

FROM STREETS TO PLAYGROUNDS
Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto

expanding texts

ELIZABETH ST PLAYGROUND AUG. 21 1913 No 72

FROM STREETS TO PLAYGROUNDS

Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) funded research project, From Streets to Playgrounds: Representing children in early 20th century Toronto (2013-2017) draws on the fields of social work, photography and archival scholarship. Our interdisciplinary research team includes artists and scholars from within the fields of the social sciences, visual studies and fine art. Working with archival documents that date back to the beginning of the 20th century, our aim is to present a wider picture of the representation of children in public space at the time. In doing so, we explore connected, transnational histories through a cultural framework and attempt to reconcile different viewpoints by working across historical spaces.

In the first decades of the last century, the public health and public works departments of Toronto commissioned photographs for site mapping purposes. Frequently these images inadvertently captured children at work and at play. Our exhibition tracks the visual representations of children from working class communities and explores how the emerging disciplines of social work and photography interacted. Our empirical archival project focuses on the welfare of children in a lower-income immigrant neighbourhood in the industrial centre of Toronto (“The Ward”), but we have also examined archival documents and photographs in London and Brighton, England, where we have tracked neighbourhood planning and social reform visions and the official and unofficial presence of children in public spaces. Our research has culminated in the development and implementation of exhibits in both Canada and the UK that reflect different paths for working with historical images. By situating our archivally-derived materials in public spaces such as the City of Toronto Archives, we wish to engage with contemporary audiences in a manner that elicits intergenerational exchanges of collective memory.

September 29, 2016 – September 5, 2017

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Published: 2017 | Second Edition

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER WHEN LOOKING AT THE EXHIBIT PHOTOGRAPHS

Why were photographs made? What was the commission?

Who made photographs? When and where? Were they a professional photographer or an amateur?

What were they used for? Did they get reused?

Where are they kept now? A public or private collection?

If archived, under what section or category? And which archive has the photographs, copies, negatives?

What, if any impact did they have?

- a. At the time they were made
- b. In between when they were made and the present
- c. Now

What is the child's presence in the photograph?

- a. Incidental – are they “Stowaways?” (E. Edwards) Is their presence accidental, i.e. non-deliberate?
- b. Is it a deliberate inclusion and/or is purpose primarily to document the children in public spaces?

If deliberate, are the children:

- a. Unnamed
- b. Named
- c. Given a context? What are they doing? What is their agency in the public space?

A photograph can only be “an invitation to pay attention, to reflect, to learn, to examine”

-Susan Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others, 2003, p. 104

CHILDREN AND THE CITY – THE CITY AND ITS CHILDREN

ADRIENNE CHAMBON

What is this a picture of? Pathways from an image, departures and story-lines, stories within stories.

Details matter. Social work is a profession that works with details, mostly up-close, though not always. As art historian, Daniel Arasse, tells us, looking up-close at paintings, magnifying revealing details, even choosing as a viewer to select particular sections of an image, such gestures take the viewer, the visitor on to different pathways, into various interpretations, various story-lines (Arasse, 2004).

Our project started from a photograph (as Julia describes it in this publication under “Thresholds”), a particular photograph of children that we saw on the website of the City Archives (it is no longer present). We had looked at several photographs, but gravitated towards this one. This is the first animated image of the exhibit. We were drawn to this image because it is ambiguous. It did not seem to lead us into a scripted message or story line, it was ambiguous or open enough that it could have multiple story lines. A picture can have many story lines depending on the company it keeps, and how we perceive it.



New Registry Office Site, May 15, 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231, Item 1846

We first wondered about the presence of these children in the street, at a curb. We first noticed the two girls in the foreground, and later the two boys in the background. Their posture suggested they were being there, looking around, among themselves, one of them very young, seemingly at ease in the street, the street as an ordinary space of living. There was no particular action or event. It was the ordinariness that impressed us. Children could be on the street without adults and seem quite at ease, being, observing. We could not imagine such a situation today, with the children taking up the street as their space, and no adult presence in sight.

This led us onto a story-line or quest: What other public spaces could we find them in? We later discovered the lanes, backyards, rear houses, construction sites, and also the stoops, and outside staircases leading into the houses. There were many such public spaces. This triggered our own recollections and imaginations about such spaces as children.

In looking closer at the photograph, we noticed in the lower plane of the image an inscription, with the month, the year, and the day, 15 May 1912 (apparently when the photograph was taken), and the place: south west corner of Elizabeth and Louisa streets, which we knew to be in the Ward. An additional indication written on the photograph, functioning as the title, was: “The New Registry”. We were initially clueless as to that last note in particular. The photographer’s name did not appear on the photograph. Who was the photographer, and what was the motive or circumstance of the photograph?

The photographer we were told by the archivist was Arthur Goss, the city photographer. We then became interested in other photographs by Goss.

“The New Registry” made sense once we were able to decipher the bureaucratic code classifying the photograph, a series of numbers which was added on the photograph next to the initial caption. The commissioning department was neither Health (intended at the time as the health condition of housing) nor the department of Education nor Parks and Playgrounds. It was commissioned by the street and architecture units. The photograph had been taken in the spring of 1912 in anticipation of the demolition of the corner house(s) shown on this image.

In fact, several photographs held such a caption. In those photographs we could see additional residential buildings, stores, also passers-by, a man with a bicycle and even a horse. We could get a sense of the social surrounding where the children lived from looking at the richness of details in this cluster of photographs. Weeks later we found a 1925 photograph of the inside of the Registry building, now in full operation. It showed us the importance of city archives.

What was this Registry? A Registry of Lands and Deeds, expanding the administrative activities of the city government; introducing another mechanism of order and classification. This building had a story of its own. It was initially planned as one government building that would exist alongside other government buildings, creating a large public square, or Plaza, as existed in Vienna, London, Paris or Berlin, which would glorify Toronto. An architectural competition was set up to choose among several architectural designs. World War I interrupted such grandiose plans, followed by the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Registry was erected, but the square was not built around it. A larger history of the city is now deployed before us. As to our photograph and its sisters, where did the residents go when the corner of their neighborhood was demolished? Eaton’s was already close by, also the Armories, and the Toronto General Hospital were already squeezing out many residents of the Ward. And if we link this story line with the presence of children in the photograph, these children were not aware of what was going to happen. They and their families would be removed as the space where they live was to be used differently, with other priorities in mind.

What lines of questioning would we follow? Or what was this photograph about?

We were now facing two story lines, one clearly about the city, construction, planning, local and international referents, and another story-line about children in the city, their place, displacement, their space. We embarked on the project with these questions in mind, emphasizing the role of photographs in taking us on various pathways.

EXPANDING UPON THE TWO STORY-LINES

We found secondary material about the city's expansion, and what had happened to the streets of the Ward, and in particular to that site where the Registry was: This later became the new City Hall (see Threshold article), showing how a city is built up through layers, and some sectors destroyed more often than others. The areas targeted are often the more desirable and poorer. Their population can be moved about more easily than the residents of wealthier areas. The story-line now emphasizes the discrepancies and the relationships between the more powerful and the less powerful, a common story.

Many years later, at the beginning of the 21st century (in 2001), the photograph we started from was included in an exhibit called "Playing by the Rules: Organized Children's Leisure in Toronto 1897-1934" curated under the auspices of the City of Toronto. This time, there was a small difference in its presentation, almost slight but quite severe in meaning. An additional caption had been overlaid onto its descriptive text: the single word of "loitering", appearing in bold letters, had become the title of this photograph. The photo's ambiguity and openness had been lost. It now held a strong moral message about the presence of the children on the street, and it was not good. The term 'Loitering' suggests laziness, idleness leading to the possibility of deviant activity. Those who loiter should instead be in school or at work. Moreover, poor people loiter. Rich people do something else, they enjoy leisure. Yet, this new caption belied what we were seeing in the photo. These particular children were quite young, too young to be thought of as loitering, some even too young to be in school. This caption leads the viewer in a particular direction. It assumes that children who stand on the street, who look around in the space of the street are problem children, a problem to themselves, and a problem for society. Such wording links Victorian morality of the beginning of the 20th century to the present, suggesting the more contemporary term of 'children at risk'. The brutality of the caption opens up a whole line of thinking and decision-making, from child welfare to broader social policy, measures of prevention and surveillance.

And yet, when we look back at the image itself, this is not what we see. As Derrida (1998) has argued, when looking at photographs, a necessary condition for 'seeing' is to dwell on the image in the absence of a caption. If there is one, it has to be removed. Otherwise, the authoritative power of the text (any text according to him) will override the image and foreclose other possible meanings. The caption, as arbitrary as it can be, will impose its message. This realization opens up our interpretation to an additional story-line: the reworkings of a photograph, or series of photographs, its circulation and its multiple uses. This comment also suggests we examine the complicated relations between text and image given our materials.

We then wondered about the various types of representations of children in texts (newspapers, novels, reports) and in photographs. Charity images would look different than happenstance photographs, which may look different from social documentary images or from advocacy photographs during the same period. Or would they? This made us examine the photographs of more than one photographer.

Thus the photographs taken by William James, for instance, which we leave you to consider as to their 'kind', and the photographs made by amateur photographers under the auspices of Central Neighbourhood House (see our panels and display cases).

We moved on to another consideration as a team. If the story-line is based on the commission or function of the photograph, what can we say of the presence of children in such images? Is it fortuitous, unnecessary, superfluous? We looked at such pictures and found that many photographs made for architectural, road and building purposes contained the presence of children. Children are everywhere (thus the title of one of the sections of our exhibit). The children are accidental, incidental, circumstantial, unintended. And/or the photographer may have chosen to include the children in the photograph since the children were there; or chosen to include them because they were interesting to photograph, as figures and as children. We cannot know, but we do not exclude the photographer's motivations alongside the official function of the image.

And if children are everywhere, then the city and the children have a particular connection to each other. Questions arise: What does the city do with its children? How do the children occupy the space of the city? The two story-lines of 'the children in the city' 'and 'the city and its children' have become one. The representations of children in the city spaces function as commentaries upon the (transformative) state of the city.



Storeroom, old Registry Building, July 31, 1925, City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, Subseries 41

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ROOTS

ERNIE LIGHTMAN

I don't know if my family roots pass through the Ward, and now there's no one left to ask.

My mother's family, we know from the landing records in Halifax, came in the 1920's, and their first housing was a flat on Beverley St, part of the Jewish migration westward from the Ward to Kensington Market and Spadina. It's my father's family that is the mystery. I know they came from the Ukraine, or perhaps Russia, and they passed through the East End of London, where my grandmother acquired a lovely Cockney accent. But where they started in Toronto remains unanswerable.

I'd like to think they were in the Ward, and I'd like to think my father was one of the kids playing in the streets in the photos of this exhibit. He was born in Toronto in 1914, so the demographic profile fits. But look as I may, I see no obvious match. And, of course, I really have no idea what he would have looked like as a child, in the Ward or elsewhere.

Why would I wish my family had lived in a big urban slum? Wouldn't it have been better for them to skip this stage, and start directly with whatever came next? Do I really envy those who lived in the Ward? Not really, of course. Life was hard: The housing, as we see in this exhibit, was generally appalling, with many bodies crammed into too little space. The racism the new Jewish immigrants experienced was bad, but far better than that in the shtetl, where the Cossacks rode through on their noble steeds, bent on rape and pillage.

