

Street Life in London and the Organization of Labour

Angela Vanhaelen

In the preface to their book *Street Life in London*, published in 1877, the authors, photographer John Thomson and journalist Adolphe Smith, propose to present the public with 'the result of careful observations among the poor of London ... a subject which has already been amply and ably treated'.¹ As they hasten to point out to readers, however, their work is different from previous literature on the conditions of the city's lowest classes, such as Henry Mayhew's well-known *London Labour and the London Poor* of 1851. In contrast with that influential work, which presented statistical evidence of the conditions of poverty together with woodcuts based on daguerreotypes, Thomson and Smith claim that they are 'bringing to bear the precision of photography in illustration of our subject'.² Here, photographic imagery is described as hard social evidence.³ Drawing attention to their use of the newest means of photomechanical reproduction, the authors assert, 'The unquestionable accuracy of this testimony will enable us to present true types of the London Poor and shield us from the accusation of either underrating or exaggerating individual peculiarities of appearance'.⁴ By positioning photography as an objective recorder of reality, therefore, the authors promote their book as unbiased documentation of a specific social group.

The images and text of *Street Life in London* detail the working lives of the lowest class of labourers in the nation — those who made a living on the streets of London. The book comprises thirty-six photographs, each of which is accompanied by a few pages of text, usually written by Adolphe Smith.⁵ Thomson's photographs document the clothing and tools of various street trades, and the neighbourhood in which a particular trade was carried out, while Smith's texts provide descriptions and statistical evidence regarding the working lives of these groups. In this way, the subjects photographed are defined, classified, and organized in terms of their labour. It is significant that these street vendors, shoeblacks, cab drivers, and entertainers are for the most part portrayed as hard-working, independent, and honest people who are linked by the bonds of family, neighbourhood, and friendship. Analysing the photographs and text of *Street Life in London*, this paper will explore some of the issues

that the book raises about the uses of the new medium of photography, specifically its role in contemporary nineteenth-century debates about the London poor. The notion of the industrious and independent poor had considerable social and political currency during the 1870s. Although respectability had long been used to define class differences, during this decade the division of the respectable from the disreputable, or residuum, took on new forms, and played a crucial role in debates about changes in the franchise, labour relations, economic policies, charity reforms, and gender roles.

The collaboration between Thomson and Smith is an interesting one. Thomson has been described as one of the pioneers of documentary street photography. While we do not know how he acquired his photographic skills, it is noteworthy that Edinburgh, where he spent his early years, was the site of much photographic experimentation.⁶ The photography of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson broke new ground in its attempt to use the camera to document the social life of a community.⁷ Although connections to Hill and Adamson have not been established, Thomson certainly shared their interest in the documentary qualities of the photograph. Before taking on the *Street Life in London* project, he had travelled widely throughout Asia, and kept a photographic record of the peoples he encountered there, which focused on particularities of costume, cultural conventions, and social behaviour.⁸ Thomson's images of London's urban poor demonstrate the same concerns.⁹ In the *Street Life in London* project, Thomson's skills were augmented by Adolphe Smith's knowledge of the streets of London. A journalist and social reformer, Smith was related by marriage to Blanchard Jerrold, who assisted Mayhew in his investigations for *London Labour and the London Poor*. In keeping with his interest in social reform, Smith was also involved with the trades' union movement.¹⁰ Thomson's interest in documentary photography and Smith's commitment to the ideologies of trade unionism seem to converge, and sometimes conflict, in the *Street Life in London* project. When the book is read with knowledge of the politics that inform it, the biases of the book's photograph-realism come into focus. Within this re-evaluation, the authors'

insistence on the documentary qualities of the book's photographs emerges as a strategy that enabled them to propose solutions to the problems of urban poverty that pointedly departed from the recommendations made in Mayhew's study.

While *Street Life in London* participated in the redefinition of poverty in the 1870s, the work also indicates the many uncertainties involved in attempts to fix the true identity of London's poor during this decade of social upheaval. This paper analyses a peculiar characteristic of the book: its seemingly contradictory double movement between detailed portraits of honest, hard-working individuals, and distant views of the idle and degenerate poor. Although the photographs and texts pointedly defend the respectability of London's street people, the work also contains scathing passages that homogenize this group as an uncivilized, unproductive mass, in some way racially distinct from the rest of London's population. Intertwined with this tension between definitions of the poor as respectable and degenerate is a second paradox, which can be described as a push and pull between the use of the camera to intervene in the lives of the poor, and its use to illustrate the authors' non-interventionist political stance. In this way, the intrusions of photography work to isolate the respectable poor who do not require state intervention in their lives by projecting negative cultural stereotypes onto the elusive disreputable poor. The restless vacillations that characterize *Street Life in London* thus indicate that any attempt to document and classify 'true types of the London Poor' was an ambiguous and unsure process rather than an objective science. In the final analysis, these photographs reveal what they attempt to conceal — the multiple ways that the encounters of street life work to complicate modes of seeing and representing the urban poor.

The tension of the book's contradictory constructions of the poor becomes evident in its opening paragraphs. Thomson and Smith introduce their subject with a vignette entitled *London Nomades* (figure 1). The London gypsies in the photograph are described as a subgroup of the larger category of 'nomadic tribes' — a term used to classify all of those included in *Street Life in London*.¹¹ This racial taxonomy allows Thomson and Smith to homogenize the London poor: 'In his savage state ... man is fain to wander ... in the most civilised communities the wanderers become distributors of food and of industrial products. ... These people ... form a section of urban and suburban street folks so divided and subdivided, and yet so mingled into one confused whole, as to render abortive any attempt at systematic classification'.¹² Classifying the poor as a primitive racial 'other', this opening passage creates a distance between the viewing subject and the object in the image. By emphasizing the irreducible gap of class, which seems to originate from some essential racial depravity, the socioeconomic divisions of the city are also naturalized. Only the most uncivilized beings become itinerant urban street folk.

While this description secures the superior social position of a distanced reader, it concurrently creates a somewhat uneasy separation between the observer and the poor.¹³ For, by splitting the city, it implies a perilous breakdown of social hierarchies and controls. In fact, many of London's middle-class residents were moving out of the inner city into the surrounding suburbs at this time.¹⁴ Thus social class divisions were mapped onto the city as the geographical East/West division of London came to correspond with a lower/upper class split.¹⁵ Moreover, as daily contact with the poor decreased, anxieties about the dangers of London's poor began to burgeon.¹⁶

Apprehension about the distanced poor is fostered by the detached spectator position constructed at the beginning of *Street Life in London*. It is significant, therefore, that the text hastens to mitigate the threat of the poor as racial and moral 'others'. Moving from a general description of London gypsies to a discussion of the individuals portrayed in the photograph, Smith states: 'The accompanying photograph ... represents a friendly group gathered around the caravan of William Hampton, a man who enjoys the reputation among his fellows, of being "a fair-spoken, honest gentleman"'.¹⁷ Here the text prompts a reconsideration of the photograph. This portrait of William Hampton calls into question his status as a member of a savage tribe. Indeed, readers could possibly identify with the respectable qualities of this 'man of fair intelligence and good natural ability'.¹⁸ The spectre of London's nomadic masses recedes.

