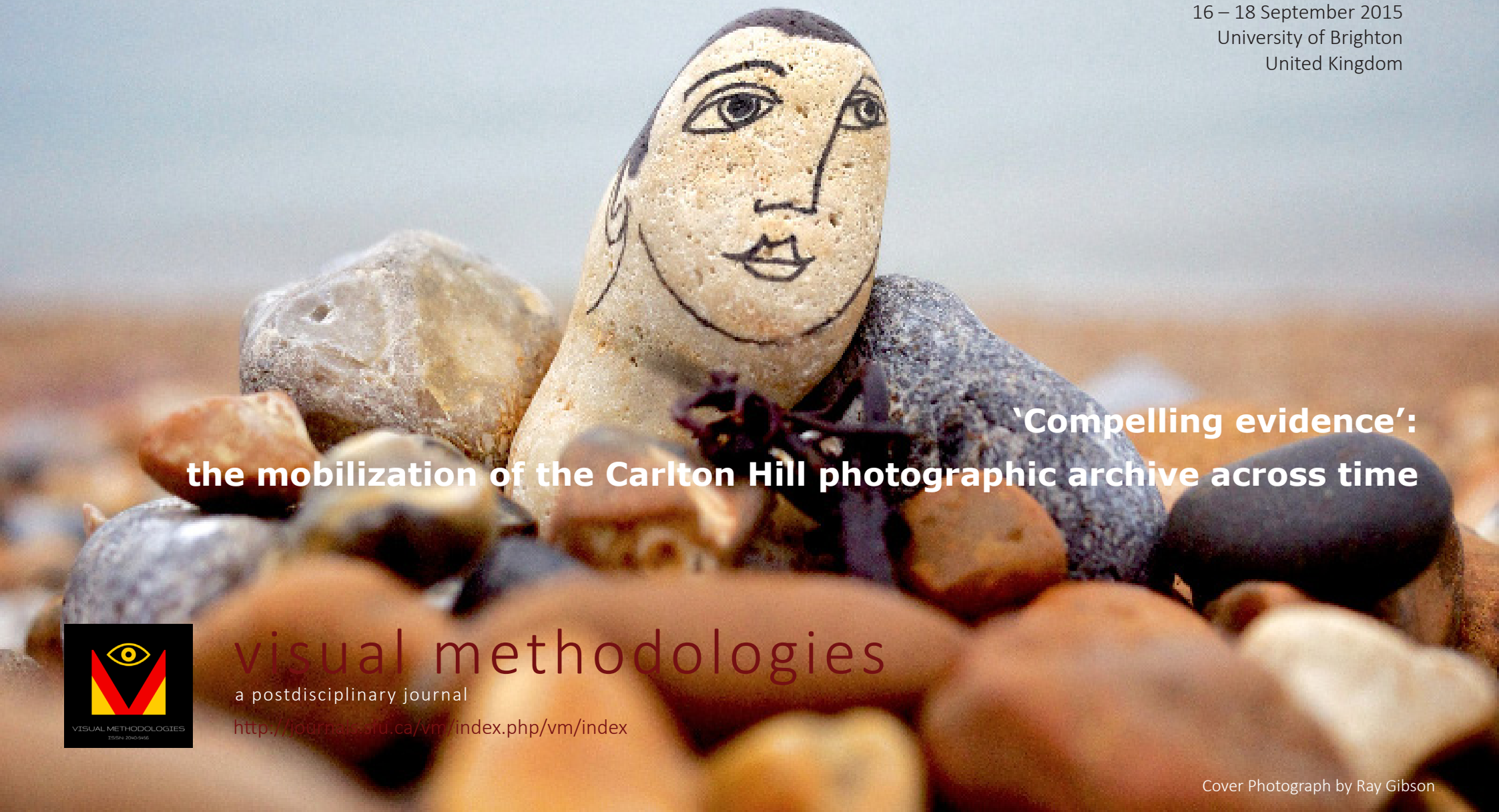
Volume 5, Number 1 *Special Issue*

4th International Visual Methods Conference

16 – 18 September 2015
University of Brighton
United Kingdom



'Compelling evidence': the mobilization of the Carlton Hill photographic archive across time

visual methodologies
a postdisciplinary journal
http://journal.sfu.ca/vm/index.php/vm/index

Cover Photograph by Ray Gibson

Julia Winckler, Adrienne Chambon and Selma Montford

Julia Winckler (University of Brighton) is an artist and senior lecturer, with extensive experience in visual archive-based projects. Her work attends to collective memory traces. These are articulated and mediated through visual techniques to raise new questions and engage with audiences. With Chambon and colleagues from the University of Toronto and Ryerson University she has co-curated the exhibition, 'From Streets to Playgrounds' at the City of Toronto Archives Gallery (2016) as part of a SSHRC funded grant.

