

CHAPTER 9

**Waiting for Hasan: Lewis Hine, Service Learning,
and the Practical Pedagogy of American Studies**

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So, I have it on good authority that this is how it happens. A Qatari guy, let's call him Hasan, goes to Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, India, maybe even Bangladesh. He is a labor recruiter who is scouting for some folks willing to work for a sheikh, driving, gardening, something like that. He'll pay three hundred dollars per week, including a place to live. That's a lot of money in Sri Lanka. Hasan gives a willing recruit a plane ticket and an entrance visa to Qatar and says he'll meet him at the airport. Every night, men pour in to Doha from the subcontinent carrying everything they own in bundles and emerge from the airport into the sultry Doha dark looking for their ride, for the man who recruited them. He's never there. They don't have a return ticket, and since their visas were sponsored, they need permission to leave the country from their sponsor, who is nowhere to be found. The airport staff is rude (because they've heard it all before) and eventually has security show the men out. Scene fades to black as bewildered, frightened men squat against the wall of the Doha airport, waiting for something to happen. Not quite *Waiting for Godot*, but . . .

This is not to be a criticism of solely of Qatar. This kind of labor "recruitment" happens all over the Gulf. The failure is twofold: political and social. The political will to protect guest workers is weak because citizens are socially accustomed to unrestricted power over the lives of the powerless, which has led to abuse. The solution? Take a page from a hundred years ago, from immigrant-overloaded New York. Teach your students about social documentary photography (SDP), especially about Lewis Hine.

Act I, Scene 2: Two Days Later, Doha Airport, 13:00, 43°C

Five of the men who have been waiting for someone to meet them, who have spent the pocket money the man gave them back in Nepal on water and some food, have formed a small collective. They have shared their experiences and have realized how each was promised a similar job. The reality of the situation has begun to sink in. Fear has turned to resignation, anticipating what is next. Some students from the university came by, gave them some food and water, and explained the situation. The men have the number of their embassy, but there is little anyone can do.

Soon after, a big white Land Cruiser pulls up. A man in a *thobe* steps out—let’s call him Said—and through his friend who speaks Nepalese asks if he can help. He listens to the story about Hasan and sympathizes. He tells the waiting men that he can transfer their visa to his company and give them a job and a place to stay, but he can’t pay three hundred dollars per week, and they won’t be working for the sheikh. They’ll do construction work or something like it. He’ll pay them one hundred dollars per month (or some such paltry amount), but they will have to pay to transfer the visa and pay for the housing. It will take some time before he will be able to get them an exit visa, and then they will be responsible for their own ticket home. All this will be docked from their pay. Looking at the sidewalk where they have been living, the men agree and go. What they never find out is that Hasan and Said work for the same construction company, paid to get workers to build Doha. And they will live in super-substandard conditions, will be overworked in conditions of virtual slavery, and will be unable to save money, quit, or go home. Some will die because of unsafe working conditions and the casual violence of unchecked power.

Service Learning

At one of the American universities that have established campuses in Doha, the Office of Student Activities put together a service learning organization.¹ The home institution is big on service to the wider community, and when its liberal group arrived in Doha, they were appalled by the labor conditions they witnessed. What they did not immediately see eventually shocked them even more. Overfamiliarity had caused willful blindness among local students and staff. Bad things happened

to guest workers, but bad things *always* happen to guest workers. Abuse had become normalized during the rapid change from an ethnically homogeneous cottage-industry economy to ethnically stratified, post-industrial world megapower. Qatar, and all the fossil fuel-rich countries in the Gulf, skipped a period of industrialization. Suddenly, Qatar had all of the elements of a postindustrial economy without having learned the lessons so painfully taught by industrialization. And this is where American studies is relevant to teaching in the Middle East.

Qatar and the United States actually have an enormous amount in common: they are both postindustrial economic superpowers, great numbers of their workforces consist of immigrant labor, their economies depend greatly on fossil fuels, and the richest 2 percent own 90 percent of the wealth (actually, Qatar distributes more to a higher percentage, but these beneficiaries are all Qatari, which is the same everywhere in the Gulf; spoils are distributed according to ethnic, national, and tribal background). American studies can help teaching in the Gulf by drawing attention to these parallels and teaching how the United States coped with similar problems in its industrial period. Teaching of this content as securely contextualized within American history also helps avoid the pitfalls of encouraging service-related learning: offense to one's host country. At the end of the day, we're teaching American studies, not issue-specific activism.

The service learning staff asked me if I would be willing to give a lecture and volunteer to work with the service learning program. I was a naïf regarding the labor recruitment scheme described above, but I had witnessed (everyone can) the conditions in which people labor. Perhaps a blue-collar union background made me pay more attention from inside my air-conditioned sport-utility vehicle truckosaurus. Safety measures were nonexistent; every day the newspaper published reports of "blood money" being paid to the families of dead workers (who finally found repatriation), people suffering in the desert heat, and the virtual absence of women in some ethnic communities. I was instantly reminded of many labor practices in the early twentieth century: US Chinese men were recruited for coolie labor, but Chinese women were excluded. Immigrant workers were ensnared in company towns and debt servitude. Children worked in all industries at the earliest ages, robbed of childhood and education. Immigrant labor was terribly exploited by low wages, substandard housing, child labor, domestic labor assault, and so forth. I found it easy to develop a topic and content and to lead these eager young people. I am a photographer and a photo-

graphic historian, so Lewis Hine and the social documentary photographers who followed him jumped to mind.

Lewis Wickes Hine (1874–1940), the father of social documentary photography, was an intellectual activist for social justice. As a public intellectual, he can be understood as a product of his thinking environment. The battles he picked were some of the core causes of the Progressive movement: expanding education, combating nativism, treating urban poverty, creating decent working conditions, abolishing child labor, encouraging equality in work, finding the moral equivalent of war, and, fundamental to all, celebrating the dignity of work itself. Although Hine did participate integrally in many of the social movements of his time, the circumstances unique to his life shaped his place in them. Hine emerged from study with John Dewey at the University of Chicago prepared to enter the teaching profession. Frank Manny convinced Hine to take a position in 1901 at the experimental Ethical Culture School. He taught at ECS until 1908 when he began photographing full-time for the Progressive weekly *Charities and Commons*. Soon thereafter, Hine became a photographer for the National Child Labor Committee, which was under the direction of Owen Lovejoy. The period of Hine’s greatest notoriety, impact, and professional success came when he became the director of photography for the NCLC.²

Hine is most well known for his portraits of children laboring in the places of adults and for his pictures of the builders of the Empire State Building. Hine moved from “social” to “interpretive” photography (his terms) when the collapse of Progressivism in the 1920s forced him to restyle his political agitation to fit the ruling ideas about labor. Although his photographic style noticeably changed after he returned from photographing World War I refugees for the Red Cross in Europe, his fundamental subject never really did. Before 1920 Hine photographed mostly children and other victims of industrial excess, even going so far as to call the product of such exploitative systems “human junk,” but after 1920 Hine shifted to making “work portraits” of adults. His fundamental subject, however, never changed. Hine defended the dignity of work, first by criticizing those who would debase it and then by celebrating those who performed it.

Lewis Hine dedicated his working life to imaging work and those who did it. In his work portraits, Hine raised the skilled craftsman to the zenith of modern civilization and introduced his patrons to a new heroic ideal. The most sublime output of that intention was the collection of photographs he made documenting the building of the Em-

pire State Building and those who built it. In his estimation, the workers who built modern cities manifested the spirit of Hine's own credo, found in the "Moral Equivalent of War" and other writings by William James. And although Hine's Empire State Building photographs brought him renown in his time—being the subject of his only published book, *Men at Work*—they certainly were not the sum total of Hine's work portraits. He had been working for the decade of the 1920s on his project of elevating the men and women who made industrial society run to a central place in the pantheon of modernity. He also photographed workers on railroads in the central Atlantic corridor, especially the Pennsylvania Railroad, for whom he photographed his stunning *Power House Mechanic* (fig. 9.1).

