Encounters and Experiences:
A Material Culture Interpretation of Photography in the
R.W. Anderson Scrap Book (1850-1870)

by

Clare McKenzie

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
Art History

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-71689-2
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-71689-2

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Abstract

This thesis investigates nineteenth-century photography in Canada and the practice of compiling photographic albums. My study focuses on the *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book* (1850-1870) as an object that reveals much about photography as a cultural form. I investigate the scrap book and position it within a number of social and artistic discourses that were prominent in the photographic culture of the nineteenth century. Using material culture methodology I offer a physical reading of the volume and propose that the scrap book presents a telling example of photographically-illustrated texts in the nineteenth century. I suggest that through his photographic work and studio, R.W. Anderson provides an example of the productive relationship between painters and photographers in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Lastly, I focus on a selection of images in the album that represent the picturesque and locate them within themes of national identity, nostalgia and travel.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to a number of people and organizations who made this research possible. I am particularly indebted to the staff of the Photographs Department at the National Gallery of Canada who, over the last two years, offered me great support and assistance. I would like to offer my gratitude to Lori Pauli, for introducing me to the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* and for being as enthusiastic about the project as I have been. I would also like to thank Ann Thomas, John McElhone, Shawn Boisvert and Jacqueline Warren for their insights and the assistance they offered me while studying the album. I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff at the City of Toronto Archives, City of Vancouver Archives, Toronto Public Library, Trent University Archives, Guelph Museums and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria. My thanks are also owed to Roger Taylor for telling me to “look” and “think” and also to Reverend Chris Goble who provided insight into some of the album’s prints.

I would like especially to thank my advisor Carol Payne. I am grateful for the guidance and words of encouragement she offered throughout this project as well as her belief in my abilities. To my friends and family, I would like to thank you all for the encouragement you have offered to me throughout my academic journey. Last but not least, this thesis could not have been completed without the love and support of my partner Bruce. You have been by my side all the way and for that I am eternally grateful.

In memory of
Brigid Monica McKenzie
and
Galyon Anthony Cowper

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Introduction

This thesis investigates nineteenth-century photography in Canada and the practice of compiling photographic albums. My study focuses on the *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book* (1850-1870), a 2009 acquisition by the National Gallery of Canada's Photographs Collection, as an object that reveals much about photography as a cultural form. When I first encountered the scrap book in 2008 I had not conceived of it becoming such an in depth project, however, the more I leafed through the album's pages and delved into the life of Anderson I became increasingly fascinated. One of the most intriguing aspects about this album is that its compiler, Robert W. Anderson, was also a photographer who was active in Toronto during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The object itself and the compiler gradually proved to be very curious entities in their own way. What follows is the result of nearly two years of digging, unearthing and piecing together of material in relation to R.W. Anderson and his scrap book.

The *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*, as both an object and a collection of photographs, conveys a sense of how photography was received and understood in the nineteenth century. As a means to view the world never witnessed before, photography transformed the act of looking into a multifaceted way of seeing. The ability to see one's own likeness, encounter a far off place, or immediately record an event became a common experience for those who could afford the privilege. Those experiences in reception were guided nonetheless by the eyes of the photographer who played an active, if partial, role in determining the outcome of the image. Whether viewed as a whole or as individual pieces, the

R.W. Anderson Scrap Book and its contents reflect trends that were commonplace in nineteenth century photography.

At the same time that the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* provides an apt case study of nineteenth century photography in general it also represents a unique way of seeing. This specific album reveals much about Anderson as photographer, collector and assembler of images and the reception of his images. It reflects the idiosyncrasies of collecting practices and skills as well as those of narrativisation. The album has opened up channels to understand what it was like to be a photographer in nineteenth-century Toronto. In addition, it offers insight into how Anderson, an immigrant to Canada, perceived his world.

One of the main challenges to this research project has been the lack of scholarship on Anderson himself. Indeed the secondary material amounts to little more than a page. As a result, the bulk of my findings have come from primary sources. I have scoured census records, genealogical databases, and city and business directories. I have spent hours viewing the database of the *Globe and Mail* and *The Globe* issues from the 1860s and 1870s looking for business advertisements. I have explored numerous city and museum archives looking for images by Anderson. The research has been painstaking, and at times tedious, but it has been productive as I have slowly put together a comprehensive profile for Anderson and his photographic studio. In addition to the archival information I have examined, one of the key sources for this project is without a doubt the album itself. Its contents, manner of presentation and narrative, are just some of the elements I consider in this thesis.

In this thesis I examine the *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book* as a cultural object that generates meaning on a variety of levels. From a material culture perspective vis-à-vis a physical reading of the volume I propose that the scrap book offers a telling example of photographically-illustrated texts in the nineteenth century. In addition, I suggest that through his photographic work and studio, R. W. Anderson provides an example of the productive relationship between painters and photographers in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Finally, in this thesis I propose that a selection of the images in the *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book* represent the picturesque tradition within underlying themes of national identity, nostalgia and travel.

State of the Literature

Knowledge of photography from this era has been aided greatly by a growing body of scholarship dedicated to examining the technical, artistic and socio-cultural aspects of the medium and its uses. This literature review will mirror the manner in which I analyse the Anderson album, thus it addresses texts that examine the history of photography in its broadest sense and gradually focuses on more specific materials that reflect some of the nuances particular to the object of study.

Several publications have attempted to encapsulate the history of photography in the nineteenth century. One of the most comprehensive texts on photography of this period is *Photography in Nineteenth Century America* edited by Martha Sandweiss. The book is comprised of a series of essays that explore

the relationship between photography and culture in the United States. For Sandweiss, American photographic history seemed to be lacking this type of comprehensive analysis and as such she sought to “recover the context in which photography first came to the United States and explore how it took hold...”¹

Although focussed on American case studies, this publication is of particular interest to my study of the Anderson scrap book as the essays address issues pertaining to the social, cultural and economic nuances of photography.

Sandweiss’ book contains a useful chapter entitled “The Portrait Studio and the Celebrity: Promoting the Art” written by Barbara McCandless. Although the focus of the essay is primarily on the celebrity portraits produced by Napoleon Sarony and Mathew Brady, the information pertaining to the business of studio photography and portraiture is valuable. Not only has it aided my understanding of the studio practice in general and North America specifically, but it is also relevant in light of Anderson as a portrait photographer and studio owner.

Anderson’s scrap book contains numerous portraits, several of which were produced by American photographers, indicating how fully he was engaged with commercial portraiture.

An area of particular importance to my study of Anderson and the scrap book is writing on Canadian photography. Scholarly literature on Canadian photography first appeared in a consolidated form only in the 1960’s.² However,

¹ Martha Sandweiss, “Introduction: The Faithful Image of Our Time,” in *Photography in Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Martha Sandweiss (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991), xiv.

² Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, “Writing Photography in Canada: An Historiography,” in Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, *The Cultural Working of Photography in Canada* (Montreal: McGill University Press, forthcoming).

primary writing on the medium did appear in various periodicals during the nineteenth century such as *The Canadian Photographic Journal* and *Canadian Photographer*. Although their print runs were limited and they were absorbed into American publications these journals were still essential to the development of photography in Canada.³ The two most significant publications dealing with the subject are Ralph Greenhill's *Early Photography in Canada* and Greenhill and Andrew Birrell's *Canadian Photography 1839-1920*.⁴ Greenhill's earlier publication deals with Canadian photography primarily through a technological narrative with images supplementing the text. The development of photography in Canada is presented chronologically through the examination of different processes. Predominant among the figures discussed and represented are James and William Notman, H. L. Hime, Benjamin Baltzy and Alexander Henderson. The most thorough account dealing with Toronto focuses on the firm of Armstrong, Beere and Hime. According to Greenhill, the images in the book represent a "selection of the best photographs taken in this country between 1850 and 1885".⁵

In addition to Greenhill and Birrell's publications, more than two decades later, the journal *History of Photography* produced a special edition devoted to Canadian photography in 1996 edited by Joan M. Schwartz. Among the topics included are William Notman's stereophotography, the North American Boundary

³ Tiit Kõdar, "The Canadian Photographic Periodical Press" in *History of Photography. Special Issue: Canadian Photography*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz, 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 138-145.

⁴ Greenhill and Birrell's later publication is essentially a revised and expanded edition of *Early Photography in Canada*, now extending to the early part of the twentieth-century.

⁵ Ralph Greenhill, *Early Photography in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), 15.

Commission and the use of the daguerreotype in Canada. Colleen Skidmore's essay, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio" addresses how a small number of female employees constructed their identities through portraits they sat for and had a hand in producing.⁶ Archival collections and gallery holdings are also discussed in the issue and a thorough bibliography of Canadian photography compiled by David Mattison is included.⁷ The two-volume compendia *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography* covers a broad range and includes entries on photographers, techniques and artistic movements.⁸ The development of photography is also discussed in relation to individual countries. The entry on Canada, written by Andrea Kunard, provides a succinct account of the medium and key figures associated with it in this country. In addition to addressing some of the commercial endeavours by photographers across the nation, Kunard also examines the scientific pursuits undertaken by photographers in Canada. She writes: "Surveyors and explorers hired by both British and Canadian governments used photography to document their activities, and provide views of the largely unknown interior and its aboriginal peoples."⁹ Many of the figures during Anderson's time, including William Notman, James Topley, and the Livernois group of photographers, have been recognized in varying capacities in publications and exhibitions.

⁶ Colleen Skidmore, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio," in *History of Photography. Special Issue: Canadian Photography*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz, 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 122-128.

⁷ David Mattison, "Canadian Photography: A Selected Bibliography," in *History of Photography. Special Issue: Canadian Photography*, Ed, Joan M. Schwartz, 20, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 186-188.

⁸ John Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁹ Andrea Kunard, "Canada," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography. Volume 1*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2007), 264.

In addition to these surveys, there are some useful studies of regionally-based photography in Canada. The west coast of Canada, for example, was a hot bed of photographic activity in the nineteenth century. *Eyes of a City: Early Vancouver Photographers 1868-1900*, a publication compiled by David Mattison, provides a thorough account of the medium's development in the west.¹⁰ The book is a useful resource not only for understanding photographic practice in a major Canadian city but also for looking at how the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) affected the medium's development and reception. Mattison suggests that souvenir images of Vancouver produced by commercial photographers were enabled in part by the CPR which issued "railway passes to selected photographers from both eastern and western Canada".¹¹ Mattison also indicates that in addition to the CPR itinerant photographers contributed to the city's photographic experience. These observations by Mattison are of importance to my study of Anderson as he travelled to the west in 1887, although the capacity in which he operated has yet to be fully established.

As noted above, scholarly literature on Anderson himself is virtually non-existent. Lilly Koltun is the only scholar to have published work that specifically references R.W. Anderson. The most detailed account of Anderson's career appears in a 1976 document by Koltun entitled *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III: Checklist of Pre-Confederation Photographers in Toronto*.¹²

¹⁰ David Mattison, *Eyes of a City: Early Vancouver Photographers 1868-1900* (Vancouver: Vancouver City Archives, 1986).

¹¹ Ibid, 11.

¹² Lilly A. Koltun, *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III: Checklist of Pre-Confederation Photographers in Toronto*, publisher unknown (September 30, 1976).

This checklist is an alphabetical record of photographers and the Anderson entry is quite extensive. References to his prize winnings, business locations and people he interacted with from a professional standpoint are accounted for here. This information has been very helpful in providing a loose profile of Anderson, one that I have built on. A 1978 *History of Photography* article, also written by Koltun, and entitled “Pre-Confederation in Toronto” provides the most thorough account of the medium’s development in the city. Anderson is also cited here, albeit briefly, among numerous other photographers. It would seem that the period in which Anderson was establishing himself was, from a photographic standpoint, an exciting time in Toronto. Between 1856 and 1861, the number of photographers in Toronto increased significantly despite an ongoing economic recession.¹³

The phenomenon of album/scrap book production – the collecting and assembling of prints within a volume – was a popular activity in the nineteenth century. In this thesis, I address the Anderson scrap book as both an object and a collection of photographs, of which certain images are discussed in relation to particular trends common in the nineteenth century. A number of scholars have addressed the photographic album, some of whom deal with issues that are of particular interest to my study. Diane Waggoner’s essay “Seeing Photographs in Comfort: The Social Uses of Lewis Carroll’s Photograph Albums” provides a detailed analysis of several of Carroll’s albums of which many of the nuances

¹³ Lilly Koltun, “Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto,” in *History of Photography* 2, no.3 (1978).256.

parallel those found in the Anderson scrap book. Waggoner discusses the intimate viewing practices associated with Carroll's albums and addresses their use as "display albums, designed to show off...photographic artistry".¹⁴ An aspect I have considered with the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* is its use as a promotional aid in the studio. It was not uncommon in this period for a photographer to use an album much like a portfolio. For example, an album of prints of Spain by British photographer Charles Clifford is believed to have served as a sales catalogue. The album was either located in Clifford's studio or at a book dealer's shop where it promoted the sale of prints.¹⁵

In *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, Martha Langford provides an innovative model for the study of photographically-illustrated volumes. Here, she examines several photographic albums from the McCord Collection in Montreal, suggesting that "the showing and telling of an album is a performance" wherein a form of dialogue exists between viewer and object.¹⁶ That dialogue is of a particular type, as it occurs for Langford between those with a close affiliation to the object. According to Langford, "the very act of preservation – the entrusting of an album to a public museum – suspends its sustaining conversation, stripping the album of its social function and meaning."¹⁷ This is an important observation made by Langford that

¹⁴ Diane Waggoner, "Seeing Photographs in Comfort: The Social Uses of Lewis Carroll's Photograph Albums" in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 62 no. 3 (Spring 2001), 411.

¹⁵ Anderson & Hershkowitz Ltd., *Fine 19th and 20th Century Photographs* (London: Anderson & Hershkowitz Ltd., Autumn 1976), 13.

¹⁶ Martha Langford. *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 5.

¹⁷ Ibid.

I have been wholly cognizant of in my own assessment of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. My own reading acknowledges the particularities of the museum context, such as the viewing environment and presentation of the object. In turn, these factors inform my interpretation of the album's use and meaning.

Glenn Willumson also addresses the performative nature of albums, in his essay "Making Meaning: Displaced Materiality in the Library and Art Museum". According to Willumson, "who produced the photograph is of less relevance than the creator of the object in which the photographs reside".¹⁸ The *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* posits an interesting case as it reflects both photographer and creator. However, when considering the majority of the prints in the album are not by Anderson, the contents and presentation of the collection is of tremendous significance. As Willumson writes: "In choosing, sequencing, organising and captioning the photographs for the album, the person responsible transforms the meaning of the selected images into an intensely individualistic expression".¹⁹ While there are several prints of varying subject matter and medium present in the Anderson scrap book which I survey in this study, I focus specifically on a series of images dedicated to landscape and architectural views to exemplify Anderson's "choosing, sequencing, organising and captioning".²⁰ The largest print in the album, a landscape photograph by Anderson himself, is the starting point for my discussion around these editorial choices made by Anderson. In

¹⁸ Glenn Willumson, "Making Meaning: Displaced Materiality in the Library and Art Museum," in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 63.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

turn, I argue that the picturesque tradition and a nostalgia for Britain are key to this sequence. While Anderson produced quite a range of images in his commercial practice, the contents and subject matter of the album's images cannot be ignored – I believe the placement and size of Anderson's image in conjunction with the architectural and landscape views by other photographers alludes to a keen interest in the aesthetic and ideological nuances of the picturesque.

Andrea Kunard has also addressed the subject of albums with a focus on the identity of the compiler. Kunard's Master's Thesis, "Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album," examines the commercial photographic industry and also how albums function in the construction and definition of the self within the public and private spheres.²¹ Subsequent publications, including "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album" by Kunard, have further developed the concept of identity and albums.²² In these analyses, Kunard points to the challenges associated with the study of albums. As historically-specific objects, she suggests that for the modern viewer albums are in many ways enigmatic.²³ Kunard writes: "As objects produced within historical processes, they express a

²¹ Andrea Kunard, "Assembling Images: Interpreting the Nineteenth Century Photographic Album with a Case Study of the Sir Daniel Wilson Album," Master's thesis (Carleton University Ottawa, ON, 1996).

²² Andrea Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering. Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 4, no. 3 (November 2006), 227-243.

²³ Kunard, *Assembling Images*, 1.

number of cultural concerns, yet their very constitution operates against complete disclosure".²⁴ My experience with and study of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* correlates with Kunard's observations as it is framed within a particular set of circumstances that have inherently voided the sensations and values originally accorded to the album.