As travelling gypsies become honest gentlemen, however, crucial class distinctions are called into question. Notions of respectability and morality were central to the process of forging a coherent identity for London's powerful and diverse middle class. Indeed, class coherence depended on this group distinguishing itself from those who were understood to lack 'middle-class virtues'.¹⁹ Thus, the impoverished populations of East London were often described as a residuum, left behind in the Victorian progress towards moral and material advancement. Characterized as violent, licentious, thriftless, dependent, drunken, criminal, and volatile, the residuum served to highlight the virtues and progress of the rest of the nation.²⁰

However, significant social changes increasingly necessitated that the notion of respectability be employed to describe larger segments of the population. In 1867, the franchise was extended to men of the working classes, and, throughout the 1870s, reformers and labourers urged the government to broaden the suffrage still further.²¹ In this struggle for democracy, it was important for reformers to represent the lower classes as moral and to distinguish between the respectable poor and the dependent and immoral poor. The latter were to be excluded from the rights and duties of citizenship. As some of the lower classes were given the vote, therefore, they increasingly were pulled up from the category of residuum, and described as respectable citizens.



Figure 1. John Thomson, *London Nomades*, Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

Charity reforms of the 1870s reveal widespread anxiety about shifting definitions of the respectable and degenerate poor. With the exodus of the upper and middle classes from East London, the tradition of aiding poorer neighbours who were perceived to be in genuine need began

to break down. As the socialist Beatrice Webb noted, ‘Among the social changes in my lifetime, in the London that I have known, none is more striking than the passing “out of the picture” of personal almsgiving’.²² A new governing body, the Charity Organization Society (COS),

was founded by a group of middle-class professionals who were responding, at least in part, to such anxieties. The COS feared that depersonalized indiscriminate giving would result in the poor taking charity as a right, thus discouraging them from becoming independent labourers.²³ The COS thus set up a new model of 'scientific charity' based on systematic case work, which included home visitation and the investigation of an individual's health, records of employment and letters of reference.²⁴ They divided the poor into three categories: the independent labouring poor who required no assistance; paupers who refused to work and did not deserve aid; and those who were neither self-sufficient nor indigent, and thus needed charity to help them become independent. This model had much in common with Mayhew's classification of the London poor; the 'social problem' was increasingly understood in terms of keeping the dangerous poor from dragging down the respectable poor to dependency.²⁵ With the extension of the franchise, tensions about divisions between the respectable and the degenerate were heightened. In the words of C. S. Loch, secretary of the COS: 'The state wants citizens. It cannot afford to have any outcasts or excluded classes, citizens that are not citizens'.²⁶

From here we can begin to understand the dilemmas negotiated by *Street Life in London's* contradictory views of the London poor. Viewer engagement with the respectable poor reassures the reader of the security of the city and the nation. Yet it concurrently functions to destabilize class distinctions, which were drawn along narrow lines of respectability. The distant viewer position, on the other hand, distinguishes the poor as a racial other. This serves to reinforce moral stereotypes of class at a time when these boundaries were shifting. At the same time, this detached view of the degenerate poor prompts uneasiness about the inability to control itinerant populations. *Street Life in London's* close portraits of moral individuals and communities works to allay such anxieties. The contradictions of the book's opening pages thus draw attention to the constantly shifting subject positions necessary to negotiate the rapidly changing status of London's poor.

This push and pull between engaged and distant views of the poor mediates the concerns of the book's intended audience. The Woodburytype technique employed in the printing of the photographs was relatively new at this time, and the labour involved in the process resulted in a fairly expensive product.²⁷ Thus the cost of the book would have limited the audience for *Street Life in London*, making it affordable mainly to a wealthier middle- and upper-class book-buying public, a group that the authors assumed were already familiar with works such as Mayhew's analysis of the lives of London's poor. *Street Life in London* originally was disseminated in pamphlet form, as twelve monthly instalments that began in February 1877. Every pamphlet cost 1s. 6d. and consisted of reproductions of three photographs, taken by John Thomson. Approximately three pages of text, usually written by Adolphe Smith,

accompanied each of the photographs. In this less expensive pamphlet form, *Street Life in London* may have been accessible to a wider audience that extended beyond the wealthy classes, although it is unlikely that the actual subjects of the photographs could have afforded such a pamphlet.²⁸ While this work was available to a fairly broad segment of the population, it certainly did not aim to erase class distinctions. Indeed, the vacillating viewer positions that the book sets up mitigate this threat by maintaining distinctions between the intended audience and the street people depicted.

Evolving within the context of the expansion of democratic ideals, photography often was championed as a democratic medium. A twofold argument about the broadening definition of both the makers and the subjects of pictures ensued. First, photography allowed members from various social groups access to the practice of picture making. Second, it extended the privilege of owning a portrait to the lower classes.²⁹ As Lady Elizabeth Eastlake noted in 1857, the street photographer could provide 'for our lowest servants, for one shilling, that which no money could have commanded for the Rothschild bride of twenty years ago'.³⁰ While Lady Eastlake may have overstated the case, photography certainly did open up new powers and pleasures for those who traditionally had been excluded from cultural production and consumption. However, a more detailed analysis of the role of this technology in *Street Life in London* also indicates that it was a contradictory social mechanism, concurrently introducing a number of new social constraints into the lives of the poor.

This becomes evident when we turn to the photograph of an itinerant photographer included in the taxonomy of the city's street folk illustrated by *Street Life in London* (figure 2). This image is striking. It stands out from the other photographs in the book, for this is the only place where the layout of the volume has noticeably been altered. *Street Life in London* is organized so that each photograph is individually displayed on its own page and accompanied by a few pages of text. The photograph entitled *Photography on the Common*, by contrast, shares a page with another image, *Waiting for a Hire*, which depicts the men who rent donkeys for riding on Clapham Common. Both images are encompassed under the heading *Clapham Common Industries*. The text certainly underscores this connection: 'By the side of the photographer, stands the donkey-boy, who also derives special benefit from the close proximity of Clapham Common'.³¹ This deviation from the format of *Street Life in London* thus emphatically draws attention to the itinerant photographer, equating his status with that of the donkey renters. The text likewise trivializes the amateur photographer's occupation, stating that this street figure is: 'represented engaged with the class of subject which generally proves most profitable. Nurses with babies and perambulators are easily lured within the charmed focus of the camera. They