For the kids in the Ward, the streets were their territory, where they played, and watched, and wondered, and learned, all without adult interference. They were masters of their own destiny (though they might be forbidden by parents from leaving the block or crossing a major street.)

In spite of the multiple hardships of life in the Ward, I believe there was also a sense of hope, of optimism, of the infinite possibilities that the New World presented. The kids could grow up to be successes – doctors, dentists, lawyers – and, of course, many did. The Ward was just a starting point in the eyes of many, a place they would leave as soon as they were able, but in the interim it was a tightly knit community where people helped one another, often out of sheer necessity.

According to Richard Dennis (1997), in 1909, 74% of householders in the Ward were Jewish. (The actual number may even be higher as there was probably significant underreporting of residents, given prior Jewish history with state authorities in eastern Europe.) There were community agencies, operated by and for the Jewish population, and after-school programs to train the boys for bar mitzvah.

People – adults and kids – stuck together, in the home and in the street. There wasn't much space for the privacy we so value today. Community was a necessity, one that most were familiar with from the Old Country, and one that many embraced, at least for a while. With time, came success,

higher incomes and at least a degree of acceptance and integration into the broader society. The early ties of community weakened, and in many cases broke.

It's this sense of community that I never experienced. It's this sense of community that I regret I never experienced. I don't regret missing the poverty and the squalid housing. But I do miss the strong sense of sharing and collectivity and community, forces that few of us born post-War were ever lucky enough to encounter.

HOPSCOTCH ARTIST – ANNIE DYWELSKA



Portrait by Mary Anderson

Annie Dywelska is a multidisciplinary artist living happily in Hamilton, Ontario. She drew the hopscotch graphic for our exhibition and also participated in our Elizabeth Street photo shoot in October 2015, where she and nine other children helped to re-create the 1912 Arthur Goss photograph, *New Registry Office Site, May 15, 1912*. This interview took place in her backyard after she had completed her hopscotch sketch.

Mary: So, what's your experience like with drawing hopscotches?

Annie: Um, it's kind of hard for me.

Mary: Can you explain why?

Annie: Because the squares are kind of hard for me to draw because it's in chalk.

Mary: Oh okay. The chalk is more difficult to draw with?

Annie: Yeah, because it was a little piece.

Mary: Where do you normally draw hopscotches?

Annie: Um, like at the school with like big pieces of coloured chalk.

Mary: And what do you draw them on?

Annie: The pavement.

Mary: Right. So what was so different about drawing one this time?

Annie: Because it was on paper.

Mary: Okay. So are you excited about seeing the exhibition?

Annie: Yeah.

Mary: Do you remember the photo shoot?

Annie: Yeah.

Mary: What was it like for you?

Annie: Good.

Mary: Can you go into detail about it a bit more? Who was there with you?

Annie: My mom and Lola and Wendy.

Mary: Who else? Wasn't Maryn there?

Annie: Nope, Maryn wasn't.

Mary: Her and Jane—they were there.

Annie: No they weren't.

Mary: Yeah they were. And their mom Sarah. Remember?

Annie: Oh yeah, they were there.

Mary: Yeah. So what's your favorite thing to play outdoors?

Annie: I think like, um, doing the monkey bars.

Mary: Monkey bars?

Annie: Yeah, and running. I like running around with my friends.

Mary: Okay. Would you guys say that you play on playgrounds more or on the street?

Annie: Playgrounds.

Mary: Playgrounds—you think that's the way to go for your age?

Annie: Yeah.

Mary: How come?

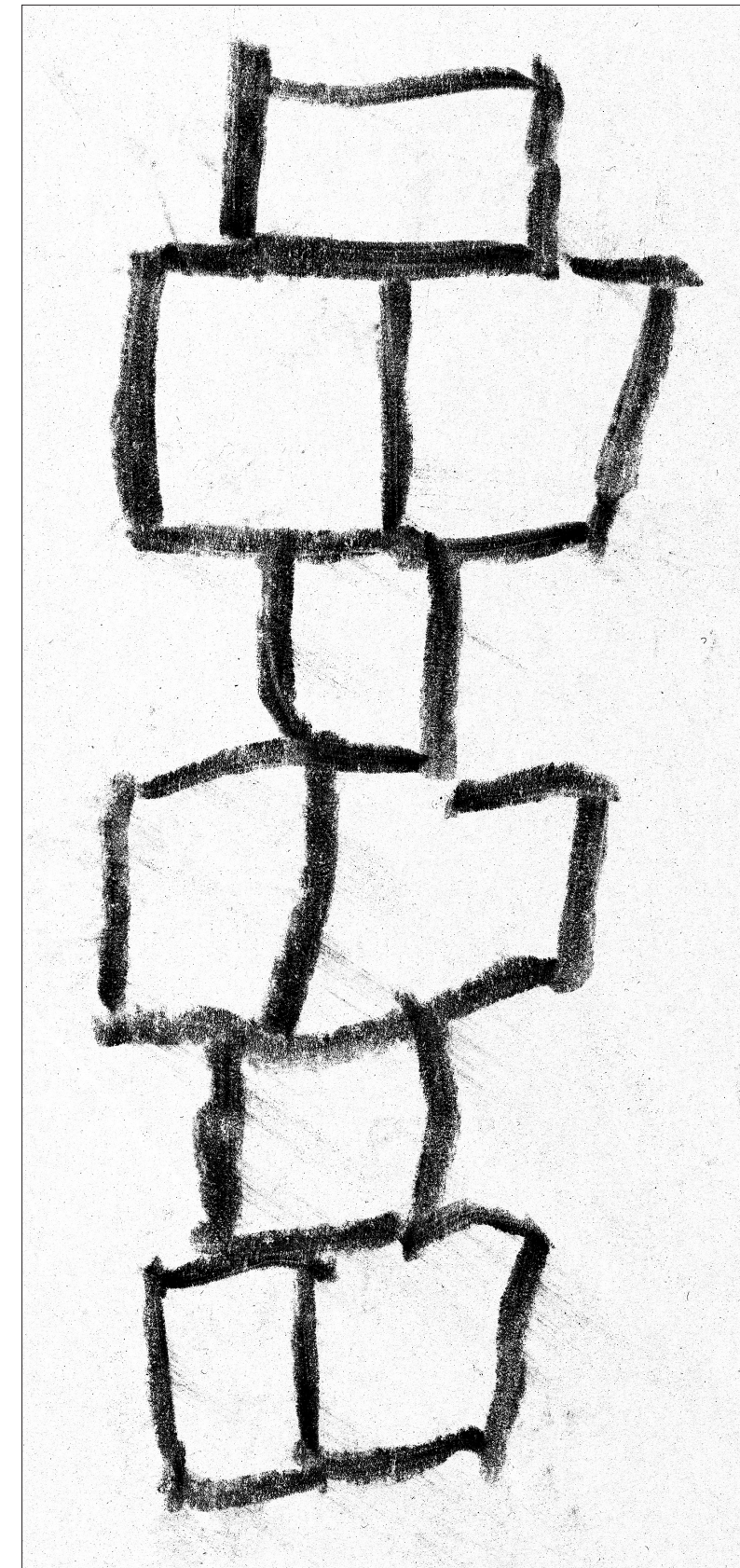
Annie: I don't know. Because we usually play in the school playground or in parks a lot.

Mary: Cool. Well thanks Annie for your contributions to this project.

Annie: You're welcome.



Elizabeth Street photo shoot, Mary Anderson, 2015



A SHORT WINDOW OF TIME: A MOMENT IN A CITY'S SOCIAL AND VISUAL HISTORY

ADRIENNE CHAMBON

Italo Calvino

Kablai interrupted him: 'from now on I shall describe the cities and you will tell me if they exist and are as I have conceived them. (p. 43)

The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls. (p. 11)

A moment in the city's history, and the history of many cities can be found through similar (though different) moments. Italo Calvino speaks of layered cities, visible and invisible, imagined and real. Hidden cities, continuous cities. Just and unjust cities (Invisible Cities [Le cita invisibili]).

We originally set out to document the early part of the 20th century from 1900 to 1939. We wanted to bring together the social history and the visual history of Toronto, addressing the question of the place given to children in public spaces. We ended up focusing mainly upon a single neighbourhood (St John's Ward, known as 'The Ward') and a limited period, 1909-1918. We were surprised. Such a short window of time! How did this happen?

This project revolves around a concentrated social history of Toronto, a period of sudden growth in its early history, when industrialization led to significant immigration, the expansion of local government alongside civic initiatives at social reform, and the growth of 'new' professions, public health, police, and social work. These drew upon new scientific approaches in health, education, and showed a great enthusiasm for new technologies: in this exhibit, we focus on photography. Photography became a favorite medium for communicating information, and for influencing public opinion. More than developing side by side, the city and photography worked in tandem in a number of venues.

THE CITY

The Ward has become highly visible in recent years, with publications such as *The Ward*, or *Picturing Toronto*, with exhibits and archeological findings of the period in the Ward (Spacing). Yet, until recently, this lively neighbourhood had become an invisible section of the city, with few remaining architectural traces of its previous existence. The Ward was early on the focus of attention. Identified as one of the most destitute neighbourhoods of the city, a health hazard, it was a neighbourhood of recent immigrants. A key policy document of the time was the 'Slum Report' of 1911, the result of a door to door survey directed by Charles Hastings, the newly appointed Medical Officer of the city. The Ward continued to be the target area of hygiene and housing concerns. The Bureau of Municipal Research, which included businessmen and leading social reformers, responded with its own document: What is the Ward going to do with Toronto?

in 1918. The Ward was thus the site of early city intervention, health and hygiene planning and slum clearance – the beginnings of the city's planned activity that focused initially on poor areas, and which was later to lead to larger scale planning and to urbanism (George, 2011).

During this same period, The Ward was the site of numerous initiatives in social reform, the growth of civil society, with the creation of numerous organizations. It was during these years that the Settlement House movement peaked in Toronto (Irving, Parsons and Bellamy, 1995). University Settlement House opened its doors in 1910; Central Neighbourhood House in 1911; and St Christopher House in 1912. The Playground movement in Canada also started during this time. The earliest Cherry St. Playground opened in 1909, while the St Andrews playground and the much debated Elizabeth St. playground, established in 1913, were the first to be administered by government. A related educational establishment was created to accompany such developments: The first department of social work in Canada was established in 1914 at the University of Toronto.

PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICES

In 1911, the new director of the Department of Public Works established a Photography and Blueprint section, creating the official position of city photographer. The young Arthur Goss was selected for this post, and worked in that capacity until his death in 1940. Goss was commissioned to document the city's ills and the city's achievements. At the City Archives the photos have been classified according to the bureaucratic departments they were attached to. The archival record thus shows that Goss made photographs for the Health department from 1911 on; for the Road and Street Department; and for the Board of Education Department starting in 1913. We find a miscellaneous category of his photographs, and a separate grouping attributed to him, which were salvaged through an individual initiative and were donated to the City Archives clustered in the Salmon fonds. One such photograph helped us reconstitute the panorama vision of Elizabeth St that you see in the exhibit. The city also houses the archives of another photographer of the time, the William James family fonds, which covers primarily the early 1900s to 1939. James worked mainly for the newspapers. During that period, photographs were also made at the Settlement Houses by amateur photographers. Such a set was recently identified by our team and is shown in this exhibit.