Hine is especially relevant to the conditions that guest workers in the Gulf are subject to because he photographed at Ellis Island, the gateway for millions of immigrants to America, where he portrayed new immigrants not as Lady Liberty's "huddled masses" and "wretched refuse" swept through "the golden door," but as confident, competent travelers seeking a new life in a foreign land, no matter how exploited they were by their own countrymen and native-born boosters once they arrived. However, Hine photographed Ellis Island to capture a moment of history and to defeat anti-immigrant sentiment. His pictures are uplifting. Students who would affect conditions in Doha would need to learn how to look at scenes to which they had been normalized and find a way to use images to argue for social change. For this reason, I start teaching with the most easily defended argument, that children should go to school rather than work in adult conditions.

Preparation: Content

My plan was to teach the students to use social documentary photography to discover conditions and form conclusions and then to use their photographs to agitate or educate, whatever was needed to accomplish the goals they had decided to pursue in helping the people they photographed. I chose Lewis Hine as an example because he cared for his subjects as more than aesthetic objects, and he identified himself as more than a muckraker or journalist; he was an investigator of and commentator on sociological conditions. The social documentary photography that he practiced was an involved action that emphasized learning



Figure 9.1. Lewis Hine, "Power House House Mechanic Working on a Steam Pump" (1920) From the National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Work Projects Administration, 69-RH-4L-2.

as much as advocacy. The first step was to teach what went into making a social documentary photograph.

Social documentary photography is not journalism. Whether journalism actually achieves objectivity or not, certainly journalists, especially photojournalists, would argue that objectivity is their goal. Not so for social documentarians. Social documentary photographers are guided by sociological principles of research, but the reasons for pursuing that research are not objective. Speaking directly to Hine's work, and not sociologically generated work of the present, Hine was a nascent sociologist who focused on child labor and industrial situations, including home tenement work. Hine championed the sanctity of labor and (to a lesser extent) the importance of a safe home as refuge.

What makes Lewis Hine (and not Jacob Riis) the first social documentary photographer is his innovative, compassionate perspective. Although the Progressive Era ruling idea, even among reformers like Jane Addams, was based in the dubious tenets of social Darwinism, Hine did not adhere to the "survival of the fittest." Reforms from Hull House to Carnegie libraries were fueled by a desire to help people in their death struggle for limited resources. Like the minority voice (and sociology pioneer) Lester Frank Ward, Hine did not blame people for their poverty. His photography and writing express the view that technology removes societies from the biological struggle for society, and economies are built to serve those societies and their members, not the other way around.³ Rather than operating within the rubric of social Darwinism, as Riis did, Hine rejected the scientific for the pragmatic.⁴ His honest concern for the people he photographed is what distinguishes Hine from those who came before, no matter their good intentions.

Social documentary photography was conceived in the crucible of industrialization and immigration in the first decade of the twentieth century. Lewis Hine, at the urging of his mentor at New York's Ethical Culture School, Frank Manny, voyaged to Ellis Island to have a look around. According to Hine, "Manny conceived [the] idea of visualizing school activities in a camera."⁵ As an intelligent person with a natural gift for observation, living in New York, and working at a predominantly Jewish school, Hine did not fail to notice the enormous social changes wrought by Ellis Island immigration. He headed to the immigration hub with his camera and Frank Manny as an assistant and recorded what he witnessed on one of the greatest migrations in human history.⁶

When Hine left the ECS shortly after his stunning Ellis Island series, it was not “to give up teaching” but “to engage in a new kind of teaching, *visual teaching*.”⁷ Hine became interested in social welfare because of his trips to Ellis Island.⁸ Felix Adler suggests that Hine “set up as a sociological photographer,” and “this meant child labor work.”⁹ The National Child Labor Committee was just starting up in 1904, the year Hine made the shift to sociological photography (his terms), and became interested in Hine for the organization. At the same time, Hine met Paul and Arthur Kellogg, publishers of what would become *Survey Graphic*, around the same time. Paul Kellogg had just secured funding for his Pittsburgh Survey project, arguably the first social science investigation of living conditions in a large industrial center, from the newly formed Russell Sage Foundation.¹⁰ So we look to Hine’s Ellis Island portraits and photographs for the National Child Committee and Pittsburgh Survey to see how American reformers went about using visual education as both a tool of social science data collection and political agitation to help improve the status of recent immigrants and unregulated working conditions. The social documentary photograph was born in the work of Lewis Hine.

Naturally, Hine knew that he could not capture all of industrial experience through even a set of pictures, so he set about recording what was in front of him with a thesis in mind, to represent accurately what he saw (meaning using “straight,” unmanipulated photographs) that would be “fireproof.” If the photographs reproduced Hine’s perceived experience, then they would do the most good politically. He disdained the dominant photographic aesthetic, the expressly nonutilitarian, metaphorical style of the Photo Secession as led by Alfred Stieglitz. Nonetheless, Hine took Paul Strand, his student at ECS, to Stieglitz’s gallery, 291, as part of an ECS excursion. Strand quickly became a disciple of Stieglitz’s, but he forged ahead with a straight, unmanipulated visual aesthetic, mirroring his photography teacher’s style.

Separating Hine from the Photo Secession (and Jacob Riis) was Hine’s use of captions, especially as he grew as a photographer with the NCLC. The image was proof, evidence that the witness was present to make the notes and to defeat arguments that such conditions as depicted did not exist or were not the norm. The context, what existed outside the picture, was nearly as important as the visual text. Although the two could be disconnected and used separately (as picture and text have been—too many historians rely on the written evidence and do not

address the image as narrative generating but only as illustrative), together they made a much stronger explanatory argument that was also open to less interpretation.

Another element of SDP was the overt rejection of the social Darwinist paradigm.¹¹ Hine never blamed the poor for their poverty; rather, he recorded first-person conversations with willing subjects. Using a finely tuned sense of incongruity, Hine captured a sense of grace in a sea of tragedy. With very few exceptions, Hine represented individuals as still capable of redemption. From image to image, Hine's little workers flash innocent or playful smiles; the young boys, sometimes mouthing a stogie, show a stoic bravado; young women peek demurely out from their piecework.¹² Unlike those before him (and many after), Hine showed the best in the human condition, no matter how degraded the environment. That incongruity, the outrageously flirting berry picker in a stained dress and bare feet (despite the thorns of her crop) or the very urge to play in a moment stolen from work, indicates to the viewer that Hine had not abandoned the children.¹³ His pathos is real.

And finally, although Hine used his cameras to collect data, many of his individual images, in fact most of them, can be read as iconic representations of the whole through the experience of the individual. Again, the subjects of SDP are just that, subjects in their own drama. Fueling and fueled by an "everyman" ethic, a democratic culture, these individuals (especially in Hine's later postwar "work portraits" and in Dorothea Lange's images for the New Deal [the Resettlement Administration, Farm Security Administration, and Office of War Information]) came to be identified as archetypes of working-class legitimacy, possessing the quintessence of American determination. Although this represented a maturing of SDP, the sacred nature of work can be found in the earliest Hine image celebrating a new immigrant as an element of invigoration or harshly criticizing the corruption of any work ethic that occurs when a child works in place of an adult.

