The Historical Photograph: Artifact-Testament-Text

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
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Abstract

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This study considers two historical photographs taken by the photographer, Arthur Scott Goss, in February 1912, as part of a reform program directed by Dr Charles Hastings who was Medical Officer of Health for the City of Toronto from 1910 until 1929. The pictures are from a larger survey and were selected as representative of several, specific historical processes. The photographs feature two groups of Macedonian-Bulgarian men collectively known as "Sojourners." These men had immigrated to Canada and to Toronto, in particular, for work opportunities in the early 1900's. The photographs were intended to document their overcrowded living conditions in the East End of the City. The photographs also serve later historical processes related to the emergence of the Macedonian-Canadian community in Toronto as well as the History of Photography in Canada. The study considers the photographs as material evidence in a program of social reform and as historical artifacts subject to the practices of history.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank a number of people who assisted me with my research. First, my supervisor, Professor David Levine, whose guidance and counsel helped to crystallize my ideas. Second, Professor Harold Troper whose work on the history of immigration in Canada provided a conceptual framework to build the premise of the report. I would also like to thank Steve MacKinnon of the City of Toronto Archives, who made available the wealth of material on Arthur S. Goss in the City's collection.

On a more personal note, I owe a word of thanks to Arn Gabel and Gordon Macfarlane. Arn's patient editing and critical eye encouraged me to hone my ideas and make them readable. Gordon's generous support, as a mentor and friend, has been greatly appreciated. Finally, a thank you to my partner, Ron Brown, without whom the task would probably not have been completed.

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Introduction

This report considers two photographs as historical, documentary evidence. They were chosen from a large archive of images produced by the photographer, Arthur Scott Goss, to support the reform programs of his sponsor, Dr Charles Hastings, who was Medical Health Officer for Toronto from 1910 until 1929. These pictures were taken in February, 1912.

The photographs are thus historically specific. Their worth as documents is "anchored" to the historical framework that originally made use of them. The thesis of this report, however, is that once the pictures' unique material ontology is appreciated, they can be understood as part of a number of different historical narratives to which they refer.

The word "narratives" is deliberately rendered in the plural. These photographs, while discrete and singular, figure in larger historical processes. All of these narratives can be shown to converge on the pictures specifically. As such, the pictures support unique narratives that have evolved from the moments at which they were taken.

The photograph is a particular type of historical document. As a pictorial record, its interpretation depends upon the different editorial agendas of the various writers, historians and critics who make use of it. This report is one such design.

Very likely, the interpretations I ascribe to these pictures would be bewildering to the photographer, his sponsor or the photographic subjects themselves. The enormous gap between the original context of the photographs and the ones to which they will be presently inserted, has more to do with History and with the History of Photography, than to the specific circumstances and purposes these pictures originally served.

First, the report is an exercise in historiography – literally, the writing of history. Second, it examines a series of historical processes – the actual "events" the photographs represent, directly and indirectly. Third, it involves the problem of "historicism" – "the deliberate or unwitting imposition of the historian's own cultural presuppositions on the culture he studies."[1]

I have tried to weave these broad separations into a unity by keeping the two photographs always in view or close at hand. The pictures are reproduced in the body of the report so that the reader can follow my editorial program, witness my efforts to recover the differing narratives and, perhaps, critique my strategies for "penetrating" the photographs.

The central defining premise of the report is that there is no "final word" to the project. Like history itself, the photographs can be subjected to more elucidation and to additional information to further "energize" their pictorial content.

Originally, these pictures suggested a way for me to write history from a rudimentary point of departure. I chose them from a large inventory of pictures in the Toronto City Archives because, quite simply, they appealed to me. I had little information to start with beyond merely liking the pictures and wanting to know why I liked them. It seemed to me that the first picture, in particular, was a very fine photograph. I will attempt to justify my aesthetic judgement in Part One of the report.

But as the essential "facts" of my history, the photographs have a special status. This status is explored from both the standpoint of the photographic medium as it evolved historically and, from the standpoint of the photographer as he focused his camera. These standpoints meet at the two photographic moments. By considering the images directly, without further information, we can enjoy the photographs and consider what the photographer seems to be saying about his photographic subjects and about himself.

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[1] Historicism is the word used to describe a branch of historiography that "queries the ways in which historians living at a given time and place may legitimately study the history of human actions occurring at another time and place...The problem lies in the deliberate or unwitting imposition of the historian's own cultural presuppositions on the culture he studies." Michael McCanles, "Historicism," The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. ed. Alex Preminger and T.V.F. Brogan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 529.

The photographs are "direct quotations" from the period. Richard T. Vann writes, "The direct quotation is a device which confronts the reader with key pieces of evidence, challenges one to judge for oneself, and aims at inducing not only assent, but enthusiastic assent. The purpose of the confrontation would be frustrated if the reader were overwhelmed by the *entire* body of evidence."[2]

Just as the photographer selected the details of his subject he would record, I selected these particular photographs from a larger selection to represent the historical processes to which they refer. I have thus asserted my prerogative, as an historian, to contain these processes within particular formats that I have chosen to develop as the theme of the report. My formats consider the photographs as "Artifact" in Part One, as "Testament" in Part Two, and as "Text" in Part Three.

The photographs are uniquely situated as representations of historical processes. They not only illustrate these processes but are an actual part of them. In being contemporaneous with the photographic subjects, the pictures are records of the very light reflecting off the surfaces of the men at photographic moments. This makes the pictures highly tangible pieces of information.

In a figurative sense, history can be "entered" through the illusion of the photographs. But one cannot enter uninvited. Something, in the literal content of the photographs, has to excite the viewer to undertake his inquiry. This "entry point" is elaborated in Part One. But once "inside," the viewer confronts the fuller fabric of each historic occasion.

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[2] Richard T. Vann, "*Turning Linguistic: History and Theory and* History and Theory, 1960-1975," A New Philosophy of History, ed. Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) , 53-54.

Part Two elaborates these occasions. To be made meaningful, the pictures are connected to larger events. While the photographs remain in view as specific references, they are contained or embedded within the greater contexts that give them meaning. They become broadly emblematic.

These contexts are inferentially large. But the photographs bring the process back to their specificities. Excursions into the historical period are "anchored" by the pictures within the "flow" of time.

Precise historical time, spatial and temporal, is the marvelous gift of photographs to history. But as explored in the report, "time" is an ambiguous feature of these photographs. Briefly, time is not advanced through the evidence of the pictures. It stands still. The narratives, the photographs inform, are frozen when the photographer released the shutter of his camera.

The contemporary viewer is placed in an illogical position between the "now" of the viewing and the "then" of the photographs. To bridge this critical distance, the viewer and the photographs have to "talk" to each other. The ensuing discourse, between the viewer and the pictures, serves to bring the latter into the present and to take the former into the past. This is the subject of Part Three.

The adjustments that this illogical juxtaposition require, involve the problem of historicism. To be made intelligible to a contemporary point of view, the "struggle" for meaning converts the photographs into the essential "stuff" of history.

Alan Trachtenberg writes, "The historian's task resembles the photographer's: how to make the random, fragmentary, and accidental details of everyday existence meaningful without loss of the details themselves, without sacrifice of concrete particulars on the altar of abstraction." And he adds, "Ordering facts into meaning, data into history, moreover, is not an idle exercise but a political act, a matter of judgement and choice about the emerging shape of the present and the future."[3]

The dilemma of historicism forms the subtext of the report. The "objective" material in the photographs is continually qualified by "subjective" interpretations. A defining premise of this thesis is that an entirely "objective" point of view is neither possible nor particularly desirable.

To be made intelligible, history invites the active participation of the historian. History is a sense the historian makes of the "stuff" of the past. As E.H.Carr playfully states: "Study the historian before you begin to study the facts...When you read a work of history, always listen for the buzzing. If you can detect none, either you are tone deaf or your historian is a dull dog. The facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use – these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch."[4]

The two photographs, reproduced for this report, are "like fish on the fishmonger's slab" because I have chosen them from a larger trove. They are the focus of the inquiry developed as I discovered something about them worth pursuing further.

As a "subject" in the history of the photographs, I take a place within their hypothetical foregrounds. I "stand in" for the photographer because it is his vantage point that I must assume. And to the "foreignness" of the past, I bring my own perspectives to make the photographs a relevant function of the present.

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[3] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans. (New York: Hill and Wang, The Noonday Press, 1989), xiv.

[4] E.H.Carr, What is History? The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January-March 1961. ed. R. W. Davies, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1964), 23.

Stephen Best writes, "The historicist insight into the local, time-bound, and variable nature of social phenomena is the basis for genuine knowledge of human beings and for a critical theory of society. The impulse to think, to question and to challenge the current state of affairs begins with awareness that social reality is historical and contingent in nature, with the knowledge that things have not always been this way and therefore could be otherwise, with the realization that what has been constituted can be deconstituted and reconstituted."[5]

In its way, this report is at once an attempt to "do" history by defining the unique materiality of the photographs as historically based; to "understand" history by studying how these pictures fit into their respective historical contexts; to be "a part" of history by owning my personal judgements, by contributing biographical detail and by my abiding love for photography in all its complexities.

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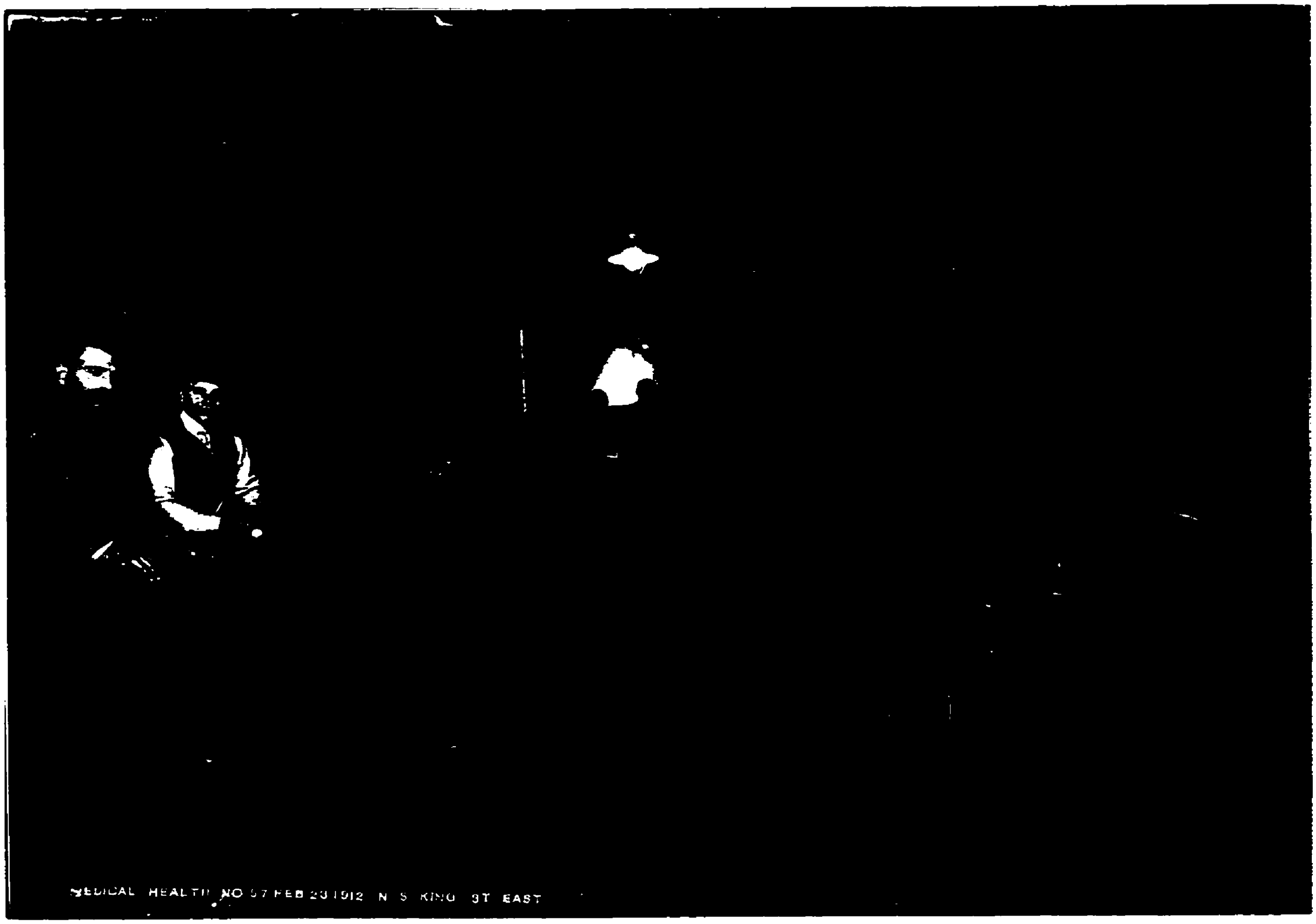
[5] Steven Best, The Politics of Historical Vision: Marx, Foucault, Habermas, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995), xiv.


MEDICAL HEALTH NO 57 FEB 23 1912 N S KING ST EAST

Photograph #1 – "Medical Health, No 57, Feb 23, 1912, N S King St East; "Macedonians, Panto Nicola Restaurant #356 King Street East;" RG 8-32-57 City of Toronto Archives

MEDICAL HEALTH NO 58 FEB 26 1912 N S KING ST EAST

Photograph #2 – "Medical Health No 58 Feb 26 1912 N S King St East; "Bulgarian Lodging House – 'In room shown, 25 men were sleeping on beds and on floor;'" RG 8-32-58 City of Toronto Archives

"Certainly 'artifact' is a vague enough label for these things. Are they records, tools, artworks, decorations, commodities, relics? It is true that the 'originals' of these photos manifest a kind of archaeological presence. Detritus of a recent past, they are nevertheless remote; what they reveal first is their datedness. But in calling them artifacts I grant myself a certain critical distance from a culture that is still my own, from a variety of everyday production that continues in the present and thus appears as a moment of the 'natural.' To regard an object as an artifact is to reinvent it, to superimpose a new meaning on the past, and therefore to obscure or mutate all earlier senses of the object."[6]

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[6] Allan Sekula, Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973-1983. (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984), 33.

Part One

Artifact

The Discovery of the Photographs

In 1959, the City of Toronto created its first central archives. Robert (A.R.N.) Woadden, the first archivist, was appointed in 1960. The "Records Unit," later the "Records and Archives Division," was recommended by J.D. Woods Gordon, the management consulting firm, when it surveyed of the city's administration in 1956.[7]

The new archivist was "To maintain a records storage unit or archives in which will be kept: (a) all noncurrent records not required in the operation of civic departments until they are destroyed or permanently stored; (b) records that are to be permanently stored; and (c) records of historical value."[8] Woadden inherited the records dating back to 1834 when Toronto was incorporated – 126 years of "unsystematic record keeping!"[9]

In a recent interview, Woadden described some of his difficulties. The physical state of the city's records was deplorable. The surviving documents of the various municipal governments were stored in the attic of Old City Hall on Queen Street West. The attic was damp and dirty. It was exposed to Toronto's extreme climate and its local pigeons. Woadden went to work each morning dressed in a suit and tie and returned home at night looking like a coal miner.

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[7] In one report, Robert Woadden is described as "the first municipal archivist to hold such a position in all of English-speaking Canada." R. Scott James, "The City of Toronto Archives," Urban History Review No. 3-73, (Ottawa: History Division,National Museum of Man, 1974), 2.

[8] A.R.N. Woadden, "Toronto's Venture Into Paperwork Control and Orderliness," The American Archivist, 27.1 (1964), 261.

[9] R.Scott James, The City of Toronto Archives, 2.

Woadden also met resistance from other civic employees. Born in Britain and an immigrant to Canada in 1956, he was asked by one veteran how he could presume to know about Toronto's history. Woadden's reply to the individual: "What part of your anatomy is it hardest for you to see? Well it's the tip of your nose! And that's my job – to help you see what's been in front of you all along! Think of me as a mirror! It's my job to show you your own history!"

Among the records that Woadden staff salvaged, was an extensive photographic collection. In the tower at the South East corner of Old City Hall, Woadden discovered "...all kinds of glass negatives. They were filthy! When the photographic section died, the records had fallen into disuse. Something had to be done."[10]

The records consisted of approximately 30,000 antiquated glass negatives of which 26,000 were eventually restored.[11] They date mostly from the period after 1911 when the Department of Public Works created the "Photography and Blue Printing Section."

The bulk of the work was done under the direction of the first Official Photographer for the City, Arthur Scott Goss. Goss held the position from its creation in 1911 until his death in 1940.[12] The two pictures, reproduced for this report, are from the original negatives taken by Goss in Toronto in 1912 in his first year as Official Photographer. Photograph #1 is dated February 23 and Photograph #2 February 26.

Like most of the material in the attic of Old City Hall, the photographic negatives had been carelessly stored. Many were packaged in poor quality paper folders, three or four to an envelope, so that some had fused with each other and to their containers.

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[10] A.R.N.Woadden, telephone interview, 13 Sept.1997.

[11] R. Scott James, preface, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer – Works by Toronto's Official Photographer, 1911-1940. (Toronto: City of Toronto Archives, 1980) N. pag.

[12] The position of Official Photographer had continued after Goss's death in June, 1940 but the photography section went into decline. Goss's successor, Howard Macdonald, continued to hold the title until 1954 when his position was declassified. The section closed down in 1958. Victor Russell and Linda G. Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

The restoration of the pictures was laborious and called for a special process researched by the Archives staff under the direction of R. Scott James. Scott James was hired as assistant to Woadden in 1967 and later succeeded him as City Archivist. Scott James painstakingly restored the bulk of the collection when it was moved to New City Hall after 1965.[13]

Susan Sontag writes, "Photographs are, of course, artifacts. But their appeal is that they also seem, in a world littered with photographic relics, to have the status of found objects – unpremeditated slices of the world. Thus, they trade simultaneously on the prestige of art and the magic of the real. They are clouds of fantasy and pellets of information."[14]

The recovery of the photographic archive by Woadden and his staff had the features of an archaeological dig. There was an element of romance to each new discovery. The negatives which had been forgotten for years were brought to light through the efforts of dedicated civic employees. This collection became a part of the new archive at a moment of civic readiness.

Beginning in 1960, the City of Toronto recognized the need to preserve its heritage. The photographic negatives subsequently assumed a new importance. They became historical documents.[15]

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[13] R. Scott James, in a recent interview, explained that he had written to Eastman Kodak to learn a method for restoring glass negatives. He had published an article on the procedure in 1974. R.Scott James, Interview, 9 September 1997; R.Scott James, "Cleaning Glass Negatives," The Canadian Archivist, 2.5 (1974), 100-102.

[14] Susan Sontag, On Photography, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 69.

Torontonians were becoming increasingly interested in their own local history and material heritage. The creation of the Records and Archives Division signaled not only the recovery of important documentary material from the city's past. It was also an official gesture of the city towards its own material artifacts and archival records in need of conservation.

The recovery of the photographic collection literally enabled the city to look back upon itself. The pictures show what the city looked like and help to remember the faces, the neighbourhoods and the circumstances of lives long lost from view.

Seeing was Believing

"The nineteenth century began by believing that what was reasonable was true and it would end up by believing that what it saw a photograph of was true."[16]

The equation between the photograph and "optical truth" was observed repeatedly by the first commentators who witnessed the new medium from 1839. They spoke of the "fidelity" of the pictures, of the "incredible exactness" of the detail and of the "wonderful truth" of the images.[17] What was the basis of photography's claim to truthful verity? The answer involves a combination of social, scientific and artistic factors.[18]

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[15] The "metaphor of archaeology," in this context, is richly suggestive of a concept developed by the French historian/philosopher, Michel Foucault. Foucault writes, "There was a time when archaeology, as a discipline devoted to silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past, aspired to the condition of history, and attained meaning only through the restitution of a historical discourse; it might be said, to play on words a little, that in our time history aspires to the condition of archaeology, to the intrinsic description of the monument." Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language, trans. by A. M.Sheridan Smith. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 7.

[16] William M. Ivins, Prints and Visual Communication, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 94.

From its inception, photography was a product of an urban, industrial culture and a consumer demand. Beaumont Newhall writes, "The incentive to work out a practical technique was stimulated by the unprecedented demand for pictures from the rising middle class of the late eighteenth century..."[19]

There had been a proliferation of various "mechanical aids to drawing" at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Two such devices were the Physionotrace from which Silhouettes could be traced, and the Camera Lucida.[20] These devices were precursors to photography in that they provided a mechanical means of faithfully rendering the visible.

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[17] "It is hardly too much to call them miraculous. Certainly they surpass anything I could have conceived as within the bounds of reasonable expectation. The most elaborate engraving falls far short of the riches and delicateness of execution, every gradation of light and shade is given with a softness and fidelity which sets all painting at an immeasurable distance."– Sir John Frederick Herschel, English astronomer and scientist, writing to William Henry Fox Talbot, upon inspecting Daguerre's process in Paris in May 9, 1839; "There were views of three streets of Paris, of the interior of M. Daguerre's studio, and a group of busts from the Musée des Antiques. The extraordinary minuteness of such multiplied details as was shown in the street views, particularly in that of the Pont Marie, was much admired. The slightest accidental effects of the sun, or boats, the merchandise on the banks of the river, the most delicate objects, the small pebbles under the water, and the different degrees of transparency which they imparted to it, – everything was reproduced with incredible exactness. The astonishment was, however, greatly increased when, on applying the microscope, an immense quantity of details, of such extreme fineness that the best sight could not seize them with the naked eye, were discovered, and principally among the foliage of the trees. In the view of the studio, all the folds in the draping, and the effects of light and shade produced by them, were rendered with wonderful truth."–London Globe, August 23, 1839; Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 23.

[18] Peter Galassi, Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981), 11.

[19] Newhall, The History of Photography, 10.

[20] "The *silhouette* required merely the ability to trace a shadow; the *physionotrace*, invented by Gilles Louis Chrétien in 1786, asked no more of the beginner, with the advantage that a miniature engraved copper plate was produced, from which duplicates could be made." Newhall, The History of Photography, 11; The *camera lucida* was "an instrument consisting of a prism and lens supported by a telescoping stand set over drawing paper. Used for copying drawings and sketching views from nature." Naomi Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 634.

The devices testify to a growing market for an affordable and accessible method of capturing a pictorial likeness. The historian, Beaumont Newhall, describes this trend: "The fever for reality was running high."[21] Photography rendered these technologies obsolete.[22]

The inventors of photography combined "two scientific principles that had been known for quite some time." The first was optical, and the second, chemical.[23] The camera obscura or "darkened room" had been used at least since the sixteenth century. The main principle of the camera obscura was that a beam of light passing through a small aperture in one side of a dark room projects an image onto the opposite surface. The camera obscura had been a practical device for both artists and scientists since the Renaissance.[24] It anticipated the modern camera.

Certain chemicals, the silver halides, darkened when exposed to light. This had been discovered as early as 1727.[25] The inventors of photography brought the two principles of optics and chemistry together, and discovered the means to "to render permanent the insubstantial image formed in the camera obscura."[26]

Photography was also heir to a pictorial tradition that had originated in fifteenth century Italy, with the invention of linear perspective.[27] Peter Galassi, Curator of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, contends that "...in the four hundred years of perspective's hegemony over Western painting, artists managed to construe it in an extraordinary variety of ways."[28] Photography served to validate the essential principles of linear perspective – "...the way visible objects and shapes and their spatial relationships are seen by one eye through an imaginary frame."[29]

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[21] Newhall, The History of Photography, 11.

[22] "As in the general tendency of manufacture of this period, the expansion of the market, with growing demand from larger and larger numbers, necessitated the mechanisation of the process of production and the replacement of expensive hand-made luxuries such as painted portraits by cheaper mechanical imitations...In this sense, although it was an apparatus which could not be developed further, the Physionotrace was the precursor not only of the potential of photography as a system of multiple reproduction, but also of its claims to offer a mechanically transcribed truth."John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories, (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988),39-40.

[23] Galassi, Before Photography, 11.

[24] Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 192.

[25] Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 193.

[26] Galassi, Before Photography, 11.

From the "absolute order" and symmetry of "one-pointed perspective," artists had progressively applied and reapplied the logic of pictorial rendering to capture "the disruptive influence of an [ostensibly s.i.c.] arbitrary viewpoint and moment in time."[30] By the nineteenth century, "this fundamental transformation in pictorial strategy" and "the accumulation of pictorial experiment," had resulted in a highly versatile potential for rendering three-dimensional information onto a two-dimensional plane.[31]

And to the logical vagaries of spatial alignment and depth of field, photography introduced the additional element of historical time to produce a entirely new "space-time category: spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority."[32] The photograph served to bear witness to the visual appearance of a subject at a precise moment in time. This amounted to a factual guarantee that found acceptance in the contemporary, mid-nineteenth ideology of Europe that the historian, Linda Nochlin, states had come "to equate belief in the facts with the total content of belief itself..."[33]

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[27] Galassi, Before Photography, 12.

[28] Galassi, Before Photography, 13.

[29] Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, (London: Sphere Books, 1967), 183.

[30] Galassi, Before Photography, 14; Ernest Gombrich uses the term "schema" to describe "the progressive invention of basic pictorial tools...each derived from the existing normative analogue of vision and establishing a potential prototype for the next." .; Ernest Gombrich, Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 9-30.

[31] Galassi, Before Photography, 18.

[32] Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," trans. Stephen Heath, Image-Music-Text, ed. Stephen Health. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 44.

There were three fundamental assumptions that served to validate photographs as truthful statements. Firstly, the photograph was considered evidence of reality. That is, there was a "materially causative link between object and visual sign."[34] In other words – a direct correspondence between the photograph and its referent.[35]

Secondly, the photographic image was considered "objective" because it was machine-made and thus "unmediated" by human hand.[36] And thirdly, the photograph was not so much an illustration of a subject, but was thought to be an "actual piece of it" that had been captured through the effect of reflected light off of a photographic subject, and onto the photosensitive chemistry of the film.[37]

Together, the three assumptions served to reinforce the notion of the photograph's "verisimilitude," or the appearance of visual truth, and its status as material evidence.[38] Photography, from its earliest moments, was invested with the capacity for empirical "exactitude." It became "the standard for truthfulness in reporting." 39

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[33] Linda Nochlin, Realism, (New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1971), 45.

