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# Images of an illness : a case study of Albert R. Stone's tuberculosis photographs

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IMAGES OF AN ILLNESS: A CASE STUDY OF ALBERT R. STONE'S TUBERCULOSIS  
PHOTOGRAPHS

by

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A thesis

presented to Ryerson University and George Eastman House

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the program of

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

Rochester, New York, United States, 2011

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## Abstract

Images of an Illness: A Case Study of Albert R. Stone's Tuberculosis Photographs

Master of Arts

2011

Tasha Caswell

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

Ryerson University and George Eastman House International Museum of

Photography and Film

This master's thesis is a case study of sixteen black-and-white photographs of tuberculosis treatment facilities in Rochester, N.Y., by local photographer Albert R. Stone. They appeared in the *Rochester Herald* in as two photo essays, one in 1909 and the other in 1923. The aim of my research was to provide contextual information about Albert Stone and the *Rochester Herald*, tuberculosis and its treatment, and how the disease was portrayed photographically, and ultimately, to determine whether Stone's photographs were typical of tuberculosis-related images. I examined them in the context of other sanatorium images and based on statements about the conventions of sanatorium photographs made by Daniel M. Fox and Christopher Lawrence in *Photographing Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America Since 1840* and concluded that they were representative of photographs of sanatoriums made in the early twentieth century.

## Acknowledgements

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Christopher Hoolihan, the Rare Books & Manuscripts Librarian at University of Rochester Medical Center's Edward G. Miner Library, assisted me initially in my search for a thesis topic and later pulled tuberculosis-specific journals for me to look at. A special thanks to him for showing me the J.N. Adams Hospital Scrapbook, an album containing similar photographs to Albert R. Stone's, and for scanning specific images so I could write about them.

Leatrice Kemp and Kathryn Murano from the Rochester Museum & Science Center generously answered my questions about Albert Stone, provided me with the digitized negatives and let me look at contact prints.

The staff of the Local History and Genealogy Department at the Rochester Public Library showed me resources about Rochester and the *Rochester Herald* in the early twentieth century that I never would have found on my own. Additionally, Local History's collection of microfilmed newspapers, including the *Rochester Herald*, is central to the very existence of this paper.

Thanks, also, to my colleagues in the Photographic Preservation and Collections Management program, particularly Andrea Raymond, Mandy Malazdrewich and Marissa Potvin, for acting as sounding boards and talking through the tricky sections of my thesis with me.

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## Introduction

This essay is a case study of sixteen photographs of tuberculosis treatment facilities taken by Rochester, New York, photographer Albert R. Stone. The aim of my research was to determine whether or not Stone's photographs were representative of sanatorium photographs of the early twentieth century. Stone, the first full-time newspaper photographer in Rochester, worked for the *Rochester Herald* from 1903 until 1927, when the paper was purchased by another local daily, the *Democrat and Chronicle*.<sup>1</sup> Between 1909 and 1923, Stone photographed Monroe County's tuberculosis treatment facilities, producing sunny, optimistic photographs that documented the patients at Rochester's day camp, outdoor schools for delicate children, and Iola Sanatorium. These photographs were published in the newspaper, many of them in the Sunday rotogravure picture section, with accompanying captions and the hand-drawn art that was widely employed at the time.

Of the 75 tuberculosis-related photographs that Stone produced, this paper will focus on a mere sixteen, eight each in two stories published in the *Herald*: one from 1909 that depicts the buildings, patients and medical staff at the tuberculosis day camp; and the other from 1923 that depicts young Iola patients outdoors in winter. Photo essays about the children at Rochester's outdoor schools also exist, but the outdoor schools were not exclusively for children with tuberculosis, but

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<sup>1</sup> Leatrice M. Kemp, "Albert Stone and His Photographs of 'Afro-Rochester,'" in *Images: "Afro-Rochester" 1910-1935*, by Leatrice M. Kemp and Victoria Sandwick Schmitt (Rochester, NY: Rochester Museum & Science Center, 1996), 15.

rather those susceptible to it and other diseases. As such, they do not fit the scope of this paper.

The Rochester Museum & Science Center (RMSC) houses Albert Stone's glass plate negatives. A team of volunteers identified when the corresponding photographs were published in the *Rochester Herald*. The negatives were digitized and made available online along with the publication information and searchable categories (created by RMSC staff, not Stone himself). I searched for all of the tuberculosis images, noted when they were published, and located them in the *Rochester Herald*, which is available on microfilm from Rochester Public Library. Once I had copies of the published photographs, I was able to narrow my selection from 75 to sixteen.

I selected the stories from among the handful of tuberculosis-related articles that Stone's images illustrated specifically because the photographs in them were clearly the focus, not mere illustrations for text. For starters, each story took up a full page in the newspaper. What is more, the photographs comprised the majority of the page, a layout and design decision that emphasizes their importance. Finally, the images and their accompanying details—the captions, titles and other text, as well as hand art—form a body of work that presents two different views of tuberculosis in Rochester, one of adherence to the open-air routine at the day camp, and the other of cheerful children whose optimistic, can-do attitudes heal them and their elders.

The core of my argument, that Stone's photographs were typical of sanatorium imagery, relies on Daniel M. Fox and Christopher Lawrence's book,

*Photographing Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America Since 1840*. The authors make definitive statements about this kind of photography—that the images rarely contained visibly ill people or the interiors of tuberculosis sanatoriums, instead emphasizing patients’ access to the outdoors and the company of others—and provided photographic examples in their book. After looking at photographs of sanatoriums in *Photographing Medicine* and other sources, including reform journals, I determined that Albert Stone’s photographs were typical of this kind of photography.

While *Photographing Medicine* defines the conventions of sanatorium images, it considers only the photographs, not the context of their publication, if they were in fact published. Because Stone’s photographs were published, it is important to deal with the time period, their layout and design, and the captions and other text that accompanied the photographs, and what impact these factors have on the meaning of the images and photo essays overall. Therefore, this paper goes beyond simply establishing that Stone’s images were not unusual, to explore the context of their publication. Doing so requires background information about Stone’s body of work and where his tuberculosis photos lie within it, as well as factual information about tuberculosis and its prevention and treatment, and finally, how tuberculosis was depicted and perceived photographically during the time period in which Stone was photographing Rochester’s efforts to combat the disease. A comparison of published photojournalistic and reform photographic representations of tuberculosis, as well as available unpublished photographs from archives, will

reveal that Stone was operating within the conventions of sanatorium photography in his depictions of the disease.

To the modern eye, the photographs appear to gloss over what must have been a grim subject: in 1900, tuberculosis was the leading cause of death in Rochester,<sup>2</sup> and nationwide death rates did not dip below 100 per 100,000 population until the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> It is striking, then, that the 1909 photographs present a rather sterile view of tuberculosis, one that largely ignores the patients' emotional experience. Additionally, while the 1923 photographs are more personal in that they focus on the children who lived at Iola instead of the institution's approach to treatment, the images and text are so optimistic that they fail to convey any sense of the urgency that tuberculosis was associated with in the early twentieth century, as I discuss later in this essay. Ultimately, these qualities seem in such conflict with a twenty-first century notion of the disease that the question must be asked: are these typical portrayals of tuberculosis in the early twentieth century?

## **Literature Review**

Tuberculosis in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a widely covered topic, and I consulted contemporaneous resources from the early- to mid-twentieth century, as well as more recent books. The *American Review of Tuberculosis*, published from 1917 to 1954, contains information about how the disease was treated and perceived socially at the time; only the years 1917 to 1925 were

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<sup>2</sup> David B. Brady and Albert D. Kaiser, M.D., *Fifty Years of Health in Rochester, New York, 1900-1950* (Rochester, NY: Health Bureau, July 1950).

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Geitner, *Ending Neglect: The Elimination of Tuberculosis in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000), 24.

consulted for this paper, as those were the volumes published during the time period in which Stone was taking photographs.<sup>4</sup> The journal also contains photographs, most of them of x-rays and pathological specimens, making them irrelevant to this paper. While many of the articles it published were medically and scientifically oriented, quite a few presented opinions on the efficacy of the sanatorium movement and other treatment methods. Many of the statements reveal attitudes toward the disease and its victims that are difficult to gauge from more current texts, which was helpful in constructing the social context of tuberculosis for this paper.

Also consulted but of less relevance were *The Journal of Tuberculosis: A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to the Prevention and Treatment of Tuberculosis*<sup>5</sup> and *T.B.: Playing the Lone Game Consumption*,<sup>6</sup> both of which offer contemporary approaches to the disease but ultimately did not contain as much relevant information as the *American Review*. Walters' comprehensive statistical survey of tuberculosis institutions provides insight into how pervasive sanatoriums were in the United States in 1913, its year of publication.<sup>7</sup>

Much has been written on tuberculosis from a more modern perspective. While many books address the disease's romantic connotations in nineteenth

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<sup>4</sup> Edward R. Baldwin, ed., *American Review of Tuberculosis: Journal of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis 1-10* (1917-1925).

<sup>5</sup> Karl von Ruck, ed., *The Journal of Tuberculosis: A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to the Prevention and Treatment of Tuberculosis 2* (1900).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Crawford Galbreath, *T.B.: Playing the Lone Game Consumption*, (New York: Journal of the Outdoor Life Publishing Company, 1915).

<sup>7</sup> Frederick Rufenacht Walters, *Sanatoria for the Tubercular: Including a Description of Many Existing Institutions and of Sanatorium Treatment in Pulmonary Tuberculosis*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: George Allen & Co., Ltd., 1913).

century Europe as writers, poets and other artists succumbed to tuberculosis, Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor* discusses it extensively.<sup>8</sup> She posits that the metaphors associated with the disease—that it “consumed” its victims; that those victims were sensitive individuals, beyond the indignities of mundane life; that it contributed to the glamour of being pale, anemic and sickly in appearance—ignored the reality of tuberculosis. Although I found her interpretation was helpful in understanding the disease's romantic associations and metaphors, Stone's photographs were not metaphors, they were information.