Both Lange and Hine saw their photographs spur action, and both suffered deep disappointment at the limits of what they achieved. Nonetheless, viewed from a historical perspective, both are credited with initiating a paradigm shift in documenting not only the poor but how society thinks about working people and people out of work. Especially in Hine's case, lasting reform came in the United States—the types of labor and working conditions he opposed have, to a large extent, been regulated out of existence—but that reform is still sorely needed in industrializing and postindustrial economies.



Figure 9.2. Lewis Hine, “Laura Petty, a 6 year old berry picker on Jenkins Farm. ‘I’m just beginnin’. Picked two boxes yesterday.’ Gets 2 [cents] a box. Rock Creek, Md.” Date: 06/07/1909.” Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, National Child Labor Committee Collection, LC-DIG-nclc-0003.

Reading Photographs: Child Labor

Once the students learned the background of how so many guest workers had been brought to Qatar and had seen presentations of the conditions in which they lived and worked, I wanted to empower them to investigate within that framework and make their own presentations with the images they captured. We spent some time examining the work of our two paragons and determining what made their photographs such powerful political weapons, in addition to being great works of art.¹⁴

Starting with Lewis Hine and his ability to evoke an emotion through a still photograph, I showed them his masterpiece 1909 image of a little girl who could still be captured by childlike curiosity and wonder, despite her troubling surroundings (fig. 9.2).

Without context, this image would mean very little to students unfamiliar with American history, climate, and botany. The first thing I register is Laura’s smile and body language. Vicki Goldberg wrote in the introduction to her *Lewis Hine: Children at Work* (1999) of her smile

and stance, “A six-year-old berry picker flirts outrageously with the man who will immortalize her.” When contrasted with this natural childlike pose, the stained dress and bare feet create a sense of dislocation, made even more uncomfortable by the carefully tied but wilted bow. This is a happy picture transformed through context into an indictment. How does one make sense of such a complex photograph?

Ask the analytical questions of the image. Where is the photographer standing? Well, he wasn’t standing. Hine (then in his thirties) knelt on the ground with his cumbersome camera to photograph this diminutive berry picker. Hine’s career-long stylistic and intellectual choice to engage those he photographed, both physically and culturally and on their own level, is evident. Quite literally, Hine did not look down at people, especially children. His philosophical perspective led to a visual choice: he was on his knees and eye to eye, even with the littlest.

Hine needed time to arrange himself on the ground to make the image. Knowing that the NCLC photographer was not usually welcomed by many who employed children, one can infer that this particular employer had no qualms about Hine making pictures, believed a piece of subterfuge that Hine had offered to gain access, or was simply absent. Hine did not have to gain entry to a factory under the gaze of a foreman to make a picture of berry pickers. The process of employing migrants from East Coast US cities (Baltimore in Laura’s case) to pick at harvest time was pretty well ingrained in the collective mind of a then still agricultural nation; many saw nothing wrong with seasonal farmwork. The on-again, off-again nature of agricultural work combined with the still living myth of the beneficence of farmwork for children rendered Hine’s agricultural labor pictures less effective politically than those he made of children in mines and factories. With this picture and others like it, Hine was undertaking a Sisyphean task. Nonetheless, this has become an iconic child labor image. When we accept it as that, we also accept Hine’s argument for the necessity for national regulation of hours and universal education for all children, be they farm- or industrial or mine workers. The conditions Hine documented of tiny miners and spinners had greater impact on the Progressive mind, but the same arguments against child labor can be read into Laura Petty’s situation. So the next question is to ask what exactly is in the image, and what is not?

Hine made this image in the very strong natural light of the Maryland late summer to early fall and thus would have had enough light to shoot the image with both a stop-action shutter speed and a narrow aperture to capture as much depth of field as possible. Hine, an

excellent technician, would have accomplished this by using a longish shutter speed (but not more than 1/60 of a second—otherwise Laura would not have appeared with stopped action; children move around). Using his knowledge of his craft, however, Hine isolated Laura and the bushes around her as the dominant elements of the image using a narrow plane of focus and thereby draws the eye of the viewer to the child and her immediate surroundings. The background recedes immediately and indistinguishably into blurred focus. Neither Laura's parents nor her coworkers are in the image, giving a more intimate feel to the interaction with the photographer. Yet there is a small, uncomfortable sense of abandonment. Laura is alone in the berry fields; the ghosts of other pickers are barely visible on the horizon.

Turn to the incongruities in the image. Laura's overall bearing stands in stark contrast to the conditions in which we find her. The magical innocence of childhood has not been extinguished. To Hine's audience, Laura would still appear to have the opportunity to have a healthy childhood and productive adulthood, if only those with power to do so acted to end her exploitation. She is outrageous as only those untainted by the crushing realities of poverty can be. Laura, however, is very visibly stained—tainted—by her life as an underpaid, overworked laborer. She remains emotionally unscarred in this image, but Hine offers very tangible evidence of how her optimism conflicts with her circumstances, and he relied on viewers to see what he wanted them to. Laura's carefully tied ribbon and combed hair wilt in the heat of exertion. We surmise that she works in her pretty dress because it is likely the only item of clothing she owns, despite the fact that when her mother dressed her, she would have known the condition it would be in after days of picking raspberries.

Perhaps the most shocking mismatch between child and her working conditions is one that Hine did not overtly emphasize (as he sometimes did in other child labor images). Laura stands barefoot among the bushes. Hine probably assumed that his audience would have been well aware of the barbs and thorns that make raspberry picking so treacherous (those teaching in desert climates cannot make the same assumption). Yet little Laura does it in bare legs and feet.

In the caption, Hine reinforced for the viewer the substance of the ideas communicated in the image. He drew no conclusion, but rather simply stated facts he had gathered (which is so much different from how editors treated his images). He relied on the visual evidence, carefully composed and presented, to communicate what was to him the

obvious evil of child labor. As the first social documentarian—he called his style “social photography” and later the “human document”—Hine recorded what he saw and simultaneously testified to its veracity. His captions are largely a presentation of facts gathered near the time when he made the image.

Hine added yet more poignancy to the composition, and reinforced her subjectivity, by quoting the little girl in the caption (rather than making an editorial comment). Laura enthusiastically reports her productivity. Like many children, her aspiration is to be grown-up, if only so she can work harder and contribute more to her family’s income, a sweet sentiment that evokes pathos. By allowing the child to speak, Hine crafted an argument that emphasized this selfless innocence. In the face of social Darwinist apathy (or enmity), Hine sought to entice viewers into a feeling of parental protection.

Again, he faced a tough crowd; the wealthy industrialist, so fond of apocryphal rags-to-riches stories, would probably have patted Laura on the head, praised her industry, and sent her back into the fields to keep trying. Hine succeeded in changing minds with his photographs of children in new industrial situations (like the textile mills) and in presentations of visual evidence of the damage inflicted on America’s youth by mining, the energy source of the Second Industrial Revolution. As noted above, he enjoyed far less success in persuading his contemporaries of the exploitation of children in traditional farm labor. Most still saw farmwork as healthy and beneficial for children.

Students today would probably agree that nonindustrial family farm labor (no matter how strenuous) is not a social evil. Having indicated how to read a photograph and to determine what is social documentary, the students then consider images that have more relevance for the specific social situation they wish to investigate. Industrial conditions in the early-twentieth-century United States are startlingly familiar. That Hine’s photographs of the street trades, tenement homework, mills, and mines are easily compared with current conditions is a sober reminder of the gulf between Europe-America and the developing world.

Textile mills sprouted from the Industrial Revolution. In fact, the demographic that staffed the southern textile mills consisted in overwhelming numbers of poor whites drawn from Piedmont farms, where impoverished conditions tended to expose the truth behind the myth of self-sufficiency farming, that it was more productive of debt servitude than republican virtue. White sharecroppers and their families left the fields in droves to labor in the new southern textile industry. And, as before, everyone in the family worked.