The Ward photographs cluster primarily in the years 1911-1914. These are the peak years of transformation. These are also the only years of the early 20th century when photographs of children could be made in the Ward. Photographs of children were made later on of course, but in other parts of the city, sometimes quite close by. This is the result of larger social forces. By 1920, the neighbourhood had changed. Some of its population had moved, some had been displaced. The Ward's remaining and growing population was by then largely Chinese. However, during that period, the Chinese were subjected to the Head Tax, which made it very difficult for families to settle in Canada, followed by the drastic Chinese Immigration Act (known as the Chinese Exclusion Act) of 1922, which banned altogether Chinese entry into Canada until 1947, when Canada came under intense international pressure to rescind this act. Thus in the 1920s and 30s, the Chinese population in the Ward was predominantly a bachelor society (Mah and Magill, 1978). And the photographs of children in which we see them taking part in Chinese festivals date to a later period, post World War II.

COMPRESSED TIME, EXTENDED AURA THROUGH THE ARCHIVES

The photographs we are focusing on are restricted to this time/space unit. This set of circumstances acted as the occasion to document the encounter between photography and social history as they pertain to the life and representation of children. In our exhibit, the two framing photos taken by Goss, which are animated, date respectively to 1912 (the street scene of the corner of Elizabeth and Louisa Street) and the celebration of the Elizabeth Street Playground in 1913.

Different experiences of time and the city occur in relation to these photos. The sheer number of photographs of children during this period creates a powerful presence. And among these, a handful has been shown repeatedly. They have become archetypal images, acquiring a longer time aura, extending into a stretched period of time. Almost an imagined layer of the city that is both 'captured' by the photographs, immobilized and prolonged.

The stretching of the temporal dimension is further extended through the many reworkings of the city's history, in the circulation and viewings of these images in exhibits and in books. Further, these images have echoes with photographs taken in other cities, in other countries, about children's presence and activities in public spaces in low-income neighbourhoods, those areas of cities known as 'slums,' those that are slated for destruction.

It is in this spirit that the British material from the 1930s and later period taken in the city of Brighton accompany this exhibit. And the photographs of children by Marilyn Stafford taken in the 1950s in the poor immigrant neighbourhoods of Paris will be exhibited for the first time at the Alliance Française of Toronto in March 2017.

We are contributing to this extension of time and the photographs' aura by revisiting them, and casting them this time within a history of children and the city, children and their representations. With each revisiting of the archival photographs, and their various groupings and contextualizing by different hands, through different eyes, we hope to tell yet a slightly different story, and as with each story of the past, that story stretches into the present, as it is shaped by current questions and wonderings.

Our time frame, this short window of time, is both a particular moment of a city's transformation, and a companion to other moments in the same city, and to a range of other cities. The photographic encounter gives us many possible readings and poignancy to these encounters.

George, Ryan (2011). *The Bruce Report and social welfare leadership in the politics of Toronto's 'slums', 1934-1939*. *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 44 (87), May, 83-114.

Irving, A., Parsons, H. & Bellamy, D. F. (1995). *Neighbours: Three social settlements in downtown Toronto*. Canadian Scholars' Press.

Mah, V. A., & Magill, D. W. (1978). *The Bachelor Society: A Look at Toronto's Early Chinese Community from 1878-1924*. Mah.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT OF CHILDREN IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY TORONTO

BETHANY GOOD

Many reformers and public figures who advocated for social change within Toronto's urban core used the needs of (urban) children as their central focus. These campaigns tended to represent children as vulnerable and at risk within the growing, dirty and dangerous city. However, as some historical sources and photographs exemplify, children were active, vital and often very capable participants in the daily functioning of Toronto.

SWAT THE FLY CONTEST

Some early reformers actively engaged city children in efforts to improve conditions in neighbourhoods such as the Ward. For example, Charles Hastings, the Medical Officer of Health for Toronto, in conjunction with the Toronto Star, initiated the "Swat the Fly Contest". This citywide fly collecting contest encouraged children to become aware and help solve the problem of the spread of bacteria and disease, by eliminating what was considered the source.



Toronto Star, July 6, 1912, p.8

Over the summer of 1912 children were enlisted to collect flies and bring them to City Hall for counting. A cash reward of \$200.00 was split among the children who collected the most flies. Fifteen year old Beatrice White was the resounding winner having collected more than half a million flies over the six week contest.

At the end of the contest in August, 3.5 million dead flies had been collected by the city's children. Beatrice had collected 543,360 herself using traps she constructed. For her efforts she was awarded \$50.00. Children were central actors in this public health initiative and contributed to improving health conditions in a unique way.



William James Photo of White with her traps, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 1039

ELIZABETH NEUFELD AND ORGANIZING CHILDREN OF THE WARD TO SOCIAL ACTION

Elizabeth Neufeld was the first head worker at Central Neighbourhood House, a settlement house in the heart of the Ward, also engaged children in community social action. In the early 20th century, playgrounds along with most stores and municipal services were closed on Sundays. As a result, children of the Ward, many of whom were Jewish and did not celebrate Sunday as their Sabbath, had only the streets as play space. Neufeld organized weekly "Sunday Parades". The parades acted as rallies calling for the opening of the Elizabeth Street Playground on Sundays. The children from the Ward would meet and march the streets playing musical instruments including pots and pans as drums. On one occasion the parade marched to City Hall demanding that the park be opened. Unfortunately, it was another decade before changes were made to Sunday Park Closure rules but the parades were nevertheless important community-building activities.



Boy Band in the 1910s. Courtesy of CNH Records

In 1912, Neufeld made her first efforts to have the city approve the modification and use of an old school house on the Elizabeth street playground property for Central Neighbourhood House activities. This request led to other charitable organizations demanding that they also be provided with public funds to expand their facilities. The initial request by CNH and Elizabeth Neufeld was not successful. A few years later Neufeld once again organized the community to pressure city officials to approve a city generated plan to build a shelter house on the Elizabeth Street Playground property. While this plan was not connected to CNH, Neufeld believed the project would benefit community residents. On the day the plan was to be addressed in council, Neufeld rallied 200 neighbourhood children to march to City hall. The children met with the Board of Control consisting of several aldermen and the Mayor.

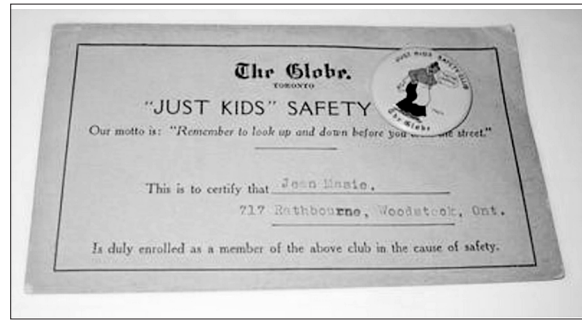
A ten year old, Jonny Senson, delivered a speech to the city officials stating,

"Mr. Mayor and members of the Board of Control. We the children of the Ward are asking for a playhouse on the Elizabeth Street playground. We need a place where we can have baths, gymnasium and entertainments. Mr. Chambers (the park commissioner) said we might have it, so we thought we had better come and ask you to give it to us".

In May 1914, the City passed the necessary documentation to build the recreation house on the Elizabeth Street Playground site. City official, Controller McCarthy reported that "It was the most interesting deputation the Board had ever heard".

JUST KIDS SAFETY CLUB

In 1928, the public and the city officials were increasingly concerned about motor vehicle accidents that involved children in Ontario cities. The Globe newspaper in conjunction with local community organizations introduced a campaign to raise awareness about the dangers on city streets. Originally, an offshoot of the U.S. National Safety Council, this movement was initiated by the author of a popular children's comic strip called "Just Kids", Augustus Daniels "Ad" Carter, a reporter and artist in Brooklyn, New York. The club was started following one comic story line in which Mush Stebbins, a regular character, was knocked down by a passing truck resulting in a broken arm. A police officer at the scene asked Mush to promise to "look both ways before crossing".



The club encouraged children to become members, and in exchange for joining, children made a pledge to be safe when crossing the streets and in exchange were given a membership card and badges, and could collect a series of pins with characters associated with the club. The club motto was "Remember to look up and down before you cross the street". The premise was that this club was exclusively for children and promoted by children through contests and activities like safety essay competitions, submissions of drawings etc.

Just Kids Safety Club
The Globe
Toronto, Ont.

Please enrol me as a member of the Just Kids Safety Club. I promise to remember to look up and down before crossing the street.

Name

Street

Town

I hereby certify that this is the first application submitted by or for the above applicant.

.....

Signature of Parent or Guardian.

Schools and community groups encouraged children to join and participate in the growing conversation about street safety. By October 2nd 1928, the club had 275, 847 members and was growing fast. Businesses and government leaders endorsed and actively promoted the expansion of the campaign. J.F.H. Wyse the General Manager of the Ontario Safety League along with the League secretary P.B. LaTrobe visited 50 institutions across the province promoting the Club. The Globe regularly profiled children who were participating in public education activities between March 1928 and Sept 1932.

These three examples of children's civic engagement provide a glimpse into the dramatic changes taking place in the early 20th century urban centres. Education related to germ theory was being passed to children and in turn to their families. Public health was a community effort in which children were active participants.

The increasing presence of motor vehicles on the streets led to safety education initiatives promoted by public and private institutions such as newspapers, safety commissions and local schools and police departments. Finally, local settlement houses such as the Ward's Central Neighbourhood House worked to inspire community children to advocate for their needs within their neighbourhood.

What is striking is the range or contrasting perspectives reformers employed to address public health, safety and child welfare. On one side they portray children as weak, vulnerable and in need of supervision and rescuing by adults. Simultaneously, however, they embraced the autonomy and independence of children, encouraging them to take an active and independent role within their community.

JUST KIDS SAFETY CLUB
Here's Where We Meet

J. K. S. C. Membership 257,119

THE MEMBERSHIP ROLL:	
Previous enrolment	256,559
Added yesterday	560
	257,119

BUTTONS DISTRIBUTED.	
Previous announcement	251,828
Mailed yesterday	2,000
	253,828

"Just Kids" Have Another Girl Cartoonist

"Dear Editor J.K.S.C.: I received my button. I got 'Mush,' which I think is very nice. I drew pictures last week, but did not get them sent. I am sending them today. They are 'Chun Pai Moy Sen Sung,' 'Fatsy,' and 'Mush.' I drew them large, so if you can't put them all in your paper, put one of them in. Wishing your Club the greatest success. Evelyn Bigelow. 'Betzany, Ont.'"

The Globe, July 7, 1928, p.15

Globe and Mail: March 30, 1928; March 31, 1928; April 2, 1928; April 4, 1928; May 4, 1928.
 Irving, A., Parsons, H. & Bellamy, D. F., (1995). *Neighbours: Three social settlements in downtown Toronto*. Canadian Scholars' Press.
 New York Times June 26, 1957, Pg.31, AD Carter, (Creator of 'Just Kids' Comics).
 O'Connor, P. J. (1986) *The story of Central Neighbourhood House 1911-1986*. Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, Toronto.
 Toronto Star Online Article, Sat Aug 8, 2015 *Beatrice White, the girl who killed half a million flies for Toronto*. (Katie Daubs).
 Toronto Star, July 6, 1912, Pg.8, (*Contest Rules*).
<http://www.virtualmuseum.ca> - Central Neighbourhood House Historical Highlights Year By Year: 1912.