Several books offer various histories of tuberculosis, many of them following the disease from its romantic connotations in nineteenth century Europe to the sanatorium movements in Europe and the United States in the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup> Rothman's *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* focuses on the patient, offering a thorough account of how tubercular individuals handled the disease in the United States between 1810 and 1940, as various trends in treatment gained in popularity over time.<sup>10</sup> All of these resources were helpful in establishing a greater understanding of how tuberculosis affected the patients' experiences living in sanatoriums that went

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<sup>8</sup> Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978).

<sup>9</sup> Thomas M. Daniel, *Captain of Death: The Story of Tuberculosis* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997); Thomas Dormandy, *The White Death: A History of Tuberculosis* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1999); Georgina D. Feldberg, *Disease and Class: Tuberculosis and the Shaping of Modern North American Society*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Sheila M. Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Katherine Ott, *Fevered Lives: Tuberculosis in American Culture since 1870* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death*.

beyond statistics on recovery to consider their psychological wellbeing, a subject that comes up in some of Stone's photographs and the captions and other text used to describe them in the *Rochester Herald*.

To provide contextual information on the time period in which Albert Stone's photographs were created, I consulted Faith Jaycox's *The Progressive Era*, which offers a thorough, accessible account of the early twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> I also consulted several books that addressed the relationship between photography and medicine. Tanya Sheehan's *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* examines how photography and medicine in the 1800s shared metaphors and practices. While she does include a chapter on public health, disease and photography, it is mostly to offer insight on the connections between the afflictions of the physical body and those visited upon photographs.<sup>12</sup>

Daniel M. Fox and Christopher Lawrence's *Photographing Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America Since 1840* contains generalizations about the content of sanatorium photographs created between 1880 and 1939, made as a result of the authors' analysis of medical photographs in archives, publications and private collections.<sup>13</sup> These generalizations, discussed in greater detail further on in this paper, form my understanding of what were the conventions of sanatorium photographs: that patients' proximity to the outdoors and companionship with

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<sup>11</sup> Faith Jaycox, *The Progressive Era* (New York: Facts on File. 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Tanya Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 118-125.

<sup>13</sup> Fox and Lawrence, *Photographing Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America Since 1840*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), 327.

other consumptives were depicted more frequently than were visibly ill people and the interiors of the institutions.

Two resources included imagery of sanatoriums culled from archives and publications, offering a selection of items with which to compare Albert Stone's photographs. The above-mentioned *Photographing Medicine* contains examples of the images that embodied the authors' statements about the generalities of sanatorium photographs. Additionally, the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Slide Archive of Historical Medical Photographs at Stony Brook* offers reproductions of the slides and the images' original publication information.<sup>14</sup> It contains at least 29 photographs of sanatoriums, patients and medical staff, all of which informed Fox and Lawrence's conclusions about how the disease was depicted. The *Illustrated Catalogue* became an excellent resource for images to use in comparison to Stone's, as well as through which to discover publications containing tuberculosis imagery.

Publications on early photojournalism (pre-1936) were valuable in building an overview of the technological history of photojournalism leading up to Stone and the *Rochester Herald's* era. Estelle Jussim and Michael Carlebach, in particular, consider early "documentary" and reform photography,<sup>15</sup> discussions that are perhaps most relevant in this paper for establishing what Stone was not, rather than what he was. Finally, *Scoop Scandal and Strife: A Study of Photography in Newspapers*,

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<sup>14</sup> Rima D. Apple, compiler, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Slide Archive of Historical Medical Photographs at Stony Brook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984).

<sup>15</sup> Michael L. Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Estelle Jussim, "'The Tyranny of the Pictorial': American Photojournalism from 1880 to 1920," in *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America*, ed. Marianne Fulton (Boston: Little, Brown, 1988), 37-74.

examined photojournalism from a British point of view,<sup>16</sup> highlighting the fact that American newspapers in fact lagged behind their English counterparts in recognizing the value of newspaper photography. However, it is no surprise that the *Rochester Herald*, in the city of Kodak and George Eastman, embraced photography in its pages early on.<sup>17</sup>

In attempting to piece together the story of the early newspaper photographer and his likely assignments, information that helped ground Stone's overall body of work, the most useful resource was *Get That Picture! The Story of the News Cameraman*, by J.A. Ezickson.<sup>18</sup> Focusing primarily on the evolution of the picture syndicate, it, too, provided some context for what the *Rochester Herald* and Albert Stone were not. However, Ezickson does include some useful information about the sometimes exciting, often dull stories a news photographer could expect to cover in the 1920s and '30s,<sup>19</sup> which validated many of the subjects under which Stone's photographs are categorized.

Several resources were helpful in establishing the prevalence of the hand drawn art that appears in the second of Stone's photo essays. Raymond Smith

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<sup>16</sup> Ken Baynes et al., *Scoop Scandal and Strife: A Study of Photography in Newspapers* (London: Hastings House, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> Photographs seem to have been introduced into the pages of the *Herald* gradually. On Friday, September 6, 1901, a photographic reproduction appears in an advertisement, and by 1902, at least one ad featuring a photograph was run regularly. The first instance of a photograph used in an article that I could find came on February 24, 1902, with portraits of Kaiser Wilhelm and his family. It wasn't until 1903, the year that the *Herald* hired Stone, that photographs are used regularly to illustrate articles.

<sup>18</sup> J. Ezickson, *Get That Picture! The Story of the News Cameraman*, (New York: National Library Press, 1938).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

Schuneman's 1966 Ph.D. dissertation offers a thorough statistical analysis of the use of photographs in a selection of New York City's daily newspapers between 1890 and 1937, as well as qualitative information on how the photographs were presented.<sup>20</sup> He pinpoints the period between 1911 and 1919 as when newspapers began presenting photographs with fanciful decorations and in unusual shapes.<sup>21</sup> Hoffer also mentions the prevalence of this type of treatment in early photo essays, suggesting that picture editors of the time did not recognize the photograph's inherent ability to communicate information, and as a result used "complicated flourishes" and crowded layouts.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, picture editing manuals of the 1970s warn the reader against "amazingly ugly jumbles of odd shapes and silhouettes"<sup>23</sup> and state that the editor's lack of respect for photographs is evident in "the mortises, the blockouts, the insets, the many techniques of 'design' that only despoil."<sup>24</sup> While it is never explicitly stated, the hostility towards decoration and fanciful shapes suggests that these were widespread conventions of early photojournalism that experienced a backlash in the 1970s.

Local resources proved invaluable in telling the stories of Albert Stone, the *Rochester Herald*, tuberculosis in Rochester, and Iola Sanatorium. Leatrice M. Kemp

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<sup>20</sup> Raymond Smith Schuneman, "The Photograph in Print: An Examination of New York Daily Newspapers, 1890-1937" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1966).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 263-280.

<sup>22</sup> Mary Jane Hoffer, "Technical and Aesthetic Developments of the Photo-Essay," (EdD diss., Columbia University Teacher's College, 1984), 105.

<sup>23</sup> Laura Vitray, John Mills, Jr. and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Photojournalism* (New York: Arno Press, 1973).

<sup>24</sup> Gerald D. Hurley and Angus McDougall, *Visual Impact in Print: How to Make Pictures Communicate; A Guide for the Photographer, the Editor, the Designer*. (Chicago: Visual Impact, 1971), 158.

and Victoria Sandwick Schmitt's *Images: "Afro-Rochester" 1910-1935* provided biographical information about Stone and included a brief discussion of Stone as a news photographer and a photojournalist and the differences between them.<sup>25</sup> William F. Peck's book on the history of Rochester included a section that recounted the history of the local press, including information about the political allegiances of the local newspapers.<sup>26</sup> Brady and Kaiser's *Fifty Years of Health in Rochester, New York, 1900-1950* contained statistical information about the local death rate from tuberculosis, which fit into national statistics found elsewhere and created a local connection to the disease.<sup>27</sup> "The History of Public Health in Rochester, New York," by Blake McKelvey, provided details about the Public Health Association's role in the conception and construction of Iola.<sup>28</sup> Iola's own Circular of Information and Annual Report, published from 1912 to 1960,<sup>29</sup> contained historical information about the sanatorium.

Overall, this research was instrumental in establishing not only the context of the disease and the time period in which Stone was photographing, but also how sanatoriums were generally depicted in Stone's time. Understanding the

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<sup>25</sup> Leatrice M. Kemp, "Albert Stone and His Photographs of 'Afro-Rochester,'" in *Images: "Afro-Rochester" 1910-1935*, by Leatrice M. Kemp and Victoria Sandwick Schmitt (Rochester, NY: Rochester Museum & Science Center, 1996), 15.

<sup>26</sup> William F. Peck, *History of Rochester and Monroe County New York, From the Earliest Historic Times to the Beginning of 1907*. Illustrated with Maps, Portraits and Views. Also Biographical Sketches of Some of the More Prominent Citizens of Rochester and Monroe County (New York: The Pioneer Publishing Company, 1908).

<sup>27</sup> David B. Brady and Albert D. Kaiser, M.D., *Fifty Years of Health in Rochester, New York, 1900-1950* (Rochester, NY: Health Bureau, July 1950).

<sup>28</sup> Blake McKelvey, "The History of Public Health in Rochester, New York," *Rochester History* 18, no. 3 (July 1956).

<sup>29</sup> Iola Sanatorium, Monroe County Tuberculosis Hospital, *Circular of Information and Annual Report*, 1912-1960.

conventions of this kind of photography—that sanatoriums were pictured as bright institutions where people could recover in fresh air and good company, and that ill people and the interiors of sanatoriums were rarely shown—and looking at photographs that upheld them were crucial to my own research, as it provided the basis for comparison and ultimately helped me reach the conclusion that Stone’s photographs represent a common perspective. However, even though Stone’s photographs are typical of sanatorium imagery of his day, the details of their publication—the newspaper in which they appeared, their deliberate arrangement, how they were paired with text, and the eras in which they were produced—lend them a complexity that goes beyond their conventional content.