j.wincker@brighton.ac.uk

Adrienne Chambon is professor emerita of social work at the University of Toronto. She has written and taught on post-structural Foucauldian approaches to knowledge and on the history and memory of social work and social welfare. Her latest SSHRC funded projects examined the relation between practices of arts and social work, and the most recent study examined the archives of a local childcare agency. From those projects on arts and on archives, she has lectured, published and taught.

a.chambon@utoronto.ca

Selma Montford is a writer and publisher, and for many years was the director of the Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre, housed within the University of Brighton. *Conversations with Sarah Rose Cook of Carlton Hill,* published by Selma's Brighton Town Press came out in March 2016.

ISSN: 2040-5456

VISUAL METHODOLOGIES
ISSN: 2040-5456

Abstract

This paper focuses on a single British case study, a collection of 'Brighton slum' photographs, and tracks their 'itinerant languages' (Cadava, 2013). By moving into and across the physical context of a number of archival photographs taken between 1933-35 of the Carlton Hill area, one of Brighton's oldest working class neighbourhoods built between 1800-1850, we explore the lives of these images (Lutz & Collins, 1993). We trace the movement of these photographs across three time periods: the time they were originally made, the early 1980s when the photographs were rediscovered, and the present. The photographs were exploited as 'compelling evidence' for making drastic change, justifying the council decision to 'clear the slum'. The places were documented so they would be erased. We argue that these photographs continue to provide compelling evidence as physical archival objects whose continued presence points to and confirms that this neighbourhood, and its residents, now gone, did once exist. To coincide with Brighton's 2015 IVM conference, we mobilized a number of the original photographs in an exhibition at Brighton's public library and through a site-specific evening projection event. We captured responses from former residents and their descendants, who came to see the exhibit. This paper demonstrates how each new form of collaboration has the potential to open up novel ways of visualizing historical research, and gives back historical archives to a public sphere that values the experiences of displaced communities across generations and disciplines.

Keywords: Transmission of archival sources; circulation of archival materials; visual approaches and archival interventions; reconceptualization; 'salvage' and 'detective' mode as a form of photographic research (E. Edwards); audience engagement.

Tracking the 'itinerant languages' of Brighton's 'slum' photographs of Carlton Hill

This journal article expands upon our joint presentation at the 4th International Visual Methods (IVM) conference, University of Brighton, where we shared cross-disciplinary, transnational research findings that have developed out of a larger Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research project, From Street to Playground: Representations of children in working class neighbourhoods in the early 20th century (2013-2017).[1] We tracked changing neighbourhood planning and social reform visions and the presence of children in public spaces in archival photographs taken for urban planning and public health departments and local councils in Canada and Britain.[2] In the first decades of the last century, a number of photographic surveys were commissioned for site mapping purposes, and to document housing conditions to demonstrate unsanitary or structural unfitness for the commissioning departments.[3] These photographs documented the plight of working class families, and frequently included representations of children at work and at play, highly visible as participants at street corners, on thresholds, in lanes, and emerging playgrounds of transforming, and expanding urban spaces. Depending on the commissioning department or organization, the presence of children in the photographs was used to elicit pity or strengthen arguments to clear areas, or sometimes both.

This paper focuses on a single British case study, a collection of photographs taken in Brighton in the early 1930s, and presents a small number of visual interventions and activities that were timed to coincide with the IVM conference itself. Eduardo Cadava, who coined the concept of photography's 'itinerant languages', wanted to 'refer to the various means whereby photographs not only "speak" but also move across historical periods, national borders, and different mediums' (2013:2). Following upon this notion, moving into and across the physical context of a number of archival photographs taken between 1933-35 of the Carlton Hill area, one of Brighton's oldest working class neighbourhoods, built between 1800-1850, we explore the lives of these images (Lutz & Collins, 1993). We trace the movement, and the ways the photographs speak their 'itinerant languages' across three time periods: the time they were originally made, the early 1980s when the photographs were rediscovered, and the present.

A series of photographs of this centrally located residential area had been commissioned by Brighton Council's Environmental Health Department in order to provide visual evidence that could be used as part of a national 'slum clearance' strategy. The council engaged Vawdrey Studios to photograph the streets, backyards and homes of Carlton Hill. The Vawdrey photographs were subsequently lost for over forty years. Since their rediscovery in the 1980s, they have been reused and transformed through a range of varied readings, publications and interventions. From their original purpose to provide factual evidence that would justify the demolition of all the buildings depicted in the photographs, they now serve as nostalgic reminders of how the old neighbourhood once looked.