CARE OR CONTROL?

ERNIE LIGHTMAN

This exhibit directly addresses one of the fundamental questions facing social work throughout its history: what are the goals of our interventions, and why do we undertake them?

The two central images in the exhibit, both of them semi-animated, portray, firstly, small children aimlessly hanging about at the corner of Elizabeth St and Louisa; the second shows a larger group of children, neatly organized in a new playground.

Undoubtedly the advocates of the day, including JJ Kelso and those associated with Central Neighbourhood House, would want us to think of these pictures as a linear progression, before and after, moving forward from the unruly, unsafe street to the security of the playground.

But was this necessarily so?

Were the streets of the day really so dangerous to children? The photo in this exhibit of the young boys playing marbles, or cards, on the streetcar tracks, is one of my personal favourites. In spite of the approaching tram, they are going to finish their round, or their game. There is a clear sense that the streetcar can just wait until they are done. And that's probably what happened (unless, of course, the kids scattered at the last possible moment before impact).

Those young kids did not look particularly vulnerable to me, nor did they seem at risk of anything. They appeared to be at home in their environment, relaxed and comfortable playing on the tracks. Were they really in need of 'saving' by being moved to a playground where their gaming tendencies might be addressed by a well-meaning social worker?

Even in the first picture, at Elizabeth and Louisa, the kids do not seem particularly vulnerable. Kids were in the streets: that's what they did; those were the worlds they inhabited, places where, in their own terms, they felt comfortable and safe.

I am not old enough to remember the Ward. But I did grow up, in the immediate post-World War II period, living behind and above my father's small grocery store on College St. There was a lane behind the store, and that's where we hung out. It was unpaved and hence muddy at times, and occasionally we had to scatter in the face of an oncoming car or delivery truck. But it was our world. Concepts such as safety or danger were not on our radar. The laneways were where we played, because the streets by now were too dangerous, filled with too much traffic. But had anyone tried to round us up into a structured playground, we would undoubtedly have resisted: the lanes were our places, and if adults wanted playgrounds, let them use them!

Now, before I totally lose reality in my reminiscences, let me acknowledge that, objectively speaking, maybe the streets were not the best places for kids to play. Certainly the reformers saw the playgrounds as a step forward, and in some sense, they were right.

The playgrounds had equipment that kids loved to use and could not otherwise access; they had staff who could keep the peace between the differing groups and even introduce structured programming that had value. At their best the playgrounds could serve as cauldrons to mix and blend the kids – mostly recent immigrants – who came from very different places and had radically divergent life experiences. A child in a playground was unlikely to get hit by a car. And in winter he (or she) might even learn to skate on a maintained rink and grow up to play hockey professionally.

But still... but still... there was a price to pay for the safety, security and growth potential of the playgrounds. The freedom, the lack of authority, the power over their own lives that children found on the streets were all sacrificed (or at least seriously compromised) as they entered the playground. There were rules to follow, patterns and directives to guide their activities, perhaps even some learning to be done. I also feel I must ask whether the motives of the reformers were really so pure. Like social workers today, they were undoubtedly driven by a mixed agenda with varying goals, some genuinely admirable, some perhaps less so. Having studied this question for quite a while, I do believe the vast majority of the reformers had the best interests of the children at heart. They thought the children – and in the Ward these children were overwhelmingly poor and from immigrant families – inevitably would do better in the playgrounds than on the streets, and were more likely to successfully 'become Canadian' (whatever that might mean).

But then, how do we understand a newspaper headline like the one in this exhibit that talks of kids in groups as being dangerous and gang-like? Was this really the case? Were these really gangs that went out and mugged little old ladies on the streets? Were property values at risk because of marauding hordes of kids? I have no way of knowing, but I seriously doubt this was the case. I prefer to think that these alarmist newspaper headlines were merely a media strategy to draw the reader's interest. Just as the exhibit shows the selective use of photography to highlight what the author wants the reader to see, so too the written media could be manipulated to give a particular take on the world.

If it was necessary to use alarmist headlines, appealing to peoples' fears of gangs on the streets, to their self-interest in maintaining social order and stability – if it was necessary to go this route in order to attract public support for the development of playgrounds – then that was a price the reformers were willing to pay. The end, in this case, apparently justified the means...

Was it all worth it? Was the move 'from street to playground' an unambiguous step forward for society and social integration? That's hard to say. But what we can safely observe is that as the streets indeed became more dangerous, the 'rounding up' of kids into playground and other controlled environments perhaps became inevitable. My own daughter, who grew up in downtown Toronto not too far from the Ward, was certainly never allowed to play in the streets without adult supervision. We value the few playgrounds in our neighbourhood, and fight the neoliberal Neanderthals on City Council who think they are unnecessary and want to shut them down. Perhaps that's how progress works.

ON ANIMATING ARTHUR GOSS' HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS

VID INGELEVICIS

In suggesting to our team that we “animate” the two key photographs in this exhibition, both by renowned Toronto photographer Arthur Goss, a number of considerations were at play I thought. Conceptually, these two photographs reflect in their content the trajectory of our exhibition title, From Streets to Playgrounds.

The 1912 image pictures the corner of Louisa and Elizabeth Streets that would have been situated where Toronto’s “new” City Hall sits today. Children appear almost randomly on the street (and, in fact, in many of his street photographs), raising questions about Goss’ approach. Since he used a cumbersome view camera, exposing one plate at a time, these children would almost certainly have been allowed to remain in the photograph and, in fact, would likely have been told to hold still, given the not particularly fast film speeds available in the early 20th century. The second 1913 image of the demonstration day at the new Elizabeth Street playground is an epic image that offers a sweeping view of hundreds of adults and children, dressed for the most part in their best, playing or watching various organized activities. Interestingly, even in this image, in the midst of the seeming spontaneity captured by the image, there are three young girls clearly aware of being photographed by Goss standing together and looking back at him (and, by extension, back at us from the past).

Both images are fascinating to look at and a sustained examination of each rewards the viewer with a plethora of detail. However, in an exhibition situation viewers often don’t have the time or inclination to contemplate an image for more than a few seconds. The animation of the image was seen as a way of taking the viewer on a “guided tour” of the two key photographs of our exhibition, gliding through and sometimes stopping to examine telling details. The animation, achieved via a process known as “2.5d” or the “parallax effect” creates the illusion of three dimensionality in a two dimensional image. This, along with the addition of the evocative soundscapes created by Nicholas Dywelska produces a slightly uncanny sensation at times and, I believe, can extend a viewer’s interest in the image. In relation to this point, a sizable segment of visitors to the Archives happen to be school groups – a demographic for whom information increasingly comes via screens. A relatively short looping three-minute video based on the original still photograph may be more likely in the end to have more attention paid to it than a similarly-sized but motionless 2D image.

It is also worth considering that Goss’s photographs were not produced as authorial “art” but for the ongoing use of the city, which meant that they could (did and still do) appear in multiple contexts over time. Here in this exhibition, as a “moving image” is just the most recent of those uses.

SOUNDSCAPES – NICHOLAS DYWELSKA



Portrait by Mary Anderson

INSTRUMENTS

Hammond S Series Chord Organ
Upright Bass
Korg MS20
Pine Train Whistle
Pine Bird Whistle
Wine Glass
Jewelry Box

FIELD RECORDINGS

Saint Helen Separate School
St. Lawrence Market
Toronto Island Ferry Terminal
Our Lady of Lourdes Parish
Sunnyside Park

'DRESSING DOWN': IMAGING POVERTY

JULIA WINCKLER

In their book, *Images of Childhood in Old Postcards*, the late British historian Colin Ward and his cousin, long-time postcard collector Tim Ward, explore how childhood was depicted in picture postcards in the first two decades of the 20th century, when postcards were the most prevalent means of 'instant communication' (Ward, 1991). The Wards show that representations of poor children at work and at play were a popular postcard subject, as were staged studio portraits of children from affluent backgrounds, who had been deliberately dressed down. They note that, 'to modern eyes there is something very strange about the Edwardian picture postcard cult of the ragged, barefoot child, published at a time when the streets were full of real poverty-stricken children who were not nearly so picturesque' (Ward, 1991: 172).

Common themes included the school child, fun and games, war and the child, cleanliness, and working children. Staged depictions of children at work frequently focused on the 'match girl', the 'newsie', the 'poor little chappie', 'boot boy', 'flower girl', and the child beggar. The Wards ponder as to the reasons behind the 'sentimentalization of the raggedness of the poor' and state that, '... those [children] carefully posed in the studio and sent openly through the post raise questions for the knowing modern viewer.' (Ward, 1991:166).

Citing historian Peter Laslett, the Wards explain that at the height of picture postcard circulation, more than forty percent of British children lived in poverty. Whilst poor children were often just part of the scenery in photographs taken in urban street scenes, affluent children were posed inside professional photographic studios dressed up as ragged children, acting poor. This was in stark contrast to visual representations of genuine poor children, who were not usually photographed inside studios. Moreover, the Wards explain that there are hardly any postcards of poor children taken inside their homes, either: 'the indoor life of the ordinary child is almost outside the range of the picture postcard' (Ward, 1991:4).

In their chapter, 'In and out of the studio', the Wards consider this cultural practice, placing it into a trajectory that belongs to a photographic tradition that originated with Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* in 1865. Reading the backs of such postcards, they comment that senders often perceived of ragged child depictions as 'charming' (Ward, 1991:166). This approach to poverty appears both paradoxical and highly patronizing.

'BEGGING BUT ITS ONLY A GAME'

In his book on found postcards, *Aus der Ferne, Auf der Kippe* [From afar, hanging in the balance] the writer Wilhelm Genazino speculates on the stories behind their inception, and their lingering pull (2012). The word *Kippe* has a double sense in German, it can also mean dump/tip – and indeed many found postcards in Genazino's book were rescued from oblivion in this way.

More than five years ago, when I bought two postcards from the interwar years, I knew very little about child depictions in picture postcards. I had found the cards tucked away in a box at the back of a bookcase in an old shop in Newhaven, near Brighton, England, and bought them as I was immediately drawn to their physical and performative qualities. Neither card had been dated, but both were inscribed on the back as belonging to the 'collection of Sylvia More Haynes'. Printed onto fibre-based paper, sepia toned, undated, and unsent, both cards looked like a professional photographer had taken them.

The first card depicts a newsboy, or newsie, selling copies of the Daily Sketch paper.



FIG 1 Newsie

Looking at this postcard, it becomes immediately clear that this is a staged studio portrait. The child poses in front of a painted landscape; there is a real clash between the pastoral scene in the background and the child and folded newspapers in the foreground, which feels much more urban. Daily Sketch paper headlines commenting on 'the King's progress', 'doctors and the milk supply, and 'why Lord Lloyd resigned' make it possible to date the photograph's origins in or around 1929.¹

Printed on the back of each card, in English, German and French, the words: *Communication – Mitteilungen- Correspondence; and Adress to be written here*. Clearly, these postcards were meant to circulate, but what exactly was their message? What did the representations mean to communicate?