### **Tuberculosis in the United States**

It is difficult, in the United States in the second decade of the twenty-first century, to imagine the impact of tuberculosis on life in the beginning of the twentieth. While the disease has long had a romantic connotation, as writers, poets and other artists succumbed to tuberculosis in nineteenth-century Europe, it was primarily a disease of the poor, whose employment and living conditions contributed to its spread. Laboring side-by-side in poorly ventilated, overcrowded factories and sleeping in similarly unventilated, also overcrowded rooms at night, the destitute in Britain and the United States were afflicted by tuberculosis.

In the United States, almost a quarter of the deaths in the mid-1800s could be attributed to tuberculosis in Providence, Rhode Island, and New York, New York;<sup>30</sup> the death rate for tuberculosis was about 15% in Philadelphia.<sup>31</sup> In 1900, the death rate country-wide for tuberculosis was around 200 per 100,000 individuals, and by 1920 it was down to either 106<sup>32</sup> or 99,<sup>33</sup> depending on who was presenting the figures. Charles Frederick Weller's *Neglected Neighbors: Stories of Life in the Alleys, Tenements and Shanties in the National Capital*, provides some insight into how prevalent tuberculosis was in inner cities. In a section titled, "The Alleys Have Many 'Lung Blocks,'" he writes,

In the Sammons household, as in countless others, tuberculosis is the family skeleton, the ever haunting dread. Just when the house in which this family live became infected we do not know. Amy Raymond died here of consumption before they moved into the house; but they themselves must have left the germs behind them in other houses, for they had two sons who died of the white plague within recent years. In the house next door to their present abode, where they lived for a time, another victim is dying of the same disease.<sup>34</sup>

Weller's passage illustrates how people in urban centers unwittingly spread the disease and how common it was in cities.

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<sup>30</sup> Geiter, *Ending Neglect: The Elimination of Tuberculosis in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000), 23. The death rate was 24% in Providence and 23% in NYC.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Haven Emerson, "The Causes of the Rapidly Increasing Fall of the Tuberculosis Death Rate in the Last Five Years," in *American Review of Tuberculosis* 6, no. 4 (June 1922), 304.

<sup>33</sup> Lawrason Brown, "The Future of Tuberculosis Work in America: Presidential Address," in *American Review of Tuberculosis* 7, no. 4 (June 1923), 219.

<sup>34</sup> Weller, *Neglected Neighbors*, (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1909), 23.

Consistent with nationwide statistics, the death rate in 1900 for tuberculosis in Rochester, New York, was 175 per 100,000 population, making it the leading cause of death.<sup>35</sup> It was not until 1925 that the death rate dipped permanently below 75 per 100,000 population in Rochester, after which time it declined precipitously.<sup>36</sup> By the 1920s, tuberculosis had been in general decline for some time<sup>37</sup> and reports were calling for reproducing factors elsewhere that had drastically lowered the death rate in New York City since 1870. It was hoped that these factors—public health education, tenement reform, the establishment of sanatoria and more—would eventually lead to “the eradication of tuberculosis as a disease of importance within the next twenty years” in the United States.<sup>38</sup> Still, it was a major concern in the period between 1910 and 1930, when Stone was photographing the day camp and Iola Sanatorium.

While tuberculosis afflicted the populations of Europe and the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its cause was not well understood. In mid-nineteenth century France and Britain, tuberculosis was thought to be a hereditary disease exacerbated by poverty and squalor.<sup>39</sup> Many members of the same family dying from tuberculosis, and the high rates of the disease among the

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<sup>35</sup> Brady and Kaiser, *Fifty Years of Health in Rochester*, 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Emerson, “The Causes of the Rapidly Increasing Fall of the Tuberculosis Death Rate in the Last Five Years,” 283-4. The death rate in New York City was cited as having fallen 77.9% in the “past fifty years,” which would mean that the death rate had been falling since 1870.

<sup>38</sup> Emerson, “The Causes of the Rapidly Increasing Fall of the Tuberculosis Death Rate in the Last Five Years,” 283.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Warren, “The Evolution of the Sanatorium: The First Half-Century, 1854-1904,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 23, no. 2 (2006): 458.

poor supported these theories, and even after Robert Koch's discovery of the tuberculosis bacillus in 1882, they persisted.<sup>40</sup>

The association of tuberculosis prevention and recovery with open air and mild climates began in 1835, when James Clark, a leading consumption expert, recommended that susceptible, delicate children be raised in the country, away from the foul air of cities, and take exercise in the open air to strengthen their bodies and improve their circulation.<sup>41</sup> While consumptives could "take the cure" in their homes, many sought treatment in sanatoriums, institutions designed for the care of the tubercular.

Sanatoriums in the United States owe their existence to Edward Trudeau. A physician and tuberculosis patient himself, Trudeau spent what he assumed were his final days in the Adirondack Mountains of New York. When he recovered from the illness, he read about European sanatoriums and, appealing to wealthy New Yorkers, raised funds to start his own in the Adirondacks in 1885.<sup>42</sup> A mere thirty years later, there were 218 sanatoriums in the northern Atlantic states alone.<sup>43</sup> It is important to note that the sanatorium movement in the United States was a large-scale charity project, born of the desire to "liberate" the victims of tuberculosis from the unfortunate circumstances in which they found themselves.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Peter Warren, "The Evolution of the Sanatorium," 460.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 459.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 464.

<sup>43</sup> Frederick Rufenacht Walters, *Sanatoria for the Tubercular: Including a Description of Many Existing Institutions and of Sanatorium Treatment in Pulmonary Tuberculosis* (Fourth Edition. London: George Allen & Co., Ltd., 1913).

<sup>44</sup> Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death*, 205.

American sanatoriums tended to look to the Trudeau model, which in turn followed the regimen developed in Europe: rich diets, lots of rest and fresh air, and hygiene were the major components of the sanatorium routine.<sup>45</sup> In 1918, George E. Bushnell weighed in on the “tripod of treatment”: an “abundance of pure air, rest to restore the weakened nerves of the patient and lower demands on his reparative powers, and good food well assimilated.”<sup>46</sup> This “tripod of treatment” mimics the conventions of sanatorium photographs, which also often pictured the patient in the open air, resting and recovering.

### **Iola Sanatorium: Monroe County Tuberculosis Hospital**

In Rochester, the Public Health Association, formed in 1895, stepped in to help combat tuberculosis in 1908, when it established a day camp for the care of the tubercular.<sup>47</sup> The city of Rochester and Monroe County merged their efforts to combat tuberculosis in 1910, and on October 1 of that year, Iola Sanatorium opened with ten patients in a temporary building.<sup>48</sup> It accepted all cases of tuberculosis, regardless of the severity. By 1912, the institution had expanded: on July 4, it added Monroe County’s second open-air school, this one for children with active tuberculosis; and boasted several permanent buildings, including a pavilion for earlier cases of tuberculosis, two for advanced cases, and a children’s pavilion.<sup>49</sup> Iola

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 203-5.

<sup>46</sup> George E. Bushnell, “The Treatment of Tuberculosis,” in *American Review of Tuberculosis* 2 no. 5 (July 1918), 261.

<sup>47</sup> McKelvey, “The History of Public Health in Rochester, New York,” 20.

<sup>48</sup> Iola Sanatorium, *Circular of Information and Annual Report*, 1912, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Iola Sanatorium, *Circular of Information and Annual Report*, 1913, 9.

operated as a sanatorium, and later as a dispensary and outpatient clinic, from 1910 until 1961, when the institution's services were no longer needed.

Photographs of Iola were sometimes published in the institution's Annual Reports, especially in the 1920s. The images can be divided into two categories: those of the exteriors of the buildings, and those that followed the children of Iola as they played outdoors in the snow, exercised, ate, attended classes and received medical attention of one kind or another. While there is no mention of the photographer in any of the annual reports, it is safe to say that Albert Stone took at least six of the photographs, since the Annual Report for 1922 published the six photographs of children at Iola that also appeared in the January 28, 1923 article in the *Rochester Herald* that is one of the foci of this paper. In contrast to the newspaper article, the images are presented simply, with no hand art, captions or other text. Because the photographer is never credited or identified in any of the annual reports, it is unclear whether Stone made the other images. None of the other photographs from the annual reports appear in the Rochester Museum & Science Center's database. However, because some of Stone's negatives were broken upon transport and it is entirely possible that some were lost long before, Stone might have been responsible for the additional images that appear in the annual reports.

### **Early Photojournalism and Albert R. Stone**

By 1903, when Albert Stone became a full-time photographer for the *Rochester Herald*, photography was a well-established means of visually documenting people, places and events. Even before the technology existed to

reproduce photographs in newspapers, wood engravings were used in illustrated papers such as the *Illustrated News*, *Leslie's Illustrated* and *Harper's Weekly* from the 1850s onward.<sup>50</sup> The October 18, 1862 issue of *Harper's Weekly* ran eight wood engravings after Alexander Gardner's photographs of the Civil War, a significant moment in the history of photojournalism, since prior to as well as after the war, illustrated papers employed sketch artists to produce illustrations of news events.<sup>51</sup> In the years between the end of the war and the rise of professional photojournalists in the 1890s<sup>52</sup>, stereo views proliferated and were widely disseminated.<sup>53</sup> On March 4, 1880, the *New York Daily Graphic* published the first half-tone photograph, an image titled, "A Scene of Shantytown, New York," by Stephen H. Horgan.<sup>54</sup> It was not until January 21, 1897, however, that Horgan was able to develop the technology for the consistent inclusion of halftone photographs in newspapers.<sup>55</sup>

Publishing tycoons in Great Britain were quick to realize the enormous potential for using photographs in newspapers instead of engravings—London's *Daily Mirror*, using only photographs for illustrations, was established in 1904 as the first newspaper in the world to do so, while in the United States, the *Illustrated*

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<sup>50</sup> William Stapp, "'Subjects of Strange ... and of fearful interest': Photojournalism from Its Beginnings in 1839" in *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America* by Marianne Fulton with contributions by Estelle Jussim, Colin Osman and Sandra S. Phillips, and William Stapp (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988), 31.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>52</sup> William Stapp, "'Subjects of Strange ... and of fearful interest,'" 31.