[34] Martin Jay, Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth Century French Thought, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994),129.

[35] "In short, the referent adheres." Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, trans. Richard Howard. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), 6.

[36] "Put simply, the photograph is seen as a re-presentation of nature itself, as an unmediated copy of the real world. The medium itself is considered transparent." Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," Thinking Photography, ed. Victor Burgin (London: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1982), 86.

[37] The notion that the photograph is actually *a piece* of the photographic subject or *nature reproducing herself* are metaphors that have been often repeated in the literature on photography. Several examples will suffice: "..the Daguerreotype is not merely an instrument which serves to draw Nature; on the contrary it is a chemical and physical process which gives her the power to reproduce herself." (1839) Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, "Daguerreotype," Classic Essays on Photography, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, (New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 13; "...[the daguerreotype] painted by Nature's self with a minuteness of detail, which the pencil of light in her hands alone can trace...*they cannot be called copies of nature, but portions of nature herself,*" italics in original, (1840) Samuel Morse quoted in Richard Rudisill, Mirror Image: Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 57; "Photographed images do not seem to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire." Sontag, On Photography, 4

A Unique Material Ontology

> "The type of consciousness the photograph involves is indeed truly unprecedented, since it establishes not a consciousness of the *being-there* of the thing (which any copy could provoke) but an awareness of *having-been-there*. What we have is a new space-time category: spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority, the photograph being an illogical conjunction between the *here-now* and the *there-then*."[40]

The original glass negatives have a pristine quality as precious objects and as representations of two unique moments – the photographic moments, selected by the photographer, for the projects of his sponsor. These negatives retain, on their two-dimensional surfaces, tangible information as to the appearance of the photographic subjects when they had their pictures taken. It is this sense of immediacy and analogic replication of the visible that confers, upon the photographic documents, a unique material ontology, empirical authority and evidential force.

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[38] "When photography emerged on to the mid-nineteenth century public stage it was, not surprisingly, conceived of within terms of mid-nineteenth-century thought. In so far as it concerned the image, and characterized most schematically, this thought was in the process of opposing Realism to Romanticism. Kantian epistemology, positing a 'noumenal' world behind appearances which could not be known to the intellect, had allowed aestheticians to claim the primacy of the emotions in art as the way to a 'deep' knowledge of the world denied to science. The attack on the philosophical foundations of Romanticism came from the Positivism of Auguste Comte: it is not the intellect which imposes its own structure upon external reality, as Kant would have it, rather it is the inherent order of the objective world which must of itself be allowed to guide our thinking; for this we must accept that the reality we can see and touch is the only one there is." Victor Burgin, introduction, Thinking Photography, 10

[39] Donald M. Lowe, History of Bourgeois Perception, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 135

[40] Barthes, The Rhetoric of the Image, 44.

The two photographs reproduced for this report are not "original" documents. They are, strictly speaking, new pictures – positives prints recently made from the original glass negatives in the City Archives. It is the negatives themselves that are the "true" artifacts. They date from 1912 and are thus historically contemporaneous with the photographer who took the pictures, and with the photographic subjects who posed in front of his camera. The negatives are the "templates" from which all the subsequent "positive" prints are taken. There were relatively few vintage or original paper prints recovered from the attic because paper, of course, deteriorates more easily than glass.[41]

The negative-positive photographic method is the basic printing process that has characterized the medium since it was invented by the Englishman, William Henry Fox Talbot, in the 1830's. Talbot patented his process, which he called Calotype ("beautiful picture" from the Greek), in 1841.[42]

The calotype negatives were made of paper that had been rendered photosensitive in a chemical bath. Talbot's method contrasted sharply with the other principal photographic process of the time, the Daguerreotype. The Daguerreotype is a "direct positive" process yielding a unique image on metal plate without a negative.[43]

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[41] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[42] The credit for the invention of photography is a shared if contested achievement. There are, at least four claimants: Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) whose process, the daguerreotype, was announced in Paris before an enthusiastic assembly of the French Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Arts, 19 August 1839; William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), whose *calotype* process was presented by Talbot to the Royal Society in London also in 1839; Hippolyte Bayard (1881-1887) whose "direct positive" process, also revealed in 1839, was overlooked in the enthusiasm for Daguerre's method; Hercules Florence (1804-1879), a "Frenchman living in Brazil," had made photographic images as early as 1833. Florence was the first to actually use the term "photography." The difficulty in attributing any one of these individuals with the invention, is that they had all been experimenting, throughout the 1830's, with their respective methods. The earliest known photographic image dates from approximately 1827, taken by the Frenchman, Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833), who later collaborated with Daguerre. Unfortunately, Niépce died before the public announcement in 1839. The credit for the invention, perhaps, should go to Niépce. What is perhaps more interesting historically than determining who was the first through the gate, is the idea of "social readiness" for the technology and that the several inventors were working, independently of one another, toward the same objective. Newhall, The History of Photography, Chapter two.

The Daguerreotype had been publicly announced in Paris in 1839. Its inventor, Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, had been awarded a pension by the French government when it purchased the process from him.[44] While the Daguerreotype enjoyed enormous popularity until approximately 1860, it had some disadvantages – the pictures were fragile and not easily reproduced.

Talbot's method also had disadvantages mainly to do with the fuzzy resolution or lack of crisp clarity in the positive prints. The translucence of the Calotype negative yields an indistinct image caused by the fibre texture of the paper, unlike the Daguerreotype which is characteristically highly resolved.

But it was Talbot's negative-positive process that was most innovative and anticipated what photography would become. The potential for reproducing a photograph in multiple copies for distribution, was the special feature of Talbot's invention that caught the imagination of the public.[45]

By the 1860's, both the Daguerreotype and the Calotype had been succeeded by a new method – the Collodion, or wet plate process, invented by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851. Archer's invention combined the best features of both Talbot's and Daguerre's inventions (high resolution images with the potential for indefinite reproduction) and eventually replaced them.[46]

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[43] Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography. 54.

[44] Lewinsky, Dictionary of Photography. 84.

[45] Between 1844 and 1846, Talbot published The Pencil of Nature, a book issued in "six installments by Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans of London" and was the first publication to feature photographs as illustrations. Newhall, The History of Photography, 43.

[46] The "wet plate" or "collodion process," invented by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851, "almost entirely replaced the daguerreotype and the calotype, and was used exclusively for the next thirty years. It is known as wet collodion because of the necessity of performing both the exposure of the plate and the processing while it is still fairly damp." Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 67.

It was to remain the photographic process of choice until the introduction of the dry plates in 1878.[47] This latter process was the one used by Arthur Goss throughout most of his career.[48] Goss' work for the city was also aided by the use of magnesium flash powder, invented in 1887, facilitating interior shots in dim lighting conditions.[49]

Goss' glass negatives were "contact printed." This means that they were placed directly onto the photosensitive paper, then exposed to light in the darkroom until they yielded a "positive" print through further chemical development. The photographs, reproduced for this report, are the same size as the original glass negatives because I wanted to present the images as Goss might have printed his own work.

Throughout his years as Official Photographer, Goss produced an abundance of photographs for many different municipal departments and projects. He took photographs for the Departments of Public Works, of Health, of Parks and Property as well as the Toronto Harbour Commission and the Hydro Electric System.[50]

Goss was a meticulous worker. He frequently labeled his images with identifiers, etched directly onto the glass negatives, providing information as to the project the photograph was to serve, the site location and the date. Goss was, in many respects, the original archivist of his own body of work. He maintained a careful filing system and kept copies of the work he did for the various municipal departments in his own section. The archive, recovered from the attic of Old City Hall after 1960, was largely compiled by Arthur Goss and his staff.[51]

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[47] The "dry gelatin plate" process was invented by a British physician, Richard Leach Maddox, in 1871. It became commercially available by 1879 when "manufacturers in Great Britain, Europe and America now began to supply gelatin plates packaged and ready for use." Newhall, The History of Photography, 123-124.

[48] Although flexible film stock on transparent celluloid had been introduced in 1889, many photographers continued to work with glass negatives. Arthur Goss' s work as an amateur photographer may have contributed to a creative purism and a loyalty to traditional methods (see below, Part Two - The Official Eye). According to R.Scott James, Goss did not work with flexible film stock until the 1930's. R.Scott James, Interview, 9 September 1997

[49] "Flashlight powder" or *Blitzlightpulver* had been invented in Germany in 1887 by Adolf Miethe and Johannes Gaedicke and consisted of "guncotton with twice its weight of magnesium powder on a metal tray" and when ignited burned in a flash. The use of 'flashlight powder" enabled photographers to take pictures at night and in dimly lit interiors. Newhall, The History of Photography, 133.

[50] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

The two images, reproduced for this report, are from the negatives taken by Goss for the Public Health Department. There is corroborating information visible at the bottom of the photographs. (The labels serves to give the photographs provenance and to amplify the documentary value of the record.) With the aid of Goss' identifiers, the researcher is able to anchor the photographs within the larger historic context, and to use them as primary research material.

These images were part of a reform program directed by the Medical Health Officer, Dr Charles Hastings, who served the city from 1910 until 1929.[52] Hastings had identified the "overcrowding" of immigrant men in "common lodging houses" as a matter of particular concern for the public health of the greater community.[53] The photographs served to document examples of this phenomenon and Goss' labeling provides the concrete connection between the photographs and the historic narratives they inform.

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[51] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[52] Heather MacDougall, Activists and Advocates: Toronto's Health Department 1883-1983. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 31.

[53] Charles Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, Embodying the Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same. (City of Toronto, 1911), 8.

Two Group Portraits

> "Like novelists, photographers of groups capture our attention by tacit means as much as by overt ones, by the import of a look, a touch, a way of sitting or standing. These are clues to meanings we can only guess at. And group portraits in turn make novelists out of us, testing our skills at deciphering body language, at imagining plausible narratives. They excite our imaginations with the prospect of delving into complex realities, digging beneath surfaces, and ferreting out truths from appearances captured with the stop-action speed of the camera. Group portraits come laden with a surplus of information, but there's always more we want to know – about the group's history, its inner dynamic."[54]

On inspection, Photograph #1 and Photograph #2 are closely related. Both are are interior shots taken in rectangular rooms. The subjects are all male. The two photographs feature many of the same people. Both are horizontal pictures which suggest that the photographer has exploited the lateral capability of his camera to capture the full breadths of the rooms.[55]

But the two photographs are also completely different. Although both pictures are group portraits, the effect of Photograph #1 is the opposite of Photograph #2.[56] More obviously, Photograph #1 is a formal arrangement of subjects in a public setting identified in the label that accompanies the photograph as the "Panto Nicola Restaurant, 356 King Street East." The subjects are symmetrically arranged around a central axis which also serves as an access for the eye to travel through the center of the room from the front to the back.

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[54] Alan Trachtenberg, "The Group Portrait," Multiple Exposure: The Group Portrait in Photography, (New York: Independent Curators Incorporated, 1995), 17.

[55] The 'vertical' format usually characterizes the individual portrait while the 'horizontal' is conventionally used for scenic subjects such as landscapes. The 'horizontal' format in group photography situates the human subjects in a spatial field of vision. In pictorial terms, the 'horizontal' format encourages a social definition of the group "...emblematic of the way we situate ourselves *in* space and organize that space according to aesthetic and cultural principles." (italics in original) Graham Clarke, The Photograph, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 22.

[56] "The group provides an identifying context for the individuals; the self-presentation of each person seems conditioned by the presence of the others. Each seems to be aware of being part of a small, integral group, aware of sharing an identity larger than that of the separate self." Trachtenberg, The Group Portrait, 20.

Photograph #2, on the other hand, is taken in a congested dormitory and is thus a more private setting. The physical closeness of the subjects and a sense of crowdedness, are the most salient features. An interesting pictorial detail, apparent on close examination, is the inclusion of Photograph #1 reproduced in multiple copies and held up, by at least seven of the subjects in Photograph #2, for recording by the camera.

This device serves to make the two photographs self-referring. It also provides, however cryptic, the rudiments of a narrative sequence. It confers a temporal logic to the arrangement of the photographs. Photograph #1 must precede Photograph #2. In the three days, separating the two photographic moments, the photographer has developed and printed Photograph #1, in multiple copies, for distribution to the subjects in Photograph #2. This is supported by the labels accompanying the pictures. Photograph #1 was taken on February 23, 1912 and Photograph #2 on February 26, 1912.[57]

There are some other interesting details that make the two photographs self-referring. Firstly, a careful head count will show that there are twenty subjects in each of the pictures. And, as noted above, many of the faces appearing in Photograph #1 also appear in Photograph #2. For example, the man in the foreground of Photograph #2, with the buttoned tunic, appears in the Photograph #1 at the rear of the room raising his hat to the camera. And the husky young man straddling his chair, in the left foreground of Photograph #1, appears in Photograph #2 at the rear, holding up his copy of Photograph #1 for the camera.

Similarly, the motif of the two aproned figures at the rear of Photograph #1, flanking the central figure in a suit and tie, is repeated in the two men, also in aprons, on either side of the door at the rear of Photograph #2. This would seem to have been another deliberate attempt to make the two photographs self-referring.

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[57] February 23, 1912 was a Friday and thus February 26 was a Monday. "Perpetual Calendar," The Cambridge Encyclopedia, ed. Peter Crystal, RR30; The suggestion of weekend work by the photographer is consistent with Arthur Goss' tendency to put in overtime hours as City Photographer. (See below, Part Two - The Official Eye: Arthur Goss)

The horizontal formats of each picture, with the sharp foreshortening of the rooms and the feeling of collaboration between the photographer and his subjects, serve to make the pictures quite similar despite differences in treatment. And the inclusion of Photograph #1, within the literal content of Photograph #2, makes the pictures companion pieces to be considered together.

Section Views

A method for considering the photograph as a unique formal achievement is suggested in a short text, The Photographer's Eye by John Sarkowski, the former Curator of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. Sarkowski provides a means of considering the photograph by itself. In his understanding, the photograph is a self-referring, integral kind of picture-making. He writes, "The study of photographic form must consider the medium's 'fine art' tradition and its 'functional' tradition as intimately interdependent aspects of a single history."[58]

Szarkowski regards the photograph as a pictorial form with its own "vernacular." It involves a series of "section views" transacted by the photographer at the photographic moment. The section views are "the thing itself, the detail, the frame, time and vantage point."[59]

The photographer applies the "section views of the craft in two ways: first, from a worker's intimate understanding of his tools and materials...and second he learned from other photographs, which presented themselves in an unending stream."[60] And the operative principle at work in the deliberation of a photograph is "choice."

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[58] John Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 5.

[59] Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 8-11.

[60] Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 7.

The photographer selects the subject matter according to the "fine art" and "functional traditions" that have educated his point of view. The resulting picture reflects a process of visual editing to achieve "a substitute for the subject itself – a simpler, more permanent, more clearly visible version of the plain fact."[61]

It is Szarkowski's opinion that still photographs have "never been very successful at narrative." By itself, the photograph is antithetical to narrative flow. It does not advance a story so much as arrest it at a particular moment. Szarkowski writes, "The function of these pictures was not to make the story clear, it was to make it *real*." The role of a photographic record, in a narrative sequence, is thus more "symbolic." It encapsulates specific moments that become representative of a larger occasion.[62]

The "section views" the photographer considers in taking a picture are interdependent interpretations of events. The actions of the photographer can be compared to that of the historian. Each faces an "opaque mass of facts...and explores the tension between facts and meanings, between the visual details themselves and the significance discovered in and through them." But for the photographer, it is the viewfinder of the camera that serves to frame the subject matter of history. And it is the details he selects, that will be remembered in the evidence of the photograph.[63]

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[61] Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 12.

[62] Szarkowski, in this remark, is referring to photographic documents of war, specifically the American Civil War recorded by the Mathew Brady group of photographs and "the incomparably larger photographic record of the Second World War." Szarkowski feels these documents "neither explained, without extensive captioning, what was happening." Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 9.

[63] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: The Noonday Press, 1989), xiv; "There is...a fundamental analogy between historiography and the photographic media: like the photographer, the historian is loath to neglect his recording obligations over his preconceptions and fully to consume the raw material he tries to mould...Small wonder that camera-ready parallels historical reality in terms of structure, its general constitution. Exactly as historical reality, it is partly patterned, partly amorphous – a consequence, in both cases, of the half-cooked state of our everyday world." Siegfried Kracauer, History: The Last Things Before the Last, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 57-58.

Photograph #1

Sarkowski's method can be applied to these photographs to appreciate their unique qualities and artistic merit. Photograph #1 is beautifully composed. A group of men is posing for the camera in a rectangular room viewed from a midpoint. The arrangement of the subjects is so orderly that they seem to have been directed by the photographer for his purposes. Were the chairs and tables shuffled, with the cooperation of the occupants, at the direction of the photographer? A collaboration, between photographer and his subjects, is suggested by the way the men are positioned for the photograph.

Seven men sit on chairs at the right of the frame and are facing the camera. At the extreme left of the frame, two subjects sit on a ledge and lean against the wall. Two additional figures are seated on the same side of the room in front of a stove that is partially hidden by two other subjects.

At the rear of the room, behind the stove pipe, a row of eight men stands to face the photographer. This orderly line of figures encloses the back of the room. A central figure dressed in a suit and tie, is positioned so that the hanging light fixture seems to be directly over his head. But logically, the recession of the space of the room requires that this central figure and his fellows at the rear, be behind the light fixture as they are behind the stove pipe.

The arrangement of the room is symmetrical. Figures on the left and the right are separated by a corridor through the center. This device creates a visual progression: the viewer is encouraged to pass through the subjects in the foreground to the central figure in the row at the back who stands in the center of the photographic frame. Two aproned figures who flank this central figure, reinforce this symmetry and give the room a classic orderliness. Balance and focus make the picture a formal group portrait.[64]

But the photograph is filled with detail. The manner of dress, the hats, the moustaches, the unswept floor suggest a working man's establishment. The seated repose of the subjects in the foreground also suggests a moment of relaxation.

For all that, the subjects are solemnly posed. They face the camera, several of them actually looking away to something at the left (not in the frame), with a kind of sustained, deliberated stillness. The photographer has likely asked them to hold their attitudes, without moving, until the photograph was taken.

The features of the two men at the left seem washed out by light. This suggests that an artificial light source, a flash unit, was used. It also seems that the lighted panel, perhaps a steamed mirror, at the rear of the room, reflects a bright light where one might expect shadow. The faces of the men in the back appear not as back-lit silouhettes, but in clear definition, which would support the suggestion of artificial illumination.

There is a sense of temporary interruption in the photograph. The men have paused in conversation and turned their chairs towards the photographer and held their separate countenances to be recorded by his camera. The interruption makes this photographic moment more important than the occasion might ordinarily have assumed. The grouping, arrangement of subjects and orderly compliance, are within the frame of the photograph and make of the occasion not just an illustration of photographic deliberation, but a separate reality defined by the conventions of the photographic medium.

John Szarkowski writes that photography provides a picture-making process that is different from other pictorial conventions such as painting or drawing. A painting is made. A photograph is taken.[65] When the photographer selects the subject, he uses a different set of rules than the painter who can reorder the content of the picture arbitrarily.

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[64] Classical composition consists of "one center of interest either placed centrally, or on the division of thirds...with all the other elements of the picture toned down, so that they do not interfere and create visual tension..." Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 79.

When the photographer reorders the elements of the picture, it is the three-dimensional, pre-photographic information that must be modified before the exposure. Similarly manipulating the photographic document, whether by cropping the negative or by photomontage, comes after the photographic moment, and is not part of the original exposure.[66] In short, the photographic negative retains fairly precise historical information about the subject at the moment when the camera's shutter was released.

Photograph #1, viewed without any additional information, is an impressive achievement in itself. It portrays an orderly group portrait of a collection of male subjects.

What one can infer about the way the subjects have arranged themselves or the extent to which the photographer imposed upon his subjects to make them conform in a certain way, is hidden within the photograph itself. The tangible presence of the subjects, convinces us that this is how they appeared at the photographic moment.[67]

The photographer could stage-manage the room to a limited extent. But the details of the picture were preexistent. It is reasonable to assume that the hanging lamp, the stove pipe, the steamed mirror were all in place before Goss arrived with his camera. If he directed the men to sit just as they are sitting, or to push the chairs and tables to the edges of the room to offer a visual corridor through the center of the room, his instructions are now a part of the literal content of the picture. The photographer used what was available to construct a well balanced photographic portrayal of the room and of its occupants.

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[65] Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 6.

[66] Cropping is "to delete some of the image area when printing." Alfred A. Blaker, Photography: Art and Technique, (Stoneham, Mass.: Butterworth Publishers, 1988), 289; Photomontage is "the pasting together or otherwise combining separate and disparate pictures to form a new visual entity..." Newhall, The History of Photography, 210.

[67] "Our faith in the truth of the photograph rests on our belief that the lens is impartial, and will draw the subject as it is neither nobler nor meaner. This faith may be naive and illusory (for though the lens draws the subject, the photographer defines it), but it persists. The photographer's vision convinces us to the degree that the photographer hides his hand." Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 12.

And how well he used it! The edge of the photographic frame is repeated in the vertical lines of the wallpaper, the vertical breaks in the wall and in the stove pipe. The dramatic foreshortening of the room skillfully employs a single-pointed perspective and all the horizontal lines converge onto the head of the central figure at the rear. A line is created by the shoulders of the standing row of men. The two figures at the extreme left and the seated men at the right the room serve to enclose the space of the room parenthetically.

The floor seems to slope upward as the ceiling slopes downward accentuating this effect. The cord of the hanging lamp and the lamp itself form a line extending downward to meet the central figure and the line then passes through the figure to a visible separation in the floorboards which leads the eye to the front of the room. The line divides the frame of the photograph in half.

The faces of the robust young men exude a feeling of healthy energy in repose. One subject at the right background gestures with a raised hat to the camera; another sits at the left in the foreground holding an open pocket watch as though timing the exposure; several subjects, at the back of the room, rest their arms on each others' shoulders; the husky man seated at the left middle ground and straddling his chair looks upwards with an affable expression. There is a dignity to these men with their steady gazes each so different yet forming a group.

These are willing subjects. The rapport between these subjects and the photographer makes the photograph collaborative. There is honour to the occasion and an interaction between the subjects themselves. They are having their picture taken.

The exposure time of the photograph was likely less than a second. With the use of flash which is suggested by effects of the lighting on the subjects, the exposure of the film was virtually instantaneous. So there are no blurred details or sudden movements and the subjects are frozen in the tableau—captured at the precise moment the photographer has selected.

What is not visible in the photograph can be inferred from what it does show. For example, the frame of the picture cuts the figure at the extreme left through his right shoulder. And at least two of the faces at the rear of the room are blocked by the heads of those in front of them. These limitations do not disturb the integrity of the photograph. Rather, an internal logic or spatial coherence assures the viewer that hidden details exist, but are merely outside or hidden within the picture frame.

Similarly, the floor continues forward and not just to the picture's edge as does the ceiling. While it may seem obvious, these suggestions of more content than the the photographer can show us (partly by choice and partly because of the picture's limits) are proof of the image's integrity and can be critical to its reading. What is immediate in the content of the picture provides the basis for inference outside literal content. Even the photographer's presence in the room, is only by logical inference since we cannot see him within the picture.

To accommodate the physical limitations of the space, Arthur Goss has moved his camera as far back as possible, to capture on film as much of the room and the subjects as he could. But a bigger world exists outside the confines of the room delimited and enclosed by the frame of the photograph. The picture's claim to optical truthfulness is both explicit in how it corresponds to recognizable reality and implicit in how the excluded details can be logically inferred.[68]

Photograph #2

Photograph #2 is quite different from Photograph #1. Although many of the subjects are recognizable in both pictures, they are not captured in the same way at all. The sense of orderly space is absent in Photograph #2. Congestion not order predominates. The room is clearly a dormitory. Three beds are visible and there is little space between them.

The seated subjects in the foreground and the standing figures behind, suggest that the room is filled to capacity. The all-maleness of the subjects is, as in the first photograph, a salient piece of information. A coat, a rumpled blanket and a soiled pillow or mattress, behind the subject in the immediate foreground, suggest a disordered material existence. The heavy coats, the hats and other apparel suggest that it is Winter.

By their gestures, the subjects in Photograph #2 seem to be saying something to the viewer. The cryptic inclusion of Photograph #1, held up in multiple copies, tentatively suggests that the subjects are saying where else they would rather be receiving a guest.

They appear to be saying, through the evidence of their gestures – if you must see me this way (in Photograph #2) then you should know that this is how I prefer to be seen (in Photograph #1). Perhaps the photographer, through an ingenious pictorial device, is giving something back to his subjects to repay them for letting him take their picture a second time.

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[68] "One way or another, a photograph provides evidence about a scene, about the way things were, and most of us have a strong intuitive feeling that it provides better evidence than any other kind of picture. We feel the evidence *corresponds* in some strong sense to reality, and...that it is true because it does so." (italics in original) William J. Mitchell, The Reconfigured Eye: Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), 24.

The orderliness in the restaurant contrasts with the disorder in the dormitory. The classical symmetry of Photograph #1 becomes congested concentration in Photograph #2. The seated repose and social distance between the subjects in Photograph #1 becomes physical elbowing and intimate proximity in Photograph #2.

Of course, much of this information is conjectural. The photographs are like cryptic messages where the proof that the code has been broken is by internal inference. The pictures, in themselves, cannot provide the means to a conclusive interpretation. Roland Barthes considers photographs to be "messages without a code" and thus "continuous messages" in the ongoing decipherment of their content.[69]

The attempt to decode pictorial content, is a process of translating the visual information into analysis and of coaxing the photograph to release narrative information. But what provides the incentive to do this?

In one of his later work, Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, Roland Barthes identifies two elements of a photograph that advance a process of inquiry. These aspects he calls the "studium" and the "punctum" of the "photographic message". The "studium" is "the publicly available meaning of the image, its connotatively charged subject matter determined by the cultural context in which it is received."

