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**Re-presenting Colonial Canada through Collected Photographs:
Interpretations of Travel Albums Assembled
by Nineteenth-Century British Army Officers**

by

Robert Evans

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of**

**Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History**

**Department of Art History
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

**Re-presenting Colonial Canada through Collected Photographs:
Interpretations of Travel Albums Assembled by Nineteenth-Century
British Army Officers**

Submitted by Robert Evans, B.F.A. (Nova Scotia College of Art and Design)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Carol Payne, Thesis Supervisor

Alan Gillmor, Acting Director: SSAC

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April 2002

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Using photographic albums assembled in the 1860s by British military officers as case studies, this thesis argues for a multiple theoretical analysis of historical objects. Through the application of narrative theory, the thesis problematizes the naturalization of photographic meaning created by sequencing and captions within the albums. The "gaze" is used to address the selection of photographs, which are considered the product of the intersection of the commercial photographer's "gaze" and the British army officer's "gaze." Postcolonial theory and consideration of the concomitant subject positions are utilized in conjunction with popular colonial histories from the 1860s to examine photographs as productive imperialist representations of Canada. The metonymic sign function and indexical qualities of analogue photographs also inform this discussion. The theoretical tools employed illuminate the examined materials and expand the approaches for interpreting nineteenth-century photography.

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Introduction

Meaning(s) in Travel Albums

Who has not been subjected to the narration of vacations or trips by well meaning friends and relatives? The stories are always more believable when the teller can produce tangible evidence of his or her excursion, something that the listeners can look at or hold in their hands while being regaled with tales of adventure and mishap. A partial list of souvenirs I have brought home over the years includes ticket stubs, complimentary maps, bottles of sand, leaves, restaurant place mats, museum guides, newspaper clippings, silver teaspoons, baseball caps, colourful stones, pennants, books, bottles of alcohol, tourist guides, stuffed animals, postcards, miniature replicas, food, pens, and photographs; each of them has a story. Once the objects enter my home, I select some of them—especially the photographs and other flat objects—to place in albums, creating small collections of souvenirs.

Travel albums of photographs and souvenirs can be examined to reveal at least three characteristics. Albums may recount the path travelled by the assembler. They may reveal the type of images in which the traveller-assembler was interested. And, albums may also create an aggregate image of the places visited through the accumulation of geographically related photographs. This list is not exhaustive but it

does move beyond the notion that photographs in albums are merely representations of certain places at particular times and are transparent illustrations of history.

This thesis tests a small selection of nineteenth-century travel albums within different theoretical frameworks to argue that colonial power takes form through photographs in many different guises, including: as souvenirs and collections of photographs that are subject to personal narratives; as collected "views" that satisfy an imperialist military "gaze"; and, as photographic prints that represent settler culture materially and visually. An important corollary to the argument is that the successful application of different theoretical models expands the tools available for researching nineteenth-century photography. Each album contributes to the dissemination of an imperialist view of Canada by illustrating "progress" in the colonial project and by producing expectations of Canada as a colony based on the selective collections contained in the albums. In the thesis, photographs as collected objects and the agency of the collector are continuously emphasized during the examination and analysis of the albums. The authorship and provenance of the photographs are secondary concerns.

In this thesis, various theoretical models are brought to bear on a class of objects and interpretations are supported through a combination of theory and history. This work relies heavily on Norman Bryson's idea of a "materialist art history," which is both "archival, historiographic; and critical, interpretive"¹ and the semiotic approach outlined in Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson's article "Semiotics and Art History."² Underpinning each case study analysis is the notion that art produces rather

than simply reflects society, and that viewers create meaning within specific contexts. Another constant undercurrent in this study is the notion that collections—in this case, albums—provide biased and partial knowledge of the world they purport to represent.

Albums predate photography. According to an old dictionary definition quoted in *Chambers's Journal* in 1873, an album was,

a little register or book carried by savants. When they arrive in a city either as travellers or residents, they call on their learned friends, and present them with their album amicorum, praying them to write something in it, that they may possess their autograph.³

Eventually, it developed into the "commonplace book" or "sentiment album" in which mementoes and personal writings were collected. Photography albums were firmly established by the 1860s: *carte-de-visite* albums, holding small photographs of friends, celebrities, or views from around the world mounted on cardboard were especially popular.

Recently, reading albums as a site of selected memories—an approach that implicitly recognizes the album's sentimental origins—has gained currency. In this scholarship, the album is considered a group of souvenirs that can be, in Susan Stewart's words, "mapped against the life history of an individual" to reconstruct "the past . . . from a set of presently existing pieces."⁴ Marianne Hirsch's work on family albums considers them as autobiographical narratives in which events and people are included or excluded according to the representation of "the family" the assembler wishes to construct. Hirsch's *Family Frames* was written partly in response to Roland Barthes' ruminations in *Camera Lucida* on a photograph of his mother: it concentrates

largely on the concepts of memory and loss.⁵ Martha Langford's recent *Suspended Conversations* suggests that the family and other albums are complementary to oral history.⁶ "The album," she argues, "functions as a pictorial *aide-mémoire* to recitation, to the telling of stories."⁷ She views albums as "mimetic *photographic memories* [that] need a mnemonic framework to keep them accessible and alive."⁸ While I have no argument with Langford that albums can be supplemented by oral history, her approach to historical objects is problematic in its privileging of authorial intent, something that can never be fully recovered.

There is no clear distinction between family albums and travel albums, and indeed, they both are concerned with memories. All of the albums examined in this thesis are more than simple narratives that declare, "I was there, then there, and finally there." Portraits and photographic reproductions of artworks are included on the pages of the albums, but my interest is primarily in the photographs of places, both urban and rural. Each album considered, therefore, contains a generous number of "views" of the places that the collectors visited or felt they should visit. According to one writer, travel albums were popular among "world travellers who lightly sampled the attractions of a place and then moved on."⁹ The "world travellers" and collectors who assembled the case study albums examined in the thesis were British military officers who were posted in and travelled within Canada for varying amounts of time during the 1860s.

Langford discusses "memoirs and travelogues" within the same chapter of *Suspended Conversations* because they are, she argues, both "autobiographical

albums."¹⁰ The privileging of the album's creator through Langford's adjective "autobiographical" resonates with Baudrillard's argument that a collected object is "divested of its function and made relative to a subject,"¹¹ the collector. According to this thinking, the travel album is, therefore, a collection of photographs that illustrates the actual and the desired travels of the collector. The genre does not exclude portraits and other photographs, but it is necessary that such items were acquired in the process of travelling, and as I argue in the thesis, travel can be the result of different impetuses, including military postings. While the personal experience of the travelling collector is necessary to my definition of "travel album," the thesis does not attempt to reconstruct the intentions or specific experiences of the collector-traveller. Instead, I consider the shifting meanings of the albums in different theoretical contexts.

Writing on nineteenth-century Canadian photography has been mostly empirical and is exemplified by a dated but comprehensive work on the topic. Ralph Greenhill and Andrew Birrell's *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920*.¹² Greenhill and Birrell's history of Canadian photography provides a basic summary of photographers, locations, activities, and dates. An earlier edition by Greenhill alone also featured reproductions of photographers' newspaper advertisements.¹³ Other writers such as Lilly Koltun, Peter Robertson, Michel Lessard, and Stanley Triggs have added to the record with detailed thematic and monographic studies through which they have added considerably to the documentation of Canadian photography.¹⁴ Dennis Reid and Ann Thomas have evaluated nineteenth-century

photography from a less archival perspective, incorporating commercial photographic production into an art historical narrative.¹⁵

A special issue of the journal *History of Photography* edited by Joan Schwartz deals primarily with nineteenth-century photographers and topics.¹⁶ In the editorial, Schwartz states that historians of Canadian photography have been busy recovering the names and works of photographers; the articles reflect this preoccupation. The essays range from Graham Garrett's study of Canada's "first daguerrian image,"¹⁷ to Petra Watson's discussion of Hannah Maynard's multiple exposure photographs of the 1890s.¹⁸

In the same issue, Colleen Skidmore's analysis of the photographic representation of the "young ladies in the printing room" signals a different and emerging preoccupation within the literature.¹⁹ Skidmore's article encompasses the empirical history of the photographs and she interprets the images through the lenses of class and gender. Andrea Kunard's and Keith Bell's works on western Canadian nineteenth-century landscape photography also engage with the images through interpretative frameworks.²⁰ In addition, the staff of the National Archives of Canada has emerged as an important source for nineteenth-century Canadian photography studies by publishing short articles on the holdings of the Archives' Photography Collection.²¹

The travel albums consulted for this thesis are part of the National Archives collection. The Terry Album was assembled by Captain Astley Fellowes Terry of the 4th Battalion, 60th Royal Rifles to record his trip to Canada in 1868.²² The Terry

Album figures prominently in the thesis because it exemplifies the travel album genre. As a viewer turns the pages of the Terry Album from beginning to end, he or she travels vicariously via the photographs from west to east. The sequencing creates a strong linear travel narrative. A full description of the album and a short biography of Terry are part of Chapter One.

The Rifle Brigade Album (c.1861-1870) was assembled by an unknown member of the 1st Battalion of Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade, which was stationed in Canada from November 1861 to August 1870.²³ The album's 178 photographs begin with the Brigade's arrival in Hamilton in 1862 and then later pages include photographs from subsequent postings in Kingston, Montréal, and Québec. The anonymous assembler of the Rifle Brigade Album did not duplicate Terry's strict geographical arrangement (for example, photographs of Montréal and Montmorency Falls are found on the same page). This may be the result of imaginative juxtapositions by the assembler—a common strategy among Victorian album assemblers—or it might reflect the extensive travel by the Brigade in Canada West/Ontario and Canada East/Québec.²⁴ The Canadian section comprises the first twenty-eight pages of the album after which there is a short section of poorly executed photographs labelled "Crimea." The remainder of the album contains well-crafted photographs of churches and pastoral scenes in Britain and Ireland.

The Jacobs Album (c.1861-1870), acquired by the National Archives from Captain Alexander Jacobs, comprises two large volumes believed to have belonged to Colonel Alexander George Russell, commander of the 1st Battalion of Prince

Consort's Own Rifle Brigade; however, the authorship of the albums is uncertain.²⁵

The hundreds of photographs in these albums include many of the same images from Hamilton and Camp Grimsby found in the Rifle Brigade Album. The Jacobs Album includes numerous small *carte-de-visite* portraits and a good selection of genre scenes and studio portraits by William Notman, then Canada's most prominent and prosperous photographic studio. The album does not have the dominant linear narrative that both the Terry Album and, to a lesser degree, the Rifle Brigade Album possess, and indeed, many photographs of the Hamilton area are repeated throughout the two volumes.

The Grant Album (c.1860-1870) belonged to Major Thomas J. Grant, District Inspector of Musketry for British North America, and was assembled meticulously.²⁶ The album contains what were then standard views of Canadian cities, an extensive selection of waterfalls, some Notman tableau photographs, and at least one image by the noted Montréal photographer Alexander Henderson. Most of the photographs are clearly labelled and framed within ruled ink lines. Again, like the Jacobs Album, the contents do not follow a rigid linear narrative; however photographs are not repeated. Most depict the Montréal area and there is a large selection of Niagara Falls photographs, including three large prints each of which fills the page. The final few pages contain unlabelled photographs of Halifax harbour taken from Citadel Hill.

The case studies in the thesis are restricted to the albums assembled by military men who were posted in the British North American Colonies or Canada in the 1860s. This narrowly focussed sample precludes generalized conclusions about

album production in the 1860s; however the small strongly related sample allows for more detailed analyses of these specific material objects. The geographical focus on eastern Canada—Ontario, Québec, and the Maritimes—is also intentional to limit the possible subjects represented in the photographs. The restricted geographical subject matter also functions to exclude exploration photographs associated with the construction of the transcontinental railroad and "development" of western Canada in the nineteenth century. According to Alan Thomas, an "expeditionary" photographer "journeyed into foreign parts . . . and brought back fragments of remote cultures and glimpses of fabulous forms of nature," while the "views" photographer "worked under less intense pressures and served a market much closer to the subject matter."²⁷ The quotidian nineteenth-century photographs available from vendors like Notman are more important to the thesis than the extraordinary images made by the photographers Humphrey Lloyd Hime, Charles Horetzky, or Benjamin Baltzly in their capacity as expeditionary photographers from the 1850s to the 1870s.²⁸

Many of the primary texts consulted—travelogues, city directories, regimental histories, contemporaneous newspapers—are housed in the National Library of Canada. Every minor action—arrivals, departures, training exercises, band concerts, cricket matches—of local British regiments was reported in newspapers, and the collection at the National Library was an important source for tracking troop movements in the 1860s. The microfiche copies of nineteenth-century Canadiana published by the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM) were

valuable sources and Elizabeth Waterson's *The Travellers* provided me with an initial list of Canadian military travelogues.²⁹ many of which were available from CIHM.

The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter analyzes the strong linear narrative in the Astley Fellowes Terry travel album by considering the influence of sequencing and the relationship between text and image. In addition, it considers the implications of a souvenir-collection dualism based on Susan Stewart's categories defined in her study *On Longing*. The chapter utilizes the juxtaposition of a public travel narrative, constructed from newspaper accounts of troop movements in the summer of 1868, and a private travel narrative, Terry's album. It also explains travel albums as a place for theoretical investigations of narratives based on Mieke Bal's *Narratology* and "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting."³⁰ The story suggested by the photographs in this album recounts a trip from London, Ontario, to Fredericton, New Brunswick; while Terry does not explicitly state that the album is a single trip, the sequential numbering of the sections on the title page of the album and the west-east geographic direction of the contents imply this story. The implied story is reinforced by published accounts of the movements of the 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles in 1868. In the end, Stewart's souvenir-collection dualism is dissolved and the status of the photographs in the album is expanded to incorporate both categories, souvenir and collection.

Chapter Two looks at the officers' albums as a point of intersection of commercial photographic images and the nineteenth-century British military. I argue that the photographs collected in the albums represent an overlap or intersection

between the "gaze" of the commercial photographer and the "gaze" of the British military officer. The images can be seen as valuable from both subject positions but for different reasons. My construction of the commercial photographer's "gaze" is based on market demand and technical practice while the officer's "gaze" is informed by class and leisure considerations. Lacan's theory of the "gaze" as presented by Norman Bryson in various sources and employed by Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins in *Reading National Geographic* comprises the principle theoretical framework for this chapter.³¹ The summary of historical practices and concerns of period commercial photographers is based primarily on my examination of two prominent photographic periodicals of the time, *The British Journal of Photography* and *The Philadelphia Photographer*. The historical background on the British army officer corps is derived mostly from two social histories, Gwyn Harries-Jenkins' *The Army in Victorian Society* and Edward Spiers' *The Army and Society, 1815-1914*.³² James Ryan's *Picturing Empire* offered relevant background on the history of photography within the British military, especially the Royal Engineers—none of whom assembled the albums used as case studies—and provided important leads to primary material.³³

The final chapter considers the case study albums and their contribution to the imaginative geography of Canada as a British colony. The indexical quality of photographs makes the nature of the assemblages different from such nineteenth-century forms of representation as watercolours and written accounts. Photographs furnished supposedly objective positivistic proof of the thing photographed—a growing colony—or denial of the thing not photographed—the indigenous people of

North America. The importance of the subject position of the photographer and photograph as a metonymic fragment of Canadian culture is pursued through postcolonial literary theory, in particular Alan Lawson's work on settler culture authors and their position with respect to western Europeans and indigenous people.³⁴ Lawson's arguments are based largely on the writing of Homi K. Bhabha whose attention to the notions of ambiguity and slippage in colonialism inform the chapter.³⁵

In stressing ambiguity and slippage throughout the thesis, I am not attempting to obfuscate the "meaning" of historical objects, but rather, to expand potential readings of the albums. In the process, I recognize what Keith Moxey calls "the dialogic relationship between the subjectivity of the interpreter and the object of study,"³⁶ a relationship in which "meaning" comes from the past and the present.

Notes

¹ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983), 12, 85. Bryson is careful to both acknowledge his debt to and his difference from historical materialism.

² Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991): 174-208.

³ "Albums," *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, 30 Aug. 1873, 554.

⁴ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), 139, 45.

⁵ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981); Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997).

⁶ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21. Emphasis in original.

⁹ Kathleen Stewart Howe, "Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt," in *Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1993), 36.

¹⁰ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 64.

¹¹ Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 7.

¹² Ralph Greenhill and Andrew J. Birrell, *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920* (Toronto: Coach House, 1979).

¹³ Ralph Greenhill, *Early Photography in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1965).

¹⁴ Lilly Koltun, *City Blocks, City Spaces: Historical Photographs of Canada's Urban Growth, 1850-1900* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1980); Lilly Koltun, ed., *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940* (Markham, ON: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984); Michel Lessard, *The Livernois Photographers* (Québec: Musée du Québec and Québec-Agenda, 1987); Peter Robertson, *Relentless Verity: Canadian Military Photography Since 1885* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1979); Stanley G. Triggs, *William Notman's Studio: The Canadian Picture* (Montréal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992); idem, *William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach House, 1985).

¹⁵ Dennis Reid, *"Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada and National Museums of Canada, 1979); Ann W. Thomas, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1890* (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979).

¹⁶ Joan M. Schwartz, ed., *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996). Articles on nineteenth-century photography dominate the issue but it also contains several articles on early twentieth-century photography.

¹⁷ Graham Garrett, "Canada's First Daguerreian Image," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996): 101-03.

¹⁸ Petra Watson, "Hannah Maynard's Multiple Exposures," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996): 155-57.

¹⁹ Colleen Skidmore, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio: 'Young Ladies of the Printing Room'," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996): 122-28.

²⁰ Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada," in *Thirteen Essays on Photography*, ed. Martha Langford (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990), 13-32; Andrea Kunard, "'An Energetic and Civilized Race': Relationships of Text and Photographic Image in the Colonial Inscription of the Canadian West (1858)" (paper presented at the Universities Art Association of Canada Annual Conference, Universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg, 3 Nov. 2000).

²¹ A selected list includes, Eleanor Brown, "The World's First Daguerreotype Images—Canadian Travel Photographer Pierre Gustave Gaspard Joly de Lotbinière," *The Archivist*, no. 118 (1999): 22+; Jim Burant, "Record of Empire, 1835-1896: The John A. Vesey Kirkland Album," *Archivaria*, no. 22 (1986): 120-28; Andrew Rodger, "Photographs of the 1864 Constitutional Conferences," *The Archivist* 19, no. 1 (1992): 17-18; Joan M. Schwartz, "More than *Un beau souvenir du Canada*," *The Archivist*, no. 118 (1999): 6+; idem, "William Notman's Hunting Photographs," *The Archivist*, no. 117 (1998): 20+. Many of the books listed as empirical studies in the literature review were written by other National Archives staff.

²² "Canada 1868," Astley Fellowes Terry Collection, National Archives of Canada, 1985-224.

²³ Rifle Brigade Album, National Archives of Canada, 1948-027. The album dates are for the Canadian photographs only. The National Archives' "Descriptive Record" for the Rifle Brigade Album lists the date range as 1855 to 1869, probably based on the inclusion of photographs of the Crimea. However, the Crimea photographs appear in the album immediately *after* the Canada photographs which means that regardless of the date of the Crimea photographs, the *album* is probably no older than 1861, the year the Rifle Brigade arrived in Canada. The year the Brigade left Canada, 1870, is the latest possible date for the Canadian photographs, the remaining photographs of the British Isles were probably purchased after their departure.

²⁴ The 1st Battalion, Rifle Brigade was stationed in eight locations between their arrival in Hamilton in early 1862 and their departure from Québec in 1870. Charles H. Stewart, *The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence Library, 1964), 410.

²⁵ Captain Jacobs Album, Captain Jacobs Fonds, National Archives of Canada, 1936-038. The possibility that the album belonged to Colonel Russell is mentioned in the accession file.

²⁶ Grant Album, Thomas J. Grant Collection, National Archives of Canada, 1960-051.

²⁷ Alan Thomas, *Time in a Frame: Photography and the Nineteenth Century Mind* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), 119.

²⁸ Hime accompanied the 1858 Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition led by Henry Youle Hind. Horetzky was the photographer for Frank Moberly's C.P.R. survey in British Columbia in 1871-72. He continued to work as a survey photographer for Sanford Fleming after 1872. Baltzly worked as a photographer for a geological survey of British Columbia headed by Alfred R. C. Selwyn in 1871. Greenhill and Birrell, *Canadian Photography*, 84-92.

²⁹ Elizabeth Waterson, ed., *The Travellers—Canada to 1900: An Annotated Bibliography of Works Published in English from 1577* (Guelph: U of Guelph, 1989).

³⁰ Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, trans. Christine van Boheemen, 2nd ed. (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985); idem, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 97-115.

³¹ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993).

³² Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977); Edward M. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1980).

³³ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997).

³⁴ Alan Lawson, "A Cultural Paradigm for the Second World," *Australian Canadian Studies* 9, no. 2 (1991); idem, "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject," *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no. 56 (1995).

³⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

³⁶ Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994), 19.

Chapter One

The Narratives of the Astley Fellowes Terry "Canada 1868" Travel Album

1 Introduction

Photographs and travel are intimately linked in the minds of many people. Today, many tourists use photographs (and increasingly video cameras) to record their trips: stopping to take pictures provides a physical record of progress during a journey. Those of us without the inclination or ability to take our own photographs may choose to purchase them in the form of postcards, brochures, or oversized coffee table books. Regardless of the source of the images, these photographs may be strung together later for friends, family, or even ourselves, to reconstruct the people and places we encountered on our trip.

The British military officer Captain Astley Fellowes Terry did not travel for travel's sake, lured from place to place by the desire to see well known tourist attractions, but was part of the constant movement of troops throughout the British Empire in the nineteenth century. During his travels, including a brief stay in Canada in 1868, he assembled albums of photographs and other mementoes that record his tours as an officer of the Victorian British army. In this chapter, I will argue that captions and sequence contribute to the naturalization of the principle narrative—a trip from London to Fredericton—in Captain Terry's Canadian album. I will also

suggest that the album is the site of the intersection of several other narratives—some of which are present because of the album's current status as an historical object—that problematize the principle narrative. These arguments are presented through my narrative in which I recognize my own contribution to constructing meaning.

2 Captain Terry and his Album

2.1 Astley Fellowes Terry

Astley Fellowes Terry joined the British army as an ensign on April 1, 1858.¹ He rose through the ranks during his military career and became a lieutenant on September 11, 1860.² In that same year, he travelled to the Nilgiris Hills in southern India to join British troops stationed there in the wake of the "Indian Mutiny" (1857-59).³ It was during this posting that he started compiling the first of his four travel albums which included "regimental and commercial photographs" and various mementoes, such as theatre programs and newspaper clippings, of his travels in India, Burma, and Ceylon. This initial volume ends with photographs purchased during his 1864 stopover in Egypt while he journeyed from Ceylon to Britain.⁴ He was appointed an adjutant for a period between 1860 and 1865.⁵ and, on December 8, 1867, received his captain's commission,⁶ the rank he held when he was travelling in Canada.

Captain Terry's Canadian history is very brief. He came to Canada in 1868 and led "D" Company of the 4th Battalion, 60th Royal Rifles. Shortly after his arrival, the 4th Battalion, which had been in London, Ontario, since November 1865,⁷ moved

to Saint John, New Brunswick, and then left Canada shortly thereafter in the summer of 1869.⁸ It is this trip that is illustrated in Terry's Canadian album.

After leaving Canada, Terry was appointed adjutant for the "5th Adm. Batt., Cheshire Rifle Volunteers" from 1875 to 1877.⁹ He served in the latter part of the Zulu War (1878-79) in 1879 and commanded the entire 4th Battalion of the 60th Royal Rifles from October 1885 to January 1886.¹⁰ In 1887, Terry became a major general, the rank he held at retirement.¹¹

2.2 The Terry Album

The leather covered Terry Album is a substantial book. It measures 380 millimetres high by 280 millimetres wide. The exterior is plain except for the embossing on the spine that identifies the album as "Canada / A.F.T. / Vol. IV / 1868." "A. F. T." refers to Astley Fellowes Terry the compiler of the travel album. Inside the album, the word "Canada" is drawn on the title page in letters rendered to look like snow-covered sticks of wood. Below that is a very brief listing of the contents: "I. Ontario / II. Quebec / III. New Brunswick." The sequential numbering indicates the order in which the subject matter, mostly albumen photographs, is presented. The right-hand pages of the album typically feature one neatly trimmed photograph pasted in the centre of the page. The left-hand pages are usually blank, but sometimes contain pasted-in souvenirs. The pencil construction lines that provided a guide to centre the photographs during assembly are visible on a few pages and under each photograph is a short caption in simple neat lettering identifying the scene. Due to the consistent design throughout the album—the

uniform positioning of the photographs on the pages and the careful lettering—it is likely that the album was assembled over a short period of time, perhaps after Captain Terry had returned home to England from Canada.

3 Narrative Theory

Terry's Canadian travel album is a narrative. According to standard dictionary definitions, to narrate is "to tell (a story) in writing or speech," or, "to give an account of (happenings, etc.)."¹² A narrative is the product of narration, and inherent in this is the necessity of a narrator, an agent who tells or gives an account of the story. Theorist Mieke Bal posits that one of the key criteria of a text to be considered "narrative" is the presence of a spokesperson.¹³ The Terry Album is narrated by Captain Terry: he participates on some pages by personalizing photographs in captions—"My Tent," "My Quarters," (figs. 10 and 11)—while presenting others with detached authority—"King Square, St. John" (fig. 5).