<sup>53</sup> Carlebach, *Origins of Photojournalism*, 51.

<sup>54</sup> Estelle Jussim, "'The Tyranny of the Pictorial': American Photojournalism from 1880 to 1920," in *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America* by Marianne Fulton with contributions by Estelle Jussim, Colin Osman and Sandra S. Phillips, and William Stapp (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988), 44.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

*Daily News*, the *Mirror's* American counterpart, was not introduced until 1919.<sup>56</sup> In the early twentieth century, the rotogravure printing technique was perfected. It used an intaglio process that allowed high-quality photographs and text to be printed on the same sheet, and enjoyed widespread popularity in the United States, and newspapers all over the country featured rotogravure supplements in their weekend editions.<sup>57</sup>

Rochester in the early twentieth century was a city with many newspapers. The first weekly paper was started in 1816; the first daily, in 1826.<sup>58</sup> Newspapers identified with the political parties of the day, and several of the city's papers were born out of presidential campaigns in the mid-1800s. The *Morning Herald* was created in 1879 and a change in ownership in 1892 recast it as the *Rochester Herald*.<sup>59</sup> According to William F. Peck, a Rochester historian, the paper was Democratic politically but maintained independence by occasionally supporting Republican candidates and not always supporting Democratic ones.<sup>60</sup> However, in an article marking the *Herald's* fortieth anniversary, Samuel D. Lee, one of the paper's founders, claimed that it was politically independent.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, Lee noted that the *Herald*, unlike some of the other local newspapers, was concerned

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<sup>56</sup> Baynes et al., *Scoop Scandal and Strife*

<sup>57</sup> Luis Nadeau, "Rotogravure," in *Encyclopedia of Printing, Photographic, and Photomechanical Processes: A Comprehensive Reference to Reproduction Technologies, containing invaluable information on over 1500 processes*, (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Atelier Luis Nadeau, 1990).

<sup>58</sup> William F. Peck, *History of Rochester and Monroe County New York, From the Earliest Historic Times to the Beginning of 1907*, 191-2.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 196.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>61</sup> Samuel D. Lee, "The Beginning of the Herald," *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Aug. 5, 1919.

with issues beyond politics, most notably city concerns.<sup>62</sup> Like many American newspapers, the *Herald's* Sunday issue included a rotogravure supplement. In 1926, the *Herald* was purchased by the *Democrat and Chronicle*, which remains Rochester's main daily paper.

Albert Stone was hired to be a full-time photographer for the *Herald* in 1903, only six years after it was technologically possible to publish halftone photographs with any consistency, which suggests that the *Herald's* editors understood early on the camera's utility as an illustrative tool. Also significant is that the paper decided to use its own photographer, rather than relying solely on picture syndicates as many newspapers did, as it suggests that Stone's ability to capture Rochester's news, events and people was appreciated by the paper's editors. Finally, Stone's photographs appeared in the Sunday rotogravure as stories told primarily photographically as early as at least 1909, a sign that suggests that readers were eager for more photographs of life and goings-on in Rochester beyond breaking news captured photographically. Overall, the *Rochester Herald*, in a city that claimed George Eastman and Kodak, was committed to photography's staying power as a medium through which to transmit information.

Also influencing photojournalism was the development of camera technology. Even as George Eastman's lightweight and hand-held Kodak and Brownie cameras spawned the amateur photography craze in 1890, photojournalists continued to use 8x10 cameras until William F. Folmer introduced

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

the Graflex in 1898.<sup>63</sup> While it is not known whether Stone used a Graflex or similar portable camera, he certainly preferred large format cameras to the smaller amateur ones.

### **Albert R. Stone's Body of Work**

The Rochester Museum & Science Center acquired approximately 15,000 of Albert Stone's black-and-white glass-plate negatives from his granddaughter in 1942<sup>64</sup>, 13,551 of which have been digitized, catalogued, and made available online. Because the images have been subject catalogued by the RMSC under almost 3000 different subject headings,<sup>65</sup> it is possible to get a sense of the diversity of Stone's photographs without reviewing them all. In order, the top ten subjects and the number of images in each subject area are as follows: Parades and processions (606), Men (423), Horses (398), Automobiles (300), Parks (297), Horse shows (291), Police (280), Winter (241), Soldiers (239), and Baseball players (277). To get a more complete idea of what a newspaper photographer was covering in the first three decades of the twentieth century, here are several more subjects: Mayors (194), World War, 1914-1918 (137), Traffic accidents (76), Subways—Design and construction (72), and Children playing outdoors (57).

Stone's body of work probably reflects the kinds of things a man in his profession could have expected to cover. J.A. Ezickson, in *Get That Picture! The Story*

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<sup>63</sup> Michael L. Carlebach, *American Photojournalism Comes of Age* (Washington : Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 24.

<sup>64</sup> Steve Fennessy, "A legacy, finally unfolded," *Democrat and Chronicle*.

<sup>65</sup> The subject categories were derived from Library of Congress Thesaurus for Graphic Materials, Library of Congress Subject Headings and Getty Art and Architecture Thesaurus. Local subject headings developed by the Rochester Public Library and RMSC were also used.

*of the News Cameraman*, wrote, “Not every story is a shipwreck, five-alarm fire or plane disaster. He follows life in its true course, the moments and incidents that are dull and drab. His daily assignments follow the uninteresting routine of club meetings, dinners and cornerstone layings ... It is not for him to choose, it is for him to do his duty and do it well.”<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the mundane subjects that top the list of categories into which Stone’s photographs fall is probably typical.

In this list of the usual coverage of city events and celebrations, important figures and world news, where does tuberculosis fit in? There are three subject headings related to tuberculosis: Tuberculosis (41), Tuberculosis—Hospitals (34), and Sanatoriums (34). However, all 34 images in the latter categories share both subject headings, so that the total number of photographs related to the disease is 75. By comparison, there are more photographs related to tuberculosis than there are of Government officials (60), Labor unions (55), and Floods—Genesee River (Pa. and N.Y.) (68), and as many photos listed under the subject headings Homicides, Subways, Track Athletes, and Hats. While the number of tuberculosis-related photographs is small in comparison to the number of photos Stone took of parades and parks, it is not insignificant. It is impossible to say whether these numbers mean that tuberculosis treatment stories were more important than, say, government officials, but its ongoing coverage does suggest at the very least that Rochester’s efforts to fight tuberculosis were not ignored.

The photographic coverage of the city’s struggle against the disease was not limited to the two stories examined in this paper, as evident by the numbers

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<sup>66</sup> Ezickson, *Get That Picture!*, 122.

provided above. On March 20, 1910, a short article called, “Rochester’s Tuberculosis Open Air School” was published, with three photographs of the school printed in the rotogravure section, pages away from the text.<sup>67</sup> The article explained that the school was not only for children with tuberculosis, but for any child examined by a particular doctor and found to be delicate. The three photographs showed the students in the classroom eating breakfast, studying and resting, and the captions provided information about the nature of the school day, the children’s exposure to fresh air, and two boys’ weight gain which allowed them to return to their regular classroom.

In 1911, Stone revisited the open air school and on February 19, a page was published in the rotogravure section featuring six photographs of children playing in the snow.<sup>68</sup> While these two stories about the open air school seem to fit into this paper’s topic and mesh well with the other selections in the number and use of photographs, the 1911 story’s text reveals that the school was not actually meant for ill pupils: “It is a strict regulation of the school that backward children, or those suffering from any contagious disease, are not to be enrolled.”<sup>69</sup> Thus, the school was meant for children at risk of getting tuberculosis or other diseases, not for children who were already ill, and therefore photographs of it do not fit the scope of this paper.

Stone and the Herald did publish more photographs of Iola and Rochester’s other efforts to combat tuberculosis than will be discussed in detail in this paper. On

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<sup>67</sup> “Rochester’s Tuberculosis Open Air School,” *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Mar. 20, 1910.

<sup>68</sup> *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Feb. 19, 1911.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

June 8, 1911, five photographs documenting the construction of Iola were printed, along with a brief article about the institution.<sup>70</sup> The photographs are different from the ones chosen for this paper in that they appeared in the regular part of the newspaper, not the rotogravure section, and because they did not focus on the human side of the disease, do not add much to this investigation of how tuberculosis was pictured socially.

Also in 1911, two photographs were printed in a short article titled, “Good Food and Outdoor Exercise Given Rochester Children at Tuberculosis Pavilion at Summerville,” on July 19.<sup>71</sup> The text described the two-week summer camp for boys, describing the activities and preventive measures the boys could expect to enjoy at the camp. The photographs show the head nurse with two of the boys and the nurse posed in a group with all of them, respectively. While these photographs do offer something about the human aspect of how the disease was treated in Rochester, this paper focuses on the two tuberculosis-related “photo essays” that were printed in the rotogravure section specifically because the photographs were clearly the focus of those stories, not mere illustration for text.

### **Albert R. Stone’s Tuberculosis Photo Essays in the *Rochester Herald***

Stone’s photo essay about the tuberculosis day camp was published in 1909, during what historians now refer to as the Progressive Era. It is considered to have lasted from 1890 until 1920, and was a response to the changes that had occurred in

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<sup>70</sup> “Iola Sanatorium for Tuberculosis Patients,” *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), June 8, 1911.

<sup>71</sup> *Rochester Herald*.

almost every aspect of American life as the country became urban and modern.<sup>72</sup> Suffragists were actively campaigning for voting rights for women. The United States was experiencing its heaviest-ever decade of immigration as foreigners poured into its cities. It had yet to establish itself as a participant in global conflict. And finally, the reform movement was on the rise, as ordinary people sought to end the dysfunction, corruption and injustice in the world around them. The biggest public health campaign of the Progressive Era was the fight against tuberculosis, and state sanatoria were largely created due to reformers' demands.<sup>73</sup> It was during this period of great change and tumult that Albert Stone was photographing Rochester's tuberculosis day camp.