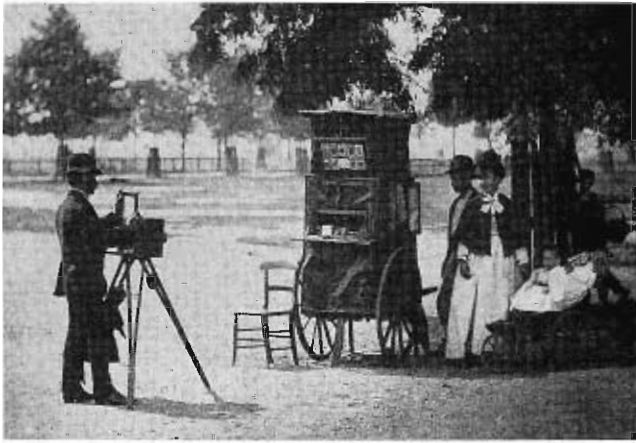


Figure 2. John Thomson, *Clapham Common Industries*, Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

are particularly fond of taking home to their mistresses a photograph of the child entrusted to their care'.³² Not only is the photographer's clientele made up of doting mothers and nursemaids, but, as the text asserts, the photographer actually depends on securing a nurse-girl as an 'advertising medium' to bring him more orders for likenesses.³³ Thus, it becomes clear that although this man may have had access to the same photographic technology as someone like John Thomson, the two activities cannot be equated. Inhabiting the feminine world of babies, mothers, and nursemaids, the street photographer obviously does not provide visual commentary on public issues of importance.

A member of the nomadic tribe, the itinerant photographer is differentiated from members of the professional photographic establishment. The text describes his photographs of babies as profitable subject matter.³⁴ The labour of the itinerant photographer is thus linked with a desire for money and profit. This further distinguishes him from professional photographers like Thomson. As the preface of the book implies, Thomson's photographs were to be understood as objective and disinterested images that benefited society. In this way, incisive distinctions were made between the diverse people who had access to the new technology.³⁵ With the pointed example of the

itinerant photographer, *Street Life in London* demonstrates that, although photography may have been a somewhat democratic medium, not all photographers were social equals.

As a professional photographer, it was crucial that Thomson marked out his difference from amateur photographers, for, in actuality, the gap between them was not very great. After all, like the subjects of his photographs, Thomson himself was making a living by working the streets of London.³⁶ And as the text accompanying the itinerant photographer notes: 'Many [itinerant photographers] indeed have held higher positions, have been tradesmen, or owned studios in town; but, after misfortunes in business or reckless dissipations, were reduced to their present less expensive and more humble avocation'.³⁷ This certainly implies that the boundary between the itinerant photographer and a middle-class professional such as Thomson was fluid. Thomson himself must have been aware that he could slip down to amateur status. In fact, he took on the *Street Life in London* project out of financial need. After travelling widely throughout Asia, he returned to England in 1872 to settle in London with his wife and children. He had no fixed income at this time, and supported himself and his family by selling photographs and writing accounts of his travels.³⁸ The making of *Street Life in London* was thus a necessary source of income for Thomson — a job that enabled him to maintain his professional status.

Photography's second democratic quality — its relative affordability in comparison with painted portraiture — is also contradictory. Indeed, the status of those photographed for *Street Life in London* was just as emphatically regulated as the status of lower-class photographers. Here it is useful to understand the workings of these photographs in terms of what Michel Foucault has defined as discursive methods of control. As Foucault puts it: 'For a long time ... to be looked at, observed, described in detail was a privilege. ... The discursive methods reversed this relation and made of this description a means of control and a method of domination'.³⁹ Following the work of Foucault, John Tagg and others have pointed out that photography actually inverts the privilege of portraiture and becomes a 'burden of representation', speaking to those with relative power about those who are positioned as lacking.⁴⁰ Although the close analysis of *Street Life in London* that follows will complicate these theories, initially it is important to point out that the intimate observations of the poor contained in the book do exercise a subtle control, detailing and making known the lives of individual street people. Indeed, at the time that this work was published, official involvement in the daily lives of the poor was growing. The extension of the franchise instigated anxiety about placing political power in the hands of the masses, and this concern was countered by charity reforms, the expansion of central government power and increased state intervention into the social lives of the poor.⁴¹

Clearly *Street Life in London* illustrates how the new technology of photography could be a powerful tool that answered a demand to render London's street people knowable, and thus easier to regulate. Armed with a camera, Thomson and Smith proposed to diffuse the perceived darkness and danger associated with the populations of East London, and shed light on the people who lived there.⁴² Knowledge of Thomson's working methods complicates these assumptions, however. It is significant to note that he employed the wet-plate technique. The main benefit of this process was that it produced sharper images. However, the procedure was difficult to master, for it did require a certain amount of skill and time.⁴³ Thus, although many of the photographs in *Street Life in London* may look like spontaneous snapshots of reality, they are actually very carefully composed works. The poses, settings, and lighting all betray the photographer's art. And, as a contemporary critic noted about one of Thomson's group photographs, 'it is somewhat apparent that some of the group were far from unconscious of the fact that they were standing for their portraits'.⁴⁴

While the interventions of the photographer were apparent to his contemporaries, in his own writings Thomson adamantly denies his active role in image making, arguing that the camera simply captures what is already there. 'My share in the composition is very small indeed; I have only permitted nature to do what she is always willing to do, if photographers do not stand in her way'.⁴⁵ While these comments may sound disingenuous, with them Thomson clearly takes a stand in contentious debates about the status of the photographic image. The question of whether photography was a creative art form or a scientific technology split the photographic community at this time.⁴⁶ By stating his views about the purely objective nature of photography, Thomson may have sought to distance himself from the approaches of previous photographers who took as their subject the street people of London. In particular, Thomson's *Street Life* photographs seem indebted to O. G. Rejlander's photographs of the urban poor from the 1860s.⁴⁷ Unlike Thomson, however, Rejlander defined himself as an art photographer, whose compositions clearly drew on the conventions of painting. Rejlander's photographs of London's street children were studio re-creations: images of middle-class children dressed in ragged clothing that were crafted to arouse the sympathy of the viewer.⁴⁸ Clearly, such an approach would not have served the *Street Life in London* project's aim of superseding the documentary evidence of social explorers such as Mayhew.

Indeed, Thomson and Smith's introductory comments stress how the 'unquestionable accuracy' of the photograph would shield them 'from the accusation of either underrating or exaggerating individual peculiarities of appearance'.⁴⁹ This certainly works to distinguish their photographs from the artistic images of genre photographers such as Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson.