Grace Seiberling's *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* looks to the works produced by those involved in various photographic clubs, some of whose works are in the *R.W. Anderson Scrapbook*. Adapting subjects previously seen in paintings, it was not unusual for photographs to be characterized by "ruined abbeys, churches, cottages, castles, nooks in woods, riversides and hedgerows".²⁵ The themes put forth by Seiberling are echoed by Jens Jäger in his essay entitled "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century". Jäger suggests that the pictorial convention of the picturesque is as much about aestheticism as it is ideology. These types of images, many of which were commonly accompanied by literary quotes, "transmitted basic concepts of Britishness to the interested public in the cities and fostered identification with the local and regional scenery".²⁶

²⁴ Kunard, *Assembling Images*, 13.

²⁵ Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 53.

²⁶ Jens Jäger, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 126.

Methodology

The *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* has been my essential point of departure for this study. I have closely examined the album as an object that in itself contains several other objects. With this approach, the focus is not to try to analyze and identify every work in the album but rather try to understand its functionality. This methodological approach, known as the study of material culture, is one that I have embraced for this project. A leading proponent of this methodology is Jules David Prown. Material culture for Prown refers “both to the subject matter of the study, *material*, and to its purpose, the understanding of *culture*.”²⁷ In material culture analysis, the object, or what Prown refers to as an “artefact”, is an intrinsic component toward formulating an understanding about its production. Artifacts, according to Prown “do not just happen; they are the results of causes. There are reasons why an object comes into existence in a particular configuration, is decorated with particular motifs, is made of particular materials, and has particular colour and texture.”²⁸

A material culture approach has been applied to the study of photography by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart who suggest that “materiality translates the abstract and representational ‘photography’ into ‘photographs’ as objects that exist in time and space.”²⁹ This innovative methodology differs from conventional analyses of photographs in that it stresses the material quality of photographs

²⁷ Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London: 2001), 70.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 221.

²⁹ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, “Introduction” in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.

rather than strictly being concerned with questions of representation. Thus, photographs are both images and objects that are part of cultural experience. Also of importance for Edwards and Hart, and applicable to my study, is recognizing that the presentation of an image can proffer further meaning and as such “its material and presentational forms and the uses to which they are put are central to the function of a photograph.”³⁰ In the case of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* for example, a series of thirty-one photographic prints at the beginning of the album is analyzed in light of their subject matter and location as a cohesive group. What may appear to be a simple series of prints can prove to be a rather complex arrangement, and as such serves as a critical component in formulating and interpreting potential themes. For my purposes in dealing with a person about whom very little is known, this methodology has enabled me to surmise who Anderson was and about his business operations.

In addition to a material culture approach, I rely heavily on primary archival research as a means of unearthing a social historical picture about nineteenth-century photography and the work of R.W. Anderson more specifically. The work published by Lilly Koltun served as a stepping stone to gathering more information about Anderson using archival sources. For biographical purposes the genealogical and census databases of Library and Archives Canada and Ancestry.ca were used to ascertain information about the artist and family of Anderson. For Anderson, gathering this type of data is important, as there are currently large gaps in his biography. The holdings at the Toronto Public Library

³⁰ Edwards and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 2.

and the City of Toronto Archives contain various documents relating to business practices in the nineteenth century. The city directories are useful documents that contain business addresses, names and descriptions for the years Anderson was working and are critical for understanding where he was working, who with and under what job description. All of the institutions mentioned above as well as the Ontario Archives, City of Vancouver Archives, Trent University Archives, National Gallery of Canada Archives, and Guelph Museums, were consulted for images and papers produced by and relating to Anderson. In addition, *The Globe* and *Toronto Telegram* newspapers were examined for writings and advertisements relating to Anderson.³¹

Chapter Breakdown

This thesis is a cultural investigation of nineteenth century photography centring around a material object, the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. Three distinct areas are explored and address in varying degrees Anderson's relationship to the medium – as compiler, photographer and viewer. The aim is to position Anderson within the matrix of nineteenth century photography as both a contributor and participant in this cultural practice.

Chapter One commences with an overview pertaining to the cultural history of albums. I then address the issue of nomenclature and look at the terms 'scrap book' and 'album' to see how they impact our knowledge of the Anderson

³¹ Lilly Koltun has assessed copies of the *Daily Globe* which I have since found myself. The intention is to find more than what has been published by Koltun. To my knowledge the *Toronto Telegram* has not been analyzed to date.

collection. Specifically, I explore what differentiates one term from another and how does that define the book's contents if at all. This lays the groundwork for a detailed and materially-specific analysis of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. Using a material culture approach, I embark on a physical reading of the album where details about the condition, contents, narrative and proposed use are discussed.

Chapter Two conveys a sense of what it was like to be a photographer running a studio in the nineteenth century in Toronto. As there is little published about Anderson's specific biography, I have developed this material from information found in the album itself, archival research and accounts by other photographers. I look at some Anderson prints that are not found in the scrap book so as to build a fuller artistic profile of him. The one confirmed photograph by Anderson that appears in the album is analyzed in detail. Its placement in the album and its size are significant and warrant a thorough analysis. The subject matter is also discussed in relation to photographic and artistic trends that were prominent in the nineteenth century. I also examine the working collaboration between Anderson and painter Marmaduke Matthews. Specifically I look at how Anderson's photographic work informed some of Matthews' paintings. The relationship between painting and photography is discussed in general terms with the collaboration between Anderson and Matthews serving as a case study. Matthews was one of several artists who had been commissioned by William Van Horne and the Canadian Pacific Railway to capture the 'opening of the Canadian West'. As I discuss, Anderson's presence in British Columbia at the same time as Matthews, as well as references to his photographic work of the area, suggests

the possibility that the photographer, too, was either commissioned by the CPR or, at least, highly informed by its project.

The third chapter is a detailed reading of the photographs located within the first eighteen pages in the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. This section of prints, which, as noted above, primarily depict architectural and landscape views of Britain is read through the lens of the picturesque looking at themes of nostalgia, national identity and travel. These were prominent tropes in nineteenth century photographic production and reception. I suggest here that these photographs had particular resonance for Anderson and were assembled in such a fashion so as to reflect their importance.

Chapter 1

Encounters: A Material Culture Approach to the R.W. Anderson Scrap Book

I am sitting in room 424C, the cataloguing area for the photographs collection at the National Gallery of Canada. To my left, situated on one of two long tables, is the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. Next to the scrap book lays its cover which has just been carefully extracted from its protective bubble wrap housing. As I sit here, I contemplate how many times I have taken up this same position in order to examine the objects at hand. Seventeen months have passed since my first encounter with the album. As I recall, my very first interaction with the album was brief. During an internship interview at the National Gallery of Canada I was shown the object by Lori Pauli, Associate Curator of Photographs, who leafed through pages quickly and asked if I was interested in taking on a project of cataloguing the album's contents as well as try to pull together a brief biography of Anderson. I said yes, thinking the cataloguing would be straightforward and I figured it would be relatively easy to find some information on R.W. Anderson, especially as he operated as a photographer in Toronto. My second encounter with the album, in conjunction with the lack of information available about Anderson, changed my perspective on the project completely and eventually led to my decision to take on the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* for my thesis research.

A photograph and an album are two distinct objects that, when married to each other, present varying levels of meaning. A photograph inevitably bears meaning when first captured but when placed in an album garners new

significance. An album on the other hand lays dormant until it is filled with objects that bring life to its pages. This chapter proceeds with an examination of albums in a broad sense so as to provide some historical context for their use and follows with a detailed material analysis of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Cultural History of Albums

The phenomenon of assembling objects into albums was not unusual in the nineteenth century. Early on, and prior to the advent of commercial photography, the sentiment album was a common avenue for displaying collected materials. These compilations, according to Andrea Kunard, were “assembled by young women” and “contained poems, drawings and apothegms solicited from friends, family members and acquaintances.”³² The materials assembled in these albums resemble what we consider today to be some of the paraphernalia used in the creation of scrap books. Whilst scrap-booking has had resurgence in the last decade, the reference to and assembly of such collections dates back to the early nineteenth century. An understanding of the use of the term ‘scrap-book’ is important in this particular study as it is a word that appears on the front and back covers of the Anderson volume. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term scrap-book is derived from the term scrap:

scrap, n.¹
(skræp) Forms: 4-7 **scrappe**, 8 Sc. **scrape**, 6- **scrap**. [a. ON. *skrap* scraps, trifles (Sw. *skrap*, Da. *skrab*), f. root of *skrapa* SCRAPE v.]

³² Andrea Kunard, “Traditions of Collecting and Remembering,” 227.

c. A small picture, cutting, etc. to be put in a SCRAP-BOOK or used for ornamenting a screen, box, or the like.³³

The term scrap-book is defined as follows:

'scrap-book
[f. SCRAP *n.*']

a. A blank book in which pictures, newspaper cuttings, and the like are pasted for preservation. Hence occas. as the title of a printed book of miscellaneous contents.³⁴

Interestingly, the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* is referred to in the National Gallery of Canada's descriptive record as both an album and a scrap book. Other objects in the gallery's collection that have the same characteristics and the presentation of various types of prints, clippings, inscriptions, decoration, etc. are also referred to as albums rather than scrap books. The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers the following definitions for the term album:

2. A blank book in which to insert autographs, memorial verses, original drawings, or other souvenirs.³⁵

4. A book for reception of photographic cartes and views, or of postage stamps, crests, or other things which are collected and preserved; a scrapbook.³⁶

³³ The *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, accessed May 14, 2010,
http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/cgi/entry/50216609?query_type=word&queryword=scrap+book&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1

³⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, accessed May 14, 2010,
http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/cgi/entry/50216615?query_type=word&queryword=scrap+book&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=l4g0-Ef2gBK-4633&hilite=50216615

³⁵ The *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, accessed May 14, 2010,
http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/cgi/entry/50005236?query_type=word&queryword=album&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=l4g0-4n4omQ-4659&hilite=50005236

³⁶ The *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, accessed May 14, 2010,
http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/cgi/entry/50005236?query_type=word&queryword=album&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=l4g0-4n4omQ-4659&hilite=50005236

It appears then that both the terms, as indicated by their definitions, possess similar qualities. The categorization of such objects as 'albums' in the institutional realm and the seemingly liberal use of it by scholars suggests that there is a preference for the word album and as such it operates as an all-encompassing term for these types of objects, including those that present qualities more akin to scrap books.

The diverse nature of the Anderson scrap book reflects the variations in types of albums assembled in the nineteenth century. Blank albums were readily available for purchase from a variety of vendors that included those who specialized in camera equipment, such as E. & H. Anthony & Co. of New York as well as stationers like Brown Brothers, a Toronto-based establishment that manufactured customized books. The advent of photography and the subsequent production of the carte-de-visite photograph prompted the creation of albums specific to this format.³⁷ These objects were composed of several thick card-like pages that contained slots or windows to house the pictures. Often the slots were outlined with a border which gave a framed quality to the photograph. Due to the small size of the carte photograph (the print itself was approximately $2\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and when mounted on a card around $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches) it was common for several prints to be presented on one page. The invention of the cabinet photograph, much larger than its carte-de-visite predecessor measuring approximately $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches when mounted, required that a single image

³⁷ For more on the background of carte-de-visite photographs see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

appear on each page. However, it was not uncommon for albums to contain both formats. Collections of this type, while often acquired through social interaction, tended not to be circulated publicly as they were considered private.

By the 1860's photographically-illustrated albums became more diverse. The most creative productions come in the form of Victorian photocollage, albums richly decorated with sketches, verses and photographs. The quality of the creative additions to the albums often attested to the accomplishments of the maker and was a reflection of abilities deemed acceptable by society at that time. The photographic album, and eventually the photocollage album, offered tactile and visual experiences to their viewer. As Elizabeth Siegel writes, "photocollage albums were intricately connected to the social functions of feminine society, from the making and imagining of collage pages to their display in the drawing room."³⁸ These albums, which were primarily produced by women, incorporated, according to Siegel, "the traditional arts of drawing and painting with the new art of photography."³⁹ Pages from these albums tended to be extensively ornamented and graphic in nature. Some pages may contain extensive geometric patterning wherein cut up photographs are inserted within the design's borders. In other instances one might see the faces on the figures of a deck of cards replaced with those cut from photographs. More often than not the collages possessed some form of social commentary and in some cases acted as an

³⁸ Elizabeth Siegel, *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2009), 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

'inside joke' to the knowledgeable viewer.⁴⁰

Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, the introduction of the Eastman Kodak camera increased the accessibility of photography to a much larger audience and with it came a range of new subject matter. Middle class women became key consumers and practitioners of the new technology. They not only took photographs but also actively assembled their prints into albums. Although women had been active in photography before this time, the ability to capture images and have them produced without need of a darkroom certainly expanded the medium's popularity among them.⁴¹ In an analysis of photograph albums produced by American mid-western women at the turn-of-the-century, Marilyn F. Motz suggests the accessibility of photography enabled many women to portray their lives through the images they photographed and/or presented in books. At the time women's sphere was expanding; they gradually saw more options available to them in terms of career and education thus reducing their domestic responsibilities.⁴² According to Motz, "in an environment in which such independence was viewed with suspicion, some women turned to the creation of photograph albums, a socially accepted activity because of its expression of

⁴⁰ Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 28.

⁴¹ Marilyn F. Motz, "Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women" in *American Quarterly*, 41, no. 1 (March 1989), 64.

See also:

C. Jane Gover, *The Positive Image: Women and Photography In Turn of the Century America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

Judith Fryer Davidov, *Women's Camera Work: Self/Body/Other In American Visual Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

⁴² Motz, "Visual Autobiography", 63.

family unity, but one which could be adapted to aid in the establishment of a personal identity apart from one's family."⁴³ Much like the albums used for Victorian photocollage, the books included blank pages to which images could be affixed. This type of assembly, which was more permanent, varied from the earlier carte-de-viste albums where the images could easily be removed from their slots and changed or relocated. As Motz writes: "While compilers of the older style of family album were limited to a sequence of studio portraits, a catalog of relatives or friends, the new albums allowed their creators to present a narrative."⁴⁴ The selection and placement of photographs in these types of albums is often done with purpose, reflecting some sort of chronology or subject matter that is of importance to the compiler. Depending on what sort of supporting information is provided, such as inscriptions, the significance of these albums is often only understood by the compiler and a limited number of friends and family.⁴⁵

In addition to personally-assembled albums, a variety of commercially produced volumes were also available to nineteenth-century consumers. In England, for example, members of the Photographic Society Club had their images reproduced in two significant volumes: *The Photographic Album for the Year 1855* and *The Photographic Album for the Year 1857*. These books were published in limited numbers and contained images that were pasted-in. Each was accompanied by the photographer's name, a title, literary caption and

⁴³ Motz, "Visual Autobiography", 63-64.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 67.

technical details.⁴⁶ The majority of these publications went to the members however a few of them were presented for sale.⁴⁷

For photographers in the nineteenth century, the album could serve as a type of portfolio to showcase one's work. An example of this can be seen in albums associated with Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, more familiarly known as Lewis Carroll. According to Diane Waggoner, it was just as important for Dodgson to display his images as it was for him to take them and "his primary mode for displaying photographs was in carefully assembled albums."⁴⁸ Through an analysis of his diaries, Waggoner suggests that Dodgson carried his albums with him and used them to forge relationships with adults and children alike. While Dodgson did exhibit his photographs once early on in his career, he tended to stay outside of the photographic community, apparently to control who could view his images. In using albums to display his photographs, Dodgson "governed who owned and viewed his images" and as such insured that the act of looking would always have to involve him.⁴⁹

A number of Dodgson's albums survive today and are part of the rare books collection at the Princeton University Library. The albums were assembled in the late 1850s and early 1860s but it is suggested that Dodgson altered them

⁴⁶ Carolyn Bloore, "Photographic Exchange Club and Photographic Society Club, London" in Ed, John Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography, Volume 1* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1085.

⁴⁷ Seiberling and Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*, 79.