This paper follows the story of the photographs from their inception, to the early 1980s when Selma Montford, former director of the Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre, re-discovered them and brought them back into the public sphere, to a third time plane in the present. We have ourselves mobilized the photographs through a public exhibition at Brighton's Jubilee Library and a site-specific projection event in the former Carlton Hill neighbourhood.

We argue that these photographs continue to provide compelling evidence in a double sense: as physical archival objects whose continued presence points to and confirms that this neighbourhood, and its residents, now gone, did once exist. The subjects of the photographs 'speak' to us across time; they meet and return our gaze and solicit our continued engagement.[4]

An urgent and strong appeal emanates from archival photographs, argued the late novelist W.G. Sebald.[5] In his view, photographs can have autonomy and agency, are self-contained, and retain a 'real nucleus', through which they are able to inspire investigative processes and hypothetical thinking.[6] Sebald showed how, through the eyes of contemporary viewers, stories hidden within photographs, could be illuminated anew. He describes this process as one where the viewer needs to look very closely into an image: as with looking through a stereoscopic view-master, the body of the viewer remains in the present, whereas the eyes are pulled right into the world of the photograph, demanding attention.

Time 1: 1933-1935: The making of Vawdrey's original images: pre archive

There is a commonality in the regions we have studied, and elsewhere, of working class neighbourhoods having been seized under the pretext of slum clearance for civic and commercial development. In both locations considered by our projects (Toronto, Brighton) an official commission was first undertaken by professional photographers, as part of a survey, to document in detail through photography the problematic conditions of living in urban centres that needed to be transformed; high-density, low income neighbourhoods whose populations suffered from poor quality housing and inadequate sanitation. The notion of 'slum' was then invoked. The photographic documents were intended for the sole use of the city and its 'experts' to use as evidence and corroboration of prescribed strategies and policy. In Britain, from 1930 onwards, the Greenwood Act enabled local councils to clear designated slum areas through a government grant. This is how Brighton council came to engage Vawdrey studios to provide visual evidence that could be used to aid with the clearance of the centrally located Carlton Hill neighbourhood, 'principally to form a collection of records relating to clearance, and also for

internal use to demonstrate those features of unfitness upon which the cases for clearance were based.' [7]

While photographically surveying these sites, the photographers also captured the many children who occupied the streets, alleyways, doorframes and courtyards. In some 'slum clearance' photographs, the presence of children was often more happenstance than planned, and frequently the children seem to have been pushed to the edge of the picture frame, as if invisible.[8] Visible and invisible, noticed and unnoticed, children became incidental subjects in many of these photographs.[9] Elizabeth Edwards, citing the writer Eelco Runia, uses the term 'stowaways' for this kind of happenstance photograph,

> … what is absently and unintentionally present on the plane of time. Photographs, as planes of time, are full of such stowaways, caught in the random excess of photography. They are not necessarily the subjects of the photographs – although they sometimes are – but living through that moment of inscription. [10]

Vawdrey studio were unlikely to have taken the Carlton Hill photographs just for the children's sake. But children were simply everywhere in Carlton Hill, and the state of the streets and of the buildings could not be documented without including children; the streets where their playground. Thus photographs with the presence of children took on a life of their own, tied to, but also separate from what had been perceived by local authorities as the 'internal unfitness' of the spaces they inhabited. The photographs also succeeded in documenting everyday domestic life within the community, such as laundry neatly hung out to dry on washing lines, plant pots, domestic pets including song birds in little wicker cages, dogs and cats. Vawdrey also captured local residents, including children, going about their everyday business, as for example in this photograph taken in 1935 on the corner of Woburn Place and Nelson Row of a young girl carrying a pillowcase. Barely visible, but present, are children's chalk drawings of faces on the front of the corner house.

The photographs were exploited as 'compelling evidence' for making drastic change, justifying the council decision to 'clear' the slums. The places were documented so they would be erased. Each medical officer of health report opened with a comment that the houses in the area,

> are by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects unfit for human habitation … and that the most satisfactory method of dealing with the conditions in the Area is the demolition of all the buildings in the Area. (1988:3)

The subsequent obliteration of the neighbourhood was of course highly political. The idea of creating a blank canvas for new development was predicated on class prejudices and a complete disregard for the connections and community ties that had existed within this working class community. The health-sanitary question has never been enough to do away with a 'slum' area. Real estate interests in demolishing 'slum' areas have been a recurrent source of conflict. The squeezing out of the residential space of the poor and real estate speculation have been key patterns of so-called urban renewal. In Brighton, as in Toronto, the central residential areas tended to make way for civic, commercial and municipal buildings and communities displaced from the urban centres to the margins felt the social cost of redevelopment most deeply.