Moreover, it differentiates their work from popular genre paintings, prints, and caricatures of the urban poor, which clearly had inspired the photographs of Rejlander and Robinson.⁵⁰ The authors also may have sought to distance themselves from recent scandal surrounding the photographs used by Dr Thomas John Barnardo to publicize his home for street children. Like Thomson's photographs, Barnardo's 'before and after' images of the children in his home were indebted to the work of photographers like Rejlander. Like Thomson, he promoted these photographs as documentary evidence. However, his critics soon attacked him for this, noting that the images clearly had been manipulated and used the conventions of the studio to present their narrative of social reform. In 1877 Barnardo's case went to Arbitration Court. Although he was cleared of criminal intent, he was condemned for the 'artistic fictions' that he had created.⁵¹

Undoubtedly, Thomson and Smith would have sought to avoid this sort of controversy, and their opening comments about being shielded from such accusations underlines this. They were not entirely successful, however. The reception of Thomson's images was quite mixed. Some critics saw evidence of artistic intervention and accused Thomson of manipulating or even touching up his photographs. Others complained that the photographs were too objective and lacked spontaneity and interest; in short, they were not artistic enough. It seems as if Thomson's insistence on the unbiased documentary qualities of photography made him a target for this type of paradoxical criticism.⁵²

While it is obvious that Thomson's *Street Life* photographs are not as objective as he claimed, what has not been explored in relation to this material is the specific message that the photographer was trying to create with these meticulously crafted compositions. Here it is significant to note that the book's co-author, Adolphe Smith, was involved with the Trades' Union Congress (TUC), a national organization formed to advance the social interests of labour.⁵³ Trades unions were legalized in the 1870s and expanded rapidly throughout that decade. To facilitate this expansion, the TUC emphasized collective self-help and pride in the independence, organization, and sobriety of skilled labour.⁵⁴ When *Street Life in London* is analysed in light of the ideologies of the TUC, it becomes evident that a similar emphasis on the self-sufficiency of independent labourers structures the book.

A vignette entitled *The Independent Shoe-Black* (figure 3), for instance, mounts a defence of the freedom of this street occupation. Smith's text pointedly denounces the authority of the police who 'have taken upon themselves to interfere, indeed to destroy, the freedom of trade in the matter of cleaning gentlemen's boots, and the independent boot-black is consequently treated by the authorities as if he was little better than a smuggler'.⁵⁵ Smith goes on to describe how the trade of boot-blackening allowed this youth to spend time at home helping his mother care for

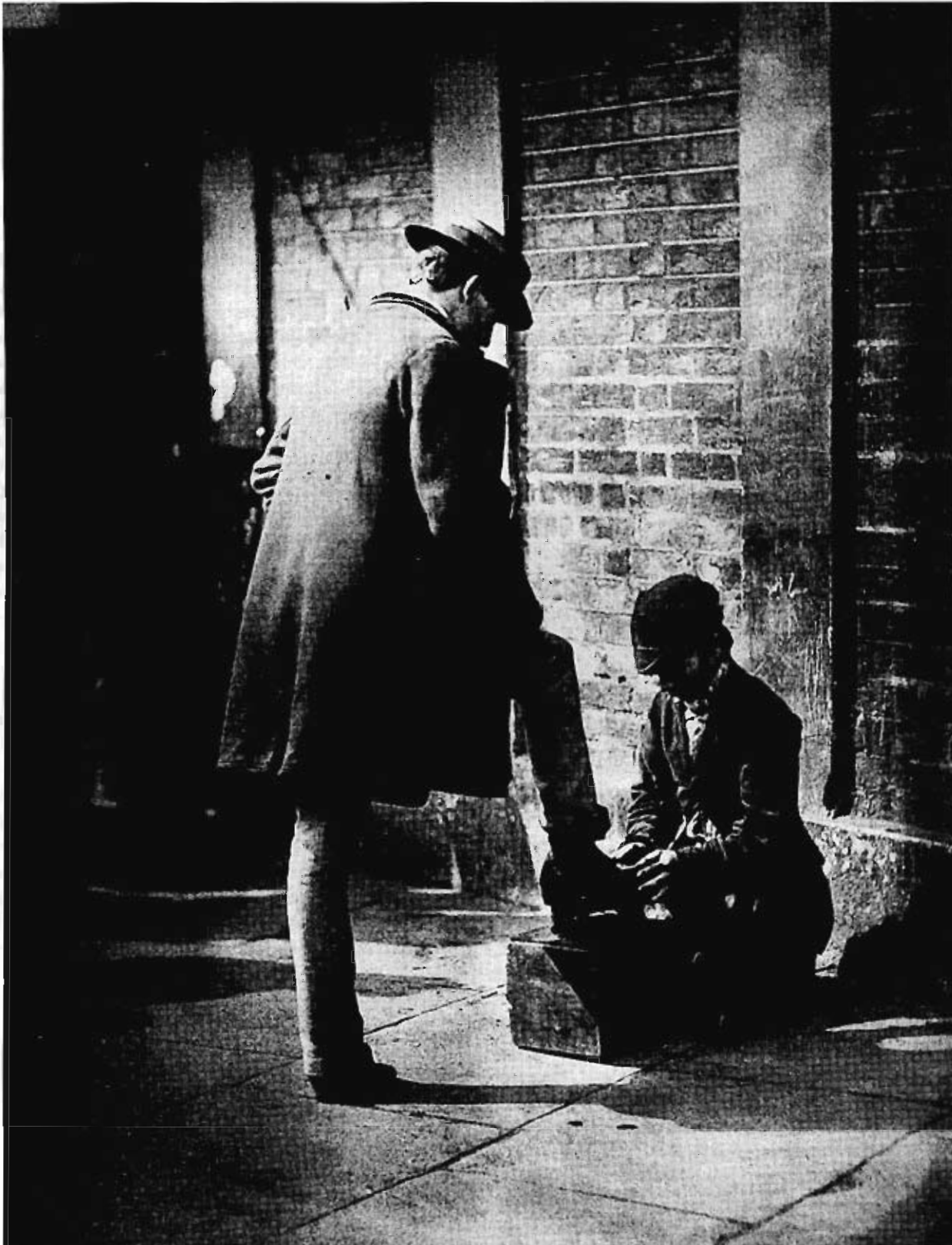


Figure 3. John Thomson, *The Independent Shoe-Black*, Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

an invalid father and large family, while giving him the flexibility to run out at his own hours to make money. The text also describes his usefulness in the neighbourhood, doing odd jobs for local shopkeepers, who speak

in his favour.⁵⁶ The photographer's spotlight singles out the boy in the foreground; his labour becomes the subject of this carefully composed image. In keeping with the ideology of the TUC, the text and photograph work

together to create a narrative about the benefits of self-sufficiency, family and the collective self-help of working-class communities.