The "punctum" is "that unexpected prick, sting or cut that disturbs the intelligibility of the culturally connotated meanings" of the photograph's "studium". The "punctum" cannot be reduced to a code nor "generalized for all viewers." The

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[69] Barthes, "The Photographic Message," trans. Stephen Heath., Image-Music-Text, ed. Stephen Heath (New York: The Noonday Press, 1977), 17.

"punctum" serves to "pierce" the "studium" and calls for special attention.[70]

It was the photograph within the photograph, that prompted me to develop the rhetoric of the two images as self-referring "signs" with a potential for narrative. Photograph #1 "punctures" the second by being literally reproduced. And it is the subjects themselves who are doing the self-referring.

Photograph #1 can be considered a group portrait that ostensibly respects or honours the photographic subjects.[71] On the surface, the picture does not undermine or compromise the men in any obvious sense. In fact, it is unclear whose interests Photograph #1 is actually serving.

One might speculate that it is serving both the photographer and his subjects within a context that is mutually beneficial. Photograph #1 validates the photographer at his craft. It also validates the subjects themselves who are gathered together in a restaurant or coffee shop where they are meeting to socialize.

Photograph #2 is less respectful of the subjects. They are squeezed into a room and pressed shoulder-to-shoulder on rumpled beds. But they refer back to themselves, with the inclusion of the first picture, recalling how they were validated.

But nothing can be said for certain outside the visual content of the two photographs. No story is advanced beyond the temporal progression suggested by the two images. Even recognizing the same subjects in both pictures, does not provide any clear narrative. They remain anonymous men who were photographed at two specified moments in time.

What recommends the pictures for further inquiry is the interaction between the photographer and his subjects. There is something happening, within the pictures, that captures a narrative sequence, but that is incidental to the larger occasion of the photographs.

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[70] Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, 26-27.

[71] "We are confronting...a double system: a system of representation capable of functioning both *honorifically* and *repressively*. This double operation is most evident in the workings of photographic portraiture." Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), 345.

Conjecture about the visual evidence in the photographs suggests more about the photographer's ingenuity with his camera and about his skill in winning the subjects' compliance, than about the historical reasons for these pictures. And the labels, attached to the photographs, help situate the images into a context.

Arthur Goss was the skilled technician who created Photograph #1. But in Photograph #2, the reform programs of his sponsor, Dr Charles Hastings, are more clearly served. As will be shown, the contrast between the images epitomizes two alternative ways of perceiving these immigrant men who are both honoured and dishonoured within the evidence of the two photographs.

The contrast also shows two distinct approaches to the photographic medium within Goss' own career. He has "pictured" the men differently in the photographs and provided two specific ways of understanding him historically. Goss is working as a photographer with an independent point-of-view in Photograph #1 and as an instrumental technician providing information in Photograph #2. But his integrity is evident in many of the pictures he produced for the City and these photographs are good examples.

The Photographic Labels

There are several sets of identifiers attached to the photographs. First are the photographer's own labels inscribed directly onto the negatives by Goss himself. These give information related to the project the pictures served. Here, Photograph #1 is labeled "Medical Health No. 57 Feb 23 1912 N S [North Side] King St East" and Photograph # 2, "Medical Health No 58 Feb 26 1912 N S King St East."

A second set of identifiers is handwritten on the archival prints. Photograph #1 is labeled—"Macedonians, Panto Nicola Restaurant #356 King St. E. Feb 23, 1912" and Photograph #2 – "Bulgarian Lodging House, '...in room shown, 25 men were sleeping in beds and on floor.'"[72] A third set of identifiers was applied much later, after 1960, when the negatives were restored and catalogued: Record Group #8-32-57 and #8-32-58.[73]

The information on these labels advances the narrative of the photographs. But what is omitted from the labels: the specific identities of the subjects, may be as revealing about the historic reasons as what has been included.

Captions and labels on photographs enclose the content. They say: "This is what the picture shows." The naming of the subject is what the photographer or the editor considers its most salient identifier (i.e. This is... "Niagara Falls." This is... "Joey, age 2.").

Labels often serve to limit the content of a photograph. The enigma of the photographic document is that it usually shows much more than a summary label can describe. Thus, the photograph's label can serve to establish a rhetorical response in the viewer by focusing on or excluding information.

The individual subjects in these two images are not named. Their identities are relegated to a group identity – "Macedonian" in Photograph #1 and "Bulgarian" in Photograph #2. Starting with the City Directory for 1912, the address of the Photograph #1was indeed the "Panto Nicola Restaurant" at 356 King Street East. The restaurant is listed at the intersection of Power and King Streets across from the site of "Little Trinity Anglican Church."[74] According to Lillian Petroff, historian for the Macedonian-Canadian community in Toronto, this was the district where Macedonian people stayed during the sojourning period.

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[72] R.Scott James, who restored the negatives, could not recall from what source this additional information was taken. R.Scott James, Interview, 9 September, 1997

[73] Records Group H-M, 8-32-57 & Records Group 8-32-58, City of Toronto Archives, Department of Public Works Photographs. There is a total of 976 images in the Health Series.

During the sojourning period many Macedonian men immigrated to Canada, and to Toronto, in particular, for work opportunities but intended to stay for a relatively short period of time before returning to their native villages. Petroff writes that this period lasted from 1903 until1912.[75]

In the Tax Assessment Rolls for 1912, little information about names is provided. In a curious oversight, in the clerical entries for houses where normally the names of the occupants can be found, are here replaced with "various tenants." And further, the "occupations" are listed as "Macedonian."[76]

This clerical error can suggest two things. Firstly, the Macedonian occupants were tenants not owners. In fact, few of the buildings and houses in this area of the city list Macedonian owners (going by the names) although this was the center of the first sojourning community— where gathering places and boarding homes were located.

Secondly, as with the photographs' summary labels, the Tax Assessment Rolls identify Macedonian "tenants" in groups and not as individuals. Where they worked or what they did for a living was, apparently, of no particular interest to those who collected the information. Identifying the "occupations" as "Macedonian" may also suggest dismissal: these houses with "various tenants" could be passed over.

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[74] Toronto City Directory 1912 – Street Names, City of Toronto, Microfilm Reel 1 of 2, #297, 209.

[75] Lillian Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), xv.

[76] "Tax Assessment rolls held little information about unpropertied and transient sojourners." Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, xvi; "houses with 'various tenants' under occupation 'Macedonian'", Toronto Tax Assessment Rolls, City of Toronto (1912) #275, Ward 2, Div.1, 73.

The naming of names, at the time of the photographs, was further complicated by language barriers and by the complexity of Macedonian names for an English-speaking city. For example, Petroff tells the story of Lazo Evanoff who worked at the Kemp Manufacturing Company, at River and Gerrard Streets. His name was changed to Charlie Johnson to make it easy for his employer and co-workers to remember.[77]

Macedonian sojourners who were "used to avoiding Ottoman authorities, tried at first to evade Canadian officialdom as well." "Macedonians disappeared within official listings, obliterated by Canadian use of inadequate passport definitions of their nationality – as Bulgarian, Greek, Serb or Turk – in government indices of population. Compilers of city directories in Toronto were apt to list Slavic boarding-house denizens as foreigners." Petroff concludes that "Macedonians in North America sought official non-existence."[78]

Difficulty in putting a name to a face also refers to a central problem in using photographs as primary historical material for research. Without a concrete identifier, there is no method, short of oral testimony, to name a face in a picture. Names are simply omitted from the official registers. What is included is the national grouping – "Macedonian" in Photograph #1 which becomes "Bulgarian" in Photograph #2!

After considering the images, Lillian Petroff commented: "I can tell they're Macedonians just by looking at them." But she can not put names to any of the faces. She may also have based her identification on her knowledge of dress, moustaches, and the central importance played by coffee shops during the sojourning period.[79]

But how could the same photographic subjects be "Macedonian" in Photograph #1 and "Bulgarian" in Photograph #2? That answer lies with events in the Balkans – a world away from Canada.

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[77] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 44.

[78] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, xvi.

[79] Lillian Petroff, Interview, 25 March 1997.

At the time of the pictures, the Macedonians had begun to emerge from a fragmented, village-centred culture into a more unified although frustrated national cohesion.[80] Their revolt against the Ottoman Turks allied them with the Bulgarians. The two peoples also shared a common Slavic ancestry, a literary language and a religious liturgy.[81] The photographic subjects might be more accurately relabeled "Macedonian-Bulgarian." The labels refer to this collective identity simply by naming it not the individuals. The labels only hint at the complexities of the Balkans.

Petroff writes that the sojourners living in Toronto came "principally from the Ottoman-ruled provinces of Kostur (Castoria) and Lerin (Florina), now in northern Greece."[82] These provinces contained Turks, Bulgars, Greeks, Serbs, Macedonians, Albanians, Vlachs or Kutzo-Vlachs, Jews and Gypsies.[83] John Reed (the American journalist who subsequently wrote Ten Days That Shook the World) was traveling in Macedonia in 1915. He writes, "In a space of five square miles you will find six villages of six nationalities, each with its own customs, language, and traditions. But the vast majority of the population of Macedonia are Bulgars."[84]

The Macedonian-Bulgarian identity was more of a national aspiration than a political reality, at the time of the photographs. But the fact that the photographic subjects claimed this identity themselves, suggests that they were collectively committed to the contemporary independence struggles in Macedonia.

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[80] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 3-7.

[81] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 8.

[82] "A uniquely 'interior' and precise 1910 census of Toronto's [Macedonian population] give numbers of Macedonians by village of origin: 'Kostursko, Macedonia – 514, Lerinsko – 332, Prespansko-Ochridsko – 121, Bitolsko – 42, Kalyarsko – 32, Dimir-Hisarko – 15, Bulgaria – 38...' – totaling 1,094 individuals." Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 14; 52; The city totals, from the 1911 Census, list "Bulgarians and Rumanians" together. For Central Toronto, where the photographs were taken, the Census lists 543 "Bulgarian and Rumanians," both male and female. These latter figures give an idea of how many Macedonian-Bulgarians sought "official non-existence" in the Official Registers. Fifth Census of Canada 1911, Vol. II, (Ottawa, 1913), 402-403.

[83] Paul Robert Magocsi, Historical Atlas of East Central Europe, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 87.

[84] John Reed, The War in Eastern Europe: Travels through the Balkans in 1915, 1916 (London: Orion Books Ltd, 1994), 158-159.

As a group these men have been referred to history through these particular photographic artifacts. Labels anchor photographs to a particular context. Without the benefit of the labels, the pictures would be left to conjecture— to guesswork.

The labels also serve to assign the images to an editorial agenda. The information recorded was what was needed to identify the documents for the reform programs of the photographer's sponsor, Dr Charles Hastings. This discussion now turns to review how Hastings's editorial agenda used photography in general, and these photographs in particular for the Public Health Department he oversaw.

Part Two

Testament

Instrumental photography

> "With the rise of the modern social sciences, a regularized flow of symbolic and material power is engineered between fully-human subject and less-than-fully-human object along vectors of race, sex, and class. The social-scientistic appropriation of photography led to a genre I would call *instrumental realism,* representational projects devoted to new techniques of social diagnosis and control, to the systematic naming, categorization, and isolation of an otherness thought to be determined by biology and manifested through the 'language' of the body itself."[85]

For a photograph to serve as an instrumental tool, the terms of its usage have to be carefully defined. Allan Sekula writes, "...the photograph is an 'incomplete' utterance, a message that depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability." As such, it "...communicates by means of some hidden, implicit text; it is this text, or system of hidden linguistic propositions, that carries the photograph into the domain of readability."[86]

Of course, a photograph cannot be "read" as one might read a piece of correspondence or legal statute. Labeling devices, editorial clarification and context for the "message" of the photograph need be brought into an historical framework.

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[85] Allan Sekula, Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photographic Works, 1973-1983, (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984), 79. (Italics in the original)

[86] Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," Thinking Photography, ed. Victor Burgin (London: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1982), 85.

According to R.Scott James, photographs are often misused by historians.[87] James writes, "Few researchers or archivists take photographic evidence seriously enough to ask questions of it which they would automatically put to more traditional primary sources. For what purpose was the record created, when, by whom, and in what context?"[88] The answers to these questions become part of an historical photograph's meaning.

As early as the 1870's, the City of Toronto employed photography to record water works installations for annual reports. In the 1880's and 1890's, the City contracted with commercial photographers to document various public works on a more frequent basis. By 1899, the increasing volume of these municipal projects led the City Engineer's department to begin its in-house photography program.

Between 1908 and 1911, the City Engineer's Office was reorganized into the Department of Public Works under a new Commissioner, Roland C. Harris. With this reorganization, the Department established a "'Photography and Blue Printing Section' under the direction of the Chief Photographer, Arthur S. Goss."[89]

The incentive for the creation of the "Photography and Blue Printing Section" was presented by G.G.Powell, Principal Assistant Engineer in a 1910 report: "Our facilities for good photographic work at present time are meagre, and as this is a branch of the work that is coming more into use everyday, I would suggest that the present accommodation be enlarged and proper facilities be provided for carrying this work out on a business-like basis. Accommodation can readily be provided by making use of the room now occupied by the Medical Health Department as a laboratory, as it is intended to enlarge and move this laboratory to another part of the building."[90]

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[87] "Perhaps no record is more consistently misused than the historical photograph. It is not that photographs are neglected – quite the reverse. Users are plentiful and tend to be wildly enthusiastic. But how often does the archivist find himself helping to compile a portfolio of "historic" scenes for the nostalgic market or selecting illustrations for a text which is in all other respects ready for the printer?" R.Scott James, "The Historical Photograph," Archivaria, No. 3, Winter 1976-77, 118.

[88] R.Scott James, The Historical Photograph, 120.

[89] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

Goss installed dark-room facilities on the third floor of City Hall. By June 1912, he had two assistants. The Department of Public Works made the Photography Section available to meet its own needs and those of other city departments. "By the end of its first year of operation, Goss reported that the section [had] produced a total of 838 negatives and 2647 prints. In his 1912 report, he further noted that aside from the work of his own Department he was producing photographs for Health, Parks and Property Departments as well as outside agencies such as the Toronto Hydro Commission and the Toronto Harbour Commission."

Goss' work for the city would ultimately number in the thousands. Between 1912 and 1920, Goss documented housing conditions for Dr Charles Hastings.[91]

Dr Hastings was part a new professional class of bureaucrats who felt the City had become an essentially negative phenomenon that "posed a serious menace to the future of the nation."[92] They perceived the City as "a poorly functioning mechanism which had to be streamlined and regulated."[93]

These bureaucrats were part of a larger Urban Reform Movement throughout North America. Unprecedented industrial growth, physical expansion and increasing urban density were transforming the city. The camera was enlisted in the programs of the reformers to provide evidence to support their reforms.[94]

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[90] G.G.Powell, City Engineer's Annual Report. (Toronto City Archives, 1910), 95.

[91] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer. N. pag.

[92] "In the city all the ills of modern society were concentrated and highly visible. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it was widely accepted that urban growth posed a serious menace to the future of the nation." Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History. ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan J. Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977), 436.

[93] Paul Rutherford, Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920, 448.

The population of the Toronto had grown by slightly more than eighty per cent in the decade between 1901 and 1911 (from 208,040 persons in 1901 to 376,538 in 1911).

The city's composition was changing rapidly too. While remaining overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic, there was a newer presence. The Census of 1911 lists 63% of the population as "Canadian-born" (205,439 individuals); 28% as "British-born" (91,378 individuals); nine per cent as "foreign-born" (30,936 individuals). These figures represented a marked change from the 1901 census when only six per cent or 8,476 persons had been "foreign-born."

The city census figures list "Bulgarians and Rumanians" together. Macedonians are not named specifically. The broad category, "foreign-born," included a wide selection of subjects from Europe and Asia.[95] An internal census conducted by the Macedonian community in 1910 lists 1,094 individuals, "mostly sojourners – bachelors or unaccompanied married men..."[96]

The foreign-born constituted a sizable number of ethnic groups.[97] And the Toronto figures reflected a nationwide trend. Since 1896, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was first elected Prime Minister and appointed Clifford Sifton to be Minister of the Interior responsible for immigration, the variety of different nationalities coming to Canada had increased.

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[94] "The intense (and the process seemed to be gaining momentum) concentration of industrial and financial power, the implosive specialization of functions and services and the concomitant fragmentation of urban spaces, the new mechanical systems of transportation, communication, and coordination, and the hardening of social divisions, abetted by spreading ethnic differences (the 'other half' consisted chiefly of immigrant populations), all seem to hold a threat without precedent, a threat to stability of ideas and feelings as well as polity and social order." Alan Trachtenberg, "Image and Ideology: New York in the Photographer's Eye," Journal of Urban History, 10.4 (1984) 455.

[95] Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts and Sub-Districts, Vol II, (Ottawa, 1913) 402-404.

[96] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 14.

[97] J.M.S. Careless, The History of Canadian Cities:Toronto To 1918, An Illustrated History, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1984) 202.

Sifton had "organized a revamped and far-reaching program and was prepared, if reluctantly, to admit agricultural settlers from places other than the British Isles, Northern Europe and the United States." But despite appearing receptive and welcoming, the Canadian immigration policy remained preferential.

"Unabashedly colonial," Harold Troper writes, "the government defined immigrants who did not originate from the British Isles as foreign." The most desirable immigrants were British or American born.

From this preferred category, there descended, by order of preference, the other groups to the least desirable. The "British and American agriculturalists were followed by French, Belgians, Dutch, Scandinavians, Swiss, Finns, Russians, Austro-Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians and Poles. Close to the bottom of the list came those who were, in both the public and the government's mind less desirable: Italians, South Slavs, Greeks and Syrians. At the very bottom came Jews, Asians, gypsies and blacks."[98]

The expanded immigration was influenced by the national prosperity after 1896, and the by Liberal policies of subsequent Laurier governments. Sifton was succeeded in 1905, as Minister of the Interior by Frank Oliver, who had different views on immigration. He "had never favoured the 'open door' policy." Oliver "moved immediately to make the Immigration Act more restrictive by broadening ministerial powers to reject and deport."

But, "...even that did not satisfy some of the government's critics, especially those who believed that some immigrant groups presented an insurmountable obstacle to

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[98] Harold Troper, "Immigration," Canadian Encyclopedia, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers,1985), 863.

'Canadianization.'" The "powers to reject and deport" could be arbitrarily applied.[99]

A telling "series of events" in 1907 reveals the official attitude towards the Macedonian sojourners. There was an economic downswing that year and some three hundred Macedonian sojourners returned to Toronto after "a long summer working in the north" as railway navvies.

The men had been promised the return fare to the city by their employer who had reneged on the offer. The Macedonians had spent a sizable portion of their summer earnings on their return fares. Arriving in the city on the eve of winter, many were broke and out of work. They were compelled to seek accommodation in cottages in the East end of the city without adequate heat, clothing or food.

City officials, feeling overwhelmed by the plight of the men, cabled the federal Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, for assistance. In response, Oliver and his officials investigated the terms under which the Macedonians had come to Canada. Finding that a "steamship agent in the Balkans" had encouraged them to emigrate on the promise of ample work opportunities, "the dominion government cabled [the steamship's] agents in Britain to discourage further immigration from the Balkans."

The upshot of these events, coupled with the sojourners refusal to accept jobs on the "Temiskaming Railways" at low salary rates, resulted in the "deportation of the navvies as undesirable public charges under section 33 of the Immigration Act."[100]

Among the critics of the government's "open door policy" was Dr Charles Hastings. In an address before the National Council of Women, given in 1906 and later published in a professional journal in 1907, he writes,

"It costs our Dominion Government nearly three-quarters of a million annually for immigration purposes alone. Thousands are being imported annually of Russians,

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[99] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974) 68.

[100] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 41-42.

Finns, Italians, Hungarians, Belgians, Scandinavians, etc. The lives and environments of a large number of these have, no doubt, been such as is well calculated to breed degenerates. Who would think of comparing for a moment, in the interests of our country, mentally, morally, physically or commercially, a thousand of these foreigners with a thousand of Canadian birth?"[101]

But many immigrants did not choose to be farmers and did not think their stay in Canada would be permanent. They came to work, to earn money and then return to their own countries. Owing to factors beyond their control (particularly in the case of the Macedonian sojourners) many of the foreign-born became long-term settlers.[102]

In Toronto, this period of rapid population growth was reflected in the expansion of the commercial and industrial sectors and the extension of city boundaries.[103] Increasingly, nativist populations moved from the urban center to newer residential districts.

The older neighbourhoods became concentrations of the immigrant groups who had recently arrived and worked in the industries located near the city center.[104] And the preferential subtext, characterizing the Canadian immigration policy at this time, was also evident in Toronto: specific districts of the City were enclaves of "foreign" habitation. Goss was commissioned by Charles Hastings to provide concrete evidence about social conditions in these districts. His photographs were part of public record-keeping used to reinforce Hastings' reform agenda.[105] Rhetorical devices that Hastings used in his incorporation of photographic records into his programs for change, provide a fascinating exercise in the construction of photographic meaning.

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[101] Zlata Godler, "Doctors and the New Immigrants," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 9.1 (1977), 6-17.

[102] "Like the Irish before them, many of the 'foreign' immigrants, non-English speaking and largely non-Protestant, rejected a life of rural isolation, choosing to work in cities." Troper, Immigration, 863.

[103] Careless, Toronto to 1918, Map # 6 and # 9

[104] "...Toronto shared attributes with many North American cities at the turn of the century. The Anglo-Saxon community that characterized Toronto received the thin edge of social transformation between 1890 and 1910. Toronto also partook of another feature of North American urban evolution as its expanding business district furthered peripheral land speculation and made inexpensive housing temporarily available to the new arrivals from Eastern and Southern Europe. By land economics and immigration, a portion of the city consisting of sub-standard housing became identified with aliens." John C. Weaver, "The Modern City Realized: Toronto Civic Affairs, 1880-1915," The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City, ed. Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Ottawa: MacMillan of Canada Ltd., 1979), 49; "The Macedonian's initial and most heavily populated settlement area was the East End. This district both attracted and provided a large Macedonian labour pool for the local sheet-metal industries, iron and steel foundries, slaughterhouses, and leather- and fur- processing companies." Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 25.

Photography from its earliest years embraces a "double system" of representing human subjects— "honorific and repressive." As honorific, "the photographic portrait extends, accelerates, popularizes and degrades a traditional function – the ceremonial presentation of the bourgeois self." As repressive, "...photography came to establish and delimit the terrain of the other, to define both the generalized look – the typology – and the contingent instance of deviance and social pathology."[106]

These two photographs were the property of the Public Health Department, filed as images of "foreign" subjects in their living conditions. By labeling the photographic subjects as immigrant types who were inadequately housed, the pictures served to subsume the individual subject in a group and to blur individual differences.

And so the names of the individual subjects were irrelevant to the photographs usefulness. A private group portrait for a family album was necessarily honorific (of nameable and valued family members) the public portrait could be honorific or repressive depending upon whether one was looking up or down the social scale. Alan Sekula writes, "Every portrait implicitly took its place within a social hierarchy."[107]

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[105] "Hastings believed that records were the 'bookkeeping of public health administration", supplying both direction and justification for radical health programs." Janice R. Sandomirsky, "Toronto's Public Health Photography." Archivaria, 10 (Summer 1980), 145.

[106] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 345.

[107] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 347.

The emergence of the public photographic portrait had an important historical precedent in its use by police in mid-nineteenth century France and subsequently in Britain and North America. Police archives are an early use of photography by public institutions.

The police attempted "to apply a taxonomic visual classification system onto human types." In this nineteenth century precedent, these devices applied an allegedly scientific means of identifying characterological types by their physical appearance and measurement.

Using concepts from phrenology and physiognomy, the compilers of the police archives endeavoured to identify the "backward criminal type" through cranial measurement and bodily characteristics as indicators of "feeble-mindedness, moral degeneracy and poverty/disease equations."[108]

When a criminal suspect was apprehended, he or she was photographed and physically described and characterizing measurements were taken along with anecdotal note-taking . The purpose of these practices was to differentiate the "incorrigible" from the "pliant" criminal. Photographs were incorporated into a system intended to identify the fugitive type and predict the likelihood of reoffense and, as such, were part of a prognosticating "complex of observable data."[109]

Taking a photograph was capturing truth. The photograph became part of a "bureaucratic-clerical-statistical system of 'intelligence'... The central artifact of this system is not the camera but the filing cabinet."[110]

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[108] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 347-349.

[109] "The Paris police official, Alphonse Bertillon, invented the first effective modern system of *criminal identification*. His was a bipartite system, positioning a 'microscopic' individual record within a 'macroscopic' aggregate. First, he combined photographic portraiture, anthropometric description, and a highly standardized and abbreviated written notes on a single *fiche*, or card. Second, he organized these cards within a comprehensive, statistically based filing system." (italics in original) Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 353.

[110] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 351.

This identification system was ultimately defeated by the sheer volume of material collected. And too few criminals were actually reapprehended to warrant the cost and personnel required to collect the necessary data. It was supplanted by "fingerprinting," introduced in Britain in 1901 by Sir Edward Henry, as a more efficient and less cumbersome and costly tool in criminal investigation.[111]

If the use of photographs for police identification was "microscopic," the work of Francis Galton, founder of the "Eugenics" movement, was at the "macroscopic" end of photography as an instrumental technology.[112] Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, endeavoured to link "criminal anthropology" with "biologic determinism." He believed "he had invented a prodigious epistemological tool."[113]

Galton produced photographic "composites" of human faces, exposed on single photographic plates, to arrive at what he considered a "statistical constancy." Indeed, he called his method "Pictorial Statistics," and applied it to take composite pictures of members of the same family—to establish "a ratio of hereditary influence."[114] By superimposing one face onto another, Galton endeavoured to dissolve individual differences and arrive at a generalized typology.

His explorations extended into "an essentialist physical anthropology of race." The particulars of the individual photographic subject were combined with other subjects to produce generic portraits.[115]

Galton considered his "most successful composite" to be his "Jewish type." By superimposing one face onto another as he had with his other types, he arrived at an "essentialist pictorial rendering of a racial prototype."[116] (for prototype read stereotype).

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[111] Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories, 7.

[112] "Eugenics" was "the science that deals with the effects on the individual of biological and social factors. The term was coined in 1883 by Francis Galton (1822-1911) as 'the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities.'" "Eugenics," The Cambridge Encyclopedia, ed. David Crystal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 422.