Recent writing emerging from literary theory is useful in establishing a more nuanced understanding of narratives. Literary theorist Mark Currie characterizes recent post-structuralist narrative theories by three features: diversification, deconstruction, and politicization. He argues they are diverse because post-structuralists believe that narratives can exist in every media, not just written texts. Secondly, they do not try to explain inconsistencies or simplify the narrative to establish a definitive interpretation. And finally, they politicize narrative texts by working to uncover inherent ideologies through analysis.¹⁴

Mieke Bal has long been concerned with exposing the ideological structure of narratives and developed her own narrative theory, based partly on the work of French theoretician Gérard Genette, which she published as *Narratology* in 1985. While *Narratology* deals explicitly with narrative texts in literature, Bal has demonstrated that her analytical tools can be applied to many forms, including visual culture.¹⁵ The methods she developed are designed to help make descriptions that lead to interpretations of works and she is mindful that an interpretation is just that, and not *the* definitive meaning:

An interpretation is never anything more than a proposal ('I think that the text means this'). If a proposal is to be accepted, it must be well founded ('I think, on the basis of the data shown, that the text means this'). If a proposal is based upon a precise description it can then be discussed.¹⁶

Implicit in this statement is Bal's assertion of the agency of the reader or interpreter. Accordingly, she emphasizes interpretation as a productive not a passive act.

An important difference between the vocabulary of Bal's narrative analysis and other theories is her use of the word "story." For example, Seymour Chatman uses the word "story" to indicate the events, people, and places of a narrative text. The approximate equivalent in Bal's model is the term "fabula." Her use of the word "story" is close but not equivalent to Chatman's term "discourse," the means by which a story is told.¹⁷ For this reason, it is necessary to define some key terminology I will be using in this chapter.

In Bal's theoretical model, a narrative can be broken down into three major components for analysis: the "text" is "a finite, structured whole composed of

language signs";¹⁸ the "fabula," comprised of "elements" such as events, actors, time, and location, is "a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors";¹⁹ and finally, the "story" is "a fabula that is presented in a certain manner."²⁰ The story consists of "aspects" such as sequential ordering, rhythm, and "focalization." This final "aspect" is the most important for this study because an analysis of the focalization of a fabula responds to the question, "Who sees?"²¹ The focalizer, the agent of focalization, is "the *subject* of the 'gaze'"²² who "sees" the object of the "gaze." The interactions between the narrative levels in Bal's model available for analysis are: the actors address actors and exist as action and direct discourse; the focalizer *sees* the action and direct discourse and addresses the implied spectator through the fabula; the narrator *speaks* what the focalizer sees (the fabula) through the story addressed to the implied spectator; and the author *writes* the story of the narrator in symbols (narrative text) for the reader.²³

4 The Narratives of Analysis

Before offering a narrative reading of the Terry Album, I must recognize my own role as narrator and focalizer of this chapter. Starting with the album as a guide, I traced the movements of Captain Terry's battalion during the spring of 1868 through newspaper reports of troop activity. I also consulted various regimental histories—which sometimes offered slightly different "facts" from those reported in contemporaneous newspapers²⁴—and regimental correspondence. I juxtaposed my reconstruction of the battalion's movements, based on primary public records, primary institutional records, and secondary histories, to the album's narrative for a

comparative analysis. (See Appendix One for the complete comparison.) As a result, the narrative of the Terry Album, which has its own focalizer and fabula, becomes embedded in my narrative text, itself the focalization—how *I* saw—an authored narrative.

The album, contemporaneous newspapers, and other sources do not provide incontrovertible proof that Captain Terry travelled with the main body of the 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles. There is, for example, no specific mention in the public record of Terry. It is likely however that he did make the journey with his battalion and there is no evidence in either the album or newspapers that he did not.²⁵ The few dated items in his album confirm that he was in London during the winter of 1868 and had arrived in Saint John by the autumn; these dates concur with the public and institutional records of his battalion. Indeed, the photographs of "D" Company of the 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles, on pages twenty-nine and thirty of the album include Captain Terry and, barring the possibility of doctored photographs or deceitful captioning, are important as indexical evidence of his physical presence—his "has been"²⁶—in Saint John.

5 The Terry Album Narrative

5.1 The Beginning

The beginning of the album narrative appears on the spine of the book. It announces from the book's place on a shelf the contents of the volume: "Canada / A.F.T. / Vol. IV. / 1868." This is a book about Canada, by Astley Fellowes Terry, the fourth volume in a series,²⁷ and dates from 1868. This information is not obvious to

the uninitiated, but it would signify to a repeat reader, such as Terry, the contents and the viewer's expectations of the volume.

The title page is the more traditional beginning of a book, particularly for an album comprised primarily of photographs. As described above, the Terry Album starts with the word "Canada" rendered in snow capped branches. The title page therefore sets up a romanticized representation of Canada as a wintry land of roughly hewn wood, although, as I will argue in a later chapter, the photographs collected by Captain Terry and the other officers do not always confirm this portrayal. The Table of Contents below the word "Canada" lists three provinces in the order they are presented in the album: "I. Ontario. II. Quebec. III. New Brunswick." This order corresponds with the movements of Terry's battalion during the late spring of 1868. It is from the Table of Contents that we are encouraged by the text to consider Terry's album a linear narrative that progresses from one time and place to another.

The first actual objects in the Terry Album are a "Bill of Fare" from the Montreal Ocean Steam-ship Company and a hand-written bill made out to "Captain Terry" dated February 6, 1868. The next object is a small card showing the "Cabin Plan of Screw Steam Ship *Hibernian*." According to the *Montréal Gazette* of February 7, the *Hibernian* left Liverpool, England, on January 23, 1868, and arrived in Portland, Maine, on February 6.²⁸ the date of Terry's bill. Terry clearly crossed the Atlantic to North America on this run; however, there are no objects in the album from the Portland, Maine, to London, Ontario, portion of his trip. It is plausible that

he took an overnight train on the Grand Trunk Railway from Portland to Montréal and then continued by rail to London.²⁹

5.2 Souvenirs

Many people pick up souvenirs when they travel. Some of these objects are purchased and others are not. Postcards, miniatures of famous monuments, and T-shirts are contemporary examples of souvenirs bought by tourists. Ticket stubs, menus, and restaurant bills are examples of items that are not purchased as souvenirs, but still find their way into scrapbooks and albums. Both types of objects are souvenirs and both represent a traveller's direct experience of a place. What are souvenirs and what do they contribute to the Terry Album?

According to Susan Stewart, the souvenir is a "trace" of a past authentic and unique experience—qualities of an indexical sign in Peircean semiotics. It is a device "for the objectification of desire" and a sign of "reunion" without "repetition."³⁰ Repeatable experiences rarely warrant souvenirs. For example, while we purchase items on a trip to a shopping mall, we generally do not try to preserve them as mementoes of our visit: the trip to the mall is repeatable and the purpose quotidian. The purchased items have a similar use value to most people, but the souvenir's use is personal. Stewart argues that a souvenir, despite its unique personally derived relationship to the past, can only *partially* recreate past experience. An airline-boarding pass cannot recreate the sounds, sights, smells, and tastes of the flight. Phenomenologically, a souvenir is a (sometimes mercifully) poor substitute for the

real thing. However, this same "incompleteness" allows the souvenir to be easily supplemented by spoken or written text.³¹

Captain Terry's bill of fare from the Montreal Steam-ship Company within the context of the album evokes much more than the possible experience of having a dinner of calves' heads, assorted vegetables, and pastry. It is what Umberto Eco calls a "homomaterial replica"³² of not just the dinner experience (the calves' head probably would not keep very well in the album), but also the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. The souvenir is the beginning of a semiosis that can refer to an infinite chain of referents.³³ The bill of fare refers to *that* dinner, which in turn could refer to *all* dinners Terry had on the ship, which could then point to all ship travel or maybe all meals. Returning to Bal's narrative theory, we can see that the chain of referents that develops from souvenirs is the product of focalization, and each focalizer "sees" something different in these objects. The exact path of Terry's semiosis is unknown to us, and indeed he was not constrained to a single course: souvenirs are not limited to referring only to their original context but may also take their owners on divergent paths of meaning. This does not however change the fact that the bill of fare, the note from the purser showing Terry's balance due upon arrival in Portland, and the postcard of the *Hibernian* are indexical objects from which the entire past experience of the trans-Atlantic voyage is reconstructed by both Terry and the album's viewers.

5.3 The Middle: London

The next item in the Terry Album is a photograph of London, Ontario. According to Terry's hotel bill from the Tecumseh House dated March 15, 1868, he had arrived in London and secured lodgings by February 13. The London photographs that Terry purchased show quiet streets and buildings which he identified with short one line captions such as: "The Post Office and Banks, London" and "Corner of Richmond and Dundas Streets, London" (figs. 1 and 2).

5.4 Photographs as Souvenirs

Unlike the homomaterial replicas from his steamship voyage, the purchased photographic souvenirs of London are related to Terry's travels by both what they represent *and* by what they resemble: in semiotic terms, they, like most photographs, are both indexical and iconic signs. They represent where he has been, in part, by resembling what he has seen. However, as I will show later in the chapter, we cannot assume that each photograph was purchased at the location it resembles and represents. Unlike the "Bill of Fare" from the *Hibernian*, the photographs may or may not be physical fragments of Terry's trip; that is, they may not be souvenirs and their authority to represent Canada as he experienced it undermined. Regardless of where they were purchased, they are now part of Terry's narrative text.

If we consider the dimensions of the photographs, they are miniature versions of the world Terry observed³⁴ and as Stewart argues, we understand miniatures primarily through our sense of sight. Combining terminology established by John Urry and Susan Stewart, photographs can be thought of as providing "miniature slices

of reality"³⁵ that emphasize the spatial boundaries of the miniature "tableau"³⁶ and the world that exists outside of the frame. The photograph is incomplete and refers to the external world for potential narratives. Stewart observes that without captions, photographs in albums become "abstractions," a photograph of a wedding becomes every wedding, and the images become illustrations of a type not a specific event.³⁷ The contingency of the photograph and its reference to the outside world for both referent and context makes it the perfect souvenir, one that is easily expanded by narratives.

5.5 The Middle: Hamilton and Niagara Falls

On the morning of May 12, 1868, the *Hamilton Spectator* reported that "the main body of the 60th Rifles, numbering seventeen officers and about five hundred non-commissioned officers and men" left London for Hamilton shortly before eight a.m. on the Great Western Railway.³⁸ They arrived later that morning and then left for Montréal at about noon on the lake steamers *Grecian* and *Magnet*.³⁹

Interestingly, Terry did not include any photographs of Hamilton in his album. Pages eight to thirteen, appearing between London and Montréal, contain photographs of Niagara Falls. On May 12, he probably would have had only minutes to travel to the Falls, purchase his photographs, and return to Hamilton. It is highly unlikely that he did this. Earlier in the 1860s, a traveller noted that the one way trip between Hamilton and Niagara Falls took two hours by rail.⁴⁰ Would the train from London have arrived in Hamilton early enough for Terry to make a four or five hour round trip, including time to pick out the photographs, to Niagara? According to the

newspaper article, the battalion was on board transport ships leaving Hamilton about four hours after their initial departure from London; it is obvious that Terry did not go to the Falls on May 12.

The photographs of Niagara Falls in the album are mostly winter scenes showing snow encased trees and ice formations around the edge of the waterfalls, which reinforce, through the authority of photographs, the image of Canada as a wintry country conveyed by the title page. There is no doubt that the photographs in Terry's album are not literal documents of what he would have seen even if he had gone to Niagara Falls on May 12. I believe however that he did make a journey to the Falls at some point during his posting in Canada. Terry included in his album a business card for "Walker's Indian Bazaar of Niagara Falls" which was "situated at the East End of the Goat Island Bridge." At Walker's he would have found "Summer and winter stereoscopic views of the falls and hundreds of other articles too numerous to mention," including "Indian goods, bark, spar and shaker work, feather fans, birds, canes, shells, agates, minerals, petrifications, and all kinds of spar, agate, and moose hair jewellery."⁴¹ Presumably, Terry purchased the photographs at Walker's.⁴²

Why did Terry include the Niagara Falls photographs in his album where it seems photographs of Hamilton would have been more appropriate? As Kathleen Howe argues in *Excursions Along the Nile*, a close relationship developed between photography and tourism in the nineteenth century. Within that historical context, the photograph acted as both a "document" of and an "impetus" for travel.⁴³ As noted above, there is no doubt that the photographs in Terry's album are not documents of

an actual trip to Niagara Falls on May 12, 1868; however, it is significant that Terry thought it was important to purchase photographs of Niagara Falls and include them in his album.⁴⁴ Even if they were not purchased during his trip from London to Saint John, they respond to the "impetus" created by other travel accounts and demonstrate Terry's participation with a well known and popular destination for Victorian British tourists and travellers through its "markers," the visual spectacle of the Falls represented in photographs.⁴⁵

Another traveller, British Member of Parliament James Fergusson, wrote a typical Victorian British description of the Falls in 1861:

To describe them is difficult indeed. Whether I think of the grand rapids, in which this giant river rushes two miles above, in themselves a sight worth an Atlantic voyage to see . . . or of the terrible Falls themselves, seen from the brink of the cliff beside them, from which one can look close into the green flood as it leaps across the gulf of the cataract down into the misty clouds which wave over the awful chasm, and upon the sea of milk-white foam in which the beaten waters rush for hundreds of yards before they regain their deep green colour.⁴⁶

Terry's choice of photographs confirms Fergusson's description. Terry and Fergusson were not alone in their desire to see the Falls and try to represent them through sublime imagery. In the standard art history text *Painting in Canada*, J. H. Harper notes that British topographic painters George Heriot, Thomas Davies, and James Pattison Cockburn all made "inevitable" trips to Niagara Falls and that the artworks of Captain Henry Davis are a representative example of the Romantic lens through which British officers viewed the sublime attraction.⁴⁷ Terry confirms the attraction and sublime nature of the Falls with his purchase of at least six views, four of which are dramatic winter scenes. In addition to purchasing photographs during his visit to

the Falls, Terry clipped the article "Retrogression of the Niagara Falls" from the *St. John Globe* months after leaving Ontario.⁴⁸ The newspaper article is evidence of the draw that this tourist sight had on him even after his visit. Terry's album provided evidence, through the indexical and iconic properties of photographs as souvenirs, to his contemporaries that he made the pilgrimage to see one of the greatest and best known natural attractions in nineteenth-century Canada.

5.6 Internal Retroversion or Ellipsis?

The location of the Niagara Falls photographs in the album supports *at least* two possible interpretations of Terry's narrative. They could be read as flashbacks, or in Bal's vocabulary, an internal retroversion, within a fabula that takes Terry from London to Niagara Falls, back to London, and then to Hamilton.⁴⁹ Interpreting the appearance of the Falls photographs in Terry's story as retroversion implies that some of the London photographs may have been purchased as souvenirs *after* Terry's journey to Niagara Falls, in which case, the later London photographs are out of chronological sequence in the album, appearing *before* the trip to the Falls.

Another possible interpretation based on the same fabula (London, Niagara Falls, London, Hamilton) is that the Niagara Falls photographs represent an ellipsis, or omission, in the story. Perhaps Terry purchased photographs in London, then travelled to Niagara Falls, returned, and then left for Hamilton without acquiring more pictures of London. Bal suggests that ellipses occur in a story when unimportant or painful materials are omitted.⁵⁰ In late April, 1868, an incident probably best left unmentioned in the album did transpire. The *Montréal Gazette* reported, "Private

Arthur Taylor, of the 4th Batt. 60th Rifles, in London, committed suicide last week by shooting himself through the left breast with a rifle."⁵¹ As appropriate as the event may seem to the theoretical implications of an ellipsis, it is conjecture of the highest degree for me, in my role as focalizer of the historical object, to suggest that Terry did not purchase more photographs of London after this incident. Yet, the omission of this event in any form from the album, which contains a few related newspaper clippings as well as photographs, does make the existence of ellipses in the narrative plausible.

5.7 The Middle: Montréal

The 4th Battalion arrived in Montréal on the lake steamers *Grecian* and *Magnet* on Thursday, May 14, 1868. The stay was very brief. They were on board the ship *Montreal* for their journey to Québec by 5:00 p.m. and departed later that evening. The report in the *Gazette* noted that "the last passenger ran desperately on board" as the ship was preparing to leave.⁵² Perhaps this was Captain Terry himself rushing back from the photography studio after purchasing his panoramic view of Montréal found on page fourteen of his album. Considering the logistics of moving more than five hundred soldiers from two smaller ships to one larger vessel, Terry's time to explore Montréal was certainly brief. Was it too brief to purchase the view included in his album? Again, Terry may have purchased the photograph at another time. He most likely travelled through Montréal in February on his way by train from Portland, Maine, to London, Ontario. Seven days elapsed between his arrival in North

America and the beginning date of his hotel bill in London, which may have been enough time for an extended stopover in Montréal.

5.8 The Middle: Québec

The 4th Battalion arrived in Québec on Friday, May 15 and left the next morning, Saturday, May 16.⁵³ Two pages of Terry's album are dedicated to the Québec area. The first page displays two photographs, one labelled "Falls at Montmorenci [*sic*]" and the other "HMS *Himalaya*," the troop transport ship that eventually took his battalion to Saint John, New Brunswick.

The second Québec page contains a view of the city from the Lévis area on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River. An almost identical print is included in Michel Lessard's monograph, *The Livernois Photographers*.⁵⁴ The only appreciable difference, other than print density, is found in the configuration of the clouds (fig. 3). The collodion photographic emulsion used in 1868 was overly sensitive to the blue end of the spectrum, which produced bleached out skies. Adding clouds to a print using a separate negative exposed specifically for cloud detail was common photographic practice. The result was a more "natural" looking photograph in which clouds—perhaps from another day and another place—filled what otherwise would be a solid white sky. Other than the different cloud patterns, the images are identical. The same ships occupy the same position in the harbour. The bare trees in the foreground overlap the background in the exact same spots. The time of day and season are identical. They are, if not printed from the same negative, printed from negatives taken during the same shoot at the exact same location.

5.9 Metaphor and Metonymy

The view of Québec is dated by Lessard in the Livernois monograph as 1870, two years after the 4th Battalion travelled through the city: indeed, by that time, they had left Canada altogether. Two possibilities present themselves. It is possible that Lessard's date is incorrect and Terry's album furnishes proof that the date of the photograph should be moved back by at least two years; or, it is possible that Terry purchased his photograph of Québec long after he had left Canada, in which case, the photograph is not a souvenir. Instead, it signals that the travel album may be a collection of objects assembled by Terry to represent Canada. According to Stewart and others, a *collection*, unlike an *accumulation* of souvenirs, is primarily concerned with classification according to personal criteria. Terry's relationship with an 1870 photograph of Québec would be one of metaphor, not metonymy. In other words, the 1870 photograph is *associated* with his stop in Québec: it was not part of, or *contiguous* with, his visit to Québec. I will expand upon these concepts later in the discussion of Captain Terry's "collecting narrative."

5.10 The Middle: Saint John

On the morning of Saturday, May 16, four days after leaving London, Ontario, the 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles began the last leg of its journey to New Brunswick aboard the H.M.S. *Himalaya*.⁵⁵ They arrived in Saint John six days later on May 22.⁵⁶

According to one Saint John paper, "The arrival of the 4th Battalion 60th Rifles, with their fine band, excited a good deal of interest on Friday."⁵⁷ indeed, the band was a constant theme of the trip. When they left London the local newspaper

reported the band played "the familiar airs incident to such an occasion."⁵⁸ The *Gazette* wrote that during their brief stop in Montréal, "the fine band of the 1st Batt., of the 60th stationed here marched down to the wharf, and played a number of airs alternatively with the band of the 4th Battalion."⁵⁹ Shortly after the 4th Battalion arrived in Saint John, this notice appeared in the *Morning Journal*: "The band of the 60th Rifles will play on Queen Square [*sic*] every Wednesday from 4 to 6 p. m., (weather permitting)."⁶⁰ The *St. John Morning Telegraph* favourably reviewed the band on an almost weekly basis: "The fine band of the 60th Rifles discoursed sweet music on Queen's Square yesterday afternoon to crowds of our citizens who seemed to enjoy the rare treat of a glorious day equally with performances of the Band."⁶¹ By the beginning of August, the press had decided that the band was almost the high point of the summer in Saint John: "The Band on Queen's Square, on Wednesdays, is the greatest attraction in the City nowadays—unless we except the charming display of beauty and fashion which the Band calls forth."⁶² Curiously, there is no photograph of the band or Saint John's Queen's Square in Terry's album. His reconstruction of the trip emphasizes different aspects than does the public record.

5.11 Public and Private

The discrepancy between Terry's private account of his battalion and the public record is not surprising. In addition to authenticating past experience and being a conduit for nostalgia, Stewart argues that souvenirs recreate public space and time within a private realm.⁶³ For photographs and other mementoes that are able to fit into an album the most obvious means for them to shift from public to private is through

scale. Photographs, unlike the Map of the Empire created by Jorge Luis Borges' College of Cartographers,⁶⁴ represent cities within dimensions that can be possessed by a traveller. The views of Saint John that Terry selected for his album fit comfortably on the pages. Even the three panel panorama that introduces the Saint John section is folded so that it can be completely enclosed by the book, which in turn can be perused in private by an individual (fig. 4).

The photographic souvenir changes past lived public time into past private time. The arbitrary and public measure of hours, days, months, and years, is replaced by a relative chronology based on private criteria. Souvenirs are not accumulated according to hourly or daily alarms, but rather by personal significance and become their own "calendar."⁶⁵ In addition to establishing a relative calendar of events, the souvenirs determine the rhythm of the narrative text by drawing out description where there are many photographs and condensing it where there are few. The pace with which Terry narrates London and Niagara Falls—each is represented by six photographs and two other objects—is leisurely compared to the short entries for Montréal (one photograph) and Québec (three photographs on two pages). Terry's rhythm seems to concur with the public record: the newspapers reported that the 4th Battalion were in London for a much longer period than in Montréal or Québec. However, Terry's trip to Niagara Falls does not exist in the public record and the relatively large number of photographs in the album reflect tensions between public and private time.

5.12 122 Germain Street

The photographs have also made the transition from public use to private use. Terry probably purchased most of his photographs, many of which were originally taken as views for tourists, from local photographers. Some of the photographs in the album are, however, too specific to have had a broad appeal in the nineteenth-century tourist market. For example, the photograph Terry labelled "122 Germain Street, St. John, N.B." on page twenty shows the shop of E. E. Kennay, Piano-Forte Maker, flanked by two proprietorial looking men (fig. 7). Kennay's shop occupies the foreground of the photographs and the neighbouring homes peter out into the background. According to an 1867-68 city directory, Edmund E. Kennay sold pianofortes and organs from his shop at 120 Germain Street.⁶⁶ The same directory lists James R. Fitch, physician, at 122 Germain Street. In 1876, another city directory lists the address as the home of Charles Job, also a physician.⁶⁷ The record of the intervening years is incomplete, but the available information shows that in the late 1860s and early 1870s, 122 Germain Street was usually occupied by doctors. Terry has given us no clue as to the personal significance of this address but it seems clear that the photograph was originally taken for the piano maker Edmund E. Kennay, not for Captain Terry or one of the physicians; however, Terry, the focalizer of the album, made it his own.

5.13 "The Photographic Message"

Roland Barthes' early structuralist writing on photography suggests how Terry was able to claim "122 Germain Street." In "The Photographic Message," Barthes

argues that text creates connotative meaning for images and the proximity of the text to the image determines the amount of connotative influence the text possesses.⁶⁸ The closer the text is to the image, as in a newspaper caption, the more influence it has. In addition, Barthes observes that "the text produces (invents) an entirely new signified which is retroactively projected into the image, so much so as to appear denoted there."⁶⁹ Carol Armstrong repeats Barthes' observations in *Scenes in a Library*, suggesting that by the late twentieth century "so accustomed are we to seeing photographic imagery together with some form of text . . . that the verbal framing of the photograph seems natural, even invisible."⁷⁰ The pairing of a single image and a single line of text in isolation from others, such as on the page of an album, is an example of this influential combination. Terry's caption, "122 Germain Street," is so persuasive that it overcomes the original denoted image, that of Kennay's shop at 120 Germain Street. The photographic archive of a commercial photographer provided Terry with a public image that he influenced with text to become part of his private narration.⁷¹

5.14 "Territory of Images"

Terry found at the photographer's studio what Allan Sekula calls a "territory of images" in which the photograph's use value is in "the logic of exchange."⁷² Photography studios are archives of working images in which the studio usually retains the negatives and the rights to images, simply selling the customer a photographic print. Sekula argues that because of the "semantic availability" of photographic images—comparable to the "incompleteness" of the souvenir that

Stewart discusses—they are available for numerous interpretations by whoever possesses them.⁷³ In particular, he sees dangers in the use of photographs from archives to illustrate history texts. He writes, "awareness of history as an *interpretation* of the past succumbs to a faith in history as representation"⁷⁴ when photographs are used as illustrations. "Historical narration becomes a matter of . . . unobtrusively linking incontestable documents [photographs] in a seamless account."⁷⁵ Certainly this is what Terry has done in his private history. The linking has been provided by the logically arranged trip from London to Saint John—west to east—and the photographs offer positive knowledge of the journey.

5.15 The Middle: Mount Ashton

Almost four weeks after arriving in Saint John, a local newspaper reported that a detachment of the 4th Battalion had left for Mount Ashton for "their annual course of musketry."⁷⁶ A photographer accompanied either this or other groups to Mount Ashton and took the photographs that appear on pages twenty three to twenty eight of Terry's album. This section shows the camp life, posed for the camera, of Terry and his fellow officers—no enlisted men are identified.