Independent unionism must be understood in the context of shifts in economic thinking in the 1870s. This decade saw a repudiation of the policies of laissez-faire economics and an embracing of the alternative ideas of government intervention, which would have been anathema only a decade earlier.⁵⁷ The laissez-faire assumption that poverty fell upon those who were not industrious enough to succeed in a competitive economic system was challenged by first-hand studies of poverty, particularly Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*.⁵⁸ Mayhew's findings demonstrated that poverty was not always brought about by an individual's moral failings, but by irregular work and fluctuating wages.⁵⁹ As a solution, he argued that government protection would best serve the interests of working men and that social investigation was a necessary first step to formulating effective social policy.⁶⁰

The preface to *Street Life in London* acknowledges the importance and influence of Mayhew's study. Indeed, the authors make a point of linking their work with Mayhew's, possibly with the hope that their documentary study would have a similar impact on labour reform. The book does not simply re-present Mayhew's findings, however. While Smith and Thomson's conclusions regarding the causes of poverty are similar to those of *London Labour and the London Poor*, their proposed solutions are radically different. At a time when Mayhew's faith in state intervention was becoming the norm, Smith and Thomson's book advocates a laissez-faire, non-interventionist position. *Street Life in London* constructs a community of hard-working, honest labourers who help each other to get ahead. This is in keeping with the TUC's stance against state control, based on the argument that this type of intervention into the lives of the poor showed a lack of trust in the integrity of labourers, and that workers' self-government of their own affairs was a better solution.⁶¹ In keeping with Mayhew, the unions advocated that insufficient wages and casual labour were the root causes of poverty. Their solution to this situation, however, was the collective action of a labour movement united in its goal to obtain higher wages and regular jobs.⁶²

Another example from *Street Life in London* reveals the book's alignment with the ideologies of the TUC. The commentary accompanying the image of *London Cabmen*, included in the first pamphlet instalment of *Street Life in London*, pointedly departs from Mayhew's previous classification of this group of street labourers.⁶³ *London Labour and the London Poor* claimed that many of the city's cabmen were notorious members of the residuum — disorganized, untrustworthy men who 'pass most of their time in the tap-rooms'.⁶⁴ The vignette on cabmen in *Street Life in London* seems to take issue with Mayhew's findings. It opens by stating, 'There is no better abused set of men in existence than the London Cabmen; but recent events and disclosures have helped, at least in part,

to remove the blame from their shoulders. ...'⁶⁵ The text goes on to redefine the members of this social group as respectable workers: 'cab-drivers are as a rule reliable and honest men, who can boast of having fought the battle of life in an earnest, persevering, and creditable manner'.⁶⁶ The impetus behind this very different characterization of London's cabmen is revealed later in Smith's text. After detailing the formation of the Cab-driver's Society in 1874, Smith closes the vignette with the revelation that this new association 'had been represented and heartily welcomed at the great parliament of labour, the Trades' Union Congress, and is now strong enough to espouse the cause of any cab-driver who is unfairly treated by his employer'.⁶⁷ While the woodcut image accompanying Mayhew's description depicts a single cab driver, Thomson and Smith chose to photograph two cab drivers in conversation, possibly to emphasize the communal nature of this group of workers. As this passage makes clear, the aim of *Street Life in London* was to champion organized labour. In the case of the cabmen, membership in the TUC was equated with the respectability of self-sufficient labourers. While Mayhew had focused on the disreputable members of this group, Smith and Thomson deliberately countered this image, pulling the cabmen up from the residuum in order to account for their new status as members of the TUC.

Despite its own obvious interventions into the lives of the London poor, *Street Life in London* thus attempts to convey a decidedly non-interventionist political stance. Not only does it publicize the respectability of organized workers, but it also champions the political and economic independence of this group. With this paradox, *Street Life in London* complicates understandings of Foucault's discursive methods of control. Here, the interventions of photography work as a disciplinary mechanism, while simultaneously offering up new and possibly liberating portraits of the poor in the context of the 1870s. In this way, the work conveys the uneasy tension between photography's possibilities and its constraints. *Street Life in London* imposes new disciplines on the poor, even as it argues for the self-sufficiency of lower-class labourers. This work thus offers ways to think beyond understandings of photography as either inherently repressive or inherently democratic. Instead, it provides insights into the complex interweaving of these two tendencies as this new technology was brought into the service of the labour movement in the 1870s.

Smith and Thomson clearly chose photography as a medium that offered new possibilities for persuasively conveying their message. However, it seems that they were well aware of some of the limitations implicit in the ways that photography frames its subjects. Indeed, the text of the book prompts specific readings of the photographs, often working against the images in order to convey an ideological point. This friction between image and text draws attention to questions of authorship and intent. Thomson and Smith explicitly deny their own

agency when they declare that the camera alone does the work of presenting true types of the London poor. It seems crucial to redress this claim by examining the possible ideological motives behind the book. The often contradictory meanings generated by *Street Life in London* reveal, however, that the writer and photographer did not have complete control over the reception of their work. Authorship seems located in struggles between the contradictory powers of photography and the attempts of the authors to secure the message against the interpretations of a varied reading public.

Such tensions become evident with a closer examination of some of the contests between the photographs and the text that describes them. While the subjects of the book are isolated and individuated by the gaze of the camera, the text often forces a reevaluation of the images by emphasizing the connections between different characters. In the initial reception of the *Street Life* project, *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* was critical of Thomson's group portraits (see figure 1, for example). The critic suggested that a series of large-scale single figures would work best: 'We want to see the faces of the street folk'.⁶⁸ Thomson and Smith seem to have heeded this advice (see figure 4). In some ways, the focus on single figures better served to highlight the respectability of individual labourers. However, it also made it more difficult to visually convey the notion of cooperative communities of workers. The description of the photograph of Cannon the 'Wall Worker' illustrates one of the strategies that the authors used to overcome this difficulty. The text describes this image in terms of Cannon's friendship with Jacobus Parker, the 'Dramatic Shoe-Black', who is profiled earlier in the book. This serves to forge a link between the photographs of these two individuals, encouraging the reader to look again at the photograph of Jacobus Parker, and reconsider it in terms of Parker's relationship to Cannon. As Cannon has fallen into poor health, we are told, Parker has taken it upon himself to help him with his trade of wall working — covering walls or fences with cheap advertising. The text emphasizes that Parker extracts 'a trifle by way of payment for my aid, quite as much on his account as on my own. It enables him to feel happier and more independent'.⁶⁹ In this way, Cannon is not made dependent by charity. The passage goes on to note: 'One of the most pleasing phases of the life of the poor is found in the sacrifices they make to help each other in times of trouble'.⁷⁰ The message seems to be that these honest labourers do not need state intervention to assist them through difficult times, for they can rely on fellow community members to help them out.