Figure: 1 from Vawdrey's Carlton Hill series, Woburn Place & Nelson Row 1935 courtesy Brighton Museum & Pavilion.

Vawdrey's photographs were made for immediate usage, at least in part driven by social welfare concerns to foster the end of an era of poor housing stock. They were not commissioned for the future – to be seen as images of a dystopian present. Neither were they made for future recall, to entertain and stimulate the work of memory. At this stage, they were not intended for archival usage.

Time 2: early 1980s: Recovery of Vawdrey's photographs

The 'discovery' and 'recovery' of these photographs and the active quest to locate additional material took place at a much later date. By the early 1960s, the photographs were no longer protected. Having exhausted their purpose, they had been put aside, but had not been archived in an organized way. Rather they stood for the remnants of administrative work completed, accomplished, and paid for. There was no recollection of their subsequent destruction. Instead, they had been left behind, as the outcome of administrative negligence. Perhaps, out of the same negligence, they had been preserved. But they had not fully faded from consciousness. The images were authoritative enough, compelling enough, had circulated enough, that they had maintained a certain aura, a reputation, some sort of symbolic capital. We could call this phase 'the rumour' of the images. Somewhere, there was a series of 'slum images' whose recollection was fading, and whose location was uncertain. By then, the context of the photos had also vanished.

In the early 1980s, Montford, the director of the Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre, first heard rumours about a collection of 'slum' photographs from an Environmental Health Officer. (2007:7) When she asked to see them she was told that 'they had been lost'. She kept asking, without any luck, until, a few years later when she received an unexpected phone call that the photographs had re-appeared, and that she would be able to borrow them.

> They were handed to me in a paper carrier bag. I had no idea what I would find. It was a wonderful surprise when I discovered the outstanding and haunting quality of the photographs, a record of the buildings scheduled for demolition in the 1930s.[11]

The timing of the recollection was not random. Historically, it was motivated by the social-cultural context of this second period. The photographs took on a new meaning as they were newly cast in the period's values of community-building, defending, preserving, advocating for a fairer society, which had emerged from the late 1960s onwards and were at the heart of the work of the Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre. This work took place at the height of the community development era, with Jane Jacobs writing about urban renewal in the US, and when large-scale social redevelopments were taking place in inner city neighbourhoods in Canada (e.g. Toronto's Regent Park redevelopment).

Figure: 2 Brown paper bag, courtesy Selma Montford

With the photographs' recovery, the photographic cluster took on an 'archival' identity for the first time, confirmed by the disciplinary authority of Montford, buttressed by the institutional backing of the academic research unit of urban studies, with its explicit mandate to retrieve forms of local participation.

In turn, the new archival status of the photographs was detached from its institutional origin and turned into a new point of departure, a valuable kernel, the core of a potential community collection to be pursued through the systematic exploration of complementary photographic and contextual materials. The next phase consisted of an intervention to recontextualise the photographs in the period of their creation; to introduce the personal and social context of people's lives. The photographs were now 'doing' something different. They had been detached from their original institutional (and ideological) allegiance and transferred to a new one, leaving the administrative realm to become community records – community archives that 'belonged' to a different group of people. Montford's invitation tapped into local people's interest. The photographs were then assembled with a different purpose, and with a range of new participants. They structured the interviews, resulting in a new assemblage of photographs and statements and moved from a grouped record, 'slum photographs' into singular records. In the words of Sherry Turkle, taking on the status of evocative objects, or 'things we think with'. (2011)

As a result of the interviews and stories being sent in, the Urban Studies Centre, in conjunction with Queenspark books, a community publisher, produced two hugely popular publications in 1988, Backyard Brighton and Backstreet Brighton. These two books charted partial life narratives of former Carlton Hill residents, which often contested the official view that the area had been a 'slum'. Former resident Georgina Attrill recalled,

> Some people have described William Street as a 'slum', but I remember it quite differently … Carlton Hill was a haven for foreign refugees and immigrants … Ours was a small, single room. Lit by an oil lamp, with an open grate that burned both winter and summer … At Giggin's the bakers, in Grand Parade, we got our clean pillowcase filled with stale bread for fourpence each morning before we went to school. (2007:27-28)[12]

And R.J. Weedon wrote in the Evening Argus newspaper,

> The people who lived in these houses were good, clean, working class people … In the summer evenings we would sit out on the front steps enjoying a laugh with our friendly neighbours. Life was hard, but those small, jumbled houses rising up the hill were places of happiness as much as the grand ones on the Steine. (2005:30)

The books raised awareness of a lost part of Brighton, its social history, and personalized Vawdrey's photographs. In one case reported by Montford, a participant recognized her mother in one of the photographs and bought ten copies of the book for the whole family. She had never seen a photograph of her mother, as photographs had been beyond the purchasing power of their family. Within six weeks all 2000 copies that had been printed sold out, another 2000 were printed, and another 1000 a few years later.