The second postcard also has an uncanny quality. It depicts four young boys, all seemingly destitute, and either deaf or dumb, lame or blind. The boy with the lame sign around his neck even seems to have a leg missing. At a time when the slum clearance act was about to be invoked (Greenwood Act, 1930), why would affluent children be dressed up in costumes that had deliberately been made to look torn, too big, worn? When I picked up this card for the first time, I briefly thought

the scene might be real, but the boy on the right, apparently blind, gives the game away – he looks at the photographer with a smile. It very quickly became apparent that this, too, was a staged studio portrait. The marble column in the background possibly painted onto the backdrop, the legs of a studio chair visible to the right. Someone, possibly its collector, wrote on the back, ‘Begging but it’s only a game’.



FIG 2 ‘Begging, but its only a game’

Why play at begging? This postcard raises many questions; in particular, what does this say about perceptions of poverty at the time?

Colin and Tim Ward provide a highly plausible answer: ‘If charities produced pictures of tramps or destitute flower sellers, the postcard producers dressed up children as ragged but jaunty vagabonds or charmy, barefoot waifs. They made poverty, which was an everyday background of Edwardian life, into something that was both cheerful and cheeky’. (Ward, 1991:5).

As our exhibition, *From Street to Playground* shows, working class children, who were everywhere in the streets, typically only became incidental subjects in survey photographs or were used to further the aims of philanthropical initiatives.

End Notes:

1. Lord Lloyd, High Commissioner to Egypt, had to resign in 1929.

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POOR CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS AND FRESH AIR FUNDS

BETHANY GOOD

The Toronto Playground Association worked to establish a long term solution to address the lack of open bright play space for children living in the Ward and other poor neighbourhoods. Prior to the establishment of city playgrounds, there were other child focused initiatives which espoused both the physical and moral benefits of fresh air and nature. “Fresh Air” excursions were originally organized by individual religious charity groups and provided trips to the country for small numbers of children and their mothers, along with boat rides and picnics on the Toronto Island. These trips provided temporary escape from the heat, pollution and lack of play space for children in poor Toronto neighbourhoods.



These illustrations accompanied an article about the fresh air fund in *The Globe* newspaper on July 5th, 1890, p.3.

“All is animation at the very prospect of getting away from the hot city, the festering backyards, the stifling houses, the odours and evidence of decay. The very sun looks brighter, the world looks happier the pulse of the little ones beat faster, and to the faces of many worn-out mothers comes a smile”. (*The Globe*, July 5, 1890, p.3).

These day trips were the humble beginning of what is now known as the Toronto Star Fresh Air Fund, a charity that was founded in 1901. The origins of the Fresh Air Movement can be traced to the 1880s in Toronto and the 1870s in cities such as Chicago, New York, Montreal and London UK.

The Fresh Air Fund initiative in Toronto was originally organized by J.J. Kelso and Joseph Atkinson in 1888 when they were both reporters at the *World* newspaper in Toronto (Johnstone, 2015). In May 1888 Kelso used his connections and advocacy skills to organize a meeting where the proposal for a formal children’s “Fresh Air” Fund was discussed, resulting in the formation of a Fresh Air Fund Committee. Kelso became Secretary Treasurer of the fund, a position he maintained until becoming the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario in 1893. Over the summer of 1888, Atkinson and Kelso worked with the city newspapers to receive donations and encourage the public to coordinate fundraising drives.

Children's Fresh Air Fund.

For the purpose of providing summer excursions for poor children and also to establish children's summer home and picnic grounds. Subscriptions received by J.J. Kelso at the Humane Society Office, 105 Bay Street. Ladies, young people and societies invited to organize garden parties, bazaars or concerts in aid of the fund.

Fresh Air Fund ad in The Globe, Aug 1, 1889, p.6

"The lot of poor children in a large city like Toronto in summer is far from being happy. Their houses are small and stuffy, and many of them have practically no playground but the street, and without such assistance as the Fresh Air Fund gives, their chances of a trip into the country or a sail on the lake are few indeed". (The Globe, June 19, 1890, p.4: Fresh Air for Children).

The first Fresh Air outing in the summer of 1888 provided a boat ride and day trip to Long Branch. On June 11th 1888, four hundred children from poor neighbourhoods (such as the Ward) started the day by parading down Yonge Street toward the harbour, led by a fife band. The children and trip leaders such as Mr. Campbell, Mrs. S. Brett, Mrs. J.C. Clapp, Miss Howe, Miss Alexander and several other mission workers, were seen off by notable donors and fund organizers. Among those present, Rev. J.M. Wilkinson (early fund organizer), Mr. Edward Taylor (donor), Missionary G.H. Whisker, Alderman and Mrs. Piper, J.J. Kelso (Secretary Treasure of the Fund) William Gooderham, (distiller and donor), W.H. Howland (former Mayor of Toronto), and Rev. Dr. Parker.

An article in The Globe described the children on the trip:

"As might be supposed, the children composing the picnic were not of the most refined order, but they behaved themselves much better than expected. The big boys came well stocked with cigarettes, which they smoked in spite of warning or exhortation, but to make up they worked hard in carrying boxes of provisions and cans of milk. The girls although wild and untamed, were careful to obey orders and were uniformly good". (The Globe, June 12, 1888, p.4).

"A prominent feature of the children's excursion parties is the "eldest girl", who attends as the representative of her mother in the guardianship of the younger brothers and sisters. She is usually a hard-working, conscientious girl of fifteen or sixteen, of prematurely old disposition. Very often one meets with a girl of this kind who is as truly a heroine as any woman in history, but her merits are never fully recognized or appreciated....The spirit of thoughtfulness and self-denial is a grand thing in any person, but it is doubly grand when we meet with it among the little social pariahs who have none of the advantages of refinement or education". (The Globe, July 5, 1890, p.3).



Initially the Fresh Air Fund was coordinated by several religious charitable groups and had a strong Christian mission. The belief was that the fresh air would act as salvation of both body and spirit for the children of the "slum" neighbourhoods. As such this first outing included the singing of gospel hymns and Rev. Mr. Wilkinson "addressed the boys on the evils of swearing, lying and drunkenness. The picnic was conducted on thoroughly Christian principles, and cannot fail to have some good effect". Beyond the spiritual and moral merit, the organizers of the Fresh Air Fund also believed that providing city children with two weeks in the country would help to develop boys and girls into good citizens of the future. Atkinson wrote of supporting the Fresh Air Fund,

"The dividends will be large with health and happiness for the unhealthy and the miserable. Stronger boys and girls mean stronger citizens. Stronger citizens mean greater enterprise and comfort for the city". (Daily Star, June 29th, 1901, p.14).

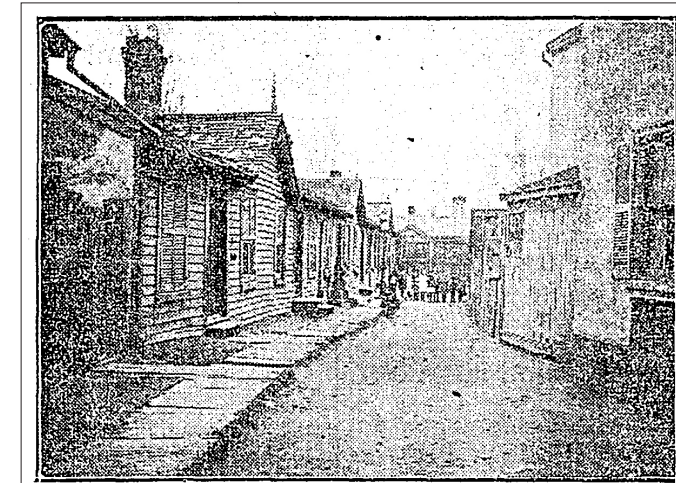
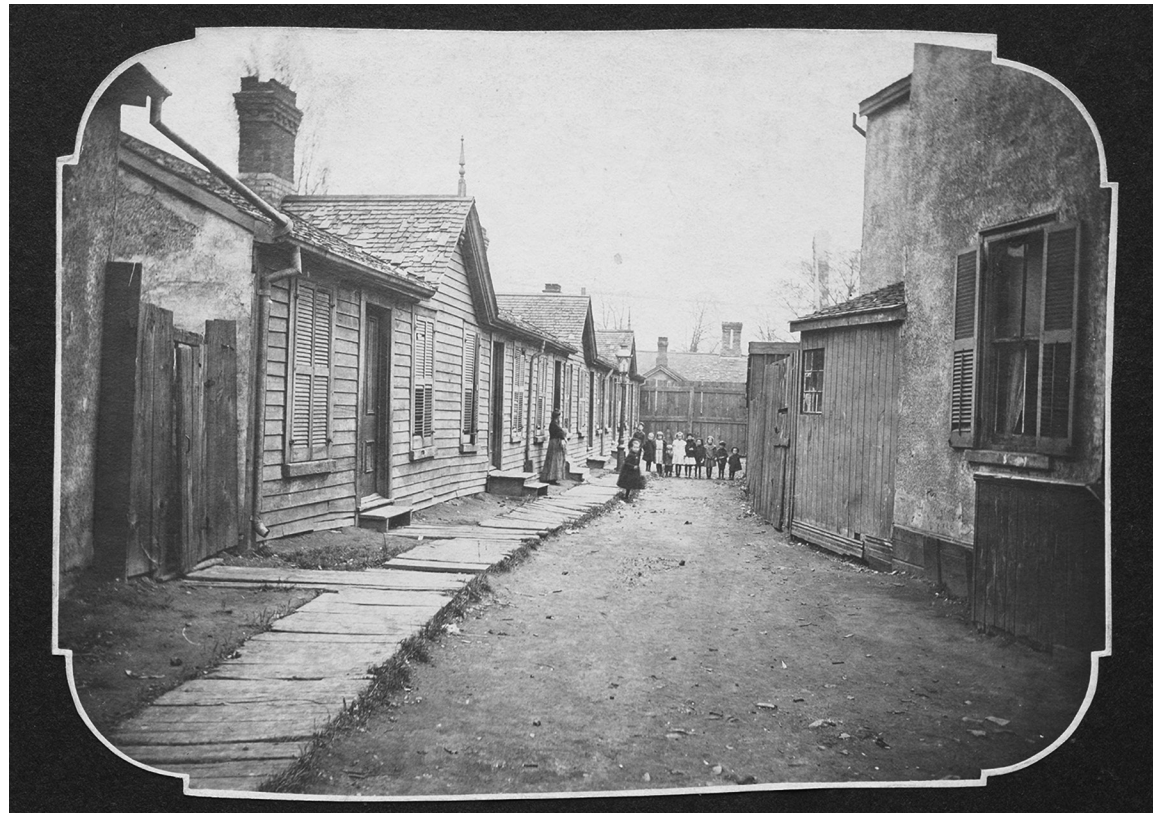
During the summer of 1888 the Fresh Air Fund provided special excursions to 1600 children with a total cost of \$234.55. While the Fresh Air Fund continued to exist with seasonal fundraising sponsored by the Toronto Globe and other newspapers, through the late 1880s and 1890s, the fund lost some of its popularity at the beginning of the 20th century the Daily Star adopted the fund.

In the summer of 1901, a heat wave in Toronto resulted in several deaths. On July 2nd 1901 alone 28 people died, of whom 12 were children (Daily Star, July 3, 1901, p.1). A Daily Star reporter Madge Merton (the wife of Star Publisher Joseph Atkinson) also known as "Elmina Elliott" and "Elmina Atkinson" published several articles in her column "For Women, by a Woman". The articles raised awareness of the conditions and vulnerability of children in poor neighbourhoods. The Star solicited readers for financial support to provide city children and their mothers with a temporary escape from the sweltering polluted conditions in their neighbourhoods.