While many of the photographs focus on individual labourers, there are also a number of visual strategies that forge community ties between people. The graffiti visible on the wall behind the *Temperance Sweep* (figure 4), for instance, can also be detected behind the *Dealer in Fancy-Ware* (figure 5). Besides the itinerant photographers and donkey boys (figure 2), 'mush-fakers' and ginger-beer



Figure 4. John Thomson, *The Temperance Sweep*, Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

makers are also photographed against the leafy background of Clapham Common.⁷¹ Similar links between the *Covent Garden Labourer* and *Covent Garden Flower Women* are further emphasized in the text: 'some account has already been given of the flower-women who frequent the market; and the accompanying photograph represents a group of labourers who are in the service of ... [a] well-known florist'.⁷² The text also relates the flower women to the *Independent Shoe-Black* (figure 3), who, we are told, is the son-of one of the woman portrayed.⁷³ In this way, the book works to organize disparate individuals into neighbourhoods of co-workers, friends and kin.

As it joins individuals together into cooperative communities, *Street Life in London* highlights the respectability of the poor. It also draws on well-known conventions of the time to convey certain moral standards. Notably, temperance issues are addressed throughout the book. A theme often taken up in popular literature of the day, temperance was commonly understood as a pledge of respectability, while drunkenness was a sign of the residuum.⁷⁴ In *Street Life in London*, temperance stands for productive labour while intemperance is unproductive.



Figure 5. John Thomson, *Dealer in Fancy Wear*, Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

This is illustrated by the text that accompanies a photograph of the *Temperance Sweep* (figure 4), a man who has turned his life around by giving up drink:

To this newly acquired sobriety, monetary prosperity soon ensued. He is now the happy father of a large family, he lives in a house near Lambeth Walk, where he once humbly worked in the capacity of a mere assistant. ... The money he earns enables him to subscribe to several benefit societies. ... Altogether, he is both prosperous and respected throughout the neighbourhood, where he ardently advocates the cause of total abstinence. ...⁷⁵

In the accompanying photograph, the Temperance Sweep is depicted as a saintly character that epitomizes the respectable poor and works for the betterment of his community. Indeed, when looked at closely, it becomes obvious that the photographer has carefully posed this figure in order to convey this message. The sweep stands supported by the tools of his trade. Strikingly, he is positioned so that the graffiti on the wall behind him form a halo around his head. Here the authors employ familiar narrative structures to make the ideological content of their carefully composed photographs comprehensible to readers.

The strategy employed in *Street Life in London* of depicting diverse types of street characters as honest individuals, linked together into a series of friendly communities, could have worked to aid the labouring classes in constructing themselves as worthy of citizenship. This representation of an orderly city made up of small, non-threatening neighbourhoods of cooperative workers counters the fearful spectacle of a London made up of swarming

masses of anonymous poor, and thus works to defuse some of the fears of extending the franchise. Indeed, notions of the common good were perceived to depend upon the morality of individual citizens who shared rights and responsibilities with their neighbours and therefore could make legitimate claims on them.⁷⁶ Such an approach would have been in keeping with the values of the Trades' Union Congress: the ideal of respectable communities was essential to the aspirations of the poor and to a strong worker's movement.⁷⁷ However, qualities such as thrift, sobriety, independence, decency, and industriousness were not exclusive to the middle classes and then forced upon the poor. As Lynda Nead points out, 'hegemony is not just a question of the imposition downwards of a ruling-class ideology, but involves a more complex and active set of processes'.⁷⁸ Although the images and text of *Street Life in London* were composed and imposed by members of a more privileged class, they also potentially provided opportunities for working-class readers to advocate their own social and political aspirations.

While *Street Life in London* promotes the labouring populations of East London as respectable workers, it also places limits on class mobility. It has been noted that, although trade unionists and reformers struggled for political recognition of the working classes, they did not challenge many of the inequalities of the social structure.⁷⁹ The TUC, for instance, bestowed a special social status upon skilled labour, which necessitated the exclusion of the 'unskilled' from the unions.⁸⁰ As *Street Life in London* makes evident, even within movements that championed

the respectable poor, there was still a need for the category of degenerate poor — those who were to be excluded from the rights that respectability gave. Thus the book's classification of the productive bodies of itinerant street people depends upon the delineation of the dangerous, unproductive poor. Indeed, for working-class readers themselves, the category of degeneracy would have been crucial to the definition of respectable poverty.

As part of its defence of respectable labour, *Street Life in London* thus includes descriptions of those that refused to work. The 'Crawlers' (figure 6) is an exceptional image in the book. It does not depict a labourer but is a picture of abject poverty. Notably, at a time when women and children were excluded from the rights of citizenship, this condition is encoded in the image of an old woman holding a baby. The sketch begins by taking a detached position. The crawlers 'are old women reduced by vice and poverty to the degree of wretchedness which destroys even the energy to beg ... [they] prefer starvation to the activity which an ordinary mendicant must display'.⁸¹ The distanced reader/viewer can quickly identify the woman in the photograph as a pauper, who refuses to work and does not deserve sympathy or charity. However, the text then shifts to engage readers. The passage continues, 'some of these crawlers are not ... so devoid of energy as we might at first be led to infer ... [their] abject misery ... is not always self-sought and merited, but is ... the result



Figure 6. John Thomson, *The 'Crawlers'*, Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

of unfortunate circumstances and accident'.⁸² The text then appeals to readers' sympathies by telling the stories of two middle-class women, who are tragically widowed and forced onto the streets. The degenerate pauper disappears from view. The woman in the photograph has been redefined as a respectable woman fallen on hard times.

While the spectre of the pauper haunts *Street Life in London*, there are very few instances when the individual subjects of the book can be classified in this way. Indeed, the defining characteristic of the degenerate poor seems to be elusiveness. Significantly, charity reforms at this time were shifting to include children, widows, the aged, the sick, the infirm, the unemployed, and those receiving insufficient wages into the category of 'deserving poor'.⁸³ In light of this changing definition, the actual number of able-bodied paupers who refused to work and were in need of moral guidance was quite small and non-threatening. While the individuals portrayed in *Street Life in London* are described as moral characters, the book does include general passages, which state that, 'the English mendicant is coarse, ungainly, dirty, rude of speech ... vulgar in all his deeds, and often bears the stamp of a hopeless drunkard'.⁸⁴ It seems that the purpose served by invoking the familiar stereotype of the distant, degenerate poor was to highlight the respectability of the subjects in the book. The elusive pauper acts as a foil for the moral labourers portrayed by Thomson and Smith.