[113] Galton published his "findings" in 1869 with Hereditary Genius, and in 1883 with Inquiries into Human Faculty. Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 367.

[114] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 369.

[115] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 370.

In the "microscopic" record-keeping of the police and the "macroscopic" theorizing of Frances Galton, there was a shared faith in the photograph's objective visual empiricism. The police system of individualizing the criminal suspect became, in Galton's composite printing, generalized discreet images to universalize the human face.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the institutional uses of the photographic record proliferated. The medical profession, in particular, found in the visual empiricism of photography a valuable tool in the comparison studies of human types. The fields of mental health, physiology and sanitation, among many, all enlisted the camera in pursuit of scientific truth.[117] The photograph became the visual equivalent of "textual shorthand." In the process, the photographer became an "instrumental technician", while the photographic archive, in general terms, was integrated into "a bewildering range of empirical disciplines..."[118]

The photographs used for this report fit into the honorific in Photograph #1 and repressive tradition in Photograph #2. The photographic subjects themselves make the distinction by willingly exhibiting copies in Photograph #1 in the content of

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[116] Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 371.

[117] "The development of new regulatory and disciplinary apparatuses was closely linked, throughout the nineteenth century, to the formation of new social and anthropological sciences – criminology, certainly, but also psychiatry, comparative anatomy, germ theory, sanitation, and so on – and the new kinds of professionalisms associated with them, which took both the body and its environment as their field, their domain of expertise, redefining the social as the object of their technical interventions." Tagg, The Burden of Representation, 5.

[118] "Roughly between 1880 and 1910, the archive became the dominant institutional basis for photographic meaning. Increasingly, photographic archives were seen as central to a bewildering range of empirical disciplines, ranging from art history to military intelligence." Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 373.

Photograph #2.

But as institutional images, filed with cursory labels for the Public Health Department, this is a moot distinction. The subjects are remembered as "foreign" men crowded into rooms and facing the camera as "types." Microscopic mug shots, used by police functionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, and the macroscopic composite images, created by the founder of the Eugenics movement, can meet in the institutional appropriation of these photographs of a "social problem" in need of a remedy.[119]

Charles Hastings

Charles Hastings was the Medical Health Officer for the City of Toronto from 1910 until 1929. During his tenure, the Public Health Department evolved from an under-funded and under-staffed municipal service that was beleaguered by political interference and inter-departmental rivalries to become a modern bureaucracy based on "scientific management principles." Hastings was aided, in his programs, by a reformist impulse that was transforming Toronto's infrastructure.[120]

Charles Hastings is a perfect example of the efficiency experts who were transforming the city bureaucracies. A Presbyterian deeply committed to social reform,[121] Hastings also represents the nativist response to "a generalized sense of crisis" in the changing urban environment.[122]

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[119] "The term 'social' was usually an adjective, and the relevant noun that came to mind was 'problem.' In the 1820's and 1830's, both French and English sources had used the term 'social question'; after mid-century, however, 'the social' became fragmented into a multitude of 'problems,' among other reasons because of the growth of specialized professions encouraged a fragmentation of jurisdictions within the social." Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991), 21.

[120] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates: Toronto's Health Department 1883-1983, 26-27.

[121] Charles Hastings was "Presbyterian elder, a past chairman of the Progressive Club, and a member of the Public Ownership League." Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," Prophesy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada, ed. Samuel D. Clark, J.Paul Grayson and Linda M. Grayson (Toronto: Gage Education Publishing Ltd., 1975), 51-52.

A combination of reform impulse and personal mission made Hastings a formidable change agent during a period that was witnessing profound social and cultural transformations. As part of a new elite, scientifically trained and heir to a tradition of Victorian social reform, Hastings "believed strongly in the perfectibility of human beings, and in...[his] duty to contribute to social change."[123]

Hastings had had "a longstanding interest in community health" prior to becoming Medical Health Office. He had participated in a small-pox vaccination program in 1885, had been involved in the Canadian Medical Association's Milk Committee in 1910 and was a founding member of the Canadian Public Health Association where he "developed contacts with Canadian, British and American public health professionals and was keen to introduce their programs to Toronto."[124]

Hastings' acceptance of the position of Medical Health Officer on a long interest in public health reform and disease prevention, was assured by personal tragedy. His baby daughter died of diphtheria contracted from contaminated milk. One of Hastings' first efforts, after his appointment in 1910, was to trace the source of his daughter's infection to a local dairy. Pasteurization of milk became a central objective and achievement in the early years of his tenure.[125]

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[122] "The distinction between say, humanitarian and town planner or sanitary and municipal reformer was always blurred, especially in the heat of battle. They were all motivated by a generalized sense of crisis, found on a variety of fears, such as the spread of moral decay, the threat of class hatreds, and the growth of vested interests. They were inspired by the possibilities of improvement, by a belief in their ability to mold the urban environment and to create a humane, rational society. Though this was an essentially secular goal, their values, moral, humanitarian, political, economic – in a phrase their cultural baggage – was defined within a Christian context and jumbled together in the drive for social reconstruction." Paul Rutherford, Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920, 448; Hastings can be described as "a new kind of professional...a trained expert occupying a particular institutional position whose fight for recognition of his expertise was bound up with his determination to exercise his authority in reshaping the social and urban environment according to his expert and technicist vision." He was "part of a new elite in the making who identified with advanced techniques, sought out publicity in order to shape public opinion, and readily allied themselves with pressure groups and like-minded councillors, frequently drawn from the same educated, professional class." Tagg, The Burden of Representation, 128.

[123] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 31.

[124] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 28.

Hastings personifies "a struggle" being waged in Toronto, at the time of the photographs, that was serving to widen "...the gulf between old and new Torontonians." Robert Harney and Harold Troper describe this struggle: "In a Protestant society where God and cleanliness on the one side and the devil and microbes on the other seemed to be locked in endless Manichean struggle." And it was against the newest immigrant groups that the struggle was invariably waged: "Scares about typhoid, cholera, scarlet fever were always linked to the immigrants."[126]

As a medical doctor and a public official, Hastings saw Public Health as similar to his previous work in obstetrics.[127] He administered to the "civic body" as he had administered to individual patients.

Hastings' approach to public health administration was based on a "disease model." The ailing "civic body" was to be assessed and diagnosed then programs for intervention and remedy could be applied.[128] As noted earlier, members of the

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[125] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 98.

[126] Robert Harney and Harold Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience 1890-1930. (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1915), 25.

[127] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 26.

[128] All of the first four Medical Health Officers for Toronto, Hastings included, had done medical training in Great Britain and been influenced by the "sanitary idea" originating in the Sanitation Movement of Jeremy Bentham and Edwin Chadwick from the period the 1830's and 40's. "Sanitarians believed that the state should be responsible for the prevention of outbreaks of infectious diseases through regulation of the urban environment and provision of essential amenities such as pure water and efficient waste removal." The Medical Health Officers were also recent converts to the "germ theory" of contagion that had gained currency since the discoveries of microbiology from the 1880's. Heather MacDougall, "Public Health and the 'Sanitary Idea' in Toronto, 1866-1890," Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine, ed. Wendy Mitchinson and Janice Dickin McGinnis (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988), 62.

Urban Reform Movement presumed that the city was intrinsically pathological.[129]

The post of Medical Officer of Health in Toronto was created in 1883.[130] Hastings was the fourth Medical Officer and was able to build upon the achievements of his predecessors who had successively defined the Medical Health Officer's role, fought for professional autonomy and established the credentials of the public health officials.[131]

An article published in Maclean's magazine July 1915, praised Charles Hastings and reviewed the improvements in the mortality rates of the city after he had assumed the Medical Health Office. Toronto had achieved the "lowest... [mortality rate] of any city in the world with a population of over 350,000." (The rates had fallen, from 16 per thousand in 1904 to 11.02 per thousand by 1914.)

How had this been accomplished? "The answer is found in the application of scientific principles to the civic regulation of public health." Hastings, in this account, became "a turning point in Toronto's health career." His arrival signaled an "awakening" that was "in the municipal air all over the continent of North America." The "new light had broken on the subject of keeping people well by the cityful or townful."

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[129] Paul Rutherford, Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920, 436

[130] The Medical Health Office had been created in 1883 by the federal government which had offered "a conditional grant for the collection of mortality statistics to all Canadian cities over 25,000 people who had permanent salaried medical health officers." A year prior, the provincial government in Ontario "had passed permissive legislation to create a Provincial Board of Health to supervise local health work and this body was actively encouraging the creation of a medical health officership in the provincial capital." MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 17.

[131] The professionalization of the medical health office was greatly advanced during the tenure of Dr Charles Sheard, Charles Hastings' immediate predecessor, who was a professor of Medicine at the Trinity Medical School. Sheard continued this affiliation while serving as Medical Health Officer from 1893 until 1910. He was made Professor of Preventive Medicine in 1903. Sheard was well schooled in the "germ theory of contagion" and established "a laboratory and a well run isolation hospital." Sheard also instituted a diploma program in public health "to ensure that future medical officers received post-graduate training like their British counterparts." Sheard also persuaded the provincial government of James Whitney "to strengthen the position of local medical health officers by amending provincial health legislation in 1909 to put funding for preventive work on the same basis as taxation for school boards." MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 16; 23-24.

And as we might guess, Hastings was a man who was already awake to the monetary cost of "the loss in actual cash to the country in the dropping out of the ranks through illness or death of hundreds of thousands annually who had made little or no return to the community for the outlay on their upbringing and education."[132]

Maclean's magazine lists the elements in Hastings' achievement: "The Fight for Pure Water," "A Great City's Milk Supply," "Saving the Babies," and "Building Better Bodies by Better Housekeeping." The article suggests Hastings had single-handedly reorganized the Public Health Department by applying the principles of scientific management, expanding the budget and staff of the department, extending health inspection into the community and by appealing directly to the public through published reports and monthly bulletins which built a lobby of supporters.[133]

What the article does not indicate was that Hastings was heir to the efforts and advocacies of his predecessors in the Medical Health Office.[134] While his first period in office was particularly auspicious, it was legislative permissiveness at higher levels of government, that enabled him to be an effective reformer.[135]

Hastings gained "two advantages his predecessors lacked: legal backing for his position and permanent tenure during 'good behaviour' and residency." A provincial Public Health Act of 1912, "not only renamed him the Medical Officer of Health, but more importantly, made him both the chief executive officer of the local board of health and the administrative head of his department."

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[132] K.M.Yorke, "Saving Lives on Wholesale Plan: How Toronto has been made the healthiest of large cities," Macleans Magazine 28 (July, 1915) 20.

[133] Yorke, Saving Lives on Wholesale Plan, 20-22; 93-96.

[134] Each of the three previous MHOs had been limited by a "lack of money, political will, and public interest in long-term solutions." MacDougall, Activist and Advocates, 10.

[135] All the previous MHOs had been frustrated by political interference from elected officials and from other municipal departments. As city employees they were subject to the mayor and the aldermen, to the vicissitudes of "economic downswing" and held responsible for "long standing environmental abuses." In short, what Hastings' predecessors lacked was "legal power" in fulfilling their mandate in preventive medicine. MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 20-21.

Hastings was promoted in the city hierarchy and allowed to set his reform agenda without undo interference from city government. The provincial government was acknowledging, in the Public Health Act of 1912, "the problems previous boards and health officers had faced, and its commitment to modernizing public organizations."[136]

Similarly, Hastings' system of keeping public records was in response to the broader movement of public accountability after 1900 that was manifest in the creation of "formidable civic bureaucracies to control police, public health utilities, parks and recreation and social welfare."[137]

This "institutional thrust" was not only transforming the city departments but was also reconceiving of the city itself as an organization divided between bureaucratic jurisdictions. The dedicated professional expert became an administrator with "broad powers" in his respective field of expertise.[138]

Charles Hastings was an example of this "new professional."[139] His achievement of legal authority in charge of the public health infrastructure conferred an imperiousness to his medical gaze that administered to the city as a whole. Photographs and, by extension the photographic subjects themselves, came under professional purview.

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[136] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 27.

[137] Rutherford, Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920, 445.

[138] Weaver, The Modern City Realized: Toronto Civic Affairs, 1880-1915, 39-40.

[139] "Moral and Christian impulses were supplemented by bureaucratic and scientific dimensions, influencing the decision-making process, the control of public services, alterations to the environment, and the tenor of social work." Weaver, The Modern City Realized: Toronto Civic Affairs, 1880-1915, 40.

Constructing a Rhetoric

In July 1911, Charles Hastings produced a report, Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, Embodying Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same.

The report dates from his first year of tenure as Medical Health Officer. In it Hastings makes a generous use of photographs, inspections reports and numeric tables to support his investigative findings and to lobby support for his reform programs.

Neither of the two photographs, reproduced for this report, appear in Hastings' 1911 Report since they were taken in February 1912. But the pictures he does use, give concrete indications of how he incorporated photographs to achieve public health reform.

Hastings speaks directly to the pictures in his 1911 Report. He embeds them within his editorial agenda. Like the "germ theory of contagion," he exploits the technical objectivity of the camera to buttress his medical authority and build the Report's argument.[140]

The medical topographical survey had been an important part of the Public Health Movement from its earliest days.[141] Historically, the survey had focused upon the extent of "health problems of urban communities...and to reveal their nature to a wider public."[142]

In the "first phase of the Public Health Movement," infectious disease epidemics were felt to have been caused by "miasmas" or the fetid odours of human and animal waste.[143] The institution of preventive social measures was initially directed at sanitation problems, drainage and clean water supplies. But these improvements were considered as primarily engineering not medical problems.[144]

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[140] "...photographs constituted a relatively new kind of material whose use and acceptance had to be negotiated, learnt and officially established." John Tagg, The Burden of Representation, 143.

[141] George Rosen, A History of Public Health, (New York: MD Publications, Inc. 1958), 176.

[142] Rosen, A History of Public Health, 211.

But from the 1880's onwards, with the discoveries of microbiology and germ theory, the physician had moved to a more central role in directing social intervention and change. This has been called the "second phase of the international public health movement." And after 1900, the "third phase" is characterized by the "introduction of health education."[145]

By Hastings' time, a Medical Health Officer was considered the expert in all matters with potential impact upon public health. His investigations into housing conditions in Toronto, enlisted health inspectors, public health nurses, laboratory technicians and a photographer.[146] After 1912, the police could be enlisted to enforce his authority to "...enter, close, and placard overcrowded lodging houses and this was extended in 1916 to apply to any premises."[147]

Hastings begins his Report to the Chairman and Members of the Local Board of

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[143] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 11.

[144] "The great preventives – drainage, street and house cleansing by means of supplies of water and improved sewage, and especially the introduction of cheaper and more efficient modes of removing all noxious refuse from the towns, are operations for which aid must be sought from the science of the Civil Engineer, not from the physician, who has done his work when he pointed out the disease that results from the neglect of proper administrative measures, and has alleviated the sufferings of the victims." Rosen, A History of Public Health, 208.

[145] MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 12.

[146] "By 1915, he had established fifteen divisions, all of which reported to him. By subdividing inspection and nursing duties this way, each staff person had a specific task that could be monitored to ensure efficiency and cost effectiveness. A new division which collected vital statistics gave Hastings the factual foundation for his political lobbying." MacDougall, Activists and Advocates, 27.

[147] The legislation that had given legal backing to his position and permanent tenure, the Ontario Public Health Act of 1912, had given Hastings the authority to condemn houses as unfit for habitation. Shirley Spragge, ""A Confluence of Interest: Housing Reform in Toronto, 1900-1912," Artibise and Stelter, The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City, ed. Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert S. Stelter (Ottawa: MacMillan of Canada Ltd., 1977), 251.

Health, July 5, 1911, by defining slum conditions: "Originally the term applied to low, boggy, back streets, inhabited by a poor criminal population." His use of the term, however, refers to the physical conditions his investigators reported: "...to poor, unsanitary houses, overcrowded, insufficiently lighted, badly ventilated, with unsanitary, and in many cases, filthy yards, the very earth is reeking with kitchen slops and other refuse that have been thrown out several times daily, for want of a proper place to throw them."[148]

He connects the two definitions in a tone of foreboding that characterizes the whole Report: "There are few conditions found in the slums of European cities, or in the greater American cities, that have not been revealed in Toronto, the difference being only one of degree, and the conditions of the lesser degree will, if not corrected, become those of the greater degree to-morrow."[149]

If these physical conditions were not addressed and remedied, the original definition of "slum" ("low, boggy, back streets, inhabited by a poor criminal population") might apply to Toronto. By equating the germ theory of contagion with substandard housing as a site for pestilence, Hastings suggests "immorality, vice and crime" would be the inevitable consequence of inaction.[150]

In this inaugural Report, Charles Hastings is defining the Public Health Department's mandate under his guidance: observation, analysis and intervention.[151] By including housing reform within his purview of disease prevention, Hastings is extending broadly into the urban environment.

Of the six areas of the central core of the city he surveys, the district where these two photographs were taken was the "Eastern Avenue District, from the Don to Parliament Street, and from Queen Street to the Bay, covering an area of 180 acres."[152] This was the site of the Macedonian boarding homes, businesses and places of work.[153]

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[148] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 3.

[149] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 4.

[150] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 23.

[151] Sandomirsky, Toronto's Public Health Photography, 146.

All of the six areas surveyed were districts populated by new immigrant groups. Hastings reinforces this information by providing a breakdown of the specific ethnic groups, concentrated in these areas, with a head count notable by the absence of any Anglo-Celtic group. The area with the greatest Macedonian populations was the Eastern Avenue District with "42 Macedonian families."[154]

The main body of the Report is taken up with descriptions of the various conditions his inspectors found. The conditions include "overcrowded rooms, dark rooms, tenement houses, common lodging houses, cellars and basements and houses unfit for habitation, poor drainage, outside closets and privy pits, lack of adequate water supplies, and rear houses."[155]

Hastings summarizes the conditions found with tabulated totals, referring again to the ethnic breakdowns, and then lists ten problems in need of remedy: "The Lodging House Evil; The tenement House Problem: Dark Rooms; Back-to-back Houses; Basement and Cellar Dwellings; Unsanitary Privy Pits; Lack of Drainage; Inadequate Water Supply; Exorbitant Rents out of all proportion to the return given; Overcrowding in Houses, Rooms and Lots."[156]

Hastings writes, "A city like Toronto, with all its churches, with all its philanthropic societies, with all its charitable benevolent institutions, should certainly save its citizens from being submerged in the one-roomed dwelling and under conditions which tend to destroy body and soul."[157]

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[152] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 3.

[153] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 24.

[154] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 7; Lillian Petroff concurs that the Eastern Avenue settlement was the first and the largest but, contrary to Hastings' tabulated summaries, the Eastern Avenue District did not have many Macedonian "families." The Macedonians, at the time, were primarily "single men or unaccompanied married men" – the sojourners. Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 14.

[155] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 4.

[156] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 17.

Despite his own dire predictions, Hastings stayed within the actual, physical conditions his health inspectors found and focused on housing conditions. The report was intended for a narrow, professional readership and it offered specific suggestions for housing alternatives.

However, his recommendations for "amelioration", do include direct influence on the lives of the subjects to make them more amenable to "Canadian ways." In two sections of the report ("The Slum as a Hot Bed for the Germs of Disease" and the "Social Aspect of the Housing Problem") Hastings exceeds the empirical findings from health inspectors' reports and includes predictions (prognostications) about the "inevitable consequences" of inaction and offers specific recommendations for improvement.

Hastings also referred to surveys conducted in other centres (Glasgow, Finsboro [Finsbury] in London and Birmingham) where housing conditions influenced mortality. The "Suburban Garden City of Bourneville," built near the city of Birmingham, England had significantly reduced infant mortality among its inhabitants compared another district, St Marys, where conditions similar to Toronto's inner city neighbourhoods had also prevailed.[158]

Hastings begins one section of the report ("Social Aspect of the Housing Problem") with a lengthy quotation from Dr George Frank Lydston, Professor of Medicine at the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons in the 1890's. In lurid prose, Lydston describes "metropolitan slums" as breeding grounds for "immorality, vice and crime." For him, wretched habitations and filthy streets were " fertile soil for depravity and disease."

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[157] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 18.

[158] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 22.

"Criminals and moral lepers are born in the atmosphere of physical and moral rottenness of the slums of large cities." "Municipalities permit the existence of social cesspools and tax honest and industrious citizens to stamp out their results, as if such conditions were to be combatted only by dealing with the effects. This is about as consistent as treating a patient for symptoms of blood poisoning and neglecting to clean out the source of infection, the abscess cavities from which the poison is being generated."[159]

Of the Lydston quotation, Hastings writes, "The foregoing pen picture is no exaggeration of what one meets in metropolitan slums, and constitutes a true representation of what Toronto will be confronted within the near future if present tendencies are allowed to continue unchecked."[160]

Hastings makes frequent use of suggestive metaphors. Night soil, mud, filthy yards are the breeding grounds for future calamity. The theme of "cleanliness", as a preventative of infectious disease, and "soil", as a breeding ground for pestilence, become a broad rubrics for "stamping out" conditions endangering public health and morality.[161]

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[159] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 23-24; The source of the quotation is possibly from an article Dr George F. Lydston published in the Chicago Medical Journal and Examiner prior to 1890 entitled, "The Pathological Causes of Vice." Lydston refers to this article in an updated version, "Materialism Versus Sentiment in The Study of the Causes and Correction of Crime" published in 1892. Hastings does not give a citation but refers to the author merely as "Lydston" suggesting his name would be recognized by his readership. Lydston was a physician committed to Eugenics. He had conducted a study of "aberrant types", a euphemism for criminals, through cranial measurements and descriptions of deceased "specimens" and published as "A Study of a Series of Degenerate and Criminal Crania" also in 1892. George F. Lydston, Addresses and Essays, 2nd ed. (Louisville, 1892), 93-108; 65-92.

[160] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 24.

With these metaphors, Hastings uses rhetoric to warn about the consequences of inaction. Lurid descriptions juxtaposed with dire consequences were intended to alert readership to force action. It was part of what Mariana Valverde calls the " formal structures of turn-of-the-century social and religious discourse."

The "rhetorical flourishes" were "the inconspicuous vehicles in which truths about moral and social reform were conveyed to the public." Hastings, in combining his medical authority with stern counsel, was wedding "the highest reaches of modern science with old-fashioned care of individual bodies and souls."[162]

Indeed, the entire Report constantly warns reader that the housing conditions described were a threat to the health of the greater community both physically and morally. Hastings exerts his medical expertise and authority to call attention to these factors. And that the districts he surveys are heavily populated with recent immigrants, as he underscored repeatedly.

Hastings makes use of nine photographs in the Report. They are interspersed with the tabulated figures from inspection reports and anecdotal descriptions. And each serves to verify the commentaries.

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[161] The metaphor of "soil" as nurturing germs, disease and moral depravity is reversed in Hastings' recommendations for "amelioration." "Soil" is given a much different resonance in the section, "Plan for Housing." In brief, Hastings proposals include the construction of "garden suburbs and co-operative housing ventures" advocated by Henry Vivian, "British trade unionist, M.P., carpenter, and secretary of Co-partnership Tenants Limited" who had helped plan the "Hampstead Garden Suburb" in Britain and lectured in Toronto in 1910. "Soil," in this context, becomes a nutrient base for health and wholesomeness rather than disease and moral depravity. Shirley Spragge, A Confluence of Interests: Housing Reform in Toronto, 251; Hastings quotes Vivian and reproduces a photograph of the Hampstead Garden Suburb in his recommendations for "amelioration." Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 26-27.

[162] Mariana Valverde writes, "Resonating not only with the mythical content of Canadian Protestant culture but with the formal structures of turn-of-the-century social and religious discourse, the excessive metaphors...were neither rhetorical flourishes not stumbling blocks in rational arguments, but were rather, to the audience, the inconspicuous vehicles in which truths about moral and social reform were conveyed to the public." Within this context, "the physician was perceived to combine the highest reaches of modern science with old-fashioned care of individual bodies and souls..." The themes of "light, soap and water", in Valverde's study of moral reform, were extended metaphors. Knowledge as light; soap and water as cleansing bodies, souls and the "abscessed cavities" of moral depravity combined the reform impulse of the "Social Gospel," defined by various authors as "the attempts to humanize and/or Christianize the political economy of urban-industrial capitalism," with the scientific expertise of the reforming agents. Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, 34-35; 18.

The authority of the photographs as visual testimony is incorporated in Hastings' extended professional expertise. He speaks to the pictures and tries to "connect them to other kinds of evidence – to records of people and places – and evoke absent spaces – spaces which, in turn, he sought to connect with disease." [163]

One picture has the following description:

> "This a rear tenement under the morning shadow of the City Hall, occupied by six 'families.' There are six dark rooms in it. To the right is a 'Sanitary Convenience,' intended to be used by all the inhabitants of the row, except those in the third house. At the door of the third house may be seen the outside entrance to a closet in the cellar used not only by the people of that house, but by the workers in the 'factory' which occupies the top flat of all these four houses.
>
> In the foreground is a muddy, dirty, unpaved yard and lane.
>
> The tap with the pail under it is the sole water supply for all the houses, and the tenement-house, and the workers in the factory – 40 persons in all. That tap is sometimes frozen in winter.
>
> These are rear-houses. They cannot be seen from the street.
>
> The rent paid for these houses is high.
>
> Finally, on the day the photograph was taken, the owner had for some unknown reason cut off the use of the sole sanitary convenience for 30 people, by nailing it up, as shown in the picture.
>
> The bare branches of the tree shown to the extreme right make the place where stands an outside privy of another type, the condemned and out-of-date privy-pit. That closet belongs to a house on the front street rented for $10 a month. One of the best-known real estate firms in Toronto collects the rent. The house is unfit for habitation. The outside privy has been for some time overflowing. Its disgraceful state may be seen from the open street across a vacant lot. Into that vacant lot the husband of the poor woman who still struggles to keep that house decent casts, under cover of night, the 'night soil.' The same thing is done from seven other dwellings of which we have reports.
>
> In other words, what was happening in the cities of Europe in the Middle Ages, happens in Toronto before our very eyes." [164]

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[163] Tagg, The Burden of Representation, 144.

[164] Hasting, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 5.