After reading the report of numerous heat related deaths, and observing firsthand the conditions in the Ward, Atkinson announced that the Daily Star newspaper would take donations for the Fresh Air Fund and become the official newspaper sponsor for the charity; "The Fresh Air Fund is the ally of the physician and the protector of the city's health. The Star will willingly receive donations."

From 1901 onward, the Star published articles often prominently on the front page describing the conditions in neighbourhoods like the Ward. The stories described the circumstances and living conditions of poor families. The articles highlighted problems such as poor sanitation, lack of play space, clean air and supervision for children. During July 1901 there were frequent articles profiling doctors who advocated the medical benefits of fresh air and the value of the fresh air fund for their poor patients. One article stated "Pure air is more potent than drugs; and where medicine, too, is necessary, the pure air gives the medicine a chance. Crowded and unsanitary homes handicap the sufferer. Pure air and wholesome food handicap the disease". (Daily Star, July 10, 1901, p.4).

In later years as photography became more common, the Fresh Air Fund articles were often accompanied by photographs depicting children playing in alleyways. Some photographs showed children enjoying time at country and lakeside settings. Regional newspapers in rural areas wrote stories about city children and encouraged families to sponsor and host city children for short holidays to the country. The Star readers were encouraged to donate money to the fund and the names of donors were published in the newspaper on a regular basis.



A group of children at play in one of the squalid alley-ways so common in St. John's Ward. Through the activities of Fresh Air Workers, these children are now given a glimpse of nature's real playgrounds outside the city's boundaries. Last year 12,000 of these children of the Ward were taken on Fresh Air excursions. There are many more to be taken this year; and for

The Toronto Daily Star, May 27, 1912, p.2

In its first year, (1901) the Toronto Star Fresh Air Fund raised \$1025.50 providing the opportunity for 26 children to spend time on a Whitby farm and gave hundreds of other children boat rides on Lake Ontario, picnics on the Toronto Island and trips on the Belt Line railway. The Fresh Air Fund expanded their work to provide opportunities for children to spend time at summer camps.

Today the Toronto Star Fresh Air Fund sends 25,000 children to summer camp each year continuing the tradition that started over a century ago.

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MOTHERHOOD & EARLY PHOTOGRAPHY PRACTICES

MARY ANDERSON

During the initial stages of this project, my job was to conduct research with the Kodak Canada Corporate Archives and Heritage Collection at Ryerson University. I delved into photographic publications between 1900-1935 that instructed individuals “how” to perform photography. Various photographic texts, monthly journals, trade circulars, magazines, and books were researched to locate advertisements, photographs, articles, and photo essays that highlighted the various methods of making photographs. And throughout much of this material, ideas relating to motherhood continued to influence and shape a great deal of the early photography movement.

Motherhood appeared to function as an ideological framework that shaped particular photographic perspectives and practices. These texts encouraged idealized notions of childhood, motherhood, and the nuclear family, while also emphasizing how important photographs were in preserving both time and memory. Photography became a tool for families, particularly mothers, to capture these elements—one that was arguably designed for the maternal perspective.

It was believed that women photographers had a unique approach and skill set for photographing children. Many texts argued that their “natural” ways created the most realistic child portraits. This technique was demonstrated most effectively in a professional studio setting. The formality of this approach became the prominent method of creating child portraiture during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and women photographers were at the forefront of capturing some of the best shots in the industry. This skill set distinguished women’s work from men’s and it also helped to elevate their professional status in child portraiture and studio work.

This belief continued to grow and develop outside of the studio setting, as well. Women played the role of family historian by capturing child portraits and family snapshots, as well as organizing and compiling the family album. This role became somewhat of a responsibility however, as the expectation was that women would be the ones to capture the everyday nature of motherhood and family life. This was seen demonstrated very clearly in the numerous mother/child portraits that were portrayed throughout the texts. Photographs would often reflect an idealized image of this relationship, whereas male figures were rarely depicted alongside women and/or children. Men seemed to receive the photograph, rather than actually be included in the image. An example of this was seen in the many advertisements that encouraged women and their families to send photographs to men who were away at war.

The relationship of motherhood and photography was extremely informative and instrumental in understanding the societal influences that helped shape the medium during the early 1900’s. And it was particularly useful when understanding child portraiture in relation to street photography and genre photography – both of which were explored extensively in our research project.

STUDIO LIGHT 23




THERE will be a broad gap in the family record if you don't have another picture of those growing youngsters soon. Make it a group picture this time, including mother and Jane.

THE PYRO STUDIO

FIG 1

Make the soldiers happy with pictures of home folks



Cloudy or bright days are equally good for sittings. Make the appointment to-day.


THE PYRO STUDIO

FIG 2

“How I shall miss you
When you are grown.”


What the poet sang every mother's heart has felt. Baby's photograph taken now and then will preserve the image and memory of baby days for all time.

Clever photographers, with the fast lenses and fast plates of to-day, also get wonderful results in baby pictures. How long since you have had your baby's picture taken?



There's a photographer in your town.
Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N. Y.

FIG 3



FROM AN ARTURA IRIS PRINT

Home Portrait
By Miss Beineke
Kansas City, Mo.




FIG 4

THE FINE ART OF REPRESENTING CHILDREN ON THE STREETS

VID INGELEVICIS

The two principal photographers of early 20th century Toronto that appear in our exhibition, William James and Arthur Goss, were both deeply embedded in the world of photography but in different capacities. James, an immigrant from Britain in 1906, focused on the relatively new occupation of freelance news photography and Goss was hired in 1911 by the City of Toronto to document the activities of various municipal departments for mostly internal use. However, both seemed well aware of the relationship between fine art and photography. James' style – often focusing on individuals using a shallow depth-of-field that eliminated or subdued busy backgrounds - echoed the painterly genre of portraiture. Goss tended to effect a more expansive, descriptive style in his City of Toronto-commissioned work; people (and especially children) appeared almost incidentally. Goss was, however, quite familiar with trends in art photography and, as a member and president of the Toronto Camera Club, he produced and showed his "art", photographs made in the then-popular Pictorial style, more expressive and softer. This personal work was much different than his cooler, less overtly manipulated record work for the city.

In our exhibition, part of the first section recalls fine art and photographic precedents for the picturing of poor children and suggests the existence of a genre that took as its subjects underprivileged street children. Known as "waifs", "ragamuffins", "gamins" and, in a subset of this genre, "newsies" (newsboys), artists depicted them, often looking forlorn, on the grimy streets of London, New York and, as shown in our exhibition, even Toronto. In her book, "Young America: Childhood in 19th century Art and Culture", Claire Perry notes the range of depictions and their motivations as follows:

"Some artists portrayed street children as innately vicious, handing them responsibility for their own misery because of some moral or physical defect. Poor children were also depicted as the passive, innocent, and eminently reformable victims of unfortunate circumstances. A third version represented the waif as a go-getter whose ambition and ability were honed by adverse fortunes. Each visual interpretation was indirectly related to a proposed solution to the problem of child poverty – from building more prisons and organizing houses of refuge to adopting a laissez-faire attitude that would allow 'nature' to portion out equitably society's resources."

The popularity of this genre of art is evidenced by the fact that it found its way to Toronto, as represented by both F. M. Bell-Smith's pair of 1878 paintings of "newsies" on Toronto's King St. and, imported from England, Albert Leslie Smith's "The Newsboy", 1889, which has hung in Toronto's Granite Club since the late 19th century. In addition, key Toronto reformers like J. J. Kelso were in possession of postcards of paintings sent from Britain such as Lady Dorothy Stanley's "His First Offence", 1896, showing a poor, young boy being arraigned in court.

By highlighting these precedents our intent was to suggest a kind of a priori image environment related to the representation of children that would have had to be taken into account by photographers like Goss and James when it came to considering how to depict children on the streets of Toronto in their own practices.



FIG 5

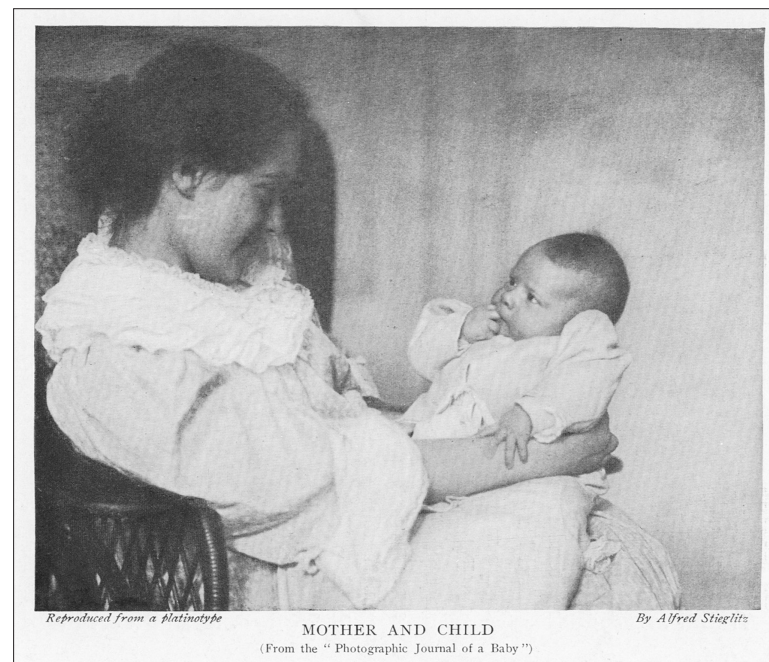


FIG 6

1. C 36. Kodak. *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*. Jul. 1919. V 11, No. 5, p. 23
2. C 35. Kodak. *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*. Jan. 1919. V 9, No. 11, p. 23
3. C 30. Kodak. *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*. Feb. 1913. V 4, No. 12, p. 5
4. C 30. Kodak. *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*. Jun. 1913. V 9, No. 11, p. 23
5. C 35. Kodak. *Studio Light and the Aristo Eagle*. Jan. 1919. V 9, No. 11, p. 7
6. TR6.42.C33. *Photography as a Fine Art*. Charles H. Caffin. 1901. p. 29

THRESHOLD PHOTOGRAPHS, VERGES, ENTRY POINTS

JULIA WINCKLER

THE AGENCY OF PHOTOGRAPHS

An urgent appeal emanates from archival photographs, argued the late novelist W.G. Sebald.¹ In his view, photographs can have autonomy and agency, are self-contained, and retain a 'real nucleus', through which they are able to inspire investigative processes and hypothetical thinking. Sebald showed how, through the eyes of contemporary viewers, stories hidden within photographs, could be illuminated anew. He describes this process as one where the viewer needs to look very closely into an image: as with looking through a stereoscopic view-master, the body of the viewer remains in the present, whereas the eyes are pulled right into the world of the photograph, demanding attention.

'Almost each photograph still contains some kind of amber', states author Wilhelm Genazino, 'and pictures never cease to speak to us, if we look at them long enough'.² Like Sebald, Genazino argues that single archival photographs make it possible to help slowly decipher and recover fragments from the past, to dissect moments retrospectively. Still emitting the original referents, an archival photograph stretches out time, and makes it possible to look endlessly at a particular historic moment, and to explore all the details contained within it: those places, people, objects and contexts photographed. Genazino likens this moment of slowly looking at a photograph, and the intensive engagement that is required of the viewer, linked by 'an umbilical cord' to the subjects contained within a photograph to a 'metaphorical skin' that stretches across both.