⁴⁸ Diane Waggoner, "Seeing Photographs in Comfort: The Social Uses of Lewis Carroll's Photograph Albums" in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 62 no. 3 (Spring 2001), p. 403.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 408-409.

in 1875.⁵⁰ The pages, in terms of photographic layout and presentation, bear some similarity to the roughly contemporaneous Anderson volume. Dodgson's albums contain one to three photographs per page, centred, and in some cases have accompanying verses, and identifying captions or the sitter's signature.⁵¹ Of the four albums in the Princeton collection two of the volumes present the term scrap book on their covers much as Anderson's does. According to Waggoner, these collections would have served as display albums – they contain a wide mix of imagery and likely were “designed to show off Dodgson's photographic artistry” as they would have travelled with him.⁵² Other albums assembled by Dodgson appear to be more private in nature as they have images of family and friends whilst there are some albums that might have been for entertainment, as they possess several images produced by other photographers, including Julia Margaret Cameron, Lady Hawarden and Oscar Rejlander. Waggoner also suggests that the haphazard and unfinished nature of Dodgson's albums (blank pages with signatures) parallels collections produced in the domestic sphere. The photographs in Dodgson's albums do not appear to have any form of discernible organization, for at times, images seem to be sequenced purposefully while other sections of the album include apparently random groupings.⁵³

The mixed nature of the Dodgson collection like those of many other albums clearly indicates that the nineteenth-century photographic album was in no way formulaic or predictable. It can be said that these types of collections are

⁵⁰ Waggoner, “Seeing Photographs in Comfort”, 409.

⁵¹ Ibid., 411.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 414-416.

essentially unique products that reflected the desires and needs of the compiler. Albums fundamentally acted as vehicles for creative expression that drew on a new technology and as a result took on a number of different forms.

A Material Culture Reading of the R.W. Anderson Scrap Book

The *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* reflects a world view. Its complexity is revealed with the following detailed examination that looks closely at the object proper as well as its contents. A material reading stresses the importance of the object itself, for even the smallest of details can reveal much about the compiler. In this sense the album acts as conduit of sorts for it enables a broader profile about the individual (R.W. Anderson) to be developed and the possible function of the object within a particular context put forth.

The cover of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* is no longer used as the object's binding (fig. 1). The delicacy of the original housing becomes apparent when it is removed from its current bubble wrap cover. Strands of binding cord dangle from the edges of the front and back covers as the book's spine is no longer intact. Centred left to right and located 15cm from the top of the cover is a personalized label (fig. 2). Two gold borders and ornate corners define the 5.5 x 9 cm raised label. Within the label and in gold block letters are the words "Scrap Book" and "R.W. Anderson". The covers, which appear to be black leather mounted on hard board, have two distinct decorative borders. The patterning of the borders appears impressed into the covers' material. Both the front and back covers are identical. They show distinct weathering as the corners are missing

mounted material and have exposed the hardboard beneath. The front cover exhibits more wear as there are large sections of the mounting missing from the top right and left corners as well as along the length adjacent to the spine. The back cover is better preserved with only a few minor scratches to the surface.

Due to the deterioration and absence of a proper spine, the covers are now two separate pieces between which are sandwiched four loose pages and two decorative paper sheets that are the first and last pages of the album. The decorative paper is a pale cream colour and it is patterned with a series of gold stars and dots (fig. 3). On the verso of the front decorative page and centred is a bookplate that measures 12.5 x 8 cm. The bookplate depicts a shield, helmet and bat and reads "Ex Libris. William Bradford Bugg" (fig. 4). In the upper left hand corner are the initials R.W. inscribed in pencil (fig. 5). On the decorative paper lining located on the inside of the frontispiece is small label/sticker measuring 0.5 x 2 cm. Tinged the colour of antique newspaper, the label reads "Brown Bros. Bookbinders, King st. Toronto" (fig. 6).

The four loose pages all contain various signs of wear. Very thin and almost brittle, the pages present tears, discoloration and flocking. Two of the four pages have ink stains on them indicative of ink that has bled through from something laid on top of them. The thin and delicate nature of these pages contrasts significantly to the thicker pages found in the album indicating that they would likely not have been used for the mounting of objects.

The most distinct characteristic of the scrap book itself in its unopened state is its housing. Having noted the deteriorated nature of the original binding it is clear why the pages have been re-housed. It should be noted however that the rebinding did not occur at the National Gallery but was undertaken by a conservator hired by the album's vendor.⁵⁴ The new housing consists of a box sleeve and an archival binder with acetate sheets (fig. 7). Clad in dark green book binding linen both housings appear very modern in contrast to the original covers. The album inevitably is much thicker as the pages have been inserted into protective sheets as such making the spine nearly seven centimetres thick. Starting with the page that contains the first image, each has a white sticker placed on the sheet at the lower outer corner commencing with the number one.⁵⁵

Included with the re-housed album pages are colour copies of both covers as well as the decorative pages including the one with the bookplate. Although I appreciate the effort to simulate the original object, I find the inclusion of these pages contrived and they truly heighten the displaced nature of the album. This sensation is further compounded when turning the volume's pages. As the original pages are protected, there is no necessity to wear cotton gloves hence one can freely flip through the album with ease. On the one hand, to

⁵⁴ The R.W. Anderson Scrap Book came to the National Gallery from Larry Gottheim a dealer based in Yonkers, New York. Gottheim purchased the book in 2003 from Audrey A. Obanion of Chico, California. The Scrap Book was originally presented to Library and Archives Canada who then passed the object on to the National Gallery of Canada. The Scrap Book was acquired by the gallery in February 2009.

⁵⁵ The stickers end with number 84 yet there are two more album pages and theoretically should end with 86.

examine the album with the lack of gloves is reminiscent of how the object would have originally been viewed yet the reflection and noise produced by the acetate sheets emphasizes what might be considered modern yet necessary interference. Despite the distraction, the quality, diversity and composition of the album make it a genuinely fascinating object to view.

The original album pages measure approximately 36 x 26 cm. The acetate sheets which the pages are inserted into are slightly larger giving the sense that the originals are floating within them. Six of the album's forty-four sheets are single spreads leaving thirty-eight sheets as double page spreads. The spine side of the double page spreads have six holes that reflect where the original binding cord would have been sewn. The individual sheets appear less clean in terms of presentation as the edges are either torn or cut. The existence of these lone sheets indicates that their counterpart or adjoining half is missing – either cut away or torn out for some purpose that is currently unknown. Of the album's eighty-eight pages, fifteen of them are blank, in the sense that no prints are present. Some of the pages possess small brown irregular markings; these seem to reflect the adhesive used for mounting the photographs that are affixed on the other side. Out of the fifteen blank pages, only one contains inked captions and dates (fig. 8). Faint outlines and darkening of areas above the captions, as well as the trace of adhesive, indicates the presence of prints at one time.

The album is comprised of 160 prints and can be broken down into the following media: 125 albumen prints (including one photogram), five collotypes,

two photogravures, two carbon prints, one cyanotype, one platinum print, one salted paper print, one Baxter-process engraving, nineteen engravings, two lithographs, and one watercolour.⁵⁶ Of the 137 photographic prints in the scrap book, fifty-one of them do not carry an inked inscription. Out of the eighty-six inscribed photographic prints, forty-six of them do not carry a date.

In terms of subject matter, the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* contains numerous landscapes, architectural scenes, portraits and photographic reproductions of paintings. Many of the architectural works represent monuments and architecture in England. Other landscapes and portraits are North American, although there are also a small number of European scenes. In terms of location in the album, the aforementioned categories are not wholly presented in distinct sections with the exception of the first portion of the album. While the first eighteen pages of the book are primarily devoted to English architecture and landscape, the remainder of the prints appear to be of more randomly selected subjects. For example, the initial series of images of English architecture transition to Swiss scenes, photographic reproductions of paintings, American cabinet card portraits, and back to an English landscape (figs. 9a-d). Although the photographic reproductions of paintings are for the most part grouped together on individual pages they also appear juxtaposed to portraits and/or landscapes (figs. 10a-b).

⁵⁶ For further information on media see:

Gordon Baldwin and Martin Jürgens, *Looking at Photographs: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009).

James M. Reilly, *Care and Identification of 19th-Century Prints* (Rochester: Eastman Kodak Company, 1986).

There is no obvious pattern or formula to the sequencing of the prints. Some pages present single photographs whilst others have several. For example, in one section comprised of four pages and inscribed with the title “Illustrations of Early English Architecture,” the prints are detailed cut-outs from photographs that appear in the album in larger format (fig. 11a-d). Most of the prints are derived from the first eighteen pages of the album where there is a strong devotion to English architecture and landscape. Here they have been singled out and used as examples. The importance of these photographs for the compiler is reflected in the black and red calligraphic lettering used to caption four architectural styles – Norman, Early English, Decorated English and Perpendicular. The pages devoted to “Early” and “Decorated English Architecture” contain only two prints each and with ample space surrounding them suggests the compiler may have intended to incorporate more. None of the photographs on these specific pages have been inscribed. The original prints from which these cut-outs were made do bear inscriptions, which may suggest a conscious decision of the behalf of the compiler who felt it unnecessary to add further description.

Although Anderson was an active photographer in the nineteenth century who positioned himself prominently on the cover of the volume, a significant number of the works within the book are attributed to others, some of whom are rather noteworthy photographers of the period. Figures such as Thomas Davies, William Russel Sedgfield, Isaiah West Taber, William Notman, Ildefonse Rousset and Henry Peach Robinson are, for example, included. The work by Robinson,

an architectural landscape entitled *Guy's Cliffe near Warwick* (1856), is a 15.1 x 20.8 cm albumen silver print (fig. 12). Shown here is the country house, Guy's Cliffe, set left of centre in the mid-ground. The light reflecting on the building's surface emphasizes its hard lined architectural form and heaviness. Despite its austerity, the structure seems to be enveloped by its natural environment as the facade's smooth surface is ruptured at its base by encroaching ivy and other forms of foliage while the height of the building is challenged by surrounding trees. Guy's Cliffe was a common subject for many photographers in the mid nineteenth century and most especially for the members of the Photographic Exchange Club, to which Robinson belonged. Another copy of this exact image appeared in the 1857-58 Photographic Exchange Club album. The importance of the work can be considered in light of the annotation accorded to it in the Exchange Club album by Robinson: "6:30 A.M., 1856, my first landscape."⁵⁷

There is one photographic print in the book bearing the initials "R.W.A.", clearly indicating that this is a work made by Anderson himself. The image is entitled *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec* and according to the inscription dates to 1861 (fig. 13). It is placed on page forty-two of the album which is exactly at the half way point of the volume. It should also be noted that this print measures approximately 23 x 29 cm and it is the largest photograph in the entire album. This landscape image shows Anderson's familiarity with the concept of the picturesque, as discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. When

⁵⁷ Seiberling and Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*, 144.

examining this image one cannot help to notice that it has been placed right after a wood engraving depicting Henry Fox Talbot (fig. 14). The inscription below the Talbot print reads: “The Discoverer of Photography on Paper 1839.” With the date on the inscription double underlined and its pairing next to the picturesque landscape, one cannot help but think if Anderson is paying homage to both himself and Talbot, on the one hand acknowledging Talbot as an inventor and, on the other, extolling his own talents as a photographer.

Proposed Use – Examining and Interpreting

It is challenging when studying an object that is so far removed from its original context to fully appreciate and understand how it may have functioned for its owner. In the museum environment, an object, such as this scrap book, is redefined through a sophisticated network of archival discourses.⁵⁸ An object, which at one time may have been placed in a photographic studio or in the parlour of a private home, is now housed in storage vault, only to see the light of day on rare occasions. Terms such as object and accession number in conjunction with issues pertaining to conservation and provenance take precedence in the museological setting. The prints in the book are treated as individual objects when transferred to the institution’s collections database and as such, the original format becomes displaced. These myriad circumstances, newly laid upon the object, complicate what in many ways might be something

⁵⁸ Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 5-7.

quite innocent and simple.⁵⁹

Throughout this research project I have tested out a number of hypotheses regarding the function of this collection of photographic prints. If we think about Anderson as a photographer it is possible that the album/scrap book could be a portfolio and yet there is only one print, albeit the largest, attributed to his own photographic production. Perhaps then, the book is a collection of works acquired by Anderson throughout his photographic career. The prints might have been part of an exchange with other artists or even purchased from dealers. Alternatively, the album may have been a part of a showcase in his studio conveying what he could do and was able to offer, much as Dodgson used some of his albums. It is also possible that this book could be an album recording a transition from life in one country to another. For example, the first page of the album depicts a photograph of a woman standing in front of a house and in text below the image is an excerpt from John Howard Payne's familiar song *Home, Sweet Home*. If this was an album meant to commemorate life in a new country, one would expect there to be more family photographs and a distinct narrative marking the transition. Neither of these features are present in the album. It is possible that the volume may have started out as a nostalgic assembly but morphed into collection of prints that intrigued the compiler as he forged his

⁵⁹ See Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 5-7, for discussion on albums in the museum environment.

See Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, Richard Bolton, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 287-302.

career in Canada. With the Brown Bros. label affixed to the inside cover it can be said that the album was acquired by Anderson in Toronto and that the stock of British images that appear towards the front of the volume were assembled whilst in North America rather than in England. The embossed name plate on the cover of the album also indicates that the piece was likely custom made and that the use of the term “Scrap Book” is deliberate. There are patterns present, especially in the first section of the album, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Returning to the definition of scrap book introduced earlier in this chapter, I suggest we need to consider the idea of miscellaneous contents and preservation. The definitive answer as to the album’s function cannot be fully ascertained for it varies depending on the circumstances. Furthermore, intention or function may not have even been apparent to the compiler himself. My aim in this thesis is to acknowledge that the objects themselves were at one time vested with various significance and meaning. The investigation of Anderson’s use of the album is but one of many important components in the matrix of meaning. The next chapter moves away from the object proper to a detailed profile of Anderson and how he is positioned within the realm of nineteenth century photographic practice in Toronto. However, it inevitably builds on information gleaned from the physical reading of the album.

Chapter 2

Experiences: R. W. Anderson as Photographer

The arrival of photography fostered a variety of opportunities for individuals interested in the medium. Whether amateur, professional, studio labourer or patron, people's lives were shaped in some ways both culturally and economically by photography. Operating a photographic business in the nineteenth century was no doubt a competitive venture with studios dotting the Canadian landscape. Halifax, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver were the most active centres for photography in Canada. Among Anderson's key contemporary photographers and studios were those operated by Notman, Livernois, Ellison & Co., the firm of Armstrong, Beere and Hime, William James Topley, and Frederick Dally.⁶⁰ Unlike Anderson, many of these figures have had their photographic achievements relatively well documented in various historical publications. While Anderson's name does appear in several photographic and artistic indexes, such as *The Ontario Photographers List*, Lilly Kotlun is the only scholar to have assembled a more thorough account beyond what is found in the aforementioned indexical entries. As a testament to Anderson's success I present below a comprehensive outline of his career. It will become apparent that the business of a nineteenth-century photographer did not always limit itself to the confines of the camera and the studio. As evidenced in

⁶⁰ For information on studios and photographers in Canada see: Andrea Kunard "Canada" in John Hannavy, ed. *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography, Volume 1* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 261-267. Mattison, *Eyes of a City*, 7.

Anderson's case, the photographer could traverse artistic and geographic realms to produce a variety of work.

A Biographical Sketch of R.W. Anderson

Anderson was born in England in 1831 and died in Toronto of a cerebral haemorrhage on April 16th, in the year 1900.⁶¹ He was married to an English woman named Rosina who, like her husband, worked hard to earn a living in Toronto, pursuing various jobs in the hospitality trade. The Andersons had three children all of whom were born in Ontario. R.W. Anderson's business activity as a photographer commenced in 1862 as recorded in that year's *Hutchinson's Toronto Directory*.⁶² Given that the Anderson photograph, *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec*, discussed in the preceding chapter, dates to 1861, establishes him in Canada at this time. Its location of Quebec may be a clue to the Anderson's port of entry into Canada. However, despite a thorough investigation of archival landing documents and passenger lists, the date and location of R.W. Anderson's actual arrival in Canada still remains unknown.

Anderson's business address from 1862 to 1868 was 45 King Street East, Toronto, where he operated his studio under the name "The Pantechnetheca

⁶¹ Ancestry.com, *Ontario, Canada Deaths, 1869-1934, Roll MS935_95* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2007), accessed online May 27, 2010.

⁶² Thomas Hutchinson, *Hutchinson's Toronto Directory, 1862-63* (Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1862), 26.