5.16 Nostalgia

The Mount Ashton photographs, unlike the standard tourist views of Saint John and other locations, are illustrations of Terry's personal experience, or autobiographical indexical signs. The photographs were taken during the summer when he was in the Saint John area. He knew the officers in the photographs and emphasized the autobiographical nature of the images by writing "My Tent" next to a

tent at the edge of one photo (fig. 10). The photographs presumably would have been nostalgic objects for Terry, constructing, as Stewart argues, "the past . . . from a set of presently existing pieces."⁷⁷ She continues, "There is no continuous identity between these objects and their referents. Only the act of memory constitutes their resemblance. And it is in this gap between resemblance and identity that nostalgic desire arises."⁷⁸

All the photographs and objects in the album may have functioned as impetuses for "nostalgic desires," but the Mount Ashton photographs and a few other regimental photographs, are the only images that refer autobiographically to Terry's past activities. Terry, the "I" narrator of the album, presents the tourist view photographs of Saint John he purchased as part of his narrative from the position: "I testify as the narrator that this is Saint John, N.B."; however, his position shifts with the Mount Ashton pictures to, "I state autobiographically as the narrator that this is Mount Ashton, N.B."⁷⁹ In the first instance, Terry tells his story through the commercial photographer's previous focalization of a place and testifies to its accuracy through the caption "Saint John, N.B." In the second instance, despite the presence of the photographer behind the camera, Terry can testify autobiographically to the veracity of the photographer's focalization which occurred concurrently with his own.

As I mentioned above, the view and other photographs Terry found at commercial studios could have also been nostalgic objects without the concurrent lived and represented past found in the regimental photographs. Terry could have

appreciated them in the same manner as Walter Benjamin experienced his books.⁸⁰ While unpacking his library, Benjamin's boxes of books become the catalyst for an avalanche of memories about where and when he acquired them. He recalls people, conversations, and places as he places the books on his shelves. At the end of the essay, Benjamin associates books with cities, stressing the personal significance of the books as indexical souvenirs that are laden with nostalgic memories. Indeed, both Benjamin and Terry have in their own objects the means to reconstruct memory.⁸¹

5.17 The End: Fredericton

The Terry Album is not full to the last page, there are two unused leaves. The final page of memorabilia consists of a solitary photograph of Fredericton, New Brunswick. According to newspaper reports, the 4th Battalion did not pass through Fredericton on their way to Saint John and so it is placed logically, from a chronological but not geographical perspective, at the end of the album. Terry may have purchased the photograph on a trip the officers of the 60th Rifles took to Fredericton to play cricket on September 10. According to one British visitor in the 1860s, "Little Fredericton" was "one of the keenest places for cricket" he had ever seen.⁸² The officers of Terry's battalion and the "war steamer *Doris*," played against the officers of the 22nd Regiment, the 22nd won in one inning.⁸³ The 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles remained in Canada for less than a year after their cricket loss. Terry probably left for Aldershot from Halifax with the rest of his battalion aboard the H.M.S. *Crocodile* on June 22, 1869.⁸⁴ Perhaps the final two leaves of Terry's album had been reserved for this last leg of his journey. The premature ending is intriguing.

6 The Collecting Narrative

6.1 Collections as Narratives

In addition to a travel story, there is another narrative to be examined here. Mieke Bal contends that there is a narrative structure to the act of collecting itself. She argues that when an object is collected there is a "separation of thing and meaning" and it changes from being a thing to being a sign.⁸⁵ It has lost any "use value" it may have had to direct the subject back to the world. The new meaning of the object is determined by its syntagmatic relationship with other signs within the subject's collection and its meaning changes with the addition of each new object.⁸⁶ The commercial photographs Terry purchased lost their use value—Sekula's "logic of exchange"—to the photography studio as a saleable commodity the moment Terry paid for them. Their way of participating and directing the subject back to the world has been, in Bal's terms, "abducted" by Terry.⁸⁷ The photographs now point to him.⁸⁸ He is the only characteristic each object in the album—photographs, newspaper clippings, hotel bills, menus—holds in common.

6.2 The Album as Collection

The beginning, middle, and end of Terry's travel narrative are easy to determine. The text begins with the title page, then the souvenirs from the *Hibernian*, and then proceeds page after page in a linear trip through Canada. The beginning of the collecting narrative is probably also comprised of the souvenirs from the steamship *Hibernian*.⁸⁹ The middle of the collecting narrative is made up of everything else in the album except for the last object collected. Is Terry's collecting

narrative the same as his travel narrative? If the story of the collecting narrative coincides with Terry's travels in Canada, then the album is an accumulation of photographic souvenirs that he purchased along the way and that function as indices of the places he visited. However, if the collecting narrative and trip do not correspond, then Terry, the collecting subject, collected photographs according to a personal criteria that "abducted" the images and made them participants in his own project, perhaps: "Places I think will represent Canada to me, my friends, and family." In that case, his ordering of the photographs in a "natural" linear progression from London to Fredericton—west to east—implies the travel narrative I have been investigating.

At stake in this investigation is the "truthfulness" of Terry's narrative based on the means by which he constructed it. Is it an accumulation of souvenirs or a collection of objects? Neither can be ascertained with absolute certainty, but there is evidence to suggest that a "common sense" beginning-to-end reading of the album as souvenirs is an inaccurate re-creation of Terry's trip. However, stating definitively that some of the photographs are collected items and not souvenirs is impossible.

6.3 Collection versus Souvenir

Throughout this chapter I have considered Terry's photographs "souvenirs," or homomaterial objects, but I have also been arguing that they may not have been purchased in the cities they depict (e.g. Québec) or in the order they are presented (e.g. Niagara Falls and Montréal), which would make them part of a collection. Stewart's definitions of souvenir and collection are opposed to each other by function:

souvenirs prompt memories of the past while collections discard their history, and exist only within the hermetic world of their collecting subject's classification criteria, indeed, creating a new context for themselves.⁹⁰ But as Naomi Schor notes, Benjamin's book *collection* functions as a catalyst for "a Proustian rush of memories,"⁹¹ and as a result, she disputes Stewart's mutually exclusive definitions of collection and souvenir. The objects in Terry's album may comprise a private realm of their own demarcated by the heavy covers of the book, but they also functioned for Terry as *aides-mémoire*, establishing new use values after the originals had been "abducted."

As an historical object at the beginning of the twenty first century, the personal memories and past histories—the nostalgic use value—of the Terry Album are lost to us: the album functions as a collection. The contemporary reader of Terry's narrative text may "know" that the photographs were souvenirs—that they were the catalyst for memories—but he or she can only guess at the nostalgic semiosis experienced by Terry. Our experience of the album is limited to its existence as a collection, and, as Stewart notes, collections "seek to represent experience within a mode of control and confinement," a ideally "closed knowledge" that "is both eclectic and eccentric."⁹² The album as collection offers the contemporary researcher, through its biased representation of the past, an example of how a British infantry officer chose to represent Canada.

7 Conclusion

The ending of the collection narrative is difficult to define. Some collections, such as unusual leaves or interesting stones, are potentially infinite and only end with the end of the collector. Other collections are finite and completion is possible. Bal's observation on "completion" is an appropriate place to end my analysis of the Terry Album narratives: "Completion may be a simple way of putting an end to a collective narrative—defining it, so to speak, as a short story—in order to begin a new one."⁹³ This album is both a tale in itself and a fragment of a larger story. Terry's worldwide travels from India to Canada. To date, only the existence of four albums by Terry is known; they span a period of only eight years. Captain Astley Fellowes Terry did not retire from the military for at least another twenty years, but it seems that he did not produce more photo albums. Perhaps he chose different objects to tell his later stories.

Terry's "Canada 1868" album was the fourth volume he compiled. He began and completed three albums—or short stories—before this one. According to Howe, Terry began his first album in 1860 which ends with his brief stopover in Egypt in the spring of 1864. In total, his four albums are collections of photographs and mementoes from India, Ceylon, Burma, Egypt, Malta, England, and Canada. As Howe says, "an eloquent testament to the extent of the British Empire,"⁹⁴ and as I will argue in the last chapter, also a colonizing "testament" of the British Empire in Canada. But first, the choices in photographs collected by Captain Terry and other officers needs to be scrutinized by considering the ways commercial views could satisfy the military gaze.

Notes

¹¹ Nesbitt Willoughby Wallace. *A Regimental Chronicle and List of Officers of the 60th or the King's Royal Rifle Corps. Formerly the 62nd or the Royal American Regiment of Foot* (London: Harrison, 1879; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1982), 243.

² Ibid., 252. There are two types of officers in the British military, "line" officers and "staff" officers. Line officers usually command in the battlefield. Staff officers usually do the administrative duties of command on the staff of a formation commander who is normally a full Colonel, Brigadier-General or higher. The careers of military officers depend on being noticed by the higher-ranking officers as promotions arise, so staff officers usually advance more readily than line officers. Terry seems to have been a staff officer. While in Canada, he sought the adjutancy of the Depot battalion in 1868. National Archives of Canada, "C" Series: R.G. 8, Volume 943: 97. An adjutancy is an appointment in which the officer becomes "the mouthpiece to the commanding officer." "An Adjutant's Duties," *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, 27 Mar. 1869, 202. An adjutancy is considered an entrance-level staff position and a pre-requisite for service on a general's staff. This puts the adjutant in a highly visible position to be noticed for promotion or coveted postings. Thanks to Lt. Col. Richard Rogers, CD (Ret'd), and Capt. Finley Mullally, RCA, for their insights into military culture past and present.

³ Kathleen Stewart Howe, "Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt," in *Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1993), 37.

⁴ Ibid. Photographs by Felice A. Beato from one of Terry's albums of Egypt were included in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art's 1993 exhibition "Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt."

⁵ Wallace lists Terry as an adjutant in the 60th Rifles from 1860 to 1863. Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle of the 60th*, 253-55. Chichester and Burges-Short list Terry as an adjutant for the 3rd Battalion, 60th Rifles from 1863 to 1865. Henry Manners Chichester and George Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges of Every Regiment and Corps in the British Army*, 2nd ed. (London: Gale & Polden, 1900), 675.

⁶ Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle of the 60th*, 261.

⁷ Charles H. Stewart, *The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence Library, 1964), 259.

⁸ The 1st and 4th Battalions of the 60th Regiment, or King's Royal Rifles, spent much time in Canada during the middle of the nineteenth century. The 1st Battalion, which was stationed in Montréal in 1868, took part in the Red River Expedition of 1870 as part of the force sent by the Canadian government to secure the new province of Manitoba. Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle of the 60th*, 60.

⁹ Ibid., 253.

¹⁰ Chichester and Burges-Short, *The Records and Badges*, 675.

¹¹ According to an undocumented note in the NAC Terry Album accession file, Terry received his promotion in 1887. I cannot confirm this date; however, Terry did hold the rank of Major General when he co-wrote the *Appendix Dealing with Uniform, Armament and Equipment* in 1913 for Lewis Butler's *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps* (London: Smith Elder, 1913-1932).

¹² David B. Guralnik, ed., *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College ed. (New York: World Publishing, 1972), 945.

¹³ Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, trans. Christine van Boheemen, 2nd ed. (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985), 8.

¹⁴ Mark Currie, *Postmodern Narrative Theory* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998), 2-3.

¹⁵ For example, Mieke Bal, *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999); idem, "Seeing Signs: The Use of Semiotics for the Understanding of Visual Art," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 74-93; idem, "Art History and its Theories," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (1996): 6-25; idem, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1996); idem, "Reading Art?," in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*, ed. Griselda Pollock (London: Routledge, 1996), 25-41; idem, *Reading "Rembrandt": Beyond the Word-image Opposition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991); Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991): 174-208.

¹⁶ Bal, *Narratology*, 10.

¹⁷ For a brief summary of Chatman's approach to narrative analysis, see Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1978), 19-22.

¹⁸ Bal, *Narratology*, 5.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Mieke Bal, "Narration and Focalization," in *On Story-Telling: Essays in Narratology*, ed. David Jobling (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1991), 87.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 87-88.

²⁴ For example, Wallace lists the 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles as posted in "New London, N. B." in 1868, not London, Ontario. Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle of the 60th*, 60.

²⁵ There is one anomalous item in the album. Opposite page seven there is a newspaper clipping titled "Farewell to the 60th!" The article begins, "The officers and men of the 60th Rifles leave this city to-day for their new destination . . . ." The hand-written caption under the clipping states "From the London Free Press and Daily Advertiser, 12 July 68." However, the same paper reported on May 13, 1868 that the regiment had left the previous day, May 12, 1868, for Saint John, NB. "Military Intelligence. The 60th Rifles On Route." *The London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, 13 May 1868, [3]. The *Montréal Gazette* reported the same departure date on May 23. "Telegraphic News, Canada. Arrival of the 4th Batt. 60th Rifles." *Gazette*, 23 May 1868, [2]. In addition, Terry wrote to Military Secretary while in Saint John requesting a "Depot Battalion Adjutancy" on June 15, 1868. National Archives of Canada: "C" Series; R.G. 8; Volume 943, page 97.

²⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 85.

²⁷ The previous three volumes contain materials from India, Ceylon, Burma, Egypt, Malta, and England. Howe, "Excursions Along the Nile," 37.

²⁸ "Midnight Telegrams. Arrival of S.S. "Hibernian"," *Gazette*, 7 Feb. 1868, [2].

²⁹ It was common practice when travelling to Montréal from overseas during the winter to land in Portland and take the train to Montréal. "Steamships: Montreal Ocean Steam-ship Company [advertisement]," *Gazette*, 6 Feb. 1868, [4]. The first "ocean arrival of the season [1868]" of the *Hibernian* in Montréal did not occur until May 4. "The City. City Items," *Gazette*, 5 May 1868, [1]. The Intercolonial Railway that connected Halifax, an all season Canadian port, to Rivière-du-Loup and the rest of Canada was not completed until 1876. J. L. Granastein et al., *Nation: Canada Since Confederation*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1990), 33.

³⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), xii.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 135-36.

³² Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1976), 227. Stewart uses Eco's term.

³³ Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

³⁴ Most photographs are smaller than the album, which is 380 mm by 280 mm. The folded panoramic photograph of Saint John, NB, comprises three photographs that when unfolded have a total width of just under one metre.

³⁵ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 139-40.

³⁶ Stewart, *On Longing*, 67.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 138. An unmarked photograph takes on meaning when the viewers lend the moment photographed a plausible history and future. John Berger describes this as one of the "ambiguities of the photograph." John Berger, "Appearances," in *Another Way of Telling* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 88-92.

³⁸ "Military Intelligence. The 60th Rifles On Route." [3].

³⁹ "City News. Movement of Troops." *Spectator*, 13 May 1868, [2].

⁴⁰ James Fergusson, *Notes on a Tour in North America in 1861* ([Edinburgh]: 1861; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1985), 29. Fergusson's estimate of two hours travelling time between Niagara Falls and Hamilton by rail could be questioned. In the same sentence, he placed Hamilton "at the western extremity of Lake Superior."

⁴¹ Walker's business card features a drawing of a stereotypically dressed "noble savage Indian" standing on a cliff peering off into the distance with Niagara Falls in the background. This is the only inclusion of an image of indigenous people in Terry's album. See Chapter Three for a discussion of the representation of indigenous people in the albums.

⁴² Robert Walker was the proprietor of Walker's Indian Bazaar of Niagara Falls; however, various city of London directories also list a Robert Walker as a London dry goods retailer. Perhaps this is a coincidence, or maybe Walker was also owner a small business at the Niagara Falls. *Cherrier &*

Kirwin's London Directory for 1872-73, (Montreal: Cherrier & Kirwin, 1872), 118; *City of London Directory for 1863-4*, (London, C.W.: S. Wrigley Murphey, 1863; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Annual Publications, Ottawa: CIHM, 1987), 65; *Railton's London Directory for the City of London, C.W., 1856-1857*, (London, C.W.: Geo. Railton, 1856), 155.

⁴³ Howe, "Excursions Along the Nile," 43.

⁴⁴ It is possible that Terry visited Camp Grimsby located east of Hamilton and made a side trip to see Niagara Falls. I have not found any record of the 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles travelling to Camp Grimsby in 1868. In addition, rifle practice at rural camps like Grimsby usually occurred during the summer months and Terry was in Ontario only from February to May, 1868.

⁴⁵ A "marker" is anything that acquaints, introduces, or announces a tourist attraction. They are the signifiers that allow the tourist to recognize the attraction when contact is made with the sight. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist : A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 110-11, 21-23.

⁴⁶ Fergusson, *Tour in North America, 1861*, 26-27.

⁴⁷ J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977), 49-53.

⁴⁸ The article is dated September 16, 1868. Saint John, New Brunswick, was referred to as "St. John" in the nineteenth-century.

⁴⁹ I have dismissed the possibility of a London-Hamilton-Niagara Falls-Hamilton fabula above.

⁵⁰ Bal, *Narratology*, 71.

⁵¹ "The City. Things in General," *Gazette*, 7 May 1868, [2].

⁵² "The 4th Batt. 60th Rifles," *Gazette*, 15 May 1868, [2].

⁵³ "Shipping Intelligence. Maritime Extracts," *Morning Chronicle*, 18 May 1868, [2].

⁵⁴ Michel Lessard, *The Livernois Photographers* (Québec: Musée du Québec and Québec-Agenda, 1987), 218, plate 71A.

⁵⁵ "Shipping Intelligence. Maritime Extracts," *Morning Chronicle*, 18 May 1868, [2].

⁵⁶ "Local Matters. Arrivals," *St. John Morning Telegraph*, 23 May 1868, [3].

⁵⁷ "Arrival of the Rifles," *The Morning Journal*, 25 May 1868, [2].

⁵⁸ "Military Intelligence. The 60th Rifles On Route," *The London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, 13 May 1868, [3].

⁵⁹ "The 4th Batt. 60th Rifles," *Gazette*, 15 May 1868, [2]. The 1st Battalion, 60th Rifles was stationed in Montréal.

⁶⁰ "Local and Provincial," *The Morning Journal*, 3 June 1868, [2].

⁶¹ "Local Matters," *St. John Morning Telegraph*, 4 June 1868, [3].

⁶² "Local Matters," *St. John Morning Telegraph*, 6 Aug. 1868, [2].

⁶³ Stewart, *On Longing*, 138-39.

⁶⁴ "... In that Empire, the craft of Cartography attained such Perfection that the Map of a Single province covered the space of an entire City, and the Map of the Empire itself an entire Province. In the course of Time, these Extensive maps were found somehow wanting, and so the College of Cartographers evolved a Map of the Empire that was of the same Scale as the Empire and that coincided with it point for point." Jorge Luis Borges, "Of Exactitude in Science," in *A Universal History of Infamy* (New York: Dutton, 1972), 141.

⁶⁵ Stewart, *On Longing*, 138.

⁶⁶ *Hutchinson's New Brunswick Directory, for 1867-68*, (St. John, NB: James A. T. Bird, 1867; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Annual Publications, Ottawa: CIHM, 1988), 151. Kennay was still at 120 Germain Street in 1876. *McAlpine's Saint John City Directory for 1875-76*, (St. John, N.B.: D. McAlpine & Co., [1876]), 16.

⁶⁷ *McAlpine's Saint John City Directory for 1875-76*, 16.

⁶⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in *Image Music Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 26.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷⁰ Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Cambridge: MIT, 1998), 1.

⁷¹ It is unlikely that the original studio record for the photograph can be found. Most of downtown Saint John burned in 1877.

⁷² Allan Sekula, "Photography Between Labour and Capital," in *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures: A Selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay, Cape Breton* (Halifax: NSCAD, 1983), 194.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 198. Emphasis in original.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ "The News. Rifle Practice," *The Morning Journal*, 17 June 1868, [2].

⁷⁷ Stewart, *On Longing*, 145.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ This distinction is based on Bal's *Narratology*, 120-26. Using Bal's notation, the statements are: (I narrate: (I testify:)) "Saint John, N.B."; and, (I narrate: (I state autobiographically:)) "Mount Ashton, N.B."

⁸⁰ Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 59-68. Benjamin offers an interesting insight to the question, why did Terry purchase his photographs? After praising writing books as the best way to acquire books he offers that, "Writers are really people who write books not because they are poor, but because they are dissatisfied with the books which they could buy but do not like." Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library."

61. Terry may not have had the means or knowledge to operate a camera and develop the photographs, or he may have been satisfied with the photographs he found at commercial studios. Some contemporaneous travellers, like Lady Brassey—who coincidentally came to North America aboard the S.S. *Hibernian* four years after Terry—did make their own photographs of Canada. Nancy Micklewright, "Lady Brassey's Canadian Visit, 1872," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996): 150-52.

⁸¹ However, I must wonder how often Terry reminisced about his year in Canada because the album is in very good condition. The pages show a small amount of foxing and the cover is worn on the corners, but all of the photographs are in good to excellent condition. None of the pages are ripped, none of the photographs are loose, there are no stains other than those associated with age, no fingerprints, or obvious blemishes on any of the pages. In contrast, the Rifle Brigade Album and the Jacobs Album are both worn enough to have required varying amounts of preservation and restoration. Their poor condition however cannot be equated with enthusiastic or reckless use by their original assemblers and may be the result of imprudent handling by subsequent owners.

⁸² Francis Duncan, *Our Garrisons in the West, or Sketches in British North America* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1982), 133.

⁸³ "From Up River," *St. John Morning Telegraph*, 13 Sept. 1868: [2].

⁸⁴ Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle of the 60th*, 60.

⁸⁵ Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 111.

⁸⁶ Bal, "Telling Objects," 111.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ For implications on the body of the collector see Stewart, *On Longing*, 162.

⁸⁹ If Terry purchased the blank album before he started to purchase photographs and keep mementoes, it would be the beginning of his collecting narrative. However, the assembly of the album appears to have been completed in a short time, for the reasons mentioned above, which means Terry had the objects before the album was assembled. In addition, the bills, newspaper clippings, and odds and ends that have been pasted on to the left-hand pages appear to be later insertions in the main narrative text conveyed by the photographs, which are on the right hand pages.

⁹⁰ Stewart, *On Longing*, 152. In particular, Stewart argues that objects in a collection hide the history of their production by erasing labour.

⁹¹ Naomi Schor, "Collecting Paris," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 252.

⁹² Stewart, *On Longing*, 161.

⁹³ Bal, "Telling Objects," 113.

⁹⁴ Howe, "Excursions Along the Nile," 37.

Chapter Two

The "Gaze" of Travelling Soldiers: Commercial Photographic Views Collected by the British Military in Nineteenth-Century Canada

1 Introduction

Captain Terry's vast journeys were not unique. The British army travelled the world in the nineteenth century and many of its soldiers recorded the people and places they encountered. British military officers who were posted in Canada and other colonies have a long history of producing, collecting, and even occasionally publishing images of their temporary homes.¹ Soldiers such as Richard Short, Thomas Davies, James Pattison Cockburn, and others—some of whom had been trained by noted English watercolourist Paul Sandby at Woolwich Military Academy—produced drawings and watercolours while in British North America that are now part of the canon of Canadian art history.² The artworks we are familiar with through art historical texts were personal works by which these officers participated in a popular British pastime. They also routinely drew illustrations for reports, but these largely unknown official images are not what we have come to associate with them.³

After 1850, military officers such as Terry participated in another nineteenth-century pastime, photograph collecting. In this chapter I will examine a small

selection of nineteenth-century photograph albums to establish the military "gaze" constructed by the British officers who assembled the albums and consider the collected photographs as the manifestation of the intersection of military and touristic commercial "gazes." I will argue that the tourist "gaze," as exemplified by "view" photographs, and the military "gaze," as manifested in the albums, both look at the land as a commodity to be enjoyed, as a source of recreation.

My development of the military "gaze" will be illuminated by the examination of four albums in the collection of the National Archives of Canada: the Terry Album, the Rifle Brigade Album, the Jacobs Album, and the Grant Album.⁴ Each album was assembled by an officer of the British army posted in Canada during the 1860s and each album is, by my definition, a "travel album": an accumulation or collection of objects acquired while travelling or to illustrate a travel narrative. As I argued in the previous chapter, a travel album does not necessarily need to be a faithful reproduction of the officers' travels.

2 The British Empire and Travel

The four albums addressed in this chapter contain photographs of Canada; two of them also include views from other parts of the world. The British had colonized regions of present-day Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, parts of the east coast of Africa, and many islands and coastal areas in the Caribbean by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Empire expanded considerably throughout that century and military personnel could find themselves posted in almost any region of the world, including Canada.⁵ One contemporary writer believed that the value of

colonies was, in part, "as vast military and naval schools" for the British military in which soldiers could learn the "capacity for enduring hardship, variety of resource, and fitness for all the stern necessities of war."⁶

As the Empire grew in the nineteenth century, so did the world-wide presence of the British army. The "Mutiny" in India (1857-59) and the Maori Wars in New Zealand (1846-47, 1860-61, 1863-66) were fuelled by British encroachment on traditions and lands. Conflicts in the Cape Colony (1880-81, 1899-1902) stemmed from British confrontations with a previous settler culture and with indigenous peoples. In British North America, tensions arose both within the colony and from the United States.⁷ After the War of 1812, there were at least 5,000 British troops stationed in British North America at all times.⁸ Additional personnel were sent in 1837 to quell rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada; subsequent border disputes with the United States in the 1840s and the Trent Affair in 1861, at the beginning of the American Civil War, ensured a continuing presence.⁹ By February 1862 there were 18,000 British troops stationed in the British North American colonies in preparation for hostile action by the northern U.S. states.¹⁰

British troops did not come to Canada to take in Niagara Falls or the view of Montréal from Mount Royal, but their albums invariably contain photographs of these sights. Travel as the result of military postings is, however, not based on the same set of motivations as is tourist travel. According to sociologist John Urry, there are no intrinsic characteristics with which to identify a universal ahistorical tourist experience. It is defined by "the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices.

particularly those based within the home and paid work."¹¹ Social historians have noted that British military officers were not paid very well, and their obligations at home—society gatherings, hunts, and club memberships—were expensive, prompting some to request postings in parts of the Empire where the "good life" was less costly.¹² Fortunately many of them were financially independent without their army paycheque;¹³ indeed, some regiments recommended minimum levels of "private incomes" in addition to the officer's pay.¹⁴ It would be difficult however to argue that their travel was not "paid work" regardless of how poorly they were compensated.¹⁵ More important than remuneration in Urry's definition is his placement of tourist activity in opposition to "regulated and organised work."¹⁶ I would argue however that tourist *activity* can take place *within* work time. Many activities can take place during paid work that are not part of the larger "regulated and organised" day. While it is obvious in this context that the impetus for military travel was not identical to that of the growing numbers of Victorian middle-class tourists, military officers did participate in similar activities. For example, they purchased and collected souvenirs and assembled albums and narratives of their travels, practices through which officers constructed an Imperial "gaze."