Notably, in *Street Life in London*, the characters that are described as disreputable are most often lower-class women — a group who had not yet been granted the privileges of citizenship. In his detailed explanation of the photograph *Hookey Alf of Whitechapel* (figure 7), Smith employs the discourse of physiognomy to distinguish between a respectable working man and two women from the residuum. The history of photographic portraiture is interwoven with the history of physiognomy, a pseudo-science that explores the face and head as bearing the outward signs of inner character. Like photography, physiognomy served as a strategy for dealing with the unknowns of street life: by reading the face, the qualities of a stranger could instantly be assessed.⁸⁵ In Smith's description, photography and physiognomy come together as powerful tools for constructing distinctions of class and gender:

... in the photograph before us we have the calm undisturbed face of the skilled artisan, who has spent a life of tranquil, useful labour and can enjoy his pipe in peace, while under him sits a woman whose painful expression seems to indicate a troubled existence, and a past which even drink cannot obliterate. By her side a brawny, healthy 'woman of the people', is not to be disturbed from her enjoyment of a 'drop of beer' by domestic cares; and early acclimatizes her infant to the fumes of tobacco and alcohol.⁸⁶

The honest labouring man can be seen at the pub and maintain his respectable status. His calm undisturbed face bears testimony to his life of honest labour. The two



Figure 7. John Thomson, *Hookey Alf of Whitechapel*. Woodburytype, 1876–1877. London, Victoria & Albert Museum. © V&A Picture Library.

women — one with a painful expression, the other with a brawny appearance — are caught and soiled by the gaze of the camera.

This description reveals how the notion of respectability could be used to delineate gender relations among the poor. Moreover, it works to differentiate middle-class from lower-class women. With the exodus of the middle classes from the inner cities came a growing separation of public and private spheres. Middle-class women were increasingly confined to suburban domestic spaces, while the city's public spaces became the realm of and for men.⁸⁷ Contemporary constructs of virtuous middle-class femininity in terms of sexual respectability, dependency, and delicacy often were opposed to the perceived immorality of working-class women who frequented public spaces. Indeed, the working-class women in Thomson's photograph are defined as robust, dissolute, and domestically inadequate. For suburban female middle-class readers of *Street Life in London*, therefore, this image would serve to define a geographical and moral distance from the lower-class women depicted at the public house.

Denigration of the moral contamination of the women who waste time at the pub thus constructs a distant viewer position. But how does the book position women at work? This poses a problem, for although Smith and Thomson champion the respectability of independent labour, the notion of a virtuous and self-reliant working-

class woman would have threatened constructed boundaries of class and gender. The photograph entitled *The Old Clothes of St. Giles*, which portrays a working woman, serves to illuminate how these issues were negotiated by the authors. Although this dealer independently owns and operates a second-hand shop, the reader is hastily assured that her net profit is very low for persons engaged in this business.⁸⁸ This is due mostly to her ignorance regarding the value of her merchandise, especially the old books and oil paintings that came into her hands. Smith's text goes on to reassure the reader that, 'if the dealer was ignorant in matters relating to literature and fine arts, she was at least master in the art of keeping her home clean, even under the most difficult circumstances'.⁸⁹ This statement is followed by a description of the cleanliness of the interior of her shop. In this way, her business is transformed into a domestic space, which contains the dangerous independence of a self-sufficient businesswoman.

Once again, *Street Life in London* shifts from a distanced to an engaged position. The detached reader can identify the woman's ignorance and implied lack of education as the main causes of her poverty. The subsequent description of her respectable domestic virtues mitigates this somewhat and works to engage the reader. But the text does not leave it at this. In the end, the spectre of the disreputable poor is called up as the real cause of her lack of success. The very neatness of her shop is said to drive away her lower-class clientele: 'Cleanliness is essentially distasteful to, and is even considered "stuck up" by a large section of the population'.⁹⁰ The reader's sympathy for the tidy clothes dealer is maintained only by shifting the blame for poverty onto the elusive degenerate poor, who refuse to frequent a clean shop. With this vacillation, which recurs throughout *Street Life in London*, faith in the respectable working poor can be maintained without completely disrupting hierarchies of class and gender.

Street Life in London therefore presents a shifting and ambiguous portrait of the street people of London. Taking a camera to capture the unknowns of the streets and public spaces of East London, this book paradoxically reveals the uncertainty involved in its ostensibly objective attempt to fix the identity of London's poorest labourers. Throughout this work, the democratic characteristics of photography come into conflict with its use as a powerful tool to maintain social hierarchies. Long views of the degenerate and racially distinct conflict with close-ups of respectable and productive individuals. The camera's lens intervenes, scrutinizes, and singles out, while concurrently fashioning communities of independent families, neighbours, and co-workers. The intentions of the authors seem to work both with and against the power of the camera. *Street Life in London* is unable to reconcile these tensions; indeed, they characterize the book. And with this observation, the irony of the work comes into focus. *Street Life in London* may fail in its attempt to present a

clear, unbiased classification of the London poor. However, as it constantly shifts positions, disrupting agency, revealing irreconcilable contradictions, and complicating the truth of what we see, the book succeeds ultimately in creating an experience that has much in common with the encounters of street life.

Notes

My thanks to Maureen Ryan, Rose Marie San Juan and Andrew Miller for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this paper. I am also grateful to Peggy Ann Kusnerz and to Graham Smith for their very helpful suggestions.