Gallery”.⁶³ The name of the gallery may in fact have been influenced by a large business that operated under the same name but closed three years prior to Anderson occupying the space. The original Pantechnetheca was a large dry goods retailer that occupied units 45 to 49 King Street East.⁶⁴ Anderson’s studio was one among many that appeared in Toronto at this time. According to the Archives of Ontario, within a period of about six years (1859 to 1865) the number of photographers listed in the city directory increased threefold, from seven to twenty-two.⁶⁵ The primary impetus behind this increase was the popularity of the carte-de-visite photograph.⁶⁶ From 1862 to 1863 he shared the studio with artist Marmaduke Matthews. Recorded in the business directory of that year is the following: “Matthews and Anderson, photographers and watercolour artists, Pantechnetheca Gallery, 45 King Street east.”⁶⁷ Little is known about the true nature of the working relationship between Anderson and Matthews. Some clues, however, are proffered in a small sketchbook Matthews filled with notes and drawings.⁶⁸ In it are references to framing orders and materials, mounting

⁶³ Hutchinson, *Hutchinson’s Toronto Directory*, 26, 92.

J.L. Mitchell and W.C. Chewett & Co., *Mitchell’s Toronto Directory for 1864-65* (Toronto: J.L. Mitchell, 1864), 4.

A.S. Irving, *City of Toronto Illustrated Business Directory for 1865* (Toronto: A.S. Irving, 1865), 97. Mitchell & Co. and Lovell & Gibson, *Mitchell & Co.’s General Directory for the City of Toronto and Gazetteer for the Counties of York and Peel for 1866* (Toronto: Mitchell & Co., 1866), 123.

James Sutherland, *City of Toronto Directory for 1867-8* (Toronto: W.C. Chewett & Co., 1867), 11.

⁶⁴ J. Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 Until 1833 and Toronto from 1834 to 1898* (Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1898; Belleville, Mika Publishing, 1974), 130-131.

⁶⁵ The Market Gallery, Toronto, *Face to Face With Toronto’s History: 19th and 20th Century Portraits from the City Archives’ Collection* (Toronto: The Market Gallery, 1987), 3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁷ Hutchinson, *Hutchinson’s Toronto Directory*, 92.

⁶⁸ Sketchbook located at the Trent University Archives. Marmaduke Matthews Fonds (71-003).

pictures, customer names and prices. There is also a sketch depicting a window front associated with the business (fig. 15). It does not reference the mutual dealing between the two figures but rather just Anderson as it reads: "Anderson's Photograph Gallery. Come Up and See the New Pictures."

Anderson's business was part of the thriving city of Toronto's myriad business enterprises. The King Street business location also merited mention in John Ross Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 Until 1833 and Toronto from 1834 to 1898*. In a section devoted to "The Great Corners of the City" the Yonge and King corridor is described as "one of the busy corners of Toronto." In 1861 Toronto's population had reached nearly 45,000 which was a fifty percent increase from the census captured ten years earlier.⁶⁹ While Toronto did have a growing ethnic community, it was primarily a British and Protestant city.⁷⁰ Writing about the history of the city in 1884, C. Pelham Mulvany recounts that the railway played a considerable role in the development of Toronto:

The vast growth of our railway system was rapidly making Toronto the centre of a complicated network of lines pervading every part of the Province, manufactures developed, street after street invaded the wilderness to the north and west, our educational system...was incorporated with our public institutions...spacious school buildings were erected within reach of every part of the city...⁷¹

⁶⁹ C. Pelham Mulvany, *Toronto Past and Present Until 1882* (Toronto: W.E. Caiger, 1884), 33.

⁷⁰ Frederick H. Armstrong, *A City in the Making: Progress, People & Perils in Victorian Toronto* (Toronto: Dundurn Press Ltd., 1988).

Graeme Mercer Adam, *Toronto Old and New* (Toronto: The Mail Printing Co., 1891; facsimile reprint, Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1972), 42.

⁷¹ Mulvany, *Toronto Past and Present Until 1882*, 30.

It was at the busy corner of King and Yonge, where one could find “R.W. Anderson, the photographer, the same artist who photographs the landmarks for *The Telegram*...”⁷² This latter reference indicates that Anderson’s photographic work was not limited to clientele solely at the studio but he was sought after for more commercial purposes. In the case of newspapers, photographers of the time were just beginning to supply images, which—reflecting technological limitations of the time—would be reproduced in line engravings typically. By the mid-1860s Toronto boasted three daily newspapers, the *Telegraph*, *Leader* and *Globe*, however their scope was more national. Among the most popular local newspapers were *The Telegram* and *The Evening News*.⁷³ In addition to *The Telegram*, Anderson was also affiliated with the *Canadian Illustrated News*, a Hamilton based periodical. According to Mary F. Williamson, “Hamilton and Toronto photographers R. Milne and R.W. Anderson were responsible for supplying photographs after which many of the anonymous portraits and views were engraved.”⁷⁴

Anderson steadily won local acclaim for his photography. Competitions were an important way for photographers of the time to promote their businesses as well as an outlet for creative expression and aspirations. In September 1863, Anderson won two prizes at the Upper Canada Exhibition in Kingston. He

⁷² J. Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 Until 1833 and Toronto from 1834 to 1898* (Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1898; Belleville, Mika Publishing, 1974), 62.

⁷³ Mulvany, *Toronto Past and Present Until 1882*, 193-194.

⁷⁴ Mary F. Williamson “Description Fails...Periodical Illustration in 19th Century Ontario” in *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada. Two Centuries of Art Magazines*, ed. Karen McKenzie and Mary F. Williamson (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), 14.

received the \$10 prize for the “Best collection of photograph portraits in duplicate, one set coloured” and the \$5 prize awarded for the “second best collection of photograph landscapes and views”.⁷⁵ In the October 8, 1863 edition of *The Globe*, a review of the Toronto Union Exhibition makes mention of Anderson’s contribution to that event: “Mr. R.W. Anderson exhibits a case of *cartes de visite*. The pictures are taken with much skill. He and Mr. Hollingsworth are the only representatives of the photographic art who have thought fit to present themselves at the exhibition.”⁷⁶

The type of photographic prints Anderson may have contributed to these exhibitions may be comparable to three cartes-de-visite taken by him. Two of the prints were found in albums associated with David McCrae and Janet McCrae, both of which are part of the collection at the Guelph Museums (fig. 16 and 17). These particular albums contain a variety of prints. Included in both albums are a large number of portraits that depict immediate members of the McCrae family, including David and Janet. Also present in the album are depictions of landmarks particular to the Guelph area. The third photograph was recently acquired personally from an online auction service (fig. 18). The two images from the McCrae albums, *Rev. Jas. Hastie* (1866) and *Mary Gordon* (1850-1890) measure 7 x 5 cm. The auction image is a portrait of an unknown male from the nineteenth century and measures 9 x 5 cm. A clue to the identification of the sitter in this image can be found in the handwritten script on the surface of the

⁷⁵ Koltun, *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III*, 65.

⁷⁶ *The Globe*, “Union Exhibition,” October 8, 1863.

*print that reads: "Most truly yours R. H. Tomlinson." All three of the images are blind stamped on the mount at the lower left corner and read "ANDERSON, TORONTO." The three images are distinctive in that they represent different portrait styles. The auction portrait is a close up shot from the shoulders up. The image is presented in a vignette style with the sitter's body fading out below the shoulders and giving way to a plain background. The two images from the McCrae albums present the individual within the studio setting. In *Rev. Jas. Hastie* (1866) the subject is shown seated, his left hand atop his left leg and his right arm resting on a table covered in printed cloth with a book and vase of flowers sitting atop its surface. The figure takes up the majority of the image and the background is plain. The image of *Mary Gordon* (1850-1890) is a full length pose. She stands in the centre of the image, her right arm resting on a chair and her left arm positioned at her side. The chair seat has a book resting on it. To the left of the figure can be seen a table, the printed cloth suggests it is the same one used in the image of *Rev. Jas. Hastie* (1866). Other accoutrements of Anderson's studio that can be seen in this image are the patterned floor covering and faux archway in the left background. These three images indicate the diversity of portrait types Anderson could offer to his customers.

In the mid-nineteenth century, portrait work was the mainstay of many photographers' livelihoods. As early as 1840, portrait studios emerged in Britain and the United States. In these early establishments it was the daguerreotype that offered early consumers the chance to have their likeness captured. The major drawback of this particular format was the long exposure time where sitters

were required to pose for minutes while remaining as still as possible. The development of new photographic processes, the wet plate, reduced exposure times, but much like the daguerreotype, it was still relatively costly to have one's portrait taken. By 1859, Disdéri's carte-de-visite format, a considerably less expensive photographic product, dramatically opened up the portrait market to a much wider consumer audience.⁷⁷ Celebrated American portrait photographer Mathew Brady, for example, had several studios in New York and Washington that thrived on the making and sale of portraits. According to Barbara McCandless, the carte was an extremely popular format in Brady's studios as they "sold tens of thousands of them in the early 1860s."⁷⁸

While, like most photographers of the time, R.W. Anderson produced portraits, he was also a skilled landscape and architectural photographer. In 1864 Anderson won second place prize at Hamilton's Provincial Exhibition for his collection of landscapes.⁷⁹ In the September 10, 1864 edition of *The Globe*, Anderson promoted his achievements with the following print advertisement: "First Prize. Toronto 1862-Kingston 1863. Anderson's celebrated cartes de visite are now only \$2 per dozen. New Double Light Gallery. Pantechnetheca, 45 King street east."⁸⁰ In the October 1st, 1864 edition of the *The Globe*, a review of Hamilton's Provincial Exhibition cited Anderson as having "succeeded best with

⁷⁷ Robin Lenman, *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 514.

⁷⁸ Barbara McCandless, "The Portrait Studio and the Celebrity," in *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha Sandweiss (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 62.

⁷⁹ Koltun, *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III*, 65.

⁸⁰ *The Globe*, "New Advertisements," September 10, 1864.

his groups, which are taken with great distinctness, and with his photographs of buildings.”⁸¹ That same month a review of Toronto’s Union Exhibition in *The Globe* Anderson again commends that “Messrs Furner & McCoskey shew a very credible collection of *cartes de visite*, and Mr. R.W. Anderson specimens of the same description, together with his views of private houses and groups of figures. He is very successful in dealing with “out of door” objects.”⁸²

A further example of Anderson’s work can be seen in the image *Castle Frank* (c. 1870), (fig. 19). The image, inscribed with “Looking towards The Jail from Castlefrank” on the verso of the mount, is reminiscent of English idyllic landscape paintings and picturesque photographs. The image here depicts figures in the mid ground who, acting like staffage, appear minute in relation to their surroundings. To the right sits a trio of figures while at the left, a lone figure sits on a bench. A curved path in the foreground leads the eye to the figures and then to the leafy foliage that frames the image on the right and left and ultimately gives way to a background of sky. The location of the path in the foreground, as it cuts across the image from the lower left toward the right, acts almost like a marker or a barrier between the observer/photographer and the observed/subject. The position of the camera, seems intentionally set back from the figures, and subsequently positions them as secondary in relation to the grandeur of nature surrounding them.

⁸¹ Koltun, *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III*, 65

⁸² *The Globe*, “The Gallery,” October 6, 1864.

In 1864, Anderson collaborated with Toronto artist George Gilbert in the production of a series of views of the city. A *Globe* advertisement for the undertaking states that “Mr. Gilbert’s Illustrations of the Neighbourhood of Toronto will be issued in a few days. Drawn and coloured from nature by himself, and photographed by Mr. Anderson. To be seen at Messrs. Rollo & Adam’s, and Chewett’s Stationers.”⁸³ Commonly, images of the time, as well as literature, would have been sold to the public and, therefore, financed, through subscriptions.

In December 1865, Anderson’s ongoing financial success can be seen through his purchase of the long established W. A. Carson & Co. Gallery.⁸⁴ Also in that same year, Anderson began to advertise the sale of “Card portraits of popular public characters in great variety” and “the trade supplied at the lowest American rates” which, according to Koltun, suggests he may have been expanding his business to include the sale of images by others.⁸⁵ In the summer of 1866, Anderson collaborated with news store owner Charles Backas. Those who purchased albums at Backas’ news store would be entitled to a free carte portrait taken by Anderson. In September of that year Anderson came away with three prizes from Toronto’s Provincial Exhibition. He won first place in two categories with “Best collection of photograph portraits, in duplicate, one set

⁸³ *The Globe*, “New Advertisements,” November 25, 1864.

⁸⁴ Koltun, *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III*, 66.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

coloured” and “best photograph portrait finished in Indian ink.”⁸⁶ He placed second for the best photograph finished in watercolours.⁸⁷

In 1869, Anderson’s address changed from 45 King Street to 14 McGill and then 33 Alexander.⁸⁸ Anderson’s professional description also changed in the directory from photographer to artist. This reference to Anderson as ‘artist’ lasted five years and in 1874 he was listed once again as a photographer. From 1877 to 1880, the latest directory consulted, Anderson’s address is listed as 427 Yonge Street. In this directory, Anderson is listed as a landscape photographer.⁸⁹ It would seem that the Pantechnetheca Gallery ceased to exist once Anderson left King Street but he still continued to operate as a photographer. During the 1880’s he created a number of photographs that were part of a group he called “The Shandon Series.” These images, primarily landscapes and group portraits, were mounted on specially made cards that had the verso inscribed with gold lettering that read: “The Shandon Series, R. W. Anderson, Shandon House, Anne Street, Toronto.” The Shandon House was the name of an inn owned by Anderson and his wife Rosina. With no subsequent reference in city directories to a business address beyond what was cited in the 1880 listing it is highly likely that Anderson ceased operations at his Yonge Street studio and began to operate his business from Anne Street.

⁸⁶ Koltun, *Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto Part III*, 66.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ W.C. Chewett & Co., *W.C. Chewett & Co.’s Toronto City Directory* (Toronto: W.C. Chewett & Co., 1868), 8.

⁸⁹ Might & Taylor and Hunter & Rose Co., *Might & Taylor Toronto Directory for 1880* (Toronto: Might & Taylor, 1880), 199.

In 1887 Anderson travelled to Vancouver, and although the trip was brief, he still promoted his business as a photographer and advertised his services while staying at the White Swan Hotel located at 500 Cordova Street. His promotion read “Views and groups taken to order, cheap and good, by R.W. Anderson, photographer from Toronto, for a few days only.”⁹⁰ The circumstance surrounding Anderson’s trip out west are still not entirely clear although it is highly likely he travelled with fellow artist Marmaduke Matthews as discussed below. Despite Anderson’s short time in Vancouver, we do know that he was photographically active during his travels. According to the October 1888 edition of *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* Anderson produced a number of images that were positively received. The *Bulletin* offered the following recommendation:

We have recently seen a number of views along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, taken by R.W. Anderson, of Toronto, that are particularly good. Those along the Selkirk Range were wild and picturesque, with remarkably clear definition and brilliant effects. Those interested in this section should see these pictures.⁹¹

It would seem that Anderson had a long career in Toronto where he produced numerous prints and stereographs. His work is recognized as late as 1890 with a reproduction of his image of the “Toronto University Fire” appearing in *The Dominion Illustrated*.

⁹⁰ David Mattison, *Camera Workers: The British Columbia Photographers Directory 1858-1900* (Victoria: Camera Workers Press, 1985), A4.

⁹¹ Charles F. Chandler and Arthur H. Elliott, *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, Vol. XIX, No. 19 (October 13, 1888), 579.

R.W. Anderson and Artistic Collaboration

Anderson's collaborations, particularly with painters, were central to his career and more broadly reflect tendencies in visual culture of the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, photography underwent a great deal of scrutiny. Among its detractors was the French poet and critic Charles Baudelaire who felt photography should be left to the naturalist's library suggesting it had only a limited technical contribution to make and that it should not be allowed to encroach on the domain of the imaginary.⁹² Despite this opposition, photographers like William Henry Fox Talbot, H.P. Robinson, Oscar Rejlander and Peter Henry Emerson embraced the artistic. For example, Talbot's *Doorway at Lacock Abbey: The Open Door* (April 1844) draws heavily from the tradition of painting (fig. 20). According to Graham Clarke, this photograph "is as calculated and as composed as any painting, with a clear reference back to seventeenth century Dutch art..." and as a result "a highly formal structure binds together a series of carefully chosen symbolic elements: the open door, the broom, the lamp."⁹³ These photographers' works were highly influenced by narrative, allegorical and genre paintings. While photography and painting appeared to co-exist as two separate entities they were linked on variety of levels including the desire and need to illustrate the world around them. Miles Orvell, in writing about painting and photography in the nineteenth century, suggests that each of these practices "seemed to have converged on the same paradigm, in which both

⁹² Charles Baudelaire, *Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Artists* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 297.