As the community development era dwindled, the movement weakened, and the Urban Studies Centre was shut down. The books, with their photographs, had already migrated to a different cultural realm (away from the research institute), as high-quality community publications, thus affiliated with the world of book and community publishing houses. The books remain, and have since been reprinted and distributed in local, academic and alternative bookshops.

Time 3: Activating the archive in two of Brighton's public spaces

There has been a re-emergence of interest in creating residential neighbourhoods that protect public health, safety, and welfare and are socially responsible. At the same time there is growing concern about the deepening social and economic divide. Another condition, which may be playing into the photographs' renaissance, is a general appetite and consumption of popular history. At the same time, the advent of digital and social media, multiple new channels of communication and online sites such as ancestry.com have increased connectivity and accessibility of archival photographs. Most of Vawdrey's photographs have now been digitized and are freely available online. The original prints, once presumed lost and then given to Montford in a paper bag have been carefully stored and preserved for future generations at The Keep, East Sussex County Council's recently opened archive.[13] Had it not been for Montford's curiosity and agency they may well have been discarded and lost forever.

Yet another major shift is occurring in the former Carlton Hill area. Brighton's fruit and vegetable market, which in 1935 had replaced a network of narrow alleyways, courts and terraced streets, has just been demolished. The site is being redeveloped for the second time in living memory but this time the adjacent Circus Street School, which survived demolition in 1935 and is now the last visual trace of the Carlton Hill neighbourhood and the only one of three local Victorian schools still standing, is about to be demolished to make way for new large scale redevelopment.

Once again the survey photographs have been summoned to challenge developers and local council to reconsider their proposed plans to erase the last physical memory of Carlton Hill. Our team selected a small number of digitized Carlton Hill photographs to make new life-size prints. In order to foreground the presence of the children in the streets we cropped into some of the pictures. By making material again images of a neighbourhood that has been forever lost, we wanted to show that the places depicted, and the community that inhabited these spaces, did once exist. What began as a symbolic gesture of giving back archival photographs to communities and individuals had a moving effect on people.

Carlton Hill – The Children of Brighton's displaced community

As part of the IVM conference, we curated an exhibition at Brighton's Jubilee Library.[14] Six of Vawdrey's photographs were selected, accompanied by three photographs from a later 1950s commission, when Brighton Council engaged Deane & Miller studios to make a further visual record prior to their clearance of the last surviving streets of Carlton Hill which hitherto had escaped demolition due to the war.[15]

In newly activating the photographs and using the context of the conference to do so, they were re-introduced in an open public venue, accessible to the local population. Suspended as large black and white prints, unbound and unframed, each photograph became a world onto its own, with minimally worded links between the images. Hanging side by side in a row transformed these photos into the unanticipated event of a temporary public exhibit. Their large size invited the viewer to 'enter' or 'visit' up close and become immersed in the photograph. This way of re-assembling and circulating was meant to engage the viewer in a non-habitual mode of viewing. A major shift in scale removed the photographs from the cultural practice of presenting them as book or newspaper illustrations, most often in a context removed from the original situation.

Figure: 3 Jubilee library display

Displayed in a non-traditional exhibition space, some of the library users took up the invitation to carefully look at each of the photographs. Someone rolled her wheelchair slowly alongside the glass wall, stopping in front of each image. Someone else stepped deliberately close to a couple of photographs and peered into the children's faces, scrutinizing, as if looking to find a familiar face.

Figure: 4 Selma Montford in the exhibition space

Information about the exhibition quickly spread on social media. Within a day the link had been shared nearly 100 times, generating many inquiries. A conversation started amongst the Brighton Regency Society Facebook site users, who included descendants of the Carlton Hill community. The curators also experienced several encounters with visitors in the exhibition space, who shared their stories. These included three generations of one family, mother, granddaughter, and their grandmother who had grown up in Carlton Hill and also a widow whose husband was born there, who still goes for walks through the area to reconnect with him, even though the houses and homes are long gone.