- Adolphe Smith and John Thomson, *Street Life in London*, 1877, Yorkshire: EP Publishing 1973, i. Unless otherwise noted, all references to *Street Life in London* are from this 1973 reprint edition.
- Ibid.*, i.
- On this use of photography, see Jeff Rosen, 'Posed as rogues: the crisis of photographic realism in John Thomson's *Street Life in London*', *Image* 36:3-4 (Fall/Winter 1993), 17, and Richard Stein, 'Street figures: Victorian urban iconography', in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, eds C. T. Christ and J. O. Jordan, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1995, 247.
- Smith and Thomson, i. Rosen, 9, 17.
- Some of the articles were written by Thomson, and signed with his initials.
- Thomson was born in Edinburgh in 1837, and left the city in 1862. Stephen White, *John Thomson: A Window to the Orient*, New York: Thames & Hudson 1985, 9. It has been suggested that Thomson may have apprenticed in Hill and Adamson's firm. See Colin Westerbeck, Jr, 'John Thomson: Victorian inventor of candid street photography', *American Photographer* 1:4 (September 1978), 72.
- On Hill and Adamson's series of photographs, see Sara Stevenson, *Hill and Adamson's The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*, Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland 1991. A recent article that links some of Robert Adamson's photographs with issues of sanitary reform and public health is Graham Smith, 'Dr John Adamson. Sanitary Reform and the St Andrews Fishing Community', *History of Photography* 25 (Summer 2001), 180-89.
- Thomson published *The Antiquities of Cambodia* in 1867, *Illustrations of China and Its People* (4 vols) in 1873, and *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* in 1875. He then began work on *Street Life in London* in 1876. In 1878, he travelled to Cyprus and published the two volumes of *Through Cypress with the Camera* in 1879. For an analysis of this material, see White.
- These images are often compared to the later work of documentary photographers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine. See Rosen, 9.
- On Smith, see Rosen, 20-22; White, 31; Ialeen Gibson-Cowan, 'Thomson's *Street Life* in context', *Creative Camera* 251 (1985), 10-15; and 'Publisher's note', *Street Life in London* by Adolphe Smith and John Thomson, 1877, New York and London: Benjamin Blom 1969, ii.
- This is in keeping with Mayhew's definition of the poor. See Rosen, 20-21; Peter Keating, ed., *Into Unknown London, 1866-1913. Selections from the Social Explorers*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1976, 13-14.
- Smith and Thomson, 1.
- My interpretation of *Street Life in London*'s vacillating viewer positions is influenced by Peter Stallybrass's essay, 'Marx and heterogeneity: Thinking the lumpenproletariat', *Representations* 31 (Summer 1990), 69-95.
- K. Hoggart and D. Green, eds., 'Introduction', in *London: A New Metropolitan Geography*, London: Edward Arnold 1991, 12.
- Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1971, 248.
- Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1988, 32.
- Smith and Thomson, 1. The text accompanying this image was written by Thomson.
- Ibid.*, 2.
- Nead, *Myths*, 5.
- Jennifer Davis, 'Jennings' buildings and the Royal Borough. The construction of the underclass in mid-Victorian England', in *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations Since 1800*, eds David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones, London: Routledge 1989, 11.
- Eugenio Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992, 260-62, 279.
- Quoted in Brian Harrison, *Peacable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1982, 217.
- Harrison, 231, Stedman Jones, 270.
- John Roach, *Social Reform in England, 1780-1880*, London: B. T. Batsford 1978, 179.
- Gettrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians*, New York: Alfred Knopf 1991, 13, 188-89.
- Quoted in Himmelfarb, 205.
- Walter Woodbury patented this process in 1864. It was a semi-mechanical system that used gelatine to make an impression directly onto stiff paper. The resulting image was richly toned, and closely resembled an actual photograph. See White, 42; Rosen, 38; and 'Publisher's note', *Street Life in London*, iii.
- See Thomas Prasch, *Fixed Positions: Working-Class Subjects and Photographic Hegemony in Victorian Britain*, dissertation, Indiana University 1994, Ann Arbor: UMI 1995, 109-10; and Gibson-Cowan, 12. In 1881, the book was reissued in abridged form and entitled *Street Incidents*. White, 31.
- John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London: Sage Publications 1990, 139.
- Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, 'Photography', in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, New Haven: Leete's Island Books 1980, 41. Prasch claims that Eastlake overestimated the buying power of 'our lowest servants', 109-10.
- Smith and Thomson, 25.
- Ibid.*, 24.
- Ibid.*
- Ibid.*
- A. E. Linkman, 'The itinerant photographer in Britain, 1850-1880', *History of Photography* 14 (Spring 1990), 49-65.
- Stein, 251.
- Smith and Thomson, 25.
- See White, 29-30, 37.
- Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, London: A. Lane 1977, 191.
- John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, London: Macmillan Education 1988, 12.
- Ibid.*, 5-10; Roach, 226.
- The population of London was 1 117 000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century and grew to 6 586 000 by century's end. This unprecedented growth inspired pride, but also fostered apprehension about the problems of overcrowding. London was described as a great wren, a labyrinth, terra incognita, leviathan, Babylon the great, the Rome of today, and a vast and mysterious continent waiting to be explored. See D. Cannadine and D. Reeder, eds, *Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History* by H. J. Dyes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982, 191; and Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets, and Images in Nineteenth-century London*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2000.
- On Thomson's working methods, see Westerbeck's article; and Richard Ovenden, 'First on the street. John Thomson and the birth of street photography', *Katalog* 11:2 (1999), 40-48.
- Quoted in Rosen, 34.
- Quoted in White, 41.
- On these debates, see Stephanie Spencer, *O. G. Rejlander. Photography as Art*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press 1985, especially 15-29, 60-64.
- Rejlander's images of urban poverty are examined by Spencer, 82-93.
- Ibid.*, 88.
- Smith and Thomson, i.
- Spencer, 59-93.
- Gibson-Cowan, 13; Rosen, 29-32; Spencer, 92.
- For an interesting analysis of these debates, see Rosen's article.
- 'Publisher's Note', *Street Life in London*, ii.
- John Lovell and B. C. Roberts, *A Short History of the TUC*, London: Macmillan 1968, 12.
- Smith and Thomson, 98.
- Ibid.*, 100.
- Himmelfarb, 15-16.
- Eric Evans, ed., *Social Policy, 1830-1914: Individualism, Collectivism and the Origins of the Welfare State*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1978, 3.
- E. P. Thomson and Eileen Yeo, eds, *The Unknown Mayhew: Selections from 'The Morning Chronicle', 1849-1850*, London: Melin Press 1971, 82.
- Ibid.*, 39, 52.
- Biagini, 145.
- Ibid.*, 148.
- Rosen, 25.

64. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor. A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of THOSE THAT WILL WORK, THOSE THAT CANNOT WORK, AND THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK*, 1851–62, reprint of 1861–62 edn, London: Frank Cass 1967, III, 352.
65. Smith and Thomson, 12.
66. *Ibid.*, 12.
67. *Ibid.*, 15.
68. Quoted in Gibson-Cowan, 13. The article appeared in February 1877. It is significant to note that *Lloyd's Weekly* was edited by Smith's father-in-law, Blanchard Jerrold, at this time, which may have given the critic's suggestions more weight.
69. *Ibid.*, 48.
70. *Ibid.*, 48.
71. *Ibid.*, 74–75. 'Mush-fakers' describes street workers who repaired umbrellas.
72. *Ibid.*, 51.
73. *Ibid.*, 8.
74. Himmelfarb, 9.
75. Smith and Thomson, 35.
76. Himmelfarb, 252–53.
77. Biagini, 144; Himmelfarb, 8–9.
78. Nead, *Myths*, 36.
79. Ross Martin, *The TUC: Growth of a Pressure Group, 1868–1976*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1980, 21.
80. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
81. Smith and Thomson, 81.
82. *Ibid.*, 81.
83. Michael Rose, 'The Disappearing Pauper: Victorian Attitudes to the Relief of the Poor', in *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Thought and Society*, ed. Eric Sigworth. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1988, 63.
84. Smith and Thomson, 85.
85. Allan Sekula, 'The body and the archive', in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1989, 347–48.
86. Smith and Thomson, 79.
87. Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*, New York: Routledge 1988, 67.
88. Smith and Thomson, 44.
89. *Ibid.*, 44.
90. *Ibid.*