⁹³ Graham Clarke, *The Photograph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 42.

painter and photographer were translating the view through the window (or camera lens) into two dimensions."⁹⁴ Also serving as a link between the two mediums was nomenclature. The language of painting became the language of photography. This intermingling is discussed by Clarke:

It recalls to us how much, from its inception, the meaning of the photograph has been encoded within the language and values of academic art. Even most of its basic genres, the portrait, the landscape, still life, and so on, develop from a painterly basis and establish many of their own terms of reference through their painterly equivalents.⁹⁵

Photography also became influential in the actual production of paintings. Early on, from a mechanical standpoint, the camera lucida, an optical device that superimposes the viewed subject onto paper, replaced traditional apparatuses like the glass grid. Images produced with the aid of a camera lucida tended to appear quite flat. Photographic images themselves did, however, become influential in the painting process. Barbara Novak has addressed the impact of photography on nineteenth century American painting by looking at the work of Thomas Eakins. According to Novak, Eakins' work was inspired by and produced with the aid of a variety of mathematical, scientific and mechanical means. As Novak writes: "He fixed the physiology of motion in his photographs and analyzed the anatomy of motion on the dissecting table, thus studying both the exterior and interior mechanisms of living things."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Miles Orvell, *American Photography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 81.

⁹⁵ Clarke, *The Photograph*, 43.

⁹⁶ Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century. Realism, Idealism and the American Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 169.

Anderson's relationship to painting is evident in three forms. We know, as mentioned earlier, that he produced photographic reproductions of paintings and graphic works (including drawings by George Gilbert). Secondly, his photographs were manipulated with paint. The application of colour to photographs was a common practice in the nineteenth century. Various photographic media, including daguerreotypes and albumen prints, were enhanced with colour. The modification of the print was generally done by subtle tinting with transparent colours or through the application of watercolours or thinned oils.⁹⁷ Thirdly, Anderson worked in conjunction with artist Marmaduke Matthews who we know shared a studio/gallery with Anderson. Both Matthews and Anderson travelled to British Columbia in 1887. Matthews was one of several artists who had been commissioned by William Van Horne and the Canadian Pacific Railway to capture the 'opening of the Canadian West'. It remains unclear whether or not Anderson was also commissioned; however, I feel confident that he and Matthews were collaborating in some form on this trip, although it occurred nearly fifteen years after their studio partnership ceased. I recently came across a work of Marmaduke Matthews in a 1996 Ritchie's auction catalogue. This watercolour, entitled *The Paliser Range from Canmore Stn., CPR.*, was painted in 1887 (fig. 21). In addition to the work being signed by Matthews, it carries an inscription that reads: "After photo by R.W. Anderson". While this photograph has not been located yet, the painting's inscription itself is

⁹⁷ Mark Osterman, "Introduction to Photographic Equipment, Processes, and Definitions of the 19th Century," in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography, 4th Edition*, ed. Michael R. Peres (Oxford: Focal Press, 2007), 118.

very telling. It confirms Anderson and Matthews were still in contact and working together in some capacity. More importantly, it indicates that Anderson's photographic work was valued by Matthews and worthy of reproduction. It is possible that the photograph used by Matthews may have been part of the series of Canadian Pacific Railway images Anderson captured as cited in *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*.

In Canada specifically, the influence of photography on painting and painting on photography has been addressed at length by Ann Thomas. Thomas looks particularly at how both mediums fed off each other in the creative process. Much as was discussed earlier with the likes of Talbot and Robinson a similar scenario was present in Canada where photographers such as William Notman drew upon the artistic for inspiration. The Notman Studio for example, produced a range of composite images which were enhanced with paint giving the finished product both a painterly and photographic feel. Among the other topics addressed by Thomas is the impact of photography on landscape painting:

Photographs of landscape views served both as bases upon which to paint and as sources from which to paint. In Canada, as opposed to American or European context, it was predominantly the informational properties of the photograph that attracted painters. Evidence of this can be observed directly in the painters' use of the photograph as a known, identifiable source-image; and, indirectly, in the painters' imitation of photographic qualities such as intense definition.⁹⁸

As we have seen, the relationship between painting and photography varied considerably in the nineteenth century. In consideration of what Thomas

⁹⁸ Ann Thomas, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography 1860-1900* (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979), 87.

has written, in terms of photographs directly serving as sources from which to paint, I want to conclude this chapter by drawing attention once more to the Anderson image that appears in the scrap book (fig. 13). *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec* (1861) is a quintessential landscape photograph that shows a familiarity with the concept of the picturesque. The picturesque was a common characteristic found in nineteenth century landscape painting and photography. In Britain, the picturesque grew out of the eighteenth century writings published by Reverend William Gilpin and Uvedale Price. Their works, in effect, served as instruction manuals essentially teaching their readers what sites to see and how to see them. According to James S. Ackerman, Gilpin's writings "led his readers to look on natural wonders as if they were paintings, and were a driving force in the formulation of the taste for the Picturesque."⁹⁹ Scenes of architectural ruins, waterways and forests were characterized with a sense of irregularity and roughness. These types of scenes, originally depicted in paintings, became revered subjects for photographers. Henry Peach Robinson for example, felt that photography was an ideal manner in which to articulate the picturesque. In Robinson's 1869 book entitled *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* he states:

It is an old canon of art, that every scene worth painting must have something of the sublime, the beautiful, or the picturesque. By its nature, photography can make no pretensions to represent

⁹⁹James S. Ackerman, "The Photographic Picturesque," in *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 24, no. 48 (2003), 82.

the first, but beauty can be represented by its means, and picturesqueness has never had so perfect an interpreter.¹⁰⁰

The picturesque also took hold in North America; however, its subject matter varied from that produced in Europe. Architectural ruins for example, features traditionally seen in British picturesque representations, were not typically fixtures found in the Canadian or American landscape. Brian Foss has addressed this variation in the approach to the picturesque and suggests “North Americans found in their diverse topographies evidence of the new world’s character and destiny.”¹⁰¹ While the subject matter may have varied in North America, the overall intent was the same and that was to produce a piece that looked ‘like a picture’.¹⁰²

Looking at Anderson’s image *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec* (1861) one can see that the scene is composed with a sense of tamed grandeur. The rocky terrain in the foreground, the trees along the water’s edge and wooded background giving way to open sky, work effectively to contain the rushing water. One can imagine Anderson standing on the rocks with his camera positioned before him, the sound of the water almost roaring as it accelerates from the inlet in the mid ground toward the wide channel and ready to cascade the rock face below. Anderson’s composition resonates strongly with a set of

¹⁰⁰ Henry Peach Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* (London: Piper & Carter, 1869), 15.

¹⁰¹ Brian Foss, *Picturesque Landscapes in North American Publications 1800-1900* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2010).

¹⁰² Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2006), 239.

criteria offered by Gilpin pertaining to the picturesque composition of a river scene:

Every view on a river, thus circumstanced, is composed of four grand parts; the *area* which is the river itself; the *two side-screens* which are the opposite banks, and mark the perspective; and the *front screen*, which points out the winding river.¹⁰³

The perspective from which Anderson captured this scene grants an adequate amount of sky to be depicted and as such minimizes the impact of the rushing water as it surges forward toward its impending descent. Had the vantage point of this image been different, lower and with greater emphasis on the surging water for example, the picturesque dynamic would be lost. A point of comparison here might be the sublime images of Niagara Falls where vastness and force overwhelm the viewer. According to François-Marc Gagnon “the sublime throws us off the trail. It makes us seem small before the immensity of nature.”¹⁰⁴ With *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec* (1861), the control granted to the viewer by the perspective of the image places them in a position of power whereby the vista is something to enjoy rather than fear.

R. W. Anderson's *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec* (1861) is a work that I believe was influential in the production of painting. I want to compare this Anderson image with Marmaduke Matthews' piece from the late 19th century entitled *Landscape and Rushing Water* (fig. 22). While Matthews' painting does not identify the location, the likeness between the two works I think

¹⁰³ William Gilpin in Ackerman, “The Photographic Picturesque”, 82.

¹⁰⁴ François-Marc Gagnon, “The Forest, Niagara and the Sublime,” in *Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscape 1860-1918*, ed. Hilliard T. Goldfarb (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2009), 33.

is quite evident. The similarities in landscape become even more apparent when the Anderson image is rotated on its vertical axis (fig. 23). While Matthews' piece is more tightly cropped and from a lower vantage point, many of the landscape features are similar – the leaning trees along the water's edge and rocky foreground bare striking resemblance to the Anderson photograph. If Anderson's photograph was indeed a basis for the Matthew's painting it would have either been used as a direct source from which to copy from or would have inspired the artist to travel to the location of the photograph. According to Thomas, there are a number of key features to look for in a painting when determining the type of photographic influence. She suggests looking at cropping and "the painter's surface reading of photographic details, such as eye-catching shadow areas, unusual outcroppings of rocks etc., and the unaltered transposition of them into the painting that is often the key to verifying photographic sources."¹⁰⁵ With those indicators in mind, I would posit the Anderson image as being one that inspired Matthews to visit that particular site or one that held the same character. The cropping of Matthews' painting is much tighter with greater attention given to the water and foliage. There is a similarity in terms of the foreground rock formations and tree line. If this is the same location it is possible that Matthews stood in a similar spot to Anderson, perhaps at a different time of year when the water run-off was not as intense but rather more sedate.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas, *Fact and Fiction*, 93-94.

Conclusion

The business and artistic collaborations Anderson participated in during his career reflect the diversity found within the economy and culture of nineteenth century photographic practice. While in this chapter Anderson's scrap book may have appeared to be less integral to the discussion this is, however, far from the case. The material object inevitably acted as a stepping stone that pointed toward the areas of investigation. The following chapter returns to the object and a series of images located at the beginning of the album. The analysis here builds on the already established subject of the picturesque and looks at associated themes of nostalgia, national identity and travel.

Chapter 3

Reflections: Examining the Role of Nostalgia, National Identity and Travel in the R.W. Anderson Scrap Book.

This chapter will provide a close reading of a key group of photographs in the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. My analysis of the scrap book in Chapter One indicated the diversity of the images presented in the volume. Turning through the pages of the album there does not appear to be a dominant and/or cohesive theme that defines the volume as a whole. However, there are portions of the album that seem to be visually and thematically unified. One of these distinct segments and perhaps the clearest are the first eighteen pages of the album, in which a relatively consistent layout and subject matter appears. According to Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, “albums in particular have performative qualities. Not only do they narrativise photographs, such as in family or travel albums but their materiality dictates the embodied conditions of viewing, literally performing the images in certain ways.”¹⁰⁶ Within these eighteen album pages, Anderson has compiled photographs largely depicting English landscape and architectural views. These characteristically picturesque prints mainly depict areas in the South West of England. Several of the architectural monuments portrayed are medieval, more specifically they are of the Gothic style. This architectural movement was revered by the English early in the century, and by the time Anderson was assembling his album Gothic was regarded as the

¹⁰⁶Edwards and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 11.

national style of England.¹⁰⁷ I believe the location of these images at the beginning of the volume, the subject matter, as well as the inscriptions that accompany some of them, underscore themes of nostalgia and national identity. Photographs operated on many levels in the nineteenth century, including the capacity to foster a type of national identification and collective memory through landscape. The series of images in the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* illustrate how such ideas could be interpreted by a particular individual.

The Opening Sequence of Images

There are thirty-one photographic prints located amongst the first eighteen pages of the album. The majority of the prints are presented in accordance with the vertical axis of the book. Two photographs however, are presented horizontally and require the viewer to turn the book 90° in order to observe the images properly. There are a total of four pages that contain only one photograph whilst the remainder present between two and three images. Among the subject matter depicted in the images are stately homes, churches, abbey ruins, wharves, and waterways. Of the thirty-one prints, twenty-one carry dates that range from 1851 to 1858.

Turning through the pages of this section of the album, the viewer first encounters a single image of a woman standing in front of a house (fig. 24). This opening image, which seems to be quite personal, leads on to a sequence of

¹⁰⁷I would like to extend a thank-you to Dr. Peter Coffman for offering insight into the relationship between Gothic architecture and nationhood in England.

architectural views spread amongst the next ten pages. Prints of specific geographical locations, such as Glastonbury and Bath, are presented on their own album pages. The city of Bristol is prominently featured in this section with five architectural views of the area presented on two successive album pages. A number of the architectural sites included here, such as churches, are portrayed through multiple images. An overall view of the structure is complemented by more detailed and close up prints of particular building features. Landscape images comprise the next five pages in this particular section. The focus once again is Bristol but here the character of the land and local waterways are featured. Completing the section are two distinct images of Ilmington Church in Warwickshire. One is an architectural view and the other a close up of a gravesite. Accompanying the latter print is an inscribed reference to a family member. This section of the album is evidently introduced and concluded on a very personal level. In terms of presentation, all of the prints in this series have been centred on their pages and inscribed to varying degrees. This suggests a level of care and control on behalf of the compiler.

The first image in the album sets the tone for the nostalgic aspect of this particular section. Measuring 16 x 23 cm, the print is the largest among the thirty-one photographs in this section of the scrap book (fig. 24). Depicted here, in the foreground and at the centre of the image, is a woman holding a bouquet of flowers. She wears a white dress and dark shawl around her shoulders. The skirt portion of the dress appears hooped as it flairs out from the waist in a bulbous fashion. Although there is no date inscribed to this image, the style of the

clothing, particularly the skirt, indicates that it is likely from the mid-1850s.¹⁰⁸ The figure stands between a solid wall and picket fence on what appears to be a walkway leading to a house situated behind her. Immediately in front of the figure are the sidewalk and a portion of the street. Framing the house, as well as the image itself, are trees to the left and right. Below the image and inscribed by hand is an excerpt from a popular song entitled *Home, Sweet Home* by the eighteenth century American poet John Howard Payne¹⁰⁹:

Mid pleasures and palaces
 Tho we may roam
 Be it ever so humble
 There's no place like home

Payne's verse is imbued with notions of longing and reminiscence. The verse and what is depicted in the photograph work together to give the image an air of

¹⁰⁸ See the Victoria and Albert Museum website: 'Victorian Dress at the V&A' http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/fashion/features/victorian_dress/index.html
 Accessed July 1, 2010.

¹⁰⁹ This particular piece was originally comprised of four stanzas however the first two are the most common. See Charles H. Sylvester, *Journeys Through Bookland, Volume 6* (Chicago: Bellows-Reeve Company Publishers, 1922).

Mid pleasures and palaces tho we may roam,
 Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home!
 A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
 Which, seek though the world, is ne'er met with elsewhere.
 Home, Home! Sweet, sweet Home!
 There's no place like Home!
 There's no place like Home!

An exile from home, splendour dazzles in vain!
 O, give me my lowly thatched cottage again!
 The birds singing gaily that came at my call;
 Give me them! And the peace of mind dearer than all!
 Home, Home! Sweet, sweet Home!
 There's no place like Home!
 There's no place like Home!

nostalgia. This notion of nostalgia is made more understandable in consideration of the definition of the term offered by Ann C. Colley:

Nostalgia...attempts to compensate for the subsequent discontinuity. It mourns the loss of a collective memory that glosses over change and differences in time by repeatedly moving the past into a seamless present, and offers, through a shared set of rituals, the illusion of belonging to a communal identity where remembrance occurs among people, not within the solitary individual's mind.¹¹⁰

I have reason to believe that individual depicted in the photograph may in fact be Anderson's wife, Rosina. She, like Anderson, was born in England. It is possible that the image was captured not long before they embarked on their journey to Canada. It would seem like a rather fitting piece to open the album from which follows a series of images of various sites in England that likely held particular meaning for Anderson. Inscribing album images with literary captions was not unusual in the nineteenth century. Jens Jäger suggests that "the works of Walter Scott, William Wordsworth and others described landscapes which amateurs sought in the countryside. When they photographed such a scene, they often referred to a literary model with a quote from a poem which had been, or could be, read as the inspiration."¹¹¹ The most explicit example of the use of literary captions can be seen in the *Photographic Album for the Year 1855* where a number of the images, of varying subject matter, were accompanied by verse.

An early twentieth-century analysis of Payne's work by Charles H. Sylvester suggests that "what has made the song so dear...is its sweet music and the powerful emotion that seizes us all when we think of the home of

¹¹⁰ Ann C. Colley, *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 1998), 74-75.

¹¹¹ Jäger, "Picturing Nations," 125.

our childhood.”¹¹² In this instance the home may have been that of the Andersons and while perhaps not of their childhood its meaning in this particular context has been further defined by the circumstance of emigration. Here, the departure from one’s home country can be equated with Sylvester’s reference to the childhood home.