3 The "Gaze"

3.1 Definition of the "Gaze"

The "gaze" has emerged as a critical term in contemporary art historical literature.¹⁷ Art historian Michael Ann Holly states it "has become a particularly crucial interpretative issue because of our late twentieth-century preoccupation with

'interventionist' commentary . . . in which the issue is less how history can serve art than how art can serve as a basis of cultural and social criticism."¹⁸ Defined in its vernacular usage as "a steady look,"¹⁹ within art historical discourse the gaze implies an agent who is looking and usually connotes pleasure and knowledge gained by that agent within the context of power relations, manipulation, and desire.²⁰

Norman Bryson states that the development of the gaze acknowledges the "subject's entry into the social arena of visibility,"²¹ the foundations of which were laid by Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic work on the decentralized viewing subject.²² The subject is no longer at the centre of his or her visual experience determining his or her surrounding world, but rather sees through a "screen" of visibility, or the visual conventions and signifiers used by society. Bryson says, "When I see, *what* I see is formed by paths or networks laid down in advance of my seeing."²³ It may seem to the viewing subject that he or she solely determines their vision, but it is confined by the visual understanding—"visibility"—of his or her culture. Just as language pre-exists our entry into the world, so does visibility as interpreted by Bryson and others. Also like language, visibility is not static: signifiers—and therefore the ways we see—change with time and circumstance. According to Bryson, visibility "is something built cooperatively, over time."²⁴ It is not simply the product of light striking the retina of our eyes.

Scrutinizing Lacan's work, Bryson questions what he calls the French theorist's "paranoid or terrorist coloration" of the gaze based on his reading of the particular vocabulary Lacan employs: "capture," "annexation," "death." Bryson

acknowledges that being an object of looking rather than the viewing subject can be frightening, but believes that this should spur us to ask what—or who—"makes sight terroristic, or otherwise"?²⁵ In other words, how is "terror" naturalized? Answering these questions involves "analysis, analyses, many of them, of how power uses the social construct of vision, visibility. And also of how power disguises and conceals its operations in visibility, in myths of pure form, pure perception, and culturally universal vision."²⁶

Michel Foucault's familiar discussion of Jeremy Bentham's penitentiary panopticon, contributes to the discourse of the gaze with his recognition that "visibility is a trap."²⁷ To be *possibly* under constant observation, as were Bentham's prisoners, is a method of self-discipline. According to Foucault, Bentham believed that "power should be visible and unverifiable."²⁸ Foucault's thoughts on panopticism add not only to Lacan's notion of "terroristic" sight, but also the manipulation of the object of the gaze by the seeing agent as part of a disciplinary process. The analysis of power inherent in the discussion of the gaze is not only a focus of this chapter; it will be revisited in the next chapter when I consider the contribution the collected photographs make to colonial discourse.

3.2 Intersection of Gazes

The critical use of the gaze is not unique to art history; it is also employed from other disciplinary and interdisciplinary positions to investigate power dynamics in visibility. In *Reading National Geographic*, for example, anthropologist Catherine Lutz and sociologist Jane Collins, drawing in part on the work of feminist film

theorist Laura Mulvey,²⁹ investigate seven gazes "found in the photograph and its social context" that intersect and impact each other.³⁰ The gazes and their points of intersection are contained both inside and outside the frame of the photographs. The gaze of the subject of the photograph may be directed at the camera, in which case his or her look intersects with the gazes of different viewers outside the picture frame; or the subject's gaze may be focused on something inside the picture frame, which may or may not intersect with his or her gaze.³¹ There are many "looking relations" in the photographs of *National Geographic*. Lutz and Collins argue that these relations "are at the foundation of the kinds of meaning that can be found or made in them. The multiplicity of looks is at the root of a photo's ambiguity, each gaze potentially suggesting a different way of viewing the scene."³²

Lutz and Collins argue that the meaning of a photograph is largely determined by the "reader's culturally informed interpretation of the work," and, in their experience, universal theories of the gaze are weak in this respect, relying mostly on formal features of paintings and photographs for interpretation. In *Vision and Painting*, Norman Bryson argues that the polysemous nature of art is not due to an "excess" of meaning *within* the framed dimensions of an artwork, but produced through "the image's dependence on the interaction with discourse."³³ and that

for as long as an image maintains contact with the discourses continuing to circulate in the social formation, it will generate new meanings whose articulation will be as valid an enterprise, in every respect, as the archival recovery of meanings that have previously arisen.³⁴

It is by following Bryson's approach of history and theory, as well as Lutz and Collins' recognition of the role of the "reader," that I propose to map the intersection of the gazes in the photographs collected by the officers.

Like Lutz and Collins, I will be examining different gazes—the photographer's gaze, the military gaze, the interpretive gaze—and their relationships. The photographer's gaze comprises the standards that determined the suitability of a photograph for inclusion in a studio's inventory. Tourism, commissions, as well as photographic craft and technology in the 1860s all contribute to its definition. The education and training of the British army officers are incorporated in the discussion of the military gaze. Both the photographer's gaze and the military gaze will be expanded upon below. The interpretive gaze is my own reading of the photographs and the characterization of the other gazes discussed in this paper. This last layer draws on what Bryson calls "projective sign activity" in which "meaning comes *to* the sign *from* the place it projects itself forward to, or 'lands' in."³⁵ In this case, the photographs as signs are interpreted *from* where I see them, a strategy that recognizes the on-going social role of the images from the time of their exposure and the creation of a latent image to their eventual inclusion in the National Archives of Canada Photography Collection. The interpretive gaze is always present in this paper and is the lens through which all other gazes are viewed.

In summary, theorizing the gaze makes explicit the act of spectatorship. Photographs are the product of somebody looking, indeed, Collins and Lutz argue, "All photographs tell stories about looking."³⁶ In addition, power relationships are

implied by the gaze. Who—whether one or more spectators—is looking and in what context? Collins and Lutz recognize that every image can be the object of many gazes, and as a result, produce variant meanings—perhaps, as Bryson says, an "excess" of meaning—in different contexts.

4 Commercial Photographer's Gaze

4.1 "Views"

What is the relationship between the officer's gaze and the photographs he collected while travelling? Many of the photographs in the albums addressed here are photographic "views" created by commercial photographers and sold through their studios or other retail establishments. According to Peter Bacon Hales, views "integrated the rhetoric of expansionism, the economics of laissez-faire capitalism, and the visual conventions of landscape discourse to represent a new culture coming gloriously into being within a special landscape of virtue and hope."³⁷ They helped produce the expansion of the United States (and Canada) into the "uninhabited" and "unproductive" lands of the continent by, as Steven Hoelscher argues, helping Victorian North America deal with a changing society by making visual order out of nature and city.³⁸ He also notes that Victorian landscape views were made for an upper middle class urban Victorian audience who wanted to explore the river valleys in their semi-formal attire. The photographs show a picturesque land, an impressive scene but not threatening, in which nature can be controlled. Hoelscher uses the term "postfrontier" to describe the landscapes of play and recreation—not discovery and adventure—created in Victorian views.³⁹ Hales adds to the discussion of views with

his observation, "whether its subject was city, countryside, or wilderness, the photographic view had unified science, art, and capitalism."⁴⁰ Indeed, regardless of the subject matter, this was the standard belief about photography itself in the mid-nineteenth century, that it was an "art-science," a cheap reproducible commodity, or even currency.⁴¹

W. J. T. Mitchell argues that the land itself "is a marketable commodity to be presented and re-presented in 'packaged tours,' an object to be purchased, consumed, and even brought home in the form of souvenirs such as postcards and photo albums."⁴² It is a visual commodity and a "cultural expression" that "is already artifice in the moment of its beholding, long before it becomes the subject of pictorial representation."⁴³ The land is seen through a culture's visuality and as such, certain geographical sights are deemed "landscape," especially in terms of visual art, prior to representation.⁴⁴ Land was doubly commodified as desirable land through existing visuality and tourist discourse, and as (vicariously) purchasable object through view photographs.

4.2 Photography Journals

The discourse of commodified land was fuelled in part by photography periodicals. The short-lived *Journal of Canadian Photography* is an example of the publications available to commercial photographers in the nineteenth century. It had very little to say about composition or subject matter—these the editors deemed obvious concerns—but concentrated instead on the minutiae of chemical formulae and new materials, which, in this case, were conveniently available for purchase

through the publisher of the journal, R. D. Ewing.⁴⁵ More popular and influential than the *Journal of Canadian Photography* were *The British Journal of Photography* and *The Philadelphia Photographer*; indeed, these two journals became the publications of record for nineteenth-century Anglo-American photography. Any major photographic establishment, for example William Notman's Montréal studio, held subscriptions to one or both.⁴⁶ These two journals were also available through Ewing's company, who advised his readers in the pages of the *Journal of Canadian Photography* that,

if they wanted to be informed more thoroughly on Photographic matters . . . [we] cordially recommend *The British Journal of Photography* and *The Philadelphia Photographer* to their notice, sure that the careful study of one or both of these will be found conducive to the improvement of their productions.⁴⁷

The periodicals of the 1860s occasionally contained instruction in the composition of a photograph—for example, they prescribed that a horizon line should not appear in the centre of the frame.⁴⁸ a convention borrowed from other visual arts—but for the most part photographs were judged with such vague phrases as "fine view" or "pleasing picture," implying a known pictorial standard, and in many cases, a known subject matter. A review of the Boston and New York Exhibitions of 1865 in *The Philadelphia Photographer* used the same evaluative language alluding to implicit criteria. A series of portraits by Mr. Allen "were also far above the usual standard," and his views of Burnham were "nice, clean" and showed "careful manipulation."⁴⁹ The photographs by Sonrel "were unusually good and worthy of remark," and the firm of Black & Case exhibited "hundreds of such pictures . . .

showing great beauty and the perfection Mr. Black has attained."⁵⁰ Known subject matter was frequently presented in the "Stereographs" column in *The British Journal of Photography* in which the reviewer regularly offered constructive criticism of submitted photographs by suggesting a better vantage point from which to photograph a known place. For example, the editors commented, "In our opinion the best view of this spot is obtainable from the other side of the bridge; but to take it involves a rather 'ticklish' bit of climbing, and the 'perch,' when reached, is none of the safest."⁵¹

Peter Bacon Hales argues that starting in the 1870s, photographers were encouraged to conform to the "laws" of painting by periodicals and publications that called for the elevation of photography to "art" through the techniques of the Masters and didactic engraved reproductions of well known paintings offered as examples of "compositional strategy."⁵² He observes however that in the 1860s, the writers of *The Philadelphia Photographer* "emphasized that the outdoor photograph could transmit the truths of nature and thereby act as an instrument for human improvement."⁵³ The discussion of landscape photographer John Moran's *Indian Ladder Bluff* in the September 1864 issue of *The Philadelphia Photographer* is an example of this type of writing.⁵⁴ The anonymous writer starts his (or her) description of the image by commending Moran on his ability as an "experienced view-hunter" like a "practised huntsman" or "skilful angler . . . to find beauty and magnificent effect combined."⁵⁵ The description continues with a story of climbing peaks—"how the heart longs to be there, and climb to the very peak of so inviting a spot"—like Indian Bluff to enjoy the

view and "fresh bracing air." The author concludes, "No pen can write, and no lens can tell the joyous, luxurious pleasure hovering over and around these same mountain places. They elevate the heart and soul, and make one bless and praise the Great Creator of them all."⁵⁶

In addition to discussing the best vantage point of known subjects for successful view photographs and the "truths of nature" contained therein, technical and didactic articles appeared in photography journals. In 1858 the editor of *The British Journal of Photography* outlined what he saw as the essential characteristics of successful landscape photography:

[The picture] should be well defined, both at the edges and centre of the field.

To include a considerable *angle of vision*.

To allow of the distance and foreground, bearing a relative portion of distinctness, and in order to include living, and perhaps moving objects.

To be impressed in the first place by a minimum length of exposure.⁵⁷

Additional requirements were large prints—"from ten inches by eight inches to twenty-two inches by seventeen inches"—clarity and sharpness, and fidelity to nature.⁵⁸ They could be achieved through competent technical manipulation of the materials, good quality hardware—in particular the lens—and taking the photograph at the right time of day. A certain J. Towler, for example, wrote in *The British Journal of Photography* that photographers could avoid producing "flat" photographs in which features are not clearly delineated—and therefore inaccurate—by taking pictures when the sun is near the horizon revealing the topography of the land. He

believed light should be used for "the purpose of producing relief, increasing the perspective, or separating certain parts from the rest."⁵⁹

Most instruction in landscape photography, however, was aimed at refining chemical methods and calculating proper exposures. The 1864 article "Landscape Photography" in *The Philadelphia Photographer* opens with a brief mention of the hierarchical relationship of landscape and portrait photography—"Landscape Photography is second only to Portraiture in interest"⁶⁰—and photographs as "a nucleus of remembrances and associations, which delight and bless us."⁶¹ before moving on to a lengthy discussion of "dry collodion processes."⁶² Three of the four typeset columns in the article are dedicated to the history of and qualitative suggestions for improving results of the process. The title of the feature seems to be incidental, maybe even accidental. The three-quarters of the article allotted to technical concerns reflects a larger mid-nineteenth-century preoccupation with the science and mechanics of photography. As tabulated in Appendix Two, just over seventy percent of articles in the 1865 volume of *The Philadelphia Photographer* were explicitly about chemical formulae, new emulsions, faster lenses, methods of printing, and similar subjects.

The importance of technology and the influence it had on how photographers saw is obvious in the scope of the literature. Lenses and emulsions did not determine how photographers saw, but photographic technology did contribute to the photographer's visuality by precluding some subjects. For example, insensitive photographic emulsions and the concomitant slow shutter speeds prevented

photographers from considering ordinarily lit fast moving subjects as photographic subject matter. The photographer, the gaze's "seeing agent," was also advised by contemporary periodicals to create clearly delineated accurate photographic views from the "best" vantage point. At this point, the photographer's gaze is comprised of technology and "truth": however, there are other elements informing the gaze they imposed upon the land.

4.3 The Commercial Studio

The transcendental experience of nature may have been on the mind of the authors and editors of *The Philadelphia Photographer*, and perhaps the photographers who read the journal, but we should never lose sight of the photographic studio as a commercial enterprise. Canadian city directories in the 1860s listed numerous photographic proprietorships, few of which lasted more than a couple of years.⁶³ Long-standing studios like Notman's in Montréal, Livernois' in Québec, and Climo in Saint John, were the exception to nineteenth-century commercial studio's peripatetic and precarious existence in Canada and elsewhere.⁶⁴

Each studio or proprietor practiced within the photography trade: he at once produced the shape of the photographic retail market and was subject to it. Hoelscher argues, for example, that Wisconsin photographer H. H. Bennett was "influenced by buyer demand for the most famous of the geological features described in guidebooks and seen on tours."⁶⁵ recognizing the developing tourist market as a force influencing subject matter. He continues, "The photographic artifacts that emerged from H. H. Bennett's camera, then, bespoke a confluence of art and business, of photography and

capitalism, that appeared to transmit forthright information about the region."⁶⁶ Similarly, Colleen Skidmore observes that William Notman's stereographs of the Saguenay River were part of a representational discourse that included written travel narratives, the traditional visual arts, and dioramas. Notman's photographs were in response to an existing tradition of representation that focused on sublime characterizations of Capes Trinity and Eternity.⁶⁷

If we acknowledge that photographers added to existing discourses with their photographs and that commercial photography was not isolated from other consumer practices, then we must also recognize that those contributions had the potential to shape the discourses in which they participated.⁶⁸ As Bryson claims in his argument for a semiotic approach to the history of painting, "power *is* in discourse, and in painting."⁶⁹ and power can

be found in every act of looking, where the discursive form of the image meets the discourse brought to bear upon the image by the viewer, and effects a change; where in order to recognize the new discursive form that is the image, the existing boundaries of discourse, the categories and codes of recognition, must be moved and overturned in order to recognize what this image is.⁷⁰

In other words, there was a dynamic relationship in which commercial view photographs and the burgeoning Victorian tourist industry helped to shape each other.

Views were part of the tourist trade in the nineteenth century and provided anyone, not just tourists, with iconic signs of travel experience: they implied that he or she had some level of interaction with the place referred to by the photographic souvenir.⁷¹ Travellers knew which experiences were "valuable" before they left home through available travel narratives and photography books. Photographically

illustrated books of the Middle East were particularly numerous in both England and France in the late 1850s and 1860s⁷² and other attractions, like Niagara Falls, had so permeated the Victorian consciousness that it had become both tourist destination and metaphor.⁷³ All four albums examined in this chapter contain photographs of Niagara Falls—indeed, they contain photographs of many different waterfalls—and as such, provide photographic proof of the officers' involvement with the tourist site and the photographer's studio.

4.4 Commercial Views

Looking at individual photographs in the Terry Album, we see that in addition to Niagara Falls, Captain Terry purchased standard and known views of the cities he visited. His Livernois view of Québec from Lévis⁷⁴ is also found in the album assembled by Major Thomas J. Grant (fig. 3).⁷⁵ Views of Montréal from Mount Royal above the reservoir appear in the Terry Album, the Grant Album, and the Jacobs Album (fig. 13). In addition to buying popular photographs, the general subject matter of the Terry Album includes ordinary places—banks, churches, government buildings—and waterfalls. The albums not only have similar subject matter, but the Jacobs Album and the Rifle Brigade Album also contain several identical photographs. For example, a view of downtown Hamilton appears in the Jacobs Album with the caption, "The Gore," and in the Rifle Brigade Album as "King Street, Hamilton" (fig. 14).

Known or common subjects were the norm. According to one photographer who worked in the 1860s and 1870s,

A photographer never thought it worth his while to point his camera at objects that were not 'of interest'. It might be a building having historical interest, or architectural beauty, or it might be a well-known and favoured landscape celebrated far and wide for its beauty.⁷⁶

Alan Thomas concludes from this comment that, "The result of [the photographer's] assumption is a limited and repeated subject matter within a busy commerce."⁷⁷ as Hoelscher stated above, "a confluence of art and business."⁷⁸

In addition to technology and "truth," commercial practice and the expectations of the market informed the photographer's gaze. At the risk of literalizing, it could be said that part of the pleasure associated with the photographer's gaze was the monetary profit from his sales. Photographs that were commercially successful satisfied the visuality of society and, in turn, contributed to the photographer's gaze by reinforcing that way of seeing.

5 Instrumental Military Gaze

5.1 Military Photography

The officers who assembled the albums discussed in this chapter were probably familiar with photography from its use in the British military. In the 1860s, for example, the pages of *The British Journal of Photography* included articles about the military applications of photography and essays by officers who did not necessarily write about the practice within a military context, but instead concentrated on the standard topics of the day, discussing chemical compositions and procedures for sensitizing photographic plates.⁷⁹ Photography was first used by the British army during the Crimean War (1854-55) when the Secretary for the State of War ordered

that two ensigns be instructed in photography by a London photographer.⁸⁰ One contemporary writer observed that despite the efforts of the ensigns in the Crimea, the images made by commissioned commercial photographer Roger Fenton were much "better."⁸¹ Almost fifteen years later in 1869, Henry Baden Pritchard of the General Photographic Establishment of the War Department outlined the history and uses of photography in the British military in a speech to the Royal United Service Institute. The list of applications included reproducing maps, photographs of objects of national importance, recording the results of experiments, and instructional illustration.⁸² He regretted that the military establishment did not routinely use photographs in the field for reconnaissance and measurement; in 1869, landscape views were "unofficial."⁸³

James Ryan claims, in *Picturing Empire*, that some military commanders, especially in India, suggested that photographs be taken during a campaign to record the flora, fauna, and people of the colonies for classification and description, adding to the photographic inventories of experimental results and instructional illustration.⁸⁴ According to Pritchard, this was not an official duty. He said that photos from campaigns in Abyssinia and India were taken at the order of the commanding officer "from time to time" but these were simply "mementoes," not military *tools*. Pritchard saw the potential for much more: "landscape views taken judiciously, might be made to render considerable aid to an army in the field."⁸⁵ The unofficial status of military landscape photography was however not due to a lack of interest. In 1863 photography instructor Captain John Spiller wrote that the photographs taken during his "field days" at Woolwich demonstrated "photography as a ready means of

recording the geographical and military features of a country, or of reporting details of construction, whether relating to stockades, forts, or suggested improvements in military equipment."⁸⁶ Three years earlier, Captain Donnelly voiced the military faith in photography by noting that, "Photographs of a country gave a most truthful and accurate idea of it. They would do more to give an accurate idea of any particular position than yards of description on foolscap."⁸⁷

The idea of using photographs as instruments for scientific measurement and accurate representation was discussed in the 1860s, but there was very little practical application. Articles such as "Measuring the Height of Clouds [1855]," "On the Application of Photography to Scientific Pursuits [1860]," and "On the Application of Measuring Rods in Photographic Pictures [1865],"⁸⁸ were often published in *The British Journal of Photography* but were usually, like Pritchard's speech, guides to how something *could* be accomplished rather than reports of current practice. Historian of photography Joel Snyder notes that Clarence King and George Montague Wheeler, both of whom led pioneering surveys of the U.S. west during the nineteenth century, included topographical draftsmen in their parties because they believed that photographs could not provide "pictures useful for the purposes of measurement and quantification."⁸⁹ Despite the truth value presumed to be inherent in photographs in the nineteenth century because of their mechanical, contingent, and evidentiary nature, they were often considered to be only accurate illustrations, not quantifiable information.

5.2 Instrumental Views

The ever optimistic Pritchard also concedes this point in his speech on the military applications of photography. He proposed that photographs could become essential elements of reconnaissance reports authenticating other military representations:

A ground plan is sketched in the usual way . . . around this plan are then placed photographs of the more important points . . . the Officer commanding, or authorities at home, would rest assured as to the accuracy of the representation, and be quite certain that the same has not been exaggerated or overdrawn.⁹⁰

As part of a "ground plan," the photographs loaned their truth value to what was recognized as a more valuable representation, a scale map. It is interesting to consider the influence photographs and maps had on each other in this context, each lending authority to the other in a symbiotic process that depended on the institutional context for credibility.⁹¹ John Tagg's comments on the power of photography to evoke truth because of "its mobilisation within the emerging apparatuses of a new and more penetrating form of state" are apparent in this relationship.⁹²

Despite the problems with utilizing photographs for quantifiable scientific and military applications, commercial view photography was, as Kathleen Howe argues,

defined by a clear set of expectations shared by photographer and buyer. Views did not suggest or allude to a locale, they delineated it precisely. Dramatic effects of light and shade that might confuse the presentation of a complete, spatially coherent site were avoided. A well-executed photographic view was as much a map as it was a picture.⁹³

The panoramic views in the various albums do possess this "map" quality. The Rifle Brigade Album, for example, includes a view of Hamilton from the escarpment

looking down onto the buildings and streets (fig. 15). The Jacobs Album includes a panorama of Hamilton, also from the escarpment, an engraved "bird's eye view" of Kingston, and, already mentioned above, a view of Montréal taken from Mount Royal just above the reservoir (fig. 13). Could these views have been looked at as "truthful" descriptions of the land, or as "maps"?

Not necessarily. The organization of the photographs in the albums sometimes suppressed the map function of the views. For example, the view of Montréal in the Jacobs Album is on the same page as a portrait of Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The two photographs could be considered in competition with each other. One appeals to viewers who prefer portraits and the other to those who would rather look at an urban view. An alternative and more plausible reading, since it establishes a relationship between the images rather than isolating them, is the connection between assassinated "Father of Confederation" D'Arcy McGee and his constituency, Montréal.⁹⁴ The view of Montréal in this context may be seen as an illustration of the place from which the political celebrity came.

Captain Terry's organization of the photographs in his album provides more information about the topography of communities than the preceding example. Terry placed panoramas or general views at the beginning of each section, for example the Saint John photographs, and thereby establishing an overview of the city for detail photographs that follow (figs. 4 to 8). The three-panel panorama "St. John, New Brunswick," shows the west side of the harbour in the foreground and the main city in the middle ground on the opposite side of the water. This view is from a high point of

land which creates a perspective similar to the view of Hamilton from the escarpment or a "bird's eye view." Each of the urban views in the following Saint John section could be mapped to the appropriate location on the introductory panorama providing a version of Pritchard's "ground plan" and authenticating photographs. The "truth" and clarity that are part of the commercial photographer's gaze upon the land satisfied the knowledge inherent in a "military gaze" that required "truthful" information about the land for reconnaissance purposes.

