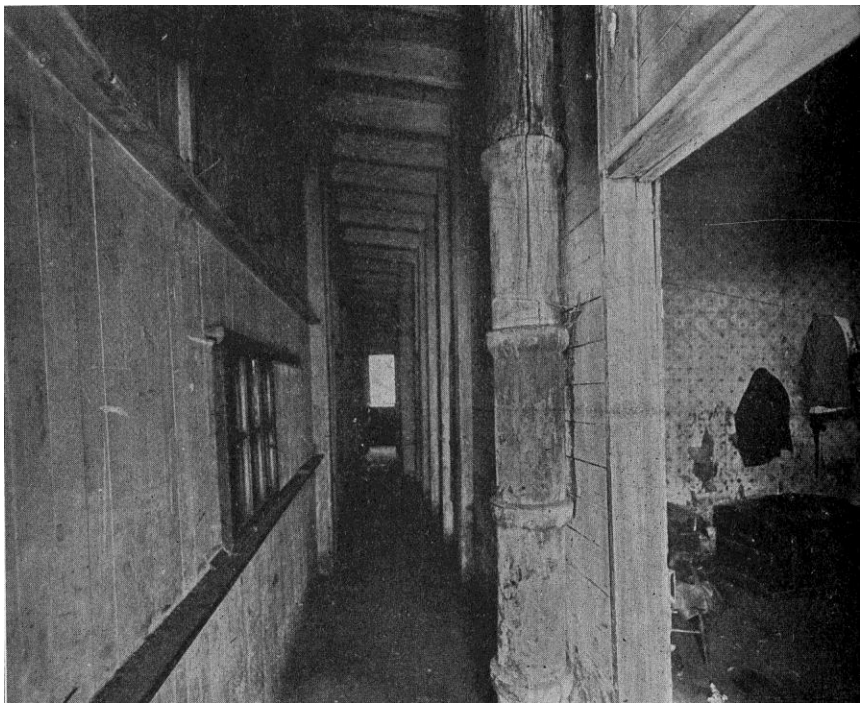


Fig.14 – *Tammany Hall*

Fig.15 – *Tammany Hall*

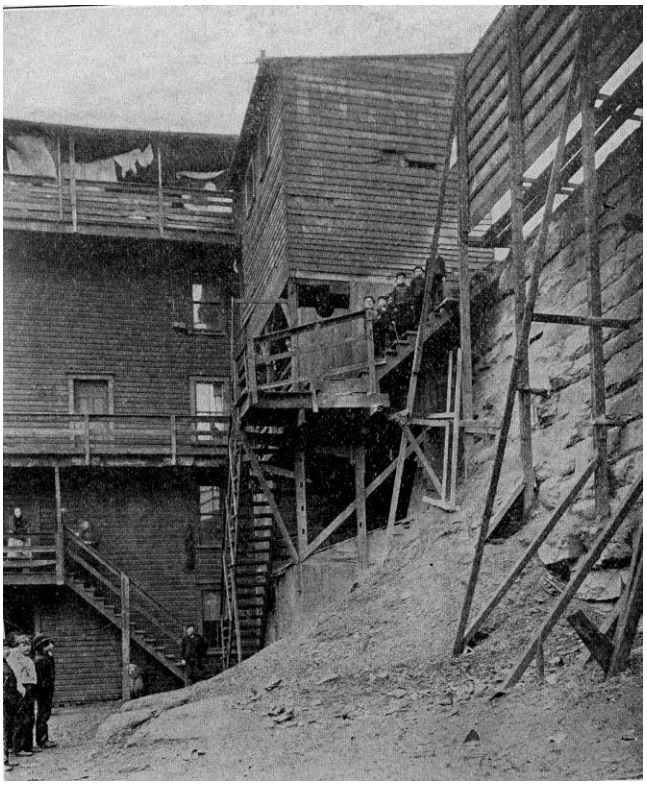


Fig.16 – ***In The Soho District***

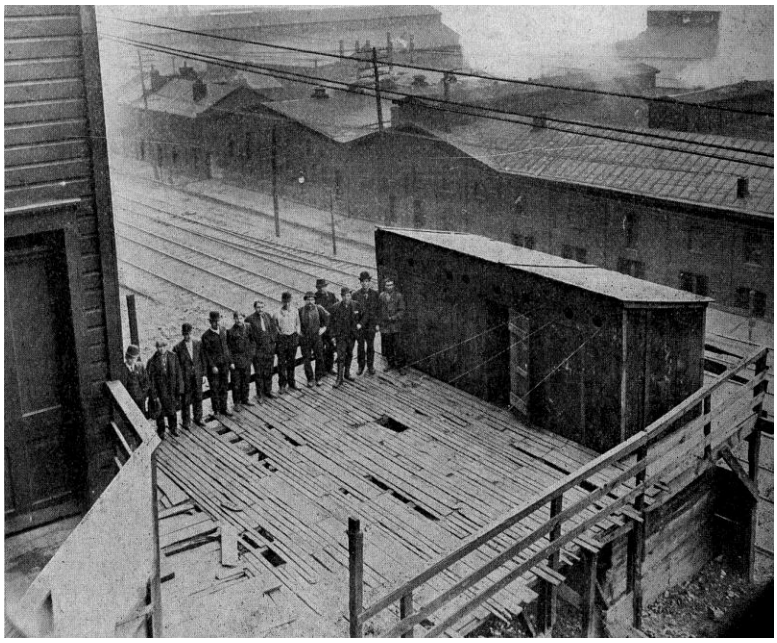
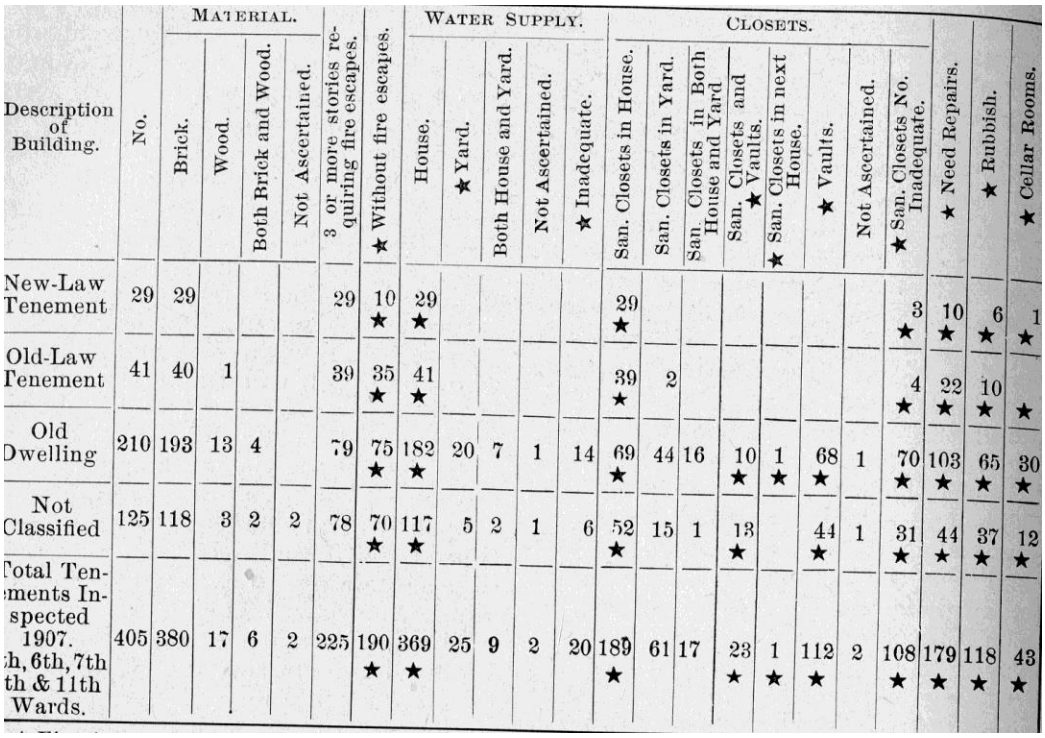


Fig.17 – ***Rear Of A Soho Tenement***



Description of Building.	No.	MATERIAL. Brick.	Wood.	Both Brick and Wood.	Not Ascertained.	3 or more stories requiring fire escapes.	★ Without fire escapes.	WATER SUPPLY. House.	★ Yard.	Both House and Yard.	Not Ascertained.	★ Inadequate.	CLOSETS. San. Closets in House.	San. Closets in Yard.	San. Closets in Both House and Yard	San. Closets and ★ Vaults.	★ San. Closets in next House.	★ Vaults.	Not Ascertained.	★ San. Closets No. Inadequate.	★ Need Repairs.	★ Rubbish.	★ Cellar Rooms.
New-Law Tenement	29	29				29	10 ★	29 ★					29 ★							3 ★	10 ★	6 ★	1 ★
Old-Law Tenement	41	40	1			39	35 ★	41 ★					39 ★	2						4 ★	22 ★	10 ★	★
Old Dwelling	210	193	13	4		79	75 ★	182 ★	20	7	1	14	69 ★	44	16	10 ★	1 ★	68 ★	1	70 ★	103 ★	65 ★	30 ★
Not Classified	125	118	3	2	2	78	70 ★	117 ★	5	2	1	6	52 ★	15	1	13 ★		44 ★	1	31 ★	44 ★	37 ★	12 ★
Total Tenements Inspected 1907. 5th, 6th, 7th 10th & 11th Wards.	405	380	17	6	2	225	190 ★	369 ★	25	9	2	20	189 ★	61	17	23 ★	1 ★	112 ★	2	108 ★	179 ★	118 ★	43 ★

Fig.18 - Chart