Notwithstanding developments prior to the Civil War (and indeed the central place of cotton in that conflict), textile millwork took on the same character as other industrial labor in the postbellum era. Rather than resembling guild-dominated craft work, textile mills involved both large-scale manufacture (in New England and then in the South) and take-home piecework (in New York City); as a cog, the textile worker's life became one of unskilled or semiskilled drudgery. The work was repetitive, often speeded up, always poorly paid. Working conditions, while less obviously dangerous than in the mines, posed their own hazards. One unseen danger came from the minute fibers the workers inhaled. Like coal dust, they did not break down. Instead, they too coated the lungs, leading to "white lung" disease. And most often, women and children bore the brunt of these poor conditions and low wages. Once the day of the Lowell Mill Girl passed, that is, once New England textile mill owners turned to Irish, French Canadian, and other immigrant sources of labor in the decades before the Civil War, women and children made up the bulk of the labor force in the industry.

Quite different from his pictures of young miners and street-trades children, Hine did not have to worry about normalizing conditions in the eyes of his viewers. Instead, he went to the mills to gather evidence that children were working—sometimes in contravention of state laws—and to gather evidence of their widely varying working conditions in support of the NCLC's campaign for a national child labor law. This led to the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act, passed by Congress in 1916 (and found to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* [1918]).¹⁵ Even though southerner Alexander McElwray directed the NCLC's cotton mill campaign, his fellow white southerners grew sensitive to the very public criticism of what the NCLC often presented as a "southern" problem. Responding in a way similar to how their grandfathers had answered the abolitionists' condemnations of slavery, southern governors, legislators, and mayors alternated between excusing child labor as a family decision and defending it as a positive good that would instill a sense of industry into poor white children. I am not aware of any single Hine photograph of an African American mill child, which reflects in large part the rampant segregationism characteristic of these nonunionized shops as implemented by bosses and legislators alike.

Georgia's one African American legislator said in 1906, "Our children are not employed in the cotton factories. . . . I for one am in favor of doing something for the protection of the little white children of Georgia."¹⁶ Reinforcing the racial homogeneity of the labor force of the

mills was the reluctance of Samuel Gompers's American Federation of Labor and other labor unions to alienate southern lawmakers with demands they would never even consider. The unions realized that campaigns to eliminate segregation in the workplace would go nowhere. Union calls for child labor reform in the mills applied only to white children, which made it less threatening.¹⁷ But the entrenched poverty in the postbellum South, combined with the disdain for "white trash" by gentlemen legislators—child labor proved an effective way to control their social inferiors—slowed even the modest reforms introduced by labor.

In comparison, the NCLC campaign was fairly radical. As noted earlier, Hine's true ire rarely showed in public, but by just training his camera in his conversational, nonsentimental, and noncondescending way, he overcame the hesitancy of organized labor and the class bias of southern legislators and transformed "white trash" children into fully human subjects. Although Hine also visited New England mills, the vast majority of his mill photographs are from Georgia and the Carolinas.

Textile mills' apparent lack of danger and exploitation was a challenge. Hine would not be able to rely on faces obscured with soot to get his message across. And since the mills were not unionized, either there was no limit on the hours and ages of the workers or such regulations were simply ignored by the mill boss. No union meant no agitation, no vigilance. Families needed to send their children to work because of the low wages the father and older siblings could earn, and the younger children sacrificed their childhoods by working twelve-hour days. As Dave McCarn sang in 1926:

No use to colic, everyday at noon,
The kids get to crying in a different tune.
I'm a-gonna starve, and everybody will,
'Cause you can't make a living at a cotton mill.¹⁸

Because of publicity the NCLC campaign generated, Hine had difficulty getting into the mills. So he had to resort to subterfuge and invent devices to help him gather data to accompany his pictures. It is not usually good practice to start one's picture analysis with the caption, but Hine's caption of the girl in figure 9.3 stands out as a bit strange. Why did Hine start with the fact that she was "51 inches high"? Such little details can yield interesting history and in this case tell us something



Figure 9.3. "One of the spinners in Whitnel Cotton Mill. She was 51 inches high. Has been in the mill one year. Sometimes works at night. Runs 4 sides—48 [cents] a day. When asked how old she was, she hesitated, then said, 'I don't remember,' then confidentially, 'I'm not old enough to work, but do just the same.' Out of 50 employees, ten children about her size. Whitnel, N.C., 12/22/1908." Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, National Child Labor Committee Collection, LC-DIG-nclc-01555.

about how Hine operated. We do not know how he gained entrance to this particular mill while carrying a very large camera. We can be confident that he did not identify himself as a representative of the NCLC. We do know how he measured the girl's height. He kept a piece of paper in his pocket on which to make notes and which he used to measure the distance from the floor to each of the buttons on his jacket. As he stood next to a child, he counted premeasured buttons; thus, he could calculate the child's height.

Both boys and girls worked in the mills. Boys, generally, had jobs that required a lot of energy for short periods. Between doing their jobs, like sweeping the floor, changing spools (doffing), and cleaning clogged machines, they rested and waited to be called for work. However, the girls and women toiled at lighter industry, mostly spinning raw cotton into thread and loading it on spools, but their tasks were con-



Figure 9.4. Lewis Hine, “Rhodes Mfg. Co. Spinner. A moment’s glimpse of the outer world. Said she was 11 years old. Been working over a year. Lincolnton, N.C., 11/11/1908.” Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, National Child Labor Committee Collection, LC-DIG-nclc-01345.

tinuous and gave no intermediate respite from the work. They stood all day long, breathing white fibers that filled the air, performing the same monotonous work, day in and day out. Hine often found adolescents whom he occasionally called “human junk” after having their childhoods stolen by the mills. And he was more attentive (and therefore sympathetic) to the girls, women, and small boys.

One must look at the date and location of each of the photographs in figures 3 and 4 to be sure they are not pictures of the same child. In addition to monotony in the days of child workers, Hine’s photographs of mill children in the new South are often framed in a similar way, with a small child in front of a machine that, in effect, looms over the diminutive subject of the photograph. Stretching through planes of focus, the loom itself is the instrument of torture, and Hine placed it in the picture not only to gauge the height of the child he photographed but also to represent her in the context of her imprisonment. Yet the machines are not the subjects; they are the context, the important background (both literally and figuratively) that the viewer needs to understand the message Hine sends.

Hine's message is more blunt in other mill child photographs, and because of his consistency we can read these images keeping his overall mission in mind. Neither child in figures 3 and 4 is at imminent risk or far down the slope to turning into so much "human junk." Hine made both of them in natural light coming from behind where each girl stood.

Turning to figure 9.3, while the pretty clothes seem very much out of place in a spinning mill, the child was a worker. Hine did not have to depict her actually at work on the spinning machine to invite the viewer to see something amiss here. Although Hine's captions reveal that many children prevaricated when asked about their ages or work status—"She's just bringing my dinner," said one mother disingenuously—this little girl is a textile worker. Even though her frilly dress was most definitely a work hazard—clothes and body parts quite often got caught in the workings of a machine and injured the child—she and most girl workers in Hine's child labor images wore to work their Victorian-era best. Mill families did not bend to the practicality of trousers and simple shirts for women until the Depression and World War II. Hair pulled away from the face was no doubt safer for the children, but there seems to have been an effort to secure the braid over her left shoulder. Given the thick coating of cotton lint on her right hand, perhaps spinners had to lean in toward the machine with their dominant hand. Nonetheless, her hair has begun to fall out. She had probably been working since before dawn (as Hine made the photograph in December with the sun fairly high in the sky—around the lunch hour?—so as to cast shadows at a slightly downward angle, left to right across his subject). If the dress had been pressed before she began work, hours of toil in a humid factory had taken its creases out.