Twelve of the photographs in this section of the scrap book are depictions of various sites around the area of Bristol in the South West of England of which ten have been inscribed with a date of 1858. The images here are port scenes around the area of Clifton as well as of the church St. Mary Redcliffe. These particular images have a touristic and almost snapshot quality about them as they depict some of the more popular sites in the area. For example, the images *St. Vincent Rocks & the Hotwell House, Clifton* (1858) and *Clifton & the Hotwells* (1858) depict popular tourist attractions. (fig. 25 and 26). Both images contain people. In *St. Vincent Rocks & the Hotwell House, Clifton* (1858) two men are present in the foreground and their stance indicates that they are posing for the camera; however, behind them in the background, and dominating the image, is the rocky edifice of St. Vincent. Their position in the photograph enhances the size of the rock face at their backs and as such they appear more like staffage figures in this instance. In *Clifton & the Hotwells* (1858) the figures are less noticeable as they are set much further back. The scene here looks across the Avon Gorge to the area known as the Hotwells. Shop fronts, hotels and houses dot the landscape here and people can be seen along the waterfront. The

¹¹² Sylvester, *Journeys Through Bookland*, 224.

popularity of this location for tourists, naturalists and even photographers may have been aided in due part by the publication of literature promoting the area.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, writing on sites of interest became popular in the eighteenth century when the likes of Reverend William Glipin produced a series dedicated to picturesque tours. According to John Taylor, these works dedicated to England and Scotland “listed alongside works of art the natural scenes which satisfied pictorial canons of beauty” and “by the early nineteenth century numerous ‘picturesque tours’ had been published, and the ways of looking at entire geographic regions had become conventional, and were enjoyed by increasing numbers of professional, middle class groups.”¹¹³ This particular location may have had personal significance for Anderson or may have been a place he visited and was of interest to him because of its local sites. A book published in 1826 by John Chilcott entitled *Chilcott's New Guide to Bristol. Clifton and the Hotwells: With a Description of the Neighbouring Seats, Villages, &c.* may have inspired Anderson to travel to this area and it serves as an example of the types of books typically produced to encourage travel to various regions. The introduction of the book reads:

The present little manual is an attempt to point out to the visitors of Bristol, Clifton and the Hotwells, in as concise and popular a manner as possible, their principal institutions, natural beauties, and topographical curiosities. It contains also a description of the adjacent Villages, Nobleman's and Gentlemen's Seats, and every other local information which may be considered interesting or amusing.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ John Taylor, *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 17.

¹¹⁴ John Chilcott, *Chilcott's New Guide to Bristol. Clifton and the Hotwells: With a Description of the Neighbouring Seats, Villages, &c.* (Bristol: J. Chilcott, 1826), iii.

The twelve images in the aforementioned section do not contain any inscription referencing the photographer. In consultation with the historian of photography, Roger Taylor, I propose that these images and the others located within the eighteen pages that are all albumen silver prints, to have been taken by Anderson himself and point to specific areas of interest for him. Knowing that the series of pages later in the album dedicated to the phases of English medieval architecture contain the same images but cut down to show specific features indicates that Anderson likely had the negatives.¹¹⁵

Two other notable images located in this portion of the album are *Glastonbury Abbey* and *St. Joseph's Chapel Glastonbury* both presented on the same page and dated to 1856 (fig. 27 and 28). The image of ancient and medieval architecture in a state of ruin was a common subject for nineteenth century photographers as they readily presented characteristics atypical of the picturesque. According to Jäger "...the picturesque view was not an artist's idealization, but was believed to be a quality of the scene and of the features of the site depicted."¹¹⁶ The image *Glastonbury Abbey* (1856) depicts the remains of the transept looking toward the nave. The grandeur of the architectural ruin is enhanced by the low vantage point from which the scene was captured. This point of view, as Elizabeth Helsinger argues, conveyed a sense of awe in the viewer and was conventional for picturesque images.¹¹⁷ In taking this approach

¹¹⁵ Roger Taylor, telephone conversation 15 February, 2010.

¹¹⁶ Jäger, "Picturing Nations," 123.

¹¹⁷ Elizabeth Helsinger, "Turner and the Representation of England," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 108.

“the low perspective helped to monumentalize the castles, cathedrals, abbeys, or mountains that were the main subject of the picture.”¹¹⁸ The large proportion of sky enhances the towering character of the ruins. Here, much like its accompanying image of the chapel, the façades appears weathered with time, their walls covered with moss and ivy. In both images, trees encroach on the scene from the side. Photographers were drawn to these types of details in which, according to Seiberling and Bloore, “irregularity, roughness, alternation of sun and shade, and luxuriance of texture were all qualities sought out by enthusiasts of the picturesque.”¹¹⁹

The Picturesque and Nationhood

According to Jäger, landscape and monument imagery in particular came to reflect contemporary attitudes pertaining to nationhood. As I argue in this section of the chapter, Anderson’s opening sequence of images, too, reflects nationalist ideals and yearnings. Although landscape was not a new form of subject matter, it was rather a shift in perception that placed a new level of significance to these types of images. Specifically, it was thought that the “physical environment formed the character of its inhabitants” and as such landscape imagery was seen “as representing the essence of national character.”¹²⁰

According to Jäger, there are three key components to consider in order for an image to represent a nation effectively. First, for an image to be seen as a

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Seiberling and Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*, 53.

¹²⁰ Jäger, “Picturing Nations,” 117.

true representation of nature, “objectivity had to be inscribed onto photographs”.¹²¹ Second, the scene depicted had to be regarded as a national symbol and lastly, aesthetic conventions had to frame and subsequently “steer interpretation of landscape photographs in the direction of these associations.”¹²² The correlation between landscape, nationhood and identity has also been examined by Sean Huff. As complex cultural constructions, Huff argues that:

...abstract notions, such as that of nationhood, only become real when the iconography of nationhood is created, given meaning and peppered throughout the landscape. Buildings, memorials, statues and painted representations of the national landscape are more than mere constructions of a society, but rather they are symbols of social identity, created and maintained to perpetuate the idea of place.¹²³

It is important to note that at this time photographs were not regarded as the works of art that there are seen as today. Rather, they were conventionally viewed under a scientific veil and deemed enlightening, educational and pleasurable. The photograph, as a mode to represent truth and supply knowledge, was soon added to the many other avenues that fostered nation building in Britain. Landscape and monument imagery had already garnered familiarity amongst Britons most commonly through engravings. The main impetus behind this subject matter was tourism. Discussing the commodification of landscapes in the nineteenth century, Mark W. Roskill argues that the subject served as a “site of leisure activities and sought-after travel pleasures on the part

¹²¹ Jäger, “Picturing Nations,” 118.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 117.

¹²³ Sean Huff, “Identity and Landscape: The Reification of Place in Strasbourg, France,” in *Landscape, Tourism and Meaning*, ed. Daniel C. Knudsen, Michelle M. Metro-Roland, Anne K. Soper, and Charles E. Greer (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008), 20.

of those who could afford this” as well as operating within a “movement to rediscover those rustic and primitive patterns of existence in nature that have a seemingly timeless strain to them” and latterly enabled one “to find roots in the countryside, in the shape of an inheritance of customs and practices binding the generations together.”¹²⁴ Photographs, in particular, provided simulacra of travel and gave the viewer a sense of possession and knowledge of what was depicted. The mere existence, however, of the landscape market in Britain is not enough to suggest a nationalistic reading of the images.¹²⁵ Rather, it is important to look at the subjects that were most marketable and it is here that the notion of the picturesque comes into play. According to Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, “a landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings.”¹²⁶ Thus, the picturesque was deemed as more than just pleasing to the eye for it also embodied an ideology of perception and interpretation of the environment.¹²⁷ Britain at this time was still in the midst of increasing social and economic change that subsequently impacted how the countryside was used and perceived. Ann Bermingham has argued that the emergence of the English suburb “implied a new perception of the land.”¹²⁸ On the one hand land was seen as something practical while on the other it was

¹²⁴ Mark W. Roskill, *The Languages of Landscape* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 121.

¹²⁵ Jäger, “Picturing Nations,” 123.

¹²⁶ Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, “Introduction: Iconography and Landscape,” in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1.

¹²⁷ Jäger, “Picturing Nations,” 123.

¹²⁸ Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986), 166.

something to be appreciated.¹²⁹ According to Bermingham, an increasing sense of value was placed on the areas that escaped industrialization and it was “the picturesque sensibility” that “had preserved the landscape in an archaic state of quaintness.”¹³⁰ Thus, picturesque views of monuments reflected a rising interest in old architecture but were also a means to “survey and protect the national heritage.”¹³¹ Accordingly, photographs diffused concepts of Britishness whilst simultaneously fostering an education and identification with local and regional scenery.

The images Jäger speaks of were produced primarily by amateur photographers who saw their works published in books dedicated to tours of specific regions or as part of albums affiliated with clubs. In addition to the creation and publication these picturesque images, more concerted efforts were made to capture the national identity of Britain in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Both amateurs and professionals documented the countryside around them in the face of rapid economic and cultural change. According to John Taylor, “the survey photographers were concerned about the ways of life which were vanishing...”¹³² In an examination of the history surrounding Sir Benjamin Stone and the National Photographic Record Association, Elizabeth Edwards and Peter James argue that the survey was borne out of a concern pertaining to the changing British identity and the marks it was leaving on the urban and rural

¹²⁹ Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 166.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Jäger, “Picturing Nations,” 124.

¹³² Taylor, *A Dream of England*, 51.

landscape. Edwards and James note that the “roots of identity were seen as endangered, not only through undifferentiated advance of ‘the modern’ but also, in particular, in the loss of the monuments and practices of the past.”¹³³

The prints in the Anderson scrap book are without a doubt more personal as they have been assembled in a volume that is clearly more private than that of a commercial album. However, I do believe that the images themselves speak to the characteristics of national identity described above. Accompanying the photographs that I believe Anderson captured in Bristol is a number of images depicting different parts of England. London, Wiltshire, Wells and Tewkesbury are some of the other locations represented where again monuments, like churches, are featured. It would seem that these places were significant to Anderson and are what he considered important to his identity as a Briton. As Jäger writes “the sites of national monuments were considered to be a source of reflection on the incidents and accidents of the past. They became catalysts of a British consciousness.”¹³⁴

Tourism

The idea of fostering national identity through photographs is inextricably linked with the notion of tourism. In addition to the travel guides and handbooks, much like those produced by Gilpin, there was a growing market for souvenir

¹³³ Elizabeth Edwards and Peter James, “Surveying Our Past: Photography, History & Sir Benjamin Stone, 1987-1910,” in *A Record of England. Sir Benjamin Stone & The National Photographic Record Association, 1897-1910*, ed. Elizabeth Edward, Peter James and Martin Barnes (Stockport, England: Dewi Lewis; London: In association with V&A Publications, 2006), 8.

¹³⁴ Jäger, “Picturing Nations,” 124.

photographs. Roger Taylor's examination of the career of George Washington Wilson addresses his involvement in this burgeoning economy. According to Taylor, Wilson's "landscape photographs were made in response to the demands of tourists who readily bought them as souvenirs."¹³⁵ In consideration of the images discussed, the notion of travel both within one's home country and to another played an important part in their creation and subsequent placement in the album. Jäger suggests "for the tourist, photographs kindled reminiscences of the places visited or directed future journeys to points of interest."¹³⁶ This notion of photography, memory and tourism has also been addressed by Carol Crawshaw and John Urry. According to Crawshaw and Urry, "the visual is centrally important in the construction of touristic memories" and as such visitors "help to construct their memories through the photographs they take and the postcards they purchase."¹³⁷ The variation in sites and monuments depicted in the images would have allowed Anderson and possibly his wife to revisit these locations visually and perhaps rekindle memories of their homeland and the places once traversed on foot. In addition, Anderson's children may have also viewed the photographs and would have had the chance to see a place they had never been. In this way photography enabled a new level of visual accessibility to a world that no longer required travel to the place itself but instead could be

¹³⁵ Roger Taylor, *George Washington Wilson: Artist and Photographer 1823-93* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1981), 50.

¹³⁶ Jäger, "Picturing Nations," 124.

¹³⁷ Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, "Tourism and the Photographic Eye," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (New York: Routledge, 1997), 179.

See also, Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995).

enjoyed from the comfort of one's own home. For Joan M. Schwartz this type of armchair travel produces what she terms, drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson and Edward Said, "imaginative geographies"¹³⁸ whereby it was "through travel photographs, in concert with other forms of representation [... that] Victorian viewers who had never travelled came to share impressions of place."¹³⁹ Schwartz's discussion of national identity looks at the broader impact amateur photography had on its audience through images disseminated in various publications and exhibitions. While the Anderson scrap book is much more personal in nature than a published set of images I believe it can still foster a particular cultural impression to its much smaller audience which, in this instance, may have been immediate family and possibly friends.

This first section of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* elicits three different levels of interpretation: nostalgia, national identity and travel. Each of these three resonates with each other in the sense that in varying degrees they are ways of essentially looking back, remembering and reflecting. I want to conclude with the final page of this segment of the album, which acts as an interesting complement to the image that opens the album.

Two prints occupy the concluding page of this particular section of the album. Both photographs are albumen silver prints that have been mounted one above the other. The smaller of the two prints, measuring 14.8 x 16.6 cm, is

¹³⁸ Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, "Introduction: Photography and the Geographical Imagination" in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 6.

¹³⁹ Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of imaginative geographies," in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22, 1 (1996), 30.

centred above the larger image (16.8 x 19.4 cm) with a narrow space between both. The subject of each photograph is identified by inked inscriptions located below the print. No dates are present. The upper print has rounded corners. The larger photograph below, an architectural view, is presented in vignette format. Vignetting, which was introduced in 1853 by Latimer Clark, was a technique traditionally used in portraits. The softened edges of the image gradually fade into the whiteness of the photographic paper. Early vignettes were produced by printing out the centre of the image while shielding the edges to produce a diffused effect. The technique was later enhanced by placing a vignetter over the negative during printing.¹⁴⁰

The words “In memory of a dear Sister – Ilmington Churchyard” are inscribed below this undated photograph located on the final page of this section (fig. 29). Depicted in this image is a gravesite that is enclosed by a decorative railing that rests upon a kerb stone. The grave itself is surrounded by its own kerb stone and has both head and foot stones. Surrounding the gravesite and acting as a backdrop for the image is a mix of foliage. The image, despite the subject matter, is far from macabre. The sun filters into the scene from the left, radiating over the grave and casting a shadow on the ground to the left of the plot. Below this photograph is a vignetted picture, also undated, depicting

¹⁴⁰ Bernard E. Jones, ed. *Encyclopedia of Photography* (New York: Arno Press, 1974), 557. Walter E. Woodbury, *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Photography* (New York: Arno Press, 1979. Reprint of 1898 Edition), 513.

Ilmington Church (fig. 30). Taken from north side of the church, the image depicts the west tower and north vestry.¹⁴¹ The individual buried here may have been the sister of Anderson or perhaps his wife's. Recent contact with the rector of the church provided no clues to the identity of the resident of the burial site. It seems that the grave is no longer preserved in the state depicted in the image. The only potential sites that could be that of the portrayed grave now contain only headstones which have subsequently worn away with the ravages of time.¹⁴² The grave site that once sat intact now seems to lie in ruin, however, the captured image, subsequently located in the scrap book, has garnered it a form of immortality. For Anderson and/or his wife, including this image may have allowed an opportunity to revisit the site of someone very dear to them. Visiting the cemetery in person was impeded by the relocation to a new country but enabled in new way through images affixed to an album page.

The location of these final two images, in conjunction with the opening print, operate on an interesting level for they are much like brackets or bookends to this segment of the album. The notion of transience and time passing are eminent here. The opening image reflects on an old life being left behind with new prospects on the horizon. The final image, points to a life that was once lived but to certain extent is no longer. The ability of the image to incite the viewer in this reflective way resonates clearly with the observations made by Alex Hughes

¹⁴¹ The Village of Ilmington, <http://www.cotswolds.info/places/ilmington.shtml>, accessed July 13, 2010.

¹⁴² This information was ascertained after contacting Reverend Chris Goble, current rector of Ilmington Church. The correspondence was via email and occurred between January 6, 2010 and January 21, 2010.

and Andrea Noble: “By virtue of their indexical nature, photographs inevitably return us not just to scenes of memory but, at the same time, to *sites* of memory, sites that are unfailingly imbued with an emotional charge.”¹⁴³

Conclusion

Images that fostered national identity and nostalgia were commonplace within the repertoire of photographic consumers and artists of the nineteenth century. These photographs, often imbued with characteristics of the picturesque, sought to incite in their viewers a sense of appreciation and admiration for the landscape around them. The aforementioned themes, traditionally interpreted within larger commercial frameworks (surveys, publications and exhibits), can also resonate on a more intimate level. The case of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* provides example of how the subjects of nostalgia and national identity are elicited and interpreted within a personal assembly of prints. Here, the tropes common to images that sought to foster a sense of national identification on broad scale have been personalized to reflect a sense of longing and appreciation for one’s home country.