6 Recreation and the Military Gaze

6.1 The Gentleman Officer

The "military gaze" of the infantry officers who assembled the albums that are the subject of this thesis may have had little to do with the strategic knowledge of topography. If, as Bryson argues, visibility is negotiated by society, then we must ask ourselves to what type of society did the officers belong? The officers were members of foot brigades; the distinction between them and artillery and engineering branches of the military is important because it points to a difference in the education and training.

Until 1873, at least half of the British infantry and cavalry officers purchased their way into the military and then subsequent higher commissions.⁹⁵ The purchase system, by limiting potential officers to those who could pay, ensured that many of the officers came from a similar class and social standing. At the same time, there were a number, usually close to fifty percent, of officers from middle class backgrounds or officers who had received their promotions exclusively through

merit.⁹⁶ Even though approximately half of the officers had earned their commissions, the perception in Victorian Britain was that the military officers were "aristocratic."⁹⁷ According to social historian Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, "society wanted to believe that its army could be identified with the landed interest and their perceived 'merits': bravery, discipline, obedience, absence of reward, and patriotism."⁹⁸ Officers—and colonial officials, in general—were to be "gentlemen," who were characterized in 1864 by Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, as possessing "the capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their love of healthy sports and exercise."⁹⁹ The Victorian British military was known for character and gentlemanly conduct, not professionalism and knowledge of war theory.¹⁰⁰ Spier's synopsis of the Duke of Wellington's comments on the background of army officers encapsulates the disposition within the army establishment:

The only good officers, argued Wellington, were men who learned their military duties by service and practical experience within their regiments; gentlemen, fitted for command by their breeding and education, who could purchase their commissions and were willing to serve the Crown for honour and not material reward.¹⁰¹

However, officers in the Scientific Corps—the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers—did not simply purchase their commissions. They enrolled in colleges and academies, like the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, to train for their specialized tasks.¹⁰² Coming from a "good family" or owning land was no guarantee that you could build a bridge or calculate artillery trajectories. Historians who have examined the social aspects of the Victorian military have noted that the

preponderance of aristocracy and landed gentry in the officer corps and the perception of the Victorian public that the military was aristocratic ensured the preservation of the status-quo in society. The commanding officers in the military were often part of the establishment and as such were unlikely to do anything to disturb their privilege, even when they came from "middle-class" backgrounds.¹⁰³ Contemporary commentators who supported the purchase system believed that the motivation of upper-class officers to preserve Britain as it was to be a greater source of loyalty than a paycheque; and it was believed that the rank and file would not take orders from an officer who was not his "social superior."¹⁰⁴

In addition to an aristocratic officer corps, historian Edward Spiers observes that the majority of British officers came from rural areas and that part of the attraction of the military for them was the abundant opportunity for "sporting and social enjoyment," especially hunting, which was a large part of "county society."¹⁰⁵ He notes that socializing was an important part of the officer's daily life.

In the nineteenth-century army social life, customs and extra-military life style of the officer corps were considered an essential ingredient of the regimental *esprit de corps*. Peacetime officers, when based at home and not on leave, spent a great deal of time in each other's company. Social contacts assumed a considerable importance as the junior officer had relatively little to do apart from attending some parades of his regiment.¹⁰⁶

In the exhibition catalogue *Great Expectations*, Mary Sparling notes in passing the connection between officers and hunting when she describes watercolourist Lieutenant Robert Petley as a "proper English gentleman, a sportsman," whose artwork focussed on "Indians and their encampments, hunting parties, canoes, streams

and woods."¹⁰⁷ The commanding officer of Captain Terry's regiment, Colonel Hawley, was, according to Samuel Butler's regimental history, demanding and fair to his officers and encouraged them "in all manly pursuits, and particularly in the cultivation of what may be termed the Hunter's instinct."¹⁰⁸ Hawley believed that the recipe for a "successful régime" was "feeding the men well, and giving the officers plenty of leave" for leisure.¹⁰⁹ Lieutenant Francis Duncan, an officer whose tour of duty brought him to Canada from 1856 to 1862, agreed with the importance Hawley placed on leisure, especially hunting. On his regiment's return voyage to Britain they stopped in St. John's, Newfoundland, for coal. He decided that the city had "little to say in favour of it as a garrison," but, "there is, however, in the province an abundance of sport [wild animals for hunting], which, to most military men, more than compensates for all other drawbacks."¹¹⁰

Captain Richard Lewis Dashwood, of the 15th Regiment of Foot, wrote in his travelogue *Chiploquorgan* that he "had always a great longing to be quartered in North America, and make practical acquaintance with various sports to be obtained in that country."¹¹¹ and finally had his chance when his company was sent overseas in response to the Trent Affair. He landed in Saint John, New Brunswick, in late March 1862, and immediately made arrangements for his first sporting adventure at the beginning of the fishing season that May. Dashwood had definite ideas about the proper conduct of hunters and did not shy away from criticizing even his fellow officers. For example, when writing about the practice of chasing moose in deep snow until they are exhausted making them easier to kill, he wrote, "this abominable

and unsportsmanlike practice is followed by Englishmen calling themselves sportsmen, and in some instances by British officers, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and Ottawa especially."¹¹² Dashwood's education and aristocratic (and imperial, maybe even imperious) attitude becomes evident in his travelogue when he lists some of the small game available to him during his posting in New Brunswick:¹¹³

There are three species of grouse in Canada, erroneously called partridges. Their proper names are the ruffed grouse (*tetrao umbellus*), the Canada (*tetrao Canadensis*), the willow (*tetrao albus*) . . . . There is a species of hare (*lepus Americanus*) mis-called a rabbit, which is numerous but hardly eatable.¹¹⁴

The "manly sport" of hunting and the social background—born into or acquired—informed the officers' view of the land. In addition, masculinity in the albums is compounded by the relationships between hunting, landscape, and photography. James Ryan argues that by the 1860s, mountains and other exceptional topographic landforms had ceased to be "sublime landscapes demanding romantic reverence" and became objectives to be "'hunted' and 'conquered' by robust British men."¹¹⁵ Hunting game and hunting landscapes—capturing "a feminized nature"—with a camera are equated as masculine activities by Ryan.¹¹⁶ It follows then that the practice of collecting views was another "manly sport" for the travelling officers.

6.2 Views of Leisure and Recreation

"Manly sports" are also represented literally in the Rifle Brigade Album and Jacobs Album, both of which contain photographs of the regimental cricket team (fig. 16). The "B.B. Cricket Team," or "The Officers' and Men's Eleven," is a rather

unremarkable posed group photograph. Stop-action photographs of the team playing would have been impossible with the photographic emulsions at the time and so we must content ourselves with this rather staid shot. According to the local press, the cricket team was an important presence in Hamilton and played teams from as far away as Toronto and London, Ontario. The "far famed players of the Rifle Brigade" participated in cricket matches between cities, between regiments, and intra-regimental play between companies.¹¹⁷ In the summer of 1863, hardly a day passed without mention of the Rifle Brigade or their cricket team in the Hamilton newspaper.¹¹⁸

Captain Terry's regiment, the 4th Battalion, 60th Royal Rifles, were also keen cricket players, but as I mentioned in the previous chapter, success seemed to elude them. The photographs of the "Officers' Camp" at Mount Ashton in Terry's album do not demonstrate the "grids of men and tents"¹¹⁹ seen in the Royal Engineer's photographs from the Abyssinian campaign (figs. 9 and 17). James Ryan believes the Abyssinian photographs show "discipline and organizational strength" and "impose a semblance of visual order on to a rugged Abyssinian landscape."¹²⁰ Ryan sees their gaze as informed by scientific and engineering practice, the very tasks in which the Royal Engineers were engaged.

In contrast, the Terry Album's "Officers' Camp" shows the seemingly random placement of tents around a small wooden structure on the side of a hill. The contrast in topography between the flat sloping land in the Royal Engineer's Abyssinian photograph and the exposed rock and patchy forest at Camp Ashton undoubtedly

accounts for some of the difference in tent placement. The British were, however, adept at imposing grids on many different terrains, including Saint John, New Brunswick, which was built on the same rocky land as the Mount Ashton camp. The photograph of the mess hut in Captain Terry's album shows five men, most of whom are in uniform, around the doorway of a small wood building (fig. 10). White tents and fences can be seen in the background and a spindly double rail wooden fence separates the men from the shrubs and tilled beds in the foreground. The clean linear organization in Ryan's example is once again absent; however, the garden does allude to organizational desire, but of a different gentlemanly practice. Terry's photographs are likely the product of a commercial photographer; in contrast, the Royal Engineers had their own photographers and therefore more control over the composition of the image. But that alone does not account for the difference in *what* is pictured, the arrangement of the tents. Perhaps the contrast is due to the instrumental and ordered view of the land imposed by the Royal Engineers versus the more social and recreational view of the infantry officers.

It should be apparent by now that there are *at least* two "military gazes." One associated with the Scientific Corps—artillery and engineering—uses the visual representation of the land for illustration, authentication, and other instrumental applications, while another gaze sees the land through the lens of recreation and leisure.¹²¹ The photographs of Camp Grimsby in the Rifle Brigade Album, many of which are also in the Jacobs Album, show the army tents surrounded by small yards enclosed by substantial wood fences with gates (figs. 18 and 19). "Grimsby [Rifle

Brigade Album, page 12]" exemplifies the recreational gaze, and indeed captures the practice of it by showing a man—presumably a soldier even though he is not in uniform—sitting on a bench looking out of the photograph's frame at the lake.¹²² Despite his stiff pose, partly a function of the relatively long exposure times necessary in 1860s photography, he embodies the British officer as the agent of the gaze, enjoying the pleasure and knowledge that came with the power of possessing—or in military terms, occupying—the land. His active possession of the land, and the pleasure and knowledge it brings, can be seen not only in his gaze upon the lake, but also, as I will argue in the next chapter, the surroundings shown in the photograph: the fences, the tents, and the furniture. Nature is organized by the Rifle Brigade's officers but it is not the mathematical vision of the Royal Engineers that Ryan observed in the Abyssinian photographs, this is much closer to Hoelscher's "postfrontier" landscape.

The boats on the shore and the straw hats convey "leisure camp" more readily than "military camp" (fig. 20). The lone uniformed soldier standing at the point of land jutting out into the lake in the background is the only signifier of the military nature of the camp; otherwise, Camp Grimsby appears to be a place for gentlemen to socialize. Indeed, in the Rifle Brigade Album there is only one photograph depicting military exercises. "Grimsby, Rifle Range," shows the majority of the men lined up posing for the camera, only a couple of them are taking rifle practice in the background (fig. 21). However, Grimsby was a training facility despite the paucity of photographs illustrating the military exercises that were the *raison d'être* of the camp.

During the summer months, the active period at Grimsby, the *Hamilton Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce* ran almost daily articles on the actions of the local military units—the Rifle Brigade was not the only battalion stationed in Hamilton—and occasionally reported injuries.¹²³ Time spent at Camp Grimsby, despite the representation in the albums, was serious business.

We do not know whether the photographer or an officer chose the subjects of the photographs taken at Grimsby, but regardless, somebody believed the image of boats and men with straw hats to be a representative and possibly profitable photograph.¹²⁴ There was a productive negotiation between photographer and officers based on how they saw the camp. Grimsby as "outdoors recreation" was therefore a view endorsed by the officers who stayed there either by purchasing or commissioning the photograph. Either way, the "gazes" of the commercial photographer and military officer intersected.

7 Conclusion

The infantry officers who collected photographs of Canada were participating in a popular pastime of the period. The photographs in their albums represent the intersection of their gaze with that of the commercial photographer's. Both officer and photographer found something in each photograph to commend it. In most of the case studies above, the military gaze is not the instrumental, quantifying one James Ryan ascribes to the military photography of the Royal Engineers, but rather a more recreational gaze through which the officers saw the land—as did the aristocracy in England—as a source of leisure and entertainment, the same message of many

commercially available view photographs. The gentlemanly recreational gaze does not lessen or replace the notion of a military gaze concerned with imperialist intentions, but rather adds another plausible interpretation of the officers' collecting activities. As I argue in the next chapter, the officers, who were members of the British Empire charged with enforcing the mandate of imperialism, also constructed a colonizing representation of Canada through their collected photographs.

Given the background and aspirations of many Victorian era officers, it is not surprising that they chose view photographs to illustrate their albums. Alan Thomas notes that in the 1860s and 1870s, "it appears to have been a mark of genteel taste to buy views; only the better off could really afford to build up collections."¹²⁵ And, coincidentally, it was usually the "better off" that could afford to be career officers in the Victorian British army.

Notes

¹ For example, James Pattison Cockburn published an illustrated travel guide, *Quebec and its Environs*, in 1831 and aquatints of Québec and Niagara Falls in 1833. Michael Bell, *Painters in a New Land: From Annapolis Royal to the Klondike* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), 12.

² For example, see William Colgate, "The Early Years," in *Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1943), 1-12; J. Russell Harper, "British Army Topographers in Eastern Canada," in *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977), 47-55; Dennis Reid, "Painting in British North America 1760-1860," in *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1988), 18-37. Even the strongly anti-imperial art history written by Barry Lord admits British topographers to the canon, though not as "celebrated" artists. Barry Lord, "Canadian Painting: The British Regime," in *The History of Painting in Canada* (Toronto: NC, 1974), 60-81.

³ Mary Allodi, "British Topographic Painters," Fenwick Lecture, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 29 Oct. 2000. An example of an "official image" by Thomas Davies is reproduced in Barry Lord's *The History of Painting in Canada*. See *The Attack on White Plains* (1776), fig. 56, p. 63.

⁴ See the Introduction for a brief description of each. The Terry Album is described in depth throughout Chapter One.

⁵ Canada, despite the cold, was one of the better postings. The mortality rate for soldiers in Canada during the period 1825-36 was 19 per 1000. Soldiers in the Cape colony fared slightly better at 15 per 1000, but most postings had a much higher mortality rate: Gibraltar, 22 per 1000; India, 69 per 1000; and the Gold Coast, 668 per 1000. Peter Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army? 1815-1868," in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, ed. David Chandler (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 165.

⁶ H. R. Fox Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies with Sketches of their Present Condition* (London: James Hogg and Son, 1869; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1979), 370-71.

⁷ The list of Victorian British military campaigns is too long to reproduce here. A detailed chronology of the Empire in the nineteenth century, including military campaigns, can be found in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 712-41. Brian Bond's *Victorian Military Campaigns* contains a more compact list of "Victorian Wars and Punitive Expeditions." Brian Bond, ed., *Victorian Military Campaigns* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 309-11.

⁸ Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army? 1815-1868," 162.

⁹ The border disputes were Maine-New Brunswick, 1841-42, and the Oregon border, 1845-46. The Trent Affair occurred during the American Civil War when two Confederate emissaries, who were on their way to Europe to ask for recognition after secession, were seized by Federal warships while aboard the British steamer *Trent*.

¹⁰ John William Fortescue, *A History of the British Army: 1852-1870*, vol. 13 of *A History of the British Army* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1930), 522-23. The extra expense of outfitting the troops in Canada for winter—"nearly three pounds a head"—led to complaints by some British parliamentarians who believed that if the colonies wanted "responsible government" they should defend themselves.

¹¹ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 2-4. Urry lists nine points as the "minimal characteristics of the social practices which are conveniently described as 'tourism.'"

¹² Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 97; Edward M. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1980), 23.

¹³ Spiers, *The Army and Society*, 14.

¹⁴ Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 97.

¹⁵ "There was certainly no class of a comparable social status, with the possible exceptions of the naval officer and the country clergymen, who had to work for so little." *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁶ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2.

¹⁷ The word "gaze" is enclosed in quotation marks at the beginning of the chapter to signal that I am using the word in a particular way outside of vernacular usage, but from this point forward, as the context in which I am using the term has been established, "gaze" will appear in the text without quotation marks.

¹⁸ Michael Ann Holly, "Past Looking," in *Vision and Textuality*, eds. Stephen Melville and Bill Readings (Durham: Duke UP, 1995), 76.

¹⁹ Defined as a noun. David B. Guralnik, ed., *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 2nd College Edition ed. (New York: World Publishing, 1972), 579.

²⁰ Margaret Olin, "Gaze," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996), 208-09.

²¹ Norman Bryson, "The Gaze in the Expanded Field," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay, 1988), 107.

²² See Jacques Lacan, "Of the Gaze as *Objet Petit a*," in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 65-119.

²³ Bryson, "The Gaze in the Expanded Field," 93.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 106-07.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

²⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Toronto: Random House, 1995), 200.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

²⁹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Feminism and Film Theory*, ed. Constance Penley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 57-68.

³⁰ The seven gazes are: the photographer's gaze; the institutional magazine gaze; the reader's gaze; the non-Western subject's gaze; the gaze of a somebody from the West inside the frame of a photograph taken in a non-Western location; the gaze returned by mirrors or cameras "in local hands"; and, the academic (authors') gaze. Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993), 187-88.

³¹ According to Lutz and Collins, the four possible subject scenarios are: confronting the camera; looking at something inside the picture frame; looking at something outside the picture frame; and, not looking at anything. *Ibid.*, 197.

³² *Ibid.*, 215.

³³ Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983), 85.

³⁴ *Ibid.* For a more detailed discussion of art history and semiotics, see Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991).

³⁵ Norman Bryson, "Semiology and Visual Interpretation," in *Visual Theory: Painting and Interpretation*, eds. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 71-72. Emphasis in original.

³⁶ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 187.

³⁷ Peter Bacon Hales, "American Views and the Romance of Modernization," in *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1991), 252.

³⁸ Hoelscher says the changes in Victorian America were "urbanization, industrialization, mechanization, and nationalization." Steven Hoelscher, "The Photographic Construction of Tourist Space in Victorian America," *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (1998): 551.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 555-59.

⁴⁰ Hales, "American Views and the Romance of Modernization," 205.

⁴¹ For example, in 1859 Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, "Again, we must have special stereographic collections, just as we have professional and other special libraries. And, as a means of facilitating the formation of public and private stereographic collections, there must be arranged a comprehensive system of exchanges, so that there may grow up something like a universal currency of these bank-notes, or promises to pay in solid substance, which the sun has engraved for the great Bank of Nature." Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 81.

⁴² W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), 15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁴ Some contemporary artists have challenged the cultural definition of appropriate landscape and represent decidedly inappropriate "landscapes." For examples, see John Taylor, "Wastes and Boundaries," in *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994), 262-83.

⁴⁵ The *Canadian Journal of Photography* was published in two series, the first one started in 1869 and the second in 1875, by R. D. Ewing, Manufacturer, Dealer, and Wholesale Commission Merchant, and Ewing & Co. respectively, both of Toronto, Ontario.

⁴⁶ J. Russell Harper and Stanley G. Triggs, *Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs, 1856 to 1915* (Montreal: McGill UP, 1967), n.pag.

⁴⁷ [R. D. Ewing], Editorial, *Canadian Journal of Photography* ns 1, no. 1 (1875): 1.

⁴⁸ "Landscape Photography: Position," *The British Journal of Photography* 18 (1871): 497.

⁴⁹ "The Boston and New York Exhibitions," *The Philadelphia Photographer* 2, no. 23 (1865): 175.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁵¹ "Stereographs," *The British Journal of Photography* 7 (1860): 348.

⁵² Hales, "American Views and the Romance of Modernization," 223-25.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 222. Photography as an agent for moral improvement was not limited to landscape views. In *The British Journal of Photography* it was noted that distributing photographs of continental European architecture in England could contribute to "the gradual improvement of the public taste in architectural matters." F. F. Statham, Rev., "On the Application of Photography to Scientific Pursuits [II]," *The British Journal of Photography* 7 (1860): 193. More importantly, in the spirit of utilitarianism, one author believed that even an inexpensive, and therefore poorly executed, portrait photograph of a relative or friend had a "civilising influence . . . . It humanises the semi-barbarous mind, and accustoms it to the forms which have, at least, some resemblance to humanity; it cultivates the social affections, and, although the effect cannot be estimated by statistics, its civilising power is, nevertheless, a great and pleasing fact." "Photography—Commercial and Artistic," *The British Journal of Photography* 12 (1865): 411.

⁵⁴ John Moran, brother of American painter Thomas Moran, was a noted landscape photographer and worked as the official photographer for the 1871 U.S. expedition to the Isthmus of Darien in Panama. Smithsonian American Art Museum. *John Moran: Tropical Scenery: The Terminus of the Proposed Canal—Limon Bay* (2002 [cited 5 Apr. 2002]); available from <http://nmaa-ryder.si.edu/helios/AmericanPhotographs/ob0078.html>.

⁵⁵ "Our Picture [*Indian Ladder Bluff* by John Moran]," *The Philadelphia Photographer* 1, no. 9 (1864): 142. The hunting-photography analogy is also used by Oliver Wendell Holmes in the previously mentioned, and often quoted, essay "The Stereoscope and Stereograph," which originally appeared in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1859.

⁵⁶ "*Indian Ladder Bluff*," 142.

⁵⁷ "On Suggestions for the Improvement of Landscape Photography, with Hints for the Enlargement of Negatives," *The British Journal of Photography* 2 (1858): 32. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ J. Towler, "Contemporary Press: Landscape Photography [from *Humphrey's Journal*]," *The British Journal of Photography* 12 (1865): 465.

⁶⁰ M. A. Root, "Landscape Photography," *The British Journal of Photography* 1 (1864): 137.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 137-39.

⁶³ Steven Hoelscher's previously cited article contains a good summary of the career and financial hardships of a commercial photographer in Wisconsin. Hoelscher, "The Photographic Construction of Tourist Space in Victorian America," 548-70. Peter Larocque of the New Brunswick Museum has done

extensive research on nineteenth-century photographers in Saint John, NB. His investigation shows that a studio at 16 King Street, the establishment from which Captain Terry purchased some of the photographs in his album, had no less than five different owners between 1860 and 1870: George C. Bowron and Thomas W. Cox, 1860 to 1866; George C. Bowron, 1867; D. S. Mitchell, 1867-1868; James R. Woodburn, 1868; James R. Woodburn and James McClure, 1870 to 1875. The photographic inventory of previous owners was routinely reissued by succeeding owners under the new studio name. Peter Larocque, "Photographers in New Brunswick," unpublished manuscript, Humanities Department, New Brunswick Museum.

⁶⁴ Considerable research has been done on the Notman studio collection. In addition to Harper and Triggs, *Portrait of a Period* cited above, see Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds, and Stanley G. Triggs, *The World of William Notman* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993); Stanley G. Triggs, *William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Coach House, 1985). The history of the Livernois studio was the subject of Michel Lessard's *The Livernois Photographers* (Québec: Musée du Québec and Québec-Agenda, 1987).

⁶⁵ Hoelscher, "The Photographic Construction of Tourist Space in Victorian America," 552.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 552-53.

⁶⁷ Colleen Skidmore, "'All that is interesting in the Canadas': William Notman's Maple Box Portfolio Of Stereographic Views, 1860," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1998): 74-81.

⁶⁸ However, contemporary sociological research shows that photographers are not always very good at predicting how they will contribute to the discourses. Crawshaw and Urry found that photographers in the Lake District of England were very poor at guessing which of their photographs would appeal to tourists. Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997), 189-92.

⁶⁹ Bryson, "Semiology and Visual Interpretation," 71.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Jonathon Culler, "Semiotics of Tourism," *American Journal of Semiotics* 1, no. 1-2 (1981): 132-33. More recently, the sociological study of contemporary tourism has embraced the idea of hybridity which emphasizes that there is no "authentic other" culture to be experienced when travelling and that tourist sites are culturally constructed for touristic consumption. Chris Rojek and John Urry, "Transformations of Travel and Theory," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997), 10-15. However, I would argue that regardless of the "authenticity" of a tourist site, a touristic encounter with the site involves collecting markers to verify the tourist's presence or desire to be at the site. See Rojek's discussion of the *St. Thomas Effect* and Walter Benjamin's "auratic objects" in. Chris Rojek, "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997). See also the discussion of souvenirs in Chapter One of this thesis.

⁷² See Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Cambridge: MIT, 1998), 280-81, 97-98; Wendelin A. Guentner, "'Enfin Daguerre Vint': Photography, Travel and the Nineteenth-Century French Travel Narrative," *Rivista di Letterature moderne e comparate* 49, no. 2 (1992): 178.

⁷³ For example, in 1859 J. S. Mill wrote, "If they [geniuses] are of a strong character, and break their fetters, they become a mark for the society which has not succeeded in reducing them to commonplace, to point out with solemn warning as 'wild,' 'erratic,' and the like; much as if one should complain of the Niagara river for not flowing smoothly between its banks like a Dutch canal." John Stuart Mill, "On Liberty," in *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*, ed. H. B. Acton (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1972), 123. Knowledge of Niagara Falls was not limited to the British. In 1841 Lerebours included an engraving of a daguerreotype in his volume *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les Plus Remarquables du Globe*. It was the only image that did not portray "the glories of European civilization and their antecedents in the lands of Antiquity." Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (1996): 22. According to Graham Garrett, this image was the first daguerreotype made in Canada. Graham W. Garrett, "Canada's First Daguerreian Image," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996): 101-03.

⁷⁴ This view photograph continued to be popular far beyond its accuracy as a view of Québec and was reproduced as a lithograph by R. Hinshelwood in 1874, several years after Terry and Grant purchased their copies. Lessard, *The Livernois Photographers*, 218.

⁷⁵ The Montréal view in the Terry Album is a diptych, but Grant purchased only the left panel.

⁷⁶ Quoted in, Alan Thomas, *Time in a Frame: Photography and the Nineteenth Century Mind* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), 119-20.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁷⁸ Hoelscher, "The Photographic Construction of Tourist Space in Victorian America," 552.