In his seminal *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes discussed the particular pull of individual photographs and showed how sometimes the viewer is deeply moved, or touched by a photograph, has a bodily, almost visceral response of recognition (punctum); and how other photographs may trigger a more cerebral, detached response (studium). The argument that images can exert their own power over viewers has also been made forcefully by W.J.T. Mitchell, in *What Do Pictures Want?* (Mitchell, 2004)

Many archival photographs clearly work on both a punctum and a studium level, and share in common that they require active viewer engagement. The polyvalent and polysemic nature of photographs makes the process of interpretation both exciting and close to infinite, but, to stay with Sebald's idea of a photograph's 'nucleus', some photographs retain a strong internal appeal.

NEW REGISTRY OFFICE SITE, MAY 15TH, 1912 NORTH WEST CORNER ELIZABETH AND LOUISA ST.

One such photograph, which I will refer to as a threshold picture for a variety of reasons that will become clear below, is a reasonably well known 1912 street scene taken in Toronto's central Ward district, or The Ward (or St John's Ward), by professional photographer Arthur Goss, who worked for various municipal departments, including planning and public health. The Ward was

Toronto's oldest working class neighbourhood and many of its inhabitants were recent migrants.

This photograph, long dislodged from its original referents, has led a nomadic existence and also now exists in multiple versions. Originally captioned 'New registry office site, May 15th, 1912 North West Corner Elizabeth and Louisa St', it exists as a digital online image on the City of Toronto Archives website; the original, worn, used and fragile large format glass plate is stored within the City's archival store. The photograph has been multiplied, cropped, enlarged, copied and used across time and space. It could be argued that this photograph's nucleus or flickering amber, still reaching into the present, are the children who are included within it. Most noticeable - as they are positioned centrally - are two young girls; they stand within close proximity to numbers 48-55 Elizabeth Street right on the intersection with Louisa Street and on the threshold between pavement and street. There are two further groups of children standing nearby and the whole photograph is characterized by an enormous depth: the longer one looks at it, the more the photograph, and its central protagonists, give back. The children take up space. They look back at Goss, the photographer, but they also appear to be looking right across time at present day viewers; our eyes meet. The children in the photograph, and the photograph itself as object, communicate across and beyond time and space.



FIG 1 New Registry Office Site, May 15, 1912, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231, Item 1846

We can approach this photograph from different angles. A purely descriptive angle would take stock of all the visual referents contained within the photograph's foreground and background. The aforementioned two young girls in the foreground; the first, aged about four in a dark dress and hair carefully braided, stands in the road. A second, shorter and younger girl in a light dress and with shorter, curly blond hair is on the pavement immediately behind her. They look in opposite directions. There is some horse manure in the street and two rows of pylons. To the girls' left, and about ten metres away next to a fire hydrant are two boys dressed in dark clothes wearing small caps, they seem closer in age to each other. Arms crossed, one of the boys looks directly at the photographer and holds the gaze of the camera's lens, the second boy, hands in pockets, looks toward the younger girl in the light dress. Further behind and to the right of the two young girls are three more children on the pavement next to a bicycle shop and 'Hong Lee's First Class Laundry'. One of the boys sits on a wooden chair near a door, the other two are holding onto some bicycles. Much further behind this third group of children stands the only visible adult, a suited man.

As a longish exposure time was needed, all that remains of a figure near the man and another near the children by the bicycles is a blurred outline – they would have been moving too quickly to be captured fully. In addition to the seven children, Goss' photograph also captured a Jewish corner shop with stained glass windows above, and, within its glass pane, a row of houses on the opposite side of the road, barbershop, four large advertising billboards, and a sign offering language classes in the English and Russian language at night school. The large Drink Coca Cola billboard offers to relieve 'fatigue', but more prominent is Bob Manchester's Cracker Jacks burlesque vaudeville poster, announcing a performance by Ruby Leoni and Molly Williams at the Gayety in the week of May 13th.³

THE AGENCY OF THE CHILDREN IN THE PHOTOGRAPH

What changes, or is added to this initial description of the photograph when we consider whether the subjects of photographs, in this case the children on Elizabeth Street, also have a lingering agency? Does where they are standing (or sitting), what they are doing, indicate anything significant? Regardless of whether the children face - or look away - from the photographer: are these partial poses, does the slight blur indicate some are, some are not posing? The children clearly all seem comfortable in the urban environment of the intersection – they 'own' this area; some assert their power to look back at the photographer. Their different gestures, expressions and postures make them stand out from their collective context, give them a sense of individuality and independence. There are hardly any adults in this scene.

They do not look like 'stowaways' in Eelco Runia's sense; rather, their presence and inclusion in this photograph seems to have been a deliberate act by Goss. Runia first used the concept of a stowaway to refer to historical moments that survive into the present inadvertently, 'One might say that historical reality travels with historiography not as a paying passenger but as a stowaway... what is absently and unintentionally present on the plane of time. '(2006:1).

Elizabeth Edwards mobilized Runia's 'stowaway' and applied it to subjects captured in historical photographs by chance, rather than deliberately.

It is of course no longer possible to establish whether Goss posed the children, and deliberately planned their presence in the photograph or not. But what becomes clearly apparent from looking at the photograph in the present is that the children engaged with Goss, and also had a sense of turf and territory; they understood the streets, were able to navigate them and hold their own when Goss made the photograph. The children travel across and through streets and spaces within the Ward; this photograph has travelled through time, taking these children with it.

What the photograph on its own is unable to communicate to the present day viewer either, is that the children's neighbourhood is on the verge of irreversible change. It depicts the houses, shops and children on the threshold of their lives, which are about to change irreversibly, as within months of Goss taking the photograph in 1912, all of the modest houses depicted had disappeared as part of a local slum clearance program.

EXHIBITION ENTRY POINTS AND ARCHIVAL DISCOVERIES

This photograph actually acted as the initial starting point and spark for the exhibition at the City of Toronto Archives. Adrienne Chambon and I had first come across this photograph on the City of Toronto Archives website in 2009 and became intrigued by it, using it as a starting point to reflect on photographs of children in early 20th century Toronto. The photograph, which was captioned 'Loitering on Elizabeth Street' had been used as part of an exhibition at the archives, called *Playing by the Rules*. We were drawn to the children's strong presence within the photograph, and the girls' strong stances, with were somehow at odds with the caption, 'Loitering'. The photograph became our anchor, and, joined by Ernie Lightman, we each started to write a detailed cultural reading of it, exploring the compelling visual evidence of a poor, but well-established migrant community, which was about to disappear.

We had initially believed that the Elizabeth Street photograph had been taken by Goss as a single photograph, but during a visit at the City of Toronto Archives, staff member, Jessica Ehrenworth, explained that the photograph was part of a whole panoramic series comprising of at least seven known photographs that Goss had taken near the intersection of Elizabeth Street and Louisa within days (and a few months) respectively. Suddenly, in addition to one particular historic moment captured by Goss, there were at least six more photographs of street scenes and the Elizabeth Street view quite literally expanded and opened out at the four corners of the photograph as we scanned and scrutinized the additional photographs for any further information and details. Moving across the individual images, a panorama unfolds, taking the viewer further south along Elizabeth Street, and bringing into view many more children standing, and sitting, along the sides, and centres, of the photographs.

'STEPPING ACROSS' THE THRESHOLDS OF THE HOUSES IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS

Jessica Ehrenworth also shared old plates and maps of Ward 3, and tax assessment rolls for the Ward from the 1880s up to the 1920s. These assessment rolls include the names of inhabitants on Elizabeth Street, their age and occupation, whether they were tenants or freeholders, religion, number of occupants, the owner's name, size of the lot, value of property. Number 49 Elizabeth Street was home to 9-recorded occupants. The two little girls in Goss' picture might have been the

daughters or neighbors of, for example, Samuel Altman, 32, Taylor, Jewish; Solomon Shapira, 47, Painter, Jewish; Morris Krakopsky, 31 Furrier, Jewish or Samuel Kinkel, 35, Newsagent, Jewish.

We were told that, as this entire section of the Ward was going to be demolished to make way for the (new) Registry of Deeds and Land Titles – Goss had been commissioned to photographically document much of it. These are threshold pictures in a double sense: the children frequently stood on the threshold between street and pavement, between door and house, but also the neighbourhood itself on the threshold of disappearing. This of course cannot be apparent from simply looking at the photograph; the photograph is unable to communicate that within months all of Louisa Street and half of Elizabeth Street will be gone.

'AURA' OF THE ORIGINAL GLASS PLATE, NEAR LOSS AND RECOVERY

We had also requested to look at the original glass plate negatives taken by Goss in 1912. Viewing the original glass plate brought home even more so the compositional and technical skills Goss had. The material imperfections of the photographic developer became more visible – as a unique material object, the glass plate had retained an aura. The caption on the glass plate simply said: 'New Registry Office Site, May 15th, 1912. South West Corner Elizabeth & Louisa Street'. It has been possible to enlarge the original glass plate without losing any significant details. At the same time, the photograph felt much more fragile and precious.

The plate's survival had indeed been a lot more fragile than we could have anticipated. It had, quite literally, been on the threshold of being lost, but was recovered. We learned that it had lain forgotten in a box in the attic of Toronto's old City Hall for many decades, as did other plates by Goss. In 1960, Toronto's first appointed archivist for the City of Toronto's newly founded central archives, Robert Woadden, rediscovered the plate together with 30,000 other glass negatives depicting the city's development from 1911 onwards. This dormant archive might have disappeared completely from view, but the glass plates were salvaged and taken on various circuits of production, re-entering into new relations, circumstances and purposes away from their original mission, to diversified audiences. With the advent of official archival record keeping, a transformation of photographs, negatives and other municipal documents into archives could begin. The photographs' survival bears witness to the former presence, in the streets, of its youngest residents, and to some of the infrastructures and houses.

APPEAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY

Within a few years, by 1915, Toronto's first Registry of Deeds and Land Titles office had been built on the site; it stood at the former intersection of Elizabeth Street and Louisa Street.⁴

The Ward had embarked on a process of changing from a predominately residential area with small, local shops to reemerging as the new administrative centre of Toronto. The migrant community that had made The Ward their home since the 1880s was pushed further out. Like the occupants and homes of Elizabeth Street, several of the original streets of the Ward disappeared completely. More than half of Elizabeth and Albert Streets were lost. Louisa Street was eventually completely absorbed when the New City Hall was built.



FIG 2 Postcard captioned, 'New City Hall under construction June 22nd, 1964', Canadian Architectural Archives

No longer in line with the 1960s vision of the city, the Registry office itself was torn down in 1964, just after construction of the New City Hall had been completed. Reflecting back at working with archival photographs, the late writer W.G. Sebald commented that he would frequently try to imagine what happened to the people in the photographs; what conjunctures or life trajectories the subjects faced subsequently.

Looking at Goss' 1912 corner photograph of Louisa Street and Elizabeth Street once more, I, too, wonder, what happened to these children. How and where did their lives continue to unfold? Did they benefit from the new playground, which opened at the top of Elizabeth Street in 1913? Where did they go to school; which Ward neighbourhood did their families move on to? One of the appeals this particular photograph retains into today's present, is its ability to make the viewer want to know more about its young protagonists; how the children negotiated the streets of their new neighbourhoods, and in turn the trajectories of their own future lives.