The preceding analysis elucidates even further the complexity of albums. Demonstrated throughout this thesis is the notion that albums are far from being simple objects, but rather are vested with multiple layers of meaning. The

¹⁴³ Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble, “Introduction,” in *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 6.

selection, positioning and placement of prints in an album are active and conscious processes that reflect the compiler and his or her various social and cultural circumstances.

Conclusion

By looking beyond representational concerns toward the materiality of photographs and photographically-illustrated albums, one can garner invaluable information regarding the cultural significance of such objects. In this thesis I investigated the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* and positioned it within a number of social and artistic discourses that were prominent in the photographic culture of the nineteenth century. Throughout my analysis I have employed a material culture methodology in my study of the scrap book, which has allowed me to understand broader cultural questions by starting with the specifics of the object. This approach enabled me to interpret specific components of the album as well as develop a profile about the compiler. In doing so, my investigation re-affirmed that albums are fundamentally unique cultural objects. The *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* gleaned insight into what it was like to be a photographer operating in Toronto during the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the nuances of the scrap book revealed much about how Anderson, an immigrant to Canada, perceived the world around him.

In Chapter One I addressed the phenomena of albums from a historical perspective in order to highlight some of the ways in which these types of objects were used. The range of albums discussed, from the personally decorated and assembled type to the commercially produced volume, pointed to the varying ways in which the consumer interacted with the medium of photography. The discussion of Victorian photocollage albums provided an example of how the

album could serve as a creative outlet for the compiler who often incorporated a variety of ornamentation and verse alongside the photographs. Such albums, primarily produced by women, bore some form of social commentary that was often only understood by the compiler and possibly a limited audience. The carte-de-visite album, in effect an early form of what today would be termed “social-networking”, was another avenue in which nineteenth-century photographic consumers could interact with the medium. Victorian photocollage and carte-de-visite albums were soon accompanied by volumes akin to that of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. In all cases, these types of albums operated on varying personal levels and tended not to be available to large audiences. In some instances, such as the albums of photographer Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll), photographically-illustrated volumes acted as a type of showcase for the photographer’s work but again had limited circulation. In addition to personally-assembled albums, the second half of the nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of photographically-illustrated books. These commercially produced publications, including *The Photographic Album for the Year 1855*, catered to a growing, albeit niche, consumer audience. While the historical overview only touched on some key examples it emphasized nonetheless albums cannot be readily defined as each truly is unique.

In the second half of the first chapter I embarked on a material culture reading of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*. This approach, as described by Elizabeth Edwards, Janice Hart and Jules Prown, stresses the importance of the

material object rather than focusing solely on content. As Edwards and Hart write: "...it is not merely the image *qua* image that is the site of meaning, but that its material and presentational forms and the uses to which they are put are central to the function of a photograph as a socially salient object."¹⁴⁴ To the untrained eye, the mixed contents of this particular album may seem incoherent; but by looking closely at details such as layout, inscriptions, print size, etc., a significant amount of information was gleaned about the compiler as well as the possible uses of the object. I put forth a number of possibilities pertaining to the function of this particular collection of prints and built on one specifically in Chapter Three. I stressed however, that the album's function cannot be fully understood and in fact may not have even been apparent to the compiler himself.

In Chapter Two I built on information gleaned from the material reading of the album and moved away from the object itself to a detailed profile of Robert W. Anderson. My research here reflected the intensive archival digging I carried out that enabled me to position Anderson within the domain of Toronto's nineteenth-century commercial photographic scene. I built on the rare extant material pertaining to Anderson, and I was able to track his movement in Toronto as he established himself as a photographer. I argued that the collaborations he had with various artists and commercial organizations, such as *The Telegram* and *Canadian Illustrated News*, as well as his travel to the West Coast of Canada, indicate that a career as a photographer in the nineteenth century was

¹⁴⁴ Edward and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 2.

not solely a studio job; rather it was one that negotiated various artistic and geographical realms.

The artistic collaborations Anderson held, led me to investigate the broader theme of photography and painting. Here, I examined how both mediums co-existed and informed one another. I looked at Anderson's various involvements with painting that included how one of his photographs served as a model for a watercolour work by artist Marmaduke Matthews. In this particular case the painting made explicit reference to one of Anderson's photographs in its inscription. I built on this relationship between the two mediums in my examination of Anderson's photograph *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec* (1861). I located the landscape image within the framework of the picturesque. Characterized by roughness and irregularity, the picturesque scenes that defined many seventeenth and eighteenth-century paintings, became desirable subjects for many nineteenth-century photographers. The Anderson image, as I discussed, is imbued with many features common to both the British and North American approach to the picturesque. I concluded my discussion of the relationship between painting and photography in a comparative analysis of Anderson's photograph with *Landscape and Rushing Water*, a late nineteenth-century watercolour painting by Matthews. Here I drew on observations made by Barbara Novak and Ann Thomas pertaining to photography's influence on the production of painting. I suggested that the Anderson image when rotated on its vertical axis and the Matthews painting bear striking similarity to one another in

terms of their composition and subject matter. In this particular analysis I suggested that Matthews may have used the Anderson photograph as a direct source for his picture or it served as mode of inspiration for a location to visit and subsequently capture in a painting.

In the final chapter, I returned to album itself and explored the opening sequence of photographs. The images sequenced in these first eighteen pages, which I believe to have been taken by Anderson himself, are predominantly landscape and architectural views of sites around the South West of England. My interest in this segment of the album was piqued by the photographs located on the first and last pages of the section. The opening image depicts a woman, whom I suggest is Anderson's wife, standing in front of a house. Below the image on the album page are words from John Howard Payne's song *Home, Sweet Home*. The two images on the final page are of a graveyard and church and carry reference to the memory of a sister. I positioned these images, along with several others depicting Glastonbury and Bristol, within the frameworks of British national identity, nostalgia and tourism. I argued that the picturesque landscape and architectural views of Bristol and Glastonbury resonate with images and attitudes prevalent at that time in England. The location of these images in a personal scrap book, where they were carefully placed on the page and inscribed, emphasizes their importance to the compiler. The album would have afforded Anderson, his wife and family, the opportunity to re-visit these places several times over. The opening and closing pages reframe the nationalist-like images and infuse them with a sense nostalgia and longing for both a place and

person. The pages act as bookends in way to a series of sites that were seemingly important to Anderson's identity as a Briton.

These three chapters demonstrate how the material analysis of an object can open up several avenues of investigation. To that end, there are still a number of questions and concerns surrounding the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* that could not be addressed within the scope of this thesis. How did Anderson acquire the prints in the scrap book that are attributed to other artists? Were they part of an exchange amongst fellow photographers or purchased, as was common in the nineteenth century to find studios supplying such images.¹⁴⁵ Did these photographs act as models to which Anderson aspired to in his commercial studio or are they simply works that appealed to him? The album contains a large number of photographic reproductions of paintings that are not attributed to any particular photographer(s). Were these photographs taken by Anderson? If so, how might we understand this aspect of his work and this practice in general within the nineteenth century?

In terms of Anderson operating as a photographer in nineteenth-century Toronto there are also a number of areas still worthy of investigation. How does his studio compare to the many others that operated in the city simultaneously? What exact role did Marmaduke Matthews have when he and Anderson worked under the same banner? Was Anderson hired by the Canadian Pacific Railway to document the opening of the West or did he travel as a companion to Matthews? What success did he have when operating in Vancouver?

¹⁴⁵ I would like to extend a thank-you to Dr. Andrea Kunard for offering her insight into this aspect of photographic commerce.

This thesis demonstrates the complexity surrounding the study and interpretation of albums. As Andrea Kunard has observed an album cannot offer complete disclosure. While we may never fully appreciate the manner in which albums were used by their owners we can still glean much from them in terms of their roles as cultural objects. However, once albums are absorbed into museological settings they seldom emerge. When albums are afforded an audience through display, they are often showcased for a particular image and not for their materiality. I was very fortunate to have had the opportunity to research the scrap book personally and engage with it as a material object directly. Turning the pages of the album and looking at the world through someone else's eyes is an enriching and enlightening experience. I hope that my material investigation of the *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book* will inspire further study of photographic albums and how they are shaped by and contribute to the culture of the nineteenth century.

Figures

Figure 1. Robert W. Anderson, *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*,
1850 - 1870, 40.3 x 31.8 cm.
National Gallery of Canada (42475.1-160).

Figure 2. Cover detail, *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Figure 3. Decorative paper page, *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Figure 4. Book plate, *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Figure 5. Initials, *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Figure 6. Label, *R.W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Figure 7. Housing, *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

Figure 8. Blank page with inscriptions, *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*.

9a

9b

9c

9d

Figures 9a-d. Page sequence, *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*.
National Gallery of Canada (nos. 42475.33 to 42475.42).

10a

10b

Figures 10a-b. Page sequence, *R. W. Anderson Scrap Book*.
National Gallery of Canada (nos. 42475.152 to 42475.157).

11a

11b

11c

11d

11a-d. Page sequence, 'Illustrations of Early English Architecture,'
R.W. Anderson Scrap Book.
 National Gallery of Canada (nos. 42475.100 to 42475.117).

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Figure 13. Robert W. Anderson, attributed to. *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice*, Quebec, 1861, albumen silver print, 23.1 x 29.1 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.73).

Figure 14. Malden, William Henry Fox Talbot, c.1855,
wood engraving on wove paper, 19.1 x 13.5 cm.
National Gallery of Canada (42475.72).

Figure 15. Marmaduke Matthews, *Anderson's Photograph Gallery*, pencil drawing, 1863. Trent University Archives, Marmaduke Matthews Fonds (71-003).

Figure 16. R.W. Anderson, *Rev. Jas. Hastie*, from *David McCrae's photo album*, 1866, silver salts on paper – albumen process, 7 x 5 cm. Courtesy of Guelph Museums (M1991.9.2.89).

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Figure 18. R. W. Anderson, *Portrait of a Man*,
9 x 5. cm, 1850-1890.

Figure 19. R. W. Anderson, *Castle Frank*, c.1870, 16 x 23.7 cm.
Toronto Public Library Website (943-2-5).

Figure 20. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Doorway at Lacock Abbey: The Open Door*, April 1844, salted paper print, 14.6 x 19.5 cm. National Gallery of Canada (33487.33).

Figure 21. Marmaduke Matthews, *The Paliser Range from Canmore Stn., CPR.*, 1887, watercolour, 35.5 x 78.1 cm.

Figure 22. Marmaduke Matthews, *Landscape and Rushing Water*, late 19th – early 20th century, watercolour on paper, 35.5 x 55.9 cm. Collection of Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (1999.037.001).

Figure 23. Image Rotation: Robert W. Anderson, attributed to, *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec*, 1861, albumen silver print, 23.1 x 29.1 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.73).

Figure 24. Unknown, *Untitled (Woman Standing in Front of a House and Fence)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16 x 23 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.1).

Figure 25. Unknown, *St. Vincent Rocks and the Hotwell House, Clifton*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.5 x 17.1 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.24).

Figure 26. Unknown, *Clifton and the Hotwells*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.6 x 17.3 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.25).

Figure 27. Unknown, *Glastonbury Abbey*, 1856, albumen silver print, 14.3 x 17.1 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.10).

Figure 28. Unknown, *St. Joseph's Chapel*, Glastonbury, 1856, albumen silver print, 14.4 x 16.8cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.11).

Figure 29. Unknown, *In Memory of a Dear Sister, Ilmington Churchyard*, c.1855, albumen silverprint, 14.8 x 16.6 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.30).

Figure 30. Unknown, *Ilmington Church near Stratford-upon-Avon*, c.1855, albumen silver print, 16.8 x 19.4 cm. National Gallery of Canada (42475.31).

Appendix I

Contents of the R.W. Anderson Scrap Book

UL: Upper Left
 UC: Upper Centre
 UR: Upper Right
 ML: Middle Left
 MC: Middle Centre
 MR: Middle Right
 LL: Lower Left
 LC: Lower Centre
 LR: Lower Right

Page 1

MC: Robert W. Anderson, attributed to. *Untitled (Woman Standing in Front of a House and Fence)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16 x 23 cm (42475.1)

Inscribed below print: *Mid Pleasures and Palaces / Tho' we may roam / Be it ever so humble / There's no place like home*

Page 2

UC: Unknown, *Bath Abbey Church*, 1858, albumen silver print, 16.5 x 21.2 cm (42475.2)

LC: Unknown, *The Cathedral at Wells*, 1858, albumen silver print, 17.1 x 19.7 cm (42475.3)

Page 3

MC: Unknown, *St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol*, 1858, albumen silver print, 17.3 x 14.5 cm (42475.4)

LL: Unknown, *The Rocks, Clifton*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 5.7 x 8.7 cm (42475.5)

LR: Unknown, *The Hotwell House*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 5.7 x 8.7 cm (42475.6)

Page 4

UC: Unknown, *St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.6 x 17 cm (42475.7)

LC: Unknown, *The Chancel*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.7 x 17.3 cm (42475.8)

Page 5

MC: Unknown, *Night and Morning*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 19.8 x 16.3 cm (42475.9)

Page 6

UC: Unknown, *Glastonbury Abbey*, 1856, albumen silver print, 14.3 x 17.1 cm (42475.10)

LC: Unknown, *St. Joseph's Chapel, Glastonbury*, 1856, albumen silver print, 14.4 x 16.8 cm (42475.11)

Page 7

MC: Thomas Davies, *Old Gateway, Bradley Hall, Cheshire*, 1851, salter paper print, 20.6 x 16.7 cm (42475.12)

Page 8

UC: Unknown, *Chancel Window, Tewksbury*, 1857, albumen silver print, 17.4 x 14.9 cm (42475.13)

LC: Unknown, *Tewksbury Abbey*, 1857, albumen silver print, 14.4 x 16.3 cm (42475.14)

Page 9

UC: Russell W. Sedgfield, *Potterne, Wiltshire*, 1852, albumen silver print, 14.8 x 18.2 cm (42475.15)

LC: Unknown, *Swindon, Gloucestershire*, 1857, albumen silver print, 15 x 17.3 cm (42475.16)

Page 10

UC: Unknown, *Widcombe, near Bath*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.4 x 17.2 cm (42475.17)

LC: Unknown, *Leckhampton, Gloucestershire*, 1857, albumen silver print, 17 x 14.6 cm (42475.18)

Page 11

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Church with Spire)*, c. 1855, collotype, 15.4 x 11.4 cm (42475.19)

LC: Edwards & Co., *Untitled (Steam Ship)*, after a painting by an unknown artist, c. 1855, photogravure, 10 x 15.2 cm (42475.20)

Page 12

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Arched Bridge)*, c. 1855, photogravure, 11.4 x 17.8 cm (42475.21)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Country House)*, c. 1855, collotype, 13.8 x 18.2 cm (42475.22)

Page 13

UC: Unknown, *Rownham Ferry, Clifton at Low Water*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.2 x 16.4 cm (42475.23)

LC: Unknown, *St. Vincent Rocks and the Hotwell House, Clifton*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.5 x 17.1 cm (42475.24)

Page 14

UC: Unknown, *Clifton and the Hotwells*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.6 x 17.3 cm (42475.25)

LC: Unknown, *Bristol Docks – "Waiting for the Tide"*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.8 x 17.1 cm (42475.26)

Page 15

MC: Unknown, *Bristol Hospital and Steamer "Jenny Jones" of Cardiff at Bathurst Wharf*, 1858, albumen silver print, 16.5 x 20.8 cm (42475.27)

Page 16

UC: Unknown, *The Avon at Low Water from the Downs, Clifton*, 1858, albumen silver print, 13.4 x 17.1 cm (42475.28)

LC: Unknown, *The Avon at Low Water from St. Vincent Rocks, Clifton*, 1858, albumen silver print, 13.9 x 16.6 cm (42475.29)

Page 17

Blank

Page 18

UC: Unknown, *In Memory of a Dear Sister, Ilmington Churchyard*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.8 x 16.6 cm (42475.30)

LC: Unknown, *Ilmington Church near Stratford Upon Avon*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16.8 x 19.4 cm (42475.31)

Page 19

MC: George Baxter, *So Nice*, c. 1855, Baxter-process engraving and oil-colour woodcut on wove paper, 13.8 x 9.7 cm (42475.32)