⁷⁹ For example, Colonel Stuart Wortley often published articles on his "improved" procedures and was even engaged in a debate in the pages of the journal with M. Carey Lea over the accuracy of calculations to determine the amount of free nitrate in collodion emulsion. Stuart Wortley, "Col. Stuart Wortley and Mr. M. Carey Lea," *The British Journal of Photography* 18 (1871): 572-73. Other military authors and contributors to *The British Journal of Photography* included Lieutenant William de W. Abney, Captain Donnelly, Captain Fox, Captain Waterhouse, and John Spiller, Assistant Chemist in the War Department.

⁸⁰ Henry Baden Pritchard, *The Application of Photography to Military Purposes* ([London]: Harrison and Sons, 1869; reprint, *History of Photography Monographs*, Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1981), [3]. Similarly, watercolour painting was often taught to cadets at Woolwich Military Academy by artists, not military officers. The most famous examples were noted English watercolourists Paul Sandby and his son Thomas Sandby, who taught at the Academy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mary Sparling, *Great Expectations: The European Vision in Nova Scotia, 1749-1848* (Halifax: Art Gallery, Mount Saint Vincent U, 1980), 20.

⁸¹ Pritchard, *The Application of Photography to Military Purposes*, 4.

⁸² An illustration of interest to Canadians in a photographic inventory created at Woolwich is "Canadian equipment for conveying guns and military stores in cold weather." J. Spiller, "Photography in its Application to Military Purposes," *The British Journal of Photography* 10 (1863): 486.

⁸³ Pritchard notes at the end of his speech that the application of photography to military purposes would be natural since one of the inventors of photography, Nicéphore Niépce, was a sub-lieutenant in the French army. Pritchard, *The Application of Photography to Military Purposes*, 18. According to Beaumont Newhall, Niépce served in Napoleon's army briefly at the end of the eighteenth century.

Beaumont Newhall. *Latent Image: The Discovery of Photography* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), 19.

⁸⁴ James R. Ryan. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997), 77.

⁸⁵ Pritchard. *The Application of Photography to Military Purposes*, 7-8.

⁸⁶ Spiller. "Photography in its Application to Military Purposes," 486. Woolwich was the location of the Royal Military Academy (founded 1741), where military engineers and artillerymen were instructed, and the Royal Arsenal in the mid-nineteenth century. Spiller was attached to the Royal Arsenal but instructed officers in photography at the Royal Artillery Institute.

⁸⁷ John Fretcheville Dykes Donnelly. "On Photography and its Application to Military Purposes," *The British Journal of Photography* 7 (1860): 179. Also cited in Andrew J. Birrell, "The North American Boundary Commission: Three Photographic Expeditions, 1872-74," *History of Photography* 20, no. 2 (1996): 113.

⁸⁸ "Measuring the Height of Clouds," *The British Journal of Photography* 2 (1855): 122; F. F. Statham. "On the Application of Photography to Scientific Pursuits [I]," *The British Journal of Photography* 7 (1860): 159; idem. "On the Application of Photography to Scientific Pursuits [II]," *The British Journal of Photography* 7 (1860): 192-93; Joseph Sidebotham. "On the Application of Measuring Rods in Photographic Pictures," *The British Journal of Photography* 12 (1865): 657. Statham includes the following disciplines in which photography could be applied as an instrumental tool: chemical science, geology, medical sciences, architecture, civil engineering, mining works, military operations, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and astronomy.

⁸⁹ Joel Snyder. "Territorial Photography," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), 192, n. 8. For a discussion on survey photographs as "picturesque evidence" in the American west, see Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 127-43.

⁹⁰ Pritchard. *The Application of Photography to Military Purposes*, 10.

⁹¹ Alan Trachtenberg argues that Clarence King used photographs to provide images for places he named on maps. "The name [on the map] lays claim to the view. By the same token, a photographic view attaches a possessable image to a place name. A named view is one that has been seen, known, and thereby already possessed." Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 124-25.

⁹² John Tagg. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1993), 61.

⁹³ Kathleen Stewart Howe. "Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt," in *Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1993), 36.

⁹⁴ Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868) was an Irish immigrant, a journalist, and later prominent member of the Canadian House of Parliament representing the riding of Montréal West. He was a member of the Canadian contingent at both the Charlottetown and Québec Conferences prior to Canadian Confederation in 1867. He was a revolutionary Irish nationalist and anti-cleric early in his career, but by 1868, the year he was shot in Ottawa, his views had changed. He believed Ireland should adopt a Canadian model of government within the British Empire and he opposed the Fenian (Irish Republican Brotherhood) raids on Canada from the United States. At the time, his assassination was

believed to be part of a Fenian conspiracy. Robin B. Burns. "McGee, Thomas D'Arcy," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, eds. George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Frances G. Halpenny (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1976), 489-94.

⁹⁵ Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 33; Spiers, *The Army and Society*, 8. The purchase system was abolished so the regular forces, in which purchased commissions were common, and the reserves, where purchased commissions did not exist, could be integrated more easily. The system of purchasing commissions had both its detractors and supporters from the beginning of the nineteenth century until its eventual abolishment in 1873.

⁹⁶ Spiers, *The Army and Society*, 33.

⁹⁷ Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 58.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Quoted in Ibid., 104.. Attributed to "Report of H. M. Commissioners on Revenue and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, Studies Pursued and Given," *Report of the Public Schools Commission* (3288, vol. 1, 1864) 66.

¹⁰⁰ Graduates from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst were required to pass tests in "mathematics, fortification, military surveying, and three optional subjects chosen from French, German, siege operation, landscape drawing, military drawing, Latin, general history and geography"; however, there was no requirement for courses in "military law, administration, logistics, transport, communications and hygiene." Ibid., 122-23.

¹⁰¹ Spiers, *The Army and Society*, 13-14. Spiers continues, "This idea chimed neatly with the reluctance of Parliament to pay army officers in a satisfactory manner."

¹⁰² For a complete institutional history of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, see John Smyth, *Sandhurst: The History of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst 1741-1961* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961).

¹⁰³ "The term aristocratic, as applied to the constitution of the army, is meant to express that system of exclusiveness, which whether founded upon the test of birth, caste or of money, creates a powerful barrier between the governors and the governed." Edward Barrington De Fonblanque, *Treatise on the Administration and Organization of the British Army, with especial Reference to Finance and Supply* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 237. Quoted in Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 16.

¹⁰⁵ Spiers, *The Army and Society*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 22.

¹⁰⁷ Sparling, *Great Expectations*, 41-42. Petley obtained his commission without purchase by attending the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. He joined the Rifle Brigade in 1830 and arrived in the New Brunswick in 1831. His battalion moved to Halifax in 1832, where he executed most of the watercolours we know today. Mora Dianne O'Neill, *Robert Petley: Recollections of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 2000), 4-8.

¹⁰⁸ Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Butler, *The 60th: The K.R.R.C.* vol. 3 of *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps* (London: John Murray, 1926), 255. A regimental rifle club was formed in 1865.

¹⁰⁹ Quote attributed to Col. Hawley. *Ibid.*, 254.

¹¹⁰ Francis Duncan, *Our Garrisons in the West, or Sketches in British North America* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1982), 314. Duncan was an officer in the No. 5 Battery, 7th Brigade, Royal Artillery, but, even though my argument asserts a difference between the educational backgrounds of infantry and artillery officers, this does not diminish the value of his observation about the importance of hunting to *all* military personnel.

¹¹¹ Richard Lewis Dashwood, *Chiploquorgan; or, Life by the Camp Fire* (Dublin: Robert T. White, 1871; reprint, Canadian Reprint Series, Fredericton, NB: Saint Anne's Point Press, 1979), 3.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 70.

¹¹³ The 15th Regiment was posted in New Brunswick from the late winter of 1862 to April 21, 1868. Charles H. Stewart, *The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence Library, 1964), 121.

¹¹⁴ Dashwood, *Chiploquorgan*, 88.

¹¹⁵ Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 119.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹¹⁷ "Grand Cricket Match: Toronto vs. Hamilton," *The Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce*, 26 June 1863, [3].

¹¹⁸ *The Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce*, 2 June to 21 Aug. 1863.

¹¹⁹ Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 81.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 112. Many Victorian educators believed that education was "training for leadership, not tuition for scholarship." Vocational and professional training was not the role of the universities. Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, 109-10.

¹²² The photograph on page 14 of the Rifle Brigade Album establishes that the eroded land in the foreground is the edge of a lake, presumably Lake Ontario (fig. 20).

¹²³ "A private of the Rifle Brigade, whose name we have been unable to learn, was seriously injured yesterday, by being shot through the hand or wrist at Grimsby, when practising. His hand will have to be amputated." "A Soldier Wounded," *The Daily Spectator and Journal of Commerce*, 24 June 1863, [3].

¹²⁴ It probably was very profitable; it appears in both the Rifle Brigade Album and the Jacobs Album.

¹²⁵ Thomas, *Time in a Frame*, 121.

Chapter Three

Colonizing Images: The Roles of Collected Photographs in Colonial Discourse

1 Introduction

The collected commercial photographic views, as I established in the opening chapter, have both metonymic and metaphoric relationships to the referents. The photographs collected by the army officers while posted in Canada are both indices of where they went—metonymic souvenirs, *contiguous* with the referent—and what they saw—metaphoric representations, *associated* with the referent. In this chapter I will argue that the collected photographs have additional semiotic functions as metonyms and metaphors, each contributing in a unique manner to photographs as instruments of imperialism.

The metonymic characteristic of photographs is based on their site of production—in this case, within settler culture. They are physical fragments of a Canadian settler culture, which was similar to, yet distinct from, that of contemporaneous British culture. In the first part of this chapter I will establish the relative settler-centre subject positions and argue that the photographs as objects—not images—participate as metonymic signs in colonial discourse. Then I will analyze the images in the photographic prints and discuss how colonialism is enacted through their metaphoric semiotic function. The knowledge of nineteenth-century Canada

produced by photographs in albums such as these reinforced the notion of the Canadian colonies, and later post-Confederation Canada, as a developing outpost of imperial Britain, the central colonial authority.

2 Colonialism

2.1 Postcolonial Theory and Settler Colonies

Postcolonial theory has emerged as a crucial tool with which to analyze contemporary and historical colonial relations: however the term "postcolonial" remains problematic. There is no single "postcolonialism," just as there is no single "feminism." As feminist writers have come to talk about different "feminisms," so too has postcolonialism been defined as a pluralistic trope. In "What is Post(-)Colonialism?" Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge propose that there are at least three different kinds of "post(-)colonialisms": "post-colonialism," a temporal category, is after colonialism, a period which some argue we have not yet entered;¹ "oppositional postcolonialism," a cultural term, comprises the colonized subject's experience of racism, an imposed second language, and political struggle;² and, "complicit postcolonialism," a postmodern term, is "an always present 'underside' within colonization itself."³

It is this last category and its resulting discourses to which writers like Ella Shohat take exception. In "Notes on the Post-Colonial", she decries the lack of political agency in the use of the term "post-colonial" in the early 1990s and argues that the term is euphemistic, merely a less contentious substitute for the phrase "third

world."⁴ In addition, she objects to labelling "all English literary productions by societies affected by colonialism" as "post-colonial":

This problematic formulation collapses very different national-racial formulations—the United States, Australia, and Canada, on the one hand, and Nigeria, Jamaica, and India, on the other—as equally 'post-colonial.' Positioning Australia and India, for example, in relation to an imperial center, simply because they were both colonies, equates the relations of the colonized white-settlers to the Europeans at the 'center' with that of the colonized indigenous populations to the Europeans.⁵

Shohat sees "post-colonialism" in binary terms, offering only two positions: the oppressor or colonizer and the oppressed or colonized. The political realities of colonialism to which Shohat alludes, that colonial authorities treated European settlers better than conquered or displaced indigenous peoples, is undeniable, and is still prevalent today. Her exclusion of settler colonies—including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States—from any oppositional or resistant position with respect to the colonial centre ignores the complex negotiations that have always taken place between colonizer and colonists, regardless of ancestry. In his now classic work *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson notes that historically the desire for nationhood, a political expression of separation from (usually European) colonial authority, is usually strongest among the ruling settler class who regard the controls imposed by the colonial centre as constraining and foreign.⁶

According to some writers, British settler cultures, like Canada, were intended by the colonial administrators to be "an 'overseas extension' or replica of British society";⁷ however, identity is not static and easily transportable, but rather it is, as Edward Said emphasizes, "hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and

unmonolithic."⁸ Settler cultures are usually discussed under the rubric of the colonizing power and placed within the colonial authority in opposition to the indigenous population of the colonized land. This is the position advocated by Shohat above. Linda Hutcheon, in discussing the applicability of "post-colonialism" to contemporary Canadian writing, acknowledges the difference between Canadian writers and British writers, but cautions that the postcolonial subject position of Canadian-settler writers is not as oppositional as that of "third world" authors.⁹ Benedict Anderson also acknowledges the similarities and differences between settler and centre in his examination of the limitations within European society and administrative structures placed on "creole" populations—"Europeans" born in America—by virtue of birthplace. He positions creoles between the indigenes of the Americas and the European colonial authority: "They constituted simultaneously a colonial community and an upper class. They were to be economically subjected and exploited, but they were also essential to the stability of the empire."¹⁰ While this is a position that Hutcheon also accepts, she warns that there are "important differences in the various histories of colonialism"¹¹ and that in Canada, "settler colonies meant the near destruction of the indigenous culture (and people)."¹²

Australian literary critic Alan Lawson also argues for an in-between subject position for settler colonies:

My suggestion is to recognize the Second World of the settler as a place caught between two First Worlds, two origins of authority and authenticity: the originating world of Europe, the imperium, as source of the Second World's principal cultural authority; and that other First World, that of First Nations, whose authority the settlers not only effaced and replaced but also desired.¹³

Lawson bases much of his argument on the works of postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha, in particular Bhabha's notion of "mimicry" and his use of Lacan's observations on camouflage: "The effect of mimicry is camouflage. . . . It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, becoming mottled."¹⁴ According to Bhabha, mimicry is not a question of *appearing* but *becoming*. The colonial subject exists as a "'partial' presence" who displays "signs" of the colonizer, but is never "appropriate": he or she is always a "failure."¹⁵ In short, Bhabha's often quoted phrase, "*almost the same, but not quite*,"¹⁶ encapsulates the ambiguity and ambivalence inherent in the performative negotiations of colonial discourse.¹⁷

Lawson argues that settler subjects mimic imperial culture and implicit in this is authority "enunciated on behalf of, but never quite as, the imperium."¹⁸ This marks the site of negotiation and resistance between settler and imperium. In addition to mimicking the colonial centre, settlers also mimic the presumed authenticity and authority of indigenous people, which leads to "oppression or—worse—effacement."¹⁹ In Bhabha's formulation of mimicry, the perceived danger, the quality to be feared, comes from the double of the mimic, the *menace*, who is *almost* completely different.²⁰ However, Lawson seems to be arguing that in the case of the relationship between settlers and indigenous people, the unequal power of the relationship makes the mimic the double to be feared. The settlers' desire for the authenticity and authority of the indigenous people—to mimic them in their

relationship to the land—eventually leads to their erasure, which Lawson describes as the "double teleology" of the settler:

. . . the suppression or effacement of the Indigene, and the concomitant indigenization of the settler, who in becoming more like the Indigene whom he mimics, becomes less like the atavistic inhabitant of the cultural homeland whom he is also reduced to mimicking.²¹

Commercial settler photographers produced imperialist photographs of Canada that all but erased the presence of the indigenous people, in effect, claiming the authenticity and authority of the natives. The colonization of the land is the product of settler activity, but it is an activity pursued in complicity with the imperium: the settlers mimic the imperium, actively pursuing *its* goals by paradoxically mimicking the authority and authenticity of the natives.

2.2 Photographer's Subject Position

As British military officers travelled the world, spending months and sometimes years at colonial posts, they collected photographs from commercial photography studios. The officers used these photographs to construct a representation of settlers, cities, and the army's place in the community. The position of the native or indigenous people of Canada is largely absent from the albums under study—a notable void to which I will return.

The photographer's relation to the region in which he photographed is important to the analysis of the collected photographs in colonial discourse. Nineteenth-century British photographers Francis Frith and Samuel Bourne, for example, are known for their images of "exotic" parts of the British Empire; each sold photographs in Britain as well as abroad. Frith is particularly celebrated for his

photographs of the late 1850s depicting the Middle East: through these romanticized images he brought scenes of Egypt and the Holy Land to European tourists, virtual and real. James Ryan notes that Bourne worked in India for seven years, during which time he established studios and sold many photographs, imposing the British commercial photographer's gaze by transposing "the aesthetic contours of 'English scenery' on to foreign environments."²² The result of which, according to Ryan, was a familiarization and domestication of a "potentially hostile landscape"²³ into a reality which "was in fact one of his own culture's making."²⁴ Frith and Bourne and their crews travelled looking for images that satisfied a demand for the picturesque and sublime at home: in the process, they also made visual testimony to the extent of Queen Victoria's rule. In short: they came, they photographed, they returned home.

In contrast, the Montréal photographer William Notman, a Scottish immigrant whose work is liberally represented in the albums under consideration here, as well as other prominent Canadian photographers, had different relationships to the places they depicted: they came, they photographed, they stayed. In terms of subject position, they did not constitute the central colonial authority, which travelled to colonies imposing foreign conventions onto the appearance of the land, argued that the establishment of British institutions was a necessary means of civilization, and created inventories of the vast "unoccupied" lands and "exotic" cultures that needed to be used "productively." Notman and the other photographers were "settlers," a position within colonial discourse which marked them part Imperial and part "native." As Hutcheon would argue, they obviously had much more in common with the

populations of Britain and western Europe, their cultural and literal ancestors, than the indigenous people of the Americas. But they were distinguishable from the British: they existed in a space between that of colonial authority and indigenous cultures.

3 Circulation of Photographs in Colonial Discourses

The work produced by settler photographers and purchased by collecting military officers traversed the various subject positions outlined above. Borrowing from cultural studies, Stuart Hall's audience reception theory can be used as a framework for discussing the semantic availability and geographical circulation of the photographs.²⁵ Hall posits that messages are produced by a sender, circulated, and then consumed by a receiver who, if his or her "framework of knowledge" is not identical to the sender/encoder, may "misunderstand" the original message leading to a "failure in communications." Each step is constrained by the limitations of the communicated message: the original encoding attempts to "'pre-fer' but cannot prescribe or guarantee" symmetrical decoding by the receiver.²⁶ A photograph of Niagara Falls like those in the albums discussed here will always denote the place "Niagara Falls" to an audience with "knowledge" similar to the senders, but the connotative meanings can be various: sublime, power, erosion, honeymoon, daredevils, genius, tourism, etc.

The photographs created by settler photographers were the product of the "frameworks of knowledge" of the settler subject position at the site of production. The photographs, which had meanings within settler culture, were then purchased by

British military officers and decoded through their "knowledge." (As discussed in the previous chapter, the photographs represent an intersection of gazes in which the photographer and officer agreed that particular photographs were valuable but used different criteria to come to that conclusion.) The photographs eventually travelled to Britain where, presumably, they were viewed by friends and relatives of the officers, adding another pair of encoded and decoded meanings, and another imperial interpretation of Canada. And of course, this ongoing chain of sender and receiver continues with my reception of the album photographs and then that of the readers of this thesis. The meaning of the photographs changed and continues to change with the place and time of their reception. In short, they adhere to (as noted in Chapter Two) what Norman Bryson terms "projective sign activity."²⁷

Photographs—and they are not unique in this respect—are polysemous objects. For example, photographs as commodities were inscribed by the culture of the colonial centre. Photographic technology itself is a product of a nineteenth-century western European culture rooted in positivism, industrialization, and capitalism. The photographs also suggest a visual demonstration of the colony's progress towards a more "mature" state as described by evolutionary paradigms of colonization found in nineteenth-century popular histories of the British Empire. And, the photographs erase visual evidence of the indigenous people of North America establishing settlers as "authentic" residents by vicariously claiming authority and territory.

4 Colonial Photographic Prints

4.1 Photographs and Metonymy

Before considering how the photographs in the albums participate as *images* in colonial discourses, I wish to turn my attention to the photograph as an *object*. At the risk of overplaying the idea of imposing anthropological positions and concepts on a group—settlers—not traditionally the subject of anthropological study, it is productive to consider the photographs as items from another culture collected by British officers. As anthropologist James Clifford states, it is sometimes useful "to see ethnography as a form of culture collecting."²⁸ And this is, I suggest, what the officers were doing: collecting Canadian settler culture.

As noted in Chapter Two, British military representations of Canada predate the photographically illustrated travel albums examined in this thesis. Earlier military personnel drew sketches and watercolours while they travelled between their postings in Canada. Both the hand-rendered sketches and the mechanically produced photographs represent Canada through a military gaze, but the resulting images and objects are not interchangeable. As I have already argued, purchased photographs represent an intersection of gazes not present in the watercolours and drawings. In addition, the photographs were artefacts of a foreign culture—nineteenth-century Canadian settler society—which was, as discussed above, both similar to and yet distinct from contemporaneous English society. The settlers' photographs were not created by the collector but selected by them. Their material existence is owed not to the presence of the collector-soldier, but to the settler-photographer and his or her

incumbent culture. Captain Terry's panoramic photograph of Saint John refers as much to the economic and material culture of the place of production, as it does to the appearance of the city from the west side of the harbour (fig. 4).

A photograph indexes much more than I previously discussed within the context of souvenirs and collections. I argued in Chapter One that the photographs in the Terry Album were either metaphors or metonyms, or both, and could be categorized as elements either of a collection of objects or an accumulation of souvenirs. Photographs that were acquired by Captain Terry to satisfy his collecting criteria and did not necessarily come from the place referred to in the photographic image have a metaphorical relationship to the place they depict. Photographs that were purchased at the site they depict are souvenirs of that place and have a physically contiguous relationship with the referent location. And finally, photographs can be both part of a collection and souvenirs, in which case they satisfied Captain Terry's collecting criteria *and* acted as homomaterial replicas. However, photographs and other artworks can be much more than mimetic representations imbued with metaphoric and metonymic sign functions. They are also physical objects with semiotic functions independent of their images.

In Chapter One, I employed Susan Stewart's argument that the souvenir as a sign functions metonymically,²⁹ not as object to object, but as "object to past experience."³⁰ I now propose that a sign can also function metonymically as object to culture. Just as Captain Terry's bill of fare in Chapter One evoked his trans-Atlantic voyage, the photographs he and his fellow album-assembling colleagues collected

evoke a semiosis of colonial culture. The material reality of Canada is represented by the print and when considered as a metonym, the semiosis prompted by the photograph includes the existence of a capitalist economy, a demand for commercial view photographs, and other signs—for example, modernity—of a place that cannot be recorded visually on photographic emulsions.

4.2 A Fragment of Settler Culture

The photographs of Saint John considered as physical fragments of settler culture represent the city through many different discourses (figs. 4 to 8). Captain Terry purchased at least some of his Saint John photographs from the studio at 16 King Street.³¹ The fact that he was able to purchase ready-made tourist views in Saint John reveals similarities between Canada and Britain. The officers found familiar objects and could acquire them in a known manner. The familiarity of the object—the photographic view—to the soldiers from Britain would have signalled to them the similitude between the place in which they were stationed and their own country. The economy on which the photographs were based,³² the processes of manufacturing, and the use value of the objects would have also been well known to the soldiers from the colonial centre. Indeed, the centre's presence is inscribed in photography itself as in many other settler objects. Unfamiliar objects collected by colonizers from indigenous cultures were treated differently, once they entered the collection of the colonizer they ceased to function as originally intended and took on the radically different narratives imposed by the collector.³³ The photographs, which were known objects to the officers, continued to be used as photographs because of this

familiarity. Their use value as saleable commodities to the photographer had been, according to Mieke Bal (as noted in Chapter One), "abducted" by the collector,³⁴ but their function as a representational image remained untouched by the abduction.

The photograph as colonial metonym—a physically contiguous fragment of settler culture—represented Canada as a culturally familiar place. The metonymic function of the fragment photograph confirmed to these British officers, and the other viewers of their albums, settler mimicry of the Imperial centre. Photographs of India by Samuel Bourne or of Egypt by Francis Frith do not have the same metonymic function because they merely index the excursions of a British photographer to the colony. The settlers' photographs mark the successful Europeanization of settler colonies like Canada: Bourne and Frith's photographs signal the dominance of European culture over an exoticized non-West.

5 Photographs as Colonizing Representation

5.1 Representing Colonial Activity

The images produced by colonial photographs also participated in colonial discourses. As metonyms, these photographs produced a cultural image of Canada from the semiosis that begins with the existence of the print. As metaphors, the photographs produced a visual image that relied on the referential or evidentiary authority conventionally invested in photographs to represent the development of the colony.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most regions of the world were claimed as European colonies. The rise of European colonialism was dramatic, from thirty-

five percent of the earth in 1800, to eighty-five percent in 1914.³⁵ During this time, the spread of "civilization" and its "pioneers"—"commerce" and "Christianity"—were important tools of colonization.³⁶ The development of "civilization," "commerce," and "Christianity," in Canada are recorded in the examined albums. Views of Hamilton, Montréal, Québec, and Saint John, all show the development of "civilization" and "commerce," and many of the photographs also include church spires in the skyline of the colonial cities, literal denotations of "Christianity" (figs. 15, 13, 3, 4 respectively). Despite the obvious depiction of British civilization in the photographs, viewers in England would have been aware that the towns and cities of Canada differed markedly from those in Britain. As Alan Thomas notes,

photographs from frontier towns in the U.S. West or around the British Empire taken in the late nineteenth century are often clearly modelled on European conventions of view . . . . What they reveal, however, by implicit contrast with the Champs Elysée, or Madison Square . . . are scenes expressive of the raw frontier.³⁷

a frontier that was being transformed by European settlement.