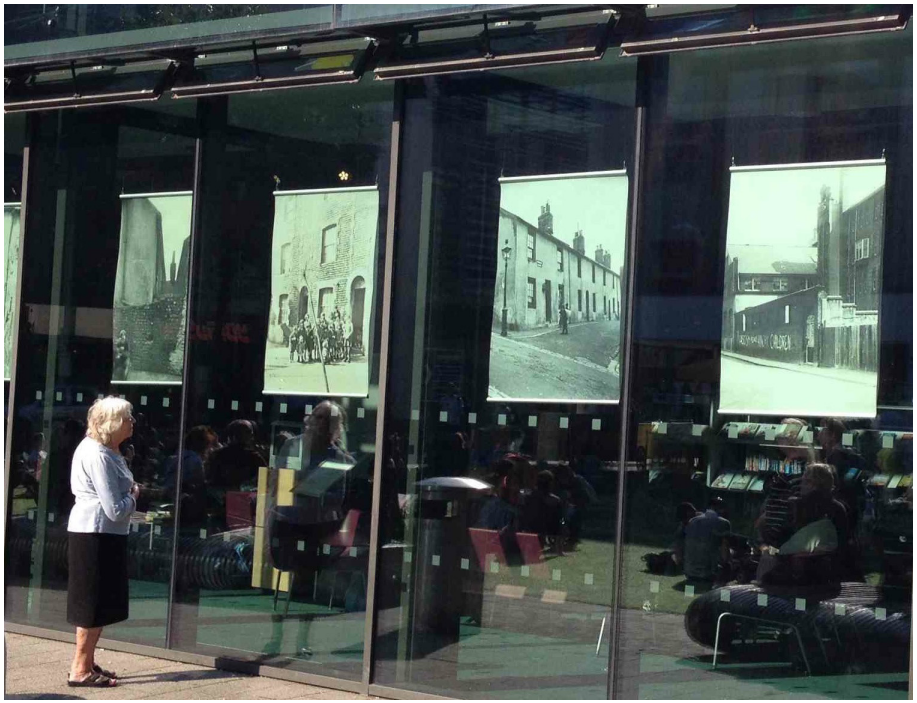


Figure 5: Outside Jubilee library exhibition

Site specific projection and soundscape event

In connection with the IVM conference, a site-specific projection event was staged in which we projected a selection of the photographs, accompanied by a soundscape, onto the external brick walls of Circus Street School. Built as an infant and primary school in 1882, since 1926 it had been used by Brighton Art College, and for the last 25 years, was home to the University of Brighton BA Photography course that Julia Winckler teaches on.

The walls of the school were used as a canvas to temporarily activate and embed the archival photographs within the fabric of the building itself, taking the images back to a site near where they had originally been made. The photographs and the walls were joined through a historical unity. Here the context came alive, the photographs traces of a former presence.

Figure: 6 Circus street school projection event repeat, December 2016

The old school stood out from the contemporary buildings and demolished spaces surrounding it. The projections imprinted silhouettes of the children onto the architectural features. Facing the viewers, the children's bodies seemed to glide over the surface, at times sinking into zones of shadow. The physical movements of the children were heightened by their displacement onto the masonry. More than realistic gestures, these were movements of interpellation.

Our visual approach included zooming in, cropping, resizing. By projecting them onto a historical landmark, itself about to be discarded, we wanted to facilitate a new way of looking at the images, used by time.

Figure 7: Circus street school projection event repeat, December 2016

However, the projection took place at a particular juncture in time. Just as the photographs were made to visit and circle through their earlier environment, that environment is in the process of disappearing in turn. Within just a few months of the projection, the building will have vanished. None of the façades of the building will be kept. The projection was staged as an encounter, a form of transmission, accompanied by a recording of Selma Montford reading from the reminiscences collected thirty years earlier shortly after the photographs were rediscovered, woven together as if into a single yet collective voice. Through the intense determination in her voice, these recounted memories resonated within the space.

The event was also filmed- newly fixing and framing the images and compounding several temporal periods into one textured body. The photographs' status as 'archive' has shifted again. In the future, the film footage can be reedited. The visual methods deployed document and reproduce the trace of a deliberate event, which, with time will have lost its material substance. The audience included photography colleagues, students and conference attendees. Brighton Museum curator and digital development officer Kevin Bacon was invited to comment

Figure 8: Circus street school projection event repeat, close up zoom December 2016

on this approach to inclusive contemporary archive-making as the images also resonate with him personally on a micro-level.[16] The images continue to have lives of their own, as we contribute to their circulation.

Within and beyond the archive: place-based visual intervention

Following on from the IVM conference, we have since worked with University of Brighton photography students to mobilize the collection of images through further artistic interventions, interpretations and transformations, reframing, displaying and performing the photographic records. The soundscape and visuals were re-screened for a large group of students in the seminar room of Circus Street School and a photography research module was set up to work with a second year group. We went for local walks and attended residents meetings in the nearby Milner and Kingswood flats.[17] The students wrote poems, stories and made location-specific photographs. In the process of re-engaging with the original photographs, further connections were made bringing additional dormant material

relating to the history of Circus Street School to light. These included an article from the Brighton Herald, which promoted educational reforms and mandatory schooling for all children and focused on a day in the life of young scholars in Circus Street School. We obtained an old floor plan of the school, which the university site manager had had for years. The plan included three original playgrounds on the school's grounds for girls, boys and infants, which we did not know had existed.[18] These documents became part of our ever-expanding archive.