By 1923, the year in which "Up at Iola: Where Health & Learning Go Hand In Hand" was published, that had all changed. The 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution had given women voting rights nationwide. The steady stream of immigrants had ebbed in the wake of World War I, which also ended the country's isolationist policy in foreign affairs. Agitation and reform, in 1909 the instruments of social change, were perceived as the tools of Bolshevik revolutionaries as the threat of Communism was revealed.<sup>74</sup>

"Rochester's Battle Against White Plague" documented the tuberculosis day camp in its second summer. 1923's story, "Up at Iola: Where Health & Learning Go Hand In Hand," described the exuberance of Iola's child patients even as they were suffering from tuberculosis, illustrating this with six photographs. It is immediately

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<sup>72</sup> Faith Jaycox, *The Progressive Era*, vii.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

<sup>74</sup> Faith Jaycox, *The Progressive Era*, 477.

evident that the two stories are visually distinct from each other: in 1909, Stone's photographs were published with no hand art decoration, a typeset title, and straightforward, expository text that provided factual information about the day camp; in 1923, the page is liberally decorated with hand art and the text is persuasive rhetoric about the children's positive outlook. The stories put forward different portraits of the disease, one that sticks to facts and the other that aims to persuade the reader that tuberculosis, for the children of Iola at least, was not a deterrent to a healthy, happy and productive childhood.

### **"Rochester's Battle Against White Plague"**

On Sunday, September 26, 1909, the Rochester Herald published in its rotogravure section a page of eight black-and-white photographs with captions (fig. 1), seven of which are outdoor scenes from the tuberculosis day camp, then a year old. The eighth photograph shows the Public Health Association's Board of Directors, who were instrumental in organizing the camp. The photographs all have black, single-rule borders around them and captions of varying length below. They are arranged in rows: one in the first row, two in the second, three in the third, and two in the fourth and final row. To the right of the first photograph, five paragraphs of text are contained within a box under the title, "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague."



Figure 1. "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Sept. 26, 1909.

The presentation style, with the images laid out in an orderly, left-to-right reading manner, suggests a narrative. The story in this essay moves from general to specific, with more detail about the camp's buildings and the patients' daily routines coming after the first image, "General view of the camp, looking from hill to west," which provides the viewer with some context about the nature of the camp. As is evident from figure 2, there are garden rows in the background and trees in the



foreground, which establishes the site as at least semi-rural. Several tents and a wooden building are in the middle of the frame, with several figures, seated and standing, just visible in front of them. The focus is not on the people but on the buildings and their environs; its purposes are to orient the viewer to how the tents looked and to provide an introduction to the rest of the essay.

This general view makes way for photographs of more specific aspects of the camp. Figure 3 shows that the second row contains two side-by-side scenes of the camp. Figure 3 shows that the second row contains two side-by-side scenes of the

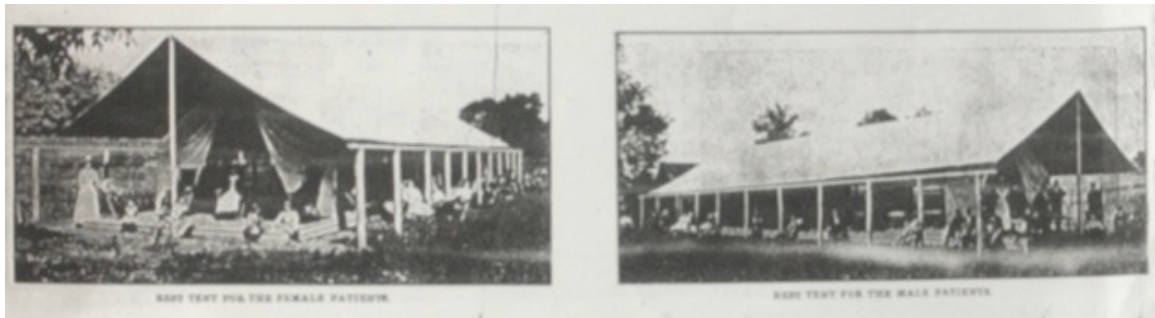


Figure 3. “Rest tent for the female patients” and “Rest tent for the male patients,” “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague,” *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.

tents for the female and male patients, captioned accordingly. These two photographs are almost mirror images of one another; the tent for the female patients is oriented in the frame so that it recedes into the distance to the right, while the tent for the male patients recedes into the distance to the left. This has the effect of almost merging them visually on the printed page, and there are similarities in how the people in them are depicted, as well. Outside of both tents, patients rest in chairs or on the porch steps, while a nurse stands on the porch of the female patients’ tent, and doctors and a nurse stand on the porch of the male patients’ tent. It is evident from comparing the published photos to their digitized negatives that they were cropped so that the tents filled the frames in the newspaper story (figs. 4 and 5).



Figure 4. Albert R. Stone, [*Rest tent for female patients at tuberculosis day camp*], 1909? Digitized glass-plate negative, 9x7 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative Collection, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.



Figure 5. Albert R. Stone, [*Rest tent for male patients at tuberculosis day camp*], 1909? Digitized glass-plate negative, 9x7 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative Collection, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

Once the camp's main purpose, to let patients rest in open air, is established, even more details about the facility are provided photographically and in text. The third row of photographs show, left to right, an interior view of the dining tent, patients lining up for lunch outside of what is presumably the dining tent, and the doctor and nurse's headquarters tent (fig. 6). These photos, in addition to having



Figure 6. "View of the Dining Tent," "Lunch Time at the Camp," "Headquarters of Doctor and Nurse," from "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.

titles, also have captions of two or three sentences each, providing a bit more information about how the tent in the picture is used. The captions go beyond merely identifying the tents' purposes to touch upon the camp's state-of-the-art quality. For example, under the third image, titled, "Headquarters of Doctor and Nurse," the caption explains, "This tent is for the use of Dr. Edward G. Nugent and Miss Grace M. Seyter, the nurse in charge. It gives privacy for the examination of patients. There is a telephone service, and at the rear are the kitchen, bathrooms and storeroom."<sup>75</sup> The mention of patient privacy and telephone service can be read as promoting the camp's progressiveness and modern conveniences. The caption for "View of the Dining Tent" speaks to sanitary procedures: "All of the cooking is done in the kitchen, which the patients are not allowed to enter on any condition. In the rear of the dining room is a separate tent, in which all of the dishes for the patients are thoroughly sanitized."<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Sept. 26, 1909.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

The fourth row of photographs contains two images (fig. 7). The first photograph depicts the bath house and kitchen. In it, the structure that houses both

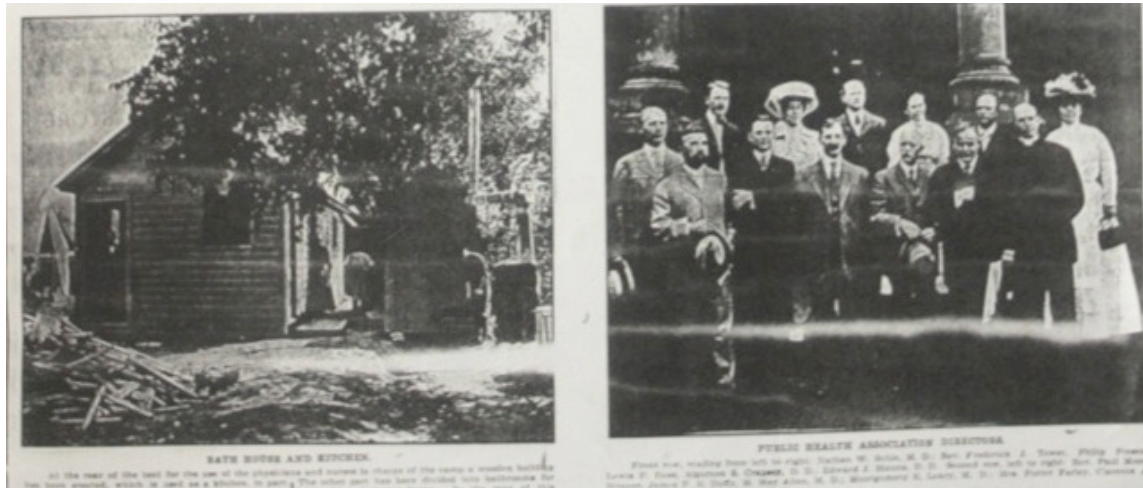


Figure 7. "Bath House and Kitchen" and "Public Health Association Directors," from "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.

facilities appears on the left, while what is probably the incinerator appears on the right. Here, too, the caption emphasizes the sanitary quality of conditions at the camp: it reads, "At the rear of the tent for the use of the physicians and nurses in charge of the camp a wooden building has been erected, which is used as a kitchen, in part. The other part has been divided into bathrooms for the male and female patients, which are provided with bath tubs and shower baths. In the rear of this building is the incinerator, used to burn all garbage, sputum cups and waste material."<sup>77</sup> The final image is a portrait of the Public Health Association's Board of Directors, the governing body for the group responsible for much of Rochester's institutional efforts to fight tuberculosis. This photograph establishes that the camp

<sup>77</sup> "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.

was created by an authoritative group of professionals working in the interest of the community, something that is also mentioned in the text block.

The text focuses exclusively on factual information about the camp. Much of it is related to the infrastructure: the dimensions of the patients', doctors' and nurses' tents; the existence of the telephone system; and the presence of the buildings that house the kitchen, bathing area and storeroom. Some background information is provided, including an account of the camp's enlargement from 1908 to 1909, under the direction of the Public Health Association. The names of the doctors and nurses in charge in 1908 and 1909 are given, as well. Monetary figures for the cost per patient per day in 1908, the cost of the buildings and equipment and the value of the property are provided. The money spent on buildings and equipment reportedly made the camp "one of the most complete...in the country."<sup>78</sup> The patients are mentioned in the text only in the context of how many of them the camp accommodated in 1908 and 1909, and to say when they arrived and left each day.