By referring to material both inside and outside the picture frame Hastings employed the empirical evidence of the photograph to explain the larger context. The pictorial evidence anchors the empirical data from inspection reports to make Hastings' views indisputable .

The location of the tenement "under the morning shadow of City Hall" could tell the informed reader that it is directly west of the civic center and possibly observable from the upper windows of City Hall. This section, known popularly as "the Ward," was the district the Report describes as "The Central City Hall District, from Yonge Street to University Avenue, and from College to Queen Street, covering an area of 142 acres."[165]

It is also apparent that Hastings had visited the site. He has been thoroughly briefed about extraneous information which was used to make the pictures instrumental. He extrapolates from a literal description of the photograph's content to include anecdotal information before returning to the central theme of the document.

The photograph would not serve his editorial purpose on its own— without his commentary. The structures would be unidentified, the tap unnoticed and the function of appended "sanitary convenience" unapparent. What informs the photograph, and makes it meaningful, is Hastings appropriation of its content into the rhetoric of the Report. The themes of unsanitary conditions, inadequate water supplies, the victimization of the occupants and the threat to the greater community are "now before our very eyes" in the evidence of the photograph.

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[165] "The Ward" was heavily populated with new immigrants, predominantly Jewish, from Eastern Europe and Russia. Hastings identifies "1,207 Hebrew families" living in this district and the largest group represented of the twelve different ethnic groups listed as also living there. The contemporary reader of the report would be familiar with "the Ward". Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 4; "By 'the Ward', Torontonians had in mind an imprecisely defined region of their city. 'The Ward' served as a subjective shorthand designation or Toronto's foreign quarter. Confusion as to the exact blocks encompassed by 'the Ward' resulted, in part, from an amalgamation of wards in 1891. Originally, 'the Ward' conformed to its location to St. John Ward, running from Queen to Bloor Street and bordered by Yonge and College (present-day University Avenue). All of these were busy thoroughfares, yet the interior of 'the Ward', a compressed network of narrow lanes, was a little-travelled area...The best definition for an understanding of 'the Ward' and particularly what it meant to the rest of Toronto appeared in a1918 study of poverty. According to it, 'the Ward' constituted ' a condition, an attitude of mind toward life, a standard of living – not merely a geographical location.' Intrinsic to this notion and to popular use of the term was a tone of contempt." Weaver, The Modern City Realized: Toronto Civic Affairs, 1880-1915, 43.

In the second photograph, Hastings elaborates:

> "This photograph shows a double row of outside closets [outdoor privies]. These closets frequently communicate with lanes, hence the contamination from these when the overflow, together with overflow from garbage receptacles, is such as to explain the extreme necessity of the paving of all lanes, inasmuch as the earth and dust which come from these lanes must necessarily be laden with bacteria."[166]

Hastings' advocacy and recommendation for paving the lanes, is justified by the "germ theory" of contagion. The reference to bacteria-infected dust from the garbage and overflowing closets, makes the air suspicious and the lane is made to seem sinister and putrefied. What cannot be supplied through the visual evidence of the photograph (the germs and stench) Hastings makes apparent through his description. He elaborates on another photograph:

> "The houses shown in this picture are greatly overcrowded. In one of them 19 men sleep in three rooms – 7 of them sleep in one room; another rooms is very small. The cellar is unsanitary and a place of filth. In another room of these houses 13 people live in 5 rooms. External appearances are sometimes deceiving, as is manifest in this picture."[167]

This information is provided entirely on Hastings' authority. None of it, outside of the houses themselves, is actually in the picture. What the viewer sees is a row of house facades and not what is inside. The facades become, in Hastings commentary, symbolic of crowded and congested bedrooms.

Hastings is investing the photograph with meaning and the unseen is provided through his descriptions. The visual empiricism of the picture would not suffice by itself. It requires the cumulative impact of the verbal anecdote, the juxtaposition of facts and figures to be hard evidence in his program of reform.

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[166] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 11.

[167] Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 15.

Of the men who live in the "common lodging houses" Hastings writes:

> "These are not poor men – they are in receipt of good wages, $1.75 to $2 a week for lodging and washing, and some get $3.25 and $3.50. In their native land, it is said, many of them worked for 2 cents an hour, or 30 cents a day, but their whole environments have been suddenly changed, and their ideas of sanitation are not ours. In these places a large number of men are thus lodged, which should be subject to the strictest sanitary inspection, and measures must be taken to prevent these new citizens from being exploited by persons who do not even provide proper sanitary housing for them. Our inspectors have some evidence that certain small hotels and old and roomy houses are about to undergo the dangerous transformation into foreign lodging houses. Every effort is being made to familiarize our new citizens with our sanitary standards, and to notify them of our requirements, and then see that they are reasonably carried out."[168]

By applying his scientific expertise with paternalistic intervention and stern counsel, Hastings is advising how the best could, perhaps, be made of a bad lot. The parallels he draws between foreigners, housing conditions and infectious agents are rendered tangible in the pictures. The occupants of the common lodging houses, through his commentaries, are made to seem like germs with the potential to infect the greater civic body. Hastings' medical authority added to the authority of the camera.

In 1913, a group of citizens known as the "Toronto Civic Survey Committee" approached the Mayor, the Board of Control and the City Council asking to be "allowed an Administrative Survey of the City's methods and expenditures to be made by specialists of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research."[169]

The project was approved and the City was surveyed in October and November of that year. A large Report was also subsequently produced.[170] The Bureau's survey included a review of the physical conditions of the City:

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[168] Charles Hastings, Report of the Medical Health Officer, 8.

[169] The Bureaus of Municipal Research were an American phenomenon. They were non-profit and operated in large cities and "received backing from the business community and stressed the importance of attending to the details of urban affairs rather then working for broad charter revision." John C. Weaver, The Modern City Realized: Toronto Civic Affairs, 1880-1915, 58.

"It is important to make clear what a 'physical survey' comprises as the Bureau of Municipal Research interprets the term. It is not confined to the disclosure of the so-called 'slum conditions', but includes these as a part of all the physical conditions in a community requiring change or remedy, whether these conditions operate to make the city unsightly, cause its people inconveniences, endanger health and lives, affect real estate values, detract from the city's reputation as a place of residence or business, or lower citizen pride."[171]

Hastings made the documentation, inspection reports and photographs of housing conditions in various districts of the city available to these investigators from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

The top priority, in the opinion of the surveyors, was the "need to eliminate over-crowding."[172] Several of Arthur Goss' pictures were included in the report. One is quite similar to Photograph #2.[173] Another photograph shows a two-storied house with this caption: "Front view of a rooming house occupied by Macedonians. Upon enquiry of some of the roomers it was learned that this house contained 22 and 26 people, which made an average of from four to five people per room."[174]

The archive of pictures Hastings commissioned, became "a vast substitution set, providing for a relation of general equivalence," what Allan Sekula calls, "an encyclopedic repository of exchangeable images."[175] Photograph #1 and Photograph #2 are part of this accumulated evidence.

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[170] New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Report on a Survey of the City Treasurer, Assessment, Works, Fire and Property Departments, Prepared for the Civic Survey Committee by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research , (City of Toronto, 1913)

[171] New York Bureau of Municipal Research, "Physical Survey of the City of Toronto", Report on a Survey, Appendix E, 1

[172] New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Physical Survey, Appendix E, 2.

[173] The photograph used in the Report features a group of men identified as "Polish" in a crowded bedroom. RG-8-254: "# 50 Terauley St., Polish, November 25, 1913." New York Bureau of Municipal Research, Physical Survey, Appendix E, 10.

[174] Bureau of Municipal Research, Physical Survey, Appendix E, 12.

Over-crowding, foreigners and menace convert the Macedonian sojourners into threatening "types." In this context, there is little that could be described as "honorific" about these photographic portraits. Any speculation about what is happening within the literal content of the images is incidental to the agenda that the pictures were intended to serve. Indeed, even asking about the names, immigrant experiences, or their feelings about their pictures would assign the images to historical contexts that differ from the photographs' original purpose.[176]

Hastings is a significant part of the commentary. Without his commission, the photographs would not have been taken, and the original negatives of these pictures would not exist. They were retained, within the filing systems of Arthur Goss, for the Public Health Department. And that is how the images were kept in the public memory of the archives.

It is easy, at this distance, to criticize Charles Hastings for his thinly disguised racism, his paternalism and for ignoring the basic problems of poverty. But these judgements would be anachronistic. Hastings was typical of his time and of his social class. Contemporary nativist reformers would have found nothing sinister in his rhetoric.

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[175] "In structural terms, the archive is both an abstract paradigmatic entity and a concrete institution. In both senses, the archive is a vast substitution set, providing for a relation of general equivalence between images." Allan Sekula, The Body and the Archive, 352.

[176] "The Report of the Toronto Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, Embodying Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same, prepared for the city by Dr Hastings in 1911, contained a typical interplay of hostility toward boarding, foreigners, and the burgeoning industrial city itself. Charts of overcrowded rooms, dark rooms, rear houses, tenement houses, common lodging houses, cellar dwellings, and one-roomed dwellings – all obviously employed as indices of squalor and social disintegration – were juxtaposed page on page with lists of ethnic households in the neighbourhoods studied in the report. Boarding then, rather than being approached as a variation of the 'malleable household,' a sign of the resilience and initiative of migrant networks, was treated as urban pathology." Robert Harney, "Boarding and Sojourning: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," The Usable Urban Past, 288.

His achievements were quite impressive. During his tenure, "the sewage disposal system was improved. The water supply was chlorinated. The milk supply was regulated, controlled and eventually pasteurized. Public health nursing programmes were initiated and school medical and dental examinations expanded. Vaccines were distributed cheaply and then distributed free."

Hastings remains, however, a nativist and a conservative reformer who wanted improved efficiency not social change. Michael Piva writes, "Indeed the reforms associated with Hastings' administration only scratched the surface of a problem which was deeply rooted in the society...The failure to recognize, let alone confront, poverty as the basic cause of poor public health was most clearly demonstrated in the area of housing."[177]

Provision of public service in an urban, industrial economy that was being determined by "unbridled laissez- faire development" was what Charles Hastings sought. J.M.S. Careless describes these efforts as "an increasingly collectivized urban polity"[178] The Macedonian-Canadian identity was forged within this context. But the urban polity in 1912, was as seminal as the hyphenated identities it unwittingly fostered.

The photographs remain "incomplete utterances," that depend upon "some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions" for their "readability."[179] It is part of the enigma and fascination of the historical photograph that its meaning changes or shifts when it is inserted into a different context, viewed discreetly or in a series, or invites newer commentaries.

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[177] Michael Piva, The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 141.

[178] Careless, Toronto to 1918, 190.

[179] Sekula, The Invention of Photographic Meaning, 85.

These two photographs inform other historical narratives as well, both contemporary to the photographic subjects and subsequently. To encode them with respect to only one particular editorial context, would limit the visual riches they offer.

The Official Eye: Arthur Goss

A photograph is different from the photographic occasion. While the former endures, the latter ends. What the photographer saw and recorded is a moment— a bracketing of time that cannot be replicated. The moment seems to be "captured" in the evidence of the picture.

There is an inherent aggression in the act of photographing a subject.[180] The photographer turns the subject into an object of observation. The transformation is nonreciprocal. The framing eye of the photographer and his camera converts the subject of observation into its objectness and "it" is "captured" on film.[181]

The resulting picture completes the transformation from subject to object by recording the subject's presence not as a moment of exchange, but as a photographic trace without reciprocity. The lack of reciprocity can lead the photographer into problematic moral and philosophic territory.[182]

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[180] "However hazy our awareness of this fantasy, its is named without subtlety whenever we talk about 'loading' and 'aiming' a camera, about 'shooting' a film." Sontag, On Photography, 4.

[181] "The nonreciprocity between look and eye, between being the subject and object of the gaze, is in fact related to a fundamental struggle for power. For the one who casts the look is always subject and the one who is its target is always turned into an object." Martin Jay, Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth Century French Thought, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 288.

[182] "To photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed." Sontag, On Photography, p. 14

In the daily interactions between people, intersubjectivity is manifested in a tension between a submission and a resistance to how one is perceived. An autonomous sense of self is achieved through a synthesis of the observer's perceptions and the observed subject's acceptance or refusal to concede to the limitations the objectifying gaze will impose. It is necessarily reciprocal since each perceiving subject is in turn perceived.[183]

But a photograph is not an interactive phenomenon. Our attempts at an interpretation of gesture or facial expression, within the photograph, will not restore the reciprocity of the photographic moment. The subject remains defined by how the photographer framed it. And the photographic frame limits the range of the subject so the resulting picture itself restricts the available information about the photographic moment.

In a photograph (using Martin Buber's terminology) the subject remains an "it" and the interaction, an "I-it" relationship, with the viewer of the photograph, the "I," "standing in" for the photographer.[184] We often close our inquiries once we have read a photograph's label because it tells us what "it" was about. If we want to restore the reciprocity of the photographic moment, when the picture was taken, we need to question the camera's objectifying gaze.

To rescue these subjects from the limited framework of the photographs, we also need to know the photographer's point-of-view because his "gaze," in collaboration with the interests he served, transforms the subjects of the photographs into their objectness. In outliving the subjects, the photographer and the sponsoring agent, the photographic document confers an enduring otherness to photographic subjects.

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[183] "Intersubjectivity" is a central theme in Existential Phenomenology. The existential philosophers can be divided between those who developed "intersubjectivity" as "a dimension of the self"— an inward particularity where one is defined and determined by the objectifying perceptions of others and those thinkers who understand it as "the relations *between* man and man as central to human existence." (italics in original) Maurice Friedman, ed., The Worlds of Existentialism: A Critical Reader, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 173.

[184] "But the separated *It* of institutions is an animated clod without soul, and the separated *I* of feelings an uneasily fluttering soul-bird. Neither of them knows man: institutions know only the specimen, feelings only the 'object'; neither knows the person, or mutual life." (italics in original) Martin Buber, "I and Thou," trans. Ronald Gregor Smith, Friedman, The Worlds of Existentialism, 217.

The anonymous men in these photographs cannot affirm or deny the literal substance of the pictures. They are photographic traces captured on film, left to the devices of history to decode the messages implicit in the pictures. It is the one-sidedness of the photographer's gaze that concerns us here. Arthur Goss was performing his task in an official capacity for his sponsor. But what informed his gaze?

William Arthur Scott Goss was born in London, Ontario March 4, 1881. He moved to Toronto, with his family, in 1883 and entered Rose Avenue Public School in 1889. After his father's untimely death, he was withdrawn from school and sent to work to help support his family in 1891. From the age of eleven he was hired by the City of Toronto initially as an office boy and later as a draughtsman in the City Engineer's Office. He was a civic employee for his entire career.[185]

Goss did not work professionally in photography until 1911 when he was appointed Official Photographer for the City. But prior to this appointment, Goss had been a spirited amateur photographer. He had been a member of the Toronto Camera Club since 1904 and the Club's Second Vice President in 1905.[186]

In the same year, Goss had joined with several club members to form the "Studio Club," modeled along the lines of the British "Linked Ring Brotherhood." Both organizations were part of an international movement promoting photography as an art form. They called themselves "Pictorialists."[187]

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[185] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[186] Toronto Camera Club Minutes, 1904-1905, Microfilm, Reel # H-1566, (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada), 342.

Pictorialism was a reaction to the commercial and institutional uses of photography.[188] As a creative photographers, the Pictorialists considered photography not just as a means of recording and describing, but as a pictorial form with artistic merit. "In the hands of pictorialists the subject matter became relegated to a secondary role and the image was treated as an end in itself."[189]

As a pictorialist photographer, Goss approached the photograph as an expressive, artistic medium to be manipulated and imposed upon as a painter might experiment with the surface texture and ordering of a painting. He used soft focus and delicate toning to create artful effects.[190]

Goss exhibited his early photographs through the Toronto Camera and the Studio Clubs and was favourably reviewed both in Toronto and in Britain.[191] His work as an amateur photographer was considered exemplary of an approach that was quite innovative.[192] It was his technical achievement that recommended him for the position of Toronto's Official Photographer.[193]

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[187] The Studio Club and the British Linked Ring Brotherhood were part of a movement in amateur photography clubs on both sides of the Atlantic. The members were committed to "pictorialism" in photography and in the medium as art. "Pictorialism" was "an artistic, creative movement in photography, started in the second half of the nineteenth century. Pictorialists attempted to elevate the practice of photography to the status of pure art, equal to other established fine-art media like painting and sculpture, and to show decisively that photography can be used, not only to record and describe, but also to create consciously artistic images." Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 186.

[188] "In seeking to distinguish their own work from this mass of utilitarian photographs, Pictorialists articulated a dual role for the medium in which images would provide an unnuanced record on the one hand, and, on the other provoke thought and feeling. Aesthetic photographers were convinced that in the past 'the mechanical nature' of photography had 'asserted itself so far beyond the artistic, that the latter might...be described as latent,' and they sought to redress this perceived imbalance by selecting subjects traditional to the graphic arts, by emphasizing individual treatment and by insisting on the artistic presentation of camera images." Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 297.

[189] Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 186.

[190] "Few examples of Goss's work as a pictorialist appear to have survived, mostly as treasured mementos in the possession of friends and relatives. Consequently, this aspect of his career has only recently begun to be explored." Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[191] The reviewers of Goss' exhibited images characteristically stressed his technical skill, his discerning eye and his artistic taste evident in his photographic prints. "A.S.Goss' child study is a most successful exercise in delicate well-graduated greys, and is quite the most pleasing and satisfying of any work of his I have had the opportunity of seeing... " H.Mortimer Lamb, quoted in Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss, City Photographer, N. pag

While the Studio Club was soon disbanded, Goss continued his affiliation with the Toronto Camera Club until 1915, when his contributions to their exhibitions became "sporadic."[194] He occasionally submitted images for the Club's annual exhibitions until as late as 1931 when his portrait of the Canadian painter, A.Y.Jackson, was shown.[195]

Goss had joined the "Arts and Letters Club" in 1920, and become friends with several local painters in "The Group of Seven."[196] His interest in pictorial photography, and particularly the landscape as subject matter, dovetailed with the Group of Seven's belief that the Canadian wilderness had a central role in Canadian identity. Goss accompanied members of the Group on canoe trips and excursions into the Algoma landscape in Northern Ontario. He would be remembered as an enthusiastic woodsman and an expert canoeist, who tried his hand at landscape painting.

In the "Forward" to the City Archives exhibition of Goss's photography in 1980, the last surviving member of the Group of Seven, A.J.Casson, remembered Goss as a kindly and modest man with "unfailing good humour and willingness to lend a helping hand in any project." Casson writes, Goss "loved the north country and was a good woodsman and camper, never a complaint of any kind about the weather or the many things that can go wrong on a camping trip."[197]

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[192] "Goss attempted to set an example and won a reputation as 'undoubtedly one of the most successful pictorialists in Toronto' because of his characteristic style, simple and dignified yet full of poetic feeling.'" Sandomirsky, Toronto's Public Health Photography, 147.

[193] Arthur Goss and the Commissioner for the newly reorganized Department of Public Works, Roland C. Harris, were both members of the Toronto Camera Club. Toronto Camera Club Minutes, 1906. Microfilm Reel # H-1567, National Archives of Canada, 349; It was possibly both Goss' technical skill and his private association with Harris that recommended him for the position of Official Photographer. R.Scott James indicates that Goss and Harris were also neighbours, living on the same street in Toronto. R.Scott James, Interview, 9 September, 1997

[194] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[195] This portrait was shown at the annual Toronto Camera Club exhibition at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in 1931. Toronto Camera Club Exhibition, 1931, Catalogue on Microfilm Reel # H-1566, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

[196] Goss took some memorable images at the Arts and Letters Club of the artists who later formed the Group of Seven. One, in particular, has been reproduced repeatedly in the histories and catalogues of "the Group" – "Group of Seven at the Arts and Letters Club" circa 1920, Ernest Corner Collection, City of Toronto Archives.

How did Goss feel about applying his photography to his day-to-day work for the City? As far as we know, he never complained. As late as 1920, however, he was still committed to pictorialism.[198] But undoubtedly, his promotion to the position of Official Photographer in 1911, had been a welcomed opportunity for a married man with a young family.[199] However, his work as a professional photographer was radically different from his amateur efforts.[200]

Goss' gradual disassociation from the Toronto Camera Club suggests that his private work as a photographer had receded under the burden of official commissions.

His appointment to the position of Official Photographer also signaled a fundamental change in his approach to photography. At the direction of his sponsors, Goss moved from pictorial aesthetics to straight graphic recording. Artfulness was forfeited for volume and productivity.

Goss became a working photographer under the direction of institutional sponsors. He produced many photographs that were only intended for departmental use. Among the many images he produced were: pictures of diseased dairy cattle and animal cells under a microscope, the Public Health Laboratory, chlorination plants, the building of sewers and sewage disposal stations, laying streetcar tracks and the building of the Bloor-Danforth viaduct.[201] These were not meant as art photographs but public records.

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[197] A.J.Casson, foreward, Arthur Scott Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[198] "I believe it will be along the lines adopted by a group of Canadian painters to paint our scenery in a Canadian way, that photographers must progress and that by a little more concerted effort and study...we will produce something worth while and characteristic of our climate and country." Arthur Goss, quoted by Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[199] Goss had married in 1903 and he and his wife, Ethel Munro Goss, had three children: John, Mary and Enid. Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

[200] "...Goss' photographs of housing conditions in the poverty-stricken core of the city and of sewer construction...are an astonishing contrast to his work as a pictorialist..." Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, Canadian Photography: 1839-1920, (Toronto: The Coach House Press, 1979), 146. (See below, Part Three, Cultural Property)

Attributing pictures in the City Archives to Goss directly is sometimes difficult. Goss did not sign the work he did for the City. But he kept most of his photographs on file with pertinent information, often in his handwriting, directly onto the negatives.

Also, we known that he worked with at least two assistants from 1912. We do not know if the assistants actually took photographs or were simply employed to develop and process the photographs that Goss took.

It is quite reasonable to assume, however, that Goss was completely responsible for the photographs reproduced for this report. They were taken during his first year as Official Photographer (February 1912) and he was not assigned assistants before June. Since he was new to his job, Goss was likely taking a direct interest in all the work coming out of his section. Since Charles Hastings was also newly appointed, Goss would have wanted to do a good job for him.

Goss was conscientious throughout his career. Victor Russell and Linda Price write, "By the early 1920's Goss reported that the section was producing 1200 negatives a year and more than 6,500 prints. Goss later wrote that the demand for work from numerous civic departments was such that it necessitated regular evening work, and that he was producing a range of photographic services which included glass lantern slides, motion pictures and 'photomicrography'." [202]

A late photograph of Arthur Goss in the Arts and Letters Club Archive shows a tired and emaciated man, prematurely aged.[203] Casson writes that he visited Goss "...many times during his last illness and once just a few days before he passed away. He was the same cheerful person, no complaints..."[204]

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[201] "All departments of Toronto's municipal government that were involved in community projects used Goss' services after the Photographic and Blue Printing Section was established." Janice R.Sandomirsky, Toronto's Public Health Photography, 155.

[202] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

When these snippets of information are put together (the regular evening work, the tired looking man in the Arts and Letters Club photograph and Casson's later remarks) there is the suggestion that Arthur Goss may have compromised his health by overwork. R.Scott James states that Goss "died in the harness" at the age of fifty-nine in 1940.[205] His photographic legacy to the City may have been achieved at a considerable cost.

The nagging subtext to the relatively little information that has survived about Arthur Goss, is that his creative energies were sapped by his official responsibilities. The early promise of his photographic aesthetic was transformed by the mundane drudgeries of commissioned work.

Photograph #1 has a special significance in these speculations. It does not fit into the reform program of Charles Hastings so clearly. It is Photograph #2 that shows the subjects overcrowded into their congested bedroom. This was the salient piece of information that Hastings wanted captured for his records of housing conditions. Photograph #1, on the other hand, shows the subjects, in a public setting, posing for an orderly group portrait.

But the converse could also be argued. A recent publication that reproduces Photograph #1 appends the picture with following the caption: "Macedonian saloon on King Street East, 1911."[206] This may be a bit of license on the authors' parts since there is nothing in the picture to suggest that any food or drink is being consumed. Although the label, "Panto Nicola Restaurant, # 356 King Street East" accompanying the picture in the Archives, certainly suggests a food establishment, the word "saloon" had special significance.

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[203] Arthur Goss file, Arts and Letters Club Archives, Toronto

[204] A.J.Casson, foreward, Arthur S. Goss, City Photographer, N. pag.

[205] R.Scott James, Interview, 9 September 1997.

[206] Robert Harney and Harold Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1975), 62.

The Temperance Movement played an important role in the reform programs of the day.[207] This association would agree with the public health agenda. The connections Hastings made between unmodified housing conditions and vice, crime and disease could then be a subtext imposed on this otherwise orderly group of men .

Goss is using his camera very artfully in Photograph #1. He has carefully framed the subjects to produce a successful group portrait, and used hard focus clarity and various compositional devices to give the picture a classical symmetry.

It can be argued that Goss is working more as an independent photographer, in Photograph #1, than as an Official Photographer. His enthusiasm for the photographic medium and its potential for art statements, is freshly exploited. This picture was taken during the first year of his tenure as photographer for the city, while he was still active in the Toronto Camera Club.

Photograph #2 provides hard factual evidence about overcrowding. Photograph #1 seems visually poetic by comparison. The single pointed perspective, the convergence of the room, the orderly symmetry of the back row of men, the peripheral figures parenthetically enclosing the room and the visual corridor up the center all go together to make this picture aesthetically quite satisfying.

The sense of a group encounter between the photographic subjects and between the photographer and his subjects suggests, what one author calls, "the dialogic character of identity" in photographic group portraiture. Alan Trachtenberg writes, "We wonder about the role of the photographer in shaping a picture. How much comes from his or her intentions, how much from the will of the group? Group portraits arouse more questions than they can answer, and thus seem paradoxically open and closed, easy to understand and utterly inscrutable. Fascination seems the perfect word for their contradictory effects."[208]

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[207] This theme is developed in more detail below. See Part Three – Movable Types.