Not surprisingly, the albums of the British officers are full of signs of settlement and colonial development—"civilization, commerce, and Christianity"—but also population, prosperity, and progress, a triad which recurred throughout contemporaneous writing about the colonies. The majority of photographs in both Captain Terry's album and the Rifle Brigade Album show scenes that depict either a city or town, obvious sites of civilization and progress, or nature that has been tamed by traditional picturesque representation.³⁸ Scenes apparently deemed by the makers and intended audience as familiar and non-threatening dominate the albums. Indeed,

as shown in Appendix Three, almost three-quarters of the photographs show permanent colonial activity, the majority of which were shot in the summer.

However, Terry and the anonymous compiler of the Rifle Brigade Album may be the exception. Both the Jacobs Album and the Grant Album include many photographs of Canadian nature in all its heart pounding Burkean sublime capable of filling "the mind . . . with its object"³⁹ to the exclusion of all else. The Grant Album, for example, has a veritable inventory of Canadian waterfalls all displayed in well crafted and sometimes exceptionally large prints,⁴⁰ which considered as metonymic signs as I argued above represent not only the sublime but also settler economic and artistic production, more evidence of permanent colonial activity.

5.2 Furniture in the Woods

In contrast to the photographs of sublime nature, the urban photographs of Canada in the albums participated in a colonial discourse that was active in colonial histories of the period, and which also functioned as guides to potential immigrants. Social reformer and author H. R. Fox Bourne's popular *The Story of Our Colonies with Sketches of their Present Condition* of 1869 contains a twenty page appendix in which he gives advice on successful immigration to the British North American Colonies and Australia: he catalogues amounts of land available for settlement, climates, cost of food, method of land sale, average wage rates, and the location of gold fields, among other concerns.⁴¹ Bourne begins his history of the Empire with the "discovery" of "New-found-land" by John Cabot in 1497, at which time the "bleak and rocky country" was inhabited primarily by "bears and white antelopes," and

"some groups of men and women . . . all clothed alike in skins of beasts, and with little other furniture than the bows and arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings which helped them in their frequent quarrels with one another."⁴² Bourne's passing mention of the "furniture" possessed by the late fifteenth-century indigenous people of Newfoundland is notable. It measures indigenous people against the values of modern Western European culture—"civilization"—as embodied in material objects.

In contrast to the "historical" description of Cabot's first encounter with the indigenous people of North America, the British officers at Grimsby depicted in the Rifle Brigade Album and the Jacobs Album do not sacrifice their civilized repose even while in the woods (fig. 22). Three men, all in states of relaxation, are posed in front of the simple white tent of the nineteenth-century British military. The man on the left sits in a chair, his uniformed legs crossed, contemplating something outside the frame of the photograph. The man on the right, dressed more casually and wearing a straw hat, props himself up with one arm, looking more or less into the camera's lens. He is on the ground, but his pose is one of relaxation, not necessity. This is a man who, if he chose to, could sit on a chair. The man in the middle, also in uniform, sits on a low bench or box reading his newspaper. Between the man on the left and the man in the middle, the tent lay open displaying its contents: a trunk, a couple of wooden stands, a dark wood cupboard with small items displayed, a clock perched atop one of the stands, and the expected military tools, a sword hanging from the centre post and a rifle resting against one of the stands on the left. The photograph, which has undoubtedly been contrived in co-operation between the

photographer and subjects—as I argued in the previous chapter, the product of the intersection of gazes—represents the "civilizing" influence of the British presence in the Canadian woods.

5.3 Paradigms of Colonial "Progress"

Biological or familial metaphors were often used in nineteenth-century Britain to describe the relationship between England and its colonies. The biological metaphor consistently begins with the "empty" or "barren" land—what geographer Andrew Sluyter calls "the myth of emptiness"⁴³—that needs to be "seeded" and "nurtured." Bourne wrote of the colonization of Canada and Australia, "vast tracts of land wait only to be tilled, and to have their useless vegetation replaced by wholesome cultivation."⁴⁴ Another writer, Browne H. E. Roberts, claimed in 1861 that of the "vast region" of Canada, only "a very small portion has, up to present time, probably ever been trodden by the foot of man."⁴⁵ Using gendered language, both Bourne and Roberts also invoke familial metaphors, describing Britain as the "English cradle" of the British "race" which has gone abroad to do "its good work,"⁴⁶ and as the "mother country" which will "lose no opportunity of supplying her colonies with every facility which may contribute to their development"⁴⁷—that is, "nurturing her children."

In *Enterprise Beyond the Seas*, published in 1871, a decade after Roberts' text, J. Hamilton Fyfe uses the vocabulary of husbandry to describe Anglo-centric colonial development: "In no field of enterprise have the courage, perseverance, and humanity of our countrymen been more conspicuously or honorably displayed than in planting

and rearing our colonies."⁴⁸ His description of the various stages of development of Britain's colonies bears repeating:

It has been remarked that it is a peculiarity of a great and conquering people, that they find themselves at the same time, though in different regions, in all the various stages through which societies must pass between their birth and their destruction. Thus, in Vancouver's Island and Columbia the British race may be said to be in vigorous infancy; in Australia, in early youth; in Canada, in all the vigour of manhood; in the United States, energetic, progressive, triumphant; and in Great Britain, in robust middle age.⁴⁹

The connection between evaluative evolutionary paradigms and the "progress" of civilization is pervasive in the writings of this period: it still persists today in discussions of the "developing" and "third" world.

5.4 The "Progress" of Canadian Cities

Captain Terry's representation of London, Ontario, includes a photograph he captioned "The Post Office and Banks, London" (fig. 1). The solid stone buildings with their neo-classical facades and symmetrical fenestration were impressive edifices for 1860s Canada. The banks and post office signal to the viewer that London is a city in which commerce and communication are present, two familiar markers of "civilization."⁵⁰ On the following page, Terry placed a photograph of the corner of Richmond and Dundas Streets in London (fig. 2). The retail buildings depicted are less impressive, brick construction and simple windows, than the preceding banks and post office, but are signs of the permanence and prosperity of the colonial settlement. The buildings shown in these photographs of London are reminiscent of Fyfe's description of Victoria, British Columbia, a city that had "grown" from a "trading port" to a "capital city":

Broad streets of substantial wooden houses have been erected. A few brick stores, a handsome stone bank, the spires of four churches, one or two government buildings, and the high spiked walls of a jail, distinguish the place from a mere log-town, and indicate its pretensions to be regarded as a capital. Suburbs, shaded with oak trees like an English park, and rich agricultural land, surround the town.⁵¹

Fyfe's description is a veritable inventory of British civilization. He adds in a footnote:

In Victoria there are gas-works, an iron foundry, machine shops, a public library and reading-room, two newspapers, two fire companies, a St. Andrew's Society, a Freemason's Lodge, a Horticultural Society, a Philharmonic Society, a gymnasium, bowling-alley, a jockey club, theatre, &c.⁵²

Photographs in the Terry Album of urban Saint John also fulfil Fyfe's criteria for a growing colonial city. The four photographs on page nineteen show details of the urban fabric: the Customs House, Charlotte Street, Main Street, and the building housing the Officers' Mess (fig. 6). The stone facade of the Customs House (a "government building"), the monumental bell tower surrounded by carefully placed trees shown in King's Square on the right-hand side of Charlotte Street (a future "English park"), and the two story structures labelled "My Quarters, Main Street" and "Officer's [*sic*] Mess-House" ("substantial wooden houses") confirm the growth of the city. At the same time, however, the diminutive stature of the trees in King's Square and the wood row houses on Main Street confirm to the nineteenth-century British viewer that urban Canada had not yet attained the same level of "maturity" as the "mother country."

The photograph of Fredericton in Terry's album—the last photograph in the album—encapsulates the evolutionary paradigm of colonial development within a

single frame (fig. 12). The newly cleared field in the foreground is strewn with rocks and boulders, a piece of land that has just been made "useful" and in its "infancy" of productivity. The trees in the middle ground are receding, pinned between the cultivated fields on the flood plain below and the new fields on the hill; they are part of a forest being cleared for settlement and production. The plowed fields near the houses on the river, which is a sign of the increasing population of the community, demonstrate the settlers' organization of the land and the development of commerce. Finally, the church steeple, one of the foundational signs of European colonization, is in the middle of the houses and at the centre of the community.⁵³ Such representations of the Canadian colonial city emphasized the growing population, the spreading prosperity, and the "progress" achieved by the colony, "growing" from "infancy" toward "maturity."

5.5 Gardens and Grounds

On a scale smaller than the cultivated fields surrounding Fredericton, the gardens and grounds shown in the photographs of Grimsby depict a land being claimed and transformed by the Empire. Nicholas Thomas observes that early nineteenth-century paintings of another settler colony, Australia, "suggested farming proceeded with a fair degree of divine approval . . . . The juxtaposition of a disorderly 'virgin' bush on the periphery of a property and the cleared pasture or garden that has succeeded it" was a common composition.⁵⁴ The garden symbolizes many things including, perhaps most importantly within a western tradition, the Garden of Eden from which man was expelled by God; within the boundaries of the garden lies

paradise. In the Victorian era, the garden was the site of many different projects: the aesthetization of the land as picturesque landscape, the return to "folk" roots through cottage gardens, and the scientific recording and ordering of the natural world through the development of botanical gardens like Kew Gardens in England.⁵⁵

The intentions of the officers at Grimsby were probably more modest than the *re-creation* attempted at botanical gardens, but their small gardens also bring order to the world. Like the previous photographs of Grimsby examined in this thesis, "Camp at Grimsby, 1863," looks more like a holiday resort than an army camp (fig. 18). The short rough wood fences and gates, the manicured grass, and the low flowers planted around the tree stump in the foreground, bring the casual order of a cottage garden to the military camp. The fences around the tents establish borders and territories for each of the occupants, a luxury not afforded the enlisted men whose tents were in straight lines and as close as possible to each other (fig. 23). The diagonally cut paths, a feature of formal gardens, remind the viewer of the paths around the fountain in downtown Hamilton, establishing a continuum between the process of settlement and civilization in the "empty" woods and the developing urban areas of Canada (fig. 14). The forest in the photograph of Grimsby is in the background: it is pushed to the back and tamed by the presence of the soldiers' tents and fences, which serve as signs of "budding civilization."

The separation between camp and forest is even more striking in the photograph of Grimsby that appears on the next page of the Jacobs Album (fig. 19). Here the background is demarcated by a rail fence, which runs the width of the

photograph behind the cooks, behind the men lounging on the grass and on the rocking chair, and well behind the benches and trellis in the foreground: it literally separates "civilization" and the realized potential of "Nature" of the camp's grounds from the remainder of the woods.

6 Absence as Colonizing Representation

6.1 Gaps in the Collection

The production of an imaginative geography of Canada through the intersecting focalizations of photographer and British officer involved more than a positivistic description of the signs of "civilization." Absences and gaps in the photographic record also contribute to that representation. If we consider albums as collections of objects from which the audience reads meaning, and if objects are missing from that collection—presuming that a "true" representation is possible—then, as Susan Stewart (cited in Chapter One) argues, the album collection offers "closed knowledge" that "is both eclectic and eccentric."⁵⁶ However, even if a "true" representation is not possible because gaps will always be present in the record, then I would argue that we must turn our attention to "important" objects and "substantial" gaps. However, the categorization of objects and gaps as "important" and "substantial" is a contemporary project that is imposed on the 1860s. For example, the visual record of Halifax created by the drawings of eighteenth-century British purser Richard Short depicts, as Mary Sparling observes, only "respectable" city streets.⁵⁷ Are the less "respectable" streets "important"? Is this gap "substantial"? The answers depend on the context in which the questions are asked.

6.2 "Progress" and Photographs of Railroads

Were railroads important to nineteenth-century Canada? According to the histories and descriptions of Canada written by Fyfe and Bourne, they were. The idea of "progress" permeates their texts and the photographs not only confirm but visually produce the notion of Canada as a young and developing colony in which, as Fyfe writes in 1871, "Squalid Indian villages have given place to populous and flourishing towns; and an extensive railway embraces the country."⁵⁸ Bourne also saw the railroad as a necessary condition for the development of a prosperous and civilized colony, and called the yet to be completed Canadian trans-continental route "a pathway for *commerce* and *civilization*."⁵⁹

Interestingly, despite the military's reliance on railways and transport ships for troop movements there are almost no photographs of these modern means of transportation in the albums studied here. Captain Terry does include two small reproductions of ships on which he travelled, the S.S. *Hibernian* and the H.M.S. *Himalaya*, in his album, but fails to represent the Grand Trunk Railway on which he probably travelled from Portland, Maine, to London, Ontario. Grant includes two photographs of a railroad snowplow pushing its way through massive snowdrifts—an assertion of Empire over nature and Canada as a land of snow and ice—and the Jacobs Album includes two photographs of the rail coach built for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' 1860 Canadian tour.

Railways, which extended through much of Canada East and Canada West—Rivière-du-Loup to Windsor—by 1864 could not have been avoided by the troops. The cities in which they were posted—London, Hamilton, Montréal, Québec, and

Saint John—were all situated on rail lines,⁶⁰ and railways were a powerful sign of modernity and nineteenth-century progress, producing changes in patterns of trade and travel. The almost total absence of railway photographs was not a product of absence in commercial photographic archives. The analysis in Appendix Four of William Notman's catalogue of stereoscopes from the early 1860s shows that it includes many photographs of the Grand Trunk Railway and various railroad bridges—among them, the Victoria Bridge in Montréal—and, indeed, just over twelve percent of the 567 titles listed include mention of railroads.⁶¹

Railroads were important to the colonial development of Canada, but is their almost complete omission from the albums "significant"? The disregard for railroads almost entirely omits a naturalized nineteenth-century sign of progress and civilization from the albums, which is curious, but not as significant as other omissions.

6.3 Erasure of Indigenous People

The authority and authenticity of indigenous people, as Lawson argues, was desired by settlers who essentially erased indigenes from settler-produced photographic representations of the colony. Indeed, Nicholas Thomas observes with respect to popular historical Australian painting:

It emerges that while some artists have engaged with the settler-indigenous relation in all its problematic complexity, the images that have been most celebrated either relegate indigenous people to a picturesque folkloric status, or—more commonly—fail to represent them at all.⁶²

In addition to what is erased from the land in settler art, Thomas, who is influenced by W. J. T. Mitchell's work on the "imperial landscape,"⁶³ notes that there is a connection between landscape art and colonization: ". . . landscape painting must be the form of settler visual culture that relates most directly to the practical struggle of colonization, which is, first and foremost, about the occupation of the land and the attachment to the country."⁶⁴ The attachment that Lawson describes is the settlers' desire for authenticity and authority in their new territory.

There are very few representations of the indigenous people of Canada in the albums addressed in this thesis. The Terry Album features one male figure on the business card for Walker's Indian Bazaar of Niagara Falls who adheres to the trope of the "noble savage." Typical images in the other albums include a small black and white reproduction of a painting by Cornelius Krieghoff labelled "Indian Squaw" in the Rifle Brigade Album. The first page of the Grant Album features a reproduction of Frances Anne Hopkin's *Left to Die* (1872),⁶⁵ which depicts a native male alone on the prairie. The Grant Album also includes a group studio photograph, captioned "St. Regis Indians," which shows a group of "Indians" costumed in the expected regalia: feather head-dresses, beads, and "traditional" clothing.⁶⁶

"Indian paintings" were a popular genre in the 1870s, and Dennis Reid observes that "Indian subjects dominated the 1874 exhibition of the OSA [Ontario Society of Artists], so much so that *The Nation* devoted a paragraph of complaint to them."⁶⁷ Indeed, the majority of representations of indigenous people in the albums examined are reproductions of paintings or drawings in which a referent native person

does not need to exist to produce the image.⁶⁸ As John Tagg notes, the evidential authority of photographs was established in the nineteenth century (through various discourses)⁶⁹ and, therefore, to return from Canada without photographic "evidence" of the indigenous people denied their existence in the colony, and proved European ascendancy.

The erasure of indigenous people from the collected photographic record concurs with the long history of describing Canada as a vast empty land waiting for colonists. Mary Sparling observes that the first town plan of Halifax completed in 1749 by Moses Harris shows the land outside the palisade as pastoral and empty.⁷⁰ and even over a hundred years later, Lieutenant Francis Duncan of the Royal Artillery wrote about hunting in the "forests primeval" only two miles outside of Halifax.⁷¹ The erasure of the indigenous people was not restricted to the highly mediated visual representation of maps and paintings. Kathleen Howe notes that the publishers of mid-nineteenth-century travelogues on Egypt rejected photographs of contemporary villages and villagers in favour of ancient monuments,⁷² erasing the present by selecting a past. The collecting officers addressed in this thesis have done the opposite: they have erased the past by selecting a present.

James Ryan observes that the Royal Engineers' photographic albums of the Abyssinia Campaign do not show the native inhabitants, except occasionally for local colour or scale. Most of the photographs are unpopulated landscapes or are obviously occupied by British troops, implying, argues Ryan, that the battle to be waged was against "Nature," not people.⁷³ Fyfe also pits the Empire against "Nature" in his

history of the British colonies. "The subjugation of her [British North America's] idle woods and barren wastes is a triumph of which we have still more reason to be proud"—that is, more reason than the victory over the French in 1760.⁷⁴ Indeed, neither French or indigenous peoples are noted separately in the census of British colonies that appears at the end of Bourne's *The Story of Our Colonies*. The populations of most of the Canadian provinces and British North American colonies are listed as simple totals, the exceptions being British Columbia and Vancouver Island in which the populations are tabulated in two columns: "white" and "Aboriginal" inhabitants.⁷⁵

The almost total exclusion of indigenous people from the collected and assembled photographic record of the albums, as we can see from the above examples, is not terribly surprising. By the 1860s, photographic emulsions were sensitive enough to allow photographers to include people in their views without the subjects disappearing into a blur of grey. Objects moving across the picture plane from edge to edge of the frame might still blur or even disappear depending on the speed with which they travelled, but stationary posed subjects could be recorded without difficulty.⁷⁶ The outdoor portraits in the Rifle Brigade Album and the group photographs in the Terry Album are examples of posed outdoor photographs, yet, there are no *in situ* photographic images of indigenous people.⁷⁷

William Notman's catalogue of stereoscopic views from the early 1860s, as noted above, is a good indicator of the photographs available to the officers when they selected their images given Notman's ubiquity and commercial success. Indeed,

all of the albums prominently feature this studio's photographs and, as I argued in Chapter One, the very pervasiveness of Notman's photographs calls into question the status of the photographs as souvenirs. Of the 567 titles of stereoscopes listed in the catalogue (see Appendix Four), only four refer to the indigenous people of Canada.⁷⁸ The chances of purchasing a photograph of an indigenous person were slim, though not impossible. The commercial photographic archive supported the settlers' mimicry of the indigenous peoples' authenticity.

7 Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that the images and material properties of photographic prints—the photographs as metaphoric and metonymic signs—were part of colonial discourse. The photographic print signalled to the British audience of the albums that colonial Canada was, despite stories of thunderous waterfalls and an embarrassment of available land, a place in which familiar and modern products could be attained by familiar means. The images of stone banks, brick buildings, and cultivated fields recorded permanent colonial activity and produced a picture of Canada as a "developing" nation—regardless of the denoted image, the connotation is almost always "civilization"—but the portrayal of Canada as untamed wilderness always remained in the minds of the collectors and their audiences through the numerous photographs of waterfalls. However, as Keith Bell argues in his discussion of the "official" photographs used to encourage settlement of the Prairies in the 1880s and later, the imaginative geography of the colony produced by photographs was not that of an empty barren, but a developing community in which people might want to

live.⁷⁹ It is doubtful that the British officers who assembled the travel albums examined in this paper intended to create a representation of Canada that was meant to entice settlers, but the implicit acknowledgement of urban communities and sublime sites in the photographs they collected and the marginalization of indigenous people through imaginary representation produced a view of colonial Canada that was familiarly British yet "not quite."

Notes

¹ Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, "What is Post(-)colonialism?," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia UP, 1992), 284.

² Ibid., 286.

³ Ibid., 284.

⁴ Ella Shohat, "Notes on the 'Post Colonial'," *Social Text* 31-32 (1992): 100.

⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 47-65.

⁷ Daiva Stasiulis and Radha Jhappan, "The Fractious Politics of a Settler Society: Canada," in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, eds. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: Sage, 1995), 97.

⁸ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), xxv.

⁹ Linda Hutcheon, "'Circling the Downspout of Empire'," in *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism*, eds. Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin (Calgary: U of Calgary P, 1990), 172-76.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 58.

¹¹ Hutcheon, "'Circling the Downspout of Empire'," 172.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Alan Lawson, "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject," *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no. 56 (1995): 29.

¹⁴ Jacques Lacan, "The Line and the Light," in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (London: Hogarth and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1977), 99. Quoted in Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 85.

¹⁵ Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 86. Compare this with John Berger's similar argument regarding the suits worn by a group of young peasant men in August Sander's photograph, *Peasants Going to a Dance*, *Westerwald* (1914). Berger argues that suits—a "professional ruling class costume"—are signs of urban affluence and power, but the ill fitting and deforming clothes give them away as peasants. Their bodies, shaped by "varied hard physical work" are "deformed" by clothing designed for men of "purely *sedentary* power." Berger argues that there is an *essential* physical characteristic of the "peasant" type that prevents him or her from looking like the "professional class." His analysis focuses on *appearing*, not *becoming*. Bhabha's "mimicry" is not simply a mask or costume. John Berger, "The Suit and the Photograph," in *About Looking* (New York: Vintage, 1991), 31-40.

¹⁶ Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 86. Emphasis in original.

¹⁷ Homi K. Bhabha. Introduction, in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 2.

¹⁸ Lawson, "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject," 26.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ "The ambivalence of colonial authority repeatedly turns from *mimicry*—a difference that is almost nothing but not quite—to *menace*—a difference that is almost total but not quite." Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 91.

²¹ Lawson, "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject," 28.

²² James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997), 51.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993), 90-103. Hall is concerned with the messages received by television viewers, but his basic framework is useful here too.

²⁶ Ibid., 100.

²⁷ See Chapter Two.

²⁸ James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, eds. Russell Ferguson, et al. (Cambridge: MIT, 1990), 152.

²⁹ Metonymy is defined by Chaitin as "relation among signs based on external *contiguity*." Metaphor is defined as "relations of internal *similarity*." Gilbert D. Chaitin, "Metonymy/metaphor," in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory*, ed. Irena R. Makaryk (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997), 589.

³⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), 136.

³¹ The ownership of the studio changed frequently, please see Chapter Two, n. 63.

³² Captain Terry would have been familiar with the exchange of money for goods but may not have had experience with Canada's decimal based currency. The Province of New Brunswick adopted dollars and cents, abandoning pounds, shillings, and pence, on November 1, 1860.

³³ For interesting examples and arguments regarding collecting objects from indigenous cultures and their subsequent use and representation in European cultures, see Anthony Alan Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 177-203; Nicholas Thomas, "Licensed Curiosity: Cook's Pacific Voyages," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 116-36. Many other examples exist especially within the context of museums studies; for one of the better examples see Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991).

³⁴ Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), 111.

³⁵ Harry Magdoff, *Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present* (New York: Monthly Review, 1978), 29, 35. Cited in Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 8.

³⁶ David Livingstone, speaking on Angola, said "My desire is to open a path to this district, that civilization, commerce, and Christianity might find their way there." David Livingstone, *Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1858; reprint, Farnborough, UK: Gregg, 1968), 18. Later in the same lecture, he called "Christianity and commerce" the "two pioneers of civilization" that "should ever be inseparable." Livingstone, *Cambridge Lectures*, 21. Livingstone (1813-73) went to Africa on behalf of the London Missionary Society in 1840 and travelled throughout the continent intermittently until his death in 1873. He hoped to abolish the slave trade in Africa by establishing Christian missions and western commerce in the interior of the continent. He is credited with the European "discovery" of many African lakes and rivers and published books based on his travels, including *Missionary Travels* (1857) and *The Zambezi and Its Tributaries* (1865).

³⁷ Alan Thomas, *Time in a Frame: Photography and the Nineteenth Century Mind* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), 121.

³⁸ Peter Bacon Hales argues that photographic views, especially of the "undeveloped regions" of the United States, were inherently colonizing: "The colonization of these new landscapes, both urban and wilderness, required more than simple expropriation: they had to be ordered, made sensible, judged, and then inserted in their proper places in the dominant visions of American life and purpose." Peter Bacon Hales, "American Views and the Romance of Modernization," in *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1991), 207.

³⁹ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. James T. Boulton (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 57.

⁴⁰ The Grant Album includes the following waterfalls: Falls of St. Féréol, Fraser's Fall, Fall of Rivère-du-Loup, Niagara Falls (many views), Fall at Les-Trous, Montmorency Falls and Natural Steps, Lorette Falls, Shawinigan Falls, Chaudière Falls near Québec, Chaudière Falls at Ottawa, and the Rideau Falls. The largest photographs of Niagara Falls in the Grant Album are Burkean in scale (for album photographs) and measure approximately 315 millimetres by 400 millimetres.