The overall tone of the photographs and captions, and the five paragraphs of text, is one of detached observation and authority. Only facts are presented: facts about the number of patients at the camp, facts about its establishment, facts about its cost, facts about sanitary measures, facts about the patients' daily routine. Additionally, it seems that all of the photographs that depict patients show them in the care and oversight of nurses or doctors. The doctor and nurse's headquarters are shown, as is the Board of Directors for the Public Health Association. These

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<sup>78</sup> "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.

authority figures are also mentioned in the text. The patients' emotional experiences at the camp are entirely ignored.

While it is difficult to account for the tone of this and any story when the motivations behind it are unknown, it may reflect the atmosphere of fact-finding that was evident in the burgeoning field of "social work," which had close ties to photography, with its ability to show "objective" truths about people and their living conditions.<sup>79</sup> During the Progressive Era, photographs of the poor living conditions in inner cities were used as tools to spark change. Jacob Riis's 1890 book, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*, a collection of illustrations after photographs made by Riis of the city's poorest denizens along with sensational text, was aimed at improving living conditions in tenements.<sup>80</sup> The Tenement House Exhibition of 1900, orchestrated by Lawrence Veiller, used 1000 photographs as evidence of what various parts of the tenements looked like:

"Buildings, courts, airshafts, closets, roofs, and fire-escapes all have been caught just as they are."<sup>81</sup> In 1908 and 1909, the results of the Pittsburgh Survey, a study using scientific inquiry to investigate corporate and civic responsibility to the people of the city, were published in *Charities and the Commons*.<sup>82</sup> Lewis Hine was the main photographer for the project, which relied on the camera to provide a "luminous

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<sup>79</sup> Kate Sampsell-Willmann, *Lewis Hine as Social Critic* (Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 77.

<sup>80</sup> Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (1890).

<sup>81</sup> Lawrence Veiller, quoted in Maren Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 40.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

and incontrovertible transcript of life.”<sup>83</sup> The camera’s ability to capture truths about the way people lived exposed problems such as child labor, the insufficient quality of housing for the poor, and public health concerns. The *Rochester Herald* and Albert Stone may have subconsciously absorbed some of the era’s preoccupation with fact-finding, and presented Stone’s photographs as a measure of the tuberculosis day camp and how it functioned.

### **“Up at Iola, Where Health and Learning Go Hand in Hand”**

On Sunday, January 28, 1923, the *Herald* published the photo essay titled, “Up at Iola: Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand,” also featuring one of Rochester’s tuberculosis treatment institutions, the county sanatorium (fig. 8). Like “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague,” it was published in the rotogravure section and contained eight photographs, six of them featuring children at Iola enjoying the outdoors in winter, and the other two showing Iola’s main building and an early incarnation of the day camp and first open air school, respectively.

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<sup>83</sup> Paul Kellogg, quoted in Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*, 51.

THE ROCHESTER HERALD, SUNDAY, JANUARY 28, 1923.

# Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand

**1** The main building of the Iola Winter Club, a large, multi-story structure with a central tower, stands prominently on a hillside. The building features numerous windows and a classic architectural style.

**2** A group of people are gathered in a snowy field, some on skis and others standing. They appear to be participating in a winter sports activity.

**3** A group of people are standing in a line, holding long poles or skis, possibly preparing for a race or a group exercise.

**4** A person in a winter hat and coat is standing in the snow, looking towards the camera.

**5** A person in a winter hat and coat is standing in the snow, looking towards the camera.

**6** A group of people in winter clothing are standing in a line, possibly waiting for a turn or participating in a group activity.

**7** A person in a winter hat and coat is holding a large bowl or basket, possibly serving refreshments or participating in a game.

The Iola Winter Club is a popular destination for winter sports and recreation. The club's main building, shown in the top left, is a large, multi-story structure with a central tower. The club's activities include skiing, ice skating, and various winter games. The club's members are shown in the other photographs, engaged in these activities in the snowy landscape of Iola.

Figure 8. "Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand," *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Jan. 28, 1923.

Visually, it is at once noticeably different from the 1909 piece, primarily in the use of hand art. Instead of the typeset title of “Rochester’s Battle Against Great Plague” (fig. 9) the title is drawn by hand (fig. 10). Below the title there is a hand-



Figure 9. From “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague,” *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.



Figure 10. From “Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand,” *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

drawn illustration that depicts rolling hills, sporadically dotted with lone, spindly trees, and a small cottage nestled into a valley. The photographs are set against a backdrop of hand-drawn speckles, but even more distinctive are their borders. In contrast to the single-rule borders of the 1909 spread, the borders in 1923 are much more fanciful. Six of the eight photographs have had at least one of their four sides partially or completely replaced by hand-drawn curlicues that change the photographs’ shapes from rectangles to curvy polygons, while the other two images have a double-rule border and no border at all, respectively (Fig. 8). While the use of

hand art to embellish the printed page is at first striking, this treatment was common in the late teens and early twenties, appearing in newspapers from coast to coast, even in those articles about tuberculosis.<sup>84</sup>

Despite their fancy flourishes, the photographs are still laid out in rows: two in the first row, three in the second, two in the third, and one in the fourth. There is hardly any space between the images. Their borders overlap with or touch the borders of neighboring photographs, creating a fluidity in the layout that was not present in the 1909 essay. While this fluid quality should equal the presence of a narrative, it does not. Instead of telling a story from beginning to end, the essay presents six photographs that all contain the same idea, that the children at Iola were happy and healthy.

While most of the images in the essay depict the children, the first two show the exterior of the sanatorium and the first open air school (fig. 11). These images



Figure 11. “The main building of the present Monroe County Tuberculosis Sanatorium—Iola,” and “The first Monroe County tuberculosis camp and open air school,” from “Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand,” *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

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<sup>84</sup> “Wooring Life Anew at the Potter’s Wheel.” *San Francisco Berkeley Call* (San Francisco, CA), Oct. 27, 1912; “This Is Tuberculosis Day—How Will You Help The Cause?” *The Times-Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), Oct. 27, 1912; “Salving the Kiddies.”

were obviously not taken in the same season and perhaps not in the same year as the other six. Neither image is particularly relevant to the main focus of the essay. The first one, of the exterior of Iola, does at least provide some context for where the children live, but since the photographs and text are almost exclusively about the children's physical health and mental well-being, it does not add much to the essay. The image of the day camp and open air school is only peripherally related to "Up at Iola," in that the day camp was also an institution for the treatment of tuberculosis and children were also educated there. It may be that the photographs were included simply to increase the number of images in the essay, or to confirm that the children were products of Rochester's efforts to combat the disease.

The rest of the images show children, mostly in groups, engaging in winter



Figure 12. "The Iola boys are keen in their interest in their bird friends," "Who says these girls are not healthy and happy?," "Experts with the skis," "A battery of winter sports enthusiasts," "Joe, who is an expert at weaving baskets," and "The Christmas tree that was made into a gift to the birds," from "Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand," *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

activities (fig. 12). The three second-row photographs present children in pairs or groups, looking into a bird house, posing on a sled, and posing with skis, in order from left to right (fig. 13). Below them, in the third row, there are two images,

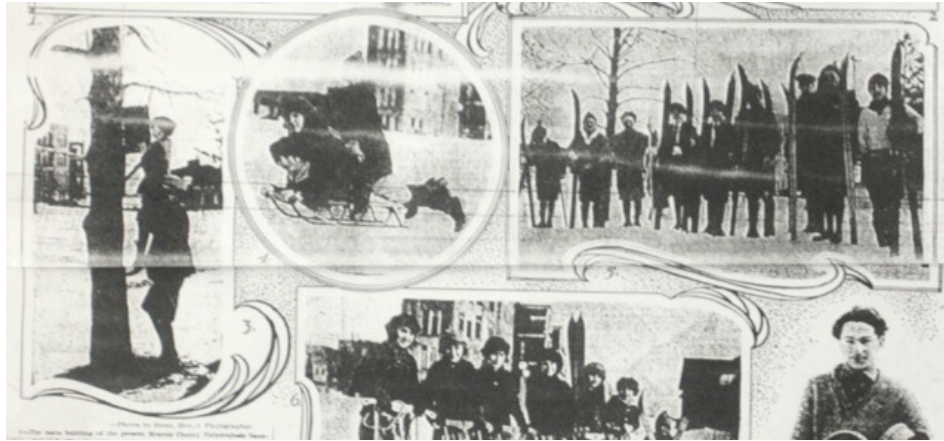


Figure 13. “The Iola boys are keen in their interest in their bird friends,” “Who says these girls are not healthy and happy?,” and “Experts with the skis,” from “Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand,” *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.



Figure 14. “A battery of winter sports enthusiasts” and “Joe, who is an expert at weaving baskets,” from “Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand,” *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

one a photograph of girls posing with sleds; and the other of a single patient, identified in the caption as “Joe,” holding three hand-made baskets (fig. 14). The lone photograph in the fourth row depicts children on skis, the child in the center

leaning over, all of them posed in front of a tree (fig. 15).



Figure 15. "The Christmas tree that was made into a gift to the birds," from "Up at Iola Where Health & Learning Go Hand in Hand," *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

Consistent with the lack of narrative, the captions do not appear in the same physical space as the photographs. Each image is numbered, and above the main text, the corresponding captions explain the images. This has the effect of making the photographs even more completely the focus of the essay, despite the length of the text, as it removes the viewers' need to switch between looking at the photographs and reading about them. The viewer is free to let his or her eyes roam around the page, moving from one image to the next without stopping. While isolating the captions away from the photographs can sometimes make it more difficult for the viewer to understand what the images depict, the captions in this essay do not contain the kind of expository, detailed information that the 1909 story

did. Instead, the captions emphasize the children's health and happiness. Consider the caption for image 4, a photograph of a three-girl pile on a sled: "Who says these girls are not happy and healthy?"<sup>85</sup> The text of the article parrots the captions: the children are "ruddy cheeked, bright eyed and filled with the vigor of youth," "happy, contented and ever busy in their Iola home," "keen and eager students of current events," and even influence the attitudes of the older patients, who "imbibe something of the optimism and cheerful bravery of the youngsters and thus fit themselves better for the battle they are waging," and so on.<sup>86</sup>

"Up at Iola," published fourteen years after "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," is a completely different essay than the earlier one. While a specific reason for the differences is unknown, there are several speculative explanations. The use of hand drawn art and decoration, virtually unused in the 1909 story, had become popular in the intervening years. Schuneman, in his 1966 Ph.D. dissertation about New York City newspapers from 1890-1937, explained that before the end of World War I, "traditional newspapers made widespread use of fancy 'tricked-up' picture layouts."<sup>87</sup>

The lack of narrative in "Up at Iola" may simply be the editor and photographer's creative choice; if the essay strove to convince readers that life at Iola was, at least for the children who resided there, an overall positive experience, the essay did not require a beginning, middle and end. One explanation for the essay's optimism could be that after fifteen years of tuberculosis treatment in

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<sup>85</sup> "Up at Iola: Where Health & Learning Go Hand In Hand," *Rochester Herald* (Rochester, NY), Jan. 28, 1923.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Schuneman, p. 264.