Finally, Goss actually gives copies of Photograph #1 to his subjects in Photograph #2 and they hold it up prominently for his camera. These gestures are richly suggestive of an interaction. In pictorial terms, it is a form of talking. The subjects talk to each other and to the photographer through the device. And together, they seem to be talking to the viewer in an ongoing interpretation of the pictures' content.

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[208] Alan Trachtenberg, The Group Portrait, 17-19.

Part Three

Text

Methodological Fields

"...the photograph is dependent upon its context. The 'fixed' image it offers is subject to a continuous state of transformation and metamorphosis..Each change of context changes it as an object and alters its terms of reference and value, influencing our understanding of its 'meaning' and 'status'."[209]

Although the large store of glass negatives from which these photographs come would lay forgotten and neglected for decades in the attic of Old City Hall, when they were rediscovered in 1960 they acquired the status of historical documents. Under Arthur Goss, the images were part of the working records of the "Photography and Blue Printing Section." Now they are historical records subject to the practices of history.

This represents a fundamental transformation. Rescuing the pictures from semi-oblivion, was commendable work. The archivists not only restored and preserved artifacts from Toronto's past. Their efforts also made it possible for later historians to review the past and to consider the pictures in new ways. The photographs have assumed a "life" of their own. They have been encoded for differing agendas and broadly suggest differing contemporary motives.[210]

For example, Photograph #1 was reproduced by Robert Harney and Harold

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[209] Graham Clarke, The Photograph. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 19.

[210] Roland Barthes characterizes the photograph as "a message without a code" with the corollary that the "photographic message is a continuous message." He differentiates the linguistic message of the title or caption from the pictorial message which cannot be fully contained within the linguistic label. Roland Barthes, The Photographic Message, 16-17.

Troper's for their work, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930, published in 1975.[211] The authors do not name Arthur Goss as the photographer but credit the City Archives and the archivist, R.Scott James, who assisted their selection of images.[212]

Harney and Troper use the photograph to encourage a dialectical interplay between words and image to underscore the ideological issues of the immigrant experience for the period they surveyed.

In another example, Photograph #1 was shown in the first exhibition of Arthur Goss's work organized by City Archivists for The Market Gallery of the City of Toronto in 1980.[213] And, Photograph #1 and Photograph #2 were exhibited, side by side, for the City's Official Photographers: The Work of Arthur Beales, Arthur Goss, Alfred Pearson show in 1992, also at The Market Gallery.[214] Both of these exhibitions featured catalogues with lists of the photographs shown and essays.

The exhibitions also served to introduce the work of Goss to a wider audience, encouraging an appreciation of his pictures as discrete images.[215] Goss becomes the "author" of the photographs.

In a further example, Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell reproduce Photograph #1 in their monograph, Canadian Photography, 1839-1920, with two other pictures from the City collection, which they contrast to his work as an amateur.[216] The authors develop the history of photography in Canada by referring to advances in photographic technologies and to changing trends.

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[211] Robert F. Harney and Harold Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930, (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1975)

[212] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, vi.

[213] Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer – Works by Toronto's Official Photographer, 1911-1940, (City of Toronto Archives, 1980)

[214] Arthur Beales (1871-1955) was Official Photographer for the Toronto Harbour Commissioners from 1914. Alfred J. Pearson (1886-1955) took pictures for the Toronto Transportation Commission from 1922. Official Photographers: The Work of Arthur Beales, Arthur Goss, Alfred J. Pearson, (City of Toronto Archives,1992)

[215] *"The present exhibition has two purposes. Firstly, to give wider public exposure to a most important collection of historical photographs relating to Toronto. Secondly, to give belated recognition to the life and work of a man who played a significant role in the history of Canadian photography."* R.Scott James, preface, Arthur Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

Greenhill and Birrell apply Goss' work to illustrate particular "traditions" or "genres" within the history of the medium. His name is included with other photographers in the same traditions. Goss is considered as a "Documentary Photographer" using Photograph #1 and as "Pictorialist" in another example.[217]

At the time of this writing, an exhibition of selections of Goss's work for the City is being planned for the Art Gallery of Ontario's 1998 season. This show is a well-deserved honour for a man who contributed so much to the City's pictorial history and may serve to increase our respect for photographs that were undervalued for so many years. According to Maia-Mari Sutnik, who is organizing the exhibition, Photograph #1 will be included in the show.[218]

It is also an irony of history that work Arthur Goss might have preferred to be remembered for, like his pictorialist images produced as a self-conscious art-photographer, are not the pictures most valued for this retrospective.

Instead, his work for the City that will be celebrated on the walls of the Art Gallery of Ontario. Goss enters the art museum as a professional "Documentary Photographer" who produced memorable images rather than as a spirited amateur of the pictorial. This contemporary preference for the documentary shows an evolution within the History of Photography.

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[216] Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell, Canadian Photography: 1839-1920. (Toronto: The Coachhouse Press, 1979)

[217] Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography 1839-1920, 127-128;146

[218] Maia-Mari Sutnik, Interview, 19 November 1997.

Each time the photographs are used, their historical meaning is qualified. They are subjected to what Roland Barthes calls, an "epistemological slide" of the photographs from "works" into "texts." They become "methodological fields" for the practices of history.

The two photographs were contained within Arthur Goss' filing system for thirty years and after his death, they were were nearly destroyed in the attic of Old City Hall. Fortunately, their subsequent rescue and restoration have allowed later historians to reproduce and use them to illustrate the sojourner period. Elsewhere, they become examples of a particular "genre" in the History of Photography and honoured on the exhibition wall.

As "works" of photography, the images are restricted by their historical framework. But as "texts," the photographs challenge the problems of their classification and become "intertextual" signifiers. They become "plural": – "...woven entirely with citations, references, echoes: cultural languages...antecedent or contemporary..."[219]

The notion that photography can be made a part of language is as old as the medium. Throughout its history, photography seemed to fall somewhere between words and pictures, between typography and printmaking.

The early difficulties in naming the technology, show the ambivalence that accompanied its invention. "Daguerreotype, Crystalotype, Talbotype, Calotype, Crystalograph, Panotype, Hyalograph, Ambrotype, Hyalotype..." were various names used at various times until the word "photography" was finally agreed upon.[220] The suffixes "type" and "graph," added to the various names, was an indication of how photographs were understood.

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[219] Roland Barthes, "From Work to Text," trans. Stephen Heath, Brian Wallis, ed. Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation, (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984) 169-174.

As "type," they were printed like words with ink to leave an impression on a page. And as "graphic" renderings, they were the pictorial equivalent of "writing" transcribed by the agency of light. The successive inventions, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, were to facilitate reproduction on the printed page. Adopting the conventions of literacy, photographs could be "read" like text.[221] .

The halftone press, introduced in the late nineteenth century, made it possible for photographs to be printed on the same page as typography.[222] The halftone inaugurated the era of mass distribution of photographs. The publisher would decide if pictures were directly complimentary to typography or typography to pictures. A change in context could effect a change in the photograph's meaning.

The photograph becomes a "sign" among "signs" on the printed page. Its visual empiricism is extended by linguistic messages that help elucidate the pictorial content. Barthes writes: "...the structure of the photograph is not an isolated structure; it is communication with a least one other structure, namely the text – title, caption or article..."[223] These latter signs provide what Barthes calls, an "anchorage" to "relay" the photograph's readability.

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[220] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans, (New York: The Noonday Press, 1989) 3; It was Sir John Herschel (1792-1871), English astronomer and scientist, who was responsible for coining the name "Photography." The term was also used by Hercules Florence, one of the inventors of the medium. Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 21; 25.

[221] Carbon printing (invented in 1855), photogravure (invented in 1858), Woodburytype (invented in 1866), photolithography or collotype (invented in 1868) are all examples of the successive inventions to reproduce photographs using printer's ink. Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 251; The historian, Donald Lowe, characterizes the period after the invention of photography as "Typography Supplemented by Photography." He writes, "The photographic revolution of the mid-nineteenth century made the object of sight, the visual image, much more exact than the print illustration." Donald M. Lowe, History of Bourgeois Perception, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 8.

[222] Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 251.

[223] Roland Barthes, The Photographic Message, 16.

Barthes asks, ""Does the image duplicate certain of the informations given in the text by a phenomenon of redundancy or does the text add fresh information to the image?"

And answers that text can direct or constrain meaning: "...the text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; by means of an often subtle *dispatching*, it remote-controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance. In all these cases of anchorage, language clearly has a function of elucidation, but this elucidation is selective, a metalanguage applied not to the totality of the iconic message but only to certain of its signs. "[224]

Movable Types

Robert F. Harney and Harold Troper's Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930 is a particular use of the historical photograph. The authors have assembled a wide selection of images from numerous sources that refer in many ways, to the immigrant experience in Toronto between 1890 and 1930.

Harney and Troper organize their material around central themes that serve to chart the immigrant experiences as a progressive journey: from arriving to Toronto, to finding shelter, accommodation and work in the city and to acclimatizing themselves to the "Canadian way" while adapting their "Old World" customs and traditions to the rigors of a "New World."

By the authors' accounts, the immigrants' transitions were not easy. Received ambivalently by the host society, they met racism and insult. Those who were not English speaking, not from the traditional sources of Canadian immigration, were labeled "foreigners" who could threaten social order.

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[224] Barthes continues, "The text is indeed the creator's (and hence society's) right of inspection over the image; anchorage is a control, bearing a responsibility – in the face of the projective power of pictures – for the use of the message. With respect to the liberty of the signifieds of the image, the text has thus a repressive value and we can see that it is at this level that the morality and ideology of a society are above all invested." Roland Barthes, The Rhetoric of the Image, 38-40

Older battles between the Protestants and the Catholics, the rich and the poor, the franchised and the disenfranchised, the temperant and the intemperant had been defining struggles waged throughout Canadian history. The immigrants would also be subject to Canada's tensions. They were unwittingly made to assume positions along historic lines. The host society's effort to assimilate and proselytize them into persuasions other than their own, to "Canadianize" them, were part of the immigrant experience.

Harney and Troper make these themes abundantly clear through photographs and restore a dignity to the immigrants facing formidable pressures. Each chapter of the book is prefaced by an essay and each photograph has captions and quotations, from contemporary sources, to construct the rhetoric of the book's central theme. In their Introduction, the authors write, "Our pictures illustrate the lives of the new Torontonians: their economic struggles, their efforts to recreate their Old World settings, and their encounters with the guardians of the Canadian receiving society, from the scout masters and evangelists to visiting nurses and policemen. The underlying tension between the immigrant's heightened need to cherish his past, while inserting himself into the economy and society of Toronto, informs the whole essay."[225]

Photograph #1 is reproduced for Chapter Three of the text, "Work and Enterprise." In the opening essay to the chapter, the authors discuss the kinds of work the new immigrants did and the working conditions they endured at the time. Physical hardships, remote assignments on the railways, winter layoffs, money paid to middle-men such as "bankers" or "travel agents", all served to make the immigrants' working lives difficult.[226]

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[225] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, ix-x.

The Great Fire that had gutted Toronto's central core in 1904, accelerated a building boom that was already underway. The expanding city needed the skills of men used to working with their hands. Factories, the building trades, digging the sewers, laying the street railway tracks all required an indigenous workforce, skilled and unskilled, living close to the center of the city. The immigrants, arriving en masse, were readily available to work on a contract basis. They were also pliable. "Capitalists and businessmen found the foreigners hardworking, easily controlled, and at least initially, oblivious to unionism."[227]

The lack of job protection and the physical dangers inherent in the kinds of work they did, made the immigrants' working lives perilous. "Rheumatism and arthritis were chronic problems for men who lived by manual labour. Immigrants who worked in sewers and factory cellars found their bodies knotted up and useless at a time when honest pensions were rare and social security unknown."[228]

They sought solace and fraternity among their own groups. The institutions they established – their boarding homes, their restaurants and cafes and their churches – were extremely important as community centres for people from similar backgrounds. "Men of every nationality ran restaurants or cafes that were essentially for their own kind, especially for the bachelor workers. Such places were also haunts for the menfolk in the evening, substitutes for true cafes and taverns."[229]

As with all the pictures in their text, Harney and Troper reproduce Photograph

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[226] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 51.
[227] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 52.
[228] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 53.
[229] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 56.

#1 prominently on the page. The caption is "Macedonian saloon on King Street East, 1911." To the right of Photograph #1, a second picture reproduced with the caption, "Young Macedonian workers with the Rev. John Kolesnikoff outside the International Labour Exchange on Eastern Avenue."[230] The Reverend John Kolesnikoff had come to Toronto from Pennsylvania in 1908, "to survey the opportunities for Baptist missionary work among the Macedonian residents and other Slavic immigrants."[231]

Both images are supported by a quotation from the period and anecdotes about the lives of the subjects.[232] There is an interplay between the photographic subjects and the texts, emphasizing their collective solidarity. They do not seem victimized in the pictures. Rather, they are presented as robust and healthy young men, equipped for the rigors of their working lives.[233]

The reference to the "International Labour Exchange", in the second picture, shows a group of men in front of an employment bureau. The Exchange is presented as an organization catering to their needs. This is also the subtext of the "saloon."

The latter was an informal institution fostering solidarity. Lillian Petroff disputes the idea that the establishment was a "saloon." She feels it was the "coffee shop" which played a central role as a social institution during the Macedonian sojourning period.[234] But in calling the site of Photograph #1 a "saloon", the authors create a rhetoric between the two images made implicit in their commentary.

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[230] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 62-63.

[231] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, p. 60; The Baptist Church was particularly aggressive in its efforts to evangelize the sojourners. "It established mission halls at various points in the city. A hall rented at 426 King Street East to serve the 'Bulgarians, Macedonians, Servians, Montenegrins, Turks and Greeks' who resided in the neighbourhood." The other Protestant denominations also participated in these efforts. Petroff writes, "It was the Protestant Church, caught in the enthusiasm of the 'social gospel,' that moved first to help the newcomers. Xenophobic social fears and anti-Catholic bigotry spurred them on in their aggressive Christianity..." Lillian Petroff, "Macedonians: From Village to City," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 9 (1977) 30

[232] "The mission hall serves many other useful purposes, such as the Labor Exchange and Information Bureau, by means of which scores of foreigners are directed where they may obtain employment." C.J.Cameron, Foreigners or Canadians, (Toronto, 1913), quoted in Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 62; Cameron was "Secretary of the Baptist Home Missions", at the time of the photographs. He had strong views on "foreigners." In a later compilation of his work and that of his co-author, C.H.Schutt, first published in 1920 and reissued in 1935, they write: "The chief problem of the downtown is the problem of the foreigner – that is how to assimilate these masses of foreigners, making them intelligent and moral citizens, loyal to our flag and capable of self-government." C.H.Schutt and C.J.Cameron, The Call of Our Own Land, 2n ed. (Toronto: Mundy-Goodfellow Printing Co. Ltd. for the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention, 1935), 93

[233] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 62-63; As discussed above, Photograph #1 was taken in February 1912 and not 1911.

The label, "Macedonian saloon on King Street East, 1911", serves to position the photographic subjects as assertive in the face of the evangelizing efforts of the Baptist missionary. The authors suggest a disparity between the customary habits of the Macedonian subjects and those of the Baptist mission since Temperance was a defining feature of the latter's Social Gospel.[235] The photographic subjects, in this association, seem insistent by their proud expressions, of their prerogative to meet fraternally, and to drink their customary beverage whether alcohol or Turkish coffee.

The juxtaposition of Photograph #1 with the text, printed beside the picture, serves to give something back to the photographic subjects that Charles Hastings' agenda denied them. In the commentary, Harney and Troper write:

> "The group of Macedonian navvies are posed with the Rev. John Kolesnikoff, a Baptist minister who came from Pennsylvania to work among the newcomers in Toronto. The average age of the transient workers was quite young, as the picture indicates. For a minority of the workers, evangelists tried to organize their boardinghouse life and job opportunities. The majority who remained faithful to their eastern orthodox faith were just as young. When they gathered in 1911 to sign a protocol for the formation of a parish, elders were chosen from each village transplanted in Canada to collect tithe for the church building. Of the twenty village elders chosen, only four were over thirty years of age. The youthfulness of the navvies and the fact that many of them thought not as individuals but as dutiful sons and fiances set to America with no other purpose than the saving of cash, made them a very reliable work force. 'He obeys the orders of the boss. He is not anxious to go on strike, as he counts that any increase in wages would in the short period he intends to remain in the country no more than reimburse him for the wages while the strike is on.' The building of a church and the maturing of the migrants meant that they would

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[234] Lillian Petroff, Interview, 25 March 1997.

[235] "'Loyal hearts' were needed ' to battle boldly with that monster iniquity, the liquor traffic which...gathering under its banner all the supreme ills that afflict the people...stalks forth to challenge Christianity to mortal combat.'" W.H.Jenkins, Year Book Maritime Baptist Convention, 1903, quoted in E.R.Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada, 67.

become a more permanent and less docile work force."[236]

The photographic subjects' capacity for independent choice and self determination, in the face of the paternalistic interventions of the host society, are the themes the authors wish to develop. In these associations, the men in the picture become less objectified. From the stillness of the tableau that Goss captured with his camera, they are made to seem animated as a group, and their faces become more individual.

The men are not threatening types in this reading of the picture. Rather, they are subjects on the threshold of a new identity – Macedonian-Canadians. The dialectical exchange between image and text gives the picture a significance that is different from Charles Hastings' system of public record keeping. While it is the same photograph, it has been "read" differently by the context offered by Harney and Troper.

Chrysalis

> "It is my belief that a chrysalis of the ethnic settlement of the North American ethnic group itself, its boundaries and its content, can be found in those first years of urban migrant life, now shrouded in creation myths and filio-pieties. Careful study of the sojourner, his frame of mind, his needs, his amoebic institutions, and the impact of the sojourn on his identity will demonstrate this."[237]

Any attempt to restore the reciprocity of the photographic moments of these pictures has its own fascinations. The opacity of the photographic surfaces is not easily penetrated, despite the illusion of depth. To "enter into" the rooms of the Macedonian sojourners, in a figurative sense, can involve a number of different strategies.

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[236] Harney and Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Immigrant Experience, 62.

[237] Robert F. Harney, "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," The Usable Urban Past, 283.

But why would one want to do this? In the context of this report, the question is rhetorical. The general theme of the paper has been the critical investigation of two specific photographs as historical documents with strategies for "penetrating" their surface.

The selection of the images, however, was arbitrary. They were chosen, from a large trove of examples, because they captured my attention. At the outset, I had very little information to recommend them for a close appraisal beyond merely liking them. This subjective entry point could be described as a "ground zero" position from which the narrative of the pictures, and those to which they refer, were generated.

The photographs are fascinating artifacts in themselves. As explored in Part One of the report, Photograph #1 is beautifully conceived. And its reappearance, in Photograph #2, provided the incentive to decipher the pictures. Was a narrative sequence embedded within the photographs' literal content? John Szarkowski's remark about the "narrative poverty" of the still photography and his implied dialectic between a narrative sequence and the photograph as a "symbol" of that sequence, started this process of historical reconstruction.

With each elaboration, supported by references from other sources, the photographs' pictorial detail became more and more suggestive of a multiplicity of motives. The antecedent factors, involved in their making, merged with the contemporary, until they were "released" into the flow of historical time. Their reemergence in 1960, brought them to the present as primary research material. The photographs have become "cultural artifacts."

But whose culture? These photographs are ambivalent cultural artifacts, since they were generated by the Public Health Department's photographer not by the sojourners. The pictures refer to two cultures at a point of intersection—when the

Macedonian guests and the host society recorded their living conditions in the city as an urban problem. Entry into the literal spaces of the photographs and the lives of the occupants, needs small details viewed from both points-of-view.

The narrative of the subjects' lives, their traditional migration patterns, contemporary political struggles in the Balkans, the special village and family-chain connections that favoured Toronto were fused in the photographs with immediate circumstances: finding shelter, work and company among themselves in an ambivalent urban society. The photographic artifacts themselves generate narrative and illustrate points of convergence.

For example, each photograph consists of a background, a middle-ground and a foreground. These separate, visual fields are interdependent within the pictorial logic of the pictures. The backgrounds are the walls of the rooms containing the photographic subjects who fill the middle-ground while the foregrounds are the restaurant floor in Photograph #1, and the closest sitting figures in Photograph #2, who seem to be literally pressed against the picture surface.

A larger world obviously exists outside the rooms. We are fortunate, with Photograph #1, to have been given a precise address: "Panto Nicola Restaurant, 356 King St. E." With Photograph #2, the location is less precise but the label, "N. S. King St East", suggests to the informed viewer, that the boarding home is close to the address of Photograph #1. The background of the photographs, with the aid of the identifiers, can be inferentially extended into the larger context of the City.

Similarly, the middle-ground, containing the photographic subjects, can be laterally extended. Just as the background of the pictures is potentially quite large, so are the subjects themselves extendable into the environment of the neighbourhood in which they lived. We know that the East End of the Toronto in 1912, was the area where the Macedonian sojourners first settled. The City Directories and Tax

Assessment Rolls, for the period, support this.[238] We also know the East End industrial sector was where the men found employment.[239]

Thus the backgrounds and the middle-grounds of the photographs are used to reconstruct the historical narratives the pictures serve. But to "enter into" the rooms filled with occupants involves the foreground— where the photographer positioned his camera to frame the pictures. The viewer assumes this vantage point when looking at these photographs.

The viewers' perception is strategic in the reconstructions of their narratives. But a critical distance can place the contemporary viewer in what one historian calls, a hypothetical "null point" far from the immediacy of the photographic moments. This can lead to a feeling of "estrangement" from the objectified world of the pictures.[240] But it is from this "null point" that the viewer's subjective responses begin to play a role in the interpretation of the images.

The viewers' feeling of estrangement can allows them "to see the subject in new and unexpected ways." Alan Trachtenberg writes, "Photographs entice viewers by their silence, the mysterious beckoning of another world. It is as enigmas, opaque and inexplicable as the living world itself, that they most resemble the data upon which history is based. Just as the meaning of the past is the prerogative of the present to invent and choose, the meaning of an image does not come intact and whole. Indeed, what empowers an image to represent history is not just what it shows but the struggle for meaning we undergo before it, a struggle analogous to the historian's effort to shape an intelligible and usable past."[241]

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[238] See above Part One – The Photographic Labels.

[239] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 32-34.

[240] "The disconnection of the known from the knower is...called the Myth of Archimedes. [the term is Hannah Arendt's] The myth assumes that the knower does not occupy any place within the known world; rather, from a null point outside of place and time, the knower is able to know the world and its inhabitants objectively." Indeed, Donald Lowe develops this idea to describe the tradition of "objective knowledge" that places the "knower" (i.e. the viewer) outside the field of knowing (i.e. the photographs) to foster a critical "objectivity." He writes, "The discounting of subjectivity by objective knowledge results in the estrangement of human beings from an objectified world." Donald M.Lowe, History of Bourgeois Perception, 163.

To bring the backgrounds, middle-grounds and foregrounds of the photographs into a cohesive reconstruction of the photographic moments, the objective world of the images and the subjective world of the viewer must subtlely interplay. The illusionistic three-dimensional spaces of the rooms can serve to bring the day-to-day realities of the mens' lives into sharper focus so they can be intelligibly described by later historians.

Robert Harney writes, "Once we see the immigrants as serious actors in the city's history, then the need to know more about their associational life, the intensity and variety of networks of acquaintanceship, the sub-economies which they created in various neighbourhoods and throughout the city, their emblems, folkways and ethnicism (enthnonationalism) becomes obvious." This can be achieved through "reading 'a narrative into cultural artifacts.'"[242]

Lillian Petroff's history of the Macedonian-Canadian community in Toronto has been invaluable in the reconstruction of the sojourners' lives She was aided, in her research, by being a part of the community she was investigating. In a moving passage in the "Acknowledgments" Section, prefacing her history, Petroff credits the late Robert F. Harney who, as "a student of neighbourhoods," had inspired her to undertake her research into the Macedonian-Canadian immigrant experience:

"One day, [Robert Harney] came to my house, picked up my grandmother and me, and took us to West Toronto Junction, my grandmother's former stomping grounds, the place where she spent the first thirty years of her life in Canada. As we drove up and down the side streets, past the old homestead and slaughterhouses, Bob gently and patiently quizzed Granny about home and neighbourhoods. That afternoon, he in effect introduced me to my grandmother. I began to learn that the immigrant experience was both ordinary and extraordinary. My grandmother, in turn, discovered her own voice. Thus began what may prove to be the most interesting scholarly and literary venture of my life."[243]

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[241] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, xvii.

[242] Robert F. Harney, "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods," Robert F. Harney, ed. Gathering Place: People and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985) 19.

In her exceptional history, Lillian Petroff employs traditional research methods with the support of "memory culture" and oral testimony, to enter the lives of the Macedonian sojourners. She traces their origins to the villages in a contested region of the Balkan peninsula. She studies their traditional patterns of migrating for work opportunities, firstly to other regions in the Ottoman Empire and then to North America. She examines the political climate of the homeland that precipitated their immigration to Canada.[244]

The ill-fated 1903 "Ilinden Uprising" was a critical event in the photographic subjects' lives. The Macedonian villagers, inspired by the independence struggles in Bulgaria and led by their own "Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization" fought against the Ottoman Turks but lost.

> "Armed with revolvers, flintlock rifles, and pitchforks, acting with and under direction of IMRO's local and district committees, Macedonians began an illtimed and short-lived struggle against the Ottoman Empire. For many, even those on the margins, the event changed the future irrevocably. Many participants had to abandon their farms and villages in fear of reprisals. Many, only marginally involved, grew tired of violence and uncertainty and emigrated. Others already in the New World lost the urge to return to Macedonia. The insurrection was a watershed – the burned and devastated homes and crops stood as confirmation that there was no turning back. It was significant for the history of both Macedonian migration and national identity."[245]

Why did so many choose Toronto? Petroff writes, "The human demands of

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[243] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, xvii.

[244] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 3-11.

[245] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 8-10.