The child's bearing is a bit disconcerting. Like almost all of Hine's portraits, she faces him directly—engaged with the photographer. He had to have been kneeling or crouching to do so. There is no classic nineteenth-century pose or occupational portrait here (or anywhere) in Hine's images. Although Hine photographed adult workers later, his treatment of toilers in his later "work portraits" has a disturbing precursor in this portrait of the little spinner. The child, this wee girl, who, by her own admission, was not old enough to work, *had been* working long enough to acquire the bearing of an experienced spinner. Her sleeves pushed up, resting her hands in equipoise (so not leaning or otherwise seeking support), she could be a heroine of Hine's interwar years when he often photographed women at work in textile factories, but as a mat-

ter of celebration, not protest. To see a small child with such stolid stature is in and of itself a criticism.

Her face is set in the mask of the determined, momentarily asked to move away from her work. She still has bright, playful—and indeed intelligent—eyes, but her lips are pursed and shoulders set in a way that can be easily read as a presentation of competence, not suffering. Different from the shy glances and childlike flirts that Hine often evoked, she evinces instead the work ethic that fueled the South’s Progressive Era industrialism. She seems pretty far from the “white trash” accusations of the moneymen who would treat her and her family as disposable people, fit only to have their labor extricated for the least possible sum and then their futures discarded as so much industrial waste. The shame here, and Hine recorded it, lies in the fact that she would not reach *actual* working age with the same level of skill, confidence, and conspiratorial trust indicated by her premature working-class deportment. Such maturity and pride in one so young—she was four foot three—is more than evidence of regulatory need; it is a wholesale criticism of the philosophies of a civilization that would allow it.

Although in a nearly similar setting, Lincolnton, North Carolina, is larger than Whitnel and lies one county away. The girl in figure 9.4, however similar in appearance to the child in figure 9.3, is in a completely different world. Whitnel’s caption carries the information needed for the NCLC to compile statistics and to expose the mill owners for intentionally employing children too young to work under state regulations. Juxtaposed with Whitnel’s, Lincolnton’s daughter stands as an exception in Hine’s repertoire. She does not face the camera; there is no one near her to indicate that she had been recently working with others on the line; except for the soiled rag in her tiny hands and her proximity to the loom, she cannot be objectively observed to have been working. Hine tells us in his caption that she had been, and for far too long—at age eleven for “over a year.” Perhaps these atypicalities are the reason that this tiny spinner has not become one of the mass-produced Hine iconographs. Perhaps the depth of field is too shallow or the glass-plate negative too broken. So far as technique is concerned, the image is not a great one. It seems likely, however, that Hine had wanted to make a stop-action picture; he had to use a fast shutter speed and a wide aperture—thus the shallow depth of field.

What is so remarkable about this image is what it reveals about the photographer as well as the subject. The child in figure 9.4 is neither a political tool nor an idealized image of childhood. She is fragile, and

the political needs of the day demanded that Hine photograph children who were still capable of rescue. To have used her as a political tool seems wrong. Although it appears that this child is still very much a little girl and not a tiny grown-up worker, the picture would have been bathetic in anyone else's hands, emotionally manipulative, and easily dismissed as oversentimental. But Hine did not photograph her that way. His technique was atypically bad, which indicates that the image is more candid than posed. He did not have in his tool kit fast film and a super-high shutter speed (my digital Nikon records in 1/2,000 of a second). She caught a glimpse of something, and Hine photographed her displaying an unguarded, purely childlike expression of wonder. In a sense, Hine caught a glimpse of the child within. She saw the outer world; Hine saw the inner. It's a magnificent moment, comparable to the best of later geniuses such as Henri Cartier-Bresson and Alfred Eisenstadt, who roamed pre- and post-World War II Europe with their 35mm Leicas and abundant Kodak film speed. Hine accomplished this on a glass plate, on a winter's afternoon, inside a dreary cotton mill, seventeen years before Oscar Barnack at Leica invented the 35mm camera. Extraordinary.

When I show this image to students, invariably they try to construct a narrative of what is happening outside the window, to fill in the gaping visual blank. They also want to read an emotion on her face, one that reflects what they feel when they look at the picture. Neither is objectively defined nor confidently assumed. She sought a subject all her own. We are concerned with Hine's: childhood threatened. The delicate, shy curiosity so familiar to middle-class parents was being wasted in favor of a few more dollars in the pocket. Hine must have seen the potential power of this image, but it remains a rather obscure example of his work. Perhaps there was too much intimacy; this little girl trusted the older man who watched her to the extent that she could turn away and be honestly kid-like for a moment. Sometimes we see such vulnerability in Hine's pictures of the very littlest ones selling papers, but by introducing such heart-wrenching pathos he could have opened himself to a charge of bathos. There is a sweetness, an innocence—bottom lip tucked under, posture straight but head tilted slightly forward, totally engaged in the spectacle that caught her eye—that would have been threatened by literally making her a poster child for child labor reform. Here, childhood was still triumphant as a human universal. It becomes a photograph not of a child working but rather of a moment in the natural course of life that eventually extinguishes pure awe in favor of the

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wonderless sophistication of reason. That she could still manifest this complete absorption born of curiosity is unbelievably touching. That Hine caught it is a testament to his skill and sensitivity as a photographer, and it shows us how truly carefully he composed his other images. Hine wanted the viewer to see exactly what he put in the frame. We can rely on that when we analyze his images.¹⁹

Photography Excursion 1: Central Bus Station

Before taking the students into the heart of the immigrant worker community of Doha, Industrial City, a bleak and foreign place to the mostly wealthy students, we planned a trip to the one other place in Doha that guest workers were able to congregate without interference by the internal security forces, the Doha main bus terminal. Guest workers from the subcontinent were banned from visiting shopping malls through limiting mall visits to whole families or only women, thus excluding the overwhelmingly male population. The weekend in Doha is Friday and Saturday, because Friday is the Islamic holy day. Most of the population the project sought to investigate had only Fridays or half of Saturdays (or both) off and spent much of the day socializing or traveling to other work centers.

Members of the student activities staff had made well-received overtures to the embassies that represented the target nationalities.²⁰ Officials from Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka were eager to receive help and have the plight of their nationals recognized and publicized. Some of the goals of the program were to raise funds for legal fees and to lobby the government to grant exit visas for workers caught in limbo (having been dismissed from a job without first obtaining an exit visa) and to enforce existing labor laws. So, to some extent, the path was cleared for our investigations.

The need for good photography became clear when a group of stranded Indian workers was asked to come and talk to the faculty involved in the service learning activity. The men told a terrible story of despair and horrid living conditions. They were still working but had not been paid for six months. Their living conditions were fetid and unsanitary. Some lived in shipping containers or semitrailers, with no running water or sanitary facilities. Often, workers lived on construction sites in shacks built out of discarded lumber. These men were gracious, welcoming, and intensely proud. One of the student activities

assistants (an ethnic Indian) had accompanied the men to their “compound” and made a video of some of the conditions. The video was inadequate to give a sufficient emotional impact, although it was explicit and immensely saddening. What was missing was the kind of sympathetic pathos evoked by SDP in the hands of Lewis Hine and others. As Hine said around 1906, “There is a crying need for photographers with even a slight degree of appreciation & sympathy.”²¹ We had the sympathy; what we needed were the photographers.