This photograph continues to provide evidence of their existence, it affirms that they were there; in Roland Barthes' words, 'ça a été', this has been. And yet, the photograph shows a neighbourhood at the threshold of disappearing and therefore, (although this is not yet visible) in danger.

This brings into view contemporary photographs of children across the globe today, in poor urban neighbourhoods.⁵ Also photographs of migrant children, refugee children in temporary shelters, children in danger in urban war zones. These photographs, and the children represented within them, emanate an 'urgent appeal', and, at the very least, they act as, 'an invitation to pay attention, to reflect, to learn, to examine' (Sontag, 2003:104).

PART TWO

NEW THRESHOLDS AND POSSIBILITIES

One hundred years on, the scale of contemporary downtown Toronto is very different to 1912, the two girls in the photographs are long gone, the city's centre retains no visual clues as to their former existence. The only three buildings to still stand within close vicinity to the original site of the Elizabeth Street photograph are Old City Hall (administration), Osgoode Hall (law) and Trinity Church (religion/moral order).⁶ In 2010, I tried to visually reframe and map out the space and former infrastructure of the Ward and made some photographs of the area – as demarcated by Elizabeth Street to the East, Queen Street West to the South, Yonge Street to the East, and Dundas Street West to the North. Quickly grabbed Polaroid photographs were pinned onto the wall with thumbnails and underwent daily scrutiny over several months. I tried to look for any visual residues such as curbs, posts, worn bits of road, and different kinds of shapes in the urban landscape that echoed and resonated with the archival photograph.



FIG 3 Collage: Elizabeth Street 2010, author's photograph

Following this mapping exercise, I also made some more considered photographs, in 2011, this time using a medium format camera. I had located the original site of the Elizabeth Street image, which turned out to be a bit further south, in an urban landscape now entirely dominated by concrete. The original street scene is literally buried underneath the ground floor of New City Hall. Where the photograph was taken in 1912 corresponds with an area that covers the raised garden of City Hall, now filled with grasses, benches and offering a view across to the CN tower, Nathan Philip Square and various hotels. It stretches across to a small new playground on the ground and just to the right of the frame, and a plaque commemorating Toronto's first Chinese community, which was just beginning to establish itself when Goss took the 1912 Elizabeth Street series.⁷



FIG 4 New City Hall – site of 1912 photograph, 2011

The next photograph, taken the same day further north on Elizabeth Street, shows an area in a continuous state of flux. Diggers, cranes, construction sites.



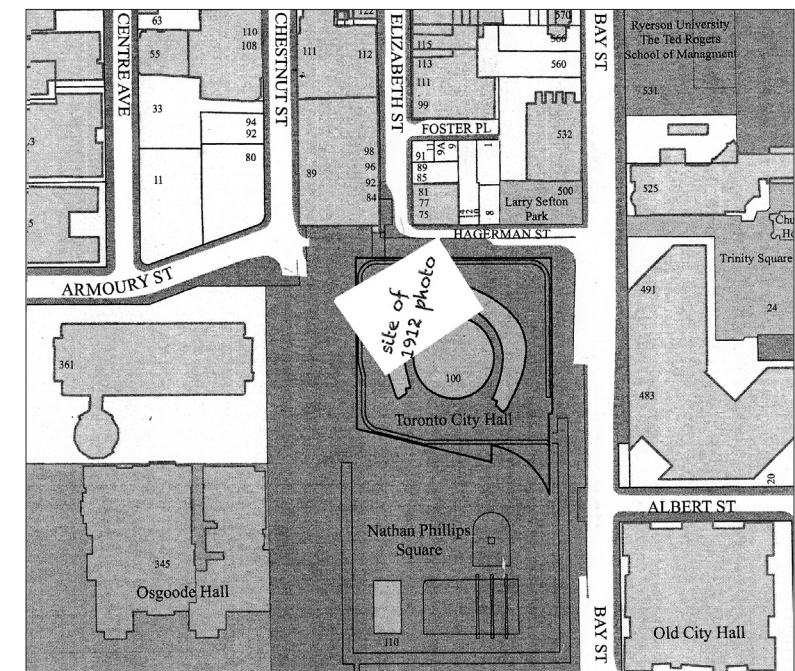
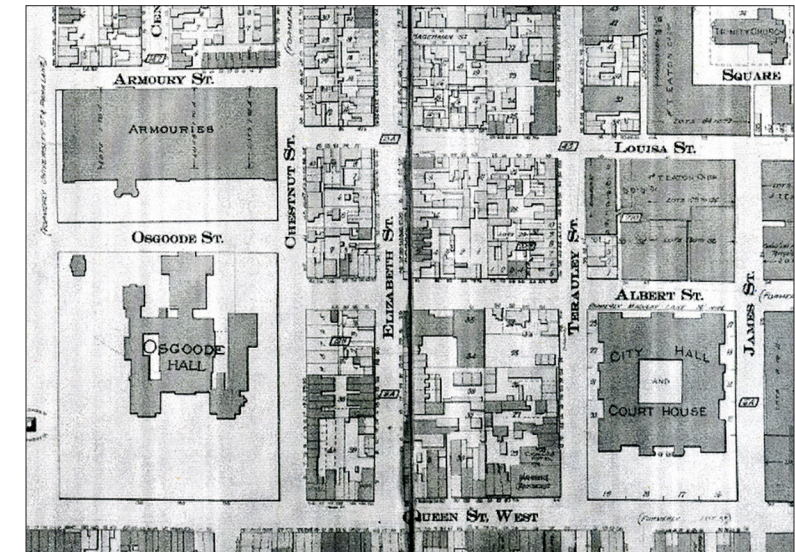
FIG 5 Elizabeth Street North of Dundas Street and New City Hall, 2011

No longer a slum area, but some homeless people at the central bus station and at Nathan Phillip Square. Outside Trinity Church a memorial to named and unnamed homeless people – inside the church a café run by a street charity. Only a few two storey or residential buildings. But a language school offering classes in English and Chinese near Dundas and Elizabeth Street, and a steady flow of people arriving and departing by coach from all over Canada and the States.

The contemporary images reveal a brutality of scale – a modernist architecture that dwarfs humans, and in which children standing, working, or playing in the streets would look out of place and be dangerous. Invisible here, but at the northern section of Elizabeth Street is Toronto’s children’s hospital, built on the site of The Ward’s first playground.

LOCATION REFERENCE MAPS

Figures below showing extract of 1910 map of The Ward and the intersection of Louisa/Elizabeth Streets. Map extracts courtesy of City of Toronto Archives.



This figure shows an extract taken from a contemporary map, showing the site of the Goss 1912 photograph, *New Registry Office Site, May 15th, 1912, North West Corner Elizabeth and Louisa Street*, which is now part of Toronto’s City Hall. Map extracts courtesy of City of Toronto Archives.

End Notes:

1. Sebald articulated these ideas in particular in a radio broadcast on the relationship between writing and photography, 'Der Schriftsteller und die Fotografie', [the writer and photography], WDR, Germany, 1999. The program was based on conversations with editor Christian Scholz, W.G. Sebald and Wilhelm Genazino.
2. See *ibid*, and also Genazino, W. (2012) book on postcards and found images, *Aus der Ferne. Auf der Kippe. Bilder und Texte*, Hanser Verlag.
3. This refers to a show that ran in May 11, featured in *Variety*.
4. At the City of Toronto archives, Adrienne Chambon found a photograph taken in 1925 by Arthur Goss inside the Registry. See *Children and the City – The City and its Children* in this collection.
5. For an in-depth study, exploring the relationship of working class children and the city, see Colin Ward's 1978, *The Child in the City*, Architectural Press, London.
6. In order to help visualize the changes that occurred within the urban landscape of The Ward, extracts from two maps, a 1910 map showing the location of Goss' photograph, and a contemporary map, are included at the end of this article. For detailed historical insights into the Ward's early and later histories, see Robert Harney & Harold Troper's 1975 comprehensive *Immigrants, A portrait of Urban Experience, 1890-1930*; Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd. Toronto; John Lorinc's meticulous introduction to *The Ward*, 2015, pp.11-23; Coach House Books; also Sarah Bassnett's 2016 *Picturing Toronto: Photography and the Making of a Modern City*, especially her comprehensive section on 'Liberal Subjects'. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston.
7. For an evocative, forensic and most recent contemporary search for the Ward, see Micallef, S. 2015, 'Searching for the old Ward' in *The Ward* pp.27-29.

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WEBSITES AND OTHER WARD, PLAYGROUND AND PHOTOGRAPHY RELATED MATERIAL

Erica Simmons Website

Inventing the playground: How playgrounds got started.

<http://inventingtheparkground.wordpress.com/author/erica2929>

Erica Simmons Spacing Article: History of Playgrounds in Toronto. July 31, 2013.

<http://spacing.ca/toronto/2013/07/31/in-this-issue-history-of-playgrounds/>

History of Carlton Hill

http://www.mybrightonandhove.org.uk/category_id__547.aspx

Kevin Plummer (2009-09-12). "Historicist: Anonymous Players on the Stage of History". Torontoist. Often referred to as Canada's first photojournalist, William James spent more than thirty years documenting Toronto and city life in all its varieties."

http://torontoist.com/2009/09/historicist_anonymous_players_on_the_stage_of_history/

Missing Plaque Project: Toronto's Less Recognized History www.missingplaque.tao.ca

Central Neighbourhood House Virtual Museum

http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=exhibit_home&fl=0&lg=English&ex=00000818

Selma Montford texts re: Carlton Hill and publications

<http://www.brightontownpress.co.uk/>

The Ward Museum

<http://www.wardmuseum.ca/>

Harbord Village Oral History Project

http://harbordvillagehistory.ca/hvhistory_oralhistory_aboutthisproject.html

VIDEOS AND PODCASTS

Unearthing Toronto's Multicultural Past: Archeological dig within St. John's Ward Boundaries

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Y8_82OLGVA (00:02:52)

In the Ward: Lawren Harris' Toronto (AGO)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fnnU-mQaoQ8> (00:05:08)

"The Cities" Podcast: The Cities Podcast: Ep 107 - Ghosts of The Ward with John Lorinc

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6z_rnhqcHUE (00:10:38)

History of Central Neighbourhood House:

Cabbage Town, Regent Park Community Museum Production.

Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hDNopPMMTQk> (00:03:51)

Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e-Sl4W6J3bQ> (00:06:26)

Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCSaEBJLMEI> (00:04:28)

Part 4: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0nowCkQy9U> (00:03:32)

EXHIBITIONS

C.A. Mathew Photographs of Spitalfield a century ago. 11 Princelet Street, London, March – April 2014.

East End in Focus: A series of events inspired by the 1912 street photography of C.A. Mathew. Bishopsgate Institute, 2014.

Jacob A Riis: Revealing New York's Other Half. Jacob Tugendrajch and Briinie Bordonaro New York City: The Museum of New York City, October 14 – March 20, 2016.

The Ward: Representations and Realities, 1890-1950. Curated by Paul Bishop, Daniel Panneton and Marisa Strom. Toronto: Campbell House Museum: March 16, 2016 – April 23, 2016.

FILMS

Children of the City 1944 (set in Dundee), Documentary, made by Wolf Suschitzky and Budge Cooper for the Ministry of Education.