Toronto's industries and the availability of cheap accommodation answered the needs of the early sojourners and so set the stage for growth of the migrant community. Correspondence, money orders, and returnees with gold coins and urban, tailor-made clothes obviously enhanced the myth of opportunity."[246]

Petroff dates the sojourning period from 1903, the date of the Ilinden Uprising, to 1912, the year of the two Balkan Wars, successfully fought by combined forces of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia against the Ottoman Turks. The Wars culminated in the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, that "partitioned Macedonia into Pirin, Aegean, and Vardar regions" awarded to the respective victor states.[247] Petroff writes, "The 1910s virtually froze the community in its tracks: the partition of Macedonia by the Treaty of Bucharest after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 shattered their dreams of return, and the First World War blocked the exodus of family members from the homeland."[248]

The year 1912 is thus very significant in the lives of the photographic subjects. Petroff's narrative of the precipitating events that influenced decisions to emigrate, provides antecedent determinants for the mens' presence in the City. Her narratives also serve to breathe fresh life onto their faces.

The men look back at the viewer, not as immigrant "types" in this reading, but as political refugees in an alien land. Their efforts to regroup and maintain ethnic loyalties, make the rooms they occupy potentially vibrant places of camaraderie.

What the Public Health Department called "overcrowding" were in effect "amoebic institutions" fostering a community life for "uprooted" subjects far from their native villages and their frustrated national ambitions.[249]

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[246] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 15.

[247] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 14.

[248] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, xv-xvi.

[249] Harney, Boarding and Belonging, 282-283.

The institutions they established for themselves – the cafes and boarding homes, were complex places of interaction. Petroff writes, "Photographs taken by Toronto's Department of Health also revealed – although officialdom failed to understand it – that these men in layered and ill-fitting clothing were preoccupied with Old World commitments and responsibilities."[250]

The men were committed to frugality. To spend money unnecessarily would undermine the reason for their sojourn. If they had to withstand the adversities of overcrowded lodgings and perilous work assignments, it was for a greater purpose – to send money home and to save for their eventual return.

Institutions they established were organized around "house rules and codes about residents' responsibilities." The shopping, the household chores, the cooking were delegated and the shiftless resident was often asked to leave. The men also endeavoured to help one another with life in Toronto.

For example, the First Bulgarian-English Pocket Dictionary, written in 1913 by a priest of their newly established community church, SS Cyril and Methody, "acquainted readers with the system of weights and measures and it also offered lists of meat, vegetable, fruit, and bread items in translation..."[251]

The institutions were places where the men could speak their own language, enjoy their own customs, sing native songs and celebrate festivals. The centres fostered solidarity and resistance against efforts to assimilate the men into outside cultures. Their village associations and shared memories helped create networks for finding work and related matters, such as dealing with bosses and landlords.[252]

The landlords were both corporate and private.[253] It was not unusual for a single landlord to own whole blocks of boarding homes. The residents had to organize themselves around rent paying as well collecting money for other expenses. That the houses were often substandard and overcrowded is substantiated by their memory culture. Petroff writes, "Older respondents still vividly remember overcrowding and acknowledge the medical reports' accuracy."[254]

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[250] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 16.
[251] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 17.
[252] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 18.
[253] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 19.

Boarding homes could be run along hierarchical or democratic lines. The natural deference of the younger residents to the older or the newcomers to the more habituated, set standards for decision making and dealing with the officials of the host society.[255]

In short, these fledgling institutions helped foster community life and interdependence. Petroff writes, "The boarding-house allowed sojourners to live a frugal life and save money and helped shape the men's larger identity, that of being Macedonians in Canada. They offered a model and training for such future settler-group endeavours as creating a community parish and nationalist political organizations."[256]

Similarly, the cafes and restaurants "were the beginnings, or toe-holds, of permanent and stable community." The date of Photograph #1, February 23, 1912, was a Friday, a day suggestive of relaxation on the eve of a weekend.[257] The repose of the seated figures also supports this interpretation.

Petroff suggests that these recreational establishments may have fostered the transition from sojourners to more permanent settlers: "Habitual attendance at a café, for example, while helping that business, also represented a potential threat to sojourning, for it was a first step from the migrant's maximizing of savings and his spartan life."[258]

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[254] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 22.

[255] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 21.

[256] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 23.

[257] "Perpetual Calendar," The Cambridge Encyclopedia, RR30

The cumulative impact of Lillian Petroff's research into the early years of the Macedonian-Canadian experience, converts both Photograph #1 and Photograph #2, into rich cultural artifacts. Arthur Goss unwittingly captured two critical moments in the birth of a North American ethnic community. But it is the distance of history that confers special importance onto these historical records.

Petroff does not use any of the Public Health photographs for her history. They are ambivalent artifacts in the story of her community. She prefers the images and the paintings produced by the sojourners and settlers themselves – pictures that celebrate community life.[259] These photographs fall somewhere between the photographic subjects efforts to self-determine and the host society's efforts to "Canadianize" them.

These sojourners were a diverse group of men. Calling themselves Macedonians reflected more their nationalist ambitions than the political realities of their homeland. The men were products of a village-based culture where allegiances were "ethnolinguistic" and religion-based and not nationally defined in the modern sense of the word.[260]

Macedonia was in effect a medley of different groups that were preponderantly Bulgarian in terms of language, culture and liturgy, although there were also Turks,

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[258] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 23-24.

[259] Wedding groups, a picnic, paintings by her countryman, Foto S. Tomev, church festivals, the consecration of SS Cyril and Methody Church in 1911 are among the illustrations Petroff uses in her text. Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, xix-xxvi.

[260] "There clearly existed a model of the desirable structure and institutions of a properly 'advanced' country, give or take a few variations. It should form a more or less homogeneous territorial state, internationally sovereign, large enough to provide the basis of national economic development, enjoying a single set of political and legal institutions of a broadly liberal and representative kind..., but also, at a lower level, it should have a fair degree of local autonomy and initiative." Eric Hobsbaum, The Age of Empire, 1875-1914, (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 22; Macedonia would not achieve national sovereignty until it was declared independent from Yugoslavia in 1991. Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 182.

Greeks, Serbs, Albanians, Vlachs or Kutzo-Vlachs, Jews and Gypsies in close proximity to one another. Each group had different affiliations particularly with respect to religion. Their religious leaders historically were also political leaders within the theocratic Ottoman Empire.[261]

The formation of the Exarchate of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, established in 1870, was closely aligned with Bulgarian national ambitions. The Macedonians, being predominantly Bulgars, came increasingly under the liturgical jurisdiction of the Exarchate. Their independence movement had been fueled initially by "priests and teachers" with a loyalty to Bulgaria."[262]

An important event in the transition of the sojourners into settlers in Toronto, was the formation of their own parish, SS Cyril and Methody in 1910, at the corner of Trinity Street and Eastern Avenue, only one block from the address of Photograph #1. This church was under the "spiritual jurisdiction of the Bulgarian exarch and the Holy Synod."

Petroff writes, "In their homeland, Macedonians had long viewed the church as the 'interpreter of self-consciousness and self-respect.'" To accommodate their differences, "a later protocol provided that the 'Gospel will be read in Slavonic, Russian, Bulgarian, English and Greek."[263]

Together, with their "village-based brotherhoods and benevolent societies" and their national church, the Macedonian settlers found the ways and means to unify their diversities under a defining national identity forged while absent from their homeland. The transitions and accommodations were not always easy. The immigrants were divided along ethnic, religious and political lines but the net result of these early efforts to find commonalities, was the formation of a Macedonian-Canadian community.[264]

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[261] "Some of the region's groups lived in compact ethnolinguistic territories, while others were intermixed and no clear territorial boundaries separated them...Particularly problematic were Thrace and Macedonia, located in the heart of the Ottoman East Central Europe." Paul Robert Magocsi, Historical Atlas of East Central Europe. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 87

[262] "The Macedonian question came into being when in 1870 Russia successfully pressed Turkey to allow the formation of a separate Bulgarian Orthodox Church, or Exarchate, with authority extending over parts of the Turkish province of Macedonia. This step quickly involved Bulgaria in strife with both Greece and Serbia. The Greek Patriarch in Constantinople declared the autocephalous Bulgarian Church to be schismatic, and the Greeks sharply contested the spread of Bulgarian ecclesiastical, cultural, and national influence in Macedonia...So began the three-sided context for Macedonia, waged first by priests and teachers, later by armed bands and armies..." Elizabeth Barker, Macedonia: Its Place in Balkan Power Politics. (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950), 7.

[263] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 50-54.

To borrow a later historical term, the Macedonian settlers were "multicultural" from the outset. Internal divisions and hostilities were not conducive to maintaining their "Old World" traditions in the "New World."

The receiving culture, collectively assumed in Charles Hastings' references to "Canadian born" and "their ways are not our ways," was also an identity forged from diversity. The efforts to assimilate and "Canadianize" the sojourners were actually a process that had fostered what Ramsay Cook calls "limited identities" to describe the "regional, ethnic and class" differences that form the subtext of "being Canadian."[265]

The rhetoric of Charles Hastings' 1911 Report, aimed to recast the immigrant men, through inspection and supervision, into more acceptable candidates for a Canadian way of life. But the movement towards a "collectivized urban polity," characterizing Hastings' reform programs, would in time, provide a climate for cultural diversity to coexist under the broad rubric of "being Canadian."[266]

Canadians had hyphenated identities throughout their histories. The so-called English-Canadians represented quite a diversified collection of English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh with a variety of religious affiliations. Even the Loyalists, emigrating northward after the American War of Independence, were in reality a mix of German, Dutch and Gaelic Scottish descendants as well as the British.[267]

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[264] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 45.

[265] "Perhaps instead of constantly deploring our lack of identity we should attempt to understand and explain the regional, ethnic and class identities that we do have. It might be just that it is in these limited identities that 'Canadianism' is found, and that except for our over-heated nationalist intellectuals Canadians find this situation quite satisfactory." Ramsay Cook, "Canadian Centennial Cerebrations," International Journal, 22.4 (1967), 663.

[266] J.M.S. Careless, Toronto to 1918, 190.

The hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon and Protestant majority, at the time of the photographs, was itself heir to a tradition that favoured a "gradualist" accommodation of diversity. While not minimalizing the racist subtext of the immigration policies of the period, the Macedonian sojourners arrived to a political system that the historian, J.M.S. Careless, describes as "the other side of revolution: the continuing, conserving side."[268]

He writes, "Granted, the two older Canadian groups still might display alarm over incoming alien elements as dilutants of their own heritages; but they had no overall moulding pattern to impose instead." Unlike the "revolutionary patriot tradition" of the United States, the sojourners inherited "an historic pattern of gradual adaptation and of conserving change which over time did work to integrate immigrants as Canadians, without cutting off old roots." In Careless's view, multiculturalism is intrinsic to "being Canadian."[269]

But these more recent considerations cannot erase the discourtesy the sojourners suffered at the time of the photographs. The Macedonian sojourners were distrusted and subjected to systemic abuse both verbal and physical.[270] They were accused of taking jobs away from Canadian workers.[271] The "us" and the "them" mentality, underscoring the use to which the photographs were applied, cannot be entirely bridged within historical context that made use of them.

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[267] J.M.S. Careless, "'Waspishness' and Multiculture in Canada," Careless at Work: Selected Canadian Historical Studies, (Toronto: Dundern Press, 1990), 295-296.

[268] Careless, "Waspishness" and Multiculture in Canada, 299.

[269] Careless, "Waspishness" and Multiculture in Canada, 300.

[270] "One Macedonian respondent remembered his shock and sadness at being greeted by children pitching stones at him as he made his way from the Don Station...One only has to hear accounts of fear that men had of moving beyond King Street East, the early boundary of the East End settlement area: 'We were not daring to go above King Street. Farthest we could go was up to Power and Queen, that was the limit for us because the boys at the time were prejudiced against us and were throwing stones, tomatoes and all that and so we took precautions, can't go, can't go.'" Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 74.

[271] Petroff, Sojourners and Settlers, 43.

The contemporary "muck-raking" weekly journal, Jack Canuck, heaped scorn on the new immigrants. Referring to the sojourners and to the condition of his lodgings (in this case, Italian), the editor writes, "He is content to 'pig-in' with a crowd of others and live under conditions which an Anglo-Saxon would be ashamed of."[272]

It would take the perspective of history to understand the determinants that permeated the various levels of social commentary at the time of the photographs. Toronto, in 1912, was gradually emerging as a diversified urban polity just as the Macedonian-Canadian identity was itself forming. Each took time to be manifested and for the contour of the intersecting cultural disparities to become historically discernible let alone redressed.

In defense against the hostilities promulgated by the host society, the sojourners kept to themselves. They negotiated their way through the nettled path of the nativist Canadian culture's effort to purge or assimilate them. If the men had been wrenched by force and will from their native villages, the "soil" of their new home needed to be nurtured through loyalty to each other and to their "Old World" customs to transform it into something they could call their own.

Regardless of the reasons these pictures were taken or how they were used, these realities are in their faces, immanent in the pictures, compelling the viewer to confront the ambivalent memories embedded within them as cultural artifacts. Together, the objective verisimilitude of the photographs and the subjective responses of the contemporary viewer form a "chrysalis" of the Canadian identity.

My own paternal grandparents immigrated to Canada in 1910 from London,

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[272] R. Rogers, ed. Jack Canuck: A Weekly Review of What the Public Say, Do and Think, (Toronto)1 January 1912, 14.

England. As a young working class couple with few resources, they were sponsored to Canada by a family in the St Catherine's area of Ontario. The terms of the sponsorship were that they were to work their passage as maid-servant and man-servant for a period of time upon their arrival. My grandparents seldom spoke about these early years. Few remarks and anecdotes surfaced but they indicated that their first years were difficult and demeaning for them. They were treated like slaves.

But my grandparents never considered themselves "immigrants." Rather, they were loyal English subjects moving from the "Motherland" to another part of the British Empire. They were to remain more English than Canadian, throughout their lives, although they would have considered this a moot distinction. The word "immigrant," they applied to other people, usually Roman Catholic and not English- speaking.

They had been married in the Church of England and my grandmother, in particular, found support through various sororities and lodges – the "Daughters of England", the "Daughters of St George" and the "Orange Order." These affiliations served to reinforce her values and her own sense of herself.

As a staunch royalist and loyal English subject, my grandmother was heir to an hierarchical system that was socially preferential. Although a working-class wife and mother all of her life, she was firmly committed to feeling superior to others who were not as "English" as she was. In Canada, she found a community that buttressed her convictions and validated who she was. Within the larger context of her life, her "Englishness" was a way of distinguishing herself from circumstances that were not always edifying.[273]

About her early experiences in Canada, she was silent. The hardships she and my grandfather suffered as servants were edited out of their later accounts, as too troubling to remember. If there were parallels to be drawn between their immigrant experiences and those of other immigrant groups, my grandparents would not have recognized them.

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[273] George H. Brown, Interview , 13 October 1997.

The years 1910 through 1914, were cloaked in a silence that their later English boosterism served to obscure. As an historian, I have discovered that these silences in history are often as interesting as the noise.

But there are some compelling parallels between my own family's immigrant experiences and those of the Macedonian sojourners. They both were seeking renewed opportunity and material gain. And they both had to endure substandard conditions that were rectified when they became more permanent settlers. Further, they sought support and validation within their own immigrant communities.

The fact that my grandparents found a preexisting, nativist culture that was more accepting of them made their transitions much easier. The distinctions my grandparents made to valorize themselves seem, in hindsight, to be impediments that were as isolating as those that were imposed upon other immigrant groups. The stratifications of the social world of the period were systemic. It would take years, and several generations, to redress.

These photographic documents of Macedonian subjects negotiating their way in Toronto in 1912 are bridges to my own immigrant origins. The preferential subtext of the Canadian immigrant policies then favoured the English born as most desirable. But the devices and practices of history have fostered in me, a means to recognize, in the faces of these men, the similarities and the differences in the immigrant experiences that are so "central to Canadian history."[274]

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[274] "...the movement of nationals of one country to another for the purpose of resettlement, is central to Canadian history..." Harold Troper, Immigration, 862.

Cultural Property

"Photographs achieve semantic status as fetish objects *and* as documents. The photograph is imagined to have, depending on its context, a power that is primarily affective or a power that is primarily informative."[275]

John Szarkowski, former Curator of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, writes: "...the study of photographic form must consider the medium's 'fine art' tradition and its 'functional' tradition as intimately interdependent aspects of a single history."[276]

Victor Russell and Linda Price, in their essay written for the catalogue of the first exhibition of Arthur Goss' work for the City Archives in 1980, refer to the pictures he took for Charles Hastings in this way: "Today, this series of pictures is compared to the influential work of social crusader and photographer Jacob A. Riis, in New York at the turn of the century and much used by researchers studying social conditions in the City during this period."[277]

Jeff Stinson, Associate Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Toronto, writes in the Preface of the City's Official Photographers exhibition in 1992: "Arthur Beales, Arthur Goss and Alfred Pearson were all artists and skilled technicians at a time when the art of photography was barely recognized as such, and when clumsy equipment, difficult transportation, and rudimentary processing demanded dedication and tenacity, as well as knowledge in the exercise of their craft. The splendid images that they left us are a tribute to all of these qualities."[278]

Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell in their monograph on Canadian Photography write, "The photographs of Jacob A. Riis in the slums of New York, and

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[275] Alan Sekula, On the Invention of Photographic Meaning, 94.

[276] John Szarkowski, The Photographer's Eye, 5.

[277] Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, 7.

[278] Jeff Stinson, preface, Official Photographers. N pag.

Lewis W. Hine's pictures of child labour in the United States are well known, but the work A.S.Goss in Toronto has received little recognition...Goss's photographs of housing conditions in the poverty-stricken core of the city and of sewer construction...are an astonishing contrast to his work as a pictorialist...Goss's photographs for the Engineer's and Health Departments are unforgettable documents of how the other half lived in Toronto."[279]

Collectively, these references serve to bring the work Arthur Goss did for the city into larger frameworks as documents and as something more. As documents of an historical process, the photographs can illustrate the specific circumstances, personalities and group dynamics involved in their making.

But as something more, they can be related to other projects and photographers in other centres who employed the photographic medium in similar ways. There is no evidence to date that Arthur Goss was aware of the work of the American photographers, Jacob Riis or Lewis Hine, nor they of him. But all three men were near-contemporaries.[280] Thus they can be periodized, compared and contrasted within the History of Photography as it has been conceived by various historians.

The parallels the authors draw between Goss and these others, have more to do with the "Documentary Tradition" within the medium and how it has been defined, than with possible direct linkages between individuals. The efforts, made by historians, to group photographers and to classify them and to make them pertinent to one another has a relatively recent historiography.

The recent appropriations of his images as "Documentary Photographs" are representative of what Michel Foucault calls "discursive formations" within the practices of history. He writes,

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[279] Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography 1839-1920, 146.

[280] Jacob Riis (1849-1914); Lewis Hine (1874-1940). Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 205; 141; Arthur Goss (1881-1940). Russell and Price, Arthur S. Goss: City Photographer, N. pag.

> "Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statements, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*...The conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, mode of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call *rules of formation*. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division."[281]

For example, Arthur Goss, in taking photographs of Macedonian sojourners in Toronto in 1912, was not endeavouring to be reproduced in the later histories of the period nor to be anthologized within a History of Photography. His intentions were historically specific and a part of the reform programs of his sponsor.

But the comparisons made by historians between Arthur Goss and the American photographers, Lewis Hine and Jacob Riis, provide a context for the former to be considered as a "Documentary Photographer" at a critical moment in the articulation of a particular photographic genre. This articulation is a "discursive formation" within the History of Photography and all three photographers become part of a tradition to which they unwittingly conformed.[282]

The term "Documentary Photography" was not identified and defined until the first official histories of the medium began to appear in the late 1930's.[283] Significantly, one of these histories, Beaumont Newhall's Photography: A Short Critical History, was originally a catalogue for the first major photography exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1937.

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[281] Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 38 (italics in original).

[282] "We do not speak of Jupiter hurling thunderbolts because we do not believe in him; the ancient Greeks did not speak of space travel because they had no experience of it; the Victorians suppressed certain aspects of sexuality out of shame. Foucault suggests that in many fundamental cases the explanation for such linguistic gaps is rather that statements are subject to a further set of rules (neither grammatical nor logical) to which speakers unwittingly conform. Such a set of statements belongs to what he calls a *discursive formation*." (italics in the original) Gary Gutting, Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 231.

[283] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, 190-191.

The occasion was the hundredth anniversary of the medium.[284] Newhall devised a method to organize the wealth of material he had gathered for the show. His thematic categories were placed within linear progressions that were largely determined by how the medium was applied.

Sometimes the differences between the categories could be very subtle. "Documentary Photography" and "Straight Photography" had separate chapters although, in practice, the two categories often intersect. Later historians have organized the material differently.[285] But Newhall's original history has been called a "pioneering work" and "one of the great achievements in 20th century art history."[286] He set a standard of scholarship to which later historians would aspire.

In the second edition of his history, Newhall defined a category for photographs that were primarily "factual." These images he differentiated from those that were fine art. In his efforts to identify a typology for factual photographs, Newhall used the terms "documentary or historical" interchangeably to describe pictures whose original purpose was "sociological."[287]

Newhall was identifying an historical tradition to sort photographers depending on how they used the medium.[288] To situate this newly identified genre within an historical continuity, Newhall looked for candidates who had pioneered this tradition.[289]

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[284] "So I put together a history of photography show and wrote the first edition of The History of Photography. It was the first of its kind. I have to explain this. There had been a very small show of photographs of Victorian architecture by Walker Evans [also at the Museum of Modern Art] that was not so much a presentation of his work as a documentation of an architectural style...My show was quite different. It had eight hundred and fifty photographs. It was mammoth for the time. The show really was my introduction to this whole field." "Beaumont Newhall: Photographic Memories", Interview with Milton Esterow, Art News, 88.4, (1989), 170.

[285] John Szarkowski, for example, see Conclusion below.

[286] Andy Grundberg, "Legacy from Photography's Mount Olympus," New York Times, 11 Feb. 1990. natl. ed., H37+

[287] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, 190.

Lewis Hine was rediscovered in the process. At the turn of the century, Hine had worked as a teacher with a camera.[290] He took evocative photographs of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island. These images were intended for the classroom.[291] Hine later took pictures for the "National Child Labor Committee" that were intended as evidence against the conditions of child labour throughout the United States. [292]

For a connoisseur of photography like Beaumont Newhall, Lewis Hine's photographs were not only factual, but also of "excellent quality" as photographs.[293] Hine was elevated to the status of "a folk artist, a primitive, whose instincts functioned as an extra sense."

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[288] Beaumont Newhall did not, at first, like the term "documentary." Together, with is friend Dorothea Lange, he searched for an alternative. He rejected "historical photography" because of "its connotation with the remote past." "Factual" was applied and again rejected for it diminished "that magical power in a fine art photograph that makes people look at it again and again and find new truths with each looking." What Newhall and Lange agreed upon were the essential features of documentary photography. While not rigid, they generally felt that such a photograph included "aspects of journalism, art, education, sociology and history." It also had a goal beyond the production of a fine print. "Documentary photographers wanted to reveal their subjects in ways that would convince their audience that they were being shown reality. The purpose of documentary photographers' work tended to take precedence over the technical constraints." These photographers were "participant observers." They did research. They engaged with their subjects. "Actively interpreting the world necessarily required an active involvement in it." Karin Becker Ohm, Dorothea Lange and the Documentary Tradition, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 35-37.

[289] Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, 191; The term "documentary" had been in use, in the United States, since the 1920's. It "was first coined in 1926 by John Grierson, a British film producer, to describe a certain type of factual film." Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Photography At The Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 299.

[290] Lewis Hine had started his career as an educator. His choice of photography as a vocation was unanticipated and happened as an adjunct to his role as a teacher. He was born in Wisconsin in 1874 and educated at the State Normal School in Oshkosh. His mother had been a teacher and Hine later noted that "the education idea ran through the family." Daile Kaplan, ed., Photo Story: Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), xxiii.

[291] Hine taught at the "Ethical Culture Schools of New York City" between 1901 and 1908. The "student body consisted of eastern European immigrants." His principal, Frank A. Manny, encouraged Hine to take up photography and to photograph "immigrants arriving at Ellis Island so that E.C.S. pupils 'may have the same regard for contemporary immigrants as they have for the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock.'" Daile Kaplan, Photo Story, xxiv-xxv.

[292] Daile Kaplan, Photo Story, xxvi.

The word "primitive" was not a pejorative, but the supreme compliment. It meant that Hine's artistry was "intuitive" at "its unformulated, instinctual stage." Here was "a spiritual father" in the articulation of "a tradition of content and purposive communication."[294]

By invoking Lewis Hine, Greenhill and Birrell present Goss in a similar context. Since Goss and Hine are working during the same period, and producing factual photographs for programs of advocacy, Goss becomes an underappreciated pioneer in the articulation of the same genre.

Similarly, Greenhill and Birrell connect Arthur Goss with the American photographer, Jacob Riis. Riis was a newspaper reporter who produced a text with photographs entitled How the Other Half Lives published in 1890.[295] Like Arthur Goss, Riis took pictures of housing conditions on the Lower East Side in New York City to expose evidence of poverty.

The invention of magnesium flash and the dry-plate photographic technology allowed Riis to record the hostels and tenements at night. Also like Goss, Riis was not fully appreciated until a later period, when reprints from his original glass negatives were exhibited at the Museum of New York City in 1947.. With this rediscovery, Riis became, "a photographer of importance."[296]

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[293] Beaumont Newhall writing to Lewis Hine, February, 1938: "Now there are two ways to look upon your work. The most obvious is the documentary or the historical approach; the other is the photographic...You work strikes me of excellent quality, possessing that straightforward, clean technique which I believe to be the only valid photographic style." Daile Kaplan, Photo Story, 107.

[294] The description, "a folk artist, a primitive, whose instincts functioned as an extra sense" was actually written by Elizabeth McCausland, a colleague of Beaumont Newhall, for the catalogue of a retrospective exhibition of Hine's work at the Riverside Museum in New York in 1938. It was McCausland, and her friend Berenice Abbott, who had brought the work of Lewis Hine to Newhall's attention in 1937. Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs,190-191.

[295] Riis was a police reporter for the New York *Sun*. His campaign "to expose the misery of the underprivileged living in the crime-infested slums of the lower East Side" was a personal mission. He found that "the printed word was not sufficiently convincing, and so he turned to photography by flashlight." Newhall, The History of Photography, 132.