As the photography leader, I had to balance the safety of the students, educational benefit, subject matter, available light, and ethics. Most of our student volunteers were women, all of them fearless. Although being dressed in *abayas* and *hijabs* guaranteed that the women would be safe in our excursions, several of the students did not wear traditional Islamic dress, and others were not Muslim. This left us a narrow spectrum of subject events and a very short window of opportunity to shoot, from late fall to early spring, three to five o’clock, in a public place. We could not take the women into the housing compounds of the male workers (although they were willing to go) because our goal was to help the unempowered, not embarrass them. As a married Western expat teacher (teachers are highly valued in all of these cultures), I could have traveled to the camps with or without a male escort, but it would have been enormously insensitive to take students into the camps. Work sites were unsafe, as the huge death and injury toll testified, and were off-limits to photographers anyway, so we had to choose an unregulated space where we could meet and photograph those who built Qatar’s wealth.²² To limit the contact to a controlled area, we chose the bus station. Students and workers interacted in a positive manner. The students collected both images and explanatory captions that illuminated the guest-worker experience and framed for them the kinds of photographs and interactions they thought would be the most helpful to achieving goals as discussed in class.

At the Bus Station

The following weekend, the group met to show and discuss the pictures made at the bus station. Conversation about the trip on campus attracted several more students to the next trip. In evaluation we discussed how the workers received the students, if they accomplished what they had set out to, how they would approach the exercise if re-

peated, and how would they change the parameters of the exercise. Unanimously, the students found it to have been a positive experience. Many bemoaned the fact that they had not taken a “serious” camera with them; a few had disregarded advice (as students are wont to do) and brought mobile phones as cameras. They agreed that after a short while, the workers warmed to their presence. Through interpreters, youthful idealism, and exuberance, many had conversations. Also unanimously, the students wanted more time to make the images and to encounter a larger group of workers. They were happy with their photographs, but did not see the immediate application of the images to the task at hand, urging reform and enforcement of current labor laws. We planned a larger outing for the following weekend, an hour earlier in the day (to extend the light), and to the crowded ghetto known as Industrial City.

That left three questions to discuss: the emotional difficulty of making photographic portraits (it is hard to stick a camera in someone’s face without depersonalizing him, at least momentarily and at the crucial moment, when the photographer makes the image), the ethics of exploiting the less fortunate for photographic excellence, and how to turn pictures of smiling, nice people into an indictment of the labor situation in Doha. Hine’s example thankfully provided the answers.

All of Hine’s portraits were “staged,” meaning that they were not and were never meant to be candid. Technological limitations alone are not the explanation for the face-to-face contact and the seeming ease of those who people Hine’s portraits. Hine’s bulky equipment took some time to set up, yes, but even when he moved from glass plates to film and shot outdoors to avoid the necessity for magnesium flash powder, his subjects were comfortable with being photographed. Almost all smile or display pride, bravado, or innocent curiosity. As with our students’ pictures, Hine’s images were conversations. Hine managed to make searing visual condemnation while portraying the individual strength of each conversant.²³

This fact helped the students to understand the questions they asked: one overcomes the discomfort of sticking a camera in a human being’s face when that person’s humanity is being preserved, not appropriated, exploited, abstracted, or denied by the action. And once a photograph becomes a conversation between equals, no matter how culturally unfamiliar, people smiling despite objectively difficult (to put it in its most mild incarnation) circumstances becomes its own indictment of the ones who put them there or maintained the unacceptable conditions.

The smiles remind the viewer that the human spirit is not dead and efforts at reform will not be too late. Also, trust on the part of the photographed (including a desire to help in the cause but not to be identified; we promised to obscure individual identities) helped us make images, again following the example of Lewis Hine, into political montages.

As we discovered, however, the difficulty truly came when the smiles faded. There was more than location difference between the bus station and Industrial City; there was a disconnection between the numbers and receptivity of skilled workers and the unskilled mass. Those at the bus station, of course in retrospect, had the money and freedom not only to travel outside Doha but also to travel *around* Doha. This is something the leaders (myself included) of the project should have taken into consideration. Mass transit and sidewalks (and reasonable temperatures) in early-twentieth-century New York still provided an opportunity, limited as it was, to move about the city. The vast underclass of guest workers in Doha did not even have the luxury of sidewalks.

Photography Excursion 2: Industrial City

The following weekend, and with a few more chaperones, the group went to Industrial City for a two-hour shooting session. We were overwhelmed by the vast difference in the group of workers we encountered. The true nature of the skilled-versus-unskilled divide in labor systems was brought immediately into focus. The sheer numbers of people milling about in the waning sunshine of a hot November afternoon shocked us, as did the relative aggression of that group. Where we had encountered maybe one hundred people at the bus station, there were at least (an unexaggerated) ten thousand men shuffling idly about, playing games, window-shopping, talking—celebrating the time off from onerous labor—and gathered in ethnically determined groups, not all friendly with others. Animosity among disparate nationalities unfortunately persisted despite sharing a common plight. And the project participants suddenly became the major distraction for a large group of bored, overworked, and increasingly angry people.

Initially, our group was met with curiosity. Luckily, the character of the students involved kept the situation from devolving. They showed no condescension, only concern. Their experiences from the bus station and postmortem (and possibly their sense of privilege—nothing bad could have happened, mostly because of the serious toll the reprisal

would have taken on the population we were trying to help—just one of the many ethical questions raised by the exercise) allowed them to see the men who encircled the group as individual human beings seeking distraction and attention rather than as a dangerous mob. That the young people stayed calm and friendly, much as Hine had in his forays into Five Points and some of the more notoriously “dangerous” (to the middle class) sections of New York, created an environment where the people we were there to photograph became participants rather than objects. Through interpreters, we explained why we were there, and many quickly volunteered to be photographed (and spread the word of our intent) to help the intruders tell the story of how the Middle East is built.

We broke up in groups with one chaperone for each group. I kept watch on five women and one man. Interestingly, I was one of the tallest people there (five foot ten), so I had a vantage that many of the students did not (see figure 9.6, in the following section). My group had no interpreter, so we needed to communicate in other ways (as did Hine with his largely immigrant subjects). Digital technology helped enormously. We were able to show our photographs immediately to our subjects to demonstrate how we were making their pictures. Also, I had loaded an image I made after the trip to the bus station onto my memory card and was able to explain through a few people who spoke English what we were trying to do. Like a stone cast into water, one could actually watch as the information was relayed outward in a concentric wave. That we, the children of Muslim privilege and products of the unattainable West (all the chaperones were American), were there to make art intended to help *their* cause transformed the event; to the workers, we no longer represented only a diversion from an otherwise Sisyphean existence. Inadvertently, our presence had caused a moment of agitprop theater, in which we were the audience to be educated.

As the feeling changed from a subaltern group bemused by supposed slummers to a group that sensed an opportunity to seek empowerment, *their* cameras came out, to both challenge our visual appropriation and to record the moment as an event. This also served to remind the student photographers that pointing a camera can be a hostile act; suddenly, the men felt we were not a threat to them and they could express themselves in what the top caste would no doubt have seen as uppity aggression. Afterward, the students remarked that they felt a tidal wave of frustrated emotion release and specifically *not* gratitude (after all, ethni-

cally we represented the sources of both their oppression [Gulf Arabs] and the thing they coveted most [Western affluence]).

Despite a mishmash of subcontinental ethnicities and religions, one student identified the emotional shift as a sudden expression of consciousness, of *class* consciousness. Most assented to that analysis. All agreed that the conditions we witnessed, even though they were light-years from the worst, not only represented injustice but also contained the seed of a dangerous idea, even if expressed peacefully. We thought our experiment might actually work if it could help create a unified voice from the heavily stratified and controlled society of Gulf guest workers. The students, many of whom were freshmen, were committed for the long haul.