Rochester, and thirteen years of Iola's existence, a personal view of coping with the disease could be presented, instead of sterile facts and reassurances that every precaution was being taken to contain tuberculosis. Rochesterians had had almost fifteen years of some kind of institution that removed tuberculosis patients from the community and allowed them to recover (or not—people did die at Iola, but at least they were removed from the general population) in a place where they were no longer a public health menace.

### **The Images as Evidence of the Treatment of the Disease**

Before addressing how Stone's photographs were typical portrayals of tuberculosis patients, it is worthwhile considering how they upheld the emphasis on the "tripod of treatment" for the disease. Fresh air, rest and good food were paramount to patients' recovery. Consider "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague," published on September 26, 1909, which reveals quite a bit about the day camp. Rest, fresh air, food and cleanliness were clearly important parts of recovery, based on the photographs and their captions in this story. The photographs that show the rest tents for male and female patients, respectively, with patients seated in reclining chairs outside, demonstrate the importance of fresh air.

The photograph "Lunch Time at the Camp" depicts patients and medical staff outside what is presumably the dining tent, and is captioned with the following text: "Patients arrive in the morning at 8:30 o'clock, and a lunch of milk and eggs is eaten after they have rested for an hour and their temperature has been taken. At noon a meal of vegetables, meats, etc., is given, and at 3:30 o'clock another lighter lunch. All

the dishes are sterilized.”<sup>88</sup> The captions of three of the photographs emphasize the sanitary procedures carried out at the camp to ensure that the disease was contained. Two of the captions mention the sterilization of dishes, and the last one, beneath a photograph of the bath house and kitchen, states, “The incinerator [is] used to burn all garbage, sputum cups and waste material.”<sup>89</sup>

“Up at Iola, Where Health and Learning go Hand in Hand,” published on January 28, 1923, was a bit different, as already mentioned. Because it was concerned less with proving Iola’s state-of-the-art status, as “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague” was with the day camp, than with depicting the bravery and vigor of the young patients, it does not provide the same helpful details about how the patients spent their days. While there is plenty of evidence in the institution’s Annual Report about the kind of treatment provided, the evidence is not abundant in “Up at Iola.” The one thing it does demonstrate is the “fresh air” aspect of treatment. All but the first two photographs show children outdoors in winter—cold air, low temperatures and snow were not deterrents to healing.

While “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague” shows the practical side of the tripod of treatment, and “Up at Iola” depicts happy, healthy children, it is important to note that not all of Stone’s photographs display the same optimism. For example, Stone made at least two photographs of delicate children bundled into deck chairs to illustrate the short article, “Rochester’s Tuberculosis Open Air School,” published on March 20, 1910. The one selected for publication was taken from in front of the children. Not all of the children’s faces are visible, and if they are

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<sup>88</sup> “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague,” *Rochester Herald*, September 26, 1909.

<sup>89</sup> “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague,” *Rochester Herald*, Sept. 26, 1909.

they are not all looking at the camera. However, the child closest to the camera is smiling at the viewer, and this gives the scene an air of contentment. On the other hand, a similar photograph, probably made on the same day, has a very different feel. Taken from the side in front of a window, the edges of the image are dark, and the light is harsh. The same rows of deck chairs are visible, and many of the children have turned their faces toward the camera. None of them are smiling; their expressions are resigned and glum. While both photographs essentially illustrate the same idea--the use of fresh air to strengthen susceptible children's immune systems--the one that appears more positive was selected for publication. Of course, it is impossible to know exactly why one image was chosen over another, but what is worth noting is that not all of Stone's photographs had the same qualities as those discussed in this paper.

### **Identifying Typical Tuberculosis Photographs**

In order to characterize Albert Stone's photographic portrayals of tuberculosis, it is important to define what actually *were* the typical photographic portrayals of the disease. In exploring tuberculosis-related imagery, a pattern seemed to emerge: among social photographs of the disease—those that focused on picturing people instead of x-rays or autopsied lungs—there were those that dealt with tubercular people living in tenements or other substandard abodes and those that depicted life in sanatoria. The imagery made of the disease's prevalence in crowded urban living spaces tended to be published, and accompanied text that

provided fodder for moral outrage on the reader's part, while photographs of sanatoria and their patients tended to focus on healing and recovery.

### **Tuberculosis Photographs in Reform Publications**

Reform publications agitated for social change with words and images. Tuberculosis was a known scourge of the tenements and other substandard abodes that plagued American cities, and these appeared frequently as subjects worthy of consideration in journals like *Charities*,<sup>90</sup> the publication of the New York Charity Organization Society. However, dank, overcrowded tenements were not the only instances of tuberculosis being addressed by socially progressive publications; sanatoria were also written about and photographed. Because they were the result of philanthropic campaigns to assist tuberculosis victims, they were not targets for reform, unlike asylums and other institutions; on the contrary, they were written about and illustrated photographically as solutions to the problem of tenement housing and the poor conditions that facilitated the spread of disease. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to address every instance of tuberculosis imagery in a reform publication, it is nevertheless worth considering several examples to explore how Albert Stone's images differ.

In Weller's *Neglected Neighbors*, the story of the possible spread of the disease via a tenement airshaft used as a cuspidor by three residents with tuberculosis is

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<sup>90</sup> John Middlemist Herrick and Paul H. Stuart, "The Survey," *Encyclopedia of Social Welfare History in North America* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 403-4. The New York Charity Organization Society launched *Charities Review* in 1891 and *Charities* in 1897. In 1901, *Charities* absorbed *Charities Review* and in 1905, it became *Charities and the Commons*. After the publication of the Pittsburgh Survey, it changed names once again to become *The Survey* in 1909. *Survey Graphic* was launched as a companion to *The Survey* in 1921.

related as follows: "Six families drew their light and ventilation from this large cuspidor. Baskets of food, bowls of milk, dish cloths, towels and clothing hung or rested in the shaft beside the windows of the various families and gathered up the deadly germs."<sup>91</sup> The statement is illustrated with a photograph of the offending airshaft, looking down into it from above, showing the other tenants' use of it as a space that provided air and light and in which to store household goods. The caption reads, "Bend Your Neck and Imagine You are Looking Straight Down the Air-Shaft from the Top of a Tenement. This One was the Spittoon of Three Consumptives. The Bacilli Fell Upon the Clothes and Food of Six Families."<sup>92</sup> In this book, however, words were relied on more heavily than images to drive home the prevalence of the disease.

Tenements were not the only spaces that were condemned by social progressives for hastening the spread of tuberculosis. On March 18, 1905, in an article in *Charities* titled, "Our New Congested Districts—the City Hospitals," Paul Kennaday detailed the overcrowding at various hospitals in New York City. Kennaday quoted James H. Tully, the commissioner of the New York Department of Public Charities, as saying, "Through the various societies and newspaper agitation regarding tuberculosis, patients are coming more and more to the department for care."<sup>93</sup> The result of the well-intentioned agitation was an increase in public awareness of the disease and its treatment, but instead of patients seeking

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<sup>91</sup> Weller, *Neglected Neighbors*, 139.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>93</sup> Paul Kennaday, "Our New Congested Districts—the City Hospitals," *Charities* 13 [1905]: 581.

treatment at institutions designed to care for them, people went directly to city hospitals, which felt the crunch. Three photographs of this overcrowding at Metropolitan Hospital were published to show how dire the situation was as the hospital found inadequate solutions to the problem: the first photograph shows a hallway being used as a ward, the second one is of an overcrowded existing ward, and the third shows patients on the hospital floor. Kennaday's response to the situation was to call for sanatoriums: he wrote, "Adequate wards or hospitals for tuberculosis patients would do much, it is plain, toward a solution of this problem of congestion; they would also remove the grave danger connected with the present failure to segregate these cases."<sup>94</sup> With this statement, Kennaday ostensibly pointed to sanatoriums as the solution to the problems that tuberculosis posed to tenement dwellers, and it is probably because the institutions did at least remove illness from the population that they were lauded in this manner.

### **Images of Sanatoriums**

Photographs of sanatoriums sometimes appeared in reform publications, as discussed above, but could also be found in newspapers or were never published at all. Many of the photographs are currently located at historical societies and archives. These images focused primarily on the patient getting well in the institution. Between 1880 and 1939, photographs of sanatoriums tended to feature "the restorative benefits of open air and the companionship of fellow sufferers," and

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 583.

did not usually contain visibly ill people.<sup>95</sup> Additionally, most photographs of this subject matter were not taken indoors, unless to “[suggest] access to the out-of-doors.”<sup>96</sup>

The *Illustrated Catalogue* in particular is a rich source for photographs of sanatoria, containing 29. Almost none of the people in the photographs are obviously ill, despite frequently being pictured in bed or reclining chairs. Many of the photographs also show patients outdoors, on open-air porches or on wards with windows to let in fresh air and sunlight. There are few examples of photographs showing only one patient; most of the images depict patients clustered together or on wards, demonstrating the “companionship of fellow sufferers” that Fox and Lawrence described. Of course, since the authors of *Photographing Medicine* used the *Illustrated Catalogue* as one of their sources, it stands to reason that the photographs in it would uphold their statements. What is more compelling evidence for the truth of their statements is whether photographs *not* researched for *Photographing Medicine* do as well.