The students' added to this growing collection by carefully recording all the spaces and objects inside Circus Street School to create a visual inventory.

Figure 9: Photograph taken by Connie van Helfteren of final class in Circus Street School, 28th January 2016

From all the photographs taken by the students we produced a salvage list of internal building features and submitted this to the site developer who has now agreed to save a small number of artefacts before the school is pulled down.

Conclusion

The Carlton Hill collection continues to live on; the photographs, in their manifestations as physical objects or online images, continue their 'itinerant journeys' and retain their ability to communicate across time. To return to Sebald's idea of a photograph's 'nucleus', the Carlton Hill photographs retain a strong internal appeal. New reworkings become possible, along with new sets of questions. Visual methods facilitate and heighten interventions and interferences, they dislodge familiar readings and holding spaces, and reopen those relations anew.

The recent reappearance of socially engaged photography documenting the urban poor and slum clearance in exhibitions and publications in Britain and Canada (such as Shirley Baker's Women, Children and Loitering Men at the Photographers Gallery, London, or Nick Hedges photographs taken for the charity Shelter, shown at London's Science Museum's Media Centre, or the Canadian publication, The Ward, The Life and Loss of Toronto's First Immigrant Neighbourhood, all 2015) are all part of a social, cultural and political movement seeking to reframe the way we think about the past.

These exhibitions and publications contribute to our understanding of how photographs made for specific purposes and under specific circumstances can intervene and interfere in social reality, at strategic intervals of time, each time embodying various manifestations, and eliciting a range of actions. They can help return the original meaning or intention of the photographer, naming historical moments in time, or may help reframe the way we think about past actions. In these neoliberal times socio-economic gaps are widening, and with them is the threat to the fabric of cities themselves. Popular low-income residential areas are often destroyed or become gentrified in the wake of commercial development.

Mark Salber Phillips, writing on historical distance, perceived proximities between particular historical periods. The Brighton case study, embedded within a larger transnational project, taps into a zeitgeist and renewed interest in displaced communities. Kate Elms of Brighton's The Keep recently published an article about Circus Street School's first logbook. Queenspark are currently recording volunteers to produce a sound app to listen to the stories of former residents whilst walking through Brighton. Each new form of collaboration has the potential to open up novel ways of visualizing historical research, and giving back historical archives to a public sphere that values the experiences of displaced communities across generations and disciplines.

References

Brown, William (1998). 'The Historical Photograph: Artifact – Testament – Text', MA thesis, University of Toronto, OISE.
Cadava, Eduardo (1997). Words of Light. Theses on the Photography of History, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
Cadava, Eduardo and Nouzeilles Gabriella (2013). The Itinerant Languages of Photography Princeton University Art Museum, Yale University Press.
Edwards, Elizabeth (2012). The Camera as historian. Duke University Press.
Didi-Huberman (2005). Confronting Images. Pennsylvania State University Press.
Lutz, C., & Collins, J. L. (1993). A World Brightly Different: Photographic Conventions 1950-1986. In *Reading National Geographic* (pp. 87–117). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lutz, C. A., & Collins, J. L. (Eds.). (1993). A World Brightly Different: Photographic Conventions 1950-1986. University of Chicago Press.
Langford, Martha (2002). Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums MCGill Queens University Press.
Montford, Selma (ed) (2005). The Landscape Book of Brighton Prints. Brighton Books Publishing.
Montford, Selma (ed) (2007). Backyard Brighton, new memories, reflections and photographs. Brighton Books Publishing.
Morton, Christopher and Edwards, Edwards (eds.) (2009). Photography, anthropology and history : expanding the frame. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
Pollard, Jacqueline and Montford, Selma (eds) (2008). Backyard Brighton: new memories, reflections and photographs. Brighton Books Publishing.
Phillips, Mark Salber (2009). "Relocating Inwardness: Historical Distance and the Transition from Enlightenment to Romantic Historiography," reprinted from PMLA 2003, in The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources. Ed. Adam Budd. Abingdon: Routledge, 106-117.
Turkle, Shirley (ed) (2011). Evocative Objects: Things We Think With Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Queenspark Books & Lewis Cohen Urban studies centre (1988). Backyard Brighton, Brighton.
Queenspark Books & Lewis Cohen Urban studies Centre (1989). Backstreet Brighton, Brighton.
Scholz, C. Editor 'Der Schriftsteller und die Fotografie', [the writer and photography], WDR, Germany, 1999. Radio Program.