Making Political Art Montage

Again, I planned a session for debriefing, a student photo show, an evaluation, and a photomontage workshop for the following weekend. To plan the event, I met with two especially active student helpers, one an accomplished photographer, the other a moving force in the service learning project. My lesson plan for the following Saturday included a workshop to apply the discussion we had had two weeks earlier on Lewis Hine's photomontage as political education and agitation. We had examined exhibition panels Hine made for the NCLC exhibit at the 1915 Pan-American Exposition in San Francisco, advocating the national child labor law (see figure 9.5). Following the workshop, the students were to have taken their own photographs and used them to make posters advocating the kinds of change they perceived as necessary and expressing their own political and artistic vision. I planned for the next session to be a discussion of media, communication, advocacy, and political science in order to give students guidance on how, if they wished, to use their creations to attempt political change. As a template, I created two more posters, using my own images with input from my student helpers.

From the beginning of the project, I had emphasized that this was an educational exercise guided by community service ideology but that it would rest on the ethics of intellectual property: each person's work was his or her own. Thus, in addition to Hine's examples, I used my own ideas as an example of how one *might* marry pictures, color, and

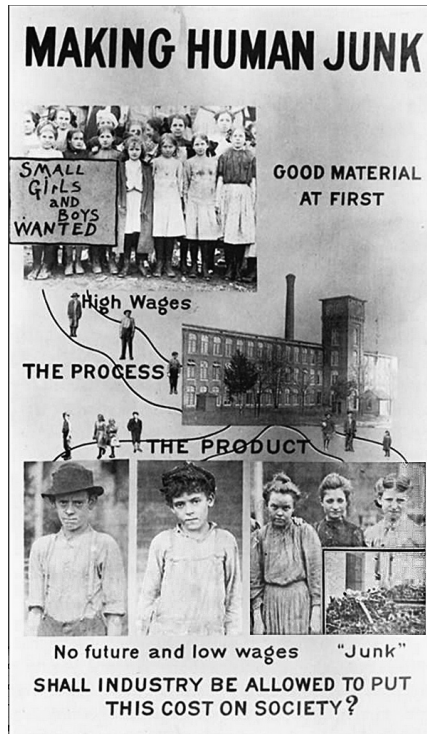


Figure 9.5. Lewis Hine, exhibit panel: "Making Human Junk," ca. 1914.

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text to create an artistic document with a guided conclusion. I emphasized the differing elements in the images, using photographs of the students themselves, to create a visual expression of my intent to teach, how the use of art can free not only the subjects but the photographers as well (figure 9.6). I also used an image from the moment just after I detected the shift in our subjects' understanding of the project to grab their own cameras and record us as a moment of cultural empowerment (figure 9.7). With color and text, I sought to draw these conclusions for the viewers.

Doing so, I narrowed the scope of my expression to demonstrate what I had personally sought to accomplish with the exercise. In addition to working toward social justice for our target community, my primary goal (and responsibility) was to educate *my students* as to how art had been used in American history, and therefore how it could be used again, as a powerful tool of personal expression. Ultimately, I sought to empower the students to express themselves visually and to teach them the enormous power of art. My opinions on the politics of Qatar were irrelevant; my job was to teach the students to think critically and ex-

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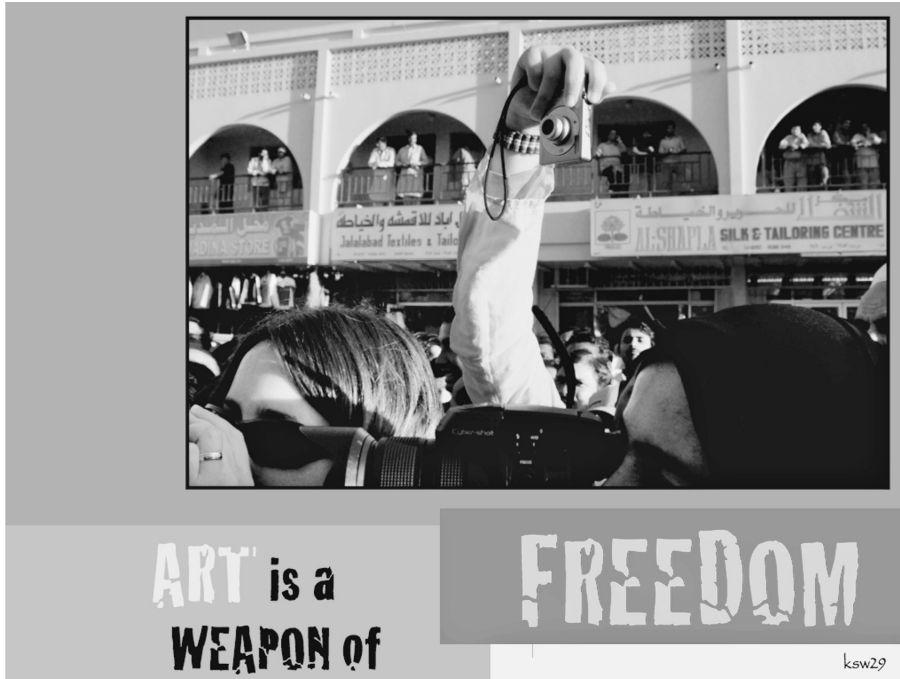


Figure 9.6. Kate Sampsell-Willmann, "Art Is a Weapon of Freedom" (Industrial City, Doha, 2008).

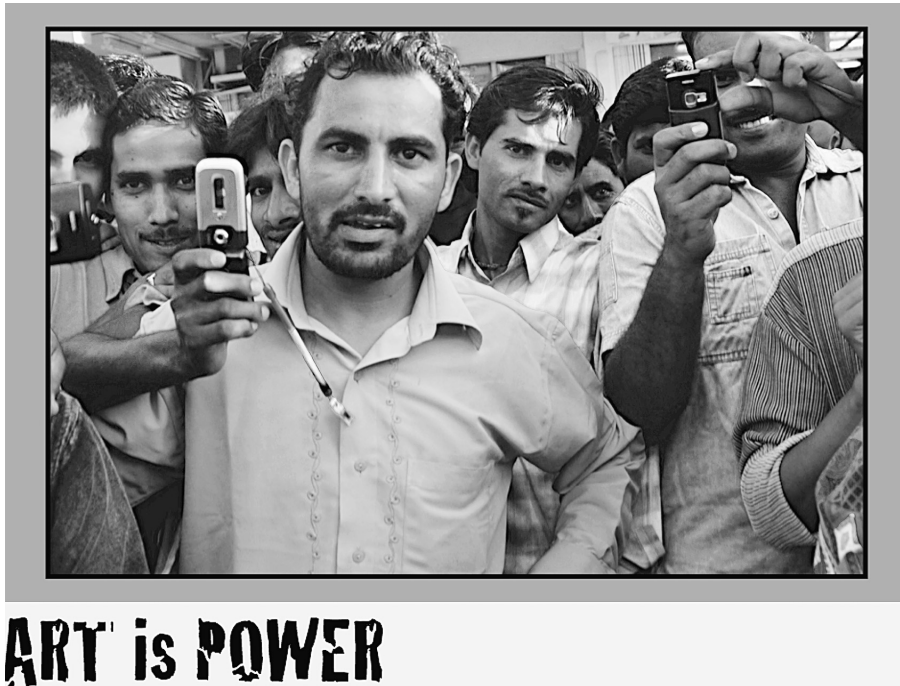


Figure 9.7. Kate Sampsell-Willmann, "Art Is Power" (Industrial City, Doha, 2008).