Page 20

Inscription of top of page: *Swiss Scenes*

UC: Unknown, *Grindelwald and the Matterhorn*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.9 x 8 cm (42475.33)

ML: Unknown, *A Swiss Chalet and the Tschingelhorn*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 10.2 x 7.9 cm (42475.34)

MR: Unknown, *Interlachen and the Jungfrau*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.9 x 8 cm (42475.35)

Page 21

Photographic reproductions of paintings

UC: Unknown, *At Nepigon*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 7.3 x 14.8 cm (42475.36)

MC: Unknown, *High Rock, Nepigon*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 10.5 x 16.7 cm (42475.37)

LC: Unknown, *Thunder Cape*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 12 x 17.5 cm (42475.38)

Page 22

Photographic reproductions of paintings

UC: Unknown, *An Indian Camp*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.9 x 20 cm (42475.39)

LC: Unknown, *Crossing the Plains*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 13.5 x 21.2 cm (42475.40)

Page 23

Blank with inscriptions

UC: *Campden - Gloucestershire, 1858*

LC: *The Market House, Campden, 1858*

Page 24

UC: Unknown, *Victoria Terrace, Leamington*, 1855, albumen silver print, 12.8 x 16.1 cm (42475.41)

LC: Unknown, *In the "Lansdowne", Cheltenham*, 1856, albumen silver print, 13 x 17 cm (42475.42)

Page 25

MC: Isaiah West Taber, *Untitled (Woman in a Bridal Gown)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.2 x 7.6 cm (42475.43)

Page 26

MC: H. Rocher, *Untitled (Woman Reading a Letter)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 17.6 x 9.9 cm (42475.44)

Page 27

MC: Unknown, *The "Manor House". Widcombe near Bath*, 1857, albumen silver print, 21.1 x 16.5 cm (42475.45)

Inscribed below print: *Widcombe, few seek with thee their resting place / But I when I have run my weary race / Will throw my bones upon thy churchyard turf / Altho' malignant waves on foreign shore / Have stranded me, and I shall lift no more / My hoary head above the hissing surf / Walter Savage Landor*

Page 28

UC: Unknown, *The "Iron Bridges", Tewksbury*, 1857, albumen silver print, 14.1 x 16.7 cm (42475.46)

LC: Unknown, *A Roadside Inn*, 1857, albumen silver print, 13.2 x 16.1 cm (42475.47)

Page 29

UC: Unknown, *Upper Lake, Killarney*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 8.5 x 12.7 cm (42475.48)

LL: Unknown, *Untitled (Waterfall)*, c. 1855, collotype, 10 x 7.6 cm (42475.49)

LR: Unknown, *O'Sullivan's Cascade*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 12.2 x 7.5 cm (42475.50)

Page 30

UC: Unknown, *Old Weir Bridge*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 8.4 x 12.6 cm (42475.51)

MC: Unknown, *Ross Castle*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 8.4 x 12.6 cm (42475.52)

LC: Unknown, *The Cap of Dunloe*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 8.4 x 12.6 cm (42475.53)

Page 31

MC: Unknown, *Christ Church, Cheltenham*, 1857, albumen silver print, 16.5 x 20.6 cm (42475.54)

Page 32

UC: Unknown, *Sion House, Twickenham*, 1854, albumen silver print, 10.8 x 14 cm (42475.55)

LC: Unknown, *Richmond Bridge*, 1854, albumen silver print, 10.7 x 15.3 cm (42475.56)

Page 33

MC: Unknown, *Untitled (Woodland Scene)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 18.1 x 13.6 cm (42475.57)

Page 34

MC: C.M. French, *Untitled (Woman Holding a Handkerchief and Opera Glasses)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.7 x 10.1 cm (42475.58)

Page 35

UC: Unknown, *Beckford's Tower*, 1858, albumen silver print, 14.5 x 10.6 cm (42475.59)

LC: James William Giles, *A Day's Fishing*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 11.1 x 17.2 cm (42475.60)

Page 36

UC: Unknown, *At Clifton*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.6 x 10.8 cm (42475.61)

MC: Unknown, *Pittville Spa, Cheltenham*, c. 1855, engraving on coated green wove paper, 4.2 x 8.3 cm (42475.62)

LL: Unknown, *At Llangollen No. Wales*, 1854, albumen silver print, 7.5 x 9.7 cm (42475.63)

LR: Unknown, *Llandegfan Manor House, Isle of Anglesea*, 1855, albumen silver print, 7.9 x 10.6 cm (42475.64)

Page 37

Blank

Page 38

UC: Unknown, *"Princess Royal" of Glasgow*, 1848, cyanotype, 11 x 18.7 cm (42475.65)

LC: Henry Peach Robinson, *Guy's Cliffe near Warwick*, 1856, albumen silver print, 15.1 x 20.8 cm (42475.66)

Page 39

MC: Unknown, *Christ Church, Cheltenham*, 1857, albumen silver print, 17.2 x 14.6 cm (42475.67)

Page 40

UC: Unknown, *Balmoral*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 8.2 x 11 cm (42475.68)

ML: N.S. Bouet, *Mrs. Ferguson's Hotel, Bridge of Turk*, 1852, engraving on wove paper, 10.1 x 12 cm (42475.69)

MR: N.S. Bouet, *The Trossach's Hotel*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 9.8 x 12.1 cm (42475.70)

LC: Lizars (?), *Penrhyn Castle*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 9.6 x 12.4 cm (42465.71)

Page 41

MC: Malden, *William Henry Fox Talbot*, c. 1855, wood engraving on wove paper, 19.1 x 13.5 cm (42475.72)

Inscription below print: *The Discoverer of Photography on Paper 1839*

Page 42

Full page: Robert W. Anderson, attributed to, *Shawinigan Falls on the St. Maurice, Quebec*, 1861, albumen silver print, 23.1 x 29.1 cm (42475.73)

Page 43

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (A Neo-Classical Building)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.1 x 11.4 cm (42475.74)

ML: Unknown, *Untitled (Portrait of a Woman)*, c. 1855, platinum print (?), 9.4 x 6.8 cm (42475.75)

MR: Unknown, *Untitled (Docked Steamer)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 8.6 x 5.8 cm (42475.76)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Painting of Galloping Horses)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 12.3 x 12.6 cm (42475.77)

Page 44

UC: Unknown, *Beaumaris*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 12.2 x 17.9 cm (42475.78)

LC: Unknown, *Llanrwst Church*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 14.3 x 17.9 cm (42475.79)

Page 45

Blank

Page 46

Blank

Page 47

MC: Martin Beham, *Part of a Terrestrial Globe, made at Nuremburg in the Year 1492*, 1830, lithograph on wove paper, 20.4 x 15.4 cm (42475.80)

Page 48

UC: Unknown, *Palmyra*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 8.5 x 12.9 cm (42475.81)

ML: Unknown, *Innisfallen, Ross Castle in the Distance*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 9.4 x 6.5 cm (42475.82)

MC: Dalziel, *The Contrabandista*, c. 1855, wood engraving on wove paper, 12.3 x 7.6 cm (42475.83)

MR: Unknown, *Muckross Abbey*, c. 1855, engraving on wove paper, 9.3 x 6.4 cm (42475.84)

LC: G. Cumming, *Murthly Castle*, c. 1855, engraving on coated wove paper, 9.2 x 14.2 cm (42475.85)

Page 49

UC: J. Hamilton, *Copernicus by Earth-Light*, c. 1855, lithograph on wove paper, 11.8 x 16.9 cm (42475.86)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Educational Building?)*, c. 1855, carbon print, 16.1 x 22 cm (42475.87)

Page 50

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Middle-eastern Landscape)*, c. 1855, collotype, 12.5 x 17.7 cm (42475.88)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Middle-eastern Landscape with Six Figures and Three Urns)*, c. 1855, collotype, 12.4 x 17.7 cm (42475.89)

Page 51

MC: Charles Famin, attributed to, *A "Study"*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16.3 x 12 cm (42475.90)

Page 52

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Sailboat with Three Figures)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 10.1 x 14.8 cm (42475.91)

LC: Unknown, *Stoke, Gloucestershire*, 1854, albumen silver print, 16.9 x 19 cm (42475.92)

Page 53

MC: Unknown, *Untitled (Study of Ferns)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16.3 x 20.3 cm (42475.93)

Page 54

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Sailboat Study)*, c. 1855, watercolour on wove paper, 9.9 x 15.5 cm (42475.94)

LC: Unknown, *Leckhampton Gloucestershire*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16.1 x 19.7 cm (42475.95)

Page 55

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Seated Woman in a Garden)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.6 x 20.8 cm (42475.96)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Three Figures Standing Outside a House)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 18.9 x 20.7 cm (42475.97)

Page 56

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (House with Ivy and Graveyard in Foreground)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16.1 x 21.4 cm (42475.98)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (House with Three Figures)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16.9 x 21.5 cm (42475.99)

Page 57

Inscription at top of page: *Illustrations of Early* (continues on to adjacent page) / *The Norman 1066 – 1189*

UL: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1857, albumen silver print, 8.5 x 5.3 cm (42475.100)

UR: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1857, albumen silver print, 8.4 x 5.3 cm (42475.101)

ML: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1856, albumen silver print, 9 x 5.2 cm (42475.102)

MC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1856, albumen silver print, 5.3 x 3.4 cm (42475.103)

MR: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1856, albumen silver print, 8.3 x 5 cm (42475.104)

LL: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1855, albumen silver print, 8.9 x 5.6 cm (42475.105)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1857, albumen silver print, 12.8 x 8.4 cm (42475.106)

LR: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Norman Architecture)*, 1857, albumen silver print, 8.5 x 5.9 cm (42475.107)

Page 58

Inscription at top of page: *English Architecture* (continuation of text from previous page) / *Early English 1189 – 1307*

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Early English Architecture)*, 1856, albumen silver print, 8.4 x 4.5 cm (42475.108)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Early English Architecture)*, 1857, albumen silver print, 15.5 x 5.1 cm (42475.109)

Page 59

Inscription at top of page: *Illustrations of Early* (continues on adjacent page) / *Decorated English 1307 – 1377*

UL: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Decorated English Architecture)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 8.6 x 5.4 cm (42475.110)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Decorated English Architecture)*, 1858, albumen silver print, 10.8 x 8.3 cm (42475.111)

Page 60

Inscription at top of page: *English Architecture* (continuation of text from previous page) / *Perpendicular 1377 – 1640*

UL: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Perpendicular Architecture)*, 1858, albumen silver print, 8.6 x 5.3 cm (42475.112)

UR: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Perpendicular Architecture)*, 1858, albumen silver print, 8.4 x 5.3 cm (42475.113)

MC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Perpendicular Architecture)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 8.6 x 5.3 cm (42475.114)

LL: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Perpendicular Architecture)*, 1858, albumen silver print, 8.4 x 5.4 cm (42475.115)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Perpendicular Architecture)*, 1857, albumen silver print, 2.8 x 1.5 cm (42475.116)

LR: Unknown, *Untitled (Detail of Perpendicular Architecture)*, 1858, albumen silver print, 12.4 x 3.9 cm (42475.117)

Page 61

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Page 62

UC: Unknown, *Captain Massey 30th Regiment in Blackfoot Dress*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 21 x 16.3 cm (42475.118)

LC: Unknown, *Pechaunigaun Rapids*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 11.4 x 16.4 cm (42475.119)

Page 63

UL: Loescher & Petsch, *A German Lady*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.3 x 10.2 cm (42475.120)

UR: Jeremiah Gurney, *Miss Clara Louise Kellogg*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.4 x 10 cm (42475.121)

LC: I Brown Photo, *Swiss Scene Printed by the "Carbon Process"*, c. 1855, carbon print, 9.6 x 14.8 cm (42475.122)

Page 64

UL: William Notman, *The "Skating Queen"*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 13.9 x 10.1 cm (42475.123)

UR: J.H. Kent Photo, *Untitled (Seated Couple)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 13.9 x 10 cm (42475.124)

LL: William Notman, *"Discussing a Sketch"*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14 x 10.1 cm (42475.125)

LR: Schreiber & Sons Printers, *Untitled (Seated Young Girl)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.1 x 10.2 cm (42475.126)

Page 65

UL: F.S. Keeler Photo, *Untitled (Portrait of a Woman)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 16 x 11.1 cm (42475.127)

UR: F.S. Keeler Photo, *Untitled (Girl Holding a Book)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.2 x 10.1 cm (42475.128)

LL: William Notman, *Untitled (Men with Snowshoes and Sled)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14 x 10.1 cm (42475.129)

LR: Jeremiah Gurney, *Untitled (Portrait of a Woman Standing in Profile)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.2 x 10.3 cm (42475.130)

Page 66

Full page: Unknown, *Untitled (Fowl)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 24.4 x 19.4 cm (42475.131)

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Page 68

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Three Men in Campsite with Tent and Canoe)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 10.5 x 14.6 cm (42475.132)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Group Portrait)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 12.3 x 24.8 cm (42475.133)

Page 69

MC: Ildefonse Rousset, *Grand Cascade Waterfalls at Lac des Minimes, Bois de Vincennes*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 17.4 x 13.8 cm (42475.134)

Page 70

MC: Ildefonse Rousset, *Study, Photographic Studies*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.3 x 12 cm (42475.135)

Page 71

MC: Unknown, *Untitled (Yard with Street Scene)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 17 x 22 cm (42475.136)

Page 72

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Landscape Shoreline)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.8 x 20.5 cm (42475.137)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Girl Standing Next to Door at Back of House)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print (42475.138)

Page 73

MC: Unknown, *Untitled (Landscape River Scene)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.5 x 19.8 cm (42475.139)

Page 74

UC: Unknown, *Untitled (Log Cabin with Woman in Doorway)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 12.9 x 19.8 cm (42475.140)

LC: Unknown, *Untitled (Landscape River Scene)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 13.5 x 19.1 cm (42475.141)

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Page 77

UC: Unknown, *Rain and Sunshine, after a Painting by Watelet*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.4 x 12.2 cm (42475.142)

ML: Unknown, *A Venetian Balcony, after a Painting by Hermann-David-Solomon Corrodi*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 11.5 x 9.6 cm (42475.143)

MR: Unknown, *What Has Mother Brought, after a Painting by Meyer von Bremen*, 1880, albumen silver print, 11.3 x 9.4 cm (42475.144)

LC: Unknown, *A City of Ancient Greece, after a Painting by W.J. Linton*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 8.9 x 12.8 cm (42475.145)

Page 78

UC: Unknown, *He Lies Like Truth, after a Painting by Eduard Grützner*, 1880, albumen silver print, 9.7 x 12 cm (42475.146)

MC: Unknown, *Choosing the Casket, after a Painting by Barth München*, 1880, albumen silver print, 8.8 x 13.3 cm (42475.147)

LC: Unknown, *The Wheel of Fortune, after a Painting by Carl Boker*, 1880, albumen silver print, 9.8 x 12.4 cm (42475.148)

Page 79

UC: Unknown, *Sleeping Bloodhound, after a Painting by Edwin Landseer*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.4 x 13.1 cm (42475.149)

LL: Alva Pearsall, *G. Harrison Esqr. as St. Pierre*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.4 x 10.2 cm (42475.150)

LR: G.M. Elton, *Untitled (Portrait of a Girl with a Necklace)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.3 x 10 cm (42475.151)

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Page 81

UC: Unknown, *On the Upper Mississippi*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.4 x 13.2 cm (42475.152)

LL: J.H. Kent Photo, *Untitled (Woman with a Book)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.3 x 10.2 cm (42475.153)

LR: W. H. Rulofson, *Untitled (Self-portrait of W.H. Rulofson?)*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 14.6 x 10.5 cm (42475.154)

Page 82

UC: Unknown, *Suspense, after a Painting by Edwin Landseer*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 9.6 x 12.7 (42475.155)

MC: Unknown, *Two Views of Nature, after a Painting by Theodor Pixis*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 5.8 x 13.3 cm (42475.156)

LL: Unknown, *The First Kiss, after a Painting by Meyer von Bremen*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 12.4 x 9.4 cm (42475.157)

LR: Unknown, *Chief Cook and Cellarmaster, after a Painting by Eduard Grützner*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 12.1 x 9.4 cm (42475.158)

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Page 84

UC: Unknown, *Minnehaha Falls*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 13.4 x 9.5 cm (42475.159)

LC: Mansell & Co., *Lincoln Cathedral*, c. 1855, albumen silver print, 15.1 x 20.7 cm (42475.160)

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