### **J.N. Adams Hospital Scrapbook**

The Miner Library at the University of Rochester has in its collection a scrapbook from J.N. Adams Hospital, a sanatorium in Perrysburg, New York. The photographs, from the 1920s, show life in the sanatorium as well as some of the medical procedures used at the institution. The images largely conform to the generalizations about sanatorium photographs put forward by Fox and Lawrence.

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<sup>95</sup> Fox and Lawrence, *Photographing Medicine: Images and Power in Britain and America Since 1840*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), 327

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

Many of the photographs depict groups of patients seated on porches or lying in beds outdoors, in the company of others. There are also several images of children out of their beds, at play outside. The photographs that do show the institution's interior only happen to do so when the photograph was taken indoors to illustrate a medical procedure or patient's progress. If it were not for the fact that the photographs are known to be from a sanatorium and the occasional presence of doctors and nurses, it would be difficult to tell that the people pictured were ill.

The most important aspect of photographs of sanatoriums as a general body of work is that there do seem to be common conventions among them. This type of photograph focused on the patient's access to open air and fellow residents, and does not usually contain people who appeared ill or the interiors of sanatoriums or day camps. There are plenty of examples of photographs that uphold these conventions, leading to the belief that these conventions are indeed common to tuberculosis imagery in general. What is more important, however, is whether and how they apply to Stone's images.

### **Representative of a Genre: Albert R. Stone's Tuberculosis Photographs**

The content of Stone's photographs of the day camp and Iola Sanatorium is similar to many other sanatorium photographs. The patients in his photographs do not look sick, and the photographs in "Up at Iola" were deliberately trying to provide evidence that the children at the sanatorium looked healthy. Stone's photographs especially show the fresh air component of tuberculosis treatment, another convention of sanatorium photographs. Additionally, they rarely depict the singular

patient, instead showing them with other people. Finally, there is only one interior shot out of sixteen images, also in keeping with this kind of photography.

One of the similarities among sanatorium photographs is the people in them do not appear ill, something evident in Stone's images. Both the 1909 and 1923



Figure 16. Albert R. Stone, [*Dining tent at Rochester's tuberculosis day camp*], 1909? Digitized glass-plate negative, 9x7 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative Collection, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

stories contain quite a few photographs of this nature: patients were photographed sitting in cure chairs, lining up for meals (fig. 16) and cavorting in the snow (fig. 17), and there is nothing about the way they are pictured to suggest an illness; if it were not for the fact that the photographs in "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague" are accompanied by text that makes it clear that these photographs are about tuberculosis, it would be difficult to tell. Despite the photographs not showing



Figure 17. Albert R. Stone, [*Boys on skis at Iola*], 1923? Digitized glass-plate negative, 5x7 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative Collection, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

visibly ill people, it is apparent from the text in “Up at Iola” that sanatorium residents were perceived as looking and behaving sick, which the text and photographs deliberately try to combat in departure from other sanatorium images, in which patients seem to *happen* to appear well. The text reads,

The prevailing notion that a sanatorium is a retreat for pale, anemic persons, reclining on beds and with nurses and doctors ever hovering is quickly dissipated by a visit to Iola, where boys and girls revel in winter sports between the times they are taking ‘the cure’ or poring over their lessons ... These youngsters, who have been touched by the ominous finger of the Great White Plague, are happy, contented and ever busy in their Iola home, and they are making the fight against the disease that threatens them. Only a very small portion of the juvenile patients are confined to their beds.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> “Up at Iola: Where Health & Learning Go Hand In Hand,” *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

Of course, tuberculosis was often undetectable to the naked eye, and it is likely that it was difficult to tell from photographs alone whether a person had the disease or not.

Another commonality in sanatorium photographs, that they tended to emphasize the open air aspect of the cure, is immediately visible in Stone's photographs. The 1909 story's various views of the tuberculosis camp were almost all taken outside, and in most of the images, enough of the subjects' surroundings appear that the viewer can tell at once that the camp was located in a rural area, and that the buildings stood alone, providing patients myriad opportunities to receive fresh air (figs. 2, 3, 6, 7). The only photograph that shows the interior of one of the tents does not include patients, who are pictured outside in every photograph in this story. In particular, the two photographs of the rest tents, with patients seated outdoors in cure chairs, emphasize most their proximity to open air.

The 1923 *Iola* photographs, too, confirm the visual trope of the healing properties of fresh air. With the exception of the first two photographs on the page, which show the exterior of the sanatorium and the day camp, respectively, the other six images were all taken outdoors, though in winter instead of summer. The

children in these photographs appear delighted to be outside as they ski, sled and engage with their “bird friends” (fig. 18). The text, also, underscores the importance



Figure 18. Albert R. Stone, [*Looking in a birdhouse*], 1923? Digitized glass-plate negative, 7x5 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative  
Collection, Rochester Museum & Science  
Center, Rochester, NY.

of fresh air to the children’s health and mental well-being: “It is a wicked day and a desperate doctor that can keep these youngsters from the outdoors when their playtime comes. Fresh air and plenty of it is their best medicine, and their teachers and nurses encourage them in their desire to be out in the open. So it is that every day up at Iola the rosy-cheeked boys and girls make a lively picture.”<sup>98</sup> While no

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<sup>98</sup> “Up at Iola: Where Health & Learning Go Hand In Hand,” *Rochester Herald*, Jan. 28, 1923.

explanation for the relatively frequent photographic appearance of sanatorium patients outdoors in winter has been offered, it is conceivable that these images helped prove the use of open air for the cure; a person sitting outside in clement weather is simply a person enjoying a fine day, whereas an individual spending a lot of time outdoors in winter might have more of a reason for doing so beyond recreation.

Sanatorium photographs frequently focused on groups of patients to demonstrate the “companionship of fellow sufferers,” an emphasis that is evident in Stone’s images. This point is certainly evident in “Rochester’s Battle Against White Plague”—those photographs that contain people do show them in groups—but it is the 1923 Iola story that displays this in earnest. Five of the eight photographs depict the children in the presence of other youngsters, partaking in winter pursuits outdoors (fig. 19). The children in these photographs appear happy and healthy,



Figure 19. Albert R. Stone, [*Iola patients with skis*], 1923? Digitized glass-plate negative, 5x7 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative Collection, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

their spirits bolstered by the company of the other youngsters at the institution.

The majority of Stone's photographs that show buildings were taken of their exteriors, another common aspect of sanatorium imagery. There are many shots of the exteriors of the tents at the day camp, most of them with patients outside. The one indoor photograph shows the dining tent (fig. 20), and although it does not



Figure 20. Albert R. Stone, [*Dining tent at Rochester's tuberculosis day camp*], 1909? Digitized glass-plate negative, 9x7 in.

From the Albert R. Stone Negative Collection, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

suggest access to the outdoors, there is another image of the exterior of the same tent published adjacent to it (fig. 16). It does not appear that Stone photographed the interior of Iola at all; neither the published nor unpublished photos taken at the institution are of the inside. One explanation for the dearth of interior views of sanatoriums is the limitations of photographic technology in the early twentieth

century. Before the invention of the flash bulb in 1930,<sup>99</sup> it was difficult to create images of interiors with minimal natural light. While Jacob Riis used flashlight powder to photograph New York City's tenement dwellers in the 1880s,<sup>100</sup> that method of producing artificial light was difficult to control and does not seem to have been widely used. Albert Stone, photographing the day camp in 1909 and Iola in 1923 before the invention of the flash bulb, would probably have been more inclined to photograph those interiors that had enough natural light to produce clear images.

For the most part, Albert Stone's photographs uphold the conventions of sanatorium photography, although because they are used in conjunction with text, they take on a greater meaning. The photographs in "Rochester's Battle Against White Plague" certainly evince most of the characteristics of typical sanatorium imagery, but instead of upholding the notion of the institution as an "inviting, sunny resort,"<sup>101</sup> they actually present a more sterile portrait of the sanatorium, one that is bound by routine, sanitation and schedules. "Up at Iola," on the other hand, almost goes too far the other way; its cheerful text and smiling children downplay the seriousness of the disease.

## Conclusion

The aim of this case study was to determine whether Albert R. Stone's photographs of Rochester's tuberculosis treatment facilities were typical depictions

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<sup>99</sup> Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography From 1839 to the Present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 231.

<sup>100</sup> Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 133.

<sup>101</sup> Fox and Lawrence, *Photographing Medicine*, 182.

of the disease. The photographs in question presented, through two stories published in the *Rochester Herald* 14 years apart, two different views of tuberculosis: one that focused almost entirely on the early struggle to combat the disease, not straying far from the message that tuberculosis could be cured with rest, fresh air and abundant food; and the other that abandoned almost entirely the idea of routines to portray children at Iola as healthy, happy and inquisitive, hardly slowed down at all by their disease. It does appear that Stone was not offering a novel look at tuberculosis in either story, as sanatoriums in general were depicted as welcoming places where patients could enjoy fresh air and the company of other patients, who were never seen as obviously ill.

Albert Stone's photographs of the tuberculosis day camp and Iola Sanatorium are only a small part of tuberculosis imagery, much of it unpublished. In comparing them to unpublished, archival photographs as well as those images published in reform publications, I situated Stone's images within this larger body of work. I have also demonstrated how a small selection of obscure photographs has offered entry into as complex and broad a subject such as the history of tuberculosis. Stone's photographs ultimately contribute to a general understanding of how tuberculosis was photographed, both for publications and for private use. Even though sanatoriums were seen as the solution to the overcrowded and unhealthy conditions of tenements and slums that often led to the spread of tuberculosis, it is surprising that photographs of the institutions did not emphasize more the seriousness of the disease, particularly with the aid of text if the images were published. However, it is conceivable that sanatorium photographs served the

purpose of reassuring the public, if the photographs were published, and the institutions themselves, if the photographs were private, that sanatoriums were benign places in which real progress in fighting tuberculosis was made.

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