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press themselves articulately in a tried-and-true medium that was new to them.

Results

Lewis Hine's campaign against child labor collapsed with Progressivism. Although the Progressive Era was a time of enormous success in the attempt to reform society (although not all reforms were, upon reflection, wise, Prohibition being exhibit number one), reform movements lost steam after 1918. As noted earlier, the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of 1916 was ruled unconstitutional in *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, and although agitation continued for a child labor amendment to the Constitution, public support (and funding) evaporated after 1920. Hine shifted his focus on work as a "human value" from agitation against abuse to promotion of "the man behind the machine." What Hine and the NCLC lacked was a greater political will to interfere with state regulation of labor, perhaps especially in the wake of the Russian Revolution. In essence, the same lack of political will (on a micro scale) derailed the photography project.

The governments of the nationalities represented in the study were very supportive of the investigation, and the Qatari government (a reform- and arts-supporting government) was very interested in seeing the results of the excursions, especially since members of the royal family were among the participants. Nonetheless, the project was canceled by the university administration; the posters were literally ripped from the walls and torn up in front of my student helpers in a stunning rebuke to academic freedom. The students were in the process of hanging the posters to advertise the upcoming discussion when they were torn up and thrown away. No satisfactory explanation was given for the action except an arbitrary one from a dean and assistant dean (both Americans from main campus) who simply did not "approve" of the artwork. The project ended abruptly there, much to the students' dismay. It and this discussion therefore remain uncompleted and therefore unsatisfactory. Rather than agitprop, the exercise indeed became theater of the absurd and emphasized the limits of liberalism, even a liberal arts education.

Notes

1. For reasons that will become clear, the institution will remain unnamed.
2. For basic biographical background, see Daile Kaplan, introduction to

Photo Story: Selected Letters and Photographs of Lewis W. Hine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), xvii–xxxvi; and Alan Trachtenberg, “Ever—the Human Document,” in *America and Lewis Hine* (New York: Aperture, 1977).

3. Lester Frank Ward, “Mind as a Social Factor,” *Mind* 9, no. 36 (1884).

4. For a brief discussion of Jacob Riis and social Darwinism, see Kate Sampsell-Willmann, “Lewis Hine, Ellis Island, and Pragmatism: Photographs as Lived Experience,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 7 (April 2008), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jga/7.2/willmann.html>; and Jacob Riis, *The Battle with the Slum* (1914; reprint, New York: Dover, 1998) and *How the Other Half Lives* (1890; reprint, New York: Dover, 2004). For Riis generally, see Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities: Photographing American Urbanization, 1839–1939* (1984; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); and Bonnie Yochelson and Dan Czitrom, *Rediscovering Jacob Riis: The Reformer, His Journalism, and His Photographs* (New York: New Press, 2008).

5. Elizabeth McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art, November 19, 2010, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collectionsonline/mccaeliz/overview.htm>, AAA_mccaeliz_746786; Lewis Hine, “Biographical Notes,” reprinted in Kaplan, *Photo Story*, 177–180.

6. See handwritten notes, AAA_mccaeliz_746807.

7. *Ibid.* (emphasis in original).

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.* Although Hine wrote in 1906 that Adler was not sanguine about Hine’s chances at first. See Lewis Hine to Frank Manny [1906], reprinted in Kaplan, *Photo Story*, 2.

10. AAA_mccaeliz_746789. The Russell Sage Foundation has a substantial bibliography of publications and has engendered much criticism since its founding in 1907. For the Pittsburgh Survey, see Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds., *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996); Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, *Women and the Trades* (1909; reprint, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984); Crystal Eastman, *Work-Accidents and the Law* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910); John A. Fitch, *The Steel Workers* (1910; reprint, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989); Margaret Byington, *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* (1911; reprint, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969); and Paul U. Kellogg, *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1914) and *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1914).

11. For an allegation that the NCLC did embrace elements of social Darwinism, see Alan Derickson, “Making Human Junk: Child Labor as a Health Issue in the Progressive Era,” *American Journal of Public Health* 89 (September 1992): 1280–1290.

12. I thank John McClymer for “stoic bravado.”

13. For “flirting outrageously,” I thank Vicki Goldberg.

14. For the sake of length, only Lewis Hine will be addressed herein.

15. Both the finding of the Court’s majority and the dissent make for in-

teresting reading in light of continuing battles over states' rights. You may find the Court's opinion here: <http://supreme.justia.com/us/247/251/case.html>.

16. Quoted in Walter I. Trattner's classic *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 86–87. See also Hugh Hindman, *Child Labor: An American History* (New York: Sharpe, 2002); Juliet Moford, *Child Labor in America* (New York: History Compass, 1970); and Russell Freedman, ed., *Kids at Work: Lewis Hine and the Crusade Against Child Labor* (New York: Sandpiper, 1998). There is a dearth of analysis on Hine's contribution to child labor reform.

17. See Shelley Sallee, *The Whiteness of Child Labor Reform in the New South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 50–57.

18. For Dan McCarn, see Patrick Huber, *Linthead Stomp: The Creation of Country Music in the Piedmont South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); and William F. Danaher and Vincent J. Roscigno, "Cultural Production, Media, and Meaning: Hillbilly Music and the Southern Textile Mills," *Poetics* 32 (February 2004).

19. Although I showed the students many other examples of social documentary photography over a period of two weekends, especially Dorothea Lange and others in the New Deal, I hope that the reader will get the idea of how I teach SDP to prepare students for shooting excursions. For the sociological partnership between Lange and Paul Schuster Taylor, see Linda Gordon, *A Life beyond Limits* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010). Although I disagree with Jan Goggans's characterization of Paul Taylor as the origin of social documentary ideas, see her *California on the Breadlines: Dorothea Lange, Paul Taylor, and the Making of a New Deal Narrative* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); and my review in *Journal of Agricultural History* (2011). For using Lange's pictures in the classroom, see Linda Gordon, "Dorothea Lange: The Photographer as Agricultural Sociologist," *Journal of American History* (December 2006), <http://www.historycooperative.org/cgi-bin/justtop.cgi?act=justtop&url=http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/93.3/gordon.html>; and the "Teaching the JAH" Web project at <http://www.indiana.edu/~jah/teaching/>.

20. Doha guest workers are caught in a relatively strict hierarchy based on nationality. One cannot become a nationalized Qatari citizen, so no matter how many generations of families live in Qatar, their ethnicity determines their nationality. The hierarchy is (roughly) from bottom to top: Bangladeshis and Pakistanis at the bottom; Sri Lankans, unskilled Indians, and Nepalese; Indonesians; Filipinos; educated Indians; Islamic Africans; Levant Muslims (educated Palestinians and Lebanese) and Turks; expats (English-speaking Westerners and highly educated Asians and Africans—mostly oil, higher-education, or technical sectors, living in secure compounds); non-Gulf Arabs (Yemenis mostly); Gulfies (Arabs from other Gulf states) and Qataris; and members of the royal family at the top.

21. Hine to Manny [1906], reprinted in Kaplan, *Photo Story*, 2.

22. For photographs and statistics on Nepali workers in Qatar, see <http://www.mikeldunham.blogs.com/mikeldunham/2010/01/death-rate-for>

-nepali-workers-reaches-record-high-in-qatar.html: "According to a new report released by MigrantRights.org, Qatar, the rapidly developing Gulf state, is becoming a death chamber for Nepali workers, with the number of Nepalis dying in Qatar increasing in the last three years."

23. For individual identity in Hine's Ellis Island portraits and why maintaining it was politically important, see Sampsell-Willmann, "Lewis Hine, Ellis Island, and Pragmatism."

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