Arthur Goss, Lewis Hine and Jacob Riis can be considered progenitors of an approach to photography in an historical tradition. Goss is part of this tradition because of the type and high quality of the pictures he produced.

For Jeff Stinson, Goss's official pictures can be rightly appreciated as art. Both Photograph #1 and Photograph #2 were featured in the Official Photographers exhibition for which Stinson wrote the opening essay.

As noted earlier, Goss was an "art-photographer" before he became the Official Photographer for the City. He was committed to "pictorialism," particularly in the early years of his career. Photograph #1 especially has features to recommend it both as a factual record and as an aesthetic achievement. But, of course, this judgement remains "in the eye of the beholder."

The potential of the photographs to be art, however, can be historically developed since it is reasonable to assume, that this was not the photographer's original conception. Goss did not sign them, and they were not submitted for any of the exhibitions mounted by the Toronto Camera Club. These pictures were retained as file photographs for the Public Health Department and never reproduced in any other context until after 1960.

As "rediscovered" images however, the photographs become part of another tradition in the history of photography in the twentieth century. Just as Lewis Hine was "rediscovered" by for Documentary Photography in the 1930's, and Jacob Riis in the 1940's, so other photographers have been rescued from obscurity by enterprising individuals who found merit in their work.[297]

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[296] The illustrations in Riis's original text were of poor quality. The "half-tone" printing technology, invented in 1880's, had not yet developed to the point were images could be reproduced sharply. Newhall, The History of Photography, 133.

In another example, the French photographer, Eugene Atget, was "rediscovered" by the American photographer, Berenice Abbott, in the 1920's. Atget took pictures of Paris for years as "Documents for Artists."[298] Using equipment that was already antiquated, Atget produced a trove of images remarkable for their precision and elegiac sublimity. After Atget's death in 1927, Abbott purchased the archive, brought it to New York City and prepared an exhibition. As a result, Atget is now remembered as one of the "masters" of the medium and Berenice Abbott is credited for her insight.[299]

There are interesting similarities between the rediscoveries of Eugene Atget and Arthur Goss. Both produced glass negatives, both photographed prodigiously and both had their own labeling systems that later archivists, historians and curators have used to resituate the pictures in the larger framework of an "oeuvre" or body of work.[300] Neither Atget nor Goss conceived of his pictures as "art" in any exalted sense.

But can Goss's work for the City be considered as an "oeuvre" defined as "the totality of works, as an author" and the photographs, reproduced for this report, as part of that "totality"?[301] In other words, can the "same methodological presuppositions, the same assumptions of personal style and its continuity" be applied to Goss's work for city as one might apply to another "sort of artist?"[302]

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[297] "There is a phenomenon in the photographic community — dare I say tradition? —of contemporary photographers rescuing the work of historical photographers..." Daile Kaplan, Photo Story, xv.

[298] "Eugene Atget's labors produced a vast body of work, which he sold over the years of its production (roughly 1895-1927) to various historical collections...as well as to commercial builders and artists. The assimilation of this work of documentation into a specifically aesthetic discourse began in 1925 with its notice and publication by the surrealists..." Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography, 294.

[299] Berenice Abbott, The World of Atget, (New York: Paragon Books, 1964)

[300] Rosalind Krauss, Photography's Discursive Spaces, 296.

[301] "Oeuvre," Funk & Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary, 1973 ed.

To answer yes to this question, is to appreciate these pictures as "cultural property" like artworks, and to assign to Goss an intentional program of development where the photographs fit into a body of work as a creative "continuity."

If we consider Goss, the way Beaumont Newhall considered Lewis Hine and Jacob Riis, as an "intuitive" progenitor working instinctively with the medium, then his deliberations in taking a photograph, are technical ones to be understood within the context of what had educated his point of view. He needs to be brought into the tradition he was "unwittingly" inaugurating, just as Hine and Riis were. As part of the "totality" of his oeuvre, these photographs can serve in themselves, as examples of his creative achievement with the potential to be documentary "art."

But if the answer to this question is no, Goss is placed into the historical context of the photographs as an instrumental technician under sponsorship. He is then remembered as the camera operator whose motives were those of Charles Hastings who commissioned the pictures. As such, the photographs are factual historical records and archival negatives with little to recommend them further.

This would discredit Goss and make him a mere adjunct to the reform programs of Hastings. Quite a good case can be made that Goss was something more. These photographs, especially Photograph #1, have merits that recommend consideration of Goss as an independent practitioner of his craft with the status of the art-photographer.

Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell describe an "astonishing contrast" between the work Goss did as a pictorialist and the work he did for the city.[303] The picture they reproduce from his amateur work for the Toronto Camera Club is of a beautiful sunset over a lake, which has been made a part of a poster advertising a photography show,

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[302] Rosalind Krauss, Photography's Discursive Spaces, 293.

[303] Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography 1839-1920, 146.

"Exhibition of Pictorial Photography" at the Toronto Art Museum (now the Art Gallery of Ontario) in 1917.[304] Goss's photograph is a softly focused and subtely toned achievement in the Pictorialist manner.

Goss had been an assertive member of the Toronto Camera Club. Together with his colleagues, Sidney Carter, J.P. Hodgins and Roger and Rex Stovel, he had been part of the breakaway Studio Club organized by Carter in 1905.[305] Although it lasted only a year, the Studio Club had an ambitious program. Its members "hoped that the Club would be a center for teaching the artistic potential of photography, and for sponsoring international exhibitions in major cities across Canada."[306]

Sidney Carter was a member of the "Photo-Secession" in New York City, organized by the American photographer, Alfred Stieglitz, in 1902. The aim of the Photo-Secession was the promotion of "pictorial, expressive photography." The Studio Club was modeled on Steiglitz's Photo-Secession and also on the British "Linked Ring Brotherhood."[307]

Carter corresponded with Stieglitz and described the efforts that he, along with Goss and Roger Stovel, had made to "influence the [Toronto Camera] Club to adopt pictorialist standards." All three men had been elected to the executive of the larger organization in 1905. They had redecorated the Toronto Club's exhibition space and

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[304] Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography 1839-1920, Plate # 72.

[305] "Those photographers genuinely committed to photography as a means of personal expression became increasingly disgruntled with the large, conservative photographic establishments and began to break away." Marianne Fulton Margolis, ed., introduction, Alfred Stieglitz, Camera Work: A Pictorial Guide, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1978) viii.

[306] The early demise of the Studio Club was likely because Sidney Carter, its prime instigator, left Toronto for Montreal in 1906 where he later became an art dealer. Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography: 1839-1920, 128-129.

[307] Founded in 1902 under the leadership of Alfred Stieglitz, the Photo-Secession was a committed group of photographers invested in "promoting and propagating pictorial, expressive photography." Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 186; Similarly, the "Linked Ring Brotherhood" was formed in Britain 1892 as a break-away club from the larger, and more conservative, Royal Photographic Society by photographers also committed to pictorialism. Lewinski, Dictionary of Photography, 161 (see above, Part Two, The Official Eye: Arthur Goss)

"banished most of the prints which had previously decorated the walls." They had attempted to duplicate Stieglitz's approach by "covering the walls with burlap of a neutral colour and provided relief with pottery and flowering azaleas." The older members were not pleased with the changes.[308]

As a mentoring influence for the Studio Club, Alfred Stieglitz and his aesthetic approach to photography provided Arthur Goss with an integrity that informed both his amateur work and many of his photographs for the City. This integrity is evident in Photograph #1.

Alfred Stieglitz's aesthetic was an innovative hybrid inspired by the various visual art movements that were current at the turn of the century. In fact, Stieglitz had introduced many of these ideas to the United States in 1890, after completing his education in Europe.[309]

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[308] Greenhill and Birrell, Canadian Photography 1839-1920, 128.

[309] Stylistically, Stieglitz's photographic aesthetic was a confluence of a number of European movements in art such as *Symbolism* and *Cubism*. Allan Sekula, On the Invention of Photographic Meaning, 100; *Symbolism* was a multi-faceted, loosely connected art movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It endeavoured to move the representational emphasis of the pictorial away from the outside world towards a spiritual inwardness. It aimed to resolve "...the contradictions between the material and spiritual worlds." Symbolist paintings lean heavily on allegory and metaphor, while remaining representational. Werner Haftmann, Painting in the Twentieth Century, Vol I, (London: Lund Humphries, 1965) 36; *Cubism* was a more structured art movement initially in Paris at the turn of the century. Its proponents endeavoured to fit representational motifs into abstracted and autonomous configurations compelling the viewer to confront a painting as a unique experience. Where symbolist pictures were often of literary themes, cubist pictures were emphatically pictorial – autonomous pictorial statements. Haftmann, Painting in the Twentieth Century, Vol I, 95; Steiglitz was influenced by these movements in modern art. As a photographer, striving to promote photography as an independent art form, these influences required specific adapation because Symbolism and Cubism could occur within the same photograph. Symbolism occurred within the sensibility of the photographer at the moment the photograph was taken. Cubism was manifested in the photographer's concern for form and composition, the internal structure of the image. When a photographer took a picture, in Stieglitz's aesthetic, the form, the content and the artistic sensibility merged into an epiphany of the spirit. Alfred Stieglitz, "How the Steerage Happened," Photographers on Photography: A Critical Anthology, ed. Nathan Lyons (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 131.

Stieglitz's lifelong mission was to promote both art photography in America and an indigenous, American art movement in the other visual media.[310] He became a mentor figure for several generations of photographers, artists and curators.[311]

Stieglitz was committed to the formal aesthetics of photography that required a visual preconception of an image, a deliberated composition and a high quality finished print.[312] His aesthetic evolved over time with certain features constant.

Firstly, the photographer perceived a photographic opportunity in the ongoing flux of events. Secondly, he or she composed the photograph with the eye and then framed the tableau with the camera viewfinder with a mind to compositional variables such as mass and form or light and shade and an understanding of how these formal properties would manifest on the two dimensional surface of the photograph. Thirdly, the finished photograph was both a study in abstract form and an illusion of three dimensional depth.

Although Stieglitz "championed photographers" who worked as Pictorialists with their softly focused and often manipulated images, he preferred to work as a "straight photographer" which meant he worked closely with "the basic properties of camera, lens and emulsion."[313] Above all, he relied upon his eye to frame a subject and his creative judgement in making it work as a photograph.

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[310] Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 332-337.

[311] Stieglitz not only promoted photographers and artists in his art galleries in New York City, the first being the "291" (Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession at 291 Fifth Avenue) but also influenced curators of art, particularly Beaumont Newhall, who later acknowledged his debt to Stieglitz. Newhall, Beaumont Newhall: Photographic Memories, 171.

[312] In a detailed description of his photographic aesthetic, Stieglitz describes his methods in taking the photograph "The Steerage" in 1907. He considered it his finest – "If all my photographs were lost and I'd be represented by just one, The Steerage, I'd be satisfied." This celebrated image is frequently reproduced. It was result of a previsualization process when he recognized the photographic opportunity and a compositional deliberation through the viewfinder of the camera and then captured it on film. Stieglitz, How the Steerage Happened, 131.

[313] "The esthetic use of the functional properties of the photographic technique, the appreciation of both the camera's potentials and its limitations, and the divorce of photography from the canons guiding the esthetic principles of the other visual arts, was becoming recognized by critic and artist alike. Alfred Stieglitz had consistently applied this principle." Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 111.

In a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Toronto Camera Club on November 15, 1905 where Goss was serving as second Vice-President, the members voted to remit $10.00 for a subscription to Camera Work, the periodical edited and published by Alfred Stieglitz from 1903 until it ceased publication in 1917.[314]

This journal was very influential. Allan Sekula writes, "Through Camera *Work* Stieglitz established a genre where there had been none; the magazine outlined the terms under which photography could be considered art, and stands as an implicit text, as scripture, behind every photograph that aspires to the status of high art. *Camera Work* treated the photograph as a central object of the discourse, while inventing, more thoroughly than any other source the myth of the semantic autonomy of the photographic image."[315]

When Goss traveled to New York City to purchase camera equipment in 1912,.he visited Alfred Stieglitz and exchanged photographs with his mentor.[316] Whatever transpired between the two men is, as yet, undiscovered and nothing has surfaced to indicate that Goss and Stieglitz had a further association. But the connection suggests a further dimension to Goss' work as a photographer.

As Goss progressed from the pictorialism of his amateur work to the straight graphic recording of his pictures for the City, he retained an integrity and an independent point-of-view that informs many of his images in the City Archives. Photograph #1 is exemplary.

Photograph #2, while visually informative, is more clearly at the service of

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[314] Toronto Camera Club Minutes, Nov. 15,1905. Microfilm Reel # H-1567, 343; Alfred Stieglitz, Camera Work: A Pictorial Guide, vii.

[315] Allan Sekula, On the Invention of Photographic Meaning, 92.

[316] This information is from the collected research in the Arthur Goss File in the City Archives for the 1980 exhibition of the photographer's work at the Market Square Gallery. Goss' younger daughter, Enid Goss Lowe, was interviewed by archival staff on March 10, 1980 at her home in Princeton, New Jersey. Goss apparently kept a diary as did his wife, Ethel Munro Goss. The present location of these diaries is unknown. Arthur Goss File, City of Toronto Archives.

Hastings and his reform. But the cryptic inclusion of Photograph #1, within the content of Photograph #2, suggests to the viewer that the first picture was appreciated by the photographic subjects and, by Arthur Goss himself who had reproduced an offering for the men he was photographing again.

While the device may have been a ploy to win the confidence of the subjects in order to take their picture a second time, it stands out as a gesture of generosity and an expression of pride from a photographer who was negotiating his way between artistry and documentary recording.

The photographs, considered both as documents and as art, are converted into exhibitable "cultural property." The "aesthetic" and "functional traditions" in John Szarkowski's description become "interdependent" features made inseparable within the form and the content of the photographs. But something happens to them in the process of making them over into documentary "art."

The transformation of the photographs from archival records into exhibitable pictures on a museum wall, redefines them as "aesthetic objects." They are made to seem "privileged" as "unique-and-precious" artifacts.[317]

Of course, it is the original glass negatives that command this kind of authority. As reprints from the negatives, however, Photograph #1 and Photograph #2 are not strictly aesthetic objects but copies or facsimiles of the originals. They are reproductions similar to the reproductions held up by the photographic subjects in Photograph #2. And just as this report has been a meditation on the cryptic inclusion of the first picture within the content of the second, so reproductions in whatever context, can offer a challenge to the incorporation of photographs as unique and precious artifacts.

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[317] Allan Sekula, On the Invention of Photographic Meaning, 95.

In an influential essay, written in 1936, the Marxist cultural critic Walter Benjamin develops this idea as it applies to the photograph as a "reproducible entity."[318] In Benjamin's view, the photograph, through its unique material ontology, disputes the "precious object" definition of an artwork that can be owned.

Benjamin's thesis on "mechanical reproduction" considers photography as "de-privileging" the art object and redefines it as something more generally available. He speaks of the "aura" of the work of art as a tradition based upon a "ritual of ownership" of the "privileged object" which he traces to "the secular cult of beauty, developed during the Renaissance." However, with the advent of the "age of mechanical reproduction" and with photography, in particular, this tradition is, according to Benjamin, "shattered."

He writes, "...for the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual. To an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility. From a photographic negative, for example one can make any number of prints; to ask for the 'authentic' print makes no sense. But the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice – politics."

And further, "Earlier much futile thought has been devoted to the question of whether photography is an art. The primary question – whether the very invention of photography has not transformed the entire nature of art – was not raised."[319]

But, despite Benjamin's predictions as to the emancipatory potential of photography, the institutional incorporation of the medium has endeavoured, with remarkable success, to assemble photographs as exhibitable and collectible commodities. The market in "vintage prints" in limited editions, photographers as creative visionaries with large "oeuvres" of artistic achievement and museum collections have made "authentic" photographic artifacts highly coveted.[320]

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[318] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," trans. Harry Zohn, Walter Benjamin: Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), 217-251.

[319] Walter Benjamin, The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 221-227.

But whatever the larger implications of photography as art, the appropriation of the medium by museums and private collectors can serve to bring a kind of "closure" to these historical photographs.[321] Just as the labels, attached to these photographs, can serve to limit their content to what Arthur Goss considered relevant to his Public Health Department commission, the museum appropriation of the images can restrict them to the "photographic" as vehicles of artistic expression. Confined to frames and museum displays, they can lose their potency as cultural artifacts.

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[320] The photograph, as a part of a "limited edition" of prints, is an artificially imposed convention "borrowed from traditional printmaking processes." It is created by the photographer, or under his/her supervision, "for commercial purposes to set a maximum number of prints from a negative..." Gordon Baldwin, Looking at Photographs: A Guide to Technical Terms. (London: British Museum Publications, 1991) 44; This convention could not be applied to current reprints from Goss' negatives since these are not attributable to him directly. It is his negatives and the original archival prints made by him or his staff, that have a greater claim to "authenticity."

[321] "I would argue that the devolution of photographic art into mystical trivia is the result of a fundamental act of closure. This closure was effected in the first place in order to establish photography *as an art.*" (italics in original) Allan Sekula, On the Invention of Photographic Meaning, 102.

Conclusion

In 1989, John Szarkowski curated a large show, entitled "Photography Until Now," at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the invention of the medium. It was called a "valedictory exhibition" to the retiring curator's career and a "monument to the 'art photography' esthetic."[322]

A reviewer of the show, in the New York Times, February 11, 1990, writes, "[The exhibition] is clearly the product of a single intelligence, one that has spent decades mulling over ways to best organize and explicate the photographic tradition."

Szarkowski's "organizing principle," for the over 250 images shown, is "that technology has been a motivating force in the development of the pictorial possibilities of photography." He is quoted as saying: "I'm not trying to tell the story of photographic technology...I'm trying to tell the story of photographic pictures. But as an organizing principle it allows you to talk about all photographers at once."[323]

Szarkowski's organizing principle, to contain all photographic practices under the theme of advancing technology, was hotly disputed by some critics. The idea that photography constituted a unified "tradition" was considered to be untrue and institutionally narrow. And Szarkowski's authority, as a senior curator of a major art institution, was felt to be imperious and thus his aesthetic judgements were suspect.

One critic was particularly acerbic. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, writing in "Art in America":

> "Briefly summarized, this story of photography, like that of modern art, features certain fixed characteristics and recurring motifs. For example, a point of origin is proposed, although premonitions and antecedents have prepared the way. As the story unfolds, great artists appear regularly on the scene and speed the art on to its

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[322] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Mandarin Modernism: 'Photography Until Now'", Art in America, December, 1990, 141.

[323] Andy Grundberg, Legacy From Photography's Mount Olympus, H37+

> next way station. The artists thus culled from among their fellows (most of whom happen to be men) are thought collectively to form a tradition within their medium that later generations of artists, may build upon, recycle or ever transform. To the extent that the story focuses on individuals, works or styles, history proper makes only fleeting appearances, when it appears at all. For the story is fueled by the conviction that it is possible to distill from the vast field of cultural production a precipitate of values, traditions, masters and masterworks that are timeless and universal, never narrowly institutional or partisan.
>
> In the formalist version of the story, a teleology of sorts is proposed, whereby art forms are seen to evolve toward the self-conscious expression of each medium's unique, specific nature. In photography, of course, this 'nature' is complicated by the medium's successive technological transformations. Yet even here the emergence of recognizable masters and masterpieces is taken to be a natural, even organic process – like cream rising ineluctably to the top – reflecting the tautological belief that culturally privileged objects are possessed of innate and intrinsic 'quality.'"[324]

Between John Szarkowski's "modernist" view of the photograph as a formal craft and imprint of reality and Solomon-Godeau's "post-modernist" view of it as an institutionally invested property, there is a dialectic: the aesthetics of the photograph versus the institutional authority that defines its use, aesthetic or otherwise. Where Szarkowski sees the photograph as a uniquely formal achievement to be considered an independent creative product, critics like Solomon-Godeau or Douglas Crimp, see it as embedded within institutional practices and cultural determinants.[325]

This report has endeavoured to steer a course between these divergent points-of-view. Photograph #1 and Photograph #2 can be seen as self-referring pictures both "finished" and "unfinished" as documents. As "works", they are representations of the particular interests contemporary to their making. But as "texts," they are opened to the manifold possibilities of history.

The debates about photography within art institutions and art periodicals, seem to bear out Walter Benjamin's prediction that the medium has, in its way, "transformed the entire nature of art."[326] As artifacts, testaments and texts these pictures are many things at once. They are "records, tools, artworks, decorations, commodities [and] relics" – ever-mutable and ever-changing, like history itself, despite their staying the same.[327]

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[324] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Mandarin Modernism: 'Photography Until Now', 143.

[325] "After over a century of art's imprisonment in the discourse of modernism and the institution of the museum, hermetically sealed off from the rest of culture and society, the art of postmodernism begins to make inroads back into the world. It is photography, in part, that makes this possible..." Douglas Crimp, "The Museum's Old/The Library's New Subject", The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography, 9.

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[326] Walter Benjamin, The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 227.

[327] Sekula, Photography Against the Grain, 33.

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Three archival collections were consulted in the preparation of this thesis. Arthur Goss' photographs and records are principally housed at the City of Toronto Archives. Photograph #1 (RG 8-32-57) and Photograph #2 (RG 8-32-58) were reproduced by the City from the original negatives.

Additional information on the life and work of Arthur Goss is in the "Arthur Goss File" of the Arts and Letters Club Archives in Toronto. The early material on the Toronto Camera Club is in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa.

Six interviews were conducted: Steve MacKinnon, 3 February 1997; Lillian Petroff, 25 March 1997; R. Scott James, 9 September 1997; A. R. N. Woadden, 13 September 1997; George H. Brown, 13 October 1997; Maia-Mari Sutnik, November 19,1997.

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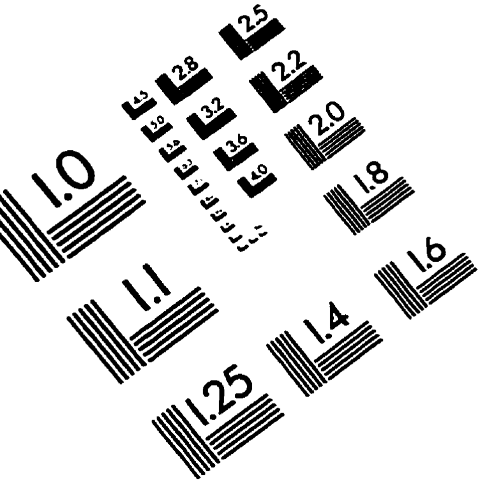
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)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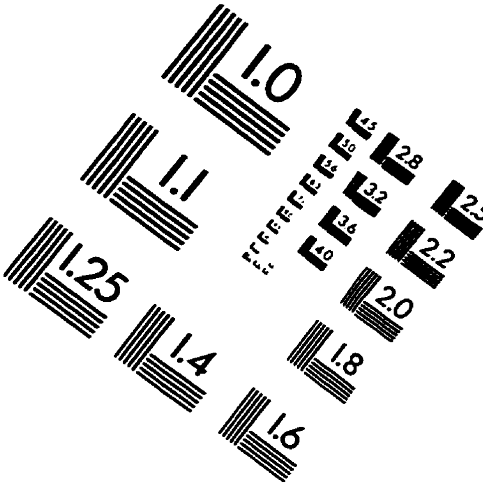
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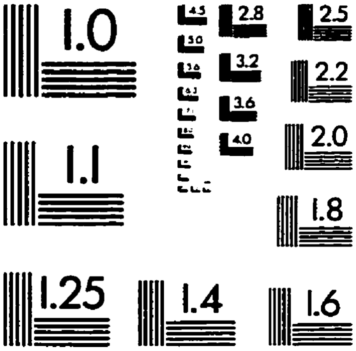
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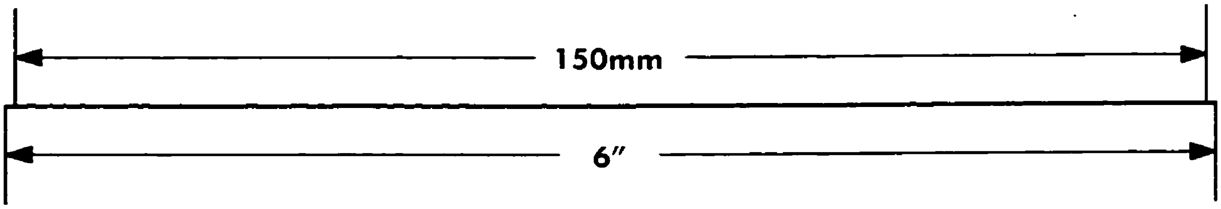

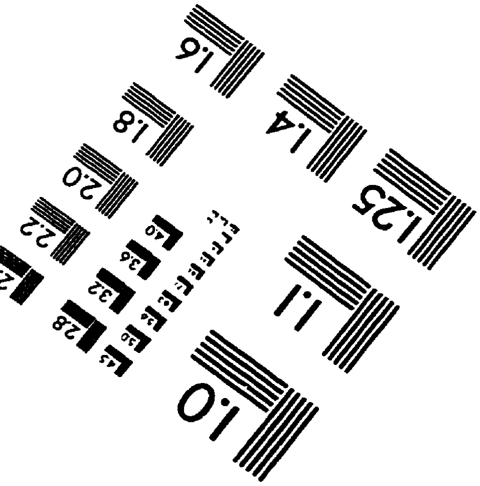
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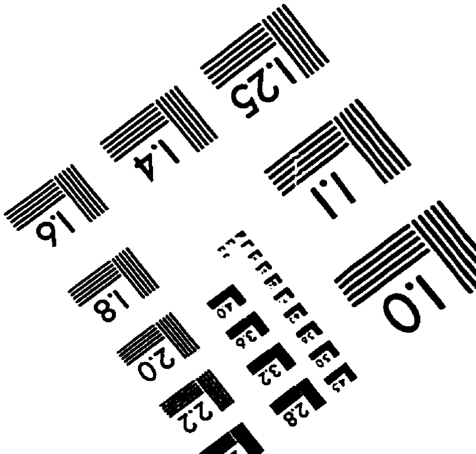
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