⁴¹ H. R. Fox Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies with Sketches of their Present Condition* (London: James Hogg and Son, 1869; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1979), 381-400. According to Bourne, Canada was looking for the following "classes" of immigrants at the time: "(1) persons with capital seeking investments; (2) produce farmers; (3) agricultural labourers; (4) male and female servants; (5) boys and girls over 15 years of age . . . The classes who should be warned against emigration [from Britain] are clerks, shopmen, or persons having no particular trade or calling, and unaccustomed to manual labour." Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*, 383-84.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴³ Andrew Sluyter, "Colonialism and Landscape in the Americas: Material/Conceptual Transformations and Continuing Consequences," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 2 (2001): 412.

⁴⁴ Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*, 379.

⁴⁵ Browne H. E. Roberts, *History of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1983), 53.

⁴⁶ Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*, 380.

⁴⁷ Roberts, *History of the Colonial Empire*, 310.

⁴⁸ J. Hamilton Fyfe, *Enterprise Beyond the Seas, or, How Great Colonies were Founded* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1871; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1981.), iii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, v.

⁵⁰ The buildings in the photograph from the first full building in the foreground to the background are: Bank of Montreal, Merchant's Bank of Canada, intersection of North Street and Richmond Streets, Post Office, and a saloon operated by Smith James. Curiously, Captain Terry did not identify the saloon. What could this say about his notion of civilization? *Cherrier & Kirwin's London Directory for 1872-73*. (Montreal: Cherrier & Kirwin, 1872), 44.

⁵¹ Fyfe, *Enterprise Beyond the Seas*, 148.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ See n. 36. A photograph taken from the same location today would show that the "evolution" of Fredericton as a colonial city has progressed. Houses and other buildings now cover the fields in the foreground and middle ground, many church spires have been added to the skyline, as have taller office buildings constructed of materials more permanent than wood, and the city has grown to the other (north) bank of the river, slowly eliminating vestiges of forest.

⁵⁴ Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 73.

⁵⁵ For a comprehensive history of gardens, see Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot, eds., *The History of Garden Design: The Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

⁵⁶ Stewart, *On Longing*, 161.

⁵⁷ Mary Sparling, *Great Expectations: The European Vision in Nova Scotia, 1749-1848* (Halifax: Art Gallery, Mount Saint Vincent U, 1980), 14. Short, a purser on H. M. S. *Prince of Orange*, was part of the British force that would later sail to and capture Québec in 1759.

⁵⁸ Fyfe, *Enterprise Beyond the Seas*, 138-39.

⁵⁹ Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*, 152. Emphasis added.

⁶⁰ Saint John was the western terminus for the rail line that connected Shediac on the east coast of New Brunswick with the Bay of Fundy. The railways in the Maritime provinces were not connected to the rest of post-Confederation Canada until 1876 (see Chapter One, n. 29).

⁶¹ William Notman, *[Photographic Views of] Victoria Bridge, Niagara Falls, Principle Cities and Places of Interest Throughout Canada* (Montreal: William Notman, [1860]), 7-26 passim. Also, see Appendix 4.

⁶² Thomas, *Possessions*, 54.

⁶³ See W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), 5-34.

⁶⁴ Thomas, *Possessions*, 53.

⁶⁵ Frances Anne Hopkins (1838-1918) was the wife of the private secretary of George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. She lived in Canada from 1858 to 1870 and is known for her "Indian" and fur trade scenes. J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1977), 129, 416.

⁶⁶ For a discussion on the depiction of natives by commercial photographers, see Andrea Kunard, "Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album" (Master of Art, Carleton U, 1996), 108-12.

⁶⁷ Dennis Reid, *"Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada and National Museums of Canada, 1979), 230.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the representation of indigenous people in nineteenth-century painting as a "dying race" and the relationship to a developing Canadian nationalism, see Maureen Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape: Colonial Expansion, National Identity, and the Image of a 'Dying Race'," *Canadian Art Review* 17, no. 2 (1990): 138-49.

⁶⁹ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1993), 60-152.

⁷⁰ Sparling, *Great Expectations*, 10.

⁷¹ Francis Duncan, *Our Garrisons in the West, or Sketches in British North America* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864; reprint, CIHM Microfiche Series, Ottawa: CIHM, 1982), 45. Duncan acknowledges that his descriptions are many times exaggerations, but insists they are always based on fact: "Without going so far as to say that it [Halifax] was infested—even to the streets—with wild animals, or that we could vary the monotonism [*sic*] of daily parades by an occasional shot from our windows at a moose or a bear, I must admit that to the younger members of our community nothing in the natural history line that could have appeared would have seemed startling or even surprising." Duncan, *Our Garrisons in the West*, 45.

⁷² Kathleen Stewart Howe, "Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt," in *Excursions Along the Nile: The Photographic Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1993), 27.

⁷³ Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 92-94.

⁷⁴ Fyfe, *Enterprise Beyond the Seas*, 138.

⁷⁵ Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*, 381-82. Interestingly, Australia's population is listed as homogenous but New Zealand's population is broken down into "New Zealand" and "New Zealand Natives." The only other colonies to have separate indigenous and British or settler populations listed are the Cape, Natal, Ceylon, and India.

⁷⁶ Joan Schwartz warns that the absence of indigenous people in photographs—"a characteristic trope of colonial discourse"—may at times be due to insensitive emulsions that required long exposure times and stationary subjects. However, her focus is on an earlier period, 1839 to 1859, and therefore,

earlier technology. Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (1996): 30.

⁷⁷ Examples from the period of *in situ* portraits of natives do exist, most notably H. L. Hime's photographs from the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858. See Ralph Greenhill and Andrew J. Birrell, *Canadian Photography: 1839-1920* (Toronto: Coach House, 1979), 84-85.

⁷⁸ Four of 567 titles, or approximately 0.7 percent of the listed archive, included references to the indigenous people. Coincidentally, a federal government source claims that in 1871, only ten years after Notman's catalogue, indigenous people comprised 0.7 percent of the population of Canada (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, and Ontario). K. G. Basavarajappa and Bali Ram, "Population and Migration," in *Historical Statistics of Canada*, ed. F. H. Leacy (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), A125-A63. All nineteenth-century estimates of indigenous and even settler populations should be understood as approximations only. The Statistics Canada estimate referred to above gives the total population of Canada as lower than Bourne's estimate of ten years earlier. Bourne, *The Story of Our Colonies*, 381. Estimates of more recent populations of indigenous people in Canada also suffer from inconsistencies. *Historical Statistics of Canada* lists the 1901 native population as 127,941, while the *Historical Atlas of Canada* reports 99,527 native inhabitants. Basavarajappa and Ram, "Population and Migration," A125-A63. Pierrette Désy and Frédéric Castel, "Native Reserves: Names and Descriptions," in *The Land Transformed, 1800-1891*, ed. R. Louis Gentilcore, vol. 2 in *Historical Atlas of Canada* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993), plate 33.

⁷⁹ Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada," in *Thirteen Essays on Photography*, ed. Martha Langford (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990), 15.

Conclusion

Interpretations

Throughout this thesis I have examined a selection of nineteenth-century travel albums arguing that photographs are polysemous objects that participate in colonial discourse. The albums were assembled by British army officers who were stationed in the British North American colonies or Canada in the 1860s. The Terry Album, the Rifle Brigade Album, the Jacobs Album, and the Grant Album provided the case studies for this thesis. The photographic albums are seemingly straightforward representations of Canada simply through the depicted subject matter, views of Canada. The work of this thesis has been to problematize these representations, analyzing different ways they constitute Canada as a colony and embody the colonial project.

The indexical characteristics of analogue photographs—their dependence on a physically present referent—made them powerful documents within colonial discourse. Accordingly, meanings produced by these evidential objects are accessible through various interpretive strategies—narrative theory, psychoanalytic theory (the gaze), and postcolonial theory—that illuminate the materials. In each interpretation, I have emphasized the reception and recontextualization of the photographs in the albums by the collectors. I have also reminded the reader frequently that photographs

can be subjected to a variety of readings through different theoretical approaches and have tried to foreground my role as interpreter.

The pages of the examined albums provide the context in which one set of meanings was interpreted. Sequencing and page layouts encourage viewing the images in a particular order and, in the case of the Terry Album, as illustrative of a specific trip. Added captions are powerful naturalizers of meaning that reduce the possible denoted meanings to the one declared by the inscriptions. Through the employment of Mieke Bal's narrative theory, the naturalizing effect of sequencing, layout, and text can be analyzed and problematized. In addition, attempting to categorize the album photographs as either an accumulation of souvenirs or as a collection of thematically related scenes provides alternative ways for thinking about a travel album as an object: is it a book of memories or a conscious representation of a place? The characterization of souvenirs and collections as metonymic and metaphoric signs by Susan Stewart and Bal's work on collecting narratives provide tools for this investigation.

The selection of photographs in albums—an important consideration when dealing with collections—was addressed through an exploration of the intersection of gazes. The gaze is an important concept for discussing "who" is seeing and counters the notion of objective sight. As Norman Bryson argues, how we see is cultural and historical, not simply perceptual. Commercial photographers and military officers each brought their own gaze to bear upon the objects viewed—the land of the colony and the photographs, respectively—to make their selections. Catherine Lutz and Jane

Collins' work on multiple gazes, based largely on feminist film theory, provides a model for investigating these intersections. The gaze of each is multifaceted and informed by various factors. For example, photographic technology, the tourist market, and commissions shaped the photographer's gaze, which in turn influenced the same contributing factors in a productive cycle. The particular military gaze posited for the military officers who assembled the albums considered in the thesis is the product of class characteristics, education, and vocation. Photographs in albums are the outcome of complicated negotiations between at least two subject positions—in this case, settler photographer and imperial soldier.

The relative locations of photographers and officers are important to the analysis of the Canadian photographs as imperialist representations. These subject positions are described by using Alan Lawson's work on the literature of settler colonies. He places settler authors in a liminal space between the European "First World" and the North American "First Nations," an ambiguous site which Lawson locates employing Homi K. Bhabha's concept of hybridity. Settler photographic prints functioned metonymically in England as a sign of a Western European economy and material modernity in the North American colony. Photographic images participated in the popular notions of colonial development by illustrating the "progress" and "civilization" of Canada. Both functions contributed to the representation of Canada as a place similar to, but yet different from, Britain.

Throughout the thesis I treated photographic prints as metaphors and metonyms. This in turn gives rise to expanded meanings related through their

respective semiotic functions. Considered as metonymic signs, photographs are the impetus for the nostalgia associated with souvenirs and the material representation of the place of production. As metaphoric signs, photographs satisfy the collecting criteria of travellers and create a biased visual knowledge of the place depicted. I tried not to privilege one function over another and analyzed several photographs within distinct interpretative frameworks in different sections of the thesis. The scope of visual representation in the collected photographs was restricted by the intersection of the military officers' and commercial photographers' gazes, and the resulting portrayal of Canada is a small subset of the available photographic archive.

My research has focussed on various interpretive strategies that I applied to historical objects and the resulting meanings. The image of Canada created by the 1860s albums is not unexpected. The colony, and later country, is portrayed as a land of waterfalls and growing urban areas through the eyes of photographers and collectors. Interpretation is not limited to the twentieth and twenty first centuries: the selections made by the nineteenth-century photographers, when they created their views, and the soldiers, when they selected their photographs, were also acts of interpretation. As historian-interpreters, we must understand and acknowledge our position and recognize that the photographs left for us are not transparent historic records. As I have demonstrated in this thesis, by employing a variety of theoretical tools we are better equipped to unpack the meanings of photographs and albums as polysemous objects.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Narrative Constructed from the Publicly Reported Troop Movements of the 4th Battalion of the 60th Royal Rifles Compared to the Sequential Contents of Captain A. F. Terry's "Canada, 1868" Album

Reconstruction of Trip (Square brackets indicate extrapolation.)	The Album ¹ (Square brackets indicate object in album.)
	"Canada / Photographs / Vol. IV / I. Ontario / II. Quebec / III. New Brunswick" [frontispiece]
[23 January 1868 Capt. Terry leaves Liverpool.]	"Bill of Fare" from "Montreal Ocean Steam-ship Co." [printed menu] Hand-written bill from purser for passage, dated February 6, 1868. "Cabin Plan of Screw Steam Ship Hibernian" [printed floor plan]
6 February Capt. Terry arrives in Portland, ME.	
[6 February to 13 February Capt. Terry travels from Portland to London, ON, via train.]	
13 February to 12 March Capt. Terry stays at Tecumseh Hotel in London.	"London, Ontario" [photo] "Tecumseh House / 13 Feb - 12 March / \$100-" [bill] "Tecumseh House, Richmond Street, London." [photo]
28 April 4/60 farewell ball in London.	"The Post Office and Banks, London." [photo] "Corner of Richmond and Dundas Streets, London." [photo] "The Thames." [photo] "Farewell to the 60 th !" [newspaper clipping from London, July 12, 1868] "The Palace Barracks, London." [winter photo]

12 May, shortly before 8h00 4/60 leaves London by train.	
12 May, morning 4/60 arrives in Hamilton.	
	"Retrogression of the Niagara Falls" [newspaper clipping from Saint John. Sept. 16, 1868] "The Canadian or Horse-Shoe Falls, Niagara." [photo] "Goat Island And The Terrapin Tower." [winter photo] "The Table Rock, Niagara." [winter photo] "Below The Table Rock, Niagara." [winter photo] "Walker's Indian Bazaar!" [printed advertisement] "The American Falls, Niagara." [photo] "Luna Island, Niagara." [winter photo]
12 May, about 12h00 4/60 leaves Hamilton aboard the <i>Magnet</i> and <i>Grecian</i> .	
14 May 4/60 arrives in Montréal.	"Montreal." [panoramic photo in two sections]
14 May, 17h00 4/60 has boarded the <i>Montreal</i> .	
14 May, evening 4/60 leaves Montréal aboard the <i>Montreal</i> for Québec City.	
[15 May 4/60 arrives in Québec City.]	"Falls at Montmorenci" [photo] "HMS Himalaya" [inscribed photo] "Quebec." [photo]
16 May, 10h00 4/60 leaves Québec City aboard the <i>Himalaya</i> .	

<i>22 May, morning</i> 4/60 arrives in Saint John, NB.	"St. John, New Brunswick" [panoramic photo in three sections] "King Square, St. John, N.B." [photo] "The Custom House. [Partly Barracks.]" [photo] "Charlotte Street, King Square." [photo] "Officer's Mess-House. 4th 60th Rifles." [photo] "My Quarters, Main Street, Sept. '68." [photo] "122 Germain Street, St. John, N.B." [photo] "St. James's Church, St. John, N.B." [photo] "Bridge Over the St. John River, N.B." [photo]
<i>15 June</i> Capt. Terry is in Saint John. He writes to the Military Secretary.	
<i>15 June, 15h00</i> A "detachment" of the 4/60 leaves for Mount Ashton, NB.	"Camp, Mount Ashton, N.B." [photo] "Officers' Camp, Mount Ashton, N.B." [photo] "The Mess-Hut, Mt. Ashton." [photo] "The Mess Kitchen." [photo] "Captain Tufnell, 60th Rifles." [photo] "Mt. Ashton, N.B." [photo] "Road from Mt. Ashton to St. John, N.B." [photo]
<i>September 1868</i> Capt. Terry is in Saint John for group photo.	"My Company: D. 4th Battalion 60th Rifles." [photo with names] "My Company: D. 4th Battalion 60th Rifles." [photo with names; different image]
<i>10 September 1868</i> Officers of the 4/60 play cricket in Fredericton	"Fredericton, N.B." [photo]
<i>22 June 1869</i> 4/60 leaves for Aldershot aboard the <i>Crocodile</i> from Halifax, NS.	

Notes

¹ A complete description of the photographic contents of the album is available at the National Archives of Canada web site by searching the Photographic Holdings database in ArchiviaNet using the term, "Astley Fellowes Terry." Please note that there are minor mistakes in some of the records. (*ArchiviaNet: Photographic Holdings*, National Archives of Canada, accessed 17 February 2000. <<http://www.archives.ca/exec/naweb.dll?fs&020115&e&top&0.>>.)

Appendix 2

Table of Contents Analysis of *The Philadelphia Photographer*, volume 2 (1865)

This analysis is based on the contents of *The Philadelphia Photographer*, volume 2 (1865), as published by the journal. I classified the articles according to the dominant theme in the title. Recurring columns, editorials, and the reported minutes of photography society meetings were not included in this survey. It should be noted that the percentage of "Technical/Mechanical" articles may be higher than the survey of titles indicates because of this exclusion and the misleading titles of some articles. For example, the 1864 article "Landscape Photography" mentioned in the main text of Chapter Two is primarily instruction on the "dry collodion process."¹ I did not find any examples of the reverse; that is, none of the articles I read containing technical vocabulary in the title dealt with non-technical matters to any degree.

There were ninety-four articles, not including the exclusions mentioned above, listed in the 1865 Table of Contents. Sixty-seven of the ninety-four article titles were explicitly about technical or mechanical subjects and included words and phrases like "collodion process," "fixing solution," "globe lenses," and "solar printing." Of those sixty-seven titles, eight included chemical names such as "cyanide of potassium," "ether," and "tungstate of soda." The remaining articles covered topics as diverse as a review of the "Fair at Chicago," "Photography, On Relation to the Fine

Arts." and "Trials of the Wife of an Amateur Photographer." The survey results are in table form below.

Table 1

Table of Contents Analysis of *The Philadelphia Photographer*, volume 2 (1865).

Title Category	Number of Articles	Percentage of Total Articles
Technical / Mechanical (includes Chemical)	67	71.3%
[Chemical] (subset of Technical/Mechanical)	[8]	[8.5%]
Non-Technical or Unclassifiable	27	28.7%
Totals	94	100%

Notes

- ¹ M. A. Root. "Landscape Photography." *The British Journal of Photography* 1, no. 9 (1864): 137-39.

Appendix 3

Analysis of Photographs in the Astley Fellowes Terry "Canada 1868" Album and the Rifle Brigade Album

I have classified the photographs in the Terry Album and the Rifle Brigade Album within a simple scheme. "Colony" photographs show urban areas, including parks, town squares, busy streets, large detached homes with grounds, cultivated fields, and any scene in which the action of settlers upon the land is evident. "Wilderness" photographs show uninhabited wilderness views and sublime scenes, like waterfalls. There may be people in the photographs, but generally there is no evidence of permanent settler habitation. For example, the drawing reproduced on page 18 of the Rifle Brigade Album of Québec City as seen from the south side of the St. Lawrence River features farmers harvesting fields in a pastoral scene in the foreground and the city in the background. I have classified this image as Colony because it depicts the permanent colonial activity on the land. Photographs of the military training camps in the Terry Album and the Rifle Brigade Album, Mount Ashton and Grimsby respectively, are for the most part included in the category Colony, one uninhabited scene from Mount Ashton has been classified as Wilderness. Note that photographs and representations of indigenous people are included in the category Wilderness unless the people are shown in a city, none of which are. Colony

and Wilderness are mutually exclusive categories: all photographs have been classified as either one or the other.

"Winter" photographs show obvious snow, ice, or other winter conditions. "Summer" photographs do not show snow or ice, and include photographs taken in the fall or spring when trees are bare. Winter and Summer are mutually exclusive categories.

The numbers in parentheses are an expression of the percentage of the photographs in the album that are represented by the category. The Rifle Brigade Album percentage is an expression of the total of the Canadian section of the album, pages 2 to 28.

Table 1

Colony versus Wilderness Views

Category	Terry Album	Rifle Brigade Album
Colony	25 (73.5%)	67 (73.6%)
Wilderness	9 (26.5%)	24 (26.4%)

Table 2

Winter versus Summer Views

Category	Terry Album	Rifle Brigade Album
Winter	6 (17.6%)	23 (25.3%)
Summer	28 (82.4%)	68 (74.7%)

Table 3

Colony versus Wilderness and Winter versus Summer

Category	Terry Album	Rifle Brigade Album
Colony Winter	1 (2.9%)	13 (14.3%)
Colony Summer	24 (70.6%)	54 (59.3%)
Wilderness Winter	5 (14.7%)	10 (11.0%)
Wilderness Summer	4 (11.8%)	14 (15.4%)

Appendix 4

William Notman's 1860 catalogue of Stereoscopic Views

The catalogue lists the titles of 567 stereoscopic photographs available for purchase from William Notman's studio in the early 1860s.¹ The exact date of the catalogue is not known, but the inclusion of photographs depicting the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to Québec and Montréal in August 1860 (numbers 521 to 562) suggests a date not too long after the summer of 1860.² Photograph numbers 1 to 46 record the construction of the Victoria Bridge in Montréal, another notable early Notman subject.

The categories I have used in the table below are based solely on the title and are not mutually exclusive. For example, photograph number 383, "Tuscarora Squaws at Niagara Falls, selling Curiosities," has been categorized as "Indigenous People," "Waterfalls," and "Niagara Falls." "Railroad" includes a photograph of the carriage built for the Prince of Wales for his visit in August 1860. The remainder of the railroad photographs depicts sections of the Grand Trunk Railway. "Canadian Content" photographs are genre photographs that include the word "Canadian" in the description but are of no specific place, for example, photograph number 148, "Canadian Farm." "Waterfalls" includes the Lachine Rapids and the Natural Steps at Montmorency Falls.

Table 1

Number and percentages of selected categories in Notman's c.1860 catalogue.

Category	Total and Percentage (out of 567 titles)
Indigenous People	4 titles 0.7% of works listed in catalogue
Canadian Content	6 titles 1.0% of works listed in catalogue
Railroad (excludes Victoria Bridge series)	25 titles 4.4% of works listed in catalogue
Victoria Bridge series	46 titles 8.1% of works listed in catalogue
Niagara Falls	81 titles 75.0% of waterfalls listed in catalogue 14.3% of works listed in catalogue
Waterfalls (includes Niagara Falls)	108 titles 19.0% of works listed in catalogue

Notes

¹ William Notman. *[Photographic Views of] Victoria Bridge, Niagara Falls, Principle Cities and Places of Interest Throughout Canada* (Montreal: William Notman. [1860]).

² For a short history of Notman's photographic coverage of the royal visit, see, Colleen Skidmore, "'All that is interesting in the Canadas': William Notman's Maple Box Portfolio Of Stereographic Views, 1860," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1998): 71-74.

Figures

Figure 1. "The Post Office and Banks, London." in "Canada 1868," Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224). 4.

According to *Cherrier & Kerwin's London Directory, 1872-73*, the buildings and street intersections on the west side of Richmond Street from right to left are Fullerton Street, the Bank of Montreal, the Merchant's Bank of Canada, North Street, the post office, and a saloon.

Figure 2. "Corner of Richmond and Dundas Streets. London." in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 5.

Figure 3. Livernois and Bienvenu. "Québec City" (1870). in Michel Lessard, *The Livernois Photographers* (Québec: Musée du Québec and Québec-Agenda, 1987), 218, plate 71A.

The same photograph appears in "Canada 1868," Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1998-224), 16.

Figure 4. "St. John, N. B." in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224). 17.

The three panel panorama is hinged between the individual prints and stored in the album folded.

Figure 5. "King Square, St. John. N. B.." in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada. 1985-224). 18.

ST JOHN. N.B.

Figure 6. "St. John, N.B.." in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada. 1985-224). 19.

UL: The Custom House (partly Barracks)

UR: Charlotte Street. King Square

LL: My Quarters. Main Street. Sept. '68

LR: Officers' Mess House. 4th 60th Rifles

122 GERMAIN STREET . ST JOHN . N.B.

Figure 7. "122 Germain Street, St. John, N. B.." in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 20.

BRIDGE OVER THE ST. JOHN RIVER, N.B.

Figure 8. "Bridge Over the St. John River, N. B.," in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 22.

FIGURE 9. "OFFICERS' CAMP, MOUNT ASHTON, N. B."

Figure 9. "Officers Camp, Mount Ashton, N. B." in "Canada 1868," Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 24.

Figure 10. "The Mess Hut, Mt. Ashton." in "Canada 1868." Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 25.

UL: My Tent

Figure 11. "My Company: D. 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles," in "Canada 1868," Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 29.

Captain Astely Fellowes Terry is standing at the center of the back row in the doorway.

UL: My Quarters. Sept. '68

Figure 12. "Fredericton, N. B." in "Canada 1868," Astley Fellowes Terry Collection (National Archives of Canada, 1985-224), 31.

Figure 13. Montreal. Captain Jacobs Album. Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada. 1936-038), 276.

Variations of this image also appear in the Terry Album and the Grant Album.

Figure 14. "King St., Hamilton," in Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada, 1948-027), 4.

Also, "The Gore," in Captain Jacobs Album, Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 10.

Figure 15. "Hamilton, Canada." in Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada, 1948-027), 2.

Figure 16. "B. B. Cricket Club," in Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada, 1948-027), 14.

Also, "Officers' and Men's Eleven," in Captain Jacobs Album, Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 17.

Figure 17. Royal Engineers. "Balooch Regiment." in James Ryan. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: U of Chicago P. 1997), 80, fig. 29.

Figure 18. "Grimsby." in Captain Jacobs Album. Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 16.

Figure 19. "Grimsby 1862." in Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada, 1948-027), 12.

Also, [Grimsby], in Captain Jacobs Album, Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 16.

Figure 20. "Grimsby." in Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada. 1948-027). 14.

Also. "1863 Grimsby." in Captain Jacobs Album. Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada. 1936-038). 17.

Figure 21. "Grimsby, Rifle Range." in Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada, 1948-027), 16.

Also, "... at Grimsby, C.W., 1862." in Captain Jacobs Album. Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 14.

Figure 22. "Grimsby," The Rifle Brigade Album (National Archives of Canada, 1948-027), 15.

Also, "1862 Grimsby," in Captain Jacobs Album, Captain Jacobs Fonds (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 163.

Figure 23. "1862 Grimsby." Captain Jacobs Album (National Archives of Canada, 1936-038), 163.

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