Exhibitions

Lives less photographed: working class life in Brighton 1860-1935, curated by Kevin Bacon, 2008 Brighton Museum, Print & Drawings Gallery
Carlton Hill – the children of Brighton's displace community, curated by Julia Winckler, Adrienne Chambon and Ian Hockaday, 2015 Jubilee library.

Image index

Fig. 1 New registry office site May 18, 1912 South West Cor. Elizabeth &

Louisa St Photographer: Arthur Goss, City of Toronto Archives

Fig. 2 from Vawdrey's Carlton Hill series, 1935 photo courtesy Regency Society

(Girl with pillowcase filled with bread)

Fig. 3 Brown paper bag, photo courtesy Selma Montford

Fig. 4 Jubilee library display, photo Julia Winckler

Fig. 5 Selma Montford inside Jubilee library exhibition, photo Julia Winckler

Fig. 6 Outside the Jubilee library exhibition, photo Ian Hockaday

Fig. 7 Circus street school projection event repeat, December 2016, photo Ian Hockaday

Fig. 8: Circus street school projection event repeat, December 2016, photo Ian Hockaday

Fig 9: Circus street school projection event repeat, December 2016, photo Julia Winckler

Acknowledgments

With thanks to Ian Hockaday for all his technical support with the exhibition, projection, research and soundscape.

(Endnotes)

[1] This multi-faceted project brings together scholars from within social sciences and visual studies and is grounded in archival documents that date back to the first part of the 20th century in British cities and in Toronto, the principal urban centre of English Canada.

[2] There are significant parallels that justify a joint exploration as the two countries have a history of close relationships on many levels: economic, political, architectural, cultural The social reform agenda in early 20th century English Canada was hugely influenced by its British counterpart as Canada remained part of the British Dominion until 1931.

[3] See, e.g. Edwards, 2012.

[4] On this, see, Martha Langford, who makes a forceful argument for the continued orality and afterlife of memory in photographs (2001). In his seminal *Camera Lucida* (1980), Roland Barthes discussed the particular pull of individual photographs and showed how sometimes the viewer is deeply moved, or touched by a photograph, has a bodily, almost visceral response of recognition (punctum); and how other photographs may trigger a more cerebral, detached response (studium). Many archival photographs clearly work on both a punctum and a studium level, and share in common that they require active viewer engagement.

[5] Sebald articulated these ideas in particular in a radio broadcast on the relationship between writing and photography, 'Der Schriftsteller und die Fotografie', [the writer and photography], WDR, Germany, 1999. The program was based on conversations with editor Christian Scholz, W.G. Sebald and Wilhelm Genazino.

[6] The argument that images can exert their own power over viewers has also been made forcefully by W.J.T. Mitchell, in What do pictures want (2004).

[7] Backyard Brighton, Queenspark Book no.20 & Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre 1988:1

[8] See, for example C.A. Mathew's 1912 photographs taken in Brick Lane. C.A. Mathew Photographs of Spitalfields a century ago, Eleven Spitalfields Gallery, London 2014.

[9] There were significant exceptions like the photographer and philanthropist Horace Warner, who took a series of portraits of some of East London's poorest children in 1900 at play and at work. Warner recorded the names, ages and addresses of his child subjects, thus putting them firmly at centre stage and according them real dignity and visibility. See Warner, Horace, 2014, Spitalfields Nippers, Spitalfields Life Books.

[10] Brighton Photo Biennial 14 exhibition catalogue Magnum: One Archive, Three Views at the De La Warr Pavilion

[11] Montford, S. 2007:7

[12] See Figure 2, girl carrying a pillowcase filled with bread.

[13] Most are part of the East Sussex County Council collection, Brighton and Hove Museum. A few are copyright Regency Society archive and we are grateful to Alexandra Loske and Sarah Gibbings for making them available to us and granting us permission to use them here.

[14] Jubilee library itself was built in 2005 on the site of another Brighton working class neighbourhood that had sat derelect since its demolition some forty years earlier.

[15] As part of the exhibition we also made a documentary with photographer and film-maker, Tony Wallis, about the legendary Wolf Suschitzky, called Children are the future of any country. Born in 1912 and now 103, Suschitzky has made humanist photographs of children for seven decades, including in British 'slum' areas.

[16] Bacon curated an exhibition in 2009 entitled Lives less photographed, which focused on Brighton's working class communities from the 1890s onwards and attracted a range of audiences. It brought working class audiences and family historians to the museum who could relate to the areas.

[17] These higher density tower blocks were built in 1934 and 1938 respectively to accommodate some of the families made homeless due to the slum clearance program.

[18] We were also given a film made by a Brighton video collective and residents of the Milner and Kingswood flats in 1987 called Playing Safe, which focused on creating a safe playground for the children living at the flats.